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Language, Discourse & Society

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Language, Discourse & Society is an international peer reviewed journal published twice annually (June and December) in electronic form. The journal publishes high-quality articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.

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Language, Discourse & Society

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MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

It's a pleasure for me to introduce the aticles of the third issue of journal *"Language, Discourse and Society"*, an international peer reviewed journal with a scientific board composed by the members of the International Sociological Association RC25 executive board.

The contents of the second issue includes 7 articles. The first article "Exploring the Ideological Implications of Questions in Elicitation in Courtroom Cross- Examination Discourse in Ghana", by Dora Edu-Buandoh and Helen Ahialey, uses Discourse Analysis to examine question as an elicitation strategy used by counsels during cross examination in Ghanaian legal discourse. Dwelling on fifty court transcripts from Ghanaian courts in Cape Coast and Accra, the paper discusses the types and functions of questions used in elicitation during cross-examination of witnesses and defendants by counsels.

The second article comes from Nguyen Ho Phuong Chi, and it is titled "Vietnamese Norms Of Communication In A Tv Talk Show". The article highlights some distinctive features of the Vietnamese language in terms of its sociolinguistics associations as observed in a popular national television program broadcast nationwide. The analysis of verbal and non-verbal usage in the show reveals that age, religion, occupation, gender and the social situation dramatically shape the way Vietnamese people communicate. Vietnam has attracted foreigners from all corners of the world to the nation for reasons related to business, tourism, education and other cultural activities: the article offers a better insight into Vietnamese norms of communication and it particularly helps foreigners who are learning Vietnamese to have a sense of how Vietnamese language use is influenced by the social context.

The third article, "The Use Of Indirect Speech Act As A Face-Saving Act In Anglo-Saxon Cultural Values" is a contribution from Salwa. In this article, the author discusses the use of "whimperatives" (directives in interrogative forms) as a kind of indirect speech acts in an event which demonstrates one of important values in Anglo-Saxon culture in showing one's personal autonomy instead of their inhibited self-assertion. This paper is going to discuss the result of an observation of an incidental event which demonstrates the use of indirect speech acts as a face-saving act. The author demonstrate the relevance of this topic, which is useful and quite challenging as well in using language appropriately and contextually especially for EFL learners.

The fourth article, Emmanuel Sarfo's "Making health communication accessible: A rhetorical analysis of radio health talk", examines the lexical features of health talk of medical doctors to see the accessibility of the language to the audience. Based on the theories of genre and functional systemic grammar, the study reveals a clear attempt by the doctors to use as little technical vocabulary as possible. In almost all the instances of technical vocabulary use, the doctors made attempts at defining or explaining what the terms meant.

The final section of this issue contains three articles that, son the basis of different methodological and conceptual approaches, explores the relationships between discourse, language and politics in situations of conflict.

The fifth article of the issue, Michał Wilczewski's "Profiling Global Events in the Press: Operation 'Odyssey Dawn'", considers the issue of profiling global events. The article uses as an object of deliberation the military operation called 'Odyssey Dawn', which started on 19th March 2011 in Libya, when the forces of an international coalition, which had been authorized by a U.N. Security Council resolution (see: "Resolution 1973"), attacked Libya's air defences to enforce a no-fly zone. The event has been chosen due to its global range and news value. Based on the assumption that language constitutes a useful tool for achieving the aims established by the media, the article's task is to define the ways the press profiles political events and, as a result, shapes readers' ideologies and attitudes to events and their participants.

The sixth article, "Treating Disclaimer as A Power Strategy of Self-Legitimation and Other-De-Legitimation in Netanyahu's UNGA Speech", by Irham and Ribut Wahyudi, studies the practice of disclaimer by Netanyahu at a peace agreement speech at the United Nations General Assembly in 2011. Disclaimer is understood as a discursive strategy defines the way in which the speaker presents something positive at first, and then rejects it by employing a particular term such as *but.* The article shows that disclaimer may serve as a positive representation of self-legitimation and negative representation of other-de-legitimation. The micro structure of the text, (i.e Syntax, semantics, lexicon, and rhetoric) exercised together with disclaimer to empower the scrutiny of ideological practice, is explored as well. Thus, the political discourse of legitimation, manifested together through the practice of disclaimer, proliferates its power domination.

The seventh article, "Corpus Linguistic Analysis of the Representation of 'IAM' in the Australian Press Before and After 9/11 ", from Ahlam Alharbi, examines the existence of three terms, namely Islam, Arab, and Muslim in two Australian newspapers, *The Australian*

and *The Age*, during two periods of time (i.e., a year before and a year after 9/11) in terms of the selected corpus linguistic and lexical semantic features, namely frequency of the selected lexical terms, collocations, collocation patterns, semantic fields, and lexical priming. The articles shows that the frequency of Islam and Muslim in both newspapers increased after 9/11 and that there were some ideologically significant collocations that increased, and some appeared, after 9/11. After 9/11 Islam, Arab, and Muslim in both newspapers were mainly primed in terms of excessive level, for example, fundamentalists, extremists, radicals.

Finally, I would like to thank the editorial board for generously contributing their expertise, and Kali Michael from American University, Washington DC (USA), who has contributed as editorial assistant for the first issue of the Journal.

Language, Discourse & Society has its ISSN code and it's going to be listed in the most important databases of Open Access Journals. I would like to highlight that all published articles in *Language, Discourse & Society* are eligible for the two RC 25 awards, The "Language & Society Graduate Student Award" and the "Language & Society Academic Award". More details are available in this issue. If you are interested in proposing an article, you may find the call for papers for *Language, Discourse, & Society* in this issue.

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EXPLORING THE IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF QUESTIONS IN ELICITATION IN COURTROOM CROSS- EXAMINATION DISCOURSE IN GHANA

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Abstract

Language has been identified as more than just a tool for communication. In many discourse domains, language has come out as an effective tool for enacting and recognising power, manipulation, ideological stance, and identities. Using Discourse Analysis as a methodological tool, this paper examines question as an elicitation strategy used by counsels during cross examination in Ghanaian legal discourse. Dwelling on fifty court transcripts from Ghanaian courts, the paper discusses the types and functions of questions used in elicitation during cross-examination of witnesses and defendants by counsels. Results show, among others, that questions in elicitation serve ideological more than informative functions. This result has theoretical and pragmatic implications for legal discourse practitioners.

Keywords: Legal Discourse, Elicitation Strategies, Ghana, Discourse Studies

1. Introduction

Questions are usually discussed as grammatical forms used to elicit information, as attention getters or conversation strategies for sustaining interest among interlocutors. Questions are sentences, phrases or even gestures that show that the speaker or writer wants the reader or listener to supply them with some information, perform a task or in some other way respond to the request. Various types of questions are identified by linguists (see Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973; Danet et al., 1980). The context in which communication takes place is significant in determining the kind of response questions elicit. Questions can also be seen as grammatical forms with pragmatic functions. In discourse, questions are sometimes used strategically by interlocutors of greater authority against those without power (Fairclough, 2001). More powerful participants in a discourse tend to ask the questions whereas the less powerful participants are required to provide answers to the questions asked.

The notion of discourse as an extended communicative or interactive act or as simply an address has been greatly altered. For discourse to be meaningful, every part of it must be shared, understood and accepted by the discourse community (Gee, 1999). Legal discourse, as a specialized form of discourse, ranges from discourses of sworn affidavit, marriage ordinance to the courtroom where arbitration takes place. This paper discusses the discourse of courtroom interaction, focusing on the use of questions in elicitations. Courtroom discourse encompasses many different kinds of spoken, written and even non-verbal language, which includes defendants and witnesses' submissions; the argumentative and persuasive lawyer talk; question and answer session and the declarative and imperative mode of sentences contained in judges' overruling, instructions to juries, judgements, among others. Prominent among these forms of discourse is the elicitation and response session in cross-examinations. Elicitation, a process of verbally or non-verbally getting information from someone or making someone react in a particular way, takes different forms, with questions as the commonest.

Questioning is used in legal discourse to solicit the narrative of the speaker and have him or her retell events from a particular perspective. Most often, addressees respond to questions in the courtroom using narrations. Gergon (1994) argues that narratives in courtroom testimonies are either attempts by witnesses to recall actual events or fictional contrivances. Similarly, Thornborrow (2007) argues that narratives function to structure the production of opposing opinions and stances. Yes-no questions as well Wh-questions are used in elicitations in legal discourse.

In legal discourse, some types of questions asked by legal professionals during courtroom cross-examinations are geared towards promoting power imbalance between the professionals and litigants, accused or witnesses. Such questions position the interrogator as one wielding power over the addressee because questions can be made to perform pragmatic functions that go beyond just eliciting information. Four devices embedded strategically in questions, and usually used for exercising power over others are "interruption, enforcing explicitness, controlling topic and formulation" (Fairclough, 2001). They may not be overt to the participants in the discourse and as such may create an ideological sense in the discourse.

2. Conceptual Analysis

It is important to situate this study in the body of knowledge informed by the conceptual framework of discourse and ideology. Ideology is usually exercised in a hidden and latent manner, and embraces other social conditions and contexts that make it possible for people to be dominated and exploited (Althusser, 1971; Wodak, 1989; Fairclough, 1992; 2001). Ideologies are closely linked to power because the nature of ideological assumptions are embedded in particular conventions that depend on the power relations underlying the conventions; and also because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences in power, through the recurrence of ordinary familiar ways of behaving. Ideologies are crucial to the constructions of meaning that contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of relations of domination (Fairclough, 1992). This study, in discussing courtroom discourse in Ghana, investigates how unequal power relation is enacted between legal professionals, on the one hand, and defendants as well as witnesses on the other, by the use of elicitation questions.

2.1 Ideology and Language Use

Ideological discourses contribute to the maintenance and transformation of power relations within a discursive network within which ideology is seen as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. Fairclough (2001) further argues that power struggle, as manifest in social groups, is evident in the relationship between the state (government) and other social groups over which it exercises a certain degree of control. These groups include the security agencies, the civil service, government parastatals and corporations. The ideologies that are often classified as everyday metaphors and concepts, though hidden,

need to be analysed to bring out what Fairclough refers to as "common sense, power and resistance" (Fairclough, 2001).

Resistance is fueled by the notion that power is not the prerogative of the more powerful participant in a discourse. Power is a shared property of all and indeed the vulnerable in a discourse could also exercise power, and they do so in several ways. The less powerful in a discourse can resist by being silent, ambiguous and incoherent, deviate or resist the power in the discourse. Halliday (1985), cited in Fairclough (2001), asserts that the oppressed can re-appropriate acts of oppression and dominance by employing what he calls *anti-language*, a kind of oppositional language that is used as a conscious alternative to the dominant or established discourse types.

Since ideology promotes power that is less obvious in institutional text and talk, it is very relevant to this study in view of the fact that discourse often occurs in institutional settings which incorporate powerful ideological frameworks deeply embedded in larger social, economic and political structures and processes.

2.2 Questioning as a Discursive Practice in Legal Discourse

The discourse of the legal system has specific orders of discourse embedded in its discursive practices. These include the direct and cross-examination segments as well as re-examination.

In direct examinations, counsels lead their clients and witnesses who are testifying for their clients to give evidence in such a manner that their clients do not incriminate themselves. In this phase, the lawyer questions his/her own client or a witness testifying for his/her client. Direct examination may elicit both direct and circumstantial evidence. Witnesses may testify to matters of fact and, in some instances, provide opinions. They also may be called to identify documents, pictures or other items introduced into evidence. In this case, counsel-witness interaction is typically cooperative, non-coercive, and the witness is given the opportunity to narrate her story with relative freedom. Thus, the questions asked in this phase are usually Wh-questions (Luchjenbroers, 1993, 1997).

Cross examination, on the other hand, according to Lipson (2008: 1), involves "the ability to stare an enemy litigant in the eye with the understanding that you are going to take control of his mind and speech". Cross-examinations tend to be sites where subtle construal of judgement and questions are used as strategic instruments of domination and testimony management. In cross-examination, interaction is generally unsympathetic, non-compromising, non-cooperative, and coercive. Perhaps the most popular questions used in cross-examination are leading questions that emanate from tag questions, yes-no leading and/or argumentative

questions. Several studies of language in courtroom hearings have highlighted the multifunctional and coercive nature of questions in cross-examination (see Pozner & Dodd, 1993; Luchjenbroers, 1997; Danet, 1980). The questioning strategies used by counsels can affect the presentation of submissions and evidence by witnesses. It appears that two main types of questions are used in cross-examination: those that are coercive and meant to weaken and rebut witnesses' testimonies (Danet *et al*, 1980) and those that seek to obtain information, or to enact social status and authority (Philips, 1984).

The cross-examination segment of courtroom discourse is considered the most crucial part of trial cases because it is at this stage that counsels for both sides have the opportunity to impress upon the judge the innocence of their clients and to try to incriminate the other party's witness. Through various strategies, including questioning, counsels construct the opponent's testimony as lies and unreliable with the ultimate aim of pinning the accused or witness to the wall. Questions thus serve to test and/or challenge claims made by the accused or witnesses and also as 'vehicles' to make accusations in order to confront, attack and discredit the witness (Luchjenbroers, 1997). A witness's testimony can be challenged by questioning his/her honesty, as indicated by his/her inconsistent statements, mistakes and omissions in evidence, and any other matters showing a general reputation for untruthfulness. His/her propriety can also be called to question by trying to find out if he/she is reprehensible, as shown by previous misconduct and convictions. It must be noted that questioning in the courtroom may also be a site where power is enacted, negotiated, maintained, lost or worn.

The notion of power in courtroom discourse may have institutional backing because a discourse of power is most often embedded in the social power of groups or institutions. Social power is defined by van Dijk (2006) in terms of the *control* exercised by one group or organization (or its 'members) over the *actions* and/or the *minds* of (the members of) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies. For social power and dominance to be effective, they are often organized and institutionalized. It must however be noted that there is nothing like total authority in the hands of the powerful because dominance is often gradual and may be met with resistance or counter-power (van Dijk, 1998). Dominated groups may resist, accept, condone, comply with, or legitimize such power, and even find it "natural", but power is not the preserve for only the dominant group. The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits, and as a general consensus, and thus take the form of what Gramsci (1971:12) calls "hegemony". The power behind courtroom discourse is sometimes contested, albeit in many covert and overt ways. As Fairclough (2001) reiterates, power is contested and people

have different kinds of power and exercise it in different ways that may even change dynamically in response to the behaviour of others.

Judicial power is a kind of institutionalised power bestowed on a court of competent jurisdiction "to determine controversial issues between two parties to a suit before it for decision, to pronounce judgment and enforce its decisions" (Aikins, 2000:56). The power that courts exercise is vested in it by legislative instruments which empower the judiciary, not only to set up courts of different jurisdiction to hear cases brought before them, but also to appoint judges and magistrates. Article 125 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana specifies the source of judicial powers as emanating from the people, showing that justice belongs to the people and it is only being kept in custody by the courts on behalf of the people.

3. Background to the Court System in Ghana and data source

Since Ghana's independence in 1957, the court system, headed by the Chief Justice, seems to have demonstrated extraordinary independence and resilience. The Court Act of 1971 defined the structure and jurisdiction of the Courts and established the Supreme Court of Ghana, the Court of Appeal (Appellate Court), which has two divisions --ordinary bench and full bench-- and the High Court of Justice, a Court with both appellate and original jurisdiction. The act also established the "inferior" and traditional Courts, which, along with the others, constituted the judiciary of Ghana (1960, 1979, and 1992 Constitutions). Until mid-1993, the inferior courts in descending order of importance were the Circuit Courts, the District Courts (Magistrate Courts) Grades I and II, and Juvenile Courts. Such courts existed mostly in cities and large urban centres. In mid-1993, however, Parliament created a new system of lower courts, consisting of Circuit Tribunals and Community Tribunals in place of the former circuit courts and district (magistrate) courts. The traditional courts are the National House of Chiefs, the Regional Houses of Chiefs, and Traditional Councils.

The traditional courts are constituted by the judicial committees of the various houses and councils. All courts, both superior and inferior, with the exception of the traditional courts, are vested with jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters. The traditional courts have exclusive power to adjudicate any cause or matter affecting chieftaincy as defined by the Chieftaincy Act of 1971.

The Judicial Service of Ghana 2009/10 Annual Report describes the reforms in Ghana's Judicial Service, which includes the setting up of specialized courts under the High Court.

These include the Fast Track Division, Economic Crimes (Financial) Court, Commercial Court, Human Rights Court and Industrial (Labour) Court which are established to enhance the justice delivery system in Ghana. Also, Regional Tribunals with specialized criminal jurisdiction which have the status of High Court and Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) and Mediation meant to help resolve disputes outside the courts are part of the reforms. Other courts that are established as part of the reforms include Family Tribunal and Motor Courts.

Two main systems of trial exist in these courts: the adversarial and inquisitorial. The adversarial system is one which involves the giving of oral evidence by witnesses and the testing of that evidence through cross-examination, a system described by Maley (1994) as "the trial of strength" (p. 33); whereas the inquisitorial system has to do with inquiring into the matter before the court so as to establish the truth. The adversarial system is vigorous in nature with the defense counsels using ingrained patterns of testing oral evidence through leading questions (Cossins, 2009). This paper discusses the data as recorded in such discourse in Ghanaian courts.

Data for this study were gathered from two research sites – the Judicial Service Court Complex in Cape Coast (JSCC) and the Judicial Service Court in Accra (JSCA), both in Ghana. The JSCC complex houses nine courts – six high courts, two of which are specialized courts (commercial); two circuit courts, and two district courts and administrative offices. The Commercial Court Complex in Accra is situated within the premises of the Supreme Court, which is part of a larger court complex that accommodates several courts, including Commercial Court 'A' used in this study.

The sampled data for this study involved 50 official transcripts of courtroom cross-examination proceedings. Out of these, 20 were from a Circuit Court in Cape Coast, and 15 each from a High Court One in Cape Coast and a Commercial Court in Accra. The reason for collecting data from the three courts was not for the purpose of comparing data obtained from different types of Ghanaian courts, but rather to broaden the spectrum of the site in order to collect enough transcripts. Due to the sensitive nature of the site, the researchers could not record the proceedings on the spot but had to use official court transcripts accessed from the courts. It could be argued that the transcripts might have been recorded for other purposes and so may not contain all that a discourse analyst might need; but the authenticity is embedded in the fact that the courts had recording devices installed that captured the exact proceedings, thus ensuring that the recordings are actually naturally occurring data. The transcripts came from such recordings.

4. Discussion and Results

In line with Fairclough's (1995) three-tier model of Critical Discourse Analysis, this section is divided into two parts. The first part gives a vivid description of the use of questions as elicitation strategies used by counsels during cross-examination while the second part deals with the explanation and interpretation of these strategies. Three main types of elicitation strategies used by counsels during cross-examination were identified and they are interrogatives, declaratives and imperatives, as illustrated in Figure 1

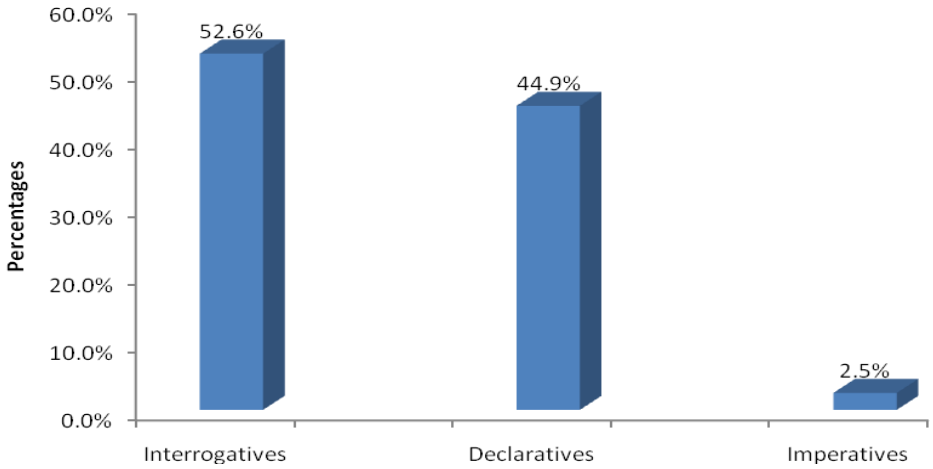

Figure 1: Elicitation strategies in courtroom cross-examination (Source: Fieldwork, 2011)

Interrogatives were used more than the other strategies in the transcripts used in this study. This provided the impetus for the focusing on questions in this paper.

4.1 The Use of Questions as Elicitation Strategy

Five types of interrogatives were identified in the data: Wh-questions, yes-no questions, question tags, declarative yes-no questions and declarative + Wh-questions. The most commonly asked questions were the declarative yes-no type question (39% of all questions asked.) This is followed by yes-no questions which represent 36%, Wh-questions 22%, declarative Wh-questions 2% and question tag 1%. It could therefore be seen that although interrogatives formed a greater part of the elicitation strategies, questions used in the elicitation varied by structure depending on the purpose or function, as would be discussed later.

Table 1: Types of interrogatives in courtroom cross-examination

Types	Examples
Wh-question	i. Where is the land in dispute? ii. What provisions of the constitution are you talking about?
Yes-No question	i. Did he ever stay in Nigeria? ii. Was your installation at the direction of the Holy Spirit?
Question Tag	i. Once you have a contract you should know the terms of the contract, shouldn't you?
Declarative Wh-Question	i. Mr. Blay, before you were the business Development Officer of the Daily Guide, what work did you do?
Declarative Yes-No Question	i. Now before you started this work did you receive any contract? ii. You told the court Tudah has refunded 120m cedis, do you know how the money was paid?

The interrogatives can also be classified as either Wh- questions or leading questions. Leading questions comprise yes-no questions, declarative yes-no questions, declarative Wh-question and question tag. This latter classification, favoured by other researchers (see Luchjenbroers, 1997; Huddleson & Pullum, 2002; Tkačuková, 2010), is used in the discussion.

4.2 Leading questions

Leading questions are the most preferred kinds of questions by cross-examiners. They are questions that suggest to a witness the answer which the party examining desires the witness to give. One category of leading questions found in the data is declarative questions. In declarative questions, a statement that precedes the question serves as a preamble to the question. The counsel gives some background information or narration, with 'yes' or no question serving as a 'tag'.

4.3 Declarative Questions

Two types of declarative questions were identified in the data - declarative yes-no questions and declarative + Wh-question. Declarative yes-no questions are assertive in nature in that the speaker makes an assertion which is then followed by a yes-no question. Here are some examples:

(1)C: *And these are charges that they deducted from the total payments made to De Simone, is that correct? (COC 3; 26-4-2010)*

(2)C: *But at any particular time it is the person who occupies the stool who signs as the guarantor and other persons witnesses it, is that not the case? (HC BI.13/20/2010; 7-6-2004)*

The preamble to the examples above: (And *these are charges that they deducted from the total payments made to De Simone* and *But at any particular time it is the person who occupies the stool who signs as the guarantor and other persons witnesses it*) show that the questioner (counsel) has a foreknowledge of the subject matter. The counsel is therefore not eliciting information to be informed or educated about the subject matter, but rather seeking confirmation or denial from the respondent in order to prove or disprove what the counsel already knows. Ideologically, this strategy indicates dominance on the part of the counsel because he/she tries to frame the question in a way as to direct the witness to answer in a certain kind of way that may not favour the witness.

The declarative + Wh-question identified in the data starts with a statement and ends with Wh-questions. One may argue that this kind of question should be treated as a Wh-interrogative question since the second part begins with a Wh question-word. Even though the second part of the question is a Wh-question which may elicit an open-ended response, its antecedent, the declarative is leading, thereby constraining the respondent from giving a long windy narrative. That is, the manner in which the question is asked, no doubt, compels the respondent to give a yes-no or short answer. The following example illustrates this:

(3)*C: But yesterday you did mention the exact amount of executed works, where did you get the figure from?*

R: I was informed. (CRC 2; 15-4-2009).

The statement that precedes the question in a declarative Wh-question, like declarative yes-no questions, often contain an assertion. A look at the structure of example (3) shows that the statement that precedes the Wh-question is an assertion which gives an indication that the counsel has more information about the subject matter than the witness is aware of. The inability of the witness to use a narrative for response limits how much explanation the witness can give to his/her advantage.

4.4 Yes-No questions

The second most common type of leading question is the yes-no question which represents 36% of the questions asked by counsels. In yes-no questions, the operator is placed before the subject, and the sentence is given a rising intonation (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973). They are also referred to as closed questions because the set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members - yes or no.

(4)C: Do you know why your client imported the vehicle?

R: I would not know.

Example (4) above illustrates the fact that yes-no questions are asked because counsels expect, in most cases, a yes for response. In the example, the counsel was compeled to repeat the questions because in each case, the witnesses refused to give a yes response, but were rather evasive. This type of question limits the preferred answer of yes or no, but witnesses can be deliberately evasive in discourse situations (Penz, 1996).

4.5 Question Tags

Question tags are said to be declarative statements with postponed tags through which speakers seek agreement with the content of the statement (Schiffrin, 1987). Question tags form another type of leading questions which can be manipulative in nature. Examples from the data include:

(5)Q: You have admitted that the Constitution was compiled at the time when Matapoly Moses was alive, didn't you say so? (HC3; 16-5-2010)

(6)Q: So that you cannot tell as a fact that that is the actual amount owed you, can you? (CRC 20; 2-3-2008)

The question tags suggest that the speaker has certain assumptions and inclines towards a certain answer. Tsui (1992) and Penz (1996) argue that question tags are always conductive and never neutral and that they usually direct the answer towards 'yes'. Although most scholars consider question tags to be the most coercive as they have additional pragmatic meanings (see Pozner & Dodd, 1993; Berk-Seligson, 1999), and therefore are the most preferred choice for cross-examiners, the data yielded fewer question tags than other types of leading questions. They constituted only one percent of the total questions asked. This may be due to the fact that the taglines in most of the statements are dropped, thereby reducing them to mere declaratives.

4.6 Wh-Questions

General Wh-questions, which are usually formed with the aid of one of the Wh Question-words (who, whom, whose, what, which, when, where and how), are strongly avoided in cross-examination because they are open-ended and may elicit unexpected answers from witness. Such questions are different from the declarative + Wh-questions because they are solely Wh-questions without preambles. There were few instances where this type of question was used. Examples in the data include:

(7) C: When did you know you were going to give evidence in this case?

(8) C: Why did you go to your cabinet? (HC 1; 19-4-2010 for both 9 and 10).

The lack of popularity for this type of question stems from the fact that when witnesses are asked such questions, they gain the chance to narrate their answers, thereby clouding the purport of the question and evading any trap the counsel might have set by the use of the question. Though the Wh-question was not a popular type, they were used not only to elicit information but also to engage in a discourse that had semantic implications for both counsel and witness and these would be discussed in the next section.

5. Functions of Question in Elicitation Strategies

In all, six main functions that questions perform as an elicitation strategy used by counsels during cross-examination were identified: constraining witness/defendant's responses, discrediting witnesses and their testimonies, luring defendants and witness, confusing

defendants and witnesses, stamping counsels' authority and seeking confirmation to propositions by counsels.

In enacting power asymmetry in the courtroom, counsels try to control the type of responses they expect witnesses and defendants to give. In order to put tight reins on witnesses/defendants, counsels expect yes-no or short responses from them. The most potent weapon often used by counsels to achieve this feat includes question tag, yes-no questions and complex sentences. The use of yes-no questions to constrain the responses of defendants and witnesses is exemplified earlier in this paper, in Example (4). Owing to the coercive nature of this type of question, a narrow range of answers – either yes or n-- is preferred. The following extracts which are follow-ups to Example (4) illustrate counsels' preference for yes-no responses from witness:

(9) *C:* *You are a very experienced agent so please tell the truth, now I repeat the question, that area inside the port are you telling this court that that place is earmarked by GHAPOHA for APS alone?*

R: *It is earmarked for delivery of truck and other moveable vehicles for handover to the respective agent for final delivery.*

(10) *C:* *I am putting it to you that your client imported the vehicle because he wants to sell the vehicle?*

R: *That is correct".*

(11) *C:* *Apart from APS are there other stevedore operators in the port?*

R: *Yes.*

(12) *C:* *And these other stevedore companies if they discharge vehicles they also use the same place?*

R: *Yes.*

(13) *C:* *From your experience is it that at any particular point in time you can have vehicles on that area having been discharged by different stevedore operators all put at that same area?*

W: *Yes.*

(Extracts 9 to 12 taken from HC 1; 12-3-2008)

The responses to Examples (5) and (9) flout the maxim of quantity which forbids speakers from giving more information than is required. In the cases under investigation, the witness intentionally opts out of observing the convention of courtroom discourse by indicating

his unwillingness to cooperate, a situation that Grice (1975) and Fairclough (2001) refer to as resistance. The response to (10) is closer to what the counsel expects, but he is not yet satisfied and so several follow-up questions are asked until the defendant is coerced into giving "yes" responses which finally satisfies the counsel. From the interaction between the counsel and the witness, it is clear that by asking a yes-no question in Example (5), the counsel expected a "yes" to his question and since such an answer was not forthcoming, he persisted by repeating the question Similarly, the preferred answer to question (9) was not given and so, the counsel, becoming slightly agitated repeated the question but this time used a stronger wording in Example (10): *"I am putting it to you that your client imported the vehicle because he wants to sell the vehicle?"* And the response is *"That is correct"*. Still hoping to get the preferred answer, the counsel gives a follow-up to the last question to elicit the preferred response. Repetition and reframing of the question several times is an indication of power and dominance. By reframing the question the counsel gets the witness to give the preferred answer, thus confirming Richman's (2002) assertion that the counsel makes the witness go back over some of the terrain covered during direct examination, forcing the witness to concede "facts" inconsistent with the previous narrative.

Question tags were also used to constrain respondents' responses, as shown in Example 14 below.

(14) *Q:* *She was on her way to the farm when you assaulted her, wasn't she?*
R: *No. (HC3; 29-10-2009).*

In the example above, the counsel manipulates the witness's response through the statement that preceded the tag; and as can be seen, the response is simply "no". Example (14) shows how the counsel tries to constrain the defendant's contribution by way of direct attack "*She was on her way to the farm when you assaulted her"* then he asked for confirmation *"wasn't she?*" Here, the counsel displays power and authority to make the witness accept the meaning in the declarative. Whichever way the defendant answers the question constrains the defendant and puts the defendant in an awkward position. A "yes" or "no" answer does not absolve the defendant of wrongdoing because the presupposition is incriminating in each answer. If the defendant answers 'yes', it presupposes he assaulted the victim on her way to the farm. If he answers 'no', that presupposes he assaulted her, but possibly not on her way to the farm. The deliberate violation of the maxim of manner in the way the question is framed

constrains the witness from engaging in any lengthy narrative that will give the defendant room to present his thoughts extensively and consequently absolve himself.

One other function that the questions, used as elicitation strategies, perform is that of discrediting the witness so that his or her testimonies will not be looked upon favourably by the judge. Counsels often do this through the use of questions that are cloaked as complex sentence patterns, heavily-laden with embedded clauses such that the witness or defendant loses focus of the information elicited. For example:

(15) *Q: Is it not true that the first day that you gave evidence you told the court that the accused brought to you a copy of a document showing the name Baffour Appiah as the owner of the land*

A look at the complex subordination in the example shows how confusing the utterance can be to a witness or defendant in a courtroom interaction.

Another function of elicitation questions is using cognitive manipulation to extract information from defendants or witnesses. In the data, there was subtle use of ideology where counsels tried to elicit preferred responses from witness through deception. When counsels are confronted with hostile witnesses or defendants and it is obvious that these may refuse to cooperate, they tend to resort to cognitive manipulation to obtain their preferred responses. They lure witnesses/defendants to confession. In the data, this function was executed when the counsel tried to be friendly and spoke in a manner devoid of accusation as exemplified below:

(16) C: So after that meeting, after you had accepted that monies had been mistakenly paid, you then like a true Christian wrote to the bank admitting that and proposing a payment plan? (COC, BFS 292/08).

In such situations, counsels feign friendship with the defendant/witness and try to win his or her trust, a strategy that has the potential to make the witness/defendant lose guard. In Example (33), for instance, the counsel interacted with the defendant like a friend and downplayed his guilt by reminding him of being a true Christian, before framing the question in a declarative form. This, no doubt, might have had a soothing effect on the defendant who not being aware that the counsel is trying to lure him to give a confession falls into the counsel's trap. The defendant here might not be aware of the counsel's motive otherwise he would refuse to cooperate with him, thereby breaking the chain or power inequality. Indeed, Fairclough

(2001) maintains that "if one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power inequalities at one's own expense, it ceases to be common sense and may cease to have capacity to sustain power inequalities i.e. to function ideologically" (p.71). If defendants and witnesses know where a seemingly harmless conversation with the opposing counsel will lead them, they will be on their guard.

Example (16) may give one the impression that the counsel is just passing a comment but in actual fact, the counsel is manipulating the defendant into incriminating himself. Information that is provided by counsels during cross-examination may appear to be devoid of the aggression and force which often characterize assertions and accusations, but may be equally devastating. This is because it may be difficult for a witness or defendant to determine the extent to which cross-examination could go. Such cross-examination is described by a respondent as 'cross-examination being at large' (Personal Interview, 2011). He asserts that it is difficult for a witness to know where a counsel may be heading during cross-examination. Wodak (1987) confirms this view when she argues that recipients of manipulation are unable to understand the real intentions or to see the full consequences of the beliefs or actions advocated by the manipulator, especially when the recipients lack the specific knowledge used to resist manipulation. Such manipulation is ideological and power-related.

6. Findings and conclusion

This paper set out to examine the use of questions as elicitation strategies. The analysis showed that counsels use various questions to elicit for information from witnesses and defendants. The questions range from Wh-questions through declarative questions to question tags. Though the discoursal function of questions is to ask for information, the discussion showed that counsels used questions not only for eliciting information. The use of Wh-questions recorded the least occurrence possibly because its use did not benefit the questioner but rather the respondent. Question tags, on the other hand, recorded a lot more use in the data, perhaps because they constrained the respondents but worked to the benefit of the questioner. Questions were also used to ideologically show power differentiation. With the counsels showing higher power status and constructing lower power identities for defendants/witnesses, the process of elicitation in the courts of Ghana demonstrated power inequalities and manipulation. It was also observed from the discussion that counsels used questions to constrain defendants and witnesses, to lure respondents into implicating themselves, to maintain their ideological stance

of being the knowledgeable person in the conversation and thereby wielding more power than the other participants.

This paper has identified and recognised the types and use of questions in courtroom elicitation. Questions were used for their rhetorical functions of seeking information, but more importantly, to manipulate defendants/witnesses to accept positions and burdens they would otherwise not accept. As van Dijk (2006) reiterated, manipulators use discourse to make others act not in their own interest but in the interest of the manipulator. Various sections of the analysis showed that counsels in the discourse under study dominated the defendants/witnesses by using their professional position which gives them control in the legal setting. Though it may be argued that defendants and witnesses knew they would be cross-examined, questions are not explicitly stated in conformity with conversational principles (see Grice's (1975) on Cooperative Principles). In effect, defendants/witnesses are strategically managed into more vulnerable positions in courtroom interactions. By focusing on elicitation, we narrow our focus to only questions as strategies used by counsels. Future research may be geared towards in-depth studies into related discourse practices in Ghanaian courtrooms so as to bring to the fore the ideological underpinnings of the rhetorical structures and functions that inform courtroom interaction and interlocutors.

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VIETNAMESE NORMS OF COMMUNICATION IN A TV TALK SHOW

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Abstract

In an age of globalization, learning another language must be closely accompanied by the acquisition of its culture. The learning of the Vietnamese language is no exception. Situated at the very heart of the Southeast Asia, Vietnam has attracted foreigners from all corners of the world to the nation for reasons related to business, tourism, education and other cultural activities. This article highlights some distinctive features of the Vietnamese language in terms of its sociolinguistics associations as observed in a popular national television program broadcast nationwide. The analysis of verbal and non-verbal usage in the show reveals that age, religion, occupation, gender and the social situation dramatically shape the way Vietnamese people communicate. Common characteristics specific to a collectivistic culture such as politeness, solidarity and smile are also identified. The paper offers a better insight into Vietnamese norms of communication and it particularly helps foreigners who are learning Vietnamese to have a sense of how Vietnamese language use is influenced by the social context.

Keywords: intercultural communication, language and gender, politeness, Vietnamese norms of communication, women's language

1. Introduction

The talk show "The Contemporaries," broadcast every Sunday night on Vietnam Television VTV1, is an increasingly popular program honoring famous individuals who have made significant contributions to the country's socio-economic growth and commending those whose actions set good examples to the public. In fact, the program has run since 2001. In this article, the show on 27 January 2009, which features a panel of guests to greet the Lunar New Year of Buffalo, will be analyzed in terms of its sociolinguistics. The purpose is to offer a better insight into Vietnamese norms of communication.

The talk show, also the final piece of the Lunar Year 2008, took place in the film studio of Vietnam Television and was broadcast on VTV1 Channel just a few days before the spring break of 2009. Unlike the other shows during the year, which usually center around only one guest, this special show marks the simultaneous appearance of five invited guests. They are highly welcomed as "people of the year". The guests presented in the order of their appearance are: Ms. Thảo, a young female who is the chief representative of Vietnam Veterans of American Foundation; Mr. Tuệ and Ms. Yến, a middle-aged couple whose child suffers from autism; Mr. Liên, a middle-aged businesswoman who is a general director of 3A Insurance Company and Mr. Calisto, a 60 year-old Portuguese citizen who is the coach of the Vietnam national football team. There is also a brief participation of an unnamed potter and a nun. All of these guests are involved in a discussion initiated and led by the presenter, Ms. Tạ Bích Loan. Apart from Mr. Calisto who speaks English, others mainly use Vietnamese throughout their conversations. The talk show aims to encourage the guests to exchange their opinions as well as to share their own experiences in life failure and success with the audience. These visitors are also persuaded to predict the near future at the time when they are about to greet the biggest and most important festival in Vietnamese culture – the Tết holiday.[1]

2. Politeness

To begin with, the first major sociolinguistic concept that obviously manifests in the talk show is politeness. According to Brown & Levinson, politeness strategies are developed in order to save the hearer's "face", the respect that an individual has for him or herself and to

[1] Tết, also known as Spring Festival or Lunar New Year, is the Vietnamese New Year. The main celebration lasts around 7 days, usually sometime between mid-January and mid- February.

maintain social relationships (1987: 61). In other words, politeness involves taking others' feelings into account, making the addressee feel good, being kind and friendly to minimize conflicts. Politeness is a key to build up and maintain social relationships. As the chat show is broadcast nationwide and its atmosphere is semi-formal, communicators primarily seek to keep their own faces and that of the others. The fact that people of different social backgrounds, ages, genders and occupations join the conversation diversifies linguistic and non-linguistic expressions of politeness. However, based on power difference and on the distance between the participants involved, two politeness systems can be worked out: hierarchy and solidarity.

Firstly, the hierarchical politeness system in which "the participants recognize and respect the social differences that place one in a superordinate position and the other in a subordinate position" (Scollon & Scollon, 1995: 45) is evident in this group interaction. Differences in age and religion separate the guests into two groups marked as "superordinate" and "subordinate". The "subordinate" group always shows its respect to its "superordinate" counterpart. Expression of respect is conveyed by the use of special terms of address and certain stylistic devices. For instance, being the youngest member, Thảo always draws on appropriate terms of address when speaking to others. She calls Mr. Calisto "ông" and Mr. Tuệ "anh". Both "ông" and "anh" are equivalent to "you" in English but they carry a respectful meaning in Vietnamese. "Ông" is suitable for Mr. Calisto because he is much older than Mr. Tuệ. Similarly, Thao makes use of "chị" in her talk to other older females like Ms. Loan, Ms. Liên and Ms. Yến. Thảo also adds "thưa" ("please") in front of the terms of address to show her respect. She refers to herself as "em" ("I"), noticing the age gap between her and other participants. "Em" puts her in a lower position and shows the intimacy she wants to build up with the other guests. Courtesy is also conveyed by function words that Thảo, Loan and Liên use to older hearers such as "dạ", "thưa", "vâng", "ạ", which are often translated as "yes" but are actually indicators of respect rather than agreement. It is very common for Vietnamese people to resort to these function words before embarking on their responses, especially when they talk to a senior person. Furthermore, respect is reflected when participants often encourage others to share their ideas by using indirect questions in the form of statements instead of interrogatives. For instance, the presenter elicits involvement by wondering "Tôi tự hỏi là ông có tin vào tương lai không" ("I wonder whether you believe in future prediction or not"), "Mọi người có thể cho biết có thấy thích thú không ạ?" ("Please can you tell me if you feel happy"). It has been observed that higher levels of indirectness result in higher levels of politeness. As Brown & Levinson (1987) and Leech (1983) claim, direct requests appear to be inherently impolite and face-threatening because they impose on the addressee's territory. Thus, the

preference for polite behavior is indirectness. Another sign of respect is demonstrated clearly when the nun appears on stage. The presenter welcomes her with the respectful title "Thích Đàm Lan" and uses a greeting phrase, also a prayer of Buddhists, "Nam Mô A Di Đà Phật" ("Buddha Amitabha"), with a bowing head. Other guests do not address the nun as "chị", an appropriate term for older females, but call her "sư thầy" ("an elder nun"), and then bow to her. Bowing is definitely a sign of respect. In this situation, power and distance in exchanges come mainly with old age and religion. It is understandable because in Vietnamese society, the prime sentiment in the relationships between older members of a social group is respect. Respect is key factor in the Vietnamese value system. Old people enjoy high respect, irrespective of wealth, education or social position. Moreover, since Buddhism is widely recognized in Vietnam as the national religion, the social prestige of Buddhist followers is no doubt acknowledged throughout the country. It could be said that negative politeness is adopted because people pay respect and avoid intruding on each other (Holmes, 1992: 297). Secondly, the idea of politeness is visible in the solidarity spirit where participants express closeness to each other, minimizing feeling the of power and distance between them. High involvement in conversation is particularly highlighted when guests express their beliefs about future and comment on others' pottery product. When the presenter posed the question "Chúng ta có ai tin vào tương lai không ạ?" ("Would it be possible for you to believe in future prediction?") the other guests, apart from Mr Calisto who is still thinking for a while, hastily share very similar ideas. Thảo, together with words, enthusiastically raises her hand to signal agreement whereas Tuệ, Liên and Yến chorally say "Có ạ" ("Yes, please"). Then they look and smile at each other upon their shared opinion. It is worth mentioning that the use of particles expressing politeness such as "ạ" ("yes"), "dạ" ("yes"), "vâng" ("yes") adds a sense of respect and sociability in the speakers' discourse. Here, more intimate terms of address, which include older people's name such as "chị Liên", "chị Yến", "anh Tuệ" are employed by the younger attendant, Thảo. Thảo even switches code from Vietnamese to English "I want to raise my hand", "You have to play gamble here" to establish the rapport with Mr. Calisto, the only person who speaks English on the talk show. In this situation, code-switching, the use of two languages in a single discourse, shows that Thảo wants to include Calisto in the group discussion. She wants to have something in common with the only foreigner who does not speak Vietnamese. The use of English in Thảo's discourse functions as solidarity marker (Bradby, 2002). Other guests, Tuệ, Yến, Thảo and Liên, give compliments on ceramic objects without hesitation, compliments such as "Khá đấy" ("Pretty good"), "Tuyệt vời" ("Wonderful"), "Đẹp quá" ("Nice looking"). Generally, all the participants tend to intensify their interest and approval to each other not only through

words but also through nods and smiles. Politeness, in this case, is very much concerned with solidarity and can be referred to as positive politeness (Holmes, 1992: 297).

3. Intercultural communication

Besides politeness, the second major sociolinguistic concept that evidently emerges in the talk show is the notion of intercultural communication. The presence of Mr. Calisto, who is of Portuguese origin, characterizes a striking contrast between the Vietnamese way of speaking and that of Westerners. The norms of communication can be interpreted as collectivism for Vietnamese guests and individualism for Mr. Calisto. In their interaction, all Vietnamese attendants place great emphasis on group harmony and try to avoid group conflict. In-group identity markers such as"chúng ta" ("we"), "chúng tôi" ("we"), "tất cả chúng ta" ("all of us"), are frequently used. The individual is seen as secondary to the group. As a result, any expression of disagreement is minimized at all costs. For example, when being asked about her opinion on Thảo's pottery, Ms Yến gives a smile first then remains silent for a while before starting with hedges in her response, which is also a compliment "…Um, tôi nghĩ, ah…cũng đẹp đấy" ("…Um, I think, ah… it's ok"). Loan, Liên and Thảo all listen attentively as a way to express their deep sympathy on hearing the unfortunate experience of Mr. Tuệ and Ms. Yến's child. Presenter Loan engages the audience as well as the guests in her compassionate expression in response to the couple's story "tôi nghĩ rằng tất cả khán giả xem truyền hình cũng như tất cả chúng ta đều xúc động và chia sẻ với những khó khăn của anh chị" ("I think all the TV viewers and our guests as well as our audience here today are deeply moved by your story and we all sympathize with those sufferings you have to endure"). Another aspect of the collectivistic culture easily identified in the conversation of Vietnamese participants is that Vietnamese people smile very often, which is not necessarily considered normal pleasure or agreement. There are moments when Liên smiles to hide her embarrassment over Loan's question and Loan smiles back to encourage Liên's participation. For them, the smile is a proper response in most situations in which verbal expression is not needed or not appropriate. It is used as a substitute for "I'm sorry", "Thank you" or "How about you?". Smiles can then be taken as a means to express rapport and solidarity. Such apparent closeness and intimacy are among the fundamental spirit typical of collectivism. As Scollon & Scollon (1995:133) put it, from a collectivistic point of view, one's face really represents the faces of one group. This "group first" attitude may be further regarded as positive politeness, which is defined by Brown

& Levinson (1987) as sharing common ground and having camaraderie. For Vietnamese guests, working with others and cooperating is the norm. On the contrary, Mr. Calisto's speech and behavior puts himself on the individualistic scale. He regularly emphasizes independence and autonomy in his words. What he is concerned with is the expression of his own opinion rather than seeking common connections with others. He is the only person who does not believe in future prediction. He says "I must see it first," unlike what the other guests claim. He uses the personal pronoun "I" rather than "we". His expressions tend to be very short and explicit in meaning such as "No", "I think five". In a way, Mr. Calisto minimizes involvement with others since he hardly ever joins group discussion, unless being invited by the presenter. His face does not show specific emotion over others' talk. His detachment can be explained by his inadequate understanding of the Vietnamese language and Vietnamese culture. He needs to wait for the translator and so he is slow in response and reaction. His English use is a certain barrier preventing him from establishing a close relationship with other members. This is also probably due to intercultural differences. Mr. Calisto belongs to the Western world where the concept of the self is focused more on an individual (Scollon, 1995: 133). Another possible explanation for Mr. Calisto's reluctance in joining the group discussion is his personality. He is often described in the popular Vietnamese media as a "quiet", "reserved" and "distant" coach. Although Vietnamese people love him and are grateful for his contribution to the nation's football, Mr. Calisto has never been characterized as a "friendly" and "approachable" person. He has been living in Vietnam for quite a long time but he does not even use a single Vietnamese word for making social contact in the talk show such as "xin chào" ("hello"), "cảm ơn ("thank you"), unlike many other foreigners appearing on Vietnamese TV programs who often try to make themselves more open to Vietnamese people by pronouncing such common Vietnamese words and phrases.

4. Language and gender

In addition, the connection between language and gender is clearly revealed in the talk show. There is a remarkable difference between the discourse of the four women and that of the two men featured in the show. Female guests often rely on words showing politeness such as "xin" ("please"), "dạ", and "vâng" ("yes"). This coincides with Holmes's affirmation that women are more polite than men (1995: 1). As Tannen (1990: 77) insists, "for most women, the language of conversation is primarily a language of rapport a way of establishing

connections and negotiating relationships". Chinese-loan words or Sino-Vietnamese expressions, which are supposed to convey politeness and suitable for formal context, are also employed by most women in the discussion. The use of "xin", "mời", "làm ơn" (all roughly mean "please") are used in formal requests by female participants. In addition, Ms Loan greets the whole audience as "quý vị khán giả" ("ladies and gentlemen"), "hân hạnh" ("honored"); Ms Liên uses "Tết nguyên đán" ("Lunar New Year") or "Kỷ Sửu" ("Year of Buffalo"). Chinese-root words undoubtedly set a formal and polite tone for their conversation. Women in the show also repeat hedging devices and tag questions to signal their uncertainty like "theo tôi thì" ("I think"), "tôi cho là" ("I guess"), "như là" ("sort of"), "phải vậy không?" ("isn't it?"). Loan, Liên and Thảo tend to produce very long sentences in their speech. They talk more and provide more information than being asked. It is possible that they speak for a long time because they need more time to think over their reply. As Lakoff (1975, cited in Holmes 1995: 317) argues, these linguistic features reflect women's lack of confidence. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet further claim that women are inclined to speak tentatively, side-stepping from commitment and strong opinions (2003: 158-159). Another feature, which is associated with the female's discourse in the show, is the use of high rising tone at the end of an utterance, especially when making statements, which makes it sound as if a question is being asked. This is noticeable in Thảo's and Yến's intonation. Romaine (1994: 100) refers to this phenomenon as an indicator of women's tentativeness and lack of confidence in putting forward their views. Moreover, the female guests employ back-channeling and pausing more frequently than men. Backchannels are an indicator of turn-taking and function as signs of attention (Gumperz, 1982: 163). They are realized in Thảo, Loan, Liên and Yến's speeches by items such as "um", "yeah", "oh", "tôi biết" ("I see"), "thế à" ("really"), "O.K.", "vâng" ("right"), "aha". These are also signs marking their understanding and approval. Female members of the show also resort to compliments more regularly than men. This is not only the evidence of their politeness but also a common distinction between male and female language, as is observed by Holmes, "women compliment others more than men do" (1995: 2). Behavior separates female and male discourse in this talk show as well. There often seem to be long pauses before the female members express their thoughts. Non-verbal language such as nodding, clasping hands and smiles is commonly noticed more among the female participants. On the contrary, both Mr. Calisto and Mr. Tuệ, regardless of their different language use, are very brief in their speech. They are direct and prompt in reply. They hardly use hedges and draw on backchannels. Neither do they resort much to nodding and smiles as a way of showing agreement. Mr. Tuệ also frequently interrupts other speakers to voice his opinions and disagreement. In other words, he tries to dominate the

discussion. Although researchers have not given a clear answer to the question of who is more likely to interrupt in a conversation with mixed-sex attendants (Aries, 1996: 95), the analysis of Mr. Tuệ's discourse in this context shows that he tries to establish his own identity by making constant interruptions during his chat with other female guests. What is more, the two male guests here tend to argue to make their points. Mr. Calisto downright disagrees with future beliefs, whereas Mr. Tuệ does not concur immediately with others' viewpoint on future. According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, "argument can mark the strength of participants' connections to one another" (2003: 103). It is clear that gender really matters in communication. Power in communication here does not stem from age or religion but from gender. The show language, to a certain extent, is a reflection of Vietnamese society where women still have subordinate positions to men. Gender inequality is explicable in Vietnamese discourse because due to the strong influence of Confucianism for over a thousand years, Vietnamese women are stereotyped as a weaker sex both domestically and socially.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the talk show sheds light on the inextricably interwoven relationship between language and society. Age, religion, occupation, gender and the social situation of the show clearly influence an individual's linguistic uses as well as non-verbal behaviors. Aspects of Vietnamese culture and norms of interaction are reflected in the discussion. Indeed, social factors and attitudes play a vital role in shaping language because it is the social system within which we live that determines the linguistic choices we have available to us in ways that reflect our society's main concerns. Undoubtedly, sociolinguistics enables us to explain certain language phenomena so that we can avoid deep-rooted prejudices against our listeners and achieve successful communication. The analysis of the popular TV program also reveals that language is used not simply to communicate ideas, but also to create social standards and express cultural norms. Therefore, learning a language is not only a matter of mastering the linguistic features; language acquisition is also closely embedded in the understanding of the social conventions practiced by native speakers within a wide range of social contexts.

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APPENDIX: SHORTENED ENGLISH TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TALK SHOW

Scene 1

- ***Presenter:*** Ladies and gentlemen! Welcome to our talk show today, a special program of the Year 2008. It is my honor to introduce our guests: Ms. Nguyen Thu Thao, chief representative of Vietnam Veterans of American Foundation; Ms. Nguyen Thi Yen and Mr. Mai Van Tue, members of a club including parents with autistic child; Ms. Nguyen Thi Kim Lien, general director of 3A Insurance Company and Mr. Calisto, coach of Vietnam national football team.

[…] Well, I wonder whether all of you believe in future prediction.

- ***Ms. Thao:*** Yes, I want to raise my hand. (raising her hand)
- ***Ms. Lien, Ms. Yen and Mr. Tue:*** Yes, we think so. (chorally)
- ***Presenter:*** Well, I guess you all agree. How about Mr. Calisto I wonder whether you believe in future prediction or not.
- ***Mr. Calisto:*** I must see it first.
- ***Ms. Thao (to Mr. Calisto):*** You have to play gamble here.
- ***Presenter (to Mr. Calisto):*** Well, what a clever coach you are. You mean you do not really believe in future? But the other guests, you all believe, don't you?
- ***Ms. Thao, Ms. Lien, Ms. Yen and Mr. Tue:*** (nodding head, smiling)

[…]

Scene 2 (After the guests have participated in the game of making pottery)

[…]

- ***Presenter:*** You have joined an exciting game. Now, please can you tell me if you feel happy.
- ***Ms. Thao, Ms. Lien, Ms. Yen and Mr. Tue:*** (nodding head, smiling)
- ***Presenter:*** I am wondering how do you evaluate your product, Thao?
- ***Ms. Thao:*** Well, how shall I put it? Uh, probably … maybe… above average
- ***Presenter:*** You agree with Thao, don't you?
- ***Ms. Yen:*** …(smiling) Um, I think, ah… it's ok
- ***Mr. Tue:*** I think my product deserves 7 or 8.
- ***Ms. Lien:*** Would it be possible if I give mine 10? (smiling)
- ***Presenter:*** (smiling). Yes, thank you. And Mr. Calisto, can you tell us something about your product? How many marks will you give?
- ***Mr. Calisto:*** I think 5.
- ***Presenter, Ms. Thao, Ms. Lien, Ms. Yen and Mr. Tue:*** (smiling)

[…]

Scene 3

[…]

- ***Presenter (to Mr. Tue and Ms. Yen):*** Could it be possible if you share with us your feelings when things don't live up to your expectation?
- ***Mr. Tue:*** Of course we feel disappointed.
- ***Presenter:*** Um… Yes… And when you realize that your child suffers from autism…
- ***Mr. Tue:*** Hopeless. Everyone wishes to have a healthy child.
- ***Presenter:*** We are wondering how you can overcome the difficulty.
- ***Ms. Yen:*** Um, well, we guess it is like an instinct. It's sort of when you are drowning, you are forced to swim. We did try our best to save our child… Um… then we reconsider the notion of happiness in life…, which helps us to change our attitudes toward life. In other words, we begin to think more positively.
- ***Presenter:*** Yes, you…
- ***Mr. Tue:*** For example, just looking at our child makes us happy.
- ***Presenter:*** Yes…
- ***Mr. Tue:*** Positive thinking takes us out of deep depression.
- ***Presenter:*** At this moment, I think all the TV viewers and our guests today are moved by your story and we all sympathize with those sufferings you have to endure.

[…]

Scene 4

[…]

- ***Presenter:*** We are going to have a talk with Ms. Lien, the general director of 3A Insurance Company. Good Morning Ms. Lien. I wonder if you could share with us the moment when you are most disappointed.

- ***Ms. Lien:*** Yes, I guess it was a long story… a story that I still wonder why this could happen to me. (smiling)
- ***Presenter:*** (smiling)
- ***Ms. Lien:*** Well, aha… it was a long time ago… When I first had the intention of establishing a private insurance company, everyone, I mean my friends and family supported me. We were extremely happy… then … at the last process, I was left alone. People discouraged me from the project. It seemed that I could not continue. But… luckily, I determined to pursue my dream to the end. I have been successful… (smiling)
- ***Presenter:*** Yes. It is a great experience, isn't it?

[…]

- ***Presenter (to Ms. Thao):*** Can you tell us how long it normally takes you to recover after a failure?
- ***Ms. Thao:*** Um, I guess it depends… but the biggest failure took me about 6 months to get over. In 1999, I was working in a United Nations Organization when I decided to apply for AusAID Scholarship. I confidently thought I would win… then I was disappointed.
- ***Presenter:*** Yes…
- ***Ms. Thao:*** Um… Then I applied for Ford Foundation's Scholarship. I was living in a mountainous area, which was an advantage… My job, my experience and qualifications fitted in well with the requirement… yet, I failed again. My friend encouraged me to seek opportunity with Fulbright. Well, I was not confident enough… I wondered if I could… sort of … try one more time. Well, and I finally was…
- ***Presenter:*** Yes, you did retry, didn't you?
- ***Ms. Thao:*** (smiling) Yes, I did…

[…]

- ***Presenter:*** And now can we please shift the turn of talking to Mr. Calisto? Well, as a coach, it would be a great disappointment for you to be a loser in a match. Would you mind telling what do you often expect before a game?
- ***Mr. Calisto:*** Before a game, there are always pressures. Expectations are very high. When we fight with 100% strength, we can expect to win.

[…]

Scene 5

[…]

- ***Presenter:*** Today, it is our great honor to welcome the High Venerable Buddhist Nun Thich Dam Lan, abbess of Bo De Pagoda. Buddha Amitabha. Please can you tell us what Buddhists usually pray for a coming New Year?
- ***The nun:*** Buddha Amitabha. They wish Buddha to bless them with happiness, health, luck and success. I think we should neither look back on the past nor look forward to the future. We should live in present to find happiness.
- ***Presenter:*** Yes, … but future is always our main concern, isn't it? Do you think the coming Year, Ky Suu, is supposed to be a good year?
- ***The nun:*** Well, from the Buddhist view, it is a prosperous year for us.

[…]

- ***Mr. Tue:*** We wish all of us and the audience to have a happy new year.
- ***Presenter:*** Yes, thank you. And let's listen to Ms. Lien.
- ***Ms. Lien:*** I wish we all have luck and health.
- ***Ms. Thao:*** Wishing everyone prosperity.
- ***Mr. Calisto:*** I wish everyone good health.
- ***The nun:*** On the occasion of New Year, I wish all the Buddhists many blessings.
- ***Presenter:*** I wish everyone a hopeful New Year.

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THE USE OF INDIRECT SPEECH ACT AS A FACE-SAVING ACT IN ANGLO-SAXON CULTURAL VALUES

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Abstract

This report is on the use of whimperatives (directives in interrogative forms) as a kind of indirect speech acts in an event which demonstrates one of important values in Anglo-Saxon culture in showing one's personal autonomy instead of their inhibited self-assertion. This paper is going to discuss the result of an observation of an incidental event which demonstrates the use of indirect speech acts as a face-saving act. I am interested in this topic because it is useful and quite challenging as well in using language appropriately and contextually especially for me as an EFL learner. It is significant to have the ability to choose suitable words and expressions, which are suitable for the context since the cultural differences may create misunderstanding and communication breakdown as well.

Keywords : indirect speech, face-saving act, Anglo-saxon, cultural values

1. Introduction

It has been known that people's way of using speech acts is highly influenced by their cultural values. Those can be achieved by having a pragmatic competence to help us in exploring the meaning behind the words. So, people, especially those who learn a foreign or second language should understand how to use a language appropriately in a special cultural context.

In this report, I am going to discuss this event in two parts. Firstly, I am going to give a description of my observations which consists of the methodology which I used to collect data and also the script of a conversation in the event which I observed, then followed by the list of behaviours, setting, and the conversational script. Secondly, I am going to discuss some significant issues related with intercultural communication and some theories which I have learned in cross culture pragmatics. I also discuss those values compared to my cultural values as an Indonesian, and relate those to my cultural schema and personal beliefs as well. Finally, I am going to draw a conclusion followed by self- reflection on how that event has given me a good insight on the importance of intercultural competence in building an effective communication.

2. Description of project and methodology

The event that I observed was an event that happened incidentally since there was a trigger that caused someone to be annoyed due to the noise made by someone's voice when she answered a call for a long duration of time at the library. Hence, the speaker asked the addressee to go outside the room while she was talking on the phone.

The methodology that I used in conducting this mini ethnography is that I was as an participant observant.I used 'strange eyes', so that I observed that event as an outsider'(the third place'). Therefore, the analysis of the event in this paper is an Anglo-cultural script seen through Indonesian eyes. I chose this event since it showed some patterns of behaviour and pragmatic elements applied in the communication. However, since this event was an 'incidental event', I could not interview the participants or revisit the event as well.

I analysed this speech event by using 'ethnography of speaking' developed by Hymes (1962) in which all speech components (using the first letters of terms 'SPEAKING") are going to be discussed more clearly in this part.

1) Setting and scene. The place of this event is at the library in the quiet area (at the third floor). The speaker was sitting near the addressee.This event happened in the afternoon (around 4 pm).The scene is in the sense of seriousness.

2) Participants. Two women, both are native English speakers (Australians). I asked them where they come from. Their age is around 35 years old. There were also some students who were reading some books or doing their assignments.

3) Ends. The purpose of the conversation is to remind someone not to make any noise at the library since it disturbs other people.

4) Act.The speech act used in this event was Indirect speech act as the speaker used whimperative as an indirect command / request. This speech act will be explored more clearly in the critical evaluation part of this paper.

5) Key.The tone used in this speech act was ‘ serious tone’ because thespeaker was a little bit angry at someone who had a phone call for about 5 minutes at the library.

6) Instrument.I observed the speech event directly and I used note-taking in my agenda to write important aspects of that speech event.

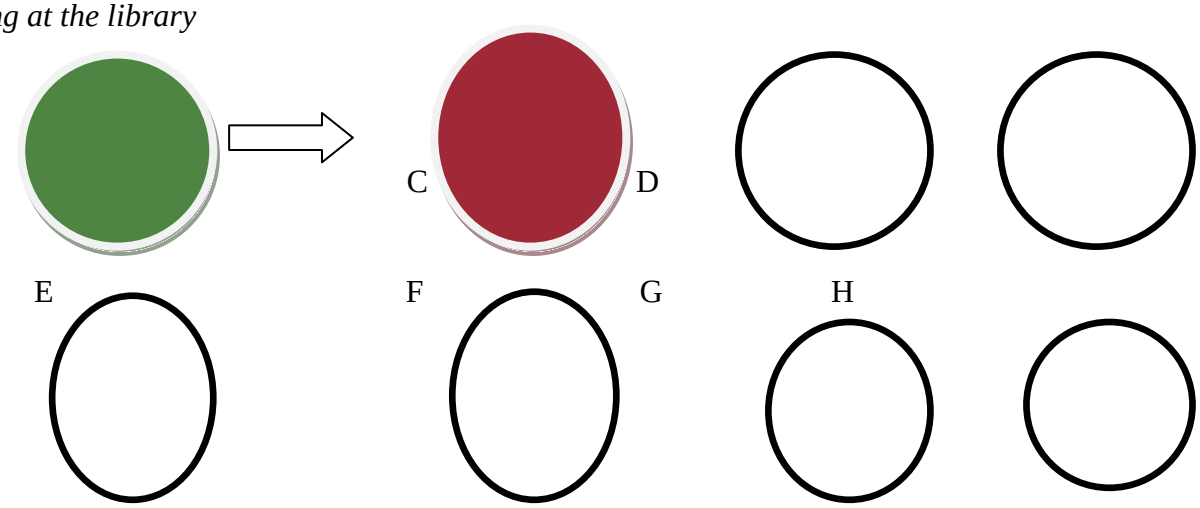
7) Norms.The norm that is applied (in the quiet area of the library) Is that people should be quiet, so answering phones inside the quiet area of the library will interrupt others.

8) Genre. The speech act used is indirect speech act (a serious tone)

List of behaviours:

Situational Context	**Verbal**	**Non Verbal**
There were some people who were studying quietly at the library (at the quiet room area). One of them answered the phone in quite a loud voice for almost 5 minutes).	The Speaker: Why don’t you answer the phone outside? The Addressee: Sorry....	Narrowing eyebrows and increasing loud voice (the speaker) Pointing her finger to outside of the room (the speaker) The addressee said ‘sorry’ while waving her hand.

Setting at the library



Conversation script

Someone's mobile phone was ringing and the recipient received a phone call for about 5 minutes in a quite loud voice, While she kept talking, B interrupted her)

B :Excuse me, why don't you answer the phone outside ?

A: Sorry..(then she went out the room and received the call there).

3. Discussion

The speaker used whimperative (by using interrogative-directive device) as an indirect way to ask the hearer to do what the speaker wanted. According to Sadock (1974 as cited in Hagen, 2011) , whimperative is a kind of indirect speech acts in which the purpose is to get the hearer to do the intended action that actually wanted by the speaker.

The speaker used an attention getter first, " Excuse me". Then followed by by saying " Why don't you answer the phone outside?". In that sentence, there are two parts of meaning:

The locution (The literal meaning) *Yes/ No question*

The illocution (the intended meaning) As a polite request, actually the speaker wanted the hearer to go out of that room, or in other words ,the speaker wanted to say " Could you be a little more quiet'

In my opinion, the use of indirect speech act here as a way of face-saving, so that the hearer did not feel that the speaker was angry at her. As it is stated that 'indirect speech acts are used to escape embarrassment, avoid awkwardness, save face, or reduce social tension' (Pinker,

2007). In addition, Yule (1996, p.61) pointed out that a face saving act is used to lessen the possible threat to the interlocutor's face. Therefore, by using the indirect speech act, the speaker helps in maintaining the interlocutor's positive face.

Since both the speaker and the addressee are Anglo- Australians, I observed that most of Anglo cultures encourage people to say what they want to say. As it is stated that in Anglo Saxon culture, someone has freedom to express what one wants to say or thinks (Wierzbicka, 2003, p. 76). However, despite the speakers' self- assertion by saying directly what he/she wants, Anglo Saxon culture also respects the addressee's personal autonomy and social harmony as well. Hopkins and Strambi (2005) argue that 'the public display of negative emotions in Anglo Saxon cultures tends to be socially disapproved of, in order to avoid conflict and embarrassment'. Therefore, in making a request, using an interrogative form is better than bare imperative, since it is considered more polite and less angry. So, instead of saying: "I want you to answer the phone outside", the use of whimperative is preferred by saying: "Why don't you answer the phone outside?".

However, the use of interrogative or semi interrogatives in request is not applied universally, for example in Japan, or other countries, sometimes, the use of direct command is considered more polite. 'Non-imposition based on individual rights is an Anglo-Saxon (or Anglo-American), rather than a universal value' (Matsumoto 1988, as cited in Wierzbicka, 2006, p.77).

I also noticed the use of non- verbal behaviour displayed both by the speaker and the receiver in the gestures, facial expression, and hand movements as well. Understanding non-verbal behaviour is very important in inter-cultural communication, especially in face expression, since the face is considered as the most prominent source in non-verbal behavior (Argyle,1982), Furthermore, some specific emotional expressions could be seen from the facial expression, as it said that " particular facial behaviour are universally associated with particular emotions' (Ekman & Friesen, 1998, p. 70).

I observed that when the speaker spoke to her interlocutor, I saw that she expressed her anger by narrowing her eyebrows, hand movement and with an increasingly loud voice, she pointed her finger to the room outside when she asked her not to receive her call inside. The use of the hand in non- verbal communication is important. Collett (1982) argued that hand movement is significant in communication between people of varied cultures. However, the difference of non- verbal behaviors should also be learned, since despite the similarity of its' use in all cultures, there are some diversities that may create misunderstanding(Argyle 1975 as cited in Argyle, 1982).

According to me, the reason why the speaker used indirect speech to ask someone to do something, by using interrogative-directive form is based on Anglo-Saxon beliefs, in this case Anglo-Australian beliefs that in spite of the respect of ' self-assertion' value, they also consider their addressee's personal autonomy. That is why Anglo Saxons prefer using interrogatives in directives to bare imperatives.

'Being 'nice' is a fundamental value in Australian culture, which translates into an effort to maintain informality as well as to preserve social harmony' (Hopkins &Strambi, 2005). In addition, Hopkins and Strambi (2005) found that Anglo Australian was less inclined to display negative emotions in interpersonal relationship than French and Italians.

Another reason why emotional expressions are easily displayed in Anglo-Saxon cultures is due to the cultural differences in the level of collectivism, masculinity, and uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1980 as cited in Wierzbicka, 2006, p.24).Those cultural dimensions impact on people's cultural values and beliefs. Based on statistics data, Australia ranked the second among in the most individualist country ((after the United States of America) (Hofstede 2005, as cited in Mokoginta, 2009). Individualistic people express more emotions than collectivist people, a research study conducted by Stephen, et al (1996, as cited in Fernandez, 2000) found that individualistic people (USA participants) are more expressive in emotions rather than people from collectivist countries (Japanese, Costa Rican, etc).

Another dimension is since Australia is regarded as a masculine country with the score of 61, it is more accepted to have more assertive and expressive behaviors than countries which are considered as feminine countries (Hofstede 2005 as cited in Mokoginta, 2009). These cultural dimensions create diversity in people's behavior whether in verbal or non-verbal ways. Those differences are based on certain display rules. According to Matsumoto, et al., (1988 as cited in Fernandez, et al., 2000) display rules are social norms in cultural context which influence how to communicate emotions whether in verbal or non- verbal ways.

The final reason why Anglo-Saxons are more expressive in their emotions is based on research conducted by Fernandez, et al (2000).They found that the socio-cultural development fosters the intensity of emotional expression especially the negative ones. Basabe et al (1999 as cited in Fernandez,2000) support that 'The development of quality of life, privacy, and social resources, related to the level of earning, education and life expectancy, reinforces a more intense emotional experience'.

4. Conclusione and (self)critical observations

After analysing that event, It can be concluded that by having pragmatic competence, people will be more aware of cultural differences among countries, so he/she may put him /herself as 'the third person' who sees the differences from his/her new perspective as a stranger. By comparing those cultures diversity with their own cultures and putting themselves as a stranger looking at a new insight of the reasons why some problems might appear due to the different cultures.

According to Kramsch (1993 as cited in Grossi, 2009) by having good pragmatic awareness, people can understand the difference between cultures , and that intercultural competence help them to see those diversity through ' new eyes'. Therefore, understanding pragmatics is very crucial since it has a wider scope beyond the language itself. As it is stated that 'pragmatic competence is the ability to communicate effectively and involves knowledge beyond the level of grammar'.(Thomas 1993, as cited in Grossi, 2009). Finally, pragmatic competence should be acquired ,especially in regards to people who learn a second or foreign language to improve their cross-cultural communication and avoid misunderstandings due to the differences among cultures not only in verbal ways but also in non- verbal behaviours.

I myself as an EFL (English as a Foreign Language) learner hope thatby learning cross cultural pragmatics , it will increase my 'meta- pragmatic awareness'. The definition of meta-pragmatic awareness is 'knowledge of the social meaning of variable second language forms and awareness of these ways in which these forms mark different aspects of social contexts'.(Verschueren,2000, as cited in Kinginger&Farrel, 2004).

Therefore, by understanding the use of language forms related with its social contexts, cultural values, and other variables which are prominent 'behind the meaning' or structure of a language. It will help me in using grammar forms which are more appropriate in some specific cultures than I have to transfer my own pragmatic rules structures but they are not acceptable or considered as being rude in other cultures. Nevertheless, we should also relate those values with our cultural schema and personal beliefs whether they are appropriate or not to be applied in our own culture.

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MAKING HEALTH COMMUNICATION ACCESSIBLE: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF RADIO HEALTH TALK

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Abstract

If health professionals require that people adopt the healthy behaviours and recommendations that they champion, they must communicate in plain language that people would understand (Koh, 2010). It is against this background that this paper makes an attempt at investigating the accessibility of the vocabulary choices in medical doctors' radio health-talk offered on a local radio station at the University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana. Using the theories of genre (Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990) and functional systemic grammar (Halliday, 2002; 2000), the paper examines the lexical features of health talk of medical doctors to see the accessibility of the language to the audience. The study reveals a clear attempt by the doctors to use as little technical vocabulary as possible. Out of over 22, 000 words, only about 64 were technical. In almost all the instances of technical vocabulary use, the doctors made attempts at defining or explaining what the terms meant. Among the personal pronouns examined, *you* was the most frequently used (34%), followed by *we* (22.47%) and then *it* (19.47%). The fourth was *they* (14.43%), with the least being *I* (9.70%). These pronouns spread across Moves/Steps within the presentation, with some pronouns occurring in some Moves/Steps more than others. The paper has implications for healthcare delivery and health/medical communication in Ghana and elsewhere.

Keywords: health communication, technical vocabulary, lay vocabulary, personal pronouns

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1. Introduction

There is substantial evidence to suggest that health communication has grown exponentially over the past two and a half decades (Sparks, n.d.), with research in health communication gaining more and more attention among communication professionals. According to Sparks, scholars have discussed the history, future trends, and specific contexts of health communication. He believes that the best way to inform the healthcare and research community is to translate such research efforts into practice "by focusing on real world, significant problems in an effort to reduce the nation's health care burden" (p.5). Further, he thinks that "In an era in which access to health information has a profound effect on longevity, one important health communication research goal … has centered on improving health care provider access to health information, especially in rural, underserved, and minority communities" (p.11).

Thus, there are attempts by health professionals to reach out to people by way of offering them information about their health through radio health talk-shows, particularly in Ghana (Sarfo, 2011). This is important as people often want to hear, know, talk about and discuss their health with competent and caring healthcare providers (Piotrow, Kincad, Rimon & Rinehart (1997). In this attempt at providing healthcare to people, one issue that deserves some level of attention is language use as the nature of language used in such discourses may either promote or hinder understanding. As Morasch (2004) states "While health literacy continues to receive significant attention these days, it is important to recognize that oral communication between doctors and patients can greatly contribute to a patient's understanding of health information" (p.2). Morasch agrees that clear and effective communication remains core in developing meaningful exchanges between doctors and patients.

In a foreword to the *National Action Plan to Improve Health Literacy (2010)*, Koh (2010) contends that "Without clear communication, we cannot expect people to adopt the healthy behaviors and recommendations that we champion" (p.iv). He goes on to say that people are better able to take action to protect and promote their health and wellness when they receive accurate and easy to use information about health. This has become more crucial, especially at a time when there appears to be much more emphasis on preventive rather than curative healthcare (Sarfo, 2011). Thus, in recent times, a number of studies have concentrated on the issue of language use in medical and/or health encounters between health providers and patients/clients.

2. Some Studies on Medical Language

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2005) reports of a mismatch between the health information people receive and what they understand. The report adduces some reasons for the mismatch, viz: the complexity of information presentation, the use of unfamiliar scientific and medical jargon, and the difficulty that people of all literacy levels have understanding information when confronted with their own or a loved one's stressful or unfamiliar situation. Thus, there is a call for the use of 'plain language' to address the needs of those with limited literacy and/or health skills since plain language helps people to understand health information because its writing style is clear, concise, organized and jargon-free.

Morasch (2004) believes that cultural and linguistic differences between physicians and patients are among the barriers of effective conversation and clear communication. According to her, medical jargon can contribute to poor communication as well as enhance it depending on the sophistication of the audience. She thinks that using medical jargons can lead to misinformation and incorrect interpretations that may have adverse effects on a patient's health, adding that "Avoiding medical jargon is essential to ensuring the concise exchange of information between patients and physicians" (p.4). Also, Lê (2006) posits that issues and concepts of health are rooted in culture and so, communication about health needs should take culture into consideration, especially in multilingual discourse settings as actual meaning of words are contextually bound. Lê thinks that as a result of cultural differences, health communication must be done with some caution, especially the type of language we use; otherwise we may misinform the audience. For instance, he states that "inappropriate use of descriptive words about body parts may not cause serious communication breakdown but can cause communication embracement or miscommunication" (p.12).

According to Komen (2007), "One of the most effective and efficient ways to communicate breast health information to undeserved groups … is through carefully developed, culturally relevant, concise and easily understood educational materials" (p.8). She states further that a major consideration for the production of health promotion materials for Hispanic/Latinas is language. She thus, calls for effective, proper and accurate use of the Spanish language in such materials. The production of the materials, she believes, is further complicated by variations in lexicon and idioms that are relevant to Hispanic/Latina groups. She admits that the country of origin and regional locations may contribute to the variations, reinforcing that cultural differences may account for difficulty in understanding health communication.

Černý (2008) asserts that research into the use of medical terminology has received little attention. As a result, he studies some aspects of the use of medical terminology in doctor-patient communication. He finds that at the symmetrical level: Doctors tend to explain the process of examination; they are willing to explain the medical terms used; and patients usually employ medical terminology correctly. However, at the asymmetrical level, doctors initiate the use of medical terms while patients only respond to doctor-initiated questions. Černý says that sometimes when doctors use certain terms, patients may find it difficult to understand.

In a study of the language of internet-based online health advice, Bromme, Jucks, & Wagner (2005) examine how to refer to diabetes. They are of the opinion that establishing a common understanding between health experts and laypersons can be difficult in face-to-face communication. The study further states that if health experts use too much specialist terminology, it leads to lack of common ground and misunderstanding. The availability of paralinguistic modes of communication in face-to-face communication, however, makes it easier to correct such misunderstandings, for example, by nodding, frowning or verbal signals. On the other hand, it is difficult to correct misunderstandings in indirect communication. Thus, the unavailability of natural face-to-face doctor-patient interaction presupposes a careful presentation of radio health talks.

In their study of 'discourse tact' in doctor-patient interactions in South-Western Nigeria, Adegbite & Odebunmi (2006) discuss vocabulary usage in medical communication at three levels. First, they consider six kinds of lexical occurrences – plain words, technical words, proper names, vocatives, deixis, and affirmatives. Second is a discussion of lexical collocation – adjective + noun, verb + noun, verb + adverb. The last level of vocabulary discussion deals with lexical relationships - synonymy (e.g. problem/disease/sickness/illness), antonymy (e.g. sick/well), hyponymy (e.g. disease: cough, malaria, diarrhoea, skin rash). Adegbite & Odebunmi also assess syntactic patterns in relation to sentence types and sentence structure. They also explore cohesion and conclude that cohesion is achieved by referencing (anaphoric and endophoric), lexical cohesion and ellipsis.

Lastly, Sparks(n.d.) shares the view that the area of health communication is now widely recognized as vibrant, theoretically driven, pragmatic, and a key contributor in shaping national health policies. The many opportunities for researchers to address real world health concerns make health communication an exciting area to study. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (2000) defines health communication as: "The art and technique of informing, influencing, and motivating the individual, institutional, and public audiences about important health issues" (cited in Sparks, n.d., p.6). Sparks states that the core focus of health

communication has been: message production and processing, and the creation of shared meaning about health issues in relationships. Citing from various sources to support her claims, Sparks opines that communication researchers and professionals address health care issues from a variety of perspectives, among which are: interpersonal and relational issues in provider-patient communication, caring for special populations such as older adults, broader social and community health issues such as prevention, health risk communication and strategic communication approaches, social support and social identity issues, health information sources. Another area that health communication scholars focus on is evaluating the effectiveness of patient-provider interaction and health campaigns since, according to Sparks, health communications interventions must continually be evaluated for effectiveness and adjusted accordingly. This makes the current paper quite a significant one as it adds to studies on health communication evaluations.

Other works by Sparks on health communication include: A patient-centered approach to breaking bad news: Communication guidelines for health care providers (Sparks, Villagran, Parker-Raley, & Cunningham, 2007); Social identity and health: An intergroup communication approach to cancer (Harwood & Sparks, 2003); and Family caregivers' use of humor in conveying information about caring for dependent older adults (Bethea, Travis, & Pecchioni, 2000).

The literature above provides quite a strong background to justify the current study as it is evident that health communication has gained some recognition for some time now, especially in the West, and particularly in America, where health communication research is purported to have generated from (Sparks, n.d). What deserves mention is that, in spite of the attention being paid to health communication in contexts elsewhere around the world, African contexts lack a vigorous research pattern in the area (Adegbite &Odebunmi, 2006; Sarfo, 2011). It is in this context that I consider this paper significant as it adds to existing literature on health communication, using data from a radio source in a Ghanaian context "in order to gain insight into language as an act of social behaviour and action, especially with respect to the institution of medicine" (Adegbite & Odebunmi, 2006, p.499).

3. The Current Study

3.1 Theoretical Approach

In the previous paper to which the current one is a sequel, I used the Genre theory as proposed by Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) (see Sarfo, 2011). That paper examined the move/step structure of the health talk-shows. The present paper also does a genre analysis, but with a focus on lexical features as put forward specifically by Bhatia (1993). According to Bhatia a genre analysis considers: Placing the given text in a situational context, surveying existing literature, refining the situational/contextual analysis, selecting corpus, studying the institutional context, and making a linguistic analysis (cited in Pedersen, 2009). This paper is interested in 'making a linguistic analysis', examining specific linguistic features that dominate the data for discussion. The genre theory is supported by the Hallidayan concept of functional systemic linguistics, specifically the interpersonal function of language (see Halliday, 2002; 2000; Halliday & Hasan, 1976), which is interested in the setting-up and maintenance of social relations, indicating the roles played by participants in communication (Feng & Liu, 2010). The interpersonal function of language states that language can be used to influence people's attitudes or behaviour, explain speakers' own attitudes or behaviour, or provide information (Feng & Liu, 2010; Thompson, 2000). Halliday (2009, cited in Feng & Liu, 2010) states that interpersonal meaning can be expressed by pronoun systems. Thus, this study draws on the interpersonal theory to discuss personal pronoun use in the data under reference.

3.2 Methodology

This is a qualitative study, which allows an in-depth description, analysis and interpretation of verbal behaviour in a localised setting (Afful & Tekpetey, 2011). The study is based on a 22, 676 word corpus that was used for a previous study (see Sarfo, 2011), which was an orthographic transcription of audio-taped files collected from Atlantic FM (ATL FM) 100.5, a campus-based radio station at the University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana. The station which was established in 1989 (even though its official status as campus-based non-commercial radio was recognised in 1997, and since 2006 has been operating as a community radio station) provides education, entertainment and information to the members of the University of Cape Coast community and its environs. Its main focus is, however, on teaching, learning, research and outreach programmes to enhance the mandate of the University of Cape Coast.

The data were taken from one of the station's educative programmes, named 'Health Talk' which was a weekly programme designed by the station in collaboration with the

University Health Directorate to disseminate information on health issues (especially diseases) to the listening public. The programme aims at educating its listeners on various kinds of diseases, their causes, effects, treatment and prevention (for details of this programme and the Station, see Sarfo, 2011). Five segments were randomly selected from an average of 80 recorded segments, using the theory of saturation in data collection, which states that "The size of the sample is determined by the optimum number necessary to enable valid inferences to be made about the population" (Marshall, 1996:522; Thomson, 2011). Thus, after analysing five randomly selected segments (each of which was about 40 minutes on the average), I observed a clear pattern. The data were then transcribed from audio to text files and coded for easy referencing.

4. Analysis and Discussion

Due to the relationship this paper has with the previous one (Sarfo, 2011), I present the findings of that paper here so that specific references can be made to the relevant parts. That paper found that the presentation given by the medical doctors followed a certain organizational pattern. It contained three moves (with specific steps) (Swales, 1990), namely: (1) Introduction, which had two steps – Opening and Thesis/Previewing; (2) Problem, with four steps - Definition, Epidemiology, Causes/Risk Factors, and Signs and Symptoms; (3) Solution, with two steps - Prevention, Treatment. This move-step pattern is significant for the current paper since the lexical, especially personal pronoun, choices identified in the data seem to have been influenced by the moves and steps.

4.1 Technical-Lay Vocabulary

According to Zethsen & Ashkehave (2006: p.645), "Medical language is traditionally regarded as the language used by medical experts when communicating in an expert-to-expert context. It is the language of the 'specialist,' often defined as a special language as opposed to general language used by the general public in everyday situations …" It usually uses technical language or jargons, usually of Latinate origin (Gotti, 2006) as a result of Latin's position as the former Lingua Franca of medicine, before languages such as English, German and French (Zethsen & Ashkehave, 2006).

However, an examination of the data for this study reveals an attempt by the doctors to use as little technical vocabulary as possible. Out of over 22, 000 words, only about 64 were technical. Examples include chemotherapy, radiotherapy, mammogram, palpation, hormone, oestrogen, progesterone, tumour, retina, opacification, congenital, juvenile, senile, metabolic

causes, trauma, steroids, rubella, hereditary, intraocular pressure, glaucoma, stool, reactionary diarrhoea, gastro-intestinal system, toxins, faeco-oral, protozoa, inflammatory bowel disease, colonic cancer, diverticulitis, antibiotic, abdominal cramps, diagnose, tenesmus, shigella, mass, labour, physiological conditions, abortion, pathology of stress, physiology of stress, sociology of stress, triggers of stress, cognitive filtering, cognitive dissonance.

It is worth noting that in almost all of the instances of technical vocabulary use, the doctors made attempts at defining or explaining what the terms meant (Černý, 2008). Consider the following examples (Note that these examples are unedited; italics and bolding are rather mine.):

1. ... they also give some what we call **chemotherapy**, *that is, the use of drugs to also kill the cancer cells ...*
2. *... Other times too the sheer mass of the breast cancer will have to be reduced, so they do what we call* **radiotherapy** ... some people after surgery also will have to do **radiotherapy** *to still bombard the cancer cells that will be left there ...*
3. *… People going to eat some delicacies that they are not used to and therefore they have something we call* **reactionary diarrhoea** *rather than being caused by a germ ...*
4. But most of these bacteria they are spread through *what err the scientist would* say **faeco-oral**, *that is, through the faeces to the mouth*.
5. When we talk about the infectious one you can have **bacteria** causing; we won't go into the details about what kind of **bacteria** ... we can have **virus** that can cause diarrhoea we can have some **protozoa** also causing. *These are all germs*.
6. ... There are some disease these may be so technical. *There are some diseases that are of the intestines themselves*. Some could be **diverticulitis** ... *there is a condition that we call* **inflammatory bowel disease**. That one the intestines are **chronically inflamed** so they always give the person diarrhoea five to six times diarrhoea.
7. ... Others also cause the diarrhoea as a result of they releasing some **toxins** or *for the lay man maybe poisons ...*
8. *... the one that err the sensation at your anus medically they call it* **tenesmus** *like there is a* **spasm** *at the anus, it wants to come it doesn't want to come*.
9. Err today we are talking of **cataract** and when we talk of cataract first lemme *cataract is a disease of the eye*. *When you look into anybody's eye you see the white part surrounding a central black part. That central black part is actually a whole that is there. It's actually a whole with a lens if you pick a lens like spectacles that people wear there's a lens like that in our eye. Very small and very transparent*.
10. … light is able to pass through and goes to our **retina**, *that is, where images are formed and you can see people and things as they are*.
11. ... we have **metabolic causes**. *When we say metabolic causes err events in our body system and the normal processes of digestion and all that ...*
12. ... and some cataract is **hereditary**. *My grandfather had it my mother had and I am having a cataract. So it is just in the family and its being generously being transmitted*

from one generation to the other and in these err **hereditary cataract** the pattern of the development of the cataract is very similar.

In these examples, the italicised structures explain, either directly or indirectly, the bolded terms. For instance, the italicised structure, *that is, the use of drugs to also kill the cancer cells* ..., explains '**chemotherapy**' in example (1); while *that is, through the faeces to the mouth* explains '**faeco-oral**' in example (4). The same goes for example (2), where '**radiotherapy**' is understood to be a means of reducing the bulk, amount or quantity of something; thus, the lay person understands 'radiotherapy' as a medical process that can be used to reduce the bulk or amount of breast cancer.

In some instances, the doctors employed lexical relationships (Adegbite & Odebunmi, 2006) to explain the terms. Consider example (5): In this example, **bacteria**, **virus** and **protozoa** are mentioned. Knowing that the audience may not be familiar with such names, the doctor says *They are all germs.* 'Germs' is a more familiar and everyday term. The relationship between *germs* on one hand and *bacteria*, *virus* and *protozoa* on the other is a hyponym. A similar example is (6) where the audience are made to see that '**diverticulitis**', '**inflammatory bowel disease**' and '**chronically inflamed**' are problems relating to the intestines. Sometimes, the term was explained by means of a synonym, as in: ... *they releasing some toxins or for the lay man may be poisons* (example 7), where 'toxins' is explained as 'poisons', for the lay person.

One other thing worth mentioning is that, sometimes, the doctors drew the audience's attention to the fact that a certain term mentioned was technical. This was done through such expressions as: ... *what we call* (radiotherapy), ... *something we call* (reactionary diarrhoea), ... *what err the scientist would say* (faeco-oral),... *a condition that we call* (**inflammatory bowel disease),** ... *medically they call it* **(tenesmus)** (see examples 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8 respectively).'*we*' as used here refers to health/medical professionals.

Technical terms occurred mostly within Move 2 (within Definition, Causes/Risk Factors, and Signs and Symptoms) and Move 3 (within Prevention, Treatment). Technical terms did not appear in Move 1 (Introduction) and Epidemiology in Move 2. This is understandable because Introduction and Epidemiology did not form part of the anatomy or detailed analysis of the various diseases/health conditions. This confirms the view that rhetorical choices are usually context-sensitive (Afful, 2010; Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990).

4.2 Personal Pronouns

In their real use, pronouns can communicate attitudes and behaviours of people. The meaning and reference of pronouns are usually contextual (Afful, 2010; Chang & Swales, 1999; Ma, 2011). Thus, in this paper, we have tried to identify and discuss the semantic implications of the following personal pronouns (and their variants) and how they affect the message put across by the doctors: I/me, you/your, it/its/it's, we/our/us, they/them.

The semantic implications of pronouns go beyond persons, that is, reference to first, second and third persons. For example, the generic *you* or any of its variants may be used to mean *anyone.* Also, in communication, many people use *you* or any of its variants when they really mean *I* or any of its variants. Again, *they* could be used as an epicene pronoun or as a generic pronoun (Paterson, 2011). Additionally, *we* or any of its variants could be used as a majestic or royal pronoun, where it is used for a person in a high office like a monarch, a bishop or a pope. *We* could also be used as an *editorial we* where the writer casts himself in the role of a spokesman, either for an institution that employs him/her or on behalf of a body of citizens who agree with him/her. Moreover, the *patronizing we* or *all-inclusive we* can be used in addressing instead of *you.* A doctor may use this to give hope to patients or to indicate that he is part of the situation. We shall therefore endeavour to identify how these pronouns were used during the radio health talk-shows.

You represented 34% of pronoun use; it had the highest frequency of occurrence. This is in tandem with Okamura's (2009) finding that *you* was the most frequent of personal pronouns in two types of monologic academic speech, namely, undergraduate lectures and public lectures. In a sentence like *We want all listeners, including **you**, to understand what a cataract is,* one could use the textual and the situational contexts to determine that this *you* referred to the host of the programme. Nonetheless, in most of the sentences that this pronoun was used, the doctors tried to create some sort of face-to-face relationship between themselves and the listening public. They addressed the audience as though they were in face-to-face interactions with them. In these cases, they employed, not the second person singular *you*, but the generic *you*. Examples include:

1. *If **you** are a driver, if **you** are a pilot, without a good sight…*
2. *If **you** look into somebody's eyes **you** see the white part surrounding a central black part.*

The doctors were not referring to the host alone in the two sentences above, but to anyone, any individual listening to the programme. Such use of the pronoun *you* makes the language less formal, as against the more formal pronoun counterpart *one.*

Another pronoun worth mentioning is *We.* It represented 22.42% of the pronouns under consideration. The doctors used the first person plural *we* as they expressed their appreciations to the host and the entire management of ATL FM for the opportunity. For example, ***We*** *are so much grateful for the opportunity like this to use ATL FM.* In addition to this, they used the editorial *we* to help the audience to understand that they were speaking for all the practitioners in the health sector. They cast themselves in the role of spokespersons of the institution that employed them as well as all medical practitioners. Examples are:

13. ***We*** *can put in interventions.*

14. ***We*** *can foresee what will happen in future.*

Also, the doctors used the patronizing or the all-inclusive *we* to make themselves part of the situations and to assure the audience that they (the audience) were not alone. This would in effect give hope to the listening public. Examples include:

15. ***We*** *should endeavour as much as possible not to get eye drops from a chemical shop.*

16. ***We*** *think we are going high, but it is causing stress.*

The third person (plural) personal pronoun, *they,* whose frequency was 14.43%, was also used to convey important senses. In the first sense, it made an anaphoric reference (*Wolf, Gibson* & Desmet, 2004; Halliday & Hassan, 1976) to a singular indefinite pronoun (everyone). In the second sense, it made neither anaphoric nor cataphoric reference. Examples are:

17. We want to use this opportunity to thank <u>everyone</u> for the contribution ***they*** *have made.*

18. ***They*** *put in artificial lens into the eye to correct it.*

In the first example, *they* made an anaphoric reference to the singular pronoun *everyone.* In this case, the individual listener's ability to get it that he/she was being addressed, and not any group of people elsewhere, is very paramount. In the second example, *they* was used technically. When handling some delicate issues, the doctors sometimes distanced themselves from the actions. In this case, any feelings of emotions the issues may evoke were attributed to the medical discourse community.

It represents 19.47% of the pronouns under consideration. In order to avoid unnecessary repetitions, the doctors used *it* and its variants to make anaphoric references to the various diseases/health conditions under discussion. Examples include:

19. *…preventing* ***it*** *from happening at all or catching* ***it*** *early before* ***it*** *causes problem and managing* ***it*** *appropriately.*

20. ***It*** *starts as something, oh ok, things are a bit blurred or something and then it goes and* ***it*** *progresses from one stage of er visual loss to the other, from one stage of visual loss, the person will try to adjust er to try and see very well.*

The *it* in the first example made anaphoric reference to Cancer while that of the second example referred to Cataract. That notwithstanding, the doctors used the *dummy it* where necessary. E. g., ***It*** *is this fear that made us to be coming out to talk and to further coerce people or educate one another as to the need to do some of these things.*

It is no wonder that the least used pronoun was *I*, with a frequency of 9.70%. Ensuring the good health of the citizenry is not an individualistic effort. This is a team work and therefore requires the collective effort of all and sundry in order to make any meaningful impact. A careful look at most of the use of *I* and its variants revealed that they were generic *I*. Consider the examples:

21. *…**my** nipple has this or **I**'ve had eczema around here for a very long time or **I** can feel this swelling here… **I** don't know what it is.*
22. *So we have to take precautions and **I** think that's the main focus of today's presentation.*

These were all the instances of *I* and its variants that occurred under the prevention of cancer. Those in Example 21 did not make specific references; they referred to anyone in that particular situation. It was only the one in Example 22 that made reference to the speaker.

Table 1: Frequency of pronouns

	You	We	It	They	I	Total	%
Cancer	104	55	93	53	20	325	12.61
Cataract	106	66	107	35	107	421	16.33
Diarrhoea	195	220	136	111	28	690	26.76
Stress	416	140	109	71	85	821	31.85
Pneumonia	55	97	57	102	10	321	12.45
Total	876	578	502	372	250	2, 578	
%	34	22.42	19.47	14.43	9.70		100

4.3 Personal Pronouns and Rhetorical Moves/Steps

What is significant and fascinating about the use of the pronouns was their spread across moves/steps within the presentations (Afful, 2011; Bhatia, 1993).

Move 1: Introduction

The most frequent pronoun in this move was *we* (see Table 2). It was used to refer to the presenters. This is understandable because in Opening and Previewing steps, the doctors introduced themselves and told the audience what they were going to discuss, as for example:

23. *... Today **we** actually **we** actually chose diarrhoea because **we** think that **we** should erm address challenging issues that would help **our** clients, **our** people and the whole*

*populace well. And **we** think that with this er topic **we** would er be able to address some...*

24. *... **We** want to look at Pneumonia ... **we** thought it would be good ... to raise the awareness in **our** community. And so that as health workers, as parents, as individuals, as broadcasters **we** shall all join in the campaign to raise the awareness about Pneumonia to reduce the under-five mortality rate. That is why today **we** are specially talking about Pneumonia.*

Move 2: Problem

Step 1: Definition

The pronoun that occurred mostly in this step was *it*. In defining a disease or health condition, reference is normally made to the disease or condition. It is, therefore, not surprising that *it* appeared more than other pronouns in step 1. For example:

25. *Breast cancer is a cancer of the breast. To put **it** ... **it**'s an abnormal harmful growth in the breast and this harmful growth has the propensity or has the ability to move out of the breast to other sites. So this growth will occur in the breast and **it**'s harmful ... **It** will harm the breast. **It** will harm other parts of the body also.*

It is used here anaphorically to refer to breast cancer.

Step 2: Epidemiology

Similarly, *it* appeared more than other pronouns under epidemiology. The reason for the use of *it* in this context is similar to its use under Definition above.

26. *... We want to classify **its** distribution. **It** affects all ages. **It** can be in a day old baby and in a ninety year old grandfather, so **it** cuts through all ages such that if you are born with **it** today then we can describe yours as congenital, that is, you were born with. If **it's** with somebody who is may be about erm three years old or something we can describe it as infantile. If **it**'s in the juvenile somebody about fifteen years old then we describe **it** as juvenile. If **it**'s in somebody who is before about seventy years old we can describe **it** as pre-senile and if **it** is in somebody who is about seventy years old and above then we can describe **it** as senile. So **it** cuts through all ages, but **it** is most seen in those who are aged.*

Step 3: Causes/Risk Factors

The risk factors/causes step usually discussed how people caught diseases/health conditions. In talking about risk factors/causes of diseases/health conditions, the doctors mostly used *you*, and sometimes *we* and, less frequently, *they*. Consider the following expressions:

27. *From age 30 to 75, **your** risk of developing breast cancer is high.*
28. *The more **you** age, the higher **your** risk of developing breast cancer.*

29. *... And another cause is er trauma to the eye ... Something piercing **your** eye when **you** are about five years old and all that and **you** know the eye like any other part of our body **you** will also heal...*
30. ***We** realise just at the face value of it that a lot of it that **we** have are actually due to er er personal hygiene and then even er food poisoning. People going to eat some delicacies that **they** are not used to and therefore **they** have something **we** call reactionary diarrhoea rather than being caused by a germ and **we** think that some of this one **we** should not follow other people who have for luck of a better word cemented tummy who could eat anything.*

In a more strict sense, the pronoun *they* appears more appropriate in this context than *you* and *we* as the audience are supposed be represented as third persons. However, the use of *you* makes the discussion more interactive, bringing the audience and the presenters closer since it makes the audience feel being addressed directly. *One* could have also been used instead of *you* but would have rendered the discussion impersonal, more formal and, thus, create a social distance between the speakers and the audience. The use of all-inclusive *we* is also significant as it puts the doctors in the same situation as the audience. Using mostly *you* and *we* is equally significant as the doctors tried to attribute the causes of the diseases/health conditions to our own actions and inactions.

Step 4: Signs and Symptoms

For this step, the most frequent pronoun was *you,* followed by *it*. The use of mostly *you* reflects the doctors drawing the audience's attention to the signs as symptoms they (the audience) should see if they catch a disease/health condition. Thus, the attention is focused more on the audience (or the patient) instead of the disease itself.

31. *... a painless breast swelling. That's the cardinal presentation of breast cancer. ... other presentations include some eczema around the nipple area ... The nipple instead of showing outward is kind of pulled inside the breast. ... **You** begin to start to have heavy chest ... **you** may also see that one of your breast is becoming bigger than the other. ... Another thing is nipple discharge... If **it** has some stains of blood in **it** when **it**'s getting late the breast starts developing a sore around **it**.*
32. *... The main symptom of cataract is progressive loss of vision, progressive. **It** starts as something oh ok things are a bit blurred or something and then it goes and **it** progresses from one stage of er visual loss to the other form one stage of visual loss the person will try to adjust er to try and see very well....*

The use of *it* is also significant as the discussion in such instances focused more on the disease rather than the audience (or the patient).

Move 3: Solution

Step 1: Prevention

When giving advice in terms of preventive measures, the doctors usually used the all-inclusive *we* and the generic *you* to address the audience.

33. *So **we** have to take precautions ... And if **you** are between 20 from age 20 at least every 3 years once every 3 years **you** have to go to the hospital for breast screening. ... **you**'ll be testing for breast swelling and any other which includes cancer itself. ... And **they**'ll also teach you how to do it yourself ... so that **you** will be able to detect ...*
34. *...err let**'s** let**'s** let**'s** err go for screening. If **you** are told oh go and see the eye specialist here or there so that **they** check **your** eye le**t's** do it ... **We we** should endeavour as much as possible not to get eye drops from a chemical shop and just start putting it on **our** eye because may be **our** eyes are aching or something. For all **you** know these eye drops could contain steroids and we talked that steroids predispose to the development of cataract. ... If **you** have the means **you** can immunise **yourself** against rubella so that **you** are **you** are assured that the children that **you** bear will not have any.*

The use of all-inclusive *we* and *you* indicates that the prevention of diseases/health conditions is a collective responsibility. The doctors, thus, admonished all and sundry to be part of that effort.

Step 2: Treatment.

One fascinating thing is that when the doctors discussed treatment measures, they mostly used either *they* or *we* and their variants to refer to themselves and medical practitioners/health providers in general.

35. *... It is the lens that has to be taken out by a short very short surgical procedure. **They** take out the lens and then either **they** leave it that way or **they** put in another lens. **They** put in an artificial lens into the eye to correct it or **they** will give a spectacle or spectacles to correct the effect...*
36. *There are various modes of treatment. One of them is surgery. ... **They** also give some what you call chemotherapy. Other times too ... **they** do what we call radiotherapy...*
37. *... By the time they come **we** remove the breast like **we** are removing hernias almost all the time **we** are just clearing people's breasts.*

In these examples, *they* and *we* refer to medical doctors, who perform the surgical operation to correct the eye defect. In most cases, by using *they*, the doctors (the presenters) distanced themselves from the act of treatment, while *we* made them part.

Step **: Demystification/Misconception

In this Step, the pronouns *it* and *they*, were most frequent, followed by *you*. *It* was usually used to refer to the disease/health condition in question, while *they* was used to refer to the patients/audience who had some misconceptions about the disease/health conditions under discussion. Consider the following examples:

38. *… for the concern about seeking medical care, it's not actually getting the diagnosis for most of the women **we** don't have a problem **they** are coming but then when **they** see small thing **they** come. But it's the modality of treatment that **they** don't **they** haven't come to terms with or **they**. So we are using this forum to actually let **them** know that there are people who are top level executives who are presidents who are big time who have one breast or no breast at all. ... and **they** are living more resourceful lives.*
39. *… Know that in the various communities, there are people who say **they** can push the eye ... **They** look at the eye and put some instrument to grab the dark the white lens out. At the end of **it** all **you** see the whole eye leaking liquid and then **it** collapses ... That **they** will operate and people could go with about ten years of impaired vision and that in 2-3 days **they** could see clearly and what a reincarnation*

The use of *they* in this context is quite significant as it allowed the doctors to distance themselves from such misconceptions, meaning they did not accept those misconceptions.

Table 2: Personal Pronoun use across Moves/Steps

Moves/Steps		You	We	It	They	I	Total/%
Move 1:Inroduction							
Step 1:Opening	Can	-	10	1	1	1	13
	Cat	-	5	-	-	-	5
	Dia	0	8	5	0	0	13
	Str	14	9	2	1	1	27
	Pne	0	2	0	0	0	2
Step 2: Thesis/Previewing	Can	3	14	7	-	-	24
	Cat	7	15	-	-	-	22
	Dia	10	18	12	1	2	43
	Str	106	55	29	28	20	238
	Pne	0	2	0	0	0	2
Move 2: The Problem							
Step 1: Definition	Can	-	2	6	-	-	8
	Cat	11	10	28	5	-	54
	Dia	10	2	14	5	0	31
	Str	13	7	7	6	5	38
	Pne	1	2	6	0	0	9
Step 2: Epidemiology	Can	2	-	3	1	1	7
	Cat	10	10	19	-	-	39
	Dia	18	25	13	3	1	60
	Str	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Pne	2	10	9	15	0	36
Step 3: Causes/R. Factors	Can	38	4	2	5	4	53
	Cat	14	20	27	14	6	81
	Dia	32	68	32	51	6	189
	Str	127	42	41	32	18	260
	Pne	15	13	10	34	6	78
Step 4: Signs/Symptoms	Can	17	5	27	3	4	56
	Cat	8	-	9	4	-	21

	Dia Str Pne	32 7 3	14 2 0	20 1 4	14 11 5	5 2 0	85 23 12
Move 3: Solution							
Step 1: Prevention	Can Ctr Dia Str Pne	15 38 70 44 8	12 22 59 7 43	7 22 34 18 9	13 5 29 1 63	4 8 7 13 11	51 95 199 83 134
Step 2: Treatment	Can Cat Dia Str Pne	15 36 23 81 15	3 11 26 20 8	25 18 6 22 8	15 14 8 3 13	1 - 7 26 1	59 79 70 152 45
Step **: Demystification	Can Cat Dia Str Pne	14 6 - - -	5 - - - -	15 7 - - -	15 11 - - 3	5 1 - - -	54 25 - - 3
Total		876	578	502	372	250	2,578

Key: Can –cancer; Cat- Cataract; Dia- Diarrhoea; Str- Stress; Pne- Pneumonia

5. Conclusion

This paper (which is a sequel to Sarfo, 2011) attempted to investigate how medical doctors tried to make their language accessible to the audience during radio health talk-shows on a local radio station, ATL FM 100.5, University of Cape Coast, Ghana. The paper employed Swales' (1990) and Bhatia's (1993) rhetorical analytical theory as well as the Hallidayan concept of functional systemic linguistics, specifically, the interpersonal function of language (see Halliday, 2002; 2000; Halliday & Hasan, 1976), to examine technical-lay vocabulary and personal pronoun use in the language of the medical doctors.

The study reveals a clear attempt by the doctors to use as little technical vocabulary as possible. Out of over 22, 000 words, only about 64 were technical. In almost all the instances of technical vocabulary use, the doctors tried to define or explain what the terms meant. The relatively few technical terms occurred mostly within Move 2 (Definition, Causes/Risk Factors, and Signs and Symptoms) and Move 3 (within Prevention, Treatment). Technical terms did not appear in Move 1 (Introduction) and Epidemiology in Move 2. This confirms the view that rhetorical choices are usually context-sensitive (Afful, 2010; Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990).

Among the personal pronouns examined, *you* was the most frequently used (34%), followed by *we* (22.47%) and then *it* (19.47%). The fourth was *they* (14.43%), with the least being *I* (9.70%). These pronouns spread across Moves/Steps within the presentation, with some

pronouns occurring in some Moves/Steps more than others. For example, in Move 1 (Introduction), the most frequent pronoun used was *we*. In Move 2 (The Problem), *it* was the most frequent in the Definition and Epidemiology steps. In Step 3 (Causes/Risk Factors), the doctors mostly used *you*, and sometimes *we* and, less frequently, *they*. For Step 4 (Signs and Symptoms), the most frequent pronoun was *you* followed by *it*. In Move 3 (Solution), Step 1 (Prevention) saw the use of mostly the all-inclusive *we* and the generic *you*; while Step 2 (Treatment) involved mostly the use of *they* and *we* to refer to medical/health professionals.

One other thing worth mentioning is personal pronoun use in terms of their referents (Halliday, 2009). When reference was to the disease/health condition under discussion, *it* was mostly used, and when reference was to the audience, *you* was mostly used, followed by *we*. On the other hand, when the doctors referred to medical doctors/health professionals, they used mostly *we*, followed by *they*.

Some implications can be drawn from this study. It reinforces the idea that language use or vocabulary choices are contextually bound (Lê, 2006; Bhatia, 1993). The study has shown that the use of personal pronouns for specific referents as well as other vocabulary choices depends on the context within which they are used; personal pronouns have multiple functions. In other words, context influences our vocabulary choices. It also confirms that rhetorical structures (Moves/Steps) affect language choices (Afful, 2010; Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990).

The findings of the study suggest that, to some extent, medical/health professionals are making the effort to make medical language accessible to the lay person (Černý, 2008; Morasch, 2004). This is an important way of helping the public have access to quality information about their health in order to engender longevity of life (Piotrow, Kincad, Rimon& Rinehart, 1997; Sparks, n.d). This is significant for the current emphasis on preventive rather than curative healthcare in Ghana and elsewhere (Sarfo, 2011).

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PROFILING GLOBAL EVENTS IN THE PRESS: OPERATION 'ODYSSEY DAWN'

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Abstract

On the basis of the linguistic material excerpted from press articles, the "text — reality" relation in the process of creating media reality by the press was studied. The object of our interest was profiling events and describing and evaluating participants in these events. As an example, textual profiling of the operation called 'Odyssey Dawn' by the "Washington Post" and the "Washington Times" was discussed.

The "Washington Post" shows a considerable interest in the role of the U.S.A. in the conflict and also in the reaction of the Arab world to the events in Libya. On that basis, a polarization of participants emerges: the Western world vs. the Arab world. In the "Washington Times", the main emphasis is put on the American viewpoint and opinions; standpoints of other coalition members appear to be of marginal importance.

The quantitative axiological analysis of the participants of the event showed that a majority of evaluating opinions are negative. The "Washington Times" concentrates more on negative aspects of participants, whereas the "Washington Post" counterbalances them with positive opinions.

Keywords: profiling events, textual worldview, Odyssey Dawn, conflict in Libya

1. Introduction

The following article discusses the issue of profiling global events. The military operation called 'Odyssey Dawn' will serve as an object of deliberation. It started on 19th March 2011 in Libya, when the forces of an international coalition (led by the U.S.A.) attacked Libya's air defences to enforce a no-fly zone, which had been authorized by a U.N. Security Council resolution (see: "Resolution 1973"). This event has been chosen due to its global range and news value. Had it not been for these two factors, the news would not have appeared on the first page of the Monday issue of most dailies in the world.

The main motive for raising the topic is pseudo-events, persuasion and manipulation — constantly observable in the media. Based on the assumption that language constitutes a useful tool for achieving the aims established by the media, our task is to define the ways the press profiles political events and, as a result, shapes readers' ideologies and attitudes to events and their participants.

The linguistic material encompasses four articles excerpted from Monday issues (21st March, 2011) of the liberal "Washington Post" (*WP*), and three articles from the conservative "Washington Times" (*WT*).

2. Text as an interface of events between the sender and reader

Press text is situated in the media discourse, which is considered here as a communicative event meant to transfer information from the individual or institutional sender to the global receiver. T.van Dijk emphasizes that the indirect character of the relationship between discourse and society is manifested in social, political and cultural reproductions, and such social mental representations as beliefs, views, opinions or ideologies serve language users as a sui generis interface. This interface links the level of interaction between the individual sender and text with social macrostructures (van Dijk, 1993: 107-126; cf. Wilczewski, 2010: 145-146).

Textual pictures of events are not homogenous, their limits are not well defined but they may overlap – though variously, depending on the level considered. For instance, if we agree that the most common demarking criterion for reading a certain newspaper is its profile, the outlook presented by the editorial staff and journalists, which is shared by the reader, we can *a priori* assume that facts, events and their participants will be described and commented on according to the ideological stance of the paper. The pragmatic aspect of communication,

which takes place between the journalist and reader, the journalist's will to incorporate, on the one hand, their views and opinions into the text and, on the other, the reader's subconscious expectations of the ideological shape of the information presented in the text, impose, to some extent, a mode of creating a textual image of events (acceptability, a consent given by the reader to the sender of information, who organizes the textual world, seems to be a crucial factor in the process of building this world; cf. Kajtoch, 2008: 14-15). What we mean here is, above all, the role of cognitive perspective presented by the receivers of information, the way they see and comprehend the world.

In the light of cultural pragmatics, we assume that this perspective does not have to correspond exactly to the objective picture of reality for such factors as egocentrism or anthropocentrism (in other words: a social and psychological feature of functional and pragmatic views of such a linguistic object as text, cf. Leszczak, 2008: 455-456) affect its particular, exceptional conceptualization and categorization (cf. Pachocińska, 2008: 104).

3. 'Odyssey Dawn' in the "Washington Post"

On Monday 21st March, *WP* published four extensive articles on 'Odyssey Dawn', which altogether totaled 4,953 words. The daily concentrated on four aspects of the Libyan conflict, which indicate polarization of the characters. The U.S. role in imposing a no-fly zone and the reaction of the Arab world to what is happening in Libya is exposed. Yet even if other countries' participation in the operation is mentioned, it is not treated in line with the significance of the U.S.A. (which is proven by the fact that the comments and opinions of other members of the international coalition are ignored in the process of profiling the event).

Profile 1. Imposition of a no-fly zone over Libya

Superstructure categories	**Content**
Author	Finn P. & Jaffe, G.
Superheadline	*Turmoil in the Middle East*
Headline I	*U.S. jets strike Gaddafi's ground forces*
Headline II	*Jets strike Libyan troops advancing on Benghazi*
Subheadline I	*Air defences are pummeled*
Subheadline I	*Libyan leader promises 'long, drawn-out war'*
Main Event	U.S. and allied warplanes pound Libya's air defenses on Sunday and launch deadly strikes against Gaddafi's ground forces.
Global sense	While coalition forces continue an effective attack on Libya's air defenses, the aims and objectives of the mission are being broadly discussed.
Commentary	R. M. Gates' words (U.S. Secretary of Defense): According to Gates, the intervention should not target Gaddafi personally and exceed the

	mandate given by the U.N. Security Council. A primary objectives to impose a no-fly zone over Libya and to prevent Gaddafi from killing "his own people". Libyans will have to solve this problem themselves.

The first aspect of the Libyan operation refers to actions aimed at imposing a no-fly zone. In the strategic elements of textual superstructure, the reader gets to know about the fight between the U.S. forces and Gaddafi's forces; the support of British and French air forces is only mentioned. This is why the United States perceived as the most important Western character, responsible for the success of the mission. The course of the bombardments, their efficiency and power, and the deaths of Libyan civilians (the last argument is advanced by the Arab League) raise questions about the objectives of the intervention. This matter sets the operation's supporters and American politicians at variance, especially Republicans who criticize Obama's administration. Arguments against the coalition's actions are either rebutted by American military officials (who assure the media that the operation is being conducted according to the guidelines of the U.N.'s resolution), or Gaddafi's threats are quoted, so that an atmosphere of constant danger and threat is created, which de facto legitimizes the intervention. Moreover, the high efficiency of the coalition's actions in Libya, resulting in the paralysis of the Libyan air defense system, proves that the operation is being conducted according to the plan, as it is believed to stabilize the situation in the region.

Profile 2. The U.S. role in the operation

Superstructure categories	**Content**
Author	Deyoung, K. & Finn, P.
Superheadline	*The U.S. Mission*
Headline I, p. A1	*Questions are raised about involvement, goals*
Headline II, p. A14	*U.S.'s 'supporting role' is questioned after strong attacks against Libya*
Main Event	Members of Congress, outside experts and reporters ask President Obama and his administration questions about criteria of the U.S. involvement in the mission in Libya and its objectives.
Global sense	Administration officials come under a barrage of questions about the extent of the involvement in the operation and its duration. In spite of official assurances of limiting the mission in scope and duration, experts claim it will expand.
Commentary	Some analysts note that former administrations also assured Americans of a short scope of wars in Afghanistan or Iraq, and claim that saying that the mission is going to be quick is the worst thing to do. Probably its range will expand as the coalition will not be satisfied unless Gaddafi's regime is removed from power.

The matter of the ambiguity of objectives is discussed further in the second article. Congressmen, American journalists and experts ask Obama's administration about the factual role the U.S.A. performs in the intervention, which is indicated via "ironic inverted commas" (see: Klemperer 1983) in the heading: *U.S.'s 'supporting role' is questioned after strong attacks against Libya*. In this article, three areas of interest for American public opinion are discussed in the context of the U.S.'s participation in the intervention, namely: 1) level of involvement, 2) mission objectives and 3) communication not only between Obama's administration and Congressmen, but also society. The context of the events presented in the text shows that explanations given by administration and military officials seem satisfactory for Democrats:

(1) Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl Levin (D-Mich.), on "Meet the Press", said Obama had allayed early concerns about possible "mission creep". The operation, he said, "has been very carefully limited", Levin said.

In turn, a substantial part of the allegations are leveled at the president by Republicans:

(2) Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) said that Obama should seek a declaration of war from Congress and questioned who would emerge in control of Libya. "We really have not discovered what is in Libya that we are trying to support […]. Obviously, the people that are against Gaddafi, but who?"

(3) Rep. Howard P. "Buck" McKeon (R-Calif.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, voiced concern about "the absence of clear political objectives for our country" and the risk of "entrenching the United States in a humanitarian mission whose scope and duration are not known at this point and cannot be controlled by us".

In the light of all the arguments provided by both sides it is clear, beyond any shadow of doubt, that American involvement in the operation has become a bone of contention in American politics; in any case, this conclusion is supported in the comments of both Democrats and Republicans. Yet we have to note that opinions of experts are mentioned in a commentary. These suggest that quick ending of the mission is not advisable, which eventually again legitimizes the actions of the American administration:

(4) "Low-balling expectations is probably penny-wise and pound-foolish," said Thomas Donnelly, director of the Center for Defense Studies at the American Enterprise Institute. "The worst thing you can do, like Afghanistan or like Iraq, is say that this is going to be short, sweet and easy. That's a possibility, even a probability," in Libya, he said, "but it's not a certainty."

Profile 3. Military activity of the West in Libya from the Arab viewpoint

Superstructure categories	Content
Author	Cody, E.
Superheadline	*Turmoil in the Middleeast*
Headline	*Arab group decries West's broad air campaign in Libya*
Subheadline	*Intense bombings go far beyond scope of no-fly zone, league says*
Main Event	The Arab League secretary general, Amr Moussa, deplores the broad scope of the U.S.-European bombing campaign in Libya, and calls a meeting to reconsider Arab approval of the intervention.
Global sense	Both the Arab League and some of the world's leaders condemn the intervention in Libya and suggest that the West wants to take control over Libya's oil reserves.

The third aspect of the intervention refers to the point of view of the Arab League. This organization denounces the operation, as it exceeds the U.N.'s mandate, which is signaled in the heading: *Arab group decries West's broad air campaign in Libya*, and elucidated in the subheading: *Intense bombings go far beyond scope of no-fly zone, league says*.

The events presented in the text show how the League's supporting attitude towards the mission changed. The main reason for reconsidering Arab approval of the intervention are media war releases on Arab television which prove bombings and missile attacks to be too intense and exceeding the mandate provided by the resolution. *WP* suggests that a shift away from the support may help the League not "lose face" in the eyes of the Arab world. Nevertheless, it is stressed that this part of the world had not taken responsibility for the situation in Libya, and that was used by the Western coalition as justification:

(5) "The fact that most Arab and Muslim leaders did not take responsibility opened the way for Western intervention in Libya," declared Hasan Nasrallah, Hezbollah's leader, in a video speech Sunday to his followers. "This opens the way for foreign interventions in every Arab country. It brings us back to the days of occupation, colonization and partition."

Profile 4. The operation and the reaction of Gaddafi's supporters

Superstructure categories	Content
Author	Sly, L.
Superheadline	*Turmoil in the Middle East*
Headline	*Missile strikes building in compound where Gaddafi lives*
Subheadline	*Attack fuels anger among supporters of Libyan leader*
Main Event I	A missile strikes a building on Sunday night in the compound where Gaddafi lives.
Wydarzenia poprzedzające	The U.N. Security Council votes on Thursday for a resolution allowing to enforce a no-fly zone. Earlier the same day, Gaddafi warns on state television that the Western and Arab countries (against him) will face a "long war".
Main Event II	Libyan state media report that 48 people were killed and many injured in allied strikes overnight Saturday. Among them were people who died when civilian buildings were hit.

Global sense	On Sunday, the building where Gaddafi lives was struck with a missile fired by coalition forces, which resulted in the death of Libyan civilians and caused anger among Gaddafi's supporters.

The last aspect of military actions in Libya is the reaction of Gaddafi's supporters. The reason for their rage is presented in the heading: *Missile strikes building in compound where Gaddafi lives*. Nonetheless, it is stressed in the text that air strikes result from the U.N. resolution which, apart from patrolling the sky over Libya, gives authority to a military intervention.

The article informs us about the Libyan state media which report that many civilians are killed and wounded in the attacks. However, this news is depreciated as it is noted that the state media are used by Gaddafi's propaganda. All in all, the reasons for the rage of Gaddafi's supporters are called into doubt.

4. 'Odyssey Dawn' in the "Washington Times"

On Monday (21st March), *WT* published three articles on 'Odyssey Dawn', totaling 3,608 words. Three major aspects of the operation are presented: 1) imposition of a no-fly zone over Libya (under the American command), 2) the point of view of American politicians, and 3) the Arab viewpoint.

As in *WP*, profiling of the intervention in *WT* results in the polarization of a scene whose main participants are the United States and the Arab League. In other words, we observe a conflict between the Western world, embodied by the U.S., and the Arab world, represented metonymically by the Arab League. This picture of the conflict seems to be simplified, limited, as the role of European countries is merely mentioned.

Profile 1. Imposition of a no-fly zone over Libya (under U.S. command)

Superstructure categories	**Content**
Author	Waterman, Sh. & Gertz, B.
Superheadline	*Libya*
Headline I, p. 1	*Coalition batters Libyan's defenses*
Headline II, p. A15	*Libya*
Subheadline	*U.S. leads 1st phase of military campaign*
Main Event	U.S.-led military forces destroy most of Libya's air defenses when imposing a no-fly zone.
Global sense	Operation 'Odyssey Dawn', led by the U.S., results in a success, i.e. the no-fly zone is enforced.

The first aspect of the Libyan operation refers to the way it is being performed, i.e. by imposing a no-fly zone. However, unlike *WP*, where the leading role of the U.S. is stressed, not only does *WT* emphasize (in the initial part of the news from the first page) the American role in military action, but also the British one.

Senses included in subsequent elements of superstructure show a leading, positive role of the U.S.A. in the mission. In the background of the event, the actions of the Americans are strongly legitimized, as they are authorized by the U.N. resolution (paragraph 6), reduce the threat in Benghazi, and are aimed to protect Libyans from Gaddafi (paragraphs 7, 8), and support humanitarian efforts in Libya (paragraph 8). Moreover, full involvement of coalition members is expected to help the Americans accomplish their objectives (paragraph 9):

(6) Adm. Gortney said U.S., French and British aircraft had already struck Col. Gaddafi's ground forces near Benghazi. It was the dictator's promise to show "no mercy, no pity" to the population there that triggered the U.N. Security Council resolution last week that authorized "all means" against Libyan forces engaged in targeting civilians.

(7) "Benghazi is not completely safe from attack, but it is certainly under less threat than it was yesterday," Adm. Gortney said, noting that there were no reports of civilian casualties.

(8) "The goals of this campaign right now again are limited, and it isn't about seeing [Col. Gaddafi] go," Adm. Mullen said. "It's about supporting the United Nations resolution, which talked to limiting or eliminating his ability to kill his own people as well as support the humanitarian efforts."

(9) Adm. Gortney said more Arab nations are expected to announce their role in the military action, called Operation Odyssey Dawn, and that an international coalition command would take control in the next several days.

Besides, in the description of the events preceding the air-raid, Obama's moral obligation to protect Libyans against Col. Gaddafi is pointed out:

(10) In announcing the strikes a day earlier he [Obama — M.W.] said the operation was launched reluctantly and with limited objectives. "We cannot stand idly by when a tyrant tells his people there will be no mercy," Mr. Obama said, […].

Profile 2. 'Odyssey Dawn' from the point of view of American politicians

Superstructure categories	**Content**
Author	McLaughlin, S.
Headline I	*Lawmakers concerned about U.S. role in Libya*
Headline II	*Congress*
Main Event	Members of Congress comment on the military intervention in Libya.
Preceding Events	President Barack Obama states on Saturday that he advocates the operation. He emphasizes that he has no choice and has to back up the U.N. resolution. He calls the mission

	'supporting'.
Global Sense	Members of Congress criticize the Obama administration for the intervention in Libya.

The second text from *WT* presents Congressmen's opinions about the participation of American forces in the conflict, which is, anyway, indicated in two headlines (*Lawmakers concerned about U.S. role in Libya* and *Congress*). In the background of the main event, i.e. in the discussion on the intervention, Republican and Democrat arguments are advanced. Not surprisingly, most negative opinions are stated by Republicans — political opponents of President Obama.

The sender presents Obama's potential counter-arguments to political allegations in a relatively objective way, since in the preceding events the President's motives for his decision are explained. Political allegations and questions suggest that Republicans support broadening U.S. participation in the mission and the President is mainly criticized for ineffective communication with Congress:

(11) But the main focus of concern on Capitol Hill is the level of the American commitment — with some saying the President has acted too slowly and must expand the U.S. role, while others, including GOP House Speaker John A. Boehner, arguing that the President must "better explain" what kind of conflict he has committed the U.S. to fight.

(12) "The President is the commander in chief, but the administration has a responsibility to define for the American people, the Congress and our troops what the mission in Libya is," said Mr. Boehner, Ohio Republican. "Before any further military commitments are made, the administration must do a better job of communicating to the American people and to Congress about our mission in Libya and how it will be achieved."

(13) But Mr. Obama also faced criticism from Sen. Lindsey Graham, South Carolina Republican, who said the President had been tardy to date in acting against Col. Gaddafi, and that Washington should assert more leadership of the international coalition patrolling the skies over Libya.

Profile 3. 'Odyssey Dawn' from the Arab viewpoint

Superstructure categories	**Content**
Author	Sen, A. K.
Superheadline	*Libya*
Headline	*Arab League reconsiders action against Libya*
Main Event	The leader of the Arab League condemns military action and calls a meeting to reconsider Arab support for the mission.
Global Sense	The course of the intervention is broadly commented on, owing to certain purposeful actions of Gaddafi's supporters, and raises serious doubts, according to Secretary General Amr Moussa. The Arab League intends to reconsider the mission and its objectives.
Commentary	Ali Aujali says that Gaddafi's regime has been collecting the bodies of Libyan victims and placing them at "strategic points" to blame international forces.

The last aspect of the operation highlights the Arab League's viewpoint on the course of military actions in Libya. In the headline *Arab League reconsiders action against Libya*, the author notes that this organization criticizes the idea of a no-fly zone and revises its support for the U.N. resolution. However, the commentary, closing the textual frame, disowns the relevance of arguments provided by the Secretary-General of the League as Libya's ambassador in Washington, Ali Aujali, says that:

(14) The regime had been collecting the bodies of its victims since the start of the uprising and was now placing them at "strategic points" in order to blame the deaths on the international coalition.

Moreover, he points out that Amr Moussa speaks for himself, not in the name of the whole League, which in fact endorsed a U.N. resolution and authorized the attacks against Gaddafi's forces.

5. Textual axiologization of the characters

Textual image of events, treated as a variant part of the linguistic worldview, may be considered within the framework of a method which allows us to reconstruct, on the basis of recurrent word collocations used by a particular social group in a specific communication area (Kiklewicz, 2006: 334), a subjective, individual manner of perceiving reality.

This subjective way of watching a section of reality, which in that case is the event discussed, is regarded as the perspective in which the dailies *WP* and *WT* conceptualize the event. We assume that the textual axiologization of characters gives a clue to the author's attitude towards participants in a certain event or towards his/her intentions to present them to the reader. Obviously, it exerts a considerable impact on the way events are profiled, which may either serve to sustain some characters' actions in a discourse, their legitimization, or quite the contrary — their depreciation or disaffirmation.

In *WP*, 35 excerpts have been specified in which event participants are assessed; in *WT*, there are 43 such excerpts. Table 1 shows number and type of axiologization (positive vs. negative). We need to note here that if several axiological opinions of the same kind on the same character appeared in a given excerpt, even though expressed by different means (e.g. via lexis, implication, presupposition, etc.), only one assessment was marked then — like in the example below:

"He's a thug. He's a cagey guy. He's a survivor. We know that," Mullen said (Finn/Jaffe, *WP*, p. A1) (emphasis — M.W.).

However, if both positive and negative cases of axiologization occurred in one fragment, then — regardless of the number of rhetorical devices — only one positive and one negative assessment were marked. We could thus treat a paragraph as a demarcation criterion of axiologization. This procedure was meant to objectify the analysis results so that any assessing devices that had not been noticed (e.g. those expressed implicitly) could not affect the final result. The object of our interest was not in the least the number of all possible opinions, assessments (both explicit and implicit), but excerption of the most evident ones for a common reader.

Numerical presentation of the assessed cases serves to show which characters are exposed, highlighted in textual reality, and which ones are rather downplayed by the author.

Table 1. Axiologization of all the characters in *WP* and *WT*

Characters	Axiologization		Total
	Positive	negative	
Assessed in both dailies			
	WP/*WT*	*WP*/*WT*	*WP*/*WT*
Gaddafi	0/0	10/15	10/15
International coalition	5/5	2/5	7/10
Obama and his administration	2/1	4/11	6/12
Arab League	3/1	0/2	3/3
Assessed only in *WP*			
The West	0	4	4
U.S.A.	1	1	2
Arab leaders	0	1	1
Qatar	1	0	1
Libyan media	0	1	1
Assessed only in *WT*			
Turkey and Arab countries	0	2	2
Moussa	0	2	2
Libyan rebels	1	0	1
Total	*WP*/*WT*	*WP*/*WT*	*WP*/*WT*
	12/8	23/37	35/45

Most evaluating opinions pertain to Muammar Gaddafi, the international coalition and its leader, President Obama. Not surprisingly, Gaddafi is assessed entirely negatively and the coalition mostly positively. However, it is interesting that axiologization of the U.S.A. is rather ambivalent but that of Obama is pejorative, especially in *WT*, which is a conservative daily. Apparently, the reason for that may be the fact that even though 'Odyssey Dawn' is regarded as a desirable event (especially if we take outcries in Egypt or Tunisia into consideration), Obama

is criticized for ineffective communication to Americans and to Congress about the operation and its objectives. Anyway, this point is raised by Republicans and reiterated by *WT*.

Although negative opinions prevail in both dailies, *WT* displays a greater tendency to highlight pejorative aspects of event participants, as the proportion of positive assessments to the negative ones is: in *WP* +12/-23 (+34,28%/-65,71%) and in *WT* +8/-37 (+17,77%/-82,22%).

6. Conclusions

A textual analysis of news allows the researcher to gain an insight into a text structure and to excerpt both explicit and implicit strategies employed by the sender to, first, provide the receiver with already "profiled" information and, second, keep it up or amplify it in such a manner that all the values and norms accompanying the information be incorporated into the receiver's value system, outlook, and, third, to reproduce these values and norms in the discourse. The profiled information serves as a powerful tool for transmitting an image of the event perceived by the sender but read, deciphered and acquired by the receiver via certain discursive mechanisms.

Except for specific images of the operation 'Odyssey Dawn', resulting from the processes of profiling events and axiologizing its participants, we may also draw a few conclusions of a more general nature:

1. We observe a relationship between category cohesion (within the limits of textual superstructure) and transparency of a given event profile (i.e. a specific sender's attitude towards the event and its participants or a viewpoint the receiver ought to take when observing the event and its participants). The greater correspondence between categories, the more the profile is amplified and its role reinforced in the textual image of the event and in discourse itself because accepting and adopting a given viewpoint may influence the way we perceive other events with the same participants (this is the reason, inter alia, for ascribing the adjective *opinion-forming* to some newspapers or media in general).

2. If the senses of subsequent categories do not correspond with one another, the profile transparency is distorted, which affects its reception negatively or may even challenge it. In that case, we deal with persuasion as other senses are postulated in the elements of textual superstructure (headline, lead, main event, etc.) and others add up to a global sense.

3. The kind of axiologization of participants creates their image in the eye of the reader, but it can also indicate the sender's desire to attract the news. For example, we have noted in

the material analyzed a prevailing number of negative opinions (in the case of evaluating the participants), which proves the rule "bad news is good news".

4. Axiologization of event participants reflects the sender's attitude towards them but also (indirectly) towards the event discussed — as they take part in it. We can thus conclude that the kind of profile which the sender chooses is dependent on their emotional and ideological attitude towards particular characters. Projecting positive images of characters frequently results in a positive image of events they participate in and, on the contrary, their role in an event may be depreciated through a negative image and may also legitimize actions taken against them by other participants.

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TREATING DISCLAIMER AS A POWER STRATEGY OF SELF-LEGITIMATION AND OTHER-DE-LEGITIMATION IN NETANYAHU'S UNGA SPEECH

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Abstract

The text is produced with its particular purpose. It does not merely function as the information deliverer, but rather as the battle of power (Dijk, 1998). The speaker or the politician could practice his personal or group interest to control the text itself, as well as the audience's mind (Dijk, 1993b, 2006b). It could be designed through the structure of discourse such as the scheme of the text, the headlines of the news, the opening and closing of the speech, and so on (Dijk, 1998). Further, van Dijk (2006a) mentioned that the ideology manifested in the text could be identified from the discursive strategy, the way how discourse is produced. One of the proposed discursive strategies is disclaimer. This strategy defines the way in which the speaker presents something positive at first, and then rejects it by employing a particular term such as *but* (Dijk, 1995, 1998). It serves as a positive representation of self-legitimation and negative representation of other-de-legitimation (Dijk, 1995, 1998, 2006a). This paper then studies the practice of disclaimer by Netanyahu at a peace agreement speech at the United Nations General Assembly (henceforth, UNGA) in 2011. The micro structure of the text, (i.e Syntax, semantics, lexicon, and rhetoric) exercised together with disclaimer to empower the scrutiny of ideological practice, is explored as well. Thus, the political discourse of legitimation, manifested together through the practice of disclaimer, proliferates its power domination.

Keywords: disclaimer, self-legitimation, other-delegitimation, CDA

1. Background of the study

The speech, as another written discourse, is not only a matter of information delivery, but also the practice of interests (Dijk, 1998). People often convey the intended message through the effective use of language. They could modify the choice of a particular topic to perform the order of the speech and word choices in order to attract the audiences. Hence, this is the spectrum of ideological practices, the process of domination, employed within the discourse of the speech (Dijk, 1998, 2000). Additionally, such hidden message could be scrutinized by attempting the linguistics features such as syntax or word choice, which might be practiced together through discursive strategy (Dijk, 1995, 1998, 2006a). One of the discursive strategies (US and THEM of positive/ingroup and negative/ outgroup) is disclaimer, the way how the speaker 'presents something positive and then rejects it in order to maintain his or her main stance (Dijk, 1998, 2006a). Employing the theory, this paper aims to answer the following questions: 1) What are the discourse structures of disclaimer as the strategy of (de)legitimation practiced in Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu's speech at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 2011?, 2) How are the discourse structures of disclaimer as the strategy of (de)legitimation practiced in Netanyahu's speech at UNGA 2011?

Analyzing the disclaimer strategy as the strategy of (de)legitimation is still worthy of analysis, since it has never been studied before in some journals. Some scholars have discussed discourse construction during the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Amer (2009) studied the '*(de)legitimation strategy of the second Palestinian intifada in Thomas Friedman's discourse*'. He attempted to scrutinize the 'argumentative structure' and 'political representation of self and other' by employing pragmatics, semantics, and sociopolitical approach (Amer, 2009). Afterwards, Richardson & Barkho (2009) analyzed how BBC constructs the discourse of Palestine and Israel. They approach the case through 'discursive and visual rhetoric' and 'argumentative representation' that eventually might result in inequality practice. As it is known, the discursive event does not happen naturally but 'is shaped by situation, institution, and social structure but discursive also shapes them' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258).

In addition, Kamalu (2011) studied the strategy of positive and negative face keeping by employing rhetorical strategy in CDA. His study on '*Jonathan's declaration interest*' shows that political leader might use some strategies in doing the 'self' and 'other' legitimation such as' personal accomplishment' or 'deployment of pronoun' (Kamalu, 2011). Furthermore, De Olievera (2011) argued that such legitimation might be enacted through 'gender's (woman)

role' or the 'self-achievement' toward the related objective. Her study focused on '*Rousseff's legitmation strategy in promoting Brazil*' to become a permanent member of the UN. She used women and Brazil's political, social, and economic development (see Rouseff's speech in De Olievera's work, 2011) as a 'topicalization' strategy. It eventually could strengthen the 'authorization' as the process of convincing the public that Brazil is qualified enough to be recognized as UN member.

Accordingly, analyzing the disclaimer strategy can enhance the discussion on the (de)legitimation strategy practiced by some politicians or leaders to attract the addressee. Besides, it will also help the society to become more aware of the several manipulations since the language of politician is always politics (Dijk, 1997a; Joseph 2006).

2. Theoretical Framework

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) posits language as the tool of opacities identification. It tries to attempt to the related text understanding beyond the language such as social or political context (Dijk, 1995, 1999, 2001). The CDA analyst is expected to discover the imbalanced power or unequal representation portrayed in discourse (of the speech), which contributes to the maintenance of 'asymmetrical power relation' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258). Additionally, the speech as discourse practice can be scrutinized by analyzing the linguistics features (micro structure), structure of the speech (schematic structure), the main topic of the speech (macro structure), or how the speech is delivered (discursive strategy) (Dijk, 1998, 2006a). As mentioned, the speaker may not only deliver the speech to inform, but also to dominate the audience in order to maintain the main stance or interest. Therefore, an analysis of Netanyahu's speech through the micro structure of disclaimer as a discursive strategy is appropriate.

Disclaimer is a discursive strategy in which the speaker 'presents something positive and then rejects it with a particular term such as *but*' (Dijk, 1998, 2000, 2003). It functions to preserve the face of the speaker, since the speaker also does not expect the recipient to have a negative perception of him/her. Therefore, the disclaimer strategy typically serves as a positive-self representation (Dijk, 1998, 1995). Additionally, it also works to maintain the political stance by maintaining the respect to the audience, and at the same time legitimizes and de-legitimizes the ingroup and the outgroup member (Dijk, 1995, 2002, 2006a, 2006b). The in-

group members represent Israel, Jewish, and its ally meanwhile the outgroup covers Palestinians.

This disclaimer strategy was also practiced in Netanyahu's speech while he was negotiating for a peace agreement at the United Nations General Assembly 2011. He utilized this disclaimer to justify his legitimation and strengthen his political stance, and de-legitmize some propositions of Palestinians' reasons. Importantly, Netanyahu employed micro structure within disclaimer to explicate his legitimation and de-legitmation towards the out-group member**.**

It is salient to highlight that not all uses of *but* is disclaimer (Dijk, 2012b, 2012c). The conjunctions or a connector such as *but* functions as disclaimer whenever 'the attached proposition in the preceding clause reflects positive self-representation and is followed by a negative evaluation of the out-group' member in the latter clause (Dijk, 2012b, 2012c). It functions to keep the face of the speaker since the speaker also does not want the recipient to have a bad perception of him or her.

Compared to previous studies on the similar works, (Richardson & Barkho, 2009; Amer, 2009 ; Kamalu, 2011; De Olieveira, 2011), the distinctive feature is that it makes use of discursive practice of disclaimer as the effort of (de)legitimation. Needless to say, disclaimer strategy has not been studied that much in the current works. Thus, it expects to give a new angle in scrutinizing political legitimation.

2.1 Discourse Structure

One of the main tenets in critical discourse analysis is the notion of ideology. van Dijk (1995,2000) defined ideology as 'social representation shared by social group'. In other words, ideology is 'the fundamental interest shared by particular people', either in individual or group which is represented through 'text and talk' (Dijk, 1993b, 1993c, 1998). Meanwhile, Gramsci (1971) defined ideology as hegemony. Such hegemony could be identified from the process of legitimation and de-legitimation. In relation to ideology, Dijk (1993c, 1993d, 1997, 1998) argues that ideology posits as the power to authorize the (political) interest that eventually might represent Us and Them group.

The text and talk, as in the speech of Netanyahu, reflect his ideology or the interest. To identify the hidden ideology, text analysis or speech analysis can be employed (Dijk, 1998). The first is 'topicalization', how the speaker chooses the main topic to convey (Dijk, 1998, 2007). Netanyahu chooses the peace agreement in which he mentions that the agreement is never settled because of Palestinians' refusal. The second is the scheme of the speech. That is the opening and closing of the speech, or the introduction and conclusion. What is mentioned at

first is something prominent and the latter is less prominent (Dijk, 1998). The last type of text analysis is identification on linguistics features (micro structure) as the smallest element of the speech that is pivotal in that it reflects the holistic view of particular discourse (Dijk, 1993a).

The micro structure of the speech covers three major things. These are syntax, word choice, and rhetoric. Syntax is a dimension which can highlight the semantic aspect (Dijk, 1998). Through the variation of a sentence, for example in active or passive form, the speaker could emphasize or conceal the actor. Presenting the action instead of the event is another way of representing the in-group or out-goup members. Additionally, one of the most familiar and effective use of syntactical strategies is the use of the pronominal pair of US and THEM (Dijk, 1998, 2000). It is the way in which the speaker creates the polarization between in-group and group society (Dijk, 1998). The discourse producer tries to give the identification upon his member and other members by mentioning the pronoun US and THEM. The ingroup (US) society will be represented in a positive way, whereas the outgroup (THEM) society will be represented in a negative way. Such a strategy can effectively create the boundary or distance between those societies (Dijk, 1991, 1993a, 2002, 2006a,).

Further, the idea of word choice is closely related to the semantics aspect. The speaker can portray the audiences (ingroup and outgroup members) or even legitimize and de-legitimize the position through the use of various lexicons because to utter or choose a word is not an accidental event. However, it shows how he or she means the reality by taking the most representative one to the ideology he has (Dijk, 1998). Eventually, Rhetorical Structure, for example by employing the repetition strategy, posits as a means to emphasize or de-emphasize meaning as the function of ideological cognition (Dijk, 1998).

2.2 Disclaimer as Discursive Strategy

Discursive strategy such as disclaimer can highlight the cognitive representation and the process of power exercise since the text is modified by the structure of discourse and even designed though various ways of discourse display (Dijk, 1993a, 1998). Even though there are some discursive strategies (Dijk, 2006a), this paper tries to focus specifically on disclaimer strategy. It is the strategy in producing the discourse by which the speaker ‘presents something positive and then rejects it with particular term such as *but’* (Dijk, 1998). Dijk (2012b, 2012c) mentions that not all use of *but* are disclaimers. *But* or other conjunctions functions as disclaimer whenever the proposition or clause that conjunction *but* attached ‘is preceded by a positive self-representation and then followed by a negative evaluation’ of the outgroup member. It functions to keep the face of the speaker since the speaker also does not want the

recipient negative opinion of him or her. Therefore, disclaimer strategy typically serves as positive-self representation (Dijk, 1995, 1997). It is mostly used to prejudice, mitigate, or to keep the face of the speaker. There are several types of disclaimer strategy. These are ;

- disclaimer apparent denial or negation, the first proposition is directly negated by disclaimer (I have nothing against X, but ….),
- disclaimer apparent concession, the speaker tries to respect the interlocutor's idea in the first clause, but then rejects it (They may be very smart, but …),
- disclaimer apparent empathy, attempting the empathy within the disclaim (They may have had problem, but…),
- disclaimer apparent effort, the speaker portrays the effort (We do everything we can, but….),
- disclaimer apparent apology, the speaker shows his apology to manage the impression, (Excuse me, but…),
- transfer, the speaker puts away particular issue like the term *political hot potato* (I have no problem with them, but my clients…)
- and reversal, blaming the victim (THEY are not discriminated against, but WE are) (Dijk, 1995, 1997b, 1998, 2000, 2006a).

From those disclaimer strategies, disclaimer apparent apology is not found in Netanyahu's speech.

2.3 Interdiscursivity in Discourse

The correlation from one discourse to another discourse, interdiscursivity is examined to enrich the analysis. The term interdicursivity is the extension explanation of 'constitutive intertextuality' (Fairclough, 1992). Further, he defines interdiscurisivity as the contention of 'mixing genres, types, and discourse' which associate with different discourse or text. Bakhtin (1986, cited in WU ,2011 :98) said that interdiscursivity is the composed utterances 'dialogized' in different perspectives. Hence, interdiscursvity is the media that links the text, context, and social phenomenon that concern the implicit relation of the text and its features.

Through interdiscursivity, the authors are able to view the phenomenon from various angles and it will be more objective. WU (2011) said that interdiscursivity plays a significant role because it bridges the gap between text and social practice (WU, 2011). To strengthen the analysis, the authors will also utilize the work on Israel and Palestine peace by Richardson & Barkho (2009), in which they employ discursive and ethnographic approach to examine how the news is constructed (by BBC, as subject in their research).

Discourse analysts posit interdiscursivity as the concept to unveil inter-text relation that consists of discourse formation (WU, 2011). It is more than identifying the relation of one text with another. Though it tries to investigate the deeper elements such as discourse practices. Wodak (2001, cited in in WU 2011) describes interdiscursivity as a 'discourse historical approach', in which the analysis of social problem is done within inter-text relation. On her proposition, interdiscursivity should be tied to historical change and highlight to potential relation of interdiscursive practice (WU, 2011).

2.4 (De)Legitimation Strategy

As mentioned above, disclaimer as a discursive strategy may work as a positive and/or negative representation. When it operates as a positive self-representation, it also works as a strategy of self-legitimation (ingroup legitimation). Conversely, negative representation enacts to other delegitimation (outgroup de-legitimation) (Dijk, 1998, 2006a).

Additionally, some scholars propose legitimation strategy that works on political discourse. Reyes (2011) defines legitimation as the effort to make something legal. Chouliaraki (2005, cited in Reyes, 2011) views the legitimacy as 'symbolic power' to authorize the action. In the case of the Israel and Palestine conflict, the effort of Netanyahu (as well as Abbas) through speech performance to justify the conceived goal is politically legitimate action. Besides, Suchman (1995, cited in Zu and Mc Kenna, 2012:527) delineates legitimation as broad-spectrum propositions about 'appropriateness' of particular social phenomenon within the 'social contract system'.

Further, Reyes (2011) argues that the speaker or politician may justify the (de)legitimation action through fives strategies: 1) Emotional Appealing, how the speaker manifests the emotion within the argumentation portraying the Us-group and Them-group. 2) Hypothetical Future, posing the threat tendency in the future that eventually requires the imminent action. 3) Rationality, the politician rationalizes the action by constituting the common sense (decision making is made through the right procedure) that society will accept it reasonably. van Leeuwen (2007) described it as 'Theoretical Authorization'. 4) Voice of Expertise, the action is backed up by the expert. It might be familiar as 'Authorization' strategy in van Leeuwen's concept (van Leeuwen, 2007). 5) Altruism, the politician tries to ensure that the action is not merely personal interest but it benefits for others (Reyes, 2011:785-787).

In this paper, those strategies will be enacted to sharpen the analysis of disclaimer as the strategy of self-legitimation (ingroup) and other-delegitmation (outgroup). It can portray the holistic argumentation (discourse), intended thought or contention, or political interest that

Netanyahu intends to achieve in peace with Palestine. Such order of analysis is salient since the language produced by the politician is always political in that language itself is constructed out of ideology of the language user (Joseph, 2006).

3. Data and Method

The data are the utterances of Netanyahu's speech from discourse structure (micro structure) and disclaimer. It was taken from Israel's official website, www.haaretz.com, Netanyahu's speech at UNGA, September 23rd, 2011. To gain the valid data, the authors use several steps. Firstly, the authors classify the utterances containing micro structure elements. Second, the writers categorize the utterances covering some terms "but", "however", "though", "yet" into disclaimer and non disclaimer. Those data were finally re-checked and validated by Dijk (2012) through email (personal correspondence from April-Mei 2012) to ensure that the (disclaimer) data are justifiable. Finally, the authors select the disclaimer data to be investigated. Needless to say, the utterances which belong to disclaimer will be typed in bold.

4. Discussion

Maintaining the effective communication is the essence of language. The speaker, then, has liability to respect the audience since they may have different perspectives of a particular case. Accordingly, the speaker in this study, Netanyahu, should deliver his proposition of peace without clearly discriminating others. This is the way disclaimer works in his speech as discursive strategy to legitimize his political stance. Some disclaimers practiced in Netanyahu's speech are discussed below:

Excerpt 1) "The truth is that Israel wants peace with a Palestinian state, **but the Palestinians want a state without peace.** And the truth is you shouldn't let that happen."

In this excerpt, Netanyahu employs syntactical structure, simple present tense, within his disclaimer apparent denial strategy. As the result, it portrays the simultaneous desire of Palestinian toward the refusal of peace agreement (Azzar, 1999; Dijk, 1993b). Palestinians want only a state without negotiating peace. In addition, such structure is strengthened through the use of a transitive verb, by which the verb "want + peace" for Israel in the first clause and "want + without peace" for Palestine in the later clause. It affects Israel' positive portrayal as

the actor who is eager to peace. At the same time, it works as deligitimation strategy and downgrades Palestinians in the sense that they do not intend to work towards a peace agreement.

Thus, disclaimer apparent denial is employed to rationalize Israel's political interest of achieving peace in the Middle East with Palestine by making rationalization. As Reyes (2011) mentions, self-legitimation could be manifested through rational argumentation. Netanyahu argues firstly how the Israel and Palestine conflict could not be mediated through UN resolution but direct negotiation. Though, Palestine always rejects to negotiate. Nevertheless, Israel keeps forward on it for the sake of peace between them. Again, Palestine does not negotiate for peace but a state that eventually peace cannot be reached. The practice of such 'theoretical rationalization' is the manifestation of self-legitmation and other-de-legitimation (van Leeuwen, 2007).

To enhance such a scenario, Netanyahu also practiced the use of the preposition "with" to relate Israel to peace and "without" for Palestinians refusal. The word "with" means there is a willingness from Israel to coexist with Palestine; meanwhile, "without" attached to the Palestinians means have nothing or have no attempt to create peace with Israel (Cambridge dictionary). Accordingly, the positive face of Israel remains protected as the actor of peace keeper.

Excerpt 2) "Leaders must see reality as it is, not as it ought to be**.** We must do our best to shape the future, **but we cannot wish away the dangers of the present.** And the world around Israel is definitely becoming more dangerous. Militant Islam has already taken over Lebanon and Gaza."

In exercising his discourse, Netanyahu practiced micro structure of the text, namely the pronominal pair of "we" (Azar, 1999). Thus, it means that people in that forum, the speaker and the audience are involved together in fighting the raised issue (militant Islam as the danger of the present). Besides, those people are given a shared responsibility for shaping the future that is free from danger since the fact that the word "we" is politically treated is discourse of attraction, involving the interlocutor to the topic (Dijk, 1998). In due course, the contention of such a paradigm, shaping the future and response toward the current danger is not merely the liability of Netanyahu but all people as the representative of United Nation members.

Further, the word choice of "we" is also the practice of group categorization that is so ideological. The word "we" represents the ingroup members, Israel and its allies, that are

accordingly protected. At the same time, it depicts the negative representation of the outgroup members, Palestinians and militant Islam. Thus, both Palestinians and militant Islam are negatively stereotyped to justify ingroup action. Needless to say, the presence of militant Islam represented in the Palestinian movement (Richardson & Barkho, 2009) should be terminated. Such classification of Us-group and Them-group manifested in the use of "we", through emotion, is the spectrum of ideological practice to empower the domination (Reyes, 2011).

On the other hand, Netanyahu employed *disclaimer apparent concession*, that is giving justification upon self defense that all countries should have. Though, he disclaims it through the use of conjunction "but" with another concession (Dijk, 1995,1998). Firstly, he argues about the necessity to set the best future. Secondly, he claims that today's presence of militant Islam is a threat. After all, he utilized disclaimer to attract audience compromise to fight militant Islam/Palestine since the first notion is disclaimed by the latter one that also acts as the main goal.

In justifying his disclaimer strategy, it is clear that Netanyahu employed 'Hypothetical Future' (van Leeuwen, 2007), presenting the danger or threat that requires imminent action, terminating militant Islam (Reyes, 2011). Moreover, Netanyahu tried to trace back to history to illustrate how those militants endanger some nations. In this case, he makes use of interdiscursivity. Furthermore, he puts the emotion of fear to enhance the legitimation. Additionally, the use of modal "must" and the first clause shows the rigid necessity to respond to it (Azar. 1999; Swan, 1995). Conversely, the modal auxiliary "cannot" in the following clause demonstrates the huge urgency of granting the best future that is free from any threat. This is somehow defined as 'cognitive manipulation', turning away a particular perspective (those two concessions of responsibility and threat from Palestine) for the sake domination or (de)legitmation (Dijk, 2006b).

Excerpt 3) "There were things there about the Jewish state that I'm sure the Palestinians didn't like. **But with all my reservations, I was willing to move forward on these American ideas**."

In this excerpt, self-legitmation and otherdelegitmation strategy are enacted through *disclaimer apparent empathy* in which the emotional appealing is involved. Netanyahu utilized the word choice "move forward" that describes the progress of a particular effort that has been planned (the American idea of peace settlement that both sides refuse). It signifies the great intention from Israel to attain the peace for his willingness to follow and accept the American idea as the mediator of peace. Though, the rejection remains there from Palestine. Wanting to

disappoint on that action, Netanyahu practiced empathic words “with all my reservation” that means with all arrangements that he already concerns much (Cambridge dictionary). In that sense, Israelis still listen to other voices and minimize personal interest (discourse of politics) to justify his action and mitigate Palestine’s response (Dijk, 1997, 2006; Zu & McKenna, 2012).

In relation to legitimation, he used the personal pronoun “I” that implies in-depth willingness of Netanyahu himself to attain the peace (Azar, 1999). Furthermore, it may also represent the voice of ingroup, Israelis willingness since “I” refers to the speaker personally or the collective voice of the group since the fact that Netanyahu works as Prime Minister (Dijk, 1998). In justifying such action, he practiced the emotion of empathy to persuade the audience to believe in his idea. He involved such empathy due to the consideration and realization of common sense that people will not accept the remaining conflict. The conflict solely results on a human rights violation which the UN intends to fight. Therefore, he justifies his political action through emotional appealing that disclaims the previous notion (Reyes, 2011). Importantly, this discourse depicts Palestinian delegitmation afterwards by giving defensive peace discourse, arguing the positive comment of peace agreement (Gavriely-Nuri, 2010).

Excerpt 4) “In 2000 Israel made a sweeping peace offer that met virtually all of the Palestinian demands. Arafat rejected it. The Palestinians then launched a terror attack that claimed a thousand Israeli lives. Prime Minister Olmert afterwards made an even more sweeping offer, in 2008. President Abbas didn't even respond to it. **But Israel did more than just make sweeping offers**.”

In response to international suggestion, Israel abandoned the military operation the territorial line that treats as the core of conflict. Israel left it in a sense that Palestine would also begin the negotiation for peace settlement, although it did not happen. The Palestinian leader did not respond to it. Hence, he practiced *disclaimer apparent effort* to de-legitimize the Palestinian’s action that makes peace wishful only. It is employed through comparative sentence signified by the use of the word “more”. It functions to compare two things to higher or support the preference that one thing is better that another one (Azar, 1996). In this case, Netanyahu compared the effort to attain the peace between two conflicting parties, Israel and Palestine. Thus, such structure within disclaimer strategy presents the positive portrayal toward Israel (ingroup) and downgrade Palestine’s political stance internationally due to its negative representation (Dijk, 1998, 2006a, 2006b).

Gavriely-Nuri (2010) mentions that language peace discourse includes in ‘oppressive peace discourse’, giving the negative comment. He argues that what has been done by the Palestinian leader is an obstacle toward the peace. Palestinians even seek peace unilaterally (state admittance). Under that scenario, the peace will never happen in that it deals with two countries. Additionally, it enhances the justification of Israeli political action (protecting the territory and building the west bank barrier). No matter how Palestine rejects peace negotiations, Israel and its leader always makes a great effort to end the conflict. The disclaimer apparent effort is negated the notion of international forum to see ‘peace’ since one side is not eager to. Nevertheless, Israel gained its self-legitimation of peace keeper, the actor that is willing to have peace.

In addition to the above strategies, the ‘altruism’ strategy of discourse legitimation (Reyes, 2011) is also employed within Netanyahu’s strategy of disclaimer. Firstly, accepting international suggestion enables him and Israelis to be portrayed positively. Afterwards, he claims that leaving territory is the hope of both citizens. That is, this action is fundamentally beneficial to both countries, the citizens of Palestine and Israel will not leave under fear due to the simultaneous war. The sweeping offer eventually forces Israel’s military to move back, to terminate the attack. Hence, Netanyahu attracts directly social phenomenon, the imminent action to response conflict in justifying his ‘altruism’ strategy (Reyes, 2011).

Excerpt 5) “The settlements have to be -- it's an issue that has to be addressed and resolved in the course of negotiations. **But the core of the conflict has always been and unfortunately remains the refusal of the Palestinians to recognize a Jewish state in any border.**”

In this context, Netanyahu exercised his *disclaimer apparent transfer* strategy, turning the core of conflict from the negotiation process to refusal, within syntactical structure (perfect tense) and word choice (unfortunately). To negate the previous proposition, he used the following phrase in simple present tense: “has always been and unfortunately remains ...”. It implies the sustainable (Azar, 1999) refusal from Palestine to live side by side with Israel. Palestinians do not want to acknowledge the presence of the Jewish state since it firstly proposed in peace agreement settlement even though Israel wants to recognize Palestine state. Further, such action always happens until the current day where the negotiation is working (Azar, 1999). Besides, the practice of lexicon of word peace discourse “unfortunately” means that Netanyahu wishes that the refusal had not happened (Cambridge dictionary). As a result,

negative portrayal is enacted to rationalize his argumentation (Dijk 1998, 2006a; Gavriely-Nuri, 2011). That is, Palestine only offers the hope of peace that is never actualized.

Additionally, such disclaimer is enhanced through the 'altruism' strategy to create self-legitimation and at the same time to de-legitimize others (Reyes, 2011). It is practiced by tracing back to some leaders who had been eager to accept peace agreement and pursued the recognition of a Jewish state. He provided some actors in narrating the justification , such as the President of United States of America. Thus, the presence of support from this actor legitimizes his political stance in drawing the negative representation toward Palestine action. Besides that, this political legitimation is boosted by empowering self-image technique in making news discourse (Richardson & Barkho, 2009).

In sum, the conflict as Netanyahu believed is all about the acknowledgement of Palestine as the state and the refusal of Israel as a Jewish state. To attain the peace, both countries should shake hands. Nonetheless, the dispute from Palestine is exercised as the tool of de-legitimation by practicing disclaimer and further by the discourse of legitimation, that is 'altruism'. Needless to say, the conflict will end whenever both countries openly recognize one another. In this case, the presence of Palestine admittance to a Jewish state is prominent for Israelis for two major factors. Firstly, it is as political empowerment and domination over Palestine since the fact that Palestine's is small country. Secondly, it tends to the existence of ideology-based country to which it may boost Israel's domination in international politics.

Richardson & Barkho (2009) argued in their report that political division between Israel and Palestine is not the matter of religion (purely), but 'between Zionist and anti-Zionist'. In response toward conflicting land, they quote the classical belief of Israelis, "a land without people and people without land"; that means Palestine's land was primarily empty before the imposition of Israelis. Though, it contradicts to the fact that Gaza was one of the most populated land in the world (Richardson & Barkho, 2009: 606). Hence, Netanyahu tried to turn that notion by practicing his disclaimer, arguing that the peace may come upon Palestinian recognition of a Jewish state.

Excerpt 6) They applauded our withdrawal as an act of great statesmanship. It was a bold act of peace. **But ladies and gentlemen, we didn't get peace. We got war.** We got Iran, which through its proxy Hamas promptly kicked out the Palestinian Authority. The Palestinian Authority collapsed in a day -- in one day."

In the above excerpt, the practice of *disclaimer apparent denial* employs the emotional legitimation strategy of the US and THEM categorization (Reyes, 2011), that depicts positive and negative representation (Dijk, 1998). The pronoun "they" in the first clause refers to Palestine and its allies as the marginalized group, and "we" in the second clause represents the speaker, Netanyahu, and his allies, including audiences who agree with him, as the positive group. It gives unequal representation that strengthens his domination over the forum. Addressing the word "we" that attracts people to get involved in the topic (Azar, 1999), Netanyahu strived to increase the emotion of those audiences by stating that Israel and all Jewish people did not get any peace as promised (Reyes, 2011); though the ingroup, Israelis, got war. Additionally, Netanyahu employed the rhetorical structure to explicate the discrimination done by Palestine through terror and attack. He utilized the repetition of the Us-group linguistics feature, that is "we" in his disclaimer. Such rhetorical structure affects the audience's empathy, attention, and the unity of emotion for his legitimation in the following action.

Furthermore, he explicates another threat of the presence that Iran is assumed as the actor behind Hamas' victory in ousting the Palestinian authority. For this reason, Israel has to deal with a new problem beyond Palestinian militant Islam because Iran supports Hamas as the leader of the opposition. Such an obstacle burdens both countries in their efforts to attain peace. Hence, the practice of *disclaimer apparent denial* shows the positive representation of Israelis, since they are depicted as a discriminated group. It negates the idea of a promised peace after the withdrawal of military forces from territory in the preceding clause. On the other hand, Palestine is described as the actor which merely wishes for peace.

In extending his legitimation, Netanyahu puts on the emotion of tragedy, being the victim of Palestine's terror. It reflects the 'positive peace discourse' for Israel and the negative one for Palestine (Gavriely-Nury, 2011). Reyes (2011) says that the speaker might attribute the empathy of being a victim as the strategy of self-legitimation (face-keeping). Accordingly, it also creates a negative impression that Palestine is making the conflict sustainably exist. To sum up, such a disclaimer employed in the rhetorical structure of US and THEM categorization justifies Israel's political action.

5. Concluding Remark

The practice of disclaimer, together with micro structure, could proliferate the interest of the speaker such as politician. Netanyahu employs disclaimer to legitimize his political stance and at the same time de-legitimizes his opposition stance. Further, some discourse legitimation strategies ('emotional appealing', 'hypothetical future', 'rationality') are employed for the sake of self-legitimation and other-de-legitimation (Dijk, 1998, 2000, 2006b, Reyes, 2011). Needless to say, this research is open for question and suggestion in a sense that some angles or perspective might be used see the discourse of peace agreement. Thus, the following research in the similar field will be very worthwhile. This paper views such discourse from the way the speaker (Netanyahu) creates the strategy of (de)legitimation within disclaimer to protect the positive face of the US-group, and at the same time downgrades the Them-group.

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CORPUS LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF 'IAM' IN THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS BEFORE AND AFTER 9/11

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Abstract

Among the most controversial groups, in particular after 9/11, which are frequently represented in news and which has attracted growing political and academic attention, are Arabs and Muslims. Different news discourses have been examined and numerous frameworks in different fields of study have been employed to study and understand the representations of Arabs and Muslims in the media. This study examines the existence of three terms, namely 'Islam', 'Arab', and 'Muslim' (collectively, 'IAM') in two Australian newspapers, *The Australian* and *The Age*, during two periods of time (i.e., a year before and a year after 9/11) in terms of the selected corpus linguistic and lexical semantic features, namely the frequency of the selected lexical terms, collocations, collocation patterns, semantic fields, and lexical priming. The analysis was conducted using Wordsmith tools. It was noted that the frequency of 'Islam' and 'Muslim' in both newspapers increased after 9/11. In addition, it has been found that there were some ideologically significant collocations that increased, and some appeared, after 9/11. The results of this study revealed that there were some significant changes, which indicate that the context of 'IAM' has changed. This study also found that after 9/11, 'IAM' in both newspapers were mainly primed in terms of excessive level, for example, fundamentalists, extremists, radicals, etc. The growing interest in 'Islam' and 'Muslim' was not confined to Australian newspapers.

Keywords: Corpus linguistics; 'IAM' Representation; Collocations; Frequency; and Lexical Priming.

This paper is part of my PhD thesis (Monash University, Australia).

1. Introduction

This paper is part of an ongoing project which aims at examining Islam, Arabs, and Muslims (collectively, IAM) before and after 9/11 from a semantic perspective. Since September 11th 2001 a tremendous number of negatively charged stereotypes have appeared in Western media reports of Islam and Muslims (Abbas, 2001; Manning, 2004; Ahmad, 2006; Ameli, Marandi, Ahmed, Kara, & Merali, 2007). Commenting on the media role in representing Islam and Muslims, Azimifard (2008: 1) argues, "[n]owadays, numerous media campaigns are going on against Islam and Muslims. Most Western media with considerable financial resources and multiple channels try to show a rough picture of Islam to their public". Previous academic studies have suggested that the representations of Islam and Muslims in news coverage "tend to be confined to a rather narrow framework of understanding" (Moore, Mason, & Lewis, 2008, p.5). Richardson (2006: 22) suggests, "a discourse may be considered anti-Muslim if it constructs, perpetuates or transforms racist social practices". This racism has been 'normalised' as Richardson claims (Richardson, 2004: p.xvi) in the sense that "racist stereotypes are accepted as normal by the general public, and are therefore generally not recognized to be racist" (Micciulla, 2004: 1). Azimifard (2008: 1) explains that the Western media has capitalized on the September 11th attacks to increase its political power. In so doing, to use Mirza's words, Islam has been associated with terms such as "fundamentalism", "extremism" and "radicalism". He reasons that in the West, the media plays a central role in constructing reality; thus, when the Western media discourse is manipulated to misrepresent facts as in the case of Islam and Muslims, what is considered to be 'reality' is correspondingly distorted for uncritical readers.

The current study examines the Australian media due to the undeniable fact that Australia is a harmonious and migrant-friendly country which has contributed to its cultural diversity. Arab and Muslim communities have been enjoying all the benefits and services provided by Australia for years. Furthermore, they have been enjoying their religious freedom to practice Islam, allowing them to have their own Islamic schools and their own Islamic associations everywhere around Australia. Jonas (2003: 26) asserts that, "Muslims are the third largest religious group in Australia". Moreover, almost 79% of the Muslims living in Australia have obtained Australian citizenship (Saeed, 2003: 5). Yet, it has been reported that Muslims in Australia have become vulnerable to discrimination, harassment, and attacks, especially since September 11th and the Bali bombing (Callaghan et al., 2003:1). Philips (2001: 1) adds, "[v]erbal abuse and physical attacks against Arab immigrants and Muslim residents in Australia

began soon after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11". Hence, through conducting a corpus linguistic analysis, the current study attempts to trace the existence of three terms, 'Islam', 'Arab', and 'Muslim', in two Australian newspapers, namely *The Australian* and *The Age* before and after 9/11 in terms of frequency, collocations, collocation patterns, semantic fields, and lexical priming.

2. Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS)

Van Dijk (1988, as cited in Hardt-Mautner, 1995:4) suggests that the solution to the problem of how best to study news discourse is to combine both quantitative and qualitative analysis. He argues that the quantitative approach is limited to the surface structure of the discourse, covering frequency, size, and the major analytical questions such as the presence/absence of certain topics, the frequency of quotations, and the like. He also describes such an analysis as being a 'superficial content analysis' and argues that "it is useful but incomplete". In the same vein, Partington (2006:8) explains that Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) has emerged from the need to borrow and adapt a typical corpus linguistic (CL) methodology to study discourse. Hence, now it is possible to employ both the *quantitative* analytical features, which emerge in corpus linguistics as large collections of texts to undergo statistical analysis, with the *qualitative* analytical features, which are typical features of discourse analysis. This combination can be used to examine a smaller collection of texts (or discourse), or single texts thoroughly.

CADS has been established as an interdisciplinary approach by many studies (Hardt-Mautner 1995; Partington 2004, 2009; Stubbs 1995, 1997, 2006; Baker, 2006; Koller & Mautner, 2004; O'Halloran & Coffin, 2004; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Orpin, 2005). The growing body of literature produced using CADS has shown how corpus linguistics and discourse analysis can be combined to exploit the strength of each approach (Baker et al., 2008). This combination of qualitative (CDA) and quantitative (CL) approaches identifies distinctive features and investigates non-obvious meanings within specific discourse types (Marchi & Taylor, 2009). McEnery and Wilson (2001:77) claim that whereas quantitative analysis is statistically reliable, qualitative techniques as a method are rich and precise.

3. Corpus Linguistic Features

The present study examines three main corpus linguistic features, namely frequency, collocations, and lexical priming. The following sections present a detailed account of these linguistic features.

3.1 Frequency and Collocation

A central notion of corpus linguistics is frequency. Freake (2009:44) explains that word frequency shows the different lexical choices that a particular speaker or a writer has either made or ignored; therefore, the subject of the texts can be isolated. Equally, an unusual choice of words may reveal the speaker's or writer's intentions as an individual (Baker, 2007:48). In addition, Murphy (2003:99) divides lexical entities into three zones, namely the syntactic zone, the semantic zone, and the lexical combinatorics zone (which refers to the lexical co-occurrence or collocation). The current study is concerned with lexical combinatorics. Within the analysis of collocations, different aspects of collocations and semantic prosody, namely lexical priming, patterns, preference, and semantic fields, are examined. Manning and Schütze (1999:153) argue that the easiest way to reveal the collocation patterns in a corpus is to count them. When two words coincide frequently, this indicates there is a special function at work, which cannot be explained based on the resultant function of their combination. Therefore, when newspapers frequently discuss a specific group of people in certain contexts using specific words to describe them, this might indicate a different function, which is not the same as that which the combination of words describes.

Hoey (2003) argues that the analysis of collocations can be conducted on two levels, viz., lemmas and groups of associated words (keywords). At the lemma level, the analysis is done with groups of words (such as politics, politicians, political, etc.). On the other hand, the analysis on keyword level is conducted on single words of different groups such as politics and government. The present study analyzes collocations on the lemma and keyword level and their associations with other words in similar contexts. Specifically of concern to the current study is the premise that examining collocation can unveil pivotal linguistic habits of a specific community because these collocations can show different sets of social values.

3.1.1 Collocational Priming

According to Wynne (2005:4), the application of collocation has also been developed by the work of Michael Hoey through the introduction of the theory of *lexical priming*, which added a

cognitive dimension to the analysis. According to him, the association between words and their meaning, as a result of their intrinsic meaning as well as the linguistic context, are *primed* for certain purposes. Typically, the notion of semantic priming refers to the type of priming that is a result of both semantic and associative relations; for example the relation that exists between the words dog and cat (McNamara, 2005,p.4). Ferrand and New (2003:25) acknowledge that the 'semantic priming effect' is a psycholinguistic notion that has been studied extensively by many scholars (Neely, 1991; Lucas, 2000; Hutchison, 2003). According to Moore (2003:69), a number of studies have shown that frequent words are usually processed mentally faster than infrequent words.

According to Hoey (2007:24), priming is a pivotal feature of any word and usually what is primed is viewed as the priming word. Hoey (2003) emphasizes that collocational priming is not considered as an inherent property of words. Every time the word is used or encountered in a new way, its priming is either reinforced or loosened. Hence, he asserts that collocational priming may change during someone's life, and the degree of these changes, the meaning or the function of the lexical item may come to vary according to such life changes.

4. Data Collection and Methodology

The data is comprised of some illustrative and representative samples from the corpus referring to Islam, Arabs, and Muslims from two selected Australian newspapers, namely *The Australian* and *The Age*. These two newspapers are chosen because the former represents a left local newspaper and the later is a national right-wing newspaper. The analysis carries out a comparison between the two newspapers in their representation of 'IAM' before and after the September 11th attack, i.e., from September 10, 2000 to September 10, 2001, and from September 11, 2001 to September 11, 2002. Scott's (1988) WordSmith's analytical tools (version 5.0) are used to conduct the analysis.

Using Fictiva software, the study ran a search for the following keywords: 'Islam'; 'Islamic'; 'Arab'; 'Arabs'; 'Arabic'; 'Muslim'; and 'Muslims' in both newspapers. The search produced 994 hits before 9/11 and 2150 hits after 9/11 in The Australian. On the other hand, in *The Age*, the search produced 612 hits before 9/11 and 887 hits after 9/11. Overlapping, duplicated, and unrelated articles were excluded. The articles are coded by Factiva software and these codes appear in the appendices (see, Appendices A & B).

Table 1: Data Set

Newspaper	Pre 9/11	No. of Words	Post 9/11	No. of Words
The Australian	463	281.180	463	241.615
The Age	274	192.255	380	248.315

In the current study, the relative frequency, which is the absolute frequency divided by the number of the words in a corpus, is utilized, as well as log-likelihood (Lgl), to measure the strength of the association that exists between the lexical choices under investigation. A high Lgl score demonstrates that "the words in the Ngram do not exhibit independent behaviour" (McInnes, 2004,p.2). Accordingly, the higher the score is, the less likely the null hypothesis to be true.

5. Data Analysis

5. 1 Lexical Frequency of 'IAM'

In respect to the frequency of lemmas 'IAM', the number of occurrences of each keyword, i.e., raw frequencies (RF) is counted. These frequencies are viewed from two different perspectives: i.e., collectively, 'IAM', and individually as keywords. Table (2) shows the normalized frequencies (NF) of 'IAM' in the four corpuses over the two periods of time. As these four corpuses are of different sizes, a comparison of the occurrences is based on NF, per 1.000 words.

Table 2: 'IAM' in *The Australian* and *The Age* Pre/Post 9/11

Newspapers / Keywords	*The Australian*				*The Age*			
	Pre 9/11		Post 9/11		Pre 9/11		Post 9/11	
	RF.	NF.	RF.	NF.	RF.	NF.	RF.	NF.
Islam	113	0.40	300	1.24	57	0.30	128	0.52
Islamic	237	0.84	636	2.63	158	0.08	401	1.16
Arab	394	1.40	235	0.97	144	0.75	258	1.04
Arabs	145	0.52	67	0.28	12	0.06	30	0.12
Muslim	313	1.11	473	1.96	164	0.85	354	1.43
Muslims	190	0.68	327	1.35	91	0.47	184	0.74
AIM Total	1392	4.95	2038	8.43	626	3.25	1355	5.46

From the table, it is clear that 'IAM' were present during both periods of time and they increased after 9/11. However, the comparison between the two newspapers showed different patterns with reference to the presence of 'IAM'. The differences between the presence of 'IAM' collectively in both newspapers during the selected periods of time are statistically significant (Chi-square test, *p*-value = 0.000). Before 9/11, the difference between the two newspapers was about (1.7) with more occurrences in *The Australian* than *The Age*. On the other hand, after 9/11 the difference between the two newspapers was (2.97), again with more occurrences in *The Australian* than *The Age*. Specifically, the occurrences of 'IAM' in *The Australian*, increased by (3.48) after 9/11, whereas in *The Age*, the increase after 9/11 amounted to (2.21).

This analysis of the separate keywords provides us with a substantial in-depth understanding of the use of the most relevant keywords in the discourse of these newspapers. Before 9/11, the most frequently employed terms in *The Australian* were 'Arab' and 'Muslim'. On the other hand, after 9/11, 'Islamic, 'Muslim', 'Muslims', and 'Islam' became the most frequently used items in *The Australian*. It should be noted that the occurrence of the terms 'Islam' in *The Australian* and 'Islamic' in both newspapers trebled after 9/11. In addition, the term 'Muslims' increased more dramatically than 'Muslim'. The term 'Muslims' after 9/11 increased up to (1.35), whereas the term 'Muslim' increased up to (1.96). On the other hand, the terms 'Arab' and 'Arabs' decreased significantly after 9/11. It is also worth pointing out that the word 'Arabs' was the least frequently used keyword over both periods of time. This may show that

‘Arab(s)’ are not significant ideologically as ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslims’, specifically after 9/11. With reference to *The Age*, after 9/11 the frequency of all six terms increased. However, the terms ‘Islamic’, ‘Muslim’, and ‘Arab’ occurred with the highest frequency in the data after 9/11. Additionally, the term ‘Arabs’ was the least frequent across both timeframes.

Despite some minor differences, there are similarities with respect to the presence of ‘IAM’ in both newspapers as far as frequency is concerned. The most salient points of comparison can be summarized as follows:

1. When the three lemmas are compared among themselves, ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ are present to a relatively high degree in both newspapers, in particular after 9/11.
2. When the six keywords are compared together after 9/11, the most frequently used terms are ‘Islamic’ and ‘Muslim’; the fourth most frequently employed term is ‘Islam’; and the least frequent term is ‘Arabs’.
3. The keyword ‘Arabs’ in both newspapers shows a lower relative frequency, whereas ‘Muslims’ shows a higher frequency in both newspapers after 9/11, which might be due to a relatively high association between ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ in general.

The presence of ‘IAM’ increased notably after 9/11 with more attention drawn to ‘Islam’ and ‘Muslim’ than had been the case before 9/11. Unlike the term ‘Muslim’, the increase of the term ‘Islam’ is ideologically significant for two reasons. Firstly, in both newspapers, ‘Muslim’ was among the most frequently used keywords before 9/11, which may show their ideological importance before 9/11. Secondly, in both newspapers, the keyword ‘Islam’ was one of the least frequently employed keywords before 9/11. These two findings indicate that the focus of concern shifted away from ‘Arab’ to ‘Islam’ after 9/11. The increasing focus on ‘Islam’, whether intentional or non-intentional, presents Islam as being one of the issues that are related to the attacks and terrorism. However, in order to ascertain any ideological changes, it is important to examine the collocations that co-occurred with ‘IAM’ collectively as well as individually. The next section explores the most prevalent collocations coinciding with ‘IAM’ over both periods of time.

5.2 Collocation

5.2.1 Lemma Level Collocations

The *findings* above need further elaboration to reveal any patterns in the collocation as they occur in all the corpuses. In so doing, tables were generated for each lemma and each keyword. Table (3) shows the RF of the collocations (and their percentages) of ‘IAM’ found to be the most frequent in the corpus. From Table (3) below, the frequency of the collocations in both

corpuses increased significantly after 9/11. The differences between the two newspapers in terms of frequency before 9/11 (Chi-squared test, *p*-value = 0) and after 9/11 (Chi-squared test, *p* -value = 0) are significant. On the other hand, the differences in terms of frequency during both periods of time in each newspaper were also significant (*The Australian*, Chi-squared test, *p* value = 0.00 and *The Age*, Chi-squared test, *p* value = 0.00). However, the increase in *The Australian* was greater than that of *The Age*. Additionally, the number of the collocations that co-occurred with 'IAM' in *The Australian* is greater than that of *The Age* over both periods of time. There are also a number of ideological collocations that were not employed in *The Age* over both periods of time. Just to mention a few 'hardline', 'opposition', 'terror' and 'threat' did not appear in the discourse of *The Age*.

Table 3: Distribution of Bigrams of 'IAM' in both newspapers Pre/Post 9/11

No	Frequent Collocates	The Australian				*The Age*			
		Pre 9/11		Post 9/11		Pre 9/11		Post 9/11	
		RF	%	RF	%	RF	%	RF	%
1	Australian	2	1%	19	2%	2	1%	14	3%
2	Community/communities	9	2%	27	4%	4	3%	35	7%
3	Control	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
4	Country/countries	35	9%	36	5%	18	12 %	34	7%
5	Defenders	3	1%	4	1%	0	0%	7	1%
6	Extreme Extremism Extremist Extremists	13	3%	56	8%	2	1%	31	6%
7	Fantasy	0	0%	4	1%	0	0%	0	0%
8	Fascism	0	0%	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%
9	Fighters	0	0%	7	1%	2	1%	9	2%
10	Forces	0	0%	0	0%	2	1%	0	0%
11	Fundamentalism Fundamentalist	4	1%	58	8%	4	3%	12	2%
12	Group/s	33	8%	65	9%	17	11 %	31	6%
13	Government/s	5	1%	3	0%	0	0%	4	1%

14	Guerrillas	8	2%	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%
15	Israeli	50	13%	6	1%	4	3%	2	0%
16	Hardline Hardliners	2	1%	14	2%	0	0%	4	1%
17	Immoderate	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
18	Indonesian	0	0%	9	1%	0	0%	5	1%
19	Innocent	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
20	Jihad	17	4%	37	5%	2	1%	21	4%
21	Liberation	4	1%	3	0%	0	0%	2	0%
22	Militia Militants Military Militancy Militant	31	8%	47	7%	6	4%	18	4%
23	Moderate	3	1%	23	3%	11	7%	6	1%
24	Movement	3	1%	15	2%	0	0%	3	1%
25	Nation/s	6	2%	33	5%	5	3%	49	10%
26	Neighbour/s Neighbouring Neighbourhoods	17	4%	2	0%	12	8%	3	1%
27	Opposition	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	3	1%
28	Parti	6	2%	3	0%	0	0%	2	0%
29	Party Parties	4	1%	8	1%	8	5%	2	0%
30	Political	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
31	Practicing	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
32	Radical	4	1%	46	7%	5	3%	22	5%
33	Reaction	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	0%
34	Rebels	5	1%	2	0%	0	0%	5	1%
35	Regime	6	2%	8	1%	0	0%	4	1%
36	Resistance	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	4	1%
37	Revolution	3	1%	2	0%	0	0%	4	1%
38	Sentiment	0	0%	2	0%	0	0%	3	1%
39	Society	3	1%	5	1%	4	3%	9	2%
40	State/s	18	5%	25	4%	17	11 %	48	10%
41	Taliban	4	1%	6	1%	2	1%	0	0%
42	Terrorist/s Terrorism	6	2%	30	4%	0	0%	10	2%

43	Threat	0	0%	2	0%	0	0%	0	0%
44	Uprising/s Rising	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	8	2%
45	Violent violence	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	3	1%
46	World	57	15%	79	11%	17	11 %	54	11%
47	Women	12	3%	20	3%	12	8%	9	2%
Total		389	100	706	100	156	100	482	100

It is also notable that some other collocations were found with 'IAM' after 9/11 that were not used beforehand. This time, *The Age* exceeded *The Australian*. In *The Australian*, the collocations, which appeared after 9/11, were ideologically significant to the representation of 'IAM'; they are 'fantasy', 'fascism', 'fighters', etc. On the other hand, in *The Age*, they were 'hardline', 'defenders', 'movement', 'opposition', etc. The new collocation that appeared after 9/11 in both newspapers i.e., 'Indonesian', reveals the way both newspapers viewed Indonesian people after 9/11 (for more detail, see point 4 below). Another point to note is the decrease of crucial collocations after 9/11 such as 'neighbours' in both newspapers and 'moderate' in *The Age*. In both newspapers, there are crucial collocations that increased after 9/11. Although the collocational trends for both newspapers showed different patterns, there are some noteworthy similarities:

1. Collocations such as 'countries', 'community', 'group', etc. were more frequently employed after 9/11. Such collocations may be used to separate the Muslims from the rest of the world while positioning them as the 'Other'. In addition, such references may enable writers, and hence readers, to treat all Muslims, as a homogenous group, despite the significant cultural differences among them.
2. The collocation 'neighbour/s' decreased after 9/11 in *The Australian* and *The Age*, which may show that a friendly attitude towards 'IAM' decreased post 9/11 and again creates a sense that 'IAM' are the 'Other' and 'outsiders'.
3. The collocate 'Israel' decreased in both newspapers after 9/11, which may indicate that Arabs and Muslims were viewed in a different context and were thus represented differently.
4. After 9/11, both newspapers viewed Indonesia and Indonesians differently. They were connected to 'IAM' through the employment of lemmas 'Islam' and 'Muslim'.

5. Both newspapers employed ‘Australian’ more frequently after 9/11 to differentiate between Muslims outside Australia (the ‘Other’) and Australian Muslims or to create the internal ‘Other’.

5.2.2 Keyword Level Collocations

To enable a discussion of ‘IAM’ on the level of keywords, tables are provided to show the distributions of the collocations that co-occurred with each keyword in both newspapers over each period of time. Each table shows the raw frequency (RF) and log-likelihood (Lgl) of the most frequent collocations for each keyword. From the first table (4) below, which introduces the bigrams of the lemma ‘Islam’ alphabetically, the term ‘Islam’ did not attract significant collocations as the term ‘Islamic’, specifically after 9/11. In *The Australian* before 9/11, the term ‘Islam’ was connected with one collocate, namely ‘parti’, which refers to an Islamic political party in Malaysia.

Table 4: Bigrams of the Lemma ‘Islam’ Pre/Post 9/11 in both newspapers

The Australian				*C (w, k) L1*	Keyword	*C (k, w) R1*	The Age			
Pre 9/11		Post 9/11					Pre 9/11		Post 9/11	
Lgl	RF	Lgl	RF	Word		Word	RF	Lgl	RF	Lgl
0	0	9.047	2	Fundame-ntalist	Islam	----------	2	23.06	0	0
0	0	17.29	3	Indonesian	Islam	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	16.45	3	Militant	Islam	----------	0	0	2	14.92
94.26	6	40.23	3	Parti	Islam	----------	0	0	2	30.33
0	0	8.444	3	Political	Islam	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	Radical	Islam	----------	3	30.61	5	43.50
0	0	18.00	3	Extreme	Islamic	----------	0	0	2	13.73
17.5	2	8.42	8	Hardline	Islamic	----------	0	0	4	32.4

7		3								9
0	0	0	0	Militant	Islamic	----------	3	30.51	5	3.845
0	0	20.48	4	Moderate	Islamic	----------	3	24.67	0	0
35.93	4	1.358	26	Radical	Islamic	----------	3	24.41	0	0
24.93	4	0	0	Taliban	Islamic	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	----------	Islamic	Anger	0	0	2	11.42
0	0	92.37	16	----------	Islamic	Communities	0	0	11	66.18
8.555	2	0	0	----------	Islamic	Control	0	0	0	0
15.66	3	26.48	7	----------	Islamic	Countries	10	79.29	10	50.33
42.56	3	36.54	4	----------	Islamic	Defenders	0	0	7	78.00
0	0	29.68	4	----------	Islamic	Extremism	0	0	5	49.27
24.00	3	168.5	20	----------	Islamic	Extremist	2	17.32	17	162.9
0	0	33.23	2	----------	Islamic	Fantasy	0	0	0	0
0	0	13.41	2	----------	Islamic	Fascism	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	----------	Islamic	Fighters	0	0	2	5.938
30.36	3	118.9	13	----------	Islamic	Fundamentalism	2	28.47	0	0
0	0	98.9	14	----------	Islamic	Fundamenta	0	0	3	5.86

		3				list				0
0	0	174.3	18	----------	Islamic	Fundamentalists	0	0	0	0
75.87	11	168.5	28	----------	Islamic	Group	5	28.93	13	73.87
0	0	0	0	----------	Islamic	Government	0	0	2	8.665
57.15	6	14.30	2	----------	Islamic	Guerrillas	0	0	0	0
0	0	20.75	3	----------	Islamic	Hardline	0	0	0	0
190.0	17	290.9	37	----------	Islamic	Jihad	2	18.94	21	179.4
32.97	4	16.34	3	----------	Islamic	Liberation	0	0	2	12.22
50.81	6	90.37	12	----------	Islamic	Militia	0	0	0	0
0	0	19.98	2	----------	Islamic	Militancy	2	24.65	0	0
125.7	12	125.3	17	----------	Islamic	Militants	3	32.14	11	83.30
18.54	3	102.7	15	----------	Islamic	Movement	0	0	3	17.28
0	0	4.130	2	----------	Islamic	Nations	2	9.941	7	37.67
0	0	10.89	2	----------	Islamic	Neighbour	0	0	0	0
0	0	1.172	1	----------	Islamic	Opposition	0	0	3	11.14
11.13	2	22.90	4	----------	Islamic	Parties	2	11.44	0	0
0	0	0	0	----------	Islamic	Party	5	24.38	0	0

0	0	14.30	2	----------	Islamic	Radicalism	0	0	0	0
0	0	74.62	9	----------	Islamic	Radicals	0	0	2	16.23
0	0			----------	Islamic	Rebels	0	0	3	20.35
12.25	2	24.19	6	----------	Islamic	Regime	0	0	4	16.31
26.74	3	0	0	----------	Islamic	Resistance	0	0	4	28.04
26.74	3	19.98	2	----------	Islamic	Revolution	0	0	3	25.76
20.87	3	27.25	5	----------	Islamic	Society	4	31.04	9	65.46
0	0	0	0	----------	Islamic	State	7	38.74	9	40.07
0	0	0.178	6	----------	Islamic	Taliban	2	10.41	0	0
6.247	2	6.247	2	----------	Islamic	Terror	0	0	0	0
6.028	3	6.028	3	----------	Islamic	Terrorism	0	0	0	0
38.30	11	38.30	11	----------	Islamic	Terrorists	0	0	8	35.93
4.436	2	4.436	2	----------	Islamic	Threat	0	0	0	0
14.05	3	3.989	2	----------	Islamic	Women	3	14.12	0	0
21.10	5	51.73	16	----------	Islamic	World	2	6.316	6	63.86

On the other hand, in *The Age* ‘Islam’ was collocated with ‘fundamentalist’ and ‘radical’. The Lgls of these two terms are high; thus, it is highly likely that these lexical choices are the

collocations of the term ‘Islam’ during that period of time. These collocations may indicate how *The Age* viewed Islam, i.e., beyond the accepted norms even before 9/11. In addition, this term introduces the idea that there are different versions of Islam, namely, ‘radical’ vs. ‘moderate’; yet, the newspapers focused on the fundamentalist and radical version. With reference to the collocation after 9/11, the term ‘Islam’ in *The Australian* collocated with four collocations ‘Indonesia’, ‘militant’, ‘fundamentalist’ and ‘political’; whereas in *The Age* it co-occurred with ‘radical’ and ‘militant’. *The Australian* introduced a different way of viewing Indonesia. That is, after 9/11 *The Australian* viewed Islam in Indonesia as ‘Indonesian Islam’. Accordingly, in both newspapers ‘Islam’ was represented in a similar manner, i.e., the hostile image/version of Islam. By offering one (negative) perspective, the newspapers acted coercively towards its readers, because readers are more likely to be unconsciously swayed and so come to accept it. It should be noted that this image of Islam was introduced by *The Australian* only after 9/11; whereas *The Age* favoured the term ‘radical’ during both periods of time. The Lgls of these terms are high; accordingly, they co-occurred together more often than normal. It is also significant to note that the comparison between ‘radical/fundamentalist’ and ‘moderate’ Islam indirectly implies a comparison between the radical and moderate Muslims.

The second keyword is ‘Islamic’. From Table 4, it was noted that the term ‘Islamic’ attracted more collocations than the term ‘Islam’ during both periods of time. In addition, the number of collocations after 9/11 in both newspapers increased. Yet, during both periods of time *The Age* employed fewer terms than *The Australian*. Before 9/11, *The Age* employed a number of collocations on the left (L1) of the term ‘Islamic’ such as ‘militant’, ‘moderate’, and ‘radical’ to distinguish between two versions of Islam. These two terms were also employed as collocations with equal strength of association with ‘Islamic’. Yet, ‘militant’ was associated with ‘Islamic’ more strongly than the previous two terms. This pattern of representation is different from the one before 9/11. On the other hand, *The Australian* employed ‘hardline, radical, and Taliban’ as the left side collocations (L1) with ‘Islamic’. It is apparent that *The Australian* focused on one version of Islam, i.e., the radical version. This pattern is similar to the collocates (L1) that were associated with the term ‘Islam’ after 9/11.

Table 5: First 16 Bigrams of 'Islamic' in both Newspapers Pre 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	C (k, w)	RF	Lgl		*C (k, w)*	RF	Lgl
1	Jihad	17	190.015	Islamic	Countries	10	79.291
2	Militants	12	125.761	Islamic	State	7	38.743
3	Group	11	75.872	Islamic	Militants	3	32.148
4	Militant	7	65.860	Islamic	Society	4	31.043
5	Guerrillas	6	57.150	Islamic	Group	5	28.932
6	Militia	6	50.817	Islamic	Fundamentalism	2	28.471
7	Defenders	3	42.566	Islamic	Militancy	2	24.653
8	Liberation	4	32.974	Islamic	Party	5	24.387
9	Fundamentalists	3	30.360	Islamic	Jihad	2	18.947
10	Revolution	3	26.745	Islamic	Extremist	2	17.326
11	Resistance	3	26.745	Islamic	Women	3	14.121
12	Extremists	3	24.007	Islamic	Parties	2	11.446
13	Groups	4	23.421	Islamic	Taliban	2	10.417
14	World	5	21.101	Islamic	Nations	2	9.941
15	Society	3	20.870	Islamic	States	2	9.021
16	Movement	3	18.543	Islamic	World	2	6.316

In terms of the right side collocates (R1) before 9/11, Table 5 above presents the first sixteen bigrams of the keyword 'Islamic', which are the highest ranked according to the Lgl before 9/11 in both newspapers, arranged with accordance to their Lgls. From the table, it is apparent that *The Age* employed a number of negative collocates; however, the ultimate focus was on the collective and associative terms such as 'countries, states, society, and group'. The second important collocate category was 'militants', 'fundamentalism', 'jihad', and 'extremist'. Conversely, *The Australian* employed more frequently negative collocations such as 'jihad, militant, guerrilla, and fundamentalists'; whereas the second category of collocations was comprised of the collective and associative collocates such as 'group, society, and world'.

As for the collocations that co-occurred with the term 'Islamic' after 9/11, Table 6introduces the first sixteenth bigrams in both newspapers after 9/11.

Table 6: First 16 Bigrams of 'Islamic' in both Newspapers Post 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	C (k, w)	RF	Lgl		*C (k, w)*	RF	Lgl
1	Jihad	37	290.997	Islamic	Jihad	21	179.458
2	Fundamentalists	18	174.358	Islamic	Extremists	17	162.902
3	Extremists	20	168.510	Islamic	Fundamentalism	9	95.859
4	Groups	28	168.510	Islamic	Militants	11	83.304
5	Militants	17	125.384	Islamic	Defenders	7	78.003
6	Fundamentalism	13	118.964	Islamic	Groups	13	73.878
7	Movement	15	102.777	Islamic	Community	11	66.185
8	Fundamentalist	14	98.936	Islamic	Society	9	65.466
9	Community	16	92.377	Islamic	World	6	63.861
10	Militia	12	90.373	Islamic	Leaders	12	62.305
11	Group	18	89.484	Islamic	Worlds	14	56.763
12	Militia's	8	85.287	Islamic	Countries	10	50.337
13	Militant	12	82.764	Islamic	Extremism	5	49.272
14	Radicals	9	74.621	Islamic	State	9	40.070
15	World	16	51.733	Islamic	Nation	7	37.678
16	Terrorists	11	38.302	Islamic	Terrorists	8	35.930

The Lgls of the collocates increased after 9/11. It should be noted that before 9/11, *The Age* did not employ the collocate 'terrorists' with the lemma Islam at all. However, after 9/11 such a term was employed and strongly associated with 'Islamic'. This is apparent not only in the frequency of this term, but also the Lgl (35.93) of the term 'terrorists'. As for *The Australian*, the pattern that existed before 9/11 continued after 9/11. When the collocations for both periods of time in *The Age* are compared among themselves, a striking change in its ideology is revealed. That is, *The Age* after 9/11 favoured negative collocations such as 'jihad, extremists, fundamentalism, etc', whereas the second category was the collective and associative terms. This pattern is similar to that of *The Australian* during both periods of time.

The next two keywords are 'Arab' and 'Arabs'. Table 7 presents the most substantial bigrams that coincided with 'Arab' and 'Arabs' in both newspapers over each period.

Table 7: Bigrams of the Lemma 'Arab' Pre/Post 9/11 in both newspapers

The Australian				*C (w, k)*	Keyword	*C (k, w)*	The Age Pre			
Pre 9/11		Post 9/11					Pre 9/11		Post 9/11	
Lgl	RF	Lgl	RF	Word		Word	RF	Lgl	RF	Lgl
26.32	2	0	0	Immoderate	Arab	----------	0	0	0	0
13.37	2	0	0	Innocent	Arab	----------	0	0	0	0
14.42	4	14.57	6	Israel's	Arab	----------	2	20.65	2	12.03
19.66	3	47.66	6	Moderate	Arab	----------	4	36.14	2	12.74
26.63	3	0	0	Neighbouring	Arab	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	----------	Arab	Communities	2	15.28	0	0
163.4	20	32.45	6	----------	Arab	Countries	5	33.27	12	75.41
0	0	49.39	7	----------	Arab	Fighters			5	27.94
19.47	3	0	0	----------	Arab	Government	0	0	0	0
21.48	5	0	0	----------	Arab	Group	0	0	0	0
27.45	13	0	0	----------	Arab	Israelis	2	11.45	0	0
0	0	33.65	5	----------	Arab	Militants			0	0
43.26	6	44.51	4	----------	Arab	Nations	3	17.88	10	60.34
47.82	6	0	0	----------	Arab	Neighbours	12	132.5	3	26.76
43.1	4	0	0	----------	Arab	Regime	0	0	0	0

2										
0	0	16.33	2	----------	Arab	Sentiment	0	0	0	0
0	0	75.32	10	----------	Arab	States	5	32.65	25	176.6
27.42	4	0	0	----------	Arab	Terrorism	0	0	0	0
280.6	38	152.4	25	----------	Arab	World	13	92.04	26	161.2
2.436	2	0	0	----------	Arab	Violence	0	0	0	0
0	0	16.34	2	Moderate	Arabs	----------	0	0	0	0

Remarkably, the frequency, as well as the number of collocations with ‘Arab’ in both newspapers, decreased after 9/11. In *The Australian*, before 9/11 the most significant collocations (L1) were ‘Israel’, ‘immoderate’, ‘moderate’, and ‘innocent’, which were unutilized after 9/11, except ‘Israel’ and ‘moderate’. As for *The Age*, the pattern regarding the (L1) collocates were the same during both periods of time. That is, *The Age* employed ‘Israel’ and ‘moderate’. It is obvious that the strength of association between the term ‘Arab’ and ‘moderate’ in *The Australian* increased after 9/11, whereas it decreased in *The Age*.

With reference to the (R1) bigrams, Table 8 below introduces the first fourteen collocates with the term ‘Arab’ in both newspapers before 9/11. To a great extent, the patterns that existed in both newspapers were similar to each other. Both newspapers favoured the collective and associative collocates with the term ‘Arab’. Yet, to a lesser degree in *The Australian,* the term ‘Arab’ co-occurred with negative collocates as well, which were not in use in *The Age* during both periods of time, such as ‘regime’ and ‘terrorism’. It should be noted that these two terms were strongly connected with the term ‘Arab’ before 9/11. The use of the term ‘regime’ instead of ‘government’ presents an ideology that realises a negative attitude. That is, “a government is an elected body, while a regime is usually a dictatorship”; at least this is how it is utilized in the media and by government officials (‘Taliban: Regime’, n.d., n.p.).

Table 8: First 14 Bigrams of 'Arab' in both Newspapers Pre 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	C (k, w)	RF	Lgl		*C (k, w)*	RF	Lgl
1	World	38	280.6	Arab	Neighbours	12	132.5
2	Countries	20	163.4	Arab	World	13	92.04
3	States	15	124.4	Arab	Counties	5	33.27
4	Neighbourhoods	6	73.30	Arab	States	5	32.65
5	Neighbours	6	47.82	Arab	Nations	3	17.88
6	Nations	6	43.26	Arab	Communities	2	15.28
7	Regimes	4	43.12	Arab	State	3	12.11
8	Israeli	13	27.45	Arab	Worlds	2	12.82
9	Terrorism	4	27.42	Arab	Israelis	2	11.45
10	Country	5	22.61	Arab	Community	2	8.578
11	Group	5	21.48	Arab	Israeli	2	8.221
12	Government	3	19.47	Arab	----------	---	--------
13	Community	3	10.42	Arab	----------	---	--------
14	Groups	2	7.030	Arab	----------	---	--------

On the other hand, after 9/11 fewer collocates co-occurred with the term 'Arab', see Table 9. As is the case with the other collocations, *The Age* employed fewer collocates with the term 'Arab' compared to *The Australian*.

Table 9: First 10 Bigrams of 'Arab' in both Newspapers Post 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	C (k, w)	RF	Lgl		*C (k, w)*	RF	Lgl
1	World	25	152.4	Arab	States	25	176.6
2	States	10	75.32	Arab	World	26	161.2
3	Fighters	7	49.39	Arab	Countries	12	75.41
4	Nations	7	44.51	Arab	Nations	10	60.34
5	Militants	5	33.65	Arab	Fighters	5	27.94
6	Countries	6	32.45	Arab	Neighbours	3	26.76
7	Sentiment	2	16.33	Arab	Nation	2	7.546

8	Worlds	2	10.05	Arab	State	2	4.888
9	State	3	9.926	Arab	----------	---	--------
10	Country	2	4.538	Arab	----------	---	--------

The pattern before 9/11 in *The Age* continued after 9/11. In addition, *The Age* employed 'neighbour' with 'Arab' after 9/11, with a strong association. As for *The Australian*, the pattern of 9/11 continued after 9/11 with a few changes. It seems that *The Australian*'s perspective of Arabs changed after 9/11. That is, the collocate 'neighbour' was not in use after 9/11. This change is ideologically significant, as it indicates the development of an unfriendly attitude towards 'Arab'. On the other hand, the collocates 'fighter', 'militant', and 'sentiment' were strongly associated with 'Arab' after 9/11 in *The Australian*. Yet, the collocates 'regime and terrorism' were not in use after 9/11. Generally speaking, 'Arab' does not show a strong tendency to collocate with negative terms. This might be explained by the fact that the word 'Arab' does not necessarily entail Islam, as for instance, the word 'Muslim' does.

Table 10presents the collocations that appeared frequently with 'Muslim' and 'Muslims' in both newspapers. In terms of (L1) collocation, the term 'Muslim' did not attract as many collocations before 9/11 as it did after 9/11.

Table 10: Bigrams of the Lemma 'Muslim' Pre/Post 9/11 in both newspapers

The Australian				*C (w, k)*	Keyword	*C (k, w)*	The Age			
Pre 9/11		Post 9/11					Pre 9/11		Post 9/11	
Lgl	RF	Lgl	RF	Word		Word	RF	Lgl	RF	Lgl
0	0	24.62	3	Conservative	Muslim	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	41.01	6	Extremist	Muslim	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	20.05	4	Fundamentalist	Muslim	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	Indonesian	Muslim	----------	0	0	5	24.66
0	0	0	0	Militant	Muslim	----------	0	0	4	4.082

4.541	2	0	0	Military	Muslim	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	30.81	5	Moderate	Muslim	----------	4	35.09	0	0
0	0	54.17	2	Radical	Muslim	----------	2	14.42	8	61.28
0	0	0	0	Violent	Muslim	----------	0	0	3	22.85
6.865	2	23.44	7	----------	Muslim	Australian	2	8.011	8	34.96
31.60	6	127.9	19	----------	Muslim	Community	2	8.080	20	150.8
11.91	3	113.0	18	----------	Muslim	Countries	3	16.07	8	38.64
0	0	12.98	2	----------	Muslim	Extremism	0	0	0	0
63.90	6	64.45	9	----------	Muslim	Extremists	2	20.68	6	44.46
0	0	0	0	----------	Muslim	Fighters	2	17.52	2	6.396
0	0	0	0	----------	Muslim	Forces	2	8.995	0	0
		18.98	3	----------	Muslim	Fundamentalism	0	0	0	0
14.28	4	10.40	2	----------	Muslim	Fundamentalist	0	0	0	0
12.23	2	13.69	3	----------	Muslim	Government	0	0	0	0
45.11	7	57.61	12	----------	Muslim	Groups	10	71.31	13	77.11
13.20	2	0	0	----------	Muslim	Guerrillas	0	0	0	0
0	0	22.5	3	----------	Muslim	Hardliners	0	0	0	0

		2								
29.72	4	0	0	----------	Muslim	Militants	0	0	0	0
0	0	162.6	22	----------	Muslim	Nations	0	0	14	85.35
4.731	2	0	0	----------	Muslim	Neighbours	0	0	0	0
10.04	2	7.740	2	----------	Muslim	Parties	3	19.41	2	12.21
0	0	28.09	4	----------	Muslim	Radicals	0	0	4	40.17
23.40	3	15.01	2	----------	Muslim	Rebel	0	0	2	12.37
0	0	11.13	2	----------	Muslim	Regime	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	----------	Muslim	Sentiment	0	0	3	26.51
0	0	12.05	2	----------	Muslim	Societies	0	0	0	0
16.09	3	45.32	8	----------	Muslim	States	0	0	9	38.91
0	0	5.052	3	----------	Muslim	Terrorists	0	0	0	0
57.11	9	141.8	20	----------	Muslim	Women	9	61.77	7	36.85
64.97	12	195.6	36	----------	Muslim	World	0	0	19	93.26
0	0	9.427	2	Asian	Muslims	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	47.51	12	Australian	Muslims	----------	0	0	6	14.94
0	0	18.10	2	Fanatical	Muslims	----------	0	0	0	0

0	0	8.715	2	Fundamentalist	Muslims	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	42.16	6	Indonesian	Muslims	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	43.68	6	Moderate	Muslims	----------	0	0	4	33.99
20.88	2	0	0	Practicing	Muslims	----------	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	Radical	Muslims	----------	0	0	3	20.70

On the other hand, the term 'Muslims' did not coincide with as many collocations as 'Muslim' did, specifically before 9/11. The absence of negative collocations in both newspapers before 9/11 is very prominent. However, each newspaper favoured different collocations. With reference to *The Australian*, 'military' co-occurred with the term 'Muslim' before 9/11; on the other hand, *The Age* employed 'militant and violent' after 9/11 that focused primarily on the unfavourable version or type of Muslim. Furthermore, the term 'practicing', collocated with the term 'Muslims' in *The Australian* after 9/11 and *The Age*, employed two opposing collocates, that is, 'radical' and 'moderate' after 9/11. The changes in terms of the representation of 'Muslim' in both newspapers are significant. Both newspapers employed a number of terms that helped in establishing a dividing line between two main versions or types of Muslims, i.e., conservative or moderate Muslim(s) versus extremist, fundamentalist, or radical Muslim(s) in *The Australian*, and 'moderate' and 'radical' in *The Age*. In addition, *The Age* employed the collocate 'Indonesian' with the term 'Muslim' to differentiate between Muslims and Indonesian Muslims and, on the other hand, between non-Muslim Indonesians and Muslim Indonesians. It is a similar pattern to the one that was employed by *The Australian* with the term 'Islam'. Accordingly, it is safe to say that both newspapers viewed Indonesia and Indonesian people differently after 9/11. That is, before 9/11 Indonesians were viewed as Asian people; however, after 9/11 Indonesians were viewed as Muslims.

In regards to 'Muslims', Table (11) presents the first 16 bigrams in both newspapers before 9/11.

Table 11 First 16 Bigrams of 'Muslim' in both Newspapers Pre 9/11

No	The Australian	Keyword	The Age

	C (k, w)	RF	Lgl		*C (k, w)*	RF	Lgl
1	World	12	64.97	Muslim	Groups	10	71.31
2	Extremist	6	63.90	Muslim	Women	9	61.77
3	Women	9	57.11	Muslim	Extremists	2	20.68
4	Groups	7	45.11	Muslim	Parties	3	19.41
5	Extremists	4	32.25	Muslim	Fighters	2	17.52
6	Community	6	31.60	Muslim	Countries	3	16.07
7	Militants	4	29.72	Muslim	Forces	2	8.995
8	Rebel	3	23.40	Muslim	Community	2	8.080
9	Worlds	2	20.52	Muslim	Group	2	7.810
10	Group	4	17.22	Muslim	----------	---	-------
11	States	3	16.09	Muslim	----------	---	-------
12	Fundamentalist	4	14.28	Muslim	----------	---	-------
13	Guerrillas	2	13.20	Muslim	----------	---	-------
14	Governments	2	12.23	Muslim	----------	---	-------
15	Country	3	11.91	Muslim	----------	---	-------
16	Rebels	2	11.87	Muslim	----------	---	-------

It is apparent that ‘Muslim’ did not attract significant collocates before 9/11 in *The Age*. The ultimate focus was on the collective collocates. Yet, *The Age* employed two negative terms that were strongly associated with the term ‘Muslim’, namely ‘extremists’ and ‘fighters’. With reference to *The Australian*, they employed negative and associative collocates more frequently than *The Age*, in terms of frequency and strength of association such as ‘extremist’, ‘fundamentalist’, ‘militants’, ‘world’, ‘groups’.

The last table presents the first 16 bigrams of 'Muslim' after 9/11 in both newspapers. An important observation is that the patterns that were presented by both newspapers were similar, to a great extent. In both newspapers after 9/11, the associative collocates were more frequently utilized than the negative collocates that were employed after 9/11. Yet, the increase in the strength of the association between the term 'Muslim' and the negative collocates such as 'extremist and radical' is apparent.

Table 12: First 10 Bigrams of 'Muslim' in both Newspapers Post 9/11

No	The Australian			Keyword	The Age		
	C (k, w)	RF	Lgl		*C (k, w)*	RF	Lgl
1	World	36	195.6	Muslim	Community	20	150.8
2	Nations	22	162.6	Muslim	World	19	93.26
3	Women	20	141.8	Muslim	Nations	14	85.35
4	Community	19	127.9	Muslim	Groups	13	77.11
5	Nation	17	115.1	Muslim	Nation	10	63.63
6	Countries	18	113.0	Muslim	Group	9	47.51
7	Extremists	9	64.45	Muslim	Extremists	6	44.46
8	Groups	12	57.61	Muslim	Radicals	4	40.17
9	States	8	45.32	Muslim	States	9	38.91
10	Country	10	39.65	Muslim	Countries	8	38.64
11	Communities	4	28.81	Muslim	Country	8	37.35
12	Radicals	4	28.09	Muslim	Women	7	36.85
13	Group	7	25.71	Muslim	Communities	4	32.11
14	Hardliners	3	22.52	Muslim	Worlds	3	27.18
15	Woman	3	19.48	Muslim	Sentiment	3	26.51
16	Fundamentalism	3	18.98	Muslim	Rebels	2	12.37

5.2.3 Lexical Priming

Priming may help to reveal more about the ideology involved in the construction of the image of 'IAM' over both periods of time. Due to the fact that they co-occurred frequently with 'IAM', the collocations discussed above are re-examined in terms of priming. The collocations that are coinciding with 'IAM' can be subdivided into five sub-classes (see Table 13 below). In

both newspapers, before 9/11 the first sub-class refers to '*a set of members*' (e.g., countries, group, nations, neighbour, community, states, and world). The second sub-class refers to '*warfare*' (e.g., attacks, guerrilla, jihad, and militant); whereas the third sub-class refers to '*excessive levels*' (e.g., fundamentalist, extreme, hard-line, radical, and terrorists). The fourth sub-class refers to '*combative groups*' (e.g., fighters, defenders, and rebels) and finally the fifth sub-class refers to '*opposing authority*' (e.g., movements, regime, and Taliban).

Table 13: Frequencies of Bigrams Sub-Classes Pre/Post 9/11

	Pre 9/11			
Collocation Sub-Classes	*The Australian*		*The Age*	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
set of members	182	54	102	68
Warfare	62	18	10	7
excessive levels	31	9	11	7
opposing authority	15	4	2	1
combative groups	7	2	2	1
	Post 9/11			
Collocation Sub-Classes	*The Australian*		*The Age*	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
set of members	280	41	256	57
excessive levels	212	31	82	18
Warfare	94	14	39	8
opposing authority	24	3	26	6
combative groups	13	2	21	4

On the other hand, after 9/11 the order of the categories changed slightly. That is, 'IAM' after 9/11 were primed in terms of *'a set of members'* firstly and *'excessive levels'* secondly. This finding coincides with the previous finding, i.e., after 9/11 both newspapers employed more negative collocates. The ideological significance of these two subclasses is prominent.

In terms of priming, differences and similarities can be noted when the two newspapers are compared, particularly before 9/11. The increase of the frequency of the sub-class of the *set of members* after 9/11 shows that a deeper separation between 'IAM' and the rest of the world was established. In other words, it implicitly laid down an important theme through the corpus under investigation, namely 'IAM' vs. the West, which can be considered as one of the slogans in the selected corpuses. The frequent references to the 'Muslim' and 'Arab' 'world' and 'nations' introduced polarity into the discourse. Even before 9/11, a separation was already established in readers' minds by the suggestion that 'IAM' had a world of its own. This tendency to divide the world into two on the basis of faith was also evident from the fact that Indonesia was referred to as Indonesian Muslims after 9/11. This strategy showed that this ideological split was well established in the discourse. Furthermore, it enabled writers and hence readers to put all Muslims in one category.

In addition, after 9/11, the *excessive levels* sub-class was the second most dominant sub-class in both newspapers. This sub-class accounts for a crucial element of the ideological stance of both newspapers, particularly after 9/11. In essence, these sub-classes largely reflect the ideology of the two selected newspapers, the construction of 'IAM', the semantic preference pattern, and, most importantly, the experience of the readers of these two newspapers. Through these priming categories, *The Australian* and *The Age* linked 'IAM' with some of the unfavourable associations these categories may evoke.

6. Conclusion

By way of summary, there was a critical ideological shift. The ideological changes unveiled were significant, particularly in the increase in the frequency of 'IAM' and its collocations, a crucial appearance of new collocations, and an equally important decrease in certain other aspects. It is apparent that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 changed the social as well as the political context of 'IAM'. The existence of a causative connection between the attacks of 9/11 and press attention to 'IAM', in particular the lemmas 'Islam' and 'Muslim', is supported by the frequency of collocations, their strength over both periods of time, and the patterns of collocations and priming discussed above. One salient observation was the number of occurrences of some crucial negative collocations (with different frequencies) with the lemmas 'Islam' and 'Muslim'. Such collocations show that newswriters delegated meanings to these two entities that extended beyond any neutral view of Islam or the identity of Muslims. The

collocations examined above embody negative prosody as well. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008:21) maintain "[t]his [may make] the frequency of semantic/discourse prosodies much higher than that of the individual collocation patterns that give rise to them". These collocations indicate the (negative) stance writers adopted in the representation of 'IAM'. Thus the collocations that have been investigated above may have an ideological function, creating, through semantic associations, a socially negative shared image of 'IAM' among the public.

However, the negative representations of 'IAM' in *The Australian* were a development of previously established patterns of misconceptions regarding Islam and Muslims. This is evident in the occurrences of some pivotal collocations and the frequency of the lemmas before 9/11. Nevertheless, *The Australian* showed a balance in its reporting in that it allowed a comparison between radical/moderate versions of the three lemmas. On the other hand, while before 9/11 *The Age* was more balanced, impartial, and friendlier than *The Australian*, after 9/11 it became more partial, less friendly, and imbalanced concerning the representation of Islam and Muslims, as *The Age* favoured a single biased perspective by emphasizing the 'radical' versions of 'Islam' and 'Muslim' after 9/11. Hakim and Harris (2009) note that after the attacks of 9/11, the media became more interested in 'Islam' and 'Muslims' in Europe as well. Indeed, the growing interest in 'Islam' and 'Muslim' was not confined to Australian newspapers. In short, the results of this study revealed that there were some significant changes, which indicate that the context of 'IAM' has changed.

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ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AWARD &GRADUATE STUDENT AWARD

from: Stéphanie Cassilde, Chair of the RC25 Award Committee

Dear members, I am pleased to announce the creation of two RC 25 awards. The « Language & Society Graduate Student Award » is dedicated to promising researcher. The « Language & Society Academic Award » is devoted to active scholars in the field. Both awards are linked to *Language, Discourse & Society*, which is the new e-journal of RC 25. These awards were defined in accordance with the full board and we exchange a lot to create all steps of the selection process. The first edition of RC 25 awards will take place in Buenos Aires with a ceremony at RC 25's reception. I am looking forward to read your work in *Language, Discourse & Society* and to see you there.

Purpose

The purpose of the award for Academic Excellence is to promote scholarship and to recognize academic excellence in the field of language and society.

The purpose of the Graduate Students Awards is to promote graduate student scholarship and to recognize academic excellence in the field of language and society.

Recognition

Both the winner the Award for Academic Excellence and the winner of the Graduate Student Award will be recognized with an engraved plaque at the RC25 reception. Awards will also be announced in the RC25 newsletter.

Eligibility

All articles written and published in the new RC 25 journal, *Language, Discourse & Society* are eligible. Language, Discourse & Society publishes articles written in the official languages of the ISA: English, French and Spanish. All articles published since the past Interim Conference or World Congress and at least three months in advance of the next Interim conference or the World Congress will be considered for the Award.

1) Awards for Academic Excellence

All articles published in the new RC 25 journal, *Language, Discourse & Society* that are written by scholars holding a Ph.D. at the time of submission are eligible. *Language, Discourse & Society* publishes articles written in the official languages of the ISA: English, French and Spanish. All articles published since the past Interim Conference or World Congress and at least three months in advance of the next Interim conference or the World Congress will be considered for the Award.

In case of multiple-author submissions, the highest degree of the co-authors will be taken into account. Thus, if one of the authors holds a Ph.D., the article is eligible for the Language & Society Award for Academic Excellence. Members of the editorial board and of the award committee are not eligible. Submissions from scholars who are members of the ISA and RC25 are encouraged, but membership is not necessary to be eligible for this award.

2) Graduate Students Awards

To be eligible for this award, the author must be registered for a graduate degree but cannot hold a Ph.D. at the time of submission (copy of the student card should be provided together with the application). In case of multiple-author submissions, the highest degree of the co-authors will be taken into account. Thus, if one of the authors holds a Ph.D., the article is not eligible for the Language & Society Graduate Student Award. Members of the editorial board and of the award committee are not eligible. Submissions from scholars who are members of the ISA and RC25 are encouraged, but membership is not necessary to be eligible for this award.

Nomination & Selection Process

The RC25 journal is peer-reviewed. All reviewers will submit a short evaluation of articles during the blind peer-review process for submission to the journal editor. The editor will forward a selection of published articles recommended by the peer-reviewers to the Award Committee. All articles recommended for the award will undergo an independent review by the Awards Committee. The Awards Committee consists of three scholars and a chair; it will evaluate articles in English, French and Spanish.

The RC 25 Executive Board appoints the chair of the Award Committee for a period of four years. She or he is responsible solely for administering the award process. This includes but is not limited to establishing the composition of the Awards Committee, and the call for papers. The full Executive Board must approve all decisions by the chair before they can be implemented. The Committee members must be scholars with demonstrated expertise in the field and appropriate language skills. Members of the RC25 Executive Committee and of the editorial board of Language Discourse and Society are not eligible to sit on the Awards Committee.

The chair does not vote but oversees the process and to the extent possible maintains the anonymity of the authors and of the rankings provided by journal reviewers. Since these are all published articles, it is impossible to maintain complete anonymity in the review process. The chair of the Award Committee will submit a list of winners and documentation of the award process to the Executive Board for approval and formal announcement.

Timetable

Award will be made at RC 25 reception every two years at the World Congress and at the Interim Conferences.

The first edition of RC 25's awards was successfully launched past August in Buenos Aires. Anders Persson's article "Front- and Backstage in Social Media" (2012) was chosen among a selection of five articles published in the two first issues of *Language, Discourse & Society* : it received RC 25's Academic Excellence Award.[2]
This result was officially announced at RC 25's reception on the 2nd August 2012 in Buenos Aires. Professor Persson sent us the following statement to express his gratitude:

"I wish to thank RC 25´s awards committe and executive board for this frontstage recognition and hope that my article will contribute to the research on social media."
He also acknowledged the reception of the engraved plaque.

Prof. Persson (Sweden) with the RC25's Academic Excellence Award

Once more, congratulations Professor Persson!

As a chair, I would express my gratitude to the scholars that acepted the invitation to compose the awards committee for this first edition:

1. Devorah Kalekin-Fishman fom the University of Haifa;
2. Viviane Resende from the University of Brasilia; and
3. Sergey Riazantsev from the Institute of Social and Political Researh, Moscow.

Thank you very much for your disponibility and the expertise you dedicated to the awards committee. The choice was not straightforward!

2. For this first edition, no article was eligible for the Graduate Student Award.