

**Towards an understanding of the use of indefinite  
expressions for definite reference in English discourse**

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## Abstract

This study examines the nature of a particular type of atypical reference. In [1], it is possible to understand ‘a man who...’ as a newly introduced referent or ‘type’. But once seen in context, where the identity of this particular man has been firmly established, it becomes clear that its function is more definite than indefinite.

[1] [...] a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007

Expressions such as that in [1], with the structure A(n)+NOUN+RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE are examined in the context of British English journalistic opinion writing from four different, but related perspectives:

- Readers’ interpretations: Empirical evidence from two experiments shows that readers largely do not interpret the expression as referring to a ‘type’, but rather to the previously mentioned, fully-identified entity. The results also suggest that the amount and detail of conceptual information in the relative clause plays a role in the interpretation.
- Cognitive processes in referring: The expression is examined and analysed alongside cognitive models of referring and it is shown that these expressions are considered ‘accessible’ in the mind of the addressee.
- Lexical cohesive ties: The meaning relation of *co-extension* (Hasan 1985) is exploited to explain how these expressions become functionally definite within their specific context. Cohesive semantic ties (i.e. similarity chains) between the expression and the preceding text and on-going discourse aid the transformation from formally indefinite to functionally definite.
- Insights on the discourse: Insights from linguists and journalists are brought together to examine the function of these expressions. It is suggested that they have a dual function, to refer to the identified individual as well as to others with similar features.

This study concludes that this atypical expression carries both definite and indefinite information and to fully capture its use and function, the entire discourse event needs to be taken into consideration.

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### **List of Abbreviations**

<b>A(n)+N+RRC:</b>	Indefinite expression with the structure A(n) + NOUN + RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE
<b>RRC:</b>	Restrictive Relative Clause
<b>AT:</b>	Accessibility Theory
<b>AA:</b>	Accessibility Analysis
<b>GH:</b>	The Givenness Hierarchy
<b>GHZ:</b>	Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski
<b>SC:</b>	Similarity chain
<b>SCK:</b>	Shared cultural knowledge

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Context

In London, a person gets mugged every ten minutes.

And he's getting mighty sick of it!

Why is this joke funny? The answer lies in the expectations set up through the choice of referring expression in the first sentence; more specifically, the ambiguity inherent in the indefinite article *a*. We do not expect to be able to identify *who* gets mugged every ten minutes in London. We expect it to mean *any* person, and so we are surprised when we learn that one particular (rather ill-fated) person is the sole victim of these regular attacks. We know this because we unexpectedly encounter the definite pronoun *he*, which can only refer back to the indefinite nominal expression in the previous sentence.

The above joke illustrates the complexities involved in the field of reference, and this is perhaps one of the reasons why the study of reference and (in)definiteness has attracted considerable attention from various academic disciplines that study language and communication, ranging from linguistics and philosophy to language acquisition, psycholinguistics and more recently computer science. Moreover, reference is at the heart of human communication: when acquiring language, one of the first things children do is learn how to refer to objects (Matthews, Lieven and Tomasello 2007). Also, as we have seen, jokes often exploit the conventional rules of reference, and ultimately information about an entity can only be exchanged if we agree about the identity of the thing first.

Reference can be seen as a four-way relation between speaker *a*, using expression *b* to identify entity *c* in order that addressee *d* is able to recognise the entity in question. Under this conception, reference is assumed to be largely a pragmatic phenomenon as it concerns the speaker's *use* of linguistic expressions to identify the entities in question (Abbot 2010: 2). Linguistic, cognitive, psycholinguistic and discourse factors contribute to the speaker's choice of the form of the linguistic item selected to carry out this task, as well as to the addressee's interpretation of the expression.

Conventionally, only structurally 'definite' expressions are recognised as being able to refer to entities that are considered to be identifiable to the addressee (e.g. Abbott, 2010; Givón, 1993a; Fawcett, 1980; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Hawkins, 1978). In English, these expressions can be realised by a definite or demonstrative determiner (*the/this apple*), pronoun (*it*) or proper noun (*Bardsey Island Apple*). Some languages, however, have no definite determiners. For example, Japanese can mark topichood (which is correlated, but not equal to definiteness) through the use of the particle *wa* (e.g. *Katy wa, ogenkidesuka? As for Katy, how are you?*) and further definiteness can be marked through the use of demonstrative pronouns (*kore, sore, are – this, that, that (over there)*) or demonstrative adjectives (*kono, sono, ano + noun – this, that, that (over there) + noun*), among other features<sup>1</sup>. Finnish has no grammatical definiteness marking at all. It does, however, mark topic, focus and telicity (i.e. the property of marking a verb as finished or complete) and this gives enough information to work out whether a referent is definite or indefinite<sup>2</sup>. The realisation of (in)definiteness in other languages is fascinating but we cannot allow

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<sup>1</sup> Author's personal knowledge of Japanese

<sup>2</sup> With thanks to Dr Virpi Ylanne, Cardiff University (2014), for confirming this information

ourselves to be distracted by that here. For further examples of how other languages encode (in)definiteness, see Lyons (1999).

In contrast with the above, the notion of ‘indefiniteness’ is assumed to be used for reference which is non-identifiable and would seem in a mutually exclusive relation with definiteness (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Givón, 1993b; Martin, 1992; Hawkins, 1978; de Haan, 1987). Indefinite expressions are typically realised by indefinite determiners and pronouns (e.g. *an apple; some apples; any apples*) and are used for entities which the addressee is not expected to be able to identify (c.f. the joke at the beginning of this chapter). Some languages, for example Welsh, have no indefinite article and indefiniteness is signalled by the absence of any preceding article (King 2003:28).

It is generally accepted that the conventional pattern of article use is indefinite first mention with subsequent mentions being signalled by a definite marker. For example,

1) *A man* was airlifted to hospital after *he* was believed to have fallen 100ft (30m) in a flooded quarry near Llangollen in Denbighshire<sup>3</sup>

The readers are first introduced to the unfortunate man with the indefinite article *a* (which conventionally marks non-identifiability), and the subsequent reference to him is made using the definite pronoun *he* (indicating that the addressee is in a position to identify the referent). Whilst this distribution is widely accepted as being typical of the articles in English, it is also acknowledged that there are exceptions to

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<sup>3</sup>BBC News 11th June 2014. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-north-east-wales-27790758>. Accessed 28/08/2014

this pattern of indefinite first and definite subsequent mentions (Givón, 1993a: 235; Du Bois, 1980: 207; Martin, 1992: 94).

For example, Du Bois (1980: 222-3), discusses several uses of definite initial mentions, such as instances of NPs containing new and specific information in the format of a restrictive relative clause as in the following example:

2) She knocks the hat that he's wearing off the ground

*[T]he hat he's wearing* is a first mention, but is nevertheless definite. The identifying information in the relative clause motivates the use of the definite article for the whole NP, despite it representing an initial mention. Further discussion of departures from this typical pattern can be found in Chapters 2 and 3.

We noted above that indefinite expressions tend to follow the principle of non-identifiability. But consider the following extract from an art blog from the Guardian newspaper called *Did Van Gogh kill himself? It shouldn't really matter*:

3) A new claim that a bizarre accident caused the artist's death has no bearing on the severe emotional troubles evident in his letters

[34 mentions of Van Gogh later...]

From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of *a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.*

(Data Text 9)<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> 'Data text + number' refers to the texts used as data for this study. For full texts see Appendix 2.

In 3), it is possible to understand *a man who...* as a newly introduced referent or as a type of man with the particular qualities attributed to him in the relative clause. But once it is seen in context, where 33 mentions of Van Gogh have already been made, it becomes clear that the indefinite article is signalling something different.

Structurally indefinite expressions, such as that in 3), are interesting because the referring potential of formally indefinite expressions has been largely ignored in the literature, with perhaps the exception of Du Bois (1980; 1997), Ushie (1986), Epstein (1994) and Schouten and Vonk (1995). This is perhaps due to the fact that indefinite expressions are generally treated as non-referring, particularly in more traditional, textualist approaches, which tend to examine referring expressions based on constructed one or two sentence examples. This issue is returned to in Chapters 2 and 3.

## **1.2 Aims**

This research project then, addresses a much over-looked area in the study of reference, namely, the role of indefinite expressions in discourse about a previously established and fully-identified referent. More specifically, it examines expressions such as that in 3), which take the form A(n)+NOUN + RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSE (A(n)+N+RRC forthwith) in English journalistic opinion writing.

The study aims to address the following questions:

1. What is the definiteness status of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type?
2. What features of the text contribute to the definiteness status of the expression?
3. How does the expression function in the discourse?

These questions address distinct, but related, aspects of the study of referring expressions and as such, require different approaches. The mini-investigations discussed in the following chapters use both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. As each chapter provides its own detailed methodology, I will simply provide in the following paragraphs a brief summary of the aims and approach(es) taken in each investigation.

### **1.3 Theoretical framework and overview of the study**

We will see that the production and interpretation of referring expressions is multifaceted and as such, it is essential to consider all the factors involved in the referring process in order to achieve a full understanding of the phenomenon. The question is how these factors might be best examined. One approach is to move away from constructed examples, and look instead to viewing referring expressions as contextually bound by the surrounding text, context and on-going discourse (Cornish 1999; 2010). Whilst the linguistic encoding of the referring item is clearly fundamental in understanding what a speaker intends, the context in which an expression is produced and interpreted must also be acknowledged, including:

- any associations it may have with the cotext or on-going discourse
- psycholinguistic factors
- cognitive factors
- the pragmatic intentions of the speaker
- the role of the addressee

As such, in order to establish an adequate understanding of the use and function of referring expressions, a theoretical framework in which all of the above factors are taken into consideration is crucial.

In order to be able to understand the behaviour of an apparently atypical use of an indefinite referring expression, we first need to understand the nature and function of typical referring expressions. Therefore, our journey begins in Chapter 2 with a review of (in)definiteness and reference. More specifically, we first look at the typical behaviour of definite and indefinite expressions in order to establish a 'standard' from which any non-standard behaviour can be evaluated. Further, a critical examination of co-textual, discourse-functional, psycholinguistic and cognitive-pragmatic approaches to reference and referring is carried out in order to help establish a framework within which these expressions can be studied. We then move to examine some deviations from the 'standard' use of the (in)definite articles and consider the effect of these atypical uses.

When analysing the behaviour of any element of language, the particular linguistic items need to be defined to provide a workable and feasible data set. Therefore, Chapter 3 establishes the parameters for the data in this study. I first present six tests which determine which expressions are to be included in the study. The purpose of these 'tests for referentiality' is to distinguish the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type from other indefinite nominal expressions. That is, the tests should provide a benchmark from which all expressions can be measured against, to ensure that there is consistency and reliability in the data set. We will also examine the data collection process and the context in which the expression occurs.

As we will see in Chapter 2, for successful reference to take place, collaboration between speaker and addressee is necessary (Schober and Clark 1989;

Brown 1995), and ultimately it is the addressee who ratifies the expression (Brennan 2000). Therefore, empirical research into how readers actually interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expression is crucial to the understanding of the function of the construction. As such, two reading experiments are described in Chapter 4, which aim to determine whether readers interpret the expressions as referring to a definite referent or to a 'type', the latter being one of the conventional functions of an indefinite expression.

As referring involves both the speaker's production and the addressee's ratification or interpretation of an expression, we need to examine the A(n)+N+RRC expression from both perspectives. The reading experiments look at the expressions from the point of view of their *interpretation* and so Chapter 5 examines the A(n)+N+RRC construction from the perspective of its *production*. Two of the principle cognitive-pragmatic theories of referring, namely Accessibility Theory (Ariel 1988 onwards) and the Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski 1993 onwards) are put to the test to determine if they can explain the use of this seemingly atypical indefinite expression. The results of the reading experiments are then brought into comparison with the cognitive-pragmatic analyses.

Having looked at the A(n)+N+RRC construction in terms of its production and interpretation, we will next consider the context in which they tend to occur in more detail. If these formally indefinite expressions are indeed functioning in a definite manner, then an examination of the surrounding text and on-going discourse about the particular referent might provide some insight into how this definiteness is achieved. Thus in Chapter 6, the expressions are examined within their specific context using Hasan's notion of co-extension and similarity chains (1985) and the

cohesive ties between the expressions and the preceding text or on-going discourse are analysed.

Up to this point in the investigation, we will have examined the formal relationships linked to the A(n)+N+RRC expression as well as the interpretations of readers. The next step in our investigation will look at how the expressions function in the discourse. We will do this by drawing on the insights from two expert groups. The first group, linguists, may be able to shed some light on the nature and behaviour of the A(n)+N+RRC construction. It will be interesting to compare the perspectives of linguists from different backgrounds. The second group, journalists, may be able to provide an understanding of how the writing of opinion articles is approached as well as what the intentions of the actual writers of the articles are when using the A(n)+N+RRC construction.

Finally, we shall revisit the questions put forward at the beginning of section 1.2, drawing on the findings from all of the above mini-investigations. Then we will consider the limitations of the study and directions for future research.

## **Chapter 2: What are reference and (in)definiteness, and how do they interact?**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Traditionally, research into reference has largely focussed on the study of definiteness and the referring potential of formally definite descriptions. However, comparatively little attention has been given to indefinite expressions which have the same potential (with perhaps the exception of Du Bois (1980), Ushie (1986), Epstein (1994) Schouten and Vonk (1995), all of which are discussed in Chapter 3). It is generally accepted that expressions of the nature A + NOUN PHRASE (i.e. indefinite article followed by a noun) are indefinite and do not refer to a specific referent, and more crucially, do not refer to an identifiable entity.

There are reasons, however, to challenge this assumption. This will be done by first broadly reviewing some definitions of referring and considering what constitutes definiteness and indefiniteness. I then critically examine the traditional, co-textual account of reference and anaphora and contrast it with the discourse-functional perspective. The review goes on to consider some of the psycholinguistic issues within the study of reference and cognitive models of the production and interpretation of referring expressions. Finally, several atypical uses of indefinite and definite determiners are examined to determine what the exploitation of the standard uses of referring items can achieve. We consider whether current theory can account for the use and function of the atypical indefinite expression A(n)+ N+RRC.

### **2.2 What is reference and referring?**

In the logical philosophical tradition, reference is said to concern the relationship between linguistic terms and entities that exist in the 'real world'. That is, if an entity

does not refer to something in the real world, it does not refer at all (Givón 1993a: 214; Bach 2008: 29-31). Consider the following in 4):

4a) The Queen of England is tall

4b) The King of France is bald

According to the logical tradition, the subject of 4a) genuinely refers as it connects the linguistic term the *Queen of England* to something that exists in the real world. On the other hand, the *King of France* in 4b) does not refer to an existing entity so cannot be said to be truly referring. In contrast, Karttunen (1976: 366) maintains that (co)reference within a discourse is a linguistic matter, which ‘can be studied independently of any general theory of extra-linguistic reference’. This notion is supported by the fact that the grammar of English does not encode differently entities which exist and do not exist. Instead, English appears to be responsive to whether the entity in question has already been established within the ‘universe of discourse’ (Givón 1993a: 214). The encoding of initial mention and subsequent reference in discourse has very little to do with whether or not something exists in the real world. The invented examples in 5a-c) illustrate this point:

5a) Jacob saw **a troll/a woman** under the bridge.

5b) **She** was sitting on a stone trying to catch fish.

5c) **The troll/the woman** was using a net to scoop out the fish.

The two alternative referents are introduced in 5a) with the indefinite article *a*, and subsequently referred to with the same pronoun in 5b) and definite description *the* in

5c), irrespective of whether the entity referred to is real or not. Reference, or more specifically discourse reference, is therefore considered, for the purposes of this study at the very least, a linguistic rather than ontological matter.

With this in mind, let's now consider the notion of reference within the field of linguistics, which is also somewhat problematic because it is used in different ways in the literature. In the simplest sense, reference can be described as 'a relationship between a particular object in the world and an expression used in an utterance to pick that object out' (Hurford, Heasley and Smith 1983: 34). Halliday and Hasan (1976:31) however, have quite a unique view of (co)reference, which is seen as a cohesive device which makes 'reference to something else' for its interpretation. Coreferential forms thus direct the addressee to look elsewhere for their interpretation; if this is done within the text, it is said to be an endophoric relation and outside the text, in the situational context, an exophoric relation. Consider first endophora and the following claim from Halliday and Hasan (1976: 52):

[...] it is characteristic of third person forms that they may be cumulatively anaphoric. One occurrence of *John* at the beginning of a text may be followed by an indefinitely large number of occurrences of *he*, *him*, or *his* all to be interpreted by reference to the original John.

This claim is somewhat debatable and as Brown and Yule (1983: 200) point out appears to be 'the view of an analyst who has worked and reworked relatively small chunks of text which are capable of being displayed on a single page'. Halliday and Hasan appear to be claiming that reference is binary in nature, and all subsequent

mentions of an established entity must be interpreted with reference to the original expression. This claim has implications for the cognitive processing of referring expressions, as well as human processing in general (Brown and Yule 1983: 200). Consider the novel *A Tale for the Time Being* by Ruth Ozeki. This novel traces the lives of two characters: a Japanese schoolgirl Naoko Yasutani and a novelist called Ruth. On the first page and a half alone, Nao refers to herself 20 times using a variety of expressions (*Nao, I, me, every one of us, my present, my future, my kind of time being, we, Naoko Yasutani, myself* and so on). Over 432 pages, 163 footnotes and six appendices, the characters' lives unfold as we learn more about Nao and Ruth. If Halliday and Hasan are correct, then at the end of the 432 pages, when the reader reaches the final reference to *Naoko Yasutani*, the reader will still be interpreting the anaphoric expression by reference to the original form on page 1. This seems highly unlikely. Indeed, Brown and Yule (1983:200) argue that:

[a]s a processing model this must be implausible. As an occasional strategy for working out who did what in a series of events, or for checking back when one gets 'lost' in the course of reading something, it may be quite reasonable. But this procedure cannot be the norm.

Furthermore, it is not clear how this binary approach to reference would deal with referential items which are not *coreferential*, such as evolving reference or metonymy. (See section 2.5 *How do we refer?* for more on this), and as is shown below, it seems much more likely that referential items are stored in memory as a mental or discourse representation which evolves as the discourse unfolds. Brown and Yule (*ibid*: 201) suggest that if this view is correct, then 'the distinction between

endophoric and exophoric co-reference becomes much harder to draw' because in both cases the addressee must look to their mental representation of the universe of discourse to establish reference.

Having briefly examined Halliday and Hasan's particular model of co-reference, it is now appropriate to consider more functional perspectives on reference. For Du Bois (1980: 208), if something is referential, it is used to 'speak about an object as an object, with continuous identity over time'. An 'object' could be a physical object or a concept, it could be known or unknown, it may exist in the real world or in a hypothetical world and there may be one or many objects (ibid). Du Bois goes on to comment that referential noun phrases 'may be thought of in cognitive terms as either activating a mental "file" for some object [...] or referring back to a previously opened file' (ibid: 209). This definition quite clearly establishes that the focus is on the object itself rather than any qualities or properties attributed to it and appears to support the claim that speakers establish then modify a mental representation of the referential item, rather than make reference to the original form of the expression as Halliday and Hasan claim.

In Givón's terms something is treated as referring if it has been 'verbally established in the universe of discourse' (1993a: 214), which perhaps corresponds to Du Bois' activation of a mental file. Once it has been established, it can be subsequently referred to. Schouten and Vonk (1995: 2) support this characterisation, adding,

[r]eference is the function of an expression in the discourse of identifying individuals or objects which may but need not be present in either the

knowledge base of the speaker or the knowledge base of both speaker and hearer.

In discourse-functional terms, anaphoric reference is considered to be something which maintains the reference and/or sense of a previously mentioned entity, taking into consideration the dynamic nature of discourse (Cornish 2010: 215). Cornish (1999: 5) also emphasises the need to view reference as a discourse-model management procedure, whose purpose is to align the speaker's and addressee's models of the current discourse by:

altering or maintaining the saliency of level of some discourse referent already represented within in it, or of one which is associated with a given entity already resident therein.

Leaving aside the other claims Cornish is making for the moment (and section 5 of this chapter develops these cognitive, psychological and discourse-functional views further), what is clear is that a thread running through all of these definitions is the notion that referring is something which needs to be initially established in the discourse, and then subsequently brought into focus again. This suggests that the identity of the already established entity being referred to is somehow maintained in the current discourse and in the minds of the speakers, and it is this continuity of identity which contributes to both speaker and addressee being able to understand each other.

We shall now examine further what constitutes the notions of continuity and identity and what needs to have been already established in the discourse in order for reference to take place. The next section therefore, looks at the notions of

definiteness and indefiniteness and their roles in the maintenance of the identity of objects in discourse.

### **2.3 What is the role of (in)definiteness in referring?**

As noted above, for something to refer it needs to have something to refer to. This ‘something’ needs to have been already established, and most theories of (in)definiteness agree that indefinite expressions are used primarily for an initial mention of a referent, which are then followed by definite expressions for subsequent mentions. This can be seen in basic terms as an association between unknown and known with indefinite and definite. Schiffrin (2006: 36) puts it in slightly different terms, that of ‘accessing’ (first mention) and ‘maintaining’ (subsequent mentions) a referent. However, it is also largely acknowledged that there are exceptions to this pattern (e.g. Givón 1993a: 235; Du Bois 1980: 207; Martin 1992: 94, 142; Schiffrin 2006: 73) as we will see below, so referring is perhaps not as straightforward as it might seem. Moreover, the features of definiteness and indefiniteness seem to vary according to the ways in which they are used in the literature. The following sections therefore take a closer look at the notion of (in)definiteness.

#### **2.3.1 Definiteness**

The range of interpretations of ‘definiteness’ extends from uniqueness (Russell, 1930), mental accessibility and identifiability (Givón, 1993a: 232) and identifiability, uniqueness and inclusiveness (Hawkins, 1978: 17) on the one hand, to particularisation (Fawcett, 1980: 12), specificity and identifiability (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 70-71) and recoverability (Martin, 1992: 99) on the other. Further,

Christopherson (1939: 28) emphasises that there needs to be ‘a basis of understanding between speaker and hearer’.

Chafe argues that ‘identifiable’ would be a better term than ‘definite’ but acknowledges that ‘we are stuck with the traditional label’ (1976: 39). He integrates definiteness with identifiability, which he divides into three components: shared knowledge between the speaker and hearer, which may be either direct or inferrable; the use of language which is sufficient to identify the referent; and the saliency of the referent within the specific context (1994: 93-94). Chafe also draws a distinction between definiteness and the status of given and new information. Definiteness and givenness often go together (as in anaphoric reference chains, for example), but equally it is possible to find instances where the item is both definite and new, as in *I talked with the carpenter yesterday*, where definiteness is established by some other means than an immediate prior mention (see section 5.3 below).

For Du Bois (1980: 219), definiteness involves ‘a tracing of the constant idea (referent) through links with the shifting words (references) used to refer to the idea’, which speakers have control over. Even if the identity of an object is known to both interlocutors, they are under no obligation to use the available definite description. Consider the following scenario: a mother says to her small child ‘someone left their bike out in the rain last night’. Both speaker and addressee (the afore-mentioned ‘someone’) are well-aware of the definite culprit, but for pragmatic purposes, the speaker chooses not to use it. Du Bois concludes that ‘speakers have facultative control of definiteness’ (ibid). So clearly there are other parameters beyond identifiability and definiteness which govern choice of (in)definite expression. In Givón’s terms, definiteness ‘is inherently about **knowledge by one mind of the knowledge of another mind**’ (1989: 206) (emphasis in the original). Therefore, it is

also about the ‘grounds for one mind asking assumptions about what another may know’, as well as how certain they are about knowing it (ibid). He also proposes that ‘[i]f the hearer is familiar with an event, and if a participant in that event is referred to, the speaker may assume that the hearer can identify the participant. Hence the participant is definite’ (1993a: 224).

The summary above offers a somewhat simplified and generalised view of some of the features of definiteness but does highlight both overlap and variation in these accounts. There appears to be agreement, however, that definiteness involves some sort of shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee which is a necessary condition for successful reference to occur.

### **2. 3.2 Indefiniteness**

Traditional accounts of reference argue that a speaker cannot be said to be referring if they use an indefinite expression. For example, de Haan (1987, p. 172) firmly states that ‘[N]o indefinite NP can refer to an object which is or has been identified’, and Quine (1960: 146, in Brown 1995: 70) that ‘indefinite singular terms do not designate objects’.

Further, indefiniteness is considered to be semantically undefined, nonspecific and nonreferential (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 70). Indefinite expressions usually introduce new topics (Givón 1983: 10), do not refer to identifiable entities (Givón 1993b: 174), are not available (Givón 1983: 10) nor are they recoverable (Martin 1992: 98). They are nonanaphoric (Hawkins 1978: 17, 18), but as Du Bois (1980: 208) points out, they can be referential-specific, i.e. the speaker is referring to a specific entity, but cannot expect the hearer to be able to identify which one (cf. epistemic status of the referent). An example of this use

which highlights the difference between specific and nonspecific uses of the indefinite article comes from the BBC programme *Sherlock*, where Watson asserts:

6) I'm looking for a friend. A very specific friend. I'm not just browsing<sup>5</sup>.

Clearly Watson knows who he is looking for (as do the viewers), but the addressee is not expected to know.

Further, Spanish has a distinct way of encoding this kind of referential-specific indefinite reference. The utterance 'I'm looking for a friend' can be expressed in two discrete ways in Spanish. The first 'estoy buscando un amigo' has a nonspecific reading, whereas the second, 'estoy buscando *a* un amigo' has a specific reading; the speaker has a particular friend in mind.

Bach (2008: 28) argues that indefinite descriptions do not refer, but merely *allude* to something. To illustrate this point, Bach asks us consider the following scenario: A group of 'unsavoury men' crashes a party one night, and an elderly reveller reports the following statement to the police:

7) 'A big hoodlum had a concealed weapon'.

Even though she has a specific hoodlum in mind, she does not specify which one. According to Bach, 7) would still be true even if she was mistaken about which 'hoodlum' was carrying a weapon. So rather than this utterance being a 'singular proposition' (i.e. a proposition about a particular individual) about the hoodlum the speaker had in mind, it instead semantically expresses a general proposition. This is because 'the police could understand her perfectly well without having any idea

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<sup>5</sup>*Sherlock*. Series 3, episode 3 (BBC)

which hoodlum she has in mind. They understand that she has a certain hoodlum in mind, the one she is alluding to'. But, in this example, the addressee, i.e. the police, 'have no idea which hoodlum she has in mind'; they do not know the specific hoodlum and cannot identify them. However, consider the following italicised utterance 8) taken from the data in this study:

8) *An agency which should be protecting the natural world* appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.

(Data Text 17)

The question here is whether the addressee could know from 8) which agency is being referred to. Out of context, it is possible (if the addressee has knowledge of the particular environmental organisation in question, for example) but unlikely. But what about if this sentence were not isolated, but occurred halfway through a piece about that particular agency? Given the very specific context in which this expression actually occurs, the addressee may well be able to identify the referent of the expression as the previously mentioned, fully-identified referent *Natural England*. It must be questioned whether the writer in instances such as 8) is merely *alluding* to a non-identifiable entity or if the act is more like reference. We return to this issue in the following chapter.

Indeed, Karttunen (1976: 367) maintains that indefinite NPs can have both a specific and nonspecific interpretation. He provides the following example:

9) Bill didn't see a misprint.

This can be interpreted as either specific, as in there is a misprint that Bill did not see, or nonspecific, as in Bill saw no misprints. Karttunen (ibid: 368) further suggests that certain verbs lend themselves to either a specific or nonspecific interpretation, as in:

10a) John tried to find a piano. [but he didn't succeed in finding one]

10b) John tried to lift a piano. [but he didn't succeed in lifting it]

Karttunen suggests that there is something inherent in the meaning of the verb *lift* that leads us to a specific interpretation of the object in question, whereas *find* leads us to interpret the object as an example of the kind of thing John was trying to find. Interestingly, compare 11) with 10a) and 10b):

11) John went to the librarian because he couldn't find a book

It is unlikely this means just any book. So perhaps we need to consider also the role of the contextual semantics of the V NP relationship as well as differences in the meaning of *find*. Nevertheless, Karttunen suggests that it is the specific interpretation which allows for the establishment of a discourse referent, whereas the nonspecific reading does not.

Moreover, Chafe (1976: 42) suggests that indefiniteness and 'newness' tend to go together. The reason for this is that if an addressee is not assumed (by the speaker) to be able to identify the referent, then it is unlikely that the referent is already in the addressee's consciousness. Therefore, the information cannot be considered to be 'given' (i.e. in the consciousness of the addressee) and needs to be

introduced (see section 5.3 of this chapter for a more detailed account of Chafe's notion of givenness). However, in cases where the indefinite referent is different from the referent which established 'givenness', indefiniteness does not necessarily entail newness, such as in the examples below (Chafe 1976: 42):

12a) I saw an eagle this morning

12b) Sally saw one too

Chafe maintains that *one* in 12b) is clearly given, but not the same referent as in 12a) because it is more likely that 12b) would read 'Sally saw it too'). Its givenness comes from the fact that it is 'a particular which is categorised in the same way as the other' (ibid). This resonates to some extent with Hawkin's view that an indefinite NP can refer, but only when there is 'at least one more such object in that [shared] set which the reference can exclude' (1978: 184). Thus, it is not possible to say 'I saw a Queen Elizabeth II today' because there are no other choices of referent in the particular set.

Givón (1993a: 215) discusses the contrast between referring and non-referring noun phrases by drawing on indefinite NPs. He asks us to consider the following utterances in 13):

13) John married **a rich woman**,

a) ... though he didn't know **her** well

b) ... ?though he didn't know **any** well

The difference between utterances 13a) and 13b) is that of ‘referential intent’. In uttering 13a), by using the referring pronoun *her*, the speaker is committed to ‘the existence in the universe of discourse of some rich woman that John married’ (ibid). On the other hand, using the non-referring pronoun *any* in the same frame does not work.

Now consider the following utterances in 14):

- 14) John wanted to marry **a rich woman**
- a) ... though he didn’t know **her** well
- b) ... though he didn’t know **any** (well)

Once again, by uttering either 14a) or 14b), the speaker may or may not be committed to identifying a specific woman in the universe of discourse. Two interpretations of *a rich woman* are possible; a referring interpretation using *her* or a non-referring interpretation with *any*. Radden and Dirven (2007: 94) attribute the differences in interpretation with utterances like those in 14a) and b) to having factual or nonfactual reality.

So like Karttunen, Givón proposes that indefinite expressions can refer, depending on the referential intent of the speaker. That is, whether the speaker is committed to the existence in the universe of discourse of a particular entity; the speaker need not only encode perceived hearer knowledge but also can encode their own position in terms of givenness/newness as well as their own knowledge about the referent.

Givón (1993a: 224) further argues that there is ‘a continuum of referential intent’. That is, the grammar of English is able to systematically encode referential

intent. To illustrate this, consider the following utterances (taken directly from Givón 1993a: 225):

15)

- a) Did you see **anything** there?
- b) Did you see **anybody** there?
- c) Did you see **any man** there?
- d) Did you see **some man** there?
- e) Did you see **a man** there?
- f) Did you see **a tall man** there?
- g) Did you see **a tall man wearing a blue shirt** there?
- h) Did you see **a tall man there wearing a blue shirt and sitting on a red barrel and twirling a silver baton in his left hand?**

Givón explains this continuum from both the speaker's and addressee's perspective. From the speaker's perspective, the dimension is psychological and relates to how strongly the speaker intends to refer to a particular entity. From the addressee's perspective, the dimension is probabilistic, that is, it relates to the probability that the entity being referred to is a particular individual.

He concludes by outlining three grammatical devices which appear to encode the continuum of referential intent:

Grammatical device	Likelihood of specific reference					
	More likely.....less likely					
Indefinite articles	a	>	some	>	any	
Restrictive modification	More modification		>	less modification		
Lexical noun specification	Specific noun		>	person	>	thing

**Figure 1: Givón's coding gradation of reference (1993a: 225)**

If we take into consideration the form of the expression under study here, A(n)+N+RRC (see example 3) and 16) below), it is clear that the likelihood of the speaker intending to refer to a specific entity is reasonably high. To illustrate this point, let us look at another expression taken from the data in this study:

16) a precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century

An indefinite article is used as opposed to the non-referring *any*, there is restrictive modification in the form of a restrictive relative clause, but as will be seen in later chapters, the amount of detail in the relative clause varies according to the expression; some expressions contain highly specific data in the relative clauses, whilst others do not. This could be easily explained by Givón's theory of referential intent: the more detailed the relative clause, the more likely it is that the speaker intends to refer to a specific entity. (This notion is explored further in subsequent chapters, particularly in Chapters 4 to 7). However, the head nouns at the beginning of the expression do not tend to be very specific, perhaps due to the specificity of the

relative clauses making it difficult to have a more specific head noun. Consider 17)

below:

17)

An agency  
?Natural England



which should be protecting the natural world appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.

In order for the more specific head noun to work, the relative clause would need to change from restrictive to non-restrictive. For example,

18) Natural England, which should be protecting the natural world, appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.

However, it must be noted here that the gradation of referential intent that Givón outlines relates to specific reference, i.e. the speaker's intention to refer to a particular individual. Givón does not suggest that the addressee is expected to be able to identify the particular entity, but simply acknowledge the existence of such.

Schiffrin (1994) draws an interesting distinction between (in)definiteness and (in)explicitness. Expressions that introduce referents into the discourse could be indefinite and explicit (e.g. *a woman I work with*), but then expressions which are used for subsequent reference to the entity could be definite and inexplicit (e.g. *she*) (1994: 198-199). Schiffrin views definiteness in much the same way as Givón, in that the speaker expects the addressee to be able to identify the entity 'from whatever clues are available'. On the other hand, she describes explicitness in the following way:

[e]xplicitness has to do with the presentation of information that actually enables H [the hearer] to correctly identify a referent i.e. the lexical clues that allow H to single out whom (or what) S [speaker] intends to differentiate from other potential referents (1994:199).

Further, explicitness should be seen as a continuous process rather than a discrete distinction between what is explicit and inexplicit, and (in)definiteness and (in)explicitness can ‘crosscut’ each other; expressions can be definite and explicit (*the father of my children*), definite and inexplicit (*he*), indefinite and explicit (*a man I met 15 years ago*) and indefinite and inexplicit (*someone I met when I was younger*).

So lexical explicitness seems to play an informative role, perhaps stepping in where the grammar does not help disambiguate potential referents. It could be the case that definiteness relates to the speaker’s intentions and assumptions about the addressee’s anticipated knowledge, but explicitness is perhaps motivated by the speaker’s cooperative intentions, providing information which facilitates the addressee’s identification of the referent.

We have seen above several arguments for the possibility of specific or speaker reference, which suggests that an indefinite expression can be said to be referring if the speaker has a particular entity in mind when making the utterance. However, these descriptions indicate that indefinite descriptions do not have a specific *identifiable* referent. In other words, in contrast to definite expressions, there is a distinction to be made in terms of the shared knowledge between the speaker and addressee.

It can be concluded that definiteness is not an inherent property of the expression but of the beliefs of the speaker vis-à-vis their addressee. Indefiniteness suggests that the speaker does not believe the addressee will be able to identify the referent or indeed that there is no specific referent to be identified. On the other hand, we have seen that both definite and indefinite expressions can contain additional information which enables the addressee to identify an intended referent, and this ‘explicitness’ and definiteness can easily interact to reflect the intentions and assumptions of the speaker.

With perhaps the exception of Schiffrin’s ‘explicitness’, none of the above theories suggest that when a speaker uses an indefinite expression, they expect the addressee to be able to identify the entity being referred to, and thus none can account for the data under discussion. At most, it has been argued that the speaker can refer to a particular entity, one whose identity they may be aware of, but there is no assumption that the addressee has the same knowledge. However, several scholars have proposed that ‘second mention’ or ‘late’ indefinites do in fact refer to an identifiable referent (e.g. Du Bois (1980, 1997), Ushie (1986), Epstein (1994) and Schouten and Vonk (1995)) and these theories are explored in the following chapter (Chapter 3) in relation to the data used in this study.

#### **2.4 How are NPs categorised as (in)definite?**

Before leaving the discussion of (in)definiteness, it is important to consider how noun phrases are categorised as definite or indefinite in English. Whilst ‘it is absurd to draw boundaries around phenomena under study and then use these boundaries to justify one’s intellectual stance’ (Halliday 2002: 378), this is what seems to inevitably happen, and the phenomenon of (in)definiteness is no exception.

Therefore, the criteria for the categorisation of an NP are generally based on the type of determiner included in the expression and in some cases whether there is phoricity (e.g. anaphoric items in the expression). Martin (1992: 98) suggests that in English, all noun phrases encode the identifiability (or 'recoverability' in Martin's terms) of the referent 'as explicitly recoverable from the context or not'. Martin accordingly proposes that an indefinite expressions do not encode the participant as recoverable, but 'pronouns, demonstratives, the definite article and proper names signal that the participants identity is in some sense known' (ibid).

In contrast, Schiffrin (1994: 198) states that a *formal* differentiation between definite and indefinite referring terms 'is relatively easy', but that it is the *functional* differences which are difficult to define (my emphasis). That is, the problem lies in revealing the conditions 'under which different terms can be appropriately used' (ibid). Further, Chafe (1994: 93) acknowledges that although identifiability (and therefore definiteness) is often associated with the use of the definite article, it is 'by no means always' the case. This is echoed by Du Bois (1980:203), who notes that simply defining these expressions in terms of the presence of a definite or indefinite determiner is not sufficient. Givón (1993a: 216) also states that:

...the mere presence of the indefinite article a(n) in English does not guarantee either a referring or non-referring interpretation of the noun phrases. The indefinite article is indeed irrelevant to this feature of meaning.

Whilst the latter point may be a little extreme, these comments suggest that it is in fact the context and the conditions the speaker finds themselves in which can be the

biggest indicator of (in)definiteness, not the mere presence or absence of a definite or indefinite determiner.

Significantly, Lyons (1999: 33-36) makes the point that what makes an expression indefinite is the absence of a definite determiner, rather than the presence of an indefinite determiner. That is, *a*, as a putative indefinite article, does not encode indefiniteness; although it can signal it. This is made clear with the following examples (from Lyons 1999:33):

19) I bought **three** books this morning

20) I wonder if Helen has read **many** books

Although the indefinite NPs in examples 19) and 20) do not contain the indefinite article they are nevertheless considered to be indefinite as they do not involve either identifiability or inclusiveness. They instead contain ‘cardinality terms’ which do not necessarily encode indefiniteness. Lyons maintains this is because they can co-occur with definite determiners, as can be seen by the following (ibid):

21) Pass me **those three** books.

22) I’ve only read a few of **the many** books she’s written.

This claim is also illustrated by the fact that *a* only occurs with singular countable nouns, but not necessarily with all singular countable nouns; consider *one cup*. *One* is a cardinality term, not an indefinite determiner, and like other cardinality terms, can occur with definite determiners, as in *the one cup*. Lyons concludes that cardinality terms are neutral in terms of (in)definiteness, but what makes the NPs in 21) and 22) indefinite is the absence of a definite determiner rather than the presence

of something indefinite (c.f. languages, such as Welsh, which do not have indefinite articles, as noted in chapter 1).

It seems useful, then, to make a distinction between the function of the expression and the formal categorisation of its structure. Lyons is suggesting that for something to be definite there must be some marker or indicator of definiteness. Consequently, NPs cannot be formally identified as indefinite; they can only be encoded for +/- definiteness. This claim may go some way to supporting the assertions made by Schiffrin et al. which were highlighted above. The formal coding of (in)definiteness is, in some cases at the very least, somewhat irrelevant to the (in)definite status of an expression; rather it is the textual, contextual and discoursal conditions which perhaps indicate how an expression is to be interpreted.

## **2.5 How do we refer? Discourse-functional, cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches to referring.**

Traditional accounts tend to view referring as a coreferential procedure; that is, it involves a co-textual, binary relationship between a lexical 'antecedent' and a referent which is dependent on the antecedent for its semantic interpretation (for example, Barss (2003: ix)). This view is also broadly supported by some functionalists, such as Halliday and Hasan as we saw earlier in this chapter (1976: 14, 31), and Martin (1992: 123), as well as in computational approaches, where formal constraints are prioritised (as noted by Cornish (2010: 212)). However, formal approaches to reference have been criticised for not considering the communicative event as a whole (for example, by Cornish 2010; Du Bois 1980; Brown and Yule 1983; Garnham 2001 and Schiffrin 2006). This section therefore examines several different approaches to referring, and takes into consideration the

limitations of traditional co-textual approaches. It then looks to discourse-functional, cognitive and psycholinguistic explanations of reference as an attempt to better account for the dynamic nature of reference in natural language production and comprehension. This is important because referring expressions combine many different levels of organisation into one integrated unit, and examining them at just one level would not sufficiently allow us to deal with their complexity.

Although the review below examines three perspectives of referring independently of each other, it must be noted that in reality, they are largely interrelated. That is, the discourse-functional approach takes into account both cognitive and psycholinguistic contributions to the production and interpretation of referring expressions and, as will be seen, there is also overlap between the latter two accounts of reference. Although the cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches to reference are related, it is felt here that they diverge sufficiently to warrant being dealt with independently. That is, whilst both accounts of referring are largely concerned with whether the interlocutors are ‘on the same wavelength’, the cognitive approach to reference is more concerned with the focus of attention of the discourse partners and the assumed status or position of the entity in question in the mind of the addressee. On the other hand, the psycholinguistic perspective on reference is more to do with what speakers actually *do*, for example how an expression is interpreted or how speakers collaborate to ensure mutual understanding is achieved.

In order to understand fully the nature of referring, a multifaceted approach needs to be taken; any analysis of referring expressions should take into consideration insights from the discourse, cognitive and psycholinguistic literature because each of these perspectives can provide a level of understanding which helps

develop the whole picture of the complex process of reference production and interpretation.

### **2.5.1 The discourse-functional perspective**

So-called ‘armchair theorising’ has for a long time been the approach taken by linguists to study reference and anaphora, and these theories tend to be formed based on constructed two-sentence examples (Cornish 1999:1). Consider the following (invented) example in 23):

23) Katy has three little boys. They are playing over there.

Interpreting this pair of sentences should not be too problematic as there is nothing inherently ambiguous about them. *They* cannot refer to anything other than *three little boys* as it is the only plural noun phrase in the first sentence. The second sentence clearly elaborates on the first, creating a certain coherence between the two sentences. Co-textual approaches are well-equipped to deal with instances such as these. These more traditional accounts of reference and anaphora are largely concerned with the formal and semantic constraints which allow or prohibit the pairing or matching of certain linguistic elements. In this way, they focus on intrasentential anaphora, or pairs of constructed sentences at best, and do not concern themselves with the wider context or discourse. As such, they may have difficulty dealing with the following variation on 23):

24) They are playing over there. Katy has three little boys.

Out of context, this pair of sentences is problematic. An obvious connection or coherence between the two sentences is more difficult to determine, so a logical interpretation would be difficult. Now consider a somewhat more natural (though not entirely) variation on 24):

25) They are playing over there. But Katy actually has THREE little boys.

There is a slightly tighter connection between this pair of sentences, and the addition of the concessive *but* and the prosody of the speaker help the addressee interpret the utterance. We could imagine that the two speakers are watching some children play, and 25) is in response to the question *Where are Katy's children?*. The concessive clause, the inclusion of the adverb *actually* and the emphatic *THREE* all work jointly to suggest that only two of Katy's boys are present, and the first speaker may not be aware that Katy has three boys. Further, consideration of the context in which the utterance is made is crucial to the successful interpretation of the referring expression.

These three examples suggest that there are more factors involved in the process of referring other than the types of expressions involved in the referring process and their relative position in the co-text. Not only does there need to be some coherence between the clauses, but the context and discourse event as a whole are crucial to the full pragmatic interpretation of the utterances.

The above scenario provides an illustration of the approach taken from the discourse-functional perspective to anaphora, as proposed by Cornish (1999, 2010). The discourse-functional approach considers reference to be a discourse-level referring procedure, involving a dynamic three way relationship between text,

discourse, and context, and rather than relying on a lexical antecedent for resolution, the anaphor is identified through a mental representation of the entity in question. That is, the discourse-functional approach emphasises the tracing of referents in the interlocutors' respective discourse models of the communicative event, which are constantly evolving (Cornish 2010: 208). This can be contrasted, to some extent, with Martin's 'participant identification' and 'referent tracking' (1992: Ch.3), which largely depends on pairs of *text-internal* relations between an anaphor and an antecedent, as well as Halliday and Hasan's particular notion of reference which involves items making reference to something else for their interpretation (1976: 31).

#### **2.5.1.1 Text, context and discourse**

As mentioned above in section 2.5.1, the discourse-functional account puts forward that there are three 'interdependent, interactive and inter-defining' concepts which play a crucial role in the successful interpretation of anaphora (Cornish 2010: 210).

These are:

**Text:** the connected sequence of spoken and non-spoken signs and signals produced by the interlocutors. The text serves as a holding bay of cues which act as instructions to the addressee to develop 'a conceptual model of the situation being evoked by the speaker, a model which, s/he intends, will be identical to the one which the speaker is building' (Cornish 1999: 34).

**Context:** the domain of reference of a specific text, the genre of the speech event, the co-text, which is constantly revised and (re)constructed as discourse is updated (Cornish 2010: 209).

**Discourse:** the mentally represented product of the ‘hierarchical, situated sequence of utterance, indexical, propositional and illocutionary acts’ carried out jointly by the interlocutors as the communication unfolds; the communicative event which is integrated within a specific context (ibid).

In Cornish's account of reference, discourse is dependent on text and context. It is the discourse event that is likely to be stored in the long-term memory of the participants for possible recovery at a later point. The text is a temporary construct, likely to be forgotten once the corresponding discourse has been created. This claim is supported by evidence from Sachs (1967: 437) who found that ‘the original form of the sentence is stored only for the short time necessary for comprehension to occur’, but recognition memory for the meaning of a sentence declines less rapidly.

### **2.5.1.2 The antecedent**

A criticism of the formal approach to referring is the somewhat unsatisfactory notion of 'antecedent'. It was already noted in section 2.5.1 that traditional definitions equate reference with coreference, which means that for a referent or anaphor to be resolved, it must be saturated by or paired with a lexical antecedent. However, in reality, a neat and tidy pairing with a lexical antecedent seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

The following recipe for roast potatoes provides an illustration of this claim:

26) i) Peel 1kg of **Maris Piper potatoes** and cut **each** into 4 even-sized pieces if **they** are medium size, 2-3 if  $\emptyset$  smaller (5cm pieces). ii) Drop **the potatoes** into a large pan of water. iii) Add salt, then wait for the water to

boil. iv) Simmer **the potatoes** uncovered, reasonably vigorously, for 2 mins. v) Meanwhile, put your choice of fat into the hot roasting tin and heat it in the oven for a few mins, so it's really hot. vi) Drain **the potatoes** in a colander. vii) Carefully put **the potatoes** into the hot fat and roast them in the oven until they are golden and crisp.<sup>6</sup>

The question is whether the follower of this recipe, that is, the potential roast potato cook, envisages the potatoes in 26vii) as the same potatoes in 26i), namely the original unwashed, unpeeled Maris Piper potatoes, which would be considered the textual antecedent in textualist terms (Cornish 2010: 225). It would be a fair assumption that this is unlikely, and rather the reader's perception of the potatoes would have been modified and evolved with the development of the recipe. If this were not the case, then the end result of this recipe would be fairly disastrous. This 'evolving reference' (Cornish 2010: 226) clearly illustrates the need to take into account the discourse dimension of a text as the antecedent's referent does not remain static. Consequently, textualist accounts of anaphora may have difficulty dealing with this.

Another example of a type of anaphor which does not have an explicit linguistic antecedent is that of a 'conceptual' anaphor (Oakhill, Garnham, Gernsbacher and Cain. 1992: 257). These anaphors construct their antecedent from the context, such as in 27):

27) I need a knife. Where do you keep *them*?

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<sup>6</sup>Recipe adapted from BBC GoodFood. Available at: <http://www.bbcgoodfood.com/recipes/1303/ultimate-roast-potatoes>. Accessed 28/08/2014

*Them* in this situation presumably means something like *the knives that I presume you have in your house* (ibid: 258). According to Gernsbacher (1991: 83, 104), this kind of anaphor is often used to refer to members of a collective set, as in 27), and is in fact rated very ‘natural’ and readily understood by readers. The fact that they are easily understood by addressees demonstrates the important role that context and everyday knowledge play in the interpretation of anaphora, and that a cotextual interpretation just simply would not be able to deal with these types.

A further illustration of the notion of ‘antecedent’ not being able to account for the realities of language in use, is ‘associative anaphora’ (also known as inferable reference (Gundel 1996: 141), bridging reference (Sanford and Garrod 1981: 94; Martin 1992: 124), or an association set (Hawkins 1991: 409)). The following example illustrates this phenomenon (from Haviland and Clark 1974: 514):

28) Mary unpacked the picnic things. The beer was warm.

In this example, the anaphoric *the beer* does not refer directly to the so-called antecedent *the picnic things*, but an addressee would unlikely have any difficulty in interpreting the referent *the beer* as referring to part of the picnic. Givón (1995:351-352) suggests that this is a hybrid type of grounding, which he calls ‘double-grounded frame-based reference’. This allows us to access the referent partly via an anaphoric connection to the referent’s ‘episodic trace in the episodic representation of the current text, and partly through connections to generic-lexical knowledge’ (‘episodic memory’ refers to the longer-term recall of a mental text-trace (ibid: 344)). In 28), the definite referent *the beer* receives its anaphoric grounding in part

from the preceding textual antecedent *the picnic things* and in part from generic-lexical knowledge of the frame *picnic things* and its sub-component *beer*.

Further, the same explanation can be applied to metonymic anaphora, where the referent does not relate directly to the thing it represents, but rather to something closely related to it, such as in 29).

29) Table 4's waiting for their bill.

Here, the anaphoric antecedent is not available from the preceding text, but rather the definite *Table 4* receives its grounding from the speech situation; the discourse representation set up contextually by the interlocutors. The inference is possible because conventionally, in the context of a restaurant where it is unlikely that the servers know the names of all their customers and even less likely that they write the names on top of the bills in order to identify which bill is required, it is common practice that the tables are numbered and therefore represent the people they accommodate.

In the examples 26) - 29) above, there are no canonical textual antecedents. Cornish suggests that it is not the antecedent which provides the in-context interpretation of the anaphor, but rather the 'antecedent trigger', which is 'a percept [...], an utterance token or a semiotically relevant non-verbal signal' which is outside the co-text but in the discourse representation of the participants (2010: 228). This notion of an antecedent trigger has resonance with cognitive accounts of reference, such as Ariel's Accessibility Theory, in which the antecedent is considered to be a mental representation, and not part of the co-text (1996: 17). Ariel indeed argues that the 'accessibility of mental entities is not presumed to remain

constant' (ibid: 21), an obvious illustration of which can be seen with evolving reference. Givón (1995:350) echoes this with the idea that the interlocutors have a pre-existing mental structure of the referent, and the antecedent is accessible in 'some extant mental representation' (ibid: 376).

### **2.5.1.3 Anaphoric predication**

Another significant contribution that the discourse-functional approach to anaphora makes is the notion of 'anaphoric predication' (Cornish 1999: Ch.3., 2010: 229-233). That is, the idea is that what follows a referent downstream helps point to a particular referent, and at the same time disambiguates from any potential distractors. Consider the following sentences (30) and (31):

30) Sean Penn attacked a photographer. The man was quite badly hurt.

(Wilson 1992: 168, cited in Cornish 2010: 230)

31) Sean Penn attacked a photographer. The man must be deranged. (Wilson

1992: 181, in Cornish 2010: 230)

In (30), we can assume that *the man* is referring to the photographer, as the predicating component expresses the result of an action, in this case, an attack, and can only apply to the receiver of that action. In the case of (31) however, there is an evaluation (*must be deranged*) on the part of the speaker about the cause of the attack (Cornish 2010: 230). Therefore, it is the entire anaphoric predication which picks up the relevant discourse representation and enables the integration of the two discourse units and thus the successful interpretation of the anaphor. This is what Cornish

suggests is the discourse contribution to anaphoric reference (ibid). Brown (1995:64) supports this view, maintaining that the referring expression must be connected to whatever is predicated of it, that ‘the new information contained in the predicate must be filed under the correct ‘address in memory’.

So, in short, according to the discourse-functional approach to anaphora, the antecedent trigger, the predication of the anaphor as well as the denotation of the anaphor within its immediate context all interact to provide the appropriate conditions for the successful interpretation of the expression. It is not simply a matter of a relation between two co-occurring expressions, as more formal approaches have argued.

#### **2.5.1.4 The Discourse Functional Approach and the present data**

The following example provides an illustration of how the discourse-functional approach could provide a useful means of examining the A(n)+N+RRC expression:

32) From **his complete letters** a remorseless self-portrait emerges of *a man who from **his youth** onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in **his 19th-century world***

(Data Text 9)

If this were examined in terms of its coreferentiality and traditional accounts of (in)definiteness and reference, then we would be unable to establish the identity of the entity denoted in the ‘*a man who...*’ expression. That is, at best we could interpret the expression as referring to a new entity in the discourse (i.e. an initial mention and thus non-identifiable) and/or understand that there is a class of men

with the particular characteristics described in the relative clause, and the *man who* entity is a particular instance of that class.

However, if this utterance is viewed in its intended context and then examined from a discourse-functional perspective; that is, if the text, context and discourse event as a whole are considered in the process of interpreting the expression (in particular, if we consider that there have been 39 prior mentions to Van Gogh, the anaphoric predication in the relative clause which contains textually known or old information as well as the specific reference to *self-portrait*), then it is likely that the addressee would be able to determine the identity of the particular man in the expression.

Whether this is in fact the case is considered in Chapters 4 and 5.

But before moving on to a closer examination of the data in this study, it is first necessary to consider what the psycholinguistic and cognitive approaches to referring have to offer in terms of how they can help explain the use of this particular expression type.

### **2.5.2 The psycholinguistic perspective on referring**

We have seen in the previous sections that referring involves a speaker and an addressee, and some kind of effort to maintain the identity of an already established entity so that it is still available or accessible to both participants for future reference. However, it would be useful to consider how the discourse partners in any communicative event actually approach the task of ensuring that their communication is successful.

First, consider Schiffrin's (2006: 36) use of the term 'referrals':

[They are] communicative attempts by a speaker to evoke a referent (the idea a speaker has of something in the world) through a referring expression (a linguistic expression that can represent and evoke an entity).

This definition is far-removed from the co-textual notion of a referent needing to be paired with a textual antecedent. Schiffrin claims that referring is ‘multi-faceted’ (ibid: 35), and involves some kind of interactive coordination between speaker production and addressee interpretation. This coordination, Schiffrin suggests, is reliant on the general pragmatic principles of quantity and relevance. Referring can thus be seen as a cumulative and jointly constructed process which works together with previously gathered information and develops alongside the upcoming discourse (ibid) (cf. the discourse-functional approach).

This view is supported by psycholinguistic research into referring expressions, which has devoted considerable attention to the notion of collaboration between speaker and addressee. It is generally agreed that collaboration between interlocutors helps participants refer successfully (Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Brown 1995; Schober and Clark 1989; Brennan and Clark 1996), and so perhaps the formal marking of definiteness becomes less pertinent, which may be the case with the data under review here. Schober and Clark (1989; 211-232) propose that the traditional view of gathering evidence about the speaker’s intention, which they call the ‘autonomous view’, is flawed. This view places emphasis on the listener decoding each utterance and interpreting it against what they assume to be the common ground of the interlocutors. Instead, Schober and Clark (ibid) put forward the ‘collaborative view’, which suggests that participants in a conversation actively

work together to ensure that understanding takes place, and do not proceed with the conversation until they are satisfied that they have mutually understood each other.

So in order for successful reference to take place, it seems that there needs to be some kind of mutual understanding between the speaker and addressee. Evans (1982: 315) suggests that the interlocutors not only need to be thinking of the same referent, but also that they think of it 'in the right way', proposing that this necessitates 'thoughts that are pretty similar on the part of the speaker and hearer' (ibid: 316). Brown echoes this (1995: 65) but distinguishes between *correct interpretation* and *adequate interpretation*. The former requires that the listener must have the same thought, or thoughts that are 'pretty similar' to the speaker, but the latter takes into consideration the relationship between 'the utterance, the context and the listener's intentions in interpreting the utterance' (ibid). The question here of course, is to what extent the addressee needs to retrieve the intended referent and think of it in a sufficiently similar way to the speaker for successful understanding to take place.

Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs' notion of understanding 'to a criterion sufficient for current purposes' (1986: 34) goes some way to explaining this. This criterion states that for a new contribution (i.e. 'a unit of conversation' (ibid: 35)) to proceed, the old, previous contribution must have been mutually accepted.

Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (1986: 33) also discuss the principle of 'mutual responsibility' between speaker and addressee when referring; for them too, referring is a collaborative process requiring action on the part of both speaker and addressee in order to allow for successful reference to take place. They suggest that during the referring process, the speaker and addressee may repeatedly repair, expand on or replace the referent until they arrive at a mutually acceptable version. So, before the

conversation can move on, both interlocutors must be satisfied that they have reached mutual understanding. This view could be helpful in explaining how far the addressee needs to think of the referent in ‘the same way’ as the speaker for adequate interpretation to take place. As long as the speaker and addressee are satisfied that mutual understanding has taken place, then it is sufficient.

In written modes, the principle of mutual responsibility may be weakened or modified and becomes instead a principle of ‘distant responsibility’ (Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986: 34). This means that writers have to ensure that the reader understands their meaning ‘to a criterion sufficient for current purposes’ (ibid: 36). In this situation, it could be that the writer needs to provide other pointers to help the reader, for example, certain cotextual or semantic clues, such as the ongoing sequence of references to the same referent or the fact that the heading or title is the discourse topic of the text. Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs (ibid: 36) add, however, that some writers may ‘retain a sprinkling of provisional noun phrases, repairs, expansions and replacements apparently to affect a spontaneous style or for other rhetorical effects’. This suggests that the principles of both mutual and distant responsibility may be somewhat violated in order to have a particular impact on the discourse. Indeed, according to Fox (1987: 17), ‘...anaphora [...] is also *manipulated* to accomplish certain interactional tasks’. Interestingly, these claims perhaps indicate that identification of a referent is not the only function of referring expressions. This matter is revisited in Chapter 7 where the function of the expression-type is discussed.

These manipulative or rhetorical strategies, whether they result in the speaker being intentionally over or under-explicit, could also be seen as a breach of the ‘communicative contract’ (Givón 1993a: 232) or ‘conceptual pact’ (Brennan and

Clark 1996: 1491), i.e. a temporary agreement between interlocutors about how they are to conceptualise a particular entity as the speaker could be considered to be acting in an uncooperative manner. On the other hand, it does not necessarily mean that this strategy is *not* collaborative because the writer might assume that they have put sufficient cues in place for the reader to be able to successfully identify the referent, thus the principle of distant responsibility to the addressee remains, at least to some extent, intact.

Brennan (2000: 4) emphasises further the role of the addressee, and maintains that ‘referring expressions are provisional until ratified by addressees’. This suggests that the addressee plays a crucial role in the successful resolution of a referring expression, and perhaps in instances where the identity of the referent could be potentially unclear or the intentions of the speaker are uncertain (such as in the expressions under examination here), it is the addressee’s role which is the most decisive.

A study which is particularly pertinent to both Brennan’s claim mentioned above and this study is that of Brown’s shared map task (1987/1995), in which she reports that addressees are not particularly concerned with the definiteness status of referring expressions. Brown discovered that listeners, when collaborating in a shared map task, interpreted both definite and indefinite expressions as referring. The listener was able to identify the referent successfully in both cases. In the map task, it did not appear to matter whether an indefinite or definite expression was used to describe a shared feature; the listener took it as intending to identify a particular referent (1995: 70-72). For example, speakers interpret indefinite expressions as referring to ‘the one unique example of a palm beach on their map, with their listeners moving unquestioningly to that feature’. Wright, in his analysis of a similar

map task, supports this, stating that ‘the occurrence of definite and indefinite articles is not a reliable indicator as to whether a speaker is treating an item as shared or not’ (1990: 71). Further, he (1990: 78) concludes that:

[i]t does indeed seem that more skilled users of the language are able to tailor the referential expressions they use to the informational conditions in which they occur [...] [and] that speakers take account not only of information in the referential domain, but also of their hearer's state of knowledge of that domain.

This comment is significant for two reasons. First, it suggests that language users are not a homogenous set; a user of the language can be more or less skilled than another. Indeed, Chipere (2003) found that language users do not have a uniform ability to understand all potential grammatical sentences in their native language. If we consider the producers of the language of the data in this study, they could certainly be considered ‘skilled’; that is, they are journalists or experts in their fields, making contributions to well-respected broadsheet newspapers. Again, this suggests that referring expressions are not solely employed for identificatory purposes, but also to manipulate the information for a specific purpose. Secondly, Wright suggests that it is not the formal marking of referring expressions which is crucial to the mutual understanding of the interlocutors, but rather their judgment and interpretation of the context, as well as how they evaluate each other’s awareness of the context of utterance.

Returning to Brown’s original experiment, it must be noted that she concludes the speaker is simply indicating that ‘the epistemic status of the referent is

not (or may not be) well-grounded for both participants' by using an indefinite expression (1995: 75). However, the comment in parenthesis is significant; it is not necessarily the case that the referent is *not* well-grounded, it simply 'may not be', which accordingly means that it *may be* well-grounded also. This is an issue which is revisited when examining the data for this research: to what extent the referent is grounded for the participants and what implications this has for the referring status of indefinite NPs (See Chapters 3 and 6 for more on this).

In this section, we have examined some of the psycholinguistic contributions to the study of referring expressions. What is particularly pertinent to this study is the notion of collaboration between interlocutors. If the participants in any act of communication can reach a mutual understanding despite departures from the standard or expected linguistic forms, then it is perhaps the case that the formal marking of referring expressions is less significant than traditionally thought.

### **2.5.3 The cognitive perspective on referring**

The study of reference has also received considerable attention from a cognitive perspective, for example, Chafe (1976, 1980, 1994), Ariel (1990, 1994) and Prince (1981), Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993) and Givón (1993, 1995). Reference, under this conception, examines whether the discourse partners have a similar mental representation of the entity in question at any one point in the discourse. Chapter 5 closely examines Ariel's Accessibility Theory (1990) and Gundel et al's Givenness Hierarchy (1993) with regard to the data in this study, so what follows is a brief overview of some of the main considerations of the study of reference from a cognitive perspective. The following is intended to provide a context in which Accessibility Theory and the Givenness Hierarchy can be understood.

Chafe (1976: 27) discusses the various statuses that nouns and referents may have in terms of 'the speaker's assessment of how the addressee is able to process what he is saying against the background of a particular context'. He suggests that not only are we able to store a great deal of knowledge, but we also have 'temporary states' with relation to that knowledge (ibid). Therefore, speakers must adapt what they are saying to fit in with what they assume the addressee is thinking at that moment, and only then will the message be assimilated.

Chafe discusses the notion of 'givenness', which is tightly connected to the idea of consciousness (ibid: 30), which for Chafe is in 'a state of constant restlessness' (1994: 53). Given (or old) information is 'that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of utterance' (ibid), whereas new information is what the speaker assumes they are introducing into the consciousness of the addressee. This needs to be seen in contrast with what the addressee is expected or not expected to know; that is, the addressee may have knowledge of the entity but may not be thinking about it at the time of speaking, thus it is considered to not be 'activated'. Finally, if speakers consider the idea to have been 'semiactive' in the consciousness of the addressee, then they are likely to verbalise it as 'accessible' information, but if an idea is considered to be previously 'inactive', then it will be verbalised as 'new' (ibid: 1994: 74).

While Chafe refers to the status of the referring items in terms of activation, for Ariel, it is a matter of the degree of accessibility. That is, the speaker needs to ensure that the level of accessibility indicated by their referring expression corresponds to the level of accessibility associated with the addressee's mental model of the discourse under construction. Further, the speaker must carry out a new assessment of the degree of accessibility each time a referral is made, even when it is

to the same object (Ariel 1996: 21). This is because it cannot be assumed that accessibility of mental entities remains constant (indeed, we have already seen that the so-called antecedent does not remain static). Thus, once speakers have made a judgment on the current degree of accessibility, they will then select an appropriate referring expression. If the referent is assumed to be at the forefront of the addressee's mind, and there are no distractors, then an accented pronoun (i.e. a pronoun with intonational prominence e.g. *Tom hit Joe, then HE hit Jacob*) or zero anaphor (i.e. a reference position that is filled with a morphologically unrealised form e.g. *He said he loves her and  $\emptyset$  wants to be with her forever*. The  $\emptyset$  symbol represents the absent *he*) will be used. In this case, the level of cognitive accessibility is presumed to be high. On the other hand, if the speaker judges that the intended referent is not in focus, but is familiar to the addressee at that specific point in the discourse and is therefore 'activated' then this is considered to have an intermediate level of accessibility, and a demonstrative pronoun or accented third-person pronoun is likely to be used. Finally, if the speaker deems the referent to be inactive, it may have been active earlier in the discourse and succeeded by another referent, or it may be in the long-term memory of the addressee. In this case, a long definite description or full name will be used (Ariel 1996: 21-23; see also Givón 1995: 50 and Chafe 1976). (See also Chapter 5).

Two features dictate the level of saliency or accessibility of the mental entity acting as a linguistic antecedent in Ariel's hierarchy:

- 1) Some mental entities are more salient: the interlocutors, sentence and discourse topics, repeated topics and human and animate objects.

2) The relation between the mental representation of the antecedent and the referring expression. For example, the distance between the last mention of the antecedent and the anaphor, with recent mentions being more accessible. Also, the level of cohesion plays a role; the more cohesion there is between the two discourse units, the more accessible the referring expressions are (ibid: 22).

Significantly, none of the referring expressions in this scale needs to be paired with a co-textual antecedent in order to be interpreted successfully, as traditional approaches to anaphora claim they do. Rather, an antecedent is a mental representation which is ‘stored in the addressee’s memory in different degrees of accessibility’ (ibid: 17). However, there appears to be an inconsistency here because Ariel seems to view all referring expressions as anaphoric, irrespective of the context of their use, and argues that the ‘referential-anaphoric distinction’ should be abandoned (ibid: 7). This appears to disregard the basic referring ability of referring expressions. This is illustrated by her reliance on distance as a measurement of accessibility, despite stating that there are four criteria which contribute to the accessibility of an antecedent. Antecedents are, as a result, things that are mentioned in the linguistic context and are therefore linguistic entities. It is unclear how Accessibility Theory would account for references to indexicals in the physical context, for example, (such as ‘pass me *that*’) as accessibility cannot be measured in terms of distance from the previous mention. This not only seems to contradict her claim that antecedents are mental representations but also limits her approach to coreference (see Reboul (1997) for a detailed critique of Accessibility Theory). Further, one possible effect of

relying on factors such as distance and competition to predict the wording of referring expressions is to imply that identifying the referents of referring expressions is the only function performed by these noun phrases. We will see in section 2.6 and throughout the remainder of this study that this is not the case.

What is missing from Ariel's accessibility scale is any mention of indefinite descriptions, even in their function of introducing new referents. What is more, in terms of the structurally indefinite expressions under review here, in theory, we might expect this particular use to appear high up on the scale: they are highly salient, in that the entities denoted are referred throughout the texts and are also the discourse topics. Also, the distance between the last mention and the occurrence of the expression is, on the surface, small (see chapter 5 for an analysis of this). It is possible that Ariel might view such expressions as a marked form for a marked use, and this is also discussed further in chapter 5, which examines Accessibility Theory in more detail with regard to the data in this study in order to determine whether the writers consider the entity denoted in the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type to be accessible in the mind of the addressee.

Another influential contribution from a cognitive-pragmatic perspective comes from Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993). They propose a Givenness Hierarchy on which there are six cognitive statuses which relate to the form of referring expressions. What is different about this hierarchy is that it is implicational, and each status on the hierarchy 'is a necessary and sufficient condition for the appropriate form or forms' (ibid: 275). That is, when using a specific form, the speaker indicates that they assume the relevant cognitive status is met and since each status entails all lower statuses, the speaker also indicates that all lower statuses have been met. So, rather than the statuses being mutually exclusive, as in Ariel's scale,

they are ‘implicationally related (by definition), such that each status entails (and is therefore included by) all lower statuses, but not vice versa’ (ibid: 276). So, for an entity to be ‘in focus’ (and therefore formally represented by the pronoun ‘it’), it is also ‘activated’, ‘familiar’, ‘uniquely identifiable’, ‘referential’ and ‘type identifiable’. Unlike Ariel’s Accessibility Scale, indefinite NPs do make an appearance on the Givenness Hierarchy, and are typically included in the ‘type identifiable’ or ‘referential’ statuses. Significantly, GHZ maintain that referring items can attain a higher cognitive status than their coding signals, and are merely underspecified for higher statuses. This is considered in greater detail in Chapter 5.

It is clear from this overview that reference has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest from various perspectives. We saw that the acts of producing and interpreting referring expressions are complex and dynamic and cannot be fully understood from just one position. By combining insights from the distinct, but related, approaches examined above, a more balanced and credible account of what speakers and addressees actually need to know and do when involved in the referring process can be achieved. By taking into account the text, context and overall discourse event as well as cognitive and psycholinguistic factors, a more comprehensive understanding can be achieved.

Having gained an understanding of how the referring process needs to be viewed, it might be useful now to look at what we *actually do* with referring expressions. That is, whether referential noun phrases are employed solely for the purposes of identification or whether they can play another role also.

## **2.6 Are referring expressions always about identifiability?**

As we have seen in previous sections, one of the functions of referential expressions is to map the information in the current utterance onto the antecedent-trigger in the

mental discourse representation of the interlocutors. The referring expressions should enable the addressee to identify the referent onto which the current information needs to be attached.

There are several linguistic means to do this: in English, these are typically zero anaphors, pronouns, proper nouns and definite noun phrases, all of which are considered to be definite. All of these expressions differ in their lexical specificity which consequently impacts on their level of identificational explicitness (Vonk, Hustinx and Simons 1992: 302; Schiffrin 1994: 199). Which device is chosen by the speaker seems to depend largely on how effective it is considered to be in terms of fulfilling its identificational role, which in turn is related to various factors such as the interlocutors' representation of the on-going discourse event, the co-text and context, the assumed degree of accessibility or cognitive status of the entity in question and the intentions of the speaker. The pragmatic principle of the maxim of quantity can be applied here too; the choice of referring expression seems to be a matter of locating it on a continuum which balances providing sufficient information with not too much for identification.

However, perhaps identification of a referent is not the only function of referring expressions. As Fries (2001: 87) points out:

[W]e regularly choose the wordings of our nominal groups (including Heads and Modifiers) to establish features of the referents which are relevant to the discourse.

In such cases, the wordings of referring expressions are not intended to assist in the identification of the referent, but rather to fulfil a different discourse function. Let us

now consider briefly two studies which call into question whether identification is the only function of referring expressions. Fox (1987) found that anaphora is also governed by rhetorical organisation. For example, the principal determinant of whether a pronoun is employed rather than a repeated noun phrase is whether the referring expression is in the same structural unit as the initial mention. Further, a full NP is often used at the beginning of 'a new rhetorical unit' (ibid: 136). Fox also suggests that non-structural factors play a role in the choice of referring expression, such as 'categorisation of the referent, further information about the referent, and comparison and contrast of the referent with other people' (ibid).

Vonk et al. (1992: 303) found that referring expressions that are more specific than necessary for identification of the antecedent indicate 'an episode boundary'. They (ibid) use the following text to illustrate this point:

33)

1. Sally Jones got up early this morning.
2. She wanted to clean the house.
3. Her parents were coming to visit her.
4. She was looking forward to seeing them.
5. She weighs 80 kilograms.
6. She had to lose weight on her doctor's advice.
7. So she planned to cook a nice but sober meal.

The use of the pronoun *she* in 5 in the above extract may not cause any identificational problems but the more specific *Sally* 'makes the sentence sound better' (ibid: 304). Vonk et al. showed empirically that when a device is used that is

more specific than needed for the recovery of the intended entity it also has a discourse structuring function. That is, it marks the beginning of a new theme concerning the same discourse referent. So it seems that referring expressions do not function merely as identificational devices, but discourse restraints also play a role in choice of expression.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, it is generally accepted that once a speaker introduces a referent for the first time, the subsequent mentions of the referent continue in a fairly predictable way. That is, an initial mention is typically introduced or presented using an indefinite noun phrase (but if the speaker assumes that the addressee is able to recover the identity of the referent a definite NP may be used), and subsequent mentions (which are therefore recoverable) tend to be encoded as definite. But as Fries (2001: 89) notes, ‘it is not always the case that speakers match actual recoverability with presented recoverability’, and in such case the referential identities of the referents are perhaps not what is important in the discourse. In the following chapter, we will look at the data used in this study, which will bring us to an examination of one such case, namely, the use of indefinite expressions for non-initial mentions. However, before doing this, we will consider several other instances of uses of referring expressions which can be seen as a deviation from the identificational role of referring items.

First, consider the following extract from the first page of the novel *All the pretty horses* by Cormack Macarthy (1992):

34) The candleflame and the image of the candleflame caught in the pierglass twisted and righted when **he** entered the hall and again when **he** shut the door. **He** took off **his hat** and came slowly forward. The floorboards creaked

under **his boots**. In **his black suit he** stood in the dark glass where the lilies leaned so palely from their waisted cut-glass vase. Along the cold hallway behind **him** hung the portraits of forebears only dimly known to **him** all framed in glass and dimly lit above the narrow wainscotting. **He** looked down at the guttered candlestub. **He** pressed **his thumbprint** in the warm wax pooled on the oak veneer. Lastly **he** looked at the face so caved and drawn among the folds of funeral cloth, the yellowed moustache, the eyelids paper thin. That was not sleeping. That was not sleeping.

[...]

Several paragraphs later, the reader is introduced to another referent by means of a pronoun. Note also that the identity of **he** has still not been revealed.

35) **She** looked up from the stove when **he** came in and looked **him** up and down in **his suit**. Buenos días, guapo, **she** said

It is not until 11 paragraphs later that we learn the name of the protagonist, *John Grady Cole*. The 'she' turns out to be a character only known as *Abuela* (grandmother in Spanish), an old Mexican woman, who lived on the ranch since the turn of the century, and who helped raise John Grady. We never find out her name.

What is interesting about this is that if definite determiners and pronouns are said to mark identifiability (i.e. being able to pick out who or what we are talking about and not simply a type of entity with particular qualities), then in theory, the reader should be able to identify the referents highlighted above. As the narrative unfolds, the discourse representation of the referent develops in that we learn about

his actions upon arriving home, his clothing, and the time in which the scene was set. The reader therefore has a mental representation of the referent, but identification is still not possible in terms of referent resolution and the referential content of the discourse representation of the individual is not ratified until we encounter a lexical expression.

This particular use of definite expressions has been explained by Epstein as a means to ‘trigger the interpretation that a discourse entity is highly prominent’ (2002: 349). Epstein suggests that indicating ‘discourse prominence’ is a common literary strategy. That is, the writer employs ‘a definite description to introduce an important entity at the start of a narrative, for the purpose of calling the reader’s attention to that entity’. So in the above extract, the definite expressions are intended to indicate that the entity will be the primary topic of concern in the immediately following discourse. In example 34) above, this is clearly supported by the high number of mentions of the referent in the subsequent text.

Interestingly, Clark and Haviland (1977: 7–8) characterise the phenomenon by which ‘the’ serves to present a new discourse referent at the very beginning of a story as ‘addition’. They suggest that such violations of the uniqueness constraint on definite expressions are possible because they have become a conventionalised part of literary discourse.

It can also be argued that there is an element of suspense invoked by this particular use of a definite expression. Holding back on the identity of the individual forces the question of identity to be addressed by detail and inference. Clearly here, the function of definite descriptions is not simply a matter of identifiability of the referent.

Next consider the following extract from a children's book called *Troll and the Oliver* by Adam Stower (2013).

36) This is **the Troll**.



And this is **an Oliver**.

Every day around lunch time...

**Troll** tries to eat **the Oliver**.

But catching **an Oliver** is a tricky business. No matter how hard **Troll** tried, **he** could never quite manage it.

And **the Oliver** was never any help at all.

Instead of standing nice and still, **the Oliver** dashed about all over the place, which made grabbing **it** very difficult.

What is immediately striking here is that in the title of the book, the definite article is combined with a proper name, which we know is unusual in English, so upon sighting *Troll and the Oliver* for the first time, the reader may well do a double take. But the writer is exploiting the definite article for playful effect. The unusual use (and non-use) of the definite article humanises the troll and dehumanises Oliver, making him a unique instance of a 'type'. This pattern of article use continues while the story is being told from the perspective of (the) Troll, but once the story is told from the point of view of (the) Oliver, the author returns to the more conventional pattern of article use (i.e. the Troll and Oliver).

Finally, the inverse scenario to those described above provides us with more evidence that reference is not just about identifiability. The following extract is from *10 days in a mad house*, by Nelly Bly (1887).

37) I watched **two women**, who seemed of all the crowd to be the most sociable, and I selected them as **the ones** to work out my salvation, or, more properly speaking, my condemnation and conviction. Excusing myself and saying that I felt lonely, I asked if I might join **their company**. **They** graciously consented [...]. One said **her name** was **Mrs. King** and that **she** was a Southern woman. Then **she** said that I had a Southern accent. **She** asked me bluntly if I did not really come from the South. I said "Yes." **The other woman** got to talking about the Boston boats and asked me if I knew at what time they left.

For a moment I forgot my *role* of assumed insanity, and told **her** the correct hour of departure. [...] **She** said in reply that she had been unfortunate and had come to New York, where **she** had worked at correcting proofs on a medical dictionary for some time, but that **her** health had given way under the task, and that **she** was now going to Boston again. [...]

Here I must introduce **a new personage** by name into my narrative. It is **the woman who had been a proofreader, and was about to return to Boston**. **She** was *a Mrs. Caine*, who was as courageous as **she** was good-hearted. **She** came into my room, and sat and talked with me a long time, taking down my hair with gentle ways.

In this narrative, the reader is introduced to two women in a canonical way, with an indefinite expression. References to the women continue using definite descriptions, as is conventionally the case. However, when the time comes to learn the name of the second woman, the reader is introduced to her with a proper name modified by the indefinite article, *a Mrs Caine*. Proper nouns presuppose identifiability without needing to be marked by *the* and can be considered to represent ‘definite concepts’ (Chafe 1972: 57). So it is interesting that here there is some kind of ‘anti-definiteness’ strategy at play. Du Bois suggests that this use of the indefinite article with a proper name marks non-identifiability, that the particular individual is known to the speaker, but that the name ‘may mean nothing to the addressee’ (1980: 218). However, in this extract, we have already been introduced to *Mrs Caine* as one member of a pair by means of a plural indefinite expression and continued references to her were made with definite descriptions. The reader can presumably identify the individual at the point of the occurrence of the indefinite expression, so it is not a case of non-identifiability. Thus, the question remains as to why the writer chose to modify the proper name with an indefinite article.

It is interesting to note that the narrator formally states her intention with *Here I must introduce a new personage by name into my narrative*. She feels that it is at this point that she is making the formal introduction. Even though, in reality, the reader is quite capable of connecting the name *Mrs Caine* to the many previous definite mentions, and thus can identify her, the writer still feels that until the name has been formally introduced, an element of indefiniteness remains. This element, though, is perhaps to do with providing the reader with *new* information about the referent rather than helping with the identification process, hence the strategy to remove the definiteness from the expression. The role of the indefinite article in

providing some kind of ‘newness’ is dealt with in greater detail in the following chapter, where it is seen that choice of indefinite determiner is not simply a matter of nonidentifiability.

We have seen in this section that the function of a referring expression is not limited to the identifiability of a referent. These ‘atypical’ uses of referring expressions are by no means rare. Language users frequently exploit the conventional uses of referring items for rhetorical or pragmatic purposes in order to achieve a particular effect.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that reference is a dynamic process which involves the knowledge and understanding of both speaker and addressee. The study of reference is better carried out using an approach which reflects this two way interaction as well as the discourse event as a whole. The discourse-functional approach to reference seems to be able to take on board these requisites and offers a way of explaining reference by taking into consideration the discourse, cognitive, psycholinguistic and syntactic requirements of the referring process.

It was also noted that (in)definiteness is not simply a matter of the presence or absence of a definite determiner or pronoun. Definiteness appears to be more to do with the way in which speakers view an entity, and whether they consider the addressee able to view it in a similar way. Thus, the entire discourse event contributes to the establishment of an entity as definite or not, not just its formal structure.

Several examples were put forward which show that the conventional meanings and functions of the articles can be exploited for pragmatic effect and

choice of determiner is not only a matter of identifiability. The following chapter develops this point further by demonstrating that formally indefinite expressions are frequently used to refer to a fully-identified entity. We will then look at the data used in this study as well as the parameters surrounding the selection and nonselection of the particular expressions and texts.

## **Chapter 3: Methodological parameters of the A(n)+N+RRC expression and text-type**

### **3.1 Introductory comments**

Having examined the notion of (in)definiteness and referring from various perspectives in the previous chapter, we will now move on to consider the factors which influenced the selection of data in this study. However, in considering where to begin when explaining the methods of data collection in this study, a problem arose: to explain how and why the specific texts were selected for analysis, it is necessary to already know about the parameters surrounding the expression, but to fully understand the expression, knowledge of the type of text in which the expression type tends to occur is necessary. One way of recognising referring expressions is by identifying the structures that realise them, but this is not always simple because not all NPs function as referring expressions. The atypical A(n)+N+RRC expression is such a case. It is not always possible to recognise these expressions by how they look; indefinite nouns with a relative clause can introduce an entity into the discourse for the first time or function as attributes, for example. So we need the discourse in which they are embedded to be able to distinguish them from non-referring expressions. But the context cannot be identified until the nature of the construction has been established; there are a large number of texts and contexts in which this expression does not occur and so the search for the expression could not be solely context-driven. It is in a sense a circular issue, but ultimately the decision was made to start with the expression type because it was the discovery of the A(n)+N+RRC expression which led to the search for the occurrence of the expression in different text types.

This chapter first addresses the actual expression we are examining. To do this, it is necessary to identify certain characteristics which distinguish the A(n)+N+RRC construction from other indefinite expressions, both potentially referring and unambiguously not referring. Accordingly, several 'tests for referentiality' are described. The rationale behind these tests was that if all the instances of the A(n)+N+RRC expression used in this study conform to certain characteristics highlighted by the tests (all of which point to these expressions functioning in a definite way), then it would strengthen the argument that these formally indefinite expressions are not functioning in a typically indefinite way. Included in the analysis of the tests for referentiality are instances of A(n)+N+RRC which were excluded from the study and the reasons for this.

Next, we examine whether the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type differs from the 'late indefinites' or 'second mention indefinites' previously examined by Du Bois (1980), Ushie (1986), Epstein (1994) and Schouten and Vonk (1995). To do this, it is necessary to consider the present data alongside the explanations and parameters set out by these scholars.

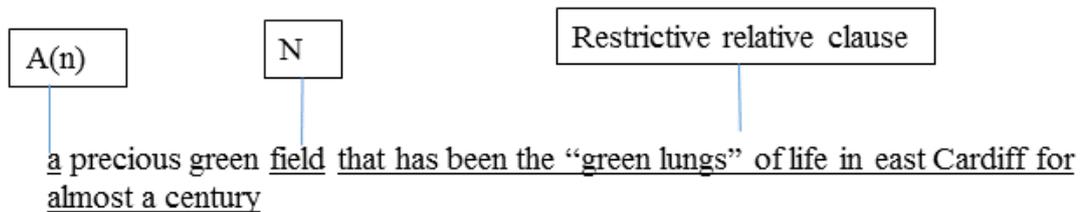
Following this, the context in which the A(n)+N+RRC construction has been found is examined. We will consider where an instance of the expression-type was first encountered and the methods of data collection which were subsequently used. An account of tried but rejected methods of data collection (e.g. corpus searches), the different text-types examined (e.g. speeches and parables) as well as justifications for the final methods of collection are then presented. We will see that the context in which the expression was first noticed (i.e. an opinion piece in a broadsheet newspaper) is the context in which the expression was most consistently found.

The final section of this chapter outlines the remaining notable features of this expression-type. That is, whether the main participant featured in the text and also denoted in the head noun of the expression appears in the headline or subhead of the articles, thus signalling that the entity is topical. Also, the position of the expression in terms of the identity chain of references to the main participant is summarised (i.e. where the expression occurs in the chain of references to the particular entity (c.f. Martin 1992)). Finally, we briefly describe the expression type in terms of its lexical relationship to the main participant.

### 3. 2 The Expression: how can we recognise the A(n)+N+RRC expression?

As we have already noted, the expression that this study concerns comprises an indefinite noun phrase followed by a restrictive relative clause, such as that in 38):

38)



(Data text 29)

The text that the expression in 38) comes from is about *Rumney Recreation Ground*, a green space in east Cardiff which is [was] under threat from developers. The entire text argues for its survival. Rumney Recreation Ground had been mentioned 19 times previously in the text and so this expression is not in initial mention position (this is discussed further in section 3.4.2). The relative clause in all the

A(n)+N+RRC expressions is significant because, rather than presenting the reader with something new about the referent, we will see that it contains information that is given (or either activated or semi-activated (Chafe 1981: 270 – see section 2.5.3 for definitions)) or in Ellen Prince’s terms, ‘discourse-old’ (i.e. ‘something that has been evoked in the prior discourse stretch’ (1981: 303) or ‘hearer-old’ (i.e. something which ‘may be old [...] with respect to (the speaker’s beliefs about) the hearer’s beliefs’ (ibid: 301)). We will return to this in section 3.2.1 and Chapter 6.

Listed below in Table 1 is the full set of expressions selected for data in this study. For further details of the provenance of the texts, see Appendix 3.

Data Text	Expression (and immediate cotext)
1	[I]t's quite extraordinary for <i>a government that owns much of two of the UK's biggest banks</i> to consider setting up an entirely new institution to ensure that budding entrepreneurs can get a loan.
2	That is easier to prescribe than to practice for <i>an organisation which is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker</i> .
3	[T]he people of Oslo chose <i>a song that extols the kind of multicultural society that Breivik despises</i> .
4	But he will not be commenting as the proceedings continue against <i>a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007</i> .
5	And frankly, it isn't surprising that prejudices are rife in <i>a country whose media perpetuates the very images that evoke stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings</i> .
6	It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by <i>a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up</i> .
7	Yet that, and his promise of an in/out referendum on Europe, have not stopped Thatcherites plotting against <i>a man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010</i> .
8	But perhaps this will be the least of their worries on <i>a journey where there isn't much else to do but look at the stars and dream of home</i> .
9	From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of <i>a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world</i> .
10	All sides of the House roared their approval: and so the political elite closed ranks against <i>a man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the Westminster club</i> .

11a	The question – as Israeli tanks grind into Gaza City – is what actions or arguments the rest of the world can take or make that will have any resonance in <i>a country which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion.</i>
11b	But <i>a country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community</i> leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road.
12	So, according to this logic, the royal family will be hosting a dinner for <i>an organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews</i> because the proceeds will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite
13	A man who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded hatchet job probably doesn't do remorse.
14a	At least with Armstrong, Americans have had time to adjust their perceptions of <i>a man once universally regarded as a paragon.</i>
14b	He built a charity foundation that raised money for cancer research by burnishing the legend of <i>a man who had overcome life-threatening illness and seized the heights of sporting achievement purely through the exercise of his indomitable will.</i>
15	It's too soon to talk about a tipping point, but more and more UK local authorities are taking a close look at <i>a policy which is winning wider public support.</i>
16	[P]erhaps we should expect no more from <i>a woman who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997.</i>
17a	It is not clear to me why <i>an agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment</i> should have to "encourage economic progress"
17b	<i>An agency which should be protecting the natural world</i> appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.
18	[I]t must now be clear that <i>an institution so unwilling to conform with equal opportunities law</i> must be as undesirable in state education as it is inside the legislature.
19	What is there to fear from <i>a movement that is not only fading, but has had such profound problems articulating what it wants?</i>
20	<i>A programme that promised freedom and choice</i> has instead produced something resembling a totalitarian capitalism, in which no one may dissent from the will of the market and in which the market has become a euphemism for big business.
21	Can scientists be so gullible as to salute <i>a man who claims to turn the basic laws of biology upside down?</i>
22	[B]ut perhaps tears before bedtime could be expected from <i>a man who has installed a throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off.</i>
23	It would certainly be a shame to lose <i>a publication which has been part of the furniture of our lives for so many years.</i>
24	An example had to be made of <i>a soldier who helped strip away the humanitarian pretences of US power, and revealed a far uglier reality.</i>
25	[M]any would agree with Mackay that to care for <i>a language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out</i> is the mark of a civilised country.
26	Our country must never be led by <i>a man who would fail to build bridges with his own brother.</i>

27	That <i>an organisation which excludes trans people</i> has taken it upon itself to discuss with the government an issue central to the lives of many trans people behind our backs is nothing less than astonishing.
28	The fact that <i>an MP who can spread such inaccuracies</i> is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.
29	But that school doesn't have to be built on <i>a precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century.</i>
30	All too many are silent about <i>a policy which will cause far more suffering on the genuinely poor.</i>
31	<i>An institution that allows the maintenance of a stained glass ceiling for its female clergy to bang their heads against</i> should not only lose its moral authority.
32	Why should it be illegal to be a member of <i>an organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion?</i>
33	The cataclysmic events of the past 48 hours will have done little to change the views of <i>a man who has been passionate in his defence of the BBC's independence from government since he took over from Lord Birt as director general in November 1999.</i>
34	It does its very best to convince us that <i>a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another,</i> was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage
35	The US report belies the notion that the policy of assassinating mid-level Taliban commanders (night raids are often little more than death squads) is having any lasting effect on <i>an organisation which retains the ability to selectively moderate its violence in order to encourage Nato forces to leave faster.</i>
36	<i>A scheme that was supposed to hold providers accountable for their performance</i> has ended up holding them accountable – and penalising their customers – for the performance of the economy.
37	But as more and more people feel the cruelties of <i>a policy that makes no sense – that people must be kicked into work, even if jobs don't exist</i> – has anyone considered that the two things might be connected?
38	This winter's biggest political story, in fact, may turn out not to be focused on the Conservatives, Labour or the Lib Dems, but <i>an organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes, or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs.</i>
39	<i>A copy that developed alongside the Mona Lisa</i> is obviously fascinating, but it does not necessarily revolutionise understandings of this painting. Raphael saw more, because he was a great artist.
40	One of them was unnamed and another credited as a man in the show's running order but, along with co-presenter Sarah Montague, their appearance alongside 18 male guests and reporters could mark a new high in gender equality on <i>a programme that more than any other sets the agenda for the day's news.</i>

**Table 1: Text numbers and expressions**

### 3.2.1 Tests for referentiality

In order to ensure that all of the expressions selected for this study were comparable and as uniform as possible, and to exclude non-referring expressions which, on the surface, appeared to be equivalent, once initially identified the expressions were tested for their definite referring potential. That is, a series of tests was devised intended to provide a benchmark for all expressions which were encountered to be tested against. Establishing criteria for the inclusion/exclusion of expressions also ensures that any part of this study is replicable. The tests (T1-T6) were:

T1) Does the expression occur in noninitial position (i.e. not a first mention in the text)?

T2) Can the expression be moved to subject position?

T3) Can the article be paraphrased with ‘a certain’?

T4) Can the expression be replaced by a definite expression?

T5) Can ‘a’ be replaced by ‘any’?

T6) Is the expression an instance of existential ‘there is a’?

Questions T1-T4 needed to have a positive response and questions T5 and T6 required a negative response. It is important to note that individually, each test question does not provide sufficient evidence to claim that the entity denoted in the expression is not functionally indefinitely. However, if taken collectively, the potential for the A(n)+N+RRC expressions to be actually functioning in a definite manner increases significantly. It must be noted here, that for the tests to work, the syntax of the original text sometimes required modification. For example, a change from the active to passive voice may have been necessary in order to move the

A(n)+N+RRC expression into subject position. Nevertheless, the overall meaning of the text remained intact, and the actual A(n)+N+RRC expression was never modified.

The rationale for each of the tests for referentiality are as follows:

### **T1) Does the expression occur in noninitial position?**

It is widely accepted that indefinite expressions are employed to introduce new entities into the discourse (e.g. Du Bois 1980: 207; Givón 1993b: 203; Radden and Dirven 2007: 94). In this use, indefiniteness is associated with newness and non-identifiability. For example, let us consider 39):

39) Three thousand miles away, *a man who wears flip-flops and khaki shorts around the office* believes *he* can improve the quality of life in Shirebrook. *James O Prochaska* is one of the top clinical psychologists in the United States and a guru of behavioural change<sup>7</sup>

The indefinite noun phrase in 39) introduces the entity into the discourse for the first time. At the point of occurrence, the reader cannot know the identity of the man, and it is not until the subsequent sentences that it is explained who he is. However, in terms of the expressions in this study, it is argued that the expressions are employed to refer to an entity that has been previously mentioned in the text and are thus uniquely identifiable to the reader within the given context. Thus, examples such as 39) were not included. Only A(n)+N+RRC expressions in noninitial position were accepted as data in this study.

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<sup>7</sup> Sarah Boseley, The Guardian, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1999. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/1999/mar/23/features11.g23>. Accessed 28/08/2014

## **T2) Can the expression move to subject position?**

It is widely accepted that indefinite NPs can function as attributes. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartik (1985:741) distinguish two subtypes of attribute: identification and characterisation. Identification attributes are normally associated with definite noun phrases and allow the reversal of subject and complement. Characterisation attributes, usually realised by indefinite noun phrases following the copula BE, cannot be moved into subject position, and would thus fall outside the study. That is, the two arguments are not equative and thus cannot be switched around. This is supported by Burton-Roberts (1976: 428) who states that:

[I]ndefinite nouns in predicate position cannot appear as subjects of predicative sentences where the noun in the resulting predicate could not be interpreted as being attributive of it.

Thus, 40b) and 41b) are unacceptable:

40a) Claire is a scientist.

40b) \*A scientist is Claire.

41a) These are cakes.

41b) \*Cakes are these.

And an authentic example (which was rejected as data for this study):

42a) *It was* a festival linking past, present and future, embodied in the life and times of Ebenezer Scrooge.<sup>8</sup>

42b) \*A festival linking past, present and future, embodied in the life and times of Ebenezer Scrooge *was it*.

Further, indefinite expressions which are presented with THIS+BE are also considered to be characterisation attributes, and are thus discarded from the study. For example, consider 43a) and b):

43a) How does the evacuation or the process actually work? I mean, *this is a city which has been under siege for what, 18 months*<sup>9</sup>

43b) \*How does the evacuation or the process actually work? I mean, a *city which has been under siege for what, 18 months is this*

Although the interviewer and interviewee have frequently referred to the particular city being described (the Syrian city of Homs), and thus this expression could be considered a non-initial mention indefinite and understood as intending to refer to Homs, the indefinite expression in 43a) cannot be moved to subject position. As noted previously, the tests for referentiality were established to provide parameters for the expression-type and when taken collectively, expressions which pass all of the tests can be considered to be functioning more definitely than those which do not. T2) was intended to differentiate between expressions which are

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<sup>8</sup> Simon Jenkins, The Guardian 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 2011. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/dec/01/christmas-shot-uncomplicated-joy>. Accessed 28<sup>th</sup> March 2014

<sup>9</sup> Sarah Montague, The Today Programme, BBC Radio 4, 11<sup>th</sup> Nov 2014

unambiguously acting as (characterisation) attributes and those which may be functioning more definitely. The subject-complement reversal test was one way of achieving this and therefore indefinite noun phrases acting as characterisation attributes (in predicate position) were excluded from the data.

By contrast, consider the following from Text 29 in this study:

44a) But that school doesn't have to be built on *a precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century*

44b) *A precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century* does not have to be where the new school is built.

In this example, what might be considered as an attribute in 44a), particularly if seen out of context, can actually be placed in subject position without any noticeable change in meaning. This demonstrates that the entities denoted in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in this study should not necessarily be dismissed as attributes, and therefore not referring to an identifiable entity.

Example 45) provides another interesting illustration:

45) An agency which should be protecting the natural world appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.

(Data text 17)

As can be seen from the above example, the indefinite noun in the structure A(n)+N+RRC is already in subject position, so cannot be considered as a characterisation attribute.

In sum, by asking the question ‘Can the expression move to subject position?’, it is possible to distinguish between characterisation attributes and identification attributes. The A(n)+N+RRC expressions could in fact be considered *identification* attributes because they allow the reversal of subject and complement. Identification attributes are typically realised by definite noun phrases, not indefinite, and so it is possible to argue that the A(n)+N+RRC expressions are functioning in some kind of definite way, despite their indefinite form.

### **T3) Can the indefinite article be paraphrased with ‘a certain’?**

Burton-Roberts (1976: 428) puts forward another test which may help identify the attributive indefinite article (what he calls ‘COP a’ i.e. ‘copula a’, which ‘determines complement NPs in predicates’ (ibid: 427)). He suggests that articles in attributive utterances cannot be paraphrased with ‘a certain’, whereas those which contain specific indefinite articles can. For example:

46a) A man was in the garden last night

46b) *A certain man* was in the garden last night

47a) Claire is a scientist

47b) \*Claire is *a certain scientist*

If we consider examples from the data in this paper, it can be seen that the indefinite NPs in the structure A(n)+N+RRC are not attributive, but are, at the very least, referential-specific (i.e. they refer to a specific entity). This point is illustrated in the following examples:

48) But that school doesn't have to be built on *a certain precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century*

(Data text 29)

49) *A certain agency which should be protecting the natural world* appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.

(Data text 17)

The feature 'a certain' is implicit in all of the expressions used as data in this study.

Burton-Roberts further suggests that 'COP a' is the article used to determine singular indefinite NPs which do not function as specific individuals but rather as 'the class to which some referend is being assigned' (1976: 428). That is they are functioning as concepts and not objects (Frege [1892] 1960, cited in Burton-Roberts (1976: 428)). Thus, in 47), Claire has the attributes that comprise the concept.

So by answering 'Can the article be paraphrased by 'a certain'?' positively, it is possible to further argue that the expressions are not simply functioning as attributes, but are, at the very least, referring to a specific entity (i.e. are referential-specific). The indefinite article 'a' in all of the expressions in this study can be paraphrased by 'a certain'.

**T4) Can the indefinite expression be replaced by a definite expression?**

‘The indefinite article is notionally the ‘unmarked’ article in the sense that it is used (for singular count nouns) where the conditions for the use of *the* do not obtain’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 272). If the conditions for a definite expression are met (i.e. the entity is activated or accessible in the mind of the addressee and/or can be identified uniquely in the contextual or general knowledge shared by speaker and hearer (Quirk et al. 1985: 264)) and a definite expression can replace the indefinite expression, then it weakens the case for these expressions being functionally, as well as formally, indefinite. For example, consider 50a-f)

50a) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.*

(Data text 6)

50b) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *David Beckham.*

50c) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *the man.* (without the RRC)

50d) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *the man, who with his un-British attention to grooming,*

muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up. (nonRRC)

50e) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *this man* who with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.

50f) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *him*.

Although the informative value of the utterance is changed by substituting the A(n)+N+RRC expression with different definite expressions (in particular those without the RRC), it is nevertheless felicitous to insert a definite NP here and therefore renders the referent uniquely identifiable.

As a point of comparison, the expression in 51) cannot be replaced by a definite nominal phrase or pronoun:

51a) He [John Birt] gives the impression in all the BBC chapters of *a man who enjoys power, seeks power and relishes mixing with power*.<sup>10</sup>

51b) He [John Birt] gives the impression in all the BBC chapters of *\*John Birt / \*the man / \*the man, who enjoys power, seeks power and relishes*

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<sup>10</sup> Michael Grade, The Guardian 26<sup>th</sup> October 2002. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2002/oct/26/biography.tvandradio>. Accessed 28/08/2014

*mixing with power / \*this man who enjoys power, seeks power and relishes*

*mixing with power / \*him*

Definite expressions cannot replace the indefinite structure here, largely due to the irrealis nature of the preceding part of the utterance (i.e. *gives the impression of*).

*This man who* could work here, but only as an indefinite reading (i.e. the informal 'this', often employed at the beginning of jokes, such as 'this bear walks in to bar...').

Thus, if a definite phrase could not replace the indefinite expression, the expression was rejected from the study as it would not render the intended referent uniquely identifiable. All of the expressions in this study can be replaced by a definite expression.

#### **T5) Can 'a' be replaced by 'any'?**

The indefinite article *any* can be used if the intention is to mark a noun phrase as non-referring (Givón 1993a: 216). Clearly, with all of the expressions in this study, the writers did not make explicit whether they intended to refer definitely to an identifiable referent or not. If they had, they would have employed an unambiguously definite or indefinite expression respectively. So to determine whether the writer could have intended a nonreferring interpretation of the expression, a fifth test was to establish whether 'a' could be paraphrased by 'any'.

The results of this test are complex. The vast majority (i.e. 40 out of 43) of the expressions cannot be determined by 'any'. For example, consider 52) and 53):

52) \*Yet that, and his promise of an in/out referendum on Europe, have not stopped Thatcherites plotting against *any man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010*.

(Data text 7)

53) \*At least with Armstrong, Americans have had time to adjust their perceptions of *any man once universally regarded as a paragon*.

(Data text 14)

Clearly, the definite events denoted in the cotext prevent the use of *any* in these expressions. However, now let's look at 54)

54) Why should it be illegal to be a member of *any organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion?*

(Data text 32)

Out of context, *any* works perfectly well here, probably due to the unrealistic nature of the utterance. But if one considers the expression in its context, it becomes untenable that the expression can pragmatically refer to *any* organisation other than the one whose legal activities have been argued throughout the text upstream. There are three expressions (out of 43) in the data whose indefinite *a* could semantically be replaced by *any*<sup>11</sup>, but as will be seen, the overall text and discourse prevents this

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<sup>11</sup> These are: Text 11b *But any country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road*; Text 13 *Any man which can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded hatchet job probably doesn't do remorse*; and Text 32 *Why should it be illegal to be a member of any organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion?*

from being pragmatically plausible. Further, these examples also passed each of the other tests for referentiality<sup>12</sup>, and as noted previously, it is the combination of all of the criteria which strengthens the case that the expressions are not functioning indefinitely, rather than just one of the tests in isolation. Thus, it was decided that these three texts remain in the data, as expressions do not occur in isolation and the text, context and discourse need to be taken into account when interpreting referring expressions.

### **T6) Is it an instance of existential ‘there is a’?**

It is generally accepted that existential constructions with *there* have an indefinite noun phrase as notional subject (Quirk et al. 1985: 1404). Radden and Dirven (2007: 277) comment that ‘there’ constructions introduce ‘an indefinite theme’ and ‘bring[s] an entity into awareness’ as can be seen in the following headline:

55) There is a culture of acceptance around mental health issues in academia<sup>13</sup>

This type of indefinite construction has an introductory function (i.e. is not a non-initial mention) and therefore instances of A(n)+N+RRC following THERE+BE were not considered for the data in this study.

Thus, in order for an A(n)+N+RRC expression to be accepted into the data for this study, it had to pass all of the tests for referentiality outlined above (with the exception of those usable with ‘any’ mentioned above). As previously noted, it is not

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<sup>12</sup> NB. Other expressions were omitted if they did not pass the ‘any’ test as well as another of the other tests.

<sup>13</sup> Anonymous academic, The Guardian, 1<sup>st</sup> march 2014. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2014/mar/01/mental-health-issue-phd-research-university>. Accessed 28/08/14

being claimed here that if an expression passes all of the tests described above then it is conclusively functioning as a definite referring expression, but rather that it is not functioning typically as an indefinite expression, and thus has potential for definite reference. The approach taken in this thesis is rather piecemeal; none of the tests is defining but rather it is the combination of the results of the all of the tests which provides the basis for the claims made.

The full results of the tests for referring potential can be viewed in Appendix 1.

Having closely examined the particular expression type in terms of its referring potential, we will now move on to critically examine previous attempts made in the literature to define and describe ‘late’ or ‘second-mention’ indefinites.

### **3.2.2 ‘Late’ or ‘second mention’ indefinites**

In terms of the research into deviations from the canonical pattern of indefinite initial mentions and subsequent definite mentions, definite initial mentions have attracted considerably more attention in the literature than indefinite noninitial mentions. Du Bois suggests that this is because the indefinite article is often treated as unmarked, with the definite article being ‘the one which required explanation’ (1980: 258). He goes on to say that:

[...] past investigators have not examined texts as wholes but have considered only the phenomena, admittedly more striking, which occur when an object is first introduced into discourse. As a result, they have missed a great deal.

Since Du Bois made this claim and highlighted several instances of late indefinites (i.e. non-initial indefinite nominal phrases), there have been a small number of attempts to account for the use of indefinite expressions which refer to a previously mentioned entity (e.g. Ushie 1986; Epstein 1994; Schouten and Vonk 1995; Du Bois 1997). The following section reviews these attempts alongside samples of data from this study. It is proposed that these earlier explanations cannot adequately account for the use of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type in this particular context, and possible reasons for this are provided.

In the case of late indefinites, the speaker chooses a structurally indefinite nominal phrase for a noninitial mention, the referent of which is potentially uniquely identifiable to the addressee. The speaker appears to do this in defiance of the typical conventions governing the use of the indefinite article. An explanation for why this is possible might be found in the following assertions, which are certainly in the spirit of this study (emphasis in the original):

[T]he selection of an article in any particular situation is as much a response to the subjective concerns of the speaker – how the speaker *chooses* to portray a referent – as it is to the objective properties of the referent. (Epstein 1994: 220)

This is echoed by Fries (2001:83):

Of course, speakers always have the **choice** of how to present new information so while information which is presented as structurally New is usually new in fact to the listener, individual speakers may choose to present

as New, information which is obvious to the listener. (emphasis in the original)

The notion of choice is crucial here; ultimately is it under the speaker's control *how* a referent is presented. Speakers make a choice about how they wish to depict the referent, and have to ensure that it fits with the assumed discourse representation held by the addressee.

Interestingly, in his study which traced the identity of characters through narrative discourse, Du Bois (1980: 259) found that 4.1% of noninitial mentions of characters were, in fact, indefinite. Many of those are related to recovery from a false start, involve nonreferential nominals (e.g. *there's a...uh... farm labourer, a Mexican farm labourer* (ibid:264)), are what he terms the 'member of the crowd phenomenon' (ibid 266) where 'it is possible for a lack of salient distinctions within a group of humans to cause a partial identification ... even though a full identification would be possible' (ibid: 265) (e.g. '*one of them [Paddleball Boy - 2<sup>nd</sup> mention]... whistles back to the guy on the bicycle, "Here's your hat."*') or illustrate 'predicate conflation' in which NPs are used in conjunction with a verb phrase to express a 'unitary predicate concept rather than to refer to an actual object' (e.g.... *And .. urn... the guy who is picking pears [pears - 2<sup>nd</sup> mention], urn... um.. picks the pears and puts them in a.. in um... these baskets that he has...*) (ibid: 214). These are not reviewed in any detail here as it is clear that the A(n)+N+RRC expression does not fit into any of these categories (but see Du Bois 1980 for a full account). Other types of late indefinites put forward by Du Bois which have similarities with the A(n)+N+RRC expression are discussed in section 3.2.2.1 below.

Schouten and Vonk view the use of indefinite expressions for known referents as ‘marked’ (1995), and they ‘violate the conventions for the use of indefinite expressions’ (ibid: 4). As we have already seen, the forms of referring expressions in general are part of a more general pragmatic principle based on speaker-addressee knowledge, and in the case of marked referring expressions, the speaker violates the principle in order to convey additional information, which needs to be inferred by the addressee (ibid). The speaker relies on the addressee to accept that the expression is intended as marked and thus infer an interpretation that is meaningful in the specific discourse context. Further, for successful interpretation, marked indefinites necessitate the establishment of a relationship between an existing referent and the referent of the indefinite expression. It is the combination of the indefinite form and the current mental discourse representation which influences the addressee’s interpretation of the marked form.

Schouten and Vonk (ibid: 6) also argue that the interpretation of marked referential expressions is derived from the conventional function of the marked form when observed in an unmarked way. That is, the choice of an indefinite / definite form is based on whether the entity is or can be inferred to be a unique member of a set (i.e. a set in the current referential domain). The set may be present in (or inferrable from) the surrounding discourse, situational knowledge or world knowledge (ibid: 12). So for Schouten and Vonk, the choice of form of a referring expression is based on unique identifiability (in all context-types) and the accessibility of the referent in the existing discourse representation. As soon as a non-uniquely identifiable referent is introduced in to the discourse, it becomes uniquely identifiable and accessible (ibid: 13). If either of these factors is violated, an expression is being used in a marked way.

Ushie (1986) characterises second mention indefinites as ‘corepresentational’. That is, indefinite expressions which identify known referents have underlying representations which are identical to an already established referent. Corepresentation is not only concerned with ‘the content aspect of a text’ but also with ‘the aspect of presentation’ and thus contributes to the textuality of a text (ibid: 428). For Ushie, an indefinite expression which refers to an already established referent relates to ‘a certain degree of ‘newness’ that results from a particular way in which the text producer organises and presents the content of a text, more specifically, ‘interpretation’ or a shift/discontinuity in the point of view’ (ibid: 440). Thus the expressions are again considered to be ‘marked’.

The following section provides a critical examination of the different types of late or marked indefinite expressions put forward by Du Bois (1980), Ushie (1986), Epstein (1994) and Schouten and Vonk (1995). It is shown that whilst there is common ground with the data in this study, none of the accounts can completely explain the use of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in the given context.

### **3.2.2.1 Re-introductory indefinite expressions**

One type of noninitial indefinite expression that is of interest here is when ‘the point of view is shifted from the speaker to one of the characters in the story’ (Du Bois 1980: 259). Schouten and Vonk (1995: 14) also mention this kind of late indefinite, which they call ‘re-introductory noun phrases’, where the indefinite expression reflects a new, subjective interpretation of the referent or a shift in perspective from which the referent is based. Ushie (1986: 435) terms this as a reidentification of an already identified individual ‘resulting from a shift in the text producer’s ‘point of view’’. In the following example from Schouten and Vonk (1995: 15), the indefinite

expression is used to refer to an entity which has been previously introduced and is uniquely identifiable to the addressee:

**56) Second robber of spare rib counter caught during burglary**

**Nijmegen**

A 35-year-old citizen of Nijmegen, caught in the act during a break-in in a pizzeria on St. Annastraat, appears to have much more on his plate.

*The man* has confessed to being an accomplice of the armed robbery [...].

*The man* was being sought by the police for several days [...]. Yesterday night the police suddenly received a call from a pizzeria owner, who had caught *a burglar*. It turned out to be *the 35-year-old citizen of Nijmegen who was on the wanted list of the police*.

At the moment of the occurrence of the indefinite *a burglar*, the reader might expect a definite expression to be used, based on the current context, and indeed a definite expression would work perfectly well here (... *a pizzeria owner, who had caught **the burglar/the man***). However, the referent has been introduced ‘into the subordinated perspective of a character in the text’ (Schouten and Vonk 1995: 15). From the point of view of the pizzeria owner in 56), the identity of the burglar is unknown and the use of an indefinite expression conveys this fact. Because of the clash between the expected expression (i.e. a definite expression) and the actual expression used (i.e. an indefinite expression), Schouten and Vonk conclude that the expression is ‘marked’. The entity denoted in the indefinite expression (*a burglar*) is not uniquely identifiable to the pizzeria owner, thus the intended referent is reintroduced, despite the fact that the addressee would already be able to identify the referent.

There are three referential subdomains of the re-introductory indefinite expression. The first is from a personal perspective, where there is a shift in perspective, for example from narrator to a character in the text (as in 56) above) (c.f. Ushie 1986; Du Bois 1980 and Schouten and Vonk 1995). The second is from a temporal perspective, where the indefinite expressions indicate domains which are constrained by temporal cues, but the point of view remains the narrator's (Schouten and Vonk 1995: 18). For example, when the narrative moves to a time which is prior to the previously established time and thus the identity of the referent in question is not yet known. The third kind relates to text-structural domain. This can be observed in news stories where the initial sentence is a summary of the whole story (the lead), but the story starts again in the main section and participants are reintroduced using indefinite expressions (ibid: 18-19).

In terms of the data in this study, none of the indefinite expressions can be said to be re-introducing the identifiable referent from a different perspective. In reintroductory indefinites the unique identifiability of the referent is not measured against the knowledge structures of the reader, but rather the knowledge structures of another participant in the text. Even in A(n)+N+RRC expressions which are introduced by other entities, it would still be difficult to argue that the particular entities do not know the identity of the referent in the expression. To illustrate this, consider the following expressions 57-59) in context:

57) It seems that *France*, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.* (Data text 6)

58) Seeking to express their solidarity with the victims of this act of terror as they assembled to give their evidence this week, *the people of Oslo* chose a *song that extols the kind of multicultural society that Breivik despises*.

(Data text 3)

59) All sides of the House roared their approval: and so *the political elite* closed ranks against *a man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the Westminster club*.

(Data text 10)

In 57) *France* knows the identity of the footballer who may become an honorary Frenchman; in 58), *the people of Oslo* know which song they chose (they did, after all, do the choosing); and in 59) *the political elite* are well aware of whom they closed ranks against. If we compare 57-59) with the following extract repeated from 56), it is clear that the indefinite expressions in 57-59) have a different function to that in 56), where it is clear that *the pizzeria owner* does not know that he is *the burglar* and thus the expression is introducing a not uniquely identifiable referent in a distinct referential subdomain.

60) Yesterday night the police suddenly received a call from *a pizzeria owner*, who had caught *a burglar*.

Furthermore, the inferences in re-introductory NPs can be cancelled. Consider a variation on 60):

61) Yesterday night the police suddenly received a call from a pizzeria owner, who had caught a burglar, *but it wasn't the same robber*

In the context of the indefinite expressions in this discussion, it must be questioned whether it would be logical to cancel the inferences made in the instances of A(n)+N+RRC. For example:

62) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up. But it's not David Beckham.*

Beckham has been mentioned 18 times in the preceding discourse, and as will be seen in Chapter 6, the semantic information in the relative clause is known information about Beckham (i.e. it has been mentioned in the text or can be assumed to be part of the shared cultural context of the readership). It would be incoherent and somewhat odd in this context to cancel the inference or (co)reference. However, what this means for the A(n)+N+RRC expressions is unclear but it does perhaps indicate that they are functioning in a more definite way than their structure signals. That is, they are more tightly coreferential than the examples put forward by Schouten and Vonk (perhaps because of the context, the continual build-up of the discourse representation and the known information in the RRC). Nevertheless, it is important to note that this feature highlights a further difference between previously

examined second-mention indefinites and the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type in this study.

### 3.2.2.2 Property expressing indefinite expressions

#### a) Marked predicative indefinites

According to Schouten and Vonk (1995: 19), this kind of indefinite expression predicates properties of an already established, uniquely identifiable referent. An example is as follows (ibid: 24):

63) Erik has been totally out of it since he of all people, on Monday, had to find that horrible couple: his old friend Robert an insane murderer and *Magda, a woman who in my opinion never meant very much to him*, in the most absurd state a human being can be in, dead.

The properties identified in such indefinite expressions (either as pre- or post-modifiers) are not uniquely identifiable as belonging to a referent (as opposed to definite expressions, which are used when the properties are uniquely tied to a referent i.e. they are ‘unequivocally anchored’ (Keizer (1992: 273-274)) but the properties are nevertheless attributed to the established referent. This type of expression appears to be ‘a curious mixture of the referential function and the predicative function for which indefinites can be used’ (Schouten and Vonk 1995: 23), and therefore the interpretation of the marked indefinite expression comes from the predicative use of indefinite expressions.

The A(n)+N+RRC expression type in this study stands out from this kind of expression though as the properties expressed in the RRCs *can* be uniquely tied to

the discourse referent. As will be shown in Chapter 6, the semantic content of the relative clause contains information which is either discourse-old or hearer-old (Prince 1981) and so ‘newness’ cannot be the sole explanation for the use of the indefinite article. Admittedly, the information in the RRCs in some of the expressions (i.e. the less specific expressions) is sufficiently general to be tied to other referents with the same sense and denotation, but given the context in which the expressions appear, it is perhaps illogical to tie the information to any other entity than the one repeatedly referred to in the preceding and subsequent text. This is dealt with further in Chapter 6.

Further, Schouten and Vonk (1995: 21) argue that marked predicative indefinite nominal phrases are incompatible with the use of a definite determiner due to the new, non-identifiable information in the expression. As was shown with T4), all of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in this study can take a definite determiner and so differ from this type of expressions identified by Schouten and Vonk.

#### **b) Marked classifying indefinites**

Schouten and Vonk (1995: 25) state that indefinite expressions of this type are also marked because the intended referent is uniquely identifiable. At first glance, this kind of marked indefinite shares some features with the A(n)+N+RRC expression type, as is evident in extract 64):

64) In addition to the spiritual suffering of loneliness, of having to leave behind him ‘the world which had made him what he was’, *Hammar skjöld* had to endure [...] the plain physical suffering of constant nervous strain and overwork. If, as the reader goes through the entries between 1953 and 1957,

he finds himself impatient [...] with their relentless earnestness and not infrequent repetitiousness, let him remember that most of them must have been written by *a man at the extreme limits of mental and physical exhaustion*.

(W.H. Auden, Foreword to Dag Hammarskjöld, 'Markings'; cited in Ushie, 1986):

The marked expression in 64) corresponds to the syntactic structure of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions. Also, the expression can be replaced by a definite description, but the informative value would be somewhat lost and the expression would no longer contain the most important part of the message (as is the case for the instances of A(n)+N+RRC). For example, in 64), it would be syntactically acceptable to replace the indefinite noun phrase with the participant's name, as in 65):

65) [...] let him remember that most of them must have been written by  
*Hammarskjöld*

But as can be seen from 65), the use of the proper noun *Hammarskjöld* results in the loss of lexical information, which is crucial if the reader is to understand that the writer presumably does not simply want to refer to the man (if they did, they would have used a proper noun), but to certain qualities that can be attributed to him. Further, expressions fitting this type can be paraphrased by *this is a case of...* or *someone who...*, and as such introduces the intended referent as 'a member of a subclass of a basic category, with certain properties' (ibid: 26). However, *new*

information is conveyed in the indefinite nominal phrase, and as Schouten and Vonk argue, is part of the comment in the topic-comment structure of the sentence. This is where marked classifying indefinites deviate from the A(n)+N+RRC expressions. As is shown in Chapter 6, the information in the relative clauses in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions is not new (i.e. the content can be traced back to the preceding text or on-going discourse about the entity in question), and so the use of the indefinite article cannot be explained solely through the ‘newness’ function of the indefinite article.

A further difference between marked classifying indefinites and the A(n)+N+RRC expression is that the former present their intended referent as a member of a sub-class. While this may be a trait of some of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions, it certainly cannot be applied to all of them. This is illustrated in examples 66-68):

66) *But a country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road.* (Data text 11)

67) *Yet that, and his promise of an in/out referendum on Europe, have not stopped Thatcherites plotting against a man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010.* (Data text 7)

68) *It does its very best to convince us that a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a*

*New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another*, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage.

(Data text 34)

The indefinite expression in 66) could conceivably be interpreted as referring to a sub-class of countries with those attributes. However, the expression in 67) can only refer to one man (i.e. the man who failed to win a majority in 2010), particularly given the context of the article (about David Cameron being in Margaret Thatcher's shadow). Finally, the expression in 68) is so specific that it is hard to imagine a subset of men who experienced a similar fate. Even in instances such as the expression in 66) where there could be a sub-class of such countries, when considered in context (i.e. the text is about one specific country, Israel), it is likely that the reader would still interpret the expression as referring to the specific, identifiable referent. This issue is developed in Chapters 4 and 6.

Epstein (1994: 223) explores several cases of late indefinites which are highly relevant to this study and appear to fit into Schouten and Vonk's categorisation of marked classifying indefinites. He provides four examples (three of which are copied below in 69-71)), where there are either situational or textual bases which render the referent uniquely identifiable and thus the conditions for the use of a definite expression hold. However, an indefinite expression is employed instead. Consider the following extracts 69-71) taken directly from Epstein (1994: 223-224).

69) Indeed, the response to the stamp honouring Presley is almost extraordinary as the fact that *an overweight entertainer whose death was*

*reportedly caused by an overdose of prescription drugs* is on a postage stamp at all.

70) If accepted by Cedras and other leaders of the military-backed government, the plan could result in Aristide's return to Haiti and an end to the trade embargo that has shredded the economy of *a nation that already was the poorest in the Western Hemisphere*.

71) Clinton said U.S interests and values "are embodied by the policies and direction of President Yeltsin.". Clinton's endorsement reflected a primary Administration goal for the Vancouver summit: to shore up political support for *a leader who is seen as perhaps the last, best hope for Western-style democracy and reform in Russia*.

Note that the structure of the expressions above is the same as the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type, and the texts they occur in appear to be comment pieces. It also is interesting to note that these expressions fit the profile of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions as they pass all of the tests for referentiality and as a result could be included in the data for this study.

But before moving on to compare these expressions with the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in more detail, we should consider Epstein's reasons for claiming that the indefinite expressions in 69-71) refer to a uniquely identifiable entity. According to Epstein, in 69), the overweight singer is clearly Presley who has been mentioned previously. In 70), the referent is inherently unique as there can only be one poorest nation in the western hemisphere and in 71), the referent of the indefinite nominal *a*

*leader who...* is inherently unique due to the presence of the superlatives *last* and *best*. Epstein, like Schouten and Vonk (1995 – see above), argues that two discrete functions are combined in this type of indefinite; the referential function (a previously mentioned or uniquely identifiable participant is referred to again) and the attributive function. The attributive function is realised with the indefinite article plus *new* information in the relative clause (1994: 225).

This latter feature differs, however, from the data in this study as it is shown that the content of the relative clause is given (c.f. Chafe 1994: 53. See Chapter 2) and not new in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions. According to Epstein, the indefinite article ‘reclassifies’ (ibid) the referent as an *arbitrary* member of the category denoted in the *head noun* of these expressions (my emphasis). There are arguably two problems with this claim. The first relates to the ostensible arbitrariness of category membership. Whilst it is possible to see Presley in 69) as a member of the category overweight entertainers, Haiti in 70) as a member of the category of nations, and Yeltsin in 71) as a member of the category of leaders, they are certainly not arbitrary members, but highly specific members. We know which members they are.

The second issue is whether it is right to claim that the category relates only to the entity denoted in the *head noun*. I would argue that the whole nominal expression, including the relative clause, needs to be taken into account when interpreting the expressions. The ‘head’ might provide the category but it is the entire expression that is used to refer; the postmodifiers are not simply added onto the expression, but are an inherent part of it. If this is the case, the reclassification argument is a little less convincing. The superlative forms in *a nation that already was the poorest in the Western Hemisphere* and *a leader who is seen as perhaps the*

*last, best hope for Western-style democracy and reform in Russia* make it difficult to accept that there is such a category of entities; there can only be one nation that is the poorest in the western hemisphere at one time and only one last, best hope for western-style democracy. On the other hand, it is *possible* to see Presley as a member of the category *overweight entertainers whose deaths were reportedly caused by an overdose of prescription drugs*, but of course we all know the whole expression refers to a specific member of that category, namely, Elvis Presley.

So even if we accept the 'reclassification' account, but base it on the inclusion of the whole nominal expression and not just the head noun, would it be an appropriate explanation for all of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in this study? On the one hand, it may be suitable for the less specific A(n)+N+RRC expressions (e.g. *an MP who can spread such inaccuracies* - there is certainly a category of such MPs), but a problem once again arises when the data in the relative clause is highly specific. It is difficult to generalise the properties tied to the head noun *a man* in 72) to an arbitrary member of a category of men with these qualities.

72) It does its very best to convince us that *a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another*, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage.

(Data text 34)

Can we really accept that there is a category of men who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpses lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another? It must be

questioned whether there are other potential members of this category, and if not, whether a category can be made up of just one member. It seems that the categorisation here, if indeed that is what it is, is as specific as a name, because it cannot be referring to anyone/thing other than the fully identified entity. Further, in example 72), we also encounter the problem of the remainder of the sentence: the man referred to in the A(n)+N+RRC expression in 72) was also *one of the greatest architects and a sage*. It is difficult to see how that would fit into the category scenario.

For Epstein, these late indefinite expressions have two simultaneous functions: they are reclassified in light of the new information in the relative clause, and the ascribed property is presented as both characteristic of the whole class and implicitly portrayed as characteristic of a specific uniquely identifiable entity. He argues that the addressee recognises that these structurally indefinite expressions are not simply referring to an arbitrary member of the particular category and is aware of the identity of the referent 'thanks to the (virtual) link between it and its previous mention' (ibid 227). Epstein rather neatly calls this the 'generalising effect' (ibid: 226), in which the indefinite head noun in the expression typifies an entire class of cases. This notion is taken up further in Chapter 7.

As already noted, the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in this study are similar to those highlighted by Epstein in that they are structurally comparable, they refer to an established referent, they pass all the tests for referentiality, and they seem to have a dual function. The A(n)N+RRC expressions differ in that, as will be shown in Chapter 6, they do not contain new information and it is difficult to see the more specific of them as a sub-class of a more general category. I would tentatively argue however, that Epstein's examples perhaps do not contain new information either

given the overall context and ongoing discourse. For example, it is likely that the writer was aware that the reader already knew that Presley was overweight and died of prescription drug overdose (ex. 69), that Haiti is (was) the poorest nation in the western hemisphere (ex. 70) and that Yeltsin is (was) the last, best hope for Western-style democracy and reform in Russia (ex. 71); the writer assumes that these facts are probably part of the shared cultural knowledge of the readership at the time of the publication of the articles.

In sum, although several similarities have been highlighted between the expression-types identified by previous explanations of late indefinites, the accounts put forward above cannot fully explain the function and use of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type. The instances found of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type in this study do not contain any new information (as will be demonstrated in Chapter 6) and cannot all be characterised as a sub-class of a more general category. With this in mind, chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 provide further insight into the use and function of these expressions. Before moving on however, what remains to be done in this chapter is an examination of the type of texts in which this particular expression type tends to occur and a brief overview of other notable features of the A(n)+N+RRC expression.

### **3.3 The text-type - What does the context of this expression look like?**

The data in this investigation comprise 40 opinion articles about a specific entity (e.g. a famous person or well-known organisation) from British broadsheet newspapers, within which 45 instances of A(n)+N+RRC occur.

These particular texts were selected for the simple reason that this is where the expression was most commonly (and easily) found. This rationale is supported by Mautner (2008: 37), who maintains that the occurrence of a phrase or word in a

text should be the first criterion for selection. (See later in this chapter, however, for why other methods were rejected). The expression which was identified initially is that which relates to *Rumney Rec*, (see example 38) at the beginning of this chapter). This expression was originally noticed during a text analysis exercise on reference and participant tracking, where members were asked to highlight all expressions which they felt referred to the definite referent *Rumney Recreation Ground*. One participant had highlighted the formally indefinite expression *a precious green field that has been the green lungs of life in east Cardiff for over a century* as referring to *Rumney Recreation Ground*.

### **3.3.1 Data collection**

Therefore, a broad search for similar expressions began in the Guardian newspaper (c.f. Mautner 2008: 37). As the Guardian is accessible online for free, it was relatively straightforward to carry out the search. The initial strategy was to skim articles to determine whether the *Rumney Rec* expression was a unique occurrence or whether similar expressions occurred elsewhere. After finding several other instances of similar indefinite expressions in the Guardian, it became apparent that the texts they occurred in concerned a specific entity (e.g. Van Gogh, Natural England, The BBC), so the next strategy was to look at the headline and if the article appeared to be about a specific entity, then the text was scanned to determine if the A(n)+N+RRC occurred as a noninitial mention (c.f. Tests for Referentiality above). It soon became apparent that the expression was more likely to occur in genres which contained the ‘voice’ of the writer; more specifically opinion or comment pieces. Nevertheless, I continued to search throughout the paper in order to not restrict the data search at that stage.

I also carried out a search using the Guardian corpus using corpus query language such as “a man who” or “an organisation which”. Admittedly, by doing this, assumptions were being made about the kind of noun that could be used to refer to the established referent, but it had become apparent that the noun in the indefinite expression was typically a ‘general’ noun, perhaps a superordinate term for the referent (see section 3.4.3 for more on this). The outcome of such a search was somewhat unsatisfactory and time-consuming as the results could not distinguish between initial and noninitial mentions, but nevertheless several expressions were found using this method.

All of the above was conducted in a rather ad hoc manner. Over a period of several months, I searched the Guardian website for texts which contained the A(n)+N+RRC expression, each time acquiring one or two texts that could potentially be used for this study.

The above searches revealed that the kinds of texts in which this expression type occurs tend to be argumentative or opinion writing. That is, based on the Guardian search, the texts in which the expression was found were mostly from the *Comment is Free* (see below) section or from blogs, obituaries, book reviews or opinion pieces within different sections (e.g. texts 9 and 39 are from an art blog within the Art and Design section).

The Guardian’s *Comment is Free* (CiF) section describes itself as follows:

Comment is free is the home of Guardian and Observer comment and debate.

Why are we called Comment is free? It comes from a sentence in a famous essay written by the Guardian's legendary editor, CP Scott, which underpins the values and traditions of the organisation. On Comment is free, we host

hundreds of discussions every week on a wide range of topics, from across the world. We publish a plurality of voices, but our centre of gravity as a progressive, liberal, left-leaning newspaper is clear<sup>14</sup>.

Also, on the main CiF page, there is a section for ‘selected contributors’ where the headline is the name of the contributor followed by ‘on’ plus the topic. For example, consider 73):

- 73) a) Suzanne Moore on Woody Allen
- b) George Monbiot on cancer
- c) Natalie Hanman on saying sorry
- d) Polly Toynbee on Quangos<sup>15</sup>

By looking at these headlines, it is fairly straightforward to determine in which article(s) the A(n)+N+RRC expression may occur. As the expression contains a singular indefinite article, it can only refer to a singular, countable referent. This rules out article d) as the text concerns a plural entity ‘quangos’ so it cannot be referred to by a singular article. Out of the remaining three, a) and b) are more likely to contain the A(n)+N+RRC expression as they relate to a specific entity (one could very easily envisage Woody Allen being referred to as ‘a man who...’ or cancer as ‘a disease which...’), whereas ‘saying sorry’ is more related to an action (or speech act). Arguably, ‘saying sorry’ could be referred to as ‘an action which...’. However, the headline is not always necessarily representative of the actual subject matter of the texts, especially when the article is about a more general issue (such as

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<sup>14</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/help/2008/jun/03/1>. Accessed 28/08/2014

<sup>15</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/05>. Accessed 28/08/2014

‘saying sorry’), and after several fruitless searches of articles with headlines relating to less specific topics, I decided to limit the search to texts concerning unambiguously specific entities.

As noted in section 3.1. above, each time an instance of A(n)+N+RRC was encountered, ‘tests for referentiality’ were carried out to determine whether the particular instance of the expression-type conformed with the parameters laid out above.

A further criterion for text selection was that the original text had to have been written in English, and not translated into English from another language. The rationale for this is that it is possible that the occurrence of the translated expression would be a result of translation rather than the choice of the original speaker. Thus, expressions in translated utterances were rejected.

The initial searches showed that the kinds of texts in which this expression type occurs tend to be argumentative or opinion writing. It was thus decided to extend the search to other genres which feature some kind of opinion to determine whether the expression was a feature of opinion writing in general, or limited to opinion writing in the Guardian.

### **3.3.1.1 Other text-types**

**Letters to the Editor:** 20 letters to the editor examined (10 from the Independent and 10 from the Guardian). No instances of second mention A(n)+N+RRC found. Conclusion: These letters are fairly short and perhaps lack the depth of argument (which tends to be found in longer comment pieces) and thus the build-up of the discourse representation of the entity.

**Parables:** 30 parables examined (from Daily Scripture Readings and Meditations 2014). Only one instance of (An)+N+RRC as a noninitial mention.

74) Do you follow the path he has set for you - *a path that leads to life rather than death?*

(from Matthew 18:12-14)

However, the expression did not pass the second test for referentiality (Can the expression be moved to subject position?) so was rejected. This clause may also be seen as being in adposition (although discontinuous) to *path*, equivalent to phrases such as *my friend, John*.

**Closing arguments:** The closing arguments from two US criminal trials were examined (Greenspun<sup>16</sup> (2003) and Darrow<sup>17</sup> (1925) totalling over 41000 words). There were several identity chains of references in each text but no instances of A(n)+N+RRC were found. The search for the expression in closing arguments was not continued due to the length of the texts; it was very time-consuming to examine such extended documents for the appearance of the expression and thus it was reasoned that time would be better spent examining shorter documents in order to ensure that the study had a sufficient number of texts to use as data. However, it is extremely possible that the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type does occur in texts such as closing arguments, and this could be the focus of future research.

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<sup>16</sup>Closing Argument by Defense Attorney Peter D. Greenspun in the capital murder trial of John Allen Muhammad. Available at: [http://defensewiki.ibj.org/images/c/c0/Va\\_v\\_muhammad.pdf](http://defensewiki.ibj.org/images/c/c0/Va_v_muhammad.pdf)

<sup>17</sup>Closing argument of Clarence Darrow, in the case of People v. Ossian sweet et al. Available at: <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/sweet/Darrowsumm1.html>

**Speeches:** Ten famous speeches were examined for the expression. They were selected primarily for ease of access; the most famous speeches in history can be found online without difficulty. Another criterion for selection was that the original speeches needed to be delivered in English and not translated from another language (the rationale is consistent with that for news texts). Listed below are the particular speeches (S1-10) and the results of the search for the A(n)+N+RRC expression:

**S1) Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech, delivered in 1963<sup>18</sup>**

There is one chain of reference in this speech which culminates in two occurrences of the A(n)+N+RRC expression.

75) In a sense, we've come to our nation's capital to cash *a cheque*. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing *a promissory note* to which every American was to fall heir.

*This note* was a promise that all men - yes, black men as well as white men - would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is obvious today that America has defaulted on *this promissory note* in so far as her citizens of colour are concerned. Instead of honouring *this sacred obligation*, America has given the negro people *a bad cheque, a cheque which has come back marked "insufficient funds"*.

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of

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<sup>18</sup>Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/apr/28/greatspeeches>

this nation. So we have come to cash *this cheque, a cheque that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.*

Both occurrences of A(n)+N+RRC which follow several definite references to ‘the promissory note’ pass the tests for referentiality so could be accepted as data for the study. However, the RRC in both occurrences contains new data (i.e. information that has not already been mentioned in the text) (c.f. Schouten and Vonk 1995; Epstein 1994), and so the expressions were rejected.

**S2) Mandela’s speech made from the dock of the Supreme Court at the opening of his trial on charges of sabotage in 1964<sup>19</sup>**

76) During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished *the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities.* It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an *ideal for which I am prepared to die.*

There is one occurrence of A(n)+N+RRC which relates to an idea expressed throughout the paragraph, that of equal rights. However, it does not pass the second test for referentiality (Can the expression be moved to subject position?) and therefore could be considered to be a characterisation attribute. This expression was thus rejected from the data in this study.

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<sup>19</sup>Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/apr/23/nelsonmandela1>

**S3) Thatcher's 'the lady's not for turning' speech at the Conservative Conference in 1980<sup>20</sup>**

There is one potential A(n)+N+RRC expression in this speech.

77) This week has demonstrated that we are *a party united in purpose, strategy and resolve*.

Again, this expression does not pass the second test for referentiality (Can the expression be moved to subject position?) and therefore could be considered to be a characterisation attribute.

**S4) Aneurin Bevan's speech delivered to the House of Commons in 1956<sup>21</sup>**

No instances of A(n)+N+RRC were found. This speech seems to focus on a series of events rather than a specific entity and so the text lacks the necessary build-up of a discourse representation of a specific entity.

**S5) Emmeline Pankhurst's Freedom or Death speech delivered in 1913<sup>22</sup>**

No instances of A(n)+N+RRC were found. Pankhurst's speech does not focus on a specific entity, but rather on women's fight for equality. Thus, there is no particular person or thing whose identity can be traced throughout the text.

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<sup>20</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2007/apr/30/conservatives.uk1>

<sup>21</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/may/03/greatspeeches2>

<sup>22</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/apr/27/greatspeeches>

**S6) Earl Spencer's speech delivered at the funeral of Princess Diana, at Westminster Abbey in 1997<sup>23</sup>**

There are two manifestations of A(n)+N+RRC in this speech, both of which occur at the end of the speech.

78) William and Harry, we all care desperately for you today. We are all chewed up with sadness at the loss of *a woman who was not even our mother*. How great your suffering is we cannot even imagine.

[...]

Above all, we give thanks for the life of *a woman I am so proud to be able to call my sister*: the unique, the complex, the extraordinary and irreplaceable Diana, whose beauty, both internal and external, will never be extinguished from our minds.

Both expressions pass the tests for referentiality (somewhat awkwardly in the case of movement to subject position: *A woman who was not even our mother has died and we are all chewed up with sadness at the loss*, and *A woman I am so proud to be able to call my sister is thanked for her life*). However, again, the RRCs contain new information, and so the use of the indefinite article can be explained as presenting something new.

**S7) Roosevelt's inauguration speech in Washington in 1933<sup>24</sup>**

There is one occurrence of A(n)+N+RRC in Roosevelt's speech.

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<sup>23</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/may/04/greatspeeches>

<sup>24</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/apr/25/greatspeeches>

79) We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and our property to such discipline, because it makes possible *a leadership which aims at the larger good*.

This expression passes all of the tests for referentiality and the data in the RRC summarises much of Roosevelt's rhetoric about the leadership he intends to demonstrate in his term in office. This expression could thus be included in the data of this study.

**S8) Churchill's 'We shall fight on the beaches' speech delivered in 1940<sup>25</sup>**

There are no manifestations of A(n)+N+RRC in this speech. As with Bevan's and Pankhurst's speeches, Churchill does not focus on one specific entity.

**S9) Obama's acceptance speech 2012<sup>26</sup>**

This speech is particularly interesting as it contains multiple instances of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type. It is possible that this reflects a diachronic element in terms of the development of speech writing. That is, the rhetorical style employed by speech writers in more modern speeches may well set up the discourse for the occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression. It is interesting to note also that the majority of the occurrences are in the second quarter of the speech (from approximately lines 700-1200), where there are nine incidences of the A(n)+N+RRC expression type, which are reproduced below in 80).

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<sup>25</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/apr/20/greatspeeches3>

<sup>26</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/07/barack-obama-speech-full-text>

80) You'll hear the determination in the voice of (i) *a young field organiser who's working his way through college and wants to make sure every child has that same opportunity.* (Cheers, applause.) You'll hear the pride in the voice of (ii) *a volunteer who's going door to door because her brother was finally hired when the local auto plant added another shift.* (Cheers, applause.)

[...]

But despite all our differences, most of us share certain hopes for America's future.

We want our kids to grow up in (iii) *a country where they have access to the best schools and the best teachers* – (cheers, applause) –(iv) *a country that lives up to its legacy as the global leader in technology and discovery and innovation* – (scattered cheers, applause) – *with all of the good jobs and new businesses that follow*

We want our children to live in (v) *an America that isn't burdened by debt, that isn't weakened up by inequality, that isn't threatened by the destructive power of a warming planet.* (Cheers, applause.)

We want to pass (vi) *on a country that's safe and respected and admired around the world,* (vii) *a nation that is defended by the strongest military on Earth and the best troops this – this world has ever known* – (cheers, applause) – but also (viii) *a country that moves with confidence beyond this time of war to shape a peace that is built on the promise of freedom and dignity for every human being.*

We believe in a generous America, in a compassionate America, in (ix) *a tolerant America open to the dreams of an immigrant's daughter who studies*

*in our schools and pledges to our flag* – (cheers, applause) – to the young boy on the south side of Chicago who sees a life beyond the nearest street corner – (cheers, applause) – to the furniture worker's child in North Carolina who wants to become a doctor or a scientist, an engineer or an entrepreneur, a diplomat or even a president.

The use of indefinite expressions in this text warrants far more attention than we are able to give to here, but for now an examination in light of the aims of this study will have to suffice.

Expressions (i), (ii) and (iii) in the first paragraph in 80) are clearly first mentions and so could immediately be rejected from the data in this study. However, what might be useful to do here is to contrast them with instances of the expressions which have been accepted in the study as a way to emphasise the difference between two superficially identical constructions.

The irrealis nature of the utterances in (i)-(iii) immediately suggests that these are non-referring expressions (Givón 1993a: 216). The sentence which contains the A(n)+N+RRC expression is in the future aspect (realised by *will*) but follows on from a hypothetical scenario set up in the previous paragraph:

81) [...] *if* you ever get the chance to talk to folks [...] you'll discover something else.

Expressions (i), (ii) and (iii) form part of an irrealis assertion and so cannot be interpreted as referring to a specific entity.

Expressions (iv)-(ix) can also be regarded as irrealis assertions; they are preceded by irrealis-inducing verbs (*want, believe*) which are future-projecting, and ‘create an irrealis modal scope’ over the entire verb phrase (ibid: 176). Therefore, they must be interpreted as referring to a ‘type’ (the type of America they all dream of), even though the reader knows that the country being described in the expressions is America (given the cultural context of the speech). Further, the data in the RRCs is new in all the expressions, and so even without the irrealis nature of the utterances, would not be considered comparable to the expressions in this data – i.e. the indefinite article can be explained by the ‘newness’ in the relative clauses in the expressions in 80), but as noted earlier, this is a less convincing explanation for the A(n)+N+RRC expressions under examination here (c.f. Epstein 1994; and see Chapter 6 for an analysis of the expressions in terms of the content of the relative clauses).

#### **S10) George W. Bush’s 9/11 Address to the Nation 2001<sup>27</sup>**

The only instance of A(n)+N+RRC in this speech fails the movement to subject position test.

82) This is *a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace.*

In sum, three out of the 10 speeches contained no instances of A(n)+N+RRC (S4, S5 and S8), six contained instances of the expression; three of which failed one or more of the tests for referentiality (S2, S3 and S10) and three contained new information

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<sup>27</sup> Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/21/september11.usa13>

(S1, S6 and S9). Even though one of the speeches above contained an A(n)+N+RRC expression which passes the tests for referentiality and does not contain any new information (S7), it was decided that this expression would not be included in the data for this study. This decision was for reasons of uniformity, i.e. all of the other instances of the A(n)+N+RRC expression had been found in news opinion written discourse. However, speeches clearly provide rich data for the analysis of indefinite expressions. The high number of occurrences of a formally indefinite expression for a non-initial mention could reflect the use of journalists or professional speech writers to produce speeches. This could be a focus of future research.

As searches in other genres of opinion writing had yielded very little in terms of usable data for this study, it was decided to extend the search to other news publications to determine whether the use of this expression was a feature of all journalistic opinion writing or limited to Guardian comment pieces.

#### **Other news publications:**

In order to expand the possible sources of data, I also searched in two other British newspapers. The Daily Mail is a right-wing tabloid paper, and the Independent is a left(ish)-of-centre broadsheet.

**Daily Mail columns:** 20 columns about specific entities from the Mail Online were examined and no occurrences of A(n)+N+RRC were found. In these columns, sentences are much shorter, the language is more informal and personal and the detail and depth of argument is lacking compared to columns in the Guardian. Although no firm claims are being made here about the reasons for the

nonappearance of the A(n)+N+RRC expression type, it could perhaps be attributed to these stylistic differences.

### **Independent columns:**

A brief search of the Independent's dedicated comment section, *Independent Voices*, yielded four texts which contained the A(n)+N+RRC expression. Interestingly, three of the texts were by the same author (Owen Jones). As this was not a systematic search, no claims can be made about the appearance or non-appearance of the expression in the *Independent Voices* section; all that can be reasonably said is that it is likely that a more thorough search might yield more results. The style of writing is very similar to that of the CiF section in the Guardian, so perhaps this is unsurprising.

### **3.3.1.2 Corpus searches:**

The final search for data to be described is the corpus searches. It was decided to try out corpus methods as ideally a comprehensive study of language use 'requires empirical analysis of large databases of authentic texts' (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998: 9). So in order to be able to either extend the claims made in this study to texts other than news opinion writing or indeed limit them to comment pieces if that is what the corpus analysis demonstrated, analysis of a wider variety and a larger number of texts seemed necessary.

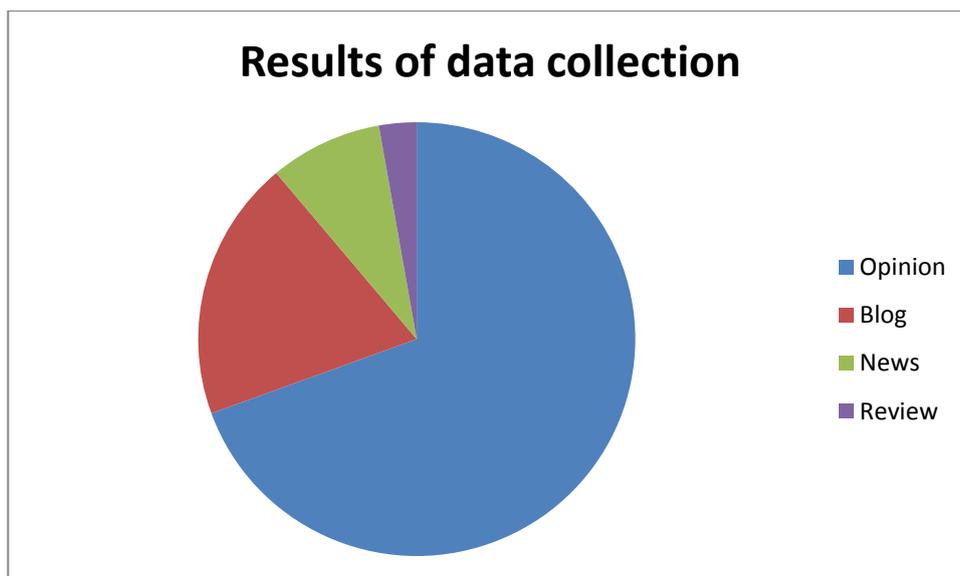
To look for the A(n)+N+RRC expression in Sketch Engine using the British National Corpus, I searched for expressions with *a/an* followed by a noun followed by a relative clause marker. There were 80,524 hits over 4,027 pages. However, the corpus searches were slightly problematic. First, as with the Guardian corpus search,

the corpus was unable to differentiate between initial and noninitial mentions, so the number of hits far outweighed the data that were actually usable. Secondly, the results could not distinguish between the different uses of the indefinite article. That is, first mentions can introduce an entity, refer to a ‘type’ or generic entity, can be characterisation attributes, simple descriptions or fixed phrases such as *a number of xx which*). As a result, it was very time-consuming to extract expressions which fell within the parameters laid out in this study (i.e. they pass the tests for referentiality) from such a large database. I therefore decided that it was beyond the scope of this study to conduct a satisfactory corpus analysis of the A(n)+N+RRC expression in the context described in this study, but it would certainly be a very interesting project for future research if the problems described above could be overcome.

### 3.3.1.3 Results of data collection

<b>Publication</b>	<b>Genre</b>	<b>Number of texts</b>
Guardian	Comment is free (opinion)	24
Independent	Voices (opinion)	4
Observer	Other comment (opinion)	1
Guardian	Blog	7
Guardian	Review	1
Guardian (2) Independent (1)	News	3
<b>Total</b>		<b>40</b>
<b>Total opinion pieces (including blogs and reviews)</b>		<b>37</b>

**Table 2: Results of data collection**



**Figure 2: Results of data collection**

Table 2 and Figure 2 show the final data collected for this study. The full texts can be found in Appendix 2, and a complete table outlining the texts, their genres, their publications and the writers can be found in Appendix 3. 34 out of the 40 texts come from the Guardian newspaper, one is from the Observer (The Guardian’s sister Sunday paper) and five from the Independent. All three publications are considered to be liberal and progressive UK broadsheet newspapers. 37 of the texts are either from the dedicated opinion sections (Comment is Free, Independent Voices, blogs, reviews) or from opinion pieces within other sections. The remaining 3 texts come from news sections, but the expression occurs as part of the comment from the writer. This is illustrated in the following example:

83) But perhaps this will be the least of their worries on *a journey where there isn’t much else to do but look at the stars and dream of home.*

(Data text 8)

This extract comes at the end of a science news piece about Dennis Tito's mission to Mars. Although the article is largely factual in content, the closing lines clearly convey the writer's voice. This is true of all three news pieces which contain the A(n)+N+RRC expression used in this study.

As the texts are either opinion writing or form part of an opinion, it would be useful now to discuss briefly the principal features of journalistic opinion writing.

### **Journalistic comment writing**

Comment pieces tend to be there 'to provide and stimulate political debate' (Phillips 2007: 196). According to Cole and White (2008), the topic needs to 'lend itself to comment, ridicule, satire or whatever the nature of the column' and are generally inspired by a story in the news or an incidence with a public figure. This has been observed as a feature of the texts in this study; the main participant or topic in each text is always topical and/or well-known, certainly within the context of the Guardian readership, and likely within the context of the UK. Cole and White (ibid) further propose that a good column has to 'sustain its theme, building towards a climax or "pay-off" line'. This final point may provide some insight into the use of the A(n)+N+RRC expression, as it is possible that it occurs at such a point. This is discussed further in the final chapter.

### **3.4 What are the notable features of this expression-type?**

This final section briefly summarises several other notable features of the usage of the A(n)+N+RRC expression. We consider whether the expression appears in the head or sub-head of the article, where the expression occurs in the text and the lexical relations it has.

### **3.4.1 Does the participant occur in the head or sub-head?**

In 37 out of the 40 texts, the main participant is mentioned (i.e. the referent the A(n)+N+RRC expression arguably refers to) in the headline or sub-head. This is significant because it is argued that one of the reasons the reader is able to interpret the formally indefinite expression as referring to an identifiable entity is that it is well-established in their mind as a discourse representation. Topicality or saliency is widely acknowledged as a factor which contributes to the establishment of a discourse representation (e.g. Ariel 1990; Givón 1993; Schiffrin 2006).

### **3.4.2 Where does the expression occur in the chain of reference?**

It is useful to consider the position in the text of the instances of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in the text as this might provide an insight into the function of the expressions. For example, if the expressions all occur at the end of a text, then that may imply that they have some kind of concluding or summarising function. As previously noted, one of the requirements for accepting an expression into the data of this study was that it did not occur as a first mention. As a consequence, all of the expressions in the data appear in noninitial position. In order to establish where in the text the A(n)+N+RRC expression tends to occur, I carried out a 'quantitative' participant tracking analysis. This entailed simply counting the number of prior mentions to determine whether the A(n)+N+RRC expression occurred after a certain number of prior mentions, or if it could occur in any noninitial position. The number of mentions subsequent to the appearance of A(n)+N+RRC was also noted. The results can be observed in Table 3 below:

<b>Text</b>	<b>Participant</b>	<b>No. of prior mentions</b>	<b>Position of A(n)+N+RRC in the text</b>	<b>No. of subsequent mentions</b>	<b>Total no. of mentions</b>
1	The UK government	5	6	7	13
2	The BBC	8	9	6	15
3	Children of the Rainbow	8	9	1	10
4	Andy Coulson	19	20	0	20
5	The UK	9	10	2	12
6	David Beckham	18	19	14	33
7	David Cameron	21	21	6	27
8	The 'Inspiration Mars' mission	28	29	0	29
9	Van Gogh	39	40	9	49
10	George Galloway	12	13	14	27
11a	Israel	7	8	9	17
11b	Israel	16	17	0	17
12	The JNF	37	38	0	38
13	Lance Armstrong	20	21	6	27
14a	Lance Armstrong	5	6	27	33
14b	Lance Armstrong	23	24	9	33
15	20mph speed limit	4	5	13	18
16	Naomi Campbell	26	27	6	33
17a	Natural England	7	8	24	32
17b	Natural England	31	32	0	32
18	The Church of England	24	25	3	28
19	Occupy London	37	38	2	40
20	Neoliberalism	32	33	1	34
21	Prahlad Jani	12	13	7	20
22	Prince Alwaleed	20	21	0	21
23	Reader's Digest	16	17	0	17

24	Bradley Manning	8	9	14	23
25	Gaelic	17	18	4	22
26	David Miliband	8	9	11	20
27	Stonewall	11	12	8	20
28	Nadine Dorries	8	9	6	15
29	Rumney Rec	19	20	3	23
30	The bedroom tax	11	12	6	18
31	The Church of England	30	31	3	34
32	The IRA	21	22	1	23
33	Greg Dyke	5	6	72	78
34	Louis Kahn	66	67	0	67
35	The Taliban	14	15	4	19
36	The Work Programme	8	9	9	18
37	The welfare system	13	14	0	14
38	Ukip	3	4	29	33
39	The Prado copy of the Mona Lisa	11	12	1	13
40	The Today programme	5	6	13	19

**Table 3: Participant tracking**

As can be observed in Table 3, the range of the number of previous mentions is relatively high: ranges from three in text 38 to 66 in text 34. The average number of previous mentions is 17; the median number is 14, with the mode being 8. What this shows is that it is not necessarily the number of prior mentions which dictates when the A(n)+N+RRC expression occurs. Clearly, there is a tendency for there to be a high number of prior mentions, but equally the expression can occur with only a few previous references to the participant. In terms of references subsequent to the occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression, the average number is 8, the median is 6 and the mode is 0. There is an apparent tendency for the expression to occur nearer

the end of the reference chain (c.f. Martin 1992; Halliday and Hasan 1976).

Moreover, in nine of the texts, the expression occurs in chain final position. This is dealt with further in Chapter 6.

### **3.4.3 Are there any patterns of association between the identified participant and the head noun in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions?**

The lexical relation which exists between the main participant and the entity denoted in all of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions is that of hyponymy-superordination.

Hyponymy refers to the hierarchical relationship between the meanings of lexemes, in which the meaning of one word is included in the meaning of another (the superordinate term) (Jackson 1988: 65). In all of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions, the entity referred to throughout the article with a definite expression is denoted with a more general superordinate term. For example:

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Superordinate term in A(n)+N+RRC</b>
David Beckham	a man
Louis Kahn	a man
Rumney Recreation Ground	a (precious green) field
Naomi Campbell	a woman
The BBC	an organisation
The bedroom tax	a policy
Nadine Dorries	an MP

**Table 4: Examples of lexical relations**

In instances where there is more than one logical superordinate term for the definite referent, the writer chooses a term which highlights the particular features of one of the superordinate categories. For example, *Nadine Dorries* is referred to with the superordinate term *an MP* rather than *a woman* or *a person*. Throughout the text, the

writer makes reference to her role as an MP rather than a woman, and so it is logical that the superordinate term used reflects these features. See Appendix 5 for the remaining participants and superordinate terms.

### **3.5 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has described in a necessarily piecemeal fashion the parameters surrounding both the expression-type and text-type. It was seen that in order to be accepted as data for this study, instances of A(n)+N+RRC had to pass the tests for referentiality, which were designed to show that the expressions do not function in a typically indefinite manner. It was important to establish parameters for the expression type to ensure the data set was not only manageable but also consistent. This is particularly crucial if generalisations about the use and function of the expressions are going to be made. However, it must be noted that it is possible that by applying tests to the data, I could have inadvertently excluded a category that may have provided some interesting data. For example, the subject-complement reversal test may have excluded some expressions which would otherwise have provided interesting data. Nevertheless, the benefits of establishing parameters for the expressions outweigh the disadvantages, but certainly future research could expand or adapt the tests to determine what affect the tests had on the final data collected.

Following the description and analysis of the tests for referentiality, previous accounts of second mention or late indefinites were discussed. It was shown that, while having several similarities with the data in this study, the explanations put forward by previous scholars cannot fully account for the particular expression-type in its specific context under review here. Without knowing the parameters of the expressions analysed in previous studies it is not only difficult to draw any firm

analogies with the current data, but also makes it difficult to replicate their analyses. Nevertheless, it is possible that some of the data analysed in the previous accounts of late indefinites, in particular that put forward by Epstein, if reviewed under the current framework, may actually reveal more similarities than first thought. This could be the focus of future research.

Next, the context in which these expressions tend to occur was discussed alongside an overview of the various data collection methods tried. Although the expression-type can be found in other text-types and contexts (e.g. speeches and parables), there were several issues which made acceptance of the expressions unfeasible, for example, an insufficient number of expressions was found to provide a substantive database. Further, searching manually for the expression-type in other contexts was very time-consuming and yielded inadequate results, and so it was decided to focus on the text-type in which the expression was most commonly found (i.e. comment writing) and base any conclusions on that text-type only. It would be interesting to conduct further research into the use of the A(n)+N+RRC expression in other text types, in particular speeches, as it is clear there are some commonalities with comment pieces.

Finally, this chapter described several other notable features of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type.

The above description of the collection and analysis of the data set in this study shows that there is indeed a specific ‘type’ of expression which has a distinct function in the discourse which may be seen as atypical in terms of its encoding. Having established that, let us now move on to the first piece of analysis which is intended to determine whether these formally indefinite expressions are indeed functioning in a definite manner.

## **Chapter 4: The interpretation of the A(n)+N+RRC expression: Evidence from readers**

### **4.1 Introduction**

We saw in Chapter 2 that the referring process should be viewed as a collaboration between speaker and addressee (e.g. Schober and Clark 1989; Brown 1995; Clark and Wilke-Gibbs 1986) where interlocutors work to ensure mutual understanding takes place. It was noted that for successful communication to occur, the addressee needs to have thoughts that are ‘pretty similar’ to the speaker, and that we need to take into consideration the relationship between ‘the utterance, the context and the listener’s intentions in interpreting the utterance’ (Brown 1995: 65). In written modes, there is a principle of ‘distant responsibility’ (Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; 34), where the writer has to provide sufficient cues for the reader to retrieve the intended referent. Two experiments were also described in which addressee’s interpretations and judgments based on cotextual and contextual cues seemed to guide how referring expressions were understood rather than the formal marking of (in)definiteness (Brown 1995; Wright 1990). All of the above points to the need to take into account cotextual, contextual and discoursal factors when understanding referring expressions and emphasises that the role of the interlocutors is crucial in the successful interpretation of referring expressions.

In view of this, the aim of this chapter is to provide empirical evidence from two reader interpretation experiments about how readers actually interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type. It is anticipated that the results will then shed light on the function of the expressions in the context in question. We know that the function of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions is not to introduce a new entity into the discourse as we have seen that the expressions occur as part of an identity chain of

references to an already established entity. One possible function of the A(n)+N+RRC expression is to introduce a 'type' entity into the discourse; the generic use of *a* picks out any representative member of a class, as is illustrated in the following example:

84) The best way to learn *a language* is to live among its speakers

(Quirk et al. 1985: 281)

In this scenario with regard to the present data, the writer would be moving from the specific to the general. That is, talking explicitly about the definite entity *Van Gogh* and then transitioning to discussing a type of *man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world* (Data text 9). However, given the context in which these expressions occur, and the level of detail and specificity of the semantic information in the relative clauses, it would be interesting to establish whether, in reality, this is how readers interpret the expressions.

Thus, the purpose of these experiments was to determine whether readers, when interpreting the A(n)+N+RRC expression, access an existing representation of the identified entity, and thus make a definite interpretation of the formally indefinite construction, or whether they create a new 'type' representation based on the procedural information encoded by the indefinite article.

The experiments also tested whether readers, when presented with explicitly definite expressions (i.e. this + N + RRC) or 'type' expressions (PLURAL N + RRC), actually interpreted them as such. Given that the proximal demonstrative this + NOUN is considered to identify and specify something that is near (in this case

something from the preceding context) and a plural noun can refer to a class of entities, it was expected that readers would have no difficulty processing and interpreting the expressions as referring to the referents (or class of things) for which they were encoded.

## **4.2 Reading experiment 1**

### **4.2.1) Hypotheses**

**Experimental hypothesis:** Readers will interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expression as referring to the specific, identifiable referent.

The experimental hypothesis predicts that readers will allocate specificity rather than non-specificity. This is because it is anticipated that the definite lexical nature of the expressions and the particular context in which they occur will lead readers to a specific interpretation of the A(n)+N+RRC expression.

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference between the categories 'specific', 'type', 'any' and 'None of the above'.

The null hypothesis regards a chance allocation of categories.

### **4.2.2 Methodology**

#### **4.2.2.1 Subjects**

The subjects were made up of 91 2nd year undergraduate Language and Communication students at Cardiff University. Opportunity sampling was the most efficient way to collect data as it was necessary to collect a large number of responses in a limited time; opportunity sampling is a quick and easy way to do this.

Participation was voluntary, and the experiment was conducted at the beginning of a lecture in a lecture theatre. The content of the lecture was completely

unconnected to the experiment. Subjects were assigned to a group (Group 1, 2 or 3) by the random distribution of tasks. The standard ethical procedures set out by Cardiff University were followed.<sup>28</sup>

#### 4.2.2.2 Design and procedure

The reading tasks were designed to give participants the choice of interpreting the A(n)+N+RRC expression in its particular context as referring to the specific, previously mentioned entity, a type of N, any + (type of) N or none of these options. To do this, a within-subject design was employed. There are two independent variables in this experiment: the first is the target expression in the three texts each group was given, and more specifically, the form of the determiner of the head noun in the expression. For example, Group 1 was given the following expressions (which were embedded in surrounding context. See Figure 3 below for an example of the task material) with the independent variables a +NP, this+NP or PLURAL NP, as in 85a-c):

85a) *an MP* who can spread such inaccuracies (the indefinite condition)

85b) *this man* who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th century world (the definite condition)

85c) *precious green fields* that have been the "green lungs" of life in cities for a long time (the type condition)

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<sup>28</sup> I have complied with ENCAP's ethical guidelines and completion of ENCAP's ethical checklist form confirmed that the experimental procedures were in keeping with the standard University protocols. See section 4.2.2.3 for the procedures followed.

The second independent variable is the multiple choice answers which the subjects selected from. For each text there were four possible multiple choice answers relating to who participants thought the expression (i.e. independent variable 1) referred to. For 85a), these were:

- a) The type of MP who can broadcast untruths
- b) The MP Nadine Dorries
- c) Any MP
- d) None of the above

In terms of the dependent variable, since it is the readers' interpretation of the target expressions (which include the independent variables) which are being measured, the dependent variable is the interpretation of each expression by the subjects.

The 91 subjects were assigned to both independent variables (i.e. the target expressions and multiple choice answers) as is normal in a within-subject design (Kantowitz, Roediger and Elmes 1994: 63). This was considered to be more efficient as each participant's response is compared with themselves and so any differences in results cannot be due to differences between participants (ibid: 64). That is, it was not necessary to match experimental and control subjects since each subject serves as their own control (Solso, Johnson and Beal 1998: 29). Clearly, the risk of general practice effects needed to be minimised and so complete counterbalancing was employed (see below).

Subjects were randomly divided (almost) equally into three groups (Groups 1, 2, and 3) and asked to read the three texts assigned to their group and answer the multiple choice questions. There was no mention of the purpose of the experiments; subjects were simply told that the experimenter was interested in their interpretations

of the underlined expressions (independent variable 1). Participants were told to work independently and that there were no correct or incorrect answers, and they could simply leave the multiple choice questions blank if they did not want to participate. The risk of subjects copying each other's answers was minimised by the random distribution of tasks. That is, the three groups' tasks were intermixed so the chance of subjects from the same group sitting next to each other was low.

Each group was given three short texts (details of which are explained below, and can also be found in Appendix 6), each about a different specific entity: *Van Gogh*, *Nadine Dorries* and *Rumney Recreation Ground*. The texts had been adapted from the original broadsheet newspaper articles outlined in Chapter 3. The original texts were modified in order to make them readable in the short amount of time available for the experiment, as well as to avoid the subjects becoming embroiled in the detail of the longer articles. However, it was ensured that detail relevant to the interpretation of the expressions remained in the experimental texts. That is, in the original articles, readers would have the entire preceding discourse, context and cotext to guide their interpretation of the expression (see Appendix 2 for the full texts). Thus, it was necessary that readers in the experiment were given sufficient cotext to be able to interpret the expression in the same way as if they had been given the entire article. To do this, extraneous detail was left out and only detail pertinent to the interpretation of expression was retained. For example, in 86) the expression to be interpreted is the following:

86) an MP who can spread such inaccuracies

In the original article, much of the preceding text concerned Nadine Dorries’ dissemination of ‘inaccurate’ information about sex and pregnancy. Therefore, the sentences preceding the A(n)+N+RRC expression in the experiment were composed to provide the reader with an overview of the information that the original text detailed upstream of the expression (see Figure 3 in section 4.2.2.3. for examples of the modified texts) .

For each group, the target expression in each of the three texts was in a different condition: definite (This+N+RRC), indefinite (A(n)+N+RRC) and type (PLURAL N+RRC). To counter-balance, no group saw the same text twice or the same condition twice, and to eliminate the effects of order, the order in which the texts were presented were not the same for any group. For example, Group 1 were given Text 1 in the indefinite A(n)+N+RRC condition (which reflected the original text), Text 2 in the forced ‘type’ condition (PLURAL NOUN+RRC) and Text 3 in the forced ‘definite’ condition (This+N+RRC). Groups 2 and 3 saw the same texts but in different conditions and in a different order. See Table 5 below:

<b>Group 1</b>			
<b>Text and participant</b>	Text 1 Nadine Dorries	Text 2 Rumney Rec	Text 3 Van Gogh
<b>Condition of target expression</b>	Indefinite	Type	Definite

<b>Group 2</b>			
<b>Text and participant</b>	Text 1 Van Gogh	Text 2 Nadine Dorries	Text 3 Rumney Rec
<b>Condition of target expression</b>	Type	Definite	Indefinite

<b>Group 3</b>			
<b>Text and participant</b>	Text 1 Rumney Rec	Text 2 Van Gogh	Text 3 Nadine Dorries
<b>Condition of target expression</b>	Definite	Indefinite	Type

**Table 5: Evidence of counter-balancing**

Participants were asked to decide which of the multiple choice answers they thought applied to the underlined expression in the text (for the actual wording, see Figure 3 below); the type of entity; a proper noun (i.e. definite entity); any + type of entity; or none of the above. The order conditions of the multiple choice answers for each text were also varied, in order to avoid the effects of order on subject’s choice of answer. For example, for Group 1, the texts and multiple choice answers were presented in the following order:

Text and participant	Text 1 Nadine Dorries	Text 2 Rumney Rec	Text 3 Van Gogh
Multiple choice options	The type of MP who can broadcast untruths	Any precious green field	Van Gogh
	The MP Nadine Dorries	The type of land which provides urban green space for city dwellers	Any man
	Any MP	Rumney recreation Ground	The type of man who was not comfortable with his 19 <sup>th</sup> century world
	None of the above	None of the above	None of the above

**Table 6: Example of counter-balancing for multiple choice options for Group 1**

As can be seen from Table 6, the multiple choice answers for each text comprised four options. The ‘definite’ option was always the specific entity the text was about, and was intended to allow subjects to interpret the expression as referring to the identifiable entity in the text. The ‘type’ option was formulated with *the type of* NP + a summary of the qualities denoted in the RRC, and provided subjects with the option of interpreting the expression as referring to the type of entity with the particular qualities. The ‘any’ option was denoted with *any* + NP and allowed for a non-referring interpretation of the expression. The final option, ‘None of the above’

(NOTA), was intended to give subjects the option of an alternative interpretation, not given as a possibility in the task.

As noted previously, the target expression and condition that was of interest during the experiment was the expression in the indefinite *a* condition, and the multiple choice option chosen by the subjects relating to the indefinite condition. More specifically, whether subjects selected the type answer or definite answer as their interpretation of the expression in the indefinite condition was of particular interest. This was because the established view of the use of the indefinite article does not seem to be accurate in the context under review here (i.e. it can refer to a type but not to a definite entity) and so the purpose of the experiment was to determine whether the established view could be challenged by actual understanding and interpretation.

See Materials (section 4.2.2.3) below for an example of the tasks for Group 1.

Subjects were given as long as they needed to complete the task, which was, on the whole, less than 5 minutes, and were then asked to pass the completed tasks to the end of the row for collection. The data was then taken away for analysis and the lecture carried on as normal.

#### **4.2.2.3 Materials**

This section provides an example of the experimental reading tasks the subjects received.

Participants were given a four-page booklet, the first page of which was a coversheet containing introductory information about the experiment. However, detail about the purpose of the experiment was not provided as it was felt

that it might influence the subjects' answers. That is, if subjects were aware that the experiment was to determine readers' interpretations of a formally indefinite expression, their established linguistic knowledge about the functions of the indefinite and definite articles in English may influence their interpretations. More specifically, they may know that indefinite expressions do not typically refer to identifiable entities and so they may feel obliged to answer in a grammatically 'correct' way. I did not want to draw their attention to the syntactic structure of the expressions as what is of interest here is readers' interpretations under the 'natural' reading conditions of such texts, where presumably grammatical detail is glossed over (c.f. Boye and Harder (2012: 2) who argue that 'grammar is constituted by expressions that by linguistic convention are ancillary and as such discursively secondary in relation to other expressions') and a more global understanding of the issues being discussed is what is achieved. Subjects were, however, given the means to contact me if they wanted to know more about the study, after the data had been collected (but none did). Subjects were not required to sign a consent form as they gave their consent by virtue of completing the reading tasks. They were also given the option to opt out by returning a blank task sheet. The coversheet also functioned as a debriefing sheet. It explained that the data provided are held anonymously and participants were given the means to contact me if they wanted to know more about the experiment. The coversheet for the reader interpretation experiment is provided in Appendix 6.

Subjects were asked to specify if they were native or non-native speakers of English. This was because the aim of this part of the study was to determine how native speakers of English interpret the formally indefinite A(n)+N+RRC expression. The rationale behind this was that non-native speakers' interpretations

may be influenced by their first language (L1). The non-native English L1 variable may be difficult to control and thus account for and so it was decided that it would be most practical to remove the variable from the experiment completely. If subjects did not specify if they were native or non-native speakers, their answers were not included in the results (11 were removed on this basis).

Having examined the instructions the subjects were given before carrying out the reading tasks, we will now take a look at the actual tasks they were asked to complete. As it would be impractical to provide the texts and questions for all three groups here, given space limitations, only the texts and multiple choice options for Group 1 are given below in Figure 3. Those for Groups 2 and 3 are provided in Appendix 6. First, as can be seen, the instructions for the task are given. In the actual experiment, each text and task appear on separate pages and the instructions are repeated on the top of each page. There were two reasons for this. The first was simply to do with readability. It was assumed that the texts would be easier to read if there was sufficient space, and so readers would be able to focus on the tasks rather than trying to read cluttered text. The second reason was to prevent subjects from being influenced by the previous or subsequent task; if the other tasks were not visible then subjects would be less likely to refer to them when interpreting the expressions.

### **Group 1 Multiple choice experiment**

*What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.*

#### **Text 1**

The MP Nadine Dorries has proposed an amendment to a health bill demanding that women be given pre-abortion counselling that could be provided by religious, pro-life groups. Dorries is basing her bill on the premise that teaching abstinence stops

teenagers becoming pregnant. The fact that an MP who can spread such inaccuracies is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.

- a) The type of MP who can broadcast untruths
- b) The MP Nadine Dorries
- c) Any MP
- d) None of the above

### **Text 2**

Rumney Recreation Ground is a historic green space at the heart of the Rumney area, but it is under threat because the council wants to build a new high school there. People tend to understand that there is a need for the development and construction of new 21st century schools. But these schools don't have to be built on precious green fields that have been the "green lungs" of life in cities for a long time.

- a) Any precious green field
- b) The type of land which provides urban green space for city dwellers
- c) Rumney Recreation Ground
- d) None of the above

### **Text 3**

The new Penguin edition of Van Gogh's complete letters is dispiriting because it reveals the seriousness and extremity of Van Gogh's emotional troubles. From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of this man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th century world.

- a) Van Gogh
- b) Any man
- c) The type of man who was not comfortable with his 19th century world
- d) None of the above

### **Figure 3: Group 1 multiple choice experiment**

As can be seen from Figure 3, the name of the specific entity the text is about appears near the beginning of the experimental texts, as it had in the original articles. In the authentic texts, the name occurs in the headline or subhead in the vast majority of cases (see Chapter 3). As it was felt necessary to provide readers with a reading experience which closely matched that of the original articles in order to be able to generalise the results of the reading experiment to how readers interpret the expressions when reading the original texts, it was considered crucial that the name

of the entity become established in the discourse representation of the reader early on in the reading of the text.

The remainder of the text was composed to reflect closely the original text. As mentioned above, it was ensured that detail relevant to the target expression was included in the text, as it was in the original. Further, much of the lexis and syntactic structure of the original texts remains in the adapted version, again as an attempt to replicate the original reading experience as closely as possible. Perhaps not surprisingly, this was more straightforward for the texts in the indefinite condition as these more strongly reflected the original texts. The texts in the definite conditions were also fairly simple to adapt, as the original texts concerned a definite and identifiable entity, so there was no transition to make. However, the texts which needed to be forced into a type condition required more adaptation, as it was necessary to transition from discussing a specific entity to unambiguous type by pluralising the noun at the head of the expression. So Text 2 for Group 1 above was the most adapted, and thus its lexis and grammar reflected that of the original the least.

#### **4.2.3 Results of reading experiment 1**

The data obtained from the reading experiments is composed of categorical variables, and therefore it was analysed using the chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) statistical procedure. The categories are the conditions of the target expressions (indefinite, definite and type), and the interpretations provided by the participants in the experiment (definite, type, indefinite and NOTA i.e. None of the above). In the chi-square procedure, the observable frequencies in certain categories are compared with the frequencies that would be expected in those categories by chance alone (Field

2009: 688). An online calculator for the chi-square test was used (Preacher 2001), which carries out the chi-square test of independence. The chi-square test of goodness of fit is also automatically employed to test the hypothesis that there is an even distribution of the total sample N among all levels of the categories. Before applying chi-square, it was necessary to confirm that the experiments provided sufficient data to perform the chi-square test. Levon (2010: 78) suggests that a ‘good benchmark’ for chi-square tests is at least five tokens per cell or a total of five times the total number of cells. As can be seen below, some of the cells have less than five (zero in some cases) and so the second calculation had to be carried out. As there are the same number of cells and the same number of tokens across all conditions, the calculation to determine whether there is sufficient data only needed to be carried out once.

The calculations for the definite condition can be seen below in Table 7):

<b>Group</b>	<b>specific</b>	<b>type</b>	<b>any</b>	<b>NOTA</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Group 1</b>	26	4	1	0	31
<b>Group 2</b>	27	0	0	3	30
<b>Group 3</b>	23	5	2	0	30
<b>Total</b>	76	9	3	3	91

**Table 7: Results of the definite condition with reference to sufficient data for the test**

So for the data above, there are 12 data cells in total (excluding the total row and column) so in order for the chi-square test to be robust, a total of at least 60 tokens are needed. The definite condition data (as in all the conditions) provides us with a total of 91, so the amount of data for this condition is acceptable. Note that this is true of the data in all three conditions.

The chi-square test is inappropriate if any expected frequency is below one or if the expected frequency is less than five in more than 20% of the cells (Preacher

2001). However, the programme provides a 'status cell' at the bottom of the calculating tool which alerts the researcher if there is a problem. In all of the following chi-square calculations, the status bar displayed 'status ok'.

The standard p-value required is 0.05 in the Humanities and Social Sciences (Levon 2010: 80), which means that there is at least a 95% chance that the null hypothesis is incorrect. The relevant requirement for a 0.05 p-value (i.e. chance that the null hypothesis is true) with 3 degrees of freedom (as we have in this data) is a chi-square statistic of at least 7.81 (according to a table of critical values of the chi-square distribution, in Field (2009: 808)).

What follows are the results and chi-square analyses for the three text/expression conditions; definite, type and indefinite.

#### **4.2.3.1 The definite condition**

The definite condition was intended to show that when there is an explicit definite entity being referred to, readers will interpret it as such. As there was no ambiguity resulting from the choice of determiner in the definite condition (i.e. demonstrative 'this' is typically considered to be definite), it was expected that the majority of subjects, if not all, would select the definite option from the multiple choice task. The results can be seen in Table 8 below.

(NB. Answer options are as follows: specific – the name of the entity; type – the type of entity with such and such qualities; any – any N with such and such qualities; NOTA – none of the above)

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference between the categories specific, type, any and NOTA. This is because they would be being assigned on the basis of chance.

Definite condition		Answer options					P value	D of F	Chi-square
Entity	Group	specific	type	any	NOTA	Total			
VG	Group 1	26	4	1	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=58.4$
ND	Group 2	27	0	0	3	30	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=68.4$
RR	Group 3	23	5	2	0	30	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2= 44.4$
<b>Total</b>		<b>76</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>p &lt; 0.001</b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=167.2</math></b>
<b>Total %</b>		<b>84</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Table 8: results of readers' interpretation of the expression in the definite condition (This+N+RRC)**

As can be observed in Table 8, there is sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The chi-square values for all three groups were significantly higher than the required 7.81, at a  $p < 0.001$  level of confidence. Therefore, the results strongly support the hypothesis that readers interpret the definite This+N+RRC expressions as referring to the specific entity.

#### 4.2.3.2 The type condition

The type condition was intended to demonstrate that when there is a clear type being referred to, readers will interpret it as such. A plural noun was used to force the type reading (plural nouns are widely regarded as referring to a type).

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference between the categories specific, type, any and NOTA.

Type condition		Answer options					P value	D of F	Chi-square
Entity	Group	specific	type	any	NOTA	Total			
RR	1	3	25	3	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=51.9$
VG	2	6	19	5	0	30	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=26.2$
ND	3	6	18	6	0	30	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=22.8$
<b>Total</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>p &lt; 0.001</b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=96.4</math></b>
<b>Total %</b>		<b>16</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>99%</b>			

**Table 9: Results of readers' interpretation of the expression in the type condition (PLURAL N+RRC)**

As can be observed in Table 9, there is sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The chi-square values for all three groups were significantly higher than the required 7.81 at  $p < 0.001$  level of confidence. Therefore, the results strongly support the hypothesis that readers interpret the PLURAL N+RRC expressions as referring to a type.

#### 4.2.3.3 The indefinite condition

The indefinite condition was intended to test whether readers interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expression as referring to the previously established and fully-identified entity or whether they create a new ‘type’ representation.

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference between the categories specific, type, any and NOTA.

Indefinite condition		Answer options				P-value	D of F	Chi-square	
Entity	Group	specific	type	any	none				Total
ND	1	16	15	0	0	31	$p < 0.001$	3	$\chi^2=31$
RR	2	26	4	0	0	30	$p < 0.001$	3	$\chi^2=62.2$
VG	3	25	4	0	0	30	$p < 0.001$	3	$\chi^2=59.4$
<b>Total</b>		<b>67</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>91</b>	<b><math>p &lt; 0.001</math></b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=126.6</math></b>
<b>Total %</b>		<b>74</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Table 10: Results of readers’ interpretation of the expression in the indefinite condition A(n)+N+RRC)**

As can be observed in Table 10, there is sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The chi-square values for all three groups were significantly higher than the required 7.81 at a  $p = < 0.001$  level of confidence. Therefore, the results strongly support the hypothesis that readers interpret the formally indefinite A(n)+ N+RRC expressions as referring to the specific, identifiable entity. As noted earlier, the experiment was counter-balanced to avoid order difference.

## **4.2.4 Discussion of reading experiment 1**

### **4.2.4.1 Definite condition**

84% of subjects opted for the *specific* answer in the definite condition. This is not surprising given the lack of ambiguity in the determiner ‘this’ in the given context. It is interesting to note that four and five readers of the Van Gogh and Rumney Rec texts respectively selected the *type* option in the definite condition, and three of the Nadine Dorries text readers in Group 2 selected the *NOTA* option. However, the numbers are not statistically significant, and all that can be posited is that it is possible that the subjects either did not read the text thoroughly, randomly chose an answer or did not know what to choose.

### **4.2.4.2 Type condition**

As anticipated, there is a high percentage of *type* answers for the type condition (68% across the three groups). However, it is interesting to note that the percentage of subjects who chose the *type* answer in Group 1 was higher than in Groups 2 and 3; 81%, 63% and 61% respectively. The non-type answers selected by Groups 2 and 3 were almost equally distributed between the *specific* and *any* options. This is puzzling as there is nothing inherently non-categorical about the expressions in the type conditions for Groups 2 and 3; structurally, both head nouns are plural indefinites (*men* and *MPs*) and the remaining content of the expressions (that is, the RRCs) is also categorical in their description rather than specific. However, as the focus of this study is the use of a formally indefinite expression-type for definite reference, further attention cannot be given to the unexpected interpretation of a plural NP due to space constraints. Future research could certainly examine in more detail the cotext surrounding the expressions in these texts to determine whether it

had any influence on the choice of answer for Groups 2 and 3 in the forced type condition.

#### 4.2.4.3 Indefinite condition

As the results table shows, in the indefinite condition, 67 participants selected the specific entity (74%), 23 the type answer (25%) and one chose the ‘any’ option (1%). The results support the hypothesis that readers interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expression type as referring to the specific, identifiable entity.

However, what is interesting about these results is that there is not an equal distribution of ‘type’ answers among the three texts (which would be 7 or 8 for each text), as might be expected if all the A(n)+N+RRC expressions were structurally and conceptually similar. Instead, the ‘Nadine Dorries’ text triggered two thirds of the ‘type’ responses (15/23), as can be seen in Table 11:

<b>Group and expression</b>	<b>Type responses</b>	<b>Specific responses</b>
<b>Group 1:</b> an MP who can spread such inaccuracies	15	16
<b>Group 2:</b> a precious green field that has been the “green lungs” of life in east Cardiff for almost a century	4	26
<b>Group 3:</b> a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world	4	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>67</b>

**Table 11: Type and specific responses in the indefinite condition**

On closer examination, it became obvious that the conceptual data in the relative clause of this expression is less detailed and explicit than the other two texts.

Compare:

87) an MP who can spread such inaccuracies

88) a precious green field that has been the “green lungs” of life in east Cardiff for almost a century

89) a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world

Clearly, the relative clauses in 88) and 89) contain considerably more specificity; that is, their content can be easily attributed to a specific referent, whereas the content of 87) is more general and could apply to a type of MP (or indeed any MP). Based on the results above, it is conceivable that the amount of detail and specificity in the relative clauses has an influence on whether readers interpret the expression as referring to the specific entity or to a type. That is, the more detailed the conceptual information in the RRCs, the more likely it is that a specific interpretation will follow. Thus, a second experiment was set up to test whether there may be a ‘scale of specificity’ with regard to the A(n)+N+RRC expressions.

### **4.3 Reading experiment 2**

#### **4.3.1 Hypotheses**

**Experiment 2 Hypothesis:** The A(n)+N+RRC expressions with highly specific semantic information in the RRC are more likely to be interpreted as referring to the specific entity in the target ‘a’ condition, whereas those with less specific semantic content are more likely to be interpreted as referring to a ‘type’ in the ‘a’ condition.

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference between the categories specific, type, any and NOTA in the indefinite condition with specific and non-specific RRCs.

## **4.3.2 Methodology**

### **4.3.2.1 Subjects**

Participants in experiment 2 comprised six groups of 31 undergraduate students from the School of English, Communication and Philosophy at Cardiff University (n=186). The sampling method was opportunity sampling and the issues around this were the same as experiment 1 (see 4.2.2.2 above).

Again, participation was voluntary, but for this experiment data was collected in lectures and in seminars. The content of all lectures and seminars was unrelated to the experiment. Subjects were assigned to a group (1-6) by the random distribution of tasks.

### **4.3.2.2 Design and procedure**

The design and procedure are the same as in experiment 1. The exception in experiment two is the number of groups and texts. There were six texts (which can be viewed in full in Appendix 7): three containing A(n)+N+RRC expressions with very specific and detailed relative clauses (about the entities Louis Kahn, Andy Coulson and David Beckham), and three with expressions containing less specific information in the relative clauses (about the entities the Jewish National Fund, Natural England and Gaelic). These can be seen in 90-95):

Expressions with specific relative clauses:

90) a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another (Louis Kahn)

91) a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007 (Andy Coulson)

92) a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up (David Beckham)

Expressions with non-specific relative clauses:

93) an organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews (the Jewish National Fund)

94) a language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out (Gaelic)

95) an agency which should be protecting the natural world (Natural England)

Experiment 2 was otherwise set up in exactly the same way as experiment 1; participants read three texts in three different conditions, and the texts, conditions and multiple choice answers were all counter-balanced. Each of the groups was exposed to expressions with both specific and non-specific relative clauses.

#### 4.3.2.3 Materials

The coversheet and format of the handout subjects received mirrors that of Experiment 1. The texts and tasks for reading experiment 2 can be found in Appendix 7.

#### 4.3.3 Results of reading experiment 2:

Again, the chi-square statistical procedure was employed to compare the observable frequencies with expected frequencies to determine whether the observable data could have been obtained by chance alone. Also, calculations were made to check that sufficient data had been produced to allow for a robust chi-square analysis. As there are the same number of cells and the same number of tokens across all conditions, the calculation to determine whether there is sufficient data only needed to be carried out once, as with experiment 1. The calculations for the specific RRCs in the definite condition are below in Table 12.

Entity	Specific	Type	Any	NOTA	Total
LK	26	5	0	0	31
DB	25	5	1	0	31
AC	29	1	1	0	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>93</b>

**Table 12: Results of the specific RRCs in the definite condition with reference to sufficient data for the  $\chi^2$  test**

Preacher's online programme was used to carry out the chi square calculations (2001), as with experiment 1.

The discussion of the results of experiment two is organised in terms of the experimental conditions (i.e. definite, type and indefinite) and the subjects' interpretations according to specific and non-specific relative clauses.

#### 4.3.3.1 Definite condition

The definite condition was intended to show that when there is an unambiguously definite entity being referred to by means of a formally definite expression, readers will interpret it as such, irrespective of the amount and detail of conceptual information in the RRCs.

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference between the categories specific, type, any and NOTA in the definite condition with specific and non-specific RRCs

Entity	Specific	Type	Any	NOTA	Total	p-value	D of F	Chi-square
LK	26	5	0	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=59.45$
DB	25	5	1	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=53$
AC	29	1	1	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=77.77$
<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>p &lt; 0.001</b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=187.64</math></b>
<b>Total %</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Table 13: Results of interpretations expressions with specific RRCs in the definite condition with chi-square calculations**

Entity	Specific	Type	Any	NOTA	Total	p-value	D of F	Chi-square
Gaelic	23	8	0	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=45.51$
NE	23	6	2	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=43.41$
JNF	21	8	0	2	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=34.67$
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>p &lt; 0.001</b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=121.23</math></b>
<b>Total%</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Table 14: Results of interpretations of expressions with non-specific RRCs in the definite condition with chi-square calculations**

As can be observed in Tables 13 and 14, there is sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The chi-square values for all six groups were significantly higher than the required 7.81 at a p < 0.001 level of confidence. Therefore, the results strongly support the hypothesis that readers interpret the definite This+N+RRC expressions as referring to the specific, identifiable entity.

#### 4.3.3.2 Type condition

The type condition was intended to demonstrate that when there is a clear type being referred to, readers will interpret it as such. A plural noun was used to force the type reading (plural nouns are widely regarded as referring to a type).

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference between the categories specific, type, any and NOTA in the type condition with specific and non-specific RRCs

Entity	Specific	Type	Any	NOTA	Total	p-value	D of F	Chi-square
LK	1	20	7	3	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=28.22$
DB	6	22	1	2	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=36.74$
AC	1	29	1	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=77.77$
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>p &lt; 0.001</b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=131.12</math></b>
<b>Total%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Table 15: Results of interpretations of expressions with specific RRCs in the type condition with chi-square calculations**

Entity	Specific	Type	Any	NOTA	Total	p-value	D of F	Chi-square
Gaelic	0	25	5	1	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=53$
NE	5	25	1	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=53$
JNF	7	22	2	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=38.29$
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>p &lt; 0.001</b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=138.9</math></b>
<b>Total%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Table 16: Results of interpretations of expressions with non-specific RRCs in the type condition with chi-square calculations**

As can be observed in Tables 15 and 16, there is sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The chi-square values for all six groups were significantly higher than the required 7.81 at a p < 0.001 level of confidence. Therefore, the results strongly support the hypothesis that readers interpret the PLURAL N+RRC expressions as referring to a type of entity.

### 4.3.3.3 Indefinite condition

It is the indefinite condition that is of primary interest here. The aim of Reading Experiment 2 was to test whether the amount and level of detail in the RRCs had an impact on readers' interpretations of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions. That is, whether the readers were more likely to interpret the expression as referring to the definite entity if the conceptual data in the RRC was more detailed and specific.

**Null hypothesis:** There is no significant difference between the categories specific, type, any and NOTA in the indefinite condition with specific and non-specific RRCs

Entity	Answer options				Total	p-value	D of F	Chi-square
	specific	type	any	NOTA				
LK	27	3	0	1	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=64.35$
DB	26	5	0	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=59.45$
AC	22	8	1	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=39.83$
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>p &lt; 0.001</b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=160.03</math></b>
<b>Total%</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Table 17: Results of interpretations of expressions with specific RRCs in the indefinite condition with chi-square calculations**

Entity	Answer options				Total	p-value	D of F	Chi-square
	Specific	type	any	NOTA				
Gaelic	16	13	2	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=24.35$
NE	16	14	1	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=27.45$
JNF	14	15	2	0	31	p < 0.001	3	$\chi^2=23.83$
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>p &lt; 0.001</b>	<b>3</b>	<b><math>\chi^2=74.95</math></b>
<b>Total %</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>100%</b>			

**Table 18: Results of interpretations of expressions with non-specific RRCs in the indefinite condition with chi-square calculations**

As can be observed in Tables 17 and 18, there is sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The chi-square values for all six groups were significantly higher than the required 7.81 at a p < 0.001 level of confidence. Therefore, the results strongly support the hypothesis that the amount and detail of semantic information in the

relative clauses has an impact on how readers interpret the expression. That is, readers are more likely to interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expressions with specific relative clauses as referring to the identifiable entity and are almost divided equally between a type and specific interpretation with the less specific relative clauses.

#### **4.3.4 Discussion of reading experiment 2**

The discussion deals with the results in the following order: the definite condition, the type condition and the indefinite condition.

##### **4.3.4.1 The definite condition**

As expected, the majority of subjects selected the specific answer in the definite condition for expressions with both specific and non-specific relative clauses (86% and 72% respectively). Interestingly, there were 13 fewer specific responses (14%) in the definite condition when the relative clauses in the expressions were less specific. It is possible that the conceptual data in the RRCs had an influence on readers' interpretations, despite the definite coding of the head noun. That is, the amount and detail of semantic information in the RRCs overrode the procedural encoding realised through the form of the determiner which, in theory, should have led subjects to a definite interpretation, irrespective of the content of the post-modifier. However, this can only be speculation and further investigation would be needed to determine whether this could be the case.

##### **4.3.4.2 The type condition**

As expected, the results indicate that there is a strong tendency for readers to interpret the forced PLURAL+N expressions in the type condition as referring to a

type. This is the same for expressions with both specific and non-specific relative clauses (76% and 77% respectively).

#### **4.3.4.3 The indefinite condition**

As predicted, the three texts which contained the specific RRCs generated a high number of specific responses (75/93 - 81%), whereas those with the more general RRCs produced an approximately equal distribution of answers between type and specific (46/93 - 49% and 42/93 - 45% respectively). Thus, the results suggest that there is a 'scale of specificity' with regard to the A(n)+ N+RRC expression-type, depending on the amount and detail of given conceptual information in the restrictive relative clause. The more specific the details in the relative clause, (i.e. the more the information can be tied uniquely to the participant the text is about), the more likely it is that the reader interprets the indefinite noun phrase as referring to the given, identifiable entity. On the other hand, when the details in the relative clause are less explicit readers are equally divided between interpreting the expression as referring to the specific entity and a 'type', in the latter case creating a new 'type' representation.

What these results mean in terms of the function and use of the A(n)+N+RRC expression in this context is discussed in detail in Chapter 7. It is interesting to note here though, that the reading experiment results support the argument put forward throughout this study that these formally indefinite expressions are clearly not functioning in a truly indefinite way. In terms of the interpretation of the expressions, readers tend to access an existing representation of the entity rather than construct a new 'type' representation, thus interpreting the A(n)+N+RRC expression as referring to the specific and fully-identified entity.

Furthermore, the results indicate that the cotext, context and shared cultural knowledge of the readers play a significant role in the interpretation of these expressions, and referring expressions in general. In some cases it seems that procedural information encoded in the expressions is overridden by the surrounding cotextual, contextual and extra-linguistic information. This issue is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 7.

#### **4.4 General discussion, limitations of the experiments and concluding remarks**

The reading experiments described above were unable to realistically reproduce the conditions experienced by readers in the natural context of reading these articles. Under normal circumstances, readers of texts like the originals may be familiar with the style and format of comment articles in the particular newspapers. Consistent with this is the purpose of the writing. That is, only under certain contextual circumstances might the writer make the transition from definite to (formally) indefinite reference, in order to perhaps talk about generalities as well as specifics. Through exposure to this kind of text, readers may be aware of, and thus come to expect, such a move. Further, potential readers would presumably notice the headline which would influence the decision whether to continue with the rest of the article or not. As these texts concern a specific entity, it is likely that readers would be familiar with, or at the very least be interested in finding out about, the particular entity mentioned in the headline or sub-head. The subjects in the reading experiments did not necessarily have any knowledge of, or interest in, the entities in the texts. This may have had an impact on the results of the experiments. For example, if the subjects had specifically chosen to read an article about the *Jewish National Fund*, they may have had a mental representation of it already established in their minds. Reading the text would have developed that mental representation

and perhaps strengthened it, which may consequently have had an impact on how they would interpret the target expression in the text. That is, with a stronger discourse representation, readers may be more likely to interpret the formally indefinite expression as referring to the specific entity. That writers are likely to be aware of this creates an opportunity for them to play with the explicitness of the expression.

A stronger mental representation of the entity may also be developed by the larger amount of preceding discourse that readers under natural conditions, reading the original full texts, would have been exposed to. As noted in Chapter 3, the majority of the expressions occur well-into the text about the specific entity (the minimum number of previous mentions is three, the maximum is 66 with the average being 17) and so readers would have built up a solid discourse representation before encountering the expression. Again, this may influence the readers to produce a definite interpretation of the formally indefinite expression.

To test this and the issues raised in the previous paragraph, an experiment could be conducted using only Guardian or Independent readers as subjects, or more specifically, regular readers of the comment articles in these newspapers. The experiment could be set up in exactly the same way as the two previous experiments, with the exception of the texts used. Rather than reading an adapted and abridged version of the text, readers would read the original text in its entirety. In this way, the reading experience would more closely match that of genuine readers of such articles. Admittedly, this experiment could not account for previous knowledge or familiarity with the entity though, and short of giving subjects a choice of texts about a variety of entities to read, which is possible but impractical, this would be difficult to control.

Another way to make the experiment more closely match the natural reading conditions would be to include the headline and subhead as part of the items the subjects were required to read. As noted previously, readers presumably use the headline and/or subhead as part of the decision-making process of whether to read the article or not. The consequence of this may be that the discourse representation of the entity is more firmly established in the mind of the reader and so a definite interpretation is more likely.

On the other hand, the amount of detail in the full versions of the texts, the vast majority of which had been removed for reading experiments 1 and 2 to limit the amount of reading subjects had to do, may interfere with the discourse representation of the entity. That is, the more extraneous detail in the original might interfere with the interpretation of the expression as it could make the discourse representation less clear. However, this would only affect the interpretation if the detail concerned other potential competitors for the interpretation of the expression, which in the case of the entities in the texts used in this study is not an issue.

Another issue to consider is that the multiple choice answers did not have a *Both specific and type* option. That is, one possible function of the A(n)+N+RRC expression in the context here is that it is intended to refer to something specific and definite as well as extending its reference to others of that ‘type’ (this argument is developed more fully in Chapter 7). Consequently, by providing subjects with the option of choosing both the specific entity and a type, I could have explicitly allowed for this interpretation. However, when the experiments were being set up, it was decided that, given the option of choosing *Both*, the subjects might be inclined to do exactly that: a manifestation of the sitting-on-the-fence syndrome. As a consequence, the *Both* option was not included in the potential interpretations.

Interestingly though, when considering the results, in particular for the expressions with non-specific RRCs, it could be argued that they reflect a *both* interpretation. That is, the expressions with non-specific RRCs generated an almost equal distribution of *type* and *specific* interpretations. If both categories are equally likely as a possible interpretation, the A(n)+N+RRC construction must therefore have features of both specific and type categories. The question of what forced one interpretation over another is more difficult to answer, and it could simply be that participants considered both categories as an option and then randomly selected one. Nevertheless, what is clear is that there has to be something inherent in the expressions with the non-specific relative clauses which caused this split.

A final comment needs to be made about the possibility of there being a scale of specificity with regard to the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type. The argument has been put forward that the amount and detail of conceptual data in the relative clauses has an effect on the interpretation of the expression. That is, the more detailed the relative clause, the more likely it is that readers interpret it as referring to the definite entity. It would be interesting to explore at what point a relative clause becomes 'detailed' i.e. what is the tipping point from general to specific. There are two ways this could be examined. One is an experiment which could be established to determine at what point readers interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expression as referring to the definite entity. Subjects could be given a series of carefully adapted texts in which the detail in the relative clauses is varied. Counter-balancing would ensure that subjects did not see the same text twice, and the number of subjects would have to be high in order to provide a sufficiently robust amount of data. An experiment of this nature could provide an insight into how much detail is needed before a definite reading is likely. It is also possible that it would show that rather than a scale of

specificity, it could be the case that there are two axes; one specific and one non-specific.

The other way is by examining the expressions at a textual, contextual and discourse level (c.f. Cornish 1999) to determine what exactly it is that provides the reader with sufficient information to interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expression as referring to the definite referent. This is the focus of Chapter 6.

We have seen how readers understand the A(n)+N+RRC expressions under experimental conditions, and it is clear that at the level of interpretation these formally indefinite expressions are on the whole functioning in a definite manner. It would now be interesting to determine what is happening at the level of production. That is, do speakers assume that the entities in question are accessible (and thus identifiable) in the mind of the addressee at the point of occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions, and if so, how can the formally indefinite encoding be explained? The following chapter addresses this issue.

## **Chapter 5: Cognitive-pragmatic analyses of the A(n)+N+RRC expression**

### **5.1 Introduction**

As noted in Chapter 2, there have been many attempts to explain the choice and interpretation of referring expressions from a cognitive point of view (Chafe 1976, 1980, 1994; Prince 1981; Givón 1983; Ariel 1988, 1990; GHZ 1993 *inter alia*).

These approaches tend to focus on the activation or accessibility of an antecedent (whether it is linguistic or not), rather than on the referring potential of an expression. In the previous chapter, we saw that readers, under experimental conditions, tend to interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expressions as referring to the specific, identifiable entity and not to a ‘type’, but there is a difference in interpretations depending on how much lexical information is in the expressions.

This chapter examines two of the principle cognitive theories of reference production, namely Ariel’s Accessibility Theory (1988 onwards) and Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski’s Givenness Hierarchy (1993 onwards). It tests the predictions put forward by both theories by determining whether they can account for the use of the atypical indefinite A(n)+N+RRC expression and explain the results of the reading experiments from a cognitive perspective.

The basic tenets of Accessibility Theory are reviewed and areas where this theory might be problematic for the 43 expressions in this study are highlighted. An analysis is then carried out using discourse measurements adapted from Ariel (1990) and Toole (1996), which is intended to determine the degree of accessibility of the A(n)+N+RRC expression. That is, at the point of occurrence of the expression in each of the texts, how accessible the antecedent is according to the criteria proposed

by Ariel (1990) (that is, distance, saliency, competition and unity) and the measurements thus adapted to calculate the criteria.

Then the predictions of the Givenness Hierarchy (GHZ 1993) are put to the test. The GH proposes that the production and interpretation of referring expressions is determined by both procedural information about location and manner of the expression as well as conceptual information encoded in the expression. As the GH is an implicational scale, each status entails lower statuses, and thus forms encoded for lower statuses may well simply be underspecified for higher statuses, for pragmatic purposes. GHZ's claims are thus critically reviewed and their predictions tested according to the Coding Protocol for Statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy (2006).

## **5.2 Accessibility Theory and A(n)+N+RRC**

### **5.2.1 Background**

Accessibility Theory (Ariel 1988 onwards) has its foundations in Sperber and Wilson's notion of accessibility (1986), and proposes a procedural analysis of referring expressions as marking varying degrees of mental accessibility. The fundamental principle of Accessibility Theory is that by using a certain expression, the speaker instructs the addressee to search in their memory for a piece of given information. The choice of referring expression thus indicates how accessible the speaker deems this piece of information to be for the addressee at a particular point in the discourse. Although Ariel acknowledges that referring expressions may simultaneously carry some conceptual meaning, it is the degree of accessibility

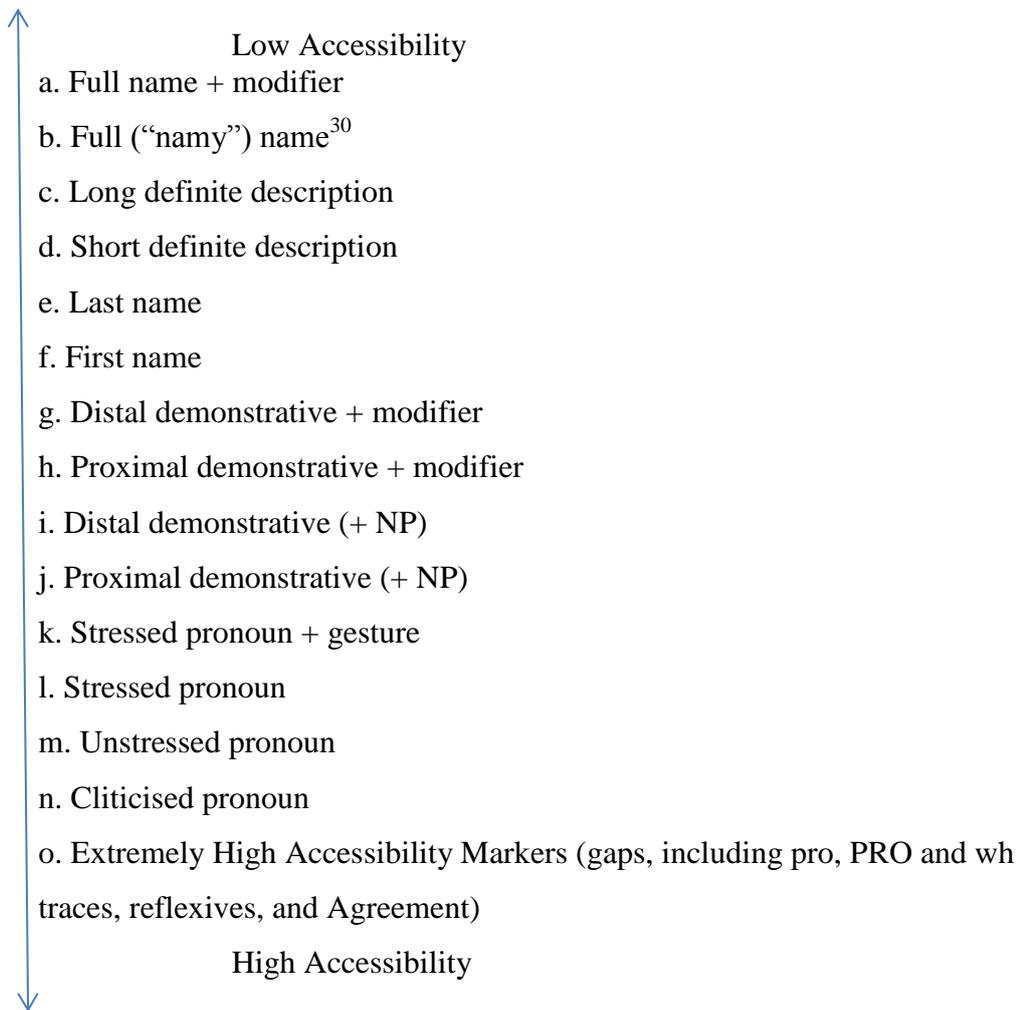
indicated by the speaker which is the crucial criterion determining the retrieval of the form (2001: 22; 1990: 16).<sup>29</sup>

Further, Ariel argues against the ‘geographic’ view of context put forward by Clark and Marshall (1981) *inter alia*, which serves as the basis for assuming information is familiar or given. This view distinguishes between General or Encyclopaedic Knowledge (illustrated by the use of proper names, for example), the Physical Environment of the utterance (demonstratives, for instance), and the Linguistic Context (for example, the use of pronouns) as a source for addressees’ retrievals (Ariel 1990: 6). However, referring expressions do not always fall so neatly into the appropriate context. To illustrate, consider the fact that definite descriptions do not always refer ‘independently’ of linguistic context, and pronouns do not always require a linguistic antecedent, as the geographic view seems to suggest. Further, an expression may well derive from more than one context. For example, a proper name such as *David Beckham* could be linguistically given, having been mentioned in the preceding text, and at the same time tap into the addressee’s encyclopaedic knowledge. So instead, Ariel claims that referring expressions encode a specific degree of mental accessibility, which is determined by the discursal salience of the particular mental representation. She proposes the following scale of ‘accessibility markers’, from lowest to highest:

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<sup>29</sup>This claim is problematic for the data in this study as it is arguably the conceptual information in the A(n)+N+RRC expression that is crucial for successful reference resolution, as is shown in Chapter 6. Interestingly, Accessibility Theory can be contrasted with the Givenness Hierarchy on this point (Gundel et al 1993. See section 5.3) of this chapter for more on this) which posits that both procedural and conceptual information in a given expression determine whether a referring expression is interpreted successfully or not. This problem is discussed in more detail below.

**Figure 4: Accessibility Marking Scale** (Ariel 1990: 73)



The degree of accessibility of the marker employed should thus correspond to the accessibility of the referent it is used to refer to. Ariel argues that the form-function correlations on the accessibility scale are not arbitrary, but explicable through the three overlapping criteria of *informativity* (the amount of lexical information), *rigidity* (the ability to select a unique referent, based on the form) and *attenuation* (phonological size) (1990: 32). According to Ariel, the more informative, rigid and unattenuated the form of the expression is, then the lower the degree of accessibility it encodes, and vice versa. So the least attenuated, least informative and least rigid form is a zero form or gap, as is exemplified in 96):

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<sup>30</sup>Ariel’s terminology

96) There are two roads to eternity, a straight and narrow, and a broad and crooked.

In this sentence, the ‘gaps’ in a ‘straight and narrow [gap]’, and ‘a broad and crooked [gap]’ have a zero anaphoric relationship to ‘two roads to eternity’. The zero form is lexically uninformative, phonologically unattenuated and lacking in rigidity (i.e. it is not very close to pointing to one entity unequivocally in a potentially ambiguous context). It thus indicates a high level of accessibility.

On the other hand, full names + modifiers are situated at the other end of the extreme, and indicate low accessibility, as can be seen in 97):

97) After the news broke that *comedian and actor Robin Williams* had been found dead at his California home, tributes began to pour in from friends and colleagues<sup>31</sup>.

In 97), we can see that the writer has used a full name plus pre-modification (which is lexically informative, highly rigid (i.e. it refers to the same thing, regardless of context) and phonologically attenuated). This indicates that the speaker in this instance does not consider the entity denoted in the expression to be currently accessible to the addressee.

Those expressions with the lowest degree of accessibility are also capable of introducing referents into the discourse, and are perhaps not typically used as

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<sup>31</sup>From the Guardian 12/08/14. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/film/2014/aug/12/robin-williams-death-online-tributes>. Accessed 15/08/2014

anaphoric devices (arguably the first three accessibility markers on the scale).

Interestingly, though, the forms most likely to introduce referents, namely indefinite NPs, are omitted from the scale. This is a point that is returned to below.

In summary, accessibility markers can be divided into three levels of accessibility:

**Low:** proper names, definite descriptions

**Mid:** demonstratives, demonstrative NPs

**High:** pronouns, reflexives, zero anaphora

Thus, according to Ariel, it is possible to determine the degree of accessibility associated with a particular mental representation of an entity by taking into account properties of the antecedent (which does not need to be linguistic, as noted in Chapter 2) and the relationship between the antecedent and the accessibility marker (i.e. anaphor) (2001: 32). This is measured in terms of distance (between the antecedent and NP), competition (i.e. whether there are any competing NPs which could be the antecedent), saliency (the more salient, the higher the accessibility) and unity (whether the antecedent occurs in the same 'frame') (Ariel 1988: 65). So for example, the greater the distance between the antecedent and putative anaphor, the more potential competitors for the role of antecedent, the fewer the number of previous mentions and the less cohesive the units, the lower the degree of accessibility is and the more likely it is that the speaker will use a more informative, rigid and unattenuated form.

Indefinite NPs do not make an appearance anywhere on Ariel's Accessibility Marking Scale, even in their role as introducing new referents into the discourse, but

it must be noted that they do on other similar scales (see Givón 1983; GHZ 1993). As Ariel considers the referential-anaphoric distinction to be unnecessary, this is perhaps not surprising. It is true that, traditionally, indefinite NPs are generally only considered as referential when they are either referring to a type (e.g. Gundel Hedberg and Zacharski's 'type identifiable' (1993)<sup>32</sup>) or when they are specific but not identifiable (e.g. Givón's referential indefinite NPs (1983: 17) or Du Bois' 'referential specific' 1980:207), but the fact that indefinites do not feature at all on the Accessibility scale is curious. Consider instances where the speaker has a specific entity in mind but the identity is not clear to the addressee. Imagine, for example, a mother looking for her lost son in a shop and saying to the shop assistant 'I'm looking for a little boy with red hair'. Clearly, the mother has a specific boy in mind and is not simply referring to any little boy with red hair. It could be said that there is a degree of accessibility here, but it is zero degree accessibility. But perhaps the kind of accessibility signalled by 'specific' indefinite expressions like the one above is not the anaphoric kind which Ariel appears to be interested in. Instead, it is perhaps more 'reference' oriented. Nevertheless, it is not beyond reason that this kind of indefinite description should have a place on the Accessibility Scale. What is more, the identifiable indefinite expressions that are under review here are behaving in a somewhat definite manner, and thus perhaps warrant a place on the scale which indicates a higher level of accessibility than their form suggests.

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<sup>32</sup> See section 5.3) of this chapter for further detail

### 5.2.2 Violations of the Accessibility Scale

As previously noted, the accessibility scale does not feature indefinite expressions, so one must assume that they are therefore not considered to be accessibility markers. However, in her book Ariel does dedicate a chapter to ‘special uses of accessibility markers’ (1990: Ch. 9). In light of this, it might now be useful to explore briefly the special uses put forward in an attempt to determine whether the A(n)+N+RRC expression here could be considered a special use of a *special accessibility marker* (my emphasis).

There are deviations away from the predictable uses of accessibility markers, as with any language use. In accessibility terms, a deviation would be an instance of a speaker selecting an expression associated with either a lower or a higher degree of accessibility than is expected (Ariel 1990: 198). The reason for this, Ariel (ibid: 199) claims, is that ‘in the spirit of Relevance Theory’ the speaker intends the addressee to draw further meaning from the ‘additional contextual implications’. This is supported by Toole, who found that speakers often violate accessibility predictions for specific reasons (1996: 278-285). These include for clarification, in definitions, to avoid ambiguity, interruptions, as a means of conveying new information about an entity or for emphasis. Toole concludes that, in these instances ‘[T]he expressive sense of referential selection appears to override normal accessibility considerations’ (1996: 283). Further, Kronrod and Engel (2001: 696) found that accessibility considerations do not exclusively determine choice of referring expression, but rather pragmatic factors intervene. They found that in newspaper headlines, ‘brevity and curiosity-arousal’ encourage the use of higher accessibility markers than accessibility theory would predict (ibid: 683).

Ariel outlines various counter-examples to Accessibility theory, starting with ‘insincere’ uses of expressions as accessible, which are intended to create ‘a vivid picture’ (1990:199). ‘Vividness’ here refers to ‘here and now’ and can be exemplified by the use of Intermediate Accessibility Markers, in particular the proximal demonstratives when a lower accessibility marker, such as a definite description would be expected. Compare 98) and 99) below (from Ariel (1990: 199)):

98) *This/that* holiday we spent in Cyprus was really something, wasn’t it?

99) *The* holiday we spent in Cyprus was really something, wasn’t it?

In 98), the speaker is emphasising the shared experience, attempting to bring something from the past into the present, which does not occur with the choice of the definite determiner *the* in 99).

In fact, ‘vividness’ could help clear up the tension created by employing a formally indefinite expression as part of an identity chain of references to an identifiable entity, as in the data in this study. Consider the following expression 100):

100) All sides of the House roared their approval: and so the political elite closed ranks against *a* man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the Westminster club.

(Data text 10)

As with all the data in this study, the formally indefinite expression in 100) could be interpreted as referring to a previously mentioned entity, in this case, the British MP George Galloway. However, procedurally it is potentially ambiguous as an indefinite article is used, and as we have seen, it is not generally accepted that indefinite NPs are identifiable. So the writer could have avoided this by employing the notion ‘vividness’ and using either a proximal or distal demonstrative, while still maintaining the descriptive content of the expression, as in 101):

101) All sides of the House roared their approval: and so the political elite closed ranks against *this/that* man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the Westminster club.

But the fact that the writer did not do this is significant, and this is dealt with when addressing Research Question 3<sup>33</sup>, in Chapter 7.

The type of violation that is more significant for this study is the use of a Low Accessibility Marker when the context would ordinarily demand that a higher one is used. This seems to be the case for the A(n)+N+RRC expression being discussed here, as the context has provided the reader with a clear idea of who the expression is referring to.

Ariel notes the following example from *The Diary of a Happy Housewife* by D. Harpwood (1990: 200):

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<sup>33</sup> RQ3: What is the function of the A(n)+N+RRC expression in the discourse?

102) After I'd prepared *our evening meal*, I cooked *our evening meal* and washed up after *our evening meal*. I didn't eat much of *our evening meal* because I was then sick of the sight of it. (Ariel's emphasis)

The author is clearly avoiding the use of a pronoun here as some kind of rhetorical strategy, perhaps to emphasise the fact that she feels very put upon and as a result feels revulsion for 'the evening meal'. However, Ariel notes that lower-than-expected Accessibility Markers tend to be used as a wish to sound repetitive, 'where a speaker wishes to guide an addressee in making particularly accessible certain but not other assumptions on the referent' (Ariel 1990: 200).

Another example of speakers using lower Accessibility Markers than the situation demands is the use of names when a pronoun would do, perhaps to 'lay emphasis on the nature of the referent' (Bolinger 1979: 290). Bolinger puts forward the following example in 103) which can be used to illustrate this point:

103) What did *John* do? He did what *John* always does - *he* complained. (my emphasis)

The second use of *John* suggests that the predication involved is an inherent quality of the referent *John*.

A further instance is when names are avoided to imply lack of intimacy, as in the following extract taken again from *The Diary of a Happy Housewife*:

104) I start my day the Valium way at seven-twenty am., when *my departing husband* brings me a mug of tea and a Diazepan tablet. (Ariel's emphasis)

or to emphasise a particular aspect of a relation as in the following comment made by a reviewer referring to his wife:

105) *Senior management* confirms that the maker is very easy to use and clean<sup>34</sup>

Ariel also details instances of the use of higher-than-expected Accessibility Markers, and argues that these are often used to refer to members of minority groups; and in particular by means of ‘Accessibility raising’ (1990: 204). This can be seen with the use of a proper name preceded by *this* as in the following example from Yehoshua (1982), cited in Ariel (1990: 205).

106) *This woman of his... This Connie* is pregnant.

However, due to space limitations and the fact that this study is interested in the use of a lower-than-expected accessibility marker, these violations are not examined in further detail here. But see Ariel (1990) for details.

To sum up, Ariel acknowledges that there are many instances where the Accessibility scale is violated, but there are specific reasons why speakers choose to do this. Thus, it is reasonable to claim that the A(n)+N+RRC construction in the context within which it is being examined here is such a violation, and it is therefore necessary to examine in greater detail the context surrounding this use. As this study is proposing that this particular type of indefinite expression is in actual fact

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<sup>34</sup>Amazon review, available at <http://www.amazon.co.uk/product-reviews/B003UFNJ1Y?pageNumber=79>. Accessed 12/08/14

referring to an identifiable entity, it would be useful to use Accessibility Theory to determine where expressions with the A(n)+N+RRC construction would appear on the Accessibility Marking Scale. By establishing how accessible the entities described with these constructions are judged to be in the mind of the addressee, and which other more traditionally-accepted referring expressions are considered to be at the same level of accessibility, we may be able to draw some conclusions about whether they can be considered as referring definitely or not.

### **5.2.3 Analysis**

This section sets out the parameters surrounding the Accessibility Analysis of the 43 A(n)+N+RRC expressions under review in this study. (See Chapter 3 for details of how the texts were selected and the methodological parameters imposed in terms of selecting data for this study). The 'accessibility level' of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions is determined using measurements developed by Toole (1996) based on Accessibility Theory.

Previous studies using quantitative discourse analysis to examine patterns of referring expressions have tended to be carried out on either entire texts or a large chunks of a small number of texts (for example, see Toole 1996; Givón 1983; Brown 1983). These studies set out to examine how a particular entity is referred to throughout an entire discourse. The choice of referring expression is said to indicate what the speaker assumes is the level of accessibility of the particular referent in the mind of the addressee. As this study is only interested in one particular type of expression, the measurements described below are applied to the immediate environment surrounding the occurrence of A(n)+N+RRC expression-type in the 40 texts which make up the data for this study. 'Immediate environment' here can be

defined as the co-text which is within the parameters of the measurements specified by the scale indicated below. For example, the factors of ‘distance’ and ‘unity’ require that the furthest that the analyst needs to ‘look back’ is to the paragraph previous to the entity under examination. (See below in this section for more detail).

The analysis carried out below follows the measurements and parameters established by Toole (1996). Toole set out to show Accessibility Theory can be used to account for referential choice across genres by analysing referring expressions in eight texts from four genres (science fiction novels, academic book reviews, informal conversations and current affairs interviews). Toole’s study was in response to claims made by Fox (1987), who examined the use of pronouns and full NPs in different genres (conversations, expository texts and written narratives) and found that structural aspects of the text could be used to explain choice of referring expression. This point is supported by studies by Vonk et al. (1992), Clancy (1980), Tomlin (1987), but Fox’s studies differ in that she claims that there is no single rule governing anaphora that can be applied across genres (1987: 152). However, her approach has been criticised by Toole (1996) and Konrod and Engel (2001), who argue that Fox’s methodology is fundamentally flawed because of the use of different discourse models to analyse the distribution of anaphora in each genre (conversational texts – Conversation Analysis; expository texts – Rhetorical Structure Theory). Fox (1987: 3) justifies her decision to use two different analytic tools by claiming that ‘the modes [of the two types of texts] are fundamentally different in the units that serve to organise them’. That is, written monologues are produced by a single person and a descriptive model should ‘reflect this basic one-party-ness’. On the other hand, conversational texts are produced by more than one person and this fact should also be reflected in the units of a descriptive model.

However, Toole contends that the very fact that Fox used three different discourse models ‘precludes comparison across genre’ (1996:265). She goes on to claim that in order to carry out a valid comparison across genres, ‘it is necessary to have standard terms and concepts.’ (ibid). Thus, she proposed that Accessibility Theory can be used to explain the referential choices made by speakers across all genres.

To recap, Ariel (1990: 28) suggests the following factors are among those which contribute to the assumed accessibility status of an entity:

1. **Distance:** the distance between the antecedent and the anaphor. As distance increases, entity accessibility decreases.
2. **Competition:** the number of competitors for the role of antecedent. The higher number of competitors, the less accessible the entity will be.
3. **Saliency** (or topicality): the antecedent being a salient referent, mainly whether it is a topic or non-topic. Topical/salient entities will be more accessible than non-topics.
4. **Unity:** the antecedent being within vs. without the same frame/world/point of view/segment or paragraph as the anaphor. Entities within the current frame/segment are more salient than those in previous frames/segments.

The four elements noted above are used in this study to build a score of accessibility for the 43 A(n)+N+RRC expressions (note that ‘distance’ and ‘unity’ are combined as ‘unity’ is considered part of the ‘distance approach’ (Toole 1996: 266)), following Toole’s operationalisation of Accessibility Theory, which is outlined below.

### **a) Distance and unity**

In this study, the distance and unity of an entity are measured in terms of the number of intervening clauses and paragraphs. Note though, that Toole (1996: 272) used 'propositions' rather than clauses as units to measure distance, after Tomlin (1987: 461), who defines a proposition as 'a semantic unit composed of a predicate plus its arguments for which a truth value can be determined', and is also considered to represent a 'basic unit of memory in human cognition'. Toole argues that the definition of 'proposition' was particularly appropriate for her study, as it could be applied to both written and spoken texts. However, as this study only examines written texts, counting propositions rather than clauses would 'offer no practical difference' (Tomlin 1987: 462). That is, the standard unit in written texts is the clause, but it should be noted that other means of measuring a unit could be appropriately used (for example, idea density (Kintsch and Keenan 1973)). Therefore, distance is calculated by counting clauses. In the same way, unity is measured by considering the number of intervening paragraphs rather than the more abstract notion of 'episodes', as used by Toole (1996). This is again due to the fact that this study is limited to examining written data, and paragraphs represent the boundaries of the semantic unit (Toole 1996:272). Furthermore, these boundaries are imposed by the writer rather than the analyst, so more reliably represent the structure intended by the writer.

As discussed earlier, one of the basic premises of Accessibility Theory is that, all other things being equal, the further away an entity is from its antecedent, the lower the accessibility of that entity. Equally, if the previous mention of an entity is in the previous paragraph, the accessibility of the entity is lower than if it was at the same distance but in the same paragraph. The following scale is taken directly

from Toole (1996: 273) and is intended as a way of operationalising the hypothesis that the choice of referring expression is determined by the accessibility of the mental representation of the antecedent.

To measure distance and unity then, the following scale can be applied:

For entity A at point X in the discourse (Ax);

- a. If the last mention of A is in the same clause as Ax then accessibility level of Ax is four.
- b. If the last mention of A is in the clause immediately previous to the clause of Ax then accessibility level of Ax is three.
- c. If the last mention of A is in the same paragraph but not in the clause of Ax or in the clause previous to Ax then accessibility level of Ax is two.
- d. If the last mention of A is in the previous paragraph to Ax then accessibility level of Ax is one.
- e. Otherwise, the accessibility level of Ax is zero.

Support for these decisions can be found in the literature. Clarke and Sengul found that the clause one back from the current sentence is a privileged place in memory for the mention of referents, that is, referents in the previous clause are easy to pick out; whilst those mentioned further back are harder (1979: 40). Further, Givón (1995:344) discusses what he calls the ‘working memory buffer’, or ‘immediate recall’ of a text, and proposes that previous research (e.g. Gernsbacher 1985) has shown that the working memory buffer retains no more than 2-5 clauses at a time. He suggests that it is unlikely that the surface information of grammatical cues persists beyond the working memory buffer, and therefore do not reach ‘episodic memory’.

## **b) Competition**

The third factor which is claimed to have an influence on accessibility is competition (Ariel 1990; Toole 1996; Givón 1983; Schiffrin 2006). The idea is that the higher the number of potential competitors for the antecedent, the more coding material is needed to reference an entity (Toole 1996: 273). This notion has found support in various studies, notably the studies in Givón (1983), where potential interference from competitors was calculated by taking into account the preceding one to five clauses (this depended on the particular study, but most commonly 3 clauses were taken into account (ibid: 14)). Schiffrin (2006: 157), on the other hand, selects 2 clauses prior to a next-mention as being meaningful in terms of potential interference.

In order to provide consistency, in this study I employ the three-point scale attested by Toole (1996), in which the higher the competition, the higher the score. That is, the more entities between the previous mention (which is no more than 3 clauses back) and current mention which are potentially compatible with the current mention, the lower the accessibility of the current mention is.

The scale is as follows (ibid 274):

- a. If there are no matching entities between Ax and last mention of A, there is no change to accessibility rating of Ax.
- b. If one matching entity has been mentioned between Ax and last mention of A then accessibility of Ax is reduced by one.
- c. If more than one matching entity has been mentioned between Ax and last mention of A then accessibility of A is reduced by two.

In this study, a ‘matching entity’ is one which is semantically compatible with entity A, and which can be matched for the features of person, number and gender (Toole 1996; Givón 1983: 14 and Schiffrin 2006: 157). The invented example in 107) provides an illustration of this.

107) John was speaking to Jim about the price of eggs. He then walked into a lamppost.

In 107) *Jim* is considered as a competing entity for the anaphor *he* and so accessibility would be reduced by 1.

### **c) Saliency**

The final feature which is said to affect accessibility is ‘saliency’ or ‘topicality’. The terms saliency and topicality are used interchangeably here to refer to the same notion (again, following Toole 1996). The basic premise is that the more often an entity is mentioned in the text, the more salient or topical it is.<sup>35</sup> There has been much agreement in the literature that topicality plays a major role in the accessibility or activation of a referent. For example, Schiffrin (2006: 164) points out that the topical referent in a narrative can be ‘the central figure in the complicating action’ and in a list, the topical referent is the ‘one main item to which all members of a collection are related’. Further, Ariel (2001: 35) claims that discourse topics can sustain ‘a relatively high degree of accessibility despite the larger distance’ (See also

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<sup>35</sup> This notion of saliency is different to what the reader is going to bring to a text as salient or significant. A reader who is familiar with an issue may well take more note than someone who is unfamiliar, but that is not what is being measured here.

Givón 1983: 11-12 and Gernsbacher 1990: 140). Theories predict that speakers tend to use pronouns when they think that a referent is sufficiently salient in the discourse. When the referent is less salient, more specified forms are used.

The scale of topicality used in this study is again after Toole (1996: 274), and allocates a higher saliency to more frequently mentioned entities.

- a. If A has not been mentioned in the last four clauses then there is no change to accessibility level of Ax.
- b. If A has been mentioned once or twice in the last four clauses then accessibility level of Ax is increased by one.
- c. If A has been mentioned more than twice in the last four clauses the accessibility level of Ax is increased by two.

Toole acknowledges that the choice of four clauses as the limit on saliency or topicality is in fact ‘essentially arbitrary’ (ibid), but notes that the studies in Givón (1983) again set precedence.

Saliency here is calculated in terms of working memory or immediate recall (e.g. Givón 1995: 344) and so is a fairly localised concept in terms of the surrounding cotext. For an examination of saliency in terms of a text’s organisation at a macro-level, see Chapter 6.

The overall accessibility of a NP is therefore decided by calculating the totals from each factor (that is, distance, unity, competition and saliency). Thus, the maximum accessibility rating is six, and the minimum is minus two.

Three analysts applied the above measurements to the 43 A(n)+N+RRC expressions in order to determine the accessibility level of the entities at the point of their occurrence in the texts.

But before examining the results, it is important to mention here certain inclusions and omissions from the calculations in the current analysis, and the reasons for these. The following parameters were agreed upon by the three analysts. Firstly, Toole's study (1996) restricts the type of noun phrases examined to those which are textually evoked (or endophoric in Halliday's terms (1976: 33)) because, as she notes, it would be difficult to determine the accessibility of levels of inferred or situationally evoked entities in oral texts<sup>36</sup>. However, as the texts to be examined here are all from written sources, this study does not need to impose such limits.

Also, inferred references are included in my analysis, as in 107) which is taken from Data Text 29:

108) Now in his 90s, as he slowly walks the field he vividly recalls *the memories of his late wife and their children sharing a picnic under the blazing summer sunshine*

It can be assumed that the place of the shared picnic was indeed the previously mentioned *field* (the identity of which has been very firmly established as Rumney Recreation Ground in the discourse upstream), and the reader is able to infer that from the written context. Thus, inferred references such as the above are counted as

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<sup>36</sup>This in fact poses a problem for Accessibility Theory. As it is largely an anaphora-orientated theory, it is difficult to see how the accessibility of non-textually evoked entities can be calculated. Resolving this is beyond the scope of this research, but it is certainly something future research needs to engage with.

referring definitely to the established entity and so are included in my calculations. (See Chapter 2 for a discussion of inferred or bridging reference).

Also, ‘complex referents’ are included in the analysis. A complex referring expression is ‘a referring expression within which the referent is referred to by an implicit or explicit relation to a different referent situation from the one it is currently involved in’ (Fontaine 2008: 158). As far as this study is concerned, possessive NPs come under this term, such as that in example 109) from Data Text 9:

109) From *his complete letters* a remorseless self-portrait emerges of a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.

Such a form usually has two references: one encoded by the possessive pronoun or NP and the other by the head NP (Pu 2011: 9). Givón (1995: 352) also acknowledges this form of referential access, stating it is accomplished through ‘conventional knowledge of whole-part, possessor-possessed relations’. So in the above example, *his complete letters*, the referent coded by the possessive pronoun *his* is Van Gogh (the possessor), and the referent coded by *complete letters* refers back to *the Penguin Classics edition of his selected letters* (the possessed), which was mentioned in the previous paragraph. In this study, then, mentions such as ‘his letters’ above, are included in the calculations as referring to the entity being analysed.

Further, there is an issue with another form of complex referent, such as the following example 110):

110) For five or six hundred years Gaelic did well and expanded aggressively across most of Scotland, but it began to lose the competition with Scots-English as early as the 13th century, and then began its long retreat to the Highlands. By 1755, *Gaelic speakers* numbered only 23% of the Scottish population, which had shrunk by 1901 to 4.5% and 100 years later to 1.2%.

(Data text 25)

Here, the difficulty was how to deal with *Gaelic speakers* when the referent being tracked is *Gaelic*. In this paragraph alone, *Gaelic* as an entity is referred to four times ('*Gaelic*'; a zero anaphor – '*and Ø expanded*'; '*it*'; '*its long retreat*'). *Gaelic speakers* has a different referent, '*speakers*' but the concept of Gaelic remains implicit in the reference. Moreover, rewording the mention to *speakers of Gaelic* would result in *Gaelic* becoming a referent in its own right again, without any noticeable change in meaning. Therefore, a decision needed to be made about whether to include this type of expression in the calculation. For the purposes of the Accessibility Analysis, it was decided not to include this type, as it would have complicated the calculations and made it more difficult to justify the findings, particularly as traditionally, this type of referring expression would not be considered as referring directly to the original referent *Gaelic*. It is necessary though, to carry out another kind of analysis which takes into account the lexical cohesion that this kind of entity adds to the text and the fact that complex referents such as these *do* in fact add something to the concept of the entity being tracked (*Gaelic* in this case). See Chapter 6.

Synonyms were included in the count as referring to the same referent, and with hyponyms, it was decided to accept parts for wholes and wholes for parts. Zero

anaphors were included in the count. Instances of meronymy are included in the analysis (*the Treasury* as part of *the Government*), as are instances of metonymy (*Downing Street* for the *UK government*). In terms of competition/interference, semantic content was also taken into account. For example, consider *not* in the following:

111) This winter's biggest political story, in fact, may turn out *not* to be focused on the Conservatives, Labour or the Lib Dems, but an organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes, or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs. (Data Text 38)

The *Conservatives, Labour or the Lib Dems* are not considered to be in competition for the role of antecedent because of the negative polarity of the preceding context, and so would not be counted as interfering with the interpretation of the expression.

Another difficulty was deciding on what constituted a clause. For the purposes of this analysis, the notion of the finite clause as set out by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) was adopted. A finite clause contains a subject and verb phrase (or predicate and its arguments). Participle or infinitive clauses in adjunct relations are counted as separate clauses (e.g. he stood in Parliament *to demand David Cameron explain why Britain was apparently intervening to save Mali from Islamist thugs*). Non-finite clauses are not counted as separate clauses (e.g. *Having left Tony and his mum at his appointment*, I set off in the direction of the A4). Embedded complement clauses are not included in the count of clauses, as they depend on the matrix clause for their interpretation (e.g. [he] said *what he meant*). Subordinate

clauses are counted as separate clauses (e.g. World leaders are due to meet Ukraine's president *before the Nato summit gets under way in Wales*).

## 5.2.4 Results: Accessibility Analysis

### KEY

#### Accessibility scores and corresponding levels:

-2 to 0: Low accessibility

1-3: Mid accessibility

4-6: High accessibility

(From Toole 1996)

The following results in Table 19 were agreed by three coders<sup>37</sup>. Interrater reliability was calculated using ReCal3 (Freelon 2011), which calculates pairwise percent agreement, Fleiss' Kappa, pairwise Cohen's Kappa, and nominal Krippendorff's Alpha when there are three or more coders. The Accessibility scores from each coder were inputted into the ReCal3 program.

Interrater reliability was calculated as follows:

Average pairwise percentage agreement	78.29%
Fleiss' Kappa	74.1%
Average pairwise Cohen's Kappa	74.2%
Krippendorff's Alpha	74.3%

As an adequate level of agreement is generally agreed to be 70% (Multon 2010), we can accept that the three coders made consistent estimates of the level of Accessibility.

Data Text	Participant	AA score	AA Level
1	The UK government	4	High
2	The BBC	3	Mid
3	Children of the Rainbow	-2	Low
4	Andy Coulson	-1	Low
5	The UK	0	low
6	David Beckham	5	High
7	David Cameron	6	High
8	The 'Inspiration Mars' mission	5	High
9	Van Gogh	6	High

<sup>37</sup> Coder A is a postgraduate student in Language and Communication, coder B is a senior lecturer in Language and Communication and I am coder 3. We are all based at Cardiff University.

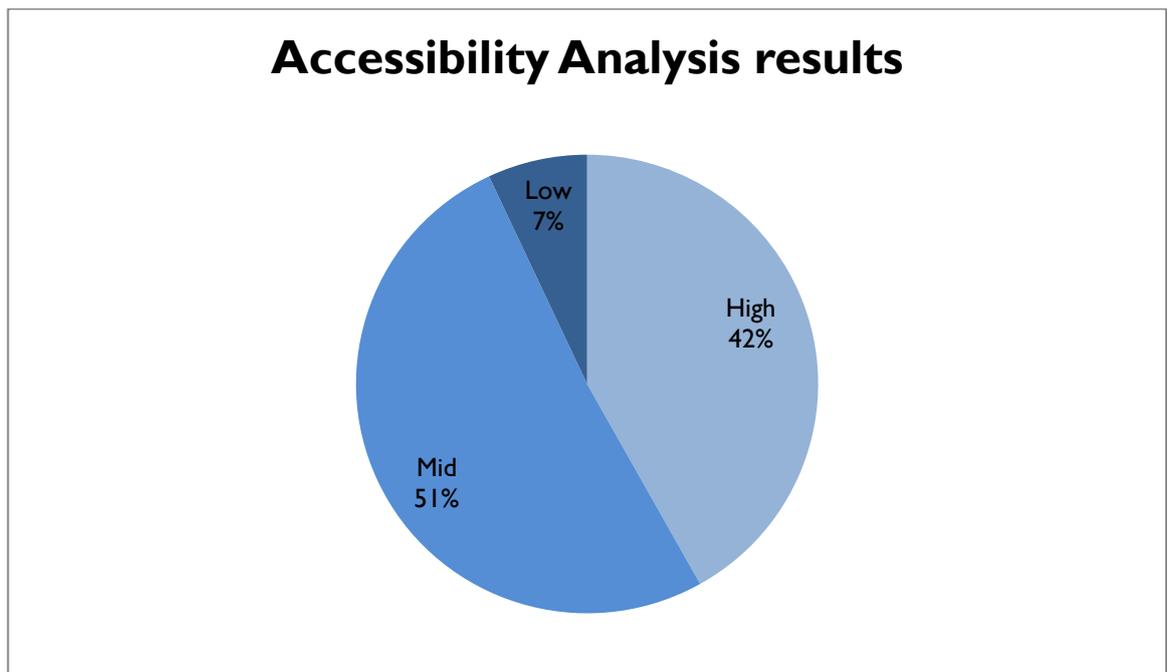
10	George Galloway	3	Mid
11a	Israel	3	Mid
11b	Israel	2	Mid
12	The JNF	1	Mid
13	Lance Armstrong	5	High
14a	Lance Armstrong	5	High
14b	Lance Armstrong	6	High
15	20mph speed limit	2	Mid
16	Naomi Campbell	2	Mid
17a	Natural England	4	High
17b	Natural England	3	Mid
18	The Church of England	2	Mid
19	Occupy London	3	Mid
20	Neoliberalism	4	High
21	PrahladJani	5	High
22	Prince Alwaleed	4	High
23	Reader's Digest	5	High
24	Bradley Manning	5	High
25	Gaelic	4	High
26	David Miliband	5	High
27	Stonewall	2	Mid
28	Nadine Dorries	1	Mid
29	Rumney Rec	2	Mid
30	The bedroom tax	2	Mid
31	The Church of England	4	High
32	The IRA	3	Mid
33	Greg Dyke	5	High
34	Louis Kahn	3	Mid
35	The Taliban	2	Mid
36	The Work Programme	1	Mid

37	The welfare system	1	Mid
38	Ukip	1	Mid
39	The Prado copy of the Mona Lisa	1	Mid
40	The Today programme	4	High

**Table 19: Accessibility Analysis: Complete results**

Accessibility Level	Number of expressions
High accessibility	18
Mid accessibility	22
Low accessibility	3
Total no. expressions	43

**Table 20: Accessibility Analysis: Summary of results**



**Figure 5: AA results**

### 5.2.5 Discussion of results

It is striking that so few of the expressions achieve a low level of accessibility. As previously noted, Ariel does not include indefinite expressions anywhere on the

Accessibility Scale, but a comparable scale, that of Givón (1983), does. For Givón (ibid: 17), indefinite NPs encode the most discontinuous or inaccessible topic, and so would achieve a low level of accessibility. Therefore, following this claim, one might expect the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in this study to reflect this; that is, to attain a low level of accessibility. However, this is not the case at all. In fact, only 7% have a low accessibility, with the remaining 93% attaining either mid or high accessibility (corresponding to demonstratives at the lower end of the scale and zero anaphora at the top end).

It would seem then, that at the very least, Accessibility Theory needs to expand its parameters to include a wider range of referring expression types. Further, perhaps a move away from being an anaphora-orientated scale towards the consideration of the actual referring ability of linguistic items might allow AT to explain the choice and interpretation of referring expressions in a more adequate way. Ariel seems to discount indefinite noun phrases as having any referring potential at all and by doing so, not only rules out the second mention indefinites discussed in Chapter 3 and the A(n)+N+RRC expression under review here, but also indefinite expressions employed in their more conventional role as initial mentions. By excluding indefinite expressions, and by not allowing for the conceptual content of an expression to be taken into consideration in the interpretation of an anaphor, Accessibility Theory fails to capture all of the subtlety that referring expressions can have.

In sum, using Accessibility Theory to determine the cognitive accessibility of this expression has produced some interesting results. On the one hand, this analysis has shown that the speaker considers the antecedent to be either fairly or highly accessible in the addressee's mind at the point of the occurrence of the

A(n)+N+RRC expression, which indicates that the entity denoted by A(n)+N+RRC is identifiable to the addressee. On the other hand, in order to account for the use of the A(n)+N+RRC expression within the framework of Accessibility Theory, one would have to consider that the expression is a ‘special’ or marked use of a ‘marked’ accessibility marker. That is, as indefinite expressions do not appear anywhere on the Accessibility Scale, this type of expression needs to be considered ‘marked’ in some way, and by its very nature, its use cannot be explained through the conventional interpretations of Accessibility Theory. The only option is to consider this expression type as having a ‘double markedness’; that is, in its form and function. This seems to push this theory beyond its limits, and so perhaps the most practical conclusion to draw is that Accessibility Theory simply struggles to account for the use of this particular expression type. If one has to work so hard to make a theory able to account for the use of a particular expression then perhaps it is necessary to look elsewhere for a cognitive explanation of the A(n)+N+RRC expression. Thus, the following section explores another cognitive-pragmatic approach to referring, the Givenness Hierarchy, in order to determine whether this particular theory of the production and interpretation of referring expressions can better account for use of the A(n)+N+RRC construction in the context we are examining here.

### **5.3 The Givenness Hierarchy and A(n)+N+RRC**

#### **5.3.1 Introduction**

112) My boyfriend's got a dog. I'm revolted by the hairiness and the smell.

But I like the dog<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Victoria Coren, Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/21/victoria-coren-elementary-lucy-liu>. Accessed 29/08/14

This joke works at two levels: firstly, it works at a procedural level. That is, the referent *a dog* is in the addressee's current focus of attention and so the addressee is more likely to associate *the hairiness and smell* to that particular referent, rather than the *boyfriend*. Secondly, it works at a conceptual level. Namely, the addressee is more likely to associate the conceptual data in the second sentence (i.e. being revolted by the hairiness and smell) with a dog than a boyfriend.

This section takes the two levels of interpretation outlined above and examines them in the context of the Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski, 1993 onwards). Particular attention is paid to issues within the Givenness Hierarchy (GH hereafter) relating to structurally indefinite expressions. Thus, it must be noted that it is not the purpose of this chapter to deliver a critical evaluation of the GH as a model of referring in general, but rather the focus is on how it accounts for the use of the particular expression under review here.

The data of the current study are examined within the framework of the GH as well as problems with and omissions from the GH account of referring. The results of a GH analysis using the present data are discussed. A comparison is then made between the results of the Accessibility Theory and the Givenness Hierarchy analyses, and reasons for inconsistencies in the results are proposed. It is shown that an analysis within the framework of the Givenness Hierarchy provides a more robust account of the use of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type than Accessibility Theory

### **5.3.2 What is the Givenness Hierarchy?**

The Givenness Hierarchy is a framework in which lexical items in referring expressions in natural language discourse conventionally signal both conceptual information and procedural information about the assumed cognitive status of the

referent in the mind of the addressee (i.e. information about location in memory and attention state (GHZ 1993: 274)). That is, the intended interpretation of a referring expression is determined by the descriptive or conceptual information encoded in the expression as well as procedural information about location and manner of interpretation (GHZ 1993; 2012). They agree with other scholars (e.g. Garrod and Sanford 1982 and Ariel 1988) that the different forms of referring expressions serve as a processing signal to the addressee.

The Givenness Hierarchy outlines six implicationally-related cognitive statuses which are relevant to the form of referring expressions. The hypothesised English forms and the statuses they are assumed to encode are outlined below:

			uniquely		type
in focus >	activated >	familiar >	identifiable >	referential >	identifiable
{ <i>it</i> }	{ <i>that, this</i>	{ <i>that</i> N}	{ <i>the</i> N}	{indefinite	{ <i>a</i> N}
	<i>this</i> N}			<i>this</i> N}	

(GHZ 1993: 275)

**Figure 6: The Givenness Hierarchy**

As the GH is an implicational scale, each status entails the statuses to its right (i.e. lower statuses). Thus, if an expression encodes the status ‘familiar’, it also entails that the expression is ‘uniquely identifiable’, ‘referential’ and ‘type identifiable’.

GHZ acknowledge that the assumptions made by the GH framework in terms of reference processing and the representation of referents in memory are minimal, and those that are made are not particularly controversial (1993: 276). The different

statuses are summarised below, from lowest (i.e. least cognitively informative) to highest (i.e. most cognitively informative). That is, the most restrictive statuses occur to the left in the scale. The examples are taken directly from GHZ (1993). (A full account can be found in GHZ 1993: 276-280):

**Type identifiable:** the hearer can access a type representation of the entity conveyed in the referring expression, but not the identity of the specific thing. This status is sufficient for the use of the indefinite article *a* in English, and necessary for any nominal expression. That is, in order to be able to interpret successfully any nominal phrase, the addressee has to be able to retrieve a representation of the kind of entity being referred to. So in 113), (taken from GHZ (1993: 276)), the addressee is not expected to know the identity of the particular dog, but can recognise that the speaker is talking about a domesticated four-legged creature that barks.

113) I couldn't sleep last night. A dog (next door) kept me awake.

**Referential:** the speaker means to refer to a specific entity, but the addressee is not expected to identify which one (c.f. Du Bois' 'referential specific' (1980: 207)). In order to interpret such an expression successfully, the addressee must be able to access a type representation as well as either retrieve an existing representation of the intended referent or create a new representation by the time the utterance has been processed. Thus, this status is necessary for appropriate use of all definite descriptions and necessary and sufficient for indefinite *this* in English.

114) I couldn't sleep last night. This dog (next door) kept me awake.

**Uniquely identifiable:** The speaker's intended referent is identifiable based on the nominal expression alone; this could be via an existing representation in the memory of the addressee or through sufficient descriptive content in the expression itself. This status is necessary for all definite reference and is both a necessary and sufficient condition for the use of the definite article *the* in English. 'Uniquely identifiable' entails the statuses 'referential' and 'type-identifiable'; that is, it accommodates 'a dog kept me awake last night' and 'this dog kept me awake last night'.

115) I couldn't sleep last night. The dog (next door) kept me awake

**Familiar:** The intended referent is uniquely identifiable because the addressee already has a representation of it in either short or long-term memory. This status is a necessary condition for all English personal pronouns and definite demonstratives, and sufficient for the demonstrative *that*. The difference between 115) and 116) is that 116) is only felicitous if the addressee is aware that there is a dog living next door to the speaker.

116) I couldn't sleep last night. That dog (next door) kept me awake

**Activated:** The addressee retrieves a representation of this referent through current short-term memory. The representation may have been recovered from long-term memory or from the immediate linguistic or extra-linguistic context. This status is necessary for appropriate use of all pronominal forms and the demonstrative

determiner *this*, and is sufficient for the use of the demonstrative pronoun *that* and stressed personal pronouns.

117) I couldn't sleep last night. That kept me awake.

**In-focus:** The referent is in current focus of attention as well as in short-term memory. In-focus entities largely encompass the topic of the previous utterance as well as any higher-order topics which remain relevant. However, pragmatic factors also play a significant role in determining what is included in the in-focus set (e.g. the importance of the entity in the context). This status is necessary for all definite reference and sufficient for the pronoun *it*.

118) I couldn't sleep last night. It kept me awake.

Finally, it must be noted that 'in focus' is intended to be understood within the GH framework as referring to 'the psychological notion of focus of attention'(GHZ 1993: 279) rather than to the position of linguistic prominence.

Thus, by generating a particular referring expression which encodes a particular status, the speaker sends out a processing signal which limits the set of possible referents from the least restrictive to the most restrictive (i.e. from right to left). For example:

119a) I went out to several concerts last month.

119b) They were great.

The indefinite determiner in *several concerts* in 119a) signals that the addressee is only expected to be able to access a ‘type’ representation; that is, the addressee is able to identify the kind of thing(s) the speaker is describing but not the actual entity. In 119b), the pronoun *they* restricts possible referents to those in the addressee's current focus of attention, and can only be interpreted felicitously as referring to the previously mentioned *concerts*.

### 5.3.3 The GH as an implicational scale

Rather than being understood as an implicational scale, the GH is rather easily misinterpreted as a scale of accessibility and/or salience, much like those put forward by Ariel (1990) and Givón (1983) (GHZ (2012: 4)). Although accessibility and salience do play a role in the interpretation of referring expressions within the GH framework, they do not provide the whole picture.

As an implicational scale, items on the GH are ordered in terms of their degree of informativeness, and each cognitive status entails statuses to its right. Therefore, the statuses on the scale are not mutually exclusive (whereas in Ariel's Accessibility Scale they are mutually disjoint). In using a particular form, the speaker not only indicates that the relevant cognitive status has been met, but that all lower statuses have been too. Thus, the various forms simply signal a minimum degree of accessibility (Gundel and Mulkern 1998: 23). To exemplify this, consider the referent of the italicised pronoun in 120) with the ‘in focus’ *him*:

120) I just spoke with Governor Romney and I congratulated *him* and Paul Ryan on a hard fought campaign<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup>Obama's victory speech, 7th Nov 2012.

As anything ‘in focus’ is also ‘activated’, ‘familiar’, ‘uniquely identifiable’, ‘referential’ and ‘type-identifiable’, *him* can be replaced by the forms in 121), albeit with slight changes in meaning.

121) I just spoke with Governor Romney and I congratulated *this man /that man /the man/a good man* [...] on a hard fought campaign.

Because of this entailment relation, a particular form is predicted to be possible if any status to the left of that form on the hierarchy obtains. To exemplify this, consider the indefinite article *a*. According to the principles of the GH, an indefinite NP can be used in some cases even if a higher status obtains. Thus, in 122), an indefinite nominal expression can be used to refer to the ‘activated’ *dog* and *man* (‘activated’ as the utterance *look* is presumably followed by a gesture which would be sufficient to form a representation of the man and dog in the mind of the addressee, thus activating the entities).

122) Look. *A man* is hitting *a dog*. (Gundel 2008: 77)

In 122), it is the property of being a man or a dog rather than their identities which is relevant, and so use of *a* does not give rise to the implicature that either the man or the dog are not ‘familiar’, ‘uniquely identifiable’ or ‘referential’. Thus the non-familiarity interpretation associated with the use of *a* is treated as an implicature, rather than the conventional meanings of this form (Gundel 2008:77).

However, it must be questioned whether it is a logical necessity that something on the left entails everything on the right. If this were the case, as GHZ claim, it would mean that we can never signal, for example, ‘uniquely identifiable’

but not ‘type identifiable’ at the same time. To illustrate this, consider the use of a proper name in 123).

123) When *Margaret Thatcher* began writing her memoirs after being booted out of office by her party rather than the voters, her original title was “Undefeated” before she opted for a more prosaic *The Downing Street Years*.

(Data text 7)

Although proper names do not feature on the GH at all, one could conceivably argue that a full name, such as *Margaret Thatcher*, is at least ‘uniquely-identifiable’ as the information in the NP is sufficient to identify the referent (Mulkern 1996: 240).

However, if the GH is correct, then the NP *Margaret Thatcher* also indicates a ‘type’ as the status ‘uniquely identifiable’ entails ‘type-identifiable’. But it is difficult to see how the addressee is able to access a representation of the type of object described by the full name expression, as GHZ claim is possible for a referent which is ‘type-identifiable’ (1993: 276). This issue could be resolved by taking into consideration that the use of proper names may be independent of the GH (or other similar scales) as they do not convey either lexical or descriptive information, but rather are accounted for by the social relation between speaker and referent, as proposed by von Heusinger (1998: 11). Whether this argument is acceptable or not, the issue of proper names poses a difficulty for the GH that, which as far as is apparent, has yet to be resolved.

We have seen that the GH is an implicational scale, and so we will now examine how this interrelates with the pragmatic notion of cooperation and the

cognitive concept of underspecification. We will do this by drawing on some data from this study.

### **5.3.4 The Givenness Hierarchy, the Cooperative Principle and underspecification**

The GH interacts with Grice's Cooperative Principle, in particular with the two Maxims of Quantity:

Q1: Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of the exchange).

Q2: Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

In the context of Q1, use of a weaker, less informative form conversationally implies that the use of a stronger form is not warranted. Consider the use of an indefinite expression, such as that in 124) below:

124) Three thousand miles away, *a man who wears flip-flops and khaki shorts around the office* believes he can improve the quality of life in Shirebrook<sup>40</sup>

The use of an indefinite article explicitly signals that the referent is only 'type identifiable'; it conversationally implicates that the addressee is unable to uniquely identify the referent, and that it is not familiar, activated and so on. So in the context

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<sup>40</sup> The Guardian 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1999 Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/1999/mar/23/features11.g23>. Accessed 12/08/14

of 124), *a man who wears flip-flops and khaki shorts around the office* is not (yet) uniquely identifiable to the addressee.

However, GHZ argue that there is extensive evidence that ‘non-familiarity (or non-unique identifiability) is not part of the conventional meaning of the indefinite article’ (2012: 5). That is, in instances such as 125), the non-familiarity implicature can be cancelled without contradiction:

125) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up. *And that man is David Beckham.*

(Adapted from Data Text 6)

This indicates that forms which appear to encode a particular status could simply be underspecified for higher statuses, and are not excluded from them (GHZ 2012). Although the indefinite article *a* conventionally encodes that the referent is ‘type-identifiable’, it could be that it is simply underspecified for the higher statuses of ‘uniquely identifiable’, ‘familiar’, ‘activated’ or ‘in focus’, especially if non-unique identifiability is not an inherent quality of the indefinite article *a*. This would be an appropriate explanation for 125) above, particularly given its context of occurring towards the end of a chain of references to David Beckham, where he has been referred to 18 times previously using a proper noun, definite determiner or pronoun, and so one would expect the addressee to be able to access a stronger representation than simply ‘type-identifiable’.

One possible explanation for this use of the indefinite article when a higher status is met is, given the detailed descriptive content of the indefinite nominal expression in 125), the speaker thinks that information about a higher status is unnecessary for identifying the intended referent (see the Discussion section in this chapter for more on this). Indeed, GHZ maintain that expressions containing the definite article *the* often underspecify the cognitive status of the referent, such as in 126):

126) Mr Clinton appeared to step on Mr Bush's dog, Millie, momentarily, then bent down to pet *the famous Springer Spaniel*.

(GHZ 2012: 6)

In cases like 126), using a full nominal expression rather than a pronoun (which would have been appropriate as the relevant cognitive status is attained) permits extra descriptive information to be added to the expression. This could also be true of the data in this study, for example:

127) From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of *a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world*. (Data text 9)

At the very least, cognitive status would permit the use of 'uniquely-identifiable' expression here, such as the full nominal, *the man*, or a proper noun, *Van Gogh*. However, this would result in the loss of the descriptive content of the expression and thus the informative value would be changed. It seems that it is the informative

value that is most important here. That said, an unambiguously definite expression could be used here whilst retaining the informative value if the relative clause becomes non-restrictive, as we can see in 128):

128) From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of *the man / Van Gogh, who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.*

However, by changing the indefinite noun to definite by employing a definite determiner or a proper noun, there is something of a shift in the rhetorical framing of the utterance. What this shift is exactly is somewhat difficult to pin down, but it is clear that the use of the indefinite article in this structure evokes some kind of ‘duality’; that is, one is left with the feeling that the writer does not simply intend to refer to the fully identified entity but perhaps to another /other similar entity/ies as well. This is considered further in the discussion section of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 7.

It has been shown that cognitive status is not the sole determinant of the use of an appropriate referring expression; there are a number of interacting factors which contribute to choice of expression type, both linguistic and extralinguistic. Thus, even though use of a particular determiner or pronoun implicates that a stronger form does not hold in a certain context, it does not exclude a higher cognitive status; that is, the forms might simply be underspecified for them.

### **5.3.5 Problems with and omissions from the GH**

As well as the role of proper nouns not being addressed within the framework of the GH (see section 5.2.3), another issue that the GH seems to have side-stepped is that

of possessives. In examples such as 129), the genitive (i.e. possessor) is definite, as it fills a slot in the nominal phrase equivalent to a determiner such as *the* (Quirk et al. 1985: 326) and so one would expect them to be associated with the three higher cognitive statuses.

129) Beckham announced on Thursday he would give *his PSG salary* – estimated at £150,000 a week, which is a lot of citrons pressés however you look at it – to a French children's charity.

(Data text 6)

Such an example is potentially problematic for the GH; the pronoun *his* clearly fits into to the ‘in focus’ category, as it is part of the interpretation of a previous part of the same sentence (GHZ 2006: 2), but the second part of this complex referent, *PSG salary*, is new, and thus presumably falls under the ‘type-identifiable’ category. How the GH deals with such instances is unclear. Further, a problem arises when considering possessor-possessee relationships such as the following from *Unexplained Laughter*, by Alice Ellis (1985):

130) Betty was so low that she somehow contrived to hurt *her finger* quite badly with a clove that she was sticking into an onion.

As with *his* in 129), the pronoun *her* is ‘in focus’ as the referent of *her* is part of the interpretation of a previous part of the same sentence, but *finger* must be considered ‘type-identifiable’. The addressee would have no difficulty retrieving a ‘type’ representation of the entity *finger* but there is a further complication with the fact

that people typically have more than one finger, and so we cannot know which ‘type’ of finger to access (i.e. little finger, index finger etc.). In terms of the interaction with the maxim of quantity, the speaker is not being as informative as is required, but perhaps it simply does not matter which finger has been hurt. A ‘type’ representation is sufficient for the purposes of understanding the utterance in terms of the possessed NP *finger*, and the ‘in focus’ *her* ensures that the identity of the possessor is clear. However, it remains unclear how the GH would deal with such an expression, and this would be an interesting avenue for future research.

A further issue with the GH is that its principle premise for allocating cognitive status to an expression relies on recency of previous mention, at least for the higher statuses of ‘in focus’, ‘activated’ and ‘familiar’. It does not allow for the ambiguities created by competing referents (as the accounts put forward by Ariel (1990), Givón (1983) and Schiffrin (2006) do), nor does it take into account ‘topicality’, in the sense that the number of previous (recent) mentions may have an impact on the accessibility or activation of a referent. Further, it does not consider the role that a subsequent mention of the referent can play in disambiguating the identity of a referent. Consider 131), taken from Penelope Lively’s *Passing On* (1990):

131) Before Edward had time to simmer down he was buttonholed by Mrs Wilmot, who had been lurking. Sandra was with her, looking smug; her name topped several of the lists. If *that woman* utters one word about God or evolution, thought Edward, I shall do something irrevocable. But Mrs Wilmot had more important things on her mind, it seemed.

The interpretation of the expression *that woman* is problematic as there are two potential referents that it could be referring to, *Mrs Wilmot* or *Sandra*, and it is not until the subsequent mention of *Mrs Wilmot*, that it becomes clear that the expression *that woman* is actually referring to *Mrs Wilmot*. How the GH deals with the issue of competing referents, which presumably decrease accessibility, is unclear. Arguably, the more recent the previous mention, the more likely it is that other options are not in competition, but cases like 131) do not support this argument. However, if it is the coding of the expression which sends a signal to the addressee about the cognitive status of the referent, as GHZ argue, then perhaps the coding is enough to help disambiguate from two potential referents. The form *that N* conventionally signals that a referent is ‘familiar’, which means that the addressee has a representation of the intended referent in memory. If the intended interpretation was *Sandra*, then perhaps it is more likely that the form of the expression would be *she*; the referent *Sandra* is ‘in focus’, as it is the syntactic topic in the immediately preceding clause and a pronoun typically encodes the status ‘in focus’(GHZ 2006: 1). On the other hand, the use of *that woman* could also be the result of the speaker wanting to portray a certain attitude or distance from the referent, as in the (in)famous quotation from Bill Clinton;

132) I did not have sexual relations with *that woman*, *Miss Lewinsky*.

It is likely that the use of *that woman* in 132) was not intended as definiteness, but rather as a means of distancing the speaker from the referent. In any case, GHZ may argue that, assuming the addressee thinks the speaker is being cooperative, the encoding of the expression in instances such as 131) is sufficient to disambiguate

from two competing referents, and therefore interference from another referent need not be taken into consideration when determining cognitive status.

The issues outlined above, as far as is apparent, remain unresolved within the framework of the GH, but they do not impact particularly heavily on what is to be achieved in this chapter; the intention here is to determine whether the A(n)+N+RRC expressions obtain a cognitive status higher than their coding conventionally signals, and to discuss the possible reasons for this.

### **5.3.6 The GH Coding Protocol**

If, as predicted by GHZ, indefinite expressions are simply underspecified for cognitive statuses higher than ‘type-identifiable’, it seemed appropriate to carry out an analysis within the framework of the GH to determine what cognitive statuses these particular expressions actually attain. To do this, the Coding Protocol for Statures on the Givenness Hierarchy (GHZ 2006) was employed. The GH Coding Protocol is a list of criteria for each cognitive status on the hierarchy. In order to establish which status applies, the analyst simply puts themselves in the position of the speaker/writer and considers what they can assume about the addressee’s cognitive status of the intended referent at the point before the occurrence of the form in question. The analyst then reads through the list of criteria and stops once they have reached a criterion which applies to the particular expression in question; that is the highest cognitive status which that particular referring expression can attain (GHZ 2006: 1).

Due to space constraints, the full list of criteria is not reproduced here. However, the criteria which apply to the current data can be found below (for a full

list of the criteria, see GHZ 2006). Examples from my own analysis have been used to illustrate each criterion.

In Focus:

1. It is the interpretation of the main clause subject or the syntactic topic in the immediately preceding sentence/clause.

133) *His* is a fall from grace like no other. *A man who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded hatchet job* probably doesn't do remorse.  
(Data text 13)

2. It is part of the interpretation of a previous part of the same sentence.

134) From *his complete letters* a remorseless self-portrait emerges of *a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world*. (Data text 9)

Activated:

3. It is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences.

135) You can find it in the Regulators' Compliance Code for *Natural England*. It is not clear to me why *an agency whose stated aim is to defend*

*the environment* should have to "encourage economic progress"[...] (Data text 17)

Familiar:

4. It was mentioned at any time previously in the discourse. (This criterion applies to all the data).

In order to ensure that the coding was as objective as possible, three coders carried out the analysis<sup>41</sup>. Following the instructions laid out in the GH Coding Protocol, the coders read through the criteria for each status until a criterion which applied to the particular expression applied. If there was some uncertainty as to whether a particular criterion applied, caution was exercised and the next criterion was considered instead, finally settling on one which could be more confidently applied.

As all of the expressions in this data had been mentioned several times previously in the discourse before the occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression, in theory there was no need to look any further than the criterion for 'familiar' (4 above). However, in order to ensure that the GH is not obscuring other possibilities by the way it distributes the options, we read through all the criteria for lower statuses to confirm other options do not apply more appropriately. Interestingly, as predicted by the GH, at least one criterion for each status lower than 'familiar' can be applied easily to all the expressions. The first criterion for 'uniquely identifiable' is pertinent ('the referring form contains adequate descriptive/conceptual content to create a unique referent' – this is one status lower on the GH scale than 'familiar') as it is argued here that the lexical content of the expression plays a role in guiding the reader's interpretation to an existing, identifiable referent.

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<sup>41</sup> The same three coders who carried out the Accessibility Analysis

It was also agreed by the coders what would be included as referring to the particular referent being coded. The following were included as referring to the particular referent being coded (as with the Accessibility Analysis):

- synonyms (*the field, the green space*)
- zero anaphors (*∅ forced to sleep without darkness, ∅ deprived of any right to privacy*)
- metonyms (*Downing Street for the UK government*);
- meronyms (*the Treasury as part of the UK government*);
- complex expressions, such as possessives (*his complete letters as including the referent Van Gogh*)

Instances of complex expressions where the referent is included in the expression but forms a new referent, because they introduce a different referent (such as *Taliban commanders* when the referent being tracked is *the Taliban*, *Gaelic speakers* when the referent is *Gaelic*) were not included as referring to the particular referent being coded. As mentioned with reference to the Accessibility Analysis in the previous section, although this kind of expression was not included in the coding, they clearly add to the lexical cohesion of the text, and therefore contribute to the construction of the mental representation of the entity being tracked. Therefore, a separate analysis taking into account these expressions is described in Chapter 6.

The Coding Protocol for Statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy (GHZ 2006) is not without ambiguities and complications. Firstly, it does not define what is intended by the grammatical unit 'clause'. Therefore, the analyst had to decide what constitutes a clause, and the same parameters were applied as the Accessibility Analysis (see part 4.2 3 of this chapter). To reiterate, it was agreed that only finite

clauses were to be included in the count, so independent or subordinate clauses were counted but embedded clauses were not considered as separate clauses.

Further, some of the terminology which formed part of the criteria for the statuses was sometimes unclear. For example, phrases such as *part of the interpretation of the preceding clause* or *a higher level topic* seem somewhat imprecise and vague. The solution was to discuss with the other coders what they thought the phrases meant and agree on an interpretation that was to be applied consistently. Also, one of the ‘in focus’ criteria which included the phrase *in the immediately preceding sentence/clause* caused some confusion. It was unclear whether this meant that the phrase could be in either the preceding sentence or clause, or if there is a clause, then analyse the clause, in absence of it appearing in the preceding clause, analyse the preceding sentence. It was understood as either/or for this analysis.

### **5.3.7 Results of the Givenness Hierarchy coding**

Full details of the results of the coding analysis as agreed by three coders can be found in Appendix 8. Interrater reliability was again calculated using ReCal3 (Freelon 2011). Each cognitive status was given a number (i.e. Familiar 1; Activated 2; In focus 3) and the data was inputted into the ReCal3 program.

Interrater reliability was calculated as follows:

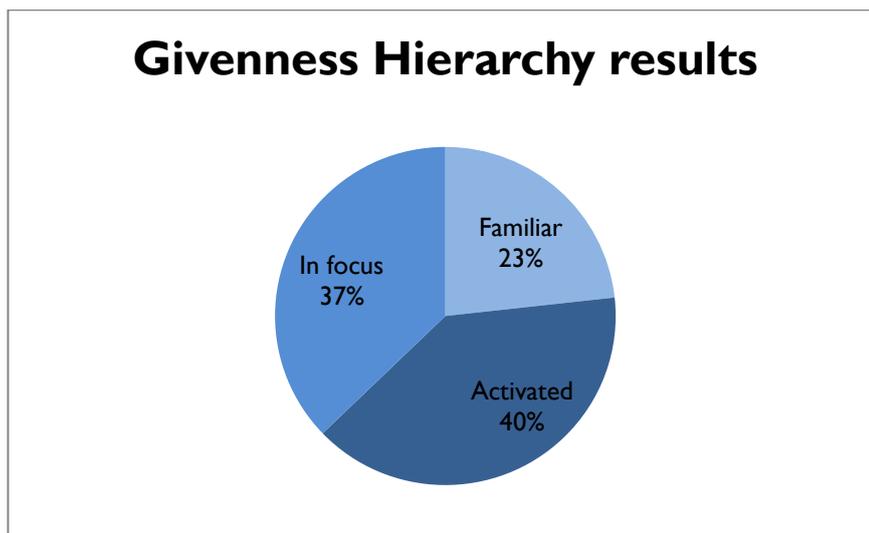
Average pairwise percentage agreement	92.25%
Fleiss’ Kappa	88.1%
Average pairwise Cohen’s Kappa	88.2%
Krippendorff’s Alpha	88.2%

As an adequate level of agreement is generally agreed to be 70% (Multon 2010), we can accept that the three coders made consistent estimates of the cognitive status.

Below is a summary of the results:

Cognitive Status	Number of expressions	Percentage of expressions
Familiar	10	23%
Activated	17	40%
In focus	16	37%
Total	43	100

**Table 21: GH Coding results**



**Figure 7: GH coding results**

As predicted, the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in the given context achieve a higher cognitive status than their form signals according to an analysis using the GH coding protocol, and thus can be considered underspecified for the status they attain. They are, at the very least, ‘familiar’ (23%) due to their having been mentioned in the discourse previously. The remaining expressions either attained the status of ‘activated’ (40%) or ‘in focus’ (37%). Meeting the statuses of ‘familiar’, ‘activated’ and ‘in focus’ corresponds to the definite hypothesised forms  $\{that\ N\}$ ;  $\{that, this,$

*this N*} and *{it}* respectively. There were no instances of expressions only attaining the status ‘type-identifiable’, as the form conventionally signals. So it seems that the GH can provide a description for the use of these expressions; their cognitive status is underspecified. Possible reasons for this are discussed below.

### **5.3.8 Discussion of results**

The above analysis on 43 instances of A(n)+N+RRC in their linguistic context using the coding protocol for statuses on the Givenness Hierarchy (GHZ 2006) has shown that these particular structurally indefinite expressions attain a higher cognitive status in the given context than their encoding signals. Conventionally, the indefinite article *a* signals that the linguistic item in which it occurs would attain the status of ‘type-identifiable’, meaning that the addressee is assumed to be able to identify the type of object being referred to. However, the expressions under study here have been shown to meet the criteria for the cognitive statuses of ‘familiar’, ‘activated’ or ‘in focus’. As the GH is an implicational scale, and not simply a scale of degrees of accessibility, each status on the scale entails statuses to its right, meaning that forms that encode lower statuses may be just underspecified for higher statuses. This also shows that the implicature generated by Q1 does not hold: use of an indefinite here does not implicate that the referent is not ‘referential’, ‘uniquely identifiable’, ‘familiar’, ‘activated’ or ‘in focus’.

The question that needs to be addressed is for what purposes the expressions in this study are underspecified. As mentioned earlier, underspecification allows the writer to add more descriptive information about the object being referred to. In all the expressions, the indefinite noun is post-modified with a restrictive relative clause, each of which differs in the amount of detail attributed to the head noun. It is

possible that this detail makes it unnecessary to provide information to the addressee about a higher cognitive status as it would be redundant in terms of identification of the referent. Consider again the expression below:

136) It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.* (Data text 6)

The properties attributed to the referent *a man* are so detailed and specific that they cannot apply to any referent other than the one the text is about, David Beckham. This is supported by the fact that the information in the RRC is given information; that is, it has been mentioned previously in the text and the writer just seems to be reminding the reader of these properties (N.B. As noted previously, this is true of all the expressions under study here. See Chapter 6 for more on this). It is also true that one of the conventional functions of the indefinite article is to attribute qualities to a referent (c.f. Givón 1993a: 101; Burton-Roberts 1976: 428; Schouten and Vonk 1995), and so the use of the article *a* here, while underspecifying cognitive status, allows the writer to do this.

Further, in several of the instances of A(n)+N+RRC, the immediate context renders it virtually impossible for the expression to refer to anyone/thing else than the referent the text is about. Consider 137)

137) From his complete letters *a remorseless self-portrait* emerges of a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.

(Data Text 9)

In 137), the A(n)+N+RRC expression is the object of the nominal phrase *a remorseless self-portrait*. The fact that it is *self-portrait* means that the *a man who* expression can only be referring to the referent of *a remorseless self-portrait*; the writer of *his complete letters*, Van Gogh. *Self* cannot refer to any other person. The GH analysis supports this by showing that the nominal phrase *a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world* is actually ‘in focus’, as it is the interpretation of the main clause subject in the immediately preceding clause (GHZ 2006: 1).

What is also interesting with these particular expressions is that the amount of conceptual data in the relative clauses varies, as noted above. In some expressions, such as 138), the content of the RRCs is less specific, and could arguably be referring to a type of such-and-such.

138) *An agency which should be protecting the natural world* appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.

(Data Text 17)

If taken out of context, the indefinite expression in 138) could conceivably be referring to a type of agency, and the properties expressed in the relative clause could be attributed to a number of agencies which have that particular role (except of

course, that the verb phrase beginning with *appears to* in 138) is episodic and is referring to a specific event, so the type theory is weakened somewhat. This argument would be more convincing if the second half of the sentence was less definite, as in ... *should not identify and align itself with people damaging it.*). Also, within its context, that particular agency has been mentioned 31 times previously and the GH analysis shows that it attains the cognitive status of activated, as it is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences (GHZ 2006: 3). So even when the conceptual content of the relative clauses is less specific, which may lead to a 'type-identifiable' interpretation by the addressee, the position of the expression in the preceding text signals that the expression is intended to be interpreted as belonging to a higher level cognitive status.

Another curious issue here concerns the expressions which have very detailed and specific relative clauses, as in 139):

139) It [a documentary about architect Louis Kahn] does its very best to convince us that *a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another*, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage.

(Data Text 34)

It is possible that the expressions in this study with extremely detailed and specific relative clauses represent cases of overspecification, as well as underspecification of cognitive status. That is, the conceptual information in the relative clause appears to be more than is strictly necessary for uniquely identifying the object the expression

refers to (c.f. Arts, Maes, Noordman and Jansen (2011) and Koolen, Gatt, Goudbeck and Krahmer (2011)). As well as the expression attaining a cognitive status of ‘activated’ (as it is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences), the vast detail summarising the previously supplied qualities of and details about referent *Louis Kahn* is more than necessary for the reader to uniquely identify the referent. The reader would presumably be able to do so with much less detail, particularly given the cognitive status it attains and the text upstream.

Further, this seems to violate the second maxim of quantity: *do not make your contribution more informative than is required*. But perhaps the question that needs to be asked here is ‘more informative than is required for what purposes?’. If the purpose is quite simply for unique identification, then it is arguable that these specific NPs are overspecified. However, perhaps the reader’s unique identification of the referent was not the sole intention of the writer when using this construction. If the writer was just intending the reader to be able to identify the referent, then surely they would have used a more typical definite expression, such as a proper noun. It is possible then the writer was trying to achieve a different effect through the use of this construction, which would also suggest indicating referents of the noun phrase is the not the only function performed by these referring expressions. This is discussed further in Chapter 7.

It is conceivable that the writer was trying to treat the entity as both identifiable and non-identifiable when, in the real world, it is easily identifiable. Du Bois (2013 personal communication) coins this language use as ‘analogue reference’, where there is a real referent (which is given and identifiable, *Natural England*, for example) and a virtual referent (which is new and non-identifiable, *an agency which should be protecting the natural world*, for instance), with a hidden,

analogue relation between them. This relation, according to Du Bois, operates ‘outside of language, in cognition only, and language is not responsive to it, but only to the construal of the virtual referent as non-identifiable’. However, by adding such detail in the RRCs, perhaps the writer has found a way of making language responsive to this duality.

So perhaps overspecification is the wrong term to use in this context; the expressions with very specific RRCs are only overspecified if we believe the writer simply wanted the reader to identify the referent. They are not overspecified if we accept that the writer had another purpose when using these expressions, but are sufficiently-specified for that purpose. As we have seen, they are procedurally underspecified, and perhaps the underspecification of cognitive status and sufficient-specification of conceptual information complement each other to ensure that the addressee interprets the expression correctly. This would certainly be a suitable explanation if we are to assume that the writer is being cooperative and is fulfilling their obligation of ‘distant responsibility’ to the reader (Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; 34).

However, the instances of the A(n)+N+RRC expression with the non-specific RRCs would not necessarily be accommodated by this explanation. The conceptual information in the RRCs may not be enough for unique identification, and so the reader might not make the connection between the ‘real’ referent and the ‘virtual’ referent. In these cases, it is possible that the writer intends to extend the reference even further away from the real-world referent, to show the definite entity as an example of a wider phenomenon. This notion is developed further in the final chapter.

#### 5.4. Comparison of Accessibility Analysis and Givenness Hierarchy coding results

As both AT and GH are cognitive-pragmatic theories of referring, one would expect some level of parity among the results produced from the GH coding and the AT analysis. That is, entities that have a low accessibility could be expected to attain the cognitive status ‘uniquely identifiable’, as the hypothesised forms for both are expressions with the definite article *the*. Equally, entities with mid accessibility might be presumed to achieve the status of ‘activated’ as these entities are typically encoded with demonstratives. Finally, objects with high accessibility should attain the status of ‘in focus’, as the forms for both are pronouns.

Interestingly, the results of the GH coding and the accessibility analysis are not entirely compatible, as Table 22 shows. The GH coding results are presented in comparison to the accessibility level they attained. For example, we can see that three of the ‘familiar’ expressions attained a low level of accessibility, seven attained a mid-level and none achieved a high level of accessibility. For a comparison of the results for each expression see Appendix 8.

GH status	Accessibility level			
	Low	Mid	High	Total
Familiar	3	7	0	10
Activated	0	13	4	17
In focus	0	2	14	16
Total	3	22	18	43

**Table 22: Comparison of results of GH coding and Accessibility Analysis**

More than twice as many expressions have mid accessibility for the status ‘familiar’ than low accessibility (30% and 70% of all ‘familiar’ expressions respectively); entities with the status ‘activated’ mostly achieve a mid-accessibility level (76%), but there remains a relatively high percentage of ‘activated’ entities with high

accessibility (24%). It is only entities with the status 'in focus' which seem to have the most compatibility; they mostly have a high degree of accessibility (88%).

Below we will examine some of the expressions which produced the most surprising differences in results, which may then provide some indication of why the two approaches do not always agree on the level of accessibility or status of an expression.

First, consider 140) which is 'activated' according to the GH coding, but has high-accessibility.

140) You can find it in the Regulators' Compliance Code for *Natural England*. It is not clear to me why *an agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment* should have to "encourage economic progress" [...]

(Data Text 17)

This expression achieves only the status of 'activated' because it is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences (not the main clause subject that 'in focus' requires). However, it scores highly in the measurements for distance and unity in the accessibility analysis because the prior mention is in the clause immediately previous to 140); its position in the clause is not significant.

Next, let us consider 141), which also attains the cognitive status of 'activated', but has high-accessibility:

141) It's the kind of astute diplomatic move that, along with *his pretty face, good manners and chiselled abs* that makes one suspect *Beckham* isn't

British at all. It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by *a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up*

(Data Text 6)

This expression attains the status ‘activated’ because it is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences and high-accessibility because it is mentioned more than twice in the last four clauses and the previous mention is in the clause immediately previous to the occurrence of the expression. Thus, it would appear that the discourse measurements relating to Accessibility Theory place a stronger emphasis on saliency than the GH. The GH’s calculations are based on recency of previous mention whereas AT not only takes into account recency, but also number of previous mentions in the recent previous discourse.

Next we will take a look at the expressions which attain the cognitive status ‘familiar’ but have mid accessibility. There appears to be consistency as to why these expressions are considered more accessible according to AA than GH. First, the GH does not consider the notion of ‘unity’ in its coding protocol. That is, the criteria which relates to particular statuses only take into account whether the referent was mentioned in the preceding two sentences, but does not allow for entities which occur further back in the preceding discourse having an impact on the accessibility of the referent. On the other hand, the discourse measurements for AT take into consideration whether the referent was mentioned in the same paragraph or in the previous paragraph, and the accessibility level is adjusted accordingly. It is this

difference which seems to count for the inconsistency between those expressions which attained the cognitive status ‘familiar’ but have a mid-level of accessibility.

There is one final point to consider with regards to both these accounts of referring. If episodic memory is what determines the measurements for saliency, distance and interference, then it is interesting that neither theory takes into account the length of a clause or sentence. Generally speaking, the longer the clause or sentence (or proposition if that is what is being counted), the longer it takes to process and presumably this would have an impact of the level of accessibility in the mind of the addressee. Further, the two theories seem to place emphasis on different aspects of accessibility, and this has consequences for the accessibility level or status a particular expression attains.

However, these discrepancies are perhaps not what is central for this study: the focus here is on whether the speaker considers the A(n)+N+RRC expressions to be accessible to the addressee and thus treat the entity as definite. What this analysis does show though is that there is not one level or status that can be applied to every occurrence of this expression-type. Whereas both the GH and AA propose that certain pronouns and determiners typically signal particular statuses or levels of accessibility (e.g. pronouns have a high level of accessibility and typically encode the status ‘in focus’), it would be difficult to do this with this expression type as they span all three levels of accessibility and the three highest cognitive statuses. This suggests that it is not simply the form of the expression that is pertinent, but rather the context in which they occur and the intentions of the writer. However, the Givenness Hierarchy is better able to deal with the fact that the expressions attain different statuses due to its entailment/implicational scale.

## 5.5 Interpreting the reading experiment results in terms of the Givenness Hierarchy

The reading experiments described in Chapter 4 showed that on the whole readers interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expressions as referring to the fully identified entity, but in instances where the relative clauses contained more general lexical information, there was an almost 50/50 divide between type and specific interpretations. The GH analysis has shown us that the expressions all achieve a cognitive status which corresponds to a definite referring expressions (i.e. the status ‘familiar’ or above), which would largely support the experimental results, with the exception of the ‘type’ interpretations for the less specific expressions. But as the original texts had to be adapted and shortened for the reading experiments, the GH coding detailed in this chapter, which were carried out on the unmodified texts, would not necessarily hold. The revised coding results for the modified texts in the indefinite condition are given in Table 23:

<b>Text and entity</b>	<b>Cognitive status</b>	<b>Reason</b>
1 Rumney Rec	Activated	It is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences.
2 Nadine Dorries	In focus	It is the interpretation of the main clause subject or the syntactic topic in the immediately preceding sentence/clause
3 Van Gogh	In focus	It is the interpretation of the main clause subject or the syntactic topic in the immediately preceding sentence/clause
4 Louis Kahn	Activated	It is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences.
5 Andy Coulson	Activated	It is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences.
6 Gaelic	In focus	It is part of the interpretation of the same sentence
7 David Beckham	In focus	It is the interpretation of the main clause subject or the syntactic topic in the immediately preceding sentence/clause
8 The JNF	Activated	It is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences.
9 Natural England	In focus	It is the interpretation of the main clause subject or the syntactic topic in the immediately preceding sentence/clause

**Table 23: GH Coding results for modified texts in the indefinite condition with reasons**

As can be seen from Table 23, the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in the modified versions of the texts attain a high cognitive status, higher overall in fact than the original texts. This is not surprising given that the texts needed to be concise for the experiment, and the entity needed to be mentioned unambiguously by name to establish the discourse representation of the entity. Thus, the preceding mention of the entity referred to in the A(n)+N+RRC expression was either in the same sentence or was part of the interpretation of the previous sentence, rendering the referent either ‘activated’ or ‘in focus’. This means that, according to the cognitive status attained, all of the expressions in the reading experiments should have been interpreted as referring to the specific, identifiable entity and not a ‘type’ (which we know was not the case).

It must be noted that the experiment did not distinguish between statuses of ‘uniquely-identifiable’ and above (i.e. ‘familiar’, ‘activated’ and ‘in focus’<sup>42</sup>), as the purpose was simply to determine if the expressions are functioning in a definite manner despite their indefinite form. Therefore, no conclusions can be drawn as to where in the addressee’s mind the entity could be accessed (e.g. in short or long-term memory, the current focus of attention), only if the readers interpret the expression as referring definitely or not. So provided the expressions in the experiment which yielded a specific interpretation attained a cognitive status of ‘uniquely-identifiable’ or above, and the expressions which generated ‘type’ interpretations attained a cognitive status of ‘type-identifiable’ or above (remember that all statuses to the right entail the lower statuses to the left), then it could be argued that the reading

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<sup>42</sup>The statuses ‘uniquely identifiable’ and above are typically encoded by definite determiners or pronouns and so would yield ‘specific’ interpretations.

experiment results support the GH results as much as is possible within the limits of the experiment. Below we can see the results of the reading experiment compared with the GH coding. The texts are divided into those with specific relative clauses and non-specific relative clauses.

<b>Text and entity</b>	<b>Status of relative clause</b>	<b>Cognitive status</b>	<b>Readers' interpretations</b>
1 Rumney Rec	Specific	Activated	Specific
2 Van Gogh	Specific	In focus	Specific
3 Louis Kahn	Specific	Activated	Specific
4 Andy Coulson	Specific	Activated	Specific
5 David Beckham	Specific	In focus	Specific
6 Nadine Dorries	Non-specific	In focus	Type and specific
7 Gaelic	Non-specific	In focus	Type and specific
8 The JNF	Non-specific	Activated	Type and specific
9 Natural England	Non-specific	In focus	Type and specific

**Table 24: Comparison of results of the reading experiments and GH coding**

Note that not all the readers interpreted the expressions with the specific relative clauses as referring to the specific, identifiable entity, but at least 80% did in all of the texts with specific relative clauses. Thus, the use of *Specific* in Table 24 when indicating readers' interpretations signifies that over 80% interpreted the expression as referring to the specific entity. I classified readers' interpretations as being *Type and Specific* when there was an almost equal number of type and specific responses to the expression (e.g. the A(n)+N+RRC expressions relating to the Nadine Dorries text received 52% specific and 48% type interpretations).

The expressions with more specific relative clauses which generated specific answers in the reading experiment are unproblematic in terms of the GH (i.e. Texts 1 to 5). Readers clearly interpret them as referring to a definite entity and the cognitive status they attain (i.e. 'activated' or 'in focus') reflects this. These expressions are

simply underspecified for the cognitive status they attain and readers interpret them as such. However, the expressions with less specific relative clauses pose a slight problem for the GH. Readers are more or less equally divided between a ‘type’ interpretation and a ‘specific’ interpretation, despite the fact that they attain cognitive statuses which indicate reference to a definite entity. Approximately 50% of readers did not interpret the less specific expressions as being underspecified for higher cognitive statuses, but perhaps relied on the procedural information encoded in the indefinite article to interpret the expressions. Conversely, approximately 50% interpreted the same expressions as referring to the specific entity.

One way GHZ could explain this is by the fact that the GH is an implicational scale. That is, all items to the left (higher statuses) entail items to the right (lower statuses). This means that an expression which is ‘in focus’ is also ‘activated’, ‘familiar’, ‘uniquely-identifiable’, ‘referential’ and ‘type-identifiable’. So the fact that some readers interpret the same expression as being at least ‘uniquely identifiable’ and others interpret it as being ‘type-identifiable’ is not problematic because the higher status entails the lower status, which means that the expression is also ‘type-identifiable’. However, why different readers interpret the same expression in two different ways remains unresolved; although the GH can explain both interpretations, what motivates one interpretation over the other is unclear. Of course, there could be something inherently vague about the A(n)+N+RRC expressions, in particular in terms of the less specific expressions and the divided responses to these expressions could be a result of this vagueness. This notion is taken up further in Chapter 7.

The results of the reading experiments suggest that it is perhaps the conceptual content encoded in these formally indefinite expressions which guides the

addressee to their interpretation rather than the presence or absence of a definite determiner. But when an expression contains insufficient conceptual information for unique identification, perhaps the reader relies on both the procedural information encoded in the item and the conceptual content for its interpretation: whether the reader relies more on procedural or conceptual information might depend on the individual, hence the divided results for the expressions containing less specific semantic content.

There is one final point which needs to be noted. The expressions with the more specific relative clauses do not achieve a higher cognitive status than those with non-specific relative clauses, despite a higher number of definite interpretations from the readers. The GH coding protocol only takes into account the semantic content of a referring expression when an expression is considered ‘uniquely identifiable’ (i.e. one of the criteria for a referent to be uniquely identifiable is that ‘the referring form contains adequate descriptive/conceptual content to create a unique referent’ (GHZ 2006: 4). It seems that something is amiss here, as the results show that the conceptual information in these expressions also plays an important role in readers’ interpretations when the cognitive status attained is higher than ‘uniquely identifiable’. The results of the reading experiments suggest that an underspecified second mention indefinite with limited conceptual information is less likely to yield a definite interpretation than one with detailed lexical content, despite appearing in the same position in a text and encoding the same procedural information. If this is the case, then the GH coding protocol needs to be adjusted to take into consideration the conceptual content of expressions, particularly as it is clearly stated by GHZ (2012: 1) that referring expressions typically encode two types of information:

*conceptual information* about the speaker's intended referent and *procedural information* about the assumed cognitive status of that referent in the mind of the addressee (my emphasis).

GHZ clearly recognise that referring expressions encode lexical information which is significant for the correct interpretation of a referent, but do not consider it to be relevant to the encoding of statuses higher than uniquely identifiable. This could be due to the fact that expressions typically encoding higher statuses tend to contain less semantic information as they are more restrictive in the context and thus do not need to be more explicit. For example, the status 'in focus' is typically encoded by a pronoun, which is lexically inexplicit. However, as we have seen, the status 'in focus' can be realised by a formally indefinite expression, which contains detailed lexical information. The conceptual data in an expression can influence procedural behaviour, but this is not reflected in the coding protocol.

## **5.6. Concluding remarks**

We have seen that the A(n)+N+RRC expressions are considered to be accessible in the mind of the addressee at the point of their occurrence, but the forms may simply be underspecified in order to add extra descriptive information that a stronger, less lexically informative expression would allow. In some cases, the writer also overspecifies the expressions as the content of the relative clauses is arguably more than is necessary for unique identification. However, if the purpose of the writer is not merely unique identification, then one could argue that it is not overspecification, but sufficient specification for the intended purpose.

The results of the reading experiment largely support the GH, but the question remains as to how the GH would resolve the fact that the same expression

can be interpreted by some readers as referring to a specific and identifiable entity and by others as referring to a 'type'. It is clear that the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type is doing more than simply referring to one or the other, and the less specific expressions more so.

What seems to be clear though, is that the writer exploits the referring expression at both the procedural and conceptual level to add extra descriptive information to these expressions, for pragmatic purposes. This seems to be done in order to juxtapose the situation the referent finds itself in with the qualities attributed to it; either the situation is surprising in light of the properties conveyed in the relative clause or the properties are surprising in light of the situation (see Chapter 6).

Irrespective of what the language conventionally encodes, in all the instances of A(n)+N+RRC, the writer creates a tension, through underspecification of cognitive status, between the choice of indefinite article and the fact that the addressee is able to identify the referent; the lexical items in these referring expressions force the reader to consider the fully-identified referent as an unidentified instance of an assortment of properties. This tension seems to be used as a rhetorical device, to create a new layer of meaning that is not directly encoded in the grammar nor entailed in the cognitive status.

At this point in the investigation, it is firmly accepted that the A(n)+N+RRC expressions are functioning in a definite manner, despite their formally indefinite form. It would now be useful to determine what it is exactly in the expressions, the surrounding context and ongoing discourse about these entities that allows for this shift from indefinite to definite. The following chapter therefore examines how these

structurally indefinite expressions are able to become functionally definite and identifiable within their specific context.

## **Chapter 6: A(n)+N+RRC, co-extension and similarity chains**

### **6.1 Introduction**

So far in this study, it has been established that the entities referred to in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions are part of an identity chain of references to a fully-established, identifiable participant, with a varying number of previous mentions to the particular referent, depending on the individual text (Chapter 3). We have also seen that these expressions differ from late indefinites explored by Du Bois (1980, 1997), Ushie (1986), Epstein (1994) and Schouten and Vonk (1995) in that the relative clauses can be broadly considered to contain known or given information rather than new. It was shown in Chapter 4 that readers mostly interpret the expression as referring to the identifiable participant, but the amount of detail and the specificity of the expression play a role in how the expression is interpreted. Chapter 5 demonstrated that, in terms of cognitive theories, at the point the A(n)+N+RRC expression is encountered in the text, the entities described in the expressions have a mostly mid or high level of accessibility in the mind of the reader (Accessibility Analysis), and are at the very least familiar to the reader (Givenness Hierarchy), and the expressions are thus underspecified for higher cognitive statuses. Following the above investigations, it can be accepted that the formally indefinite expressions are functioning in a definite manner, and on the whole, are identifiable to readers.

What is lacking in this investigation thus far is an analysis of how these formally indefinite expressions become functionally definite and identifiable within their specific context. Therefore, the aim of this chapter is to attempt to account the extent to which the A(n)+N+RRC expressions fit cohesively into the text and thus how they become identifiable to the reader. An examination of the expressions at a textual, contextual and discourse level is carried out to determine what precisely it is

that provides the reader with sufficient information to interpret them as referring to the definite referent.

We have seen that it is the content of the RRCs which appears to lead the reader to either a definitely referring or non-referring interpretation of the expressions (c.f. Chapter 4). Therefore, a closer examination of what ties the RRCs to the identifiable referent is necessary. To do this, Halliday and Hasan's well-established approach to lexical cohesion (1976, 1985), which identifies semantic fields and the logical relations between words within these fields, is exploited and extended. This particular 'classic' approach is employed because it provides a transparent way of linking together various elements of the text and discourse, and can be manipulated without any significant remodelling, and thus can be applied in a fairly straightforward manner to the data in this study. After a critical overview of Halliday and Hasan's approach to lexical cohesion, an analysis of the expressions in terms of their semantic ties to the co-text, context and larger discourse event is carried out using what Hasan calls 'similarity chains' (as opposed to 'identity chains') (1985:84). It would be impractical to lay out the similarity chains of each expression in detail in this chapter due to space constraints so instead I provide a detailed account of six of the expressions, selected to illustrate different aspects of the issue of cohesive ties. This is followed by an overview of the number of similarity chains tied to each expression relative to the position in which they occur in the texts. The chapter concludes with an examination of the results of the co-extensional ties analyses in relation to the results of the reader interpretation experiments discussed in Chapter 4.

## 6.2 Background and methodology

In *The Texture of a Text* (1985), Hasan merges Halliday and Hasan's (1976) two principle aspects of lexical cohesion, reiteration and collocation, into one broad meaning relation, which she calls 'co-extension'. Co-extension, however, is best understood if contrasted with Halliday and Hasan's two other meaning relations: co-reference and co-classification. The former, Halliday and Hasan's somewhat narrow notion of co-reference, was largely dealt with in Chapter 2, and so only a brief mention is necessary here, but a slightly more detailed account of co-classification is given to allow for a greater understanding of the three meaning relations relative to each other.

As noted previously, co-reference for Halliday and Hasan (1976:31) is the relationship of situational identity that exists between (two) members of a cohesive tie. In a cohesive tie, the two (or more) terms are anchored together through a meaning relation (Hasan 1985: 73). Co-reference is illustrated in the following example (taken directly from Halliday and Hasan 1976: 31):

142) Three blind mice, three blind mice.

See how they run! See how they run!

In 142) *they* refers to *three blind mice*. Halliday and Hasan maintain that co-referential items are not interpreted semantically in their own right but rather are 'directives' (1976: 31) which signal that the information is to be recovered from elsewhere. Co-classification, on the other hand, relates to the things, processes, or circumstances which belong to an identical class of items, but in which each tie

refers to a distinct member of the class. The following authentic example (uttered by me) illustrates co-classification:

143) There's *Lego*® everywhere! *It's* in the kitchen, in the hallway and *it's* even in the bathroom!

The relationship between each member of the tie in 143) is not that of referential identity as each instance of *Lego* refers to a distinct member of the class of items 'Lego'. The pile of *Lego* in the kitchen is different to that in the hallway and both are different to that in the bathroom. The meaning relations of co-reference and co-classification are different, but what ties them together is that in both cases, the meaning of the second item in the chain is implicit, and needs to be retrieved from elsewhere. So in the case of 143) the meaning of the pronoun *it* in *it's in the kitchen*, the nominal ellipsis in *in the hallway* and the pronoun *it* can only be retrieved from the initial mention of *Lego*.

This then, leads us on to Hasan's third meaning relation, that of co-extension. Co-extension is a semantic relation between members of a cohesive tie, where both members refer to something within the same general field of meaning (1985: 74). For example, *lunch*, *restaurant* and *meal* are all cohesively tied to the field of *food*. Co-extension differs from co-classification and co-reference in that the meaning of one member is not elicited only by reference to its relation to another, but rather the relationship arises from some contiguity of meaning. For Hasan, co-extension is usually realised by lexical items or content words (which is problematic for the data in this study. See section 6.3 below), but in order to delineate the rather broad notion of 'general field of meaning', Hasan limits the possible members of a co-extensional

chain to those which are in a relation of synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy or meronymy (1985: 80-81). Whilst repetition could be argued to be absolute synonymy, Hasan (ibid: 81) claims that it is not ‘strictly-speaking’ recognised as a sense relation, but nevertheless contributes to the cohesion of a text as a ‘similar experiential meaning is encoded in each repeated occurrence of the lexical unit’. For the purposes of this study, repetition of a lexical unit is considered to be one of the ways of realising co-extension. Metonymy does not appear to be considered by Hasan as a possible contributor to a co-extensional chain; it can be argued that items in a metonymous relation also create textual cohesion. Consider Kövecses and Radden’s definition of metonymy, ‘a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain’ (1998: 39). 144) exemplifies this relation:

144) The CPS decision means that allegations of phone hacking will continue to hang over *Downing Street* well into next year as the prime minister attempts to turn his sights to the general election in 2015

If one agrees that the vehicle (*Downing Street*) yields mental access to the target (*the UK government*) then there is clearly a cohesive tie between the two items by way of contiguous association.

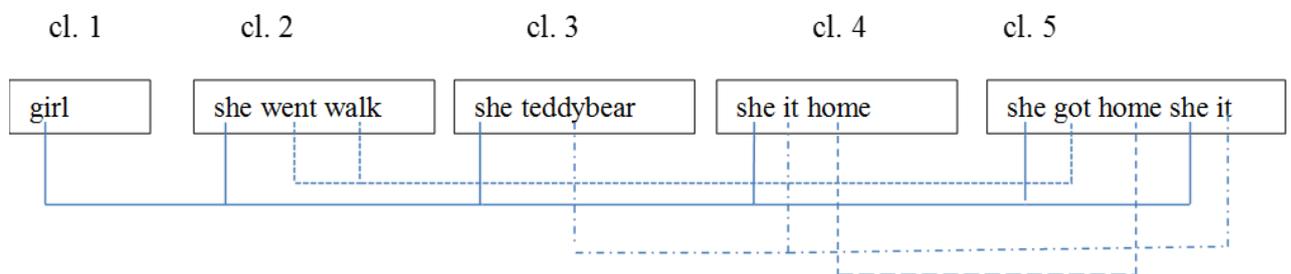
It was shown in Chapter 3 that there is clear grammatical cohesion in the texts in this study by way of identity chains of reference to the main participant. It is important to note here that grammatical cohesion (realised through reference and substitution – see Halliday and Hasan 1976) and lexical cohesion are in a relationship which is interdependent and reciprocal, and in a typical text they work

‘hand-in-hand, the one supporting the other’ (ibid: 83). Hasan provides the following text to illustrate this point, which is reproduced below:

145)

1. once upon a time there was a little *girl*
2. and she went out for a *walk*
3. and she saw a lovely little *teddybear*
4. and so she took it *home*
5. and when she got it home she washed it

This rather simple example is then analysed in terms of the threads of continuity or ‘chains’ highlighted: *girl*, *walk*, *teddybear* and *home* in Figure 8 below.



**Figure 8: Cohesive links**

The four separate chains link together items which are related to each other in some way, and demonstrate the simultaneity of cohesive chains. In the case of the *girl* and the *teddybear*, they are part of an identity chain, and the relation between the members is that of co-reference. Identity chains can be ‘text exhaustive’, that is they run from the beginning to the end of a text, and as was seen in Chapter 3, this is largely true of the identity chains in the texts in this study.

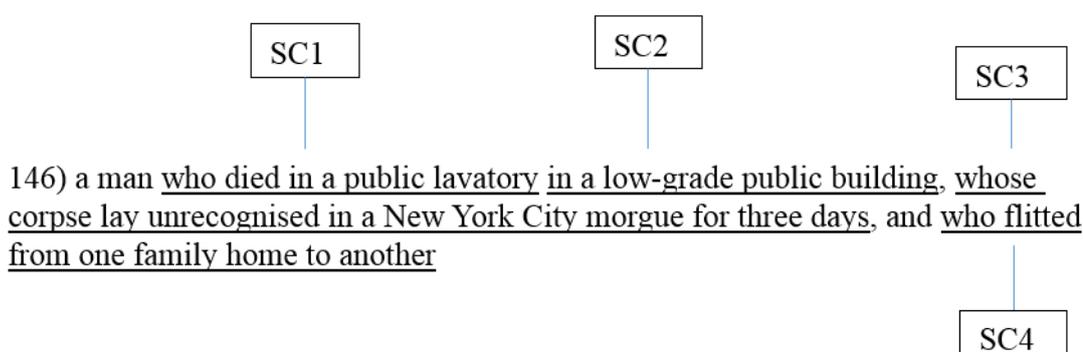
The chain initiated by *walk* is an example of what Hasan calls a ‘similarity chain’ (1985: 84), which is a chain composed of items that refer to ‘non-identical members of the same class of things, events etc., or to members of non-identical but related classes of things events etc.’ (ibid), and are thus related by co-classification or co-extension. So with the example of *went-walk-got*, the items lie within the same general area of meaning; that is, ‘walking is a kind of going, and going is an important part of getting anywhere’ (ibid: 85). Hasan does not elaborate as to which sense relation is exemplified by the similarity chain in this text, but it is supposed that *went-walk-got* are in a hyponymous relation with each other.

Further, Hasan does not discuss the chain made up of *home* and *home*. But we can assume she would classify it as repetition, which is a feature of co-extension, because, as noted above, repetition creates a relation by virtue of it encoding similar experiential meaning (Hasan 1985: 81).

### **6.3 Co-extension and the A(n)N+RRC expression**

One point needs to be noted before moving on to the analysis of the expressions in terms of their co-extensional ties with the texts. It is how the similarity chains are identified. Hasan proposes that the potential for the establishment of similarity chains is realised by lexical items in ‘a general field of meaning’ which form a grouping (1985: 85). Obviously, in any text there are manifold similarity chains running through it, but what we are concerned with here is the similarity chains which influence the reader’s interpretation of the A(n)+N+RRC expression. Thus, the key similarity chains in the texts in this study were identified by firstly dividing the RRC of each expression into component ‘pieces’ of information. Admittedly, the componential division of the expressions was somewhat arbitrary in that no specific

methodological parameters were set; instead it was carried out by identifying chunks of information which hold some kind of semantic content in their own right, which in many cases corresponds to a clause. The result of this was that sometimes the RRCs were not divided at all as there was only one semantic unit and therefore just one similarity chain, and others, like 146) below, are very complex relative clauses and contain several semantic units, and thus similarity chains.

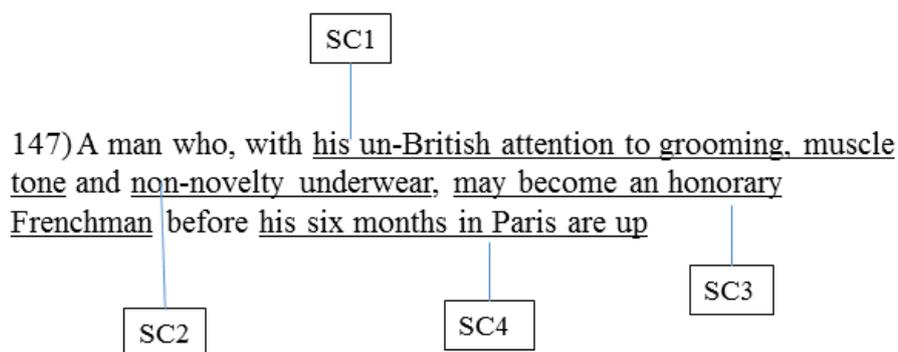


Moreover, in the majority of cases, the items (i.e. lexical items or propositions from the text prior to the occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression) which belong to the similarity chains are either examples or instances of the proposition in the similarity chain or contain further details about it. In some cases, as in SC3 in 146) above, there is no preceding textual mention of the event. However, the event or information denoted is not surprising given the ‘trope’ or recurrent theme regarding the participant which has been established throughout the text<sup>43</sup>. The fact that Louis Kahn’s corpse lay unrecognised in a morgue for three days is not at all surprising given the picture that has been painted of him throughout the text; he rarely settled in one place and found commitment a challenge, so it could almost be expected that no-

<sup>43</sup>a trope being understood as ‘a significant or recurrent theme; a motif’ – (OED 2014))

one knew that he had died or claimed his body. So in examples such as these, where there is no concrete textual mention of the event represented in the similarity chain but a definite connection to the participant in terms of the image portrayed throughout the text, it is argued that there is still cohesion, but it is simply more abstract. See Co-extensional Analysis 4 (section 6.5.4) for a fully-analysed illustration of this.

Further, as well as shared textual knowledge about the participant, which is summarised in the RRCs, there is also a considerable amount of shared cultural knowledge that the writer assumes the reader brings with them to the text. We will see that the content of the RRCs can be ‘old’ in the discourse model of the addressee (i.e. ‘discourse-old’ Prince 1992: 303) and in the case of the written texts being examined here, textually traceable. We will also see that the information in the relative clauses can also be ‘hearer-old’ (Prince 1992: 301) or ‘copresent’ (Clark and Marshall 1981: 38), which means that the information is considered old with respect to the speaker’s assumptions about what the hearer knows (Prince 1992: 301). To put this into context, it is necessary to consider the kind of texts being analysed here, as well as the assumed readership. As noted in Chapter 3, all the texts are opinion pieces from British broadsheet newspapers, mostly from the *Comment is Free* section of the Guardian, or from *Independent Voices* in the Independent. They are always about a specific, usually well-known, entity. It is assumed that those who read such articles have an interest in the particular entity being discussed, and therefore have at the very least some previous, culturally-shared knowledge about the individual. For example, consider the expression about David Beckham below:



SCs 1, 3 and 4 are all textually given. That is, there have been previous mentions of these attributes or events in the text upstream. SC2 however, provides the reader with textually new information, but it can certainly be considered as culturally-shared knowledge (in the UK at least). It is difficult to step outside one's house without seeing images of David Beckham modelling his own underwear range. Thus, the connection is outside the text, but nevertheless helps add to the overall cohesion which ties the attributes in the RRCs to the specific participant in the text (c.f. co-reference and co-classification which are not considered to be cohesive if they occur outside the text).

Finally, it must be noted that not all RRCs have co-textual ties. That is, the content of the relative clause does not always relate to information previously mentioned in the co-text. For example, in 148), the data presented in the relative clause is textually new.

148) [I]t's quite extraordinary for *a government that owns much of two of the UK's biggest banks* to consider setting up an entirely new institution to ensure that budding entrepreneurs can get a loan.

However, although the data might be textually new, it is almost certainly not new in terms of the overall discourse. At the time of publication of this article, there had been a great deal of media coverage about the UK government's bail-out of RBS (Royal Bank of Scotland) and Lloyds TSB, the two banks referred to in the relative clause in 148). This information renders the referent of *a government that...* uniquely identifiable; there is no other government that it could be making reference to. Thus, it is argued that co-extensional cohesive ties are in place here; they are not co-textual but rather connected to the on-going discourse of this topic and to the cultural knowledge that the writer supposes that the reader shares i.e. they are hearer-old.

It was mentioned in the previous section that Hasan's assertion that co-extension is usually realised by lexical items or content words is problematic for this study. The reason for this is illustrated in the text below. 149) is the A(n)+N+RRC expression from Data Text 12, *Israel's Royal Welcome* (see Appendix 2). The participant being tracked is *The Jewish National Fund*.

149) an organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews

The similarity chain identified is *discrimination against Palestinians and non-Jews*, as there are numerous mentions of examples of such throughout the text. The problem encountered here was if items in the similarity chain were restricted to 'lexical items' or 'content words'<sup>44</sup>, then it would be virtually impossible to create a similarity chain because it is reference to events and circumstances illustrating

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<sup>44</sup> Note though, that it is not completely clear what Hasan means by 'lexical items', but it is assumed that the term refers to lexical units made up of a small number of words

discrimination against Palestinians and non-Jews which create the textual cohesion. This is evident in the extracts in Table 25, which are the first few members of the similarity chain *discrimination against Palestinians and non-Jews*. A full co-extensional analysis of this text can be found in section 6.5.3.

Line	Items in the similarity chain ‘discrimination against Palestinians and non-Jews’
4	The land settlement wing of the World Zionist Organisation
5-6	It became one of the primary instruments involved in planning for the dispossession and expulsion of the Palestinians
7	evicted the peasants from that land
8-9	Palestinians were not re-employed as wage labourers but excluded from the land altogether

**Table 25: Similarity chain *discrimination against Palestinians and non-Jews***

(NB Punctuation remains as it is in the original text):

As we can see, the textual cohesion is created by units larger than content words or lexical items, items, which shall be called ‘propositions’, for lack of a more precise term. It is clear that the inclusion of these pieces of information about discrimination against Palestinians is crucial to the continuity of the argument running through the text and so must be taken into account when analysing the cohesion of the text. In fact, support for including larger lexical elements comes from Halliday, who includes ‘wordings having more than one lexical item in them, such as *maintaining an express locomotive at full steam*’ (italics in the original) in his description of what constitutes reiteration and collocation, both of which are ‘relations between lexical elements’, i.e. features of lexical cohesion (1994: 311). However, extending the notion of ‘lexical items’ to larger units of texts creates a further difficulty; if, as Hasan proposes, similarity chains are made up of items which can be identified as

forming sense relations, which are widely held to be relations between lexical items, then it is unclear how similarity chains made up of sentences and clauses could be analysed for sense relations. Therefore, the analysis which follows has two differences to Hasan's model of co-extension. The first is the expansion of similarity chains to include larger units of text (i.e. propositions). The second, as a consequence of the first, is that I will not attempt to analyse the relationship between the items in a tie in terms of their sense relations. It is firmly held though, that the similarity chains created by the propositions contribute significantly to the overall cohesion of the text, and so it is a valid modification to make. This claim is supported by the co-extensional analyses which follow.

#### **6.4 The analysis**

In order to explore the parameters and potential of this approach, six of the examples have been selected because they each offer something unique to the analysis or highlight a distinct aspect of the issue. It is important to note here that only the semantic connections between the RRCs and the discourse *preceding* their occurrence are taken into consideration. This is because what needs to be shown are the cohesive ties which make the entity in the expression identifiable at the point of occurrence. Any ties post-occurrence of the expression may help consolidate the identification of the referent, and this is certainly something that future research could examine, but these ties are somewhat extraneous to the purposes of this chapter.

Following the detailed analysis of six of the expressions in Section 6.5, the combined details of the similarity chain analyses of the remaining expressions are tabulated. Establishing a way to show the relation between the number of similarity

chains, the number of members of each similarity chain and the text has proven to be somewhat difficult. This is due to the complexity of the relationships between the co-extensional features, that is, the number of similarity chains within each text and the number of members belonging to each similarity chain, as well as the number of texts.

So rather than attempt to illustrate all the relationships and connections, Section 6.6 provides an overview of the number of similarity chains and their members according to the position of the A(n)+N+RRC expression in the text. The decision to show this particular aspect of the relationship between the SCs and their texts was made because so far in this study, apart from a brief mention in Chapter 3, there has been no mention of where in the texts the expressions occur and whether this has any bearing on the detail and specificity of the expression.

But first a detailed analysis of six of the expressions is given. These particular expressions were selected for the following reasons: The first expression, whose referent is the *Reader's Digest* is from Text 23, and was selected as it is the expression which corresponds most closely to Hasan's notion of 'lexical items' or 'content words' forming co-extensional ties. That is, the majority of the members of the SCs can be described as lexical items and we need not extend the parameters to include larger units of text. The second A(n)+N+RRC expression, about *David Beckham* is from Text 6, and was chosen because it demonstrates how complex these expressions can be. It contains several SCs, each of which has several members, and as well as illustrating co-textual cohesive ties, it shows a link to shared cultural knowledge. The third expression, from Text 12 has as its main participant *The Jewish National Fund*, and was selected because it demonstrates the need to extend the field of lexical items to whole propositions, and provides an extended analysis of

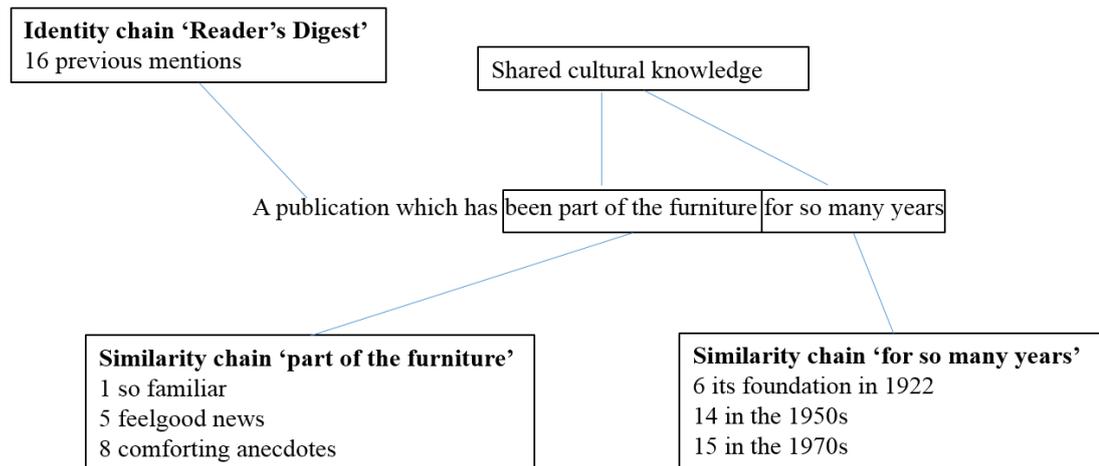
the expression in 6) above. The fourth expression, from Text 16 was chosen because it shows an example of cohesion through the ‘trope’ or leitmotif established of the entity *Naomi Campbell* in the text. The fifth, from Text 33 about *Greg Dyke*, was chosen because it does not have any co-textual ties, but the writer relies on shared cultural knowledge for identification of the referent. In this particular example, the identity chain of reference is continued in the RRC, thus providing further support for the reader. The sixth expression, from Text 40, was selected because it contains a ‘unique identifier’, a superlative-type expression which ensures that there is only one possible interpretation of the expression (*The Today programme*). This is supported by mention of something that is clearly shared cultural knowledge, given the context.

The full texts can be found in Appendix 2. For a co-extensional analysis of the remaining texts without detailed commentary, see Appendix 9.

## 6.5 Detailed co-extensional analyses of six texts

### 6.5.1 Co-extensional analysis 1: In praise of...Reader's Digest (Text 23)

#### Position of A(n)+N+RRC in the text: final



**Figure 9: Reader's Digest co-extensional analysis**

NB. Numbers in the Similarity Chain boxes relate to line numbers in the text. See Appendix 2 for full texts with numbered lines.

As previously noted, this text was chosen to illustrate a relatively simple co-extensional relationship between the expression and the text. As can be seen, there are two similarity chains, 'part of the furniture' and 'for so many years'. Each member can be described as being a 'lexical item', and establishing the cohesive ties is largely unproblematic. Similarity chain 1 'part of the furniture' has four members, one of which, *so familiar*, relates to the notion that if something is part of the furniture, it is therefore familiar. The remaining two members, *feelgood news* and

*comforting anecdotes* semantically and cohesively link the idea that something that is part of the furniture and is therefore familiar, is also usually comforting and heartening. Similarity chain 2 'for so many years' has three members which all relate to past time. The expression occurs at the end of the text (in fact it is the final expression in the text) and so all the members of the ties precede it. This example not only has co-textual cohesive ties, but it is also reasonable to assume that the same ties are also shared cultural knowledge. The Reader's Digest is a well-known general interest 'family' magazine, and even if readers of the article have not read it personally, it is extremely likely that they are aware of its existence as it is an established 'institution' in the UK.

## 6.5.2 Co-extensional analysis 2: David Beckham: How this crock of a footballer can still woo the French.

Position of A(n)+N+RRC in the text: final

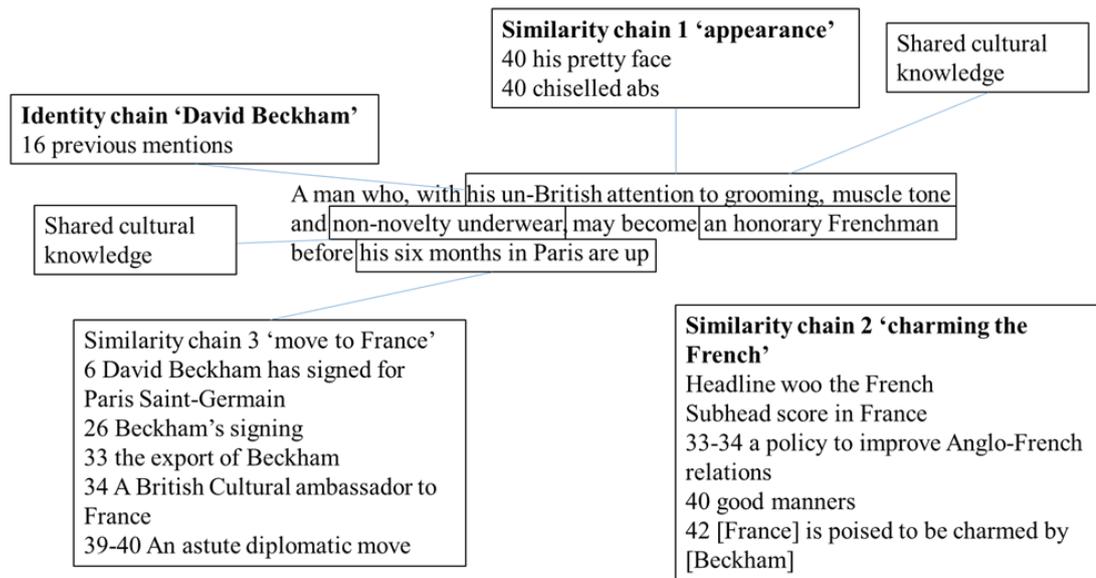


Figure 10: David Beckham co-extensional analysis

Co-extensional analysis 2 in Figure 10 illustrates a more complex expression than the Reader's Digest analysis. Firstly, there are three similarity chains: 'appearance', 'charming the French' and 'move to France'. Similarity chain 1 'appearance' has two members and is also shared cultural knowledge. The second 'charming the French' has five members and ties together the core argument of the text, that even though Beckham is old ('age' being another similarity chain, which is dealt with and dismissed as an argument in paragraph 3) his personal attributes may still help him win over the French. The third similarity chain 'move to France' has five members and makes repeated reference to the situation described in the text, the fact that Beckham has been signed to play for Paris St-Germain. Two of the members of SC3,

*a British cultural ambassador to France* and *an astute diplomatic move* also relate cohesively to SC2, as they suggest that one of the reasons for his move to France is his charm.

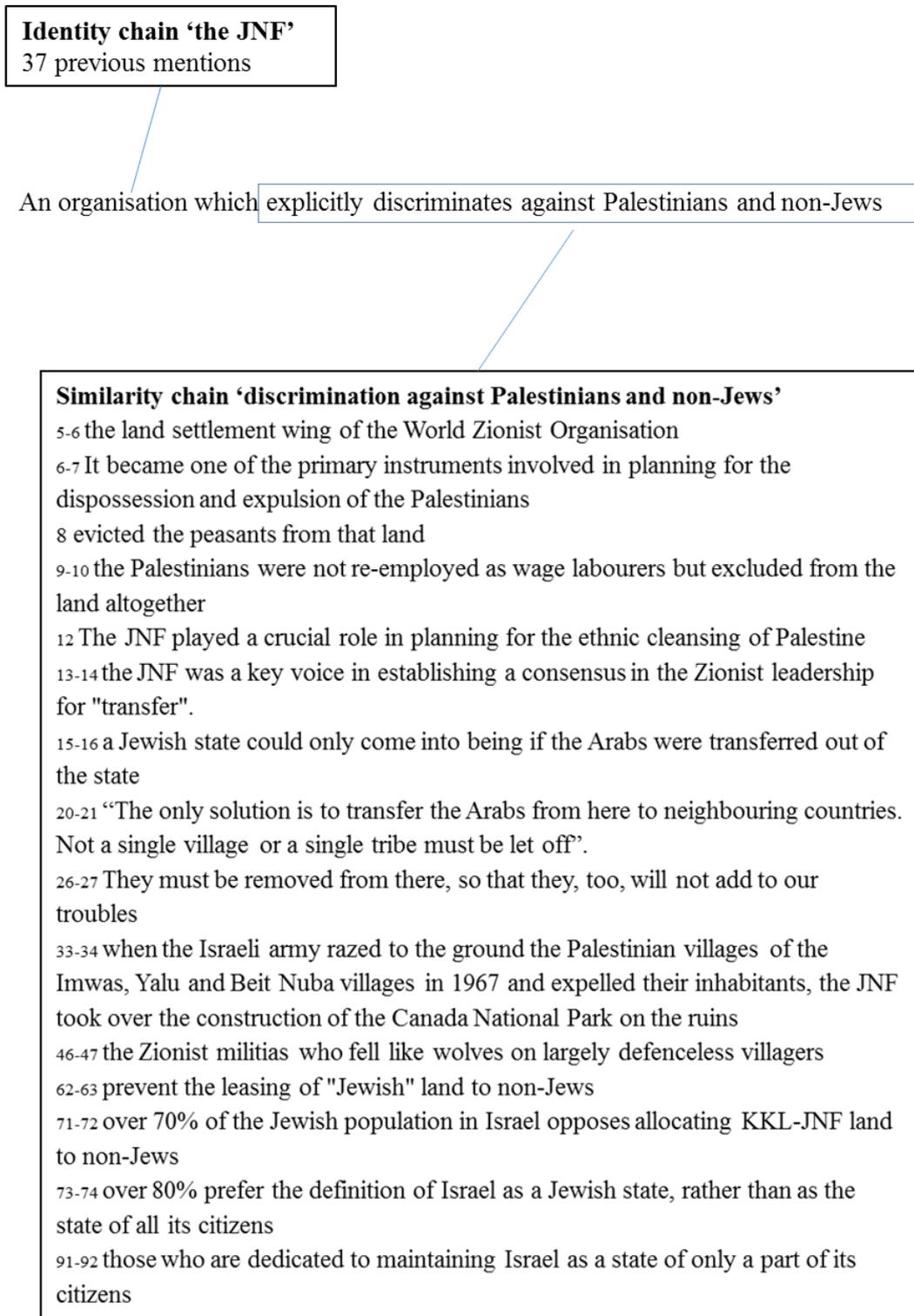
Furthermore, two direct references to a definite referent are made in this expression. That is, the possessive pronoun *his* occurs twice in the expression, which can only be interpreted as referring to the previously mentioned participant in the text, David Beckham.

What is interesting about the position of the expression in this text though is that even though it occurs in the final third of the text, it is not in the final paragraph and so does not conclude the article as the expression in the Reader's Digest text does. This could be because the final paragraph introduces a new similarity chain, 'Beckham's language skills', which does not directly relate to the content of the RRC. This would support claims by Morley (2006) that semantic fields (i.e. similarity chains) do not simply create cohesive ties but also tell us something about the rhetorical structure of the text. That is, the relative density of the occurrences of items from each semantic field signals the flow of the argument or its discourse structure (ibid: 6). So in this case, the relative clause largely focuses on Beckham's resources for charming the French, and it accordingly occurs in the paragraph with most of the lexical items related to this semantic field. But then the argument moves away from Beckham's attributes which may charm the French, to attributes which may have the opposite effect. Beckham is infamous for his poor language skills and is often mocked in the media because of them. The final paragraph advises Beckham 'to learn to swear with the virtuosity of a Frenchman who's mislaid his linen Agnes B scarf in the Rue du Bac' (lines 53-54) in order to be truly accepted by France, and seven out of the 11 members of the similarity chain 'Beckham's language skills'

occur in this paragraph. This would support Morley's claim that the relative densities of the items in a semantic field indicate the rhetorical flow of a text, the flow in this case moving from Beckham's charm to his poor language skills.

### 6.5.3 Co-extensional analysis 3: Israel's Royal Welcome (Text 12)

#### Position of A(n)+N+RRC: final



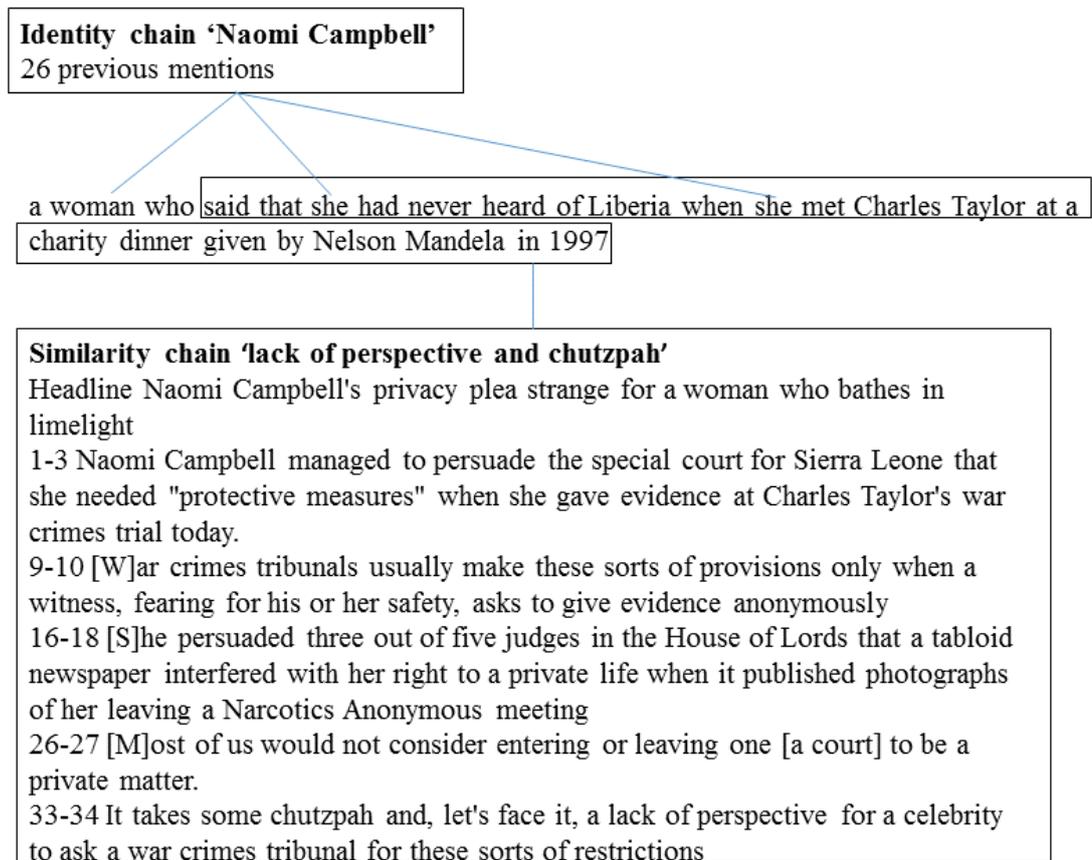
**Figure 11: Jewish National Fund co-extensional analysis**

As previously stated, the textual cohesion here is created by ties between units with more than one lexical item, referred to here as ‘propositions’. There is one similarity chain, ‘discrimination against Palestinians and non-Jews’, which contains 16 members, distributed throughout the text. Note though, that there is a cluster of members from lines 4-20 which appears to correspond with the writer establishing the JNF as a discriminatory organisation. This relatively dense collection of SC members could again indicate the rhetorical flow of the argument (Morley 2006). Following this cluster (from about line 43 to line 60), the text moves away from discussing instances of discrimination against Palestinians to talk about the British Royal Family’s barbaric colonial past, and there are fewer members of the SC in these lines. Around line 60 until the end of the article, the writer returns his argument to the JNF’s actions and we again see a dense collection of SC members.

The members of the similarity chain in this text are all illustrations of actions taken by the JNF which discriminate against Palestinians and non-Jews. The relative clause in the A(n)+N+RRC expression in this text sums up the overall leitmotif of the text by providing an overview of what all these occurrences exemplify i.e. discriminatory acts by the JNF. Without the inclusion of propositions as items which are able to create cohesive ties, it would not have been possible to demonstrate how the preceding text is linked to the RRC in this text.

#### 6.5.4 Co-extensional analysis 4: Naomi Campbell's privacy plea strange for a woman who bathes in limelight (Text 16)

##### Position of A(n)+N+RRC in the text: final



**Figure 12: Naomi Campbell co-extensional analysis**

The similarity chain here is connected to the overall trope that has been developed about Naomi Campbell throughout the text. The text immediately preceding the occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression summarises the overall sentiment of the text, that Naomi Campbell is audacious and is unable to assess the significance of her actions:

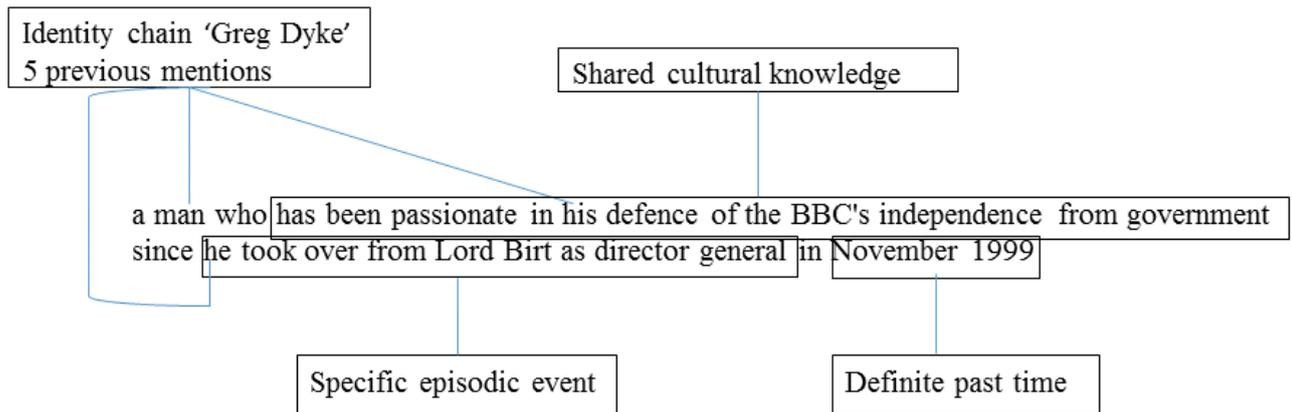
150) It takes some chutzpah and, let's face it, a lack of perspective for a celebrity to ask a war crimes tribunal for these sorts of restrictions, but perhaps we should expect no more from a woman who ...

The similarity chain which relates cohesively the content of the RRC in this expression to the preceding co-text is therefore 'chutzpah and lack of perspective'. It is also argued that there is a cohesive tie outside the text, to the overall discourse, as Naomi Campbell is often portrayed in the media as having these attributes, and readers would already be familiar with this representation. The similarity chain has six members; the reader has been offered six instances throughout the text of examples of Campbell's audacity and inability to put her own behaviour into perspective, and the A(n)+N+RRC expression provides the reader with a further example of this lack of perspective. Thus, it is reasonable to claim that the similarity chain here is not a simple case of its members having lexical ties to the text, but is rather more complex than that. The cohesion comes from repeated mentions of instances of Campbell's behaviour which epitomise Campbell's character, and the content of the RRC is yet another example of such behaviour.

This is not the only text in which the cohesion is a result of 'instantial' co-extensional ties. Text 22 concerns Saudi Prince Alwaleed bin Talal's proclivity for irrational and child-like actions and details many instances of such behaviour. The RRC provides another instance of Alwaleed's ridiculous behaviour (*a man who has installed a throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off*), and so, as in the Naomi Campbell text, the cohesive ties are through mentions which instantiate the overall trope that has been developed of the individual.

### 6.5.5 Co-extensional analysis 5: The man who came in from the cold (Text 33)

#### Position of A(n)+N+RRC expression: beginning



**Figure 13: Greg Dyke co-extensional analysis**

This particular text was chosen to illustrate the fact that not all of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions have textual co-extensional ties. The expression in this text occurs in the second paragraph after five previous mentions to the participant, Greg Dyke, were made. As can be seen from Figure 13, there are no lexical links to the preceding co-text, so the claim that all of the expressions in this study have lexical cohesive ties to preceding text cannot be made. So the question is how in fact are readers able to identify the entity in the indefinite expression as being the previously mentioned definite entity. There seem to be several strategies. In the case in Figure 13, the identity chain of references to the participant is continued in the RRC, with

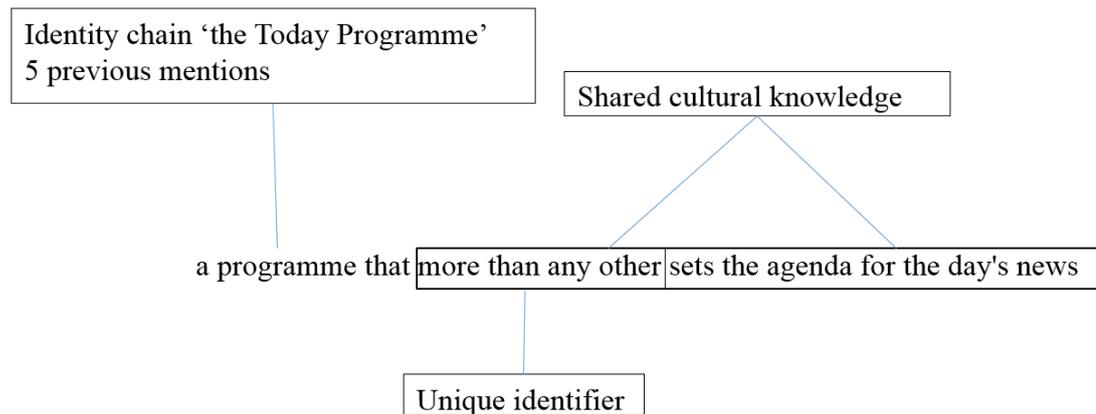
references to *his defence* and *he took*. Furthermore, this RRC contains other features of definiteness; a specific episodic event and a definite past time.

Moreover, the content of the RRC can be considered shared cultural knowledge, but in order to support this claim, the time of writing and context must be taken into account. This article was written on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2004, on the very day that Greg Dyke resigned from the BBC after an extremely well-publicised enquiry (The Hutton Report) into errors of judgement made by the BBC when checking news stories. The media furore surrounding this affair was intense, and much of what was discussed was about the government's interference in the BBC and Dyke's resistance to this.

So even though there are no preceding textual ties between the text and the RRC in this instance, the reader assumes the writer is remaining cooperative, by ensuring that the reader is able interpret the expression as referring to the intended definite referent by continuity of reference and cohesive ties relating to shared cultural knowledge of the time. There are ties, not to the text but to the on-going discourse surrounding the events described in the text (c.f. Cornish 1999, 2010).

### 6.5.6 Co-extensional analysis 6: Will George Entwistle get more women on the Today Programme? (Text 40)

#### Position of A(n)+N+RRC: beginning



**Figure 14: The Today Programme co-extensional analysis**

Text 40 was selected to show a further example of a text which does not have textual co-extensional ties but in which the reader is still able to seek correct interpretation of the expression. The expression in this text appears at the end of the first paragraph, after five previous mentions of the specific participant, the Today Programme. There are no preceding textual links to the content of the RRC, nor does the identity chain of reference to the participant continue into the RRC. Instead the writer renders the referent of the expression uniquely identifiable by two means. Firstly, the information in the relative clause makes the referent inherently unique due to the presence of the superlative-type expression *more than any other*. These expressions are context dependent, and as such, there can be no other possibilities in

this scenario; there are no other programmes that set the agenda as much as the programme in the expression (according to the writer, that is) so it has to be interpreted as referring to the already identified Today Programme. Secondly, the writer taps into the shared cultural knowledge of the readership, assuming that any reader of the Guardian *Comment is Free* section will undoubtedly be aware of the structure and content of the Today Programme. That is, the Today Programme is Radio 4's long-running, flagship news and current affairs programme, which transmits on week days from 6 to 9am, and has over 6 million listeners (BBC 2014). It is likely that a large majority of the Guardian readership also belongs to the Today Programme listenership and would therefore know that it is the Today Programme which 'sets the agenda for the day's news'.

#### **6.5.7 Detailed co-extensional analyses: Concluding remarks**

It is clear from co-extensional analyses 5 and 6 that it is not necessary to have explicit textual ties between the RRC and the preceding text in order for the writer to create cohesion to facilitate the reader's interpretation of the expression. Co-extensional cohesion can be created via links between the text and the shared cultural knowledge of the addressee as way of ensuring correct interpretation of expressions. Furthermore, by continuing the identity chain of reference into the formally indefinite expression, the writer employs a further strategy to facilitate understanding. In each of the 43 expressions being examined in this study there is always something to link the expression to the specific participant, whether it is textual ties, contextual/discoursal ties or continuity of reference. Thus, the reader assumes that the writer maintains their cooperation and adheres to the principle of distant responsibility towards the reader (c.f. Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986: 34), by

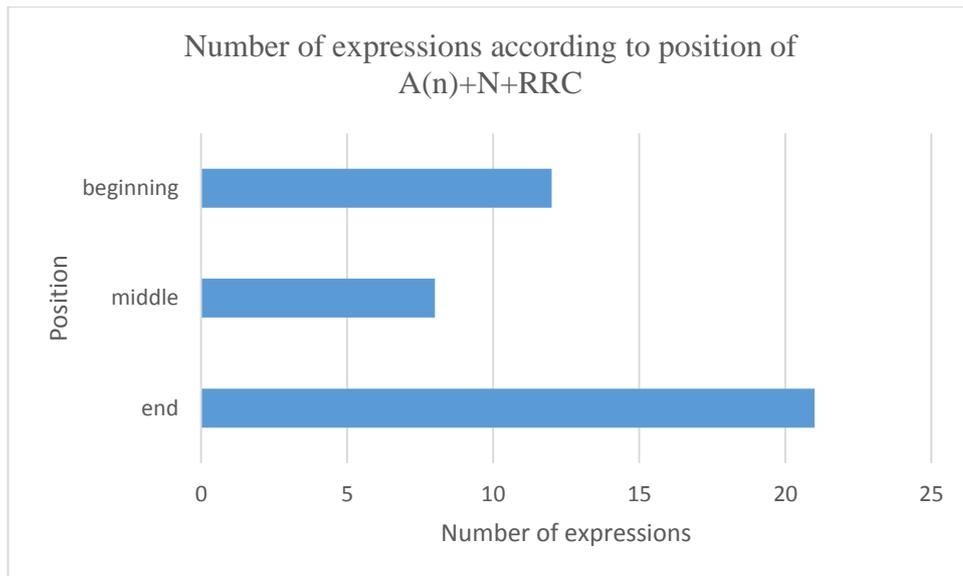
providing the platform for the reader to be able to interpret the expression as referring to the intended referent.

The A(n)+N+RRC expression in co-extensional analyses 1-4 occurs at the end of the texts and in 5 and 6 it appears at the beginning. This corresponds to the number of co-extensional ties to the preceding text; in co-extensional analyses 1-4, there are clear textual co-extensional ties (i.e. similarity chains) whereas in analyses 5 and 6 there are no preceding textual ties but instead the writer has tapped into (assumed) shared cultural knowledge. This indicates that the A(n)+N+RRC expressions which occur at the beginning of a text are more likely to have no or few textual ties, whilst those at the end will have a higher number of co-textual ties.

Therefore, an analysis of the expressions from the point of view of their position in the text is given in the following section in order to determine whether the suggestion above is true of all of the expressions in every text.

### **6.6 Analysis of texts from the position of the A(n)+N+RRC in the text**

To carry out this piece of data analysis, expressions were rather crudely identified as occurring at the beginning, middle or end of the text by totalling the number of words in the text and dividing by three. If the expression occurs in the first third of the total number of words, it is considered to be at the beginning of the text; if it occurs in the second third, the expression is in the middle; and in the final third of the total number of words, it is at the end. None of the expressions overlapped these boundaries. First, we will look at the distribution of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions according to their position in the texts.



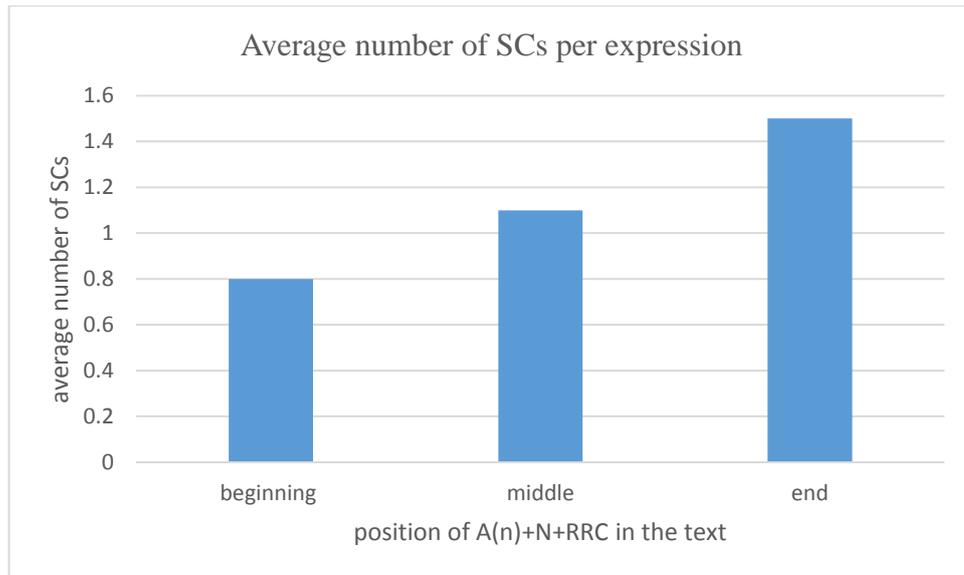
**Figure 15: Number of expressions according to position of A(n)N+RRC**

Given the limited number of texts and expressions used as data in this study, what follows is by no means claimed to be representative of all occurrences of the A(n)+N+RRC expression in all journalistic opinion pieces. Rather, it is intended as an overview of the tendencies of the particular expressions and texts in this study, some of which are rather predictable. To be able to draw more generalised conclusions, a much larger data set would be necessary.

From Figure 15, we can see that most of the expressions occur towards the end of the texts (21/43 - 51%), with the remaining being relatively evenly distributed between the beginning (12/43 - 29%) and the middle (8/43 - 20%). It is an interesting observation that more than half the expressions appear towards the end of the texts, which may point to one of the functions of these expressions being some sort of textual concluding or summarising role. Of course, the expressions which occur near the beginning of the texts or mid-way through could also have a concluding role; but rather than drawing conclusion based on the texts in their entirety, the expressions

may conclude an early claim or point. This is speculation but an exploration of this possibility could be the focus of future research.

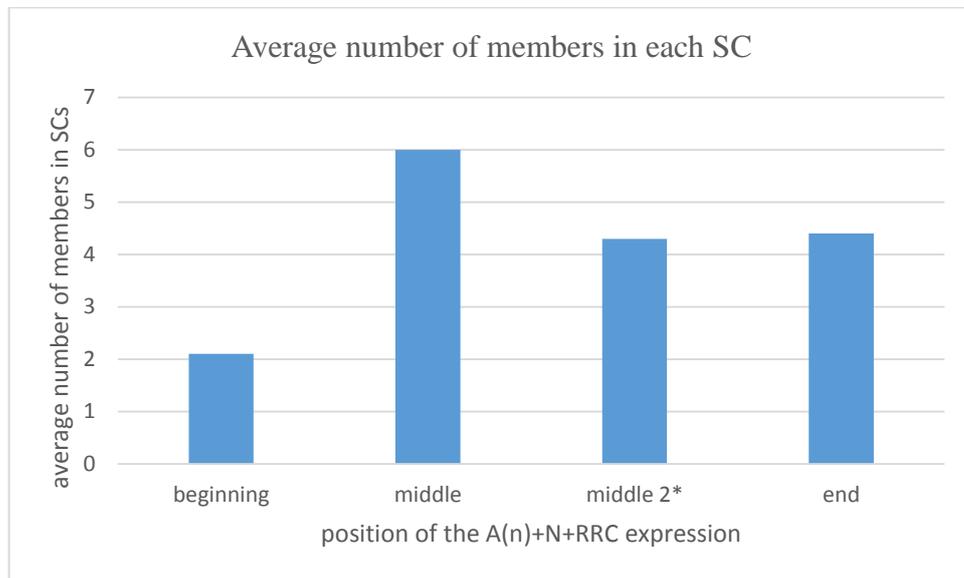
Next, let us consider the number of similarity chains each expression contains, according to the position the expressions occur in the texts.



**Figure 16: Average number of SCs per expression**

As might be expected, the number of similarity chains per expression increases according to their position in the text. So there are fewer similarity chains for expressions at the beginning of texts (an average of 0.8), more for expressions in the middle (1.1) and the highest number of similarity chains are tied to expressions which occur at the end of texts (1.5). This is not particularly surprising because as the text develops, the discourse representation of the entity amasses attributes, thus providing potential content for the RRC in the expression. Earlier in the texts, there has been less opportunity for the identity of the entity to be developed and so there is less to say about them in the RRC, hence fewer SCs.

Further, the number of members in each similarity chain increases the further into a text the  $A(n)+N+RRC$  expression occurs, as can be seen below in Figure 17:

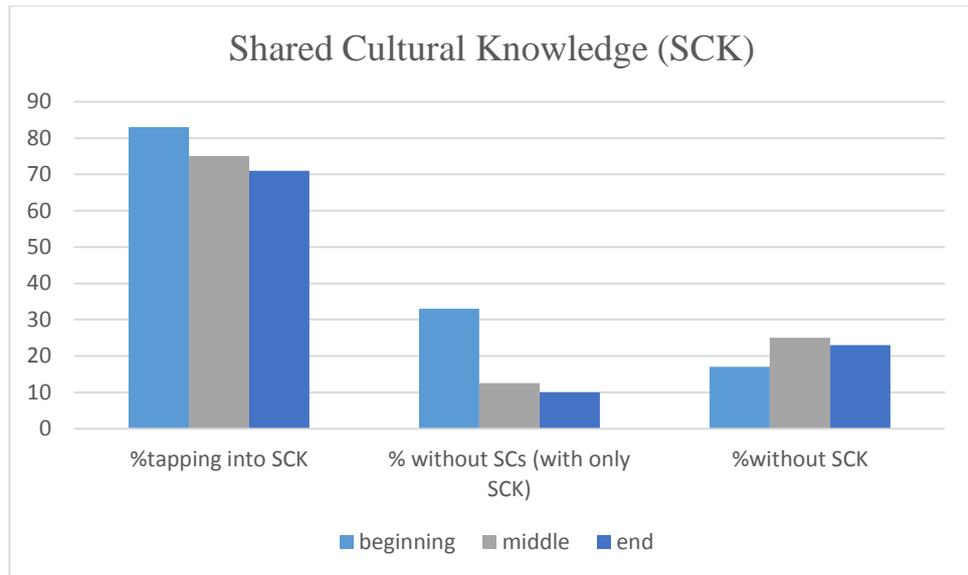


**Figure 17: Average number of members in each similarity chain**

\*Middle 2 is the calculation of the average number of SCs if an ‘anomalous’ expression is discounted. See below for explanation.

The average number of members in a similarity chain in expressions which occur at the beginning of a text is 2.1. This can be contrasted with data from expressions which occur in the middle of texts. The average number of members of a similarity chain increases dramatically to six. However, this can be explained by a somewhat anomalous similarity chain which has 19 members. If this SC were to be disregarded, then the average number of members would decrease to 4.3 (see Middle 2), which is still a considerable increase of 2.2 from the similarity chains of expressions at the beginning of texts. Interestingly, there is little difference in the number of members between expressions in the middle and at the end of texts. The SCs of expressions which occur at the end of texts have an average of 4.4 members (compared with 4.3 in the middle if we discount the anomalous expression).

The next issue to be dealt with is the amount of shared cultural knowledge (SCK) that the writer assumes the reader brings with them to the text. The relationship between the expressions, the amount of assumed shared cultural knowledge and the position of the expression in the text is illustrated below in Figure 18:



**Figure 18: Expressions related to assumed shared cultural knowledge**

What follows is divided into two areas for discussion: expressions with both similarity chains and shared cultural knowledge and expressions with only shared cultural knowledge. It is not surprising that the highest percentage of SCK is a feature of both expression-types which occur at the beginning of the texts. That is, there is less textually known about them because the discourse representation of the particular participant has not had much opportunity to be developed when these expressions occur. Thus, in order for cooperation to remain and for the reader to successfully identify the entity being referred to, the writer relies on the assumed shared cultural knowledge of the participant. Therefore, it is logical that the biggest reliance on SCK in expressions with SCs is in those which occur at the beginning of

texts (83%, compared to 75% in the middle and 71% at the end). Admittedly, the differences in the percentages here are not particularly striking, but perhaps what is more significant is the fact that expressions which occur at the beginning of texts are also those which mostly rely solely on SCK, as might be expected as there is insufficient text to have developed a similarity chain. 33% of these expressions contain no similarity chains tying the expressions to the preceding text, but rather provide information about the entity which is assumed to be part of the shared cultural knowledge of the readership in order to direct the reader's interpretation of the expression. This can be contrasted with 12.5% for expressions in the middle of texts, and 10% for expressions which occur at the end. So it is argued that expressions which occur at the beginning of texts tend to draw more on SCK than those which occur further downstream, because not enough is yet textually known about the referent to ensure a definite interpretation of the structurally indefinite expression.

Another further issue to examine is the expressions which do not contain any SCK. The number of expressions which do not rely on shared cultural knowledge is fairly equally distributed across all expressions, and so no clear conclusions can be drawn about the relationship between expression position and the fact that the expression does not contain any SCK. What is interesting to note though, is what all of the entities in the expressions have in common. Consider the referents of the expressions without SCK:

<b>Text number and name</b>	<b>Referent/participant</b>
8 The millionaire Dennis Tito and his mission to Mars	The Inspiration Mars mission
12 Israel's royal welcome	The Jewish National Fund
15 Momentum builds for 20mph speed limit	20 mph speed limit
21 India's man who lives on sunshine	Prahlad Jani
22 It's shameful the way Britain kowtows to the super-rich	Prince Alwaleed
27 Stonewall is holding back transgender equality	Stonewall
32 The IRA: nothing to worry about?	The IRA
34 The man who was an island	Louis Kahn
39 Which Mona Lisa imitator do you most trust – Leonardo's pupil, or Raphael?	The Prado copy of the Mona Lisa

**Table 26: Referents of expressions without SCK**

With the exception of the IRA (which is returned to below), all of the participants referred to by expressions without any assumed shared cultural knowledge are perhaps not particularly prominent or famous for the readership of these articles and therefore it might be more difficult for the writer to assume a shared cultural context. Instead, in order to ensure that the reader interprets the expression as intended, the writer has to rely on shared textual knowledge by placing information in the RRC that has already been mentioned in the text. For example, consider the following expression:

151) It does its very best to convince us that *a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another*, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage

The text that this expression comes from is about architect Louis Kahn. It can be assumed that he is relatively unknown to the general readership of these texts (compared to David Beckham or David Cameron, for example, who are highly prominent at the time of publication of the texts) and so the writer cannot depend on

the readers having any existing knowledge of the participant. Of course, it is possible that some readers are familiar with Louis Kahn (those with an interest in architecture for example), but the writer cannot rely on that as they may be able to if the text were about a more prominent entity, such as David Cameron. Thus, with the exception of *whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days* (an event which is not surprising given the lifestyle of Louis Kahn, as noted in the original article), the content of the RRC has already been mentioned on many occasions in the text upstream, thus ensuring that the reader is able to identify the participant the expression refers to.

As stated above, the IRA does not fit into this category of ‘unknown’ entities. The IRA has been a prominent feature of the British consciousness for many decades, and although it has received less media coverage in recent years it nevertheless remains well-known for its past actions. However, the particular article which contains the A(n)+N+RRC expression, is about the status of the IRA *today*, whether it functions at all, and if so whether it functions illegally. The writer perhaps cannot assume that readers are familiar with this aspect of the IRA, and so provides only textual support for the interpretation of the expression:

152) Why should it be illegal to be a member of *an organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion?*

There is one similarity chain tying this expression to the preceding text, which has five members. It is this particular discourse representation of the IRA that the writer wants to refer to, not to the representation of the IRA that the readership has developed through years of media coverage. Thus, the writer ensures that the reader

interprets the expression as referring to *this version* of the IRA, which remains a definite referent, by attributing specific qualities which are textually given.

### **6.7 Co-extensional ties and the reading experiment: a comparison of results**

This final section illustrates the connections between the co-extensional ties and the results of the reading experiments discussed in Chapter 4. The expressions used in the reading experiments are repeated below:

#### **Expressions with specific and detailed relative clauses:**

153) a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another

154) a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007.

155) a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.

156) a precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century

157) a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th century world.

### **Expressions with non-specific relative clauses**

158) an organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews

159) a language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out

160) an agency which should be protecting the natural world

161) an MP who can spread such inaccuracies

What is immediately obvious when considering the expressions used in the experiments is that there is a clear correlation between the specificity of the relative clauses and the number of similarity chains identified previously in this chapter. Expressions 153) – 157) are noticeably more complex and contain more discrete ‘chunks’ of information, which in many cases correspond to similarity chains. These expressions were largely interpreted as referring to the fully-identified participant (approximately 80% of cases) in the experiments. Expressions 158) –161), on the other hand, each contain just one ‘chunk’ of information or ‘proposition’, which always forms a similarity chain. The interpretation of these expressions were less consistent, with approximately 50% choosing a ‘type’ answer and 50% interpreting the expression as referring to the definite entity (see Chapter 4).

The expressions with the strongest co-extensional ties with the preceding text also received the most definite interpretations. This is interesting because the readers in the experiment did not have the opportunity to read the whole of the preceding text, but rather a modified and much-shortened version which summarised the general sentiment of the argument(s) in the texts. This means that the readers did not have access to the preceding mentions of the specific content of the RRCs, and so could not have relied on them to direct their interpretation of the expression. To

illustrate this, consider again the Louis Kahn experimental text in the indefinite condition:

162) ‘My Architect’ is a documentary about the life and tragic death of the troubled architect Louis Kahn. It does its very best to convince us that *a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another*, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage. And a flawed, much-missed father.

The sentence preceding the occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression in 162) was constructed to summarise the general content of the original text in order to provide the reader with sufficient information to identify the participant, without adding any additional information. However, even without the full text and access to the many lexical cohesive ties to the preceding text, 84% of readers still interpreted the expression as referring to Louis Kahn.

This needs to be contrasted with an expression with a less specific relative clause. Consider the Nadine Dorries experimental text in the indefinite condition:

163) The MP Nadine Dorries has proposed an amendment to a health bill demanding that women be given pre-abortion counselling that could be provided by religious, pro-life groups. Dorries is basing her bill on the premise that teaching abstinence stops teenagers becoming pregnant. The fact that *an MP who can spread such inaccuracies* is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.

Again, the sentences preceding the A(n)+N+RRC expression were composed to provide the reader with an overview of the information that the original text detailed upstream of the expression. What is different with this expression is that the content of the relative clause is less specific than in the Louis Kahn expression. This difference appears to have had a significant impact on the interpretation of the expression as there was an almost equal distribution of ‘type’ and ‘specific’ interpretations (see Chapter 4).

So the question is whether the preceding co-text (in particular the number of cohesive ties) actually plays a role in the interpretation of these expressions at all, and if so, how much, or if the reader is more convinced by the specificity and detail provided in the relative clause. The results of the reading experiment, when considered in relation to the co-extensional analyses suggest that the latter is more likely. As long as there is *enough* to tie the entity described in the A(n)+N+RRC expression to the established referent and previous discourse (both textual and cultural), then the reader assumes the writer is being cooperative and accepts that the participant in the expression is the same participant identified in the preceding text. However, it is likely that greater links to the preceding text and cultural knowledge would further reinforce the interpretation of the expression as a reference to the specific referent. It would be interesting to determine if the reading experiment would produce different results if the participants had the opportunity to read the full text before answering the multiple choice question. It is possible that the expressions with less explicit data in the RRCs would yield more specific interpretations if the discourse representation of the entity had been developed as the writer intended. This is something future research could address.

Finally, in the instances of RRCs with less explicit data, it is possible that the writer is indicating that the interpretation is more flexible; that the reader can interpret the expression as referring to the definite entity or interpret it as referring to a ‘type’, or indeed both. This is an issue that is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

## **6.8 Final comments**

The analysis in this chapter has exploited and extended Hasan’s notion of co-extension and has shown that co-extensional analysis can provide a means of illustrating how these complex, formally indefinite expressions are cohesively tied to the preceding text and on-going discourse. The writer does not simply rely on textual cohesion to tie the expression to the preceding discourse, but also taps into the cultural knowledge assumed to be shared by the readership i.e. the writer assumes the information is ‘hearer-old’, given the likely readership of this of kind of article. It has been seen that the cohesion is sometimes just textual, sometimes solely dependent on shared cultural knowledge and other times relates to both the text and shared cultural knowledge. This demonstrates that the expression is always anchored to the on-going discourse. It is this anchoring which makes the entity referred to in the expression identifiable to the reader, and so is what makes these structurally indefinite expressions function in a definite way.

These expressions can be highly complex and have manifold ties to the preceding text and surrounding discourse. These ties allow the expressions to function in a definite manner, but perhaps it is not only the ties that perform this role. It is possible that the reader is happy to be persuaded by the presence of specific detail in the relative clause that the expression is referring to the previously

mentioned entity. How much the writer intends for the reader to interpret the expression as referring to the definite entity might be evident in the amount of detail they place in the relative clause. How and why writers might do this is the focus of the following chapter.

## Chapter 7 - Insights on the discourse (linguists and journalists) and new ideas arising

### 7.1 Introduction

It has been previously noted that one of the functions of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type could be to add additional information to a description of a known entity. In Chapter 5, it was suggested that one of the reasons for the underspecification of a referring expression is that it allows for extra information to be attributed to the entity in question. So in the case of the A(n)+N+RRC expression, underspecifying the cognitive status (which we saw was at the very least ‘familiar’, not ‘type-identifiable’ as the indefinite form typically signals) permits the writer to add more detail about the intended referent than a form encoding a higher status would. However, this explanation does not provide an entirely satisfactory account of the function of these expressions. If the writer intended to refer explicitly to the known entity, and add extra descriptive information, they could easily have used a definite determiner plus a non-restrictive relative clause. For example, consider the change in determiner and status of the relative clause in the expressions 164) and 165).

164) From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of *a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.*

165) From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of *the man, who, from his youth onwards, found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.*

Syntactically, the expression in example 165) is perfectly acceptable. It is unambiguously referring back to the well-established referent Van Gogh with the definite determiner *the*, and extra descriptive information has also been added by means of a non-restrictive relative clause. However, there has been a shift in the rhetorical effect of the sentence. The first sentence appears to allow for a certain amount of flexibility in interpretation; the reader is left with the feeling that although they know the identity of the intended referent, there is more to the mention than simple identification of a referent. That is, whilst the identity of the intended referent is contextually implied (through the identity chain of references to the entity) and lexically explicit (through the content of the RRC), it has been left grammatically inexplicit through the choice of indefinite determiner.

The effect and function of this juxtaposition is fundamental to this investigation. On the one hand, we could simply ignore the paradoxical nature of the expressions within the particular context and be satisfied with the ‘type’ explanation. On the other, we could consider this expression-type within the overall context and try to offer a plausible explanation based on all of the factors involved in the production and interpretation of referring expressions, that is, the linguistic encoding, the intentions of the speakers, the surrounding context, the context as well as the on-going discourse about the specific entity.

The discussions so far have examined the formal relationships associated with the A(n)+N+RRC expression type, and how informants interpreted them. There is one other aspect to consider: how the expressions function in the discourse. In this chapter, that element is explored by drawing on the insights of linguists and journalists.

## 7. 2 The linguist's perspective

I decided to contact linguists to ask them their thoughts on the form and function of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type. As it was impossible to conduct face-to-face interviews with linguists based all over the globe, I instead contacted them via email. Once they had agreed to participate, the difficulty was then knowing how much background information and context to provide in the explanation of this investigation without leading the informants with my theories about the A(n)+N+RRC phenomenon. This has similarities with the limitations presented by conducting interviews, but as with interviews, this potential problem can be minimised by carefully planning the account of the situation (c.f. Edley and Litosseliti 2010: 172). As this expression-type needs to be viewed within its contextual boundaries, it was necessary to provide sufficient contextual information for the informants to make informed judgments. I thus first explained the expression-type (highlighting the fact that the expression occurs as part of an on-going chain of references to the definite referent) and text-type, and provided an example of one of the articles with the expression underlined (Text 9, *Did Van Gogh kill himself?*). I then simply asked them for their insights into the phenomenon. It was heartening that the vast majority of linguists I contacted responded almost immediately and with great interest in my research. The particular linguists were contacted for the following reasons: because of their research in the field of (in)definiteness and reference (Professor Francis Cornish and Professor John Du Bois), through recommendations (Professor Peter Harder<sup>45</sup>), or by chance (Margaret Berry and Professor Peter Fries<sup>46</sup>).

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<sup>45</sup> Thanks to Birgit Henrikson for suggesting I contact Professor Harder.

<sup>46</sup> The contributions of Margaret Berry and Peter Fries are a result of an ongoing discussion on Sysfling about defining and non-defining relative clauses on 17<sup>th</sup> November 2013

First, consider a comment by Francis Cornish, who argues that,

the [...] NP in your example denotes a "type" of entity; its function is to place V van Gogh within a class of entities with such-and-such characteristics.

(Personal communication 2012).

Margaret Berry (2013 Sysfling discussion) echoes this, by commenting that:

[T]he man concerned has already BEEN identified. What each of the indefinite relative clauses is doing is identifying a particular type of man. It is clear from the context that the already identified man is a member of this type.

Both Cornish and Berry argue that the entities denoted in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions represent a category of entities with the same characteristics as the identified entity. The identified entity is a member of this set. This is perhaps the only argument that can be accepted unconditionally. However, this argument is not able to provide an explanation for the results of the AA and GH analysis (i.e. that the entity is considered to be accessible in the mind of the addressee at the point of occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression, and is therefore not necessarily 'new' for the addressee), nor is it able to account for the results of the reader interpretation experiments. Further, this argument was discussed in Chapter 3, in relation to previous accounts of second-mention indefinites (in particular, Schouten and Vonk 1995 and Epstein 1994), and it was concluded that their explanations do not work for

the data in this study because the content of the relative clauses is known, and not new. It was also argued that the content of the relative clauses in some instances is so specific that it cannot be attributed to a ‘type’ of entity with such qualities, but only to the identifiable entity previously referred to throughout the text (and also in many of the cases already established in the minds of the addressees through shared cultural knowledge).

Interestingly, Berry comments further on in the Sysfling discussion (2013) that had she been one of the subjects in the reading experiment, she would have wanted to say that:

the indefinite relative clause applied BOTH to the type AND to the specific individual. Grammatically it applies to the type and contextually it is implied that the already identified individual is a member of that type.

This comment is highly pertinent, particularly as this could contribute to explaining the results of the interpretations of the less specific relative clauses; that is, the almost equal distribution of type and specific answers. There is clearly an *element* of ‘typeness’ in the expressions. Although we know there is only one David Beckham, Louis Kahn, or Van Gogh, it is also possible that others could be like this too, *because* they represent a ‘type’, driven to have these characteristics because of a particular set of features that others too might have with the same outcome. That is, the use of the indefinite article perhaps includes the possibility for another member of this type to exist. On the other hand, one must consider how factual many of these sentences are: there is little or no modality or irrealis involved in these expressions. The ‘possible other members’ explanation is further called into question when we

consider again the highly specific expressions; namely, those whose details in the RRCs can realistically only be attributed to one entity. If, as Berry suggests, the context implies that the identified individual is a member of the type described in the RRC, then the question remains as to whether a type of man really exists who *died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another* or who *with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up*.

At a push, it could be argued that the individuals described in the relative clauses are the sole members of that particular type, but then it is difficult to discern the difference between the unique member of a type, and an actual individual. Surely if there is only one member of a type, then that member has to be the fully identified individual. As noted in Chapter 3, the type explanation may be valid for the less explicit expressions, but not for those expressions with very specific relative clauses. It is difficult to see how the set of features denoted in the Louis Kahn expression above *could* be shared by another individual. In order to provide an explanation for the use of this expression-type in this particular context, the type theory alone is not sufficient.

Another analysis comes from Peter Harder (personal communication, email 2013), who suggests that the 'instructional approach to meaning' may be able to explain the use of the expression-type. Under this approach, meanings specify interpretive action to be performed by the addressee - which means that they do not directly reflect 'objective' properties to be sent on via the channel (the 'conduit' model) (Harder 2009: 15). More generally, the key role of having a concept

of encoded meaning (as opposed to relying on only a pragmatic notion of meaning), is to be able to ‘create tension between the encoding and the pragmatically given situation. ‘I want this to be handed in yesterday!’ is not a linguistic error, but a sign that I am in a position to demand the impossible’ (ibid: 2013). Harder explains that in the case of definiteness, the discourse status of the referent should not be expected to automatically trigger encoding. Instead, he argues,

[I]t depends on what the speaker wants the addressee to *do* with it. Only if the speaker wants to assign a referent the status of ‘old’ would it be appropriate to encode it as definite - whether the conditions for this are met or not. (ibid: 2013)

He suggests that the choice of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type needs to be viewed as ‘recruiting some of the properties associated with the use of the indefinite article to enrich the effect’ (ibid. c.f. Schouten and Vonk 1995). He further argues that this use creates a tension between the choice of the indefinite article and the fact that we are in a position to identify the individual entity: ‘the reader is forced to contemplate the (fully identified) referent as an unidentified instance of the most surprising collection of properties’.

What is more, this analysis has resonance with a comment made by Alison Wray (personal communication, email 2012) who suggests that this expression-type allows the writer to describe ‘the actual world as one of several possible ones’. Wray suggests that semantically, this use locates the actual description in a wider context of possibilities, thus highlighting ‘the unique selling point (so to speak) of the entity as it defined itself or is defined by others’.

Note that neither Harder nor Wray explicitly mentions that the ‘surprising collection of qualities’ or the ‘several possible’ worlds signify a ‘type’. This is significant because it allows for the fact that many of the relative clauses are so semantically specific that the type hypothesis alone cannot realistically be applied to them. Harder’s analysis does not completely deviate from Berry’s comments though. He proposes that the reader has to consider the identified individual as an unidentified instance, which partly echoes Berry’s observation that the ‘already identified man is a member of this type’. So a picture is emerging of two simultaneous interpretations of the expression. That is, the reader knows the identity of the individual in question, but unexpectedly has to consider that identified individual as an unidentified instance of a (sometimes surprising) collection of qualities which have already been attributed to the individual in the discourse upstream.

This notion is somewhat tied to an explanation for this phenomenon proposed by John Du Bois, called ‘analogue reference’. He suggests that there is a ‘special way of using language in which the speaker treats something verbally as non-identifiable even when, in the real world, it could have been identified (if the right words were used of course)’ (Personal communication 2012). In an unpublished paper (1997), Du Bois draws a distinction between (direct) reference and analogue reference, the latter allowing a speaker to ‘convey information about an entity without referring to it’ (ibid: 1), and even to ‘refer to one referent and have it understood as conveying referential information about another entity, not referred to’ (ibid). Du Bois further argues that despite being largely overlooked in the study of reference due to it ‘hiding behind the façade of ordinary reference’, analogue reference is fairly widespread in connected written discourse, where ‘it is pattern that

reveals its presence, the best indicator being an unusual sequence of determiners' (ibid).

This explanation certainly describes the phenomenon manifested in the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type. Du Bois illustrates his approach with several instances where an indefinite determiner is used to mark a referent which has already been referred to. Consider his first example in 166):

166) The cook began to look like the mysterious bad guy; even I became mysterious to myself--I was going to show a ranger and a cook that I couldn't be defeated by being made to watch mountains, which were childhood friends of mine.

(Maclean 1976:144, in Dubois 1997: 2).

In 166), both *a ranger* and *a cook* have both been previously mentioned several times by means of a definite determiner (*the ranger, the cook*)<sup>47</sup>. Du Bois posits that one possible explanation is that indefinite mentions like these are coreferential with the prior definite mentions. However, he cautions that 'this will lead to serious problems in the statement of rules for the use of determiners' (ibid). He also speculates that the generality of the verbal phrase *show a ranger and a cook* could be stressed, if one believes the writer intended to refer to *any* ranger. But as with the A(n)+N+RRC examples presented in this study, the context does not support this analysis. He then proposes that,

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<sup>47</sup>*A ranger* and *a cook* pass all of the tests for referentiality (see Chapter 3) the A(n)+N+RRC expressions underwent, but the syntactic structure is different

[T]he best analysis seems to be that a ranger and a cook do not refer to the cook, but are nevertheless linked to these referents by a loose relation which I will call analogue reference (ibid).

Du Bois goes on to argue that instances of analogue reference ‘are interpreted in context as involving “association” with some well-defined referent’ (ibid). This claim can clearly be extended to the instances of the A(n)+N+RRC expression; an association between the fully established referent and the expression cannot be disputed, even if one accepts the ‘type’ explanation. What distinguishes the A(n)+N+RRC expressions from those Du Bois uses to illustrate analogue reference, however, is the post-modification of the indefinite head noun (i.e. the restrictive relative clause) in the A(n)+N+RRC expression, the content of which indicates something stronger than a ‘loose relation’ (ibid: 2) between the established definite entity and the indefinite nominal. As we have seen, the content of this post-modification is tied to the preceding text or on-going discourse about the entity in question and it is arguably a *strong* connection, particularly in the more specific expressions with a high number of co-extensional ties (see Chapter 6).

We have seen that the use of the indefinite article in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions prevents the claim being made incontrovertibly that the indefinite expression refers back to (i.e. is coreferential with) a previously mentioned entity. As has already been noted, there is resistance to the notion that an expression containing the indefinite article can function in this way (see Cornish’s and Berry’s comments above), and thus should be interpreted as referring to a type of entity with certain characteristics, of which the definite entity is a member.

So perhaps Du Bois' analysis can form the foundation for a new theory of indefinite reference, which I shall call 'dual reference'. I propose that the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in the given context, have a certain level of duality in its interpretation. That is, the expression is intended to be interpreted as referring to *both* the given, fully-identified definite entity *and* a virtual referent, which is new and non-identifiable but has the characteristics of the identified entity, i.e. the type of thing with particular qualities. Indeed, as Berry commented above, she felt that the expressions apply to 'BOTH to the type AND to the specific individual' (2013). Further, perhaps how much the writer intends for the reference to be interpreted as referring more to the type or more to the definite entity depends on the amount of detail in the relative clause. For example, let's consider again the following extracts:

167) It does its very best to convince us that *a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage*

(Data text 34)

168) *An agency which should be protecting the natural world* appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it. (Data text 17)

In 167) the level of detail in the relative clause is so specific that it would be very difficult to not attribute the information to the identifiable individual (Louis Kahn) who has been mentioned 66 times previously in the text. It is also hard to imagine that there is a type of individual who experienced exactly the same life and death.

This became evident in the reader interpretation experiment, where 87% of subjects interpreted the indefinite expression as referring to Louis Kahn. The writer ensured that the reader makes a strong association between the complex indefinite expression and Louis Kahn by providing highly specific semantic detail in the relative clause. It is possible of course, that there is a type of individual who does not settle down in life and who has an unpleasant death and the use of the indefinite article may extend the reference to a type interpretation. However, in 168), the content of the relative clause is significantly less detailed and also has an element of irrealis (the use of the modal *should*). The type interpretation is more convincing in expressions such as 168) as there is less specificity in the relative clause; there are many agencies which should be protecting the natural world. However, the context prevents this from being the only possible interpretation as there have been 31 previous mentions of the particular agency (Natural England) as well as references to its role as a protector of nature. The duality of reference is perhaps stronger in this example, which is supported by the reading experiments in which 52% of subjects chose the specific interpretation and 48% chose the type. Perhaps the writer intended this duality to be more apparent in this expression, that is, he intended for the reader to understand the expression as referring to both Natural England and the type of agency which should be protecting the natural world. This is developed further in the next section.

Another point of view comes from Peter Fries, also as part of the Sysfling discussion, who suggests that the use of the indefinite article in these expressions could be an attempt to:

[...] say or imply that the individual entity involved is not important to the discourse. Rather what is important is that the entity have some characteristic

that is relevant to the discourse and, presumably any entity that had that characteristic would have the same effect. (17th Nov 2013)

This is interesting, especially in view of the claim made by GHZ (2012: 6) that underspecifying the procedural information in an expression can allow for extra descriptive information to be added to the NP. Fries goes on to suggest that paraphrasing these expressions by mentioning the name and then a non-restrictive relative clause ‘would achieve exactly the opposite effect of focusing on the individual’. To put this to the test consider 169) and 170):

169) It takes some chutzpah and, let's face it, a lack of perspective for a celebrity to ask a war crimes tribunal for these sorts of restrictions, but perhaps we should expect no more from *a woman* who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997.

170) It takes some chutzpah and, let's face it, a lack of perspective for a celebrity to ask a war crimes tribunal for these sorts of restrictions, but perhaps we should expect no more from *Naomi Campbell*, who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997.

From the above examples, it seems Fries’ suggestion is accurate. The modified expression in 170) certainly leads the reader to consider the identity of the entity over her characteristics. So perhaps rather than permitting the addition of extra

descriptive information, the use of the indefinite article in these expressions takes the reader's attention away from the entity and refocuses it on the properties described in the relative clause; so it is more to do with the reader's focus rather than quantity of information. Due to the number of prior mentions and overall focus (i.e. topic or subject) of the writing, the writer is confident that the reader knows the individual identity of the entity involved and so is unconcerned about the lack of definiteness encoded in the article. Again, this emphasises the dual nature of the expression.

Further, if one considers their function in the larger discourse, as noted in Chapter 6, the content of the relative clause has multiple cohesive ties with the surrounding text and discourse. That is, the content is not entirely new and can be traced back to the preceding text or on-going discourse about the entity. Thus, it can be argued that the features highlighted in the relative clauses are relevant to the discourse, as Fries suggests. The RRCs serve as a way summarising or reminding the reader of the key (often surprising) properties already attributed to the entity in the previous discourse.

Various perspectives from different linguists have been described and analysed above with regard to the context and use of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type. A uniquely 'type' theory has been dismissed as it fails to explain the use of the more specific expressions. Further, whilst the notion of a 'type' may be able to account for out of context A(n)+N+RRC constructions, once seen in context, it is clear that the context and overall discourse play a significant role in the interpretation of the expressions, and an exclusively type explanation becomes less plausible.

What has become apparent through an analysis of the above comments is that there is a general consensus that an interpretation of these expressions which is based

on reference to either the definite entity or a type is inadequate. Choosing one or the other does not provide a satisfactory analysis of the use of this expression-type in the given context. Instead, one must consider the possibility that reference is being made to the actual identified entity or individual as well as to something ‘virtual’ (c.f. Epstein 1994; Du Bois 1997); be it other possible/parallel worlds, something with an association to the identified individual or indeed to a type of which the identified instance is a member. Fries’ comments do not contradict this idea; it is entirely plausible that the shift in focus from the definite entity to the known qualities or properties detailed in the relative clause facilitates the transition from uniquely identifiable to both identifiable and ‘type’ by ensuring that the reader remembers that the already known properties attributed to the individual are also anchored to the indefinite NP.

Thus, if it is accepted that the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type has the potential for a duality of reference, it now remains to be determined why the writer wants to achieve this effect. It has been noted in several places that this expression could be employed for rhetorical or pragmatic purposes, so we will now explore this further from the perspective of the writer.

### **7.3 The journalist’s perspective**

In order to gain the journalist’s perspective on the construction of these expressions, it was decided to contact the authors of the texts, and also to find out a little about how journalists might approach writing opinion pieces. The author and journalist Zoe Margolis, author of Text 28 *Stop this anti-sex drive*, agreed to be interviewed for

the first element<sup>48</sup>. She is a frequent contributor to the Guardian and the Observer newspapers, and a regular guest on Sky News. Margolis is also an ambassador for the young people's sexual health charity Brook, and her writing often challenges stereotypical assumptions about women and sex. Dr Howard Barrell, a journalist and Senior Lecturer in Journalism in Cardiff University's School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies provided input for the second element<sup>49</sup>. Dr Barrell has worked as a writing and production journalist and is a former editor of the Mail & Guardian, South Africa. He has also worked on the Financial Times and the Guardian in the UK and has written for other news organisations worldwide. Barrell's experience includes periods as a foreign correspondent, freelance journalist, and as a print and radio columnist.

Before discussing Margolis' and Barrell's comments, I will mention briefly the format of the interviews. Both interviews were very informal. In the interview with Zoe Margolis (February 2013), I was aware that asking her directly about the *an MP who can spread such inaccuracies* expression would very likely lead her to tailor her responses to the demands of the question, so rather than informing her about my intentions, I simply asked her about the background of the article and what motivated her to write it. I then asked her to explain paragraph by paragraph what she felt the text was about, again without making any explicit reference to the particular expression. After she had discussed the text without any specific input from me, I then asked her to elaborate explicitly on the expression in question. What followed was a very interesting and illuminating discussion about her intentions when writing this piece, and more specifically the A(n)+N+RRC expression. A great deal of care

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<sup>48</sup> Zoe Margolis signed a consent form and asked to read the final discussion of our interview prior to submission. I sent her the chapter and she acknowledged that the content was an accurate representation of our interview and agreed to its inclusion in this chapter.

<sup>49</sup> Dr Barrell gave informal email consent for our discussion to be included in this chapter.

was taken to *not* influence her answers, instead I simply prompted her to expand on previous comments.

Prior to the interview with Dr. Howard Barrell, I had written to him with a brief explanation of my study. As I was not asking about any particular piece of work of his, I was able to ask more explicitly about this use of an indefinite expression, and what ensued was a highly informative discussion about journalism, and more specifically the intentions or aspirations of journalists when writing analysis or opinion pieces. This interview was not recorded, but Dr Barrell provided a written explanation of some of the fundamental points of the interview, and so I am still able to cite him directly.

The following discussion is therefore based on the interviews with Margolis and Barrell, and although the perspectives of two journalists are perhaps not sufficient to provide any firm conclusions, they nevertheless give an insight into the genre of opinion writing and the intentions of comment writers.

If we consider again the discussion concerning the potential duality of reference outlined in the previous section, Barrell (2012) offers some further pertinent comments. He notes that he ‘intuitively’ uses the indefinite article ‘in a dialogue with an imagined reader to describe something that I have already repeatedly identified and characterised’. The word ‘dialogue’ is significant here because it demonstrates that the writer is aware of the reader’s presence<sup>50</sup>. Indeed Barrell goes on to say that in written prose, the dialogue is somewhat ‘hidden’, but the author nevertheless takes into account what they think the audience knows, and anticipates or speculates what the readers’ views will be on the subject in question.

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<sup>50</sup>Argumentation theorists such as Douglas Walton, Frans van Eemeren and Erik Krabbe are concerned with how we actually argue, suggesting we do so in dialogues. See Walton 2007, for example, for details.

This is supported by Margolis (2013) who claims that whilst she primarily concerns herself with the particular issue when writing, she refines what she writes when it becomes apparent that ‘the language you’re using is too personal or not interesting enough or you want it to be more accessible or perhaps more informative [...] trying to imagine who is reading it’. Walton (2007: 143) calls this ‘simulative reasoning’, and defines it as ‘a form of dual agent reasoning in which one agent is reasoning about the reasoning of another agent’ (ibid 144). He further argues that it is a requirement of ‘successful persuasion dialogue’ and maintains that whilst simulative reasoning is not unique to mass media persuasion, it has special features in this genre ‘because the respondent is not a single individual but a mass audience composed of many individuals who may think very differently about any issues or problem’ (ibid: 145).

Barrell further argues that the simulative character of dialogue in journalism is far clearer in comment or analysis journalism; ‘the reason is, of course, that these forms of journalism are more obviously concerned with persuasion’ (2012). He goes on to point out that:

[A]n important feature of our Western rational tradition is the assumption that we best explain life by identifying and referring to regularities. The rule is the standard; once the rule is accepted, the exception merely proves it. Journalism is probably the crudest form of empiricism on offer. Journalists who recognise this — merely intuitively or in a more organised way — often wish they were involved in something less random in its collection of data. They find themselves dealing, almost perpetually, with individual stories — stories that are saleable to audiences precisely because they are individual, a

departure from the norm, or sensational in some way. Yet journalists simultaneously yearn to be able to extrude some kind of ‘pattern’, ‘regularity’ or ‘rule’ from one or a collection of these stories. Indeed, ‘analysis’ (and perhaps ‘comment’ as well) would seem to demand that they do so. (ibid)

Barrell argues that one way journalists are able to achieve this is by using the indefinite article to refer to something already repeatedly referred to with ‘the, his, her or some other definite indicator’ (ibid). Using definite descriptions initially allows the journalist to establish the parameters and relationships which characterise their story and which make it unique. When the journalist wishes to argue that the story they have told about a specific individual ‘may be governed by some rule or regularity of politics or of existence’ or that their story may enable the reader to identify some previously unrecognised rule or regularity, the journalist ‘may very well start referring to ‘*a* prime minister who does this/fails to do that’ meeting *a* particular kind of fate’’ (Barrell’s emphasis). Barrell continues that the intention of the journalist here is to ‘extrude or abstract from the specificities and limitations of their story a more general truth’, or to reveal to the reader that their story exemplifies a more general truth or regularity. Barrell concludes that ‘the use of an indefinite article makes of [her] story an *instance* or *example* of some truth or regularity beyond itself’, that the journalist intends to refer to the specific individual and at the same time, establish an abstract principle (ibid. Barrell’s emphasis).

Interestingly, Barrell comments that the effect of this ‘categorical principle’ is more powerful when the expression is less explicit. He suggests that the broader the regularity, the more abstract and generalisable it becomes, and therefore the

impact is stronger. So in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions which have less specific detail, such as 171) the rhetorical strategy is more effective.

171) an agency which should be protecting the natural world

Barrell is suggesting that in expressions such as 171), the generalisation is broader and thus more powerful than in expressions such as 172), generalisations about which are necessarily very narrow, particularly given the very specific references to a person and dates.

172) a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007

Interestingly, Margolis (2013) agrees that this move from specific to general is what she, seemingly unconsciously, achieved in her article about MP Nadine Dorries. The article is about the claims made by Nadine Dorries relating to the sexual health of young women, including abortion. Margolis' premise was that the bills proposed by Dorries and other MPs are based on personal opinion and not scientific fact. There are 8 references to Dorries in the text preceding the occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression 'an MP who can spread such inaccuracies'. When I asked Margolis about the article, she began by setting the scene in general, and referred to 'this particular parliament', 'MPs', 'they' 'their' role in agenda setting for sexual health and abortion. She then moved on to discussing Dorries' role, and repeatedly refers to Dorries using 'her' and 'she'. When I asked Margolis to elaborate on the expression

in question, she started off by saying ‘it’s a crap sentence’. It was unclear whether this was actually a comment on the sentence itself or whether she was reacting to my taking an interest in it; by focussing on a particular piece of her writing, I may have inadvertently made her feel uneasy and insecure about it. Nevertheless, she then explains:

It was her and it was Frank Field who was on the health select committee  
[...] although this is a piece about her it’s generally about the parliament as well.

I then asked Margolis directly who she thought the readers would understand the expression as referring to, and she replied:

That may have confused them. I would hope that they would have known it was Dorries because that was the reference in the previous paragraph and continues to be about her. Um, but they may have taken it more generally, which I suppose is the other meaning of it, but it was meant to be specific.  
[...] I remember being fired up about Dorries and the government in general but I think given the context and paragraphs either side it’s likely that I meant her.

I then asked her if the indefinite NP could be replaced by Dorries’ name.

Well, yes, ... I suppose in a way that may sound very personal against her and I am also making ... I suppose it also has the dual meaning which is that

I am also making a statement that it's an *MP* who is able to do this and we should be worried by the fact they are able to.

These comments are very insightful into the intentions of the writer. It seems that Margolis unconsciously intended to refer to both Dorries and the class of MPs who have the particular qualities, and she inadvertently found a way to do this. It is perhaps a means to 'de-personalise' a definite expression in order to simultaneously extend it to a category or class.

We concluded the interview with a general discussion about what she wants to achieve when writing opinion pieces, and Margolis observed:

In a comment piece [...] my objective is to try to have some neutrality even if I have a strong opinion. Not to show necessarily balance but to try to report it factually if I can and to make it general so that... there might be something very specific that you can draw a wider conclusion from it. That's not something instinctive for me because I haven't had that training<sup>51</sup> [...] it's about trying to get people to see it as a piece of news and see the wider picture, but not alienate them.

Margolis' comments strongly support Barrell's idea of journalists wishing to be able to extract some kind of 'pattern', 'regularity' or 'rule' from their piece. Margolis has no formal journalistic training, but seems to understand the need to make connections between the specificities of individual stories or comment pieces and a more 'general truth'. Whether this is something which is done instinctively or a

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<sup>51</sup> This was later confirmed to mean any formal training in journalistic writing or journalism

result of exposure to similar kinds of writing is uncertain, but could be the focus of future research.

Further, from her earlier comments above, it is clear that Margolis was not actually completely conscious of who in fact she intended to refer to with the A(n)+N+RRC expression. Initially, she talks about both Dorries and Frank Field, she then talks about ‘being fired up’ about Dorries and the government in general, then comments that in hindsight she was probably referring to Dorries, given the context and surrounding text, but finally settles on the notion of ‘dual meaning’. She notes that it is the fact that Dorries is an MP (as opposed to her being an acupuncturist or a nuclear scientist) and is able to spread untruths about the sexual health of young women based on her personal opinions which should be of concern. Note also that she switches from talking about ‘an MP’ to ‘they’ at the end of this section. This lack of certainty about who the reference was intended for on her part might also explain why her initial reaction was to say it is ‘a crap sentence’. She was concerned that the readers might not know who she was referring to, but was also aware of the role that the surrounding text might play in their interpretation of the expression.

#### **7.4 Concluding remarks**

Connections are apparent between Margolis and Barrell’s comments and the conclusions drawn based on the linguists’ observations. A particularly noticeable common thread is that there appears to be a duality with this type of reference. Rather than the expression-type being understood as a generalisation to a type or class of entity or, on the other hand, reference to the definite identified individual, the two factors need to be considered simultaneously. Thus, the writer intends to refer to both the individual and a type, and the type is the generalisable form

associated with the entity (c.f. Du Bois' analogue reference), which subsequently helps establish the abstract principle that the writer wishes to 'extrude' from the specificities of their article. This resonates with Epstein's 'generalising effect' (1994: 226), mentioned in Chapter 3. The more explicit the details in the relative clause of the expression, the stronger the association is with the specific, identifiable individual, but as a consequence of this explicitness, the regularity or general truth that the writer has attempted to abstract is less powerful.

Something that we have touched upon, but not dealt with in any depth in this investigation is the possibility that there is something inherently vague about these expressions. As such, they are perhaps used to create a pragmatic playing field by the writers. We have considered in detail what the expressions mean, what the readers think it means, what the writer thinks the readers know, but we have not fully considered what the writers can do, given what they think the readers know. There seems to be an implicit 'of course we all know who/what we're talking about, don't we' in the expressions, but as the writers neither tell nor do not tell us explicitly who/what they are referring to, we are left in a vague middle state.

Within the framework of Relevance Theory, Wilson and Sperber (2004: 607) state that 'an essential feature of most human communication is the expression and recognition of intentions'. They further argue that 'utterances automatically generate expectations which direct the addressee towards the speaker's meaning' (ibid) and the addressee will 'follow the path of least effort' to arrive at an interpretation which satisfies their expectations of relevance (ibid: 613). If this is the case, then when the writers employ the indefinite article to encode these referring expressions as if the identity were unknown (assuming this is what they intended), they are, at the same time, fully aware that the readers do know who or what they are referring to. By

embedding the expressions so firmly in the context, and through the given information in the relative clauses, they have ensured that the readers are equipped to identify the entity. But the use of the indefinite article unsettles this understanding and introduces an element of uncertainty. This uncertainty is perhaps more pronounced in the expressions with less specific relative clauses, which have fewer cohesive ties with the text or discourse. Further, with the expressions without textual cohesive ties, the writers have to make a guess about what the reader knows and/or perhaps decide, as a sort of ‘in-group’ strategy, what type of reader the writers want the readers to believe the writers think they are (for example, the writer only addresses readers who ‘should’ already know about this sort of thing – ‘if you want to be my reader, this is the kind of thing you should know’) and then builds the information from there. This might include signalling new information as given, or given information as new, all of which creates a specific relationship with the reader. In the examples we have seen in this study, the writers are able to grammatically encode the information as if it is unknown, even though we all know it is known, and this is a scenario the writers are fully aware of because they were the ones that set it up.

## **Chapter 8: Final Discussion and concluding remarks**

### **8.1 Introductory comments**

We have seen that within its specific context, the A(n)+N+RRC expression has a definite function. Through the development of the identity of the particular entity in the text, context and overall discourse, the writer ensures that the reader understands the expression as referring to the fully identified entity as well as expanding the reference to a virtual, unidentified referent (c.f. the principle of distant responsibility, Clark and Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; 34). How much the reference is intended to the definite entity or to the virtual referent depends on the amount of known detail supplied in the relative clause. It was also shown in the previous chapter that this is a rhetorical strategy employed by journalists to pull a general truth or regularity out of the specificities and limitations of their particular story.

In this final chapter, we shall first address the Research Questions laid out at the beginning of this investigation, drawing together a summary of the findings of this research in relation to them. Then the limitations of the present study are put forward, which are followed by some suggestions for future research into the A(n)+N+RRC phenomenon. The chapter concludes with some final comments about the outcomes of this study.

### **8.2 Research Questions**

The aim of this investigation was to determine the following factors:

1. What is the definiteness status of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type?
2. How is (in)definiteness achieved?
3. How does the expression-type function in the discourse?

### **8.2.1 Research Question 1: What is the definiteness status of the A(n)+N+RRC expression?**

By identifying what is considered to be definite and indefinite, as well as the role of (in)definiteness in referring, it was established that definite expressions are conventionally encoded by definite determiners and pronouns, and tend to be used to refer to entities which are identifiable to the addressee. Indefinite expressions, on the other hand, lack indicators of definiteness but are often signalled by indefinite or plural determiners and are used for entities which are not identifiable to the addressee, but can be referential specific from the point of view of the speaker. We also saw that the conventional patterns of article use can be exploited for pragmatic purposes. Through an exploration of authentic instances of referring, we concluded that the referential status of any referring expression can only be determined by considering the surrounding text, context and ongoing discourse of the communication event (Cornish 1999; 2010). Constructed examples are not adequate to capture the definite or indefinite nature of referring items.

The parameters of the A(n)+N+RRC expression were then established. It was decided that in order to qualify as data for this study, the expressions should pass certain 'tests for referentiality'. These tests separated the A(n)+N+RRC expression out from other indefinite expressions which are initial mentions or clearly attributive or predicative in function. These are well-accepted as typical uses of the indefinite article. The 43 expressions which were ultimately included in this study passed the above tests, with the exception of three expressions, which did not pass T5) (*Can 'a' be replaced by 'any'?*). It was nevertheless decided to accept these expressions because they passed the remaining five tests and therefore otherwise fit the profile of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions. The tests established that the 43 expressions are not

typically indefinite in nature, in that they are also able to fulfil certain definite functions.

Previous studies (Du Bois 1980; Ushie 1986; Epstein 1994; Schouten and Vonk 1995) recognise that certain indefinite expressions (i.e. those in non-initial position) can in fact have the potential to refer back to something previously supplied in the discourse. This contradicts much of the previous literature on (in)definiteness, which firmly states that indefinite nominal phrases cannot refer to an entity which the addressee is able to identify (e.g. de Haan 1987, 1989; Givón 1993b; Martin 1992), although there has been some agreement that indefinite NPs can refer to something specific from the point of view of the speaker (e.g. Karttunen 1976; Du Bois 1980; Givón 1993a).

We saw that there are similarities between the function of the expressions identified by previous scholars and the A(n)+N+RRC expression, but the fact that the content of the relative clauses in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions is previously supplied (as discussed in Chapter 6) sets them apart. That is, unlike the examples used by previous scholars, the use of the expressions cannot be completely explained by the ‘something new’ function of the indefinite article. On the other hand, we discussed the possibility that the use of the indefinite article in these expressions can partly be explained by the ‘type’ function, in that it allows for the possibility that another member of the type of entity denoted in the expression exists. However, this does not seem a completely satisfactory explanation because of the extreme specificity of some of the expressions as well as their factual, *realis* nature.

It was then tested whether readers interpret the A(n)+N+RRC expressions as referring to the identifiable and specific entity, and thus access an existing representation, or whether they create a new ‘type’ representation, which would

typically be expected from an indefinite expression. The results from two experiments showed that, on the whole, readers interpret the expressions as referring to the specific entity, despite their indefinite encoding. Interestingly, expressions which contained less detailed and explicit data in the relative clauses yielded more mixed results. That is, there was approximately an equal distribution of type and specific interpretations of the less detailed expressions. This suggests that there is a scale of specificity with regard to these expressions, and how specific the writer intends to be in the expression is reflected in the amount of information they detail in the relative clause. The reading experiments also indicate that the A(n)+N+RRC expressions are not functioning in a truly indefinite way.

We then explored whether the writers of the comment articles might consider the referents of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions to be accessible in the mind of the addressee at the point of the occurrence of the expression. Accessible entities are generally accepted to also be definite, and so this part of the investigation was intended to deal directly with RQ1. Two analyses were carried out; The first (using Accessibility Theory) showed that the majority of the expressions in this study attain either a mid or high level of accessibility (93%), which corresponds to more conventionally accepted definite referring expressions, such as demonstratives and pronouns respectively. However, as indefinite expressions do not feature at all on Ariel's Accessibility scale, this expression-type would need to be considered as a violation of the predictions of accessibility and thus a marked expression for marked use. It was argued that this seems to push the theory beyond reasonable limits, and so an alternative cognitive-pragmatic account of referring was considered in order to find a more convincing explanation for the use of this expression-type.

As an implicational scale, the Givenness Hierarchy (GHZ 1993 onwards) posits that items lower on the Hierarchy may simply be underspecified for higher statuses (i.e. statuses typically encoded by less informative referring items, such as demonstratives and pronouns), and so an indefinite referring expression, which conventionally indicates that the entity is ‘type-identifiable’, could in fact be underspecified for higher statuses. Thus, the GH coding protocol (2006) was employed to determine which cognitive statuses these expressions actually attain, according to the GH. The results demonstrated that the expressions attain at the very least the status ‘familiar’ (which is typically encoded by *{that N}*), but also ‘activated’ (*{that, this, this N}* or ‘in focus’ (*{it}*). These statuses are conventionally signalled by definite expressions, and so the GH analysis of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions suggests that they are underspecified for higher statuses and thus do not have a truly indefinite status.

We then examined what it is in the expressions and the preceding text and/or on-going discourse which makes these formally indefinite expressions function in a definite way. Through an analysis of co-extensional ties (Hasan 1985), ‘similarity chains’ (c.f. identity chains or topic chains) were identified, which create cohesive ties between the expressions and the preceding text and on-going discourse. We saw that all of the expressions in this study have either explicit lexical/semantic ties with the surrounding text, or ties with the cultural knowledge assumed to be shared by the readership. Further, these ties provide a certain amount of definiteness to the expressions because the links they have are to textually already supplied or culturally known information. (See Research Question 2 below for more about the ‘definite’ nature of these expressions). The ‘givenness’ of the cohesive ties certainly indicates that the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in this study are functioning in a definite way.

Overall, this investigation has shown that the A(n)+N+RRC expression does not have the truly indefinite status that their structure typically signals. Whilst some traces of indefiniteness remain in the expression type due to the presence of the indefinite article, their post-modification, the surrounding text, context and ongoing discourse render them somewhat definite in nature. Research Question 2 addressed how this (in)definiteness is achieved.

### **8.2.2 Research Question 2: How is (in)definiteness achieved?**

As the indefinite nature of this expression-type is clearly recognisable through the use of the indefinite article, the focus of the research was largely on how any definiteness was achieved. We saw that the post-modification of the expressions, the cotext, the context and on-going discourse about the entity, as well as the textual and discoursal cohesive ties contribute to the definiteness of these expressions.

It was noted that the expression-type forms part of an identity chain of reference to the fully established, definite entity. The entity is first mentioned in either the headline or subhead of the article in 37 out of 40 of the texts, and then occurs between 3 and 66 times in the form of definite expressions and pronouns prior to the occurrence of the A(n)+N+RRC expression, with an average of 17 previous mentions. We also saw that there is a tendency for the expression to occur towards the end of the reference chain. The use of definite expressions signals that the identity of the entity is 'recoverable' (Martin 1992: 98), and being part of an identity chain to a recoverable entity clearly helps establish the definite status of the A(n)+N+RRC expression. It is surely more likely that readers would access an existing already identified and thus definite representation of the entity rather than suddenly creating a new non-identifiable and thus indefinite representation.

The reader interpretation experiments highlighted that the amount of detail in the relative clauses has an impact on how readers interpret the expressions. That is, expressions with highly specific relative clauses were on the whole interpreted as referring to the definite entity, whereas those with less specific relative clauses yielded an almost equal distribution of type and definite interpretations. This suggests that semantic content of the relative clauses plays a role in the definiteness of the expressions. The relative clause creates a space for the writer to decide (whether consciously or unconsciously) how explicitly definite they want to be.

Further, both the Accessibility Theory and Givenness Hierarchy analyses demonstrated that at the point of occurrence, the A(n)+N+RRC expressions obtain either a mid or high-level of accessibility and a cognitive status of ‘familiar’, ‘activated’ or ‘in focus’. Mid and high levels of accessibility and the three cognitive statuses noted above are typically signalled by definite expressions, and so it can be concluded that the A(n)+N+RRC expressions in this study are in a position, in terms of accessibility, to be understood as definite and so the reader is more likely to access an existing definite representation of the entity.

The cohesive ties between these complex expressions and the preceding text and discourse also provide a way of achieving definiteness. Each ‘chunk’ of information in the relative clauses is linked to either the text upstream or to the shared cultural knowledge about the entity in question and is thus considered ‘old’ (hearer-old, discourse-old or both). The lack of ‘newness’ in these expressions and their cohesive anchoring to the text and on-going discourse about the specific entity certainly contributes to making the A(n)+N+RRC function in a definite way.

### **8.2.3 Research Question 3: How does the expression function in the discourse?**

The A(n)+N+RRC expression does not simply have a definite or indefinite function, but it occupies a middle ground where there is an overlap of definiteness and indefiniteness. It is this overlap which allows for the dual nature of these expressions. The users of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type appear to have found a way to encode both definiteness and indefiniteness through the use of an indefinite determiner, varying degrees of lexical specificity in the post-modification of the expression, and through the cohesive relationship the expression has with the ongoing discourse (which includes the text). The semantic content of the relative clauses allows for degrees of definiteness to be conveyed. This suggests that (in)definiteness is not necessarily an either/or phenomenon. Something can be intended as more or less definite, depending on what the speaker aims to achieve.

We saw that linguists are divided on the function of this expression. Some argue for the 'type' explanation, that the fully identified individual is a member of the type of entity denoted in the relative clause. Whilst this explanation is plausible, the more specific relative clauses denote entities with such particular attributes that it is difficult to see how there can be other members of the type with the same qualities. The use of the indefinite article in what could easily be a definite expression could be a way of taking the focus off the particular entity and placing it onto the qualities denoted in the relative clause (Fries 2013). The notion of analogue reference (Du Bois 2012) touches on the potential duality of certain indefinite referring expressions, in which speakers are able to refer to one entity (i.e. something indefinite and virtual) and at the same time convey information about another (the previously mentioned definite entity).

Insights from the two journalists support the notion of there being a duality. Both Margolis and Barrell mentioned reference to both the identified entity and a reference to a more generalised or abstract instance. Barrell confirmed that this use of an indefinite expression is one of the rhetorical strategies used by journalists to ‘extrude’ a more general truth or regularity from the limitations of individual stories. We also learnt that the more general the expression is (and therefore the less definite), the more successful the abstraction is considered to be.

On the surface, the English language is not noticeably sensitive to the duality modelled by this kind of reference. More specifically, the English determiner system is not equipped to encode both definiteness and indefiniteness simultaneously, even though speakers are clearly cognitively able to do so. But this is what the A(n)+N+RRC expression appears to be doing. It has a dual function. The fact that these expressions are so firmly embedded in a definite context but nevertheless have a formally indefinite structure positions them in two camps. The context and ‘old’ information in the relative clauses ensures that the reader retains the identity of the individual in their minds, but the presence of the indefinite article forces them to consider a more generalised reference as well.

The above review has shown that the three research questions have been largely answered within the parameters of the study. But as is the case with any piece of research, the findings need to be considered within the context of the limitations of the project, which are dealt with in the following section.

### **8.3 Limitations**

The first limitation is that the data set was relatively small and as such does not allow for statistical generalisation. Therefore, analysis across a larger sample size

would allow for stronger conclusions to be drawn. Future work would need to reattempt to exploit the use of corpora to increase the size, scope and reliability of the data set.

The second limitation is related to the first. Despite an attempt to locate the expression-type in other genres of writing, the data set was ultimately limited to one specific genre of writing (i.e. journalistic comment writing) and so the findings cannot be generalised to other genres or even other sub-genres within the broader category of opinion or persuasive texts (e.g. speeches, closing arguments, press releases, film or book reviews, obituaries). Again if the problems encountered when carrying out corpus searches in this study could be solved, the use of corpora could indicate the kinds of genres that the A(n)+N+RRC expression typically occurs in.

The third limitation concerns the tests for referentiality. Although I justified the use of these tests by claiming that they were necessary to distinguish the A(n)+N+RRC expression from indefinite attributes as well as to establish some kind of uniformity and consistency across expressions and to make any aspect of this study replicable, it is possible that by imposing such restrictions I may have overlooked other indefinite expressions which function in a similar way. Future research could broaden the analysis to other types of indefinite expressions.

#### **8.4 Directions for future research**

Although the research questions established at the beginning of this thesis have been largely dealt with, the investigation has nevertheless identified a field of research which clearly needs considerably more attention. Indefinite reference is a greatly under-researched area.

Even at the most cautious end of the spectrum, further exploration into the potential for indefinite noun phrases to carry information about an already established referent is necessary. Also, Du Bois' notion of analogue reference (1997) deserves more consideration and extension. At the other end of the spectrum, the potential for indefinite expressions to refer to a previously mentioned entity is a much neglected field of research. With the exception of Du Bois (1980 and 1997), Ushie (1986), Epstein (1994), Schouten and Vonk (1995) and the current study, very little consideration has been given to the referring potential of indefinite expressions and the specific discourse functions they might have.

In empirical terms, an experiment could be set up to determine where the tipping point between indefiniteness and definiteness is, or indeed if there is one. That is, it would be interesting to establish exactly how much information is needed in the relative clause to force a definite reading of the expression. A series of carefully adapted texts could be given to the subjects in which the amount of detail and level of specificity in the relative clauses is manipulated to see how much or how little detail is needed for a definite interpretation.

This research looked at readers' interpretations of the A(n)+N+RRC expressions, but it would also be interesting to examine what happens when readers are processing the expressions. One possibility would be to set up an experiment which measures the reading time of a sentence containing the A(n)+N+RRC expression compared to one with an unambiguously definite or indefinite expression. One might expect the reading time for the disambiguating sentence to be shorter than for the A(n)+N+RRC one. Furthermore, an eye-tracking study might also give an indication about how these expressions are processed.

As a last suggestion for avenues for further research, data from translations may provide an interesting insight into whether the notion of dual reference operates outside language universally. By asking speakers of other languages (particularly from a variety of language families), to translate pieces of text in which the A(n)+N+RRC expression occurs, it should become apparent whether other languages have the linguistic means to express the phenomenon. This kind of research could address questions which include a) How do languages from different language families translate the A(n)+N+RRC expression? b) How do other languages which have both definite and indefinite articles translate the expression when it is embedded in its particular context (such as Dutch, French or Hungarian)? c) How would the expression be translated into languages which do not have articles at all (e.g. Hindi)? d) How do languages which do not have indefinite articles, but do have definite articles, translate it (for example, Welsh)? e) How do languages which do not have articles, but do have a means of indicating a general category, translate the expression (for example, Japanese)?

### **8.5 Final comments**

It has become clear that English does not have an explicit linguistic way of exhibiting simultaneously the relation between old and identifiable and new and non-identifiable. It seems that the relation operates outside of language, in cognition only. It is difficult to engineer a way in which language is responsive to this relation (in English anyway), as it only responds to the construal of the ‘virtual’ referent as non-identifiable. However, the writers of the comment pieces analysed in this study have found a way of ensuring that the association to the old, identifiable referent remains explicit; through the use of a restricted relative clause which contains already

established information about the specific entity. It is clear that the role played by the semantic information in the relative clause is crucial to the interpretation of the expression.

It is thus argued here that there are three layers of ‘meaning’ in the A(n)+N+RRC expressions which guide the reader’s interpretation. These are the indefinite article, the detail and level of specificity of the semantic information in the relative clause and the surrounding cotext, context and ongoing discourse about the specific entity. In order to interpret the expressions in a meaningful way, the three components cannot be separated. Only when they are considered as three interrelated parts which make up the whole, can we begin to understand the use and function of the A(n)+N+RRC expression-type.

This study has identified a neglected area of research within the field of reference. It also points to the need for a more progressive and open approach to the study of reference. The encoding of a referring expression is important in interpreting an expression, but it is by no means the only factor which contributes to its (in)definite status and felicitous interpretation. The surrounding cotext, context and ongoing discourse play a major role in how an expression is interpreted, as well as the intentions of the speaker. In instances where the expression may carry both definite and indefinite information, the entire discourse event may ultimately determine how the expression is interpreted.

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## Appendix 1: Tests for referentiality

- T1) Does the expression occur in noninitial position?
- T2) Can the expression be moved to subject position?
- T3) Can the article be paraphrased with ‘a certain’?
- T4) Can the expression be replaced by a definite expression?
- T5) Can ‘a’ be replaced by ‘any’?
- T6) Is it an instance of existential ‘there is a’?

Test questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 require a positive answer (✓), and questions 5 and 6 need a negative answer (X). The expressions which permit the use of ‘any’ (Q5) are marked with an asterisk (\*). See section 3.2.1.

Text 1.	[it's quite extraordinary for] <b>a government that owns much of two of the UK's biggest banks</b> to consider setting up an entirely new institution to ensure that budding entrepreneurs can get a loan.	✓
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A government that owns much of two of the UK's biggest banks</b> is considering setting up an entirely new institution to ensure that budding entrepreneurs can get a loan, which is quite extraordinary.	✓
3	[it's quite extraordinary for] <b>a certain government that owns much of two of the UK's biggest banks</b> to consider setting up an entirely new institution to ensure that budding entrepreneurs can get a loan.	✓
4	it's quite extraordinary for <b>the government</b> to consider setting up an entirely new institution to ensure that budding entrepreneurs can get a loan	✓
5	[it's quite extraordinary for] <b>any government</b> that owns much of two of the UK's biggest banks to consider setting up an entirely new institution to ensure that budding entrepreneurs can get a loan.	X
6	No	✓

Text 2	That is easier to prescribe than to practice for an organisation which is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An organisation which is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker</b> may find the practice of taking greater control over outside productions more difficult than the prescription.	✓
3	That is easier to prescribe than to practice for <b>a certain organisation which is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker.</b>	✓
4	That is easier to prescribe than to practice for <b>the organisation,</b> which is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker.	✓
5	That is easier to prescribe than to practice for <b>any organisation which is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 3	the people of Oslo chose <b>a song that extols the kind of multicultural society that Breivik despises.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A song that extols the kind of multicultural society that Breivik despises</b> was chosen by the people of Oslo	✓
3	the people of Oslo chose <b>a certain song that extols the kind of multicultural society that Breivik despises.</b>	✓
4	the people of Oslo chose <b>the song,</b> which extols the kind of multicultural society that Breivik despises.	✓
5	the people of Oslo chose <b>any song that extols the kind of multicultural society that Breivik despises.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 4	But he will not be commenting as the proceedings continue against <b>a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007</b> will not be commented upon by the prime minister.	✓
3	But he will not be commenting as the proceedings continue against <b>a certain man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007.</b>	✓
4	But he will not be commenting as the proceedings continue against <b>the man</b> , who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007.	✓
5	But he will not be commenting as the proceedings continue against <b>any man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 5	And frankly, it isn't surprising that prejudices are rife in <b>a country whose media perpetuates the very images that evoke stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A country whose media perpetuates the very images that evoke stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings</b> is rife with prejudices, which isn't surprising.	✓
3	And frankly, it isn't surprising that prejudices are rife in <b>a certain country whose media perpetuates the very images that evoke stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings</b>	✓
4	And frankly, it isn't surprising that prejudices are rife in <b>the UK</b> , whose media perpetuates the very images that evoke stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings	✓
5	And frankly, it isn't surprising that prejudices are rife in <b>any country whose media perpetuates the very images that evoke stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 6	It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by <b>a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up</b> is poised to charm France and Spain	✓
3	It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by <b>a certain man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.</b>	✓
4	It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by <b>the man</b> , who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.	✓
5	It seems that France, like Spain and the United States before it, is poised to be charmed by <b>any man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 7	Yet that, and his promise of an in/out referendum on Europe, have not stopped Thatcherites plotting against <b>a man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man Thatcherites cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010</b> is being plotted against [...]	✓
3	Yet that, and his promise of an in/out referendum on Europe, have not stopped Thatcherites plotting against <b>a certain man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010.</b>	✓
4	Yet that, and his promise of an in/out referendum on Europe, have not stopped Thatcherites plotting against <b>the man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010.</b>	✓
5	Yet that, and his promise of an in/out referendum on Europe, have not stopped Thatcherites plotting against <b>any man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 8	But perhaps this will be the least of their worries on <b>a journey where there isn't much else to do but look at the stars and</b>	
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	<b>dream of home.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A journey where there isn't much else to do but look at the stars and dream of home</b> will dispel any worries of a coronal mass ejection..	✓
3	But perhaps this will be the least of their worries on <b>a certain journey where there isn't much else to do but look at the stars and dream of home</b>	✓
4	But perhaps this will be the least of their worries on <b>the journey, where there isn't much else to do but look at the stars and dream of home.</b>	✓
5	But perhaps this will be the least of their worries on <b>any journey where there isn't much else to do but look at the stars and dream of home.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 9	From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of <b>a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	(A remorseless self-portrait of) <b>A man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world</b> is revealed in his letters.	✓
3	From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of <b>a certain man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.</b>	✓
4	From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of <b>the man,</b> who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.	✓
5	From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of <b>any man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 10	All sides of the House roared their approval: and so the political elite closed ranks against <b>a man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the Westminster club.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust</b>	✓

	<b>with the Westminster club</b> has the political elite close ranks against him.	
3	All sides of the House roared their approval: and so the political elite closed ranks against <b>a certain man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the Westminster club.</b>	✓
4	All sides of the House roared their approval: and so the political elite closed ranks against <b>the man, who was sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the Westminster club.</b>	✓
5	All sides of the House roared their approval: and so the political elite closed ranks against <b>any man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the Westminster club.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 11a	The question – as Israeli tanks grind into Gaza City – is what actions or arguments the rest of the world can take or make that will have any resonance in <b>a country which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A country which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion</b> could have action taken against it by the rest of world, but what action will have any resonance is the question.	✓
3	The question – as Israeli tanks grind into Gaza City – is what actions or arguments the rest of the world can take or make that will have any resonance in <b>a certain country which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion.</b>	✓
4	The question – as Israeli tanks grind into Gaza City – is what actions or arguments the rest of the world can take or make that will have any resonance in <b>the country,</b> which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion.	✓
5	The question – as Israeli tanks grind into Gaza City – is what actions or arguments the rest of the world can take or make that will have any resonance in <b>any country which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 11b	But <b>a country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community</b> leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road.	
1	Yes	✓
2	But <b>a country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community</b> leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road.	✓
3	But <b>a certain country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community</b> leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road.	✓

4	But <b>the country</b> , which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road.	✓
5	But <b>any country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road.</b>	*
6	No	✓

Text 12	So, according to this logic, the royal family will be hosting a dinner for <b>an organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews</b> because the proceeds will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews</b> will be attending a dinner hosted by the royal family because the proceeds will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite.	✓
3	So, according to this logic, the royal family will be hosting a dinner for <b>a certain organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews</b> because the proceeds will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite	✓
4	So, according to this logic, the royal family will be hosting a dinner for <b>the organisation</b> , which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews because the proceeds will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite	✓
5	So, according to this logic, the royal family will be hosting a dinner for <b>any organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews</b> because the proceeds will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite	X
6	No	✓

Text 13	A man who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded hatchet job probably doesn't do remorse.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded hatchet job</b> probably doesn't do remorse.	✓
3	<b>A certain man who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded hatchet job</b> probably doesn't do remorse.	✓
4	<b>The man</b> , who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded hatchet job, probably doesn't do remorse.	✓
5	<b>Any man who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding</b>	*

	of " <b>conclusive and undeniable proof</b> " of cheating as a <b>tax-payer funded hatchet job</b> probably doesn't do remorse.	
6	No	✓

Text 14a	At least with Armstrong, Americans have had time to adjust their perceptions of <b>a man once universally regarded as a paragon.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man once universally regarded as a paragon</b> will now be seen differently by Americans.	✓
3	At least with Armstrong, Americans have had time to adjust their perceptions of <b>a certain man once universally regarded as a paragon.</b>	✓
4	At least with Armstrong, Americans have had time to adjust their perceptions of <b>the man</b> , who was once universally regarded as a paragon.	✓
5	At least with Armstrong, Americans have had time to adjust their perceptions of <b>any man once universally regarded as a paragon.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 14b	He built a charity foundation that raised money for cancer research by burnishing the legend of <b>a man who had overcome life-threatening illness and seized the heights of sporting achievement purely through the exercise of his indomitable will.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man who had overcome life-threatening illness and seized the heights of sporting achievement purely through the exercise of his indomitable will</b> was the legend burnished by Lance Armstrong to raise money for his charity foundation.	✓
3	He built a charity foundation that raised money for cancer research by burnishing the legend of <b>a certain man who had overcome life-threatening illness and seized the heights of sporting achievement purely through the exercise of his indomitable will.</b>	✓
4	He built a charity foundation that raised money for cancer research by burnishing the legend of <b>the man who had overcome life-threatening illness and seized the heights of sporting achievement purely through the exercise of his indomitable will.</b>	✓
5	He built a charity foundation that raised money for cancer research by burnishing the legend of <b>any man who had overcome life-threatening illness and seized the heights of sporting achievement purely through the exercise of his indomitable will.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 15	It's too soon to talk about a tipping point, but more and more UK local authorities are taking a close look at <b>a policy which is</b>	
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	<b>winning wider public support.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A policy which is winning wider public support</b> is being looked at more closely by more and more UK local authorities.	✓
3	It's too soon to talk about a tipping point, but more and more UK local authorities are taking a close look at <b>a certain policy which is winning wider public support.</b>	✓
4	It's too soon to talk about a tipping point, but more and more UK local authorities are taking a close look at <b>the policy</b> , which is winning wider public support.	✓
5	It's too soon to talk about a tipping point, but more and more UK local authorities are taking a close look at <b>any policy which is winning wider public support.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 16	[P]erhaps we should expect no more from <b>a woman who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A woman who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997</b> should not be expected to have any less chutzpah or any more perspective.	✓
3	[P]erhaps we should expect no more from <b>a certain woman who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997.</b>	✓
4	[P]erhaps we should expect no more from <b>the woman, who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997.</b>	✓
5	[P]erhaps we should expect no more from <b>any woman who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 17	It is not clear to me why <b>an agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment</b> should have to "encourage economic progress"	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment</b> should not have to "encourage economic progress"	✓
3	It is not clear to me why <b>an agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment</b> should have to "encourage economic progress"	✓
4	It is not clear to me why <b>an agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment</b> should have to "encourage economic progress"	✓
5	It is not clear to me why <b>an agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment</b> should have to "encourage economic progress"	X
6	No	✓

Text 17b	<b>An agency which should be protecting the natural world</b> appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An agency which should be protecting the natural world</b> appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.	✓
3	<b>A certain agency which should be protecting the natural world</b> appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.	✓
4	<b>The agency</b> , which should be protecting the natural world appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.	✓
5	<b>Any agency which should be protecting the natural world</b> appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it.	X
6	No	✓

Text 18	it must now be clear that <b>an institution so unwilling to conform with equal opportunities law</b> must be as undesirable in state education as it is inside the legislature.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>an institution so unwilling to conform with equal opportunities law</b> must be as undesirable in state education as it is inside the legislature.	✓
3	it must now be clear that <b>a certain institution so unwilling to conform with equal opportunities law</b> must be as undesirable in state education as it is inside the legislature.	✓
4	it must now be clear that <b>the institution, which is so unwilling to conform with equal opportunities law</b> , must be as undesirable in state education as it is inside the legislature.	✓
5	it must now be clear that <b>any institution so unwilling to conform with equal opportunities law</b> must be as undesirable in state education as it is inside the legislature.	X

6	No	✓
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Text 19	What is there to fear from <b>a movement that is not only fading, but has had such profound problems articulating what it wants?</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A movement that is not only fading, but has had such profound problems articulating what it wants</b> should not be feared.	✓
3	What is there to fear from <b>the movement, which is not only fading, but has had such profound problems articulating what it wants?</b>	✓
4	What is there to fear from <b>a movement that is not only fading, but has had such profound problems articulating what it wants?</b>	✓
5	What is there to fear from <b>a movement that is not only fading, but has had such profound problems articulating what it wants?</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 20	<b>A programme that promised freedom and choice</b> has instead produced something resembling a totalitarian capitalism, in which no one may dissent from the will of the market and in which the market has become a euphemism for big business.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A programme that promised freedom and choice</b> has instead produced something resembling a totalitarian capitalism, in which no one may dissent from the will of the market and in which the market has become a euphemism for big business.	✓
3	<b>A certain programme that promised freedom and choice</b> has instead produced something resembling a totalitarian capitalism, in which no one may dissent from the will of the market and in which the market has become a euphemism for big business.	✓
4	<b>The programme that promised freedom and choice</b> has instead produced something resembling a totalitarian capitalism, in which no one may dissent from the will of the market and in which the market has become a euphemism for big business.	✓
5	<b>Any programme that promised freedom and choice</b> has instead produced something resembling a totalitarian capitalism, in which no one may dissent from the will of the market and in which the market has become a euphemism for big business.	X
6	No	✓

Text 21	Can scientists be so gullible as to salute <b>a man who claims to turn the basic laws of biology upside down?</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man who claims to turn the basic laws of biology upside down</b> is being saluted by scientists, but can they really be that gullible?	✓

3	Can scientists be so gullible as to salute <b>a certain man who claims to turn the basic laws of biology upside down?</b>	✓
4	Can scientists be so gullible as to salute <b>the man who claims to turn the basic laws of biology upside down?</b>	✓
5	Can scientists be so gullible as to salute <b>any man who claims to turn the basic laws of biology upside down?</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 22	[B]ut perhaps tears before bedtime could be expected from a man who has installed a throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>a man who has installed a throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off</b> can be expected to have years before bedtime.	✓
3	[B]ut perhaps tears before bedtime could be expected from <b>a certain man who has installed a throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off.</b>	✓
4	[B]ut perhaps tears before bedtime could be expected from <b>the man</b> , who has installed a throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off.	✓
5	[B]ut perhaps tears before bedtime could be expected from <b>any man who has installed a throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 23	It would certainly be a shame to lose <b>a publication which has been part of the furniture of our lives for so many years.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A publication which has been part of the furniture of our lives for so many years</b> would be a shame to lose	✓
3	It would certainly be a shame to lose <b>a certain publication which has been part of the furniture of our lives for so many years.</b>	✓
4	It would certainly be a shame to lose <b>the publication</b> , which has been part of the furniture of our lives for so many years.	✓
5	It would certainly be a shame to lose <b>any publication which has been part of the furniture of our lives for so many years.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 24	An example had to be made of <b>a soldier who helped strip away the humanitarian pretences of US power, and revealed a far uglier reality.</b>	
1	Yes	✓

2	<b>A soldier who helped strip away the humanitarian pretences of US power and revealed a far uglier reality</b> had to be made an example of.	✓
3	An example had to be made of <b>a certain soldier who helped strip away the humanitarian pretences of US power, and revealed a far uglier reality.</b>	✓
4	An example had to be made of <b>the soldier who helped strip away the humanitarian pretences of US power, and revealed a far uglier reality.</b>	✓
5	An example had to be made of <b>any soldier who helped strip away the humanitarian pretences of US power, and revealed a far uglier reality.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 25	[M]any would agree with Mackay that to care for <b>a language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out</b> is the mark of a civilised country.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out</b> being cared for is the mark of a civilised country.	✓
3	[M]any would agree with Mackay that to care for <b>a certain language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out</b> is the mark of a civilised country.	✓
4	[M]any would agree with Mackay that to care for <b>the language, which emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out</b> is the mark of a civilised country.	✓
5	[M]any would agree with Mackay that to care for <b>any language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out</b> is the mark of a civilised country.	X
6	No	✓

Text 26	Our country must never be led by <b>a man who would fail to build bridges with his own brother.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man who would fail to build bridges with his own brother</b> must never lead our country.	✓
3	Our country must never be led by <b>a certain man who would fail to build bridges with his own brother.</b>	✓
4	Our country must never be led by <b>the man,</b> who would fail to build bridges with his own brother.	✓
5	Our country must never be led by <b>any man who would fail to build bridges with his own brother.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 27	That <b>an organisation which excludes trans people</b> has taken it upon itself to discuss with the government an issue central to the lives of many trans people behind our backs is nothing less than astonishing.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An organisation which excludes trans people</b> has taken it upon itself to discuss with the government an issue central to the lives of many trans people behind our backs and that is nothing less than astonishing.	✓
3	That <b>a certain organisation which excludes trans people</b> has taken it upon itself to discuss with the government an issue central to the lives of many trans people behind our backs is nothing less than astonishing.	✓
4	That <b>the organisation,</b> which excludes trans people has taken it upon itself to discuss with the government an issue central to the lives of many trans people behind our backs is nothing less than astonishing.	✓
5	That <b>any organisation which excludes trans people</b> has taken it upon itself to discuss with the government an issue central to the lives of many trans people behind our backs is nothing less than astonishing.	X
6	No	✓

Text 28	The fact that <b>an MP who can spread such inaccuracies</b> is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An MP who can spread such inaccuracies</b> is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill and that should give us all cause for concern.	✓
3	The fact that <b>a certain MP who can spread such inaccuracies</b> is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.	✓
4	The fact that <b>the MP, who can spread such inaccuracies,</b> is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.	✓
5	The fact that <b>any MP who can spread such inaccuracies</b> is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.	X
6	No	✓

Text 29	But that school doesn't have to be built on <b>a precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century.</b>	
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1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century</b> does not have to be where that school is built	✓
3	But that school doesn't have to be built on <b>a certain precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century.</b>	✓
4	But that school doesn't have to be built on <b>the precious green field,</b> which has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century.	✓
5	But that school doesn't have to be built on <b>any precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 30	All too many are silent about <b>a policy which will cause far more suffering on the genuinely poor.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A policy which will cause far more suffering on the genuinely poor</b> is not being talked about.	✓
3	All too many are silent about <b>a certain policy which will cause far more suffering on the genuinely poor.</b>	✓
4	All too many are silent about <b>the policy,</b> which will cause far more suffering on the genuinely poor.	✓
5	All too many are silent about <b>any policy which will cause far more suffering on the genuinely poor.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 31	<b>An institution that allows the maintenance of a stained glass ceiling for its female clergy to bang their heads against</b> should not only lose its moral authority.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An institution that allows the maintenance of a stained glass ceiling for its female clergy to bang their heads against</b> should not only lose its moral authority.	✓
3	<b>A certain institution that allows the maintenance of a stained glass ceiling for its female clergy to bang their heads against</b> should not only lose its moral authority.	✓
4	<b>The institution, which allows the maintenance of a stained glass ceiling for its female clergy to bang their heads against</b> should not only lose its moral authority.	✓
5	<b>Any institution that allows the maintenance of a stained glass ceiling for its female clergy to bang their heads against</b> should not only lose its moral authority.	X

6	No	✓
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Text 32	Why should it be illegal to be a member of <b>an organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion?</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion</b> should not be illegal to join	✓
3	Why should it be illegal to be a member of <b>a certain organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion?</b>	✓
4	Why should it be illegal to be a member of <b>the organisation</b> , which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion?	✓
5	Why should it be illegal to be a member of <b>any organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion?</b>	*
6	No	✓

Text 33	The cataclysmic events of the past 48 hours will have done little to change the views of <b>a man who has been passionate in his defence of the BBC's independence from government since he took over from Lord Birt as director general in November 1999.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man who has been passionate in his defence of the BBC's independence from government since he took over from Lord Birt as director general in November 1999</b> will not have had his views changed by the cataclysmic events of the past 48 hours	✓
3	The cataclysmic events of the past 48 hours will have done little to change the views of <b>a certain man who has been passionate in his defence of the BBC's independence from government since he took over from Lord Birt as director general in November 1999.</b>	✓
4	The cataclysmic events of the past 48 hours will have done little to change the views of <b>the man</b> , who has been passionate in his defence of the BBC's independence from government since he took over from Lord Birt as director general in November 1999.	✓
5	The cataclysmic events of the past 48 hours will have done little to change the views of <b>any man who has been passionate in his defence of the BBC's independence from government since he took over from Lord Birt as director general in November 1999.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 34	It does its very best to convince us that <b>a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another,</b> was not just	
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	one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another,</b> was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage, and this is what the documentary does its very best to convince us.	✓
3	It does its very best to convince us that <b>a certain man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another,</b> was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage	✓
4	It does its very best to convince us that <b>the man,</b> who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage	✓
5	It does its very best to convince us that <b>any man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another,</b> was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage	X
6	No	✓

Text 35	The US report belies the notion that the policy of assassinating mid-level Taliban commanders (night raids are often little more than death squads) is having any lasting effect on <b>an organisation which retains the ability to selectively moderate its violence in order to encourage Nato forces to leave faster.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An organisation which retains the ability to selectively moderate its violence in order to encourage Nato forces to leave faster</b> is not being affected by the policy of assassinating mid-level Taliban commanders (night raids are often little more than death squads) and the US report belies this notion.	✓
3	The US report belies the notion that the policy of assassinating mid-level Taliban commanders (night raids are often little more than death squads) is having any lasting effect on <b>an organisation which retains the ability to selectively moderate its violence in order to encourage Nato forces to leave faster.</b>	✓
4	The US report belies the notion that the policy of assassinating mid-level Taliban commanders (night raids are often little more than death squads) is having any lasting effect on <b>the organisation,</b> which retains the ability to selectively moderate its violence in order to encourage Nato forces to leave faster.	✓
5	The US report belies the notion that the policy of assassinating mid-level Taliban commanders (night raids are often little more than death squads) is having any lasting effect on <b>any organisation which retains the ability to selectively moderate its violence in order to encourage Nato forces to leave faster.</b>	X
6	No	✓

Text 36	<b>A scheme that was supposed to hold providers accountable for their performance</b> has ended up holding them accountable – and penalising their customers – for the performance of the economy.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A scheme that was supposed to hold providers accountable for their performance</b> has ended up holding them accountable – and penalising their customers – for the performance of the economy.	✓
3	<b>A certain scheme that was supposed to hold providers accountable for their performance</b> has ended up holding them accountable – and penalising their customers – for the performance of the economy.	✓
4	<b>The scheme that was supposed to hold providers accountable for their performance</b> has ended up holding them accountable – and penalising their customers – for the performance of the economy.	✓
5	<b>Any scheme that was supposed to hold providers accountable for their performance</b> has ended up holding them accountable – and penalising their customers – for the performance of the economy.	X

6	No	✓
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Text 37	But as more and more people feel the cruelties of <b>a policy that makes no sense – that people must be kicked into work, even if jobs don't exist</b> – has anyone considered that the two things might be connected?	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A policy that makes no sense – that people must be kicked into work, even if jobs don't exist</b> has cruel effects and these are being felt by more and more people.	✓
3	But as more and more people feel the cruelties of <b>a certain policy that makes no sense – that people must be kicked into work, even if jobs don't exist</b> – has anyone considered that the two things might be connected?	✓
4	But as more and more people feel the cruelties of <b>the policy that makes no sense – that people must be kicked into work, even if jobs don't exist</b> – has anyone considered that the two things might be connected?	✓
5	But as more and more people feel the cruelties of <b>a policy that makes no sense – that people must be kicked into work, even if jobs don't exist</b> – has anyone considered that the two things might be connected?	X
6	No	✓

Text 38	This winter's biggest political story, in fact, may turn out not to be focused on the Conservatives, Labour or the Lib Dems, but <b>an organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes, or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>An organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes, or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs</b> may turn out to be the focus of this winter's biggest political story, not the Conservatives or the Lib Dems.	✓
3	This winter's biggest political story, in fact, may turn out not to be focused on the Conservatives, Labour or the Lib Dems, but <b>a certain organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes, or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs.</b>	✓
4	This winter's biggest political story, in fact, may turn out not to be focused on the Conservatives, Labour or the Lib Dems, but <b>the organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes, or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs.</b>	✓
5	This winter's biggest political story, in fact, may turn out not to be	X

	focused on the Conservatives, Labour or the Lib Dems, but <b>any organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes, or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs.</b>	
6	No	✓

Text 39	<b>A copy that developed alongside the Mona Lisa</b> is obviously fascinating, but it does not necessarily revolutionise understandings of this painting. Raphael saw more, because he was a great artist.	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A copy that developed alongside the Mona Lisa</b> is obviously fascinating, but it does not necessarily revolutionise understandings of this painting. Raphael saw more, because he was a great artist.	✓
3	<b>A certain copy that developed alongside the Mona Lisa</b> is obviously fascinating, but it does not necessarily revolutionise understandings of this painting. Raphael saw more, because he was a great artist.	✓
4	<b>The copy that developed alongside the Mona Lisa</b> is obviously fascinating, but it does not necessarily revolutionise understandings of this painting. Raphael saw more, because he was a great artist.	✓
5	<b>Any copy that developed alongside the Mona Lisa</b> is obviously fascinating, but it does not necessarily revolutionise understandings of this painting. Raphael saw more, because he was a great artist.	X
6	No	✓

Text 40	One of them was unnamed and another credited as a man in the show's running order but, along with co-presenter Sarah Montague, their appearance alongside 18 male guests and reporters could mark a new high in gender equality on <b>a programme that more than any other sets the agenda for the day's news.</b>	
1	Yes	✓
2	<b>A programme that more than any other sets the agenda for the day's news</b> saw a new high in gender equality when six women – one unnamed and another credited as a man in the show's running order – appeared alongside presenter Sarah Montague and 18 male guests and reporters.	✓
3	One of them was unnamed and another credited as a man in the show's running order but, along with co-presenter Sarah Montague, their appearance alongside 18 male guests and reporters could mark a new high in gender equality on <b>a certain programme that more than any other sets the agenda for the day's news.</b>	✓
4	One of them was unnamed and another credited as a man in the	✓

	show's running order but, along with co-presenter Sarah Montague, their appearance alongside 18 male guests and reporters could mark a new high in gender equality on <b>the programme that more than any other sets the agenda for the day's news.</b>	
5	One of them was unnamed and another credited as a man in the show's running order but, along with co-presenter Sarah Montague, their appearance alongside 18 male guests and reporters could mark a new high in gender equality on <b>any programme that more than any other sets the agenda for the day's news.</b>	X
6	No	✓

## Appendix 2: Texts

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### Text 1

## A new wave of protests, a new Jarrow march, and a new generation blighted by joblessness

Sir Mervyn King and the young demonstrators outside the Tory conference both see what the government does not – that George Osborne's 'plan for growth' is highly unlikely to work

- Heather Stewart
- The Observer, Sunday 9 October 2011
- <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2011/oct/09/new-generation-blighted-by-joblessness>



Demonstrators marching through Manchester on a protest organised by the TUC and billed as a rally for 'jobs, growth, justice' as the Conservative party conference opened in the city

While Sir Mervyn King was going round TV studios last week painstakingly explaining the Bank's latest bid to boost the economy, a bunch of angry youngsters were trudging through Yorkshire on a "march for jobs".

They have plenty to be cross about. When the latest unemployment figures are released on Wednesday, they will almost certainly show that joblessness jumped again in August, with youth unemployment hitting a million, as a fresh crop of disillusioned school-leavers and disappointed graduates trooped down to the jobcentre.

They are the real victims of this non-recovery – and quantitative easing will do nothing to help. Retracing the route of the Jarrow march against poverty 75 years ago, the main demand of today's marchers seems relatively modest: they just want a job. But even before the rug was pulled out from under the recovery, there were precious few to go around.

Evidence suggests that a few years out of the labour market during the early stages of a young person's career can have a long-term impact on their earnings potential, creating a "lost generation" scarred for the rest of their working lives by the sheer bad luck of reaching adulthood during a downturn.

There's no sign things are going to get much better any time soon. Have no doubt about the significance of last week's decision in Threadneedle Street: King is pushing the panic button. He has no confidence in George Osborne's "plan for growth", or Frau Merkel's power to bridge the gaping hole at the heart of euro project, and is doing everything in the Bank's power to shore up the economy against the fallout.

Last week's launch of "QE2", with £75bn of asset purchases, was only the first step in King's action plan to inject more money into the economy – some analysts are predicting it will be followed by perhaps another £200bn.

According to the Bank's own research, the first round boosted GDP by up to 2% – though many would say that the spoils were very unevenly divided, with much of it swallowed up in profits and bonuses, and little feeding through to real wages, let alone job creation.

So, as the chancellor appeared to concede in his conference speech last week, QE2 does not absolve the government of its responsibility to help. Osborne's plan to implement credit easing – a term coined by the US Federal Reserve chairman, Ben Bernanke – sounded radical, but the Treasury is still working out the details.

As Citigroup's Michael Saunders notes, it's quite extraordinary for a government that owns much of two of the UK's biggest banks to consider setting up an entirely new institution to ensure that budding entrepreneurs can get a loan. As he puts it: "What you should really do is appoint a new chairman of RBS and tell them what to do."

That wouldn't be enough either: the government should take targeted steps now to alleviate the jobs crisis among young people, perhaps by boosting apprenticeships, bankrolling training or widening the national insurance holiday for taking on new staff.

But it should also include something more like the Future Jobs Fund – scrapped by the coalition. This scheme offered a straightforward subsidy to employers willing to take on a jobless youngster and give them a chance, instead of paying a private-sector contractor to coax and counsel them back to work, as the government's Work Programme does. Voluntary organisations with a wealth of experience in this area are highly sceptical about the likelihood that the Work Programme will be able to tackle the huge scale of the unemployment challenge in the UK.

Osborne boasts that his deficit-cutting programme has created the space for the Bank to be "monetarily activist" and they've taken him at his word. But he needs to do a lot more creative thinking himself. The TUC managed to muster 35,000 angry marchers at the Tory conference in Manchester last weekend to protest against government cuts. The march for

jobs may have started small, but the anger of young people left on the scrapheap through no fault of their own will strike a chord with many thousands more.

## Text 2

### A royal scandal

- Leader
- The Guardian, Saturday 6 October 2007
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/oct/06/comment.television>

No image

1 Cynics at the BBC (and there are a few) have a favourite cry whenever a scandal breaks:  
2 "Deputy heads must roll!" Sacrifice there always is, but the upper echelons are usually spared  
3 the chop. The broadcaster seems to be taking "Crowngate" much more seriously - at least if  
4 the collateral damage is any guide. Both the controller of BBC1, Peter Fincham, and his head  
5 of press were forced to resign yesterday. So was Stephen Lambert, the independent producer,  
6 whose position always looked shaky once he admitted wrongly editing footage of the Queen  
7 to show her storming out of a photo shoot. What began as a wheeze to spice up a trailer for a  
8 press conference has amassed quite a body count.

9 There will be those who want the toll to be higher still. Already doubts are being voiced  
10 about the future of Jana Bennett, the head of most of the BBC's TV production, and there are  
11 even calls for the director general, Mark Thompson, to step down. Much of this smacks either  
12 of febrile speculation or sheer mischief-making by those who profit whenever the BBC loses  
13 - it is certainly not the message from Will Wyatt's report into the affair. His paper, the release  
14 of which yesterday set off the chain of resignations, is emphatic that no one "consciously set  
15 out to defame or misrepresent the Queen".

16 Rather than a witchhunt, what should follow this report is a cool-headed reorganisation of the  
17 corporation's practices - those "ineffective systems" that were much mentioned yesterday.  
18 BBC executives must take greater control of outside productions, especially those featuring  
19 important, newsworthy figures such as our head of state. That is easier to prescribe than to  
20 practice for an organisation which is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker. But if  
21 the BBC wants a greater number of independent productions it must accept that outside  
22 commissioning cannot lead to wholesale devolution of responsibility.

23 This has been a terrible year for the BBC and other broadcasters, dominated by the question  
24 of how far viewers can trust what they see. On that issue the Wyatt report has less to say. One  
25 section has the rather troubling title of It's the Queen!, as if she deserved much better  
26 treatment than her subjects - those who usually make up TV fodder. One lesson of this  
27 summer is surely that producers must get better at dealing fairly and openly with all  
28 contributors and viewers. On that score, though, the BBC is a lesser offender than some.  
29 Disputes over what name to give the Blue Peter kitten are nothing compared to GMTV  
30 defrauding viewers of up to £35m in falsified phone-in competitions. The BBC should  
31 certainly improve its act, but it need not beat itself up over every minor misdemeanour. Only  
32 its enemies would want that.

## Text 3

# Anders Breivik's hatred has been drowned out by Norwegians singing

With Children of the Rainbow, the people of Oslo chose a song that extols the kind of multicultural society the killer despises

- Billy Bragg
- The Guardian, Friday 27th April 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/apr/27/anders-breivik-norwegians-singing>



Thousands of Norwegians sing song Breivik despises

1 It's not much of a protest song, to be truthful. The **lyrics** of Children of the Rainbow sound  
2 ideal material for a Sunday school choir. Yet, when sung by 40,000 Norwegians in response  
3 to a week of testimony by the rightwing terrorist Anders Breivik, the meaning of **those words**  
4 has been transformed.

5 **The lyrics** were written by Lillebjørn Nilsen, a much-loved Norwegian singer-songwriter  
6 from the 1970s, who Breivik singled out in his testimony as a "Marxist" who "writes music  
7 that is used to brainwash children". Far from being a call for revolution, **the lyrics** paint a  
8 picture of a society where "Together we will live Each sister and brother Small children of  
9 the rainbow".

10 If anything, Nilsen has toned down the content of the original, a song called My Rainbow  
11 Race, written by Pete Seeger in the 1960s. Pete warns about the evils of greed in a  
12 consumerist society that dreams "plastic dreams". He speaks of poison and bombs – written  
13 during the Vietnam war, this evoked images of defoliant chemicals and munitions used by

14 American troops. Another line has particular resonance with the murderous crimes of Anders  
15 Breivik: "Don't you know you can't kill all the unbelievers? There's no shortcut to freedom".

16 Yet, even shorn of Pete's righteous anger, Children of the Rainbow packs an emotional  
17 punch. For those singing close to the courthouse where Breivik is being tried for the murder  
18 of 69 participants in a Labour party youth camp on the island of Utøya, the line "And  
19 someone steals from the young" must have held a terrible poignancy.

20 What transforms a familiar children's song into a powerful vehicle for a nation's outrage? It's  
21 not just a simple matter of context. Singing a song together is a powerful social experience, as  
22 anyone who has ever been to a rock concert can testify. However, if the song you are singing  
23 is not just a celebration of love, if the lyric seeks to make a point to people that you consider  
24 to be the opposition, then the sense of bonding is heightened. Think of a football crowd  
25 whose team have just taken the lead singing in unison a song aimed at their rivals.

26 Protest music has a similar unifying effect. When the majority of an audience sing along with  
27 a song attacking the government, critics dismiss such behaviour as "preaching to the  
28 converted". While it may be true that those singing share a political outlook with both the  
29 performer and one another, the experience goes much deeper than simply affirming one's  
30 beliefs. For someone who exists in an environment where their political views are in a  
31 minority, immersing themselves in an audience who are singing songs that articulate those  
32 views can be inspirational. To find yourself among other people in your town who share your  
33 views – people whose existence you may not have been aware of – offers a sense of social  
34 solidarity unavailable in internet chatrooms.

35 That's why the people of Oslo chose a song to express their opposition to everything that  
36 Breivik stands for. Hundreds of articles in the media, angry blogs condemning his views,  
37 memorial pages for the victims on Facebook – none of these had the effect of sending a clear,  
38 unified signal of how the Norwegian people felt.

39 Seeking to express their solidarity with the victims of this act of terror as they assembled to  
40 give their evidence this week, the people of Oslo chose a song that extols the kind of  
41 multicultural society that Breivik despises. By the simple act of singing it together, they have  
42 drowned out the voice of hatred emanating from the Oslo courthouse.

## Text 4

# Andy Coulson casts a long shadow over David Cameron

Former No 10 director of communications vows to fight charges but prosecution mars prime minister's jubilee lunch

- Nicholas Watt, chief political correspondent
- The Guardian, 24th July 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jul/24/andy-coulson-long-shadow-david-cameron>



The Queen with David Cameron, John Major, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown at a diamond jubilee lunch at No 10 Downing Street.

1 The announcement that Andy Coulson, Downing Street's former director of communications,  
2 was to be charged in connection with phone hacking came on a day of mixed emotions for  
3 the prime minister. No 10 had the day down as one of the highlights of Cameron's  
4 premiership as he hosted the Queen, the Duke of Edinburgh and three of his immediate  
5 predecessors for a diamond jubilee lunch.

6 A few hours before the lunch, however, the CPS announced that it was charging Coulson as  
7 well as the former News International chief executive Rebekah Brooks, a friend of  
8 Cameron's. John Whittingdale, the chairman of the Commons culture select committee, said  
9 it was "embarrassing" for the government, adding that it was an "important day" and "not a  
10 great day" for the press or politics.

11 Whittingdale told Radio 4's World at One: "Today is not a great day for the press and it is not  
12 a great day for politics. We have seen from the Leveson inquiry the closeness of the links  
13 between this government and indeed the last Labour government with senior figures in News  
14 International.

15 "Obviously it is embarrassing the fact that *a former director of communications* is being  
16 charged with criminal offences.

17 "But David Cameron has said very clearly he was assured by Mr Coulson he had no  
18 involvement, no knowledge, and he accepted that. Indeed my committee was given the same  
19 assurances."

20 Asked whether, with the benefit of hindsight, he thought Cameron's decision to hire Coulson  
21 had been wise, Whittingdale said: "Obviously with the benefit of hindsight it wasn't. But  
22 David Cameron didn't have the hindsight that we now have when he made the appointment."

23 The CPS decision means that allegations of phone hacking will continue to hang over  
24 Downing Street well into next year as the prime minister attempts to turn his sights to the  
25 general election in 2015. Coulson has also been charged in Scotland over allegations of lying  
26 on oath when he gave evidence in court about phone hacking at the News of the World.

27 Coulson, who was charged by the Crown Prosecution Service with five offences, denied the  
28 allegations and said the decision was disappointing. Speaking outside his home in Forest Hill,  
29 south London, he said: "I am extremely disappointed by the CPS decision today. I will fight  
30 these allegations when they eventually get to court ... The idea I would sit in my office  
31 dreaming up schemes that would undermine investigations is simply untrue."

32 Cameron has been reflecting on the wisdom of his decision, based on a recommendation by  
33 George Osborne, to hire Coulson as the Conservative party communications director in 2007.  
34 Coulson had resigned as NoW editor a few months earlier after he took ultimate  
35 responsibility following the jailing of Clive Goodman, the paper's royal editor, for phone  
36 hacking. Coulson has always denied any knowledge of phone hacking at the paper.

37 Phone hacking became a big issue for the prime minister when it was reported last year that  
38 the News of the World had allegedly hacked the phone of the murdered schoolgirl  
39 MillyDowler. This prompted the prime minister to establish the Leveson inquiry into media  
40 ethics.

41 Coulson, with the former News International chief executive Rebekah Brooks and three other  
42 former NoW staff plus the private investigator Glenn Mulcaire, were charged with hacking  
43 Dowler's phone. Brooks issued a statement saying the charge was "untrue".

44 Cameron told the Leveson inquiry that politicians from the two main parties became too close  
45 to executives from News International and other media companies over the past few decades.

46 The prime minister faced criticism for visiting Brooks and her husband Charlie, a  
47 contemporary at Eton, on an overly informal basis.

48 The prime minister is monitoring events with care. But he will not be commenting as the  
49 proceedings continue against a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member  
50 of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of  
51 2007.

52 Ed Miliband, the Labour leader, said: "Everybody was very shocked at the revelations of the  
53 hacking of MillyDowler's phone. We said at the time we needed to get to the bottom of what  
54 had happened. It is now right that justice takes its course. This is now a matter for the courts."

55 Lord Prescott, the former deputy prime minister whose phone was allegedly hacked,  
56 welcomed the CPS decision. "For five years and more I've been fighting now just to get a  
57 proper examination of it," Prescott told the BBC. "I wasn't satisfied with the parliamentary  
58 ones.

59 "In Leveson, part way there but a good step forward but now they're in the courts and the  
60 charges have been laid and they have a chance to tell the real story."

61 Ian Edmondson, a former NoW news editor, and James Weatherup, a former assistant news  
62 editor, were charged with conspiring with the former private investigator Glenn Mulcaire  
63 with intercepting Prescott's phone in 2006.

## Text 5

### Chinese Britons have put up with racism for too long

Many people are shocked to hear the extent of prejudice against the Chinese – is it so surprising when stereotypes still flourish?

- Elizabeth Chan
- The Guardian, 11th January 2012
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/jan/11/british-chinese-racism>



Elizabeth Chan as Cinderella at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith in 2008: 'Going to drama school in London was a revelation'.

- 1 Chinese Britons are often referred to as a "silent" or "hidden" minority. For although we are
- 2 the fourth-largest minority ethnic group in the UK, we are virtually invisible in public life,
- 3 principally the arts, media and politics.
  
- 4 On the surface, the Chinese seem relatively content and well-to-do, with British Chinese
- 5 pupils regularly outperforming their classmates and Chinese men more likely than any other
- 6 ethnic group to be in a professional job. Consequently, we are often overlooked in talks on
- 7 racism and social exclusion.
  
- 8 But academic and economic successes do not negate feelings of marginalisation. A 2009
- 9 study by The Monitoring Group and Hull University suggested that British Chinese are
- 10 particularly prone to racial violence and harassment, but that the true extent to their
- 11 victimisation was often overlooked because victims were unwilling to report it.
  
- 12 Growing up in the north of England in the 80s, I had few role models. Popular culture was
- 13 dominated by white faces and occasionally black and south Asian, but never east Asian. I'm
- 14 not sure that much has changed since.
  
- 15 Shouts of "Jackie Chan!" and kung-fu noises from random strangers continue to greet me in
- 16 the street, perhaps followed by a "konichiwa!" Just a few days ago, a friend was having a

17 post-hangover drink in a trendy east London pub, only to be accused by the manager of being  
18 a DVD peddler hassling his clients.

19 Going to drama school in London was a revelation; I was told I couldn't perform in a scene  
20 from a play because it had been written for white people. The scene was two girls sitting on a  
21 park bench talking about boys, and the year was 2006. Worse was when it came from my  
22 contemporaries; one (white, liberal, highly educated) helpfully suggested I did a monologue  
23 from *The Good Soul of Szechuan* instead, and another rushed up after one performance to tell  
24 me how delighted her parents had been that I'd spoken perfect English (I'm from Bradford).

25 In hindsight it was good preparation for a profession where, on my first job, the Bafta-  
26 winning director chuckled to everyone on set that I'd trained in kung fu, and where any  
27 character who speaks in some kind of dodgy east Asian accent is considered hilarious.

28 I have friends who are shocked that such things actually happen. They are usually most  
29 surprised at the fact that it's happened to me. Why? I suspect mainly because, like them, I am  
30 part of the educated middle class, and things like that don't happen to people like us.

31 Well, they do, and quite often. And frankly, it isn't surprising that prejudices are rife in a  
32 country whose media perpetuates the very images that evoke stereotypes and cultural  
33 misunderstandings: Chinese characters rarely appear on our television screens, but when they  
34 do, you can bet they'll be DVD sellers, illegal immigrants, spies or, in the case of last year's  
35 *Sherlock*, weird acrobatic ninja types. Many Chinese viewers were outraged at the portrayal  
36 of east Asians in this show, but typically, few complained.

37 Sadly, the British Chinese are reticent about speaking up for themselves, and simply do not  
38 have the numbers to make the same noise the black and south Asian communities do, whose  
39 vociferous and galvanising voices have been making waves against racism for decades.  
40 Racism is one of those horrendous, soul- and confidence-crushing things that, when faced  
41 with, you'd much rather forget or pretend didn't exist. So we tend to brush it off, pretend it  
42 never happened, or laugh along with the rest rather than come across as bad sports. We  
43 Chinese have become dab hands at this, living up to the stereotype of the smiling but silent  
44 Chinaman.

45 If we are to make progress in understanding the true extent of racism in this country, we all  
46 need to be a lot braver in confronting truths about how we live. It's about swallowing our  
47 pride and being less afraid of telling the world how racism affects us and really thinking  
48 about the people across Britain who have come to accept racism as a part of life. It's about  
49 standing up in classrooms, television studios, offices, pubs and public transport, not just for  
50 ourselves, but for friends and strangers, too.

51 Denial gets us nowhere. But awareness, thoughtfulness and courage could make millions of  
52 lives so much better.

## Text 6

### David Beckham: how this crock of a footballer can still woo the French

It doesn't matter he's too old to play for Paris Saint-Germain – Becks can still score in France as an honorary Frenchman

- Stuart Jeffries
- The Guardian, 1st February 2013
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/feb/01/david-beckham-woo-french-football>



‘Maybe the export of Beckham is part of a policy to improve Anglo-French relations.’

1 The French people aren't what they were. Today, faced with one of the greatest insults to  
2 their national pride of recent times, not one of them is building a barricade or setting fire to  
3 an overturned Renault Clio. Not one has the couilles to stand up, as Charles de Gaulle did  
4 when confronted with the intolerable prospect of Britain becoming a member of the EEC in  
5 1967, and say "Non!"

6 What is this outrage? David Beckham has signed for Paris Saint-Germain, currently the best  
7 team in France. It's a club that, thanks to being bankrolled by Qatari money, offers the best  
8 hope that a Gallic club team has had in decades of performing on the international stage with  
9 the success of Real Madrid, Manchester United, AC Milan or Bayern Munich. The problem  
10 for French football is that the successes of its club teams in Europe have rarely kept pace with  
11 the triumphs of its national team (in part because many of the best French players have been  
12 lured to Spanish, German, Italian and English clubs). The hope for France was that the vast  
13 sums spent by PSG in the last 18 months (at least £200m) building up a squad that includes  
14 such players at the top of their games as Zlatan Ibrahimovic, Thiago Silva, Lucas Moura and  
15 Ezequiel Lavezzi would pay dividends and send French club football to the next level.

16 Where, though, does a 37-year-old English winger in the twilight of his professional  
17 footballing career fit into this plan? Surely Beckham, a player with no recent top-flight

18 experience who would struggle to make it into the starting lineup of an English premiership  
19 team (not even Aston Villa's), has no place in PSG's footballing revolution? What next – Eric  
20 Cantona as PSG's fortysomething fox in the box? If Beckham were a goalkeeper, there would  
21 be no problem: he could be 65 and stand between the Parc des Princes goalposts smoking  
22 Gauloises for 90 minutes, then use his free bus pass to get home, and no sensible PSG fan  
23 would object (I exaggerate but only slightly). But an outfield player? The destiny of  
24 latethirtysomething outfield players, unless they're Ryan Giggs, is to play out their declining  
25 years in Accrington Stanley reserves until their spirits are totally crushed.

26 Perhaps then Beckham's signing is a British plot as sinister and successful as sending Jane  
27 Birkin on a secret mission to destroy Serge Gainsbourg's artistic credibility. The British, after  
28 all, have previous in offloading questionable products in France. Think of that episode of *The*  
29 *Apprentice* in which one team crossed the Channel on a mission, namely to slay shoppers at a  
30 French market armed only with lumps of rubbery Cheddar. It was the opposite of an  
31 Agincourt moment, as Lord Sugar pointed out in the boardroom inquest. Nor did British  
32 designer John Galliano's stewardship of Christian Dior in Paris end well.

33 There is another possibility. Maybe the export of Beckham is part of a policy to improve  
34 Anglo-French relations. Beckham perhaps is a British cultural ambassador to France like  
35 Charlotte Rampling, if not quite as hot, or like Kristin Scott Thomas, if not as posh, or like a  
36 reverse Cantona, if not quite so engagingly surly. By this account, it doesn't matter that he's  
37 too old to play for PSG. As if to give substance to this possibility, Beckham announced on  
38 Thursday he would give his PSG salary – estimated at £150,000 a week, which is a lot of  
39 citrons pressés however you look at it – to a French children's charity. It's the kind of astute  
40 diplomatic move that, along with his pretty face, good manners and chiselled abs, makes one  
41 suspect Beckham isn't British at all. It seems that France, like Spain and the United States  
42 before it, is poised to be charmed by a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming,  
43 muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six  
44 months in Paris are up. Is it a PR mistake for his fashion-conscious, unsmiling wife to remain  
45 in the UK for the sake of the kids while he plays in Paris? Probably: if she's as unsmiling and  
46 fashion-conscious as the last sentence suggests, she'd fit right in.

47 Only one problem: like *Girls Aloud*, Beckham can't speak French. Such are Beckham's  
48 language skills that there are Spaniards still laughing away a decade on from his Real Madrid  
49 post-match interviews in what purported to be their native tongue. How British hearts swelled  
50 with pride though, when Beckham was sent off during a Spanish league game in 2004 after  
51 calling a linesman a "hijo de puta" (son of a bitch) – even though we knew, really, that he  
52 remained a monoglot yeoman with a squeaky voice. To really be beloved in France he needs  
53 to learn to swear with the virtuosity of a Frenchman who's mislaid his linen Agnes B scarf in  
54 the Rue du Bac. He'll need to shrug at reporters at press conferences and say: "Il m'emmerde  
55 avec ses questions à la con" rather than, as he has done until now, politely answering them.  
56 And he needs to leave his obliging permasmile at home. He won't be needing that. If he  
57 adheres to these simple rules, France won't be able to say "non" to Dagenham Dave for long.

## Text 7

### The ghost of Margaret Thatcher will haunt David Cameron until he shows he can win an election

The unusually large band of 148 new Tory MPs elected in 2010 are very much 'Thatcher's children'

- Andrew Grice
- The Independent, 9th April 2013
- <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/the-ghost-of-margaret-thatcher-will-haunt-david-cameron-until-he-shows-he-can-win-an-election-8566496.html>



When Margaret Thatcher began writing her memoirs after being booted out of office by her party rather than the voters, her original title was "Undefeated" before she opted for a more prosaic *The Downing Street Years*.

- 1 It would have been so much better for her successors as Conservative Party leader if she had
- 2 been defeated by the electorate. Her bitterness at being pushed out by her own Cabinet in
- 3 1990 was understandable. The act of matricide left deep scars that have still not healed today.
  
- 4 The manner of her departure gave her some legitimacy in seeking to influence events under
- 5 her successor Sir John Major. He proved a disappointment to her, especially when Europe
- 6 rose to the top of the agenda. Lady Thatcher's acolytes made his life a misery by dripping
- 7 poison, briefing against him and using his shrinking Commons majority to hold him to
- 8 ransom. She wasn't pulling all the strings. But she didn't need to.
  
- 9 After choosing three Eurosceptic leaders, it took a third election defeat in 2005 before the
- 10 Conservatives finally took a different track, opting for the moderniser David Cameron.
- 11 Although Lady Thatcher's portrait still hung in many local Conservative associations around

12 the country, the only Tory photograph in Mr Cameron's office as Opposition Leader was one  
13 of Harold Macmillan, the One Nation Tory Prime Minister.

14 Mr Cameron deliberately distanced himself from Lady Thatcher, much to the irritation of her  
15 followers. For many non-Tory voters, she personified the "nasty party" he promised to  
16 detoxify. He saw himself as the "heir to Blair". While she said "there is no such thing as  
17 society", he argued: "There is such a thing as society, it's just not the same thing as the state."  
18 His plan to complement the Thatcher economic revolution with a social one was overtaken by  
19 the 2008 financial crisis – and his "big society" mantra bombed at the 2010 election.

20 The resulting Coalition gave Mr Cameron a comfortable Commons majority, so he was not  
21 dependent on a hardcore of Eurosceptic trouble-makers.

22 Yet the Prime Minister is still stalked by the ghost of Lady Thatcher. The large band of 148  
23 new Tory MPs elected in 2010 are very much "Thatcher's children", reflecting the ageing,  
24 traditionalist electorate in local parties. The MPs are an impressive, hyperactive bunch,  
25 forming influential groups such as Free Enterprise, which lobbies for tax cuts for business,  
26 and Fresh Start, which drew up a long shopping list of powers to be reclaimed from the EU.

27 No leader could afford to ignore half his parliamentary party and Mr Cameron has had to tack  
28 in a Thatcherite direction. Talking about the "common ground" as Prime Minister rather than  
29 the "centre ground", where he pitched his tent in opposition, may not look very different. But  
30 the "common ground" featured in Lady Thatcher's speeches and was coined by her  
31 intellectual guru Sir Keith Joseph, so Mr Cameron sends a big signal to his party by adopting  
32 it.

33 Yet that, and his promise of an in/out referendum on Europe, have not stopped Thatcherites  
34 plotting against a man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010. "We could do  
35 with another one like her right now," announced Lord Tebbit after Lady Thatcher's death.

36 Yesterday Paul Goodman, executive editor of the ConservativeHome website, said of Mr  
37 Cameron: "He is dwarfed by her giant shadow. This would be true of any imaginable  
38 Conservative leader. But it is accentuated by a single fact. She won three elections. He hasn't  
39 – yet – won one."

40 Mr Cameron may have replaced the Tories' burning torch logo with a tree. But as those new  
41 Tory MPs line up to praise Lady Thatcher in the Commons today, he will be reminded that  
42 the Thatcherite flame will continue to burn strongly in his party.

## Text 8

### The millionaire Dennis Tito and his mission to Mars

#### World's first space tourist plans privately-funded mission to the Red Planet when it makes its nearest approach to Earth in 2018

- Steve Conner,
- The Independent, 26<sup>th</sup> February 2013
- <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/science/the-millionaire-dennis-tito-and-his-mission-to-mars-8512034.html>



World's first space tourist plans privately-funded mission to the Red Planet when it makes its nearest approach to Earth in 2018

- 1 It has been a long-cherished dream of space enthusiasts, as well as lovers of science fiction,  
2 but now it seems that someone has finally come up with an ambitious – and some say  
3 realistic – plan to send two astronauts to Mars in just five years' time.
- 4 Tomorrow at the National Press Club in Washington, multi-millionaire Dennis Tito – the  
5 world's first space tourist – is expected to reveal how he hopes to launch a privately-funded  
6 mission to Mars in 2018, when the Red Planet makes its nearest approach to Earth.
- 7 Little is known about the "Inspiration Mars" mission except that it is Tito's brainchild and  
8 that he has garnered some high-profile supporters, including Jonathan Clark, the associate  
9 professor of neurology at Baylor College of Medicine who was the crew's surgeon on six  
10 Space Shuttle flights.
- 11 Dr Clark told *The Independent* that he is not supposed to talk about the mission until all is  
12 revealed at the Washington press conference this evening, but he dismissed suggestions that  
13 the plan is not a serious one.
- 14 "I wouldn't be involved if I didn't think that there was something to it. I don't want to pre-  
15 empt the announcement, but it's a very in-depth study that has gone into it," Dr Clark said.

16 The Inspiration Mars mission will send two astronauts on a simple return trip to Mars, flying  
17 around the far side of the planet once but without going into orbit.

18 Scientifically, the 501-day mission will accomplish next to nothing. The probes, landers and  
19 robots that have already been sent to Mars have sent back far more interesting and useful  
20 information than this simple manned mission is ever going to be able to gather.

21 However, in terms of human endurance and psychology, the mission could set new  
22 precedents in space exploration. For 17 months, two people will experience what it is like to  
23 be cooped up together in a space module not much bigger than a small bathroom with the  
24 ever-present risk of something going fatally wrong.

25 Technically, it is known as a return fly-by, meaning that it will need the smallest amount of  
26 fuel to get there and back again. If anything goes wrong, the spacecraft should make its own  
27 way back to Earth – but with no possibility of any short-cuts home.

28 Anyone who knows anything about the immense problems of manned missions to Mars will  
29 want to hear about how Tito intends to raise the estimated \$1.5bn-\$2bn (£1bn-£1.3bn) that it  
30 will cost to send two people to Mars and back again.

31 Tito, a former Nasa scientist who made his fortune in financial investment, is believed to be  
32 in contact with other self-made billionaires with an interest in space flight, including Elon  
33 Musk, the Paypal entrepreneur and founder of SpaceX, the private space company.

34 One possibility is that a privately-funded mission could raise money through TV rights and  
35 internet deals. The public could be invited to pay for exclusive access to on-board camcorders  
36 or the privilege of talking to the crew – some commentators have even suggested some kind  
37 of reality TV deal.

38 AnuOjha, the director of the UK National Space Academy in Leicester, said that the global  
39 space community is agog at the thought that a group of extremely wealthy individuals could  
40 club together to fund a “quick and simple” manned mission to the Red Planet.

41 “I am more excited about this than any human spaceflight story I’ve seen or heard about  
42 being planned since I was a kid – but it all depends on the funding question,” Mr Ojha said.

43 “This could be the biggest space adventure since the Apollo programme. In fact it is Apollo 8  
44 on steroids, but without the funding it’s dead in the water,” he said.

45 Apollo 8 was the first manned space flight that took astronauts beyond Earth orbit. It was a  
46 trailblazer mission in that, for the first time, men made a simple return trip to the Moon,  
47 orbiting the lunar landscape 10 times before coming back home.

48 With the Inspiration Mars mission, “the returns in terms of understanding human physiology  
49 and psychology in long-duration spaceflight would re-write the textbooks,” Mr Ojha said.

50 “As an exemplar of human endurance and exploration, it is totally unprecedented. This would  
51 be an Apollo 8 moment – but lasting a year and a half rather than six days and with no  
52 meaningful abort options once on its way.”

53 Professor Martin Rees, the astronomer royal, agreed that technically the mission is far  
54 simpler than sending a manned Mars orbiter and lander, but the physical and psychological  
55 issues faced by the crew would be formidable.

56 “The Mars trip would be more of an ordeal than a Moon-loop trip, though no more than what  
57 Ranulph Fiennes was trying to do, and would require more provisions. But it’s not technically  
58 crazy – and hugely simpler than a Mars landing,” Professor Rees said.

59 The Mars Inspiration mission plans to use the Falcon Heavy rockets made by SpaceX to  
60 launch the company’s Dragon space module, the first private spacecraft to dock with the  
61 International Space Station. Dragon, however, is little more than 14ft long and 12 ft wide,  
62 although extra living space could be made available with the addition of a Bigelow  
63 “inflatable” module.

64 But even so, the living conditions will be more Spartan than the recent Mars 500 ground  
65 mission in Moscow where six “astronauts” simulated in a scientific institute what it was like  
66 to live together in close confinement on a 520-day “space mission”, which ended in January.

67 A technical paper to be presented at the IEEE Aerospace Conference in Montana this  
68 weekend, co-authored by Tito and Clark, says that conditions on board the Dragon module  
69 will be testing. “Crew comfort is limited to survival needs only. For example sponge baths  
70 are acceptable, with no need for showers,” it says.

71 Apart from the psychological problems associated with claustrophobia and the limited room  
72 for exercise and other bodily functions, there will be the ever-present problem of a coronal  
73 mass ejection from the Sun, which could send out a stream of high-energy particles and  
74 radiation that could seriously harm the astronauts.

75 Although in 2018 the Sun will be going through a quiet phase of its 11-year sunspot cycle  
76 time, a coronal mass ejection is still possible, which would put the crew in serious risk of  
77 injury or even death.

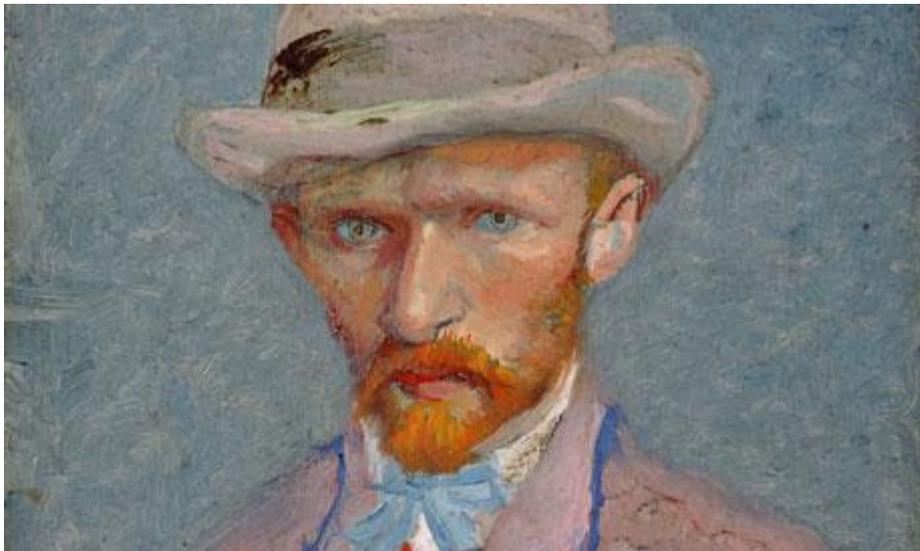
78 But perhaps this will be the least of their worries on a journey where there isn’t much else to  
79 do but look at the stars and dream of home.

## Text 9

### Did Van Gogh kill himself? It shouldn't really matter

A new claim that a bizarre accident caused the artist's death has no bearing on the severe emotional troubles evident in his letters

- Jonathon Jones
- The Guardian, 18<sup>th</sup> October 20122
- <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog/2011/oct/18/did-van-gogh-kill-himself>



Brushed aside ... the Van Gogh Museum has dismissed claims the artist, shown here in an 1887 self-portrait, died in an accident. Click for the full image. Photograph: AP

- 1 The Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam counsels visitors not to interpret his last works as
- 2 clues to his suicide – which, according to conventional wisdom, took place when the artist
- 3 shot himself in a field near the doctor's house that was his last refuge in a world he found
- 4 almost impossible to inhabit. Last time I was there, a label advised against taking an overly
- 5 melodramatic view of his roiling blue, black and gold late vision *Wheatfield with Crows*.
- 6 Now the museum has once again urged caution, this time about the claim in a new biography
- 7 that Van Gogh did not shoot himself after all but was mortally wounded in a bizarre accident.
- 8 Well might the Van Gogh Museum express scepticism. After all, it seems like only yesterday
- 9 that "scholars" were claiming poor Vincent did not cut off his own ear after all but was
- 10 injured by Gauguin with a sword. That claim soon vanished into thin air and rightly so. Will
- 11 this theory be as short-lived?

12 Both claims have the instant appeal of challenging the "myth" of Van Gogh the tortured  
13 artist, the man "suicided by society", in the words of Antonin Artaud. Yet both come up  
14 against the mystery of why he never mentioned that he had been injured by others. In the case  
15 of his ear, it would seem strange that he allowed himself to be hounded by locals as a  
16 dangerous madman and incarcerated in asylum without mentioning that, oh, by the way, he  
17 was the victim of an assault. Similarly in this case, asks the BBC's Will Gompertz, why let  
18 his family think he'd killed himself if that was not the case? He managed to walk back home  
19 and survived the gunshot to his chest long enough to speak out.

20 But the truly misleading thing here is the idea that it makes much difference to how we see  
21 Van Gogh. I am not disputing the fascination of his biography, but it is much, much more  
22 than a dramatic series of violent incidents. Few artists are better known to us than Van Gogh.  
23 His letters constitute a work of art in their own right – a literary masterpiece. If you want to  
24 appreciate them as such, the best places to start, in English, is the Penguin Classics edition of  
25 his selected letters that brings out their vivid intimacy, intellectual liveliness and emotional  
26 depth. If you want to delve still further, the new edition of the complete letters undertaken by  
27 the Van Gogh Museum is exhaustive, and dispiriting.

28 Dispiriting because it reveals the seriousness and extremity of Van Gogh's emotional  
29 troubles. From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of a man who from his  
30 youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his  
31 19th-century world. At odds with his parents, with employers, even with the brother who  
32 financially supported him, Vincent nursed the darkest of thoughts and made his own  
33 existence virtually impossible. He comes across in his own correspondence like a character  
34 out of Dostoevsky.

35 Not many who read his letters will find suicide a surprising end to his story. That doesn't  
36 mean the authors of the new biography are necessarily wrong, but it does make their  
37 proposed revision less important than it might seem at first glance. You can argue about the  
38 incident. You cannot deny his life expressed the urge.

## Text 10

# The Left should learn about plain speaking from George Galloway

### The Right is better at communicating because it uses stories so much

- Owen Jones
- The Independent, 17th February 2013
- <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/the-left-should-learn-about-plain-speaking-from-george-galloway-8498536.html>



No politician is as demonised or as despised by the political and media establishment as George Galloway.

1 It is only partly because he is afflicted with the disease of charismatic British left-wing  
2 political figures, which is to provide ample self-destructive material to feed his many  
3 enemies. He was mocked for a largely disastrous appearance on Celebrity Big Brother. He  
4 has made unacceptable comments about rape – “not everybody needs to be asked prior to  
5 each insertion” – that repulsed virtually everybody. He has made apparently sympathetic  
6 remarks about brutal dictators (although, unlike some of his detractors, he hasn’t sold them  
7 arms, funded them or even been paid by them).

8 A few weeks ago, he stood in Parliament to demand David Cameron explain why Britain was  
9 apparently intervening to save Mali from Islamist thugs, when it was supporting very similar  
10 groups in Syria. “Wherever there is a brutal Arab dictator in the world,” the Prime Minister  
11 spat back, “he will have the support of [Galloway].” All sides of the House roared their  
12 approval: and so the political elite closed ranks against a man sent by the people of Bradford  
13 to express their disgust with the Westminster club.

14 Surprising, then, to see the response he attracted on last week’s Question Time. Yes, when he  
15 first appeared on the nation’s TV screens, a debate raged on Twitter about whether he looked  
16 more like Dr No or Ming the Merciless. And yet he was met with repeated, resounding  
17 applause from the audience. The answer is clear. Labour’s representative on the panel, Mary  
18 Creagh, spoke the language of the political elite – technocratic, stripped of passion, with too  
19 much jargon and management speak, with phrases like “direction of travel”. But Galloway  
20 offered direct, clear answers; he spoke eloquently, and with language that resonated with

21 non-politicos; he had enthusiasm, conviction and – to borrow a Tony Benn phrase – said what  
22 he meant and meant what he said.

23 A lesson for Labour, then. Even a figure with a long-haul flight’s worth of baggage can be  
24 cheered if they use populist language that connects with people and their experiences. But as  
25 New Labour remorselessly helped to professionalise politics, it bred a generation of “on-  
26 message” politicians with focus group-approved lines. Verbless sentences – “new challenges,  
27 new ideas”; macho clichés – “taking the tough decisions”; platitudes like “fairness”. A new  
28 breed of political Kremlinologists were assembled to decipher insufferably dull speeches and  
29 articles by politicians.

30 In truth, the Right is better at communicating because it uses stories so much; the Left often  
31 rely on cold facts and statistics. But people connect better with stories. The classic right-wing  
32 story of our time is to compare the national deficit to a household budget. Any serious  
33 economist will tell you this is gibberish – which house has a money printing press, and will  
34 mum get sacked if young Dan stops spending his pocket money? – but it resonates with  
35 people. “Of course – if I’m in debt, why would I borrow even more money to get out of it?”  
36 voters think, even as the Government is forced to do exactly that because of the failures of  
37 austerity. The same goes with relentless examples of scroungers in mansions full of feral  
38 children and plasma TVs. A tiny unrepresentative minority are portrayed as the tip of an  
39 iceberg, scrubbing away the reality of unemployed and disabled people; but because it taps  
40 into a very small element of truth, it resonates.

41 Not that I’m saying the Left should indulge in casual dishonesty or inaccurate generalisations.  
42 But policies can seem pretty abstract until they relate to human beings. Take the poisoned  
43 welfare debate: the scrounger caricature needs to be smashed with stories of low-paid  
44 workers struggling to make ends meet; unemployed people desperately looking for work;  
45 disabled people having their state support removed – all of whom are having their benefits  
46 slashed.

47 “Facts and figures, when used, should create a moral point in a memorable way,” explains US  
48 political linguist George Lakoff. His point is that “framing” is key: that is having, an over-  
49 arching narrative, or story. When you start using the language of your opponent, you have  
50 lost. This is exactly what several senior Labour politicians have a habit of doing. The  
51 “debate” on the welfare state is a classic example. Management-consultants-turned-  
52 politicians like Liam Byrne accept political goalposts set by the Right, de facto accepting the  
53 “scrounger” or “skiver” caricatures, leaving them playing on territory where the Tories will  
54 always win.

55 New Labour ideologues always feared policies that sounded too left-wing, but the truth is  
56 most voters do not think in terms of “left” and “right”, they think in terms of issues that have  
57 to be addressed, with policies that are coherent, convincing and make sense with their own  
58 experiences. The Right have a habit of using moderate language to sell radical ideas; the Left  
59 would do well to learn from them. It needs to drop clinical terms: use the price of bread or  
60 vegetables or surging energy prices rather than “inflation”, for example. The Right often use  
61 hooks in the news – like the horrific cases of Karen Matthews or Baby P – to make a wider  
62 point, as though they reveal an otherwise ignored truth about “the other Britain”. The Left  
63 certainly should not go to such crass or tasteless lengths, but the principle remains.

64 The Right have turned having outriders into an artform. Take the Taxpayers' Alliance, a big  
65 business-funded hard-right lobby group posturing as the voice of people who pay taxes. They  
66 float radical right-wing ideas impossible for a mainstream Conservative politician to propose.  
67 In doing so, they shift the goalposts of debate to the Right. "I wouldn't go quite as far as that,  
68 however..." a Tory MP can say, making a previously radical idea seem moderate.

69 The appetite for left-wing populism is greater than it has been for a generation. Much of the  
70 Establishment – from banks to the media – have been discredited by scandal. Free-market  
71 capitalism is a wreck. But the Left is a long way from learning how to put its case. Gorgeous  
72 George is one of the most charismatic politicians of our time, but also one of the most  
73 divisive, and still manages to win over the audience. You don't have to like him; but, if you  
74 want to change the world, you do have to learn from him.

## Text 11

### Israel and the family of nations

What actions or arguments can the rest of the world take or make that will have any resonance in a country which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion?

- Editorial
- The Guardian, 13th January 2009
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/jan/13/gaza-israelandthepalestinians2>

No image

1 The Times's chief leader writer last week attempted a measured explanation of why  
2 international pressure on Israel often seems so futile and inadequate. The experience of Jews  
3 in the first half of the 20th century, he wrote, meant that Jews no longer felt safe as the wards  
4 of world opinion. "When Israel is urged to respect world opinion and put its faith in the  
5 international community the point is rather being missed," he wrote. "The very idea of Israel  
6 is a rejection of this option."

7 There may well be a psychological truth in this, but it will plainly not do in other respects. It  
8 does scant justice to the noble, democratic and broadly admirable ideals of the founders of a  
9 Jewish homeland and it is impossible to reconcile with Israel's obligations as a member of a  
10 wider community of nations. This wish to join the world on equal terms was, after all, the  
11 aspiration of the first Zionist leaders. The question – as Israeli tanks grind into Gaza City – is  
12 what actions or arguments the rest of the world can take or make that will have any resonance  
13 in a country which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion.

14 Between orderly nations one state can express its disapproval of another by calling in the  
15 ambassador for an "interview without coffee" (to adopt the army terminology of the moment)  
16 – or by withdrawing its own. Such diplomatic moments send important signals. It is now time  
17 for David Miliband formally to request just such a conversation with Ron Prosor, Israel's man  
18 in London.

19 Mr Miliband should run through four arguments for an immediate ceasefire which will all be  
20 familiar to Mr Prosor but which still need restating. The first is humanitarian. There is an  
21 extraordinary official anger coming from UN and Red Cross officials on the ground in the -  
22 Middle East. Equally, there is something chilling about seeing Israel's representatives  
23 appearing nightly on television screens expressing qualified remorse for the deaths of  
24 hundreds of Palestinian women and children. The two men surely need waste little time  
25 agreeing that the slaughter of so many innocent Palestinians cannot be allowed to continue.

26 The second area they should discuss is security. Mr Prosor may well raise, rightly, the  
27 security of British (and European) Jews, who feel threatened by the ugly reaction of some  
28 extremists incapable of distinguishing between the actions of a state and the religious or  
29 ethnic identities of individuals. Mr Miliband will not need to labour the point that neither the

30 long- term security of British citizens nor of the state of Israel itself will be in any way  
31 advanced by the further prosecution of an asymmetrical war in which total victory can never  
32 be declared.

33 Mr Miliband should then move on to concerns about the legality of the military actions being  
34 pursued by the Israeli army. There is, as we report today, a growing body of authoritative  
35 opinion arguing that the manner in which battle is being pursued in Gaza could well merit  
36 future investigation as possible war crimes.

37 The final area for discussion is Israel's obligations as a member of the community of civilised  
38 nations. Israel should take no comfort from the protracted wrangling that led to last week's  
39 UN resolution calling for a ceasefire, nor from America's abstention or Britain's hand--  
40 wringing. All the signs are that the Obama administration is not going to be sympathetic to a  
41 future of failed blockades or the intransigent refusal to talk to Israel's enemies.

42 None of these arguments will, on past form, cut much ice. That is why the talk elsewhere is  
43 now of boycotts, of arms embargos, of revoking trade agreements, withholding financial  
44 support and cancelling export credit guarantees. These are not all appealing options, nor  
45 should they be yet necessary. But a country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the  
46 international community leaves its friends, never mind its enemies, running out of road.

## Text 12

### Israel's royal welcome

An organisation which discriminates against non-Jews is having a 'charitable' dinner at Windsor Castle

- Tony Greenstein
- The Guardian, 25th March 2008
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/mar/25/israelsroyalwelcome>

No image

1 On April 7, Prince Philip will be hosting a dinner at Windsor Castle organised by the  
2 Jewish National Fund. They will be marking the 60th anniversary of the establishment of  
3 the Israeli state. However this is not a private dinner. Nor is the JNF an ordinary  
4 organisation.

5 The JNF was established in 1901 as the land settlement wing of the World Zionist  
6 Organisation. It became one of the primary instruments involved in planning for the  
7 dispossession and expulsion of the Palestinians. Up until 1948 it purchased land for  
8 settlement, often from absentee landlords, and then evicted the peasants from that land.  
9 Unlike the normal practice under colonial rule, the Palestinians were not re-employed as  
10 wage labourers but excluded from the land altogether. This was the concept of Jewish  
11 land. But even by 1947 less than 7% of the land of Palestine had been bought up.

12 The JNF played a crucial role in planning for the ethnic cleansing of Palestine. In the  
13 years leading up to the establishment of the state of Israel, the JNF was a key voice in  
14 establishing a consensus in the Zionist leadership for "transfer". Although not discussed  
15 openly, among the Zionist leaders it was accepted that a Jewish state could only come  
16 into being if the Arabs were transferred out of the state. Palestine was a land where barely  
17 one-third of the inhabitants were Jewish, and even in the area allotted by the United  
18 Nations to a Jewish state, barely half of the inhabitants were Jewish. As the head of *its*  
19 *Land Settlement Department*, Joseff Weitz, wrote in his diary in 1940:

20 The only solution is to transfer the Arabs from here to neighbouring countries. Not  
21 a single village or a single tribe must be let off. [Ilan Pappé: *The Ethnic Cleansing*  
22 *of Palestine*, page 62]

23 Weitz later formed, with the authority of David Ben Gurion, a Transfer Committee. And  
24 between 1947 and 1949 an opportunity arose to put these ideas into practice. As Tom  
25 Segev called in Ha'aretz, a meeting was held in Haifa on March 27, 1948, concerning  
26 the fate of the Bedouin of Arab al-Ghawarina in the Haifa area. "They must be removed  
27 from there, so that they, too, will not add to our troubles," Yosef Weitz, of the Keren  
28 Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund), wrote in his personal diary.

29 The JNF occupies a unique position in Israel. It is nominally an independent organisation  
30 but in reality it is a contracted-out section of the state, controlled by unelected and  
31 unaccountable bureaucrats, carrying out functions that the state itself cannot be seen to do  
32 openly. The JNF functions as an ideological outpost of the Greater Israel movement and  
33 when the Israeli army razed to the ground the Palestinian villages of the Imwas, Yalu and  
34 Beit Nuba villages in 1967 and expelled their inhabitants, the JNF took over the  
35 construction of the Canada National Park on the ruins.

36 The JNF's position was formalised by the 1953 KKL Law whereby its memorandum of  
37 association had to be approved by the minister of justice. In November 1961 a covenant  
38 was signed between the state of Israel and the JNF which accorded the latter effective  
39 control of the land allocation policies of the state of Israel, which together with the Israeli  
40 Lands Administration, controlled 93% of Israeli land. According to Article 3a of its  
41 constitution, the JNF was established "for the purpose of settling Jews on such lands and  
42 properties" as it could obtain.

43 The British royal family have a constitutional role greater than their private prejudices.  
44 They are seen as the representatives of British society and their invitation to the JNF will  
45 inevitably be seen as giving a royal seal of approval to the Nakba, the Palestinian  
46 catastrophe. Britain's role in arming the Zionist militias who fell like wolves on largely  
47 defenceless villagers, while suppressing the 1936 Palestinian national uprising, is  
48 infamous enough without the monarchy celebrating the consequences of Britain's perfidy.

49 Not that the association between royalty and the most barbaric aspects of colonialism is  
50 anything new. Today's royals may hold gala dinners in celebration of the abolition of the  
51 slave trade and Wilberforce, but when slavery was a going concern, its most ardent  
52 supporters were royalty. Elizabeth I went into business as a partner of slave trader John  
53 Hawkins, Charles II was a major shareholder in the Royal African Company and William  
54 IV, then Duke of Clarence, spoke out strongly against the abolition of the slave trade and  
55 emancipation in the House of Lords.

56 With the solitary exception of Princess Diana and her campaign against landmines, the  
57 royals have been associated with the most atavistic and bloody aspects of British imperial  
58 rule. From the Indian Mutiny and the Amritsar massacre to the Hola death camp in  
59 Kenya, the royals have always been associated with militarism and empire. Prince Harry's  
60 role in Afghanistan is a continuation of this inglorious history.

61 In 1995 an Arab couple, the Kadans, tried to buy an apartment in Katzir. For 10 years the  
62 JNF and the Israeli Lands Authority tried to prevent the leasing of "Jewish" land to non-  
63 Jews. Eventually the supreme court ruled that state land could not be sold to Jews only.

64 This caused huge embarrassment among Jews worldwide. How could Jews protest against  
65 anti-Semitism when condoning blatantly racist practices in Israel? America's Reform  
66 movement, to which most Jews adhere, condemned the practice unequivocally.

67 The JNF itself, though, was anything but embarrassed. It began a campaign to reverse the  
68 court's decision and last summer a JNF Bill was introduced into the Knesset, where it was  
69 passed on the first reading by 64-16 votes. Under the headline "KKL-JNF - Trustee for  
70 the Jewish People on its Land" it noted that:

71 A survey commissioned by KKL-JNF reveals that over 70% of the Jewish  
72 population in Israel opposes allocating KKL-JNF land to non-Jews, while over  
73 80% prefer the definition of Israel as a Jewish state, rather than as the state of all  
74 its citizens.

75 The implications are quite clear. If Israel is a Jewish state then it cannot be a state of its  
76 own citizens, still less a democratic state.

77 This prompted Israel's liberal newspaper, Ha'aretz, to publish an outspoken editorial, "A  
78 racist Jewish state", in which it wrote:

79 "Every day the Knesset has the option of passing laws that will advance Israel as a  
80 democratic Jewish state or turn it into a racist Jewish state. There is a very thin line  
81 between the two. This week, the line was crossed."

82 Even the staid old Jewish Chronicle ran a debate: "Is it racist to set aside Israeli land for  
83 Jews only?"

84 Yet this is part of a wider debate about the "demographic problem", which is shorthand  
85 for there being too many Arabs. Academics such as Professor ArnonSofer, of Haifa  
86 University, are quite blatant about this "problem":

87 "You should remember that on the same day as the Israel Defense Forces is investing  
88 efforts and succeeding in eliminating one terrorist or another, on that very same day, as  
89 on every day of the year, within the territories of western Israel, about 400 children are  
90 being born, some of whom will become new suicide terrorists."

91 The JNF sits on the opposite side of the fence from those who wish to see Israel as a state  
92 of all its citizens as opposed to just its Jewish ones. It is bad enough that our prime  
93 minister, Gordon Brown, is a patron of the JNF. But for the royal family to have as their  
94 guests those who are dedicated to maintaining Israel as a state of only a part of its citizens  
95 is a disgrace.

96 A letter from Brigadier Sir Miles Hunt Davies, private secretary to the Duke of  
97 Edinburgh, seeks to excuse the royal hosting of the JNF by stating that "the proceeds  
98 from the dinner are going to a number of charities, one of which will be the Israeli Youth  
99 Award for Young People, which is the Israeli branch of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award.  
100 This charity plays a significant part in attempting to bridge the gap between young people  
101 of all faiths and backgrounds, in amongst other places, Israel and Jordan."

102 So, according to this logic, the royal family will be hosting a dinner for an organisation  
103 which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews because the proceeds  
104 will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite. You couldn't  
105 make it up.

## Text 13

### Lance Armstrong: pedalling tales

His story is about much more than one obsessive who exploited the power structure of his sporting world

- Editorial
- The Guardian, 18th January 2013
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/18/lance-armstrong-pedalling-tales>

No image

1 As confessionals go, the Oprah Winfrey show is probably not the place for the excoriation of  
2 the soul. Rather less blood was drawn in the first session of Lance Armstrong's hugely trailed  
3 interview than might be lost receiving an intravenous dose of erythropoietin. At the halfway  
4 stage of the two-parter, all that has really been established is that Armstrong's self-belief and  
5 his appetite for manipulation are undimmed. Yet although his determination to come first  
6 should never be underestimated, his story is about much more than one obsessive who  
7 exploited the power structure of his sporting world. If his calibrated, choreographed  
8 confession is allowed to be his passport back into world-class sport then a catastrophic  
9 disservice will be done to the cause of public morality.

10 What makes the Armstrong case so much more than the latest felling of a sporting cheat's  
11 reputation is the extent to which he once bestrode the world of cycling. Armstrong utterly  
12 dominated those around him, and he lied without conscience in defence of his interests. All  
13 this, he claimed to Oprah, was internally legitimised by a worldview in which doping was on  
14 a par with, say, weight training in the armoury of competition. If some close to the sport were  
15 always a little sceptical of the Armstrong myth, to millions outside it he was an inspiration,  
16 an endurance cyclist of breath-taking courage, with a nobility of spirit that allowed him to  
17 escape cancer and establish a charitable foundation with his own money that helped  
18 thousands of fellow sufferers. His is a fall from grace like no other.

19 A man who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable  
20 proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded hatchet job probably doesn't do remorse. His  
21 confession is a classic of falling back, the better to renew the attack. Justice alone requires  
22 that that does not happen. But his fate must have a wider significance. Armstrong's hold on  
23 his sport went far beyond his immediate circle.

24 The UCI, the international cycling union, bought into the Armstrong legend because they  
25 wanted to harness the sport's damaged image to this demi-god. As a result, both its former  
26 president Hein Verbruggen and his successor Pat McQuaid, who once described the true  
27 whistleblowers, former Armstrong teammates Floyd Landis and Tyler Hamilton, as

28 "scumbags" are damagingly implicated. Even if the alleged cover-up of a suspect dope test in  
29 2001 is never proved, there's no doubt that cycling's parent body was the most wilfully blind  
30 of guardians. Unless the UCI transforms itself, an operation that will require a good deal  
31 more energy and rigour than it has so far displayed, then before long another Lance  
32 Armstrong will triumph.

## Text 14

### Manti Te'o, Lance Armstrong and the stories sports stars tell

Brand Lance Armstrong weaved a tale the media lapped up. US football star Manti Te'o appears to have done similarly

- Ian Leslie
- The Guardian, 17th January 2013
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jan/17/manti-teo-lance-armstrong-sports>



Seven-time Tour de France winner Lance Armstrong 'built a monumental edifice of lies on top of his original sin'. Photograph: Anthony Bolante/Reuters

- 1 Lance Armstrong wasn't the only sportsman, or the only hero, to make headlines this week  
2 for telling lies.
- 3 Manti Te'o is one of America's most celebrated college footballers (that is football as in rugby  
4 played by storm troopers). In the US, college players are stars in their own right, and Te'o  
5 was valorised for being an inspiring leader on the field, and a devout young man off it. He  
6 had an irresistibly compelling personal story, endlessly repeated in media profiles.
- 7 Te'o plays for Notre Dame, from Indiana, a team which, when he joined them, had their best  
8 days behind them. This season, he led Notre Dame back to their place among the sport's elite.  
9 He did so while bearing a terrible personal burden. His aged grandmother had been very ill  
10 and his girlfriend, LennayKekua, had been in a car crash and then developed leukemia. Te'o  
11 had been nursing her from afar while she lay on a hospital bed in California; in every spare  
12 moment, he would talk to her on the phone.
- 13 One day last September, Te'o received news of a double tragedy: his grandmother and his  
14 girlfriend passed away within six hours of each other. Rather than collapsing with grief, Te'o  
15 led his team out on to the football field, to win a famous victory.

16 It is a heartbreaking and uplifting tale. It is also a lie. This week, news broke that  
17 LennayKekua does not exist, at least not in the form Te'o described her. There is no record of  
18 a LennayKekua being in a car accident, or having leukemia, or dying.

19 Te'o's fall from grace has been instant and shocking. At least with Armstrong, Americans  
20 have had time to adjust their perceptions of a man once universally regarded as a paragon.  
21 Many are still in the process of doing so. A defence of Armstrong still commonly heard is  
22 that they were all doing it. Cyclists during Armstrong's prime were routinely breaking the  
23 rules. It wasn't one or two individuals; it was a whole subculture. Armstrong took illegal  
24 substances only in order to compete on the same track as everyone else.

25 This is fiction too. Armstrong wasn't regretfully injecting himself with a few banned  
26 substances to keep up with unscrupulous foreigners. He was the prime mover of cycling's  
27 love affair with illegal drugs. Armstrong was the Steve Jobs of doping, obsessed with finding  
28 innovative ways to take performance-boosting drugs and fool the drug-testers – a pioneer  
29 who pushed the boundaries of what was technically possible, an authority figure who  
30 encouraged and in fact demanded that teammates follow his example.

31 But that isn't the worst of it. The worst of it is that Armstrong built a monumental edifice of  
32 lies on top of his original sin. He repeatedly expressed outrage at any accusation that he had  
33 violated rules, and poured vitriol over his accusers. He made \$30m a year from businesses  
34 that wanted to be associated with the noblest of human qualities. He made a commercial for  
35 Nike, his major sponsor, in which he explicitly rebutted accusations of drug-taking. He built a  
36 charity foundation that raised money for cancer research by burnishing the legend of a man  
37 who had overcome life-threatening illness and seized the heights of sporting achievement  
38 purely through the exercise of his indomitable will.

39 Armstrong wasn't just a man, he was a myth. Actually, perhaps myth is putting it too highly –  
40 it implies a grandeur he never quite achieved, even when his reputation was at its peak.  
41 What's certainly true is that Armstrong was a brand, and an exceptionally powerful one. A  
42 brand, in today's world, is more than a name for a product. It's a set of values, and an idea to  
43 which people aspire. Armstrong turned his life into a story, with the enthusiastic collusion of  
44 the media and their advertisers – and the story was his brand.

45 We are still waiting to get to the bottom of Te'o's case, and it is unclear whether the lie was  
46 his or he was himself the victim of a cruel hoax; Te'o is claiming it was the latter. Either way,  
47 the fact he felt the need to retail this story so intensively, and that the reporters who repeated  
48 it felt no duty to check its veracity, tells us something about the pressures on modern sports  
49 stars to be much more than sportspeople. These days, they must also be brands: ideas for  
50 people to live by, stories by which to sell products. In this respect, if no other, Lance  
51 Armstrong's legacy remains intact.

## Text 15

### Momentum builds for 20mph speed limit

UK local authorities are taking a close look at the policy – which is winning wider public support

- John M Harrison
- The Guardian, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/bike-blog/2012/may/15/20mph-speed-limit>



More and more UK local authorities are taking a close look at a policy which is winning wider public support

- 1 Could a universal 20 mph speed limit on residential streets soon be as widely accepted as the  
2 smoking ban in pubs?
- 3 It's too soon to talk about a tipping point, but more and more UK local authorities are taking a  
4 close look at a policy which is winning wider public support.
- 5 Portsmouth, Oxford and other cities have pioneered the switch within the past five years, and  
6 campaigners from the 20's Plenty For Us movement say 8 million people now live in areas  
7 which are committed to adopting the limit for residential roads. They include Newcastle,  
8 Bristol, Sheffield and a handful of London boroughs.
- 9 "I compare it to the ban on smoking in pubs," said one supporter at a conference in London  
10 this month. "That seemed controversial at the time and now it's accepted – and it's self-  
11 enforcing."
- 12 But the most significant recruit to the cause may turn out to be Liverpool, where the local  
13 NHS trust will stump up £665,000 over four years to implement and study an extension of the  
14 city's 20mph limits to a majority of streets. Nobody yet knows if injecting money from the  
15 public health budget will pay back in reduced hospital costs for treating victims of road  
16 accidents or not, but it could be the start of a trend.

17 From 2013, local authorities, already responsible for road safety, will take on larger  
18 responsibilities for public health in England. The idea is that lowering road speeds may cut  
19 the NHS bill for treating crash victims, and also combat obesity by encouraging more  
20 walking and cycling.

21 Until last year most of the enquiries handled by the 20's Plenty movement came from  
22 individuals and campaigners; in 2012, says its founder, Rod King, more than half the  
23 inquiries have come from local government.

24 But while the momentum is growing and all three major parties are supportive, the  
25 government is against legislation.

26 "It is not the government policy to have a default limit. This is a matter of localism," the  
27 junior transport minister Norman Baker told a conference in London this month on 20mph  
28 limits. "It would be wrong for us to impose our view from Westminster and Whitehall – those  
29 days are ending, I am happy to say."

30 Localism appears to be a happy compromise to which both Conservatives and Liberal  
31 Democrats can sign up as a way of papering over differences over how hard to push a policy  
32 which may still create a backlash from motorists.

33 Since the replacement of Philip Hammond by Justine Greening, the Department for Transport  
34 seems to have dropped the post-election rhetoric about "ending the war on the motorist" and  
35 become more confident in advocating lower traffic speeds. Baker, a Liberal Democrat, says  
36 he wants local authorities to think hard about 20mph limits, and is trying to make  
37 implementation easier and cheaper by simplifying guidance on signage and scrapping the  
38 previous requirement for extensive physical traffic calming.

39 Campaigners and local authorities say they still face a lack of cooperation from many police  
40 forces, who don't like the idea of 20mph limits on the grounds that they would have to  
41 enforce them.

42 Chief superintendant Jerry Moore of ACPO irritated some participants by telling them police  
43 would not support 20 mph limits unless they were self-enforcing, in practice ruling out their  
44 introduction on roads where speeds were higher than 24 mph at present. "Simply altering the  
45 signs and lowering the limit and dumping it on the police is inappropriate," he said.

46 Campaigners say evidence from Portsmouth and elsewhere shows strong public support for  
47 20 mph limits, with up to 80% of residents backing the change. They say complaints from  
48 motorists that their fuel consumption and their journey times will rise steeply are based on  
49 myth.

50 But independent researchers say the public view on lower limits is characterised by what they  
51 call chronic Jimbyism ("just in my backyard"). Lower speed limits are popular, but  
52 compliance is low.

53 Road safety policy in the UK is traditionally driven by the goal of reducing the figures for  
54 KSI (killed and seriously injured). So what happens if cutting the speed limit actually  
55 increases casualty figures rather than reducing them? Campaigners say this hasn't happened,  
56 but it is hard to rule out the possibility that a surge in walking and cycling on roads

57 previously dominated by cars might send the casualty count upwards, at least in absolute  
58 terms.

59 "The number of cycling injuries has to be measured against the number of miles cycled,"  
60 Norman Baker told the conference. "The relationship between the two gives you the true  
61 picture." Advocates for cyclists and pedestrians point out that road casualty rates would  
62 immediately fall to zero for both groups if nobody ever rode a bike or walked. Not even  
63 Jeremy Clarkson is advocating that. So if the government wants more people to engage in  
64 "active travel", it must therefore be prepared for a higher level of risk.

## Text 16

### Naomi Campbell's privacy plea strange for a woman who bathes in limelight

Charles Taylor war crimes trial imposes protective measures at supermodel's request

- Afua Hirsch
- The Guardian, 5<sup>th</sup> August 2010
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2010/aug/05/naomi-campbell-charles-taylor-war-crimes-privacy-plea>



Naomi Campbell takes the oath before testifying at the war crimes trial of former Liberian president Charles Taylor at the UN special court for Sierra Leone.

- 1 Bothered and bewildered was I, not to mention bemused, that Naomi Campbell managed to  
2 persuade the special court for Sierra Leone that she needed "protective measures" when she  
3 gave evidence at Charles Taylor's war crimes trial today.
- 4 The court's order banned anyone from filming or snapping her as she went in and out of the  
5 court in the Hague or while she was waiting in the lobby. We might call this an everything-  
6 but-the-frills reporting restriction because her testimony, about the gift of "dirty-looking"  
7 diamonds from the former president of Liberia, was shown live from the courtroom.
- 8 While the rules allow the court to order protective measures to safeguard the "privacy and  
9 security" of witnesses, war crimes tribunals usually make these sorts of provisions only when  
10 a witness, fearing for his or her safety, asks to give evidence anonymously.
- 11 This was a confidential request so we don't know all the legal arguments the war crimes  
12 tribunal considered, but we do know the reasons it gave for making the order. "There are  
13 legitimate grounds of concern for Ms Campbell's security and privacy by virtue of her  
14 public persona and the extremely intense media scrutiny relating to her anticipated  
15 testimony," the court said.

16 Campbell knows a thing or two about the law of privacy. Six years ago she persuaded three  
17 out of five judges in the House of Lords that a tabloid newspaper interfered with her right to a  
18 private life when it published photographs of her leaving a Narcotics Anonymous meeting.  
19 While the law lords decided that the treatment she was undergoing was her own business,  
20 they said she could not usually expect privacy in a public place. "If this had been, and had  
21 been presented as, a picture of Naomi Campbell going about her business in a public street,  
22 there could have been no complaint," said Baroness Hale. "She makes a substantial part of her  
23 living out of being photographed looking stunning in designer clothing. Readers will  
24 obviously be interested to see how she looks if and when she pops out to the shops for a  
25 bottle of milk."

26 A court is, of course, a public space par excellence and most of us would not consider  
27 entering or leaving one to be a private matter. We can assume too that a court building,  
28 especially one that hosts war crimes tribunals, is a super-safe place to be. The security must  
29 be pretty good, comparable, if not better than that at, say, a football match. It would appear  
30 that the "security and privacy issues" at the special court in the Hague gave the ubiquitous  
31 Campbell more cause for concern than attending the World Cup last month, where she was  
32 pictured ensconced in the crowd.

33 It takes some chutzpah and, let's face it, a lack of perspective for a celebrity to ask a war  
34 crimes tribunal for these sorts of restrictions, but perhaps we should expect no more from a  
35 woman who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a  
36 charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997.

37 The model told the court today that she had been reluctant to appear because of the  
38 "inconvenience" and concerns about the safety of her family. We're not privy to the details of  
39 the arguments her lawyers made when they asked for this no-frills approach to reporting her  
40 court appearance, but I hope they were spectacularly good because, to those of us not in the  
41 know, this order makes Naomi Campbell look like a prima donna indulging in behaviour of  
42 the flouncy kind.

## Text 17

# Natural England has become a gopher of the landed classes

Stand up for England's wildlife instead of capitulating to the lords of the land and their business interests

- George Monbiot
- The Guardian, 7th June 2012
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/georgemonbiot/2012/jun/07/natural-england-wildlife-landowners>



Fire-damaged moor below the Ringing Roger on the southern edge of Kinder Scout, Derbyshire, Peak District

- 1 Listening to the National Farmers' Union, the Countryside Alliance and the Country Land and
- 2 Business Association, you could be forgiven for believing that the only people who live in the
- 3 countryside are farmers and landowners.
  
- 4 In fact, there are 9.8 million people living in rural England (defined as settlements with fewer than
- 5 10,000 inhabitants). Of these, 140,000 are farmers, or the business partners, directors and spouses of
- 6 farmers. In other words, they constitute 1.4% of the rural population (and 0.3% of the total
- 7 population).
  
- 8 Yet rural policy seems to be tailored largely to their needs. It's not enough that (in the UK as a whole),
- 9 taxpayers give farmers and landowners – among whom are the wealthiest people in Britain – £3.6bn a
- 10 year in the form of agricultural subsidies. Under the Cameron government the landowners must also
- 11 be permitted to decide how and for whom the countryside is run. 99% of rural people, and 99.7% of
- 12 the nation as a whole, are marginalised from decision-making in the countryside.
  
- 13 There is no better illustration of this than the letter from Natural England in the Guardian today.
  
- 14 Natural England is supposed to regulate the relationship between those who own, farm and use the
- 15 countryside, and the wildlife and natural places which are valued by so many of the nation's people.
- 16 But successive governments have pulled its teeth. Under New Labour its mandate was subtly

17 changed. The Hampton Principle, incorporated by the government into the objectives of a wide range  
18 of agencies, insists that:

19 "Regulators should recognise that a key element of their activity will be to allow, or even  
20 encourage, economic progress and only to intervene when there is a clear case for protection."

21 You can find it in the Regulators' Compliance Code for Natural England. It is not clear to me why an  
22 agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment should have to "encourage economic progress"  
23 (otherwise known as growth), which is arguably the primary cause of environmental degradation.  
24 Surely a body such as Natural England should be one of those still, small voices within government  
25 asking the awkward questions, such as: "is perpetual growth in all respects a good thing?" and "might  
26 there be a downside?"

27 Under Cameron, Natural England has been reduced from a semi-independent voice, sporadically  
28 defending wildlife and habitats, to a gopher for the landed classes. The Hampton Principle appears to  
29 have been reinterpreted to mean "do nothing that will interfere with a landowner's economic interests,  
30 however damaging they may be."

31 Natural England's letter begins with a non-explanation of why it dropped its legal case against the  
32 Walshaw Moor grouse estate, owned by the retail tycoon Richard Bannister, whose staff had been  
33 burning blanket bog and other habitats on a site of special scientific interest in the Pennines, in order  
34 to improve his grouse shooting. It's not just that the burning cooks wildlife and ensures the habitat is  
35 less favourable to species other than the red grouse. It's also that blanket bog sits atop the UK's major  
36 carbon sinks: peat deposits. The Commission of Inquiry on UK Peatlands reports that:

37 "Damaged UK peatlands are releasing almost 3.7 million tonnes CO<sub>2</sub>e (Carbon dioxide equivalent)  
38 each year ... more than all the households of Edinburgh, Cardiff and Leeds combined."

39 and

40 "Peatlands are vitally important in the global carbon cycle and UK greenhouse gas budgets. They  
41 represent the single most important terrestrial carbon store in the UK. Blanket and raised bog  
42 peatlands cover around 23,000 km squared or 9.5% of the UK land area, with current estimates  
43 indicating they store at least 3.2 billion tonnes of carbon. A loss of only 5% of UK peatland carbon  
44 would equate to the total annual UK anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions. Healthy peat bogs have  
45 a net long-term 'cooling' effect on the climate."

46 (seeSeverinCarrell's report for more)

47 Natural England's letter "explains" the abandonment of its legal action by stating that:

48 "At Walshaw, we have now entered into a 25-year agreement that provides improved  
49 environmental protection for the moors while allowing the estate to conduct its business activities."

50 These business activities – as the agreement spells out – specifically include burning blanket bog.  
51 Perhaps the agency would care to explain the environmental case for this burning? It has singularly  
52 failed to do this so far, and a lot of people are eager to know.

53 The agreement represents total capitulation to a large landowner, who will be allowed to carry on  
54 damaging a place which is both a site of special scientific interest and a special area of conservation, a  
55 capitulation which is now being spun by the agency as some kind of success. And there is still no

56 explanation from Natural England of why it dropped its legal case against Richard Bannister's estate.  
57 Its silence on the matter becomes more telling by the day.

58 Or perhaps there is something resembling an explanation, later in the same letter. Here, the agency  
59 seeks to explain why it withdrew the mild and tentative document it published in 2009, called Vital  
60 Uplands. It proposed that the bare, scoured monoculture of sheep pasture and grouse moor that  
61 dominates almost all of upland England – including the conservation areas – might be moderated by  
62 just a fraction by allowing a few trees to grow in a few places, by burning a little less and by  
63 permitting some wildlife to gain a toehold.

64 The landowners went nuts. The chairman of Natural England, who also happens to be a farmer, turned  
65 up at a meeting of the National Farmers' Union, denounced his own agency and publicly apologised  
66 for its heresies. The document was withdrawn and all trace of it was deleted from the agency's  
67 website.

68 Now Natural England tells us that Vital Uplands was withdrawn because it

69 "had never been supported by the main land managers in the uplands, and a vision without  
70 followers cannot deliver outcomes for the natural environment."

71 But there are millions of potential followers of a vision which seeks to allow some of our missing  
72 wildlife to return to the uplands, and to moderate the most severe impacts of grouse moor  
73 management and sheep ranching.

74 There are millions of people who might support a request that we get something in return for our  
75 £3.6bn other than soil erosion, flooding (caused by the lack of trees and compaction of the soil by  
76 sheep), greenhouse gas emissions, the persecution of birds of prey and the destruction of habitat.

77 There are millions of people who might have expected a regulator to regulate, rather than just to  
78 grovel and doff its cap to the lords of the land.

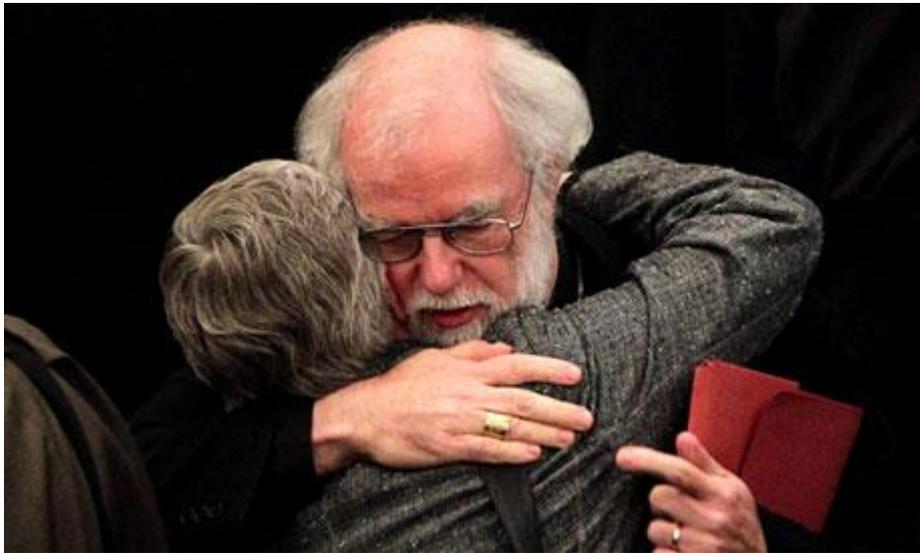
79 But Natural England, neutered by successive governments, now seems to interpret its brief as keeping  
80 the 1% happy, whatever the rest of us might think. This is a classic example of regulatory capture. An  
81 agency which should be protecting the natural world appears to have identified and aligned itself with  
82 people damaging it. Who now will stand up for England's wildlife?

## Text 18

### No to women bishops? It's high time the Church of England was taught a lesson

Given its regressive stance on equal opportunities, is the church a fit organisation to educate our young?

- Catherine Bennett
- The Observer, 25th November 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/nov/25/women-bishops-church-of-england>



Dr Rowan Williams, the outgoing Archbishop of Canterbury, after the Church of England synod rejected women bishops. Photograph: YuiMok/PA

- 1 There can be little rest this Christmas for literalists who have just seen off the Church of
- 2 England's attempt to defy the women-suppressing message of the scriptures. In his new Jesus
- 3 of Nazareth: The Infancy Narratives, a prequel to two other books about the Saviour, Pope
- 4 Benedict XVI establishes that the role of donkeys is also subject to wilful over-representation
- 5 by many modern Christians, who persist in honouring them in Nativity scenes. The star and
- 6 shepherds, a multitude of the heavenly host and a stable – all these, he finds, are plausible.
- 7 "In the area round Bethlehem, rocky caves had been used as stables since ancient times." But
- 8 the manger does not indicate the presence of donkeys, cows, sheep or any livestock
- 9 whatsoever. "In the Gospel, there is no reference to animals at this point."
- 10 If the Pope is inclined to forgive fanciful iconography in this respect, "no representation of
- 11 the crib is complete without the ox and the ass", we can surely expect something more from
- 12 the punctilious Anglican laity. Having now witnessed their fervour, one pictures these purists,
- 13 come Christmas, scanning parish churches for evidence of the donkey heresy and either
- 14 confiscating the farm animals or, like their predecessors in the Reformation, vandalising the

15 sentimental ornaments or smiting their heads off. As his holiness says: "With a text like the  
16 Bible, whose ultimate and fundamental author, according to our faith, is God himself, the  
17 question regarding the here and now of things past is undeniably included in the task of  
18 exegesis."

19 Donkey-wise, the inevitable result can only upset observers who feel like David Cameron, in  
20 the most striking of the many vehement, post-vote rebukes by church outsiders, that it is time  
21 for the church to chill and "get with the programme" – with that statement's unspoken  
22 corollary "or else". It remains to be seen which particular sex equality programme Cameron  
23 would most like the church to get with: positive discrimination or the highly effective,  
24 notional kind favoured by his own party, FTSE companies and the BBC, whereby qualified  
25 women are theoretically entitled to the highest office yet in practice invariably denied it.

26 If only the Anglican laity had gone for the second type, usefully demonstrated by Lord  
27 Patten's latest BBC appointment, they too could have saved their church from the sort of  
28 punishing public inspection that now threatens centuries of comfortable accommodation and  
29 fudging. For years, non-worshippers, even progressive ones, have been soothed into  
30 quiescence by John Betjeman and The Vicar of Dibley.

31 As recently as July, when Nick Clegg presented plans for a reformed upper chamber, he was  
32 content to reserve 12 places for bishops, regardless of their marginal claims to any mandate,  
33 their presumption of supernatural authority and the expectation, reestablished this week, that  
34 each of the qualified candidates would have a penis. Now, following one of history's most  
35 spectacular examples of biting off nose to spite face, congregants who could, after all, have  
36 escaped into any number of woman-free Christian outfits, have, in order to preserve their  
37 faith's antique, discriminatory practices, jeopardised its status as the established church. Giles  
38 Fraser calls it "suicidal". To sum up, as a secularist: rejoice.

39 If it is much too early to predict the last ever daily service or Anne Atkins Thought or,  
40 equally, the end of prayers for Prince Harry at choral evensong, opponents of an established  
41 church will surely want to celebrate last week's vote as a development to rival the ruptures of  
42 the Oxford Movement or, more recently, the defrocking of the rector of Stiffkey.

43 True, the vote on women bishops was an insult to its more enlightened members, whose  
44 spiritual practices will interest outsiders so long as bishops enjoy temporal power. Before it  
45 flopped, to the outrage of Maria Miller and David Cameron, I, too, would have supported  
46 what the outgoing archbishop, Rowan Williams, has called "rectifying the anomaly" since  
47 that anomaly inevitably touches, by excluding women, upon the church's political activities.  
48 It's natural to sympathise when this obviously well-intentioned person says the church has  
49 "lost a measure of credibility". On the other hand, supposing female bishops really constitutes  
50 some sort of advance, does one want the church to have any more credibility than it has  
51 already?

52 A victory would only, as Williams now confirms, have entrenched his church's claims to  
53 worldly authority – and with that, the ambitions of Britain's rival faiths for enhanced, equal-  
54 opportunity meddling. Only because of the media access conferred on Anglicans by virtue  
55 of their political privileges is it now routine to hear contributions from an array of Catholic,  
56 Jewish, Hindu, Sikh and Muslim professional clergy, their religions also exempt from the  
57 equality laws and compared with whom the Anglican legislators occasionally can resemble a  
58 collective of radical feminists.

59 "Their presence in the Lords is an extension of their general vocation as bishops to preach  
60 God's word and to lead people in prayer," explains the church. Of course, it does not stop  
61 with preaching. Each time one of these men substitutes supernatural authority for argument  
62 he validates the conviction of pious MPs, of all faiths, that their personal religious prejudices  
63 should be allowed to restrict the behaviour of non co-religionists on everything from abortion  
64 and blasphemy to marriage, assisted dying and infertility treatment. The less credibility for  
65 any of this the better.

66 So it is devoutly to be wished that Mr Cameron's proposed corrective, a "sharp prod", barely  
67 registers in the padded hindquarters of Bishop Welby's church. Rather, one hopes, all the  
68 epiphanies will continue to be on Mr Cameron's side, as he realises with what must be  
69 growing dismay that the kindly old religion that educates, at the state's expense, his own  
70 children and roughly one million others is still far from embracing his own ideals on  
71 diversity.

72 Even if it never dawned on Mr Cameron during the long period of bi-monthly church  
73 attendance that will have been required from this previously infrequent congregant if he  
74 wanted to snag a precious "foundation place" at his children's school, it must now be clear  
75 that an institution so unwilling to conform with equal opportunities law must be as  
76 undesirable in state education as it is inside the legislature.

77 Leave aside, for now, the views of this and other providers of faith-based education on, say,  
78 gays, evolution, polygamy, hell, sex before marriage, Salman Rushdie, physical chastisement,  
79 Satan, apostasy, Noah's Ark, original sin, adultery, paradise and literal transubstantiation, and  
80 simply the fact that women are officially inferior within so many of these influential bodies  
81 should be enough, like the Anglican vote, to make the prime minister "very sad". More than  
82 very sad, in fact, since their victims are young enough to brainwash.

83 If the Church of England deserves a "sharp prod" for its backwardness, what is the  
84 appropriate punishment for a government whose next batch of free schools will be one-third  
85 religious, including a proposal from creationists? A plague of frogs?

## Text 19

### Occupy London: what went wrong?

It gave a voice to the usually ignored, but **Occupy's consensual model** has seen it too often take the path of least resistance.

- John Harris
- The Guardian, 13th February 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/feb/13/occupy-london-what-went-wrong>



The Occupy London camp outside St Paul's Cathedral is facing the prospect of eviction. Photograph: Luke Macgregor/Reuters

1 "The situation had degenerated to the point where capitulation was only a matter of time. The  
2 cellars and corridors were now running with rats, the students themselves were now filthy  
3 and lice-ridden. The free-wheeling and lawless atmosphere had become a magnet for every  
4 dope-dealer, whore, minor criminal and apolitical, gormless hippie in Paris."

5 So reads a passage from Andrew Hussey's biography of the late situationist, agitator and  
6 theorist Guy Debord, which describes the fag-end of 1968's legendary occupation of the  
7 Sorbonne. By some weird coincidence, I came across it on Thursday, on a tube ride following  
8 another visit to St Paul's Cathedral, where I beheld what has become of the Occupy camp. If  
9 you have seen any recent press coverage of its fate, you'll be familiar with the essential  
10 picture: the story is now seemingly one of decline, exhaustion and imminent defeat.

11 "The phenomenon, at least in its tent-based form, seems to be almost over," reports the  
12 Guardian. With evident glee, the Telegraph quotes from a message circulated by a "leading  
13 member" – which, give or take rats, minor criminals and "whores", has strong echoes of those  
14 scenes from 44 years ago: "It really is tough ... We have people with alcohol and drug  
15 addiction issues, we have people with mental health problems and very challenging  
16 behaviour. As time goes on we have more and more of these people and fewer peaceful  
17 activists."

18 The high court is due to rule soon on the camp's eviction from its main base. If it goes ahead,  
19 that would leave only the small Occupy offshoot on Finsbury Square, and the "liberated"  
20 former Old Street magistrates court. If you've recently spent any time at St Paul's, you will  
21 have seen inescapable proof of a demise that looks almost complete, no matter what the judge  
22 decides. When I went last week, there seemed to be no more than 15 or 20 people around,  
23 and there was precious little happening even in the famed university tent. Back in October,  
24 when Occupy camps had supposedly sprung up in 1,000 cities worldwide, the place fizzed  
25 with ideas; on this evidence, the contrast was astounding.

26 So, what happened? First, one important caveat: I have not spent long nights in the gnawing  
27 cold, and in midst of increasingly trying circumstances. What it has taken to keep the London  
28 camp in existence is unimaginable, and as it splutters to a halt, it's worth reflecting on its very  
29 real successes.

30 So, here goes. Occupy LSX's impact on a dithering Church of England was a joy to see.  
31 There is no doubt that the people involved played an important role in the upsurge of anger  
32 that has lately crystallised around the issue of bonuses, and the fact that the byzantine  
33 Corporation of London has seen an unprecedented burst of interest in its affairs. At least  
34 some of the camp's output (read, for example, this piece by its economics working group) has  
35 defied all the caricatures, and been incisive and original.

36 It's now a cliché to malign the fact that the camp at St Paul's became a "magnet" for the  
37 homeless and addicted, but I'd rather look at that issue from a slightly different perspective:  
38 there and in Bristol, I was struck by the fact that the camps seemed to be giving voices and  
39 roles to people who are usually completely ignored (and if anyone should know about the  
40 downsides of neoliberalism – well, you get the point). Most importantly, whatever happens in  
41 the next few days, do not think we have seen the last of the hundreds of people involved.

42 And yet, and yet. As the St Paul's camp fades out, it's worth reflecting on what you might  
43 think of as the Poverty of Horizontalism, and the serious drawbacks of organising – or, rather,  
44 not organising – in the way that just about all the Occupy protests have. We all know the  
45 drill: clear demands have been spurned, any idea of leadership remains anathema,  
46 communing with mainstream politics is largely off the menu, and the running of everything is  
47 almost painfully collective.

48 "This is what democracy looks like," is the campers' mantra, and fair play to them: to watch  
49 all those general assemblies in full flow has been both exciting, and fascinating.

50 But here are the problems. As can happen with any rudderless collection of individuals,  
51 Occupy has often seemed to turn introspective, until the issue in danger of consuming them  
52 has been the camps themselves.

53 Moreover, given a consensual, effectively leaderless model of decision-making – "jazz  
54 hands", and all that – it has ended up, pretty much by definition, recurrently taking the path of  
55 least resistance. This matter of basic logic presumably explains the absence of a clever exit  
56 strategy, and why the St Paul's camp is so miserably fading away. Any alternative, no matter  
57 how creative, would always be greeted with at least some opposition, whereas staying put and  
58 fizzling out proved to be the least controversial option. On Occupy's terms, the result is  
59 assuredly democratic. From the outside, it also looks tragic.

60 Towards the end of last year, the basic point was put pretty well by the venerable Malcolm  
61 Gladwell, who compared Occupy to the civil rights movement: "It was a carefully controlled,  
62 incredibly hierarchical, thoughtful, even Machiavellian assault on the status quo. It couldn't  
63 be more different than the Occupy movement."

64 A reminder: the state – and I'm not talking here about such minutiae as the governing style of  
65 a particular leader, or whether British coalition politics is a little more collegiate than usual,  
66 but the state that sends the cops in, or takes away your benefits – remains every bit as top  
67 down (verticalist, if you will) as ever. If you want spectacular proof, have a look at last  
68 night's scenes in Athens, or think about the imminent arrival of the law outside St Paul's. The  
69 same, needless to say, is true of the world's most powerful corporations.

70 Power, moreover, has a habit of ensuring that any potential threats are usually so diffuse as to  
71 represent no danger at all – and in the case of Occupy, the job may well have been done for it,  
72 with no need for any effort. The most basic argument may actually be even simpler: in the  
73 end, what is there to fear from a movement that is not only fading, but has had such profound  
74 problems articulating what it wants?

## Text 20

# Our economic ruin means freedom for the super-rich

Cameron and Osborne's neoliberal agenda promised prosperity for all, but created a totalitarian capitalism that feeds on crisis

- George Monbiot
- The Guardian, 30th July 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jul/30/economic-ruin-super-rich-totalitarian-capitalism>



'Where is the economic elite? Counting the money it has stashed in unregulated tax havens. Thirty years of neoliberalism have allowed the super-rich to detach themselves from the lives of others to such an extent that economic crises scarcely touch them.' Illustration by Daniel Pudles

- 1 The model is dead; long live the model. Austerity programmes are extending the crises they
- 2 were meant to solve, yet governments refuse to abandon them. The United Kingdom provides
- 3 a powerful example. The cuts, the coalition promised, would hurt but work. They hurt all
- 4 right – and have pushed us into a double-dip recession.
  
- 5 This result was widely predicted. If you cut government spending and the income of the poor
- 6 during an economic crisis, you are likely to make it worse. But last week David Cameron
- 7 insisted that "we will go on and finish the job", while the chancellor maintained that the
- 8 government has a "credible plan, and we're sticking to it".
  
- 9 Two questions arise. The first is familiar: why has the public response to this assault on
- 10 public life and public welfare been so muted? Where are the massive and sustained protests
- 11 we might have expected? But the other is just as puzzling: where is the economic elite?
  
- 12 Surely the corporate class and the super-rich – the only people the government will listen to –
- 13 can see that these policies are destroying the markets on which their wealth relies? Surely
- 14 they can see that this scorched-earth capitalism is failing even on its own terms?
  
- 15 To understand this conundrum we should first understand that what is presented as an
- 16 economic programme is in fact a political programme. It is the implementation of a doctrine:

17 a doctrine called neoliberalism. Like all such creeds, it exists in its pure form only in the  
18 heavens; when brought down to earth it turns into something different.

19 Neoliberals claim that we are best served by maximising market freedom and minimising the  
20 role of the state. The free market, left to its own devices, will deliver efficiency, choice and  
21 prosperity. The role of government should be confined to defence, protecting property,  
22 preventing monopolies and removing barriers to business. All other tasks would be better  
23 discharged by private enterprise. The quest for year zero market purity was dangerous enough  
24 in theory: distorted by the grubby realities of life on earth it is devastating to the welfare of  
25 both people and planet.

26 As Colin Crouch shows in *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism*, the state and the market  
27 are not, as neoliberals insist, in perpetual conflict. Instead they have united around the  
28 demands of giant corporations.

29 When the state cuts regulation and social provision, business is enriched. It uses this wealth  
30 to trample on the doctrine that enriched it. Through campaign finance, networking and  
31 lobbying, big business recruits the state to champion its interests. In Britain corporations  
32 lobbied for privatisation programmes that replaced public monopolies with private ones.  
33 They also persuaded the government to create hybrid schemes (like the private finance  
34 initiative) that guarantee state funding for business. In the US, giant corporations persuaded  
35 Congress to remove the key regulations governing auditors and the banks. This led first to the  
36 Enron and WorldCom scandals, then the financial crisis.

37 Big business has used its power to persuade the state to let it keep dumping its environmental  
38 costs on the rest of us. It has vitiated anti-trust laws. It has excluded new entrants to the  
39 market (through its advertising budgets and distribution networks); and become big enough to  
40 prevent its own exit even when it fails (note the bailout of the banks). These are results of  
41 neoliberal policies of the kind that Cameron is applying, but they are sharply at odds with the  
42 predictions neoliberals made of how free markets would behave.

43 Above all, the neoliberal programme has closed down political choice. If the market, as the  
44 doctrine insists, is the only valid determinant of how societies evolve, and the market is  
45 dominated by giant corporations, then what big business wants is what society gets. You can  
46 see this squalid reality at work in Cameron's speech last week. "We have listened to what  
47 business wants and we are delivering on it. Business said, 'We want competitive tax rates,' so  
48 we are creating the most competitive corporate tax regime in the G20 and the lowest rates of  
49 corporation tax in the G7 ...". What about the rest of us? Don't we get a say?

50 The neoliberal hypothesis has been disproved spectacularly. Far from regulating themselves,  
51 untrammelled markets were saved from collapse only by government intervention and  
52 massive injections of public money. Far from delivering universal prosperity, government  
53 cuts have pushed us further into crisis. Yet this very crisis is now being used as an excuse to  
54 apply the doctrine more fiercely than before.

55 So where is the economic elite? Counting the money it has stashed in unregulated tax havens.  
56 Thirty years of neoliberalism have allowed the super-rich to detach themselves from the lives  
57 of others to such an extent that economic crises scarcely touch them. You could see this as  
58 yet another market failure. Even if they are affected, the rich are doubtless prepared to pay an

59 economic price for the political benefits – freedom from democratic restraint – that the  
60 doctrine offers.

61 A programme that promised freedom and choice has instead produced something resembling  
62 a totalitarian capitalism, in which no one may dissent from the will of the market and in  
63 which the market has become a euphemism for big business. It offers freedom all right, but  
64 only to those at the top.

## Text 21

### India's man who lives on sunshine

Prahlad Jani's claims to have survived without food or water for decades is being bolstered by people who should know better

- Sanal Edamaruku,
- The Guardian, 18th May 2010
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2010/may/18/prahlad-jani-india-sunshine>

No image

1 The crimson-clad old man with the nose ring tries to tell us that he hasn't eaten or drunk  
2 anything since the goddess Ambaji touched his tongue with her finger. That must have been  
3 around the time of the outbreak of the second world war.

4 As there are few things so well established as the biological law no human (and no animal)  
5 can survive without the regular intake of food and water, it may be sensible to approach his  
6 claim with a degree of scepticism. It is not usually very difficult to expose such characters; I  
7 have done it in several cases. But Prahlad Jani has some influential protectors.

8 Dr Sudhir Shah, neurologist and head of Ahmedabad's Sterling hospital, propelled the silly  
9 story of Prahlad Jani into the limelight. In a sensational "scientific" research project, he and  
10 his team subjected him between 22 April and 6 May to observation and medical scrutiny.  
11 This project is financed and supervised by the Indian defence institute of physiology and  
12 allied sciences (Dipas), a wing of the defence research and development organisation. The  
13 public figurehead of the study is Dipas director Govindasamyllavazhagan, who seems to  
14 share Shah's enthusiasm for the case. Jointly, the gentlemen were reported to have confirmed  
15 that Jani did not eat a crumb and – more crucially – did not drink a single drop of water  
16 during his 15 days under observation – which seems completely impossible. Can scientists be  
17 so gullible as to salute a man who claims to turn the basic laws of biology upside down? Did  
18 they close their eyes (and the non-stop CCTV camera) when Jani quenched his thirst? There  
19 is no doubt that the "total surveillance" had loopholes and the "great scientific test" was a  
20 farce.

21 While the test was running, I exposed some of those loopholes in a live programme on India  
22 TV: an official video clip revealed that Jani would sometimes move out of the CCTV  
23 camera's field of view; he was allowed to receive devotees and could even leave the sealed  
24 test room for a sun bath; his regular gargling and bathing activities were not sufficiently  
25 monitored and so on. I demanded an opportunity to check the test set-up with an independent  
26 team of rationalist experts. There was no immediate reaction from Ahmadabad. But a sudden  
27 call from Sterling hospital invited me – live on TV – to join the test the next day itself.

28 Early morning, ready to fly to Gujarat, we were informed that we had to wait for the  
29 permission of the "top boss" of the project. Needless to say: this permission never came.

30 Similarly, we were unable to attend Shah's first Jani test in November 2003 (that was  
31 financed by Dipas too). Shah has a long record of conducting these studies, which up till now  
32 have never been discussed in any scientific journal. They merely try to prove his strange  
33 sunshine theory: that humans can stop eating and drinking and switch to "other energy  
34 sources, sunlight being one". Prahlad Jani is not Shah's first poster child. In 2000/2001, he  
35 tested one HiraManek for more than a year and confirmed his claim that he was feeding on  
36 sunshine only (and sometimes a little water). The idea that Shah's research was investigated  
37 by Nasa and the University of Pennsylvania was officially denied by both the misrepresented  
38 parties.

39 Shah is a deeply religious Jain. As the president of the Indian Jain Doctors' Federation (JDF),  
40 he proposes that via research, the still imperfect science of medicine is to be brought in line  
41 with the Jainist "super-science" as revealed by the omniscient Lord Mahavir. We can only  
42 wonder whether his researcher eyes are sometimes clouded by religious zeal. Interestingly,  
43 many members of his team are Jains and his partner in the Manek test was a former president  
44 of JDF too.

45 Shah has also suggested this phenomenon might have potential "military use". And – what a  
46 shame! – the Indian defence ministry took the bait. Can they really be so naive as to consider  
47 putting the army on sunshine diet? We are trying to find out.

## Text 22

### It's shameful the way Britain kowtows to the super-rich

Prince Alwaleed bin Talal's tantrum at being listed as only the 26th richest man in the world highlights the detachment of the super-wealthy. Yet we are supposed to welcome such behaviour

- Ian Jack
- The Guardian, 9th March 2013  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/mar/09/shameful-britain-kowtows-to-super-rich?>



Prince Alwaleed bin Talal's wealth is estimated to be \$20bn (£15bn). Photograph: Ahmed Jadallah/REUTERS

1 The rich must feel insufficiently hated – the case of Prince Alwaleed bin Talal makes that  
2 conclusion hard to resist. One of the more prominent of King Ibn Saud's uncountable  
3 grandchildren (the founding monarch of Saudi Arabia had approximately 22 wives and at  
4 least 40 sons; number of daughters unknown), his shareholdings include chunks of News  
5 Corp, Apple, Citibank, and the Savoy Hotel, while his private amusements number a Boeing  
6 747 that he uses as his private jet and a collection of 200 cars. Money, of course, can't buy  
7 you happiness, and the prince is unhappy. In its recently published list of billionaires, Forbes  
8 magazine estimated his wealth at \$20bn (£15bn) and placed him 26th in a list headed by the  
9 Mexican tycoon, Carlos Slim (\$73bn). The estimate and the ranking made Prince Alwaleed  
10 furious. He felt insulted. He was worth so much more!

11 As the magazine prepared to publish the list, the prince's hirelings wrote to protest at an  
12 undervaluation that, to quote one of several letters, "strikes in the face of improving Saudi-  
13 American bilateral relations and co-operation". Forbes, it said, was "putting down the  
14 Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and that is a slap in the face of modernity and progress". Many  
15 people might have seen this differently – that any sign, however small, of a Saudi prince

16 moderating his wealth might be a blow *for* modernity and progress – but never mind; the  
17 substance of the princely complaint was that he was worth \$9.6bn more than Forbes said. The  
18 revaluation would have ranked him 10th in the list, one down from the L'Oréal heiress,  
19 Liliane Bettencourt, but Forbes refused to budge. The list's editor, Kerry Dolan, said that  
20 Alwaleed had a habit of inflating his wealth purely to get on her list. "Of the 1,426  
21 billionaires on our list, not one – not even the vainglorious Donald Trump – goes to greater  
22 measure to try to affect his or her ranking," she wrote. On hearing of his valuation in 2006, he  
23 had phoned her "nearly in tears".

24 Alwaleed's behaviour is magnificently childish – a magazine is only a magazine, a list is only  
25 a list – but perhaps tears before bedtime could be expected from a man who has installed a  
26 throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off. The more  
27 interesting thing is his self-absorption: how little he cares that those of us who aren't  
28 billionaires or even millionaires – in other words more than 99% of the global population –  
29 might feel further estranged from the plutocracy and vow to damage it, one way or another.

30 In the 1970s I had a good friend, now dead, who belonged to the Communist party and kept a  
31 copy of Tatler magazine in his lavatory. In a shabby basement flat in east London that  
32 trembled to the noise of trains heading for Liverpool Street, the sight of pearly young women  
33 pictured "on the stairs" at hunt balls was more than just politically incongruous. But when he  
34 was upbraided about it, my friend would explain that he read the magazine so that he knew  
35 "what the other side was up to". What they and their boyfriends and parents were up to was,  
36 by today's standards, nothing very much. Land rents, share dividends, jobs in stockbroking,  
37 insurance and the army: my friend may have frowned at these sources of income, but  
38 individually they probably multiplied his own earnings as a freelance journalist by no more  
39 than three or four times.

40 We weren't to know that Britain in terms of wealth distribution was a more equal place in the  
41 late 70s than it was ever before or has ever been since. As for the world beyond western  
42 Europe and north America, with a few exceptions (Japan, Australia, Saudi Arabia), it had still  
43 to produce a millionaire class. If 2013's Forbes list had been placed beside my friend's 1978  
44 lavatory, what gasps of disbelief and outrage it would have provoked. According to Forbes'  
45 calculations, 210 individuals have become dollar billionaires in the past year, bringing the  
46 total to 1,426 – at a time when large parts of the world are suffering acute financial distress.  
47 The wealth at their disposal has grown from \$4.6tn to \$5.4tn in the same period, roughly  
48 equivalent to a third of the US's annual GDP. Credit Suisse estimates that the richest 1% of  
49 the world's population – that is, those worth \$710,000 and over – control 46% of the world's  
50 assets. A large proportion of the profits from these is shielded from government view, and  
51 therefore from any hope of redistributive taxation, in tax havens. "Trickle down" economics  
52 seem limited to the personal servant class of hairdressers, chefs and chauffeurs. The shadow  
53 of inequality lengthens everywhere else.

54 All this is familiar, as familiar as the figure for Wayne Rooney's weekly wage. Every day  
55 brings stories of fresh excesses of wealth and privilege that make the targets of an older  
56 resentment look insular and ridiculous – Lady Docker's gold car, for heaven's sake! – yet at  
57 the beginning of the last century political movements were inspired by anger at "how the  
58 other half lived".

59 Prince Alwaleed was just one example in this week's crop, which also included the Emir of  
60 Qatar buying six Greek islands and the disclosure in a London court that two other members

61 of Saudi royalty, Prince Mishal bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud and his son Prince Abdulaziz, never  
62 had to pass through immigration when they entered the UK and could claim "sovereign  
63 immunity" from any charges. Elsewhere, Ivan Glasenberg boasted that his \$1.5m salary from  
64 the Glencore commodities firm made him among the lowest paid CEOs in the FTSE 100,  
65 while taking \$109m out of the company in dividends. From the Geneva motor show came  
66 news that while European car sales dropped overall by 3.3m last year, luxury models such as  
67 Rolls-Royce, McLaren and Lamborghini had never done better. A spokesman for Rolls-  
68 Royce explained that although the global economy was stagnant "some people are doing very  
69 well and want to reward themselves".

70 The effect on the rest of us is uncertain. People click their tongues and do non-ironic  
71 imitations of Victor Meldrew. We can't believe it, that so few people should have so much  
72 money, but any despair or rage we feel has yet to find a major political party that will give it  
73 a proper articulation. The trend seems unstoppable, and of any northern country, Britain  
74 sometimes seems closest to the wheels of the juggernaut. We'll fight the EU to save the City  
75 of London's bonuses and squash thousands of new flats along the Thames's south bank for  
76 international elites to invest – perhaps even stay – in. In a nice phrase, the BBC's Evan Davis  
77 once summarised Britain's future as "butler to the world", and perhaps at some barely  
78 conscious level we've absorbed the truth of this: that to keep our wages coming in, we have at  
79 all times to be polite and welcoming to the very rich, hiding our disgust behind our hand as  
80 we open the door to plutocrat X or prince Y and say: "Ah, sir, how very good it is to see you  
81 again. I have prepared a warm bath and a hot concubine just as you like them. Pay no  
82 attention to the talk of revolution in the kitchen."

## Text 23

### In praise of... Reader's Digest

- Editorial
- The Guardian, 21st August 2009

No image

1 The little slab of wood pulp which is the Reader's Digest is so familiar to us that it is a shock  
2 to discover it may not be such a permanent fixture after all. The American company has just  
3 filed for bankruptcy protection. Although this is a manoeuvre to allow the company to  
4 reschedule its debts, does not affect the Digest's many overseas operations and is not an  
5 immediate threat to the parent publication, it is not the sort of feelgood news in which the  
6 Digest has specialised since its foundation in 1922. It has been usual in highbrow, and even  
7 more in middlebrow, circles to be condescending about the Digest's combination of uplifting  
8 features, right-wing politics, comforting anecdotes, jokes, hints, lifestyle tips and "just fancy  
9 that" items. This was dumbing down, some would charge, before the phrase had even been  
10 invented. But the Digest was a smart journalistic idea which drew on the long Anglo-  
11 American tradition of self-improvement, handing the ordinary man a selection of pieces from  
12 a range of journals he would otherwise have had neither the time to read nor the money to  
13 buy. The magazine soon began to publish more and more of its own material, including, in  
14 the 1950s, notable stories such as being the first in the popular press to link cigarettes and  
15 cancer, and, in the 1970s, the first documented account of Khmer Rouge atrocities in  
16 Cambodia. If it has faults, it also has virtues. It would certainly be a shame to lose a  
17 publication which has been part of the furniture of our lives for so many years.

## Text 24

# Sacrifice of Bradley Manning's liberty will not have been made in vain

### An example had to be made of a soldier who revealed a far uglier reality

- Owen Jones
- The Independent, 28<sup>th</sup> February, 2013
- <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/sacrifice-of-bradley-mannings-liberty-will-not-have-been-made-in-vain-8515890.html>



History will damn the persecutors of Bradley Manning. Big powers who hide crimes away from their own people – while claiming to act in their name, of course – fear few more than those determined to hold them to account.

1 No wonder Manning was subjected to what the UN special rapporteur on torture, Juan Mendez,  
2 described as cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment: left languishing in solitary confinement for  
3 months, regularly stripped naked, forced to sleep without darkness, deprived of any right to privacy.  
4 An example had to be made of a soldier who helped strip away the humanitarian pretences of US  
5 power, and revealed a far uglier reality.

6 Although it is Julian Assange – hiding from sex allegations in London's Ecuadorian Embassy – who  
7 has dominated the WikiLeaks story, Manning is the real martyr of the story. One of the videos  
8 released gave an insight into the horror of the US-led war in Iraq: an Apache helicopter shooting dead  
9 11 Iraqis in a Baghdad suburb, none of whom returned fire. Among the dead was a 22-year-old  
10 Reuters' photojournalist Namir Noor-Eldeen; two children were brutally wounded. The crew laughed  
11 as they massacred: the video was one striking example of how occupations corrupt the occupier.

12 "For me this seemed similar to a child torturing ants with a magnifying glass," was how Manning put  
13 it. According to WikiLeaks, this exposure had a key role in forcing US withdrawal after the Iraqi  
14 government stripped US forces of legal immunity.

15 Manning had a noble and courageous purpose: in his own words, to "spark a domestic debate on the  
16 role of our military and foreign policy in general".

17 It is a debate often suppressed with the cynical manipulation of patriotism. But it was the Republican  
18 President Dwight D. Eisenhower who warned: "In the councils of government, we must guard against  
19 the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial  
20 complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists, and will persist."

21 It is exactly this power that Manning has challenged, and at great cost to himself.

22 Although Manning has pleaded guilty on 10 counts – such as unauthorised possession of sensitive  
23 material – he has proclaimed his innocence on "aiding the enemy", or specifically al-Qaida. In truth, it  
24 is a charge that successive US governments are guilty of: by funding and arming Islamist radicals in  
25 the 1980s, and pursuing a foreign policy that has helped radicalise millions since.

26 Manning faces spending the rest of his life in jail. It is not a sacrifice that should be made in vain. The  
27 fight for open, accountable international diplomacy must be stepped up in response. The US military  
28 may well succeed in locking away Manning, possibly for good. But whatever the verdict, for millions,  
29 he has already been vindicated.

## Text 25

### Saving a language is one thing, but I'm saddened by Scotland going Gaelic

Gaelic is a 'national' language – the signs are everywhere. Shame the same cannot be said of its speakers

- Ian Jack
- The Guardian, 11th December 2010
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/dec/11/ian-jack-saddened-by-scotland-going-gaelic>



Bilingual signposts are spreading across Scotland. Photograph: Murdo Macleod for the Guardian

1 My new passport arrived the other day: my pasbort, my cead-siubhail. Inspecting it, I  
2 discovered myself to be a citizen of Teyrnas Gyfunol Prydain Fawr a Gogledd Iwerddon as well  
3 as of Rioghachd Aonaichte Bhreatainn is Eireann a Tuath – what tricky words these are to type  
4 – which is how the United Kingdom translates into Welsh and Scottish Gaelic on the  
5 passport's title page (the days of the French alternative are long gone). Anyone who lives in a  
6 big British city got used long ago to the idea of English as one local language among many:  
7 the opening hours of the radiotherapy unit posted in Punjabi, Turkish, Somali and Bengali,  
8 the mobile callers on the bus who speak to fellow migrants from Tirana, Vilnius, Lagos and  
9 Kraków, or to their families who still live there. But the Welsh and Gaelic phrases on the  
10 passport are surprising. They don't answer to this present Britain. They exist in a more  
11 historical landscape, to redress old rural grievances rather than to express new metropolitan  
12 demands. 7

13 The European charter for regional or minority languages calls them "autochthonous", which  
14 strictly means native, but now also carries the suggestion of a language that's been displaced  
15 in importance by a more popular newcomer. Within the United Kingdom, the charter also  
16 recognises Cornish, Scots (aka Lallans), Irish Gaelic and Ulster Scots. The charter, which the  
17 UK ratified in 2001, asks that all be encouraged to survive. Two of them, Scots and Ulster  
18 Scots (aka Ullans), would be contested as languages separate from English or each other, and  
19 some might argue that Ullans was invented for purely political reasons, as a Protestant  
20 counterweight to the Irish Gaelic that was recognised by Northern Ireland's peace agreement.  
21 But then most language lobbies are as much political as cultural: at their most powerful, they  
22 have helped break up polyglot empires and kingdoms, and redrawn the boundaries of nation  
23 states.

24 Of this particular kingdom's minority languages, I can understand Scots and Ulster Scots – if  
25 languages, and not dialects, are what they are. With a little practice and recollection,  
26 remembering the words and expressions my parents and grandparents used and looking up  
27 others in a dictionary, I might even be able to speak the first, while a reasonable  
28 impersonation of Ian Paisley would bring me within shouting reach of the second. All the  
29 Celtic languages are a mystery. How far would I need to reach back to discover an ancestor  
30 who spoke Gaelic? Perhaps to what in England would be called the Chaucerian era, perhaps  
31 to never: Scotland has a complicated and sometimes uncertain linguistic story that includes  
32 Norse and the Northumbrian variant of Old English in the east, as well as the Gaelic that  
33 arrived with Irish migrants in the south-west, all of them eventually replacing a form of Celtic  
34 or Brittonic language that still survives in contemporary Welsh.

35 For five or six hundred years Gaelic did well and expanded aggressively across most of  
36 Scotland, but it began to lose the competition with Scots-English as early as the 13th century,  
37 and then began its long retreat to the Highlands. By 1755, Gaelic speakers numbered only  
38 23% of the Scottish population, which had shrunk by 1901 to 4.5% and 100 years later to  
39 1.2%. Today about 60,000 people speak it, most of them concentrated in the Western Isles,  
40 and all of them bilingual in English. Multiply that figure by five to get the number of  
41 Cantonese speakers in the UK, by 10 to reach Punjabi, by 20 to those who use Bengali, Urdu  
42 and Sylheti. These are conservative estimates for the UK as a whole, and take no account of  
43 many other migrant languages, including those from eastern Europe; but even if the  
44 comparison is confined to Scotland, it looks likely that the number of citizens who speak  
45 South Asian languages at least equal those who speak Gaelic. And yet, unlike Gaelic and  
46 Welsh, none of them has the protection of parliamentary acts and an expanding bureaucracy,  
47 nor has any been rewarded by a publicly subsidised television channel of its own.

48 The Gaelic lobbyist has a reasonable argument. Whatever happens in Britain, these other  
49 languages will continue to thrive in their original homelands. They aren't in danger of  
50 extinction, whereas, in the words of John Angus Mackay, the chief executive of the Gaelic  
51 development board (Bòrdna Gàidhlig): "If Gaelic is to survive, it will only survive in  
52 Scotland." But cultural preservation comes at an expense. The Scottish Review, a brave and  
53 lively online magazine, recently calculated that the annual £17m cost of the Gaelic channel,  
54 BBC Alba, meant that almost 30% of BBC Scotland's programme budget was devoted to

55 slightly more than 1% of the Scottish population. People grumble about the BBC Scotland's  
56 "Teuchter [Highland] mafia" – four of its eight senior managers are Gaelic speakers – but the  
57 resentment is generally muted. Successive Scottish governments, anxious to stress an  
58 independent national identity, have made Gaelic a key feature of difference to England, and  
59 many would agree with Mackay that to care for a language that emigration and industrial  
60 economics so nearly wiped out is the mark of a civilised country.

61 And so Scotland is being Gaelicised, superficially and quite literally by tokens. The new  
62 Gaelic signs are what one notices most. For several years I thought they were merely local  
63 events, each individually explicable by their presence in or near the present boundaries of  
64 Gaeldom, or where tourists might see them ("Alba", for instance, on the boards at the border).  
65 But the plan is national because Gaelic has been designated a national language. Dual-  
66 language station nameboards, for example: eventually every Scottish station will have one, no  
67 matter how little the place was touched by Gaelic at any time in its history.

68 Recently, rattling through the Glasgow suburb of Cardonald, I noticed a new name on its  
69 austere platforms: CairDhòmhnail. Which traveller would this help? None. Is it historically  
70 appropriate? No. In the 15th century, a Norman-sounding gentleman owned the lands of  
71 Cardownalde, which almost certainly derives from P-Celtic rather than Gaelic. Does any of  
72 this matter? Yes and no. According to Mackay, the sight of a Gaelic nameboard far from his  
73 home in Lewis "refreshes a part of my soul" and reminds him of Gaelic's fullest extent. More  
74 materially, it helps the tourist trade by rewarding visitors with the sense of the difference that  
75 all tourists seek; Mackay says the translated Gaelic menus in his local Indian restaurant in  
76 Inbhir Nis (Inverness) vanish for this very reason.

77 But I feel saddened by it. What I remember of Cardonald is the old Flamingo ballroom and  
78 council estates that were well thought of. To me, CairDhòmhnail is a kind of instruction to  
79 focus on a far more distant history, like one slice of a many-banded core sample pulled from  
80 the earth, which has an arguable usefulness, and may very well be false.

## Text 26

### Some brother David Miliband is

Good riddance to a Labour politician who wants to be admired for not standing by his own brother

- Victoria Coren
- The Observer, 31st March 2013
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/mar/31/david-miliband-no-hero>



David Miliband, left, should have built bridges with his sibling, Ed, right. Photograph: Rowan Griffiths/PA

- 1 Will David Miliband ever be back in frontline politics? Lord Mandelson and others say he  
2 will. The rest of us should probably hope not. It strikes me that he has never demonstrated the  
3 danger of his political aspirations more clearly than in the abandoning of them.
- 4 Having been unable to overcome the resentment that followed a leadership battle with his  
5 brother, Miliband Senior is off to do charity work in America.
- 6 Our country must never be led by a man who would fail to build bridges with his own  
7 brother. (You might say the same applies to Ed Miliband, but, having won, he obviously isn't  
8 the one who remains bitter.)
- 9 The feud jars with too many principles of our national character. "Blood is thicker than  
10 water", that's what we say. Deep down, family is all we really care about. We bicker and  
11 recover, argue and forgive. When the chips are down, we know whose side we're on. We  
12 might be furious with a sibling, parent or child – but if that person is criticised or attacked by  
13 an outsider, the attacker has *us* to deal with.
- 14 Imagine how often those attacks and criticisms come, if your brother is leading a political  
15 party! And where is David? In the Club Class cabin to New York.

16 Neither does it work, if you aspire to lead the British in world affairs, to cope so badly with  
17 loss. Tut tut, that's not the idea at all. Not what Kipling said. In the poem that we always vote  
18 to be our national favourite, we are reminded to "meet with Triumph and Disaster and treat  
19 those two impostors just the same"; to "watch the things you gave your life to, broken, and  
20 stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools".

21 There's nothing there about running off to a £300,000 job abroad.

22 David Miliband says the move is "right not just for me but for the Labour party as well",  
23 asking rhetorically: "Has it been hard for me to accept I can best help the Labour party by  
24 giving not just the space between the frontbench and the backbench to Ed but the space  
25 between the frontbench and 3,000 miles away? Yes, that's hard for me but I think that is  
26 right."

27 We are so used to the waffly constructions and double negatives of political language, it's  
28 worth re-reading those lines a few times to grasp how awful they really are.

29 In being unable to forgive his brother, after nearly three years, Miliband asks for both our pity  
30 and our applause. He wants us to see this exile as the hard, noble, gallant decision of a brave  
31 and selfless hero.

32 But we can see how easy it would be to throw his weight behind his brother and the past  
33 behind them both. All it would take is one fully supportive speech, a swallow of pride and a  
34 pat on the back, and they could be a powerful symbol of unity to inspire us all. Yet he wants  
35 not just to skip town but to be admired for doing it.

36 This reminds me of nothing so much as Tony Blair, who not only refuses to admit that the  
37 Iraq war was a ghastly and terrible error but still wants to be revered for the "morality"  
38 behind it. We must break free from these men who see their own failings as glories. They are  
39 the keenest to seek power over the rest of us, but that way lies the end of the world.

40 Go, then, David Miliband. Turn your back on the brother you can't forgive and leave him to it  
41 alone. I do believe it has been hard, and I hope the charity gig goes well. But you must not  
42 come back and try to rule over me and *my* family, while you don't even know that charity  
43 begins at home.

## Text 27

### Stonewall is holding back transgender equality

The gay rights group's exclusion and denigration of transgender people shows its promotion of diversity does not extend to us

- Natacha Kennedy
- The Guardian, 20th October 2010
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/oct/20/stonewall-holding-back-transgender-equality>

No image

1 I must confess to watching Stonewall's recent self-destruction with an element of schadenfreude. On  
2 hearing the news that it stands accused of opposing same-sex marriage, I had to look out of the  
3 window certain that a squadron of pigs must be flying past in perfect formation. Recent similar  
4 developments have also had me scanning the skies for airborne livestock.

5 Stonewall is an organisation that does not allow trans people to join, despite the fact that a lot of them  
6 were central to the 1969 Stonewall riots, a milestone that was the catalyst for the gay liberation  
7 movement. Stonewall has the right of freedom of association, and clearly does not wish to associate  
8 with us. Despite running its "diversity champions" programme, we are clearly not the sort of diversity  
9 Stonewall wants.

10 As well as its bizarre row over same-sex marriage, Stonewall has been in discussions with the  
11 government about issues related to transgender people and marriage. Transsexuals currently have to  
12 end existing marriages, usually against their will, as a condition of identity change in the form of a  
13 Gender Recognition Certificate. One spoke heart-wrenchingly about this at the Lib Dem conference  
14 last month, and how she and her partner hardly left each other's sight during the intervening period  
15 between their divorce and obtaining a civil partnership. That an organisation which excludes trans  
16 people has taken it upon itself to discuss with the government an issue central to the lives of many  
17 trans people behind our backs is nothing less than astonishing. But it doesn't stop there.

18 Fit, Stonewall's anti-homophobia film soon to be sent to all secondary schools, contains a short  
19 section about trans children. It does not actually include any trans children or young people, preferring  
20 instead to talk about trans people indirectly. In the film the term "tranny" is said to be "short for  
21 transgender". If Stonewall had consulted a couple of trans people they would have been left in no  
22 doubt that "tranny" is not short for transgender. It is the insult menacingly hurled at us in the street,  
23 along with thinly veiled threats. This rather wooden, one-dimensional portrayal of transgender people  
24 contrasts with the film's rich, deep and varied portrayal of LGB children. Once shown, this film will  
25 mean schools can consider themselves to have "done" LGBT equality. Yet a recent survey in America  
26 by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force found that 41% of young trans people had attempted  
27 suicide, rising to 59% if their teacher was the perpetrator of abuse.

28 Stonewall Scotland, a separate organisation from Stonewall England, cited in a report published in  
29 2007, a piece by Bill Leckie in the Scottish Sun as evidence of transphobia in the media. Now guess  
30 who, until yesterday, was nominated for the award of "journalist of the year" this year in their annual  
31 awards ceremony? Fortunately though, Stonewall saw sense over this one, and thanks to pressure by  
32 trans people, removed his name from the list of nominees yesterday.

33 Trans people still feel that Stonewall has crossed the line between excluding us and active denigration  
34 and promotion of transphobia. Stonewall has made the mistake of assuming that transgender don't  
35 matter. Trans people dream of achieving the level of social acceptance gay men and lesbians have  
36 today, yet Stonewall, in an act akin to pulling up the drawbridge behind them, is now actively  
37 undermining our efforts to achieve this. But transgender people are people. We can speak for  
38 ourselves, and hate crime against trans people is no different, in its effects, from any other form of  
39 hate crime. Including homophobia.

## Text 28

### Stories from Rumney Rec

Prior to the beginning of a public inquiry into its village green status, local MP Alun Michael guest blogs about the history of Rumney Rec and its meaning to residents in Cardiff East

- Alun Michael
- The Guardian, 2nd September 2010
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/cardiff/2010/sep/02/rumney-recreation-ground-inquiry-alun-michael-guest-post>



Alun Michael on Rumney Recreation Ground which is the subject of a public inquiry this month  
Photograph: NATASHA HIRST



Rumney Recreation Ground Photograph: Keigh Phillip Jones

- 1 For over three years we've been fighting to save Rumney Recreation Ground from destruction. It's a
- 2 battle against the leadership of Cardiff Council who appear determined to build on this precious and
- 3 historic green space at the heart of the Rumney area. It's a battle led by local people who have been
- 4 ignored at every turn.
  
- 5 I didn't join this battle just because I'm the local MP. 40 years ago I became a youth worker in
- 6 Llanrumney and throughout that time, until now, the council has respected the views of local people.
- 7 They know it's a village green – a space that local people use as of right – as much as any village
- 8 green in Berkshire or Surrey, and the Council knows it too.

9 During the campaign I've had the privilege of hearing the stories of men and women, young and old,  
10 who have told me what this land means to them.

11 A young mother in Llanrumney pushes her new-born baby in a pram across the Rec as her toddler  
12 runs in front of her. She is determined to give her family the best start in life and is grateful for the  
13 open green space. That's why she's backing the fight for Rumney Rec to become a village green.

14 A woman in Trowbridge told me that her grandchildren are the third generation of her family to kick a  
15 football around on the Rec while dreaming of playing for Wales. That's why she's backing our fight  
16 for Rumney Rec to be recognised as a village green.

17 A widower in Llanrumney moved to the new estate in the 1950s with his young family. Now in his  
18 90s, as he slowly walks the field he vividly recalls the memories of his late wife and their children  
19 sharing a picnic under the blazing summer sunshine. That's why he's backing the fight for Rumney  
20 Rec to be recognised as a village green.

21 A Rumney man who just lost his job told me passionately how important his daily walks on the Rec  
22 are. It's his lifeline for keeping a routine and meeting other people before the return to the flat where  
23 he lives alone. That's why he's backing the fight for Rumney Rec to be recognised as a village green.

24 People in Llanrumney, Rumney, St. Mellons, Trowbridge do understand that Llanrumney and  
25 Rumney High Schools need to merge to form a single modern 21st Century school. But that school  
26 doesn't have to be built on a precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff  
27 for almost a century.

28 A Public Inquiry will start at Llanrumney Library on Tuesday 21st September. With local residents, I  
29 will represent the people and argue that the Rumney Recreation Ground should be recognised in law  
30 as a village green and be protected against the steamrollers and the concrete. Only one objector stands  
31 against us - Cardiff Council. Expensive lawyers will be paid for by Cardiff Council - using taxpayers  
32 money to frustrate the wishes of thousands of Cardiffians.

33 We face huge odds. We're David, up against the council's Goliath – and remember that the odds were  
34 on Goliath to win! But the wishes of the people are clear and it's not too late for the council to  
35 withdraw its objection. That would be a victory for common sense, a victory for the people and in  
36 reality a victory for the council. For if they go on like this they will commit a major act of civic  
37 vandalism just so that they can make money by selling the old Rumney High School land. If you're  
38 going in the wrong direction, a u-turn is a really good idea.

## Text 29

### Stop this anti-sex drive

The MP Nadine Dorries has been given free rein to attack women's reproductive rights. It's time for preventive action

- Zoe Margolis,
- The Guardian, 16th November 2011
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/nov/16/anti-sex-drive-nadine-dorries>



Nadine Dorries MP has opined that 'if a stronger just say no message was given to children in school there might be an impact on sex abuse'. Photograph: David Levene

- 1 It's easy to become complacent. It's easy to read headlines that show an MP's suggestions are not
- 2 being taken up by parliament and presume that we don't need to take them seriously. When an
- 3 amendment to a health bill demanding that women be given pre-abortion counselling that could be
- 4 provided by religious, pro-life groups gets voted down, surely we can breathe out, relax a little and
- 5 reassure ourselves that the threat to women's reproductive rights is over?
  
- 6 Far from it. Now – when there's a reasonable lull in rightwing press coverage of the subject – is
- 7 precisely when we should be concerned about the more reactionary quarters of parliament. Because
- 8 when they're not openly deriding sex as something that corrupts the minds of the young, women or
- 9 society, you can be sure that behind the scenes they're planning new ways to undermine the rights that
- 10 we have taken for granted for generations in this country.
  
- 11 This is no exaggeration: MP Nadine Dorries may have lost the vote, but another bill she put forward
- 12 earlier this year, which demanded girls should be taught abstinence as a compulsory part of sex
- 13 education, is due a second reading in parliament early next year.
  
- 14 This proposed bill was, Dorries suggested, not only a way to counter the apparently high rate of
- 15 teenage pregnancy but also to stop sexual abuse. "If a stronger 'just say no' message was given to
- 16 children in school," Dorries argued, "there might be an impact on sex abuse, because a lot of girls,
- 17 when sex abuse takes place, don't realise until later that was a wrong thing to do ...". So if girls only
- 18 knew how to say no to sex, that would somehow prevent their being sexually abused? And what about
- 19 boys? Or do they not count?

20 In addition Dorries is basing her bill on the premise that teaching abstinence stops teenagers becoming  
21 pregnant. In the US, where abstinence-only health programmes blossomed in pre-Obama years, the  
22 rate of teen pregnancy is still the highest in the developed world. In contrast, a thorough sex  
23 education, based on scientific evidence and a lack of moralising, has a proven positive effect in this  
24 area: teen pregnancy rates in the UK are at their lowest since the early 1980s – not that you'd know it  
25 in some corners of the press.

26 The fact that an MP who can spread such inaccuracies is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill  
27 should give us all cause for concern. Dorries has had a pretty good reign in the media recently: as an  
28 outspoken MP she has the opportunity to make unsubstantiated claims such as her anecdote – often  
29 repeated by newspapers – that seven-year-old girls are being shown how to put a condom on a banana  
30 in sex education classes. Moral outrage followed, but did anyone demand evidence to support such a  
31 lurid claim – and was Dorries ever able to provide proof that such a situation occurred? Teachers and  
32 those who work with young people in sex education are aware of her scaremongering but have no  
33 voice to challenge it.

34 No longer. This isn't a time to stay silent. When Dorries can spread misinformed opinion as fact, and  
35 the government can – completely unchallenged by MPs – replace the British Pregnancy Advisory  
36 Service on a new sexual health advisory panel with Life, a religious, anti-abortion group, it is time to  
37 counter what is fast becoming an anti-sex, fundamentalist mandate.

38 I'm running an event called Sex Appeal on behalf of Brook, the young people's sexual health charity,  
39 to get people to speak out and to openly challenge those who spread misinformation about sex,  
40 sexuality and sex education.

41 If we don't fight against the encroaching attacks on access to abortion we will see a further erosion of  
42 women's reproductive rights. And if we don't fight on behalf of young people and the education they  
43 have a right to then the impact on their lives, their relationships and their sexual health will be felt for  
44 generations to come. Nadine Dorries, we're ready for you.

## Text 30

### The bedroom tax is just the latest assault on our poorest citizens

The Government needs to demonise its victims as state dependent leeches

- Owen Jones
- The Independent, 3rd February 2013
- <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/the-bedroom-tax-is-just-the-latest-assault-on-our-poorest-citizens-8478898.html>



Perverse, cruel, self-defeating, unjust: these terms could legitimately be used to describe a whole raft of Government policies.

1 But consider this leading contender on all four counts: the so-called “bedroom tax”, due to be  
2 imposed from April. All social housing tenants of working-age will have their housing  
3 benefit docked if they are judged to have a spare bedroom. For 670,000 households already  
4 struggling to pay bills and rent while feeding themselves or their children, that means losing  
5 an average of £14 a week, and up to £80 a month. Misery awaits.

6 The policy has two stated aims: firstly, to bring down the housing benefits bill; secondly, to  
7 free up under-occupied social housing to help overcrowded families. The Government is  
8 absolutely right to argue that £21bn worth of taxpayers’ money is wasted on housing benefit.  
9 But it is paid out because our economy is blighted by a combination of high unemployment  
10 and underemployment, low wages and excessive rents, leaving large sections of the  
11 population unable to afford their housing costs. A huge chunk of housing benefit has become  
12 a subsidy for private landlords who scrounge off the taxpayer, knowing they can charge  
13 extortionate rents and the state will pick up the tab. Controlling rents – as in Germany –  
14 would be a more effective and humane way of reducing the bill.

15 According to Shelter, the number of overcrowded homes has doubled in just a decade; in  
16 some parts of the country, one in four households live in cramped conditions. Yet the  
17 bedroom tax is yet another means for the Government to turn Britain's poorest against each  
18 other. Don't blame the Government for failing to build housing: blame your neighbour  
19 instead. The refusal of both New Labour and the Tories to build council housing has left up to  
20 five million on social housing waiting lists. A house building programme is key to recovery  
21 from our economic catastrophe: it would stimulate the economy, create jobs, and bring down  
22 the housing benefit bill. But it would be a policy of sanity for a government in the grip of  
23 economic madness.

24 Thousands of those hammered by the bedroom tax have nowhere to downsize to. According  
25 to the National Housing Federation, there are 180,000 English social tenants "under-  
26 occupying" two-bedroom homes, but fewer than 70,000 one-bedroom available social homes.  
27 According to Hilary Burkitt at Affinity Sutton, one of the largest housing associations, there  
28 are very few one-bedroom properties at all in regions like the North West and North East.  
29 Tenants could be driven into the higher rents of the private sector, of course, but then would  
30 need even higher levels of housing benefit. Research for housing associations shows 42 per  
31 cent of those affected already struggle financially. The rise in homelessness that will result  
32 won't just be devastating for those involved, it will cost: last year, the number of homeless  
33 families living in B&Bs soared by nearly half.

34 What is so cruel about this policy is that it aims deliberately to drive poor people further into  
35 hardship. Sounds like hyperbole? It only works by inflicting such intolerable financial pain  
36 that families will be forced to leave their homes. It's not just the bedroom tax they will face,  
37 either. April will be the most savage month since the Lib Dems decided to prop up the Tories:  
38 these households will be further battered by cuts to council tax benefit, disability benefits,  
39 housing benefit, and a cap on in-work and out-of-work benefits. It will be one of the greatest  
40 raids on Britain's poor in modern times.

41 For the Government to get away with inflicting such misery, it needs the victims to be  
42 demonised as state-dependent leeches, scrounging from taxpayers. How some commentators  
43 howled about the abandoned mansion tax, allegedly imposing hardship on those without  
44 savings. All too many are silent about a policy which will cause far more suffering on the  
45 genuinely poor.

46 So let's be clear about who is affected. Nearly two thirds are sick or disabled. People with  
47 box rooms; disabled people with specially adapted rooms or who need carers to stay over  
48 occasionally; the recently bereaved; parents of soldiers; those with broken marriages who  
49 need a room for their kids to stay: all face being kicked. Like Wayne Blackburn, a disabled  
50 man in Nelson, Lancashire, who needs a wheelchair to get around: "financially, April will  
51 cripple my wife and I," he says. Like Zoe Edwards in Wandsworth, scraping by on a £7 an  
52 hour zero-hours contract after her son left home. I'm bombarded by other horrifying stories: a  
53 best friend's father in the late stages of cancer, expected to leave his home; a man who cared  
54 for his sick mum, expected to leave now she is dead; a mother who needs a spare room as a  
55 foster carer, and so on.

56 There are other perversities, too. Elderly people are exempt from the tax, but are mostly  
57 likely to want to downsize: they will now struggle to find one-bedroom properties as demand  
58 soars. As Hilary Burkitt puts it, because supply rarely matches demand, one in three couples

59 in social housing are given a two-bedroom property by councils: they will now be punished,  
60 too.

61 Some apologists of Government policy, like blogger Guido Fawkes, have tried to obscure the  
62 suffering inflicted on the poorest with semantic pedantry. It is not a “tax”, they say, falsely  
63 claiming that left-wingers labelled it such. But it was cross-bencher Lord Best who  
64 introduced the term, and housing specialists have popularised it in an attempt to explain  
65 clearly to tenants who have been starved of information by the government. Notorious  
66 hotbeds of socialism like the Daily Telegraph, ITN, and Tory councils such as Cornwall  
67 council call it the bedroom tax: a monstrous policy, whatever it is called.

68 And so a warning to Number 10. You calculate your attempt to demonise benefit claimants  
69 has paid off, removing all potential empathy. But – unfortunately for you – most are decent  
70 people. When the electorate realise you are inflicting misery not on “scroungers”, but on  
71 some of the most vulnerable in society, your campaign will fail. You bank on the suffering  
72 remaining below the radar, and you will be proved wrong. We will hammer you with the  
73 consequences, and, in time, you will be defeated.

## Text 31

### The Church of England can no longer continue as an arm of the state

By voting against women bishops, it has shown itself to be a discriminatory organisation that seeks to be above the law

- Suzanne Moore
- The Guardian, 21st November 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/nov/21/church-england-continue-arm-state>



Vicar Rose Hudson-Wilkin was widely expected to become the CofE's first woman bishop until the vote.  
Photograph: Carl Court

- 1 Up until now I cannot say I have been overly concerned with female vicars. That one in  
2 Dibley seems fun but mostly I am with Bill Hicks: "Women priests. Great, great. Now there's  
3 priests of both sexes I don't listen to." I don't believe or even pretend to believe in order to get  
4 my kids into the right schools.
- 5 Nor am I under illusion that the Church of England is some hippy-dippy hirsute cerebral  
6 force for good. Bits of it may well be. When I lived in London's King's Cross, the local vicar  
7 – "Trev the Rev", as he was known – let the prostitutes sleep in the church when they were  
8 under assault from vicious punters and the police. This seemed to me a fine Christian thing to  
9 do. But for every Trev the Rev there is some reactionary gittish vicar determined to keep up  
10 the fine traditions of homophobia and misogyny.
- 11 Unity in the church is a joke. When I asked my local vicar if I could use his church for a  
12 blessing ceremony using a female Baptist minister, he made clear his feelings about women  
13 vicars. But half a mile up the road the clergy were in the middle of a big gay picnic and had  
14 no problem with anyone using their building. For a donation. Which is fair enough.
- 15 One encounters these inner-city vicars who don't seem to mind what you believe – some will  
16 even say that the resurrection is but a metaphor – but don't be fooled. At the heart of the  
17 church is a steely core of evangelicals who have far more say than they should. The

18 provisional wing of the CofE is as fundamentalist as they come: the one thing that all  
19 fundamentalisms share is the need to keep women in their place.

20 Thus we had the farce of the vote against women bishops when there have been women  
21 priests for 20 years, which the majority of the congregation accepts. To ban those women  
22 from promotion is discrimination that would not be acceptable in any other walk of life. The  
23 church, with its mystifying voting process, looks not only archaic but also impotent as the  
24 vast majority of the synod did not want this result. They are praying for resolution.  
25 Sometimes prayers are not enough.

26 As the conservative MP who speaks for the synod in parliament said: "I think the great  
27 danger for the church following the vote is that it will be seen increasingly as just like any  
28 other sect." Indeed, this is how many of us already regard it. The question then becomes how  
29 can the church continue to function as an arm of the state when it endorses such out-and-out  
30 prejudice?

31 Remember there are already 3,600 women priests in the church and 37 women Anglican  
32 bishops worldwide. Africa has just got its first woman bishop. So now we lag behind  
33 Swaziland.

34 The issue is not belief – people can believe in fairies as far as I am concerned – it is the  
35 relationship between church and state. In this crazy chess game, the head of the Church of  
36 England, the Queen, could not be a bishop. David Cameron has urged them to "get on with it"  
37 – ie, vote the right way for the church – but not conforming to equality legislation is  
38 untenable.

39 It is worth understanding what the objection to women as bishops is based on. Evangelicals  
40 believe that women cannot exercise authority over men. They use scripture (St Paul's letters)  
41 to justify this: "I do not permit a woman to teach or have authority over a man." Thus a man  
42 could never swear a canonical oath to a woman bishop. Other objections rest on the fact that  
43 Jesus chose only male disciples. Was Jesus sexist? And that before The Fall, when it all went  
44 wrong, women existed to act only as helpers to men. I venture that the people, many of them  
45 women, who believe such things are unlikely to be swayed by new-fangled notions of  
46 equality. But why should they hold such sway in the church and why should the church hold  
47 such sway in our land?

48 Away from theological debate, other issues are at stake. Money, for instance. Reform, the  
49 group that represents the evangelicals, holds the rest of the church to ransom by constantly  
50 reminding the House of Bishops of its financial clout. In 2010 Reform wrote a letter  
51 mentioning the £38m that it had added to the CofE central coffers. The threat that these  
52 people withdraw completely from the CofE appears to paralyse the church – but surely the  
53 situation has become ridiculous.

54 The church, in seeking to be above the law, is now a discriminatory organisation, though it  
55 holds 26 seats in the House in Lords, from which women are barred. This effective debarring  
56 of women from the legislative process is more than an "embarrassment", it is profoundly  
57 undemocratic.

58 A secular country – and that is largely what we are – should have no truck with this. Why on  
59 earth should we respect this bizarre sect any longer? The separation of church and state is

60 long overdue. An institution that allows the maintenance of a stained glass ceiling for its  
61 female clergy to bang their heads against should not only lose its moral authority. Let it also  
62 lose its unearned privileges.

## Text 32

### The IRA: nothing to worry about?

For some, the IMC report is evidence that the IRA no longer functions. But if that's true, there's no reason not to legalise it

- Malachi O'Doherty
- The Guardian, 4th September 2008
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/sep/04/northernireland.ireland>

No image

1 The latest deadlock – and hopefully the last – in the Northern Ireland peace process is over  
2 the status of the IRA's seven-person army council. A report (pdf) by the Independent  
3 Monitoring Commission (IMC) yesterday sought to reassure the two governments and the  
4 parties in the Northern Ireland executive that the army council was no longer functioning or  
5 operational.

6 As always the solution attempted when there is clarity needed from republicans is an attempt  
7 to get down to the linguistic nuts and bolts. The Democratic Unionist party (DUP) requires  
8 that the IRA should cease to exist.

9 The IMC says that it believes that the army council is "being allowed to wither away", and as  
10 always others come alongside to provide added weight; Gordon Brown saying this is enough  
11 for him and that the devolution of policing and justice powers to the executive can now  
12 proceed.

13 The BBC flatly reports as fact that the IMC has said that the army council is "defunct".  
14 Actually, the IMC's assessment includes the largely unnoticed detail that the IRA is still  
15 gathering intelligence on dissident republicans but that the means by which it is doing so are  
16 not necessarily illegal.

17 So it does exist, it does function and it does have a project in hand. Its wider project, even if it  
18 does nothing, is to maintain an old and revered republican tradition.

19 There is a myth that God will preserve the world so long as there are seven true believers  
20 alive at any one time. Members of the army council are, at least, the true believers of  
21 republicanism, political flat-earthers keeping alive the flame of the Fenians – who attempted  
22 to invade Canada from the US – and Pádraig Pearse – who declared that Ireland was a united  
23 republic.

24 Few republicans would like to be the last generation of the IRA which winds up the project  
25 without completion, and that is what is expected of the army council. The DUP says that the  
26 IRA must go out of business. It has not accepted the current wordplay by the IMC, the  
27 government and the BBC. Therefore, there has to be another, finer restatement of the  
28 problem, one that inches the parties towards a shared understanding – as in the past words

29 like "decommission" and "arms beyond use" were deployed to cover for surrender of  
30 weapons and destruction of weapons.

31 I suggest that if the governments are so confident that the IRA does not function illegally they  
32 have a hand to play. They could simply legalise the IRA on both sides of the border. Well  
33 why not? Why should it be illegal to be a member of an organisation which does not function  
34 in any perceptible illegal fashion?

35 If it is no longer an obstacle, in the eyes of government, to the devolution of policing and  
36 justice powers, then let it be a legal organisation and that will remove from the DUP much of  
37 the reasoning by which they continue to regard it as a problem.

38 If the governments can't do that, then surely they are conceding that the DUP has a point.

## Text 33

### The man who came in from the cold

Greg Dyke's reputation as a television dynamo and BBC reformer has been overshadowed by the ignominious manner of his departure

- Claire Cozens and Lisa O'Carroll
- The Guardian, 29th January 2004
- <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2004/jan/29/broadcasting.huttoninquiry1>



Dyke: reforming reputation overshadowed by manner departure

- 1 The BBC was the last place that Greg Dyke ever expected to run - he once joked that  
2 "Saddam Hussein had more chance of running the BBC" than he did.
- 3 The cataclysmic events of the past 48 hours will have done little to change the views of a man  
4 who has been passionate in his defence of the BBC's independence from government since he  
5 took over from Lord Birt as director general in November 1999.
- 6 Mr Dyke's emotional resignation speech, delivered to the assembled scrum outside the doors  
7 of Broadcasting House today, made clear his decision to fall on his sword was an attempt to  
8 draw a line under the row with government and to "defend editorial independence and act in  
9 the public interest".
- 10 There is an enormous sense of shock at the BBC tonight, with staff spontaneously staging  
11 protests by walking out in support - a rare sight in modern television.
- 12 His appointment to the BBC amid considerable opposition was his crowning glory, and  
13 realised a vision that he could do for the BBC what he did in commercial TV - where he  
14 ranks as one of the most successful bosses ever.
- 15 **'A lot of people had no idea about television'**
- 16 "I went into television because I actually knew who the audience were," he once said. "A lot  
17 of people who come from English public school, Oxbridge education had no idea," he added.
- 18 Born in 1947 in London, Mr Dyke studied politics at York University and started his career  
19 as a newspaper journalist. But he quickly switched to TV and rose through the ranks at LWT  
20 to become one of its most commercially aggressive bosses.

21 He famously rescued breakfast station TV-am from collapse in 1983 by putting Roland Rat  
22 on the airwaves - and when he ran LWT between 1987 and 1991, he built the company's  
23 reputation as the powerhouse of Saturday night entertainment. Shows such as the Cilla Black-  
24 fronted Blind Date and clip show You've Been Framed consistently trouncing the BBC in the  
25 ratings.

26 In 1991, along with Sir Christopher Bland, Melvyn Bragg and others, Mr Dyke became an  
27 overnight millionaire after he successfully won back the ITV franchise in an auction which  
28 saw TV-am famously being outbid.

29 But his TV career was not always bathed in glory. In the mid-1990s he lost a protracted and  
30 bitter battle to remain in charge of LWT after Granada TV mounted a hostile takeover bid for  
31 the company.

### 32 **'He won't sit around for long'**

33 One friend tonight said: "I imagine he will do what he did when he left LWT. He will sit at  
34 home for a few weeks and then the kids will get a petition together to get him out of the  
35 house because he will be driving them mad with his restlessness."

36 "He won't sit around for long. Greg will bounce back as he always does."

37 "He is a rare animal with rare qualities, and I imagine a lot of other companies will see his  
38 abilities and his charisma as assets worth having. You don't leap from TV-am to the BBC and  
39 run LWT, TVS, Pearson and GMTV in between. That's an impressive CV," said the friend.

40 Although he was a controversial head of the BBC, even Mr Dyke's critics cannot deny that  
41 the corporation is now virtually unrecognisable as the bureaucratic empire he took more than  
42 four years ago.

43 From the success of BBC1, which has eclipsed ITV as Britain's most popular television  
44 channel, to BBC Radio's significant lead over its commercial rivals and the recent triumph of  
45 Freeview, his achievements have been hugely impressive.

46 But Mr Dyke's reputation as a reforming director general - who restored morale and inspired  
47 his troops by declaring "work should be fun" and telling the "whingers" to leave - has been  
48 overshadowed by the ignominious manner of his departure.

49 His failure to do his homework and check Andrew Gilligan's notes before firing off a letter  
50 rejecting Alastair Campbell's complaints reflects his impulsive personality. But his decision  
51 to blindly back Gilligan has proved his downfall.

### 52 **Labour's love lost**

53 Earlier this summer MediaGuardian reported how Dyke's belligerent stance - he refused to  
54 brook any criticism of Gilligan's report and believed Mr Campbell's complaints were part of a  
55 wider vendetta - had been fuelled by his disillusionment with the Labour party.

56 Mr Dyke was once one of the party's staunchest supporters. He was, of course, one of those at  
57 the famous drinks party in east London in 1994, when a dozen senior media executives,  
58 invited by Peter Mandelson, agreed to bankroll Tony Blair for the Labour leadership.

59 It took place at the home of his friend Barry Cox, now deputy chairman of Channel 4, who  
60 was a neighbour of the Blairs for four years. Over the years, Mr Dyke donated £55,000 to the  
61 party but was forced to sever his links and tear up his membership when appointed director  
62 general.

63 But according to friends, over the last few years, Mr Dyke hated what Labour had become  
64 and thought power had left them bereft of the socialist vision they all held during the days of  
65 opposition. One close friend revealed that he even joked about setting up a breakaway party.

66 It was his links with the Labour party almost lost him his battle to be director general of the  
67 BBC. The Daily Mail took an unusual stance, describing him as a "a man of exceptional  
68 talent and dynamism, head and shoulders above most of the other candidates in a generally  
69 lacklustre field".

70 The Times launched a fierce campaign against him, declaring him unfit to run the  
71 organisation because of his political links. It warned of the "rotting" effect his stewardship  
72 would have on the organisation's editorial independence, but ultimately it was Mr Dyke's  
73 former colleague and friend, Sir Christopher Bland, who won over the board of governors  
74 who were split on his appointment.

#### 75 **'He made the BBC more collaborative'**

76 Those who viewed him as too much of a maverick to run an institution such as the BBC will  
77 regard the events of the past eight months as vindication of their reservations. But it is a  
78 measure of Mr Dyke's popularity that even the Mail today came out in support of the BBC.

79 Mr Dyke's supporters credit him with cutting out the heavy layer of bureaucracy imposed on  
80 the BBC by his predecessor, Lord Birt, and dragging the corporation into the 21st century by  
81 committing wholeheartedly to the new media world of internet news and digital television.

82 Will Wyatt, a former head of BBC Broadcast, described today how Mr Dyke "came in, gave  
83 the place a hug and made the BBC a more collaborative organisation".

84 While staff initiatives such as Making It Happen and The Big Conversation have been  
85 criticised as gimmicks, Mr Dyke's energetic and enthusiastic management style has done  
86 much to restore morale and stir the creative juices lacking under his predecessor.

87 But with those improvements have come accusations of dumbing down, with a ratings-  
88 chasing approach that has led to derivative programmes such as Fame Academy.

89 Mr Dyke has an unmatched TV industry pedigree.

## Text 34

### The man who was an island

Louis Kahn loved buildings more than he could ever love people. Now his estranged son has filmed a portrait of the great architect, his buildings and his haunted life.

- Jonathan Glancey
- The Guardian, 23rd July 2004
- <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2004/jul/23/architecture>



Man, boy and building: Louis Kahn with Nathaniel (top, photo: Harriet Pattison) and Kahn's last building, the National Assembly in Dhaka, Bangladesh

1 On March 17 1974 Louis Kahn, one of the world's great architects, suffered a heart attack and  
2 died in the men's room of one of the shittiest buildings in the US. Penn Station, a cynical  
3 1960s horror shoehorned beneath the sidewalks of Manhattan's Eighth Avenue, had once  
4 been a magnificent monument, a marriage of the ancient Roman Baths of Caracalla and the  
5 Crystal Palace, built between 1895 and 1910 as a sublime terminus for the Pennsylvania  
6 Railroad. In an act of barbarity that might have shocked the Goths and Vandals, this heroic  
7 station was demolished in the winter of 1963.

8 Nathaniel Kahn, Louis Kahn's illegitimate son, born in 1962, might have opened his  
9 documentary film in the uncomfortable bowels of Penn Station. Instead, he begins My  
10 Architect, a search for the soul of the father he only ever vaguely knew, with a lingering take  
11 of a little boy gazing at Louis Kahn's last and perhaps greatest building, the National  
12 Assembly at Dhaka in Bangladesh, its sublime brickwork reflected in the shimmering man-  
13 made moat surrounding it. This hauntingly beautiful building has all the physical and spiritual  
14 qualities of some supreme ancient monument, greater even than the Baths of Caracalla - and  
15 as far from Penn Station as any modern building can be.

16 Nathaniel Kahn wonders what brought his father, at the peak of his late-flowering career (he  
17 didn't really get going till he was 50) to die in the depths of Penn Station on a trip back from

18 the sub-continent. Could he really have been on his way to join Nathaniel's mother, Harriet  
19 Pattison, in her clapboard house outside Philadelphia? If so, then the 11-year-old boy would  
20 have had a proper father, and Harriet a husband. But this would have meant Kahn abandoning  
21 his wife of 44 years, Esther Israeli, with whom he still lived, and by whom he had a daughter,  
22 Mary Ann, born in 1940. Oh, and sidelining Anne Tyng, the other woman in his life by  
23 whom he had also had a daughter, Alexandra, in 1954. None of them ever really knew what  
24 was going through Louis Kahn's labyrinthine mind.

25 In the Oscar-nominated *My Architect*, all three siblings meet and talk, and all three of Kahn's  
26 women talk and don't meet. Their talk is of an enigmatic father, husband and lover and his  
27 relationship with the women, children and buildings he left behind. Yet what Nathaniel Kahn  
28 doesn't say, and nor does his camera, wielded with sensitivity and skill by Bob Richman, is  
29 that there is something horribly fitting in his father's less-than-gracious end. The world of  
30 modern architecture Kahn struggled with is represented at its very lowest by the men's room  
31 at Penn Station, which took his body, while his soul rose up through the ghost of the old Penn  
32 Station.

33 Louis Kahn's life, soul and architecture had long been suspended between the two. Even as he  
34 built his few, peerless modern American monuments - the Salk Institute for Biological  
35 Studies, La Jolla, California (1959-67), the Yale Centre for British Art (1969-74) and the  
36 Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas (1967-72) - he was striving for something more  
37 timeless, for a great synagogue overlooking the Temple of the Dome of the Rock in  
38 Jerusalem, for example, which has never been built; and for the National Assembly at Dhaka,  
39 completed only after his death.

40 What Nathaniel Kahn's film shows so well is his father's love affair with architecture rising  
41 way beyond whatever love he had for his women and children. His women and children seem  
42 like awkward offspring of specific building projects. Kahn makes us cry both with the painful  
43 awkwardness of his revelatory story and with the poignant beauty of his father's finest  
44 buildings. This is the first architectural weepie.

45 Born in 1901, Kahn was brought to Philadelphia in poverty four years later. From the start he  
46 felt separated from other children by the scars that disfigured his bird-like face, and because  
47 he was a Jew in a city of Wasps. In later life he cut a detached and idiosyncratic figure. No  
48 man is an island; yet, Louis Kahn sailed close. He could also be charming and funny as  
49 archive clips in *My Architect* prove.

50 "It was like Christmas morning," says Nathaniel Kahn, of when he opened 50 boxes of tapes  
51 mailed from the Museum of Modern Art. "There's a scene towards the end of the film", says  
52 Kahn, "that's my favourite piece of footage. Lou is sitting at the table, drawing. When he  
53 folds his hands, we see charcoal all over his fingers. Then the camera pans up to his face. To  
54 me, that is my father. He came from this little island off Estonia, where his face was badly  
55 burned as a child, where he himself was touched by fire, and his preferred drawing material  
56 was charcoal." Nathaniel Kahn believes his father remained that haunted and isolated child.

57 Kahn Jr's quest to find his father moves poignantly through episodes of darkness, humour  
58 and, finally, a kind of epiphany. Moved to tears, the 42-year-old film-maker stands before the  
59 National Assembly in Dhaka and says that it is here, so far from Philadelphia and Penn  
60 Station, that he gets closest to his father, and where the film has to end. Here, he understands  
61 that his father's love for architecture overarched his love for individual human beings.

62 Filming buildings has always been a challenge. All too often they look blandly inanimate.  
63 The list of movies in which architecture comes to life, free from visual cliché, is brief.  
64 Metropolis (Fritz Lang, 1927), Alphaville (Jean-Luc Godard, 1965), Playtime (Jacques Tati,  
65 1967), Blade Runner (Ridley Scott, 1982), Brazil (Terry Gilliam, 1985) and Batman (Tim  
66 Burton, 1989) come to mind.

67 As Kahn Jr says, "one of the biggest no-nos in filming architecture is panning, because that's  
68 just moving the camera. People don't pan ... they move through space. The moment we got  
69 away from the feeling of 'We need to show what this building looks like' and used the  
70 buildings as a stage set, letting people use them as a way to jog their thinking, that was when  
71 they came interesting and easier to deal with."

72 Kahn meets a kaleidoscope of characters who relate the story of his father's buildings, life  
73 and persona. There are big shot architects such as Philip Johnson, IM Pei and Frank Gehry.  
74 There are the veteran taxi drivers who drove this relentlessly peripatetic artist around  
75 Philadelphia. We meet Teddy Kalleck, cigar-chomping nonagenarian former mayor of  
76 Jerusalem, Kahn's mother, his funny aunts, thoughtful sisters, and, of course, Kahn himself.  
77 A piano score, by Joseph Vitarelli (The Last Seduction, She's So Lovely) haunts the film,  
78 connecting archive footage to new film - as a young man, Lou Kahn used to make money  
79 playing the piano for silent movies in Philadelphia theatres .

80 My Architect is very much a labour of love. It does its very best to convince us that a man  
81 who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised  
82 in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another,  
83 was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage. And a flawed, much-missed  
84 father.

## Text 35

### Afghanistan: the big lie

We are repeatedly told the Taliban is being pushed back, but the truth is it shows no sign of being bombed to the peace table

- Editorial
- The Guardian, 1st February 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/feb/01/afghanistan-the-big-lie-editorial>

No image

1 Joseph Goebbels said that if you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will  
2 eventually come to believe it. The big lie told repeatedly about the war in Afghanistan is that  
3 the international security assistance force (Isaf) and the Afghan national security forces are  
4 pushing the Taliban back. This is Hillary Clinton's line. It is, heavily caveated, the line of the  
5 monthly progress report issued by the Foreign Office. It notes that recorded levels of violence  
6 fell significantly in the UK's area of operations last year but that those gains were tempered  
7 by an increase in incidents in the east of the country. The insurgency remains resilient, but is  
8 under "significant and sustained" pressure in areas where Isaf and the Afghan national  
9 security forces are focusing their efforts.

10 Contrast that with what the US military privately think: "Though the Taliban suffered  
11 severely in 2011, its strength, motivation, funding and tactical proficiency remains intact ...  
12 Many Afghans are already bracing themselves for an eventual return of the Taliban." So says  
13 a report drawn up on the basis of 27,000 interrogations of 4,000 suspected Taliban and al-  
14 Qaida detainees leaked to the Times and the BBC. The sourcing is significant. True, the  
15 Taliban, a Pashtun nationalist force, would be hard put to recapture Kabul after a foreign  
16 withdrawal. But each salient detail of this report undermines the notion that a national  
17 security structure which will outlast the withdrawal of foreign troops is being built by Isaf.

18 That is not to say it will not work in some areas. But the holes in this sieve are significant  
19 enough, and they have all to do with identity and legitimacy rather than military tactics: the  
20 Taliban's continuing ability to connect with the local population – they even run their own  
21 version of a Crimestoppersphonenumber; the harassment, corruption and abuse pushing clients  
22 into their arms; the local deals done with Afghan government forces – and all this in the 11th  
23 year of this conflict. Attacks in the east of Afghanistan have gone up 800%, so that the  
24 British focus on three districts out of 14 in Helmand gives little clue about the displacement  
25 going on. The US report belies the notion that the policy of assassinating mid-level Taliban  
26 commanders (night raids are often little more than death squads) is having any lasting effect  
27 on an organisation which retains the ability to selectively moderate its violence in order to  
28 encourage Nato forces to leave faster.

29 The Taliban is heavily backed by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence – "intimately backed"  
30 are the words used – but even if the ISI withdrew its support, the Taliban would continue. It  
31 is showing no signs of being bombed to the peace table. The insurgents believe their will is

32 stronger than that of the foreigners fighting on their soil. At some point this truth must be  
33 acknowledged.

## Text 36

### The Work Programme design is flawed

Back-to-work providers, such as A4e, should not be judged on inflexible targets and crucified when the economy falters

- Ian Mulheirn
- The Guardian, 2nd July 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jul/02/a4e-job-agencies-payment-performance>



Unemployed people and welfare rights campaigners holding a "leaving party" for A4e after the DWP announced the cancellation of workfare contract. Photograph: Frank Baron for the Guardian

- 1 All is not well with the Work Programme, the government's flagship back-to-work scheme.
- 2 Last week Channel 4 news released the first piece of real evidence we've seen on how the
- 3 scheme is going. It doesn't make for happy reading. Out of 115,000 jobseekers referred to
- 4 provider A4E in the first year of the scheme, just 4,000 of them – 3.5% – have found
- 5 sustained jobs.
- 6 Since last year's launch of the Work Programme, hailed by ministers as a revolution in back-
- 7 to-work support, the omens haven't been good. But the Department for Work and Pensions'
- 8 baffling strategy to ban any public sharing of the scheme's performance data has made it
- 9 impossible to properly assess how it's going – until now.
- 10 A4E's 3.5% rate is lower than the rock-bottom minimum of 5.5% expected by the DWP. In
- 11 the context of recent, unflattering media coverage surrounding the provider, people will no
- 12 doubt want to kick A4e for these atrocious figures. It may be that the organisation isn't
- 13 making a good fist of the new programme. But A4e's past performance suggests that the
- 14 problem isn't unique to it. It's likely that lots of Work Programme chiefs are staring at a
- 15 similarly dire set of figures. The problems run deeper.
- 16 The uncomfortable truth is that the Work Programme design is flawed. DWP's minimum
- 17 performance targets are based on its best guess of how many people would have got a job

18 without any help. These, in turn, are based on the Office for Budget Responsibility's  
19 projections for growth from November 2010, when it predicted the economy would grow by  
20 2.1% last year and 2.6% this year. But the economy has flatlined since then, and employment  
21 prospects have been similarly poor.

22 Worse, the scheme's design cuts frontline services at the very point when unemployment is  
23 mounting. During economic stagnation, when job outcome payments slow to a trickle, the  
24 only response for a firm or charity that doesn't want to go bust is to cut services – just when  
25 people need them most.

26 At the root of these problems is the fact that providers are on the hook for something they  
27 can't control – the labour market. A scheme that was supposed to hold providers accountable  
28 for their performance has ended up holding them accountable – and penalising their  
29 customers – for the performance of the economy. The programme was designed in a boom. Is  
30 it any wonder that it can't cope with economic stagnation on a scale not seen for 80 years?

31 With little prospect of imminent economic recovery, we need to start a conversation now  
32 about how to make the scheme work for the people who need it more than ever. Without  
33 changes, we risk a rerun of the human, social and economic unemployment tragedy of the  
34 1980s and 90s.

35 Many of the principles behind the Work Programme are sound. Paying for sustained  
36 employment success, holding poor providers to account and encouraging innovation are  
37 welcome parts of the government's policy. But these features can be retained in a Work  
38 Programme reformed to cope with recession. So what should the strategy be?

39 First, the government could tone down the proportion of payments made for achieving job  
40 outcomes. In the depths of recession, the priority must be to make sure jobseekers get the  
41 help they need. For that they need the money to provide it.

42 Second, it should reassess its expectations of what's achievable in a recession, and formally  
43 link minimum performance levels to the latest OBR forecast.

44 Finally, the government should look at re-engineering the Work Programme so that a large  
45 proportion of the payment to providers is based on their performance compared with those of  
46 other providers, rather than judging them on inflexible targets and crucifying them when the  
47 economy falters.

48 Only then will the funding for this vital employment scheme not collapse when the economy  
49 tanks. And only then will the policy adequately support the people it was designed to help.

## Text 37

### **This cruel welfare system is steadily crushing lives – where is the anger?**

No one seems to be concerned that hugely profitable private firms are forcing thousands into borderline destitution

- John Harris
- The Guardian, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jul/03/cruel-welfare-system-private-firms>



The former chair of A4e, Emma Harrison, 'who last year paid herself a dividend of £8.6m'. Photograph: Christopher Thomond for the Guardian

- 1 If you want a sobering flavour of where Britain is heading, set aside banking, the Leveson  
2 inquiry, our relationship with Europe and whatever else – and consider a Guardian story by  
3 Patrick Butler that appeared last week. It was about food banks, the charitable set-ups that  
4 supply emergency parcels to people who have fallen between society's cracks. FareShare, a  
5 charity that sits at the heart of all this, says it is experiencing "ridiculous growth" in demand,  
6 and expects that trend to continue for at least five years; over the last 12 months, it claims to  
7 have sent out 8.6m meals.
- 8 Spend any time around a food bank – and I have, in Inverness and Liverpool – and it quickly  
9 becomes clear that their core constituency is based around two groups of people: refugees  
10 who have either recently arrived in the UK or opted to go underground; and people who have  
11 suddenly had their benefits stopped.
- 12 Thanks to the increasingly cruel regime that now applies to benefits – which, we now know,  
13 David Cameron wants to make yet crueller – the latter seem to be increasing in number by  
14 the week, pushed into their predicament by a system that can summarily ruin lives, but  
15 offer[s] only the most sluggish remedies by way of appeal. By and large, they remain  
16 invisible, but their fate is starting to intrude on the news media: last week, a man set himself  
17 alight outside a Birmingham jobcentre, reportedly thanks to a "dispute over benefit  
18 payments", an episode that occurred just as the Guardian was revealing rising concerns about  
19 suicides among people faced with so-called benefits "sanctions". For an intimate picture of

20 the misery and anxiety that lies behind all this, have a look at this film by my colleague John  
21 Domokos, partly centred on a family reduced to fretting over their last dregs of electricity,  
22 and apparently surviving on a diet founded on budget baked beans. The benefits system  
23 refuses to understand that one of them is a carer, whose obligations to his ill wife mean that  
24 he cannot always make his appointments at the jobcentre.

25 Which brings us to revelations that appeared over the weekend, and the latest news about the  
26 government's increasingly brutal welfare-to-work drive. Thanks to research by Corporate  
27 Watch and an article in the Observer, we know that the private companies involved in the  
28 government's Work Programme have been pushing for unbelievable numbers of people to  
29 have their benefits cut, aiming at figures that even the ever-more stringent Jobcentre Plus  
30 regime has refused to sign off. Meanwhile, there's a clear sense that in the context of a  
31 flatlining economy, the Work Programme's targets – indeed, its entire logic – are proving  
32 impossible: the scheme's core presumptions were based on economic growth of over 2%, and  
33 a revived job market. Given their non-appearance, the companies involved look [like] they're  
34 getting desperate, and in the absence of any convincing carrot, [and] frantically reaching for  
35 the stick.

36 In the context of the firms' returns, all this leaves an impossibly nasty taste. The best example  
37 is the welfare-to-work outfit A4e. This year, it has been blitzed with all those allegations of  
38 fraud; I've also reported on allegations of a "champagne culture", company events held in  
39 upscale foreign locations, and the dizzying lifestyle led by its former chair and public face,  
40 Emma Harrison, who last year paid herself a dividend of £8.6m. And what apparently lies at  
41 the heart of all this opulence, and the activities of a firm that claims to be "social purpose  
42 company" with "one sole aim, to improve people's lives around the world"? Over six months,  
43 10,000 requests were made for its "customers" to have their benefits cut, of which only 3,000  
44 were granted by Jobcentre Plus. Similar statistics for other companies abound: Working  
45 Links referred nearly 12,000 cases for sanctions, Serco managed just over 9,000, and G4s  
46 came in at 7,780. Such is the upshot of the stock warning that appears on most of the  
47 correspondence sent to Work Programme participants: "If you do not attend this appointment,  
48 your benefits could be affected." And how.

49 This is yet another one of those stories that come with a head-spinning sense of how much  
50 Britain has changed, under this government and its predecessor. Rewind 15 years, and  
51 imagine the spectacle of hugely profitable private firms pushing for thousands of people to be  
52 propelled into borderline destitution: the result would have been acres of coverage, and  
53 molten anger. And now? Even backbench Lib Dems are predictably silent, and Labour  
54 restricts its criticisms of a system it invented to technocratic hand-wringing, focused not on  
55 any kind of moral outrage, but whether everything's working, and how much it all might cost  
56 ("Chaos at DWP is stalling the government's reforms ... the welfare bill is going through the  
57 roof" was the response to Cameron's welfare proposals of Liam Byrne, a man for whom the  
58 adjective "blank" might have been invented). Even the trade unions are bizarrely quiet. The  
59 reality is something to which mainstream politics cannot admit, and which bumps up against  
60 a cross-party accent on welfare being the last resort of malingerers: that people are living in  
61 fear and going hungry, and a cold state machine seems to have been designed to put them  
62 there.

63 Now, incidentally, we hear word that plenty of police officers are of the opinion that last  
64 year's riots could easily be repeated. One hesitates, of course, to be alarmist. But as more and  
65 more people feel the cruelties of a policy that makes no sense – that people must be kicked

66 into work, even if jobs don't exist – has anyone considered that the two things might be  
67 connected?

## Text 38

### Ukip: the party that's coming in from the cold

It was written off by David Cameron as a party of 'fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists'. So why is Ukip suddenly becoming a political force to contend with?

- John Harris
- The Guardian, 26th November 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/nov/26/ukip-party-coming-in-from-cold>



Nigel Farage: the former Tory first became leader of Ukip in 2006. Photograph: Toby Melville/Reuters

1 In the long slipstream of this year's party conference season, British politics seems to have  
2 gone strangely quiet. But listen closely, and under the sound of all that rain, you can make out  
3 something very interesting: the metaphorical forces politicians usually call "tectonic plates",  
4 shifting in ways that, three or four years ago, no one would have predicted. This winter's  
5 biggest political story, in fact, may turn out not to be focused on the Conservatives, Labour or  
6 the Lib Dems, but an organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes,  
7 or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs.

8 But there it is: the UK Independence party, which has spent well over a year regularly scoring  
9 at least 6% or 7% in the polls, and often climbing as high as 11%, thus relegating the poor old  
10 Lib Dems to fourth place. At last week's Corby byelection, the party managed an impressive  
11 14.3%, its highest-ever share of the poll in any such contest. That day, there was also a  
12 byelection in the seat of Cardiff South and Penarth, where it managed 6.1% – not nearly as  
13 convincing, but still its highest share in any Welsh election. And in the same day's somewhat  
14 shambolic elections for police and crime commissioners, Ukip's share of the vote per  
15 candidate once again put it ahead of Nick Clegg's lot.

16 This week sees the Rotherham byelection, where the party's prospects have been boosted by a  
17 remarkable story indeed: the local council deciding to remove three children from the foster  
18 care provided by a local couple who are Ukip members. The children are migrants from  
19 mainland Europe; Rotherham's director of children services, who was quickly condemned by

20 both Labour and Tory politicians, said she had to be mindful of their "cultural and ethnic  
21 needs", in the context of Ukip's policies on multiculturalism. Ukip's website now features the  
22 slogan "All roads lead to Rotherham", the stylised image of a family of five, and a headline  
23 about what it calls the "Ukip foster care uproar".

24 Yesterday, the Tory MP and party vice-chairman Michael Fabricant published a report titled  
25 The Pact, in which he advocates an electoral deal between the Conservatives and Ukip, on the  
26 basis of a referendum on Britain's EU membership, and a place in a future Tory cabinet for  
27 the Ukip leader Nigel Farage.

28 Fabricant – who on Sunday night was reported to be having "social drinks" with David  
29 Cameron – reckons that the ongoing battle between the two parties cost his side as many as  
30 40 seats (and, therefore, an outright majority) at the last general election. The Tory leadership  
31 duly poured cold water on his suggestion, but the underlying thinking was hardly revelatory:  
32 Ukip's rise is jangling Tory nerves, and with good reason. On Monday, Farage talked about  
33 the possible game-changing effects of someone "grownup and sensible like Michael Gove"  
34 becoming leader of the Tories: the aim, one suspected, probably had more to do with  
35 mischief than constructive politics.

36 Ukip already has 12 members of the European parliament, including Roger Helmer, who was  
37 elected as a Conservative, but jumped ship in March this year. There are three other ex-Tory  
38 Ukipers in the House of Lords: Lord Pearson of Rannoch, the 21st Baron Willoughby De  
39 Broke, and Baron Stevens of Ludgate. While we're here, it is also worth noting the sole Ukip  
40 representative in the Northern Ireland Assembly, David McNarry, a former member of the  
41 Ulster Unionist party – and the party's presence in local government. Ukip now has 158  
42 people serving on local councils, though the vast majority are concentrated at town and parish  
43 levels, a number regularly swelled by more revolting Tories.

44 They are all committed to a self-styled "libertarian, non-racist party seeking Britain's  
45 withdrawal from the EU", whose ideas are built on the claim that even the Conservatives –  
46 and read this bit slowly – "are now Social Democrats", and that the main parties "offer voters  
47 no real choice".

48 Aside from pulling out of Europe, Ukip's other notable positions and policies seem purposely  
49 designed to cut across what remains of the metropolitan "modernisation" agenda that  
50 Cameron and his supporters brought to modern Tory politics. Chief among them is the belief  
51 that climate change is a matter of debate and "wind power is futile", the contention that there  
52 should be "real and rigorous cuts in foreign aid" (to be "replaced with free trade", apparently),  
53 and support for grammar schools. Given half a chance, Ukip would also freeze "permanent  
54 immigration" for five years.

55 The party's prevailing tilt is in the small-state, cut-spending direction, though it would hold  
56 on to Britain's nuclear weapons, and "make increased defence spending a clear priority". It  
57 is opposed to gay marriage (though it's OK with civil partnerships), and advocates an end to  
58 the ban on smoking in "allocated rooms in public houses, clubs and hotels." The party's  
59 radical rightwing credentials are also flagged up by its avowed belief in a flat rate of income  
60 tax, an idea that has found favour in Serbia, Ukraine, Slovakia, Georgia, and Romania.

61 In 2006, much to Ukip's fury, Cameron famously called them a party of "fruitcakes, loonies  
62 and closet racists" (weirdly, over the weekend, the Downing Street press office seemed to

63 retract at least the third of these suggestions, only to un-retract it). There have been  
64 occasional reports about Ukip members with links to the far right, and the BNP in particular  
65 (though on this score, to be fair, the party is vigilant). There also is a low hum of online noise  
66 about the party's associations with other political parties in Europe, the kind routinely  
67 described using such terms as "ultra-nationalist" or "socially authoritarian": in the European  
68 parliament, their MEPs are part of a grouping called Europe of Freedom and Democracy,  
69 which also includes the Italian Northern League, the Lithuanian Order and Justice party, and  
70 an outfit from Greece called Popular Orthodox Rally. In 2009, Ukip peer Lord Pearson  
71 invited the Dutch politician Geert Wilders to the House of Lords, where he showed a film  
72 titled *Fitna*, linking the content of the Qur'an to terrorism.

73 Still, if you like the cut of Ukip's jib, you might like to think of its members as bold  
74 trailblazers for the future of the radical right. If you are being slightly less generous, you  
75 might agree with the verdict of an internal Tory document that called them "cranks, gadflies  
76 and extremists". Neither view, though, answers this year's most pressing question: why has  
77 the party's support suddenly ballooned?

78 According to John Curtice, the renowned psephologist and professor of politics at Strathclyde  
79 University, the answer is inevitably bound up with two institutions that have each had a grim  
80 2012: the European Union, and the British Conservative party.

81 "The simple answer is that the public are getting much more Eurosceptic," says. "And yes,  
82 the public is pretty Eurosceptic, but it's not clear that it's any more Eurosceptic than it was in  
83 the late 70s and early 80s. The other argument is, you've got a bunch of people out there who  
84 are normally Tory supporters, and they're not entirely sure that Cameron's got it, they maybe  
85 think that Osborne has made too many mistakes ... they've lost confidence in the competence  
86 of the Tories. Now, if you're in that situation and you're a voter on the centre-right, where are  
87 you going to go?"

88 "You're not going to vote for the *Greens*. You can't vote for the Lib Dems. You think the  
89 BNP is going too far. The answer might be Ukip, because quite a lot of their policies are quite  
90 similar to the Tories. And you perhaps think they'd at least do something about European  
91 immigration, which none of the other parties would." According to Curtice's numbers, around  
92 7% of the people who voted Conservative at the last general election would now vote Ukip;  
93 he does not quite concur with Fabricant's belief that Ukip could cost the Tories up to 40 seats  
94 at the next election, but if they even threaten 20, "that's still non-trivial".

95 In 1991, an LSE historian and academic called Alan Sked formed the Anti-Federalist League,  
96 a group-cum-party opposed to the Treaty of Maastricht, the agreement that formally  
97 established what we now know as the European Union. Two years later, it became the UK  
98 Independence party. In 1995, it held its first national conference, which drew 500 people. At  
99 the general election of 1997, it was rather overshadowed by the late Sir James Goldsmith's  
100 Eurosceptic Referendum party, though with his death later that year, Ukip quickly found  
101 itself at the forefront of non-Tory Euroscepticism.

102 Sked, however, soon left, claiming that he had begun to fear that people who did not share  
103 what he calls "liberal British values" were joining the party in ever-increasing numbers. He  
104 now claims that once he exited Ukip, text stating that the party had "no prejudices of any kind  
105 against any lawful minority" disappeared from its membership forms.

106 In 1999, Ukip got its first three MEPs. Five years later, it reached its first watershed moment,  
107 when 12 were elected. But around this time, Ukip fell victim to the revived ambitions of the  
108 Labour MP-turned-talk-show host Robert Kilroy-Silk – who fancied becoming leader, until  
109 his aims came to nothing, and he left to found the long-forgotten party (the French would call  
110 it a *groupuscule*) Veritas. The way was thus opened for the rise of Nigel Farage, a commodity  
111 broker and former Tory who became Ukip leader in September 2006, although he resigned  
112 three years later, to concentrate on his efforts to become the MP for Buckingham.

113 There, he was cocking a snook at political convention by running against John Bercow, the  
114 (nominal) Tory and speaker of the House of Commons. But in the event, Farage came third,  
115 behind an independent called John Stevens, who campaigned with the aid of a character  
116 called Flipper the Dolphin – though that failure was eclipsed by one of the most remarkable  
117 moments of the 2010 campaign, when Farage crawled from the wreckage of a light aircraft  
118 after a Ukip banner got wrapped around its tail fin (weirdly, the pilot was later found guilty of  
119 making death threats against him, in a separate incident).

120 In 2009, it had been revealed that Farage had taken £2m of EU expenses and allowances,  
121 which he claimed had been used to promote Ukip's message. Within his party, the story  
122 obviously did him no harm at all: in November 2010, he once again became Ukip's leader,  
123 and is now a firmly embedded part of the culture – an apparently unembarrassable, foghorn-  
124 voiced operator (some have likened his tones to those of Zippy from the 70s children's TV  
125 show *Rainbow*) who proudly smokes and enjoys a lunchtime pint of bitter, and who  
126 characterises his relations with the Tories as a matter of "war".

127 For at least one of his old colleagues, however, Farage's success is less important than the  
128 rightwing politics that he has firmly planted in Ukip's collective soul. "Ukip is far too  
129 rightwing for me," says Sked, from his home in the Scottish Highlands. "And they've gone  
130 native: they're mainly interested in their seats in the European parliament, and their pensions  
131 and allowances. All the energy seems to be directed to keeping them in Brussels and  
132 remaining well-paid members of the European parliament. It's gone askew."

133 Once Sked gets going, there's no stopping him. "Their other obsessions seem to be anti-  
134 Islamic and anti-immigrant," he says. "I couldn't believe what happened at the last election.  
135 The country was facing its greatest economic crisis since the 1930s, and all Ukip could say  
136 was 'Ban the burqa'."

137 The party's high-ups, of course, are having none of that. Paul Nuttall, 35, is a Liverpudlian  
138 former academic who joined Ukip after a spell living in Spain ("I saw the failure of the euro  
139 firsthand," he tells me), became an MEP for the north-west region, and is now the party's  
140 deputy leader. He puts their apparent surge down to "being proved right on everything to do  
141 with the European Union", and the endless warnings the party has dispensed about "mass,  
142 uncontrolled immigration". He also reckons that Ukip "has become professionalised. It's  
143 moved on from being a single-issue pressure group. We've developed a whole raft of  
144 domestic policies that people find attractive."

145 In the European elections of 2014, he reminds me, the party's aim is to finish first; at the next  
146 year's general election, they want nothing less than a "political earthquake", though what that  
147 might mean remains unclear. But why not, I wonder, swallow hard and get with the Fabricant  
148 programme? A deal with the Tories, after all, would guarantee them at least one seat in  
149 cabinet – and, one assumes, a handful of MPs.

150 "The biggest stumbling block at the moment is the prime minister himself," says Nuttall. "He  
151 can't be trusted on the European Union. And he's described us as closet racists in the past: he  
152 had the opportunity to retract that, and then he retracted the retraction."

153 Sked's accusation that Ukip has long since fallen in love with the perks and privileges of  
154 Brussels, he tells me, is "nonsense", and the idea that the party is "obsessed" with Islam is  
155 also given short shrift. "I don't think we've talked about the burqa since 2010, to be perfectly  
156 honest with you. It's not something that's a lead policy of ours. But I will say: if I can't walk  
157 into a bank with a crash helmet on, then I think the burqa should be removed."

158 Could a devout Muslim be a wholehearted supporter of Ukip?

159 "I don't see why not."

160 We end our conversation with his party's rum assortment of allies in the European parliament,  
161 and another chance to rummage through more arcane rightwing parties that do their thing in  
162 Brussels: among them, Helsinki's own True Finns, and the United Poland party.

163 "Groups in the European parliament form as a marriage of convenience," he says. "We don't  
164 really deal with each other's domestic policies ... I'm sure if you look at the Conservative and  
165 Labour parties, they have people in their groups who they wouldn't necessarily form pacts  
166 with in this country. It's just the nature of the beast."

167 Even if they're on the far right of politics?

168 "I'm sure there are people you could say were on the far right of politics in the Conservatives'  
169 group, and people on the extreme left in the Labour party's. You just have to hold your nose."

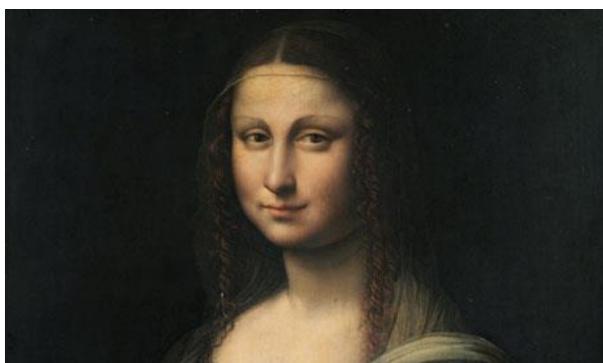
170 His last sentence sounds like the kind of thing that you can get away with on the fringes, but  
171 that a new life at the centre of the action might make that a bit more difficult: "Their domestic  
172 policies are nothing to do with us."

## Text 39

### Which Mona Lisa imitator do you most trust – Leonardo's pupil, or Raphael?

A contemporaneous copy discovered at the Prado may tell us less about the Mona Lisa than an early likeness by Raphael

- Jonathan Jones
- The Guardian, 1st February 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog/2012/feb/01/mona-lisa-leonardo-pupil-raphael>



The early copy of the Mona Lisa discovered at the Prado may reveal less about Leonardo's original than existing evidence. Photograph: Jose BaztanLacasa/Ho/EP

- 1 How much does the newly cleaned copy of the Mona Lisa in the Prado, now being touted as a  
2 magical key to Leonardo da Vinci's famous portrait, actually tell us about the way the  
3 original was created?
- 4 Contrary to the impression you may have formed from today's news stories, this is not the  
5 most amazing recent discovery about the Mona Lisa. That came in 2008, when a researcher  
6 in the university library of Heidelberg found notes written in a copy of Cicero's letters in  
7 Florence from October 1503 that actually say Leonardo is working on a portrait of Lisa  
8 delGiocondo. Unless anyone overturns that documentary proof, this has settled all debate  
9 about the true identity and date of Leonardo's portrait – at least, the date he started it. While  
10 the document makes it pretty certain he began Lisa's picture in Florence in 1503 (fitting, as it  
11 happens, with the account written by Vasari in 1550), Leonardo never handed over the  
12 painting to her husband, Francesco. Instead, he worked on it for years to come.
- 13 The Prado now believes its copy may be the work of one of Leonardo's two favourite pupils,  
14 either Giacomo Salai or Francesco Melzi. It was, they think, painted alongside the original  
15 and so is deeply revealing about what the painting looked like when it was new. Vasari said it  
16 startled with its joy and verisimilitude – two qualities that have been mystified by Leonardo's  
17 endless work on the painting. Does the Prado copy show Lisa as she really was?

18 Well, maybe ... but there is other evidence to consider. Leonardo's Mona Lisa has been  
19 studied in depth at the Louvre, as you might expect. Various scans taken there reveal an  
20 earlier state in which Lisa apparently did not smile. This impression of an unsmiling Mona  
21 Lisa is also seen in an early imitation by a very great artist: none other than Raphael.

22 In about 1506, Raphael portrayed a wealthy Florentine woman, MaddalenaDoni, in the pose  
23 of Leonardo's painting. That someone should have been depicted in this way shows how  
24 famous the Mona Lisa had already become in Florence. Maddalena and her husband were art  
25 collectors, so they were probably in on the joke; she has the same twist of her body in her  
26 chair, the same crossed hands. All she lacks is a smile. Why? It might be a differentiation of  
27 character – here's an unsmiling patrician woman to contrast with Leonardo's smiling  
28 merchant's wife – or maybe it means that Leonardo added the smile to an originally glum  
29 Mona Lisa as he endlessly reworked the painting.

30 What Raphael has caught above all is the classical power and strength of the face, and the  
31 way it is sculpted by shadows. His portrait has the same shade along the nose and eye sockets  
32 that Leonardo's does.

33 Even though it is a portrait of another person that eerily transposes aspects of Leonardo's  
34 painting, Raphael's work is in some respects closer to the appearance of the Mona Lisa today  
35 than the Prado version is. As such, it supports the idea that the Mona Lisa today is true to  
36 Leonardo's intentions and so must never be cleaned. The Prado version also mimics the  
37 shadows that sculpt the Mona Lisa's beauty, but here they are less striking, less grand and  
38 deep than in the Raphael – or the Leonardo as it survives in the Louvre.

39 The Prado version makes its subject look more straightforward and less dreamlike. But why  
40 take a pupil's evidence over that of Raphael?

41 Leonardo picked his pupils for their looks, not their talent. He delighted in Salai's curly locks,  
42 says Vasari, who also attests to the beauty of Melzi, even in old age. They were not gifted  
43 artists. A copy that developed alongside the Mona Lisa is obviously fascinating, but it does  
44 not necessarily revolutionise understandings of this painting. Raphael saw more, because he  
45 was a great artist.

## Text 40

### Will George Entwistle get more women on the Today programme?

The BBC's new director general has pledged his support for a greater female presence on air. We'll be keeping an eye on how he does, particularly on its flagship Radio 4 show

- Jane Martinson
- The Guardian, 20th September 2012
- <http://www.theguardian.com/media/the-womens-blog-with-jane-martinson/2012/sep/20/george-entwistle-women-today-programme>



George Entwistle: 'When the moment comes to appoint the next presenter of the Today programme I hope it's a woman.' Photograph: David Levene for the Guardian

- 1 If you had listened to the Today programme this morning you would have heard six women
- 2 on the flagship Radio 4 breakfast show. One of them was unnamed and another credited as a
- 3 man in the show's running order but, along with co-presenter Sarah Montague, their
- 4 appearance alongside 18 male guests and reporters could mark a new high in gender equality
- 5 on a programme that more than any other sets the agenda for the day's news.
- 6 Can it be that the Today programme is finally taking notice of the Guardian campaign
- 7 launched at the beginning of the year to address the huge dominance of men? Or, more likely
- 8 I admit, are the show's producers listening to the hints given by the new director general,
- 9 George Entwistle, who has used every interview since he started in his new job to say that he
- 10 wants more women on the BBC?
- 11 The man who pipped a woman to the top job at the BBC wants more women's sports
- 12 televised and more female presenters with grey hair to match their male colleagues. On the
- 13 Today programme he has said he wants to see more "female guests", even telling the
- 14 Guardian: "When the moment comes to appoint the next presenter of the Today programme I
- 15 hope it's a woman – and I'll just make it clear to people that's what I think."
- 16 When the Guardian launched its campaign for the programme to expand its contacts lists a
- 17 little, BBC bosses said that the programme simply reflected the gender split of those in

18 power. The fact that there are typically fewer women on the programme than female MPs in  
19 parliament (22%) was neither here nor there.

20 Entwistle, a former news producer, echoed this line in other interviews. To the Telegraph he  
21 said: "The Today programme struggles because we are dealing with party politics as it is,  
22 dealing with the world as it is, and that's a very male place. What the BBC often reflects is  
23 the way the world is."

24 Yet not everyone agrees that the BBC should simply accept a status quo, or indeed  
25 underperform it. Following the launch of the campaign, Ceri Thomas, Today's editor, said  
26 that he had received just one complaint about the lack of women when the Guardian launched  
27 its campaign. The response to our blog was more forceful, with several readers writing in to  
28 suggest that their complaints had never got anywhere.

29 When Kira Cochrane published her research last year she cited one July day when there was  
30 only one female correspondent during a two-hour slot on the programme and that was from  
31 the Hampton Court Palace flower show. The show's female guests today were Joan Walley,  
32 chair of the environmental audit committee, obstetrician Dr Anna David, journalist Anne  
33 Atkins, (whose Thought for the Day was the female-friendly nature of Jesus Christ, no less),  
34 the wife of the man known as Martin, reporter Jane Dreaper and the last female guest,  
35 VaijuNaravane, a reporter for a Hindu newspaper, who was lauded for "his" analysis on the  
36 political turmoil in India.

37 Being generous to the BBC by taking out the male business and sports correspondents named  
38 more than once, these women represented 26% of the show's guests and reporters.

39 In a way, perhaps Entwistle is carrying on what his predecessor, Mark Thompson, started,  
40 albeit at the end of his eight-year tenure. The former DG took to the pages of the Daily Mail  
41 to opine on the lack of older women but only after a BBC-commissioned survey found that  
42 licence-fee payers, half of whom are women, found it odd that only men seemed to age on TV.  
43 All the women stayed young and luscious. Or left to work in newspapers presumably.

44 "There are manifestly too few older women broadcasting on the BBC," he wrote, "especially  
45 in iconic roles and on iconic topical programmes."

46 There has also been the political pressure with the surprising duo of Conservative MPs  
47 Nadine Dorries and Tessa Munt raging at the "culture of sexism" at the BBC, a charge which  
48 led to meetings between the BBC and Ed Vaizey, the broadcasting minister.

49 Entwistle is no supporter of targets and has no plans to monitor the lack of women either. He  
50 obviously hopes that his words will simply encourage his senior editors to do the right thing.

51 He stresses that his is no Damascene conversion and speaks of his time on Newsnight a  
52 decade ago when he rejected the three guests lined up because he didn't want this to be "a  
53 discussion involving three blokes". Given the number of such panels we still see on the BBC,  
54 it seems that not much has changed in the intervening 10 years.

55 The two men at the top have in the past few months spoken out about the lack of women on  
56 the BBC. Only time will tell how many are listening? How can we make sure they do?

## Appendix 3: Texts by publication, genre and author

Text no.	Text name	Publication	Genre	Author
1	A new wave of protests	Guardian	Business comment	Heather Stewart
2	A royal scandal	Guardian	CiF <sup>52</sup> Leader	Leader
3	Anders Breivik's hatred has been drowned out	Guardian	CiF	Billy Bragg
4	Andy Coulson casts a long shadow over David Cameron	Guardian	UK News	Nicholas Watt
5	Chinese Britons have put up with racism for too long	Guardian	CiF	Elizabeth Chan
6	David Beckham: how this crock of a footballer can still woo the French	Guardian	CiF	Stuart Jeffries
7	The ghost of Margaret Thatcher will haunt David Cameron	Independent	Voices (opinion)	Andrew Grice
8	The millionaire Dennis Tito and his mission to Mars	Independent	Science news	Steve Connor
9	Did Van Gogh kill himself?	Guardian	Art blog	Jonathon Jones
10	The left should learn about plain speaking from George Galloway	Independent	Voices (opinion)	Owen Jones
11	Israel and the family of nations	Guardian	CiF Editorial	Editor
12	Israel's royal welcome	Guardian	CiF	Tony Greenstein
13	Lance Armstrong: pedalling tales	Guardian	CiF Editorial	Editor
14	Manti Te'o, Lance Armstrong and the stories sports stars tell	Guardian	CiF	Ian Leslie
15	Momentum builds for a 20mph speed limit	Guardian	Environment blog	John M Morrisson
16	Naomi Campbell's plea	Guardian	Law blog	Afua Hirsch

<sup>52</sup> CiF refers to Comment is Free, the name of the Guardian's dedicated comment section.

17	Natural England has become a gopher of the landed classes	Guardian	Environment blog	George Monbiot
18	No to women bishops? It's high time the Church of England was taught a lesson	Observer	CiF	Catherine Bennett
19	Occupy London: what went wrong?	Guardian	CiF	John Harris
20	Our economic ruin means freedom for the super-rich	Guardian	CiF	George Monbiot
21	India's man who lives on sunshine	Guardian	CiF	Sanal Edamaruku
22	It's shameful the way Britain kowtows to the super-rich	Guardian	CiF	Ian Jack
23	In praise of... Reader's Digest	Guardian	CiF Editorial	Editor
24	Sacrifice of Bradley Manning's liberty will not have been made in vain	Independent	Voices (opinion)	Owen Jones
25	Saving a language is one thing, but I'm saddened by Scotland going Gaelic	Guardian	CiF	Ian Jack
26	Some brother David Miliband is	Guardian	CiF	Victoria Coren
27	Stonewall is holding back transgender equality	Guardian	CiF	Natacha Kennedy
28	Stop this anti-sex drive	Guardian	CiF	Zoe Margolis
29	Stories from Rumney Rec	Guardian	Local blog	Alun Michael
30	The bedroom tax is just the latest assault on our poorest citizens	Independent	Voices (opinion)	Owen Jones
31	The Church of England can no longer continue as an arm of the state	Guardian	CiF	Suzanne Moore
32	The IRA: nothing to worry about?	Guardian	CiF	Malachi O'Doherty
33	The man who came in from the cold	Guardian	Media news	Claire Cozens & Lisa O'Carroll
34	The man who was an island	Guardian	Art and design review	Jonathon Glancey

35	Afghanistan: the big lie	Guardian	CiF Editorial	Editor
36	The Work Programme design is flawed	Guardian	CiF	Ian Mulheirn
37	This cruel welfare system is steadily crushing lives – where is the anger?	Guardian	CiF	John Harris
38	Ukip: the party that's coming in from the cold	Guardian	CiF	John Harris
39	Which Mona Lisa imitator do you most trust – Leonardo's pupil, or Raphael?	Guardian	Art blog	Jonathon Jones
40	Will George Entwistle get more women on the Today programme?	Guardian	Media women's blog	Jane Martinson

## Overview

Genre	Number of texts	Percentage of texts
Comment is free	24	60%
Voices	4	10%
Other comment	1	2.5%
Blog	7	17.5
Review	1	2.5%
News	3	7.5%
Total	40	100
<b>Total opinion pieces</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>93%</b>

## Writers who feature more than once

Name	Number of texts
Jonathon Jones	2
John Harris	3
George Monbiot	2
Owen Jones	3
Ian Jack	3

## Appendix 4: Participant tracking

<b>Text</b>	<b>Participant</b>	<b>No. of prior mentions</b>	<b>Position of A(n)+N+RRC in the text</b>	<b>No. of subsequent mentions</b>	<b>Total no. of mentions</b>
1	The UK government	5	6	7	13
2	The BBC	8	9	6	15
3	Children of the Rainbow	8	9	1	10
4	Andy Coulson	19	20	0	20
5	The UK	9	10	2	12
6	David Beckham	18	19	14	33
7	David Cameron	21	21	6	27
8	The 'Inspiration Mars' mission	28	29	0	29
9	Van Gogh	39	40	9	49
10	George Galloway	12	13	14	27
11a	Israel	7	8	9	17
11b	Israel	16	17	0	17
12	The JNF	37	38	0	38
13	Lance Armstrong	20	21	6	27
14a	Lance Armstrong	5	6	27	33
14b	Lance Armstrong	23	24	9	33
15	20mph speed limit	4	5	13	18
16	Naomi Campbell	26	27	6	33
17a	Natural England	7	8	24	32
17b	Natural England	31	32	0	32
18	The Church of England	24	25	3	28
19	Occupy London	37	38	2	40
20	Neoliberalism	32	33	1	34
21	Prahlad Jani	12	13	7	20
22	Prince Alwaleed	20	21	0	21

23	Reader's Digest	16	17	0	17
24	Bradley Manning	8	9	14	23
25	Gaelic	17	18	4	22
26	David Miliband	8	9	11	20
27	Stonewall	11	12	8	20
28	Nadine Dorries	8	9	6	15
29	Rumney Rec	19	20	3	23
30	The bedroom tax	11	12	6	18
31	The Church of England	30	31	3	34
32	The IRA	21	22	1	23
33	Greg Dyke	5	6	72	78
34	Louis Kahn	66	67	0	67
35	The Taliban	14	15	4	19
36	The Work Programme	8	9	9	18
37	The welfare system	13	14	0	14
38	Ukip	3	4	29	33
39	The Prado copy of the Mona Lisa	11	12	1	13
40	The Today programme	5	6	13	19

## Appendix 5: Lexical Relations

<b>Text</b>	<b>Participant</b>	<b>Superordinate term in A(n)+N+RRC</b>
1	The UK government	A government
2	The BBC	An organisation
3	Children of the Rainbow	A song
4	Andy Coulson	A man
5	The UK	A country
6	David Beckham	A man
7	David Cameron	A man
8	The 'Inspiration Mars' mission	A journey
9	Van Gogh	A man
10	George Galloway	A man
11a	Israel	A country
11b	Israel	A country
12	The JNF	An organisation
13	Lance Armstrong	A man
14a	Lance Armstrong	A man
14b	Lance Armstrong	A man
15	20mph speed limit	A policy
16	Naomi Campbell	A woman
17a	Natural England	An agency
17b	Natural England	An agency
18	The Church of England	An institution
19	Occupy London	A movement
20	Neoliberalism	A programme
21	Prahlad Jani	A man
22	Prince Alwaleed	A man
23	Reader's Digest	A publication
24	Bradley Manning	A soldier
25	Gaelic	A language
26	David Miliband	A man
27	Stonewall	An organisation
28	Nadine Dorries	An MP

29	Rumney Rec	A precious green field
30	The bedroom tax	A policy
31	The Church of England	An institution
32	The IRA	An organisation
33	Greg Dyke	A man
34	Louis Kahn	A man
35	The Taliban	An organisation
36	The Work Programme	A scheme
37	The welfare system	A policy
38	Ukip	An organisation
39	The Prado copy of the Mona Lisa	A copy
40	The Today programme	A programme

# Appendix 6: Reading experiment 1

## Experiment on reader interpretations

### Cover sheet

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this experiment. I am interested in how readers interpret different expressions in English.

I would like you to do the three tasks on the following three pages. There are no right or wrong answers so all you need to do is select the answer you feel is most appropriate. Each task is the same but the texts are not related. The instructions are repeated at the top of each page.

The data you provide are entirely anonymous and will be held confidentially.

If you would like to know more about this research, feel free to email me at [jonesks1@cf.ac.uk](mailto:jonesks1@cf.ac.uk)

Thank you for your time.

Katy Jones

Postgraduate Researcher

Centre for Language and Communication Research

ENCAP

**Before starting, please answer the following questions:**

**(Circle as appropriate)**

Are you a native or non-native speaker of English?

What is your age?

18-21

22-25

26-29

30+

## Group 1

**What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.**

### Text 1

The MP Nadine Dorries has proposed an amendment to a health bill demanding that women be given pre-abortion counselling that could be provided by religious, pro-life groups. Dorries is basing her bill on the premise that teaching abstinence stops teenagers becoming pregnant. The fact that an MP who can spread such inaccuracies is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.

- a) The type of MP who can broadcast untruths
- b) The MP Nadine Dorries
- c) Any MP
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 1

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 2

Rumney Recreation Ground is a historic green space at the heart of the Rumney area, but it is under threat because the council wants to build a new high school there. People tend to understand that there is a need for the development and construction of new 21<sup>st</sup> century schools. But these schools don't have to be built on precious green fields that have been the "green lungs" of life in cities for a long time.

- a) Any precious green field
- b) The type of land which provides urban green space for city dwellers
- c) Rumney Recreation Ground
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 1

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 3

The new Penguin edition of Van Gogh's complete letters is dispiriting because it reveals the seriousness and extremity of Van Gogh's emotional troubles. From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of this man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19<sup>th</sup> century world.

- a) Van Gogh
- b) Any man
- c) The type of man who was not comfortable with his 19<sup>th</sup> century world
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 2

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 1

The new Penguin edition of Van Gogh's complete letters is dispiriting because it reveals the seriousness and extremity of Van Gogh's emotional troubles. It is not unusual for 19<sup>th</sup> century anthologies to portray their male protagonists as men who found it difficult to co-exist with others or find a productive place in their 19<sup>th</sup> century worlds.

- a) Van Gogh
- b) Any man
- c) The type of man who was not comfortable with his 19<sup>th</sup> century world
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 2

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 2

The MP Nadine Dorries has proposed an amendment to a health bill demanding that women be given pre-abortion counselling that could be provided by religious, pro-life groups. Dorries is basing her bill on the premise that teaching abstinence stops teenagers becoming pregnant. The fact that this MP who can spread such inaccuracies is proposing a nonsensical, victim-blaming bill should give us all cause for concern.

- a) The type of MP who can broadcast untruths
- b) The MP Nadine Dorries
- c) Any MP
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 2

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 3

Rumney Recreation Ground is a historic green space at the heart of the Rumney area, but it is under threat because the council wants to build a new high school there. People in Llanrumney and Rumney do understand that Llanrumney and Rumney High Schools need to merge to form a single modern 21<sup>st</sup> century school. But that school doesn't have to be built on a precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century.

- a) The type of land which provides urban green space for city dwellers
- b) Any precious green field
- c) Rumney Recreation Ground
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

### Group 3

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

#### Text 1

Rumney Recreation Ground is a historic green space at the heart of the Rumney area, but it is under threat because the council wants to build a new high school there. People in Llanrumney and Rumney do understand that Llanrumney and Rumney High Schools need to merge to form a single modern 21<sup>st</sup> century school. But that school doesn't have to be built on this precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in Llanrumney for almost a century.

- a) The type of land which provides urban green space for city dwellers
- b) Any precious green field
- c) Rumney Recreation Ground
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

### Group 3

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

#### Text 2

The new Penguin edition of Van Gogh's complete letters is dispiriting because it reveals the seriousness and extremity of Van Gogh's emotional troubles. From his complete letters a remorseless self-portrait emerges of a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19<sup>th</sup> century world.

- a) Van Gogh
- b) Any man
- c) The type of man who was not comfortable with his 19<sup>th</sup> century world
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

### Group 3

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

#### Text 3

The MP Nadine Dorries has proposed an amendment to a health bill demanding that women be given pre-abortion counselling that could be provided by religious, pro-life groups. Dorries is basing her bill on the premise that teaching abstinence stops teenagers becoming pregnant. The fact that MPs who can spread such inaccuracies can propose nonsensical, victim-blaming bills should give us all cause for concern.

- a) The type of MP who can broadcast untruths
- b) The MP Nadine Dorries
- c) Any MP
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

# Appendix 7: Reading experiment 2

## Experiment on reader interpretations

Coversheet

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this experiment. I am interested in how readers interpret different expressions in English.

I would like you to do the three tasks on the following three pages. There are no right or wrong answers so all you need to do is select the answer you feel is most appropriate. Each task is the same but the texts are not related. The instructions are repeated at the top of each page.

If you would like to know more about this research, feel free to email me at [jonesks1@cf.ac.uk](mailto:jonesks1@cf.ac.uk)

Thank you for your time.

Katy Jones

Postgraduate Researcher

Centre for Language and Communication Research

ENCAP

**Before starting, please answer the following questions:**

**(Circle as appropriate)**

Are you a native or non-native speaker of English?

What is your age?

18-21

22-25

26-29

30+

#### Group 4

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

#### Text 1

‘My Architect’ is a documentary about the life and tragic death of the troubled architect Louis Kahn. It does its very best to convince us that a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage. And a flawed, much-missed father.

- a) Any man
- b) Louis Kahn
- c) The type of man whose life and death are troubled
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Group 4

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

#### Text 2

When individuals close to the prime minister are charged with a crime, he will monitor the events with care but will try not to comment, even if the proceedings are against people who are pivotal members of the prime minister's inner circle.

- a) The type of person who has a central role in the prime minister's inner circle
- b) Any person
- c) Andy Coulson
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Group 4

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

#### Text 3

Successive Scottish governments, anxious to stress an independent national identity have made Gaelic a key feature of difference to England, and many would agree that to care for this language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out is the mark of a civilised country.

- a) Gaelic
- b) The type of language which has nearly been destroyed by emigration and economics
- c) Any language
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 5

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 1

Andy Coulson has been charged in connection with phone-hacking. The prime minister is monitoring events with care. But he will not be commenting as the proceedings continue against this man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007.

- a) Any man
- b) Andy Coulson
- c) The type of man who has a central role in the prime minister's inner circle
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 5

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 2

Successive Scottish governments, anxious to stress an independent national identity have made Gaelic a key feature of difference to England, and many would agree that to care for a language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out is the mark of a civilised country.

- a) The type of language which has nearly been destroyed by emigration and economics
- b) Any language
- c) Gaelic
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 5

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 3

Documentaries often attempt to show us the different sides of their subjects. For example, they can try to convince us that men who have unsettled lives and tragic deaths can also be accomplished professionals and much-loved fathers.

- a) Louis Kahn
- b) The type of man whose life and death are troubled
- c) Any man
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 6

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 1

Governments of minority nations, anxious to stress an independent national identity often make the native minority language a key feature of difference to the dominant nation, and many would agree that to care for languages that emigration and industrial economics could wipe out is the mark of a civilised country.

- a) Any language
- b) Gaelic
- c) The type of language which has nearly been wiped out by emigration and economics
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 6

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 2

‘My Architect’ is a documentary about the life and tragic death of the troubled architect Louis Kahn. It does its very best to convince us that this man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another, was not just one of the greatest architects, but a kind of sage. And a flawed, much-missed father.

- a) The type of man whose life and death are troubled
- b) Any man
- c) Louis Kahn
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 6

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 3

Andy Coulson has been charged in connection with phone-hacking. The prime minister is monitoring events with care. But he will not be commenting as the proceedings continue against a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and autumn of 2007.

- a) Andy Coulson
- b) The type of man who has a central role in the prime minister inner circle
- c) Any man
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 7

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 1

David Beckham has signed for Paris St-Germain, currently the best team in France. It is curious why a 37-year old player who's past his best would be exported to Paris. He has, however, announced that he'll give his £150,000 a week salary to a French children's charity, so perhaps it's an astute diplomatic move to improve Anglo-French relations that, along with his pretty face, good manners and chiselled abs, makes one suspect that Beckham isn't British at all. It seems that France is poised to be charmed by a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.

- a) Any man
- b) David Beckham
- c) The type of man who might be embraced by France
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 7

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 2

The Jewish National Fund, an organisation which discriminates against non-Jews, is having a 'charitable' dinner at Windsor Castle. Apparently, the proceeds will go to a charity which attempts to bridge the gap between different faiths. However, it is questionable whether the royal family should host dinners for organisations which explicitly discriminate against certain groups.

- a) The type of organisation which prejudices against particular groups
- b) Any organisation
- c) The Jewish National Fund
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 7

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 3

Natural England has been criticised for listening only to landowners rather than regulating the relationship between those who own, farm and use the countryside. This agency which should be protecting the natural world appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it. Who now will stand up for England's wildlife?

- a) Natural England
- b) The type of agency which should be looking after the countryside
- c) Any agency
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 8

**What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.**

### Text 1

The Jewish National Fund, an organisation which discriminates against non-Jews, is having a 'charitable' dinner at Windsor Castle. Apparently, the proceeds will go to a charity which attempts to bridge the gap between different faiths. So, according to this logic, the royal family will be hosting a dinner for this organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews because the proceeds will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite.

- a) Any organisation
- b) The Jewish National Fund
- c) The type of organisation which prejudices against particular groups
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 8

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 2

Natural England has been criticised for listening only to landowners rather than regulating the relationship between those who own, farm and use the countryside. An agency which should be protecting the natural world appears to have identified and aligned itself with people damaging it. Who now will stand up for England's wildlife?

- a) The type of agency which should be looking after the countryside
- b) Any agency
- c) Natural England
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 8

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 3

Exporting charismatic sportsmen to other countries might be seen as an astute move by the British to improve diplomatic relations. Even France has been known to be charmed by men who, with their un-British characteristics, are poised to become honorary Frenchmen within the first few months of being there.

- a) David Beckham
- b) The type of man who might be embraced by France
- c) Any man
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 9

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 1

Natural England has been criticised for listening only to landowners rather than regulating the relationship between those who own, farm and use the countryside. When agencies which should be protecting the natural world attend only to the needs of rich landowners, it is time to start looking for alternative protection for our countryside.

- a) Any agency
- b) Natural England
- c) The type of agency which should be looking after the countryside
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 9

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 2

David Beckham has signed for Paris St-Germain, currently the best team in France. It is curious why a 37-year old player who's past his best would be exported to Paris. He has, however, announced that he'll give his £150,000 a week salary to a French children's charity, so perhaps it's an astute diplomatic move to improve Anglo-French relations that, along with his pretty face, good manners and chiselled abs, makes one suspect that Beckham isn't British at all. It seems that France is poised to be charmed by this man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up.

- a) The type of man who might be embraced by France
- b) Any man
- c) David Beckham
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Group 9

What does the underlined expression in each text refer to? Choose from options a), b), c) or d) below. There are no correct or incorrect answers; I am just interested in your interpretations and feelings.

### Text 3

The Jewish National Fund, an organisation which discriminates against non-Jews, is having a 'charitable' dinner at Windsor Castle. Apparently, the proceeds will go to a charity which attempts to bridge the gap between different faiths. So, according to this logic, the royal family will be hosting a dinner for an organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews because the proceeds will be going to a charity which apparently does the complete opposite.

- a) The Jewish national Fund
- b) The type of organisation which prejudices against particular groups
- c) Any organisation
- d) None of the above

Answer: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 8: Results of the Accessibility Analysis and Givenness Hierarchy coding

### KEY

#### 1) Accessibility scores and corresponding levels

Accessibility Score	Accessibility Level
-2 to 0	Low accessibility
1-3	Mid accessibility
4-6	High accessibility

(From Toole 1996)

#### 2) The GH criterion relate to the specific criterion within each status

Status	Criterion
In Focus	5. It is the interpretation of the main clause subject or the syntactic topic in the immediately preceding sentence/clause.
	6. It is part of the interpretation of a previous part of the same sentence.
Activated	1. It is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences.
Familiar	1. It was mentioned at any time previously in the discourse. (This criterion applies to all the data).

(From GHZ 2006)

### 3) Results

<b>Text</b>	<b>Participant</b>	<b>AA score</b>	<b>AA Level</b>	<b>GH status</b>	<b>GH Criterion</b>
1	The UK government	4	High	In focus	1
2	The BBC	3	Mid	Activated	1
3	Children of the Rainbow	-2	Low	Familiar	1
4	Andy Coulson	-1	Low	Familiar	1
5	The UK	0	low	Familiar	1
6	David Beckham	5	High	Activated	1
7	David Cameron	6	High	In focus	1
8	The 'Inspiration Mars' mission	5	High	In focus	1
9	Van Gogh	6	High	In focus	2
10	George Galloway	3	Mid	Activated	1
11a	Israel	3	Mid	Activated	1
11b	Israel	2	Mid	Familiar	1
12	The JNF	1	Mid	Activated	1
13	Lance Armstrong	5	High	In focus	1
14a	Lance Armstrong	5	High	In focus	2
14b	Lance Armstrong	6	High	Activated	1
15	20mph speed limit	2	Mid	Activated	1
16	Naomi Campbell	2	Mid	Activated	1
17a	Natural England	4	High	Activated	1
17b	Natural England	3	Mid	Activated	1
18	The Church of England	2	Mid	In focus	1
19	Occupy London	3	Mid	Activated	1

20	Neoliberalism	4	High	Activated	1
21	Prahlad Jani	5	High	Activated	1
22	Prince Alwaleed	4	High	In focus	1
23	Reader's Digest	5	High	In focus	1
24	Bradley Manning	5	High	In focus	1
25	Gaelic	4	High	In focus	2
26	David Miliband	5	High	In focus	1
27	Stonewall	2	Mid	Familiar	1
28	Nadine Dorries	1	Mid	Familiar	1
29	Rumney Rec	2	Mid	Activated	1
30	The bedroom tax	2	Mid	Activated	1
31	The Church of England	4	High	In focus	1
32	The IRA	3	Mid	Activated	1
33	Greg Dyke	5	High	In focus	1
34	Louis Kahn	3	Mid	Activated	1
35	The Taliban	2	Mid	Activated	1
36	The Work Programme	1	Mid	Familiar	1
37	The welfare system	1	Mid	Familiar	1
38	Ukip	1	Mid	Familiar	1
39	The Prado copy of the Mona Lisa	1	Mid	Familiar	1
40	The Today programme	4	High	In focus	2

## Appendix 9: Co-extension analysis

<b>Text 1: A new wave of protests</b>	
Participant	The UK government
Expression	a government that owns much of two of the UK's biggest banks
Number of prior mentions	6
Position of expression in text	Beginning
Participant in RRC?	No
No similarity chains connecting RRC to text. RRC is shared cultural knowledge – media coverage	

<b>Text 2: A royal scandal</b>	
Participant	The BBC
Expression	an organisation which is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker
Number of prior mentions	8
Position of expression in text	Beginning
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 1 ( <i>it</i> )
SC1	Bureaucracy x 2
SC2	programme maker x 2
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. It is a well-known issue that the BBC is as much bureaucracy as it is programme-maker

<b>Text 3: Anders Breivik's hatred has been drowned out by Norwegians singing</b>	
Participant	The Children of the Rainbow
Expression	a song that extols the kind of multicultural society that Breivik despises
Number of prior mentions	8
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Breivik's views x 1
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. Breivik's hatred of multiculturalism – media coverage

<b>Text 4: Andy Coulson casts a long shadow over David Cameron</b>	
Participant	Andy Coulson
Expression	a man who achieved the rare feat of becoming a pivotal member of the Cameron inner circle in the space of just a few months in the summer and

	autumn of 2007.
Number of prior mentions	19
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
No similarity chains connecting RRC to text. RRC is shared cultural knowledge – there has been a great deal of media coverage about this situation.	

<b>Text 5: Chinese Britons have put up with racism for too long</b>	
Participant	The UK
Expression	a country whose media perpetuates the very images that evoke stereotypes and cultural misunderstanding
Number of prior mentions	9
Position of expression in text	Middle
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	the media's role x 5
SC2	stereotypes and cultural misunderstandings x 7
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. The average Guardian reader would be well aware that the media contributes to cultural stereotypes (CiF articles often relate to this issue)

<b>Text 6: David Beckham: How this crock of a footballer can still woo the French</b>	
Participant	David Beckham
Expression	a man who, with his un-British attention to grooming, muscle tone and non-novelty underwear, may become an honorary Frenchman before his six months in Paris are up
Number of prior mentions	16
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 2 ( <i>his; his</i> )
SC1	Appearance x 3
SC2	Charming the French x 4
SC3	Move to France x 5
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. Beckham's advertisements for his underwear range (which he models himself) are ubiquitous.

**Text 7: The ghost of Margaret Thatcher will haunt David Cameron until he shows he can win an election**

Participant	David Cameron
Expression	a man they cannot forgive for not winning a majority in 2010
Number of prior mentions	20
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Not winning an election x 1
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. Media coverage.

<b>Text 8: The millionaire Dennis Tito and his mission to Mars</b>	
Participant	The ‘Inspiration Mars’ mission
Expression	a journey where there isn’t much else to do but look at the stars and dream of home
Number of prior mentions	28
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Not much to do x 4
Shared cultural knowledge?	No

<b>Text 9: Did Van Gogh kill himself? It really shouldn’t matter</b>	
Participant	Van Gogh
Expression	a man who from his youth onwards found it very difficult to coexist with others or find a productive place in his 19th-century world
Number of prior mentions	39
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 2 ( <i>his; his</i> )
SC1	Van Gogh’s emotional difficulties x 6
SC2	Trouble with society x 3
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. Van Gogh’s emotional troubles are well known.

<b>Text 10: The Left should learn about plain speaking from George Galloway</b>	
Participant	George Galloway
Expression	a man sent by the people of Bradford to express their disgust with the

	Westminster club
Number of prior mentions	12
Position of expression in text	Beginning
Participant in RRC?	No
No similarity chains connecting RRC to text. RRC is shared cultural knowledge – George Galloway is famous for being outspoken about those in power.	

<b>Text 11 (a and b) : Israel and the family of nations</b>	
Participant	Israel
Expression	a) a country which now gives every appearance of having turned its back on global opinion b) a country which truly rejects the collective concerns of the international community
Number of prior mentions	a) 7 b) 16
Position of expression in text	a) beginning b) end
Participant in RRC?	a) Yes x 1 ( <i>its</i> ) b) No
SC1	Israel's rejection of international opinion x 4 a)3 b)4
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. Guardian readers would be aware of Israel's rejection of international opinion

<b>Text 12: Israel's Royal Welcome</b>	
Participant	The Jewish National Fund (JNF)
Expression	an organisation which explicitly discriminates against Palestinians and non-Jews
Number of prior mentions	37
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	discriminating against Palestinians and non-Jews x 9
Shared cultural knowledge?	No

<b>Text 13: Lance Armstrong: pedalling tales</b>	
Participant	Lance Armstrong
Expression	a man who can dismiss the US anti-doping agency's finding of "conclusive and undeniable proof" of cheating as a tax-payer funded

	hatchet job
Number of prior mentions	20
Position of expression in text	Middle
Participant in RRC?	No
No similarity chains connecting RRC to text. RRC is shared cultural knowledge – it was well documented in the media that Armstrong denied the doping charges against him	

<b>Text 14a: Manti Te'o, Lance Armstrong and the stories sports stars tell</b>	
Participant	Lance Armstrong
Expression	a man once universally regarded as a paragon
Number of prior mentions	5
Position of expression in text	Middle
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Paragon x 1
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. Armstrong was often hailed in the media as a sporting hero

<b>Text 14b: Manti Te'o, Lance Armstrong and the stories sports stars tell</b>	
Participant	Lance Armstrong
Expression	a man who had overcome life-threatening illness and seized the heights of sporting achievement purely through the exercise of his indomitable will
Number of prior mentions	21
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 1 ( <i>his</i> )
No similarity chains connecting RRC to text. RRC is shared cultural knowledge – it was well documented in the media	

<b>Text 15: Momentum builds for 20 mph speed limit</b>	
Participant	20 mph speed limit
Expression	a policy which is winning wider public support
Number of prior mentions	4
Position of expression in text	Beginning

Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	winning wider public support x 2
Shared cultural knowledge?	No

<b>Text 16: Naomi Campbell's privacy plea strange for a woman who bathes in limelight</b>	
Participant	Naomi Campbell
Expression	a woman who said that she had never heard of Liberia when she met Charles Taylor at a charity dinner given by Nelson Mandela in 1997
Number of prior mentions	26
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 2 ( <i>she; she</i> )
SC1	Lack of perspective and chutzpah x 6
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes and no – not the specific instance of Naomi Campbell's lack of perspective in the RRC, but it is well known that she has these traits.

<b>Text 17 (a and b): Natural England has become a gopher of the landed classes</b>	
Participant	Natural England
Expression	a) an agency whose stated aim is to defend the environment b) an agency which should be protecting the natural world
Number of prior mentions	a) 7 b) 31
Position of expression in text	a) beginning b) end
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	protecting the environment x 2 a) 1 b) 2
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. Natural England is known to be an environmental protection agency

<b>Text 18: No to women bishops? It's high time the Church of England was taught a lesson</b>	
Participant	The Church of England
Expression	an institution so unwilling to conform with equal opportunities law
Number of prior mentions	24
Position of expression in text	End

Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	unconformity (with equal opportunities law) x 2
SC2	equal opportunities law x 4
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. The C of E is well known for its discriminatory practices

<b>Text 19: Occupy London: what went wrong?</b>	
Participant	Occupy London
Expression	A movement that is not only fading, but has had such profound problems articulating what it wants
Number of prior mentions	37
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 1 ( <i>it</i> )
SC1	fading movement x 9
SC2	problems articulating what it wants x 5
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes – the general sentiment is shared, but the details may not be

<b>Text 20: Our economic ruin means freedom for the super-rich</b>	
Participant	Neo-liberalism
Expression	a programme that promised freedom and choice
Number of prior mentions	32
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	promise freedom and choice x 3
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes – Guardian readers would be familiar with the rhetoric surrounding neoliberalism

<b>Text 21: India's man who lives on sunshine</b>	
Participant	Prahlad Jani
Expression	a man who claims to turn the basic laws of biology upside down
Number of prior mentions	12
Position of expression in text	Middle

Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Turning the basic laws of biology upside down x 4
Shared cultural knowledge?	No

**Text 22: It's shameful the way Britain kowtows to the super-rich**

Participant	Prince Alwaleed
Expression	a man who has installed a throne in his 747 and presumably straps himself into it for landing and take-off
Number of prior mentions	20
Position of expression in text	Beginning
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 2 ( <i>his; himself</i> )
SC1	Ridiculous behaviour from Alwaleed x 4
Shared cultural knowledge?	No

**Text 23: In praise of... Reader's Digest**

Participant	The Reader's Digest
Expression	A publication which has been part of the furniture of our lives for so many years
Number of prior mentions	16
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Part of the furniture x 2
SC2	For so many years x 3
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes – the Reader's Digest is a British institution and household name

**Text 24: Sacrifice of Bradley Manning's liberty will not have been made in vain**

Participant	Bradley Manning
Expression	a soldier who helped strip away the humanitarian pretences of US power, and revealed a far uglier reality
Number of prior mentions	8
Position of expression in text	Beginning

Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Reveal ugly reality x 2
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes – full media coverage of Manning’s whistleblowing on the US abuse of power

**Text 25: Saving a language is one thing, but I'm saddened by Scotland going Gaelic**

Participant	Gaelic
Expression	a language that emigration and industrial economics so nearly wiped out is the mark of a civilised country
Number of prior mentions	17
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Emigration and industrial economics x 1
SC2	Nearly wiped out x 5
SC3	Civilised country x 1
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes

**Text 26: Some brother David Miliband is**

Participant	David Miliband
Expression	a man who would fail to build bridges with his own brother
Number of prior mentions	8
Position of expression in text	Beginning
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 1( <i>his own</i> )
SC1	fail to build bridges with his own brother x 3
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. David Miliband’s resentment of Ed Miliband’s success is well documented in the media

**Text 27: Stonewall is holding back transgender equality**

Participant	Stonewall
Expression	an organisation which excludes trans people
Number of prior mentions	11
Position of expression in text	Middle

Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Exclusion of transgender people x 4
Shared cultural knowledge?	No

<b>Text 28: Stop this anti-sex drive</b>	
Participant	Nadine Dorries
Expression	an MP who can spread such inaccuracies
Number of prior mentions	8
Position of expression in text	Middle
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	spreading such inaccuracies x 6
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes – media coverage (and typical of the ‘type so not surprising)

<b>Text 29: Stories from Rumney Rec</b>	
Participant	Rumney Recreation Ground
Expression	a precious green field that has been the "green lungs" of life in east Cardiff for almost a century
Number of prior mentions	19
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	the green lungs of life x 5
SC2	East Cardiff x 10
SC3	Almost a century x 2
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes – this text was from the Guardian local section (Cardiff) and so presumably it was written for local people who would know about this situation

<b>Text 30: The bedroom tax is just the latest assault on our poorest citizens</b>	
Participant	The bedroom tax
Expression	a policy which will cause far more suffering on the genuinely poor
Number of prior mentions	11
Position of expression in text	Middle

Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Cause suffering on the genuinely poor x 19
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes. There has been a significant amount of media coverage about the consequences of the bedroom tax for the poor

<b>Text 31: The Church of England can no longer continue as an arm of the state</b>	
Participant	The Church of England
Expression	an institution that allows the maintenance of a stained glass ceiling for its female clergy to bang their heads against
Number of prior mentions	30
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 1 ( <i>its</i> )
SC1	Prejudice against female clergy x 10
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes – The C of E is often portrayed in the media as discriminatory against women

<b>Text 32: The IRA: nothing to worry about?</b>	
Participant	The IRA
Expression	an organisation which does not function in any perceptible illegal fashion
Number of prior mentions	21
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	The IRA not functioning illegally x 5
Shared cultural knowledge?	No

<b>Text 33: The man who came in from the cold</b>	
Participant	Greg Dyke
Expression	a man who has been passionate in his defence of the BBC's independence from government since he took over from Lord Birt as director general in November 1999
Number of prior mentions	5
Position of expression in text	Beginning

Participant in RRC?	Yes x 2 ( <i>his; he</i> )
No similarity chains connecting RRC to text. RRC is shared cultural knowledge – it was well documented in the media that Greg Dyke wanted the BBC to remain separate from the government	

<b>Text 34: The man who was an island</b>	
Participant	Louis Kahn
Expression	a man who died in a public lavatory in a low-grade public building, whose corpse lay unrecognised in a New York City morgue for three days, and who flitted from one family home to another
Number of prior mentions	66
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No? what about whose and who?
SC1	died in a public lavatory x 3
SC2	low-grade public building x 3
SC3	flitted from one home to another x 12
Shared cultural knowledge?	No (unless the reader is familiar with Louis Kahn)

<b>Text 35: Afghanistan: the big lie</b>	
Participant	The Taliban
Expression	an organisation which retains the ability to selectively moderate its violence in order to encourage Nato forces to leave faster
Number of prior mentions	14
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	Yes x 1 ( <i>its</i> )
SC1	Selectively moderate its violence x 4
Shared cultural knowledge?	Maybe?

<b>Text 36: The Work Programme design is flawed</b>	
Participant	The Work Programme
Expression	a scheme that was supposed to hold providers accountable for their performance
Number of prior mentions	8
Position of expression in	Middle

text	
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Holding providers accountable x 1
SC2	Performance x7
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes – media coverage

<b>Text 37: This cruel welfare system is steadily crushing lives – where is the anger?</b>	
Participant	The Work Programme
Expression	a policy that makes no sense – that people must be kicked into work, even if jobs don't exist
Number of prior mentions	13
Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Makes no sense – core argument throughout the text
SC2	Kicked into work x 7
SC3	Joblessness x 2
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes

<b>Text 38: Ukip: the party that's coming in from the cold</b>	
Participant	Ukip
Expression	an organisation that until recently was routinely condemned to the fringes, or smirked about as a collection of eccentrics and oddballs
Number of prior mentions	3
Position of expression in text	Beginning
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Condemned to the fringes x 1
SC2	A collection of eccentrics and oddballs x 1
Shared cultural knowledge?	Yes

<b>Text 39: Which Mona Lisa imitator do you most trust – Leonardo's pupil, or Raphael?</b>	
Participant	The Prado copy of the Mona Lisa
Expression	a copy that developed alongside the Mona Lisa is obviously fascinating
Number of prior mentions	11

Position of expression in text	End
Participant in RRC?	No
SC1	Developed alongside x 2
SC2	Fascinating x 1 (and is the point of the article)
Shared cultural knowledge?	No

<b>Text 40: Will George Entwistle get more women on the Today programme?</b>	
Participant	The Today Programme
Expression	a programme that more than any other sets the agenda for the day's news
Number of prior mentions	5
Position of expression in text	Beginning
Participant in RRC?	No
No similarity chains connecting RRC to text. RRC is shared cultural knowledge. Readers of the Guardian are likely to listen to the Today Programme too (or at the very least be aware of it)	