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Function of Pragmatic Markers in Newspaper Articles The Guardian and The Independent. Based on Pragmatic Research.

Funkce pragmatických markerů v novinových článcích The Guardian a The Independent. Pragmatický výzkum.

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Declaration:

I hereby declare that this diploma thesis titled "Function of Pragmatic Markers in Newspaper Articles the Guardian and the Independent. Based on Pragmatic Research." and the research to which it refers, are the result of my own work and that all used sources are quoted in the enclosed bibliography.

Abstract

The thesis is focused on occurrence, frequency and mainly on functions of pragmatic markers in the genre of newspaper articles. For the pragmatic research 40 newspaper articles were chosen from the British newspapers The Guardian and The Independent, pragmatic markers were examined in direct as well as indirect speech. In the first chapter the terminology is introduced, which is important for understanding the thesis. In the theoretical part the attention is paid to the description of pragmatic marker, its definitions and functions. Then the thesis deals with description of newspaper style, its environment - the attention is drawn to spoken and written discourse and its differences. In the practical part of the thesis, pragmatic markers are analysed from the quantitative as well as qualitative approach in direct and indirect speech. The results of the analysis are summarised in the last chapter.

Anotace

Diplomová práce se zaměřuje na výskyt, frekvenci a především funkce pragmatických markerů v žánru novinových článků. Pro pragmatický výzkum bylo vybráno 40 novinových článků z britských novin The Guardian a The Independent, pragmatické markery byly zkoumány jak v přímé, tak i nepřímé řeči. V první kapitole je představena terminologie, která je důležitá pro pochopení celé studie. V teoretické části je pozornost věnována popisu pragmatického markeru, jeho definicím a funkcím. Dále se práce zabývá popisem novinářského stylu, jeho prostředím - pozornost je zaměřena na mluvený a psaný diskurs a jeho odlišnosti. V praktické části jsou pragmatické markery podrobeny analýze jak z kvantitativního tak z kvalitativního hlediska v přímé i nepřímé řeči. Výsledky výzkumu jsou shrnuty v poslední kapitole.

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List of Abbreviations

LDCE   Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English

1 Introduction

This diploma thesis focuses on functions of pragmatic markers in 40 newspaper articles being published in the British newspapers The Guardian and The Independent. They were collected in between February and December 2008. The analysis is based on pragmatic research.

Concerning the corpus of this thesis, as I was collecting the material, it became clear that one condition set at the beginning of this thesis, namely that all analysed articles must be printed on the front page, will not be possible to fulfil. Nowadays, articles being published on the front page are very short, or there are various pictures, photos or "catchy" headlines preferred to be printed instead. Therefore, after selecting from more than 1.500 articles, I have decided to examine only 40 articles, where pragmatic markers are included. Some articles were printed on the front page; the others were published in the main section of the newspaper. Though, they share a unifying feature, namely the topic – UK politics.

The topic of the thesis itself has been chosen after dealing with discourse analysis at a Pragmatics Course at the University of South Bohemia. Further study of Sociolinguistics and Language and Gender continued during an exchange year at University Augsburg, Germany. My experience while living abroad (the United Kingdom and Germany) has been a great motivation to analyse spoken language not only in face-to-face conversations, but also in a written form of books, tabloids or serious newspapers.

Since many years of studying English and British culture in general, I have become aware of the fact that newspapers play a very important role in a society. Having the chance to live in the United Kingdom for nine months, I have become interested in how serious newspapers like the Guardian or the Independent reflect the language of British people. Furthermore, I have become keen on analysing of how much gets communicated in "newspaper language" in comparison with real political debates or interviews.

Surely, it would be interesting to deal with how the articles and their message influence the readership and its opinions. However, this analysis pays attention to pragmatic markers only (being used in direct speech as well as in indirect speech - journalist´s utterance) and their functions. In a newspaper article, as in any other written text where it is not possible to confront the writer with questions concerning the message of his article, it can lead to misunderstandings on the side of readers.

I assume that the role of the journalists is vital here. Their personal experience, believes, political views and background knowledge are, without any doubt, reflected in the text. Moreover, they decide what interviews will be published, what is important to mention and what can be missed out in their article.

In conclusion, the following are the main aims of the thesis as well as the structure.

Main aims of the thesis:

1, the function of pragmatic markers in all articles

a, the function of pragmatic markers in direct speech

b, the function of pragmatic markers in indirect speech(journalist´s utterance)

2, the results will be compared

Structure of the thesis

1. Chapter 2 presents the basic terminology which is important for understanding the analysis which follows, a typical characteristic of newspaper articles is described
2. Chapter 3 examines the term "pragmatic marker", approaches by different linguists are examined
3. Chapter 4 introduces basic information about the Guardian and the Independent, the corpus of this thesis is introduced

4. In Chapters 5 and 6 pragmatic markers and their functions are analysed

5. Chapter 7 summarizes the results of the pragmatic research

2 Discourse

In Chapter 2 I am going to outline the relevant terminology, which will serve as basic information for the following Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

2.1 Pragmatics

While dealing with discourse, it is necessary to mention the basic term of pragmatics. According to the entry in LDCE (2000:1105) "pragmatics is a study of how words and phrases are used with special meanings in particular context". This description is supported by Yule (1996:3), who states that "pragmatics is the study of speaker meaning, of how more gets communicated than said, of the expression of relative distance". In his view, it is pragmatics that allows humans into the analysis.

On one hand, it can be appealing because it is about how people make sense of each other linguistically. But on the other hand, it can be a frustrating area of study because it requires us to make sense of people and what they have in mind. Moreover, Yule (1996) claims that analysing a human concept in a consistent and objective way is extremely difficult. Furthermore, it is even more complicated to analyse written language while intonation, body language and face-to-face contact are missing. Last but not least, Fairclough (1993:10) argues that "pragmatics often appears to describe discourse as it might be in a better world, rather than discourse as it is".

2.2 Discourse

Discourse is described as a type of communication, which can be written or spoken. Fairclough asserts that (1995:56) "a discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view." Bell (1998: 2) shares a similar opinion while mentioning that "discourse is considered primarily in relation to social contexts of language use".

According to Yule (1996: 83) discourse analysis covers an extremely wide range of subjects. Yule´s opinion is shared by Fasold (1990:65) who states that

"the study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use". As there are many types of communication, there are also many types of discourse. Without further consideration, every day teachers experience classroom discourse, reporters or editors deal with media discourse in the newspapers, TV reporters participate in political discourse. Media discourse, the discourse to be analysed here, is a very general term. Therefore it can be divided into subclasses, such as radio debates, newspaper reporting, a political interview, etc.

2.3   Media discourse

Living in the 21.century, one cannot imagine the society without the media such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television or the Internet. There is no doubt that those media influence our lives – not just how we spend our free time, but also the way we think and, especially, what we think. Since the newspapers are not the only possibility to get informed about what is happening in the world, the invention of television and, moreover, the Internet has been crucial for the development of society.

As the number of people using mass media has increased in the recent years, the interest in media discourse has followed. Bell (1998:3,4) gives four reasons for this phenomenon. Firstly, he says that media are a rich source of readily accessible data for research and teaching. Secondly, media usage influences and represents people´s use of and attitudes towards language in a speech community. Thirdly, media use can tell us a great deal about social meanings and stereotypes projected through language and communication. And fourthly, the media reflect and influence the formation and expression of culture, politics and social life.

Media have, without any doubt, power over the society. On one hand, it can be a great source for getting new information. People save time while finding required data online instead of going e.g. to a library. The Internet offers a 24-hours access to information from nearly every possible field of life, science, medicine, news etc. included. On the other hand, as far as I´m concerned, people believe too much in what media communicate and, unfortunately, lose their own judgement.

In my opinion, one should ask himself whether information we receive through the media are valid and reliable. The question is how people are influence by what they read in newspapers, watch on TV or hear on the radio. Norman Fairclough, one of the founders of critical discourse analysis (which I will deal with later in the thesis), has been always concerned with language and its power in society and media.

From my point of view, the influence of media on society can be seen from two different perspectives. Firstly, as stated by Bell above, media can influence society as it not only informs, but also entertains. Secondly, media can influence e.g. children, teenagers and uneducated people the most in a psychological way. As we can witness every day, TV provides young generation with films full of violence. Although the Internet is seen as a modern and fast source of information, it also provides information of a dangerous source. In the last couple of years, there have been many attempts of young people to kill their classmates by making their own bombs. All the instructions were provided on the Internet. The question is whether our society influences the media or whether the media possess all the power themselves.

The analysed articles have all been presented in the oldest type of media, namely newspapers. The articles are possible to find online – nearly all newspapers have their webpage nowadays. UK politics is the topic which all articles have in common. The purpose of the articles is to provide information.

2.4   Critical Discourse Analysis

Having the majority of the research produced during the 1980s and 1990s, Norman Fairclough - the British discourse analyst – is understood to be its leading contributor. In *Media Discourse* (1995:54) he describes language as "a socially and historically situated mode of action...it is socially shaped, but is also socially shaping – or socially constitutive". The tension between these two sides of language use is what critical discourse analysis examines. Furthermore, Fairclough (1995b) describes critical discourse analysis as an approach which focuses on ways of social and political domination presented in a text or talk. In his opinion, language and power are linked.

Bell and Garrett (1998:6) add that it is the media that "are a particular subject of CDA analysis because of their pivotal role as discourse-bearing institutions".

Though, as this thesis focuses on discourse analysis of pragmatic markers in the newspaper, CDA cannot be applied here as analysing social and political domination is beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.5 Newspapers

The thesis presents a discourse analysis of pragmatic markers in newspaper articles; one should devote a particular attention to newspapers and their audience. Reah (1998:unit three) describes newspapers "as not simply vehicles to deliver information to their readers, they present them often in a way that intend to guide the ideological stance of the reader".

She also argues that newspapers do market research to be aware of the profile of their readership. Moreover, it is used by the newspaper to create a system of shared values, i.e. newspapers identify and address their readers by reporting stories in a way that evoke particular response and establish a set of shared values. They are usually in opposition to another group who shares different sets of values. Furthermore, this process is used in the area of party politics as we can experience at readers of the Guardian and the Independent.

In addition, Sally Johnson (2007:3) gives a very controversial opinion on newspapers and media in general. She argues that "a lot of what media has to say about is either trivial or simply wrong". In her opinion, the general public has no role, they are passive and uncritical to information that has been previously selected, and as she mentions "potentially distorted".

2.5.1 Newspaper Article

Newspaper article is an article published in a print form in newspapers, magazines or academic journals; nowadays articles published online are popular at readers. They can include photographs, statistics, graphs, interviews, debates, etc. To attract a large number of readers, a "catchy" headline is usually included.

In general, articles can be divided into two main categories: news and features. News deal with the fact that current news is timeless and immediate, while features discuss news connected with topics, which are human oriented. Usually, they are written for a longer period of time, and based on a background material or a research.

While writing a newspaper article, it requires a different style of writing form than when writing a story. The newspaper article has all the most important information in the first, opening paragraph. It includes facts considering a person being present, what happened where and when, why and how it happened. The reason is logical, not everybody reads articles to the very end. Therefore, it is important to include all important facts in the first paragraph.

A newspaper article is an interesting item for discourse analysis. Whereas while analysing a political interview on TV, the analysis is different – both the interviewer and the interviewee can be seen, the intonation of their discussion can be analysed as well as their gestures and their way of speaking. From my point of view, the question of power and dominance can be derived from the way the moderators and, for example, politicians behave when they ask and answer questions, their turn-taking or over-lapping can be analysed, etc.

On the contrary, when newspaper articles are examined, where the main topic is politics (can include political interviews, discussions etc.), all features mentioned above are missing. Readers are left to fully depend on journalists in terms of punctuation, the most important information of the message and the attitude toward the situation itself.

In my opinion, a political interview published in newspapers is very different from interviews being transmitted on TV or radio. Firstly, it is a written discourse which takes place before the actual article is written. Questions are written in advance; answers can be noted down in hand or recorded by a dictation tape recorder. Nowadays, questions can be sent by interviewers per email to make the process of creating an article faster. Not only are the paralinguistic features missing, but also the intonation is absent. Secondly, the politicians can decide which questions they wish to answer, they very often avoid sticking to the point.

Furthermore, journalists choose only some parts of the interview; they comment the situation from their own perspective.

Nowadays three different types of newspapers can be found: the broadsheet, the tabloid and the Berliner. The broadsheet has always been judged as an intellectual newspaper. On the contrary, tabloids are seen as less formal, but popular for their less serious topics. The Berliner differs from the broadsheet and the tabloid in its size and content. Last but not least, online newspapers should be mentioned. Online web pages are kept updated so that readers get the latest updated information as soon as they are available.

These are just some of many differences while analysing political interviews on TV and in newspaper articles. As stated above, a newspaper article has its typical features. It is a written discourse; sometimes a part of an interview or opinions on different subjects are included (a re-written spoken discourse). For more information dealing with newspapers (see Aitchison and Lewis 2003, Cornbleet and Carter 2001, Fowler 1998, Johnson 2007).

2.5.2 Language of Newspaper Reporting

In practical part of this thesis, newspaper articles are going to be examined. As each type of discourse has its own specifications, I am going to attempt to underline the most typical characteristics for newspaper reporting, based on Crystal and Davy´s view.

First of all, I would like to determine the function of newspaper reporting. As it has been already stated above in the thesis, the function of a newspaper article is to inform. This is also supported by Crystal and Davy (1969:173-174) who add that the aim of newspapers is to "present a certain number of facts in as interesting a manner as possible to audiences". For this purpose, "a graphitic highlighting of the headline" (1969:174) is used to draw attention of potential readers.

Concerning the graphical features, it is not only the headlines, but also the paragraphing, which belongs to obvious visual features of newspaper reporting. It helps readers to be better informed where the discourse is. As we will experience

in the practical part, the role of punctuation, especially in analysing newspaper discourse, is vital. Crystal and Davy dedicate their attention to punctuation quite in detail. They stress that "commas are absent from many places, where they would be expected" (1969:178).

In addition, Crystal and Davy devote their attention to usage of quotation as well as using dashes. All these features appear in the corpus of this thesis. Firstly, they state that "the use of quotation gives a strong impression of verisimilitude and immediacy of the articles" (1969:1979). Moreover, it adds extra interest and variety. Secondly, the role of dashes in articles is discussed. According to Crystal and Davy (1969:179), the use of dashes is to mark parenthesis. They state that dashes are often used instead of commas to give the parenthetic phrase a greater independence. In their view, "´informal´ use of the dash is to link expansions of thought or afterthoughts with the main part of the sentence" (1969:179). Finally, it is stressed that dashes replace almost any punctuation mark, especially in informal letter-writing. By Crystal and Davy (1969:179-180) is such a usage considered as a common feature in writing "which tries to give a general impression of informality and chattiness to a piece of written utterance".

Concerning this thesis, I would like to focus on one more aspect being discussed by the above mentioned linguists – namely adverbials. Crystal and Davy suggest that they are very frequent in newspaper reporting. Though, "when an adverbial whose normal position is post-verbal is brought forward from this position, and put anywhere near the beginning of the clause, then it fulfils a strongly emphatic function"(1969:182).

Of course, there are other aspects of newspaper reporting such as grammar and vocabulary that is analysed by Crystal and Davy in *Investigating English Style*. Though, as these features are not the main focus of this thesis, I am not going to analyse them in detail here.

2.6 Spoken and Written Discourse in Newspaper Articles

This thesis analyses 40 articles - 20 articles from The Guardian and 20 articles from The Independent. They were collected in the time period from February to December 2008. Even though it is a written discourse, there are items of spoken language included. This spoken language represents opinions of the interviewees.

All analysed articles include direct as well as indirect speech. As the articles were written by four different journalists, the occurrence and their functions vary. Moreover, the number of interviewees differs. Interviewees are mostly politicians, MPS, spokesmen etc. In general, they are people who are trained and experienced in giving speeches and expressing themselves clearly. Their language is supposed to be formal and well-organised.

2.6.1 Spoken discourse

Based on studying theoretical literature (Cornbleet and Carter 2001; Reah 1998, Carter and McCarthy 2006a), speaking can be described as following – it takes place in real time, it is interactional and conducted face-to-face. Pauses, hesitation, false starts and fillers are consequences of the conversation, which is spontaneous. Hence, grammar is affected as one uses simple clauses, ellipsis, contractions or straightforward word order etc. Moreover, lexis of the speech becomes simple, general and vague.

In my view, the intonation plays a very important role when we have a desire to understand what is being communicated – if the interlocutor is angry, stressed or happy and calm. Moreover, from the speaker´s voice we can distinguish his or her sex, approximate age, educational status and possibly even personality. However, speakers can suffer from disadvantages while exposing their own feelings. They have to speak clearly and respond immediately to whichever their interlocutors react.

This point is also supported by Vachek (1976:121) who claims that "spoken language is a system of signs that can be manifested acoustically and

whose function is to respond to a given stimulus (which, as a rule is urgent) in a dynamic way, i.e. the response should be quick, ready, and stressing the emotional as well as the intellectual side of the facts concerned."

From my point of view, it is also the body language, which influences perception of the hearer and the speaker. Urbanová in (2003:20) works with the term "paralinguistic features". As this study concentrates on written language, precisely on newspaper articles including parts of interviews, analysis of paralinguistic features is not possible.

2.6.2 Written discourse

Written language, on one hand, as Brown and Yule mention (1991:4), "is, in general, used for primarily transactional purpose", this means to inform. On the other hand, they also argue that written language can be used to maintain social relationships while writing "thank you" letters etc. According to Goody (1977: 17) written language has storage function which enables communication over time and space. He also claims that it shifts language from oral to the visual domain, the words and sentences are examined out of their original context.

In addition, Vachek (1976:121) describes written language as "a system of signs which can be manifested graphically and whose function is to respond to a given stimulus (which, as a rule is not urgent) in a static way, i.e. the response should be permanent (i.e.preservable)".

As Goody (1977) assumes written language has its advantages. For readers, it is possible to read articles again and again. The most important information is mentioned in the first paragraph, the sentences are complete. However, there are several things which might make our analysis complicated.

When a newspaper article is written, the writer expects it to be read by others. However objective the article is, the perception and interpretation of each text is essentially subjective. This is stressed by Brown and Yule (1991:11) when they say that "different individuals pay attention to different aspects of texts."

A newspaper article is a written discourse. Even though there are parts of interviews included (a re-written spoken discourse), it is the decision of editors what is going to be published. Editors have the power, not only over what will be written in articles, but also over what parts of interviews will be published. Bell (1996) shares the same opinion while stating that written texts traditionally imply a remote reader, who is unable to influence the flow of discourse. Unlike speakers, there is a possibility to pause between each word with no fear of being interrupted by interlocutors.

Writers have time to choose particular words; they can look phrases up in a dictionary or surf the Internet to get required data, reorder what has been written or change their minds about what they wish to express. As it can be seen, writers are not under time pressure as much as speakers are. In the past, writers used to have no access to readers´ feedback. Thanks to web pages and articles being published online, there are blogs to each article where readers can leave their comments.

Readers have to rely on writers completely. Editors are also responsible for the re-writing of answers. Therefore, punctuation plays a vital role in such cases. Unfortunately, as we will see later in the analysis, not all writers pay a sufficient attention to graphic signs. Consequently, it can lead to confusion of readers and misunderstandings of what is being communicated.

As I have stated above, a newspaper article consists of direct and indirect speech. As Brown and Yule discuss (1991:preface) the writer is at the centre of the process of communication – he communicates and interprets. According to Coulmas (1986:1-3) "the purpose of speech reporting is to convey what another speaker said". He points out that the reporter lends his / her voice to the original speaker and conveys what he /she said while adopting his point of view, as it was. Moreover, he claims that "it is not the reporter´s speech, but remains the reported speech whose role is played by the reporter".

In indirect speech, firstly, Coulmas states (1986:3) that the reporter "comes to the fore". He relates a speech as he would relate any other event: from his point of view". This might lead to potential ambiguities in reported speech. Secondly,

he argues that (1986:10) "the writing itself influences the way how speech reporting is carried and understood". Brown and Yule add (1991) that punctuation, capitalisation, paraphrasing should be performed in written language.

While reading newspaper articles, one cannot oversee the fact that apart from direct and indirect speech, there are also journalists´ opinions, views and facts concerning the topic included. For this analysis, "journalist´s utterance" will be used to unite two aspects of a newspaper article – namely the indirect speech (Mr Brown said that….) and the reporters´ gathered facts and their own "hidden" opinions and attitudes.

2.6.3   Concluding Remarks

There are numerous factors where spoken and written discourse differs. Firstly, speech is supposed to be only transitory, whereas writing is designed to be permanent. This is the reason why articles deal with many more details than we are used to transmit in a spoken conversation. Generally, people don´t remember details correctly. This aspect of communication is obviously what written language is designed for.

Secondly, as stated above, speaking takes place in real time and is spontaneous. Writing, on the other hand, can take place over a longer period of time. Writers take their own time in the construction; it can be rewritten several times. The sentences are complete; the lexis is rich and well-organised.

Thirdly, while speaking with somebody, it is necessary to pay attention to what the other person says and be able to react to possible questions immediately. In the case of reading, Goody stresses (1977:124) that " the fact that it takes a visual form means that one can escape from the problem of the succession of events in time, by backtracking, skipping, looking to see who-done-it before we know what they did. "

Last but not least, unlike writers, speakers can understand their interlocutors better than writers their readers. During a conversation it is possible to understand the circumstances better not only because of the intonation, but also

because of the body language – it means facial expressions, postural and gestural features.

3 Pragmatic markers

In Chapter 3 I am going to focus on pragmatic markers from the linguistic point of view. As I was collecting theoretical literature concerning the topic of pragmatic markers, I have surprisingly come across many papers of linguists who contribute in the field of pragmatic markers. Though, as there are many linguists who deal with pragmatic markers, logically there are many opinions on their classification as well as definitions.

During the analysis, I often considered the following questions – is there any list of pragmatic markers to follow? Do they carry any meaning? What are their functions? What do they refer to? How do we detect them in a discourse? What is the difference between pragmatic markers in spoken and written discourse?

With the help of several linguists, I am going to answer some of the questions raised above:

1. Research has not yielded a definitive list of pragmatic markers in English or any other language (Jucker 1998).
2. Pragmatic markers are considered to have little or no propositional meaning (Brinton 1996).
3. Pragmatic markers are examples of non-truth-conditional meaning (Blakemore 2004).
4. The key function of pragmatic markers is that they signal to the receiver, independently of content, what is happening, where the discourse is, where it is going, whether it has finished, whether utterances follow smoothly from what has been uttered before or whether some kind of disjunction is occurring: they are therefore a system of management of what is said or written (McCarthy 1993).
5. Pragmatic markers refer to a syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions which are distinguished by their function in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode (Blakemore 2004).
6. Pragmatic markers are optional (Brown and Yule 1983).

7. Pragmatic markers mark the beginning of a turn and the end of it (Carter 2001).

8. Pragmatic markers are a feature of oral rather than written discourse and are associated with informality (Brinton 1996).

Concerning the markers and their terminology, there have been different various labels used by different linguists. In this thesis, I have decided to label them pragmatic markers, as this label is used by Fraser (1988, 1990), but also by Schiffrin (1987). According to Fraser (1999), the term has different meanings for different groups of researchers f.e. cue phrases (defined by Knott and Dale), discourse connectives (defined by Blakemore), discourse operators (defined by Redeker), discourse particles (defined by Schorup), discourse signalling connectives (defined by Van Dijk and Stubbs), pragmatic expressions (defined by Erman) etc.

As there are different opinions on what terminology to use and what functions pragmatic markers actually have, I am going to provide different views of linguists, who devote their attention to examining pragmatic markers.

3.1 Fraser´s view

Fraser defines pragmatic markers (1999:931)"as a class of lexical expressions drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases." According to Fraser (1999:931), they function to "signal a relationship between the interpretation of the segment they introduce, S2, and their prior segment, S1". In other words, Fraser suggests that they function like a two-place relation.

When it comes to examination of the occurrence of pragmatic markers, Fraser suggests that they can occur in initial position (most frequent), but they can also appear in medial as well as final position. From the syntactical point of view, the markers are syntactically conjunctions, whereas the previous independent clause needs to be present.

According to Fraser, the following expressions cannot be examined as pragmatic (discourse) markers:

- " focus particles – *even, only, just*
- Pause markers – *Hum….Well…oh*
- Vocatives and interjections" (1999:942)

Concerning the meaning of pragmatic markers, Fraser claims that every individual DM has "a core meaning which is procedural, not conceptual, and their more specific interpretation is 'negotiated' by the context."(1999:950)

3.2   Redeker´s view

Besides Fraser, Redeker is another linguist, who criticizes Schiffrin. As it has been outlined above, Redeker uses a term "discourse operators". According to Redeker, a discourse operator can be defined as "a word or phrase...that is uttered with the primary function of bringing to the listener's attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context. An utterance in this definition is an intonationally and structurally bounded, usually clausal unit."(1991:1168 in Fraser, 1999:935)

Concerning the criticism, Redeker is not satisfied with Schiffrin´s definition of discourse markers, therefore she demands "a clearer definition of the component of discourse coherence and a broader framework that embraces all connective expressions and is not restricted to an arbitrary selected subset."(1991:1167 in Fraser, 1999:935).

Redeker does not consider the following examples as pragmatic (discourse) markers:

- "Clausal indicators of discourse structure – *let me tell you a story, as I said before etc.*
- Deictic expressions as far as they are not used anaphorically – *now, here, today*
- Anaphoric pronouns and noun phrases

- Any expressions whose scope does not exhaust the utterance"(1991:1168 in Fraser, 1999:935)

3.3 Zwicky´s view

Zwicky uses the term "discourse markers". He states that DMs must be separated from other function words - they are prosodically independent, whereas pauses or intonation breaks help them to separate them in a context. This statement is closely connected with the position of markers, as Zwicky understands (1999: 932) that "they frequently occur at the beginning of sentences to continue the conversation"

Concerning the function, he claims that: "Discourse markers ALL have the latter, pragmatic functions [e.g. the role of relating the current utterance with a larger discourse] rather than the former, narrowly semantic, ones"(Zwicky, 1985:303 in Fraser,1999:933 capital in original). Furthermore, he suggests that "on the ground of distribution, prosody, and meaning, discourse markers can be seen to form a class. But like the 'particles' discussed … they are independent words rather than clitics…" (Zwicky, 1985:303 in Fraser, 1999:933 single quotation mark in original)

Next, pragmatic markers in spoken and written discourse will be examined. Therefore, I have decided to work with theories on pragmatic markers by two linguists – firstly, it is Deborah Schiffrin and her analysis of spoken pragmatic markers. Secondly, while analysing written discourse and its typical pragmatic markers, I am going to base my analysis on works of Michael McCarthy and Felicity O´Dell. Though, other linguists and their views will be taken into consideration.

In Schiffrin´s view, each pragmatic marker has a 'core meaning'. She understands that pragmatic markers are "sequentially-dependent units of discourse" (1987).

In my view, one of the biggest obstacles, when detecting markers in any discourse, is to be able to identify them. Schiffrin, however, mentions (1987:314) the following factors that might help by identifying markers in a discourse. She describes a pragmatic marker as following:

1. It has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence.
2. It has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance.
3. It has to have a range of prosodic contours, e.g. tonic stress.
4. It has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse.
5. It has to be able to operate in different planes of discourse.

Concerning the functions of pragmatic markers, Carter and McCarthy devote them creditable attention (2006a). They suggest the following:

1. Pragmatic markers not only organise the discourse but can indicate degrees of formality and people´s feelings towards the interaction.
2. Pragmatic markers often indicate power relationships in the ways they are used to structure and control the discourse.
3. Pragmatic markers are to signal coherent links between one part of a topic and the next part.
4. In spoken language, pragmatic markers are to mark topic boundaries, indicating the beginning or the end of a topic or a transition from one topic or bit of business to another.

Last point by McCarthy is supported by Aijmer and Stenström (2004) who claim that pragmatic markers, concerning marking the boundaries, can be described as hedges, fillers and emphasizers.

3.4   Pragmatic Markers Analysed in the Thesis

As I started to inquire for pragmatic markers present in spoken as well as written discourse, there were two conditions I wanted the analysed pragmatic markers to fulfil. Firstly, I was looking for pragmatic markers that all linguists, whose views on pragmatic markers I have studied, would share. Secondly, it was the frequency of the individual markers as there were several pragmatic markers,

which are considered as typical pragmatic marker for spoken discourse, e.g. now , of course, but they occurred only once in the whole corpus, or they appeared without context. Therefore, the analysis of such functions would be complicated.

These are the pragmatic markers being chosen for the analysis. In spoken discourse, following pragmatic markers are going to be examined: *and, because, but, or, so, well* and *you know*. They are all treated as pragmatic markers by Aijmer and Stenström (2004), Brinton(1996) and Schiffrin(1987).

The second part of the analysis will observe written discourse. As I have tried to detect typical pragmatic markers for written discourse, analysed by McCarthy and O´Dell (2006b), to my great surprise – there were only a few written pragmatic markers found. McCarthy and O´Dell (2006b:58) divide pragmatic markers according to their functions in a text. Firstly, it is suggested that written pragmatic markers can organise a text, e.g. firstly, finally, in summary, in conclusion. Secondly, they argue that, in a text, markers can be analysed which help to explain, exemplify or rephrase, e.g. in other words, for example, so to speak.

In the analysed articles and their indirect speech (journalist´s utterance), several written pragmatic markers were examined, they occurred usually once in the corpus. On the contrary, typical pragmatic markers for spoken discourse appear there. Furthermore, it supports McCarthy´s suggestion in (1993:180) as he claims that "spoken pragmatic markers present in a text play a major role in our judgement of the degree of spokenness present in the text".

From my point of view, pragmatic markers and their functions can vary depending on individuals. Therefore, their analysis can become subjective as each individual has its own perception of what is being said. Though, I will attempt to follow the above stated definitions on pragmatic markers and base my examination on them. As for the analysis, I have set up goals I would like to focus on during the analysis.

1. **Quantitative Approach**
   a. Which marker is the most frequent in spoken discourse?

b. Which marker is the most frequent in written discourse?

2. Qualitative Approach

a. What are the functions of pragmatic markers in spoken discourse?

b. What are the functions of pragmatic markers in written discourse?

3. Approach to all Journalists

a. Who is the most frequent user of pragmatic markers?

4. Approach to Newspapers

a. Which newspaper use pragmatic markers more frequently?

5. Approach to Genre

a. When and why are pragmatic markers used in spoken discourse?

b. When and why are pragmatic markers used in written discourse?

4 Corpus Description

4.1 Article Description

As for the analysis, finding a suitable data was not an easy task. Firstly, my aim was to analyse articles printed on the front page of newspapers, which seemed to cause any major problems at the beginning. When I was searching for the required data, I faced a serious obstacle for writing the thesis. As newspapers try to attract their readership using large photos, "catchy" headlines etc. on their front pages, they shorten their articles as much as possible. Of course, the less text is available for the analysis, the less pragmatic markers occur. Therefore I have come to a conclusion not to focus only on articles printed on cover pages, but to analyse also articles printed in the main section.

After a long consideration, I have decided to analyse 40 articles – 20 articles from the Guardian and 20 articles from the Independent (see Appendix I, II). To make the analysis valid, it was necessary that all editors share a common ground. As all of them worked at the time of collecting the articles for The Guardian or The Independent, four journalists have been chosen. The articles have more in common:

1. All articles are newspaper articles.

2. They were all published in The Guardian or The Independent:

   A, all 40 articles were published in the main section of the newspapers

   B, they were published from February to December 2008

   C, both The Guardian and The Independent are newspapers published in the United Kingdom; the variety of English is British English

3. The articles were chosen so that they share the same topic – namely UK politics. In this analysis, The Guardian is represented by Patrick Wintour

and Nicolas Watt. On the contrary, The Independent´s journalists are Andrew Grice and Michael Savage

4. The articles were published within eleven months. The articles in the Guardian were published from 13th March 2008 to 9th December 2008. The articles being published in the Independent were published from 28th February to 31st December 2008.

5. All articles can be found online on the web pages www.guardian.co.uk and www.theindependent.co.uk.

6. Each article is of a different length. The length of an article is usually determined by topic as well as placement in the newspaper. Recent trends in newspapers prefer pictures, "catchy" headlines etc. to newspaper articles. Therefore, I have decided to analyse also articles from the main section to be able to examine more valid data. For example, front pages of the Independent are covered with pictures, cartoons etc. – the articles about politics, written in Andrew Grice, were the only which appeared as a text.

4.2 Journalists

As far as I am concerned, the role of journalists plays a vital role while writing articles as well as representing a particular political opinion. The journalists being chosen for this analysis come from the United Kingdom. While doing a research to seek as much background information as possible about the individual journalists, I have come to a conclusion that in comparison with politicians – there are not many sources of information about them. Mostly, it is only the web page of the newspaper, where a reader can find out more if interested.

From my point of view, the following aspects concerning journalists can be considered important as for how a newspaper article is written.

1. Political views
2. Age
3. Career and experience
4. Education

I assume that newspapers and their political views influence also the information they present. Therefore I am going to deal with the history and attitudes of the newspapers towards the political spectrum.

4.3   Newspapers´ Description

4.4   The Guardian

The Guardian is published from Monday to Saturday - since September 2005 in the Berliner format. It is said that thanks to the size, the paper is easier to read on public transport.

Originally, it was founded by textile traders and merchants; therefore it had a reputation as "an organ of the middle class"[1]. Generally, articles in The Guardian are to the left of the political spectrum. This reflects the newspaper´s readership – according to a survey in June 2000 there were 80% of Guardian readers the voters of the Labour Party. Later study in 2004 showed that 44% of Guardian readers were Labour voters, 37% Liberal Democrat voters.

Nowadays it is possible to read all news online. The web page www.guardian.co.uk is the second most popular UK newspaper site with more than 18.5 million users a month.

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1 - < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Guardian>

4.5   The Independent

Launched in 1986, The Independent is one of the youngest UK national daily newspapers. Originally a broadsheet, The Independent was created at a time of tension in British journalism. Since September 2003, it has been published in a tabloid format. At the beginning of 2008, an online edition www.theindependent.co.uk was relaunched.

As stated above, The Independent was established in 1986 and its founders intended "that the political stance would reflect the centre of the British political spectrum"[2]. Their aim was to win the attention of readers from The Times and The Daily Telegraph. Though, at the moment, The Independent is a competitor to The Guardian – it focuses on the left – wing views. According to a survey from 2004, 39% of readers voted for Liberal Democrats while 36% supported the Labour Party.

After its switching in format, the Independent has become "known for its unorthodox and campaigning front pages, which frequently relied on images, graphics or lists rather than traditional headlines and written news content"[3].

Moreover, in 2007Alan Rusbridger, editor of the Guardian, reported on the front pages: "The emphasis on views, not news, means that the reporting is rather thin, and it loses impact on the front page the more you do that"[4]. The idea of images was also criticised by Tony Blair who described The Independent as a *"viewpaper"*[5], not a newspaper.

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2 - < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent>

3 - < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent>

4 - < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent >

5 - < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent>

4.6 Concluding Remarks

As there is a lot of online information being published about politicians, famous people etc., the Internet sources concerning the journalists are limited. Though, they share a common ground:

1. All of them work for the British newspapers.
2. All of them are experienced journalists.
3. All of them worked at the time of collecting the data for The Guardian or The Independent

The utterances made by a variety of interviewees are included mostly at the end of the articles. The articles include a headline, their length as well as occurrence and functions of pragmatic markers, typical for spoken and written discourse, vary, as we are going to examine in the following chapters.

The articles:

1. All were printed in the British newspapers.
2. All were collected in between February and December 2008.
3. All share a common ground – namely UK politics.
4. All include pragmatic markers in direct as well as indirect speech.

5 Analysis of Pragmatic Markers

In Chapter 6 I am going to deal with numbers as well as a detailed examination of functions concerning pragmatic markers in direct speech as well as indirect speech. Firstly, I am going to pay attention to total numbers. Secondly, functions of pragmatic markers will be examined in detail – a quantitative as well as a qualitative approach will be applied.

5.1 Quantitative Approach

In this part of the thesis I am going to focus on numbers in direct as well as indirect speech – the total number of expressions, the total number of pragmatic markers and their frequency, depending on the journalist, will be examined (see Table 1).

NEWSPAPER	Expressions	Pragmatic Markers	Frequency of marker
The Guardian			
Patrick Wintour	7.463	65	115
Nick Watt	9.246	86	108
The Independent			
Andrew Grice	6.551	78	84
Michael Savage	7.524	58	129
Total	**30.784**	**287**	

Table 1: Total number of expressions, total number of pragmatic markers and the frequency of pragmatic markers, depending on each journalist

For this thesis, I have chosen 40 articles by 4 different journalists. There are 10 articles by each journalist to be analysed. As each article varies in number of pragmatic markers used, it also differs in its length. Another problem, which I detected during my analysis, are two different types of speech – namely direct and indirect speech as for each type, different pragmatic markers are typical.

Therefore, in order to come to any valid conclusion, I have taken the total number of expressions and divided them by the total number of pragmatic markers found in direct as well as indirect speech. The result represents the average frequency of the marker in a 'spoken' and 'written' utterance.

Concerning the results presented in Table 1, it is in the articles by Andrew Grice from the Independent where a pragmatic marker is detected most frequently. Every 84th word has been analysed as a pragmatic marker, in direct as well as indirect speech. Andrew Grice is followed by Nick Watt (The Guardian), Partick Wintour (The Guardian) and Michael Savage (The Independent).

NEWSPAPER	Expressions in IS	Expressions in DS	Total
The Guardian			
Patrick Wintour	5.618	1.845	7.463
Nick Watt	6.510	2.736	9.246
The Independent			
Andrew Grice	4.071	2.480	6.551
Michael Savage	5.975	1.549	7.524
Total	**22.174**	**8.610**	**30.784**

Table 2: Total number of expressions in indirect and direct speech, depending on each journalist

For the analysis, in 40 articles I have analysed more than 30.000 expressions, nearly one third was detected as a re-written direct speech of different interviewees. According to Brinton (1996), pragmatic markers appear with high frequency. Hence, one would assume that occurrence of pragmatic markers in direct speech to be analysed here would be higher. Though, as direct speech in newspapers, which represents statements and utterances of interviewees being re-written, is influenced by journalists – the number of pragmatic markers is limited in comparison with e.g. re-written political interviews from TV or the radio.

From my point of view, one could assume that the more expressions there are to be analysed, the more pragmatic markers will be detected and afterwards examined. First of all, let us have a look at Figure 1, which shows the difference

between the number of expression in direct and indirect speech used by individual journalists. It is in the articles of Michael Savage where the number of expressions in direct speech is far lower than the number of expressions in indirect speech.
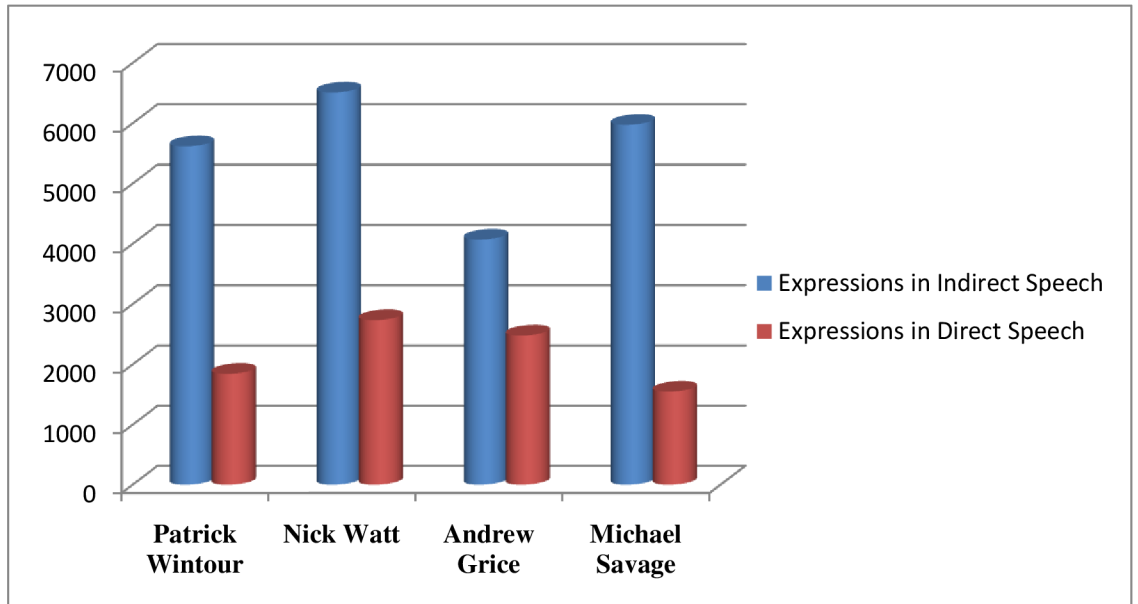
Figure 1: Number of expressions in direct and indirect speech, depending on the journalist
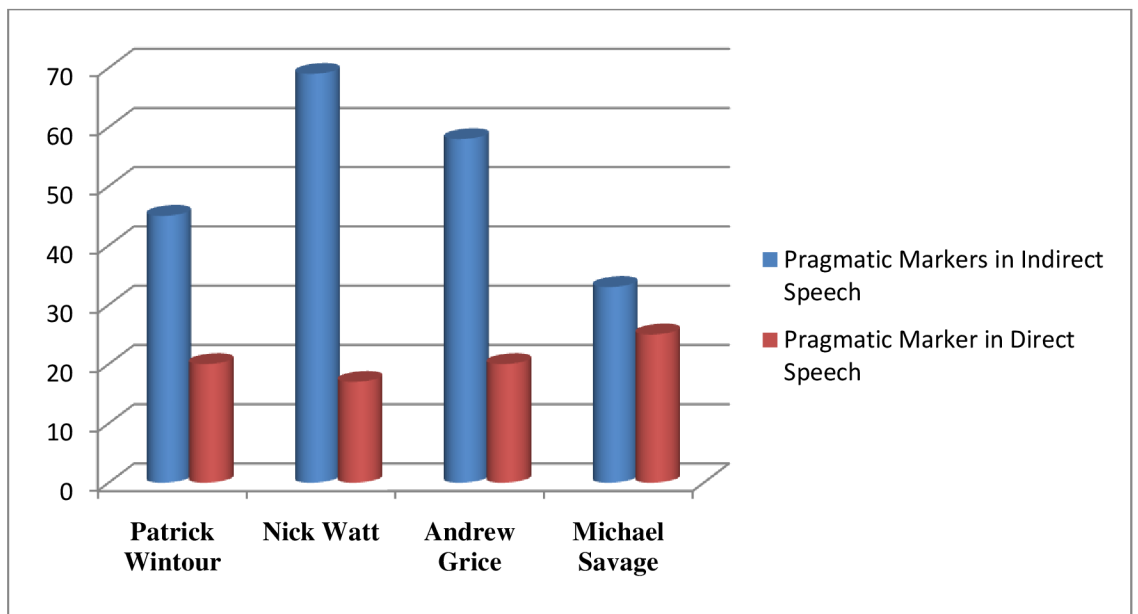
Figure 2: Number of pragmatic markers in direct and indirect speech, depending on the journalist

Though, it is also in the articles of Michael Savage (see Figure 2), where the journalist uses approximately the same number of pragmatic markers in direct as well as indirect speech. As it is also seen, Nick Watt from the Guardian uses far more pragmatic markers in direct speech than in indirect speech.

5.1.1 Social Status

In my opinion, use of pragmatic markers can vary according to speakers′ social status. I assume that journalists being chosen for this analysis are experienced editors whose language differs from journalists "beginners". Their use of language is more precise and well-structured. Moreover, the number of pragmatic markers used in their articles is less frequent than by their younger colleagues. Furthermore, the topic plays a vital role here.

Politicians, on the other hand, should pay more attention to their use of language. Generally, it is expected that they will express their opinions clearly and precisely. As we can experience nowadays, such a quality is hard to be found during political debates or interviews. Though, as we will experience further in the study, such qualities appear at interviewees in newspapers.

5.2   DIRECT SPEECH

5.2.1   Quantitative Approach
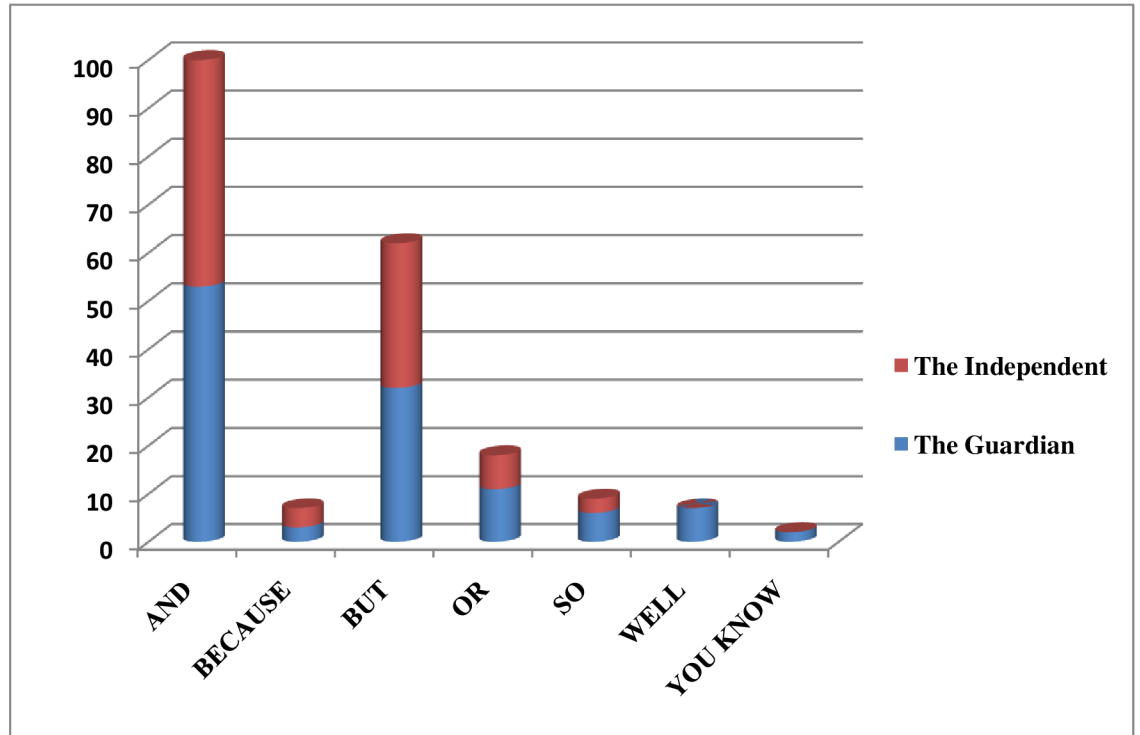
Figure 3: Occurrence of All Pragmatic Markers in Direct Speech

NEWSPAPER	AND	BECAUSE	BUT	OR	SO	WELL	YOU KNOW	Total
The Guardian	53	3	32	11	6	7	2	114
The Independent	47	4	30	7	3	0	0	91
Total	100	7	62	18	9	7	2	205

Table 3: Total number of pragmatic markers in direct speech, depending on the newspapers

In direct speech, 8.610 expressions have been analysed, whereas 205 pragmatic markers have been detected. Figure 3 shows the most frequent marker in direct speech is the pragmatic marker *and*, followed by *but* and *or*.

Table 3 demonstrates that there were more pragmatic markers occurring in the articles from the Guardian. In the articles from the Guardian, 114 pragmatic

markers will be analysed, followed by the analysis of 91 pragmatic markers appearing in the articles of the Independent.

5.2.2   Qualitative Approach

On the contrary to the quantitative approach, which examines figures – the qualitative approach analyses pragmatic markers according to their function. As the number of pragmatic markers found in the corpus in direct speech is limited, the variety of pragmatic markers is not very rich.

After a longer consideration, I have decided to analyse pragmatic markers which appeared in the corpus at least twice. Pragmatic markers and their functions will be analysed in the following order according to the alphabet:

1, And

2, Because

3, But

4, Or

5, So

6, Well

7, You know

5.2.3   AND

Schiffrin (1987) describes ***and*** as a pragmatic marker, which has two roles in talk. Firstly, it coordinates idea units. Secondly, it continues a speaker′s action. She argues that ***and*** has both roles simultaneously.

And is not just the first pragmatic marker to be analysed in this thesis, but also the most frequent. It supports Schiffrin′s opinion, as she mentions (1987:128) that ***and*** is "the most frequently used mode of connection at a local level of idea structure".

In the articles of the Guardian, *and* is used in 53 utterances in direct speech. In the Independent, *and* occurs in 47 utterances. As each article includes direct speech representing opinions and views of different interviewees, it is impossible to analyse what interviewee is the most frequent user of the marker.

Schiffrin examines *and* together with *but* and *or*, as she calls them discourse connectives. According to Schiffrin (1994:141-150), *and* can be described as:

1. a discourse coordinator, which marks different kinds of units at different levels of discourse structure
2. a marker of speaker´s continuation, often displays an upcoming utterance as part of a not yet completed interactional unit, when speakers want to convey that they have more to say, possible to use to link questions in a question agenda
3. a marker
   o which marks the speaker´s continuation as a preferred option
   o which is used when speakers share a turn space to add ideas
   o which can connect reasons in an explanation, or pieces of support in an argument

Concerning position of *and* in an utterance, McCarthy (1993:176) argues that *and* "frequently occurs sentence-initially, just as it often occurs turn- and utterance-initially in spoken data".

Before the analysis, I am going to examine the meanings of *and* described in LDCE (2000:42). As Longman Dictionary is focused on contemporary English, spoken as well as written English is included.

1. You use *and* to join words or sentences.
2. You use *and* to mean "then, afterwards".
3. You use *and* to say that something is caused by something else.
4. You use *and* to introduce a sentence, comment, question (spoken).
5. You use *and* between repeated words to emphasize what you are saying.

6. You use *and* when you want someone to add something to what they have just said (spoken).

Contextual Analysis

In contextual analysis, pragmatic markers are examined in the context – the preceding as well as following utterances are analysed. As direct speech is incomplete, the questions asked by journalists are presented indirectly and there is little attention paid to punctuation, the analysis becomes more complicated as more functions of one pragmatic marker can be detected.

In addition, as being stressed in the previous chapters, journalists do not only influence what is going to be published, they also re-write the answers of interviewees. In this connection, I am going to demonstrate in the following examples – utterances of interviewees can differ depending on the journalist and the newspaper.

In example (1), written by Patrick Wintour from the Guardian, the situation of a press conference in London is described. Mr Miliband, Gordon Brown´s ally and a member of the Labour party, is being asked whether Mr Brown is the person to lead the Labour government "through the current economic turbulence". Patrick Wintour publishes Mr Miliband´s answer as following:

(1) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 2, 85-87**

He asked rhetorically: "Can Gordon lead us into the next election and win? **Yes, absolutely.** We have got a leader, we have got a good leader, we have got a leader who has good values and I think he can lead a very strong team."

In the following example (2), written by Andrew Grice from the Independent, the same conference as well as the answer of Mr Miliband is noted.

(2) **Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. 5, 235-239**

Furious Brownites said Mr Miliband failed to quell such speculation at a press conference yesterday, although the Foreign Secretary said Mr Brown has the "values and the vision" to run the country successfully. "Can Gordon lead us into the next election and win? *Yes, I'm absolutely certain about that,"* he added.

In the examples (1, 2), the answer and also the attitude towards the whole problem of Mr Brown´s leadership of the Labour party from Mr Miliband´s point of view is introduced differently to readers. What is the real answer of Mr Miliband concerning the problem? Both journalists decided to interpret Mr Miliband´s answer in two different ways – each decided to pick up different points in Mr Miliband´s interview that they found, maybe, more interesting depending on their political opinion, or the political attitude of the newspapers they work for.

To sum up, the analysis works with spoken discourse being re-written as written discourse. As we cannot prove, what was really said, we have to fully depend on the interpretation of the journalists. Direct speech, which is quoted in quotation marks, does not always have to represent what was uttered or whether it was said in the order presented in the articles. This opinion is supported by Goody (1977:118), who claims that "reproduction of oral sequences is rarely if ever verbatim". Punctuation is another obstacle, which this analysis has to take into consideration.

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

CONNECTION OF REASONS

The pragmatic marker *and* helps to connect the reasons of Mr Darling to call for general elections as he expresses his opinion concerning the topic.

> (3) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 1, 54-56**
>
> The Conservative leader, David Cameron, urged Brown to call a general election. "I think we need change in this country, *and* that's how change should come about," he said.

In example (4), Mr Lewis comments the situation in the Labour Party with Mr Brown as the leader. He describes the Labour Party as being divided. This he sees as a possible problem at the elections. Moreover, he gives a reason for the Labour Party not to stay back, but to fight. In this example, *and* is followed by *therefore* which signifies connection of reasons.

(4) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art. 5, 278-283**

> He added: "When you're the underdog, you have a choice – you can either lie down and die, or you can come out fighting with a passion and a purpose, which stirs your friends and shakes the confidence of your opponents. We have to recognise that New Labour has a problem now with definition. Old Labour doesn't have answers, ***and*** therefore the only way forward right now is bold Labour.

CONNECTION OF EVENTS

George Osborne describes the weakness of Mr Brown´s plan to fight the recession. As he talks about the problem the Labour party has to deal with, he uses ***and*** to connect events. In the case of the second ***and***, he creates a contrast between the two utterances. Firstly, he talks about a situation of families. All of a sudden, he mentions financial figures being published on that day. In my opinion, the function of ***and*** in the second example is to make a contrast.

(5) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 3, 159-165**

> The shadow chancellor, George Osborne, said: "This is a short-term survival plan for the prime minister, not a long-term recovery plan for the economy. They've had months to prepare, ***and*** on the day it's launched, they can't even tell us how much it costs, or where the money's coming from. Most families will not be helped ***and*** the micro measures announced are overshadowed by today's gloomy news that the OECD is predicting a recession in Britain in the second half of this year - the only country that it makes that prediction about."

CHANGE OF SUBJECT

Prior to this ***and***, David Miliband describes his previous experience with elections. Suddenly, he turns his attention to audience (to journalists in this case as he was interviewed at a press conference) with a possible attempt to blame them for not believing in his actions in the past. As far as I am concerned, he changes the topic of his utterance.

(6) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 2, 82-85**

> Asked directly to rule himself out for the leadership Miliband said: "It is a never ending game," adding: "I went through this for two or three years before last year's election ***and*** none of you believed a word I said then, and actually it turned out to be true."

In example (7), Mrs Harman uses the pragmatic marker *and* to change the subject of her utterance. Firstly, she comments what people ask her concerning the elections. Even though she admits that the predictions are not really positive, she does not want to discourage possible voters. In my view, she changes the subject on purpose to be optimistic at last.

(7) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 4, 236-238**

> Clearly expecting Brown to secure a big emotional endorsement at the conference, she said: "People ask me whether we are going to lose the next election; well, the predictions can all be wrong. They were in 1992 , *and* we can win the next election."

ADDITION

Mr Cameron expresses his anger with the Labour government. After addressing the British nation, he adds what makes the Labour government possibly "the worst" in history. In my view, he uses the pragmatic marker *and* not only to add more information, but also to emphasize what is going to follow. It can be assumed that he would like to attract hearers´ attention, as there is another pragmatic marker following – namely now.

(8) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 11, 627-631**

> But Cameron added: "I don't think that would be fair. This country shouldn't be in any doubt of the source of the difficulties Britain is now in. The chancellor was put in a hole by the prime minister, and they've both kept digging. *And* now, after all this - the highest taxes in history, the highest deficit in western Europe, the highest interest rates in the G7 - they ask us to trust them to get the country out of this mess."

In the following example (9), a member of Mr Brown´s cabinet comments his return as a head of the party. In my opinion, it is not obvious whether Mr Brown´s first name is mentioned because the commenting person wanted to emphasize his role, or whether the person simply didn´t forget about the prime minister. As there is intonation missing, it is difficult to examine the pragmatic marker *and* in more detail. In my view, the person might make a pause as there is a hyphen used.

(9) Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 17, 1138-1144

Gordon Brown, who spent six months resisting the inevitable nationalisation of Northern Rock because he was so fearful of heralding a return to Labour's past as the champion of nationalisation, has been handed a lifeline. A few weeks after members of the cabinet were considering triggering his downfall, he has secured his position in the medium term by virtue of being at the centre of a financial storm.

"This has given the Labour party - **and** Gordon - a chance to recover and we should grab it," one senior member of the cabinet told the Guardian.

ASSURANCE

And in the following utterance signifies an attempt of Mr Darling to ensure the audience that Mr Brown will connect with his voters, even though he has not been able to do so far.

(10)   Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 14, 1007-1009

Asked why Brown has not done so, Darling falters as he says: "Er, well. Well, it's always difficult, you know ... But Gordon in September, up to party conference, has got the opportunity to do that. **And** he will do that. It's absolutely imperative."

And in the middle position is used by Lord West to emphasize the fact that the need will come – he wants to ensure the listeners that it will happen. The second *and*, used in the initial position, is uttered by Lord West to add information, moreover, consequences to what happens when legislation is done too quickly.

(11)   Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 18, 1214-1220

Lord West, the home office minister, warned peers of the dangers of voting against the plan. "If we get it wrong we could all live to regret it. When the need for more than 28 days arrives — **and** it will — we can either have a well considered and debated back-pocket measure in place ready to make available to prosecutors, or we will be forced to release terrorists on to the streets unless some hurried legislation is passed. **And** we all know hurried legislation in a period of emergency is bad legislation. Whoever is in power will find it a very uncomfortable moment."

CONTRAST

Here, economical situation in the UK is being compared by Vince Cable, the economic spokesman for the Liberals. Firstly, he criticises Mr Darling for being too optimistic concerning the situation. Secondly, he expresses his opinion. As both views differ, the pragmatic marker *and* is used to make a contrast.

(12)   **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 10, 592-597**

> Vince Cable, the Liberal Democrat economic spokesman, said: "The Conservatives appear to be making policy on the hoof. They are worried about a reversal of roles whereby they are seen to be arguing against tax cuts and we and Labour are calling for them. The real worry is that we will not have an orderly bounce back in 2010-11 as Darling and Mervyn King, the governor of the Bank of England, claim, *and* instead we will bounce along the bottom."

INTRODUCTION OF A QUESTION

In my view, the pragmatic marker *and* in example (13) does not only introduce a question, but also expresses the person´s anger concerning the problem as he/she tries to draw attention to Lord Mandelson in the second question. The person (a Cameron aide) is, for sure, not happy about the investigation being called by Mr Brown.

(13)   **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art. 9, 491-501**

> Allies of Mr Osborne said Mr Brown's call for an inquiry had backfired because it was now clear there was nothing to investigate. A Cameron aide said: "Why is Gordon Brown's office not able to say what sort of investigation he wants and by whom? *And* why isn't he calling an investigation into Lord Mandelson's relationship with Mr Deripaska as well?"

SUPPORT

In my opinion, this example of *and* emphasises the qualities of Gordon Brown being a good leader of the Labour party as David Miliband expresses his support for Mr Brown to be the head of the party.

(14)   **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 2, 79-81**

> He asked rhetorically: "Can Gordon lead us into the next election and win? Yes, absolutely. We have got a leader, we have got a good leader, we have got a leader who has good values *and* I think he can lead a very strong team."

In example (15), a very similar situation is described. *And* does not only help the speaker (Mr Miliband) to continue in his utterance, but the pragmatic marker can be examined as a signal of support as well.

(15)   **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 5, 253-256**

> Speaking alongside six other cabinet ministers at the ninth annual Progress rally held at party conference, Miliband, who received the loudest applause of the evening, said: "New Labour is not a faction within the party, it is a coalition within the party, *and* I believe it is the heart of the party."

<u>REPETITION</u>

Mr Lewis, the Health minister, talks about his reasons for joining the Labour Party. The first *and* connects the repeated phrase "I wanted". The second *and* supports Mr Lewis´ intentions previously mentioned. In my view, he wants to ensure his listeners about his noble motives and values.

(16)   **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art. 5, 263-268**

> Mr Lewis added: "We are not here to be a bunch of technocrats. I joined the Labour Party, like most of my colleagues, because I wanted to make a difference, **and** I wanted to change the world for the better. *And* obviously I wanted to do that in a way that was consistent with progressive values. How many people out there really believe any more that that's what people like me are about? That's what we need to turn around."

As it is common before elections, politicians from different parties blame the others for wrong decisions or no decisions etc. In example (17), Mr Cameron accuses Gordon Brown of causing the biggest deficit the UK has ever experienced. In my opinion, Mr Cameron uses the repeated pragmatic marker *and* more times to stress how much money Mr Brown actually borrowed.

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(17)   **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art. 7, 389-393**

"The Chancellor who prided himself on prudence came to believe that he, uniquely in the history of economics, had ended the trade cycle and abolished boom and bust. So he thought the good days would never end, **and** borrowed **and** borrowed **and** racked up the biggest government deficit in the developed world."

TIME TO THINK

In my view, in the following example **and** has the meaning of hesitation. Alistair Darling talks about an upcoming financial crisis and he gives consequences of the situation. Suddenly, he pauses (Patrick Wintour even uses graphic signs to show his readers Mr Darling´s hesitation) before he continues.

(18)   **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 3, 138-143**

Darling insisted that he remained optimistic, but continued to echo his assessment, given in a Guardian interview at the weekend, that Britain faced "arguably the worst" economic conditions in 60 years. "We are facing difficult times - we are in a situation where you are facing the combination of the credit crunch with high oil and food prices **and** ... this is unique, the IMF has said we haven't seen this since the 1930s," he said.

In the last example (19), the pragmatic marker **and** is used to give the speaker, Mr Hague, more time to think about his following utterance. Not only does he use the pragmatic marker, which is then followed by comma, but he also uses a phrase *I think* to prolong the time.

(19)   **Michael Savage, App.II, Art. 15, 890-894**

William Hague, the shadow Foreign Secretary, said: "We **and**, I think, the whole country do want to know transparently about the meetings that have happened and what was discussed at them and whether they ever discussed aluminium tariffs and so on. He added: "If Peter Mandelson could put the record straight on that then I think the media could move on."

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5.2.3.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The pragmatic marker ***and*** is not only the first pragmatic marker examined in this thesis, but the occurrence of the marker is the most frequent (there are 100 pragmatic markers of ***and*** examined in direct speech). Table 4 shows the total number of ***and***, depending on the newspaper. Concerning the qualitative analysis of the marker (see Figure 4), the most frequent function of ***and*** in this corpus is addition, followed by connection of events and continuation.

FUNCTIONS	The Guardian	The Independent	Total
Connection of reasons	3	5	8
Connection of events	6	8	14
Change of subject	6	2	8
Addition	12	8	20
Assurance	3	6	9
Continuation	6	4	10
Contrast	6	2	8
Introduction of question	0	1	1
Support	7	1	8
Repetition	0	6	6
Time to think	4	4	8
Total	53	47	100

Table 4: Functions of pragmatic marker *And*, depending on the newspaper

JOURNALIST	Patrick Wintour	Nick Watt	Andrew Grice	Michael Savage	Total
Connection of reasons	1	2	3	2	8
Connection of events	4	2	4	4	14
Change of subject	4	2	2	0	8
Addition	2	10	5	3	20
Assurance	0	3	5	1	9
Continuation	2	4	3	1	10
Contrast	2	4	2	0	8
Introduction of question	0	0	1	0	1
Support	4	3	1	0	8
Repetition	0	0	4	2	6
Time to think	2	2	3	1	8
Total	21	32	33	14	100

Table 5: Functions of pragmatic marker *And,* depending on the journalist

The pragmatic marker ***and*** occurs most frequently in the articles of Andrew Grice (The Independent), he is followed by Nick Watt and Patrick Wintour (both from The Guardian). In the articles of Michael Savage, the pragmatic marker ***and*** occurs only 14 times (see Table 5).
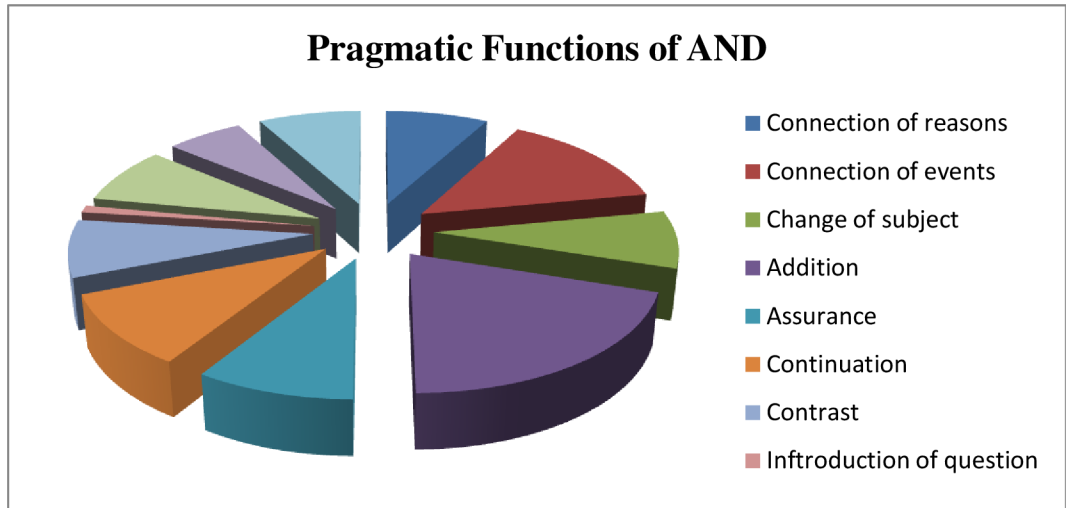
Figure 4: Pragmatic functions of And in direct speech

5.2.4 BECAUSE

Because is the second pragmatic marker being analysed in this thesis. Unlike the frequency of the previous examined pragmatic marker *and*, **because** occurs in six articles in the corpus – there are seven pragmatic markers **because** being analysed.

As all analysed pragmatic markers are examined by Schiffrin in *Discourse Markers*, **because** is no exception. She describes **because** (1987:191) as "a marker of subordination". There are several functions Schiffrin examines in her analysis of **because**:

1. **Because** tends to introduce sentence topics which play a subordinate role in the discourse.
2. **Because** can mark a motive for an action.
3. **Because** can be used to preface information when the status of that information as shared background knowledge is uncertain and when that information is important for understanding adjacent talk.
4. **Because** conveys a meaning of "cause".

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

MEANING OF CAUSE

Again, the elections are being discussed. This time it is James Purnell who comments the political situation of the Labour party. He discusses the reason why the party has changed. In my view, the pragmatic marker **because** conveys a meaning of cause.

(20) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 5, 264-270**

> The comments at last night's Progress event echoed those made by work and pensions minister James Purnell earlier in the day when he issued a stark warning of what would happen if Labour lost the next election: "Our history is littered with rather more defeats than victories," he said. "That's why we changed. **Because** we were tired of being the conscience of a Conservative country … If we don't learn the lessons of our past we will be in this hall one September, in years to come, passing pointless resolutions again."

TIME TO THINK

I suppose that *because* in (21) is used to give Mr Darling more time to think about his reply for his question. As the pragmatic marker is followed by a comma, the punctuation indicates that Mr Darling pauses before he continues in his utterance.

(21) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. XII, 708 – 710**

*"We really have to make our minds up; are we ready to try and persuade this country to support us for another term? **Because**, the next 12 months are critical. It's still there to play for."*

RESULT

In my view, the pragmatic marker in (22) means a result of Mr Smith, the home secretary, as he speaks at the parliament. Addressing Mr Speaker, he gives evidence why he is not ready to be passive concerning the national security.

(22) **Nick Watt, App I, Art. XV, 856 – 859**

"I do not believe, as some Hon Members clearly do, that it is enough to simply cross our fingers and hope for the best," Smith told parliament. "Mr Speaker, that is not good enough. **Because** when it comes to national security, there are certain risks I'm not prepared to take.

MOTIVE FOR AN ACTION

In my opinion, in (23) Mr Lewis describes his motives while joining the Labour Party. Not only did he want to make a difference, but his wish was to change the world for the better.

(23) **Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. IV, 238 – 243**

Mr Lewis added: "We are not here to be a bunch of technocrats. I joined the Labour Party, like most of my colleagues, *because* I wanted to make a difference, and I wanted to change the world for the better. And obviously I wanted to do that in a way that was consistent with progressive values. How many people out there really believe any more that that's what people like me are about? That's what we need to turn around."

As there are only seven examples of the pragmatic marker *because* to be analysed in direct speech, the variety of functions is not very rich. Table 6 shows that the most frequent function of *because* in direct speech is the function of

result. The highest number of the pragmatic marker *because* occurs in the articles by Michael Savage (The Independent).

Funtions of Because	Patrick Wintour	Nick Watt	Andrew Grice	Michael Savage	Total
Meaning of ´cause´	1	0	0	0	**1**
Time to think	0	1	0	0	**1**
Result	0	1	0	3	**4**
Motive for an action	0	0	1	0	**1**
Total	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**7**

Table 6: Functions of pragmatic marker *Because*, depending on the journalist

5.2.5 BUT

But is characterised by Schiffrin (1987) as a discourse coordinator. In the thesis, it is the second most frequent pragmatic marker to be analysed in direct speech in all articles. Moreover, it will be examined in indirect speech together with the pragmatic marker *and* and *so* (from the list of pragmatic markers analysed in direct speech) later in the study.

The pragmatic marker *but* has been studied by many different linguists (Schiffrin:1994, Blakemore:2004, McCarthy:1993). Its function as well as position in an utterance has been examined.

Firstly, let us have a look at the entry from LDCE (2000:173), where the meanings of *but* are described as following:

1. You use *but* to mean in spite of something, or not as you would expect.
2. You use *but* to add another statement to one that you have already made, to say that both things are true.
3. You use *but* like however, to explain why something did not happen, why you did not do something.
4. You use *but* after negative to emphasize that the second part of the sentence is true.
5. You use *but* to express strong feelings such anger, surprise etc.
6. You use *but* to emphasize a word or statement.
7. You use *but* to change the subject of conversation.

Concerning the occurrence of *but* in an utterance, the pragmatic marker is very frequent in spoken English, where it often occurs at the beginning of a sentence. Though, it is also used in writing. According to the entry in LDCE (2000:173), *but* does not usually occur at the beginning of a sentence. As we are going to analyse the indirect speech (journalist´s utterance) later in the study, we will come to the opposite conclusion.

As it has been stated above, *but* is one of the most studied pragmatic markers in discourse analysis. What makes *but* such a popular pragmatic marker to be examined? One possible answer can be given by Blakemore

(2004:228) who argues that "native speakers of English find it more difficult to pin down what *but* or *well* mean than to say how they are used". This can be a great motivation for those, who desire to understand the meaning of *but* in different occurrences in discourse.

Concerning the analysis of *but* by Schiffrin (1987:152-177):

1. *But* marks an upcoming unit as a contrasting action.
2. *But* can be interpreted as speaker´s effort to return to the prior concern.
3. *But* is interchangeable with anyway and however.
4. *But* can preface disagreements – whether they are disagreements which challenge, defend, or both.
5. *But* marks an upcoming unit as a contrast.
6. *But* marks speaker´s return to a point.

Taking into consideration Blakemore´s opinion on *but* (2004:224-225), she argues that "but encodes a conceptual representation of a relation of contrasting".

The pragmatic marker *but* occurs more frequently in the articles of the Guardian as there are 32 pragmatic markers of *but* to be analysed. In the Independent, the pragmatic marker *but* occurs 30 times. *But* occurs most frequently in the articles by Nick Watt from The Guardian (see Table 7).

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

ADDITION

In the following example, *but* adds more information about what needs to be changed according to Mr Brown in terms of his decisions made on the field of British politics.

(24) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 7, 414-415**

> Explaining the new body, Brown said: *"Quite simply, we do not need just to change policies **but** the way we make decisions and the way we govern."*

In example (25), Mrs Harman, the Labour party deputy, expresses her opinions on different problematic topics concerning the British nation. Here, she discusses a difficult job situation. The pragmatic marker but is used to add more information about what risks people have to take nowadays.

(25) **Patrick Wintour, App. I, Art. 4, 202-204**

> She said it was "quite wrong that salaries are structured so that traders are incentivised to take unwarranted risks. This is about the incentivisation of risk, ***but*** also about a fair and equal society."

CHANGE OF SUBJECT

In (26), Mr Darling describes his story while he was confronted by a British citizen at a petrol station. He paraphrases what the man asked him. Here, ***but*** changes the subject of the man´s utterance. On one hand, the man discusses the oil prices. On the other hand, he suddenly changes the topic of his utterance and confronts Mr Darling with a question.

(26) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 14, 983-987**

> Darling admits that he was recently challenged at a petrol station by a motorist struggling with the rising cost of petrol. *"I was at a filling station recently and a chap said: 'I know it's to do with oil prices - **but** what are you going to do about it?' People think, well surely you can do something, you are responsible - so of course it reflects on me."*

CONTRAST

From my point of view, the pragmatic marker ***but*** not only introduces a question, it also helps to the speaker (in this situation a senior Tory expresses his opinion) to make a contrast between the first utterance and the question. Firstly, he talks about nice, interesting feelings and suddenly he changes the topic and asks whether people (I suppose he addresses voters) are ready to gain such an experience.

(27) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 12, 791-795**

> "There will be a feeling, this could be interesting, it seemed a good idea, ***but*** are we ready for this? Boris will be his own man. How will he relate to the Labour government? ... This is a double-edged sword. A victory would say the

Conservatives are coming back. But there is also the element that you can't control Boris. If he screws it up that will rub off on us."

CHANGE OF SUBJECT, DISBELIEF, SUMMARY

In example (28), three different meanings of *but* occur. Firstly, the pragmatic marker *but* means a change of subject. Mr Darling is not believed to be ready to become the next prime minister. He gives evidence of historical situation in 1979. Possibly, he does not like talking about the subject. *But*, in the second utterance, expresses disbelief by Yvette Cooper as she gives her opinion on Mr Cameron´s speech. Mrs Cooper expresses her view as she asks a question being connected with what she missed in the speech. The meaning of the last pragmatic marker *but* is Mrs Coopers´ summary of the whole speech made by Mr Cameron.

(28) **Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. 6, 336-346**

> Mr Cameron invoked the memory of Margaret Thatcher to counter Labour's claims that he was not ready to lead the country. "In 1979, James Callaghan had been home secretary, foreign secretary and chancellor and then prime minister. *But* thank God, we changed him for Margaret Thatcher. If we listened to this argument about experience, we would never change a government ever. We'd have Gordon Brown as Prime Minister forever."Last night, a Labour minister said the party was happy to compete with Mr Cameron on questions of character and judgement. Yvette Cooper, the Chief Treasury Secretary, said: "David Cameron always makes a smooth and polished speech, *but* where was the substance? Cameron says he is a man with a plan. *But* all we got was warm words and easy populism."

EMPHASIS

I suppose that *but* in (29) signifies an emphasis. Miliband´s ally asks a rhetorical question which he immediately answers. *But* is preceded by a negative reply. From my point of view, the interviewee has an intention to emphasize what might happen when no action will be taken.

(29) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 6, 335-341**

> Downing Street will be encouraged by the poll in the Sun. But ministers said confusion over the reshuffle showed that Brown would struggle to build on the success of the speech. Some ministers, who had been prepared to leave Manchester rallying behind a rejuvenated Brown, were believed to be wrestling with their consciences. One Miliband ally outlined the dilemma: "Would it look good to have no one on the bridge of the ship as it heads for the rocks? Probably

not, **but** the danger is that if we do nothing we are heading for opposition for a long time."

REFUSAL

In the following example, Mr Cameron discusses why Britain ended up in a bad financial situation – he blames Mr Brown, again, for being the responsible person. As far as I am concerned, it seems as he tries to laugh at him. The pragmatic marker **but** is used here as an expression of Mr Cameron as he refuses to forget about this fact.

(30) **Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. 7, 355-361**

> Denying that he was "talking Britain down", Mr Cameron said: "I will never pull my punches in explaining how this Government has brought Britain down. Gordon Brown is hoping that his whirlwind of summitry will mean we will forget what has come before … **But** I won't forget, and the British people won't forget. He cannot hide from his mistakes. He cannot hide from the truth. The truth is that over the past 10 years, Britain has built up more personal debt than any other major economy in history."

SUMMARY

Here, the pragmatic marker can be analysed as a marker preceding summary. Mr Lewis, the Health minister, explains what the Labour party will have to face in the next election. In his last statement, he sums up what might happen, when the party will be divided.

(31) **Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. 5, 269-274**

> If Labour failed to do so, "the seductive, 'it's time for a change' message will work for Mr Cameron. We need to be the change... more of the same won't do." Asked if his fellow ministers were loyal to Mr Brown, he replied: "The test of any political party, any cause, is in the bad time and not the good time. We now face the ultimate test. People have a decision to make. **But** there's one thing that's absolutely clear, it's that the public don't vote for divided parties."

TIME TO THINK

The last pragmatic marker **but**, being analysed in this thesis in direct speech, gives the speaker (Hazel Blears, the Communities Secretary) some extra time to think about how to continue in her utterance. As it can be seen earlier, her utterance was

re-written by Andrew Grice with commas. It can suggest that talking about the topic might be unpleasant for the speaker, or the person was asked a question she was not prepared to answer.

(32) **Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. 1, 46-48**

> "It is entirely understandable that people are concerned about their ... homes, utility bills, cost of living. **But** ... the test for any government is when you are in difficult times, how do you perform – do you stand firm?"

5.2.5.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In direct speech, 62 examples of the pragmatic marker *but* have been detected and analysed. There were 32 pragmatic markers of *but* examined in the articles from the Guardian, in the Independent appeared 30 pragmatic markers of *but* in direct speech (see Table 7). The most frequent function of this marker in both newspapers was change of subject, followed by addition, contrast and summary.

Functions of But	The Guardian	The Independent	Total
Addition	8	2	**10**
Change of subject	6	5	**11**
Contrast	5	5	**10**
Disbelief	1	2	**3**
Emphasis	3	3	**6**
Only	0	1	**1**
Refusal	4	3	**7**
Summary	3	7	**10**
Time to think	2	2	**4**
Total	**32**	**30**	**62**

Table 7: Functions of pragmatic marker *But*, depending on the newspaper
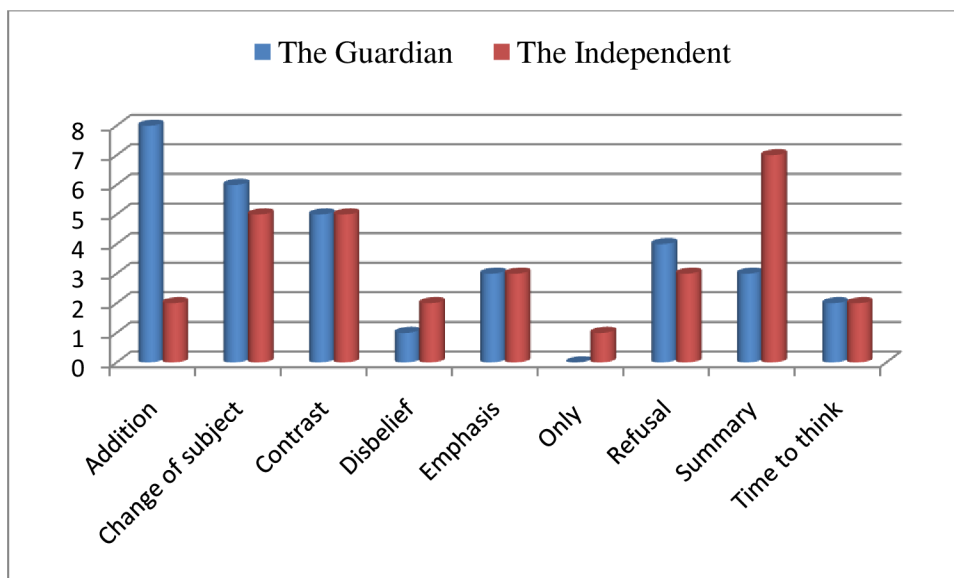
Figure 5: Pragmatic functions of *But* in direct speech, depending on the newspaper

Figure 5 shows the pragmatic functions of ***but*** in direct speech. In the Guardian, the most frequent function of the pragmatic marker ***but*** was addition. On the contrary, the function of summary was the most frequent function of ***but*** in the articles from the Independent. The pragmatic marker ***but*** occurs most frequently in the articles by Nick Watt (The Guardian).

Functions of But	Patrick Wintour	Nick Watt	Andrew Grice	Michael Savage	Total
Addition	5	3	1	1	**10**
Change of subject	1	5	1	4	**11**
Contrast	2	3	3	2	**10**
Disbelief	0	1	1	1	**3**
Emphasis	1	2	1	2	**6**
Only	0	0	1	0	**1**
Refusal	1	3	3	0	**7**
Summary	1	2	3	4	**10**
Time to think	0	2	1	1	**4**
Total	**11**	**21**	**15**	**15**	**62**

Table 8: Functions of pragmatic marker *But*, depending on the journalist

5.2.6   OR

In the thesis, *or* is the third most frequent pragmatic marker. In the Guardian *or* occurs in 11 utterances, in the Independent the pragmatic marker appears seven times in the articles. The pragmatic marker *or* appears most frequently in the articles by Patrick Wintour (The Guardian).

Even though *or* is a coordinator like *and* and *but* (Schiffrin 1994), its functions differ from the one of *and* and *but*. Firstly, *or* is not a marker of a speaker´s action toward his own talk, but of a speaker´s desire for a hearer to take action. Generally, *or* is more hearer-oriented, it usually provides hearers a two-way choice between accepting one member of a disjunct, or both members of a disjunct. Not only can *or* mark different pieces of support, but it can also represent a speaker´s effort to elicit from a hearer stance toward an idea unit. To sum up, *or* is used to gain a response of some kind.

As Schiffrin (1994:177) describes the functions of *or*, she also divides *or* into two categories. On one hand, she works with a term "exclusive or" where only one member of the disjunct can hold. On the other hand, she describes the second category as "inclusive or" where either one member, or both members of the disjunct can hold.

In addition, I am going to look at definitions of *or* in LDCE (2000:997), which are as following:

1. You use *or* to compare.
2. You use *or* to warn or advise someone that if they do not do something, something they do not want will happen.
3. You use *or* to correct something that you have said or to give more specific information.
4. You use *or* to explain why something happens or to show that something must be true.

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CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

CONTRAST, WARNING

In my opinion, the first three examples of *or* signify a contrast. I suppose Mr Kenny gives a speech in front of Labour MPs. He compares reality of life with the reality in the party – both have two sides. The fourth pragmatic marker *or*, in my view, means a warning.

(33) **Patrick Wintour, Example App. I, Art. 1, 32-38**

> But in a sign of a discipline breakdown, and a weakening of Brown's authority, Paul Kenny, the GMB leader, called for Labour MPs to stage a confidence ballot in the autumn to clear the air. Kenny told MPs: *"It is put up **or** shut up time. They either support Gordon Brown through to the next election, **or** they actually get rid of him. That is the reality of life. The MPs have got to make a strong decision as to whether they want to go into an election with Gordon Brown **or** have a [leadership] contest. Labour must change **or** we are finished."*

ADDITION OF INFORMATION

I suppose, *or* in (34) helps to add more information. Conditions on donation money to political parties are discussed. Mr Osborne reports on Mr Feldman´s explanation under what two circumstances it is possible, in terms of law, to donate money in the UK.

(34) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 8, 466-471**

> Osborne said that in the discussion on the terrace of the villa: *"Rothschild suggested to Feldman that his friend Mr Deripaska could be interested in making a donation."* Osborne in his account said: *"Feldman at this point made clear there are very strict rules on donations to political parties in the UK. Feldman explained a political donation is only lawful if you appear as an individual on the UK electoral roll, **or** if the donation comes from a legitimate UK trading company."*

CONTRAST

In the following example, *or* is used as contrast. Mr Lewis, the Health minister, discusses the fact whether Mr Brown would lead the Labour Party into the next elections. Here, he mentions two choices the party has – it can give up, or fight.

(35) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art. 5, 278-283**

He added: *"When you're the underdog, you have a choice – you can either lie down and die, **or** you can come out fighting with a passion and a purpose, which stirs your friends and shakes the confidence of your opponents. We have to recognise that New Labour has a problem now with definition. Old Labour doesn't have answers, and therefore the only way forward right now is bold Labour.*

5.2.6.1 Concluding Remarks

In this part of analysis, I have examined the pragmatic marker *or*. As the occurrence of *or* is not very frequent, I have detected three meanings of this pragmatic marker – namely contrast, addition and warning. The meaning of addition is the most frequent. In Table 9, meanings of *or* depending on the journalists are shown.

Functions of Or	Michael Wintour	Nick Watt	Andrew Grice	Michael Savage	Total
Addition	1	3	2	3	**9**
Contrast	5	1	2	0	**8**
Warning	1	0	0	0	**1**
Total	**7**	**4**	**4**	**3**	**18**

Table 9: Functions of pragmatic marker *Or*, depending on the journalist

5.2.7   SO

Next, I am going to analyse the pragmatic marker *so*. It occurs nine times in the corpus – there are six pragmatic markers of *so* to be analysed in the articles of the Guardian, only three examples of *so* have been detected in the articles of the Independent.

By Schiffrin(1994:191) the pragmatic marker *so* is described as following:

1. *So* is a complementary marker of main idea units.
2. *So* is a marker of main units by focusing on two discourse units.
3. *So* conveys a meaning of "result".
4. *So* can be used to preface information whose understanding is supplemented by information which has just become shared background.
5. *So* can mark an action which has just been motivated: request and account, compliance and justification, claim and grounds.
6. *So* marks speaker-continuation as an alternative to participant change in potential transition locations in talk.

McCarthy (1993) adds that *so* often occurs as a signal of closure of the text or as a point where topic may change. According to the entry from LDCE (2000:1363), the pragmatic marker *so* is much more common in spoken English. Though, this pragmatic marker will be examined in indirect speech as well.

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

ASKING A QUESTION

The following situation takes place in the parliament. Mr Cameron gives reasons why the economical situation is in such a bad position thanks to the Tories. When he addresses another problem during his speech, one MP (Mr Balls) shouts at him, using the pragmatic marker *so*.

(36) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 11, 632-637**

> Cameron was taunted during his response by Balls. When Cameron claimed in his response to the budget that Britain had the "highest tax burden in our history", Balls shouted "*so what?*", according to the Tory leader - a government

spokesman claimed Balls actually said "so weak". Cameron said to Balls: "I know he wants to be chancellor so badly it hurts. I have to tell him: another budget like the one we've heard and he won't have to wait long."

TIME TO THINK

In the following example (37), Mr Darling describes unpleasant situations while being exposed to British citizens in public places. He tells a story of being asked by a stranger at a petrol station. Firstly, he communicates what questions he was asked. Secondly, he adds his own view on the problem. *So* in example (37) is used by Mr Darling to gain time to think. The pragmatic marker *so* is followed by another pragmatic marker, namely *of course*. Concerning the punctuation, *so* is preceded by a hyphen, which might suggest that the speaker, Mr Darling, might not know what to say at the current moment.

(37) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 14, 983-987**

> Darling admits that he was recently challenged at a petrol station by a motorist struggling with the rising cost of petrol. "I was at a filling station recently and a chap said: *'I know it's to do with oil prices - but what are you going to do about it?' People think, well surely you can do something, you are responsible - **so** of course it reflects on me.*"

MEANING OF RESULT

In my view, the following pragmatic marker *so* (38) conveys a meaning of result. Mrs Harman points out why it is not possible to speak about wearing veils and domestic violence in the Commons as there are 97% men. She suggests a solution and comes to the result of changing the topics for discussion.

(38) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 9, 530-536**

> Harman said: "It is not just about how can people think we are a fair, open and representative democracy if we just do not look like that, but also the fact that we cannot have sensible debates on policy. We cannot sensibly discuss the veil (in the Commons) when there is no Muslim woman MP; it was impossible to discuss domestic violence when there was 97% men in the Commons.
>
> "***So*** this is about changing the agenda for debate, as well as changing public perception of the Commons."

RETURN TO THE PREVIOUS TOPIC

Firstly, Mrs Harman comments the polls and the position of the Tories. Secondly, she admits being a bit worried. The pragmatic marker *so* expresses Mrs. Harman´s wish to return to the previous topic. At the end, she stresses how the Tories need to act in the future.

(39) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 4, 223-227**

> Speaking on the day a poll showed the Tories just over 50% for the first time, she admitted: "Of course, Labour people are concerned by Labour's standing in the opinion polls but they also know it mirrors exactly the situation in the economy, so when the economy is on a downturn, people are holding the government to account, and fair enough, *so* we have to act decisively, and we have."

PREFACE A CONCLUSION

In my view, the last pragmatic marker *so* being analysed here prefaces a conclusion of Ms Jowell, who describes (I suppose to voters), what will happen if Boris Johnson becomes the Mayor of London.

(40) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art. 2, 72-79**

> "London needs a serious candidate for a serious job. The dividing line is between a serious candidate who gets things done for London and the very risky choice is someone who is amiable but incompetent."
>
> Although Mr Paddick is refusing to tell his backers how to cast their second vote, Ms Jowell said: "Brian Paddick is not going to win. *So* anyone who votes Liberal has to imagine what it would mean to wake up and find Boris Johnson as Mayor. Imagine Johnson being in charge of a £39bn transport budget and the £16bn Crossrail project."

To sum up, I have examined nine pragmatic markers *so* being detected in direct speech. Table 10 shows numbers as well as functions in detail, depending on the journalist. The most frequent function of the pragmatic marker so in direct speech was the meaning of result.

Functions of So	P.Wintour	N.Watt	A.Grice	M.Savage	Total
Preface a conclusion	1	0	1	0	2
Meaning of result	1	1	1	1	4
Asking a question	0	1	0	0	1
Return to a previous topic	1	0	0	0	1
Time to think	0	1	0	0	1
Total	3	3	2	1	9

Table 10: Functions of pragmatic marker *So*, depending on the journalist

5.2.8 WELL

Well is the next pragmatic marker where occurrence is not frequent. In the analysis, *well* appears seven times in the articles of Patrick Wintour (Art.N. 4,5,9) and Nick Watt(Art. N. 14, 17).

As McCarthy (1993:176) states," well often occurs near the beginning of the text, anticipating or offering a response to a predictable reaction of the reader". *Well* is also examined by Schiffrin(1987:103), who defines well as a "marker of response".

Next, I would like to take into consideration the entry from LDCE (2000:1625), where *well* is described as following:

1. You use *well* before a statement or question to emphasize it.
2. You use *well* pause or give yourself time to think before saying something.
3. You use *well* to show that you accept a situation even though you feel disappointed or annoyed by it.
4. You use *well* to express surprise or amusement.
5. You use *well* to express anger or disapproval.
6. You use *well* to show that you are about to finish speaking or stop doing an activity.
7. You use *well* to express doubt or the fact that you are not sure about something.
8. You use *well* to connect two parts of a story that you are telling people especially in order to make it seem more interesting.
9. You use *well* to demand an explanation or answer when you are angry with someone.

Based on the entry of LDCE, *well* is more common in spoken English than in written English. In the case of our thesis, several explanations of *well* have been chosen to be applied on the examples which follow.

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

EMPHASIS

Harriet Harman, the Labour deputy leader, discusses what the Labour party needs to do in the financial crises. She gives opinions on what topics should be addressed at the upcoming conference. Finally, she expresses her opinion on the possibilities of the Labour party to win the elections. In my opinion, she uses well to emphasize what she is going to say next. The pragmatic marker can be understood as a request for evaluation. As the intonation is missing, it is hard to examine the pragmatic function of *well* in this example, as it can be an emphasis, as well as a request for evaluation.

(41) **Patrick Wintour, App.I., Art.4, 236-238**

> Clearly expecting Brown to secure a big emotional endorsement at the conference, she said: "People ask me whether we are going to lose the next election; *well,* the predictions can all be wrong. They were in 1992 , and we can win the next election."

From my point of view, the second example of *well* expresses an emphasis again. The person, who gives her opinion about the attitude of Westminster, is Harriet Harman again. By using a pragmatic marker *well* she wants to point out that the parliament is capable of a change like Mr Obama.

(42) **Patrick Wintour, App.I., Art.9, 510-512**

> Harman told the Guardian: "Obama said famously 'yes we can'. *Well*, this is Westminster saying 'yes we can'. If parliament votes for this, it is voting to change itself and to recognise that parliament has a problem."

ANSWER TO A QUESTION

The following utterance had been recorded during a show on TV; afterwards some utterances of Mr Brown were used in an article by Patrick Wintour. In my opinion, the pragmatic marker *well* can be examined as following here - it can be analysed as a pragmatic marker which is preceded by a question, possibly asked by a presenter. Mr Brown takes time to think about his response. As he repeats the same answer for three times, the question took him possibly by surprise.

(43) **Patrick Wintour, App.I., Art.5, 282-284**

> The prime minister told the BBC's Andrew Marr Show: "***Well,*** I want to do better, obviously. I always want to do better. I mean my whole sort of ethos in life, my school motto was 'I will try my utmost'. I want to do better always."

TIME TO THINK

In example (44), Darling tells a story of being addressed by an unknown citizen at a petrol station. First of all, he reports what the man asked him about, and then he comments on what people might think about him. In my opinion, ***well*** is used to give Mr Darling time to think about what people´s opinion might be on him. He is an important person in politics, it is time before the elections and therefore correct usage of words, especially when talking to people ("the possible voters") has to be thought about carefully.

(44) **Nick Watt, App.II., Art.14, 983-987**

> Darling admits that he was recently challenged at a petrol station by a motorist struggling with the rising cost of petrol. "I was at a filling station recently and a chap said: 'I know it's to do with oil prices - but what are you going to do about it?' People think, ***well surely*** you can do something, you are responsible - so of course it reflects on me."

SURPISE

Darling, the chancellor and an old friend of Mr. Brown, is, without any doubt, very surprised by the question of a journalist. Not only does he use the interjection "er" at the beginning of his utterance. It is difficult for him to think about what to say next; therefore he uses well again to get some more time to think. Moreover, he uses another pragmatic marker, namely ***you know***, to gain even more time for his reply.

(45) **Nick Watt, App.II., Art.14, 1007-1009**

> Asked why Brown has not done so, Darling falters as he says: "***Er, well. Well***, it's always difficult, you know ... But Gordon in September, up to party conference, has got the opportunity to do that. And he will do that. It's absolutely imperative."

<u>**ACCEPTANCE**</u>

In my view, the following pragmatic marker has a function of acceptance of a situation. In my opinion, Mr Galloway expresses his opinion about the situation as well as atmosphere in politics. From my point of view, he seems to be disappointed by the whole problem; therefore he asks questions at the end.

(46) **Nick Watt, App.II., Art.17, 1172-1176**

> George Galloway, the Respect MP for Bethnal Green and Bow, added: "***Well,*** the Liberals sound like Labour and the Conservatives like Communists - the kaleidoscope has definitely been shaken. But while the pieces are in flux, why don't we reorder this world? What's so wrong about the taxpayer having a seat in the boardroom?"

5.2.9 YOU KNOW

Pragmatic marker **You know** is the last pragmatic marker to be analysed in this thesis. It occurs only two times in Article N.14 by Nick Watt from the Guardian.

While I have dealt with discourse analysis focused on politics for a long time, **you know** is usually among pragmatic markers frequently uttered by politicians. Moreover, it is typical for spoken discourse; therefore one would expect the pragmatic marker to occur more often, as the corpus deals with more than 8.000 expressions in direct speech.

Based on the entry in LDCE (2000:781), **you know** has the following meanings.

1. You use **you know** to emphasize a statement (spoken).
2. You use **you know** when you need to keep someone´s attention, but cannot think of what to say next (spoken).
3. You use **you know** when you are explaining or describing something and want to give more information (spoken).

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

TIME TO THINK

Concerning the two examples of **you know** in the corpus, they correspond with the meanings mentioned above. In (47), Alistair Darling is taken by surprise while he was asked why Mr Brown cannot communicate Labour´s mission to voters. This is the first and only example in the corpus, where a politician is exposed to immediate response. Moreover, his reaction is noted down and transmitted with all his hesitation and uncertainty to the readers. His reply starts with an interjection "er", followed by the pragmatic marker well (it appears twice in sequence), and finally he uses the pragmatic marker **you know**, which is afterwards followed by a pause. As it can be seen from the occurrence as well as frequency of different pragmatic markers, Mr Darling does not know how to answer the journalist´s question. The pragmatic marker **you know** helps him to gain even more time to think about his reply for the question. In my opinion, he is

unsuccessful in doing so as the answer does not really answer what the journalist asked about. From my point of view, the following pragmatic marker *you know* could be analysed as a signal of the speaker (Mr Darling) to relinquish the floor. As it can be seen from the previous utterance, he finds answering the question difficult or even unpleasant to talk about. Unfortunately, the intonation is missing here and therefore it is difficult to analyse the real function of this pragmatic marker.

(47) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art.14, 1007-1009**

> Asked why Brown has not done so, Darling falters as he says: *"Er, well. Well, it's always difficult,* **you know** *... But Gordon in September, up to party conference, has got the opportunity to do that. And he will do that. It's absolutely imperative."*

<u>EMPHASIS</u>

In the second example, the pragmatic marker *you know* is used when Mr Darling tries to describe why he does not like personal interviews. He connects this fact with the reason why he thinks of himself as not "a great politician". From my point of view, he uses *you know* to emphasize the statement. Possibly, he might draw the attention of hearers (the journalists in this case) as well.

(48) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 14, 1010-1013**

> Darling even describes himself as "not a great politician". Saying how he usually avoids personal interviews and photographs, he says maybe *"that's why I'm not a great politician.* **You know**, *I'm not very good at looking at pictures and subjecting them to the equivalent of textual analysis".*

5.3 Concluding Remarks

5.3.1 Quantitative Approach

In this part of the thesis, I have attempted to analyse pragmatic markers in direct speech. Firstly, the quantitative approach was applied. In direct speech, I have examined 8.610 expressions, whereas 205 pragmatic markers were detected. Table 12 shows the total number of expressions in direct speech, the total number of expressions depending on each journalist. Last but not least, the frequency of pragmatic markers examined in direct speech was counted depending on the lengths as well as total number of pragmatic markers concerning individual journalists.

Pragmatic Markers	Michael Wintour	Nick Watt	Andrew Grice	Michael Savage	Total
And	21	32	33	14	**100**
Because	1	2	4	0	**7**
But	10	22	15	15	**62**
Or	7	4	4	3	**18**
So	3	3	2	1	**9**
Well	3	4	0	0	**7**
You know	0	2	0	0	**2**
Total	**45**	**69**	**58**	**33**	**205**

Table 11: Total number of pragmatic markers in direct speech, depending on the journalist

NEWSPAPER	Expressions	Number of PM	Frequency
The Guardian			
Patrick Wintour	1.845	45	**41**
Nick Watt	2.736	69	**40**
The Independent			
Andrew Grice	2.480	58	**43**
Michael Savage	1.549	33	**47**
Total	**8.610**	**205**	

Table 12: Total number of expressions, total number of pragmatic markers and the frequency of pragmatic markers in direct speech, depending on each journalist

Conclusion:

1, The most frequent pragmatic marker in direct speech is *and*, followed by *but* and *or*.

2, The least frequent pragmatic marker in direct speech is *you know*.

2, The highest number of expressions in direct speech appear in the articles by Nick Watt. Moreover, the highest number of pragmatic markers occurs in the articles by Nick Watt.

3, The most frequent users of pragmatic markers in direct speech are the interviewees in the articles by Nick Watt.

4, The highest number of pragmatic markers in direct speech occur in the article by Nick Watt (The Guardian – Art.15)

5.3.2 Qualitative Approach

During the analysis, different pragmatic markers were subjected to the analysis. The most frequent pragmatic marker in all articles was the pragmatic marker *and*. The most frequent function of *and* was addition of information, followed by connection of events and continuation.

The second most frequent pragmatic marker in direct speech was the pragmatic marker *but*. The most frequent function of this pragmatic marker was change of the subject, followed by addition, contrast and summary.

The other pragmatic markers being analysed in this thesis – *because, or, so, well, you know* – did not occur frequently in the corpus. Though, their functions were analysed in detail.

To my surprise, typical spoken pragmatic markers like *so, well* and *you know* occurred very rarely. In political debates and discussions of politicians on TV or radio these pragmatic markers are used very frequently. In my opinion, in this analysis they were used on purpose by journalists to show weakness of their interviewees (hesitation to answer questions, surprise or emphasising the need to

gain time to think). Firstly, it can be assumed that the journalists wanted to ridicule their interviewees in front of their readers (see Art.14 by Nick Watt). Secondly, the gender of the interviewees might have played an important role (see Art.4,5 by Patrick Wintour).

Last but not least, pragmatic markers analysed in direct speech do not include all pragmatic markers in the corpus. The following pragmatic markers have been detected in the utterance, though for their low frequency or insufficient utterances in the context, they have not been analysed – *I think, of course, if, I mean, now* etc.

6 INDIRECT SPEECH

In the following part of the thesis I am going to attempt to examine pragmatic markers typical for indirect speech in the articles (journalist´s utterance). Firstly, I would like to pay attention to differences I have detected while I was analysing the two types of discourse. Secondly, I will focus on pragmatic markers in indirect speech in detail.

Before the analysis of written pragmatic markers, I had examined the spoken discourse first. Personally, I consider spoken discourse more interesting to examine as spoken language gives evidence about many different aspects of everyday life. When people speak, e.g. on the street, it is easier to elicit from their utterances how old they are, what they possibly do for a living, their place of origin or their immediate mood. On the contrary, when reading a newspaper article, as it is the case of this analysis, to answer the above mentioned questions, I presume, would be highly impossible.

As Chapter 5 dealt with spoken discourse being re-written as written discourse, I have examined only a limited number of pragmatic markers and their functions typical for this type of discourse. Moreover, the number of pragmatic markers in indirect speech (journalist´s utterance) being analysed in this thesis is less frequent than in direct speech.

From my point of view, the occurrence of pragmatic markers in "journalist´s utterance" being analysed in the articles of the Guardian and the Independent is not very frequent. On one hand, as I have stressed in Chapter 2, journalists are independent in terms of time and language tools while they write articles. Therefore, they can examine them in detail – they are given power to publish what they find important. Though, I would assume that they will try to show their readers where the discourse is. According to McCarthy (1993:172), this is the key function of pragmatic markers. He claims that pragmatic markers are a "system of management of what is said and written". To my surprise, such indicators appear rarely in the chosen corpus.

When one deals with relevant literature focused on spoken pragmatic markers, there are many linguists who work in the field of pragmatics and discourse analysis, e.g. Schiffrin, Aijmer, Brinton, Urbanová. On the contrary, there are not many linguists who treat written pragmatic markers with sufficient attention. Firstly, there are several linguists who mention written pragmatic markers in their works (Aijmer and Stenström 2004, Biber 1988). However, such attention as Schiffrin (1987) devoted to analyse spoken pragmatic markers and their functions cannot be found in the field of analysis of written pragmatic markers. Secondly, as there are no references to written pragmatic markers – neither a list of written pragmatic markers, nor a list of their functions can be studied as by Schiffrin. Though, there has been one linguist who has dedicated more attention to written pragmatic markers (or spoken pragmatic markers in written texts) than any other, namely Michael McCarthy (1993, Carter and McCarthy 2006a, McCarthy and O´Dell 2006b).

6.1 Quantitative Approach

In comparison with the corpus of transmitted "spoken discourse" in the previous section, which consisted of 8.610 expressions, the following section is going to deal with more than 22.171 expressions. In direct speech, a number of 205 pragmatic markers were analysed. One would expect that the more expressions there are to be analysed, the more pragmatic markers will be detected. Unfortunately, during my analysis, only 82 pragmatic markers were chosen for the analysis of pragmatic markers occurring in indirect speech.
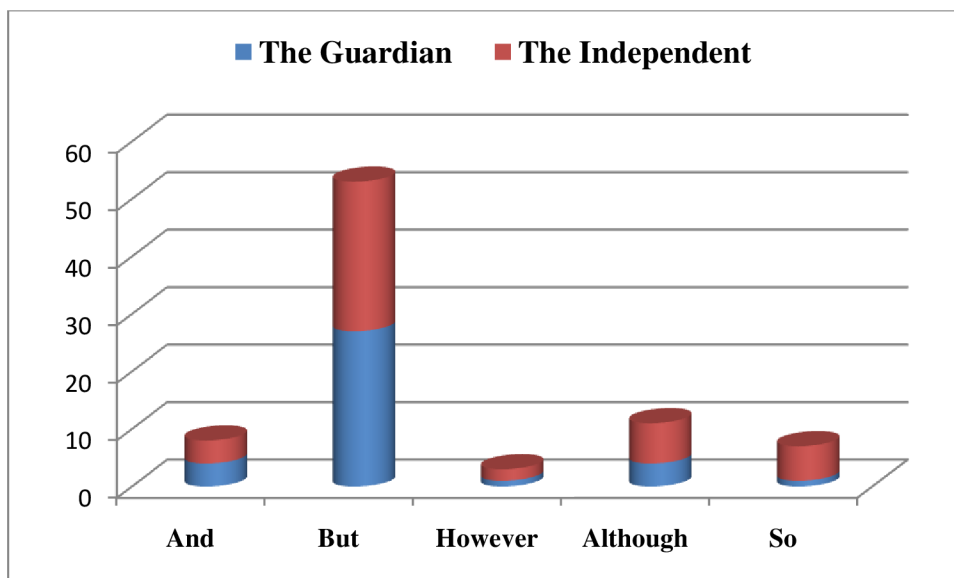
Figure 6: Occurrence of All Pragmatic Markers in Indirect Speech

Newspaper	AND	BUT	HOWEVER	ALTHOUGH	SO	Total
The Guardian	4	27	1	4	1	**37**
The Independent	4	26	2	7	6	**45**
Total	**8**	**53**	**3**	**11**	**7**	**82**

Table 13:Total number of pragmatic markers in indirect speech, depending on the newspapers

The most frequent pragmatic marker in indirect speech is the pragmatic marker **but**, followed by **although** and the pragmatic marker **and** (see Figure 6, Table 13).

6.2   Qualitative Approach

Next, I am going to examine written pragmatic markers in detail, analysing them in context. As the analysis of written pragmatic markers will follow, what is the difference between spoken and written pragmatic markers apart from what discourse they occur in? Firstly, spoken pragmatic markers are usually short, monosyllabic words like **and, but, well** or two-word expressions like of **you know, of course** etc. Secondly, they can appear in any position within a sentence – front, middle or final position. Thirdly, they do not have to be divided within sentences by commas to be detected as pragmatic markers. Fourthly, spoken

pragmatic markers are used spontaneously while people might be exposed to unexpected questions, unpleasant topics they would like to avoid etc.

Regarding the above mentioned description of spoken pragmatic markers, let us have a look at written pragmatic markers instead. While studying the relevant literature, written pragmatic markers can be described as more syllabic words, e.g. *however, firstly*, or they are phrases, e.g. *in summary, in conclusion* (McCarthy and O´Dell 2006b). They usually appear sentence-initially, and they are possible to detect within discourse by using commas. Last but not least, they are not used spontaneously, though on purpose.

After I have devoted a great amount of time to examination of the articles from the corpus, I decided to analyse the following pragmatic markers in "journalist´s utterance".

6.2.1 Spoken Pragmatic Markers

While analysing the indirect speech ("journalist´s utterance"), I have come across three interesting occurrences of discourse markers typical for spoken discourse. As they were described in detail in the previous section, I am going to focus only on some examples.

AND

Firstly, I am going to focus on the pragmatic marker *and*, which has been already treated in the previous chapter. Schiffrin (1987) suggests that the pragmatic marker *and* is a discourse connective. In indirect speech, the pragmatic marker *and* appears in eight utterances of the journalists. Table 14 shows detailed analysis of its functions, depending on the journalist.

ADDITION

In example (49), Nick Watt uses the pragmatic marker *and* at the beginning of a paragraph. The pragmatic marker is followed by comma. In my view, he does not only desire to add some more information about Mr Johnson, but he also wants to

attract his reader´s attention to focus more on what is coming next. Possibly, he might wish to emphasise the following message.

(49) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 12, 861-865**

> Asked how he felt about the BNP advising its supporters to give him their second-preference votes, he reached for Virgil: "Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget" (Not such aid nor such defenders does the time require).

> **And**, before mooching off to Oxfam to browse the secondhand books, he had a confession to make about his highly motivated PR people: "They scare me, too."

EMPHASIS

In the following example (50), the pragmatic marker and is used by Nick Watt to emphasise the anger of MPs towards the Speaker. The pragmatic marker is preceded by a comma. Again, the attention of readers is graphically drawn to the upcoming message.

(50) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art. 20, 1321-1324**

> Martin, who was kept fully informed about the arrest, singled out Jill Pay, the new serjeant at arms, for failing to consult the clerk of the house, Dr Malcolm Jack.

> MPs from across the house maintained the attack on the Speaker yesterday for failing to show greater command of his staff - **and** for blaming a subordinate.

Functions of And	Patrick Wintour	Nick Watt	Andrew Grice	Michael Savage	Total
Addition	1	1	0	1	**3**
Connections of events	0	0	0	1	**1**
Change of the subject	0	0	0	2	**2**
Emphasis	0	2	0	0	**2**
Total	**1**	**3**	**0**	**4**	**8**

Table 14: Functions of pragmatic marker And, depending on the journalist

BUT

To my surprise, the most frequent pragmatic marker in indirect speech (journalist´s utterance) has been **but**. As I was examining **but** as a spoken pragmatic marker, the entry from LDCE (2000:173) describes **but** together with

however. Moreover, Schiffrin (1987) argues that ***but*** and ***however*** are interchangeable, the entry supports Schiffrin´s opinion as it says that "however is used especially in more formal writing, often with commas before and after it in the middle of a sentence".

While analysing the indirect speech, I have observed the fact that in many articles by all journalists, new paragraphs begin with ***but*** at the beginning. This is a contrast to the entry in LDCE (2000) as it mentions that ***but*** does not usually appear in the front position.

Instead of organising a formal text by using, e.g. ***next, firstly, finally, in sum*** etc. paragraphs and, moreover, contrasts between different information presented in the articles are preceded by the pragmatic marker ***but***.

Table 15 presents the results of examining the pragmatic marker but in indirect speech. The highest number of the pragmatic marker ***but*** appears in the articles by Patrick Wintour (The Guardian). The most common function of ***but*** in indirect speech is introduction of contrast, followed by addition of information.

CRITICAL DISAGREEMENT

Concerning the context of the pragmatic marker but (51), such an answer would be expected in spoken discourse. Here, Andrew Grice uses the pragmatic marker to show critical disagreement between what was expected from Mr Brown and his actual reaction.

(51) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art. 3, 104-111**

> The Prime Minister is normally at pains to avoid being compared with other figures but his guard dropped in an interview with New Statesman, published today, in which the interviewer, Gloria De Piero, suggested to Mr Brown that many women viewed him as a Heathcliff-like figure.
>
> Given that the character is famed for his vindictive side, the Prime Minister might have been expected to recoil in horror at such a comparison. ***But no***. "Absolutely correct," he replied, before adding: "Well, maybe an older Heathcliff, a wiser Heathcliff."

CONTRAST

Andrew Grice uses the pragmatic marker *but* to introduce a contrast between two statements. Firstly, a situation when Mr Cameron speaks about the values in the UK is mentioned. As Andrew Grice wants to change the topic, he uses that pragmatic marker to draw attention of his readers that a change in Mr Cameron´s speech is about to come.

(52) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art. 6, 272-280**

> Mr Cameron said: "You can't prove you're ready to be prime minister – and it would be arrogant to pretend you can." He admitted that experience was important in the global financial crisis but argued that "character and judgement" mattered more.
>
> Turning Mr Brown's argument on its head, Mr Cameron said "the risk" was in not making the change needed to rebuild the economy and repair Britain's "broken society". He delighted the Tory faithful by playing traditional tunes about responsibility, a smaller state and marriage. ***But***, at the same time he told delegates the causes of crime had to be tackled and prepared them for some tough economic medicine.

Functions of But	Patrick Wintour	Nick Watt	Andrew Grice	Michael Savage	Total
Addition	3	6	4	6	**19**
Contrast	8	5	4	8	**25**
Change of the subject	0	1	1	0	**2**
Critical disagreement	0	0	1	0	**1**
Emphasis	4	0	2	0	**6**
Total	**15**	**12**	**12**	**14**	**53**

Table 15: Functions of pragmatic marker *But*, depending on the journalist

SO

The pragmatic marker so and its functions have been already addressed in the previous chapter. As the expression appears only in seven utterances in indirect speech, I am going to outline their function, depending on the journalist, in Table 16.

Functions of So	Patrick Wintour	Michael Savage	Total
Preface to a conclusion	0	2	**2**
Meaning of result	1	2	**3**
Asking a question	0	2	**3**

Total	1	6	7

Table 16: Functions of pragmatic marker *So*, depending on the journalist

6.2.2   Written Pragmatic Markers

HOWEVER

To the pragmatic marker however the attention has been paid in connection with but. As Schiffrin states, the pragmatic marker **but** and **however** are interchangeable. Therefore, their functions in the corpus are similar. Though, as there are only three occurrences of the pragmatic marker **however** in indirect speech, there has been only one function detected – namely contrast.

<u>**CONTRAST**</u>

I suppose that **however** in (53) signifies an upcoming contrast between the information. Patrick Wintour might want to catch reader´s attention, while positioning the pragmatic marker into the front position.

(53) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. 7, 349-353**

> Brown made his dramatic act of reconciliation to the arch-Blairite as a Guardian/ICM poll showed that the Conservatives had secured a post-conference fillip, boosting their lead over Labour by three points to 12 points.
>
> ***However***, 55% of voters think the prime minister has handled the economic situation well, against only 39% who say he has performed badly.

ALTHOUGH

The last pragmatic marker analysed in this thesis is the pragmatic marker **although**. Its occurrence is more typical for written discourse. Concerning the entry from LDCE (2000), another meanings of although are **but** or **however**.

As there are only three journalists, who used the pragmatic marker although in their "journalist´s utterance", the variety of functions is limited. The most frequent function of the pragmatic marker although is to introduce a contrast.

<u>**TIME TO THINK**</u>

In my opinion, the pragmatic marker although is used by Andre Grice to express his doubts concerning the message he will deliver. As far as I am concerned, he gives his readers evidence that he needs time to think about what to write actually.

(54) **Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. 6, 237-245**

> Mr Lewis believes that Mr Brown has been too cautious. "If we as a government are going to be given permission to talk to people about the other issues that matter, we have got to reassure people – through actions not words – that we are on their side," he said. Insisting that Mr Brown could still lead Labour to an election victory, he said the party would lose unless it helped people through the economic storm and showed "a new idealism, purpose and passion". He said the fightback should be based on fairness, opportunity and community. ***Although***…. he opposed punitive tax rises out of "dogma or ideology", he called for tax changes to protect "the quality of life" of people on low and middle incomes during the economic squeeze.

Other functions of the pragmatic marker although are as following:

Patrick Wintour – contrast, addition

Nick Watt – change of the subject, contrast

Andrew Grice – contrast, time to think

6.3 Concluding Remarks

In the indirect speech, more than 22.000 expressions have been analysed. Though, only 82 pragmatic markers were detected. The examined pragmatic markers here are as following: typical spoken pragmatic markers *and, but* and *so*, and pragmatic markers *however* and *although*. Unfortunately, typical written pragmatic markers could not be analysed in this thesis as their occurrence and frequency was limited. Most of them occurred only once in the corpus – e.g. Patrick Wintour (meanwhile, at this point), Nick Watt (firstly, secondly), Andrew Grice (overall, significantly, shortly, privately), Michael Savage (in fact, in other words, in short, as a result, in principle).

From the quantitative point of view, the most common expression in indirect speech was the pragmatic marker *but*, followed by *and* (see Table 18). As in the direct speech, the most common function of the above mentioned pragmatic markers is addition of information, or introduction of a contrast.

Table 17 represents the results of the total number of expressions in indirect speech, the total number of expressions depending on each journalist. Last but not least, the frequency of pragmatic markers examined in indirect speech was counted depending on the lengths as well as total number of pragmatic markers concerning individual journalists. As the results of Table 14 show, the most frequent user of pragmatic markers in indirect speech is Andrew Grice (The Independent), who is followed by Michael Savage (The Independent). In conclusion, the journalists from The Independent are more frequent users of pragmatic markers in indirect speech.

NEWSPAPER	Expressions	Number of PM	Frequency
The Guardian			
Patrick Wintour	5.618	20	281
Nick Watt	6.510	17	383
The Independent			
Andrew Grice	4.071	20	204
Michael Savage	5.975	25	239
Total	**22.174**	**82**	

Table 17: Total number of expressions, total number of pragmatic markers and the frequency of pragmatic markers in direct speech, depending on each journalist

Pragmatic Markers	Patrick Wintour	Nick Watt	Andrew Grice	Michael Savage	Total
And	1	3	0	4	**8**
But	15	12	12	14	**53**
However	1	0	1	1	**3**
Although	2	2	7	0	**11**
So	1	0	0	6	**7**
Total	**20**	**17**	**20**	**25**	**82**

Table 18: Total number of pragmatic markers in indirect speech, depending on the journalist

7 Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to analyse pragmatic markers in newspaper articles. Forty articles were subjected to an analysis – 20 articles from The Guardian and 20 articles from The Independent. The research was applied in direct as well as indirect speech.

At the beginning of the thesis, a condition was set – the corpus should have included only articles, which were published on the front page of the above mentioned newspapers. During my research for the required data, it became evident that such condition will not be possible to fulfil. Nowadays, front pages of newspapers present pictures, graphs, "catchy" headlines to attract their readers´ attention. Therefore, to choose suitable data for the analysis was not an easy task.

Though, after selecting from more than 1.500 articles, I have decided to examine only 40 articles, where pragmatic markers occur. Furthermore, they share the following unifying features. Firstly, they were published in the British newspapers. Secondly, they were written by white male journalists – there are ten articles to be examined by each journalist. Thirdly, they were published between February and December 2008. Fourthly, they share a common topic – namely the UK politics. Last but not least, they were published either on the front page, or in the main section of the newspapers.

Before the analysis itself, I paid attention to the relevant terminology connected with discourse. Media discourse as well as newspaper discourse was introduced. Moreover, I focused on differences between spoken and written discourse, typical features of language of newspaper reporting were observed and described in detail. Next, the term "pragmatic marker" was examined from different linguistic views. Furthermore, I attempt to define the corpus of this thesis.

In Chapter 5 pragmatic markers typical for spoken discourse were analysed. For this analysis, six pragmatic markers were chosen – namely *and, because, but, or, so, well* and *you know*. In addition, there were two conditions I required them to fulfil. Firstly, the chosen pragmatic marker has to be treated as a

pragmatic marker not only by Schiffrin, but also by Aijmer and Brinton. Secondly, the pragmatic marker occurs at least two times in the corpus.

At first, a quantitative approach was applied while analysing spoken pragmatic markers. The total number of markers in direct speech was counted (see Table 3), as there appeared 205 pragmatic markers being analysed in spoken discourse. Furthermore, the highest number of pragmatic markers occurs in the articles by Nick Watt (The Guardian). In addition, he is the most frequent user of pragmatic markers in direct speech – every 40th word in the utterances of his interviewees is a pragmatic marker.

Secondly, pragmatic markers were observed from a qualitative point of view. Table 11 shows that the most common expression in direct speech, was the pragmatic marker *and*. The second most frequently used pragmatic marker became the marker *but*, followed by *or*. Primarily, their most common function in direct speech was to add information, change the subject of the discussion, or introduce contrast. The following pragmatic markers *because, so, well* and *you know*, occurred rarely.

Concerning the occurrence as well as frequency of the pragmatic markers *so, well* and *you know*, which frequently occur in spoken discourse, the analysis confirmed that language of interviewees in newspaper articles is different from the language they use in political debates or interviews on TV or radio. Utterances being included in newspaper articles are re-written by the journalists. As it is obvious in this thesis, typical spoken pragmatic markers like *so, well* and *you know* occurred only in a few utterances. Mostly, they were used and observed in utterances, where the topic was unknown or unpleasant for the interviewees to talk about. Moreover, they were used by the journalists on purpose to show hesitation or inability of interviewees to respond immediately to the given subject. Furthermore, it can be stated that journalist attempt to ridicule these interviewees in front of their readers in comparison with others.

While analysing pragmatic markers in direct speech, I have experienced several obstacles that made the analysis complicated. Firstly, the

journalists paid insufficient attention to punctuation. In addition, I pointed out in the thesis that, e.g. one statement can be noted differently by two different journalists. Secondly, the frequency of the pragmatic markers being detected in direct speech was not very high. As spoken discourse is re-written by journalists, they can modify not only facts according to their political beliefs, but also utterances of their interviewees.

This conclusion shows that occurrence of pragmatic markers depends on individual journalists. When they decide to omit them, readers have to power to influence the flow of a discourse. Regarding this fact, I did not examine pragmatic markers according to their position in the sentence. In my view, one can never be sure whether the word order is the word order used by interviewees or not. Last but not least, it is not easy to analyse a discourse, where some parts of spoken discourse are missing. Therefore, analysing functions of spoken pragmatic markers is not always clear and easy.

On the contrary, Chapter 6 focuses on the analysis of typical written discourse markers. As there were not many spoken discourse markers to be analysed in the thesis, the occurrence of typical written discourse is even more limited. Surprisingly, journalists do not use pragmatic markers to show their readers how the discourse develops. Mostly, they just state facts – the most important information is presented in the first paragraph, direct speech can be detected usually at the second half of the articles. This leads to a conclusion that articles are not always coherent as readers are not shown where the discourse is.

In indirect speech (journalist´s utterance), the following pragmatic markers were examined – typical spoken pragmatic markers *and, but* and *so*, and pragmatic markers *however* and *although*. Unfortunately, typical written pragmatic markers could not be analysed in this thesis as their occurrence and frequency was limited. Most of them occurred only once in the corpus – e.g. firstly, in short, as a result etc. In indirect speech, the most common expression was the pragmatic marker *but*, followed by *and* (see Table 18). As these pragmatic markers were analysed in direct speech, their functions in indirect speech are similar – they are used while journalists add information, or introduce

a contrast. Compared to direct speech, in indirect speech the most frequent user of pragmatic marker is Andrew Grice from The Independent (see Table 17). Though, the highest number of pragmatic markers occurred in the articles by Michael Savage.

Finally, occurrence of all analysed pragmatic markers, depending on individual journalists, was examined. Table 1 presents that the most frequent user of pragmatic markers, depending on their occurrence in direct as well as indirect speech, has been Andrew Grice from The Independent; the second comes Nick Watt from The Guardian. Patrick Wintour is the third most frequent user of pragmatic markers (The Guardian). However, Andrew Grice and his interviewees are considered to be the most frequent users of pragmatic markers in direct and indirect ("journalist´s utterance) speech, the highest number of pragmatic markers occurred in the articles by Nick Watt (The Guardian).

In conclusion, pragmatic markers could not be analysed in detail in this thesis, as discourse studies many different aspects of language. Moreover, such analysis would be out of scope of this thesis. From my point of view, the limited number of pragmatic markers detected in the corpus can be explained as following – firstly, the common topic is the UK politics. Secondly, the articles were published in serious British newspapers. Thirdly, the articles are an example of formal written discourse, which includes re-written spoken discourse. In my view, it would be exciting to analyse spoken discourse before it was re-written by the journalists. Comparison of former utterances of interviewees with what was then published in the articles would be an interesting research of other specific issues of pragmatic markers.

Resumé

Cílem diplomové práce bylo analyzovat pragmatické markery v novinových článcích. Analýze bylo podrobeno 40 článků – 20 článků z novin The Guardian a 20 článků z novin The Independent. Výzkum byl aplikován v přímé i nepřímé řeči.

Na samém začátku práce byla stanovena podmínka, kdy měl zkoumaný korpus obsahovat pouze články, které byly otisknuty na přední stránce výše uvedených novin. Při hledání požadovaných článků bylo ale jasné, že tato podmínka nebude moci být splněna. V současné době obsahují přední stránky novin fotky, grafy, „přitažlivé" nadpisy za účelem přitáhnout pozornost svých čtenářů. Z tohoto důvodu nebyl výběr požadovaných dat jednoduchým úkolem.

Za účelem vhodného výběru dat jsem prošla více 1500 článků. Nakonec bylo vybráno 40 článků, kde se pragmatické markery vyskytují. Podařilo se mi shromáždit články, které nesou následující společné rysy – byly publikovány v britských novinách na titulní straně či v hlavní části v časovém rozmezí od února do prosince 2008, jejich společným tématem je politika ve Spojeném království. V neposlední řadě jsou napsány žurnalisty mužského pohlaví bílé pleti – od každého žurnalisty je v práci analyzováno 10 článků.

Před samotnou analýzou jsem se zaměřila na vysvětlení relevantní terminologie, která je spojena s diskursem. Nejprve byl představen mediální diskurs, tak jako diskurs novinový. Dále byla pozornost věnována rozdílům mezi mluveným a psaným diskursem, dále pak typickým znakům jazyka novinových reportáží. Posléze byl představen korpus této práce.

V kapitole 5 byly analyzovány pragmatické markery typické pro mluvený diskurs. Pro tuto analýzu bylo vybráno 6 pragmatických markerů – konkrétně *and, because, but, or, so, well* a *you know*. Důležitým faktorem pro výběr markerů byla jejich frekvence v rámci korpusu – analyzovány byly všechny markery, které se alespoň dvakrát objevily v přímé řeči. Druhá podmínka se týkala jejich uznání mezi lingvisty – pokud byl marker považován za „pragmatický marker" nejen u Schiffrin, ale také u Brinton a Aijmer, byl analyzován.

Nejprve byly analyzovány pragmatické markery v mluveném diskursu z kvantitativního hlediska. Celkový počet pragmatických markerů byl spočítán (viz. Tabulka 3), kdy bylo v mluveném diskursu analyzováno 205 pragmatických markerů. Největší počet markerů se objevil v článcích Nicka Watta (The Guardian). S tím souvisí i fakt, že byl také vyhodnocen jako nejfrekventovanější uživatel pragmatických markerů v přímé řeči – každé 40cáté slovo v promluvách dotazovaných osob je pragmatický marker.

Posléze byly pragmatické markery posuzovány z kvalitativního hlediska. Tabulka 11 prezentuje následující výsledky – nejčastějším výrazem v přímé řeči byl pragmatický marker *and*, druhým nejfrekventovanějším pragmatickým markerem se stal *but*, následován *or*. Jejich hlavní funkcí v přímé řeči bylo: přidat informaci či změnit předmět diskuze nebo představit kontrast. Následující pragmatické markery *because, so, well* a *you know* se objevily pouze zřídka.

Co se týče výskytu a frekvence pragmatických markerů *so, well* a *you know,* které se často objevují v mluveném diskursu, analýza potvrdila, že jazyk dotazovaných v novinových článcích se liší od jejich jazyka v politických debatách či rozhovorech v televizi či v rádiu. Výroky použité v této práci jsou jazykem zaznamenaným právě žurnalisty. Jak je z této práce zřejmé, objevily se tyto typické pragmatické markery *so, well* a *you know* v mluveném diskursu jen v několika výrocích. Většinou byly pozorovány ve výrocích, kde bylo téma pro dotazované neznámé nebo nepříjemné, tak aby o něm hovořili. Navíc byly tyto výrazy použity žurnalisty záměrně, aby ukázali ostych či neschopnost dotazovaného reagovat ihned na daný podmět. Z tohoto může být odvozeno, že se žurnalisté pokusili zesměšnit tyto dotazované před čtenáři v porovnání s ostatními.

Při analýze pragmatických markerů v mluveném diskursu jsem narazila na několik překážek, které samotnou analýzu zkomplikovaly. Pro rozbor v této práci bylo těžké spolehnout se na interpunkci, jelikož jí žurnalisté obecně nevěnují

dostatečnou pozornost. Jak již bylo uvedeno, stejný výrok může být dvěma žurnalisty zaznamenán úplně jinak. Jelikož mluvený diskurs je v tomto případě diskurs zaznamenaný žurnalisty, ti mohou nejen upravovat fakta dle svého politického přesvědčení, ale také výroky dotazovaných.

Tento závěr ukazuje, že výskyt i frekvence pragmatických markerů záleží individuálně na žurnalistech. Když se žurnalisté rozhodnout pragmatické markery vynechat, čtenáři nemají žádnou možnost ovlivnit tok diskursu. Z tohoto důvodu nebyly analyzovány pragmatické markery v návaznosti na jejich umístění v rámci promluvy, jelikož nebylo možné ověřit, zda pořadí odpovídá skutečnosti, nebo zdali nebylo účelově zvoleno žurnalistou. Dalším problémem byl fakt, že promluvy mluvčích jsou zaznamenány jen z části. Nebylo tedy vždy jasné, jakou funkci pragmatický marker plní.

Kapitola 6 se zaměřuje na typické pragmatické markery v nepřímé řeči, jejich výskyt je ještě nižší než v případě přímé řeči. Překvapivě, žurnalisté nemají potřebu používat pragmatické markery, aby naznačili svým čtenářům, kde se právě diskurs nachází. Ti pouze konstatují fakta – všechny důležité informace jsou shrnuty v prvním odstavci, přímou řeč je možné nalézt až v druhé polovině článků. Následně tak může dojít k tomu, že články jsou pro čtenáře nelogické.

V nepřímé řeči (promluva žurnalisty) byly zkoumány následující pragmatické markery – typické pragmatické markery mluveného diskursu *and, but* a *so*, dále pak pragmatické markery *however* a *although*. Typické pragmatické markery pro nepřímou řeč nemohly být bohužel v práci zkoumány, jelikož jejich výskyt a frekvence byly opravdu nízké. Většina z nich se objevila v korpusu pouze jednou jako např. firstly, in short, as a result atd. Nejčastějším výrazem v nepřímé řeči byl pragmatický marker *but*, následován *and* (viz Tabulka 18). Tyto pragmatické markery byly analyzovány v přímé řeči, jejich funkce v nepřímé řeči jsou podobné – jsou použity, když chtějí žurnalisté doplnit informaci či představit kontrast.

Nakonec byl zkoumán výskyt všech analyzovaných pragmatických markerů v návaznosti na individuální žurnalisty. Tabulka 1 představuje následující výsledky – nejvíce frekventovaným uživatelem pragmatických markerů v přímé i nepřímé řeči je Andrew Grice (The Independent), následuje Nick Watt z The Guardian, Patrick Wintour se umístil na třetím místě (The Guardian). Ačkoliv jsou Andrew Grice a jeho dotazovaní vyhodnoceni jako nejfrekventovanější uživatelé pragmatických markerů v přímé i nepřímé řeči („promluva žurnalisty"), nejvyšší počet pragmatických markerů bylo analyzováno v článcích Nicka Watta (The Guardian).

Jelikož diskurs analyzuje nejrůznější aspekty jazyka, nebylo možné analyzovat všechny pragmatické markery detailně – taková analýza by byla mimo rozsah této práce. Dle mého názoru je možné tvrdit, že nízká frekvence pragmatických markerů v korpusu může být vysvětlena takto. Nejprve, všechny články sdílí společné a zároveň limitující téma – politika Spojeného království. Zadruhé, články byly publikovány v seriózních britských novinách. V neposlední řadě jsou tyto články ukázkou psaného diskursu obsahující přepsaný mluvený diskurs. Domnívám se, že by bylo zajímavé analyzovat tento mluvený diskurs ještě před tím, než je přepsán samotnými žurnalisty. Srovnání původních promluv dotazovaných s tím, co bylo posléze publikováno v článcích, by byl jistě zajímavý výzkum dalších specifických témat týkající se pragmatických markerů.

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Appendix

In the thesis, 40 articles have been examined. In Appendix I, 20 articles from The Guardian are presented. Appendix II includes 20 articles from The Independent. The full text of all articles is presented here as they were published in the above mentioned newspapers.

All articles share the following unifying features. Firstly, they were published in the main section of the British newspapers. Secondly, they were written by male journalists. Thirdly, they were published between February and December 2008. Last but not least, their unifying topic is UK politics.

The articles are as followed:

Appendix I (Article 1 – Article 20)

Appendix II (Article 1 – Article 20)