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Stance in the corpus of English life sciences texts: A vindication of text-reading

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ABSTRACT

Stance in academic writing has been discussed extensively within the fields of discourse analysis and pragmatics (Alonso-Almeida, 2015; Hyland, 2005; White, 2003). Thus, Hyland and Jiang (2016) identify certain linguistic elements that are said to be indexical of stance: hedges, boosters, attitude markers, and self-mentions. While that model aims at a macroscopic analysis, the present study is a microscopic one, and compares two scientific texts written by a male and a female author to detect possible differences in the way that these authors present themselves or give their opinions in their writings. To this end, we have sought to apply Hyland and Jiang's (2016) three-aspects model but using Cesiri's inventory (2012) as a starting point. We have applied this adapted model to two samples from the Corpus of English Life Sciences Texts (CELiST), one of the subcorpus of the Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing. Both texts belong to the same genre, are dated at an almost identical time, and deal with similar subjects. The only difference is that one was written by a woman, Emily Gregory, and the other by a man, Alpheus Packard. Although these texts are part of an electronic corpus, on this occasion we will minimise the automatic analytical techniques of corpus linguistics as far as possible. Rather, we will conduct a microscopic-level study by means of close reading, although some quantification of data

will precede the qualitative analysis where this is useful. It is hoped that the qualitative focus presented in the analysis might open up new paths in the study of stance.

Keywords: *Stance; Coruña Corpus; sex of authors; late Modern English; scientific/academic writing.*

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to underline the value of qualitative analyses over a wholly quantitative approach. It highlights the importance of reading texts in detail and manually disambiguating items, closely considering their semantic and pragmatic context before classifying them as pertaining to one category of analysis or another.

The presence of stance in scientific writing has been addressed by many authors over recent decades (Ağçam, 2015; Alonso-Almeida, 2017; Álvarez-Gil, 2022; Feng, 2020; Halliday, 2004; Hyland, 1998a; Hyland, 1998b; Mele Marrero, 2011; Moskowich & Crespo, 2014; Yang, 2019), but in the current paper we aim to illustrate that a detailed account of the linguistic realisations of stance affords us the opportunity to achieve a fine-grained yet broad perspective on what is happening within a text, and also provides a different way of looking at an author's more or less personal treatment of the content.

The current trend in linguistic circles is increasingly to trust automatic analyses and statistical testing, this perhaps influenced by the methodologies of the social sciences. While this is appropriate when large amounts of texts are involved and a form of text-mining is the objective, we believe that such an approach runs the risk of overlooking details. In terms of pragmatic functions these details can yield vital clues as to what a text hides, and hence can lead us towards a faithful and more enriched interpretation of that text. In other words, we are faced with what Rissanen called the philologist's dilemma (1989), in which he claimed that we need to actually read the texts instead of merely trusting software.

With the aim of demonstrating the validity of such close analyses, we have organised the paper in a way which moves from more general concepts, in the introduction and the literature review on stance in Section 2, to a description of our material and methodology in Section 3. Section 4 then offers a thorough examination of our dataset, paying special attention to the varied shades of meaning revealed by the contexts of the examples. Finally, the conclusions in Section 5 will serve as a

vindication of the need to embrace manual text analysis once again, at least for the kind of studies that inevitably involve interpretation.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The way in which writers and speakers express their opinions has been referred to using a variety of terms (Hyland & Jiang, 2016, p. 252): posture (Grabe, 1984), attitude (Halliday, 2004), appraisal (Martin, 2000), evaluation (Hunston & Thompson, 2000) and metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005). The term we will use here is stance. In fact, some bibliometric analyses on research trends in corpus linguistics cite *stance* as one of the most popular topics in the first two decades of the twenty-first century (Crosthwaite, Lingrum & Schweinberger, 2022). From a linguistic point of view, this phenomenon is realised in many different ways by what Labov (1984) called *intensity*, although others referred to it as involving *disjuncts* (Quirk et al., 1985), *hedges* (Hyland, 1998a) or *modality* (Palmer, 1986). All such devices are used to manifest judgments, feelings, or viewpoint, thus revealing authorial presence. Following Petch-Tyson (1998), *writer-reader visibility* is the term used by Ädel (2022) to refer to certain forms that could form part of stance, for instance.

There have been several proposals to create a model for the analysis of stance in which both evidentiality (Chafe, 1986; Chafe & Nichols, 1986) and affect (Besnier, 1990; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989) intervene. The former can be defined as "the status of the knowledge contained in propositions, and it concerns its reliability, implying its source, how it was acquired, and the credibility we can invest in it" (Hyland & Jiang, 2016, p. 252); meanwhile, the latter includes "feelings, moods, dispositions, and attitudes associated with persons and/or situations" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1989, p. 7). Models thus proposed include Biber and Finegan (1989), Martin (2000), and Hunston and Thompson (2000).

More recently, and in order to complement Hyland's metadiscourse model first introduced in 2005, Hyland and Jiang (2016, p. 256) include a third element along with

evidentiality and affect, one which they call presence, defining it as "the extent to which the writer chooses to intrude into a text through the use of first-person pronouns and possessive determiners". Among other things, this model assumes that a writer's stance is somehow determined by the imagined reader. That is, each of us, as writers, shape our language differently with different intended readerships in mind.

Certain registers have traditionally been seen as more likely to contain linguistic elements revealing the author's attitude to the text, but scientific writing is not one of them. This was especially the case in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when there was a clear tendency towards objectivity on the part of science writers; indeed, all manner of reports and related writing became detached and object-centred (Atkinson, 1999) exhibiting a move "from a discourse based around the experiencing gentleman-scientist to community-generated research problems" (Hyland & Jiang, 2016, p. 270). However, there is now general consensus (Ädel, 2022) that in academic writing stance is manifested by means of a range of different linguistic elements, such as boosters, hedges, attitude markers, self-references, concession markers, certain evaluative adjectives, etc.

The following section will present our current approach to the study of stance, and will also describe the texts used to carry out this preliminary microscopic analysis.

III. MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGY

Two ca. 10,000-word samples from CELiST have been selected for this microscopic analysis. CELiST is one of the subcorpora of the Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing, and thus it complies with all the general compilation principles of that corpus, including the criterion that all texts have been written directly in English. On these lines, then, we consider that any instances of the linguistic elements under examination here can be said to be genuinely part of an author's English style, free of any kind of linguistic interference. As noted in the abstract, these two texts from the Life Sciences corpus were published at around the same time, at the end of the

nineteenth century, and belong to the same genre, textbook. The only major difference, then, lies in the sex of the authors. One of the sample texts, by a female author, is extracted from Emily Lovira Gregory's *Elements of Plant Anatomy* (1895). The other, by the male writer Alpheus Spring Packard, is taken from his *A Text-book of Entomology including the Anatomy, Physiology, Embryology and Metamorphoses of Insects. For Use in agricultural and technical Schools and Colleges as well as by the working Entomologist* (1898).

From a methodological point of view, we have tried to adopt Hyland's metadiscourse model (2005), this completed by Hyland and Jiang's (2016) model that encompasses the ideas of evidentiality, affect and presence, as mentioned in the previous section. Different linguistic entities can realise each of these ideas. Evidentiality is manifested through hedges and boosters. Affect is expressed through various attitude markers (very often in the form of adverbs). Finally, presence is typically represented by first-person pronouns and possessive forms. These elements, taken together, can be understood as indicating the three branches of stance in this model (see Figure 1 below).

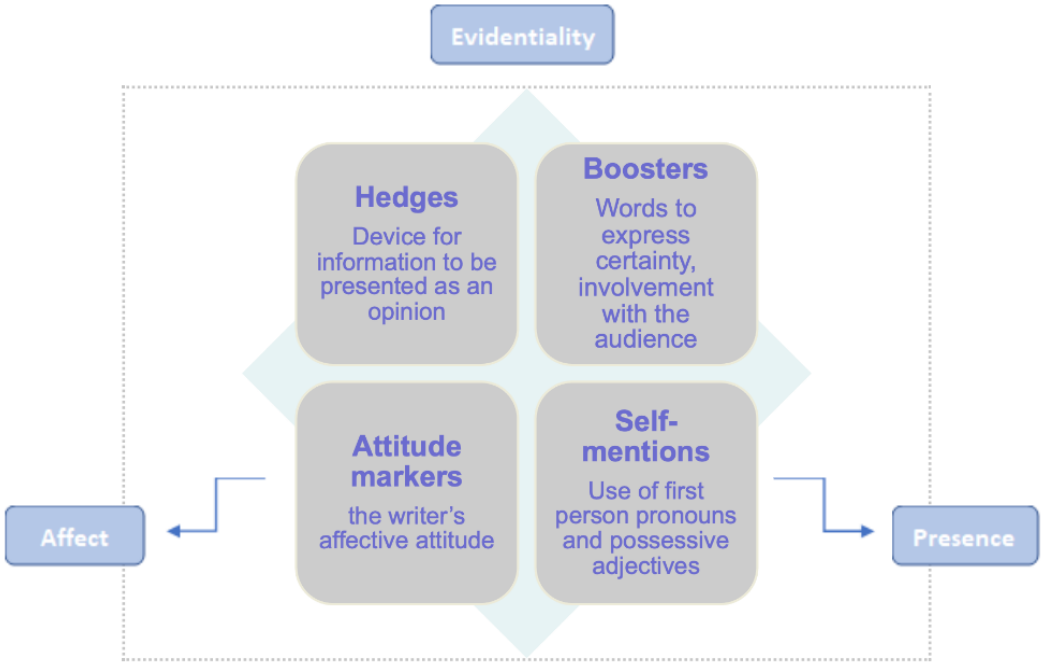

Figure 1. *Three-aspects model*

However, it is not straightforward to establish a precise list of items that are seen as unequivocally representing each of the three branches of the model. As Alonso-Almeida (2015, p. 1) notes,

> Stance is, indeed, a complex concept that includes a large variety of linguistic devices indicating the author's point of view with respect to a given proposition. To my knowledge, there is not, however, a single inventory of stance features and collocation rules, most likely because lexical and morphological features entailing stance are pragmatically defined.

Thus, for the purpose of this analysis we have resorted to Cesiri's inventory (2012), which in turn draws on Hyland's 1998b work on hedges and boosters. So, we will be using Cesiri's list as a starting point, although close reading will allow us to reclassify certain linguistic elements when looking at them in their respective contexts.

First of all, in order to achieve a general overview of the type of linguistic items present in the texts, we have generated a separate word list for each sample using the Coruña Corpus Tool, the information retrieval application that accompanies the corpus. After this initial automatic process, material that is irrelevant for our aims, such as numbers, proper nouns and grammatical words, has been discarded from the two lists. The following steps involve checking each type in both lists with the KWIC utility, and then a close reading, which will allow us to accept or reject each individual token in each type. Such manual disambiguation was needed for those forms which might have different meanings and functions, ones which do not coincide with those attributed to hedges, boosters and attitude markers. In our inspection of individual tokens, we detected cases such as the ones illustrated in examples (1) to (4) below. They are similar instances of cases in which manual disambiguation was necessary, in that automatic processing would have been unable to detect that *May* in (1) is not a modal verb but a month, that *around* in (2) expresses position/location rather that approximation, and that *certain* in (3) is an indefinite demonstrative and not an adjective expressing certainty. Finally, in (4) an automatic listing would not have distinguished the meaning of *find* as 'encounter' rather than 'think', which conveys an opinion.

(1) Footnote: [1][note] American Naturalist, ***May***, 1880, [pp]. 375, 376. [endnote] (Packard, 1898, p, 19).

(2) These latter occur at somewhat regular intervals ***around*** the whole circumference (Gregory, 1895, p. 94).

(3) If we go back to the simpler forms of plants to find the first traces of root-like organs, we may perhaps begin with the haustoria which grow on the mycelium of ***certain*** fungi (Gregory, 1895, p. 116).

(4) The reparative nature of chitin is seen in the fact that Verhoeff ***finds*** that a wound on an adult Carabus, and presumably on other insects, is speedily closed, not merely by a clot of blood, but by a new growth of chitin. (Packard, 1898, p. 30).

Example (5) below illustrates a slightly different case, one which can help explain the need to use word lists in the first place. Both the samples encoded in XML format and the CCTool search engine have been prepared to discriminate between the words written by the authors of the samples from words which were not produced by them and which thus represent someone else's linguistic habits. In (5), the words which are not the author's own are shown in red, as they are displayed in the software itself. This helps researchers keep track of the context, although, in order to avoid false retrievals, such words are neither indexed by the CCTool nor included in the word lists.

(5) [2][note] [quotation] "Scolopendrella has very remarkable antennæ; they may be compared each to a series of glass cups strung upon a delicate hyaline and extensible rod of uniform thickness throughout: so that, like the body of the creature, they shrink enormously when the animal is irritated or thrown into alcohol, and they then possess scarcely two-thirds the length they have in the fully extended condition, their cup-like joints being drawn close together, one within the other. Peripatus, Japyx, many (if not all) Homoptera, and the [S]. Asiatic relatives of our common Glomeris have all ***more or less*** extensible

antennæ." (Wood-Mason, [Trans]. [Ent]. [Soc]., London, 1879, [p]. 155.) [endnote] (p. 22)

This is why the hedge *more or less* in example (5) does not occur in the word list. This special feature of encoding ensures that we only consider the author's own words, and has been devised in this way for the sake of rigorous linguistic analyses.

In what follows we will provide a detailed account of the forms in context.

IV. ANALYSIS

As already noted in the methodology, we looked for a closed inventory of linguistic forms that express stance. Unfortunately, no such comprehensive list including all the different categories currently exists (Alonso-Almeida, 2015), so we focused our attention on Cesiri's 2012 study of hedges and boosters, in which she applied the metadiscourse model, claiming that she had built those lists on the basis of Hyland's work (1998b, p. 375). As we have noted earlier, we decided to adopt these lists of hedges and boosters as a point of departure for our research. These lists, including 186 items, are reproduced below:

Table 1. *Cesiri's 2012 inventory of hedges and boosters.*

Hedges	about, almost, apparent, apparently, appear*, approximately, argue*, around, assume*, assumption, basically, can, certain+extent, conceivably, conclude*, conjecture*, consistent+with, contention, could, could not, of+course, deduce*, discern*, doubt, doubt*, doubtless, essentially, establish*, estimate*, expect*, the+fact+that, find, found, formally, frequently, general, generally, given+that, guess*, however, hypothesize*, hypothetically, ideally, implication*, imply, improbable, indeed, indicate*, inevitable, infer*, interpret, we+know, it+is+known, largely, least, likely, mainly, manifest*, may, maybe, might, more+or+less, most, not+necessarily, never, no+doubt, beyond+doubt, normally, occasionally, often, ostensibly, partially, partly, patently, perceive*, perhaps, plausible, possibility, possible, possibly, postulate*, precisely, predict*, prediction, predominately, presumably, presume*, probability, probable, probably, propose*, prove*, provided+that, open+to+question, questionable, quite, rare, rarely, rather, relatively, reportedly, reputedly, seem*, seems, seemingly, can+be+seen, seldom, general+sense, should, show, sometimes, somewhat, speculate*, suggest*, superficially, suppose*, surmise, suspect*, technically, tend*, tendency, theoretically, I+think, we+think, typically, uncertain, unclear, unlikely, unsure, usually, virtually, will, will+not,

	won't, would, would+not
Boosters	actually, admittedly, always, assuredly, certainly, certainty, claim*, certain+that, is+clear, are+clear, to+be+clear, clearly, confirm*, convincingly, believe*, my+belief, our+belief, I+believe, we+believe, conclusive, decidedly, definitely, demonstrate*, determine*, is+essential, evidence, evident, evidently, impossible, incontrovertible, inconceivable, manifestly, must, necessarily, obvious, obviously, sure, surely, true, unambiguously, unarguably, undeniably, undoubtedly, unequivocal, unmistakably, unquestionably, well-known, wrong, wrongly.

We searched for all these items in our texts and found that not all of them occurred in our samples. Thus, of all the 137 hedges listed by Cesiri, Gregory uses 46, and of the 49 boosters, she uses only 17. Similarly, Packard's text contains 60 of Cesiri's 137 hedges and 23 of the 49 boosters. On a detailed examination of all these terms in context during the close reading phase of this survey, we noticed that some of the items in the lists could also be allocated to different categories of stance markers. Thus, Table 2 below summarises the cases which we have reclassified according to the meaning of the particular form in context:

Table 2. *Reclassification of hedges and boosters according to context.*

	Cesiri (2012)	**We-authors**	**Examples**
doubt	Hedge	Booster	*With Little doubt* *Without doubt*
Fact *the fact that*	Hedge	attitude marker	*In point of fact*
indeed	Hedge	attitude marker	
tentative	---	Hedge	
fundamental	---	attitude marker	
well (well-known)			*Well-formed*
To be clear			*To make sth clear*
Show	Hedge	attitude marker "demonstrate"	

Several instances of this reclassification process can be seen in examples (6) to (13). This process is not unidirectional. Depending on their contextual meaning, some of the elements that Cesiri classified as hedges were moved to the group of boosters and some others to the group of attitude markers in the present study. For instance, a close reading of examples (6) and (7) reveals that *doubt* in *without doubt* and *with little doubt* does not function as a hedge; on the contrary, both these expressions refer to the writer's intention to reinforce the meaning of the message conveyed:

> (6) the sexual opening has ***without doubt*** become secondarily unpaired (Packard, 1898, p. 24).
>
> (7) It is ***with little doubt*** that to their power of flight, and thus of escaping the attacks of their creeping arthropod enemies, insects owe, so to speak, their success in life (Packard, 1898, p. 2).

Following this manual method, and after close reading, we have added forms that in some cases were not included in Cesiri's original list, but that we noticed were playing similar roles. Such is the case with (8) and (9) below, where we found structures akin to the ones proposed by Cesiri, that is, with the same meanings and pragmatic functions:

> (8) The brain is ***well developed***, sending a pair of slender nerves to the small eyes (Packard, 1898, p. 23).
>
> (9) ***To make this clear***, certain morphological relations must here be explained. It is usual to consider the methods of leaf arrangement as reducible to two, opposite and alternate; the first, where two leaves appear to start from the same height on the stem and opposite each other; the second, where the leaves all start from different heights on the stem, always with some regular order of arrangement as regards their distance from each other measured on the circumference of the stem. (Gregory, 1895, p. 96).

As can be gathered from Table 2 above, this reclassification process not only affects boosters and hedges but also the third realisation of stance under consideration in this paper, that is, attitude markers. Examples (10) to (13) illustrate this point:

> (10) ***Indeed***, certain annelid worms of the family Syllidæ have segmented tentacles and parapodia, as Dujardinia ([Fig]. 19) (Packard, 1898, p. 34).

While Cesiri includes *indeed* within the set of hedges, examples such as (10) and (11) seem to be expressing certainty about what the author is stating, and thus it should be included in the set of attitude markers.

> (11) ***In point of fact***, the leaf originates in the stem and its base is in the stem when the bundle arises, but it is customary to describe the course of the bundles in this way (Gregory, 1895, p. 91).

On other occasions we had to decide on particular senses of the same word. Once again, it was the context that had to be taken into account before ascribing particular tokens of a specific type to one or another stance category. Thus, in the case of the verb *show*, the token in example (12) does not express stance, although it is generally considered to do so by Cesiri. Its meaning here is a denotative one equivalent to "exhibit". Conversely, example (13) illustrates the same verb referring to the writer's attitude. This time the meaning denotes "demonstrate" to indicate a conscious and deliberate action on the author's part.

> (12) A striking difference in structure ***is shown*** in those leaves which for some reason, such as twisting of the petiole, infolding of the blade or other departure from the ordinary position, develop the palisade tissue on what is morphologically the underside, and the spongy tissue above, thus exactly reversing the normal order of arrangement. (Gregory, 1898, p. 94) "can be seen".

> (13) To ***show*** this, two examples are usually taken, Blasia pusilla and Fossombronia. The former consists of a ribbon- or band-shaped thallus, bearing

> on its under side two rows of toothed scales, the so-called amphigastria. (Gregory, 1898, p. 85).

The preliminary, basic quantification of data announced at the beginning of the paper reveals that in the ca. 20,000 words we have found 599 tokens of 144 types expressing stance, as Table 3 below shows.

Table 3. *Linguistic realisations of stance in the samples.*

	Gregory (F)		**Packard (M)**			
	Types	**Tokens**	**Types**	**Tokens**	**Total tokens**	**Total types**
Hedges	35	179	61	232	411	96
Boosters	13	40	14	26	66	27
Attitude markers	7	20	8	33	53	15
Self-mentions	1	23	5	46	69	6
Total	56	262	88	337	599	144

As already noted, stance has not been considered as a prototypical characteristic of academic and scientific writing until quite recently (Hyland, 1999; Hyland & Jiang, 2016). Additionally, women have traditionally been regarded as more emotional than men and, hence, more prone to the overt manifestation of feelings and opinions (Flynn, 1988; Lakoff, 1990; Palander-Colin, 2006; Rubin & Green, 1992). Curiously enough, in our current study, the female representative makes use of fewer types (56) and fewer tokens (262) of stance-related elements; the male writer resorts slightly more frequently to both of these: 87 types and 335 tokens.

As for the categories of linguistic realisations that are more frequently used, we must first recognise that three of these belong to open categories of words (hedges, boosters and attitude markers) whereas just one pertains to a closed-class (self-

reference). Additionally, some phrases can also take on the function of open categories. Speakers can freely create open-class items and add new senses to the original meanings of existing forms, as long as the context admits such uses and they are understood within the conversation between writer and reader. Closed classes do not admit such freedom. Self-mentions are simply illustrated by pronominal forms, although the noun author/writer was also found (Moskowich, 2020; Moskowich & Crespo, forthcoming).

An overall view of the data (see Table 4 below) reveals that hedges predominate when expressing stance, with 411 tokens. The second most frequent realisation of stance is in the form of boosters, with 66 tokens, followed by the 53 tokens of attitude markers. In terms of self-reference, we found 69 tokens, which, presumably, indicates a frequency of use higher than in the other categories. When addressing the analysis of each sample in detail, we must again bear in mind that the only variable at stake here is that of the sex of the author, with both texts being representative of the same discipline, time, and genre.

The sample from the text by Packard seems to involve a certain signposting in the distribution of the elements analysed. Hedges represent the most prominent category, followed, in descending order, by boosters, attitude markers, and self-mentions. In general, this text contains a high number of uses of linguistic elements manifesting presence.

Curiously enough, hedges occur frequently in these samples from the genre textbook, notwithstanding that in principle this is defined as "A book used as a standard work for the study of a particular subject; now usually one written specially for this purpose; a manual of instruction in any science or branch of study, esp. a work recognized as an authority" (OED). Hedges do not fit well into these defining features, in that authors of this kind of instructional manuals are not supposed to be tentative in the same way as they might be when addressing their peers in the epistemic community. The reason underlining the prominence of hedging in both examples here might then be the originally oral nature of the extracts, since, as the authors themselves reveal in their

prefaces: "This book contains the substance of the lectures given to the classes in the last half of the second year's course in botany, at Barnard College." (Gregory, 1895, p. iii) and "In preparing this book the author had in mind the wants both of the student and the teacher. For the student's use the more difficult portions, particularly that on the embryology, may be omitted. The work has grown in part out of the writer's experience in class work." (Packard, 1898, p. v). In both cases, therefore, the source of these texts is spoken interaction with students. The same general tendency in the use of stance markers can be observed in the extract from Gregory's textbook, illustrated in Figure 2 below:

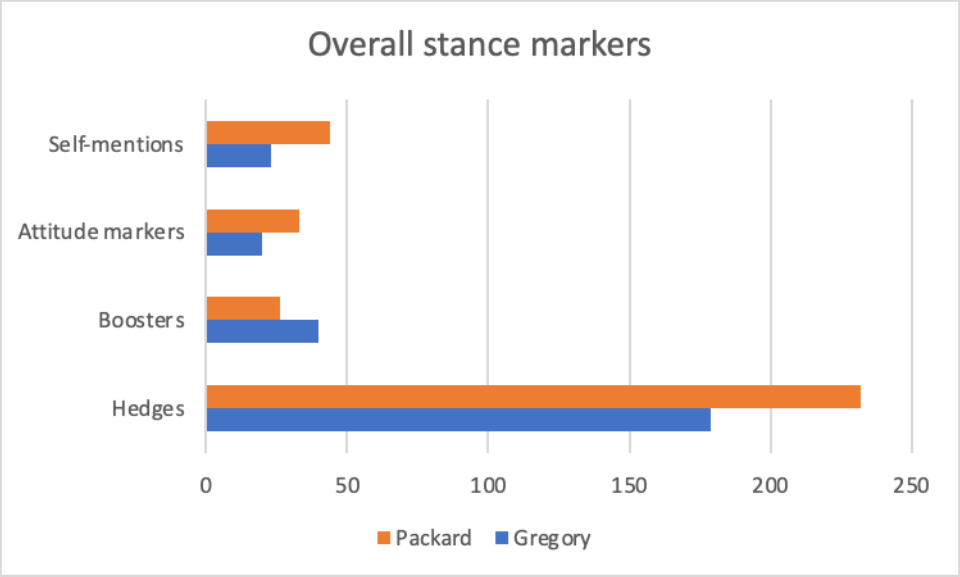

Figure 2. *Distribution of stance markers per sex.*

One deviation from this tendency is the number of occurrences of boosters in Gregory's sample, which surpasses the number of tokens used by the male author (40 vs 26). Gregory's slightly more abundant use of boosters may be accounted for either by the need that nineteenth-century female authors felt to reassure themselves as scientists in an androcentric world, or to the need to transmit knowledge and confidence to their readership in the face of prevailing perceptions that scientific knowledge comes predominantly from men. Indeed, Emily Gregory vindicates her position in the world of academia when she claims that

> The method followed in this course differs somewhat from that generally adopted in either home or foreign colleges. The study of botany, as a science, is comparatively new in this country, and therefore we have the advantage of the experience of Europe, where the science of botany has long held a place equal in rank with that of its related subjects. (Gregory, 1895, p. iii)

Having examined the types of devices used to express evidentiality, we will now focus on attitude markers as expressions of affect and how the authors here use them. In this case, we see that it is the male author who resorts more often to expressions in which his opinions can be identified more or less openly. Although he uses only eight types, as opposed to the seven used by Gregory, his use of these is more frequent in terms of tokens (33 occurrences in Packard vs 20 in Gregory). It is not easy to interpret this based on a single text, but given that this is a microscopic analysis, we might speculate that we are in fact simply looking at the authors' personal styles. In that case, perhaps the text by Packard underwent a more superficial process of revision from the spoken to the written registers. Examples (14) to (16) below illustrate this use, as represented by *perhaps, quite as much, indeed* and *without doubt:*

> (14) In their structure insects are ***perhaps*** more complicated than any other animals (Packard, 1898, p. 2)

> (15) Their bodies are ***quite as much*** complicated or specialized, and ***indeed***, when we consider the winged forms, more so, than any other class of the branch, and besides this they have wings, fitting them for an aërial life. (Packard, 1898, p. 3).

> (16) The uterus masculinus is in its structure homologous with the evaginable penis of Pauropus, Polyxenus, and some diplopods, and the sexual opening has ***without doubt*** become secondarily unpaired. (Packard, 1898, p. 24).

Finally, authorial presence is expressed through the use of first-person pronouns and possessive forms. We have observed that Packard not only uses more types here than Gregory (*we, us, our, me, my*) but also uses them more frequently (in Gregory's text we only recorded the type *we*). It should come as no surprise that our male author is not

shy about making his own presence clear in the text to his readership, while Emily Gregory modestly uses only the first-person plural pronoun, the inclusive *we*, to make her voice heard and to embrace the epistemic community.

> (17) ***Our*** commonest species is [S]. immaculata Newport, which occurs from Massachusetts to Cordova, Mexico, and in Europe from England to the Mediterranean and Russia; [Mr]. [O]. [F]. Cook tells ***me*** he has found a species in Liberia, West Africa. (Packard, 1898, p. 26).

> (18) ***We*** have now reached that stage of plant development which includes all the organs of the highest form, namely stem, root, and leaf. The anatomy of the remaining forms is therefore limited to a comparative study of these three organs. (Gregory, 1895, p. 90).

The type/token ratios (TTR) of each feature per author are set out in Table 4:

Table 4. *Types/tokens of stance features.*

	Gregory			Packard		
	Types	**Tokens**	**TTR**	**Types**	**Tokens**	**TTR**
Hedges	35	179	0.19	61	232	0.26
Boosters	13	40	0.32	14	26	0.53
Attitude markers	7	20	0.35	8	33	0.24
Self-mentions	1	23	0.43	5	46	0.10
Total	56	262	0.21	88	337	0.26

The overall data for both samples suggest that Packard's text (0.26 TTR) is lexically more varied than that of Gregory (0.21 TTR) in terms of the stance features under survey here. Considering each linguistic element individually, the figures indicate that it is only in the use of attitude markers that the female author surpasses that of the male (0.35 vs 0.24). From the point of view of each feature, lexical richness seems to stand out in the case of boosters for Packard (0.53), whereas attitude markers are the prevailing feature for Gregory (0.35 TTR). These data lead us to conclude that, at least

in these two samples, male and female writers do not seem to coincide in the relevance they give to the same stance markers. Thus, the sample that represents women's writing appears to rely more on expressing her perspective or opinion towards the content and making the reader aware of this (*doubtful, however, prove*); such tentative evaluative characteristics are not present in the use of boosters in the sample by the male author. Boosters for the male writer show confidence, self-assurance, and help to convince the reader of the truth of the proposition and the expertise of the author in the topic (*always, certain, believe, demonstrate, definitively, obvious, undoubtedly*). Both authors are engaged in an endeavour to disseminate science in society at a time when this formed an important part of social progress and when specialisation in the sciences was emerging. However, the two sexes did not enjoy the same level of social respect and recognition in this, with men far more prominent.

The study of stance can lead the linguist into troublesome situations, since, as we have already suggested, linguistic items can be interpreted in various ways depending on contextual elements and all the extra-linguistic factors that are involved in text production (genre, period, discipline development, target audience, etc.). Once more, all this indicates the appropriateness of an individual, fine-grained analysis of a text as a means of discerning the true role of the different linguistic components therein.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In this study, we have applied Hyland and Jiang's model (2016), but with an emphasis on qualitative and microscopic analysis rather than simply applying a quantitative approach. To this end, we have examined just two samples, since this was intended to be a preliminary study. Indeed, through our direct contact with the texts we have been able to reveal nuances of meaning that might well have been lost in a wholly quantitative analysis. Although we have considered samples of scientific English, the data reveal the authors' presence at a time when an object-centred discourse was

gradually replacing the authorial self (Atkinson, 1999). Overall, the male author seems to be more prone than the female one to use these devices, probably because of the androcentric mindset of the period (Crespo, 2021), in which men were the 'unmarked sex' in these uses, and women were effectively invited to follow such tenets in an attempt to be recognised as part of the scientific community.

Moreover, the present research, focusing as it does on a qualitative view of texts, seeks to call the attention of other scholars to the vital role of the linguist in the interpretation of texts and the data arising from them. We hope that the study serves as a vindication of the need to look closely into a text and to analyse words or expressions within the intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic context, thus rehumanising the object of study. Herein lies the key to revealing how the scientist's mind was moulded, and helps us to discern how, why, and to whom they wrote. As a preliminary study, this research is merely the first step in renewing the path of detailed and manual examination of language, and we hope that, by expanding the survey to more texts, we will discover a great deal more about the authors' intentions and perceptions, as well as the rhetorical trends in scientific communication.

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'What Mrs Fisher knows about cooking' - On the titles of early American cookbooks

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ABSTRACT

The proposed article aims to examine the strategies used by American women cookbook writers to attract the intended audience to their collections. The study is based on 19th-century cookbooks published in the United States; earlier collections, although available in the US were published in and brought from Britain. Written for and, in many cases, by housewives, the analysed cookbooks show, on the one hand, how the authors tried to convince the prospective reader of their expertise and knowledge. On the other hand, a certain degree of intimacy with the reader was to draw the reader's attention to the collection. The discussion will be based on (i) the cookbooks' titles, as they are "the first point of contact between the writer and the potential reader" (Haggan, 2004, p. 193) and an important determinant of a book's success; and (ii) the authors' signatures (as not all of the publications were signed with the author's name).

Keywords: *American culinary collections; women writers; community cookbooks.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The present study concentrates on the titles of early cookbooks written by women in the US in the period from the end of the eighteenth until the beginning of the twentieth century. Earlier cooking collections were (a) published in Britain and brought to the colonies by the settlers, or (b) American reprints of the English compilations. Attention will be drawn to recipe collections authored by women, as cooking was an integral element of a woman's daily routine. Recipes were handed over from generation to generation, and mothers were expected to teach their daughters how to cook among other domestic skills. At that time writing down cooking instructions was also the basis for "women's social network as they shared their recipes" (Harbury, 1994, p. 116). Publishing cookbooks was a means of personal expression and became a starting point for entering the public sector, previously restricted to men.

Some of the early American cookbooks were conservative and included traditional recipes which usually indicated the status of the household; others were much more innovative and their authors were "exploring new possibilities and stretching [their] boundaries as well as upholding old traditions" (Harbury, 1994, p. 13), which often involved merging new recipes with the old ones. An example of the latter type was promoted by Jane Randolph, who frequently incorporated some Native American foodstuffs, e.g., persimmon, into her recipes.

The first American cookbook, authored by Amelia Simmons, was published in 1796. The author, allegedly a professional cook herself, aimed to improve life of "the rising generation of Females in America" (Elias, 2017, p. 17). Her collection differed from the ones previously published as they had been modelled on the English collections[i], whereas her *American Cookery* contained instructions how to incorporate originally American ingredients. Simmons's publication, which aimed at the newly emerged middle class, initiated certain trends in kitchen guidance. She opened the door for women to step out and share their experience with others.

Following Elias (2017), before the Civil War approximately 265 books with recipes were published. These were not necessarily cookbooks, but any works related to the household which, among others, contained instructions on food preparation. Not only English but also French, Spanish and German collections were published in North America (first in 1840, 1845 and 1848, respectively). After the Civil War the expansion of the publishing industry contributed to diversification of American cookbooks. They were modelled on the volumes produced before the war but additionally a number of new themes, such as southern identity, community or progressivism, were introduced. The pre-war collections took the form of household manuals, often organised around foodstuffs, in which, next to the instructions how to prepare soups or pies, there might have been recipes for cologne or dish soap. With time, cookbooks became more widespread and easily available to a more diverse audience. Many cookbooks emphasised regional and cultural identity, for instance by introducing essays which placed the instructions in a specific cultural or regional context. The middle of the 19th century brought a series of transformations in terms of the style of the cooking collections. One of the new developments were community cookbooks. Compiled collectively by women living in towns or belonging to clubs or congregations, these collections were distributed locally for charity purposes (Kelly, 2012).

The discussion will be confined to titles of the early American cooking collections. The title, being one of the elements of the paratext, as Genette (1991) called it, is the first piece of information that a reader sees, and as such, contributes to the way the book is perceived by the public. Soler (2007, p. 151) claims that titles represent "the doors between readers and the content of the papers to which they belong". Following Haggan (2004), they are like advertisements, which often influence a reader's choice whether to get interested in the publication or not. Langdon-Neuner (2007) distinguishes two major types of titles: descriptive and informative. The former give some details related to the content of the collection and indicate the purpose of the publication. The latter point to certain results or conclusions which may be drawn from the book. In terms of the title structure, Genette (1988) distinguishes simple and complex titles. The former refer to a common title of a collection, the latter mention

individual elements which constitute the collection. Soler (2007) divides titles from the point of view of the grammatical structures used, and distinguishes nominal, compound, full-length and question titles. Nominal titles consist of a noun phrase. Compound titles are composed of (at least) two nominal phrases (or non-clausal elements) joined with a punctuation mark, such as a colon, full stop or a dash. Full-length titles take the form of clauses, whereas question titles are interrogative structures (Haggan, 2004; Soler, 2007).

When it comes to the functions of titles, Grivel (1973) distinguishes three major ones, by defining a title as "A series of linguistic signs which can appear at the head of a text to designate it, to indicate its general content and to appeal to the public aimed at" (Genette, 1988, p. 708). Looking closer at the cookbook titles, we may conclude that on the one hand, by focusing on the readers' expectations, knowledge and interests, titles are supposed to attract a potential reader to choose the particular collection - in which case the reader's needs influence the writer's choices. On the other hand, the cookbook writers try to convince potential readers that their cookbook is something more than only a set of ordinary recipes and the authors possess a certain degree of culinary expertise. Such an approach focuses on the writer who projects certain roles on to the readers and tries to influence their behaviour and reactions (Thompson & Thetela, 1995).

This leads us to the discussion of writer- and reader-oriented features of a text, reviewed, for instance, by Hyland (2005), who divided textual interaction features into stance and engagement, respectively. The former may take the form of hedges and boosters, which express certainty or doubts, as well as attitudinal markers and self-mentions, which correspond to personal attitudes. Gray and Biber (2012, p. 15) define stance as "the ways in which speakers and writers encode opinions and assessments in the language they produce", bringing a required effect on the reader. They illustrate these ways as a continuum of evaluative meaning which varies with respect to two parameters: (1) the meaning of the assessment, which ranges from personal feelings and attitudes (> attitudinal stance) to a status of knowledge (> epistemic stance), and (2) the linguistic level used for the assessment, which goes from lexis to grammar, and

comprises explicit and implicit stance markers. Hyland's (2005) engagement - or voice, as he calls it in his later studies (2012) - entitles the writer to speak as a community member. It allows the writer, among others, to include readers and guide them to particular interpretations or conclusions. Engagement may be introduced through reader mentions, directives, questions, knowledge references and personal asides.

II. THE CORPUS

The aim of the paper is to examine what textual strategies were employed by women authors of the early American culinary collections in order to attract a potential reader. Attention will be drawn to such aspects as: (i) references to the reader; (ii) references to the author; (iii) regional references; and (iv) references to the text type. Next, these references will be discussed with respect to stance and engagement in order to illustrate the ways writers encode their attitudes and assessments in the titles. Additionally, the structure of the selected titles will be reviewed.

The corpus consists of two parts. The first one contains "standard" cookbooks (henceforth referred to as SC), that is collections compiled (usually) by a single author. These have been extracted from two online repositories: (a) *Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbook Project* and (b) *Savouring the Past*, as well as from Lincoln's (1929) *Bibliography of American Cookery Books 1742-1860*. The second part of the corpus consists of community cookbooks (henceforth referred to as CC), which are collective pieces of work that, as stated by Kelly (2012, p. 31), "are a unique genre", and thus, should be separated from "standard cookbooks". They are hardly ever signed by a single author; instead, the authorship is assigned to the ladies of a certain congregation. The database of community cookbooks (CC) comes from the archives of the Library of Congress.

Altogether, 92 collections representing the former category (SC) were selected for the analysis. All of them were published in North America and authored by women. Compendia not signed, or signed in such a way that the author's sex could not be

deciphered - e.g., with initials or with phrases, such as "by a farmer" - were excluded from the study. The latter category (CC) comprises 76 compilations. Additionally, since many of the early American collections were published under slightly modified titles, such duplicates were eliminated. As a consequence, titles such as the ones exemplified under (1)-(2) have been counted only once.

(1a) The Carolina housewife, or house and home: by a lady of Charleston.
(1b) House and home; or, the Carolina housewife. By a lady of Charleston. [Third edition, corrected and enlarged.].

(2a) The orphan's friend and housekeeper's assistant is composed upon temperance principles, with instructions in the art of making plain and fancy cakes, puddings, pastry, confectionery, ice creams, jellies, blanc mange, also for the cooking of all the various kinds of meat and vegetables. With a variety of useful information and receipts never before published. By an old housekeeper. Please to examine.

(2b) The housekeeper's assistant, composed upon temperance principles: with instructions in the art of making plain and fancy cakes, puddings, pastry, confectionery, ice creams, jellies, blanc mange, also for the cooking of all the various kinds of meats and vegetables; with a variety of useful information and receipts never before published. By an old housekeeper.

III. DISCUSSION

Following Notaker (2017, p. 62), from the 18th century on, cookbooks instead of being memory aids became "a fashion within the upper classes". It is argued that the two types of cooking collections, that is "standard" and community cookbooks, were compiled for different purposes. The former were published, among others, for didactic purposes, as "American women's skill in the kitchen was supposed to grow from the newlywed's stumbling incompetence to the seasoned housekeeper's

expertise" (Elias, 2017, p. 23); whilst the latter were published "in support of projects ranging from libraries and free kindergartens to steeples and church carpeting" (Kelly 2012, p. 31). Thus, the two subtypes will be discussed separately and compared in terms of the information included in their titles.

III.1. Structure of the titles

The titles of the standard collections are usually complex and descriptive, as they tend to enumerate the type of dishes or the foodstuffs which the recipes deal with (3). They show a tendency towards a nominal or compound structure, as in (4)-(5); however, as shown in the title of this paper, instances of question titles have also been found (6).

(3) New American cookery, or female companion. Containing, full and ample directions for roasting, broiling, stewing, hashing, boiling, preserving, pickling, potting, fricasees, soups, puff-pastes, puddings, custards, pies, tarts, &c. Also, the making of wines and cheese. Peculiarly adapted to the American mode of cooking.

(4a) Breakfast, luncheon and tea.
(4b) Miss Leslie's new cookery book.

(5a) The Virginia housewife: or, Methodical cook book.
(5b) Domestic duties; or, instructions to young married ladies, on the management of their households, and the regulations of their conduct in the various relations and duties of married life.

(6) What Mrs. Fisher knows about Old Southern Cooking, soups, pickles, preserves, etc.

In the other type of cookbooks (CC), much shorter titles are preferred. They hardly ever indicate the content of the compendium, instead, they take the form of simple titles, as in (7); similarly to the SCs, nominal (see (7)) and compound titles prevail (8).

(7a) Gems For the Kitchen.

(7b) The Illinois Cook Book.

(8a) Our Cooks in Council: a manual of practical and economical recipes for the household.

(8b) Cooks in Clover: reliable recipes compiled by the ladies of the North Reformed Church, Passaic, New Jersey.

III.2. References to the reader

As Notaker (2017, p. 55) noticed, "the writer who records the recipe, if he is not documenting it only as a personal aide-memoire, must position himself in relation to another addressee, not a pupil or a daughter by his or her side, but rather a reader or readers, who are invisible to the writer." Additionally, Elias (2017, p. 24) described a typical (American) cookbook buyer as a reader not a cook, who was "a woman of the urban or small-town middle class, a person unlikely to be found stirring pots or stoking fires to feed her family. She might enter the kitchen on the cook's night out, or to prepare special treats for family occasions, but she was usually only responsible for choosing her family's menu, not for making her choices edible."

The titles of the analysed standard cookbooks confirm that they were aimed mostly at housewives and ladies in general (see (9)), but also specifically at particular groups of females, such as: young ladies (10), married women, and also (although rarely) at experienced and skilful female cooks (11). Additionally, some collections were addressed to farmers or people with certain disabilities who required a special diet (12).

(9a) "Aunt Babette's" cook book. Foreign and domestic receipts for the household. A valuable collection of receipts and hints **for the housewife**, many of which are not to be found elsewhere.

(9b) New American cookery, or **female companion**. Containing, full and ample directions for roasting, broiling, stewing, hashing, boiling, preserving, pickling,

potting, fricasees, soups, puff-pastes, puddings, custards, pies, tarts, &c. Also, the making of wines and cheese. Peculiarly adapted to the American mode of cooking.

(10) Domestic cookery, useful receipts, and hints **to young housekeepers**. By Elisabeth E. Lea.

(11) **The skilful housewife's book**: or complete guide to domestic cookery, taste, comfort and economy. Embracing 659 receipts, pertaining to household duties, the care of health, gardening, flowers, birds, education of children, etc., etc. By Mrs. L. G. Abell. Author of "Gems by the wayside," "Woman in her various relations," etc. With valuable additions, by an English housekeeper.

(12) A manual of homoeopathic cookery, designed chiefly **for the use of such persons as are under homoeopathic treatment**. By the wife of a homoeopathic physician. With additions, by the wife of an American homoeopathic physician.

Some of the titles (SC) point to the application of the recipes included in the collection, as being aimed at families of various size and at various locations (see (13)). The principles of abstinence from alcohol might have been mentioned to attract the exact group of readers, as in (14). Additionally, the reader (or the potential cook) was often supposed to be frugal (15).

(13a) Mrs. Hale's new cook book. A practical system **for private families in town** and country; with directions for carving, and arranging the table for parties, etc. Also, preparations of food for invalids and for children, by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale. Illustrated with numerous engravings.

(13b) The lady's receipt-book; a useful companion **for large or small families**. A sequel to her former work on domestic cookery; comprising new and approved directions for preparing soups, fish, means, vegetables, poultry, game, pies,

puddings, cakes, confectionary, sweetmeats, jellies, &c. Also, a list of dishes for breakfast, dinner, and supper tables.

(14) The orphan's friend and housekeeper's assistant is **composed upon temperance principles**, […]

(15a) The American home cook book, with several hundred excellent recipes, selected and tried with great care, and with a view to be sued by **those who regard economy**, and containing important information on the arrangement and well ordering of the kitchen. The whole based on many years of experience. By an American lady. Illustrated with engravings.

(15b) The American **economical housekeeper**, and family receipt book.

Such a variety of target audience cannot be found in the other group of cookbooks. The CC titles hardly ever indicate the potential reader. In the entire corpus, only two such references were found: to housekeepers (16a) and people who like good food (16b). Even though collections of this type were aimed neither at very rich nor particularly poor members of the society, with the exception of one reference (17), there are no indications of the financial status of the potential cookbook user.

(16a) The Pentucket Housewife: a manual for **housekeepers**, and collection of recipes, contributed by the Ladies of the First Baptist Church, Haverhill, Massachusetts by Carrrie W. Train, editor

(16b) Our Chef's Best Receipts; a practical cook book **for people who like good things to eat**.

(17) Our Cooks in Council: a manual of practical and **economical recipes** for the household by the Ladies of the Congregational Church, Jefferson, Ohio.

III.3. References to the author

Unlike references to the reader, which were found mostly in the SCs, the author's presence is highly visible in the titles of both types of collections. In the community cookbooks the authors are indicated in every single title. As the recipes were published collectively by a group of women, the references usually indicate a particular congregation, sometimes pointing to the chief editor of the project, see (18).

(18a) Indianapolis Cook Book **by the Ladies of the Pattison Methodist Episcopal Church**.

(18b) The Erie Cook Book containing a large collection of recipes for domestic cookery, cooking for the sick, care of wardrobe, laundry and house plants, bills of fare for public and private parties, **compiled and arranged by Laura C. Sterrett**.

The standard collections were mostly composed by ladies or housekeepers, who, in order to convince a potential reader to choose a particular collection and emphasise the high quality of the recipes included, tend to point to their previous publications, their long experience in cooking, or they evoke other experts supposedly known to the general public (see (19)). The community collections, on the other hand, tend to familiarise the authors of the recipes. These titles suggest that such dishes as presented in the collections were eaten by ordinary and practical housewives who selected and tried the recipes themselves (20). The author often identifies herself with the readers, she presents herself as their equal, and the recipes are not supposed to teach the reader how to cook but rather to give ideas how to improve or innovate the well-known dishes (21).

(19a) The American housewife: containing the most valuable and original receipts in all the various branches of cookery; and written in a minute and methodical manner. Together with a collection of miscellaneous receipts, and directions relative to housewifery. **By an experienced lady**. Also, the whole art of carving, illustrated by sixteen engravings.

(19b) The new household receipt-book: containing maxims, directions, and specifics for promoting health, comfort, and improvement in the homes of the people. **Compiled from the best authorities**, with many receipts never before collected. **By Sarah Josepha Hale, author of "Northwood," "Woman's record," "The new book of cooker," etc**.

(19c) The American home cook book, with several hundred excellent recipes, selected and tried with great care, and with a view to be sued by those who regard economy, and containing important information on the arrangement and well ordering of the kitchen. The whole **based on many years of experience**. By an American lady. Illustrated with engravings.

(20a) The Hatfield Cook Book: **plain and fancy recipes by the "real folks" of the Congregational Church**, Hatfield, Massachusetts.

(20b) **Recipes Tried and True by the Ladies' Aid Society**, First Presbyterian Church, Marion OH.

(21) **Our Receipt Book** by Mrs. John Henry Rolfe, comp. for The Improvement Society of the Second Reformed Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

III.4. Regional references

Both types of collections are full of geographical references. The standard cookbooks frequently refer to America in general, to one of the states or to a particular city (see (22)); whereas the community collections, apart from state references, often mention the local community within which the collection was collated (23).

(22a) **American** domestic cookery, formed on principles of economy, for the use of private families. […]

(22b) The **Carolina** housewife, or house and home: by a lady of Charleston.

(22c) Mrs. Lincoln's **Boston** cook book. What to do and what not to do in cooking.

(23a) **Grand Rapids** receipt book, compiled by The ladies of the congregational church, for the ladies fair, held at Luce's hall May 15th, 16th, and 17th, 1871.

(23b) **Mohawk Valley** Cook Book by the Ladies' Society, St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Canajoharie, New York.

These references prove of the growing national consciousness of the inhabitants of North America. They might have been also incorporated as some commercial strategy to encourage potential buyers, as "[u]sing the name of a region or a city in a cookbook's title certainly made it especially interesting to people in that area" (Notaker, 2017, p. 249). However, the locations mentioned in the titles may not always be trusted as true places of origin of the recipes. Despite assigning a collection to a particular territory, the recipes included derive from various locations. For instance, Randolph's *The Virginia housewife: or, Methodical cook book* contains instructions how to prepare polenta or ropa vieja (Elias, 2017); the former being a traditional Italian, the latter a Spanish or Cuban dish (Davidson, 2006).

III.5. References to the text type

The cooking recipe, being defined by Görlach (2004, p. 68) as a "statement on ingredients required", is a text type with a well-defined function, i.e., to instruct on how to prepare a dish (2004, p. 123). The instructional or educational function is often indicated in the titles to the "standard" collections. Their authors indicate that they present readers with a compendious repository, a complete instructor, a manual, a useful companion, or a guide, see (24). The writers tend to imply scientific character of their collection by calling it an encyclopaedia, a directory, a dictionary, or a treatise (as in (25)). The recipes are referred to as hints, directions, advice, or instructions. The motif of novelty and originality of the recipes is repeatedly promoted (see (26)). As Notaker (2017, p. 83) suggested, offering new dishes gave the impression of luxury, which put the author in a superior position to the readers who imitated the recipes.

The titles to the community collections hardly ever make such references, and if so, they relate to manuals only, i.e., a text type which, following Görlach (2004, p. 55),

represents "a small book of handy use"; thus, no attempts to make an impression that the publication represents a scientific text type were made.

(24a) The universal receipt book; being **a compendious repository of practical information in cookery**, preserving, pickling, distilling, and all the branches of domestic economy. To which is added, some advice to farmers. Second edition with great additions.
(24b) Miss Parloa's new cook book, **a guide** to marketing and cooking.

(25a) The practical housekeeper; **a cyclopædia** of domestic enconomy embracing […] the table and attendance, the art of cookery, receipts under forty-five heads […]
(25b) Science in the kitchen. **A scientific treatise** on food substances and their dietetic properties, together with a practical explanation of the principles of healthful cookery, and a large number of original, palatable, and wholesome recipes.

(26a) The cook's own book, and housekeeper's register; comprehending all valuable receipts for cooking meat, fish and fowl; and composing every kind of soup, gravy, pastry, preserves, essences, &c. that have been published or invented during the last twenty years. With **numerous original receipts**, and a complete system of confectionery. […]
(26b) Mrs. Ellis's housekeeping made easy; or, complete instructor in all branches of cookery and domestic economy, **containing the most modern and approved receipts** of daily service in all families. Stereotype edition. Revised and adapted to the wants of the ladies in the United States, by an American lady.

III.6. Stance and engagement

As explained earlier, stance refers to the ways in which the writers express their personal attitudes or judgements and evaluate knowledge. The former are revealed by various attitudinal markers, the latter by hedges and boosters (cf. Hyland, 2005). Titles,

being paratexts rather than complete texts, have a limited range of stance markers, which may be characterised as "rhetorical choices which allow authors to (…) balance claims for the significance, originality and plausibility of their work" (Hyland & Jiang, 2019, p. 131), and which, as a result, help persuade the readers to purchase the cookbook.

The analysis shows that the majority of stance markers found in the titles are attitude markers represented through value-laden lexis, which - as Gray & Biber (2015) claim - are common irrespective of register. The cookbook authors assess their collections to be, among others, *the best, complete, good, great, excellent* or *valuable*; the instructions, whenever referred to in the title, are *practical, original, reliable, the most exact* and *useful*; whereas the dishes are described as *perfectly boiled, wholesome* or *fancy*.

Neither traces of epistemic stance markers (i.e. hedges and boosters), nor first person references to the author have been found. The writer is usually introduced with the third person reference, e.g., *Miss Leslie's complete cookery* or *Mrs. Putnam receipt book.*

The number of stance options at a writer's disposal is limited and depends on the writer's understanding of the community. In the analysed corpus, most of the attitudinal markers were found in the "standard" collections, whereas in the community collections their authors refrained from personal evaluation. As the books were aimed at and distributed among local communities in order to support a common cause, the value of the recipes might have been of minor importance.

Yet, the CC authors seem to "acknowledge and connect to others, recognising the presence of their readers, (…) guiding them to interpretations" (Hyland, 2005, p. 176). As most of the analysed community collections supported a religious cause, their authors might have adopted the attitude of modesty and, not only put themselves on an equal footing with the readers (as in *Our Receipt Book*), but also engaged the potential readers by referring to shared knowledge or pointing to certain authorities who contributed to or approved of the instructions. These are usually general

referents, such as *the guild house committee, experienced/skilled housekeepers, woman's wisdom,* or even *Our Chef* (= God). Similar references found in the SCs praise the author herself as an esteemed cookbook writer and an experienced housewife.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The early American cookbooks written by women were aimed at women. As noted by Notaker (2017, p. 134), it is absolutely necessary for the title of a cookbook to inform about the content of the book. As illustrated above, the titles of the analysed standard collections often went beyond that and not only indicated the content, but also pointed to the author and her qualifications, to the target audience as well as to the properties of cooking on the basis of the proposed recipes. This might be accounted for by the fact that, as the number of collections was increasing, the authors had to use a variety of strategies to catch a potential buyer's attention. They did so by:

(i) convincing her of the writer's expertise, which was achieved either by praising one's knowledge, indicating a well-known authority or suggesting a scientific character of the collection;

(ii) declaring the originality and modernity of the instructions;

(iii) invoking national or regional feelings;

(iv) addressing a specific group of potential readers.

On the other hand, in the community collections the authors tried to evoke some intimacy between themselves and the readers; they were presented as members of a local community, women "like us", who shared instructions for dishes they had served at homes for their own families. They hardly ever indicated the intended audience, as their collections were directed at anyone interested or fond of supporting a particular charity aim. Being distributed locally, the collections were not intended as scientific sources but as handbooks for everyday use.

Despite the fact that standard cookbooks and community collections were published for different purposes, this seems not to have influenced the structure of their titles significantly. On the one hand, titles given to the SCs are mostly descriptive and, as a result, longer and complex; whereas titles of the CCs usually do not give details related to the content of the collection. But on the other hand, regardless of the type of a collection, nominal and compound titles were chosen by the authors.

Notes

[i] The first cookbook printed in North America was an edition of the English *The Compleat Housewife* published in 1742, followed by publication of other English collections (Lincoln, 1929; Notaker, 2017).

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Contrastive relational markers in women's expository writing in nineteenth-century English

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to analyse the occurrence of contrastive relational markers in a corpus of recipes called *Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English, the 19th century sub-corpus* (COWITE19). Opposition relations, also referred to as adversative or contrastive, are usually identified with markers such as "but", "although", and "however". From a semantic point of view, a classification of these relations can be established as contrast, concession, and corrective, based on their linguistic evidence, lexical differences and syntactic behaviour (Izutsu, 2008). A further rhetorical function is antithesis, presented as a consistent device possessed of a verbal, analytical and persuasive nature (Fahnestock, 1999). The analysis of these markers is made following a computerised corpus analysis methodology and aims to discern which contrastive markers are mostly employed for the instructions conveyed by females. It also shows which opposition relation is predominant, whether contrastive, concessive, or corrective. Finally, it detects antithesis as an additional opposing meaning. In all cases, the possible argumentative role of these markers is highlighted as another step in the characterisation of women's scientific writing.

Keywords: *opposition; contrastive; concessive: corrective; antithesis*.

I. INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to identify and analyse the main contrastive relations in the corpus of recipes called *Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English, the 19th century sub-corpus*, hereafter COWITE19 (Alonso-Almeida *et al*., 2023). The sub-corpus comprises texts written by women which detail the preparation of multiple recipes. For this research, the author has focused on the period which covers the timespan between 1806 and 1849. Recipes can be broadly defined as a list of steps that are followed, for example, in a culinary or medical procedure, and that are usually organised by a series of guiding instructions during their preparation. As a genre, the recipe is described by its external features, bearing in mind the purpose of this activity in which the writers of recipes engage as members of our culture (Martin, 1984, p. 25). As a text-type, in contrast, the recipe is explained by means of its internal linguistic criteria, that is, its morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics, so it can be mainly developed as an expositive or instructive text-type (Alonso-Almeida & Álvarez-Gil, 2020, pp. 64-65; Biber, 1988). Some of these linguistic features comprise the use of contrastive discourse markers which signal the basic relation of opposition between discourse segments.

In this study, broad consideration will be given to Izutsu's (2008, pp. 648-649) research on three semantic categories of opposition relations: contrast, concessive, and corrective, which are mostly derived from Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1987, 1991). It is a model which offers an analysis of each semantic category, and it is suitable for the corpus under study. Izutsu (2008, p. 647) acknowledges that most studies concerning opposition relations base their argument on the dichotomy which exists between the contrast and concessive dichotomy (Blakemore, 1987, 1989; Kehler, 2002; Lakoff, 1971; Spooren, 1989) and the corrective and non-corrective dichotomy (Abraham, 1979; Anscombre & Ducrot, 1977; Dascal and Katriel, 1977; Foolen, 1991; Lang, 1984; von Klopp, 1994; Winter & Rimon, 1994). As will be seen in the results of the corpus study, the concessive dichotomy is the most repeated, mainly expressed by the coordinating conjunction 'but'.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of opposition relations includes a variety of terms like contrastive, concessive, and adversative. Grammars such as Greenbaum and Quirk's *A Student's Grammar of the English Language* (1990, p. 186) include the following names regarding the semantics of conjuncts under the umbrella of contrastive meanings:

(1) "reformulatory" and "replacive" in examples like "She's asked some of her friends – some of her husband's friends, *rather*";

(2) "antithetic", as in "They had expected to enjoy being in Manila but *instead* they both fell ill";

(3) "concessive", as in "My age is against me: *still*, it is worth a try".

Lyons (1971) distinguishes between two uses of "but": semantic opposition, in cases such as "John is tall, but Bill is short", and denial of expectation, as in "John is tall, but he's no good at basketball", which could be paraphrased as the concessive "Although John is tall, he's no good at basketball". As to the relation of contrast, it has been typically marked as paratactic in terms of functional grammar through the relationship of enhancement, in which one clause enhances the meaning of another by employing a number of possible expressions which cover the references to time, place, manner, cause and condition (Halliday, 1985, pp. 232-239).

From a pragmatic perspective, the connection of contrast can be conveyed by using a varied scale of expressions. For Rudolph (1996, pp. 27-28), this particular connection indicates that there is a relationship between two contrastive states of affairs and the speaker's opinion of that relationship. In the example "He needed the money, but I did not lend him any", the author explains that one person is in need and the second person is expected to answer to that need; however, the second person decides not to help him. A "but" sentence seems to be a logical contrastive expression, however, without using that conjunction, the interpretation is still the same: "He needed the

money. I did not lend him any". Likewise, in the sentence "Although he needed the money, I did not lend him any", the author admits another form of contrast with the semantic value of concession. In all of the examples, there is a causal constant that alludes to the fact that one person is in need and the other is expected to help him, but he/she does not. As a result, the causal chain that should naturally occur in these cases is broken and the expectation of help is not fulfiled. Rudolph (1996, pp. 32-39) adds that connective expressions are signs for the hearer/listener to help him/her decode the speaker's utterance, whereas for the speaker, those expressions become instruments to give his/her personal views. Rudolph also makes a difference between simple and complex adversative and concessive connectives by including "but", "although" and "however" within simple connectives. In contrast, complex connectives are made of two or more lexical items that receive their new contrastive meaning in the act of composition and function. "Nevertheless" and "even if" comprise an instance of complex adversative and concessive linkers respectively.

In a similar vein, Sweetser (1990, p. 76) claims that conjunctions as logical operators must be studied not only from a lexical-semantic analysis, but from "the context of an utterance's polyfunctional status as a bearer of content, as a logical entity, and as the instrument of a speech act". In a study of "but", the scholar (Sweetser, 1990, p. 103) argues that many examples might be connected with "real-world" clash or contrast. Sweetser establishes a difference in cases like "John eats pancakes regularly, but he never keeps any flour or pancake mix around" and "John is rich but Bill is poor". In the first case there seems to be a clash in the real world because the causal sequence that implies that John should keep flour if he is a pancake-eater is disrupted; in the second there is indeed a contrast, in that we can believe that there is no clash in John being wealthy and Bill being destitute since both rich and poor people exist simultaneously in the real world. A further vision of contrast is seen in Thompson et al. (2007, pp. 262-263), who include concessive clauses as a subtype of adverbial clauses. "Concessive" is discussed as a general term for a clause establishing a concession against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted. According to this concept, definite concessive clauses are considered, which are marked by a subordinator like

"although", "even though", or "except that", and can be paraphrased by inserting "in spite of the fact that…"; and indefinite concessive clauses, which indicate a meaning such as "no matter what" or "whatever". They are usually expressed by means of an indefinite pronoun as in "Whoever he is, I'm not opening that door".

II.1. Izutsu's model of opposition relations

Izutsu (2008, pp. 656-671) organises opposition relations into three distinct semantic categories: contrast, concessive and corrective, which are illustrated by the following examples:

(1) Contrast

a. John is rich, but Tom is poor.

b. I've read sixty pages, whereas she's read only twenty.

c. John likes math, Bill likes music, while Tom likes chemistry.

(2) Concessive

a. Although John is poor, he is happy.

b. Bill studied hard, but he failed the exam.

c. We thought it would rain; nevertheless, we went for a walk.

(3) Corrective

a. John is not American but British.

b. Ann doesn't like coffee – she likes tea.

c. My grandmother died in 1978, (and) not 1977.

This classification of semantic relations was already discussed by Foolen (1991), who categorised them as "semantic opposition" (contrast), "denial of expectation" (concessive) and "correction" (corrective). Foolen regards these differences as pragmatic or "polyfunctional" rather than semantic, whereas Izutsu deems that these categories can be disambiguated regardless of the context where the sentence occurs

and, as a result, they are not pragmatically ambiguous but semantically distinct from one another.

Izutsu examines the semantic categories of opposition by considering the following four factors:

(i) The mutual exclusiveness of different compared items (CIs) in a shared domain.

(ii) The number and type of compared items (CIs).

(iii) The involvement of an assumption/assumptions.

(iv) The validity of segments combined.

Izutsu (2008, p. 656) explains that the compared items (CIs) are to some extent different and are supposed to belong to "mutually exclusive regions in a shared domain". The second factor has to do with the number of contrasted items in a comparison, and with whether the CIs are explicitly distinguished or, by contrast, this fact is not clear enough in each sentence. The third factor focuses on whether there are one or more assumptions involved in the meaning of the opposition which show that some information is inferred by the speaker at the time of speaking. Finally, the fourth factor is related to whether the semantic content of each segment linked by a connector is accepted as valid or invalid by the speaker. A segment is defined here as a term made up of several sizes of connected units, be it a word, phrase, clause, sentence, or a stretch of discourse.

II.1.1. Contrast

This first relation is defined as a simple opposition between the propositional contents of two symmetrical clauses. The change of meaning is not clear after the order of clauses is reversed, and the inclusion of the "and" linker does not entail a significant variation either. This relation should have the following characteristics:

(i) Different compared items (CIs).

(ii) A shared domain.

(iii) The mutual exclusiveness of different CIs.

The term domain or cognitive domain has to do with "a context for the characterisation of a semantic unit", according to Langacker (1987, p. 147). The following example contains explicitly different CIs ("John" and "Tom"), which are compared in terms of the same domain and size, and show mutual exclusiveness, "small" vs. "big".

(4) John is small, but Tom is big.

II.1.2. Concessive

The second relation comprises some background assumption or expectation. Izutsu determines two types of concessive: direct (D-concessive) and indirect (I-concessive). For example:

(5) a. D-concessive: Although John is poor, he is happy.

b. I-concessive: The car is stylish and spacious, but it is expensive.

The direct concessive implies an assumption which is inferentially drawn from the propositional content of the first segment. The sentence above "Although S1, S2" is formulated as follows: "If S1, (then normally) not S2". Sentence (5a) inferentially invokes an assumption as given in (6a).

(6) a. "If John is poor, (then normally) he is not happy".

b.?? "If the car is stylish and spacious, (then normally) it is not expensive".

Unlike contrast, D-concessive sentences do not indicate a mutually exclusive relation between the propositional contents of clauses. In sentence (5a), "poor" and "happy" do not belong to the same shared domain. However, what is mutually exclusive in the example can be found between the propositional content of the second clause ("he is happy") and an assumption evoked from the first clause ("he is not happy"). D-concessive sentences can be thus described in this way:

(i) Two different compared items (CIs) occupy mutually exclusive regions in a shared domain.

(ii) The compared items (CIs) are two different tokens of the identical entity with one in an assumption and the other in the propositional content.

(iii) The relevant assumption is formulated as "If S1, (then normally) not S2".

The term "token" is interpreted here as "each occurrence of an entity in mind for the understanding of a connected utterance" (Izutsu, 2008, p. 662). This description of D-concessive also applies to examples with final concessive clauses.

In the case of I-concessive, the assumption "If S1, (then normally) not S2" does not apply because there is a mutually exclusive relation between two assumptions deriving from S1 and S2, and not an assumption being drawn from S1 and the propositional content of S2. A further characteristic of this concessive is that the compared items (CIs) are two different tokens of the identical entity, each one being evoked as a part of a different assumption.

Izutsu follows Azar's (1997, p. 310) explanation that the clauses of this indirect concessive sentence are oriented towards two opposite conclusions, in that S1 leads to a non-stated conclusion (C), and S2 leads to the rejection of that conclusion (~C). She offers the following interpretation from the example (5b) above:

(7) a. "If the car is stylish and spacious, we should buy it". "If S1, (then normally) C".

b. "If the car is expensive, we should not buy it". "If S2, (then normally) not C".

In this I-concessive sentence, a mutually exclusive relation exists between two assumptions. The CIs are two different tokens of an identical entity, with one evoked as part of assumption (7a) and the other evoked as part of assumption (7b). Furthermore, the entity involved in the mutually exclusive relation is not a thing (like "we", "the car"), but the relation of "our buying the car". In summary, the I-concessive can be described as follows:

(i) Two different compared items (CIs) occupy mutually exclusive regions in a shared domain.

(ii) The compared items (CIs) are two different tokens of the identical entity with each evoked as a part of a different assumption.

(iii) The relevant assumptions are formulated as "If S1, (then normally) C" and "If S2, (then normally) not C".

II.1.3. Corrective

The third relation conveys denial, that is, "rejection of previously made statement (or previously held belief as recognised by the speaker)" (Dacal & Katriel, 1977, p. 161). The corrective interpretation is made where "but" combines two noun phrases and not two full clauses, in which case the meaning is concessive. For example:

(8) a. He likes not coffee but tea.

b. He doesn't like coffee, but he likes tea.

(9) a. "He likes not S1 [coffee] but S2 [tea]".

b. "S1 [He doesn't like coffee], but S2 [he likes tea]".

In sentence (8a), the negation entails a denial of a previous assertion or implication. The first segment (S1) shows an invalid result and anticipates a valid alternative to S1. However, the negation in (8b) is propositional negation and is part of a propositional content, so it is used for making a negative assertion. (8b) affirms the validity of S1 (the negative proposition) and also the validity of S2 (the positive proposition).

The corrective meaning can be summarised following this pattern:

(i) Two different compared items (CIs) occupy mutually exclusive regions in a shared domain.

(ii) The compared items (CIs) are two different tokens of the identical entity before and after removal/relocation.

II.1.4. Antithesis

This study also examines the relationship of antithesis as a further type of semantic opposition that can be found in contrastive instances from the corpus. In rhetorical

structure theory, Azar (1997, p. 305) states that, by employing antithesis, "the reader's positive regard for the nucleus is increased by his/her comprehension of the satellite and the incompatibility between the situations presented in the nucleus and in the satellite". Following on from this definition, Green (2022: p. 9) adds that one cannot have positive regard for both the situations which are presented in the nucleus (N) and the satellite (S). Hence, if the position described in S has negative regard, the reader will have positive regard for the situation described in N:

(10)a. [Annuals die each year and must be replanted] $_S$

b. [Perennials can stay green year-round…] $_N$

Antithesis has also been studied as a rhetorical figure, defined as "a verbal structure that places contrasted or opposed terms in parallel or balanced cola or phrases. Parallel phrasing without opposed terms does not produce an antithesis, nor do opposed terms alone without strategic positioning in symmetrical phrasing" (Fahnestock, 1999, pp. 46-47). Fahnestock (1999, p. 48; 2011, p. 232) expands this definition by introducing several types of oppositions as developed by classical rhetoricians and semanticists:

(1) The distinction between contraries and contradictories. Contraries include pairs of terms like "hot/cold", "rich/poor", "up/down". They are seen as concepts that occupy extreme points on a scale with gradable intermediates.

(2) Contradictories have no gradable intermediates but represent alternatives, such as "in/out", "lost/found", "standing still/moving". We can make up contradictory terms by inserting a negative particle to another term, as in "here/not here", "red/not red".

(3) A further type of opposition involves correlatives or reciprocal terms, which bring one another into existence, as in "parent/child", "teacher/student", "buy/sell".

For Fahnestock, a perfect antithesis entails the use of pairs of terms opposed by means of contraries, contradictories, or correlatives which occur in parallel phrases.

III. CORPUS METHODOLOGY

The data for this research have been obtained from COWITE19. The sub-corpus includes texts written by women as instructions to guide the reader throughout the preparation of a recipe. The cognitive domain largely represents the field of cooking and all its culinary names concerning the array of ingredients and types of dishes selected in each book. However, COWITE19 also contains recipes about medical and pharmaceutical remedies, among others.

The version employed for this study comprises texts collected up to 15 January 2023, which belong to the recipe genre and reflect an expositive text-type. The texts derive from both printed and manuscript sources located in UK and USA libraries and have been computerised and stored as plain text which can be used in linguistic software for its consultation and retrieval.

The collection of recipes fulfils several criteria alongside the required expositive and instructive nature of the texts. For example, the authors must be women who were native speakers of British or American English. The texts have to be taken from the earliest available edition, provided that the authors were alive in the nineteenth century. Likewise, the books could not be new editions or copies of material already published in the previous century or earlier. A further condition requires that the compilations need to cover material from each decade from 1800 to 1899, and are of a similar size or contain a similar word count. Hence, about 50,000 words have been collected per decade. The number of words must be obtained from more than one source; moreover, the texts that belong to more than one volume must be carefully chosen to ensure that the manuscripts do not have similar or repeated content which could alter representativeness. For this study, I have selected the books published between 1806 and 1849. Table 1 shows the distribution of COWITE19 during this period into files, tokens, types, and lemmas:

Table 1. *Number of files, tokens, types, and lemmas of COWITE19 during the period 1800-1849.*

Files	Tokens	Types	Lemmas
13	222256	7591	7199

The list of contrastive markers found and analysed in the corpus are the following:

- Adverbs: "nevertheless", "however", "yet".
- Coordinating conjunction: "but".
- Subordinating conjunctions: "although", "though", "even if", "whereas".

As to the methodology employed for this study, the corpus was interrogated to find examples of the contrastive markers shown above by making use of the software CasualConc developed by Yasu by Imao. The findings were then copied to an Excel spreadsheet incorporating a context of 40 words on both sides of the markers in order to identify and categorise each instance properly, as reflected in section IV.

IV. RESULTS OF THE CORPUS STUDY

As can be observed in Table 2, the coordinating conjunction "but" is the most employed marker, with 501 cases and varied interpretations, as will be discussed below. The incidences of other contrastive linkers are much less numerous. "Though" and "however" appear 14 and 10 times respectively and the type of semantic opposition found is D-concessive. "Yet" is examined only in six sentences with the same D-concessive explanation, and "whereas" occurs in three sentences, one of them with a contrast reading and two with a D-concessive one. "Nevertheless", "even if" and "although" only appear once in the corpus with a D-concessive meaning.

Table 2. *Distribution of contrastive markers in the corpus.*

Marker	Number of occurrences
But	501
Though	14

However	10
Yet	6
Whereas	3
Nevertheless	1
Even if	1
Although	1

With respect to the results of Figure 1, the D-concessive meaning of "but" is the most numerous, with 416 cases, followed by the corrective opposition with 46 examples, the contrast interpretation with 25 occurrences and, finally, the antithesis relation, with 14 instances. Each type of semantic opposition relation is illustrated with several excerpts in the subsections below.

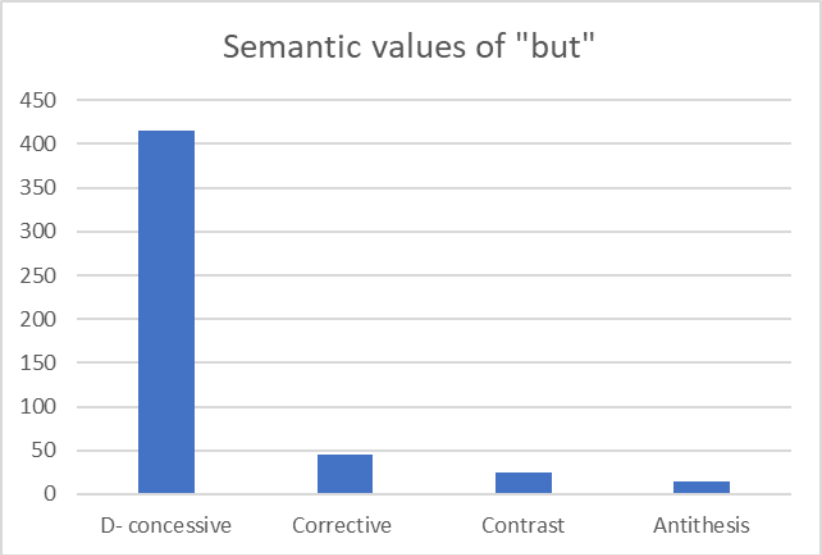

Figure 1. Distribution of semantic values of "but".

IV.1. Contrast relations

Most contrastive occurrences in the corpus do not compare different entities, but different aspects of one entity, such as the age, the size or the weight of the product being cooked. The contrast is valid in that the CIs are explicitly indicated, and the presence of a shared domain characterises the contrast (Izutsu, 2008, p. 659). Example

(11), however, includes two groups of CIs which represent different entities: "mutton" and "beef" in the first sentence and "veal", "pork" and "lamb" in the second. Within the general domain of "cooking", the mutual exclusiveness entails the degree of boiling that both types of animals require to be nutritious.

(11) Mutton or beef do not require so much boiling, nor is it so great a fault if they are a little short; **but** veal, pork, or lamb, are not so wholesome if they are not boiled enough; a leg of pork will require half an hour more boiling than a leg of veal […] (1818 A Lady).

In (12), a ham is being contrasted by its age, "a green ham" vs. "an old ham", so we can judge the CIs as two different tokens of the same identical entity, that is, "a ham". The shared domain is that of cooking, and the mutual exclusiveness opposes "no soaking" to "must be soaked sixteen hours in a huge tub of water". In this case, the contrast is acceptable because the difference between CIs is clearly indicated by the adjectives regarding the age. In (13), likewise, the CIs contrasted affect the size of "a pig" and the time needed for roasting it, in case the animal is "a fine young pig" or "a large one". The weight of the entity "beef" entails the next compared feature in (14), being the shared domain that of "roasting". Finally, example (15) does not focus on the cooking of meat but of vegetables. On this occasion, both the age and size of the entity "carrots" is considered in its boiling time. The CIs are further distinguished by two names: "spring carrots" vs. "Sandwich carrot".

(12) A green ham wants no soaking, **but** an old ham must be soaked sixteen hours in a huge tub of soft water (1818 A Lady).

(13) Roast it till it be very crisp and well done; if it be a fine young pig it will roast in an hour, **but** if a large one an hour and a half. If the skin appears dry in roasting, you must have a little butter, in a cloth and rub over it (Haslehurst Priscilla, 1814).

(14) To roast a piece of beef of ten pounds, will take an hour and a half, at a good fire. Twenty pounds weight will take three hours, if it be a thick piece; **but** if a

thin piece of twenty pounds weight, two hours and a half will do it; and so on according to the weight of your meat, more or less (1825 Holland Mary).

(15)If they are young spring carrots, half an hour will boil them; if large, an hour; **but** old Sandwich carrots will take two hours (1825 Holland Mary).

IV.2. Concessive relations: D-concessive

The most recurring semantic opposition found in the corpus is concession, in particular, the D-concessive type, mainly expressed by means of "but". In the cognitive domain of cooking that is being considered, these concessive sentences usually fulfil a non-argumentative role in that they describe a state of affairs aimed at defining the necessary steps in the art of cookery; that is, they detail the procedure needed to prepare a dish. The concessive segments are thus meant to describe states of affairs and to increase interest by adding apparent contradictory information (Azar, 1997, p. 308), or by conducting "opposition relations that bind the spans of two texts, one denying the expectations arisen from the other one" (Musi, 2018, pp. 270). From a rhetorical argumentation perspective, however, concessions can convey the idea that the speaker offers a favourable reception to some of the hearer's real or presumed arguments with the aim of strengthening his position and making it easy to defend (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 488). Along the same lines, Azar (1997, pp. 308-309) argues that direct concessions can contain an argumentative relation because the speaker aims to make his/her primary idea more acceptable to the reader. Indeed, in elaborating the collection of recipes, the writer wishes to advise the prospective cook not to take certain wrong steps which could spoil the food. In that case, the author employs a persuader, that is, "a psychologically manipulative technique" which is reflected in the concession as a type of weaker argument. The use of a persuader is meant for increasing or changing belief or approval and for guiding the recipient towards the expected goal; likewise, it becomes a source of advice and recommendations during the elaboration of the recipe. Nevertheless, the relation of direct concessive in the corpus can be interpreted as argumentative, in so far as the

writer wishes to initiate and advise the future cook to follow her guidelines. Presumably, not following these instructions could potentially ruin the desired dish.

Crevels (2000, pp. 316-320) establishes up to six entity types that classify the semantic types of concessive clauses. In our corpus, we highlight the occurrence of three of those entity types: the state of affairs, the text unit, and the speech act, each one illustrated in the next three examples (Crevels, 2000, p. 317; Musi, 2018, p. 275):

(16) **Although** it is raining, we're going for a walk.

(17) I speak and write Serbian, Albanian, Turkish and Dutch, but cannot express my true feelings in any other language than Romani. **Although** now that I come to think of it, I have done it many times…

(18) **Even though** I am calling a bit late, what are your plans for the evening?

In (16), the occurrence of "although" does not impede the accomplishment of the event reflected in the main clause. This concessive construction entails "a real world or content relationship" (Crevels, 2000, p. 317) because the rain, presented as an obstacle, does not prevent us from going for a walk. As to (17), the concessive clause that contains "although" extends over a sequence of preceding utterances indicating an unanticipated turn in the context, namely, the speaker realises that he/she has expressed his/her true feelings in all the languages he/she speaks and writes, not only in Romani. Finally, in (18), the concessive clause entails an obstacle to the speech act expressed in the main clause. As will be seen below, the directive speech act is significant in the corpus whenever the writer gives a series of commands to the reader during the description of the recipe.

As explained above by Izutsu, the compared items (CIs) of the concessive relation are usually two different tokens of the same entity, as in the following examples:

(19) Candy Sugar, you may let it keep boiling till the surface is covered with little clusters, in the form of pearls. Moist Sugar may be clarified in the same way, **but** it requires longer boiling and scumming […] (1835 Corbet Anne).

(20) Venison pasty. A shoulder boned makes a good pasty, **but** it must be beaten and seasoned, and the want of fat supplied by that of a fine well-hung loin of mutton, steeped twenty-four hours in equal parts of rape, vinegar, and port (1806 Rundell María).

(21) Boil the liquor, for fifteen minutes, over a quick fire, **though** it will be stronger, and will keep longer if it is boiled until the quantity be reduced one half, and then the spices need not be put in until it has been boiling for about twenty minutes (1835 Corbet Anne).

(22) Cod's head and shoulders will eat much finer by having a little salt rubbed down the bone, and along the thick part, **even if** to be eaten the same day (1806 Rundell María).

The D-concessive reflects an implication that the relation between the situations of the clauses above is unexpected as to the outcome of events assumed by the speaker. The assumption that is naturally thought of is the following: "If S1, (then normally) not S2". In (19), the fact that "moist sugar may be clarified in the same way" as candy sugar may make us assume that there exists only that way of preparation; however, "it requires longer boiling and scumming" than candy sugar, so both types of boiling process can be seen as mutually exclusive regions in the shared domain of, we could say, "cooking sugar". In addition, two different CIs are two different tokens of the identical entity, that is, the reference to "moist sugar" in the first clause and "it" referring to that same kind of sugar in the second clause. This type of concessive, which involves an assumption evoked from the propositional content of the first clause, is the most frequent in the corpus selected. In (20), the CIs regard the different styles of cooking a shoulder boned to make venison pasty. It is not enough a piece of this meat for its preparation since it requires the inclusion of other ingredients that the reader does not possibly expect. The explanation of the second clause implies an assumption also derived from the first one. Example (21) includes the marker "though", fulfiling the same function as "but" in the instances above. The CIs are two different tokens of the same entity, "liquor", and occupy mutually exclusive regions in

the shared domain of "boiling liquor". As before, the second clause shows a detailed instruction as to the intensity of the liquor that the reader is not likely to know about. Finally, (22) displays the only example of "even if" in the corpus selected. The CIs refer to the different occasions when someone can eat cod provided that it is conveniently salted. The propositional content of the first clause asserts the ideal way of eating cod, a fish that is generally salted in the preparation of a number of dishes and that usually requires a certain period of time to be properly consumed. This assumption, evoked from the first segment of the sentence, is relevant to the interpretation of the subordinate clause, which suggests that the cod can be equally tasty "even if to be eaten the same day".

However, in other instances from the corpus, the CIs are two different tokens belonging to different entities, as in (23), which shows a D-concessive pattern containing the only occurrence of "nevertheless". The propositional content of the first clause seems to evoke the assumption that, since brewing is not likely to be a feminine occupation, women should not be skilful in this art. In (24), similarly, the assumption suggests applying whiskey to alleviate a skin disease although the writer admits to not knowing about this remedy. The concessive marker of this last occurrence links a text unit entity type because the author has previously enumerated several ailments and their possible treatment. This extract also contains another "but" concessive structure which connects two different tokens of the entity "healing".

(23) Brewing is not, perhaps, in strictness, a feminine occupation; there are, **nevertheless**, many women who are exceedingly skilful in this very useful household art (1835 Corbet Anne).

(24) If a fellon or run-round appears to be coming on the finger, you can do nothing better than to soak the finger thoroughly in hot lye. It will be painful, **but** it will cure a disorder much more painful. Whiskey, which has had Spanish-flies in soak, is said to be good for ring-worms; **but** I never knew an instance of its being tried. Unless too strong, or used in great quantities, it cannot, at least, do any harm (1841 Mrs. Child).

A further group of D-concessive sentences is constructed by means of imperatives in the second clause, and they can be interpreted as constructions reflecting directive illocutionary force to the reader, always related to the instructive context in which recipes are inserted (Takahashi, 2008, p. 3). Once more, "but" is the most repeated linker, as can be seen below. Together with the imperative use, we can also notice that the CIs belong to different entities:

(25) Take off a bit of the meat for the balls, and let the other be eaten, **but** simmer the bones in the broth till it is very good (1806 Rundell María).

(26) Some people are fond of the head, brains, and bloody part of the neck, **but** before you begin to dissect the head, cut off the ears at the roots, as many people are fond of them when they are roasted crisp (1814 Haslehurst Priscilla).

(27) Cut off the outside leaves, and cut it in quarters, pick it well and wash it clean, boil it in a large quantity of water, with plenty of salt in it; when it is tender, and a fine light green, lay it on a sieve to drain, **but** do not squeeze it, if you do, it will take off the flavour; have ready some very rich melted butter, or chop it with cold butter (1818 A lady).

In (25), the implied subject of both imperatives is "you", so the CIs are two tokens of the entity regarding the recipient of the recipe. There is no mutually exclusive relation between the actions of taking off "a bit of the meat for the balls", letting "the other be eaten" and "simmering" the bones in the broth, but they can be interpreted as complementary activities in the cooking process that contribute to the guiding tone of the instruction. In (26), the CIs are two different tokens belonging to different entities, that is, "some people", and "you" as implied subject of the imperative "cut off". Alongside the concessive clause, the author introduces a causal segment that justifies why to "cut off the ears at the roots" to a hare. Finally, in (27), the procedure for boiling a cabbage contains a list of several imperatives both in the first and second clauses. Again, the implied subject of both imperatives is "you". In the case of the

concessive segment, it is supported by a conditional clause that helps to elucidate why the reader must not squeeze the boiled leaves of that vegetable.

IV.3. Corrective

I have picked up three examples of corrective opposition which display several verbal and nominal forms, all of them entailing a direct rejection of the previous segment:

(28) A Pig is seldom sent whole to table, **but** usually cut up by the cook, who takes off the head, splits the body down the back, and garnishes the dish with the chops and ears (1814 Haslehurst Priscilla).

(29) If people wish to be economical, they should take some pains to ascertain what are the cheapest pieces of meat to buy; not merely those which are cheapest in price, **but** those which go farthest when cooked (1841 Mrs. Child).

(30) Two quarts of the very strongest sweet-wort, set over a slow fire, in a very clean tin saucepan, with the lid on, till it boils; then take off the lid, and stir it frequently, not taking off the scum, **but** stirring it down (1825 Copley Esther).

In (28), the negative adverb "seldom" announces to the reader that "a pig" is not usually "sent whole to the table" in the first segment (S1), anticipating the alternative present in the second one (S2), which offers a detailed explanation of how the pig is dressed by the cook. A past participle is the verbal form employed in both segments to signal the two (CIs), "sent (whole)" vs. "cut up", of the entity "pig"; in (29), nevertheless, the same demonstrative pronoun, "those", is repeated in the two segments to refer to the entity "meat". The corrective relation is introduced as part of the writer's advice to save money when shopping for cheap pieces of meat, and specifies the importance of not only the price of that food, but also the good use given to it. Finally, in (30), the corrective sentence regards the phases in the process of brewing beer, in which the author indicates, by means of two present participles, how to treat "the scum" of the liquid, not taking it off, "but stirring it down".

IV.4. Antithesis

This part of the analysis examines the occurrence of antithesis in contrast sentences. Cases have been isolated where there is a semantic opposition which appears in parallel structures, and which can be categorised according to Fahnestock's classification:

(31) The roe of a male fish is soft, **but** that of the female is hard, and full of small eggs (1814 Haslehurst Priscilla).

(32) Another thing by which you may ascertain, is this; medicinal salts have a bitter and soapy taste; **but** the poisonous salts have a sharp acid burning taste (1825 Copley Esther).

(33) Save vials and bottles. Apothecaries and grocers will give something for them. If the bottles are of good thick glass, they will always be useful for bottling cider or beer; **but** if they are thin French glass, like claret bottles, they will not answer (1841 Mrs Child).

In (31), for instance, we can observe two pairs of contraries between "male" vs. "females" and "soft" vs. "hard". It can be interpreted as a contrastive sentence in that the CIs entail two different aspects of one entity, that is, "roe of a male fish" and "[roe] of the female". The consistency of the roe into "soft" and "hard" is also opposed alongside the sex by means of parallel copulative sentences. Example (32), similarly, contrasts two different aspects of the entity "salts", and both the subject and predicate reflect parallel structures. Whereas "medicinal" and "poisonous" can be interpreted as contrary adjectives, especially in a healing or curative domain such as this one, the adjectives found in the predicates just qualify the noun "taste", which is also repeated. The resulting pairing provides a rhythmical sequence of opposite meanings. Example (33) regards the possible value of the entity "bottles" in accordance with the material of which they are made. The mutually exclusive relation is found between the material of both bottles: those made of "good thick glass" are worthy and those of "French thin glass" are worthless. The parallelism derives from

the use of two symmetrical conditional sentences and the contraries "thick" and "thin".

V. CONCLUSIONS

This study has analysed the use of contrastive markers from COWITE19 samples throughout the period which spans from 1806 to 1849. The inclusion of these opposing devices is justified throughout the instruction process involved in the development of a recipe, from the preparation and cooking time to the selection of ingredients and the steps needed in the elaboration of the dish. Following Izutsu's model of analysis for semantic opposition relations, three main types of relations have been identified which establish contrast, concessive and corrective meanings, as well as antithesis as a rhetorical figure.

The most repeated discourse marker is the coordinating conjunction "but", employed in all the opposition relations examined. In the contrast relation, the mutual exclusiveness of different compared items (CIs) comprises different aspects of one entity in a shared domain, rather than two different CIs. As it is usual, this contrast aims at elucidating distinct elements which help the reader during a certain phase of the cooking process. Within the concessive relation, the D-concessive is by far the most recurrent. In this kind of concessive sentence, the mutual exclusiveness is established between the propositional content of the second clause and an assumption evoked from the first clause. Although D-concessive sentences are usually non-argumentative, an argumentative relation or persuader has been favoured, in that the writers of recipes seek to advise and guide the reader towards a successful accomplishment of the dish. This argumentative value is reinforced by the use of imperatives in one or both clauses, functioning as commands and having the illocutionary force of directives. The corrective relation is also found in the corpus as a further way of rejecting one element of the recipe and relocating an alternative, thus presenting a more detailed direction to the future cook. Finally, reference has also

been made to antithesis as an opposing structure, that not only compares the clauses by means of a linker but also involves the lexical repetition of words, phrases or even clauses. The possible argumentative value of this rhetorical figure derives from the parallel phrasing that favours a better understanding of the opposition.

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Conditionals as interpersonal devices in Late Modern English women's scientific writing

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ABSTRACT

Attaining the best possible reception of one's writing is among the main factors that contribute to the rhetorical profile of scientific prose: authors have to both negotiate meaning and persuade their peers (Allen et al., 1994; Atkinson, 1996, 1999; Bazerman, 1988; Hyland, 1998, 2000), particularly when their position within the scientific community is disadvantageous, as in the case of female scientists during the Late Modern English period (Crespo, 2012; Schiebinger, 1989, 2003). This article analyses the use of conditionals as interpersonal, negotiating devices in the work of female scientists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To this end, texts included in the Coruña Corpus (Moskowich, 2011) written by women will be searched for conditional markers, and the results will be analysed from a functional point of view, highlighting the particular ways in which female scientists used these devices across disciplines and through the period.

Keywords: *conditionals; scientific discourse; interpersonal devices; mitigation; negotiation of meaning.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The rhetorical profile of scientific writing is perhaps best understood as arising from two distinct needs on the part of scientists: to vindicate their claims, and at the same time to achieve the best reception possible by their community of peers. This has led to the practice of an effective, deliberate mode of writing, in which the author has to persuade and negotiate meaning (Allen et al., 1994; Atkinson, 1996, 1999; Álvarez-Gil & Bondi, 2021; Álvarez-Gil & Quintana Toledo, 2022; Bazerman, 1988; Hyland, 1996, 1998, 2000; Carrió, 2012; Moskowich & Crespo, 2019).

Such a dual need is perhaps even more marked when authors occupy a powerless, outsider position in the scientific community, as was the case with women scientists during the Late Modern English period (Crespo, 2012; Schiebinger, 1989, 2003). With very few exceptions, female authors at the time faced prejudice and were widely discriminated against, commonly working in the shadows of male figures, who were often their husbands, fathers or brothers (Mourón, 2011; Solsona, 1997).

Women used a variety of rhetorical and linguistic strategies to overcome this disadvantageous position (Alonso-Almeida & Álvarez-Gil, 2021; Crespo, 2021). Among these, conditionals were particularly common (Crespo & Moskowich, 2015). Their usefulness here stems from the fact that their formal and functional versatility allows for a significant variety of effects, thus helping authors to achieve a better reception of their claims. As Warchal notes, "by involving the reader in the on-going argumentation in a variety of ways, conditional clauses act as devices moulding interpersonal relations in that they help extend this consensus to embrace new claims" (2010, p. 149).

The present study analyses the use of conditional structures as interpersonal rhetorical devices used by women to overcome some of the resistance they faced in the community of scientists during the Late Modern English period. In what follows, Section II discusses scientific communities during the period and the situation of women therein. Section III addresses the role of conditionals as negotiating, interpersonal devices, which can be used by women to try and overcome their weaker

position in the scientific communities. Section IV sets out the methodology and corpus used. Section V presents the findings as well as a discussion of these, before some tentative conclusions are presented in Section VI.

II. SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITIES DURING THE LATE MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD

From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, the dominant scientific paradigm up to that point, Scholasticism, began to give way to a new scientific culture, that of Empiricism (Alfaya, 2019; Gotti, 2011; Taavitsainen, 2000, 2011; Taavitsainen & Pahta, 1998), in which knowledge was based on what was observed in the real world rather than on the reinterpretation and reapplication of texts from older, authoritative sources. During this period, the narration of observations and experiments became the main source of knowledge, and *scientists* (even if, at least at the beginning, these were mainly amateur enthusiasts from the genteel echelons of society) would meet and present their discoveries in the new institutions which had been founded, such as the Royal Society of London (1660), where their work would be commented on and critiqued by their peers. The role of meetings, visits and discussions was considered to be very important, and science was seen as a social endeavour, a "socially-construed science" (Bazerman, 1988; Crespo, 2011; Crespo & Moskowich, 2015; Dossena, 2017; Hyland, 1996, 1998, 2000; Moskowich, 2017; Myers, 1989; Swales, 1990) with its practising members constituting a close-knit scientific community, one which at this stage was both social and epistemological in nature.

The importance of these narrations, and the fact that it was scientists themselves who reported their own observations, implied that the question of the reliability of the accounts was itself central to the process. During a first stage, with science still seen mainly as a gentlemanly activity, the veracity of such accounts (besides the fine-grained details conveyed) was based on the *gentlemen's word*, that is, the truth of what was being described was assured by virtue of the condition of these practitioners

as gentlemen. However, as scientific communities developed and increased in size, with scientists no longer enjoying close social relationships or indeed even knowing each other personally, the discourse evolved, with methodology and evidence becoming far more important.

It is in these circumstances that the rhetorical profile of present-day scientific discourse first emerged. Science was now considered not as a simple collection of objective, impersonal information, but rather could best be seen as a space for the discussion and exchange of information between members of the scientific community (Alonso-Almeida, 2021; Alonso-Almeida & Álvarez-Gil, 2021; Bazerman, 1988; Dossena, 2017; Hyland, 1996, 1998, 2000; Myers, 1989; Swales, 1990). In such a context, scientists had to earn the recognition of their peers, both in terms of the relevance of their work and for themselves as worthy members of the scientific community, through conveying shared values and knowledge.

Scientific discourse, then, came to involve a process of convincing the scientific community of the veracity, validity and relevance of one's accounts (Allen et al., 1994; Atkinson, 1996, 1999; Alonso-Almeida, 2017; Puente-Castelo, 2017b), and also of presenting one's work in a persuasive manner, this in order to predispose the audience to receive such information positively. It was, then, an interpersonal exercise in which meaning was constantly negotiated, and claims were simultaneously asserted and mitigated.

At the linguistic level, this correlates with the use of a series of devices which are said to have a mediating role between authors and audience (Hyland, 1994, 1998, 1998b; Warchal, 2010). Initially this involved the use of elements which helped authors to convey persuasion, humility, or politeness directly (Hyland, 1996, 1998, 2000), such as possibility modals (such as *may*), probability adjectives and adverbs (such as *perhaps*), or "distancing verbs", such as *suggest* or *seem* (Biber & Finegan, 1988); emerging thereafter was the use of expressions that served to reduce assertiveness, thus avoiding the commitment of the author towards the veracity or accuracy of a particular proposition, recognising the works of peers, or introducing several differing

points of view through the use of, among other devices, citation sequences and conditional structures.

II.1. Women in scientific communities

Women faced significant hurdles in their access to the epistemic communities of science during this period. Although some women finally began to acquire a certain level of education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this was generally focused on the knowledge and practice of those qualities necessary to be a good wife and mother. Any knowledge or activity beyond this limited role was seen as suspicious, and could lead to doubts as to the moral virtues of the woman in question; for example, female astronomers were sometimes censured for being out at night to look at the sky, contrary as this was to Victorian notions of feminine modesty and conduct dominant at the time (Herrero, 2007, p. 82).

Access to scientific training was extremely difficult for women. The example of a small number of educated women notwithstanding, it was the case that women were not able to attend lectures at universities, and they were not admitted to the Royal Society, either. Some women did acquire scientific knowledge by sharing the education and training of their brothers, and it was not uncommon for these women to continue working with family members or with their husbands (Schiebinger, 1989, 2003). However, even if they obtained some recognition within these close circles, these women still faced a degree of distrust from the larger community. Works in which women had collaborated were frequently left unsigned and published anonymously or under a pseudonym, or simply signed by the male co-authors (Herrero, 2007, p. 75).

Some women, though, did publish scientific works under their own names. The heightened scrutiny and reservations they faced led to the use of specific pragmatic strategies to achieve a better reception of their work, making women's scientific writing particularly interesting in terms of the study of the interpersonal and persuasive nature of scientific discourse. Among many others, these characteristics include increased care in the use of terminology, the recognition of the work of others, a higher use of politeness and courtesy forms, the active avoidance of unmitigated

claims, and a greater use of persuasive strategies, including a preference for the most evident ones here, such as suasive verbs and conditional subordination (Crespo & Moskowich, 2015, p. 99). The next section deals with conditionals in more detail.

III. CONDITIONALS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS IN SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE

According to Dancygier, conditionals are "an area of language use where the interaction of form, meaning, and context is exceptionally complex and fascinating" (1998, p. 2). As such, the factor that perhaps best characterises conditionals as a construction is their very versatility.

Formally, conditionals can be introduced with a variety of particles, such as *if*, *unless*, *providing*, *so long as*… as well as by means of the inversion of operators, in clauses such as "Should you require…". They also allow for a variety of constituent orderings, with the protasis appearing before, after, or in the middle of the apodosis, as well as with a very high number of different possible verb form combinations.

This formal variability goes hand in hand with a wide range of functions in discourse: conditionals can be used to express causal relationships, such as in mathematical operations, and also to express dependencies between situations or statements (Ferguson, 2001, p. 61), both in an argument and at the text-level, thus contributing to the establishing of facticity (Latour, 1987) and advancing the argument; hence they are useful in indicating "the relationship between different segments of text and to make the readers recognise this relation" (Warchal, 2010, p. 146). Conditionals can also be used to establish instructions, rules and requisites, this commonly done in the methods section of scientific works, as well as to define the scope of claims and definitions (Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2008, p. 191).

At the same time, conditionals are used to mitigate categorical statements, in that they "limit the assertiveness of a claim by making its validity conditional on some other factors" (Warchal, 2010, p. 142), to formulate hypothesis and theories, to consider alternative options and courses of action (and to evaluate the consequences of these),

and to express tentative claims or conclusions. Different combinations of tenses can be used here to express a gradation of tentativeness, "a cline from conditionals that are sufficient and necessary to those that are merely probable, thus determining the degree of certainty of the conclusions reached" (Horsella & Sindermann, 1992, p. 138).

Finally, conditionals can be used interpersonally as a device to help "scientists try to reach a consensus with their readers" (Warchal, 2010, p. 141) and to achieve a better reception for their claims. Thus, they are *space-builders* (Fauconnier, 1994; Dancygier, 1998), devices to help authors negotiate meaning by creating argumentative spaces to construct their arguments, something of particular use to scientists in the creation of a *niche* (Swales, 1990) for their research. Conditionals can also be used to recognise alternatives and the point of view of others, thus avoiding confrontation, as well as to express politeness, humility, uncertainty or doubt directly, thus contributing to a better reception for one's claims.

The notable variability of conditionals has led to their study from a wide variety of approaches, and, consequently, a considerable number of different typologies of conditionals exist. Traditional typologies (Comrie, 1986; Eastwood, 1984; Graver, 1971; Leech & Svartvik, 1975) base their classifications on the combinations of verb forms. These have been criticised by the so-called "second generation typologies" (Athanasiadou & Dirven, 1997; Dancygier & Mioduszewska, 1984; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Quirk et al., 1985; Sweetser, 1990), which base their classifications on new criteria, such as the different domains of discourse or "possible worlds". A further group of typologies use several criteria at once, either by classifying conditionals in terms of the interaction of criteria in a matrix (Gabrielatos, 2010), or by using several typologies, one per criterion, at the same time (Declerck & Reed, 2001). Finally, a number of specific corpus-based typologies are also available to analyse conditionals for particular objectives, addressing either general (Ford, 1997; Ford & Thompson, 1986) or scientific discourse (Carter-Thomas & Rowley-Jolivet, 2008; Puente-Castelo, 2017; Warchal, 2010).

For this study we will use Puente-Castelo's (2017) typology. This is a corpus-based typology designed to classify conditionals according to their functions in Late Modern English scientific writing. It includes eleven categories, shown in Table 1 that follows (Puente-Castelo, 2017, p. 107).

Of these eleven categories, eight (all except *known fact*, *method*, and most *hypothesizing* conditionals) show some kind of interpersonal action; to define concepts and their scope, emphasising common knowledge (scope-restricting conditionals); to anticipate potential impediments and thus to avoid potential criticism, emphasising common knowledge (concessive conditionals); to direct audiences to do something in a mitigated way, presenting an instruction as if it were optional (directive conditionals) or even to present a strong assertion by means of using irony, as in rhetorical conditionals.

Among these, the ones that show the clearest interpersonal nature are the four speech-act conditionals. Here the validity of the utterance of the conditional is dependent on the reader assuming the content of the protasis. And these protases may refer to the relevance of the content (relevance conditionals), to the linguistic precision of the wording of the utterance (metalinguistic conditionals), to the degree of certainty about the correctness of the content (non-committal conditionals), or to the granting of permission, real or rhetorical, of the reader (politeness conditionals).

Table 1. Typology of conditional functions in Late Modern English Scientific discourse (Puente-Castelo, 2017, p. 107).

Type	Function	Example
Known fact	To state widely accepted facts and mathematical truths.	Given that *x=y*, then *n(x+a)=n(y+a)* must also be true.
Hypothesizing	To state the likelihood of an apodosis given a protasis.	If a patient has an early failure from a low anterior resection, they may be able to be retrieved by resection.
Scope- Restricting	To describe the scenario or build the argumentative space in which the claims made hold, either by defining a concept or specifying the universe to which the claim affects.	As such, it can be said to belong to modality if the category is defined as the expression of the speaker's attitude or stance.
Method	To narrate completed methodological procedures or to introduce instructions.	If 10% or more of the malignant nuclei were stained, the slide was scored as negative.
Rhetorical	Strong assertions which take the form of conditional structures.	If they are Irish, I'm the Pope. He's ninety if he's a day.
Concessive	To introduce an impediment for the fulfilment of the apodosis, under which, nevertheless, it holds.	Our point still goes through if the minimal phrase containing both parts of this idiom is always headed by a verb. …the use of change predicates is possible precisely because they apply to the virtual entities, if not to the actual entities that ultimately ground them.
Directive	To present an obligatory desirable course of event as if it were optional and not compulsory.	Now if we go to patients who experienced mucositis toxicity…
Politeness (Speech act)	To introduce a conventional expression of politeness.	If I may be quite frank with you, I don't approve of any concessions to ignorance.

Relevance (Speech act)	To explain the circumstances under which the statement of the apodosis is relevant.	Finally (if this is important), the S1 meaning can be converted into an S meaning to recover a more intuitive object to represent the meaning of the original sentence.
Meta-linguistic (Speech act)	To make a comment on the wording of the discourse.	His style is florid, if that's the right word.
Non-committal (Speech act)	By authors, to distance themselves from others' claims.	Chomsky's views cannot be reconciled with Piaget's, if I understand both correctly.

The application of this typology is described in the next section.

IV. CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

This study uses four of the subcorpora of the *Coruña Corpus of English Scientific writing* (henceforth Coruña Corpus or CC): the subcorpora on Astronomy, CETA (Moskowich et al., 2012), Philosophy, CEPhiT (Moskowich et al., 2016), History, CHET (Moskowich et al., 2019), and Life Sciences, CELiST (Lareo et al., 2020). All subcorpora in the Coruña Corpus share a common design and principles of compilation, and contain two samples of c.10,000-word texts per decade and discipline, leading to a total of approximately 400,000 words per subcorpus. The total number of texts from the four subcorpora used in this study is 162, totalling 1,619,661 words.

Of these 162 texts, 20 were written by women (12.3%). This percentage is considered by the compilers to be representative of the context of science writing during the period in question. The different discipline-specific subcorpora also show different numbers of women (see Figure 1 below), again broadly in keeping with the realities of these disciplines during the period, with history and life sciences being more accessible to women than philosophy and astronomy.

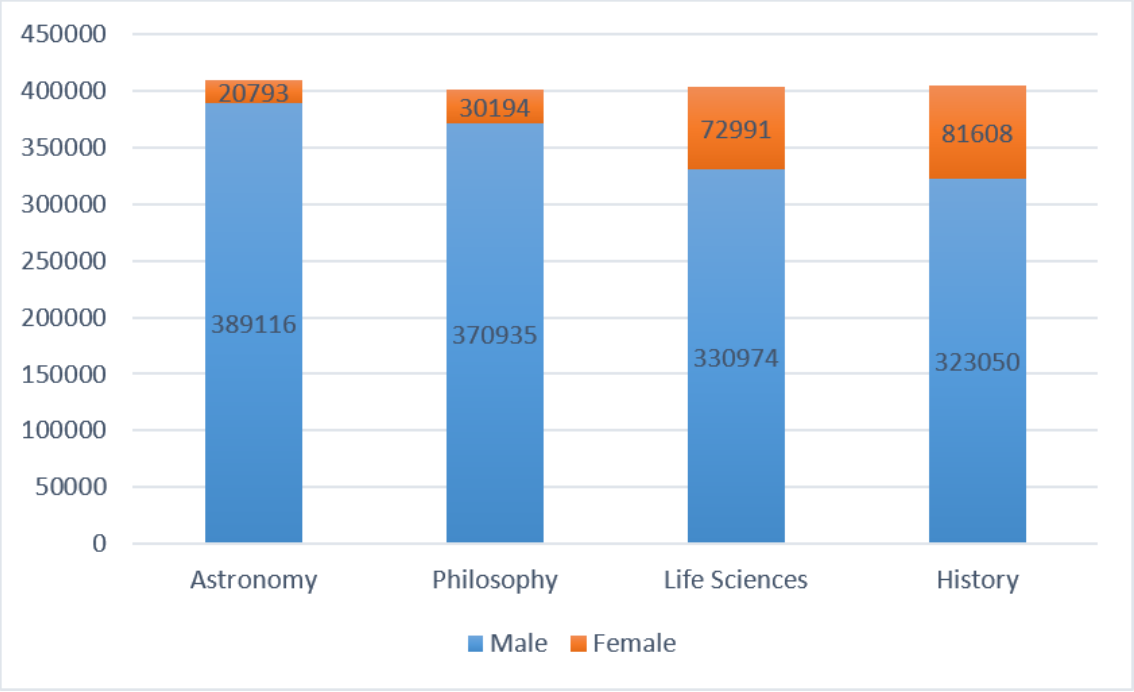

Figure 1. *Words per sex of author and discipline in the subcorpora of the Coruña Corpus.*

For data collection, selected conditional particles were searched for using the Coruña Corpus Tool, CCT (Parapar & Moskowich, 2007; Barsaglini-Castro & Valcarce, 2020), a bespoke tool developed to work with files from the Coruña Corpus. These searches went beyond the central conditional subordinators *if* and *unless*, and also included some more peripheral conditional subordinators such as *so long as*, *given that*, or *provided*, as well as the different operators which can introduce conditionals by inversion. These conditional particles (and consequently the elements searched for in the CCT) are given in Table 2 below.

Table 2. *Elements introducing clauses with conditional interpretations during the period 1700-1900 (taken from Puente-Castelo, 2017, p. 53).*

Type (Central conditional subordinators)	Particles (If, unless)
Peripheral conditional subordinators	As long as, so long as, assuming (that), given (that), in case, in the event that, just so (that), lest, on condition (that), on the understanding that, provided (that), providing (that), supposing (that), so (that).
Operators allowing inversion with conditional interpretation.	Had, were, should, might, could, may, would, is, be, did

The results were then disambiguated manually to discard cases in which these particles did not show a conditional nature, such as with interrogative uses of *if*, comparative uses of *as long as* and *so long as*, and especially all uses of operators which do not feature in conditional inversions, which constituted a very significant majority of the cases returned in the searches. Following disambiguation, the total number of cases found in the corpus was 4,293.

These data were then analysed and classified. The Coruña Corpus allows analyses based on several parameters, both linguistic (conditional type, conditional function, order of the constituents and verb form combination), and extra-linguistic (discipline, genre, and year of publication of the text, and sex and geographical origin of the author). For this study, we used four of these parameters: conditional type, conditional

function (these according to the typology presented above), discipline, and sex of the author. The analysis according to these parameters is presented below.

V. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The analysis will be organised in two stages. First, the general use of conditionals in the four subcorpora will be addressed, taking into account the use of conditionals and their different types in relation to the different disciplines and the sex of the authors. The focus will then turn to the uses of the different conditional functions, with a more detailed analysis for two of the subcorpora: CEPhiT (philosophy) and CELiST (life sciences).

V.1 General use of conditionals

Contrary to the findings reported in Crespo & Moskowich (2015), the results here show that women use notably fewer conditionals than men, with 2,757.52 cases per million words in texts written by men, compared to 1,917.51 in texts by women.

As shown in Table 3 below, this is the case for all types of conditionals except inversion conditionals, which are used slightly more in female-authored texts. Such differences are particularly notable in the uses of *if* (2,293.57 uses per million in texts by male authors vs. 1,542.77 in texts by female authors) and *unless* (118.82 vs. 53.53).

Table 3. *Uses of conditionals per type of conditionals and sex of the author. Normalised figures (N=1,000,000).*

Type	Male	Female
If	2,293.57	1,542.77
Unless	118.82	53.53
Inversion conditionals	195.90	209.27
Peripheral conditionals	149.23	111.94
Total	2,757.52	1,917.51

The analysis of the results according to the discipline of the text shows more significant differences. Men use conditionals more frequently than women in all disciplines except philosophy, in which women make far greater use of them (5,497.78 uses per million, compared to 3,631.36 in philosophy texts written by men). However, there is some divergence between disciplines as to differences per sex here, as shown in Table 4 below. In life sciences, and particularly in astronomy texts, the proportion of use of conditionals by male authors is strikingly higher, being almost three times that of female authors in the same discipline. In history texts, however, the differences between men and women are less notable.

Table 4. *Uses of conditionals per sex of the author and discipline. Normalised figures (N=1,000,000).*

Discipline	Male	Female
Astronomy	3,641.59	1,346.61
Philosophy	3,631.36	5,497.78
Life Sciences	2,060.58	1,301.53
History	1,402.79	1,288.39

An analysis combining the two parameters, illustrated in Figure 2 below, shows a similar distribution. In both astronomy and life sciences, men use more conditionals than women for all four main types of conditionals. This is also the case in history texts, with the exception of peripheral conditionals, which women use more (171.79 per million) than men (108.38).

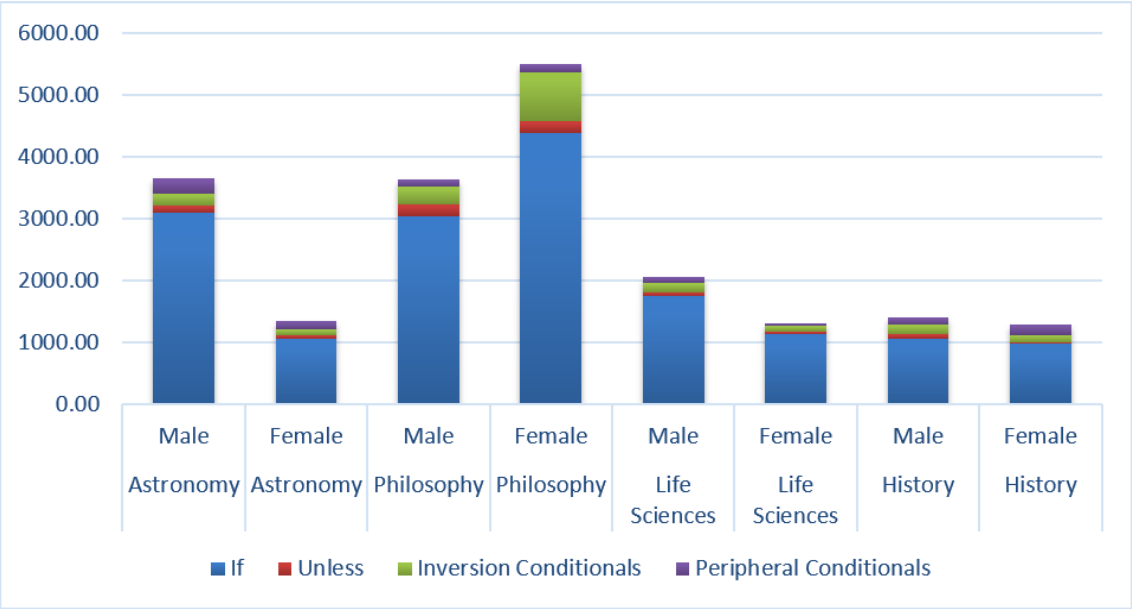

Figure 2. *Use of conditionals per type, discipline and sex of the author*

On the other hand, in the samples on philosophy, women show a higher proportion of use for all the different types of conditionals except *unless*, which is marginally more common in texts written by men (199.50 vs. 198.71 uses per million).

V.2 Functions of conditionals

The analysis of the results according to the function that conditionals play in discourse shows that for both men and women hypothesizing conditionals are the most common, in both cases more than ten times more common than the next most frequently used conditional function. However, there are some interesting differences between men and women authors.

As shown in Table 5 below, women avoid the use of known-fact conditionals, that is, the ones conveying least mitigation (only 9.69 uses per million words, compared to 66.96 for men), and they also use less scope-restricting, concessive, and non-committal conditionals. On the other hand, women use many more directive and politeness conditionals, as well as, perhaps surprisingly, a very much higher use of rhetorical ones.

Table 5. *Functions of conditionals in discourse per sex of the author. Normalised figures (N=1,000,000).*

Function	Male	Female
Known Fact	66.96	9.69
Hypothesizing	2,242.46	2,025.49
Scope-Restricting	153.87	77.53
Method	0.00	0.00
Rhetorical	7.12	58.15
Concessive	183.78	125.99
Directive	12.82	48.46
Politeness	29.92	48.46
Relevance	108.28	106.60
Metalinguistic	19.95	19.38
Non-committal	65.54	9.69

The sum of all interpersonal uses (that is, all categories except known fact, hypothesizing, and method conditionals) is slightly higher among male authors: 581.27 uses of conditionals with an interpersonal meaning per million words vs. 494.26 for female authors.

If we analyse these results in light of the discipline of the texts, the preponderance of hypothesizing conditionals is common to both philosophy and life sciences, as indeed it is in all disciplines and sexes, but philosophy and life sciences texts differ in their use of interpersonal conditionals. Philosophy texts show a higher use of interpersonal conditionals, and women use them more frequently than men (1,092.93 cases per million vs. 725.19 for men). Life sciences texts use these conditionals far less often, but with men using them more often than women (419.97 vs. 246.61 cases per million, respectively).

The analysis of the specific interpersonal conditionals used shows further striking differences. As shown in Figure 3 below, in the philosophy subcorpus, most of the conditionals with an interpersonal meaning appear more frequently in texts written by women, except for relevance, non-committal and politeness conditionals, which appear more frequently in male-authored texts. In life sciences, on the other hand,

only politeness and relevance conditionals are more common in texts written by women, with all the others appearing more frequently in texts written by men.

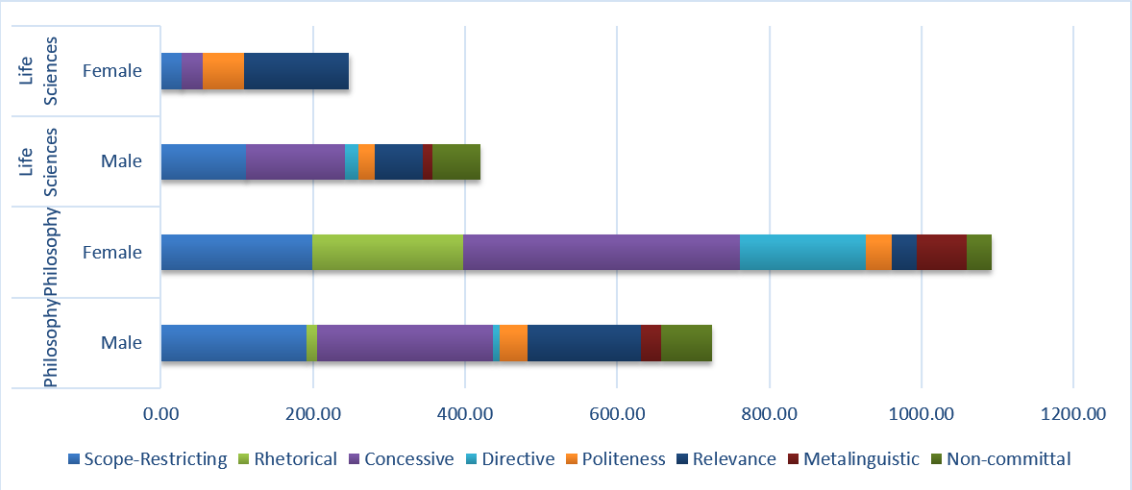

Figure 3. *Interpersonal functions of conditionals per discipline and sex of the author*.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The notable differences in the results across disciplines presented above, both in terms of the general use of conditionals and the distribution of the different types and functions between men and women, suggests that this distribution of uses is discipline-specific. This may be explained by the fact that the period under study is characterised by an ever-increasing specialization, in which new disciplines arise and develop, gradually becoming distinct from one another. In this sense, the variability in the data suggests that perhaps, rather than speaking of a single scientific community, we should talk about a number of different disciplinary cultures or epistemic communities with different social and interactive networks, different rhetorical uses, different characteristic linguistic uses, and also different attitudes regarding the position for women within them.

Turning to the use of interpersonal conditionals, the fact that men use slightly more of these than women is interesting, in that it seems counter-intuitive and as such merits further study. The preference for particular conditional functions according to the sex of the author is perhaps even more remarkable. Male authors use scope-restricting

and concessive conditionals more frequently than women. These are two types of conditionals which perhaps have a subtler interpersonal nature, in that they are used to negotiate meaning and emphasise common knowledge, either by defining concepts and the scope of these (scope-restricting conditionals) or by anticipating (and defusing) potential criticism (concessive conditionals). This contrasts with the preference women have for clearer interpersonal conditionals, such as directive and politeness ones.

The two most puzzling results arising from the analysis are the high use of rhetorical conditionals and the low use of non-committal conditionals by women authors. Non-committal conditionals are directly used to express uncertainty or doubt as to the correctness or accuracy of a claim or assertion, and, in this sense, they are useful as a means of showing humility, which seems at first sight a particularly appropriate objective for female authors. However, our data suggest that these forms appear to be actively avoided by female authors (only 9.69 uses per million words, compared to 65.54 for men). A possible explanation for this could be that the use of non-committal conditionals might be too risky for a person in a position of weakness in a scientific community, since they are a tacit admission of lack of knowledge. Thus, a person in such a position might well prefer to avoid them, thus avoiding giving grounds for possible attacks, and prioritising the vindication of their position as genuine members of the community.

The higher use of rhetorical conditionals among women (58.15 uses per million vs. 7.12 for men) is particularly surprising, as these are strong assertions introduced by means of the use of blatant irony, and at first sight seem to be the kind of conditionals that women in this context might better avoid altogether. However, it may be the case that the use of irony here helps women to introduce more categorical statements in a more covert way, thus avoiding potential backlash. In any case, it must be taken into account that these results are influenced by the very high presence of this use of the conditional in eighteenth century philosophy texts, which may perhaps not be representative of the broader scientific register of the period.

In conclusion, the results point to a scenario in which women do use conditionals as an interpersonal device, but with very marked differences between disciplines, perhaps reflecting a higher-than-expected element of disciplinary specificity. Further study is needed to confirm this, as well as to explore possible correlations between the use of conditionals and the position of women in these disciplines and the preferences for particular conditional functions.

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Narratology in Early Modern medical manuscripts: The case of London, Wellcome Library, MS 213

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ABSTRACT

It has been argued that narrative elements can be found throughout the history of English scientific writing. Narratives can be linked to specific genres; thus, learned texts for medical doctors were different from those directed to lay audiences (Taavitsainen, 2022). This article sets out to analyse a specific type of medical narrative, that of recipe collections, focusing for the purpose on the text housed in London, Wellcome Library, MS 213. The manuscript dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century (1606, more specifically) and gathers recipes "experienced and tryed by the speciall practize of Mrs Corlyon" (Moorat, 1962-1973)[i]. The codex belonged to Alethea Howard (née Talbot), Countess of Arundel. The main aim of the study is to identify and examine narrative forms and functions as well as particular features in the collection of recipes held in MS Wellcome 213, which can contribute to the knowledge of recipes written by and for women during the early modern period.

Keywords: *Early Modern English; medicine; MS Wellcome 213; recipe collection; women writing.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The term "narratology" can be employed in a number of different senses, from very narrow to quite broad. There is also a plethora of words to describe the nature of narrative forms (see Nünning, 2003, pp. 257-264). In this paper, a broader view is held: narrative is conceived of as ubiquitous and all-encompassing, including both fiction and non-fiction. Narrative structures are crucial for ordering time and space, and thus allowing for the construction of meaning in general. As White (1987, p. 1) contends, "far from being one code among many that a culture may utilize for endowing experience with meaning, narrative is a meta-code, a human universal on the basis of which transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality can be transmitted". In the history of English scientific writing, narratives can be linked to specific genres, for instance, learned texts for medical doctors were different from those targeting lay audiences (Taavitsainen, 2022). The focus of the present study is a particular type of medical narrative, that of recipe collections, in Early Modern English; to this end, the text contained in London, Wellcome Library, MS 213 (henceforth W213), which dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century and has been attributed to a woman, is taken into consideration.

The recipe text type goes back to Old English and gained popularity in the following periods. Medical recipes were in fact "one of the most frequently copied text-types in late medieval England" (Bower, 2022, p. 2). They have received much scholarly interest over the last decades, for instance, Alonso-Almeida (1998-1999), Jones (1998), Carroll (1999, 2004), Taavitsainen (2001), Mäkinen (2004), Quintana-Toledo (2009), de la Cruz Cabanillas (2017a), Marqués-Aguado and Esteban-Segura (2020), Bower (2022). In the Early Modern English period, the role and function of medical recipes have been deal with Leong and Pennell (2007), Leong (2008, 2013, 2018), Alonso-Almeida (2013), Sylwanowicz (2017, 2018) and de la Cruz Cabanillas (2016, 2017b, 2020). Traditionally, little attention has been paid to scientific and technical texts addressed to and written by women in this period, a gap which some of the previously mentioned studies have started to fill.

According to Leong (2013, p. 82), the "early modern domestic space has come under increasing scrutiny as a site of knowledge production". This is materialised in the evidence contained in recipe books; in such a space women played an important part as providers of information. Thus, the objective of this paper is to identify and examine narrative forms and functions as well as particular features in the collection of recipes held in W213, which can contribute to the knowledge of recipes written by and for women during the early modern period.

II. THE MANUSCRIPT

W213 is a one-volume codex which dates from the early seventeenth century. It holds a collection of medical and household recipes in English. It is described in the Library Catalogue of the Wellcome Collection as "A Booke of diuers Medecines, Broothes, Salues, Waters, Syroppes and Oyntementes of which[ii] many or the most part haue been experienced and tryed by the speciall practize of Mrs[iii] Corlyon. Anno Domini 1606" (Moorat, 1962-1973)[iv], after the words appearing on the first page of the manuscript. Apart from putting forward its main contents, this brief description provides the exact date of composition. The description, in red ink, is preceded by the words "Liber Comitissæ Arundeliæ" ("Book of the Countess of Arundel") in black ink at the top of the page, a reference to the owner and possible author of the handwritten book (further research is necessary to confirm this hypothesis, though). This can make reference to either Anne Howard (née Dacre) or Alethea Howard (née Talbot) (the owner was the latter); see below. It is not clear who the Mrs Corlyon referred to in the description was: it has been conjectured that she may have had a connection with the Arundel family, although the name Corlyon, on the other hand, could have been an early pseudonym of Alethea Talbot, alluding to the lion in the Talbot coat of arms (Rabe, 2016, p. 187). In any case, from the words in the description, it can be ruled out that Mrs Corlyon was the inventor of the recipes; she seems to have been the "experiencer". As is the case of many recipe collections, recipes gathered knowledge of previous generations together with that of contemporary networks.

The manuscript has an original gilt stamped calf binding with a central arabesque ornament, which has on each side the letter "A". The "AA" monogram stands for Alethea Arundel and is another overt mark of ownership, which confirms that the manuscript belonged to Alethea Talbot (1585-1654), Countess of Arundel and wife of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Leong and Pennell (2007, p. 141) point out that the volume is thought to have been a wedding gift from Anne Howard (1557-1630), Alethea's mother-in-law, on the occasion of her marriage to his son, Thomas Howard, in 1606. This would discard Alethea as the author of the manuscript in favour of Anne, who was "an amateur healer and a prolific collector of manuscript receipts" (Archer, 2002, n. p.). Alethea was also a specialist in domestic medicine and a collector of medical and culinary recipes (Rabe, 2016). Her collection of recipes, including the contents of W213 as well as other material, was published as a posthumous book entitled *Natura exenterata: or nature umbowelled* […] in London in 1655, one of "the first printed recipe books officially authored by a woman" (Rabe, 2016, p. 187; see Hunter, 1997).

W213 displays two different paginations at the top right-hand side of the page. The first pagination, which is the original one, is contemporaneous with the text and includes 342 numbered pages (preceded by twelve and followed by seven pages which have not been numbered [xii + vii]); this pagination appears on all pages^{v}. The second one, probably carried out by the staff at the Wellcome Collection, is in pencil and only appears on odd pages; this new pagination consists of 194 pages. Before the beginning of the recipes, on page xii, there is a one-page, rubricated table of contents listing the different chapters:

> "A table of the generall Chapters or titles, to whiche
> all the particuler medecines in this booke ar referred
> as appeareth by a more particuler table annexed, which
> you may fynde in the ende of the booke Folio · 365"

A more detailed table of contents (15 pages long) including the headings of the recipes is indeed found at the end of the manuscript. For the text, black ink is employed, whereas chapter titles, recipe headings and some initial letters or words of recipes are in red ink. This ink colour may also be used for individual words within a recipe for emphasis and for catchwords[vi]. The whole text is within red rules. This indicates a conscientious process of copying. Although the handwriting of the text is good and careful, it exhibits some mistakes and, in most cases, corrections to them (see Esteban-Segura, 2020).

The volume consists of twenty-five chapters, each dealing with recipes for specific parts of the body, particular ailments/conditions or medical preparations (including waters, syrups, ointments, etc.), as follows: chapter one: eyes; chapter two: head; chapter three: ears; chapter four: face; chapter five: teeth and mouth; chapter six: throat; chapter seven: breast; chapter eight: lungs; chapter nine: pleurisy, stitch and spleen; chapter ten: liver and spleen; chapter eleven: stomach; chapter twelve: worms; chapter thirteen: colic and stone; chapter fourteen: purgations, clysters, suppositories, flux and looseness; chapter fifteen: jaundice; chapter sixteen: bleeding; chapter seventeen: sweat; chapter eighteen: plague; chapter nineteen: gout; chapter twenty: general medicines for particular effects, not sorting with the former chapters; chapter twenty-one: broths; chapter twenty-two: waters; chapter twenty-three: syrups; chapter twenty-four: salves, cerecloths; chapter twenty-five: ointments. The recipes are aimed at treating a range of illnesses, from common to severe. After each chapter, several pages have intentionally been left blank.

As for hands, the main one found in most of the manuscript is tidy and clear. Pages 12 and part of 13 display four recipes by two different hands[vii]. They are less clear and do not keep the lines as straight as the main one. A recipe has been added on page 172 in a darker ink and without rubrication. Pages 179 and 180 also exhibit recipes by different hands: the name “La Winnwoode” appears after the heading of the recipe on page 179 and “My Lady of Buckhnest Receptt” can be found at the end of page 180. On page 318 there are two other recipes by a different hand in Latin, preceded by the

heading: "My Lady Winwoods pilles for the Spleen and against Melancholy". Pages 319-324 contain additional recipes by different hands, also mentioning different names, mainly women's[viii]. The headings of these added recipes are not in red ink as in the rest of the manuscript, although red ink has been superimposed on page 180 in the headings and the initial letter of the recipes. The space in which the recipes have been added (at a later stage) had originally been left blank.

In Figure 1, which shows the first page of W213 with recipes, some of the aspects discussed so far, such as ruling, pagination and hand, can be noticed.

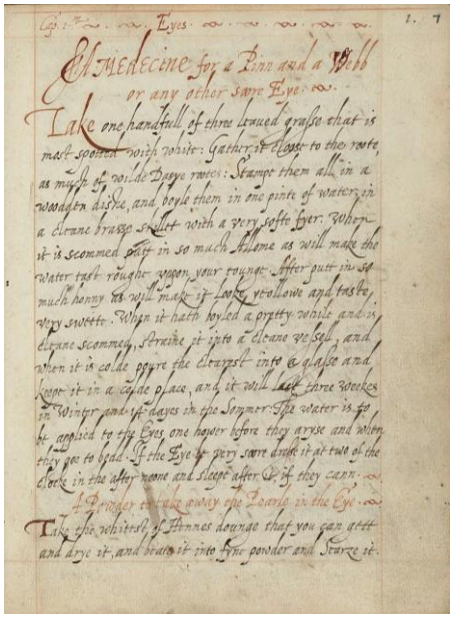


Figure 1. *Page 1 of W213*[ix]

III. METHODOLOGY

The present analysis stems from previous work carried out for several research projects (see the Funding section at the end of the article), which have crystallised in *The Málaga Corpus of Early Modern English Scientific Prose*[x]. The corpus, which is POS-tagged, consists of Early Modern English *Fachprosa* from the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow University Library, the Wellcome Collection in London and the Rylands Collection at the University of Manchester Library. Furthermore, the digitised images

of the manuscripts can be consulted along with their corresponding diplomatic transcriptions. W213, which was hitherto unedited, has been transcribed by the author of this article. The tenets of the semi-diplomatic model, which proposes a faithful rendering of the original text, have been followed. They involve keeping original spelling, punctuation, capitalisation, word division, layout, etc. as well as indicating editorial intervention (for example, using italics to mark expanded abbreviations).

The recipes relating to medical problems in the head (corresponding to chapters one to five, pages 1-54) have been selected for the investigation[xi]. They amount to sixty-two recipes: twenty-six recipes for the eyes; eighteen for the head; six for the ears; three for the face; and nine for the teeth.

IV. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The status of the recipe as a text type is indisputable (see Görlach, 1992, 2004). Görlach (2004, pp. 124-125) divides the characteristics of the recipe into four main groups (he focuses on the cooking recipe, but the same principles can be applied to the medical recipe): (a) *well-definedness on macro- and microlevel*; (b) *social*; (c) *linguistic*; and (d) *technical*.

IV.1 Well-definedness on macro- and microlevel category

W213 meets the criteria proposed by Görlach at the macro- and microlevels. With regards to the former, the whole book is devoted to recipes and is meant as a collection of them. Those recipes dealing with parts of the body have been arranged following the medieval *de capite ad pedem* structure (from head to foot) (Cf. Carroll [2004] who claims that recipes lack order). This organisational pattern evinces influence from the learned tradition of medical texts. At the microlevel, the recipes follow a similar structure: a rubricated and centred heading, which states the purpose of the recipe, followed by the main text in a different paragraph (see Figure 2).

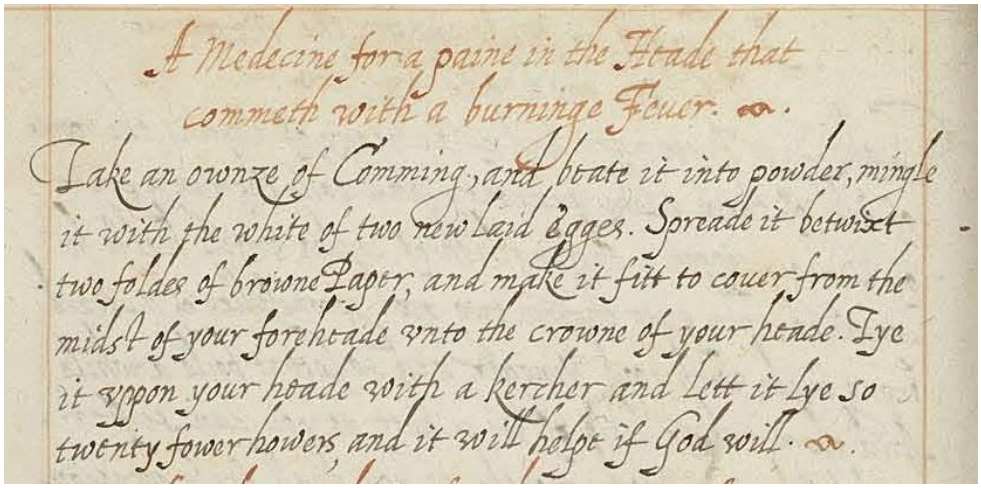

A Medecine for a paine in the Heade that
commeth with a burninge Feuer. ∞.
Take an ownze of Comming, and beate it into powder, mingle
it with the white of two new Laid egges. Spreade it betwixt
two foldes of browne Paper, and make it fitt to couer from the
midst of your forehead vnto the crowne of your heade. Lye
it vppon your hoade with a kercher and Lett it Lye so
twenty fower howers, and it will helpe if God will. ∞.

Figure 2. *Example of recipe (p. 18)*[xii]

In the text the procedure, ingredients, utensils, application and administration involved in the preparation of the remedy are detailed, as illustrated in example 1 (recipe no. 7, pp. 4-5):

> (1) "A Medecine for the Rednesse of the Eyes without paine ·
> Take peeces of fyne manchett Breade of an inche thicke, beyng
> the breadth of your Eye, or bigger, and cutt hooles in the middest
> of them: Then dry them before the fyer, but make them not
> browne, putt them in fayre running water, and when they
> be softe, lay them vppon your Eyes, and after they haue lyen an
> hower bynde them fast to your Eyes with a clothe. This must
> be doen when you goe to bedd, and in the morninge washe
> your Eyes with fayre water, and lye still an hower after"

Administration could vary depending on whether the patient was an adult or a child:

> (2) "… and geue it to the Patient |[xiii] to drincke 9 · morninges fastinge · And if it be to a childe a dozen | will serue at a · tyme" (recipe no. 19, p. 10)

Apart from that, other types of optional information may be provided. One of this involves storage and conservation time:

> (3) "… when it is colde poure the clearest into a glasse and | keepe it in a colde place, and it will last three weekes | in Winter and 14 · dayes in the Sommer" (recipe no. 1, p. 1)

On the other hand, some of the recipes promise relief and cure, that is, the effectiveness of the remedies is overtly expressed by means of efficacy phrases, which are an optional element. Efficacy phrases have received duly scholarly attention, see, for instance, Hunt (1990), Jones (1998), Alonso-Almeida and Cabrera-Abreu (2002) and Mäkinen (2011). This kind of tag phrase occurs in 33 of the recipes examined, normally at the end of the remedy. Some of them are general: "and you shall fynde ease" (recipe no. 12, p. 7); "This hathe been approued" (recipe no. 19, p. 10); "and it will helpe you" (recipe no. 37, p. 23); "you shall fynde it will cure you" (recipe no. 59, p. 53). Some efficacy phrases are more specific to the medical problem for which the remedy seeks a solution: "and it will procure you to sleepe" (recipe no. 35, p. 22); "This will make you to avoide the Rhewme exceedinglye" (recipe no. 41, p. 25); "and it will helpe the paine of the heade" (recipe no. 42, p. 25). Reference to God is also found in efficacy phrases: "and it will helpe if God will" (recipe no. 29, p. 18); "These beyng vsed as is aforesaid will by Gods helpe heale it" (recipe no. 51, p. 41). The Latin phrases "Probatum" (recipe no. 26, p. 13) and "Probatum est" (recipe no. 55, p. 51) occur once each. These were common in medieval recipes and continue to be in use during the early modern period. Finally, the versatility of some remedies is explicitly manifested in several recipes, typically at the end: "And this is also very Good for any kinde of Scale, that groweth vppon the Eye" (recipe no. 2, p. 2); "This water is likewise good for the Rhewme in your Eyes" (recipe no. 8, p. 5).

IV.2. Social category

Taking into account the background of the owner of the manuscript, it can be assumed that the recipes were addressed to an aristocratic readership to provide cures in a family context. It may be unlikely that the Countess of Arundel herself was physically involved in the preparation of the recipes, but she would have instructed and overseen her staff (Rabe, 2016, p. 185).

The narrative elements also allude to the recipes or teachings of other women (for instance, "M^{rs} Maynarde" in the heading of recipe no. 59, p. 53), which links to the idea of the recipe genre as a venue to exchange knowledge and expertise.

IV.3. Linguistic category

The linguistic features put forward by Görlach (2004, pp. 124-125) are: "form of the heading"; "full sentences or telegram style"; "use of imperative or other verbal forms"; "use of possessive pronouns with ingredients and implements"; "deletion of objects"; "temporal sequence, and possible adverbs used"; "complexity of sentences"; "marked use of loanwords and of genteel diction".

Some of these linguistic features will be discussed next. As far as the form of the heading is concerned, the most common pattern is for it to start with "A Medicine to/for…" (36 instances). In 5 of these the noun "medicine" is modified by an adjective to emphasise the validity of the remedy or to indicate sequence: "A very good Medecine to/for…" (recipe nos. 6 and 60); "A Medecine good for…" (recipe no. 38); "A Comfortable Medecine for…" (recipe no. 43); "A thirde Medecine to…" (recipe no. 35).

Other nouns or noun phrases (NP) can also be found in the recipe headings: "A Powder to…" (recipe no. 2); "An especiall good water for…" (recipe no. 8); "A Drincke to…" (recipe nos. 12 and 24); "A Plaister to/for…" (recipe nos. 14 and 28, respectively); "A water for…" (recipe no. 25); "A Gargas or Medecine for…" (recipe no. 27); "A Gargle good for…" (recipe no. 41). The pattern "An other + NP + (to/for) / (for to)" is found on 9 occasions: the NP contains the word "medicine" in 8 instances and "drink" in 1 instance, for example, "An other Medecine for to…" (recipe no. 10), "An other Drincke to…" (recipe no. 13) and "An other very good Medecine for…" (recipe no. 49).

Other different patterns for the beginning of a recipe are "To + make…" (2 occurrences) and "For + NP…" (5 occurrences): "To make a Quilte to stay the Rhewme of what kinde soeuer it bee" (recipe no. 31) and "For a soore mouthe happening to Children when they breede Teethe" (recipe no. 62).

Sentences in the recipes are complete and a telegram style is avoided. Coordination is prevalent with the conjunction "and" being frequently employed to connect sentences; other coordinating conjunctions are "but" and "or" (see example 1 above).

After the heading, the opening element in the body of 59 of the recipes under analysis is the verb "Take" in the imperative. As regards the other 3, "take" is preceded by "Jn Maye" (recipe no. 17) in one, another employs the verb "make" (recipe no. 43) and the third one provides an explanation for pains in the head (recipe no. 32). This last recipe is interesting since it is the longest one and it furnishes information (not only instructions) about possible causes of pain in the head. It is also remarkable because some of the remedies involve certain physical exercises.

The imperative is the most common verbal form employed elsewhere (see example 4 below; recipe no. 22, p. 11). Hence, the narrative of recipes shows a clear instructional purpose, where directions are provided to inform about how to prepare medicines, syrups, creams, broths, etc.

> (4) "A Medecine for a soore Eye ·
> **Take** Pearle woorte, **stampe** and **straine** and **myngle** the iuyce
> thereof with woemans milke and white Sugar candye powde=
> red, and so **droppe** it into the Eye **Take** also Ribbwoorte, and if
> it be needfull to washe it, **lett** it be well dryed from the water
> then **stampe** and **straine** it, and **dropp** a good droppe thereof 2 · or
> 3 · tymes a daye into the eye This of Ribbwoorte is also good
> for any Beastes or Cattell that haue soore eyes"[xiv]

Second-person possessive pronouns are normally found with parts of the body ("your tounge"; "your eyes"; "your fingars"; "your mouthe"; "your foreheade"; "your heade"; "your neck"; "your teethe"; "your elboes"; "your face"; "your handes"; "your eares"; etc.). On some occasions they appear with ingredients ("your Sage"; "your Salte and Brann"; "your Quinces"; "your Coperesse"; "your whits of eggs"; "your licor"; "your Quicksyluer"), preparations ("your powder"; "your plaister") and utensils ("your Stillitorye"; "your tentes"). They succeed in making the recipe more personalised (Carroll, 2004, p. 182).

Regarding temporal sequence, the narrative elements are presented chronologically. First, the procedure comprising all the relevant steps in the making of the remedy with the ingredients is carefully explained. This includes actions such as boiling, heating,

melting, grinding, mixing, distilling, beating, etc. Then, the application and/or administration is specified and, finally, further data about storage or effectiveness may be supplied. This logical ordering can be strengthened by means of temporal adverbs, such as "then" and "after" (see example 1 above).

IV.4. Technical category

Quantities to indicate measures are commonly found in medieval manuscripts (see Alonso-Almeida, 1998-1999; Bator and Sylwanowicz, 2017). In W213, measures are generally expressed by handfuls and spoonfuls. Weights are only sporadically mentioned: "(3 or) 4 ovnces" (p. 9); "one ounze" (p. 21); "halfe a pounde" (p. 41); "halfe a dramme (p. 53); "one scruple" (p. 53); "halfe an ownze" (p. 53). In this respect, reference to quantities is not very precise, a fact which contrasts with Late Middle English medical recipes, particularly those embedded in specialised treatises, which included standard apothecaries' weights, usually abbreviated by means of symbols (see Esteban-Segura, 2012).

Specification is more detailed for times (example 5) and frequency of application and/or administration (example 6):

> (5) "But withall the Patient must | drinck a greate draughte of this water following both in the | morning fasting and at 4 . of the clock in the after noone" (recipe no. 52, p. 42)
>
> (6) "Vse it in the morning | and when you goe to Bedd, and keepe your selfe warme" (recipe no. 49, p. 35)

The ingredients are predominantly herbal (example 7). Usual commodities found in households, such as sugar, salt, eggs, honey, vinegar, etc., are common as well. Animal- or human-derived ingredients may also form part of the remedies (examples 8-9). As for the type of instruments needed for the recipes, they may be present in any household (pans, vessels, boxes, etc.).

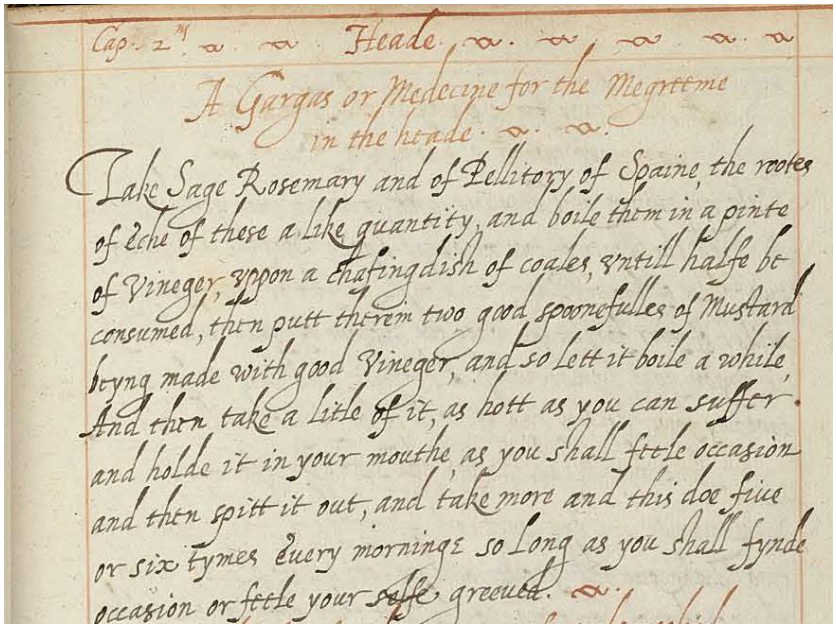
> (7) "Take of **Camomele**, **Rosemary**, and **Sage**…" (recipe no. 36, p. 22)
>
> (8) "… and take a | dozen greate **earth wormes**…" (recipe no. 3, p. 2)

(9) "Take a spoonefull of the iuyce of Howselick, as much of | **wœmans milke**…"(recipe no. 33, p. 21)

As has been discussed in the previous subsection, the arrangement of information in the recipes is standardised, following a logical and chronological rationale.

IV.5. Codification

The recipes in W213 may have been collected from oral sources and/or other manuscripts. They contain specialised and verified knowledge, since this has been passed on and validated through generations. The inclusion of efficacy phrases (discussed in IV.1 above) also attests to matters of verification and validation. The recipe book can be considered a type of codifying writing or codification, in which "the acquired knowledge of a discipline is presented as generally accepted and valid" (Schernus, 2011, p. 282). Narrative forms are relevant to codifying texts and are systematic in W213. They are present at the supra- and intra-textual levels. Supra-textual devices include the disposition of chapter and recipe headings as well as the layout of recipes on the page. As for chapter headings, they appear at the top of even pages when a new chapter begins. The word "Cap" is followed by an Arabic numeral and then the part of the body for which the recipes aim to provide cure (i.e. eyes, ears, etc.). A combination of several paragraphi, which are usually employed to mark paragraph divisions and take the form of a horizontal § in the manuscript, and puncti in middle position circumscribe the noun. All the chapter headings are rubricated, which may be regarded as decoration but also as a help to find the relevant information easily. Recipe headings follow a similar pattern, appearing above the text in red ink; one or several paragraphi and puncti close the heading (see Figure 3).


Cap. 2^m. Heade.

A Gargas or Medecine for the Megrime in the heade.

Take Sage Rosemary and of Pellitory of Spaine, the roote of eche of these a like quantity, and boile them in a pinte of Vineger vppon a chafingdish of coales, vntill halfe be consumed, then putt therein two good spoonefulles of Mustard beyng made with good Vineger, and so lett it boile a while, And then take a Litle of it, as hott as you can suffer and holde it in your mouthe as you shall feele occasion and then spitt it out, and take more and this doe fiue or six tymes euery morninge so long as you shall fynde occasion or feele your [illegible] greeued.

Figure 3. *Opening of chapter 2 (p. 17)*[xv]

With respect to the layout, recipes are neatly organised. The text is kept within the ruled margins and recipes are relatively short: the longest one occupies forty lines, whereas the shortest one takes three, being the average number of lines eleven.

The discursive structure of recipes follows a set of stages, which continues that of the medieval tradition. Alonso-Almeida (2013, p. 72) has provided the following schema for Early Modern English recipes, where the use of parentheses indicates an optional stage and the asterisk variable order of the stages: (Title) * Ingredients * (Preparation) * (Application) * (Efficacy) * (Storage) * (Expiry date) * (Virtues). In W213, the title, ingredients, preparation and application stages always appear; the rest of stages may be present or not (see IV.1 above).

At the linguistic level, although the imperative is the most employed verbal form, the modal verbs *may*, *must* and *shall* are also found. Sentences are not generally complex and, while coordination predominates, temporal clauses may occur as well (example 10):

> (10) "… Doe this as you | **shall** feele occasion. And **when** you haue made an ende with | these, **then** you **must** haue tentes to putt vpp into your Nose | to open the conductes and to drawe downe the corrupte matter | that offendeth" (recipe no. 37, p. 23)

Since recipes are informative texts, they tend to be linguistically explicit. Thus, objects of transitive verbs as well as pronouns are expressed (example 11):

> (11) "Take **a good quantity of Rosemary leaues** and chewe **them** | lightly in **your** mouthe that the ayre may assend into **your** | heade…" (recipe no. 37, p. 22)

All the aspects addressed above make the narrative structure of recipes cohesive and well-assembled.

V. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The recipes analysed in W213 show distinct narrative forms (i.e. coherent organisational patterns and layout; consistent configuration of the headings; use of full sentences, coordination and imperative forms of the verb; clear temporal sequence, etc.) that help to transmit the information contained in them and make of the recipe a clear-cut text type, whose main function is instructional. Recipe books are viewed as a type of codified writing. The texts contained in them are filled with practical knowledge useful for the running of a household and also enable us to outline social and cultural trends. Thus, in the seventeenth century, medicinal preparations that could be made at home allowed for a self-help culture which continued to develop onwards (Stobart, 2016, p. 175). Their compilation into recipe books created and used by women in the seventeenth century are chronicles of life. As such, their study uncovers not only women's literacy practices but also their thoughts and experiences which, until quite recently, have gone unnoticed. Recipes were a means to amass, retain and exchange knowledge and experiences and bear witness to "the complex and elaborate tasks of the early modern gentlewoman: the preparation of preserves, confections, sweet-meats, and medicines" (Rabe, 2016, p. 184) and to their reading practices. Accordingly, manuscripts reveal themselves as historical documents that can be relevant to interdisciplinary research on linguistics, gender studies, book history, to name but a few.

Further investigation on aspects only briefly mentioned in this article, such as the names appearing in some recipes and the different hands found in the manuscript, is currently in process in order to try to shed more light on historical writing by women.

Notes

[i] This has been taken from the database description of the Library Catalogue of the Wellcome Collection, available at https://wellcomecollection.org/works/u3w8qbrt (date of access: February 2023).

[ii] This is "w*hi*ch" in the manuscript.

[iii] This is "M[rs]" in the manuscript.

[iv] Available at https://wellcomecollection.org/works/u3w8qbrt (date of access: February 2023).

[v] They are wrongly numbered from page 327 (365 in the manuscript) onwards.

[vi] Catchwords appear on the right bottom margin. They replicate the first word(s) on the following page in order to help with the exact order of leaves or quires during binding.

[vii] This and further reference to page numbers follow the original pagination of the manuscript.

[viii] Some of these hands may be the same; an in-depth palaeographical analysis is mandatory to determine how many different hands there are.

[ix] Corlyon, Mrs. Wellcome Collection. Public Domain Mark.

[x] The corpus is available at https://modernmss.uma.es/ (date of access: February 2023).

[xi] The recipe headings and the pages in which the recipes are found are provided in the Appendix.

[xii] Corlyon, Mrs. Wellcome Collection. Public Domain Mark.

[xiii] This vertical bar signals a change of line in the text of the manuscript.

[xiv] The use of bold in this and following examples indicates added emphasis.

[xv] Corlyon, Mrs. Wellcome Collection. Public Domain Mark.

[xvi] The original line breaks have not been kept and superfluous punctuation marks have been ignored. Page numbers follow the original pagination of the manuscript.

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APPENDIX: LIST OF RECIPE HEADINGS FOR THE HEAD IN W213[xvi]

1. A Medecine for a Pinn and a Webb or any other soore Eye (p. 1)

2. A Powder to take away the Pearle in the Eye (pp. 1-2)

3. A Medecine to staye the Humors from fallinge to the Eyes, and good for the Meegreeme (pp. 2-3)

4. A Medecine for a Bruse in the Eye (p. 3)

5. A Medecine for Rednesse in the Eyes, the whiche proceedeth only of hott Humors (pp. 3-4)

6. A very good Medecine to comfort a weake Eye or to helpe those that haue had the smale Pockes or Measelles in theire Eyes (p. 4)

7. A Medecine for the Rednesse of the Eyes without paine (pp. 4-5)

8. An especiall good water for the clearinge of the Eye: and to preserue Sighte (p. 5)

9. A Medecine to eate out proude fleshe, growinge within the corner of the Eye (pp. 5-6)

10. An other Medecine for to take away the Pynn and Webb in the eye or a Tey in the eye, w*hi*ch growethe from the corner of the eye to the blacke, and is like a litle Gutt (p. 6)

11. A Medecine for a Burne in the Eye eyther by Fyer or Gunpowder (pp. 6-7)

12. A Drincke to cleare the Sighte (p. 7)

13. An other Drincke to cleare the Sighte (pp. 7-8)

14. A Plaister to stay the Humors that feede the Catorick, to be applied to the temples when the former Drinckes ar in takinge (p. 8)

15. To make very good Balles to stay y^{e} revme (p. 9)

16. A Medecine for reddnesse in the Eyes (p. 9)

17. An other Medecine for reddnesse in the Eyes (p. 10)

18. A Medecine for one that hath a Strype in the Eye or a Bruse in the Face (p. 10)

19. A Medecine for a Pynn and a webb or any such like in the Eye (p. 10)

20. A Medecine to comfort the Sighte (p. 11)

21. A Medecine to clense a soore Eye that is all couered with Bloode like a Jellye (p. 11)

22. A Medecine for a soore Eye (p. 11)

23. For the Eyes that be sore (p. 12)

24. A Drincke to heale a*n* pin & a web in the Eye (p. 12)

25. A water for the humor that falls into the eyes (pp. 12-13)

26. For the Pinn and Webb in the Eye to be applied to the contrary wrest, and to be shifted euery 24 howers, and will cure in three dressinges (p. 13)

27. A Gargas or Medecine for the Megreeme in the heade (p. 17)

28. A Plaister for the same greefe to be applied after you haue taken the Gargas (p. 17)

29. A Medecine for a paine in the Heade that commeth with a burninge Feuer (p. 18)

30. An other Medecine for the same greefe (p. 18)

31. To make a Quilte to stay the Rhewme of what kinde soeuer it bee (pp. 18-19)

32. The trewe cause whence many of the Paines of the heade do proceede, how to know those paines and the Reameadyes for them (pp. 19-21)

33. A Medecine for those that cannot sleepe (p. 21)

34. An other Medecine to procure Sleepe (p. 21)

35. A thirde Medecine to procure Sleepe (p. 22)

36. A Medecine for the paine in the Heade that commeth of colde Humors (p. 22)

37. A Medecine to clense the Braine, to helpe those that haue a corrupt ayre at theire Noses and to clense the Lunges of such grosse humors, as ar distilled downe from the putrified Heade (pp. 22-23)

38. A Medecine good for those that ar troubled with winde in theire Heades (pp. 23-24)

39. An other Medecine for the same greefe to be vsed presently after you haue doen with the former (p. 24)

40. A Medecine for the falling of the Vuola (pp. 24-25)

41. A Gargle good for the Rhewme (p. 25)

42. A Medecine for paine in the heade (p. 25)

43. A Comfortable Medecine for paine in the Heade (p. 26)

44. For the fallinge of the Vuola (p. 26)

45. A Medecine for those that ar deafe and to recouer perfect hearinge (pp. 33-34)

46. A Medecine to drawe out an Jmpostume that is bredd in the Eare (p. 34)

47. A Medecine to drawe an Earewigge out of the Eare (pp. 34-35)

48. A Medecine for the singinge in the eares (p. 35)

49. An other very good Medecine for the same (p. 35)

50. An other Medecine for the same (p. 35)

51. A Medecine to cure a face that is Redd, and full of Pimples (p. 41)

52. A Medecine for those that haue a flushinge in theire faces and to cleare theire faces of wormes or such like thinges (pp. 42-43)

53. A Medecine for the Morfewe (p. 43)

54. A Medecine for the Toothe ache (p. 50)

55. An other Medecine for the Toothe ache (pp. 50-51)

56. A Medecine to skower the teethe, to make them cleane and stronge, and to preserue them from perishinge beyng vsed two or three tymes a weeke (p. 51)

57. A Medecine for those that haue lost theire Speeche eyther by Sicknesse, feare or otherwise (pp. 51-52)

58. A Medecine for a Canker in the mouthe (pp. 52-53)

59. A Medecine for the Rhewme in the teethe or Gummes taughte by M^{rs} Maynarde (p. 53)

60. A very good Medecine for the tootheache (pp. 53-54)

61. For a Canker in the mouthe or Throote (p. 54)

62. For a soore mouthe happening to Children when they breede Teethe (p. 54)

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Stance matrices licensing *that*-clauses and interpersonal meaning in nineteenth-century women's instructive writing in English

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines stance matrices licensing that-clauses in a corpus of instructional texts authored by women during the nineteenth century, gathered under the label COWITE19. These matrices can reveal various aspects of the authors' assessment, involvement and understanding of the information they present. In other words, their use discloses the authors' evaluation of their text while conveying a wide range of interpersonal meanings without disregarding their organising potential as textual markers. The types of matrices explored in this article precede the that-clauses and generally contain information denoting authorial perspective and involvement. The data used to demonstrate their forms and functions derive from analysing all cases found in the Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English (1550–1900) (COWITE); for the current study, only the nineteenth-century sub-corpus, henceforth COWITE19, has been considered. This corpus exclusively comprises instructional texts penned by women during the nineteenth century. The findings reveal that although the corpus primarily encompasses recipes from a diverse range of registers, the authoritative voice of women is distinctly evident in the matrices analysed, conveying a series of interpersonal meanings that unequivocally

highlight the experience of women writers and their adept command of the content and techniques being discussed.

Keywords: *women's writing; that-clauses; interpersonal meanings; involvement; modality; evidentiality; nineteenth century*.

I. INTRODUCTION

The use of matrices in writing reveals much about a writer's thought process and approach to reality, while it may also show how writers engage with their own texts, as these constructions have strong connections to evaluation. Scholars such as Mauranen and Bondi (2003), Stotesbury (2003), Jalilifar, Hayati and Don (2018) and Alonso-Almeida and Álvarez-Gil (2021a) have focused on how this concept applies to the analysis of academic and technical discourse. Stance matrices licensing *that*-clauses embody much of the evaluative content that may modulate or complete the propositional content given in the subordinating clause, as demonstrated in Hyland and Tse (2005a; 2005b), Hyland and Jiang (2018b), Kim and Crosthwaite (2019) and more recently in Alonso-Almeida and Álvarez-Gil (2021a), which focused on earlier English texts. The use of these devices reveals the authors' estimation of their own text while also allowing them to convey a wide range of interpersonal meanings without disregarding their organising potential as textual markers. As I will demonstrate, the interpersonal dimension of these features may report on authorial involvement and epistemic and affective modulation of propositional information in the sense of Langacker (2009) to signal such meanings as probability, necessity, obligation and mode of knowing, among many others. In this context, the contribution of these devices to characterise the authors' perspective by focusing on the degrees of affect and the use of these forms may entail.

The type of matrices I will focus on in this text are those licensing *that*-clauses (Charles, 2007; Hyland & Tse, 2005a) and which generally convey the information designating the authors' stance and involvement. The data used to illustrate their forms and functions is derived from my analysis of all instances found in the Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English (1550–1900) (COWITE); this time, my analysis of data has only considered the nineteenth-century subcorpus, hereafter COWITE19. This corpus is entirely composed of women's instructive writings, primarily recipes. The following are my research questions: (a) what forms of stance matrices licensing *that*-clauses appear

in COWITE19, (b) which of these matrices are more common in these texts, (c) what meanings do these forms entail and (d) what are the pragmatic implications.

This article is organised as follows. Section 2 provides a comprehensive review of prior literature pertaining to the subject matter under investigation, which has been instrumental in identifying and interpreting the samples discovered in COWITE19. Subsequently, Section 3 delineates the corpus and methodology employed for corpus interrogation and data analysis. Section 4 presents the results, accompanied by a discussion of examples that illustrate the diverse matrix forms identified within the corpus. Finally, the concluding remarks of this study are presented in the last section.

II. MATRICES LICENSING *THAT*-CLAUSES AS STANCE DEVICES

The evaluative characteristics of matrices licensing *that*-clauses are embodied by stance language, which denotes writers' 'personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements or assessments' (Biber et al., 1999, p. 966). The interpersonal significance of stance-taking structures is evident in Clift (2006) and can encompass various concepts, such as evaluation (Martin, 2000; Mauranen & Bondi, 2003), evidentiary justification (Alonso-Almeida & Carrió-Pastor, 2019; Estellés & Albelda-Marco, 2018; Chafe, 1986; Marín-Arrese, 2011), affectivity and social relations (Abdollahzadeh, 2011; Hyland, 2005a; Wetherell, 2013), authority (Fox, 2008; Kendall, 2004) and mitigation (Alonso-Almeida, 2015; Caffi, 2007; Hyland, 1998; Hyland, 2005b), among others.

As highlighted by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 30) and Johnstone (2009, pp. 30-31), stance devices not only evaluate how authors relate to their texts but also indicate how they may wish to build rapport with their audience, thereby contributing to the creation of a shared semiotic space in which the information is both relevant and likely to be accepted. This might explain why deontic expressions in instructive writing are not perceived as patronising or abusive but as empathetically authoritative, as these expressions aim to help readers achieve their goals.

The interpersonal aspect of evaluative language has also been explored in the works of Crismore and Farnsworth (1989), Vande Kopple (2002), Hyland (2005b), Abdollahzadeh (2011), Rozumko (2019), Carrió-Pastor (2012, 2014, 2016) and Álvarez-Gil (2022). With respect to the structures examined in this study, Hyland and Tse (2005a, p. 40) suggest that they are 'perhaps one of the least noticed of these interpersonal' devices. However, their near-fixed position within the sentence's focus location appears to signify their importance in both text modelling and the pragmatic and rhetorical functions they may serve. In addition to their modulating ability to convey various degrees of probability that an event may occur or expectations and concerns regarding these occurrences, they can also be used to demonstrate how knowledge has been constructed or acquired. These applications affect how readers receive and accept information, thus revealing their potential function as persuasive technical and professional communication strategies.

Stance matrices licensing *that*-clauses can take various forms, including the presence of copulas or lexical verbs, as for example, *some people are of the opinion*..., *scholars believe*..., *we should consider*..., *it is often said*... From a semantic perspective, matrices are regarded as either the source of evaluation or simply the evaluation itself, while the information provided in the accompanying *that*-clause represents the evaluated entity, as proposed by Hyland and Tse (2005a, p. 40). The following example in (1) summarises and illustrates this concept. The evaluation contains a volitive argument concerning the event described in the evaluative entity – that is, the fact that the biofunctional account is potentially adequate to provide more content specificity than previously believed.

(1) [evaluation & source of evaluation →] I will show [evaluated entity →] that the biofunctional account can give us more content specificity than Fodor supposes. (Hyland & Jiang 2018b, p. 140)

Hyland and Tse (2005a, 2005b) assert that evaluation may be encapsulated in the strategic employment of certain nouns or adjectives within the evaluation segment, as demonstrated by examples (2) and (3). In these instances, the noun *evidence* and the

adjective *possible* indicate specific degrees of epistemic meaning concerning the entity being evaluated.

(2) …there is *evidence* that traders may reduce their costs from trading by splitting orders so as to dampen the pressure on inventory holding (Hyland & Tse, 2005a, p. 42).

(3) …it is *possible* that mainstream teachers overcompensate and are especially lenient with NNSS (Hyland & Tse 2005b, p. 125).

Hyland and Tse (2005a; 2005b) classify sentences containing an evaluating matrix and a *that*-clause in terms of (a) the evaluated entity, (b) the author's stance, (c) the evaluation source and (d) the formal aspect of the offered evaluation. Subsequently, Hyland and Jiang (2018b, pp. 145–146) incorporated additional subcategories, which Alonso-Almeida and Álvarez-Gil (2021a) also included in their analysis of matrices licensing *that*-clauses in late modern English history texts. According to Hyland and Tse (2005a, p. 46), these clause categories aim to provide 'an interpretation of the writer's claim; of the content of previous studies; of research goals; and of the research methods, models or theories that had been drawn on', as well as 'common or accepted knowledge'; the latter is given in Hyland and Jiang (2018b, p. 146). The authors' perspective is classified into attitudinal and epistemic stances. Attitudinal stance pertains to aspects of affect and obligation, while epistemic stance informs varying degrees of the described event's probability. These categories may indicate propositional truth and accuracy (Hyland & Tse, 2005a, p. 46).

The source of evaluation defines the attribution of information (Hyland & Jiang, 2018b). In the case of humans, this can be the author, expressed as the first person, or a third party, represented as a third-person singular or plural. Alonso-Almeida and Álvarez-Gil (2021a) introduce a third category, i.e. the author and colleagues (*we*), to denote instances 'in which the subject or subjects of conception may report on subjective or intersubjective meanings' (2021a, p. 230). Additionally, this source of evaluation may encompass entities (e.g. *the study shows…*) and concealed sources

with opaque conceptualisers (e.g. *it is often considered…*). Hyland and Tse (2005a: 46) suggest that unidentified sources of evaluation may arise from authors' desire to avoid accountability. The evaluative expression category classifies evaluation in the matrix 'according to its form into non-verbal predicates, namely noun and adjectival predicates and verbal predicates, including research acts (e.g. the data show that…), discourse acts (*the authors say…*), and cognitive acts (*the author thinks…)*' (Alonso-Almeida & Álvarez-Gil, 2021a, p. 230). Moreover, Kim and Crosthwaite introduced the subcategory of 'anticipation of reader's claim' (2019, p. 5) concerning the evaluative entity. They also further divided Hyland and Tse's subcategory of 'evaluation of research methods, models and theories' (2005b) into the (a) evaluation of methods and (b) evaluation of models, theories and hypotheses, which will not be considered in this paper's analysis of findings.

This examination of findings will focus on matrices from two main perspectives, namely modulation and involvement, irrespective of the entity's nature in the source of evaluation. The modulation will encompass meanings such as probability, possibility, necessity and obligation, among others, while involvement will include categories such as cognitive attribution, inferential, input from observation and input from hearsay. All these aspects will contribute to evaluating the form, meaning and function of stance matrices that license *that*-clauses.

III. DESCRIPTION OF CORPUS AND METHOD

The data for this study were obtained from the 19th-century sub-corpus of the *Corpus of Women's Instructive Texts in English* (COWITE19) (Alonso-Almeida et al., 2023). This sub-corpus encompasses texts authored by women to provide readers with specific instructions on performing particular tasks. The version utilised in this research comprises texts gathered until 15 January 2023, all belonging to the recipe genre, as defined by Alonso-Almeida (2013). The primary text type is instructive, as delineated by Werlich (1976). The texts, originating from both print and manuscript sources

housed in libraries in the UK and the USA, were digitised and stored as plain text, making them accessible for linguistic software consultation and retrieval.

The compilation adhered to several criteria beyond the fundamental requirement that all texts be instructive. First, the authors had to be women with English as their first language, encompassing both British and American writers. Second, the texts were selected from the earliest available editions, provided that the authors were alive during the nineteenth century and that the books did not constitute new editions or reprints of materials published in the eighteenth century or earlier. Third, the texts had to represent each decade from 1800 to 1899, with roughly equal word counts. Consequently, approximately 50,000 words were collected per decade, with the stipulation that these words originated from more than one source. While texts were gathered from the initial portion of one volume, the subsequent set of texts was taken from the latter part of another volume within the same decade. This approach ensured the avoidance of repetition and enhanced the representativeness of the corpus. The content of COWITE19 encompasses culinary, medical and pharmaceutical information, among other topics.

The following table provides further details on COWITE19:

Table 1. *The Corpus of Women's Instructional Writing in English: Nineteenth-Century Subcorpus, COWITE19.*

Files	Tokens	Types	Lemmas
31	487,136	12,142	15,374

In this study's methodology, the corpus underwent part-of-speech (POS) tagging to facilitate complex computational searches using CasualConc software developed by Imao. This process allowed for identifying all instances of stance matrices licensing that-clauses in the corpus, focusing on specific searches as prepositions or subordinating conjunctions with other word categories. It is acknowledged that this approach may overlook matrices not preceding that; however, the omission of that in

written texts bears little significance, as noted by Hyland and Tse (2005b, p. 130). The findings from the corpus investigation were transferred to an Excel spreadsheet, providing a 50-word context on both the left and right sides, ensuring that matrices could be accurately described and categorised based on form, meaning and function. Consequently, this methodology enabled the integration of statistical results with qualitative interpretations.

IV. RESULTS

The analysis of stance matrices that license that-clauses reveals preferences in terms of structure, meanings and functions exhibited. Despite the instructional text type's inherent nature, which tends to focus on direct orientation and seemingly limits the use of complex structures and evaluative language, the findings indicate that this is not always the case, as detailed in the subsequent subsections. The corpus contains a total of 355 matrices, each with a specific distribution concerning the variables of forms, meanings and functions.

IV.1 Forms

In terms of forms, matrices that license *that*-clauses may convey evaluative, perspectivising or legitimising meanings by emphasising certain devices: word categories and the presence of a syntactic subject. In relation to word categories, stance matrices are classified into nouns, adjectives, verbs and modal verbs, depending on their role in conveying stance meaning. Figure 1 illustrates the distribution of stance matrices licensing *that*-clauses in COWITE19, categorised by word categories.

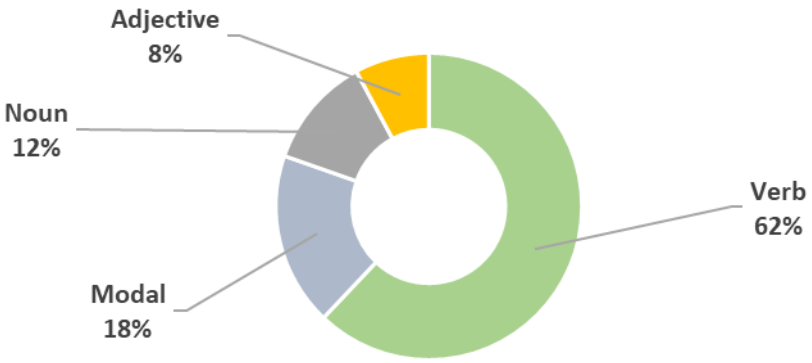

Figure 1. *Distribution of stance matrices licensing that-clauses in terms of word categories.*

The 'verb' category accounts for the vast majority of matrices, constituting 62% of instances, utilised to convey various stance meanings. Following this, modal verbs represent 18%, nouns 12% and adjectives 8%. Some examples of these stance matrices are provided below.

(4) One **finds that** good eating is not a forgotten art, and that Italian cookery has its own very distinctive features (Campbell, 1893); verb.

(5) You **are to observe, that** force-meat balls are a great addition to all made dishes (Holland, 1825); verb.

(6) Never leave out your clothes-line over night; and **see that** your clothes-pins are all gathered into a basket (Mrs Child, 1841); verb.

(7) It **should,** however**, be borne in mind that** the ham must not remain in the saucepan all night (Beeton, 1875); modal verb.

(8) **The generally received opinion that** salt-petre hardens meat, is entirely erroneous (Randolph, 1824); noun.

(9) A large quantity of fat is used in this recipe, but its extravagance is tempered **by the fact that** the same fat may be used over and over again until the heating property is exhausted (Lees-Dods, 1886); noun.

(10) It is **essential that** the butter should be nearly of the same consistence as the paste, for if too hard it will break in pieces when the paste is rolled, and thus lumps will be formed, and if too soft it will run off (Mrs Toogood, 1866); adjective.

As observed in these examples, verbal forms may exhibit various tenses or moods, such as the present tense in (4) and (5) and the imperative in (6). Modal verbs also feature in these texts, as demonstrated in the instance (7), with *should*. The nouns preceding clauses in (8) and (9) serve functions such as implicature and politeness, respectively, which will be explicated later in this paper. The final example (10) depicts an adjective preceding a *that*-clause, where the matrix's structure is designed to convey a modal meaning of necessity in relation to the information presented in the subordinate clause.

Concerning syntactic subjects, they may offer insights into aspects of involvement and commitment towards the information presented. The corpus exhibits various syntactic realisations, including concealed or implicit entities (where the source of conceptualisation is absent or unidentified), animate entities indicating specific attribution (incorporating pronouns other than 'I' and 'we'), first-person singular, first-person plural and abstract entities. These realisations are provided in the order of frequency, as illustrated in Figure 2.

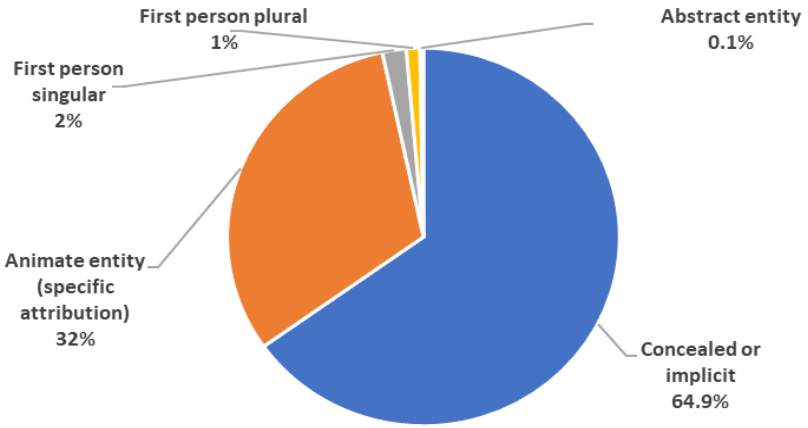

Figure 2. *Realisations of syntactic subjects.*

Concealed conceptualisers and/or syntactic subjects emerge as the most prevalent type in COWITE19, accounting for 65% of the analysed matrices, the reasons for which will be elucidated. This type is succeeded by animate entities, constituting 32% of the instances. First-person singular and plural pronouns follow, with a 2% and 1% distribution, respectively. The single case of a subject realised by abstract entities renders it an outlier. The examples below demonstrate these subject types in COWITE19:

(11) **An eminent physician has discovered that** by rubbing wood with a solution of vitriol, insects and bugs are prevented from harbouring there (Copley, 1825); animate.

(12) Some persons use no sugar which is not clarified, but **I think that**, for common preserves, such as are usually made in private families, good loaf sugar, not clarified, answers every purpose (Cobbett, 1835); first person singular.

(13) **We have before observed, that** a boiled fowl is cut up in the same manner as one roasted. In the representation of this the fowl is complete, whereas in the part of the other it is in part dissected (Haslehurst, 1814); first person plural.

(14) **Ancient prejudice has established a notion, that** meat killed in the decrease of the moon, will draw up when cooked (Randolph, 1824); abstract.

(15) **THE advantages of roomy and dry cellaring, are so universally understood, that** it seems unnecessary to say much about them (Cobbett, 1835); concealed.

Identifying these matrices is crucial for understanding their functions, as they may convey information regarding conceptualisers and the author's degree of involvement in developing information, among other aspects. Indeed, this information is necessary for the qualitative interpretation of the matrices, as the combination of the categories addressed in this study yields specific evaluative interpretations, particularly in terms of modulation and involvement. The instance in (11) demonstrates that the information is intersubjectively construed; however, the semantics of the verbal phrase entails this, as the syntactic subject (i.e. *the advantages of roomy and dry*

cellaring) does not disclose any specific conceptualiser, and no agent is provided. Instance (12) presents a case of an animate syntactic subject (i.e. an eminent physician) to whom the information in that *that*-clause is entirely attributed. The use of "I" and "we" in (13) and (14) reflects subjective and intersubjective conceptualisers, respectively, and these resolve into meanings concerning the authors' involvement in the informative quality of the proposition. This may also impact the authors' degree of commitment to propositional truth. Finally, (15) displays a case of an abstract entity (i.e. ancient prejudice), which refers to shared knowledge, and this, coupled with the abstract noun preceding the that-clause (i.e. notion), may underscore a lack of involvement concerning the inception of information. All of these factors may contribute to interpreting the entire matrix in terms of discourse politeness (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987).

IV.2. Meanings

The stance matrices licensing that-clauses, as identified in the COWITE19 corpus, encompass a range of meanings, including possibility, probability, certainty, inferential, obligation, necessity, volition, input derived from observation or hearsay and attribution (both communicative and cognitive). Table 1 presents the distribution of matrices corresponding to these values within the corpus.

Table 1. *Percentage distribution of stance matrices licensing that-clauses according to the variable of meaning.*

Meaning	Count	Meaning
Obligation	55.18%	Modal, deontic
Necessity	16.25%	Modal, deontic
Input from observation	9.52%	Evidential, experiential
Communicative (others)	6.16%	Evidential, communicative
Cognitive attribution (others)	3,64%	Evidential, cognitive
Input from hearsay	2.80%	Evidential, communicative
Possibility	1.68%	Modal, epistemic
Certainty	1.68%	Modal, epistemic
Cognitive attribution (self)	1.12%	Evidential, cognitive

Meaning	Count	Meaning
Inferentiality	0.84%	Inference, cognitive
Probability	0.84%	Modal, epistemic
Volition	0.28%	Modal, dynamic

Table 1 demonstrates that obligation is the most prevalent meaning in the examined matrices, followed by necessity and first-hand evidence, which include observational input. Subsequently, evidentials based on third parties – such as communicative others, cognitive attribution (others), and hearsay – appear in descending order of frequency. The least frequent meanings involve epistemic categories like 'possibility, certainty, cognitive attribution (self), inferentiality, probability and the affective category of volition'.

(16) …but this **you must observe, that** when it comes to the carmel height, it will, the moment it touches the water, snap like glass, which is the highest and last degree of refining sugar (Haslehurst, 1814).

(17) …**it will be a proof that** it has acquired the second degree (1814 Haslehurst Priscilla).

(18) **We have before observed**, that a boiled fowl is cut up in the same manner as one roasted (Haslehurst, 1814).

(19) **It has been remarked that** the insect never returns in future years to those warts of the tree which have been thus treated (Copley, 1825).

(20) **It is certain that** very many families, who had previously never thought of brewing their own beer, have been encouraged by the plainness and simplicity of his directions to attempt it, and have never since been without good home-made beer (Cobbett, 1835).

These examples further indicate a general tendency in COWITE19 to convey information through stance-taking devices that demonstrate the author's unambiguous authority on the subject, as seen in (16) and (17), and legitimise their

opinions based primarily on first-hand evidence, as in (18) or third parties, as in (19). The highly pedagogical tone of the texts and the authors' intention to showcase their expertise may account for the use of these strategies. Consequently, a sense of factuality is evident, which could also explain the few instances of epistemic devices related to probability, certainty and cognitive evidentiality found in this compilation. Example (20) exemplifies a matrix expressing certainty.

IV.3. Functions

My analysis of stance matrices licensing that-clauses has also isolated a number of functions associated with these devices, with the results provided in Figure 3.

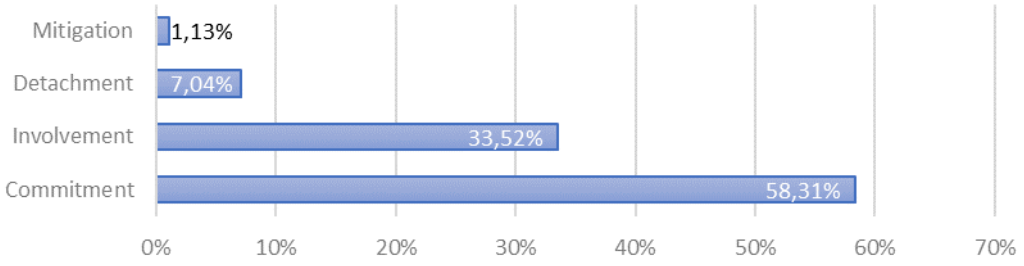

Figure 3. *Percentage distribution of stance matrices licensing that-clauses according to their main function.*

The notion of commitment frequently appears in instructional texts, accounting for approximately one-third of cases. Notably, the concepts of attenuation and detachment are only identified in just over 8% of instances, with attenuation being the least prominent. Consider the following examples:

(21) …but this **you must observe, that** when it comes to the carmel height, it will, the moment it touches the water, snap like glass, which is the highest and last degree of refining sugar (Haslehurst, 1814).

(22) I never tried this; but **I know that** silk pocket handkerchiefs, and deep blue factory cotton will not fade, if dipped in salt and water while new (Mrs Child, 1841).

(23) Pimpernel is a most wholesome plant, and often used on the continent for the purpose of whitening the complexion; it is there in so high reputation, that it **is**

said generally, that it ought to be continually on the toilet of every lady who cares for the brightness of her skin (A lady of distinction, 1830).

(24) It may **be observed that** these breakfast cakes may be prepared in the evening before they are required (Mrs Toogood, 1866).

Example (21) demonstrates the concept of commitment, manifested in the use of the modal of obligation *must,* which modulates the experiential verb *observe*, ultimately reflecting the author's confidence in the provided information. In (22), the cognitive matrix conveys the author's subjective contribution to the information within the *that*-clause. In contrast, example (23) utilises the intersubjective communicative evidential 'is said generally, that' to indicate a lack of involvement concerning the proposition within the subordinating clause. Lastly, example (24) represents a case of mitigation, as evidenced by the use of *may*.

V. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The presented results reveal the prominent use of stance matrices licensing *that*-clauses in COWITE19 to assess the information within the subordinated clause. As previously noted, these matrices serve primary functions, which can be categorised into four main groups. These groups emphasise aspects related to the authors' modulation or involvement concerning the content to clarify the author's perspective on what is described in the subordinated clause. These primary functions give rise to several pragmatic interpretations of these matrices, including authority, persuasion, negative politeness, impoliteness and positive politeness.

Conveying authority is the most frequent pragmatic function identified in our corpus, accounting for 71.75% of cases, particularly relevant in the context of instructive writing. The expression of authority may, in turn, be indicative of reliable information, as exemplified in the following example:

(25) **Observe, also, that** a thick slice should be cut off the meat, before you begin to help your friends, as the boiling water renders the outside vapid, and of course unfit for your guests (Holland, 1825).

In example (25), authority is established through the imperative mood, indicating a required action and the need for caution. This enables the author to demonstrate and emphasise her expertise, thereby increasing the reader's trust. Although the imperative mood suggests a hidden conceptualiser, the conveyed subjective meaning reflects the authors' commitment to their texts. Commitment-associated meanings include obligation and necessity, often with a concealed or implicit conceptualiser, and occasionally, specific attributions to animate entities or, less frequently, first-person singular entities. This is evident in the following sentences, where the qualifying or stance feature is encoded in the verbal tense or lexical items such as verbs (26), modals (27), nouns (28) and adjectives (29):

(26) Dredge with flour and salt, baste frequently, and **observe that** when the MUTTON AND LAMB steam draws towards the fire, the meat is done. Serve with mint sauce (Mrs Bliss of Boston, 1850).

(27) Some persons, however, say that it is more expensive than buying it. With proper management it cannot be; and, even supposing the cost of the home-baked loaf to be higher, **it must be remembered that** that of the baker will bear no comparison with it in point of quality (Hooper, 1883).

(28) Take a cask or barrel, inaccessible to the external air, and put into it a layer of bran, dried in an oven, or of ashes well dried and sifted. Upon this, place a layer of grapes well cleaned, and gathered in the afternoon of a dry day, before they are fall, **taking care that** the grapes do not touch each other, and to let the last layer be of bran; then close the barrel, so that the air may not be able to penetrate, which is an essential point (Coopley, 1825).

(29) Instead of butter, many cooks take salad-oil for basting, which makes the crackling crisp; and as this is one of the principal things to be considered,

> perhaps it is desirable to use it; but **be particular that** it is very pure, or it will impart an unpleasant flavour to the meat (Beeton, 1875).

In (26), the verb *observe* serves as an effective stance strategy, as the author explicitly demands a specific response from the reader. While the imperative usage is typical in recipe genres, this experiential verb distinguishes itself from others more closely related to culinary practices. A similar intention appears in (28).

In (27), an implicit conceptualiser is introduced using a cleft sentence, focusing on the cognitive event, i.e. *remember*, modulated by the deontic modal verb *must*. Interestingly, the entire passage remains within an argumentative thread, employing the inferential form *supposing* to justify the earlier counterargument *it cannot be* in response to the intersubjective claim introduced earlier, i.e. *some persons, however, say that it is more expensive than buying it*. The author weaves the text using a series of arguments based on authoritative knowledge, culminating in the effective strategy *must be remembered*, which is softened by the aforementioned inferential as a negative politeness strategy.

Finally, in (29), *be particular that* results from the earlier reference to unknown cooks using salad oil for basting. The author provides precise understanding through a series of effective stance strategies, including *to be considered*, *it is desirable to* and *be particular,* before offering the justification for her claim, i.e. *or it will impart an unpleasant flavour*. These sequences consistently communicate the intention to convey authoritative guidance by asserting reliability claims, seemingly rooted in the author's expertise and, at times, declared experience.

Authority is manifested through matrices conveying necessity, achieved through modal verbs, as illustrated in (30); adjectives suggesting modality, as shown in (31); deontic structures, such as *to be to + infinitive*, as in (32); and lexical verbs, as demonstrated in (33).

(30) **It should not be forgotten that** in most cases the ingredient added should be previously cooked, as an omelette remains too short a time over the fire to dress meat or vegetables (Mrs Toogood, 1866).

(31) **PARTICULAR attention is necessary to see that** your pots, saucepans, &c. in which you intend to make soup are well tinned, and perfectly free from sand, dirt, or grease; otherwise your soups will be ill-tasted and pernicious to the constitution (Smith, 1831).

(32) In departing from the usual mode of using either cold water or cold stock, as above, **it is to be noted that** the boiling water is here used to keep the meat from darkening, which it has a tendency to do (Lees-Dods, 1886).

(33) **Good housekeepers do not need to be told that** the best is the cheapest in the end (Hooper, 1883).

Authority is evident in matrices attributing information sources, such as in (34), and subjective cognitive expressions, such as in (35). The overt manifestation of involvement signals the authors' expertise in these cases.

(34) **An eminent physician has discovered that** by rubbing wood with a solution of vitriol, insects and bugs are prevented from harbouring there (Copley, 1825).

(35) I never tried this; but **I know that** silk pocket handkerchiefs, and deep blue factory cotton will not fade, if dipped in salt and water while new (Mrs Child, 1841).

Matrices indicating source or mode of knowledge are also employed to suggest persuasion, as demonstrated in the examples below:

(36) **The French, our arbiters in most things of this kind, are of opinion that** for each person there should be never less than one dish given; but, generally speaking, it would be more commendable for the caterer to allow, as nearly as

possible, one third more dishes than there are convives; for instance, a party of six should have eight dishes appointed them (Hill, 1863).

(37) **Some cooks say, that** it will much ameliorate the flavour of strong old cabbages to boil them in two waters, i.e. when they are half done, to take them out, and put them into another sauce pan of boiling water (Randolph, 1824).

(38) When a carpet is faded, **I have been told that** it may be restored, in a great measure, (provided there be no grease in it,) by being dipped into strong salt and water (Mrs Child, 1841).

In these instances, the use of attribution, such as a cognitive source in (36) and a communicative source in (37), aims to convince readers by presenting the viewpoints of third parties, which may be considered authorities. In (36), a parenthetical emphasises the significance of the French culinary tradition: *The French, our arbiters in most things of this kind.* The communicative evidential phrase *I have been told that* in (38) features an opaque conceptualiser; however, the overall impression suggests that this structure is intended to persuade the reader of the assertion's truth, even if the attribution also implies a degree of authorial detachment, as she is not responsible for the claim.

The function of the matrices described above is closely related to the expression of negative politeness to avoid imposition, which is also evident in the use of epistemic modals or inferential devices, as illustrated below:

(39) **It may be observed that** these breakfast cakes may be prepared in the evening before they are required (Mrs Toogood, 1866).

(40) If the directions are exactly followed, **no one, without being told, could possibly guess that** the shad was not fresh from market that morning (Leslie, 1854).

(41) As the dish is intended for dinner, **it must be presumed that** there is a substantial and active fire in your stove (Mason, 1871).

These examples demonstrate the use of epistemic modals, such as *may* in (39) and *could* in (40), to provide information while avoiding the imposition of perspective. The epistemic adverb, *possibly,* in (40) contributes to hedging the proposition, mitigating its illocutionary force, as highlighted by Álvarez-Gil (2018, p. 49), in contrast to other factual adverbs in the realm of certainty (cf. Álvarez-Gil, 2019). Similarly, the modal of epistemic necessity *must* modulates the passive construction *be presumed that* (41), denoting a sense of politeness by suggesting the manner in which the information has been elaborated, allowing readers to evaluate and agree on the quality and verisimilitude of the information for themselves.

The use of matrices that emphasise an authoritative stance can also convey impoliteness, even if unintended, as demonstrated in the following example:

(42) I hope **all my readers, whether of a hospitable habit of mind or otherwise, will by this time be convinced that** in future they cannot hold themselves justified in making other than a liberal (not to say profuse) display at their desserts (Hill, 1863).

In (42), the phrase will be convinced by this time reveals a degree of overt authorial imposition on the readers to meet the author's expectations. Interestingly, the condescending tone, already evident in the stance-taking device *I hope* and reinforced by *whether of a hospitable habit of mind or otherwise*, accentuates the author's power, encroaching on the readers' space in multiple ways (cf. Alonso-Almeida & Álvarez-Gil, 2021b; Culpeper, 2012).

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article presents research conducted using evidence from COWITE19 and addresses the questions posited in the introduction. The findings demonstrate how

nineteenth-century stance matrices, which license *that*-clauses, convey interpersonal meanings related to the authors' perspectives and involvement with the information in the accompanying *that*-clauses. The study reveals that the matrices' structure aligns closely with the semantic meanings they encode, allowing for the communication of pragmatic meanings, such as authority, persuasion and politeness, in the analysed instructive texts.

Regarding form, the most frequently observed stance features in the matrices are verbs in their corresponding tenses, followed by modal verbs, nouns and adjectives. Syntactic subjects constitute another significant feature, as they may indicate varying degrees of reliability when evaluating statements. The most common strategies involve concealed or implicit entities and animate entities with specific attributions of information. First-person pronouns are analysed separately to assess the authors' self-reported involvement in the information development.

In terms of meaning, the majority of matrices exhibit strategies conveying a sense of obligation alongside first-hand evidential strategies, revealing a distinct evaluation of the texts. Epistemic modals and communicative and cognitive evidentials are utilised to express varying degrees of certainty and factuality. This aspect correlates strongly with the functions of the matrices identified in COWITE19. Four primary functions are recognised with these devices: commitment, involvement, detachment and mitigation. These inform the pragmatic functions of 'authority, persuasion and (im)politeness', with authority being the most prominent.

The results contribute to existing research on earlier women's writing, aiming to discern whether it exhibits a unique voice with distinguishable rhetorical strategies in the development, attribution and representation of the meaning or whether it adheres to contemporary technical and scientific writing styles. The size of COWITE19 suggests a high degree of representativeness in the results presented herein. However, this study is limited by the absence of a comparison to a corpus of texts authored by men, which is planned for future research to unveil potential gender differences.

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Exploring the use of turn-taking and overlap resolution strategies among Vietnamese non-English major students

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ABSTRACT

Based on Sacks et al.'s (1978) turn-taking model, the research aims to determine how Vietnamese non-English major students used turn-taking and overlap resolution strategies to manage their discourse during English tutoring sessions. Two Vietnamese students were conveniently selected for the study, and their conversations were recorded, transcribed, and coded in the style of conversation analysis and deductive content analysis. The results show that although the male student used more devices and strategies than the female in taking turns in one-at-a-time talks, both employed latching to reduce transition space most of the time. Also, the male student tended to use overlap resolution strategies (e.g., cutting off his talk and persevering in completing his turns) in simultaneous talks more frequently than the female. Interestingly, the female student used more turn-taking strategies in overlapping speech than in one-at-a-time talks. The findings shed light on Vietnamese non-English major students' strategy use during interactions and are a great boon to English educators at tertiary institutions who should consider training student tutors, providing English language learners with necessary interactional resources, and rethinking speaking assessments.

Keywords: *overlap resolution, turn-taking, strategies, Vietnamese students.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Language is obviously and essentially a powerful tool that we use to serve our demands and activities in every minute and second of our life, such as communicating, studying, and working. Language is also one of the master keys to helping us improve our life. However, it is not with this assertion that we can allow our language to flow out as much as we want when we interact with others. It is because talks feature a face-to-face conversation in a synchronized manner in which one person stops, and the other starts talking (Wiemann & Knapp, 2008). We sometimes delay or stop our turn to let others speak while conversing with them in various social and cultural contexts. In this way, we have engaged in managing our discourse.

In language education, conversation analysis (CA) within discourse analysis has enabled researchers to assess the relationship between the nature of pair interactions and the success of language learning (Storch & Aldosari, 2013). Several elements determine if this correlation is positive. Firstly, if language learning is to be successful, pair interactions need to be collaborative. The beneficial effects of the collaborative nature of pair interactions for language pairwork or tutoring activities have been recorded in language classrooms. Specifically, cooperative work promotes social and cognitive development (Storch, 2001) and allows second-language learners to use the target language (Long & Porter, 1985; Washington-Nortey et al., 2022).

Pairing students effectively also depends on participants' proficiency levels. Studies in pairwork for L2 learning research indicate that proficiency levels significantly influence achievement and engagement in collaborative pairwork (e.g., Kim & McDonough, 2008; Leeser, 2004). Low-level learners made significant gains in the discussion of L2 when paired with a higher proficiency interlocutor (Storch & Aldosari, 2013) and produced more language-related episodes (Kim & McDonough, 2008; Leeser, 2004). Similarly, research in cross-age tutoring in which an older student with a higher proficiency level acting as a tutor for a younger student suggested that cross-age tutoring benefited both the tutor and the tutees (e.g., Davenport et al., 2004; Hattie, 2006).

Since most studies on pair interactions have investigated the effects of pairing different proficiency levels, very few studies in this line of research have touched on gender. The majority of psychological, sociological, and linguistic literature represents men and women as possessing different characteristics in their approaches and use of language (Yates, 2001). Hence, both sexes can demonstrate salient features in controlling their discourse, affecting the effectiveness of pair interactions. Understanding how each sex manages their discourse, i.e., organizing their talk via turn-taking, will help language researchers clear myths about genderlect and language educators better assign students for pairwork or tutoring activities.

To explain how ordinary conversations and other talk-in-interaction are organized, Sacks et al. (1978) introduced the notion of turn-constructional units (TCUs), the basic unit of talk for CA. TCUs help CA researchers understand turn-taking organization, which is crucial in deciphering human behavior because the organization of talk shapes most actions carried out through talking into speaking turns (Lerner, 2004). Although CA has been applied to linguistics and education in recent decades (Mori & Zuengler, 2008) and many studies concerning this approach have been published for second language teaching research (e.g., Bowles, 2006; Fujii, 2012; Liddicoat, 2004; Saadi Ali, 2021; Wong, 2002), empirical studies on turn-taking organization in South East Asian (SEA) English teaching contexts, where English is mainly taught as a foreign language (EFL), are rare.

Thus, the current study was the first in Vietnam to address the organization of turn-taking during paired cross-age tutoring interactions using conversation analysis. In particular, the study explores how Vietnamese male and female students manage their discourse, especially in turn-taking and repairing overlapping speech during cross-age English tutoring sessions. The results of this study would contribute to the CA and teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) literature. The findings may also offer language educators ideas about the reconceptualization of students' speaking competence and assessment. In particular, the study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What devices and strategies do participants use to take turns in one-at-a-time talks during English tutoring sessions?
2. What devices and strategies do participants use to repair overlapping talks during English tutoring sessions?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1. Turn-taking in talk-in-interaction

II.1.1. Deontic modality

This section first elaborates on the organization of turn-taking in talk-in-interaction, including the definitions of talk and turn-taking, essential features of turn-taking organization, followed by devices and strategies for turn-taking in one-at-a-time talks, and the repair of overlapping speech. The literature ends with recent works on genderlect, an essential foundation for understanding how male and female students take turns in their exchanges.

II.1.1.a. Talk

When people converse, they engage in an interactive, meaningful activity called talk, where they can strategically achieve their communicative goals (Sacks, 1992). However, this activity is contextually dependent in that the context shapes it, so speakers can understand what follows their produced speech. In turn, talk can shape the context by restricting and affecting the next bit of talk and determining how they are comprehended. When closely observing what naturally happens in talks, we see that people do not usually speak simultaneously at all times in ordinary conversations. They take turns talking. Thus, a turn can be interpreted as "one party speaking at a time" (Sacks, 2004a, p.37) or actions in sequences (Ford et al., 2002), or an on-record speaking behind which lies an intention to convey a referential and functional message (Edelsky, 1993). However, not all talk can be counted as a turn. A talk, said off-record, usually in a low voice, is just a side comment (Edelsky, 1993). Likewise,

talks intended to give feedback, not referential messages (e.g., uh-huh, and uhm), are considered encouragers or back-channel responses (Sacks et al., 1978).

II.1.1.b. Turn-taking

Turn-taking, a type of sequential organization, focuses on the logical and mechanical nature of the conversation. It concerns the "relative ordering of speakers, of turn-constructional units, and different types of utterance" (Schegloff, 2007, p.2), or in other words, the "allocation of opportunities to participate in the conversation and the turn-constructional forms such participation takes" (Lerner, 2004, p.4). Since speakers manipulate their chances to participate in the conversation, which follows specific patterns or rules, turn-taking is a "closely monitored and coordinated joint activity" (Ford et al., 2002, p.15). Although many turn transitions are achieved without overlaps or silence, they can be patterned and explicable even when overlaps or gaps emerge. A gap-free turn transition and changes involving overlaps or gaps are all "interactionally exploited alternatives" (Ford et al., 2002, p.15). Thus, turn-taking considers two cases: pure turns, i.e., one-at-a-time turns, and diffused turns, i.e., overlaps and gaps.

II.1.2. Features of the turn-taking organization

In preserving one party talking at a time, techniques to allocate and construct turns are necessary for just one next speaker and minimize gaps and overlaps between turns (Sacks, 2004a). Therefore, explaining how turn-taking works as a set of rules requires understanding its two components: turn-constructional units (TCUs) and turn-allocation (Sacks et al., 1978).

II.1.2.a. Turn Constructional Units (TCUs)

TCUs are building blocks of turns to allow the projection of a possible completion point, called transition relevance place (TRP), which enables speaker change (Sacks et al.1978). TCUs have two main criteria: syntactic structures and projectability (Selting, 2000). Although syntactic structures include grammatical elements such as words, phrases, clauses, and sentences, they are not structurally defined units because they

are context-sensitive. Also, a decision about what constitutes a TCU can only be made in the context because people do not always utter in sentences but tend to deploy a variety of structures (Schegloff, 2007). However, three ways can determine if an utterance is possibly complete: firstly, in terms of grammar; secondly, intonation; and finally, as an action (such as asking a question or offering to help) (Sacks et al., 1978).

Naturally, on engaging themselves in the conversation, participants do not always know when a turn ends; they continue the conversation intuitively. However, this can be accountable. Turn-taking occurs in the transition space, the space between speakers' turns, considered part of a stretch of talk in which transition may occur. Transition space commences just before a TRP and finishes just after the end of a TRP (Sacks et al., 1978). A TCU can be applied at the possible and projectable completion points, i.e., TRP (Schegloff, 2007) or, in other words, places where speaker change could occur. In another sense, the interlocutor knows what it will take to complete the ongoing unit of talk, and they can project where an ongoing TCU will possibly be completed. This projection is essential for the organization of turn-taking because the addressee will not have to wait until the addresser completes their turn to become the next speaker (Liddicoat, 2021). Hence, the projectability of TCUs at TRP is a catalyst for a smooth transition with no pause between turns because a pause may be interpreted as a delay or absent response (Liddicoat, 2021).

Sometimes, the same piece of talk is not a new TCU when not recognized as possibly complete at a particular point in the ongoing talk (Liddicoat, 2021). In other words, they continue the speech through many turns, called a multi-turn TCU, a unit that can spread through many turns at talk. Besides, a multi-turn TCU can contain only one stretched TCU (Schegloff, 2007). Notably, a turn can consist of many TCUs, and thus it is called a multi-TCU turn. For example, if the speaker tells a story, they may produce many TCUs. It means that they continue to produce the next TCU to accomplish their communicative goals after completing a TCU. However, the current speakers may have equal opportunities to take turns because the ability to produce more than one TCU in a turn is "the result of interactional work, not the result of a right to produce more than one TCU" (Schegloff, 2007, p.4).

II.1.2.b. Turn-allocation techniques

In addition to turn-constructional techniques, turn allocation can minimize gaps and overlaps between turns (Sacks, 2004a). If TCU explains where speaker change can happen, turn allocation will account for how it occurs. Sacks (2004a) explained four basic rules of turn allocation to ensure one party talking at a time. The first is that the current speaker selects the next speaker using linguistic and syntactic forms (e.g., you, your, and questions) or gestures (e.g., a gaze). In the second rule, the current speaker stops at the next possible completion point of their sentence construction to allow the next speaker to start. Third, self-selection occurs when the current speaker does not select the next speaker. This process can happen where the previous talk is planned to require someone to speak next but does not restrict who will. The first starter has the right to talk. The fourth rule allows the continuation beyond any TRP if the current speaker does not select the next speaker and self-selection does not occur. The current speaker may stop at any next possible completion point.

II.1.2.c. Overlapping talk

In contrast to one-party-at-a-time talk, overlapping talk is an interactional phenomenon produced by speakers in unison. Unfortunately, sometimes, overlapping can be confused with interruption, which has a negative connotation. Interruption is undesirable behavior violating standard conversational rules (James & Clark, 1993). If two speakers begin a TCU simultaneously, this overlapping talk is deemed problematic and thus is seen as a case of interruption (Sacks, 2004b). In this sense, interruptions occur when entry into the talk is not related to a possible completion (Liddicoat, 2021). Deciding if an overlap is an interruption is just a matter of degree (James & Clark, 1993), and thus the context must be considered (Tannen, 1994). Therefore, as interruption is a part of the overlapping talk, overlaps can be problematic and unproblematic. If the overlap is short, i.e., occurring just before possible completion, it is unproblematic and seen as a collaborative interaction (Liddicoat, 2007).

II.1.3. Turn-taking devices and strategies

Because turn-taking does not work at the level of the whole conversation but at the level of each next bit of talk that unrolls as the conversation continues, it is "locally organized and interactionally managed" during the interaction process (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 54). Strategies for turn-taking organizations examined locally will effectively and concretely explain how speakers manage their discourse. The primary strategies and devices of turn-taking organization for the one-at-a-time talk are expounded as follows.

II.1.3.a. Constructing a Multi-Turn TCU

Firstly, structural patterns can be used to construct a multi-turn TCU. For example, a multi-turn TCU can be realized using complex sentences such as conditional sentences (e.g., if and unless), time clauses (e.g., when and while) (Lerner, 2004), and adverbial clauses (e.g., because, since, before, although, and so that) (Ford, 1993). Let us examine the following example:

Mai: If we win the lottery ticket=

Dane: =we will buy a big house first.

This first component of the construction can imply a possible completion and makes it possible for the current speaker to predict the next. As a result, two participants cooperatively completed a single TCU ('If we win the lottery ticket, we will buy a big house first') over two turns at talk. Another way to achieve a multi-turn TCU is by adding an increment to the talk of the prior speaker so that the produced one will become an integral part of a grammatical unit (Liddicoat, 2007). An increment is any nonmain-clause continuation of a speaker's turn after that speaker has come to what could have been a completion point, or a TRP, using lexical devices (e.g., a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, and subordinate clauses (Ford et al., 2002). The following example will illustrate how this device is used.

Anna: We can go to Mui Ne resort this weekend to relax

Mary: and to get a suntan

Daisy: and to buy some seafood

We see that the speech produced by Anna can be complete without further talk. However, what Mary and Daisy utter in their turn is just a continuum to fit the grammatical construction of Anna's utterance. Therefore, the utterances "We can go to Mui Ne resort this weekend to relax," "and to get a suntan," and "and to buy some seafood" are attributed to only one TCU, which is stretched through three turns.

II.1.3.b. Constructing a Multi-TCU Turn

For a current speaker to produce more than one TCU in a turn, specific extending TCUs techniques have to be employed (Schegloff, 2007). There are three places to realize a multi-TCU turn.

At the beginning of the turn, transitions and signal words such as 'first of all,' 'in the first place,' 'next,' and 'however' will be helpful to indicate that the speaker may produce a longer than usual piece of talk (Liddicoat, 2007). Likewise, the current speaker can preface their talk with such rhetorical questions as 'Can I ask you a question?' and 'Can I ask you a favor?' to ensure an extended turn in the next turn (Liddicoat, 2007).

In the middle of the turn, a non-linguistic and less overt device such as large audible breathing can also be deployed, implying that there will be a longer than usual bit of talk and more breath is thus necessary to fulfill it (Liddicoat, 2007). Also, deictic devices such as personal pronouns, demonstratives, adverbs, and tenses can refer to some previously produced speech, which needs clarifying, and thus, further talk is necessary (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992).

At the end of the turn, the current speaker can employ a 'rush through' technique that reduces the transition space between two TCUs and restrains falling intonation (e.g., speeding up speech delivery) (Liddicoat, 2007).

II.1.3.c. Increasing Transition Space

During a conversation, when no one may speak at all, there can be short pauses (i.e., gaps). Some silence can happen, lasting for a few seconds or a few minutes. In this case, the long pause, called lapses, is not ascribed to any party involved in the conversation. The reasons for lapses can be attributed to either the form of the prior speaker's turn or the recipient's hearing problems. In this case, the current speaker can tackle silence after TRPs by continuing with further talk or repeating their utterance, thus increasing the transition space (Liddicoat, 2007). The following examples illustrate this consideration.

Conversation 1:

Steve: so are yih gonna be free on the
weekend,

(0.4)

Steve: say on Saturday evening

Mary: yeah

Conversation 2:

Lan: Have you ever gone to America?

(0.3)

Lan: Have you gone to America?

Mai: oh, no. I haven't.

In conversation 1, there is a 0.4-second pause after Steve's suggestion. This silence is an indication of some problem in the talk. In this case, it is a problem with the turn construction unit's form. Therefore, Steve continues his original turn at talk in an attempt to fix the problem in his second turn by clarifying his speech. In this way, Steve has added an increment to his talk to transfer from silence between his and Mary's turn into silence within his turn. Similarly, in the second conversation, there is a

0.3-second silence after Lan's query, attributed to the hearing problem. As a result, Lan has to repeat her question in her second turn to elicit the answer from Mai.

II.1.3.d. Reducing Transition Space

Absolute adjacency pairs can help reduce the transition space because the next speaker can latch their talk to the prior speaker's, so there will be no silence between their turns and no overlap (Jefferson, 1986). An adjacency pair comprises two relatively ordered turns delivered by two different speakers, one after the other. The speaking of the initial utterance (the first-pair part or the first turn) provokes a responding-related utterance (the second-pair part or the second turn) (Schegloff, 2007). Common adjacency pairs include offers-acceptance/rejection, question-answer, greeting-greeting, and invitation-acceptance/refusal (Archer et al., 2013). The moment the first speaker ends their turn (e.g., offering help), the next speaker starts their turn immediately (e.g., accepting an offer). The following example will illustrate this point:

Elle: Would you like a coffee?=

Dave: =Yes, please.

An additional way to reduce transition space involves creating a bit of overlapping talk between the current speaker and the next speaker (Liddicoat, 2007). The speaker starting first is more likely to get their turn if multiple speakers start simultaneously (James & Clark, 1993). The onset of the talk may be put forward to an earlier start than a usual transition space to speed up the chance to become the first speaker. This technique can create interactional effects, e.g., showing understanding, disagreement, or refusal of the prior talk (Liddicoat, 2007).

II.1.4. Overlap resolution

Regarding turn-taking organization, it is not always the case that one speaker talks at a time. Overlaps can occur when interlocutors take turns simultaneously, i.e., simultaneously sharing and contributing their understanding or thoughts to the

discussed topic. This engagement of the next speaker during another's talk is considered a "miscue in the turn-taking system" or an interactional problem (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 87). It is clear that sometimes overlap can occur before the start of the transition space in a way that diverges from the ongoing completion of the talk. The extended overlap is inevitable when speakers are engrossed in the ideas they are pursuing and persist in talking in a way that goes beyond the turn-taking system. Hence, overlapping talks need to be resolved.

II.1.4.a. Overlap resolution devices

Schegloff (2000) elaborated that an overlap resolution device comprises three elements. The first element is broken down into resources interrupting the ongoing talk, including hitches and perturbations. Hitches include cutting off the talk by an oral, glottal, or velar stop, prolonging a segment of talk, and repeating just a prior element. Perturbations or prosody of the turn consist of increased volume, faster or slower pace of talk, and higher pitch. Volumes relate to the loudness or softness of the sound, while pitch relates to the high or low notes of the sound (e.g., stressed words having high pitch and unstressed sounds denoting low pitch). The second element deals with places where these resources can be employed. The current speaker can use overlap devices in either two positions: at the onset or the end of an overlap. At the onset phase, the interlocuter can increase the speed of the talk to prevent another person's starting. The beginning of the resolution can also be prefaced with hitches and perturbations to hold the talk before possible completion. They can then delay finishing towards the end of the overlapping speech by decreasing the pace of the talk using sound stretches and repetitions until the other overlapping speaker reaches a completion point. The overlapping resolving devices are occasionally deployed after the speaker's talk has emerged into the clear. After winning the turn, i.e., post-overlap, the speaker can adjust their voice and pitch and speak normally. It should be noted that there are no hard-and-fast rules concerning which position in an overlap that resources can be used because participants can resort to kinesthetic devices (e.g., a gaze and body gestures).

The third element is related to the interactional logic of overlap resolution. The unit concerning the overlap resolution is the beat, a relative equivalence to a syllable. An overlap can comprise a series of emerging beats providing locations for organizing and sequencing the bit of talk. There are three possibilities at the point of overlap. First, either of the two speakers can stop, thus solving the overlap, i.e., "a return to one person speaking at a time" (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 91). When many speakers take turns simultaneously, it is difficult to allocate the turn because there is no turn-taking sign after possible completion. Several explicit devices can also help to tackle the problem. The speaker can say '*Who me?*' to decide the next speaker, or any interlocutor can say '*Pardon me*' to change the speaker (Liddicoat, 2007, p.73). However, the interlocutor, chosen as the next speaker, is not determined in advance; it happens naturally at the moment of overlap.

The second possibility is that both of them can discontinue speaking, and silence will ensue; as a result, the turn-taking has problems and needs fixing. In this case, the current speaker can continue to repair the silence after a TRP (Schegloff, 2007). In the last possibility, both speakers continue, and the overlap proceeds into a second beat. In this case, either of them is aware that the other is speaking and thus either stops or continues. If they stop, they will return to the first possibility, resolving the overlap in the third beat. Conversely, if they continue, they will compete seriously for the next turn, which can persist into the third and the fourth beat. At this point, both speakers will resort to overlap resolution devices (i.e., hitches and perturbations) to upgrade their talk, and as a result, severe competition for the floor is unavoidable. However, at this point, either of the two interlocutors will usually retreat from the exchange, thus resolving the overlap.

II.1.4.b. Management of overlapping speech

Schegloff (2000) explained three criteria to be successful in overlap management. The first criterion includes persevering in completing by producing a talk relaxingly as if no one is speaking simultaneously as a sole speaker to bring their talk to a projected completion without using hitches or perturbations. The second criterion is to project

the thrust of the turn. The final criterion is to achieve sequential implicativeness, which means language is linked to a linear sequence, and conversational turns are logical because they are clarified in sequence.

Ex: (1) Mary: it is hot, today, isn't it? =

(2) Huong: = Yeah. I do not feel like going out tonight

In the above conversation, Mary comments on the weather in her turn to receive agreement from Huong (turn 2), which is successful sequential implicativeness. In some cases, during the overlap, the speaker can delay their talk, i.e., preempt their completion to respond to the other speaker's comment and then turn back to their talk, which can be called a "collaborative turn sequence" (Lerner, 2002).

II.2. Genderlect

The term *genderlect* is coined to define the language of sexes. Unlike *dialect,* which refers to the unique language of people in a specific geographical area, genderlect is a variety of languages tied to the speakers' sexual gender (Orasanu et al., 1979). Most literature on genderlect focused on the association between gender roles and gender-associated speech, displaying women's inferior social status (Bilous & Krauss, 1988) with attributes such as timidity, dependency, and incompetence (Lakoff, 1975). Tannen (1990) highlighted that women and men had different conversational styles in that women speak the language of intimacy and connection, whereas men speak the language of independence and status. Besides, Tannen (1990) claimed that women talk more than men in private conversations, while in public, men speak the most and attempt to gain status. For men, talk is for information, while for women, telling things is a way to show involvement, and listening is a way to show interest and caring.

The way men and women use language to communicate verbally is very dissimilar. Women are more active than men in supportive roles in conversation by using a lot of back-channel support such as the use of hedges (sort of, kind of, I think), fillers (e.g., you know, sort of, well, you see) and epistemic modal forms (e.g., should, would, might, could, may) to indicate indirectness, uncertainty, hesitation and reluctance

(Thomas & Wareing, 2004). Furthermore, women use more empty adjectives (e.g., divine, charming, cute), intensifiers (e.g., so, just, quite), and rising intonation in declarations to attract attention, seek agreement, and show emotion (Holmes & Wilson, 2017). Regarding verbal communication when listening, women tend to give more listening responses (e.g., mhm, uh-uh, yeah) than men, and the signals they provide also have different meanings (Tannen, 1990). While women use 'yeah' to mean 'I'm with you and I follow', men tend to say 'yeah' only when they agree (Tannen, 1990). Hence, when a man confronts a woman who says 'yeah', he interprets it as showing agreement, but if the woman turns out not to agree, he may conclude that she is insincere or agrees without listening. Vice versa, when a woman confronts a man who does not say 'yeah', she might suppose he had not been listening.

In a review of studies conducted between 1965 and 1991 on gender differences, James and Clark (1993) concluded that women tend to produce more cooperative overlapping talk than men and that women have a higher tendency than men to use simultaneous talk to show rapport and involvement. Also, the authors found mixed results, which seems inconsistent with Tannen's (1990) report regarding the claim that men tended to interrupt more than women. While in some studies (e.g., Bilous & Krausse, 1988; Dindia 1987, as cited in James & Clark, 1993), no significant differences between genders in the number of interruptions were documented, some studies revealed that men interrupted females more significantly (e.g., Bohn & Stutman, 1983; Esposito, 1979, as cited in James & Clark, 1993) and other studies reported that interruptions initiated by women were more significant than those by men (e.g., Sayers, 1987; Murray & Covelli, 1988, as cited in James & Clark, 1993).

Nevertheless, whether gender differences exist is a very controversial issue. While some researchers posit that gender differences are compatible with the frequent use of certain speech forms, others argue that the preconceptions and prescriptions about gender differences do not reflect the genuine picture of gender differences in speech. Moshman (2013) reasoned that males and females are psychologically rather than categorically different, and only subtle mean differences warrant claims about the

differences between the two sexes. Therefore, qualitative conclusions about gender differences may be relative, and genderlect or turn-taking style results should be interpreted cautiously because contextual, situational, and cultural factors could be accountable. In light of the literature review on turn-taking and genderlect, men and women seem pretty different in their speech and how they carry out their speech. However, results about genderlect are inconsistent, and it does not seem easy to generalize speaking styles inherent in men and women. However, several of these findings provide insights into the speaking patterns that are widely found for each sex and thus would be helpful for educational researchers to explore further. Understanding how English as a foreign language (EFL) learners of different sexes take-turn in conversation to manage discourse would help English instructors to decide which interactional resources need to be reinforced for their students and rethink speaking competence assessments.

III. METHODOLOGY

III.1 Participants

The sample is a convenient one. The two Vietnamese university students who studied at the same public university and registered for the peer tutoring program for the English subject were invited to participate in the research. The peer tutoring program, a cooperative learning method, created chances for students with a higher level of English proficiency to help students with a lower level of English abilities to enhance their English skills irrespective of their ages and disciplines. The 19-year-old male was a freshman and needed a tutor; the 22-year-old female was in her fourth year and volunteered to be a tutor. The tutoring sessions were conducted thrice weekly, each lasting two hours. Participants signed the consent form, and pseudonyms were used to protect their identities. The researcher ensured that their personal information and recorded conversation were kept confidential. Table 1 provides the demographic data of the two participants.

Table 1. *Participants' Demographic Information*

No	Name	Gender	Age	Native language	Years at university	English proficiency level	Majors	Years of formal English learning
1	Henry	Male	19	Vietnamese	first	IELTS 5.0	Business Administration	8
2	Rose	Female	22	Vietnamese	fourth	IELTS 7.0	Business Administration	12

Some gender-based literature posited that "gender is more likely to be salient in initial encounters between strangers when people notice gender and have little information to draw on to form expectations about each other" (Aries, 1996, p.182). For those reasons, the participants selected in this research come from the same culture but are strangers to each other. Their conversation was recorded in the first three tutoring sessions. They interacted in both informal and formal dyads, i.e., the interaction between two unknown people under the collaborative floor.

III.2 Data collection method

The two students completed the background questionnaire intended to elicit demographic background information such as sex, age, majors, years of learning English, and self-rated English proficiency. All the exchanges during the first three days of the meeting were recorded with the participants' permission. After that, the recording was transcribed into computer files with their names coded R, representing the female, and H, the male. Speakers participated in three recording sessions, each lasting two hours. Out of those, eight pieces of dialogue between the two students were chosen randomly for detailed analysis. The data were chosen on the grounds of good sound quality. The participants were asked to hold conversations naturally at the time of the recording. They were told that their conversations would be recorded but were assured that details of their conversations would not be disclosed to outsiders.

The researcher confirmed to the students that the tapes from their discussions would be destroyed once the final research report was written.

III.3 Data analysis method

The study employed conversation and deductive content analyses. It is essential that the study did not distinguish between formal and informal settings in which the talks are underway. It is because conversation analysts see the talk in interaction as a social process. Also, the turn-taking model can be applied to all conversations regardless of factors such as age, the topic of discussion, type of setting, number, and speaker identity (Liddicoat, 2007). The conversations were transcribed verbatim. The researcher read the transcripts several times to get familiar with the data before coding it in conversation analysis following Gail Jefferson's transcription system (Appendix B) and Liddicoat's (2021) guidelines. The strategy is to make a detailed inspection of tape recordings and transcriptions of participants' conversations. The next step is to use deductive content analysis to identify patterns to see how participants manage their conversations locally, turn by turn. From this, inductive comments about social organization can be made. The analytical procedure was elaborated as follows.

In the first step, transcribing, the audio-taped data were transcribed in as much detail as possible, including the points where interruptions and overlaps began and finished, laughter, and some non-verbal behaviors such as breathing and external noise (e.g., typing something). Conversational gaps were transcribed within and between turns and were timed. No attempt was made to temper the transcripts, for instance, by excluding incomplete utterances or restoring what was said into grammatical forms. However, the transcripts do not include detailed descriptions of body movements (e.g., gaze and gesture) and supra-segmental features (except audible breathing, increased volume, and higher pitch) because their inclusion in the transcripts and their analysis were beyond the scope of this study.

Besides, not any talk can be counted as a turn. For example, *uh huh, uhm,* and *yeah* are considered side comments (Edelsky, 1993) or encouragers (Sacks et al., 1978).

However, there is some evidence in the transcripts that the current speaker stalls for some time after completing one TCU. Only after receiving some signal from the listener does the interlocutor continue their bits of talk (e.g., turns 85 and 107 in Appendix A). Therefore, in this research, such side comments are seen as a turn to indicate agreement as long as they happen after or just before the current speaker finishes their utterance. It should be noted that deciding whether the speaker uses a particular device or strategy for what purpose is often a matter of interpretation, even with straightforwardly descriptive categories as discussed in the literature. The database consists of 215 turns, selected continuously from eight randomly chosen dialogues extracted from three sets of two-hour recordings for analysis.

The second step relates to labeling and coding. After completing the transcript, the researcher wrote notes, identified strategies that belong to one-at-a-time and overlapping talks, and labeled and coded them, referring to the turn-taking system from the literature review. As discussed in the literature review, a model of turn-taking consists of two main components: turn-allocation (the current speaker selects the next speaker, and the next speaker self-selects) and turn-construction units. Since the current research focuses on dyads, turn-allocation will not be observed because it tends to be applied to multi-speaker exchanges. Therefore, in this study, only turn-construction units were examined.

In the third step, categorizing data, the researcher listed the devices and strategies that participants employed. The researcher then grouped the codes under two broad categories, pure turns (i.e., one-at-a-time talks) and diffused turns (i.e., overlapping speech), to achieve better and closer examination. Next, sub-categories of strategies were accordingly generated and put under suitable headings. The sub-heading numbers to code the devices and specific strategies are employed to mark their occurrences (e.g., 1.1 for Multi-turn TCUs, 1.1.1 for structures, and 1.1.2. for increment). Under these labels, all of the data were accounted for (see Appendix C). The final steps involve recording the numbered turns for each category for later retrieval. Appendix C delineates each participant's main categories, sub-categories,

and numbered turns. After obtaining the total number of occurrences of strategy use for each sub- and main category, the researcher compared the results between the two sexes.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

IV.1. Devices and strategies participants use to take turns in one-at-a-time talks during english tutoring sessions

Turn-taking strategies and devices in pure turns include constructing multi-turn TCUs and a multi-TCU turn and reducing transition space (Table 2 in Appendix C). Tables 3 and 4 in Appendix D provide more information regarding the frequencies of devices and strategies used to take turns for both participants. Interestingly, the male student employed more turn-taking devices and strategies in pure turns than the female student. Specifically, to make multi-turn TCUs, he used increments more frequently (e.g., turns 87 and 89 below).

Extract (5)

87 H: =<Especially, especially they're from Italy as well.

(.)

88 R: and Yeah=

89 H: =The way they speak English is so hard to hear=

Besides, the male student also used structures to take turns. However, structures were less frequently used than increments and recorded in only one turn (e.g., turn 211 below).

Extract (8)

210 R: =Yeah::, But it has two ways of (.)

211 H: WRIT[ING]

Meanwhile, the female student used only increments to make multi-turn TCUs. However, she used this strategy in only one reported turn (turn 70).

Extract (4)

68 R: =Because some of the topics seem too personal to you,=

69 H:= Yeah.=

70 R:= ( ) a tab<u>oo</u>:: Okay?=

Regarding constructing a multi-TCU turn, the male student used audible breathing and deictic devices in the middle of the turn and sped up speech delivery at the end. Among these three choices, speeding up speech delivery (e.g., turns 109, 111, and 115) was the most frequently used, followed by deictic devices (e.g., the use of *like* as discourse particles or fillers in turns 111 and 113 and anaphoric references such as *it* and *she* in turn 111). Interestingly, both participants did not use list beginners and rhetorical questions at the beginning of the turn to ensure an extended turn in the next turn.

Extract (6)

109 H: = hh you know hh, the way I study English like I ( ) that (.) they <u>think</u> they think the same way same as like ( ) into the mind like the one I read manga they think like they <u>think</u> me I am just ignorant because I am hearing the music but the music I am hearing it's like the (.) English music,=

110 R: =º uhm º =

111 H: = I hear and I hear the conversation as well I hear twenty-four and twenty-four (.) and the teacher >you know< the guy even the cousin think I am ignorant I think like I am a smart thing I am a smart guy and doesn't need to study. ( ) just- one thing you don't understand English (.) how can you study things ( ) Even she says ( ) in English I can't understand it I need to ↑study,=

112 R: =°uhm°=

113 H: = and I study in my way like I study (0.25) I'm read the like- I read the manga I read- >because< I can't study things as you guys like read (.) like took the book, like took [the::=

114 R: [hehh[hhh-

115 H:= [>dictionary< and read every word and write down, I don't have patience.=

Surprisingly, the female student employed no strategies or devices to construct a multi-TCU turn and instead tended to control the conversation by only reducing transition space, also used by the male student. This strategy includes repeat, absolute adjacency, creating overlapping talk, and latching. It should be noted that among all strategies to reduce transition space, the male participant used a bit of overlapping talk (e.g., turn 162) and latching (e.g., turns 164 and 166) more often.

Extract (7)

162 R: eh:: that's what he is <trying to do>, [right?]

162 H: [y e a h] I don't really sure .hh why doing but he must involve into biodroid (.) I think ( ) bi biochemist biochemist support ( ) he do >something about [bio-<

163 R: [Sssso he mentions that he will come back to Vietnam?=

164 H: =Yeah, s (.)the thing [maybe-]

165 R: [hehhhh]hh=

166 H: = his ( ) his uncle don't want to

Meanwhile, the female student used mainly latching strategies to win the turn (e.g., turns 45 and 47 below). Although she used the repeating strategy, this strategy was recorded in one turn (i.e., turn 43). It should be noted that latching was the most frequently used turn-taking strategy for both participants.

Extract (3)

43 R: You put the stress, right? (.) °do° you [put the STRESS?]

44 H: [°( ])°=Ah, yeah.

45 R: =Ooh=

46 H: =We just write a little bit like write fast a paragraph.=

47 R: = Uh[: : :]

In short, in one-at-a-time talks, the male student employed various strategies to take turns compared to the female student, who mainly controlled her turn by reducing the transition space. Although she used increments and repeated her talk to win the turn to talk, these strategies were recorded in only one turn. As latching was the most frequently used by both participants, it can be inferred that reducing transition space as a turn-taking strategy was more popular and easier than constructing multi-turn TCUs and multi-TCU turns for both participants.

IV.2. Devices and strategies participants use to repair overlapping talks during english tutoring sessions

In diffused turns, overlap resolution devices and strategies, i.e., hitches, perturbations, and overlap management were found for both participants. Hitches include cutting off the talk, prolonging a segment, and repeating a prior element. Among these hitches strategies, cutting off the talk was the most frequently used by both participants, exemplified by turn 22 for the female student and turn 25 for the male student and as follows.

Extract 1

21	H:	[TODAY T O D AY] Everyone tired,= I don't know=
22	R:	= Oh.Yeah. May be [( )-
23	H:	[The weather °I think ° the weather changing, [°I thinking°
24	R:	[The weather? huh huh huh. [I'm s]till all ri:gh[t huhh.]
25	H:	[ehh-] [b u t] Everyone the same in my school and (.) today (.) °he said just like ° let everyone do the uh uh uh uh uh involved to talk,=

Also, both participants repeated a prior element, with the male student employing these strategies more often than the female student (e.g., turns 105 for the boy and turn 104 for the girl).

Extract (5)

104	R:	the <polit> [politics?]
105	H:	[political] yeah political polit[ics y[eah polit]ics.

A similar result was found for the use of increased volume or higher pitch to control the turn (e.g., turn 193 for the male student and turn 196 for the female student).

Extract (8)

193 H: Why .hh the guy the American guy doesn't ° understand ° I forgot. I [SAY=

194 R: [°programee°

195 H: =PROGRAMEE [you say-

196 R: [AH YOU SAY PROGRAMEE , not programming::, ing=

Meanwhile, the female tended to prolong a segment of talk more frequently than the male student (e.g., turn 189 for the female student and turn 190 for the male student) because the female student showed the male student how to pronounce a word.

Extract (8)

188 H: =the last the last word ((he means the last syllable))?( ) go up, right?, [programmee]

189 R: [programming]= NO, progra::mming, [it< i:s second sy]llable,>=

190 H: [< p r o g r a:m >]

Like hitches, the male student also resorted to perturbations more than the female student. Perturbations include increased volume or higher pitch and faster or slower pace of talk. While the first sub-category of perturbation was found for both participants, with the male student (e.g., turn 18) tending to use this strategy more

than the female student (e.g., turn 20), holding a faster or slower pace of talk was used by only the female student (i.e., turn 20).

Extract (2)

18 H: [no one do it.] (.) [(eh I) Even I try to, when I going home I try to remember what he give me like >WHICH essay he give me.< Oh whaat=

19 R:= ( ) huh huh huh

(0.5)

20 R: Just someTIMES th[ey're out of m < i n]D>.

21 H: [TODAY T O D AY] Everyone tired,= I don't know=

To solve overlaps, participants also persevered in completing the talk. However, the male student seemed more determined to complete the turns than the female student. Nine instances of using these strategies were found for the male student (e.g., turn 141) compared to six cases for female students (e.g., turn 142) (Table 5 in Appendix D).

Extract (6)

139 H: =She just ask me::: talk more:: and try to:: like like write your own words.=WHEN I write my own words, she thinks I am trying to copy someone.=That's really much [( ), really hard for me] (.) to improving [because-

140 R: [Eh::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::]

[justsssss it lacks of (.) understanding and[:: communi<catio n>]

141 H: [(like understand) yeah] >communication <. (.) WHEN I THINK like some hard words, I try to: °ya° know: I try to: like I >try to< put into my conversation >or may be I put into my writing<, some sometimes of course li:ke she will think like from different way, (.) because I am just first like first learner like I am a second language, second English (.) eh[::-

142 R:[a second language learner=

143 H: = second language learner,Yeah and this really hard really↓

To sum up, in one-at-a-time talk, although the male tended to use more devices and strategies than the female in taking turns, both employed latching to reduce transition space most of the time. Moreover, the male tended to push the onset of their utterance to an early start to create a bit of overlapping talk, speed up his delivery, and use increments more frequently than the female. Therefore, this may be interpreted that the male student tended to be more dominant than the female in managing non-overlapping discourse. Similarly, in the overlapping talk, it's interesting to notice that while, in most cases, the male tended to cut off his talk to let the female usurp the turn, he also persevered in completing his talk more often than the female. Furthermore, the male was inclined to increase his pitch and volume or repeat his utterance to win the turn more frequently than the female. These results contrasted with what Holmes and Wilson (2017) reported about women who often used rising intonations in declarations to control their turn-taking. In this study, the male student, instead of the female one, used different paralinguistic features, such as increasing the volume and using a higher pitch more frequently to win the turn in overlapping talks.

Although the literature on genderlect documented that women have a higher frequency than men of using overlapping talk to show rapport (James & Clark, 1993), this study shows that the female participant used varied strategies during

simultaneous talks to solve overlaps to revert overlapping talks to one-at-a-time talks. Likewise, in line with Tannen's (1990) report and results from other empirical studies regarding that men interrupted females more significantly (e.g., Bohn & Stutman, 1983; Esposito, 1979, as cited in James & Clark, 1993), the findings in this study show that the male student tended to interrupt the talk by initiating a bit of overlapping speech more often than the female student.

V. IMPLICATIONS

The results from this study indicate that the male participant, the tutee, tended to dominate the conversation in the non-overlapping speech by using various strategies to control his turn. Although the female participant, the tutor, used diverse strategies to solve overlaps, she mainly cut off her talk to let the male student win the turn. These findings have important implications for tutoring and TESOL practitioners.

For the most part, university student tutors and tutees at Vietnamese universities are not required to follow a stipulated syllabus or highly specified program but instead follow the general goal of the tutoring program to help tutees improve their English level, including mastering fundamental knowledge of the English language, passing formative and summative English tests at their faculty, and teaching to tutees' needs. Hence, in most cases, many student tutors play the role of the listener and only answer the tutee's questions if asked and share information if necessary, especially when they are fatigued due to a heavy university workload or that they may think it is not pleasant to interrupt the tutee, which could explain why the tutee from this study tended to dominate the conversation and employed more strategies to control his turns in one-at-a-time talks most of the time. For this reason, before joining the tutoring program, student tutors must be well-trained in various turn-taking and conversational strategies to get the floor, gain and manage time, and keep the floor while thinking. Also, they should be instructed to recognize transition relevance places

to intervene in the discussion flow appropriately and to initiate discourse to avoid going off-topic.

Although turn-taking, presented as interactional competence, is one of the aspects of discourse competence in addition to the flexibility to circumstances, thematic development, coherence, and cohesion (Council of Europe Council for Cultural Co-operation Education Committee Modern Languages, 2001), it is rarely included as one of the speaking assessment criteria in formally designed speaking tests at most Vietnamese universities, in some international language tests such as International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and Test of English for International Competence (TOEIC) and localized speaking assessment frameworks (e.g., Vietnamese Standardized Test of English Proficiency) (Truong et al., 2021). Thus, it is time to reconceptualize speaking assessment. Including interactional competence in assessing students' speaking performance can help speaking assessors ensure the interactive nature and authenticity of paired tasks, identify candidates memorizing prepared notes, and assess their discourse competence.

VI. CONCLUSION AND LIMITATIONS

Since conversation is a medium through which people socialize and maintain their relationships, they engage in linguistic interaction, called turn-taking. Turn-taking has been long discussed under the view of sociolinguistics and conversation analysis with mixed results. Also, findings about how Vietnamese students of different sexes managed their discourse are lacking. This research about turn-taking and overlap management strategies among Vietnamese students of different sexes can reveal whether Sacks et al.'s (1978) turn-taking model can be applied to English language teaching. The results show that in one-at-a-time talk, the male student used more devices and strategies than the female in taking turns, and both employed latchings to reduce transition space most of the time. In the overlapping talk, although the female used fewer strategies than the male in most cases, she used more various strategies in

simultaneous speech than in one-at-a-time form. These results indicate that male students might dominate the conversation and use more strategies than female students to win the turn to talk. The findings provide useful information for English instructors to be aware of differences in turn-taking and overlap resolution strategies among students of different sexes and provide them with interactional resources to maximize their participation in various assigned groups. Also, the findings can motivate speaking assessors to consider interactional competence as one of the speaking competencies for pairwork assessment.

Because of the nature of the sample, it is impossible to investigate all social variations in the use of discourse features (e.g., dialect, culture, social class, and situation) that may be related to the shape of discourse. Also, due to the limited number of participants, findings may not be applied to all Vietnamese non-English major students. Therefore, it is necessary to have extended samples of speech recorded under similar educational circumstances from individuals belonging to different social categories, such as age, gender, and social class. Future studies can also explore if a relevant correlation exists between each gender's turn-taking strategies with extra-linguistic variants such as age, social status, personality, and the number of pure and diffused turns. Admittedly, interpreting these discrepancies and estimating their significance remains a considerable challenge and requires a more comprehensive investigation. The evidence presented here may provide a suitable foundation to explore these inquiries further.

VII. DECLARATION OF INTEREST

The author confirmed that there was no conflict of interest involved.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPTS

Link to the transcript:

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yBY2pPGyZhqBOXfDuGZk8hEBjEumEIAX/view?usp=sharing

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

The following transcription symbols, developed by Gail Jefferson and common to conversation analytic research, were used in the data analysis.

[	Left square brackets indicate the onset of overlapping or simultaneous, speech by two or more speakers.
]	Right square brackets indicate the point where overlapping speech ends. This may not be marked if it is not analytically important to show where one person's speaking "in the clear" begins or resumes.
(0.4)	Numbers in parentheses indicate a timed pause (within a turn) or gap (between turns) represented in tenths of a second.
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicates a "micropause," bearable but not readily measurable; conventionally less than 0.2 seconds
:	Colons are used to indicate the prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching.
-	A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption, often done with a glottal or dental stop.
.	A period indicates a falling, or final, intonation contour, not necessarily the end of a sentence.
?	A question mark indicates rising intonation, not necessarily a question.
,	A comma indicates "continuing" intonation, not necessarily a clause boundary.
(( ))	Matter within double parentheses is a transcriber's comment or description.
=	equal signs within or between turns mark speaking as "latched," with no break or pause, when a speaker makes two grammatical units vocally continuous, or the onset of a next speaker's turn follows the prior speaker's turn immediately without break or pause.
=…=	Two equal signs are used to show the continuation of an utterance from the end of one line to the start of a successive line when overlapping speech comes between the two lines.
word	Underlining is used to indicate some form of contrastive vocal stress or emphasis.
<word	The pre-positioned left carat indicates a hurried start. A common locus of this phenomenon is "self-repair."
WORD	Capital letters are used to indicate markedly higher volume.
°word°	The degree sign indicates that the talk following it was markedly quiet or soft. When there are two-degree signs, the talk between them is markedly softer.

↑↓	The up and down arrows occur prior to marked rises or falls in pitch.
><	The stretch of talk between inequality signs in the order "more than" / "less than" indicates that the talk between them is compressed or rushed.
< >	The stretch of talk between inequality signs in the order "less than" / "more than" indicates that the talk between them is markedly slowed or drawn out
hhh	Hearable aspiration or laugh particles; the more "h"'s, the longer the aspiration. Aspiration or laugh particles within words may appear within parentheses.
hh	Hearable inbreaths are marked with h's prefaced with a dot (or a raised dot).
(word)	Parentheses around all or part of an utterance, or a speaker's identification, indicates transcriber uncertainty, but a likely possibility.

APPENDIX C

Table 2. *Turn-taking devices and strategies in pure turns*.

	Turn-taking devices and strategies in pure turns								
	Multi-turn TCUs (1.1.)		Multi-TCU turn (1.2)			Reducing transition space (1.3)			
Gender's turns	Structures (1.1.1)	Increments (1.1.2)	Audible breathing (1.2.1)	Deictic device (1.2.2)	Speeding up speech delivery (1.2.3)	Repeat (1.3.1)	Absolute adjacency (1.3.2)	A bit of overlapping talk (1.3.3)	Latching (1.3.4)
Male's turns	211	78, 80, 87, 89, 127, 181	42	40, 111, 113, 137	18, 111, 115. 125, 127, 133, 141, 162, 169	160, 169	12	7, 34, 50, 85, 150, 162, 167, 177, 186, 212	5, 12, 16, 21, 30, 32, 38, 40, 46, 54, 56, 59, 67, 69, 71, 74, 76, 80, 83, 87, 89, 95, 102, 109, 111, 113, 117, 121, 123, 129, 131, 137, 139, 143, 148, 152, 154, 158, 164, 166, 173, 175, 179, 183, 188, 191, 197, 200, 207, 209, 213

Female's turns	70	43	26, 29, 31, 33, 39, 45, 47, 49, 53, 57, 60, 66, 68, 70, 79, 81, 84, 94, 96, 99, 103, 110, 112, 116, 120, 126, 130, 132, 138, 145, 147, 149, 151, 157, 159, 172, 174, 176, 180, 184,185, 187, 192, 198, 201, 206, 208

Explanations

In pure turn-taking, only one speaker speaks at a time. Two parent categories and four sub-categories were identified, under which specific devices and strategies are listed.

1.1. Multi-turn TCU: structures (if… when) or increment (continuation of a speaker's turn after that speaker has come to what could have been a completion point).

1.2. Multi-TCU turn: at the beginning of the turn (list beginner and "rhetorical question" to ensure an extended turn in the next turn) at the middle (audible breathing and deictic devices), at the end (rush through and speed up speech delivery).

1.3. Reduce transition space: repeat, absolute adjacency pairs, a bit of overlapping talk (put the onset to an early start), and latching.

Table 3. *Overlap resolution devices and strategies in diffused turns*

Gender's turns	**Overlap resolution devices and strategies in diffused turns**					
	Hitches (2.1)			Perturbations (2.2)		Managing overlaps (2.3)
	Cutting off the talk (2.1.1)	Prolonging a segment of talk (2.1.2.)	Repeating a prior element (2.1.3)	Intensified volume or higher pitch (2.2.1)	Faster or slower pace of talk (2.2.2.)	Persever-ing in completing the turn (2.3.1)
Male's turns	2, 25, 35, 82, 117, 139, 141, 146, 150, 162, 164, 195, 202, 203	190	32, 48, 100, 105, 119, 146, 214	18, 20, 25, 100, 119, 133, 193, 203		23, 27, 44, 51, 64, 141, 149, 156, 173
Female's turns	17, 22, 26, 62, 75, 92, 106, 155, 180	36, 140, 189	24, 104, 106, 204, 215	3, 36, 196, 204	20	81, 118, 142, 163, 189, 201

Explanations

In diffused turns, there is more than one speaker at a time, thus unclear talk ensues. Two parent categories and three sub-categories were identified, under which specific devices and strategies are listed.

2.1. Hitches: cutting off the talk by an oral, glottal, or velar stop; prolonging a segment of talk; repeating a just prior element and resources which depart from the prosody of the turn.

2.2. Perturbations**:** intensified volume, faster or slower pace of talk, and higher pitch.

2.3 Managing overlaps: persevering in completing the turn.

APPENDIX D

Table 4. *Number of occurrences of device and strategy use in pure turns.*

	Number of occurrences of device and strategy use in pure turns								
	Multi-turn TCUs (1.1)		Multi-TCU turn (1.2)			Reducing transition space (1.3)			
Gender	Structures (1.1.1)	Increments (1.1.2)	Audible breathing (1.2.1)	Deitic device (1.2.2)	Speeding up speech delivery (1.2.3)	Repeat (1.3.1)	Absolute adjacency (1.3.2)	A bit of overlapping talk (1.3.3)	Latching (1.3.4)
Male	1	6	1	4	9	2	1	10	51
Female	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	47

Table 5. *Number of occurrences of device and strategy use in diffused turns.*

	Number of occurrences of device and strategy use in diffused turns					
Gender	Hitches (2.1)			Perturbations (2.2)		Managing overlaps (2.3)
	Cutting off the talk (2.1.1)	Prolonging a segment of talk (2.1.2.)	Repeating a prior element (2.1.3)	Intensified volume or higher pitch (2.2.1)	Faster or slower pace of talk (2.2.2.)	Persever-ing in completing the turn (2.3.1)
Male	14	1	7	8	0	9
Female	9	3	5	4	1	6

Book Review

Stance devices in tourism-related research articles: A corpus-based study. Series: Linguistic Insights, Volume 292.
Francisco J. Álvarez-Gil
Peter Lang, 2022. 170 pages.
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Authored by Francisco J. Álvarez-Gil, *Stance devices in tourism-related research articles: A corpus-based study* (Peter Lang, 2022) is a recently published corpus-based work that sets out to assess the occurrence and purpose of stance markers in research articles focused on the field of tourism. In academic writing, the concept of 'stance' is typically concerned with the author's perspective or viewpoint on a particular topic. This includes the author's ideas, attitudes, and reasoning concerning the information given, as well as the supporting evidence and arguments put forth to back up any claims made. Establishing a clear and well-defined perspective is crucial when writing research articles, as it helps to establish the author's credibility, adopted stance, opposing viewpoints and arguments, and contributes to promoting further academic discussion and debate. The focus on stance is clearly grounded in the view of language as a functional system, emphasizing the purposes for which language is used.

The exploration of stance devices goes beyond the realms of language pragmatics and research papers as a genre, as it also has practical implications for tourism professionals (Álvarez-Gil & Domínguez-Morales, 2021, 2018). Understanding how stance is established can aid professionals in adjusting their language to align with their organization's values and commitment to specific issues, such as responsible tourism, which includes sustainability and cultural sensitivity. By utilizing stance markers in their communication, tourism professionals can effectively communicate their stance and demonstrate their dedication to these issues. Additionally, understanding the needs of their customers and stakeholders is crucial, and the use of stance markers can assist in establishing a connection with these groups. Therefore, the study of stance devices can provide valuable insights to tourism professionals in the development of effective communication strategies that are aligned with their organization's values and priorities.

Álvarez-Gil provides a comprehensive analysis of the use of stance devices in tourism research articles in a volume which is divided into seven chapters, each of which explores different aspects of stance devices and their use in academic writing, including the introduction and the conclusion. The author draws on corpus linguistics to conduct his analysis, using a large dataset of tourism research articles to provide a detailed and evidence-based account of how stance devices are used in this field. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the concept of stance and the importance of its study in academic writing. Álvarez-Gil argues that stance is a crucial component of academic writing because it reflects the author's position and attitude towards their research topic. The chapter also outlines the research questions and objectives of the study.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature on stance and academic writing. The author examines previous research on stance and identifies gaps in the literature that his study aims to address. In this chapter, the author provides a comprehensive overview of the various definitions of 'stance' put forth by scholars such as Biber et al. (1999), Hyland (2005), Johnstone (2009), and Dzung Pho (2013), among others. Despite

the extensive body of literature on the topic, there remains no unified definition of 'stance' in academic discourse. This lack of consensus stems from the multifaceted nature of stance, which can include the author's beliefs, attitudes, values, and evaluation of a given topic, as well as the linguistic devices used to convey these elements. Therefore, the varying definitions of 'stance' presented in the chapter demonstrate the complex and multifaceted nature of the concept and highlight the need for further research to establish a more cohesive understanding of stance in academic discourse.

In Chapter 3, the author details the methodology used in his study and outlines the corpus linguistics approach utilized in analyzing the data, thus providing an overview of the process of creating the corpus of tourism research articles. Additionally, Álvarez-Gil explains the annotation scheme employed to identify and analyze stance devices in the corpus. The chapter also delves into the similarities and differences between the three schools of genres, namely New Rhetoric, English for Specific Purposes, and Systemic Functional Linguistics. The author then focuses on the methods used to explore the rhetorical macrostructure of the corpus, which comprised 74 research articles published in journals between 2015 and 2018. Drawing on the works of Biber (1988), Swales (1990), Halliday, and Martin (1993), Gotti (2012), among others, he demonstrates how writers in the field of tourism use stance devices to convey their perspectives and persuade their readers.

The analysis reveals that despite the wide variety of styles and purposes in tourism research articles, linguistic cues repeat and follow a consistent textual structure comprising of six stages. While this finding may not come as a surprise, it is noteworthy for language and tourism researchers due to the absence of previous studies on tourism research articles and the high degree of variability in tourism texts. Another significant finding presented in this chapter is the correlation between authorial involvement in some stages of the research article and the length of the text.

Overall, Chapter 3 offers a comprehensive overview of the methodology used in the study and highlights the significance of the findings for both language and tourism

researchers. By showcasing the consistent textual structure of stance devices in tourism research articles, Álvarez-Gil's work provides a valuable contribution to the field of tourism research and lays the groundwork for future studies on the topic.

Furthermore, Álvarez-Gil identifies a significant difference in the frequency of stance devices between the introduction and discussion sections of the research articles. He notes that in the introduction section, the use of hedging devices is more prevalent, while the use of boosters and epistemic modality is more frequent in the discussion section. The author suggests that this difference may be due to the diverse purposes of the two sections. The introduction section typically aims to present the background and objectives of the research and to establish a context for the study, while the discussion section is focused on the interpretation and discussion of the results.

In addition, the study reveals that the use of stance devices varies depending on the sub-discipline within the field of tourism. For example, the use of evidentiality is more prevalent in articles on heritage tourism, while the use of boosters is more frequent in articles on tourism marketing. These findings suggest that the use of stance devices is not only influenced by the rhetorical purpose of the text but also by the specific content and sub-discipline of the research.

Another important finding of the study is the relationship between the author's institutional affiliation and the use of stance devices. Álvarez-Gil notes that the authors affiliated with universities in Anglophone countries tend to use more boosters and epistemic modality, while authors those affiliated with universities in non-Anglophone countries tend to use more hedging devices. The author suggests that this difference may be due to the cultural norms and expectations of academic writing in different countries and language communities.

This being said, the book makes a significant contribution to the field of applied linguistics and corpus linguistics by providing a comprehensive analysis of stance devices in a specific genre. The methodology and coding scheme used in the study could serve as a useful framework for future studies of stance devices in other genres

and disciplines. In addition, the book highlights the importance of considering the cultural and institutional context in the analysis of language use, as these factors can have a significant impact on the communicative strategies employed by writers.

In conclusion, *Stance devices in tourism-related research articles* is a well-researched and informative book that offers valuable insights into the use of stance devices in tourism research articles. The findings of the study have important implications for both researchers and practitioners in the field of tourism, and the methodology used in the study could serve as a useful framework for future research in applied linguistics and corpus linguistics. Overall, this book is a valuable contribution to the study of language use in academic writing and an essential reading for anyone interested in the language of tourism research articles.

Another strength of the book is its clear and accessible writing style. Despite its technical subject matter, the book is well-written and easy to follow. One potential weakness of the book is its narrow focus on tourism research articles. While this focus allows Álvarez-Gil to provide a detailed analysis of the use of stance devices in this field, it also limits the generalizability of the findings. It would be interesting to see how the findings of this study compare to other fields of academic.

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