EXPLORING POLITICAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DISCOURSES IN MEXICO: A CRITICAL, MULTIMODAL APPROACH

by

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CANDIDATE'S STATEMENT

I hereby certify that the thesis entitled "**EXPLORING POLITICAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DISCOURSES IN MEXICO: A CRITICAL, MULTIMODAL APPROACH"** and submitted for the degree of Doctor of Applied Linguistics is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this thesis (or any part of it) has not previously been submitted for higher degree or part of the requirements for a higher degree to any other institution other than Macquarie University.

In addition, I certify that all the information sources and literature used are indicated in this thesis. The research presented in this thesis was endorsed by the Macquarie University Ethics Committee, HE24AUG2007-D05380.

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ABSTRACT

EXPLORING POLITICAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DISCOURSES IN MEXICO: A CRITICAL, MULTIMODAL APPROACH

Teresa A. Castineira B.

This is a thesis composed of three studies linked by a common critical multimodal approach to the analysis of the data. Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework was drawn on in order to explore the social practice, discursive practice and text dimensions of the discourses in question. The first two studies focus on printed texts in Mexican Spanish, whereas the third study addresses spoken interaction in English with occasional code switching to Spanish.

Study 1: A Multimodal Analysis of the 2006 Mexican Presidential Campaign Billboards

This is a joint study (with my colleague Michael Witten and approved by my supervisor and the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie) which analyzes the political discourse of the multimodal and multisemiotic texts that the three major political parties involved in the 2006 Mexican presidential elections produced and extensively distributed through the medium of public billboards. We investigate how these parties express their particular ideologies, construct and convey social identities and relationships, and construct relations of power between themselves and the readers/viewers of these texts, through the medium of billboards. As indicated in the preamble, the methodological framework addresses these issues drawing on Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional model of analysis while employing a variety of qualitative techniques, tools, and approaches.

Study 2: Discourses of obligation and prohibition within an institutional setting.

Following the theme of multimodal critical discourse analysis, this study examines the institutionalized discourses of obligation and prohibition at the Library of the Language Faculty (LEMO)*of a public university in Mexico. Six different texts pertaining to various genres ranging from a protocol to notices were examined. Multiple qualitative methodologies and tools such as those drawn from ethnography, critical discourse analysis, and systemic

functional linguistics are utilized in the analysis of the data. Power relations between the institution and the library users are examined as well as the conditions of text production and reception, the latter through an ethnographic component. An emphasis is placed on the linguistic text.

Study 3: Gatekeeping practices at the LEMO

This study investigates one of the gatekeeping practices at the Language Faculty of a public university in Mexico (see above). The particular practice concerned consists of the professional examinations (vivas) that students have to take in order to obtain their degrees of 'Licenciatura en Lenguas Modernas' (BEd in Modern Languages) in the English Teaching section of the university. This study focuses on the professional discourse(s) utilized by both candidates and examiners by means of analyzing the texts of four recorded professional examinations. This study chiefly draws on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical concepts of 'frontstage' and 'backstage', where the analysis of the frontstage work addresses the Question-and-Answer section of the examinations, and the analysis of the backstage work addresses the subsequent deliberations among the examiners concerning the performance of the candidates. Multiple qualitative methodologies and tools are again drawn upon, such as ethnographic analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Overview

This thesis is composed of three studies that deal with the critical, multimodal analysis of discourse(s) in three different fields: the political, the institutional and the professional, in two different Mexican contexts: that of the 2006 Mexican presidential elections, and that of the Faculty of Languages (LEMO) of the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla (BUAP). The term *field* is adopted from Bourdieu (1991) who states that

> There is a political space, there is a religious space, etc.: I call each of these *field,* that is, an autonomous universe, a kind of arena in which people play a game which has certain rules, rules which are different from those of the game that is played in the adjacent space (p. 215)

Wodak (2008) interprets Bourdieu's (1991) concept of *field* "as segments of the respective societal *reality,* which contribute to constituting and shaping the *frame* of a discourse" (p. 17). In this work, it will be argued that there is a dialogical relationship between fields and discourses, where discourses are shaped by the field, but at the same time discourses help shape the field where they are utilized.

The three studies draw on Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework (Figure 2.3) to study the text, the discursive practice and the social practice dimensions of the various multimodal texts under analysis. Fairclough (2005b) maintains that 'discourse' subsumes language as well as other forms of semiosis such as visual images and 'body language', and texts (the discoursal elements of social events) often combine different semiotic forms" (p. 924).

In order to fill in the dimensions in Fairclough's framework, an interdisciplinary, or transdisciplinary methodological approach is called for. Sarangi and Candlin (2004), supporting a broader view to methodology when doing research in the field of applied linguistics, maintain that methodology encompasses "the philosophical, pragmatic and theoretic-analytical practices of engaging with data" (p. 101). Fairclough (2005b) notes that

> Transdisciplinary research is more than a short-term collaboration of disciplines around particular research projects; it is a long-term dialogue between disciplines and theories with each drawing on the concepts, categories and 'logics' of the others in pursuing its own theoretical and methodological development (Fairclough 2003, forthcoming b). Critical discourse analysis specifically contributes to such research a focus on how discourse figures in relation to other social elements in processes of social change. This includes the integration of detailed analysis of texts into research on social change (pp. 923-924).

Scollon (2000) refers to this approach as *methodological interdiscursivity*, whereby the use of multiple methods and instruments in order to analyze multimodal discourse is necessary. Scollon (2000) poses the question:

> how many publicly available forms of discourse (signs, advertising posters, announcements, road and building identifications) [can] be read as indicators of the discursive positioning of implied reader/viewers? That is, how does literate and semiotic design – from choice of code to the choice of layout, typography, accompanying images, and even placement in physical space –reflect the broader sociocultural processes of the societies in which these semiotic spaces occur? (p. 141)

Candlin (personal communication, 2007) refers to this methodological interdiscursivity as *multimodal discourse analytical methodology*. These terms will be used interchangeably in this work where disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, anthropology, politics and linguistics will be drawn upon.

The three studies that compose this thesis adopt a critical discourse analytical perspective. Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak (2004) argue in their *manifesto* that critical social research addresses social problems of inequality, injustice, insecurity and self-doubt. "The critical objective is not only to identify and analyze the roots of social problems, but also to discern feasible ways of alleviating or resolving them" (ibid., p. 1). The authors maintain that these social problems are to a significant degree "problems of discourse" since people "organize and act *through* particular discourses" (ibid., p. 2).

Wodak (2008) sees critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a suitable framework to carry out *problem-oriented social research*. She goes on to say that CDA "allows the integration of different dimensions of *interdisciplinarity* and multiple perspectives on the object investigated" (p. 2) where every piece of interaction or "visual symbol is conceived as **semiotic entity** [my stress], embedded in an *immediate, text-internal co-text and an intertextual and socio-political context"* (Wodak, ibid.). She goes on to say that

> [A]nalysis thus has to take into account the *intertextual and interdiscursive relationships* … between utterances, texts, genres and discourses, as well as the extralinguistic social/sociological variables, the *history and archaeology of an organization*, and institutional frames of a specific *context of situation*." (p. 2).

In short, Wodak also advocates multimodal analysis, where texts are not analyzed in isolation, but as processes and products of their social environments. This is precisely what this work intends to do, where visual and spoken multimodal texts are analyzed according to their histories and surroundings, and where all semiotic resources (language, colors, posture, gesture, distance and spatial organization, among other) play an important role.

1.2 Study 1: A Multimodal Analysis of the 2006 Mexican Presidential Campaign Billboards

Study 1 was carried out in the context of the 2006 Mexican presidential elections campaign. In this extensive study, my colleague, Michael Witten and I seek to describe, interpret and explain the discourses contained in the billboards that the three main Mexican political parties: *Partido de Acción Nacional* (PAN) whose candidate was Felipe Calderón Hinojosa, now President of Mexico; *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (PRD) whose candidate was Andrés Manuel López Obrador; and *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI), whose candidate was Roberto Madrazo Pintado, released for public consumption.

In relation to this focus, Bourdieu (1991) states that the political field is "understood both as a field of forces and as a field of struggles aimed at transforming the relation of forces which confers on this field its structure at any given moment" (ibid., p.171). He goes on to say that

> the political field is the site in which, through the competition between the agents involved in it, political products, issues, programmes, analyses, commentaries, concepts and events are created – products between which ordinary citizens, reduced to the status of 'consumers', have to choose, thereby running a risk of misunderstanding that is all the greater the further they are from the place of production". (ibid., p. 172).

Bearing in mind the concepts of field, interdisciplinarity and Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework in analyzing multimodal texts, this study sets out to investigate how the political struggles for power are made manifest on the above mentioned parties' billboards. Specifically, this study addresses the following research questions:

- What sociocultural/historical practices enable and constrain text production and consumption in presidential campaign billboards?
- How is party/candidate ideology constructed and conveyed through presidential campaign billboards?
- How does the party/candidate construct relations with readers/viewers through presidential campaign billboards?
- What is the generic structure of presidential campaign billboards?
- What is the nature of the relationship between linguistic text, image, and other semiotic elements on presidential campaign billboards?

In 2.2 of the study, we outline the sociopolitical Mexican context. This section describes how the Mexican political system works and what tendencies the political parties follow. Drawing on Mexican history, we discuss the origins of each party and the political career of each candidate to set the background for this study.

Section 2.3 discusses the theoretical foundations underlying this study. Since it is not possible to include all the authors drawn upon in this study, I mention here only a few. In line

with transdisciplinary research, we define and discuss multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2005), and the need for the application of different analytical techniques in order to deal adequately with multimodal texts. Given the nature of the texts and the *arena* where the campaign takes place, we advocate CDA (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak, 2004) as a mode of analytical approach to these data. Research on political discourse is outlined, and issues of power and politics are discussed (Bourdieu, 1991; Foucault, 1980). The concepts of genre (Bhatia, 2004, Fairclough, 1995) and intertextuality (Candlin & Maley, 1997) are widely discussed, as well as how and where presidential campaign billboards fit into a particular type of genre. The concept of metaphor (Cameron, 2003; Carter, 2004) and its various meanings and forms is introduced in relation to its role on presidential campaign billboards. Pragmatics is discussed in relation to the various pragmatic *waves* which, according to their goals and purposes, presidential campaign billboards pursued at different times. Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) is employed as both an appropriate and useful technique when analyzing linguistic text is outlined and discussed.

An important part of the literature review is dedicated to geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), including in particular the construct of the interaction order (Goffman, 1983) and how it is represented in visual semiotics. We discuss the different types of participants that can be encountered in a text, and the different modes in which participants can be realized, such as linguistic text, symbols, and images. The concepts of modality and composition and how they are realized in multimodal texts are explained. We refer to *place semiotics* whereby various discourses are located in the material world. Finally, we dedicate a section to ethnography (Harklau, 2005) and advocate pursuing Geertz's (1973) concept of *thick description* in order to demonstrate how sociocultural and historical factors need to be taken into consideration to more adequately deal with multimodal research.

In section 2.4, we discuss the research methodology utilized in this study. The data collection process across time and place is described, as well as the selection criteria of the billboards to be included in this study. The selection criteria are based on sociocultural and historical relevance to the Mexican context, on temporal factors, and on multimodal complexity. In this section, Fairclough's (1992, 1995,) three dimensional analytical framework is discussed in detail, we justify its use in this research study and explain how each dimension (text, social practice and discourse practice) will make use of various analytical techniques, tools and approaches. Finally, we discuss the limitations of this study.

Section 2.5 presents an extended analysis of the eight selected billboards according to the three semiotic temporal waves encountered. Each billboard is analyzed both as a whole

and in separate units in terms of composition, photographic image, and linguistic text with the various meanings these elements entail. Metaphorical meanings are also analyzed extensively as well as the issues of interdiscursivity where they arise. All the semiotic resources on the billboards are described, interpreted and explained.

In section 2.6 we provide a discussion of what constitutes the presidential campaign billboard genre and the implications of how social actors make relevant use of these multimodal texts in this particular context. We discuss how power and persuasion/manipulation issues permeate these texts, as well as the strategies used to achieve these social purposes. We draw conclusions (2.7) on what represented participants are obligatory and optional on billboards according to temporally and sequentially differentiated semiotic waves and their pragmatic goals. In terms of composition, we draw conclusions as to the different ways that various modalities are used in the texts under investigation. We discuss the value added (or not) by the linguistic text to define the ideological stance of each party. We conclude that the expression of political ideology is achieved on presidential campaign billboards through a combination of composition strategies (information value, salience and framing).

Through this research study we expect to have made a contribution to the fields of multimodal, multisemiotic discourse analysis and critical studies, more specifically as they pertain to the critical analysis of political discourse. By addressing presidential campaign billboards in the Mexican context we expect to have opened the way to more multimodal, critical analysis in the Mexican political arena, and to have made a modest contribution to enhancing awareness of the public significance of these particular texts.

1.3 Study 2: Discourses of obligation and prohibition within an institutional setting.

This study researches the institutional discourses of obligation and prohibition utilized in the pragmatic space of the LEMO library of the BUAP. Within the university system of affordances and constraints (van Lier, 2004), these discourses are multimodally and critically analyzed, utilizing a variety of tools, techniques and methods in order to deal with the three dimensions proposed by Fairclough (1992, 1995): those of the text, the discursive practice, and the social practice. Fairclough (2005b) maintains that

> Organizational structures are hegemonic structures, structures which are based in and reproduce particular power relations between groups of social agents, which constitute 'fixes' with enduring capacity to manage the contradictions of organizations in ways which allow them to get on with their main business more or less successfully. (p. 931)

Six texts which deal with the functioning of the library, where certain discourses and behaviors are expected, were selected. Photos of the texts and their emplacement (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) are provided. In this study, the following research questions are addressed:

- What type of texts (genres) are utilized by the LEMO library to communicate to its users institutional policies regarding the functioning of the library?
- How is obligation expressed in these texts?
- How is prohibition expressed in these texts?
- Is there an interconnection between the discourses of obligation and prohibition? If so, how is it expressed?
- Do library users comply with the institutional policies stated in the analyzed texts?

It is important to mention that this study addresses both the issues of *intentionality* as well as that of *acceptability*. "*Intentionality* relates to the attitude and purpose of text-producers" (Wodak, 2008, p. 9). On the other hand, "[*a*]*cceptability* is the mirror of *intentionality*. A text must be recognized as such by recipients in a particular situation" (ibid., p.9). This points to the dialogical nature of texts. Every effort has been made in this work in order to deal with both intentionality (text producers) and acceptability (text recipients).

Section 3.1 of this study discusses the university system of affordances and constraints and how this system relates to the LEMO library and the discourses of obligation and prohibition. The construct of social practices according to Fairclough (2003) is discussed as is its relationship with interactions, people, social relations, the material world and discourse. The roles of rules and regulations and how they are related to social practices is explained. The construct of *institution* and the role that regulations play within an institution is outlined. In this section I state the overall aim of the study in the following terms:

- to contribute to the area of applied linguistics and more concretely, to the areas of multimodal critical discourse analysis by describing, interpreting and explaining the discourses of obligation and prohibition within this academic context
- to raise awareness among text-producers and text-consumers of the various institutional policies that may afford and constrain library users and how to best benefit from the service provided by the library

Given the nature of the texts, in this study an emphasis will be given to the linguistic text, without neglecting other visual modes. An ethnographic component is added in order to contribute to an understanding of the conditions of reception of the analyzed texts. Finally, I outline the various fields, techniques, tools and methods that will be drawn upon in order to fill in the slots in Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework.

In section 3.2, I outline the context where this study takes place. The BUAP's mission is stated, and a historical overview of the LEMO is provided. This is followed by a detailed

description of the library in regards to its physical setting, the services provided, the staff, and its functioning in general.

Section 3.3 provides a detailed theoretical framework for this study. First, the concepts of obligation and prohibition discourses are discussed according to their philosophical foundations in the field of deontic logic (von Wright, 1951) and how these concepts are realized in terms of modality. This is followed by a discussion on discourses of obligation and prohibition at institutional level (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999). In the next section I discuss the issue of power and institutions, based mainly on Bourdieu's (1991, 1998) idea of symbolic capital accumulated in institutions which exercise power over their subordinates. This is the case of the relationship between the LEMO library and its users. In the next section, I discuss intertextuality and interdiscursivity at institutional level based mainly on the work of Bakhtin (1999) and Fairclough (2003).

I then discuss the main constructs of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) relevant to this study. Mainly, I outline the constructs of the interpersonal metafunction, modality and tenor which are connected with the relationship between interactants and the realization of discourses of obligation and prohibition in English and in Spanish. A discussion on politeness and face (Brown & Levinson, 1987) follows, as issues of power, distance and ranking of impositions are connected with tenor. Finally, a section on ethnography and institutions is included since an ethnographic component forms part of this study in order to investigate the reception/consumption of the texts.

Section 3.4 deals with the methodology employed to analyze the texts. First, the data collection and selection process is discussed. This is followed by the analysis of the data and results (3.5). A background for each text is provided in terms of their genre and their *raison d'être.* After this, a detailed analysis of each text in terms of emplacement, composition, linguistic text and tenor is provided.

In order to deal with the conditions of reception of each text and to add *ecological validity* (Cicourel, 2007) to the study, an ethnographic component is added in section 3.6. The results of interviews carried out in the library with various library users and with library staff are discussed. These interviews deal mainly with compliance to the various rules and regulations indicated in each text. These interviews are warranted with several illustrative excerpts. A discussion of the entire ethnographic component is provided.

In section 3.7, I present the conclusions drawn from this study. I briefly summarize the answers to the research questions set at the beginning of the study. I recognize the limitations of this study, and finally, I make recommendations for further research.

1.4 Study 3: Gatekeeping practices at the LEMO: A Multimodal Analysis

The aim of this study is to investigate one of the gatekeeping practices at the LEMO, which consists of the professional examinations of competence (PECs) that students have to go through in order to obtain their degrees of *Licenciatura en Lenguas Modernas* (BA in Modern Languages). This degree refers to English teaching or Translation from English into Spanish. This study chiefly draws on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical concepts of *frontstage* and *backstage*, where the analysis of the frontstage work addresses the Question-and-Answer (Q&A) section of the examinations, and the analysis of the backstage work addresses the subsequent deliberations among the examiners concerning the performance of the candidates. Multiple qualitative methodologies and tools are drawn upon, such as ethnographic analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, systemic functional linguistics, and critical discourse analysis. In order to carry out this research, the following research questions are addressed:

- What moves are followed in such professional examinations of competence?
- What means and modalities (semiosis) are drawn upon in the interaction characteristic of such practices?
- How do gatekeepers allow candidates to access "the goods" they are instituted to protect?
- How are power relations displayed and characterized in such events?

In a context where the learning of a second language is of utmost importance, the concept of *linguistic field* acquires more relevance. As noted in relation to Study One above, Bourdieu (1991) conceives linguistic field "as a system of specifically linguistic relations of power based on the unequal distribution of linguistic capital…, the structure of space of expressive styles reproduces in its own terms the structure of the differences which objectively separate conditions of existence" (p. 57). Clearly, individuals who learn a second language, English in this case, increase thereby their linguistic, cultural and symbolic capital. Bourdieu (ibid.) recognizes that cultural and linguistic capital are measured by the academy when he states that

> [t]he laws of the transmission of linguistic capital are a particular case of the laws of the legitimate transmission of cultural capital between the generations, and it may therefore be posited that the linguistic competence measured by academic criteria depends, like the other dimension of cultural capital, on the level of education (measured in terms of qualifications obtained) and on the social trajectory (p. 61)

These gatekeeping encounters, then, will measure the linguistic as well as the specialized competence in language teaching or translation of the candidates. This study explores and seeks to explain the various discourses involved in the process. The aim of this study is to shed some light on the gatekeeping practice processes of PECs, to raise awareness

of their associated practices among examiners, candidates and the educational institution, and to evaluate these practices that may either be maintained or changed.

Section 4.1 introduces the nature of gatekeeping encounters as part of bureaucratic institutions where asymmetrical power relations are at play. In an educational institutional context where the acquisition of knowledge and/or competencies is one of the ultimate goals, Bourdieu's (1997) constructs of symbolic and cultural capital are drawn upon.

The context (4.2) of this study is described in regard to the Faculty's mission, its student body, and its grading system. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the *event* of the PEC in its highly ritualized nature. The physical place is described in order to better understand the interaction that takes place during the PEC. Finally, the nine *moves* identified during the PEC are outlined.

Section 4.3 discusses the various macro sociological issues concerning gatekeeping encounters, such as those of power, and of cultural and symbolic capital. It also discusses the concepts of professional discourse and communities of practice and how they apply to this study. Macro methodological issues of multimodal interaction are also presented. The constructs of *frontstage* and *backstage* (Goffman, 1959) are further discussed. Finally, micro methodological issues and constructs taken from interactional sociolinguistics (IS) such as frames and code-switching, conversation analysis (turn-taking, adjacency pairs) and SFL such as tenor and modality and their relevance to this study are discussed.

In section 4.4, I present the methodology utilized in this study. I describe the data collection process, and the various human (candidates and examiners) and non-human (tools) participants involved in this study.

In section 4.5, I provide a detailed analysis of the data and set out the results obtained. First, the setting and tools are analyzed as meaning-making resources in this particular event. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the four sample video-taped examination encounters. Each sample is analyzed in terms of the participants' *personal front* (Goffman, 1959) and the meaning-making resources involved in constructing this personal front. This is followed by detailed analyses of the interaction taking place during the Question & Answer sessions involving the candidates and the ensuing deliberations sessions among the examiners. These analyses include posture, gesture, and language. Particular emphasis is placed on issues concerning power relations, identity, interaction strategies and modality. Each sample is followed by a discussion of the results found. All results are warranted by excerpts and screen shots from the interaction.

Section 4.6 discusses the conclusions drawn from the study. I discuss the contribution to the field of applied linguistics of this study by exploring a gatekeeping practice in an

academic context from a critical, multimodal perspective. I demonstrate how the joint co-construction of meaning among participants is achieved by the use of various semiotic modes on the part of the interactants. I finally make recommendations to carry out studies of this nature in other similar academic contexts.

Finally, in Chapter five, I discuss and explain the general conclusions drawn from the three studies. I describe the contribution of each study into the field of applied linguistics, I outline the limitations of each study and discuss directions for further research.

Note: Translations in study 1 were carried out by Teresa Castineira and Michael Witten. Translations in studies 2 and 3 were carried out by Teresa Castineira, unless otherwise indicated. The author(s) made every effort to provide a literal translation of the texts, where necessary, in order to preserve their lexicogrammar.

CHAPTER TWO

STUDY 1: A MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF THE 2006 MEXICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN BILLBOARDS

2.1 Introduction

This work examines a particular genre (Bakhtin, 1999; Bhatia, 1993, 1999, 2004; Fairclough, 1995, 1999a,b) which is characterized by a rich set of semiotic modalities. The work analyzes the political discourse of the multimodal texts that the three major political parties involved in the 2006 Mexican presidential elections produced and massively distributed through the medium of billboards. The three political parties involved are: Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN), which is a right wing conservative party; Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), which is a moderate party that claims to represent the 'political center'; and the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD), which represents the left wing, liberal political ideology. We intend to explore the nature of these multimodal texts (Baldry & Thibault, 2006; Iedema, 2003; Iedema & Stenglin, 2001) as well as demonstrate how the political parties use this genre to accomplish goals such as expressing particular ideologies and constructing/conveying social identities and relationships. We also intend to examine how power relations are constructed between political parties and the readers/viewers of presidential campaign billboards as well as how the parties use billboards in order to influence voters to vote for them. Due to constraints on time and resources, it is beyond the scope of this study to explore the actual effectiveness of billboards on the voting constituency.

In order to explore these issues, we intend to address the following research questions:

- What sociocultural/historical practices enable and constrain text production and consumption in presidential campaign billboards?
- How is party/candidate ideology constructed and conveyed through presidential campaign billboards?
- How does the party/candidate construct relations with readers/viewers through presidential campaign billboards?
- What is the generic structure of presidential campaign billboards?
- What is the nature of the relationship between linguistic text, image, and other semiotic elements on presidential campaign billboards?

In addressing these questions, the work examines a sample of photographs of presidential campaign billboards which were collected during the campaigning period (January, 2006-June, 2006) of the 2006 Mexican presidential election. However, it is important to consider that these texts were placed in a specific sociocultural context with a particular sociopolitical history (See 2.2 below) that greatly influenced the meaning making

potential of these texts. The following section provides an account of the Mexican sociopolitical context.

2.2 The Mexican sociopolitical context

This section will outline some important features of the Mexican sociopolitical context. It addresses the 2006 Mexican presidential election, the main political parties involved, and the candidates' backgrounds.

2.2.1 The 2006 Mexican presidential election

Mexico's political system is a democracy, which divides power into three separate entities: executive power, legislative power, and judicial power. The executive power is represented by the President at the federal level. The legislative power is represented by the *Cámara de Diputados* (House of Representatives) and the *Cámara de Senadores* (the Senate), while the judicial power is represented by the Supreme Court of the nation.

Presidential elections in Mexico take place every six years. Three main parties contended for the Mexican presidency on July 2, 2006: The incumbent party, PAN, whose candidate, Felipe Calderón Hinojosa, won the election; the PRD whose candidate was Andrés Manuel López Obrador; and the PRI which ruled the country for over 70 years up to 2000 and whose candidate was Roberto Madrazo Pintado. Minor parties such as the Partido Verde Ecologista Mexicano (PVEM) formed alliances with the PRI, resulting in the *Alianza por México*, whereas the Partido del Trabajo (PT) and Convergencia formed alliances with the PRD, resulting in the *Coalición por el Bien de Todos*. Because the two candidates who represented the alliances mentioned above came from the PRD and the PRI, we will be henceforth referring to their political parties and not to the newly formed alliances/coalitions. The official campaigning period, monitored by the Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE) lasted from January 19 to June 28, 2006 (Camacho & Almazán, 2006, p. 26). Elections for the Congress took place on the same day as the presidential election.

The results of the presidential elections polarized the whole country and were contested by López Obrador. However, the IFE eventually ratified the results: Felipe Calderón obtained 35.89% of the votes, López Obrador 35.31% and Roberto Madrazo 22.26%. The remaining votes corresponded to minor parties. It was the first time in Mexican history when elections were so tight (Camacho & Almazán, 2006). History will clarify whether these results were fraudulent or not.

2.2.2 Political parties in Mexico

At present, in the Mexican context, it is difficult to characterize a party as belonging to the *right* or to the *left*. Bourdieu (1991) states that "[P]olitical parties, like tendencies within

these parties, have only a relational existence and it would be futile to try to define what they are and what they profess independently of what their competitors in the same field are and profess" (p. 184). However, for historical reasons, it may be said that the PAN is a right-wing party; the PRI a center party, which Krejcí (1991) describes as an example of "a perplexing 'mix' of 'rightist' and 'leftist' tendencies in various populist movements which succeeded in winning power and establishing…[a] more or less repressive dictatorial regime[s]" (p. 13). Finally, the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD) characterizes itself as a left-wing party (PRD. Declaración de Principios, 2001, p. 2).

The PAN has historically been associated with the right because of its Christian democratic tendencies (Reveles, 2005, p. 18). Reveles characterizes the PAN as a "neo-conservative party…which believes in an unequal society where there are those who govern and those who are governed, proprietors and non-proprietors, leaders and followers; however, the PAN believes this condition of inequality is not an obstacle for the common good" (ibid., p. 19). According to the PAN's declaration of principles, the party rejects foreign influence in its ideology, and it also rejects any economic, political or propagandistic funding from illegal sources. Its philosophy centers on people's freedom, justice and equality in order to achieve democracy. It claims to reject any form of discrimination due to gender, age, physical capacity, religion, race, or economic status. According to the PAN, "it is the duty of political activity to establish political order that respects freedom and promotes social responsibility as a basis for the development of a democratic community" (PAN. Declaración de principios, 2004, pp.1-2).

Borjas (2005, pp. 437-460) considers the PRD a social democratic party due to its ideological positioning in fighting against the established economic model of Mexico in the Congress. In its declaration of principles, the PRD calls itself a left-wing party that "aspires to serve especially those who suffer from exploitation, injustice and oppression…to build a just, egalitarian and democratic society…the PRD does not try to impose a public moral or to sanction the private lives of the people. It demands from its members, particularly from its political representatives and public servants, adherence to political ethics which are consistent with values such as honesty, transparency, equal treatment to others, tolerance of different points of view, willingness for dialogue, and respect to persons' dignity regardless of gender, age, race, sexual preference or social status." (PRD. Declaración de Principios, 2001, p. 2).

Reveles (ibid. p. 28) points out that the PRI tried to redefine itself as a social democratic party after its defeat in 2000. This ideological redefinition is taken by Espinoza (2005, pp. 295-309) as a strategy to retake power. According to its principles, the PRI also

advocates a free, democratic and just society. The PRI calls itself a nationalistic, democratic, party of the people that respects the Mexican constitution and fights for the participation of its members in political life. The PRI believes in integrating its members into public offices at federal, state and municipal levels in order to promote the people's participation in democratic life. The PRI maintains that its "revolutionary nationalism" allows its member to interact in a globalized world and to preserve the nation's identity and independence. The PRI calls itself an inclusive party which seeks social justice, rejecting any kind of discrimination related to age, gender, race, skin color, language, religion or ideology (PRI. Declaración de principios, (n.d.) p. 1- 3).

Whether all these principles are observed by the three parties mentioned above or not is beyond the scope of this study. It can, however, be observed that there are more similarities than differences between the right-wing, the center and the left-wing parties in Mexico according to their declarations of principles. It is worth noticing how these three parties reproduce their discourses in their declarations of principles. It can be observed, that there are no *ultra right* or *ultra left* principles in any of the parties. At this point we notice Gramsci's (1971) idea of a party is valid to the Mexican context. He writes:

> Although every party is the expression of a social group, and of one social group only, nevertheless in certain given conditions certain parties represent a single social group precisely in so far as they exercise a balancing and arbitrating function between the interests of their group and those of other groups, and succeed in securing the development of the group which they represent with the consent and assistance of the allied groups – if not out and out with that of groups which are definitely hostile (p. 148).

2.2.3 The candidates

Felipe Calderón has a long career within the PAN coming from a family with historic ties to the party. His early days with the PAN involved youth recruitment into the party. He was a federal congressman from 1991-1993 and the president of the PAN from 1996-1999. In 2003, he was appointed president of the National Bank of Public Works and Services (Banco Nacional de Obras y Servicios Públicos) under the Fox administration. Later, he was appointed Secretary of Energy until he resigned in 2004. He officially became the PAN's candidate for the presidency on December 4, 2005. His ex-colleague, Josefina Vázquez Mota, from the Congress, took over as his campaign coordinator (Calderón, 2006).

According to Camacho and Almazán (2006), Calderón's first publicist, Francisco Ortiz, was fired because his attempts to create a less authoritarian image for Calderón failed. They (ibid.) go on to say that Ortíz, "quiso rodearlo del pueblo y hasta intentó hacerlo sonreír. Pero ir contra su propia naturaleza sólo le trajo una perdida de puntos en las encuestas (p. 47)" (Ortíz wanted to surround him [Calderón] with the Mexican people and even tried to make him smile. However, going against his own nature made him lose points in the polls).

This is when the Spaniard, Antonio José Solá Reche, famous for his attacks against President José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, was hired by the PAN to take over Calderón's campaign and start attacking López Obrador. At the same time, both Dick Morris, Bill Clinton's ex-publicist, and Rob Allyn, who had been Fox's counselors, began to collaborate with Calderón. It is worth mentioning that any foreign collaboration on Mexican campaigns is forbidden by the Código Federal de Instituciones y Procedimientos Electorales (Villamil, 2006, cited in Camacho & Almazán, 2006, p. 50). Calderón was also the first candidate to utilize the Catholic Church in his campaign by distributing autographed religious images of the *Virgen de Guadalupe* (Camacho & Almazán, p. 68).

Andrés Manuel López Obrador initiated his political life within the PRI. However, he joined the PRD when it was founded in 1989. He was president of the PRD from 1996 to 1999 and then mayor of the Distrito Federal (D.F., Mexico City) from 2000-2003. He then quit his post to become the official PRD candidate for the Mexican presidency and started his presidential campaign with the same slogan that he used to become the mayor of the Distrito Federal, "por el bien de todos, primero los pobres" (for the well-being of everyone; first the poor). It was clear, from the beginning of his campaign who the beneficiaries of his administration would be (Borjas, 2005, p. 450). At the beginning of his campaign he was *antimarketing* since he refused to advertise on television or to give interviews to the press, which later cost him dearly (Camacho & Almazán, 2006).

It is worth noticing that in what we call the *first wave* (See 2.5.2) of the presidential campaign, López Obrador's billboards were absent. This may be explained by the fact that López Obrador was seen as a charismatic leader who thought "he was his own campaign" (Camacho & Almazán, 2006, see also Fernández, 2006). However, around March, 2006, billboards started to appear, probably when López Obrador realized that Calderón's popularity was rising due to the *guerra sucia* (dirty war) that Calderón declared against López Obrador on the television, linking him with Hugo Chávez and Fidel Castro. López Obrador did not respond to the *guerra sucia* until it was probably too late. Whereas at the beginning of his campaign López Obrador did not want any advertising on television, according to Camacho and Almazán (2006), from the three candidates, the one who was most advertised on television was López Obrador. Calderón was most advertised on the radio, and Madrazo was most advertised on billboards and in the press. In the context of the 2006 Mexican presidential elections, Islas (2006) analyzed the underuse of the Internet on the advertising campaign. According to Islas, a survey carried out by the Mexican newspaper "Excelsior" in March, 2006, indicated that the most influential media in the campaign was television,

followed by newspapers, magazines and the internet successively. He does not mention billboards and posters at all.

According to some analysts (for example Camacho & Almazán, 2006) López Obrador lost the elections for two main reasons: First, he did not respond in time to Calderón's *guerra sucia*, and second, he was too self-centered to listen to his collaborators. He started first in the polls and remained in the same position for several months. However, after March/April, 2006, Calderon's popularity was on the rise. Even though his advisors urged López Obrador to attend the first presidential debate between the candidates on April 25, 2006, he maintained that he would attend one debate only. He paid a high price for his absence. He did attend the second debate on June 6, 2006, and his popularity rose; however, the 2% rise in the polls was not sufficient to win the election. A third possible reason for López Obrador's loss was fraud, and although there was evidence of inconsistencies when counting the votes, and this was taken to the IFE, the Electoral Tribunal finally announced Calderón's victory on September 5, 2006.

Roberto Madrazo Pintado has had a long career within the PRI. Madrazo was governor for the state of Tabasco from 1995-2000. In 1999 he competed with other members of the PRI to become the official PRI candidate for the presidency. That is when Madrazo hired Carlos Alazraki, the most famous publicist in Mexico, to be in charge of his campaign. At this point, it is worth mentioning that his family name, "Madrazo Pintado", forms an interesting pun. In Mexican slang, *madrazo* may mean a slap or a blow with very negative connotations. On the other hand *Pintado* means *painted*. Alazraki came up with the slogans "dale un Madrazo al analfabetismo, dale un Madrazo a la corrupción…" playing with his surname. This has been recognized by Alazraki as a very aggressive, but successful campaign (Fernández, 2004). In the end, because of internal divisions within the party, the PRI elected Francisco Labastida as candidate for the presidency, which he lost against Vicente Fox from the PAN in 2000. This was the first time the PRI had lost the presidency since its foundation. Since then, Madrazo has been highly criticized by members of his own party as well as by other parties and institutions (Hernández, 2005, p. 269) for creating dubious alliances and has been constantly accused of corruption. Nevertheless, he was president of the PRI from 2002-2005. Finally, in 2005, Madrazo became the official PRI candidate for the presidency and began his 'identity reconstruction' as will be illustrated in this analysis. On this occasion, he hired David Pons whose goal was to reconstruct Madrazo, primarily by getting rid of his 'unfortunate' surname, therefore becoming ROBERTO. Alazraki maintains that Pons wanted to present a soft, "Mister Nice Guy" (Fernández, 2006) when he was, in fact, the opposite.

Finally, adopting Bourdieu's (1991) words, we may conclude that "[t]he political field is thus the site of a competition for power which is caried out by means of a competition for the control of non-professionals [laypeople] or, more precisely, for the monopoly of the right to speak and act in the name of some or all of the non professionals" (p. 190). Having presented this overview of the Mexican sociopolitical context, we will now review the literature that is relevant to the current study.

2.3 Literature Review

2.3.1 Introduction

In discussing the purposes of the field of Applied Linguistics, Candlin and Sarangi (2004) stress the importance of developing "generalisable principles of theoretical and analytic insights which will enable it [Applied Linguistics] to say not only what it does, but why what it does is grounded in coherent and sustainable argument" (p. 3). They emphasize the need to acknowledge that "linguistic means are only one of a range of semiotic modalities through which significant action may be coded" and the need to go "beyond the linguistics matters" by drawing on "constructs and methodological tools from other disciplines" (ibid, p. 4). However, Candlin and Sarangi (2004) also warn that "[m]ethodological eclecticism has to be balanced against a theory-method interrelationship so as not to sacrifice analytic integrity" (p. 5). Taking the above into account, the following sections provide a background discussion on relevant issues surrounding how meanings can be made, distributed, interpreted and analyzed in multimodal texts. In doing this, we intend to build a rationale for the methodological choices that were made for different facets of analysis within this research process.

2.3.2 On Multimodality

Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) point out that, "[a]ll texts are multimodal. Language always has to be realized through, and comes in the company of, other semiotic modes." (p. 187).   Iedema and Stenglin (2001) define a multimodal text as "one in which a number of different modes (words in headings and headlines; images and the written texts themselves) are integrated to form a composite whole" (p. 195). Kress, Jewitt, Ogborn and Tsatsarelis (2001) rather boldly claim to have proven conclusively that "meaning is made in all modes separately, and at the same time, that meaning is an effect of all the modes acting jointly" (p. 1). These notions are of utmost importance to an investigation that attempts to explore the nature of a complex genre (see section 1.2.5) such as presidential campaign billboards, which is characterized by a rich variety of multimodal texts. Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) stress that "it is essential that we develop modes of text analysis which can adequately describe the

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interplay between the verbal and the visual, and adequately analyse visually expressed meanings" (p. 187). Kress et al. (2001) state that multimodal analysis requires a descriptive framework "derived from the specific characteristics of the mode itself" (p.3). Therefore, in order to deal with the complexity of multimodal communication, a variety of analytical techniques which are appropriate for different modes of representation is required. Keeping the above in mind, we will discuss in further detail the strengths and limitations of particular analytical techniques which are appropriate for the analysis of the multimodal texts examined in this research. Furthermore, we will argue that a mixing of methodologies from distinct disciplines such as linguistics and sociology among others might complement each other in order to maximize methodological strengths while minimizing limitations.

2.3.3 A critical approach to multimodal research

The sociopolitical nature of this study raises questions of power and inequality, making a critical approach necessary in order to describe, explain, and interpret the object of this research. Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak (2004) claim that "[c]ritical social research draws upon the resources of social science to address the most pressing social problems of the day: those aspects of the structure, organization and functioning of human societies" (p. 1). We see this critical approach as compatible with the three dimensional analytical framework for the analysis of texts proposed by Fairclough (2005) that can be "conceived as mapping three different sorts of analysis on to one another in an attempt at integrated statements which link social and cultural practices to properties of texts" (p.144). Fairclough (1992) explains:

> Any discursive event is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of social practice. The "text" dimension attends to the linguistic analysis of texts. The "discursive practice" dimension specifies the processes of text production and interpretation, for example, which types of discourses are drawn upon and how they are combined. The "social practice" dimension attends to issues of concern to social analysis such as the institutional and social circumstances of the discursive event and how that changes the shape of the discursive practice (p. 4).

While Fairclough (2000) recognizes the importance of multimodality, the analytical framework described above was principally developed to analyze linguistic texts. However, Rose (2005) suggests that a critical approach to analyzing visual texts requires thinking about

> the visual in terms of the cultural significance, social practices and power relations in which it is embedded; and that means thinking about the power relations that produce, are articulated through, and can be challenged by, ways of seeing and imaging (p. 3).

Fairclough's and Rose's approaches are compatible, which becomes evident as Rose (2005) emphasizes the relationship between a situated image and its particular sociocultural context in which a viewer interacts with it. Therefore, we feel that it is appropriate to adopt a

critical three dimensional approach such as Fairclough's (1992, 2005) for the analysis of the multimodal texts in this investigation.

2.3.4 On political discourse

According to Chilton (2004), political discourse analysis is relatively new. He asserts that there is a lack of "*theory* of language and politics" that would explain the link between the political and the linguistic (p. xi). Chilton states that in order to investigate this connection, rhetoric, critical theory, and cognitive linguistics among others should be explored (ibid., pp. x-xi). Although we agree with Chilton, we believe that a connection between politics and meaning making involves more than language and must consider a wider range of multimodal/multisemiotic resources. To our knowledge, in the Mexican context, no specific study on presidential campaign billboards has been carried out from a multimodal, multisemiotic perspective. In the context of this study, Chilton's (ibid.) notion of politics as "a struggle for power, between those who seek, assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it" (p.3) seems relevant.

De Gasperín (2004) maintains that recently political discourse analysis has achieved greater recognition in the academic world. This increased importance placed on political discourse analysis may be due to the fact that it seeks to discover and detect the reactions of citizens to the various stimuli constructed through phrases, words, images, photographs and drawings by political forces (ibid). As Scollon & Scollon (2005) maintain referring specifically to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this may be a "catalytic movement to bring the study of language into an engagement with the powers of social action in the real world in which we live" (p. 101).

In recent years there has been an abundance of semiotic and linguistic studies that intend to discover implicit and explicit messages in the context of political discourse (Chilton, 2004; de Gasperín, 2004; Fairclough, 1992, 2005c; Müller, 2005). These studies have contributed to the understanding of the resources that political actors draw upon to structure specific discourses in order to influence, distort, confuse, persuade, convince or motivate citizens. Thus, researchers can draw conclusions on the various intentions, ideologies and interests of political leaders, parties and government structures (see Capdevilla, 2002; Montessori, 2001). We will be considering Campus's (2002) analysis of candidate-centeredness in the Italian context which is relevant to the Mexican context where "[c]andidates evoke symbolic visions stressing leadership and personal characteristics instead of referring to the ideological and party symbols that dominated the old campaigns" (p. 171).

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2.3.5 On power and politics

The sociopolitical issues addressed in this study lead the researcher(s) inevitably to explore the notion(s) of political power realized through discourse in its many modes. The main concept to define power relations is that of *control* (van Dijk, 1997), where one group or individual exercises certain forms of control over others. There are various *resources* available in order to exercise control, one of them being *coercive* and another being *mental* (ibid. p. 17), where discourse in its many modes plays an important part in order to influence (or control) people's ideas. Foucault (1980) asserts that

> basically in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse (p. 93).

On the other hand, Bourdieu (1991) observes,

> …it is not enough to note that relations of communication are always, inseparably, power relations which, in form and content, depend on the material or symbolic power accumulated by the agents (or institutions) involved in these relations…It is as structured and structuring instruments of communication and knowledge that 'symbolic systems' fulfill their political function, as instruments which help to ensure that one class dominates another (symbolic violence) by bringing their own distinctive power to bear on the relations of power which underlie them and thus by contributing, in Weber's terms, to the 'domestication of the dominated' (p. 167).

In order to fully contextualize the above quote in this study, it is necessary, first, to address the issue of relations of communication as well as their form and content. Relations of communication can be taken as interaction between individuals, groups of individuals, or an individual and a group or groups. This interaction may take many forms or modes. These forms may be face-to-face, written/read, and/or visual/viewed. We consider these forms multimodal (See 2.3.2) because each one of them involves various modes as will be demonstrated. These relations of communication are structured in a generic form. For example, presidential campaign billboards, which are the subject of this study are of certain size, they usually contain slogans and pictures and are addressed to potential voters, which lead to the structuring of ideologies and thus fulfill the political/discursive function of persuading, manipulating and promising among others (See van Dijk, 1997; 2006). This way, a class (potential voters) are dominated by another class (politicians).

Bourdieu (1991) refers to political power as symbolic power, which is "that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it" (p. 164). He finds symbolic power in other fields such as art, religion, and language among others. "Symbolic power is a power of constructing reality, and one which tends to establish a *gnoseological* order: the immediate meaning of the world (and in particular of the social world) depends on what

Durkheim calls *logical conformism*, that is, 'a homogeneous conception of time, space, number and cause, one which makes it possible for different intellects to reach agreement" (p. 166). In order for this *logical conformism* to be accomplished, a symbolic system which designates the *social function* is necessary. He goes on to say that "[s]ymbols are the instruments *par excellence* of 'social integration': as instruments of knowledge and communication …, they make it possible for there to be a *consensus* on the meaning of the social world, a consensus which contributes fundamentally to the reproduction of the social order" (ibid. p. 166).

Gramsci (1971), calls political leadership *hegemony* which is exercised by political parties. These political parties in turn have assimilated "the coercive and punitive force of juridical regulation of a country" (p. 267) exercised by the state, they have adopted "as principles of moral conduct those rules which in the State are legal obligations". Van Dijk (1997), based on Gramsci asserts that the exercise of social power over people may be through manipulation of their minds, that is, through discourse. "Hegemonic power makes people act as if it were natural, normal or simply a consensus. No commands, requests or even suggestions are necessary" (p. 19). He goes on to say that hegemonic power may happen through "education, information campaigns, propaganda, the media, and many other forms of public discourse" (ibid.). Van Dijk's idea of hegemonic power is also in line with Bourdieu (1991) who states that

> symbolic power does not reside in 'symbolic systems' in the form of an 'illocutionary force' but [that] it is defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit to it, i.e. in the very structure of the field in which *belief* is produced and reproduced. What creates the power of **words and slogans** [our stress], a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and those who utter them. And words alone cannot create this belief (p. 170).

Finally, there is an important point to consider in power relations. Foucault (1980) notes that power is not always necessarily repressive or evil, but asserts that

> [w]hat makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression (p. 119)

The issues of multimodality, political discourse and power that were discussed above serve as a general backdrop for this work since they are themes that are continually present in a critical study of this nature. We now turn to discuss topics that more specifically address issues surrounding the characterization and analysis of presidential campaign billboards.

2.3.6 On genre and politics

Since an extensive discussion of genre analysis is beyond the scope of this study, a brief outline of genre and its relationship to politics and multimodality is presented in this section. It is commonly acknowledged that a type of genre involves similar types of texts with certain schematic structures, with particular purposes, and addressed to a specific discourse community.

Hyland (2002) maintains that

> [g]enres are abstract, socially recognized ways of using language. Genre analysis is based on two central assumptions: that the features of a similar group of texts depend on the social context of their creation and use, and that those features can be described in a way that relates a text to others like it and to the choices and constraints acting on text producers. (p. 114)

On the other hand, Swales's (1990) defines genre as

> a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. … recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. (p. 58)

The definitions above, however constrain genre to language. Thus, a broader perspective to genre analysis is necessary. Authors such as Fairclough (1995), Scollon (2001), Scollon & Scollon (2005) and van Leeuwen (2005a), influenced mainly by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Bakhtin's work, take into account other semiotic resources such as gestures and visual images apart from the written/spoken text, and pay special attention to power relations. They also recognize that genres do not necessarily have a fixed structure, but that they may vary according to culture and time among other factors. Bhatia (2004) writes, "[i]n such narrowly identified and restricted contexts, one often tends to use simplified and idealized genres." (p. xiv). He goes on to say that

> [t]he real world of discourse…is complex, dynamic, versatile and unpredictable, and often appears to be confusing and chaotic. These aspects of the real world have been underplayed in the existing literature on genre theory and practice. As a consequence, we often find a wide gap between genre analyses of texts in published literature, emphasizing the integrity and purity of individual genres and the variety of rather complex and dynamic instances of hybridized genres that one tends to find in the real world (ibid.).

Fairclough (1995) points out that "[t]ension between repetition and creation, centripetal and centrifugal pressures, manifests itself in varying degrees of homogeneity or heterogeneity of textual forms and meanings" (p. 8). Bakhtin (1999) takes a historical perspective to explain how genres change and evolve over time. He asserts that "[h]istorical changes in language styles are inseparably linked to changes in [speech] genres " (p. 123). Therefore, it is necessary to develop a special history of genres, to give a historical explanation that accounts for the changes that take place in social life. "To investigate such a

world, we need to have an equally complex, multidimensional and multi-perspective model of genre analysis" (Bhatia, 2004, p. xvi). For example, we need to pay attention to the use of colors, images, boxes and pictures that add meaning to the language used in written texts; hence, a "multifunctional view of text [genre] is therefore essential" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 6).

The dialectical (changing and fixed) nature of genres/discourse referred to above, lead us to discuss the issues of interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Candlin & Maley (1997) in the context of alternative dispute resolution research define interdiscursivity as "the use of elements from one discourse and social practice which carry institutional and social meanings from other discourses and other social practices" (p. 212). Drawing on Foucault (1984), Candlin & Maley (1997) stress "the dynamic and constructive role of either spoken or written discourse in structuring areas of knowledge and the social and institutional practices which are associated with them. A discourse is a way of talking about and acting upon the world which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices" (p. 202). They go on to stress the creativity in the use of discourse as a product of the social world and assert that

> discourses draw upon the resources of other discourses associated with other social practices. This process is most likely to occur when, as Foucault suggests (1984:134), functional correlations across discourses suggest the value of incorporating linguistic elements of various kinds from one text type to another or from one socially situated discourse type to another. ..Discourses are made internally variable by the incorporation of such *intertextual* and *interdiscursive* elements. Such evolving discourses are thus intertextual in that they manifest a plurality of text sources… (p. 203)

The concept of intertextuality and the manner in which it is realized within this specific sociopolitical context is also relevant in the multimodal texts under investigation. Regarding intertextual analysis, Fairclough (1999b) asserts that it

> offers media reception studies … a textual basis for answering questions about what social
> resources and experiences are drawn upon in the reception and interpretation of media, and what other domains of life media messages are linked or assimilated to in interpretation (p. 195).

He goes on to say that intertextual analysis is coherent with the recent arguments "that media reception studies should extend their concerns beyond the moment of reception to consider how media messages are taken up, used and transformed in various spheres of life – the family, work, **political activities** [our stress], leisure…" (ibid.).

From a multimodal perspective, this study considers presidential campaign billboards a particular kind of *genre* or *sub-genre* among the *genre colony* of what Bhatia (2004) calls *promotional genres* (pp. 57-65), since these billboards have the main communicative purpose of promoting a candidate. The concept of *colonization* is clearly exemplified when Bhatia (ibid.) asserts that 'advertising' clearly stands out to be the most predominant instrument of colonization. It has successfully invaded a number of professional genres, including academic, corporate, **political** [our stress], journalistic [and others]…" (p. 88).

Figure 2.1 below illustrates a *promotional presidential campaign genre colony*. Television and radio spots constitute the primary members of this colony since they are the principal means for introducing new discourses into the public for consumption. The overlapping genres show how interdiscursivity and intertextuality operate among and between the primary and secondary members which influence promotional presidential campaign discourse. We have highlighted in red the genre which is the subject of this study.
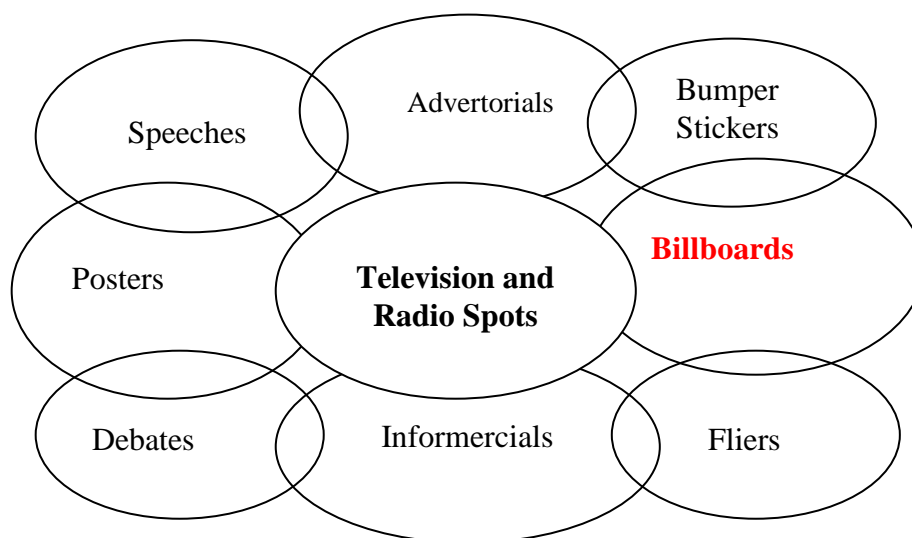
Figure 2.1: Colony of promotional presidential campaign genres (after Bhatia, 2004).

Finally, it is important to consider the issue of addressivity in presidential campaign billboards. Some authors (for example, Swales, 1990) have emphasized the notion of the *expert discourse community,* that is, the specialist group that recognizes and produces a specific type of genre. However, we argue that although billboards constitute a specific kind of genre, their target discourse community is not well defined. It could be argued that in this specific presidential campaign context — that of Mexico in 2006 — the discourse community is the Mexican electorate in general. In any event, we will consider the *addressivity* (Bakhtin, 1999, p. 132) of this particular type of genre. As Bakhtin suggests, the addressee of a particular genre may be "a differentiated collective of specialists in some particular area of cultural communication, a more or less differentiated public, ethnic group, contemporaries, like-minded people, opponents and enemies"(ibid., p. 132). Linked to the question of addressivity is that of response. Bakhtin asserts that genres are "oriented toward the response of other (others), toward his [sic] active responsive understanding, which can assume various forms: educational influence on the readers, persuasion of them, critical responses, influence on followers and successors…" (ibid., p. 126). This study will examine how presidential

campaign discourse on billboards reflects many of the responsive forms mentioned by Bakhtin above.

2.3.7 On Metaphor

One important aspect of this study directly linked to intertextuality and to hybridized discourse will be the use of metaphors. "Metaphors work by drawing analogies, usually between domains of meaning which are not normally linked…" (Carter, 2004, pp. 119-20). Cameron (2003, pp. 3-4) asserts that the presence of metaphor may be identified by lexical items that are incongruous in the situation they are used. This incongruity is the "core of the metaphor" (Cameron, ibid., p. 4). "The incongruity or anomaly exists because we can find some other way of interpreting the words or phrase that contrasts with the discourse-appropriate interpretation" (ibid., p. 4).

According to Carter (2004), "conventionally, the process of analogy drawing is from *vehicle* or literal meaning to *tenor* (non-literal meaning) by means of the *grounds,* the linking relation between the literal and the non-literal (Carter, 2004, p. 120). Lakoff (1986) explains the above analogy by stating that metaphor involves the understanding of "one domain of experience … in terms of a very different domain of experience. More technically, the metaphor can be understood as a mapping …" He argues that this mapping is tightly structured. He goes on to say that "The metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason." (pp. 216-217). Metaphor, as a phenomenon, involves both conceptual mappings and individual linguistic expressions. It is important to keep them distinct. Since it is the mappings that are primary and that state the generalizations that are our principal concern, we have reserved the term *metaphor* for the mappings, rather than for the linguistic expressions. (Lakoff, ibid., p. 217).

Cameron (2003) points out that there are at least two dimensions to metaphor. The first, the 'ideational' which helps explain something "abstract or complicated in terms of something more familiar or concrete" (p. 23). However, the 'affective' dimension of metaphor must not be neglected. This dimension has to do with "the interpersonal impact of metaphor" (ibid.), that is, the reason why a writer chooses to use metaphor and his/her intentions to do so. "In an extension of this idea [the affective dimension of metaphor], sub-groups in society can be seen as using metaphor to establish in-group language and identity" (p. 24). Some authors (Charteris-Black, 2003: Deignan, 2003: Littlemore, 2003) agree that metaphors are usually culturally-loaded and that their meanings can only be inferred through shared cultural knowledge. This is a very important argument in this study, where some metaphors will be analyzed.

In this study, we will take a "discourse perspective" (Cameron, 2003, p. 3) to the analysis of metaphor, that is, metaphors will be analyzed in their contexts. "The context of discourse both constructs and constrains what is done with language, including the use of metaphor" (Cameron, 1996, cited in Cameron, 2003, p. 4). Metaphors are embedded in many contextual frames that involve the physical, the social, the interactional, the linguistic and the conceptual settings. (ibid., pp. 4-5)

All these frames will be taken into consideration in this study. As Cameron (ibid.) points out, "[t]here is no end to context. The artificial (and metaphorical) construct of nested frames imposes some order and constraint on the infinite amount of possible detail, but it remains an organization by the analyst" (p. 5).

Lakoff, (1995) rather boldly asserts that, even though sometimes unconsciously, "we think in metaphor" (p. 177). In our common thoughts and everyday language, we make use of a "system of metaphorical concepts … from a typically concrete realm of thought that are used to comprehend another, completely different domain" (ibid.) that influences our reasoning. He goes on to say that

> [b]ecause so much of our social and political reasoning makes use of this system of metaphorical concepts, any adequate appreciation of even the most mundane **social and political** [our stress] thought requires an understanding of this system. But unless one knows that the system exists, one may miss it altogether and be mystified by its effects. (Lakoff, 1995, p 177).

In his stylistic study of political Swiss speeches, Müller (2005) analyzes the use of metaphors and calls it a creative way of "doing" politics. He argues that "political speeches are another domain of creativity within politics" (p. 53). Graham (2004) exemplifies this creative hybridization through an analysis of a political speech by Bill Clinton, claiming that the field of politics and the field of entertainment demonstrate substantial elements of interdiscursivity as "Clinton actively blurs the borders between the institutions of entertainment and politics by identifying their functional convergence and changes in their relative political importance" (p. 61). Müller (2005) states that the process of understanding a metaphor is complex; therefore, the use of metaphors is controversial. However, "one is also tempted to ask why any metaphor should be more effective than literal language" (p. 55).

Whereas it is not our intent to discuss what constitutes a *creative* metaphor in general, we adopt Müller's conception of creative metaphors as those that "challenge discursive or linguistic norms in a way which is acceptable by a relevant audience….being either novel or stylistically foregrounded…by stylistic figures of speech, which mark metaphoricity by wordplay or uncommon phrasing" (p. 57). We agree with Zinken (2003) in that metaphors play an important role in the ideological interpretation of events (p. 508).

The use of metaphors is not restricted to the linguistic domain, but metaphors can also be represented visually. Sherr (1999), for example, analyzed the symbolic use of children in presidential campaign advertising in the U.S. She asserts that

> [i]mages of children have historically served a variety of iconographic functions. Whether in art, photography, advertising, films, or literature, children serve as **metaphors** [our stress] for different social constructs at given historical moments…it is also likely that the use of children or childhood in political rhetoric changes with social and political conditions…Therefore, it is important to examine how the use of the symbolic child might functionally limit or obfuscate the meaning of political discourse when politicians see it as a rhetorical panacea (p.46).

In the context of this study, metaphors are very much linked to the Mexican culture, history and sociopolitical climate. We will demonstrate how the system of metaphorical resources (linguistic, visual and symbolic) operates in the multimodal texts under analysis.

2.3.8 On pragmatics

As will be demonstrated, different phases or *waves* (See Figure 2.2) of the presidential campaign are characterized by distinct discourses that were placed on billboards during particular moments of the campaign. These *waves* seemed to be fulfilling different semiotic **goals** or **purposes** according to the sequential time that they were released for public consumption. Semiotic goals or purposes naturally lead us into the field of pragmatics and the notions of meaning and context that are relevant within that field of study. Therefore, a brief discussion of pragmatic theory relevant to this study will be presented below.

Pragmatic theory is concerned with explaining how interlocutors bridge the gap between sentence meanings and speaker meanings (Grice, 1957). While *sentence meaning* refers to the explicit meanings (locutionary act) that are encoded in a particular utterance, *speaker meaning* (illocutionary act) refers to a speaker's communicative intention (see Austin 1962; Searle, 1975). Levinson (1983) comments that by adopting speaker meaning "as the scope of meaning in pragmatics…we shall include most of the phenomena that we want to include, like the ironic, metaphoric and indirect implications of what we say" (p. 19). Such distinctions in meaning as those discussed above and how interlocutors are able to distinguish between potential meanings lead us to *speech act theory*.

The foundations of speech act theory were developed by Austin (1962) and further systematized by Searle (1969) who proposed that "speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, and so on" (p. 16). In other words, "linguistic expressions have the capacity to perform certain kinds of communicative acts" (Blum-Kulka, 1997, p. 42) or carry *illocutionary force*. This notion prompted Searle (1969) to assert that "speech acts…are the basic or minimal units of

linguistic communication" (p.16), and "a theory of language is part of a theory of action" (p. 17).

Searle (1975), suggesting that there may be an infinite number of speech acts, classified speech acts into five types of utterance based on their felicity conditions, which are specifications for their appropriate usage. Levinson (1983, p. 240) provides a concise summary of these five main types of speech acts which include:

1. **representatives**, which commit the speaker [text producer] to the truth of the expressed proposition (paradigm cases: asserting, concluding, etc.)

2. **directives**, which are attempts by the speaker [text producer] to get the addressee to do something (paradigm cases: requesting, questioning)

3. **commissives**, which commit the speaker [text producer] to some future course of action (paradigm cases: promising, threatening, offering)

4. **expressives**, which express a psychological state (paradigm cases: thanking, apologizing, welcoming, congratulating)

5. **declarations**, which effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions (paradigm cases: excommunicating, declaring war, christening, firing from employment)

While the classification above has been subjected to criticism, it is considered one of the most influential typology of speech acts (Verschueren, 1999; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Levinson, 1983). Both Levinson (1983) and Blum-Kulka (1997) point out that it lacks a principled basis of classification, while Verschueren (1999) points out that the categories are not "mutually exclusive" and that "actual language use contains many types of [speech] acts which…would have to be called hybrids" (p. 24). Regardless of this criticism, Searle's (1975) typology has been chosen to explain the pragmatic function(s) that each billboard accomplishes within each temporal/semiotic wave of the campaign. This is because it remains the most influential typology of speech acts and is adequate to describe all of the speech acts identified on presidential campaign billboards in the current study.

2.3.9 On systemic functional linguistics as an analytical tool

In an attempt to define the basic functions of language in relation to its social environment, Halliday (1994) develops the construct of *metafunctions* of language, which operate together to create a system where "grammar is seen as a network of interrelated meaningful choices" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) that serves as "a recourse for making meaning" (p.31). Halliday and Matthiessen (ibid.) propose that "we use language to make sense of our experience [ideational metafunction], and to carry out our interactions with other

people [interpersonal metafunction]" which means that language must "interface with what goes on outside language [context]: with the happenings and conditions of the world, and with the social processes we engage in" (ibid., p.24). However, language must also "organize the construal of experience, and the enactment of social processes, so that they can be transformed into wording [textual metafunction]" (ibid., p. 24). Halliday and Matthiessen further describe the ideational metafunction as being dedicated to transforming facets of human experience into meaning through lexicogrammatical resources (p. 29). The interpersonal metafunction refers to

> enacting our personal and social relationships with the other people around us. The clause of the grammar is not only a figure, representing some process...it is also a proposition, or a proposal, whereby we inform or question, give an order, or make an offer, and express our appraisal of and attitude towards whoever we are addressing and what we are talking about. This kind of meaning is more active: if the ideational function of the grammar is 'language as reflection', this is 'language as action' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 29-30).

The textual metafunction can be regarded as an "enabling or facilitating function" to the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions in order to "build up sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity" (ibid., p. 30).

While Halliday and Matthiessen's conceptualization of how language and situational contexts intersect seems plausible, it does not provide a broader perspective of the sociocultural conditions in which interaction is always embedded. This absence of systematic social analysis is problematic as Cicourel (1992) points out when saying:

> Language and other practices are interdependent. Knowing something about the ethnographic setting, the perception of and characteristics attributed to others, and broader and local organizational conditions becomes imperative for an understanding of the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of communicative events (p.79).

Having recognized certain shortcomings of SFL, this analysis does consider the three metafunctions of language mentioned above when attending to the "text dimension" (see section 1.2.2) of the billboards. However, in order to demonstrate relationships between sociocultural/historical events and text production and consumption practices, additional analytical tools are necessary, which are discussed below.

2.3.10 On geosemiotics

In order to appropriately describe, analyze, historicize and contextualize presidential campaign billboards (see Caldas-Coulthard & van Leeuwen, 2003 on 'critical social semiotics'), we believe that it is necessary to consider the principles of what Scollon and Scollon (2003) term, *Geosemioti*cs. They define Geosemiotics as "the study of the social meaning of the material placement of **signs in the world** [our stress]. By 'signs' [they] mean to include any semiotic system including language and discourse" (p. 110). Scollon & Scollon

(2003) explain that the goal of Geosemiotics is to examine the way that "three broad systems of social semiotics are interconnected at any site of social action—the interaction order, visual semiotics, and place semiotics" (p.7), which are discussed in turn below.

2.3.10.1 The interaction order

Goffman (1983) describes the interaction order as a "domain of activity" without direct implications to norms and rules "that is in fact orderly, and that this orderliness is predicated on a large base of shared cognitive presuppositions" (p. 5). Goffman goes on to say that "[t]he workings of the interaction order can easily be viewed as the consequences of systems of enabling conventions, in the sense of the ground rules for a game, the provisions of a traffic code or the rules of syntax of language." (ibid., p. 5). Scollon and Scollon (2003) adopt this concept within their geosemiotic framework, describing it as "the current, ongoing, ratified (but also contested and denied) set of social relationships we take up and try to maintain with the other people who are in our presence" (Scollon & Scollon 2003, p. 16).

Goffman (1983) points out that psychobiological elements are of utmost importance in the interaction order and that "emotion, mood, cognition, bodily orientation, and muscular effort are intrinsically involved" (p. 3). He explains that

> [i]t is not only that our appearance and manner provide evidence of our **statuses and relationships** [our stress]. It is also that the line of our visual regard, the intensity of our involvement, and the shape of our initial actions, allow others to glean our immediate intent and purpose, and all this whether or not we are engaged in talk with them at the time. Correspondingly, we are constantly in a position to facilitate this revealment or block it, or even misdirect our viewers" (ibid., p. 3).

Goffman (1983) uses the term *characterization* to indicate how individuals construct an image of one another through direct observation of the kinds of behaviors and appearances described above. He maintains that this characterization is organized around two types of identification: "the *categoric* kind involving placing that other [individual] in one or more social categories, and the *individual* kind, whereby the subject under observation is locked to a uniquely distinguishing identity through appearance, tone of voice, mention of name or other person-differentiating device." (p. 3). These characterizations will be a crucial point in our analysis as we examine the potential roles that individuals may assume or be assigned through the use of presidential campaign billboards.

In identifying the basic substantive units encountered in the interaction order, Goffman (1983, pp. 6-7) establishes five main categories. The first category refers to interaction in public places where Goffman identifies "singles" (a party of one) as opposed to "withs" (a party of more than one). The second category refers to *contact,* where individuals interact face-to-face or otherwise. The third category refers to *arrangements,* whereby "persons come together into a small physical circle as ratified participants in a consciously shared, clearly

interdependent undertaking" (p. 7). The fourth category refers to the *platform format,* where an activity is performed before an audience. This platform format allows for a large number of individuals to concentrate on "a single focus of visual and cognitive attention" (p.7). The fifth category refers to celebrative social occasions such as a wedding.

While Goffman's (1983) interaction order deals primarily with face-to-face interaction, these relationships can also be observed in visual images. This leads us to consider visual semiotics.

2.3.10.2 Visual Semiotics

Visual semiotics refers to the representations of Goffman's (1983) interaction order in images and signs. Scollon & Scollon (2003) maintain that in visual images,

> [t]here are relationships among the participants *within the picture frame*; …relationships *among those who make the picture* and further *between those who make the picture and the participants within the picture*; finally there are also **relationships *between those who are in the picture and those who are viewing it*** [our stress] (p. 84).

Scollon & Scollon (p. 86) adopt the semiotic systems developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) which include participants (represented and interactive), modality, and composition. Iedema and Stenglin (2001) point out that these signifying systems are culturally sensitive, and that the analytic principles based on these systems were developed to explore how multimodal meanings are expressed in Western societies. Nevertheless, we feel that these principles are largely applicable to the Mexican context since Mexico is, in large part, a Westernized country. However, research has shown that local cultural considerations have to be taken into account and incorporated into any analytical framework dealing with multimodal analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Keeping the above in mind, we find Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) framework useful and merits further discussion.

2.3.10.3 Participants

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) there are two kinds of participants which can include represented participants and interactive participants. A represented participant may refer to any construction element used in a multimodal text, including a visual image, a block of linguistic text, a chart, logo or other meaning making resources. Interactive participants refer to "the people who communicate with each other through images, the producers and viewers of images" (ibid., p. 114).

Kress and van Leeuwen (1999) provide analytical techniques that are useful in demonstrating how social interactions and social relationships are constructed between both represented and interactive participants. They stress that visual images are "produced in the context of real social institutions, in order to play a very real role in social life" (ibid, p. 379). They continue to explain that readers/viewers may ultimately identify with or reject the way

that the text addresses them, yet they will understand how they were addressed due to an implicit understanding of how multimodal texts represent social interactions and relations (ibid., 1999).

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) the *gaze* of a person represented in an image can construct at least two types of relationship with the viewer/reader. When the subject of an image enters into direct eye-contact with the viewer, it makes a *demand* (ibid., pp. 116-124), requiring the viewer to enter into some kind of imaginary relation with the represented participant. Images in which the subjects direct their gaze elsewhere constitute an *offer* (ibid.). In this case, "the viewer is not object, but subject of the look, and the represented participant is the object of the viewer's dispassionate scrutiny. No contact is made" (Kress & van Leeuwen 1999, p.383). The choice between *offer* and *demand* must be made whenever people are depicted, and the choice suggests different relations between the image and the viewers, making viewers engage with certain images and remain detached from others (ibid, p. 384).

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, pp. 124-129) argue that the type of *shot* used in visual images also constructs different kinds of relationship with the viewer. A close shot of a subject suggests an intimate relationship, a medium range shot suggests social familiarity, while long shots suggest that the viewer and subject may not be acquainted. The analyses presented in this study consider the different kinds of participants mentioned above, and the modality of participants within billboards is discussed below.

2.3.10.4 Modality

In regards to visual images, modality has to do with true representations of reality. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) maintain that "a social semiotic theory of truth cannot claim to establish the absolute truth or untruth of representations. It can only show whether a given 'proposition' (visual, verbal or otherwise) is represented as true or not" (p. 154). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that an image which is closest to *naturalistic representation* is considered to have the highest modality. As texts are made less naturalistic in regards to color, contextualization, representation, and brightness, their modality is lowered.

2.3.10.5 Composition

Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) argue that *composition* in multimodal texts contributes to the potential meanings that viewers/readers might assign to these texts. They argue that composition simultaneously involves three signifying systems that structure multimodal texts, bringing "the various elements of the page together into a coherent and meaningful whole" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 188). These signifying systems include: *information value*, *salience* and *framing*, which are discussed below.

Information value (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177) refers to the notion that the zones of visual space within a multimodal text endow textual features with particular kinds of meaning. Kress and van Leeuwen (2005, p. 189), influenced by SFL, suggest that the horizontal axis of a visual text is often used to oppose the elements on the right and left section of the text, where the elements on the left are presented as *the Given* and the elements on the right are presented as *the New*. While the Given is presented as "common-sense and self-evident", the New is presented as "problematic, contestable, the information at issue" (ibid., p. 189). On the other hand, the vertical axis is often used to polarize the upper and lower sections of the visual text, where elements positioned at the top are presented as *the Ideal* and elements positioned at the bottom are presented as *the Real*. While the Ideal represents "the generalized, or the essence of something," the Real attends to "the specific, or the instance" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 189). Other multimodal texts have a *Centre* element with participants that flank it as *Margins*. Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) claim that "for something to be presented as Centre means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information to which all the other elements are in some sense subservient" (p. 196), usually resulting in a lack of polarization, where there is "no sense of division between Given and New and/or Ideal and Real" (ibid., p. 196).

Salience refers to the way that the composition of a text can draw the readers'/viewers' attention to certain textual elements by means of placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tone or color, differences in sharpness, framing, and more (Kress & van Leeuwen 2005; Rose 2005). Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) suggest that the assignment of salience allows a text to maintain a crucial aesthetic balance while playing a vital role in structuring a message and setting up reading paths. They explain that:

> without balance, co-ordination in space is not possible. Balance forms an indispensable matrix for the production and reception of spatially organized messages… [and]…our affective relation towards it. Via this affective process the effects and functions of a message are deepened, and it is in such aspects that ideology, affect and subjectivity become inextricably mixed. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 201).

Framing is the final signifying system that Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) consider in composition. Framing devices, such as *framelines*, serve to connect and disconnect certain elements of a text simultaneously (ibid, p. 177). However, "connection and disconnection are a matter of degree" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 203) and the degree to which elements are strongly or weakly framed affect the way that a reader/viewer perceives the nature of this separation. Iedema and Stenglin (2001) suggest that strong framing is suggestive of an "ordered world" while allowing elements to blend into the textual surroundings is suggestive of a "less ordered and less constrained world" (p. 196). Iedema and Stenglin (ibid.) also point out that connections in a text can be realized through *vectors*, which refer to "a line formed in

the image by one or more of its participants" (p. 199) through means of pointing with a limb or direction of gaze.

Although this summary of Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) analytical framework for exploring multimodal texts is by no means exhaustive, we believe that it is sufficient to illustrate its role in our analyses of presidential campaign billboards. We now turn to the third social semiotic system that is utilized in our study and completes Scollon and Scollon's (2003) Geosemiotic framework.

2.3.10.6 Place semiotics

Scollon and Scollon (2003) point out that *place semiotics* is concerned with "the ways in which the placement of discourse in the material world produces meanings that derive directly from that placement" (p. 22). They elaborate on three elements of place semiotics which include: code preference, inscription, and emplacement. Code preference "extends features of Kress and van Leeuwen's visual semiotics to analyze the placement of linguistic codes in a sign as a way of signaling…legal and social relationships among languages in the speech community" (ibid., p. 22). Inscription explores the "material out of which a sign (or other semiotic system) is constructed as a meaning making system" (ibid, p. 22). Finally, they argue, emplacement entails the analysis of three systems, examining whether a form of discourse is decontextualized, situated or transgressive (ibid, p. 22).

2.3.11 On ethnography

In order to demonstrate relationships between sociocultural/historical events and text production and consumption practices, methods of data collection and analysis from the ethnographic tradition have been adopted for this study. Harklau (2005) points out that one of the hallmarks common to most modern ethnographic studies is the "emerging consensus that micro-level processes of interaction are embedded in or mutually constitutive with macro-level processes of societal economic, cultural and political structures" (p. 188). However, Harklau (ibid.) observes that "researchers often use the term ethnography generically without situating their work in specific intellectual and methodological traditions" (p. 188).

The term ethnography "refers to a range of diverse and ever-changing research approaches originating in anthropological and sociological research…[whose purpose] is to come to a deeper understanding of how individuals view and participate in their own social and cultural worlds." (Harklau, 2005, p. 179). Postmodern approaches to ethnography draw on the work of authors like Geertz (1973), explicitly rejecting scientific epistemology (Harklau, 2005, p. 181). Geertz (1973) actually describes ethnography as being an "interpretative" science (p. 5) in search of meaning, much like the work of the "literary critic" (p. 9). Geertz (1973) defines ethnography as "an elaborate venture in…"thick description""

(p. 6), which has the object of describing how "a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures… are produced, perceived and **interpreted** [our stress]" (p. 7), and analysis consists of "sorting out these structures of signification…and determining their social ground and import" (p. 9). From this perspective, "culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a **context** [our stress], something within which they can be intelligibly—that is, thickly—described" (ibid., p. 14).

It is this postmodern ethnographic tradition that we have adopted for this research. While the study could not be considered entirely 'ethnographic', we utilize thick description from both an *emic* and an *etic* perspective in order to adequately contextualize the multimodal texts under investigation. As Harklau (2005) points out, "all ethnography entails a tension between representations of participants' *emic* perspectives and the abstractions and interpretations layered on them by the ethnographer's *etic* perspective" (pp. 188-89). In order to provide such thick description, alternative field methods such as life histories, photography and videotape, written documents, data documenting historical trends, and surveys (ibid., p.180) were utilized in this study. In doing this, we provide the explanatory means that Norton (2000) describes when characterizing ethnography as

> a method of analysis that returns the researcher to the actualities of what people do on a day-to-day basis under particular conditions and in defined situations … 'history' is not to be relegated to the collection of 'background data', but rather becomes an integral part of the explanation of the regularities explored in any specifics (p. 21).

The literature review presented above, covers a wide range of topics from diverse fields such as linguistics, sociology, and politics among others. It is meant to provide the theoretical basis for an eclectic methodological framework which is appropriate for the analysis of multimodal texts.

2.4 Methodology

The following sections will describe the methodological framework that was followed in order to carry out the present study. It will describe the data collection procedures, the criteria for selection, and the analytical framework that was used in order to analyze the data.

2.4.1 Data collection

The data collected for this research primarily consists of a sample of photographs of presidential campaign billboards collected between the months of January, 2006 when the presidential campaign officially began, and June 2006 when the campaign period ended. The photographs were taken in urban centers of central Mexico, primarily Puebla and Mexico City. These photographs were categorized and selected according to political party, cultural/historical specificity, and multimodal complexity. Complementary data such as

recorded debates, television commercials and other printed materials were used to provide ethnographic information in order to appropriately contextualize the presidential campaign billboards within the sociocultural context at the time that they were available for public consumption. As Scollon and Scollon (2003) point out,

> the understanding of the visual semiotic systems at play in an particular instance relies crucially on an ethnographic understanding of the meanings of these systems within specific communities of practice…Only an ethnographic analysis can tell us what users of that semiotic system mean by it (p. 160).

We will now describe the criteria that were followed when selecting data for analysis.

2.4.1.1 Selection of data for analysis

In a work of this nature, it is not uncommon for researchers to initially gather more data than is actually practical or feasible to analyze and present in a coherent manner, and this research is not an exception. During the campaign period, we were able to capture photos of the majority of presidential campaign billboards that were produced and distributed within the urban centers of central Mexico. This study is focused particularly on this region of the country and could not explore the differences between presidential campaign billboards in urban and rural areas. Furthermore, it is simply not possible to include analysis of every presidential campaign billboard that was initially collected in a work of this size and scope. This leads to the issue of selection for inclusion and exclusion, and what the criteria for such selection entail.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) point out that "[m]eanings belong to culture, rather than to specific semiotic modes. And the way meanings are mapped across different semiotic modes…is also culturally and historically specific" (p. 2). They go on to say that within the principles of multimodal communication "there are, and very much so, cultural/regional variations." (p. 4). Taking this under consideration, an important part of our selection process involved the inclusion of presidential campaign billboards which illustrated cultural/historical meaning making resources that are specific to the Mexican sociocultural context in that only Mexicans could exploit them in terms of production and reception. We believe that in adopting this criterion for selection, the contributions that the study makes to the field is increased by attempting to explore Mexican cultural variations in multimodal meaning making practices.

Another important consideration for our billboard selection involved a temporal dimension regarding the sequence in which the presidential campaign billboards appeared for public consumption. During the initial phases of analysis (pre-data selection), we noticed that the discourses that were placed on presidential campaign billboards seemed to be sequenced in temporal and semiotic *waves*. We describe these waves as temporal because they appeared

in the sociocultural context at different sequential times. We describe them as semiotic waves because the multimodal texts seemed to be fulfilling different semiotic goals or purposes (See Figure 2.2) according to the sequential time that they appeared for public consumption. During the official campaign period, we identified what seemed to be three distinct temporal/semiotic waves of presidential campaign billboards that reflected and (re)shaped the evolving discourses of the wider presidential campaigns. However, it should be noted that the appearance of a new wave of billboards did not signify the disappearance of the wave(s) that came before it. On the contrary, the appearance of a new wave of billboards complemented and built upon the previous wave(s), using them as an additional resource for meaning making. By the time of the election, these three waves of presidential campaign billboards formed layers of evolving discourses (see Bakhtin, 1999), which interplayed in ways which complemented, extended, transformed and (re)shaped each other into a 'final discursive product' that represented the discourse of presidential campaign billboards at the time of the election (see Figure 2.2 below). In our selection process, we attempted to incorporate presidential campaign billboards that are representative of these waves for each candidate. We demonstrate in our analysis what the discursive purpose or goal of each temporal/semiotic wave involved, and how it was accomplished through the use of presidential campaign billboards (See 2.5.2, 2.5.3, and 2.5.4 below).
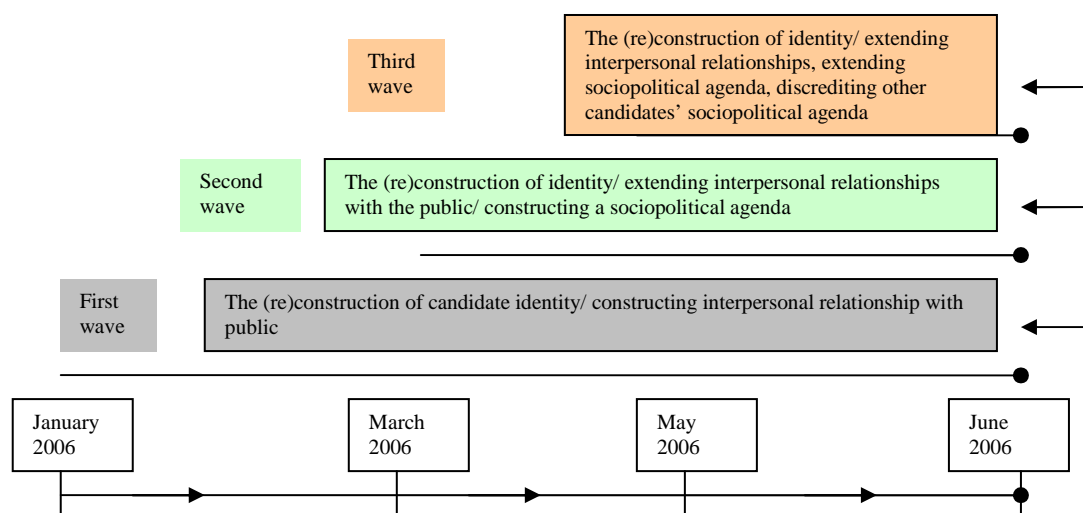
Figure 2.2: Three temporal/semiotic waves

Finally, the actual multimodal complexity of presidential campaign billboards played a role in the selection process for this research. The presidential campaign billboards that appeared varied greatly in their multimodal complexity and the meaning making resources that were used to convey the messages carried by them. In this research, we have attempted

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to illustrate the variation in this multimodal complexity within the sociocultural context during the campaign period.

2.4.2. Analytical Framework

As described in the literature review section, the analytical framework that will be used to analyze this particular genre draws mainly on Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 1999b, 2000, 2005a,b,c) model of a three-dimensional analysis (See 2.4.2). In order to adequately explore these three dimensions, a variety of techniques, tools and approaches will be employed which are appropriate to the complexity of the semiotic modes integrated in the multimodal texts under analysis. Therefore we have drawn on various works done on multimodality/multisemiosis by authors such as Kress & van Leeuwen (1996, 2005, 2006), Iedema & Stenglin (2001), Scollon (2001, 2005), Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Wodak (2005).

When exploring the text dimension of Fairclough's analytical framework, we primarily rely on analytical techniques taken from what Scollon and Scollon (2003) refer to as *geosemiotics* (See2.3.10). More specifically, within this geosemiotic framework, we use analytical techniques from visual semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006) (See 2.3.10.2) and the interaction order (Goffman, 1983) (See 2.3.10.1). Furthermore, some principles of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks & Yallop, 2000; Halliday, 1994, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin & White, 2005) will be used in order to explore meaning potential of linguistic texts and their relationship to images. When exploring Fairclough's discursive practice dimension, we primarily rely on analytical techniques that combine elements of place semiotics (from geosemiotics), analysis of interdiscursivity/intertextuality (Candlin, 2006; Candlin & Maley, 1997; Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 2005) and metaphor (Cameron, 2003; Lakoff, 1986, 1995). Finally, in order to explore the social practice dimension, we primarily utilize ethnographic analysis (Geertz, 1973; Holliday, 2002; Norton, 2,000)

Figure 2.3 below illustrates the various analytical tools utilized within each of the dimensions in Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework.
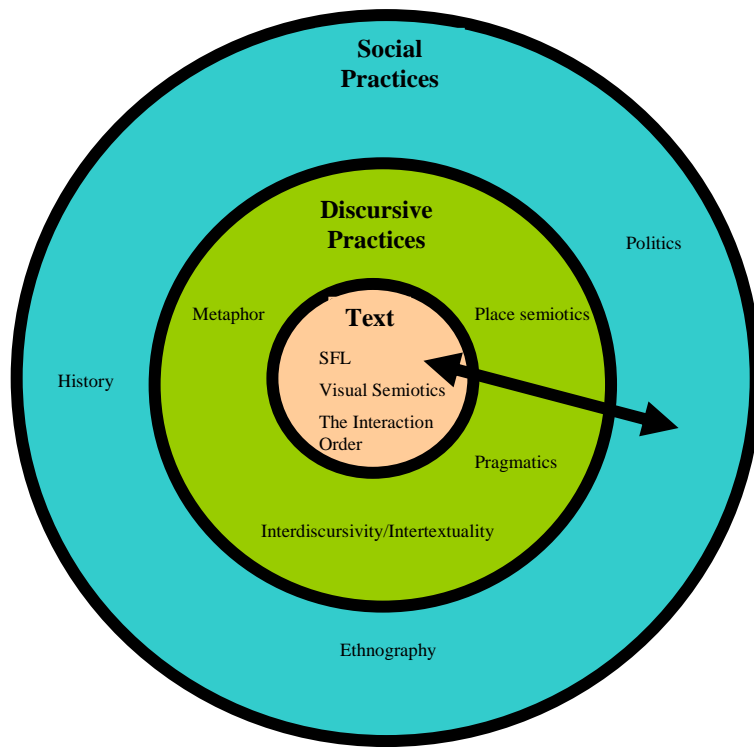
Figure 2.3: Three dimensional framework

2.4.3 Limitations

This study faced certain limitations, which we have partially addressed above. First, the study only addresses presidential campaign billboards which appeared for public consumption in urban areas of central Mexico. A more expansive investigation of presidential campaign billboards that may have appeared in other regions of Mexico or in rural areas of the country was not possible due to constraints on time and space. Second, the study only addressed a portion of the possible presidential campaign billboards that were available for analysis. This is again due to constraints on time and space for this work. Finally, while the study attempts to address issues of both multimodal text production and reception, time constraints did not permit the researchers to collect data from actual viewers/readers of billboards during the campaign period of the 2006 Mexican presidential election.

2.5 Analysis

2.5.1. Introduction

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 177) raise the question as to whether the separate components of a multimodal text should be analyzed individually, which might indicate that the whole should be treated as the sum of its parts, or whether the parts should be looked at holistically, indicating that the different components of a multimodal text interact and affect

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one another. It is our position that a multimodal text must be seen as an integrated text with each part mutually influencing and shaping the meaning of the whole text. Nevertheless, in order to adequately explore the integrated text, different elements within the text must, at times, be analyzed as an individual unit. Within this analytical process, we attempt to comment on micro-elements within each billboard and the billboard as an integrated, multimodal text.

However, the question is also raised, when analyzing highly complex multimodal texts, as to how far an analysis should go: what should be included and what should be excluded from analysis? In the case of the presidential campaign billboards analyzed in this study, each multimodal text is analyzed as thoroughly as possible; however, in a work of this size, it is simply not possible to analyze everything that might be analyzed on every billboard. Therefore, choices had to be made as to what to include and what to exclude in each analysis. In making these choices, we have tried to place emphasis on the significance of the primary meaning making resources available to each billboard. In the process of doing this, we also try to illustrate how different billboards utilized particular resources uniquely, emphasizing the significance of different meaning making resources while trying to avoid monotonous repetition. For example, if in one analysis, we have pointed out the significance of color combinations which evoke associations to a particular cultural symbol, we try to avoid placing a great amount of emphasis on these same color combinations when they appear on a different billboard. In the process of making these analytical choices, the problem of consistency in analysis arises. The analyses that follow do not adhere to a rigid analytical format. For example, some analyses may begin with an examination of photographic image while others might begin with an examination of composition. This way, the analytical framework remains flexible enough to address the most salient elements of individual billboards in a coherent manner. Finally, it is worth mentioning that when analyzing linguistic text in terms of SFL, slogans receive more attention than other blocks of linguistic text due to constraints on space. Bourdieu (1991) points out, "[w]hat creates the power of **words and slogans** [our stress], a power capable of maintaining or subverting the social order, is the belief in the legitimacy of words and those who utter them" (p. 170). The analyses below present seven billboards which are organized according to the temporal/semiotic waves described in section 1.3.2. When possible, one billboard is presented for each political party that is representative of each temporal/semiotic wave. Because López Obrador did not present billboards in the first wave, an analysis of the significance of this absence is presented (See 2.5.2.2).

2.5.2 First wave

This section of the analysis will examine the first wave of presidential campaign billboards. As mentioned previously, each temporal/semiotic wave of billboards appeared for public consumption at particular times of the general presidential campaign and seemed to fulfill particular pragmatic goals . The first wave of presidential campaign billboards appeared near the beginning of January 2006. Both Calderón of the PAN and Madrazo of the PRI unleashed an enormous quantity of different billboards for public consumption, while López Obrador, as far as we could find, did not put any billboards out for public consumption. This initial wave of billboards seemed to create a pragmatic space (see Candlin & Maley, 1997) which allowed the public to *get to know* the candidates as they attempted to (re)construct their identities with the voting constituency, through the use of campaign slogans that combined with other modalities on the billboards to form expressive and commissive speech acts (see section 1.2.7) that took the form of indirect campaign promises and ideological pronouncements. López Obrador's lack of billboards seemed to communicate a quite different message (See 2.5.2.2). The analyses below attempt to demonstrate how this was accomplished through the use of (or lack of) presidential campaign billboards.

2.5.2.1 PAN first wave

This presidential campaign billboard (see Figure 2.4 below) was part of the PAN's first wave of billboards that had the pragmatic purpose of (re)constructing the identity of Felipe Calderón as a viable presidential candidate while creating an interpersonal relationship with the public. The analysis below illustrates how this was accomplished through a wide means of multimodal meaning making resources. The primary focus of this analysis is on the interplay between photographic images, linguistic text and composition.

Figure 2.4: Valor y Pasión

Photographic Image

As the viewers begin to interact with the billboard, their attention should be drawn to the image of the candidate on the left hand side. The candidate's image is clearly the most salient feature of the text due to its size, sharpness of focus, high color saturation, and the sharp contrast between the high modality of the candidate photo and the low modality of the background montage in front of which the candidate is placed (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 201). The candidate is portrayed at a "close personal distance," creating an "imaginary" relationship between the viewer and the candidate, allowing the viewer to "imaginarily come as close to public figures as if they were…friends" (ibid., p. 125-126). He is in a frontal shot, further reinforcing the imaginary relation between the viewer and the candidate (ibid, p. 118), while the friendly smiling expression functions as a kind of "visual invitation" (ibid., p. 123) to interact with the candidate. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) call this kind of frontal shot a *demand* photo, where the person represented in the image, demands "the 'goods-and-services' that realize a particular social relation" (p. 123), in this case, voting for the candidate.

Meaning is also made through the contrast between the low modality background montage in front of which the high modality candidate photo is placed, what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) call "setting" (p. 72). Calderón is in front of a multitude of people represented slightly out of focus in desaturated colors that tend toward the same hue of "distant" blue (ibid., p. 72). The multitude appears to represent the upper middle class due to their style of dress, yet the modality is low enough that this feature is barely recognizable. The candidate is wearing a light blue dress shirt with a buttoned collar, but is not wearing a tie, assembling a semi-formal "personal front" (Scollon & Scollon 2003, p. 57).

The image represents the candidate as a strong leader as the realistically portrayed, *larger than life* candidate confidently engages the viewer with full eye contact (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 140). This representation of leadership is primarily realized by placing the candidate in front of the multitude of *faceless* followers, who appear to be obediently awaiting the candidate to take command. The foregrounding of the candidate to a position where he overlaps and obscures sections of the multitude creates a clear division between the leader and his followers, making it clear to the viewer that the group and the candidate are not what Goffman (1983) terms a "with" (p.6). This is in line with Reveles' (2005, p. 19) assertion that the PAN's political philosophy believes in an unequal society of leaders and followers. The viewer is invited to join the multitude of followers who are united by a common ideological point of view. Perhaps this common ideology entails the desire to have a leader who believes in "Valor y Pasión por México," which seems to be primarily an affective

appeal to patriotism that may have a variety of interpretations (see discussion of linguistic text below).

Linguistic Text

The campaign slogan, "Valor y Pasión por México" is the second most salient element of the text due to its size and placement in the upper section of the billboard, offering the reader a logical reading path from image to text (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 204). In this case, the linguistic text seems to offer a complementary message to the photographic image; however, the slogan offers a variety of potential meanings. The word, "valor", in Spanish might be interpreted as *value*, *values*, or *courage*. Therefore, the reader is invited to join the ranks of patriotic citizens who want a leader that will provide one or all of the qualities mentioned above. It is worth mentioning that Lakoff (1995), looking into the conservative concept of "morality" states that "*courage* is the strength to stand up to *external* evils and to overcome fear and hardship… In the conservative mind, the metaphor of moral strength has the highest priority (p. 185-187).

Below a systemic functional analysis of the linguistic text is provided in an attempt to offer further insights into the meaning making potential of the slogan.

Valor y Pasión	por México
Nominal group complex	Prepositional phrase
	Circumstance of mater/ Beneficiary

Table 2.1: Valor y pasión

The choice of nouns found in this slogan is significant in that they represent two abstract human qualities which are difficult to measure or challenge as opposed to the kind of direct promises (jobs, daycares, financial aid) which appear in the third wave of the PAN (See Figure 2.9). The prepositional phrase, "por Mexico", provides Circumstance of matter, which places Mexico in a "benefactive role" (Lukin, 2007, personal communication). This Circumstance serves as an appeal to the voting constituency on behalf of the country, endowing the slogan with a patriotic nature that emphasizes the candidate's human qualities.

Composition

The composition structure of the billboard offers further insights into the overall meaning making that it accomplishes as an integrated text. The billboard constitutes what Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid.) call a "polarized text" which combines horizontal and vertical structuring (p. 188). The "candidate as leader" is presented as Given while the candidate's

name and party, associated with value/values/courage and passion as well as the presidency, are presented as New. At the same time, value/values/courage and passion are presented as Ideal while the candidate becoming president is presented as the means of achieving this goal (the Real) (ibid., p. 186). This composition design is rather common within advertising in Westernized post-industrialized countries; however, the particular features of this billboard could be seen, to a certain degree, as reinforcing the party's conservative principles. This may be a contentious claim, which merits closer examination below. We notice that all of the framing within the text consists of straight lines: squares and rectangles. As much as possible, the linguistic text is justified to form straight lines and right angles as well. Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid.) point out that in "contemporary Western society, squares and rectangles are the elements of the mechanical, technical order, of the world of human construction" (p.54), and "the square can connote the 'technological' positively, as a source of power and progress" (p. 55). It seems significant that the PAN is the only party that included a webpage address on their billboards, reinforcing this text's representation of 'power and technology'. This conservative representation is further reinforced by the excessive use of blue hues, which Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 235) claim is typically associated with cold and calm distance.

As the analysis above demonstrates, this multimodal text uses a wide range of resources to communicate multiple meanings to a targeted audience. It is able to represent ideological positions of leadership, patriotism, power and technology, and conservatism. Simultaneously, the text is able to construct the identity of the candidate while providing an invitation to its viewers/readers to join the party's ranks and a roadmap as to how this invitation can be accepted.

2.5.2.2 PRD first wave

Fairclough (1995) points out the need for the development of text analysis which is relevant to a sociocultural agenda. He mentions the case of "absences", stating that "textual analysis can often give excellent insights about what is 'in' a text, but what is absent from a text is often just as significant" (p. 5). Saville-Troike (1985) points out that "[s]ilence as part of communicative interaction can be one of the forms a 'speech' act may take – filling many of the same functions and discourse slots –…Silence may be used to question, promise, deny, warn, threaten, insult, request, or command, as well as to carry out various kinds of ritual interaction" (p. 6). We agree with these assertions, which make reference to the micro-level of analysis; however, we also believe that at the macro-level, the "absence" of texts may also be significant. In the case of López Obrador, the absence of presidential campaign billboards in the first temporal/semiotic wave may be significant. First, it could signify his belief that he

was the charismatic candidate, which made the (re)construction of identity unnecessary. Second, López Obrador did not believe that he needed the media as a supporter for his campaign as he constantly emphasized that he would run a bottom-up campaign that was driven by the will of the people. This absence showed a confidence which we later see as bordering on arrogance (Camacho & Almazán, 2006, see also Fernández, 2006). However, as we noted, during the second wave, López Obrador billboards started to appear for public consumption, which illustrates his recognition that media such as billboards was necessary in order to reach a sufficient amount of voters to win the election.

2.5.2.3 PRI first wave

This billboard (Figure 2.5) corresponds to the first wave, where candidates were constructing or, in this case, reconstructing their identities. As mentioned in 1.3, Madrazo has a long career within the PRI and is very well-known in Mexican politics. This analysis will cover the composition, the linguistic text and the visual image of the billboard.

Figure 2.5:   Mover a México

Composition

This billboard has a composition that may be considered a "triptych" which combines Given/New and Center/Margin elements (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 197-198). Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid.) maintain that "[t]he triptychs in modern magazines and newspaper layouts are generally polarized, with a 'Given' left, a 'New' right, and a centre which bridges the two and acts as 'Mediator'" (p. 198). We note that in the center of the billboard there are two hooked lines in red and green (see discussion on national flag below). These lines seem to function as loose framelines which serve the double purpose of simultaneously connecting and disconnecting parts of the text (Mediator). Specifically, these framelines connect and disconnect ROBERTO and MADRAZO, preparing the viewer/electorate for the

reconstruction of the candidate, separating who he is at the moment (Madrazo), emphasized in bold text, from who he will become later in the campaign (Roberto), in red text . At the same time, these hooked lines seem to provide harmony and continuity to the whole text as in Center/Margin compositions (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 193). Framing, as Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid.) maintain, may serve this double function of *separation* and *connectedness*, where the latter

> can be realized in many ways. It can be emphasized by vectors, by depicted elements…or by graphic elements, leading the eye from one element to another, beginning with the most salient element, the element that first draws the viewer's attention (p. 204).

The framelines constitute vectors which simultaneously point to the Given "Mover a México…" (to shake up Mexico) and to the New (Madrazo's picture). The center, which bridges the Given with the New is constituted by the framed text: "Roberto Madrazo para que las cosas se hagan" (Roberto Madrazo so that things get done).

Linguistic text

In the Given/Ideal region we find a linguistic text that reads '*Mover* a México…' (to shake up Mexico). The cursive font in *Mover* conveys precisely the idea of movement. The three periods clearly mark that the slogan does not end there, but is only interrupted by the candidate's name. The slogan is completed with the linguistic text 'para que las cosas se hagan'. The complete slogan reads "Mover a México para que las cosas se hagan" (to shake up Mexico so that things get done). This provides what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) call a non-linear reading path (pp 204-205).

This is the first slogan Roberto Madrazo used in his campaign. The propositional content of the slogan is not precise and may be open to multiple interpretations. However, it could mean that Madrazo is capable of *shaking up* Mexico, to move the country out of its difficult socioeconomic condition, and he is the only one who can achieve such a difficult task. Interpreted in this manner, it would function pragmatically as an assertion, falling into the speech act category of expressives. However, one might also interpret the slogan as an indirect promise, becoming a commissive speech act (Levinson 1983).

In order to provide further insights into the meaning making potential of the slogan, a systemic functional analysis of the linguistic text is offered below.

Mover	a Mexico	Para que	las Cosas	Se hagan
infinitive Material process predicator	Complement/goal		Goal	Material process verb (subjunctive)
Residue			(las cosas + se hagan) Passive voice finite without actor	
Non-finite clause		Dependent clause in a hypotactic relationship of expansion		

Table 2.2: Mover a México

The choice to use the infinitive "Mover" (to move) creates a non-finite clause as a starting point which does not allow for a subject. In the second clause, Madrazo adopts a similar strategy in using the passive voice. In doing this, Madrazo "sacrifices" his position as the "doer". However, by using the infinitive and the passive voice, he is able to present an event that is not open to discussion (Butt et al., 2003, p. 109- 113). The absence of a linguistic Mood block (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) opens the possibility of cohesion being achieved between the linguistic text and the photographic image of the candidate (van Leeuwen, 2005), making Madrazo the "doer" while still leaving an unarguable linguistic text.

Color composition

The colors on this multimodal text form a combination of high modality (photographic image) with low modality (the rest of the billboard). The colors of the Mexican flag are present:

- **white** background
- **green** in the word MEXICO, in a hooked line, and in a low saturated abstract green shape whose color is running down from the center of the billboard complementing the white background.
- **red** in the background to 'mover', the word Roberto, and a hooked line.

The colors in low modality provide a balance and complete the colors of the Mexican flag. This composition utilizes colors as a resource to make an affective patriotic appeal to the viewer/readers. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) state, one affordance of meaning making with color is "association[s]… that carry significant symbolic value in the given sociocultural context" (pp. 232-233).

In this case, the logo of the alliance PRI/PVEM is not present, possibly quite purposefully as the candidate is reconstructing himself as a person rather than a party affiliate. However, the PRI logo colors are subliminally introduced as they are the same as the Mexican flag. As Kress and van Leeuwen maintain, "colours are signifiers…[that] carry a set of affordances from which **sign-makers and interpreters** [our stress] select according to their

communicative needs and interests in a given context" (p. 232). The use of the Mexican flag colors convey a highly 'interpersonal' meaning, as Kress and van Leeuwen compare the deliberate use of colors to that of "speech acts" (p. 229). The use of colors on this billboard may be interpreted as a strong patriotic call. The relationship between production and consumption can clearly be seen in this color interpretation.

Photographic Image

Madrazo's picture appears in the New part of the billboard, bridging the Ideal with the Real. This is a profile 'extreme close shot', probably trying to create an intimate relationship with the viewer; however, he is looking at some point down in the distance, not engaging with the viewer. "It is then left to the viewer to imagine what he … is thinking about or looking at, and this can create a powerful sense of **empathy or identification** [our stress] with the represented participants" (Kress & van Leeuwen, ibid., p. 68). This kind of picture is considered as an "offer", where the image "'offers' the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case" (ibid., p. 119). This *offer* may be interpreted as 'look at me…get to know me; I will enter into a relationship with you in the future'. It can be noticed that the candidate is wearing a gray jacket and a white shirt, 'giving off' the impression of formality that corresponds to what Scollon and Scollon (2003), based on Goffman (1983) call the *personal front*, which refers to "a kind of identity kit that one assembles out of the mixed bag of objects one might wear or carry" (p. 57). This picture has high modality, since the colors used present the candidate as he is (Kress & van Leeuwen, ibid. pp. 154-174).

To sum up, it may be said that this billboard serves multiple purposes: to help reconstruct Madrazo's identity, from a *tough guy* in the past, to a *Mister nice guy* in the present (Fernández, 2006); to introduce him as a capable person rather than as a party member; and to convey the idea of patriotism through the use of the colors of the Mexican flag. In compositional terms, this multimodal text achieves rhythm and balance which according to Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid.) "form the most bodily aspects of texts, the interface between our physical and semiotic selves……[t]hey …[rhythm and balance] form an indispensable matrix for the production and reception of messages and are vital to human interaction" (p. 203).

2.5.3 Second wave

This section of the analysis will examine the second wave of presidential campaign billboards. The second wave of presidential campaign billboards appeared near the beginning of March 2006. Both Calderón of the PAN and Madrazo of the PRI released new billboards for public consumption, which did not replace, but complemented existing billboards, while

López Obrador, initiated his use of presidential billboards for public consumption. This second wave of billboards seemed to create pragmatic spaces (see Candlin & Maley, 1997) that allowed candidates to build a stronger relationship with the voting constituency as they continued to (re)construct their identities. In doing this, they attempted to build a "we" social relationship (Goffman, 1983) with potential voters. At the same time, many billboards (particularly those of the PRI) began to construct their sociopolitical agendas by making direct campaign promises, taking the form of commissive speech acts, while the PRD and PAN primarily offered representative speech acts that made assertions about their candidates' strengths and values. The analysis below attempts to demonstrate how the pragmatic goals of the second wave were accomplished through presidential campaign billboards.

2.5.3.1 PAN second wave

This billboard (Figure 2.6) belongs to the second wave of the presidential campaign, where the candidate continues to build his identity. The composition of this multimodal text will be analyzed in terms of composition, photographic image and linguistic text.

Figure 2.6: Porque yo también

Photographic image

This is considered a *close shot* (head and shoulders) of an approximately 10-year old boy wearing a T-Shirt. The boy's picture constitutes the most salient participant. By his looks it may be said that this boy belongs to the lower socioeconomic class. He has Mexican indigenous facial features. As Scollon and Scollon (2003) maintain, "[t]he personal front is virtually any visible or perceptible…aspect that a person carries physically into the presence of others, whether or not these aspects of the personal front are consciously controlled" (p. 57).The child is smiling but not looking at the viewer, therefore it may be considered that he shows a "non-transactive" reaction (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.175); he is looking at some point above him, "looking into the beyond". According to Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid., p. 119) he is "offering" himself to the viewer for contemplation. It is worth noticing

that he is extending his left arm, showing the palm of his hand. Calderón used two "hands" metaphors (See 2.3.7): "manos limpias" (clean hands) (See Appendix A) and "mano firme" (a firm hand) (See Appendix B). The first corresponds to Calderón claiming that he had a clean past, not involved in "dirty business" (which was contested by his opponents during the presidential debates). The second metaphor corresponds to having a firm hand against crime and corruption (e.g. "mano firme contra la corrupción"). On this billboard, the boy is reproducing Calderón's gestural and linguistic discourse, which can be seen on other billboards (See Appendix A).

Children have been used in presidential campaigns in the past as metaphorical means (See 2.3.7). Often, candidates have been portrayed surrounded by their own children (Sherr, 1999, p. 45) (See Appendix C) assuming a parental role, what Lakoff (1995) calls "the strict father model" (p. 191) linked with "the nation as family metaphor" (p. 195). Lakoff (ibid.) goes on to say that

> [w]hat links strict-father, family-based morality to politics is a common metaphor, shared by conservatives and liberals alike—the Nation-as-Family metaphor, in which the nation is seen as a family, the government as a parent, and the citizens as children. This metaphor turns family-based morality into political morality, providing the link between conservative family values and conservative political policies. The strict father model, which brings together the conservative metaphors for morality, is what unites the various conservative political positions into a coherent whole when it is imposed on political life by the Nation-as-Family metaphor (p. 195).

Children represent hope for the future (Sherr, ibid., pp. 55-57), and people feel 'touched' when they see the picture of a child. Therefore, the visual metaphor of the child is appealing to people's feelings, connecting cognitive, affective and cultural resources (Cameron & Deignan, 2003).

Composition

This text presents a polarized Given/New structure, where the Given is the picture of the boy. The New element of the billboard may be divided into Ideal/Real. This part of the text extends and explains the picture with the slogan: "PORQUE YO TAMBIEN QUIERO UN MÉXICO DE MANOS LIMPIAS" (Because I, too, want a Mexico with clean hands). The word "también" (too) provides emphasis to the slogan with the intention of giving the viewer/reader the impression of inclusion (see discussion of linguistic text below). From a pragmatic perspective, we may consider this slogan to be a representative speech act that makes an assertion. However, the assertion triggers an inference (Levinson 1983) that the current state of affairs in Mexico is one of corruption that needs to be cleaned up.

Below this slogan, in the domain of the Real, there is a command to vote for the PAN, in the form of a red 'X' crossing out the PAN logo. This illustration (the red 'X') on how to vote may have a didactic character probably directed at illiterate people, or at people who are

voting for the first time. This illustration may be "'reader-friendly' but also reader-directive" (Fairclough, 2000, p. 178), thus constructing an asymmetrical relation between producer and viewer. Fairclough (ibid.) maintains that devices such as boxes as is the case of the PAN logo "signal to readers careful authorial planning of and tight control over the text and texturing. They are a resource for strong framing, strong unilateral control by the writer…" (p. 178). Fairclough, in this particular case, refers to 'framing' as the exercise of control. Pragmatically, this multimodal command to vote would fit into the speech act category of directives (Levinson, 1983), endowing the billboard with multiple speech acts with the collective purpose of directing.

On the bottom right hand side, we find the candidate's name with the word "PRESIDENTE" below it in capital red letters. Further below, we find the PAN slogan "VALOR Y PASIÓN POR MÉXICO" (See 2.5.2.1) which was considered ineffective by analysts. Alazraki (2006), when asked why the slogan did not work, answered "because it does not give the electorate any attribute or reason to vote in any sense" (in Fernández, 2006, p. 5). Perhaps this is why the slogan, which was highly salient in the first wave, has been demoted in size and placement in the second wave. It is worth mentioning that this slogan disappears completely from billboards in the third wave. At the bottom center, Calderón's web address is present. We believe this billboard offers the viewer/reader alternative reading paths: a linear reading path from left to right and from top to bottom achieved by the linguistic text, and a non-linear or semi-linear reading path achieved by the red colored elements which provide salience. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) state,

> what is made salient is culturally determined, members of different cultural groupings are likely to have different hierarchies of salience, and perhaps text of this kind [non-linear] are the way they are precisely to allow for the possibility of more than one reading path (p. 205).

The billboard exhibits very low modality, with the image of the child in black and white with a dark blue background that decontextualizes the visual image. "By being 'decontextualized', shown in a void, represented participants become generic, a 'typical example', rather than particular, and connected with a particular location and a specific moment in time" (ibid., p. 161). Therefore, this billboard generalizes children and states what 'all Mexican children want'. We believe the low modality background serves also another function, that of making the linguistic text (discussed below) salient, thus exercising control over where the viewer/reader should focus their attention (Fairclough, 2000b). The colors of the PAN are present, with the only exception of the color red which is used in order to highlight the multimodal command.

Linguistic text

In order to provide further insights into the meaning making potential of the slogan, a systemic functional analysis of the linguistic text is offered below.

Porque	Yo	tambien	quiero	Un Mexico de manos limpias
			Mental process	
	senser		finite	Phenomenon
Mood				Residue
Dependent clause in hypotactic relationship of enhancement (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 410-422) with an elliptical independent clause				

Table 2.3: Porque yo también

As can be seen, the slogan is a dependent clause, which means that something is left u*nspoken* (the independent clause), leaving a slot to be filled in by the reader/viewer according to their desires, beliefs, or needs. The first person Mood gives a voice to the child. The child, not the candidate, is talking to the reader/viewer. The adverb "también" (too) stresses the "us" relationship between the child, the addressee and the candidate/party, all of whom desire a Mexico with 'clean hands'.

In general, we find this billboard highly manipulative. Van Dijk (2003) asserts that "a typical feature of manipulation is to communicate beliefs implicitly, that is, without actually asserting them, and with less chance that they will be challenged" (p. 358), just as this billboard creates implicit unity between the reader/viewer and the candidate through the use of the child. Furthermore, based on Edelman, Sherr (1999) asserts that

> the political world is a symbolic one, and citizens are made to care about politics only through the use of symbols that resonate with their everyday experience. Children are clearly part of the daily experiences of many voters and, as a result, can be symbolically powerful (pp. 46-47).

Utilizing the child as a symbolic, generic element appeals to people's affect by implicitly creating the image of 'the Mexican child'. Kress and van Leeuwen state that "[t]he production and communication of meaning cannot be other than always affective and constitutive of subjectivities" (p. 267). This billboard seems to draw on affect and subjectivities in order to manipulate the viewers' position.

2.5.3.2 PRD second wave

The following billboard (Figure 2.7) belongs to the second wave in the presidential campaign. This multimodal text will be analyzed in terms of composition, photographic image and linguistic text.

Figure 2.7: Cumplir es mi fuerza

Composition

The composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 175-214) of this billboard primarily utilizes a polarized Ideal/Real structure. The written slogan (discussed below) "Cumplir es mi fuerza" (To accomplish is my strength) is placed in front of a bright yellow background (color of the PRD). This slogan is the most salient element due to its relative size, placement in the center region of the text, and the use of the color red, which provides a sharp contrast against the bright yellow background (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 201) on the billboard, making it the most important "item of information" (ibid., pp. 186-187).

The Ideal region of this multimodal text is clearly disconnected from the Real region by a curved line (frame) that separates the yellow colored background, defining the Ideal, from the orange and red colored background, demarcating the Real. This framing provides "a dividing line between the world of 'what might be' [Ideal]…and the world of 'what is [Real]…" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 178). The linguistic text "PRESIDENTE López Obrador" is placed in the Real section of the billboard, which provides guidance as to how the Ideal can be achieved. The candidate's image (discussed below) "straddles the two domains of meaning [Ideal/Real], forming a bridge between them" (ibid.). Likewise, there is a vertical line that separates the orange background (color of Convergencia) from the red

background (color of PT) with the framed logo of the coalition providing a similar 'bridge' between the different party colors. The coalition logo combines the colors and symbols of all three parties. However, it is noteworthy that the PRD section of the logo is allotted twice as much space as the other two parties and occupies the more prestigious and salient upper section. One interpretation of the composition of this logo would be that the coalition is under the hegemony of the PRD. Scollon and Scollon (2003, pp. 91-92) maintain that logos are normally placed down in the lower right hand corner because this position signals the Real and the New information. However, the logo on this billboard is an exception because of its position in the lower center region (Real). This may be interpreted in two ways: firstly, since the logo represents a coalition, it belongs in the center region of the text; secondly, the Mexican *left'*should reject the *status quo.*

Photographic Image

This shot is considered a "medium close personal distance" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124) because it includes the candidate's torso. He is smiling and looking at the viewer, forming a vector that connects López Obrador's gaze with the viewers and "contact is established even if it is only on an imaginary level" (ibid., p. 177). This is also a "demand" picture where the viewer is asked "to enter into a relation of social affinity" (ibid., p. 118) with López Obrador. He is wearing a black casual jacket and a white shirt without a tie, which probably means that even though he is a leader he wants to identify himself with the people through an informal style of dress. This may be inferred through what Goffman (1983, p. 3) calls *characterization*, where people assign identities to others through means of appearance, among others. Finally, López Obrador is using his right hand to show 'thumbs up' which is a very well known gesture expressing a variety of positive connotations in the Mexican context. The gesture, while assuring the viewer that López Obrador is going to win the elections, may also demand solidarity and agreement.

In general, it may be said that this particular billboard presents fewer participants compared to other billboards in the second wave. In terms of pragmatics, the candidate makes no promises or attacks on other parties. The slogan is a representative speech act that makes an assertion (Levinson, 1983). The meanings that are expressed by the photographic image and the linguistic text do not seem to be extended or transformed as a result of interplay between the two. Finally, we find it significant that other PRD billboards belonging to the *second wave* change the singular possessive "mi" (Cumplir es mi fuerza) for the plural possessive "nuestra" (Cumplir es nuestra fuerza), giving the idea that 'we are already a team and together are going to win'.

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Linguistic text

Below a systemic functional analysis of the linguistic text is provided in an attempt to offer further insights into the meaning making potential of the slogan.

Cumplir	Es	Mi fuerza
Token Identified	Relational identifying process	Value Identifier
Mood		Residue
Independent Clause		

Table 2.4: Cumplir es mi fuerza

The slogan is realized by an independent clause where the verb "es" (is) indicates a relational identifying process. Relational identifying processes are known as the "power house" of semiosis (Butt et al., 2000, p. 59). These processes have two functions, the first function is the one that provides a new identity, the second function allows one to take any token and identify its value (ibid.). By using this kind of verb process the candidate is able to create the identity of "accomplisher".

This clause presents certain textual characteristics which makes a Theme/Rheme analysis relevant. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) point out that in a clause as a message, "[t]he Theme is the element which serves as the point of departure of the message. It is that which locates and orients the clause within its context. The remainder of the message, the part in which the Theme is developed, is called … the Rheme" (p. 64). We notice that the theme of the message is the infinitive form of the verb "Cumplir" (to achieve) rather than with the nominal group, "Mi Fuerza" (my strength). This choice of Theme constitutes the marked form in this clause. Butt et al. (2000) maintain that marked forms constitute a state of affairs that is unusual and stands out, whereas the unmarked form constitutes the most "expected, common and unremarkable case" (pp. 139-140). In Spanish, the unmarked form would be "Mi fuerza es cumplir", which would put more emphasis on "my strength" than on "accomplishment". However, the candidate gives up the option of thematizing himself (Lukin 2007, personal communication). The verb "cumplir" is the point of departure of the message that the candidate chooses to send to the electorate. The word "cumplir" in Spanish carries strong positive connotative value, evoking associations of honor, achievement, and fulfillment. It is a strong compliment in the Mexican context to say that a person is *cumplido(a)*, which means that s/he is reliable and trustworthy to achieve the task at hand. By placing this word in the

Theme position of the clause, the candidate's purpose is to stress the importance of these values. The Rheme, then, develops this idea, where the candidate appropriates these qualities by stating, "es mi fuerza". This slogan probably refers to Lopez Obrador's past achievements as mayor of the D.F., where his popularity increased as the D.F. people considered him a successful mayor who took care of the elderly, single mothers and built a second level to the 'periférico', the road that circles Mexico City.

2.5.3.3 PRI second wave

This billboard (see Figure 2.8) was part of the PRI's second wave of the campaign, which continued to reconstruct their candidate's identity, transforming him from 'Roberto Madrazo' to 'Roberto' (See 2.5.2.3). This analysis focuses primarily on: the photographic image, linguistic text and composition. However, considerable attention is given to the manner in which the meaning of each of these components is extended and transformed by the mutual interplay between them.

Figure 2.8: No más mujeres maltratadas

Photographic Image

The viewers' attention probably will first be drawn to the photographic image on the left hand side of the billboard due to its relative salience created by its size, sharpness of focus, and high color saturation (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 202). The PRI candidate is the most salient participant within the image due to the sharp contrast that is created by him being the only male represented in the photo as well as the contrast created by the apparent difference in social classes between the candidate and the women. The women in the photo appear to represent the working class due to their style of dress, several of whom are wearing clothing typical of indigenous peoples of Mexico. The candidate is wearing a blue and white checkered shirt with a buttoned collar and no tie, assembling an informal "personal front"

(Scollon & Scollon 2003, p. 57), which creates an impression of greater solidarity with the women.

The image presents an "analytical" structure that shows how the women participants "fit together to make up a larger whole" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 50). This structure is achieved through a "Covert Taxonomy", where the superordinate component (working class Mexican women) "is inferred from such similarities as the viewer may perceive to exist between the subordinates [the individual Mexican women]" (ibid., p. 79). Placing the women in front of a decontextualized background, which does not provide visual clues about where such women might normally be encountered, encourages the viewer to search for similarities between them in order to place them into a given category (working class Mexican women). At the same time, the PRI candidate establishes a relation with the group of women through "Circumstance of Accompaniment" (Kress & van Leeuwen, p. 72), effectively creating an impression with the viewer that the candidate and the group of women constitute what Goffman (1983) calls a "with" (p.6), despite their differences in regards to gender and social class. This impression that the group forms a "with" is reinforced by the transactional processes within the image in which the candidate and several of the women have put their arms around each other, smiling reciprocally, becoming what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) call "Interactors" (p. 109). The production of this image seems to have been motivated to give the impression that the candidate is 'a man of the people', reinforcing the PRI's assertion that it is a "party of the people" (PRI. Declaración de principios, (n.d.) p. 3). However, the message is extended by the linguistic text in the upper section of the billboard and the iconic figures on the left-hand side, which will be discussed below.

Linguistic Text

The linguistic text, "No más mujeres maltratadas. Roberto sí puede." (No more abused women. Roberto, indeed, can) is probably the second most salient component of the text that constitutes a direct commissive speech act in the form of a campaign promise (Levinson 1983). In order to explore the meaning making potential of this linguistic text, an SFL analysis will be provided below in tables 2.5 and 2.6.

No más mujeres maltratadas
Nominal group

Table 2.5: No más mujeres maltratadas

The first part of the campaign promise consists of a nominal group (no more abused women). This nominal group is premodified by the adverbial group "no más". The adverb "no" indicates negative polarity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 356), making only negative readings possible. The lexical item "maltratadas" (abused) serves as an extremely

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negatively enriched post-modifier to "mujeres" (women). According to Martin and White (2005) such examples of "appraisal" are concerned with how text producers adopt stances towards propositions and align text consumers to do likewise. They explain that appraisal is "concerned with the construction…of communities of shared feelings and values…and normative assessment…[as well as] how writers/speakers construe for themselves particular authorial identities or personae (Martin & White, 2005, p. 1). The linguistic text ensures that the abuse of women must be interpreted as improper social behavior, aligning the perspectives of the text producers and text consumers.

Roberto	sí	puede
Actor	Marked positive polarity	Material process
Mood		
Independent Clause		

Table 2.6: Roberto sí puede

The second part of the campaign promise, "Roberto Sí Puede" (Roberto, indeed, can) is an independent clause that puts the candidate in the participant role of Actor who is 'doing something' in a material process. This role of "doer" is emphasized by the lexical item "sí" (indeed), which functions as a marker of emphatically positive polarity to the finite since "sí" is superfluous to the clause. However, the material process that the candidate is engaged in "puede" (can) is rather vague, and seems to beg the question, 'can what?' as though the residue of the clause has been strategically ellipsed in order to allow for multiple interpretations.

As the viewer scans back and forth between the photographic image and the linguistic text, the potential meanings of both elements are complemented as a result of their interaction. This linguistic text forces the viewers to further classify the women represented in the photo as women who are likely to be victims of abuse. As a result, the candidate becomes not only 'a man of the people', but also a defender of abused women. The candidate is then allowed the paternal role of 'protector', (See discussion of strict father metaphor, 2.3.7 and 2.5.2.1).

Composition

Examining the horizontal and vertical structuring, which polarize the text into both a Given/New and Ideal/Real composition, reveals ideological tendencies that are worth examining. Most notable is the interplay between the photographic image in the Given region of the text and the iconic figures of the *nuclear family* and *mother with child* in the New region. Although these iconic figures have rather low salience due to their relative size and low definition, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) point out that "connectedness" can be realized

"by abstract graphic elements, leading the eye from one element to another, beginning with the most salient element" (p. 204) and leading the viewer's attention to less salient elements. These two elements of the billboard are connected by a strong abstract graphic vector created by the differentiated waves of green and white lines that flow out from the photo and guide the viewers' attention over to the iconic figures embedded in the vector. The iconic figures represent 'family' and 'motherhood' as ideals by reducing them down to "the essential features of the[ir] Possessive Attributes" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 88), which may also allow viewers to attach their individual conceptions of these ideals to the icons. This vector, which provides a sense of motion from the Given to the New, possibly represents an evolution from an imperfect reality to an idealized future. As Kress and van Leeuwen point out in regard to images, "mobility is the cause of, and condition for, change, growth, evolution, progress" (p. 62).

The use of color choice and framing strategies seems to contribute to the political image that the billboard producers want to convey. We notice that there is very little strong framing in this text, which allows different elements within the billboard to overlap and provides a sense of a natural, "less ordered and less constrained world" (Iedema & Stenglin 2001, p. 196). The curved line is a dominant feature within the text, which Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) claim is "the dominant choice of people who think in terms of organic growth…in terms of what is natural rather than in terms of what is artificial" (p. 55). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 234) also claim that a differentiated, low-modality color scheme expresses an "adventurous" and "post-modern" ideology. As these elements of the text combine with the primary message that is expressed in the interplay between the photographic image, the iconic images and the linguistic text, the meaning making potential of the billboard becomes very powerful. It allows its producers to express the general ideological stance of the political party, ideals of family and motherhood, societal roles of men and women, a description of problematic *givens* within society, while simultaneously providing a roadmap to idealized solutions.

2.5.4 Third wave

This section of the analysis will examine the third wave of presidential campaign billboards. All three candidates released new billboards for public consumption, which did not replace, but complemented, extended and transformed the meaning making affordances (Norris, 2004) that the previous billboards offered. This third wave of billboards seemed to create a pragmatic space (See Candlin & Maley, 1997) which would allow candidates to appeal to a wider range of potential voters, discrediting other candidates and the sociopolitical agendas of their political parties, instilling confidence in the voting constituency, while

increasing the quantity of direct campaign promises. The analysis below attempts to demonstrate how these pragmatic goals were accomplished through presidential campaign billboards from each of the main parties/candidates.

2.5.4.1 PAN third wave

This billboard (Figure 2.9) was part of the PAN's third wave which intended to make the candidate more appealing to a wider audience by making direct promises to the working class sector of Mexico. Simultaneously, this wave of the campaign involved 'attacking' other candidates and their sociopolitical agendas. This analysis will examine photographic image, linguistic text and composition structures.

Figure 2.9: Empleos, no deuda

Photographic Image

The candidate's image is probably the most salient feature of the text due to its size, sharpness of focus, high color saturation, and its life-like modality as it is placed in front of a decontextualized background (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 201). The candidate is portrayed at an intimate interpersonal distance as we can see only the candidate's neck and face (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, p. 52). We notice that this candidate photo is actually the same that was used on other billboards during the first wave of the PAN's campaign (See Figure 2.4). However, the interpersonal distance between the candidate and the viewers/readers has evolved from a "personal interpersonal distance" to an "intimate interpersonal distance" from the first wave to the third wave of the campaign (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 125). This transition is probably symbolic of an evolving friendship as the readers/viewers have effectively grown closer to the candidate with the passing of time. As the viewer is enabled to *come closer* to the candidate, we see that the candidate wears glasses,

which may add an intellectual element to the candidate's "identity kit" in order to establish his "personal front" with the voters (Scollon & Scollon 2003, p. 57).

Linguistic Text

The linguistic text, "Empleos, no deuda" (jobs, not debt), is probably the second most salient participant due to its relative conspicuousness and placement in the central region of the billboard (ibid., p. 107). An SFL analysis will be presented below (table 2.7) in order to further explore the linguistic text's potential meanings.

Empleos, no deudas
Nominal Group

Table 2.7: Empleos, no deuda

The linguistic text above consists of a nominal group, "Empleos, no deudas" (Jobs, not debt) that utilizes two nouns with contrasting meanings. In-between the words "jobs" and "debt", we find the non-specific deictic "no" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 315), which seems to enrich the readers' perception of the 'good' (jobs) and the 'bad' (debt), while creating a clear division between the two. This strategy probably reinforces and amplifies the readers' natural tendency to appraise these lexical items positively and negatively since both "jobs" and "debt" are already "enriched words" (Butt et al. 2000, p. 121).

"Jobs, not debt" seems to be a campaign promise/commitment to create jobs and not indebt the country. These kinds of commissive speech acts that obliged candidates to particular political philosophy and/or courses of action were common during the third wave of the campaign when promises such as "medical insurance for everyone" and "more daycares" appeared on billboards throughout urban areas. However, when examining more closely the sociopolitical context at the time of the election, we can see that the block of linguistic text on this billboard actually expresses multiple meanings that may constitute three distinct speech acts as discussed below.

As the PAN began the "guerra sucia" (dirty war, see 2.2.3), one of their primary objectives was to discredit the past achievements of López Obrador (Camacho & Almazán, 2006). One of their tactics was to convince the Mexican people that while López Obrador had not created jobs during his administration as mayor of Mexico City, he had successfully accumulated more debt than the city had previously seen. Therefore, we might interpret the central block of linguistic text within this billboard as more than a mere promise to create jobs and avoid debt. It creates multiple meanings that function pragmatically as a promise, a refutation and an attack simultaneously. This attack can only be understood by those with

knowledge of Mexican politics at the time, in other words, those who share the same "frameworks of understanding" (Goffman, 1997, p. 155) in this social context.

The slogan, "Empleos, no deuda", interacts with other, less salient, blocks of linguistic text on the billboard. We notice in bright red letters in the lower, right-hand region of the text, "Felipe Calderón el presidente del empleo" (Felipe Calderón the employment president), which is given increased salience by thick red underlining. In the upper, right-hand region of the billboard, we see another block of text that reads, "para que vivamos MEJOR" (so that we live BETTER), which is also partially underlined in red. The interplay between these three blocks of linguistic text seems to primarily focus on the promise of new jobs, which will lead to a better life. The relationship between the three blocks is achieved through the use of a circular, spiraling vector which cuts through and connects the three distinct blocks of linguistic text, forming a non-linear reading path (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, P. 206).

This interplay between blocks of linguistic text does not, however, account for the mention of debt, which was not a subject of great public concern or debate until the PAN somewhat *created* it as an issue in relation to López Obrador. The PAN seems to be refuting López Obrador's assertion that, "Cumplir es mi fuerza" (to accomplish is my strength) by attacking the premise that the 'achievement' was valid since it was accompanied by debt. This is significant because it is the first instance where we see one candidate publicly interacting (refuting an assertion) with another candidate via presidential campaign billboards, establishing intertextual links between two multimodal texts.

Composition

The composition of the billboard uses both Given/New and Ideal/Real polarization structures, while allowing a block of linguistic text to occupy a significant portion of the center region. The candidate is seen as a newly 'intimate' Given, while the slogan is seen as a 'centrally important' New. The layout of the additional blocks of linguistic text communicates an ideological positioning where jobs lead to an ideal better life, and the candidate is the means to such an ideal. At the same time, debt, which has been previously associated with López Obrador, is simply and centrally not desirable.

The above analysis illustrates how this billboard employs a variety of meaning making resources in order to communicate complex messages to its readers/viewers. Through reference to established discourses on employment and debt in the sociopolitical context, the multimodal text is able to promise, refute and attack simultaneously. Additionally, the billboard establishes a sociopolitical agenda while communicating the ideological positions of the candidate and his political party.

2.5.4.2 PRD third wave

This billboard (Figure 2.10) was part of the PRD's third wave, which served to instill confidence in the voting constituency while simultaneously reconstructing López Obrador's identity from a champion of the Mexican poor to a champion of all of Mexico. Significantly, we see that the candidate has undergone a transformation from *López Obrador* to *Andrés Manuel* from the second to the third wave of the campaign. This analysis will focus on the photographic images, the linguistic texts, and issues of interdiscursivity.

Figure 2.10: Sonríe

Photographic Images

There are two photographic images on this billboard that relate to each other. We consider the candidate's image as the "main participant" because of its foregrounding, which overlaps and partially obscures the background image. It is the same photo that was used on previous billboards in wave 2 (See 2.5.3). However, the background image plays an important role as a "secondary participant" (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 72). The potential salience of the background image has been reduced since it is slightly out of focus and the colors are desaturated, all leaning toward the same green hue (ibid., p. 72). However, the sheer size of the football image, which covers the entire upper region of the billboard adds to its salience, inviting the viewers to examine the image carefully (ibid., p. 202). There is also a temporal element which adds to the image's salience. The billboard was released for public consumption during the 2006 World Cup when *football madness* consumes the Mexican public, and football becomes conflated with national pride. Furthermore, there is a historic element that adds to this background's salience. This image is highly reminiscent of the most famous Mexican goal, scored by the legendary Hugo Sánchez. The meaning making potential

that the image has as it interplays with the linguistic text on the billboard will be discussed below.

Linguistic Text

Before examining the blocks of linguistic text on this billboard, additional sociocultural background information is necessary about the moment in time when it was released. During the presidential campaign, there were two debates. López Obrador did not participate in the first debate, and according to Camacho and Almazán (2006), he paid a high price for his absence as Calderón's popularity increased significantly in the polls. López Obrador then participated in the second debate. The linguistic text discussed below makes reference to López Obrador's performance in the debate, which Camacho and Almazán (ibid.) claim to have given the candidate a 2% rise in the polls.

The linguistic text in the upper-center region of the billboard is written on top of the football image and reads:

GANAMOS EL DEBATE
SONRIE
GANAREMOS EN LAS URNAS

(WE WON THE DEBATE
SMILE
WE WILL WIN AT THE URNS)

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006, p. 204) point out that color can provide a sense of cohesion and unity between different elements of a text. The sections in red may be interpreted as connected, which encourages the reader to read the message as, 'we won the debate; we will win at the urns.' The section in black simply reads, 'smile' with the 'i' dotted with a check mark. The check mark might be seen as a symbol of completion, one more task accomplished. However, the question arises as to why the word *smile* was placed in a position that interrupts the two complementary clauses. The answer probably lies in the fact that these patterns of color cohesion continue into other blocks of linguistic text on the billboard. By interrupting a piece of linguistic textual meaning using a color coded scheme, the text producer prepares the readers/viewers to search for alternative meanings through means of similar decoding strategies.

This use of color cohesion opens the text to multiple reading paths for the viewers/readers (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 204-208). In order to demonstrate the significance of such multiple reading paths, the most relevant sections of linguistic text from the billboard will be described and analyzed below:

In the bottom-center region of the billboard, written over a yellow background (the color of the PRD), we see the linguistic text:

ANDRÉS MANUEL
MEXICO ES TU EQUIPO
¡Tu meta es nuestra meta!

(Andrés Manuel
Mexico is your team
Your goal is our goal!)

We notice again that this text has multiple reading paths. The reader may choose to read only the linguistic text in red, which produces the reading, 'Andrés Manuel; your goal is our goal!'. In this case, *Andrés Manuel* becomes a vocative (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 133-134), which provides two kinds of dialogue on the billboard: one where the candidate addresses the electorate and another where the electorate addresses the candidate. "Ganamos el debate, ganaremos en las urnas" is addressed to the Mexican people, whereas "México es tu equipo, tu meta es nuestra meta" is addressed to the candidate through the vocative, enabling the billboard to appropriate the voice of the Mexican electorate.

Finally, on the right-hand, central region of the billboard, we see the logo of the candidate's political coalition. Beneath this logo, we find the linguistic text:

POR EL BIEN
DE TODOS

The use of red and black colored lettering continues to open possibilities for alternative reading paths encoded into the text. This linguistic text is an incomplete version of the candidate's campaign slogan, which previously read, 'por el bien de todos, primero los pobres'. In English, the slogan can be interpreted, 'for the well-being of everyone; the poor come first'. What we immediately notice in this incomplete version of the slogan is that 'the poor coming first' has disappeared. We are left with, 'For the well-being of everyone'. This de-emphasis of the poor is probably the result of the candidate's slipping popularity among the middleclass voters amidst a brutally negative campaign of which López Obrador was the primary target. He was compared to Hugo Chávez of Venezuela (Camacho & Almazán, 2006). This de-emphasis on the poor was probably an attempt to reach a more heterogeneous audience.

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The different blocks of linguistic text within the billboard allow for a great variety of reading paths. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) point out that texts which allow for the possibility of more than one reading path allow for the heterogeneity and diversity of their large readership. This billboard seems to exploit the potential to reach a heterogeneous and diverse Mexican audience. At a quick glance, we can decode a variety of messages that are made available through the use of the color cohesion devices. Only a few of the possibilities include:

- We will win at the urns for everyone
- Andrés Manuel…your goal is everyone's goal
- Smile, Mexico is your team

This kind of "non-linear" text constitutes a different "mode of reading" and thus, a different "regime of control over meaning" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 208).

The sheer amount of linguistic text present on this billboard sets it apart from all of the other billboards of the campaign, which utilized a minimalist linguistic strategy. The amount of linguistic text also makes an SFL analysis for this billboard infeasible because of the space constraints of this study. However, from a pragmatic perspective, we can find at least three different types of speech acts (Levinson, 1983). There is a directive in the form of a command (e.g. smile). There are representatives in the form of assertions (e.g. we won the debate). Also, there is a commissive in the form of a promise (e.g. we will win at the urns). Furthermore, the interplay between linguistic text and non-linguistic participants on the billboard constitutes a paradigm case of multimodal interdiscursivity as discussed below.

Interdiscursivity

The interdiscursivity strategies realized through intertextuality on this billboard extend and transform meanings, enabling the text to reach a heterogeneous and diverse Mexican society by conflating the discourses (linguistic, symbolic and visual) of football, labor and politics. In Mexico, World Cup football provides a bridge between divisions in social class, gender, and race as *Mexico* becomes associated with the *Mexican national football team* and national pride becomes associated with the team's performance. There is evidence of interdiscursivity between the discourses of politics and football through the use of the word *team* and *Mexico*, which creates an association between the football team image on the billboard, the Mexican national team playing in the World Cup, and the PRD political team.

The word *goal* in itself is a common metaphor for *exceptional performance*. Metaphorically, one can 'score a goal' through a wide variety of common activities that could extend from impressing one's boss in a business presentation to picking the perfect dress for a

cocktail party. As we consider the effects of this interdiscursivity, we see that the debate was not simply *won*, but Andrés Manuel *scored a goal for Mexico*.

It is important to mention that the black and red rectangles at the bottom of the billboard, which frame the candidate's name and the words "presidente 2006", are a symbol in Mexico for union workers (See Appendix D). Workers in Mexico display a red and black flag when they are on strike. This strategic use of coloring is a way of identifying the candidate with the working class voting base. This symbolic use of colors creates an interdiscursive link between labor, politics and the candidate.

As we can see from this analysis, this billboard used an extensive battery of meaning making resources that included various types of visual image, linguistic text, historical and temporal reference, and interdiscursive strategies. The billboard is able to define an ideologically united Mexico by conflating the discourses of football and politics while continuing to appeal to the working class through symbolic use of colors. Simultaneously, the text is able to reassure victory by constructing a 'winning' identity to the voting constituency.

2.5.4.3 PRI third wave

During the third wave, we notice that the PRI billboards utilize a restricted number of participants compared to the previous waves. The candidate's picture disappeared from almost all of the PRI billboards, leaving only slogans. However, these billboards remain semiotically complex, fulfilling a variety of pragmatic functions such as attacking competing parties, reassuring the voting constituency and defining social roles. The following analysis will examine composition and linguistic text, placing a particular emphasis on metaphor. Because this billboard (Figure 2.11) uses primarily historical and cultural meaning making resources, we take a more ethnographic, "thick description" (See section 2.3.11) approach in order to explore its multiple meanings.

Figure 2.11: No más botas

Composition

This billboard is organized into an Ideal/Real structure. It is clearly divided into two parts by a frame which utilizes differentiated (from soft to bright) green color. This frame thickens from left to right. The background of the billboard is bright red. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) associate red with "energy, salience [and] foregrounding" (p. 235). The use of bright colors show low modality since they are "hyper-real" (ibid. pp. 154-174), achieving the purpose of attracting the eyes of the viewer.

There is a linguistic text (discussed below) in the Ideal region written in white letters, that reads : "No más BOTAS. ¡Queremos pantalones!" (No more BOOTS. We want pants!). In the Real lower left hand side written in white color there is another linguistic text that reads: "Te va a ir MUY BIEN" (For you it is going to go VERY WELL). Finally, on the lower right hand side we find the strong white frame that contains the red text "ROBERTO PRESIDENTE" and the logo of the alliance PRI/PVEM crossed out with a black 'X' , serving as a directive element to vote for the 'Alianza' (see discussion of crossed out logo in 1.4.2.1 above). This combination of colors are found on the Mexican flag, which adds strong patriotic symbolism to the multimodal text (see discussion of flag in 2.5.2.3).

Linguistic text

As will be demonstrated, the slogan on this billboard is highly aggressive, metaphorical and sexist. First, "No más botas" (no more boots) refers to the former President Vicente Fox, who was very well known for always wearing boots. Therefore, this is a direct attack on the government using the word "botas" as a metaphor for the Fox administration.

Cameron (2003) sees incongruous analogies between domains as signaling the presence of metaphor, since these analogies may be interpreted in various ways in different contexts. In this case, the presence of the lexical item "botas" seems incongruous in the context of presidential campaign. Thus, in Lakoff's (1986) terms, the present government is 'conceptualized' by the linguistic expression "boots".

The billboard designer draws on the domain of dress code, boot -wearing specifically, and links it to the domain of politics, therefore attacking the government and achieving interdiscursivity (see section 1.2.5). The temporal element is also important. Fox governed the country for six years, so it is rather unlikely that his boots will be remembered by future generations. Deignan (2003), who compared certain English and Spanish metaphors maintains that "many…metaphorical expressions are…historical in that they allude to knowledge that is still shared as part of our cultural repository" (p. 270). Perhaps only Mexicans of the Fox era will understand this metaphor where both text producers and viewers share the same frames of reference. Goffman (1997) states that "a strip of activity will be perceived by its participants in terms of the rules or premises of a primary framework, whether social or natural" (p. 158) and that individuals will perceive their actions and understandings as fitting within those frames.

van Dijk (1977) also discusses the notion of "frames" as units of knowledge that are organized around certain concepts, which is useful in understanding this metaphorical attack against the government. van Dijk (ibid.) goes on to say that "such units [of knowledge] contain the essential, the typical and the possible information associated with such a concept" (p.215). The boots are organized around the presidential figure, hence the PAN government, which are cultural units of knowledge necessary in understanding this metaphor. We believe the activity (social practice) of constructing this billboard is based on social and political frames that involve two main kinds of social agents: producers and consumers, both fitting their actions to the understanding of what is indexed in the linguistic text.

The linguistic text: ¡Queremos pantalones! (We want pants!), which completes the slogan, constitutes the sexist element. In México, the very well-known metaphor, "un hombre con muchos pantalones" means a brave and courageous man. By playing with Fox's 'personal front' (see Goffman, 1983, p. 3; Scollon & Scollon, 2003, pp. 57-60) and utilizing a very well-known metaphor, from a critical perspective, this text indexes the exclusion of women from the political scene. While there are women with high positions in the PRI, it is worth mentioning that Madrazo has had to fight hard battles with his female colleagues. Acuña (2005) states that despite the fact that during the last decades, women have had access to higher political positions, such as governors, legislators and party leaders, there are still cases

of discrimination, intolerance and lack of respect towards female political work. As an example, Acuña cites PAN senator Diego Fernández de Cevallo's famous phrase: "el viejerío a su casa" (women go home) expressed at the end of the 90s. In more recent years, the PAN senator, Luisa María Calderón Hinojosa had an experience that illustrates situations that many women face when they 'dare' penetrate spaces reserved for men. In her own words:

> (...) accedí a la diputación con otros dos compañeros hombres, y ahí empezó la discusión o la incomodidad de participar en la política como mujer (...) yo era como una 'mascotita, (...) y cuando me invitaban a una reunión el comentario era `que nos acompañe una mujer, que la diputada venga con nosotros, no quedemos mal con ella, no peleemos con ella porque finalmente es mujer'… "cuando no era yo la coordinadora (de la fracción) no había problema (...) se escuchaba mi opinión (...) pero cuando fui la coordinadora (...) automáticamente, mis subordinados comenzaron a desobedecer (Acuña, 2005, p.2).

> I accepted the position of congresswoman with two other male colleagues, and that's when I began to feel uncomfortable participating in politics as a woman (…) I was like a 'little pet', (…) and when I was invited to a meeting, the comments were, 'let a woman come with us', 'let the congresswoman come with us', 'let's not get on her bad side', 'let's not fight with her because after all she is a woman'… when I was not the coordinator (of the committee) there was no problem (…) my opinion was heard (…) but when I became the coordinator (…) automatically, my subordinates began to disobey me.

Continuing with the *pantalones* metaphor, this slogan can only be understood in the Mexican context. Cameron (2003) states that "…context works at many levels of detail. Rather than seeing it as a kind of backdrop to language use…we can think of language use as embedded in nested series of contextual frames that radiate outwards from any specific use of language…" (p. 4). Contextual frames involve, at least, physical, social, interactional, linguistic and conceptual factors (ibid.).

One may conclude that the message sent by this billboard and the PRI principles of equality (See 2.2.2) contradict each other. Furthermore, it may be said that it encourages a *masculinity* discourse which, among others, is characteristic of the contemporary extreme right European parties (see Geden, 2005). In his analysis of the Austrian weekly newspaper *Zur Zeit*, which supports the *Freedom Party of Austria*, (FPO), Geden (ibid.) found that in this newspaper, "the clear dominance of men in the public sphere is classified as a distribution of roles appropriate to the species (ZZ43/99)", since men are naturally more inclined to "protect the family from external enemies, than to take on caretaking responsibilities" (ibid., p. 405).

On the other hand, by using the first person plural (queremos), the PRI discourse appropriates the wishes of the Mexican people. This text may be interpreted as: the Mexican people want a 'real' man (Madrazo), and only men to lead the country, which goes in agreement with Lakoff's (1995) "strict father model" metaphor. He states that

[t]he centrality of the strict father model to conservative politics also explains the attitudes of conservatives to feminism, abortion, homosexuality, and gun control. In the strict father model of the family, the mother is subordinated to running the day-to-day affairs of the home and raising the children according to the father's direction. It is the father that bears the major responsibility and makes the major decisions. The strict father model is exactly the model that feminism is in the business of overthrowing (p. 193).

The linguistic texts may be holistically interpreted as 'we have had enough of this administration, what we need is a real man, the country will be excellent if you vote for ROBERTO' if the reader follows a linear reading path (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 204-208). The punctuation markers (periods and exclamation marks) after each linguistic block provide a significant sense of completion, signaling boundaries (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, p. 7) between the three texts.

In order to provide further insights into the meaning making potential of the texts, an SFL analysis is offered below (Tables 2.8 2.9, 2.10).

No Más botas
Nominal group

Table 2.8: No más botas

We notice the negative enrichment of "botas" with the premodifier "no más" which is significant because the lexical item *boots* does not normally carry any kind of negative connotation (Martin and White, 2005). The text producer guides the readers' interpretation of 'boots' as a metaphor, namely as a negative reference to the former president. The message conveys that there is dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs, and change is needed.

Queremos		Pantalones
Mental process/ Senser		Nominal group/ Phenomenon
Finite	Predicator	complement
Mood	Residue	
Independent clause		

Table 2.9: Queremos pantalones

We notice the positive enrichment of "pantalones" in this block of linguistic text, which provides a contrast with the 'boots' in the previous text. This contrast delineates the *undesirable'*(Fox) from the *desirable* (Madrazo). The slogan also appropriates the voice of the Mexican people through the use of the first person plural Mood block, thus expressing the desires of the Mexican people, which Billig (1995, in Scollon, 2003, p. 93) calls the "syntax of hegemony".

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Te	Va	a ir	Muy bien
Beneficiary	Actorless process	Material	Circumstance of manner
Complement	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Residue	Mood	Residue	
Independent Clause			

Table 2.10: Te va a ir

The final clause complex acts as reassurance to the Mexican people. This is accomplished through a change in Mood block from the first person plural in the previous text (table 2.9) to the second person singular informal address form. This allows the text producer to talk *to* the Mexican people instead of *for* the Mexican people. This reassurance is stressed by the circumstance of manner "muy bien".

As the analysis above demonstrates, this billboard expresses powerful messages to its readers/viewers even though the actual number of participants has been reduced compared to previous waves. Alazraki (Fernández, 2006) points out that Madrazo, who was always trailing in the polls, needed an aggressive campaign. Perhaps this is what his campaign manager decided to do as a last resort when it was too late to win.

2.6 Discussion

Billboards have a long history in politics as a means of spreading the propaganda of the various actors who have motivated interests in disseminating their ideological stances. The first example of such a billboard that we have come across dates back to 1934 in Rome where fascists used this billboard as a persuasive means to obtain the peoples' votes (Cheles, 1991). As we have demonstrated in this study, in Mexico, billboards continue to play an important role in political propaganda. This study, which focused on presidential campaign billboards, demonstrated that they are multisemiotic texts that utilize a variety of modalities to achieve their social purposes. In this section of the study, we provide a discussion of what constitutes this genre and the implications of how social actors make use of these multimodal texts.

2.6.1 Generic structure

As Bhatia (2004) points out, "generic integrity may be understood in terms of a socially constructed typical constellation of form-function correlations representing a specific professional, academic or institutional communicative construct realizing a specific communicative purpose" (p. 123). Therefore, any analysis of the generic structure of presidential campaign billboards which intends to go beyond the descriptive and embark on explanatory activity as well must consider Bhatia's (2004) two broad categories of indicators

that contribute to generic integrity, which are text-internal and text-external. Text-internal indicators "refer to factors generally related to the construction and interpretation of the text in question, whereas text-external factors are those that are more appropriately related to the wider context of the disciplinary community and culture in which the text is used and interpreted" (p. 123).

Text-external indicators can only be interpreted through an examination of the sociocultural/historical practices that enable and constrain text production and consumption of presidential campaign billboards. An adequate analysis of these billboards requires that they be considered as embedded within yet mutually constituting the sociopolitical context of the larger presidential campaign. Furthermore, this presidential campaign is embedded within similar historical moments of the past which shape the expectations of both text producers and consumers about the nature of presidential campaign billboards and their contents. For example, the treatment of social problems such as poverty, unemployment, corruption and security among others is taken for granted, even when both consumers and producers are aware that billboard content is not necessarily truthful. Emotional appeals to patriotism, national unity and pride are also expected. Bhatia (2004) states that experienced professionals and expert practitioners "often use these text-external features to identify, construct, interpret, use and exploit …genres to achieve their professional objectives" (p. 124) as we see is the case with professional politicians in Mexico. The manner in which professionals exploit these genres in order to fulfill social purposes is explained further below.

2.6.1.1 Social purposes, practices and realization

When analyzing the social purposes of presidential campaign billboards, it is important to recognize that billboards are only one tool that are exploited in order to accomplish the overriding sociopolitical goal of the larger presidential campaign, namely, to gain power by winning the presidency. As can be seen in Figure 2.12 below, we found three different layers of embedded social practices (See blue layers in Figure 2.12) in which politicians engage in order to accomplish (or not) the overriding social purpose of gaining power (See purple layer in Figure 2.12). In the first layer of social practices (See dark blue layer in Figure 2.12), we find persuading and/or manipulating citizens to vote for a particular candidate. However, it is difficult to draw the line between persuasion and manipulation. van Dijk (2006) asserts that

> the crucial difference in this case is that in persuasion the interlocutors are free to believe or act as they please, depending on whether or not they accept the arguments of the persuader, whereas in manipulation recipients are typically assigned a more passive role: they are *victims of manipulation*. This negative consequence of manipulative discourse typically occurs when the recipients are unable to understand the real intentions or to see the full consequences of the beliefs or actions advocated by the manipulator … Obviously, the boundary between (illegitimate) manipulation and (legitimate) persuasion is fuzzy, and context dependent. (p. 361)

In the case of billboards, it is possible that some voters understand the intentions of the political parties and the consequences of voting for their ideological position, while other voters will not. We agree with van Dijk (ibid.) in that manipulation involves society, discourse and cognition.

> Manipulation is a social phenomenon – especially because it involves interaction and power abuse between groups and social actors – a cognitive phenomenon because manipulation always implies the manipulation of the minds of participants, and a discursive – semiotic phenomenon, because manipulation is being exercised through text, talk and visual messages" (p. 361)

On the other hand, "persuasion is viewed as a case of communicative non-coercive goal hooking" (Poggi, 2005, p. 297) where the persuader "leads a persuadee to pursue some goal out of a free choice, i.e., by convincing him/her that the proposed goal is useful for some other goal that the persuadee already has." Poggi (2005), based on Aristotle, goes on to say that the persuasion strategies that are always present in persuasive discourse are *logos, ethos*, and *pathos*, in other words, "rational argumentation, the speaker's credibility and reliability, and the appeal to emotion" (p. 297).

This persuasion and/or manipulation may be achieved on presidential campaign billboards through a variety of second-layer social practices (See turquoise layer in Figure 2.12). These social practices include (re)constructing identities, creating relationships with voters, building a sociopolitical agenda and more (See temporal/semiotic waves in Figure 2.2). In turn, second-layer social practices are realized by third-layer social practices (See sky blue layer in Figure 2.12) which include different types of speech acts such as promising, asserting, and attacking among others. In the case of presidential campaign billboards, these speech acts are realized multimodally by combining a variety of represented participants (text-internal features) that may include images, colors, linguistic texts, vectors and more (See yellow layer in Figure 2.12).

```
Gaining Power

Manipulation

(Re)construction of identity/ Constructing and extending
interpersonal relationships with the public/ Constructing a
sociopolitical agenda

Emotional Appeals/ Promises/ Attacks/

Linguistic texts
Images
Colors
Linguistic/visual
    metaphors
Logos
Vectors
Frames

Reassurances/ Silence/ Assertions

Extending sociopolitical agenda/ Discrediting
other candidates' sociopolitical agenda

Persuasion

Gaining Power
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Figure 2.12: Layers of social practices

2.6.1.2 Represented participants

Regarding the text internal indicators of presidential campaign billboards, we discovered that certain represented participants within the billboard are obligatory whereas others are optional as can be seen in table 2.11 below.

Obligatory represented participants	Optional represented participants
• primary slogan (most salient slogan on the billboard) • candidate name • party colors • frames • background	• candidate photo • photos of others • web page address • secondary slogans (less salient slogans on the billboard) • party logos • the word "Presidente" • iconic figures

Table 2.11 : Represented participants

The obligatory represented participants listed above were present on all billboards analyzed in this study, regardless of political party or temporal/semiotic wave, while the optional represented participants were found only on some of the billboards under investigation. As Bhatia (2004) points out, generic structure "is not static, fixed or prescribed, but is often flexible, negotiable or sometimes contested" (p. 123). In our analyses, we notice

the dynamic nature of the presidential campaign billboard as a genre, particularly as the different pragmatic goals in each temporal/semiotic wave seemed to require different forms of realization. For example, during wave 1 of the campaign when candidate identities were initially being (re)constructed, candidate photos seemed to be an obligatory represented participant while party logos and the word "Presidente" were optional. However, as the campaign moved into the second and third wave, the candidate photo became optional, while the party logos and the word "Presidente" became obligatory.

Furthermore, there is evidence of the generic structure of presidential campaign billboards being contested and (re)negotiated as the demands of a new and changing world impose themselves upon the genre. We see the emergence of new represented participants on billboards such as post-modern shapes and colors, web page addresses, and new linguistic and visual metaphors, creating hybrid discourses that establish intertextual links between the past and the present, as well as interdiscursive links between various professional fields. These discursive properties can only be noted by considering both the micro and the macro phenomena involved when analyzing multimodal texts. As Candlin (2006) observes "our awareness of institutional dynamism in a changing and unstable world makes hybridity and interdiscursivity not some aberrant phenomenon, some momentary disorder, but what actually is the discursive case" (p. 5).

2.6.1.3 Composition: the combination of semiotic modalities

The composition (information value, salience, framing) of presidential campaign billboards is another text-internal feature which allows text producers to strategically and creatively combine and arrange represented participants on billboards in ways that become meaningful to text consumers. Presidential campaign billboards seem to primarily utilize composition strategies that polarize elements placed within different regions of the text (Given/New, Ideal/Real). On the other hand, billboards utilizing Center/Margin composition strategies that present certain elements on the text as "the nucleus of the information" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 196) were not identified in this study. This is probably because Center/Margin compositions lend themselves to a reasonably rigid interpretation to viewers/readers, whereas polarizing composition strategies afford billboard producers more opportunities to offer discourses that are open to flexible interpretations among heterogeneous discourse communities, enabling candidates to express ideological positions to varying degrees and enact multiple identities accordingly. As Moje and Lewis (2007) state "as people move across different discourse communities, they enact identities that would be recognized in particular ways by those communities" (p. 20). For example, a candidate may enact the role

of leader, father and protector on a single billboard depending on the way the reader/viewer chooses to interpret it (see Figures 2.4, 2.8).

It is worth noting that messages expressed in linguistic text did little or nothing to define the ideological stance of each party when considered in isolation. It seems that the expression of political ideology is achieved on presidential campaign billboards through a combination of composition strategies (information value, salience and framing). For example, the PAN expressed a conservative, traditional, political ideology through the use of strong framing (right angles and rectangles), and cold, distant, desaturated colors. The PRI expressed a post-modern, neo-liberal political ideology through the use of weak framing (wavy lines and curves), and highly saturated differentiated color schemes. The PRD, on the other hand, expressed a leftist political ideology through the use of 'idiosyncratic' placement of represented participants such as the party logo, and by utilizing symbolic color combinations that are associated with the struggles of the working class in Mexico. Strategic composition seems to shape, extend and transform the potential meanings of the linguistic texts placed on presidential campaign billboards.

2.6.2 Power Relations

As we have previously argued, the overriding goal of billboards is for politicians and political parties to gain power. In this study, we have identified three dimensions of power relations that are reflected in presidential campaign billboards. In the first dimension, we believe that these billboards reflect a struggle for power between political parties in an attempt to gain a hegemonic control over the Mexican executive power, which is the highest power of the nation. In the second dimension, we see the individual candidates' struggle for power as they strive to become the Mexican President. Finally, in the third dimension, we see that the consequences of these power struggles will ultimately be decided by the electorate, who although may seem to be in a subordinate position, exercises power over the different candidates and parties through their final votes, thus deciding who will exercise power over them. These power struggles illustrate Foucault's (1980) conception of the circulation of power as he observes:

> [p]ower must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain….Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power (p. 98).

We see power circulating in multidimensional, interrelated power struggles between the electorate, the political parties and the presidential candidates in a similar manner as that which Foucault (1980) describes above. Although these power relations may not be overtly perceived, as Bourdieu (1990) states, "the harder it is to exercise direct domination, and the

more it is disapproved of, the more likely it is that gentle, disguised forms of domination will be seen as the only possible way of exercising domination…" (p. 128).

2.7 Conclusion

With this study, we have contributed to the field of multimodal, multisemiotic discourse analysis and critical studies. In addressing a genre such as presidential campaign billboards, which has received little or no attention in the past, we have provided an original perspective by combining several analytical frameworks in order to explore the multimodal nature of a specific genre of political discourse. Furthermore, in fully contextualizing this investigation, we have explored the text dimension, the discursive practice dimension and the social practice dimensions of Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework. We have demonstrated that in order to adequately describe, interpret and explain each dimension, it is necessary to draw on the analytical methods of distinct disciplines which treat the sociopolitical and historical as well as the linguistic (See Figure 2.3). In doing this, we have provided a deeper understanding of how political actors achieve their social purposes through the use of multimodal discourse on billboards within the Mexican sociocultural context.

We have taken a critical perspective to our study in order to raise awareness of certain sociopolitical issues that may be cause for concern or interest in a democratic society. By analyzing the 2006 presidential campaign billboards, we take mainly a "strategic critique" focus where "discourse figures within the strategies pursued by groups of social agents to change societies in particular directions… strategic critique assumes a certain primacy in periods of major social change and restructuring…" (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke & Wodak, 2004, p. 5).

Finally, considering that billboards are widely used in the world for many purposes, one of them being political, it is important to consider Wodak's (2005) idea of *glocalisation*. She states,

> One of many features of political genres, discourses and texts nowadays is the phenomenon that we, on the one hand, encounter many similar features in rhetoric, argumentation, lexical choices, and so forth, in various genres in the field of politics; on the other, **national, regional and local characteristics prevail and serve to construct specific identities** [our stress] or to counter globalizing tendencies…These – often contradicting – tendencies between the 'global' and the 'local' are framed by the concept of 'glocalisation' (Wodak, p. 367).

We therefore may conclude that Mexican presidential campaign billboards show certain elements of *glocalisation*. For the most part these billboards exhibit globalized Western tendencies in regards to their multimodal composition; however, Mexican specific cultural, historical and temporal meaning making resources are manifested on these multisemiotic texts. Through the use of significant cultural and historical symbols, the

billboards index certain values and frames of reference that are specific to the Mexican sociocultural context, effectively representing differing conceptions of reality in Mexico.

In the following study, I move on to the institutional field and set out to examine the discourses of obligation and prohibition at institutional level. Along the lines of multimodality, and critical discourse analysis (CDA), Study 2 focuses on visual texts, paying particular attention to composition, emplacement and linguistic text. A transdisciplinary approach is followed in order to more adequately describe, interpret and explain the data available.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDY 2: DISCOURSES OF OBLIGATION AND PROHIBITION WITHIN AN INSTITUTIONAL SETTING

> If we assume that institutional design or regulation has any role to play in human affairs, then we assume that people in general are not inevitably motivated, absent the screening and sanctioning devices that regulation may introduce, to comply with the relevant norms of behaviour (Petit, 2002, p. 290)

3.1. Introduction

Following the research principles of multimodality (Iedema, 2003; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Scollon & Scollon, 2003), where all meaning making modes (oral, written, gestual, visual) are important semiotic resources (See also 2.3.2); and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke & Wodak, 2004) where social issues of inequality and power among others are studied through the discourses people produce (See also 2.3.5), this investigation examines the institutionalized discourses of obligation and prohibition at the library of the Language Faculty (LEMO) of the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla (BUAP). Universities, according to Castaños-Lomnitz (2000), are the most stable and conservative institutions within our society. As such, the BUAP affords students and academics mainly, with knowledge, values, and academic/scientific practices among others. I take here the term *affordance* "to describe a potential for action, the perceived capacity of an object to enable the assertive will of the actor" (Ryder, 1996, p.1). According to Ryder (ibid.) people appropriate certain objects and use them for their assertive will. These objects fall under the definition of *affordances*. "Certain objects *afford* opportunities for action. An affordance is a value-rich ecological object that is understood by direct perception" (Ryder, ibid., p. 1). van Lier (2004) calls these objects or affordances *cultural artifacts* (p. 94). In the context of language learning, van Lier (ibid.) states that "linguistic affordances are specified in the linguistic expression, and available to the active interlocutor (or addressee) who may pick up one or more of these affordances as they are relevant at the moment" (p. 95). Indeed, students and academics at the BUAP appropriate the affordances they deem necessary for their own interests, be it cultural artifacts or linguistic affordances. However, affordances always imply constraints. Iedema and Wodak (1999) see "organizations as *enabling and productive* sites, as well as constraining and disciplining ones" (p. 12). In a university context constraints imply obligations and prohibitions which may be dictated in different ways, for example, orally by teachers, visually in signs, and in writing through e-mails or letters, among

other modalities. At Faculty level, the LEMO provides affordances to the academic community, and at the same time represents constraints in line with the BUAP policies. The LEMO library, which is the context of this investigation, as part of the LEMO, represents a microcosm of the LEMO/BUAP policies regarding affordances and constraints. On the one hand, the library affords students with certain services such as book consultation and lending, and on the other hand, it establishes certain rules with obligations and prohibitions as constraints in order to be able to afford those services. From the above, it can be understood that the LEMO library as an institution exercises power over its users, creating an asymmetrical relationship between itself and them. When researching power relationships within organizations, Iedema and Wodak (1999) maintain that discourse analysis has the benefit "of being able to highlight the dynamic social construction of institutional relations and structures (Woolard, 1985). Importantly, it provides the means for regarding organizational power both as dynamic and embodied dialogic accomplishment" (p. 12). (See 3.3 below).

Within this context of affordances and constraints, it is also important to mention that the LEMO library constitutes a pragmatic space (Candlin & Maley, 1997), where certain discourses and behaviors are allowed whereas others are forbidden. For example, discourses related to borrowing a book are permitted, whereas discourses related to organizing a school event are forbidden in this "institutional arena". Candlin and Maley (ibid.) maintain that "[t]he value of a linguistic or discoursal element is the meaning it carries within a system of paradigmatically related elements" (p. 216). In this particular case, the library constitutes the *system of paradigmatically related elements*, wherein the discourses of obligation and prohibition will be analyzed. The selection of the library as a pragmatic space (not merely a physical space) to carry out this investigation is based on the fact that the library is an institution which is part of a larger institution, part of the ecosystem of the BUAP, where organizations are seen "as *ecosocial systems*…of interdependent activities, including both the human and nonhuman participants" (Lemke, 1999, p. 22). In the educational context, "ecology of schooling and of language learning takes into account both the narrative (or discursive) and the institutional structures of education (van Lier, 2004, p. 2)

Since various participants (library staff and library users) are involved in different social practices in the library, it is appropriate in this context to discuss the construct of social practices. By social practices, I adopt Fairclough's (2005a) definition which sees them as "more or less stable and durable forms of social activity, which are articulated together to constitute social fields, institutions, and organizations" (p. 2). Fairclough (2003) sees social practices as the articulation of the following elements: Action and interaction, social relations,

persons (with beliefs, attitudes, histories, etc.), the material world, and discourse (ibid., p. 25). Such social practices in this particular context may be those of asking for a book, consulting a book, and lending a book, among others. These practices are constrained by rules and regulations of social behavior where library staff and users operate. The value of these rules "is conditioned by the pragmatic space they occupy within the particular context" (Candlin & Maley, ibid., p. 216). Candlin and Hyland (1999) stress the fact that "meanings are socially mediated, or are specific to social groups, and discourse is essentially field-dependent" (p. 10). At the same time, Bourdieu (1998) states that

> [t]he notion of *space* contains, in itself, the principle of a *relational* understanding of the social world. It affirms that every "reality" it designates reside in the *mutual exteriority* of its composite elements. Apparent, directly visible beings, whether individuals or groups, exist and subsist in and through *difference*; that is, they occupy *relative positions* in a space of relations which, although invisible and always difficult to show empirically, is the most real reality (the *ens realissimum,* as scholasticism would say) and the real principle of the behavior of individuals and groups (p. 31).

The different relations between library staff and library users and the relative positions they occupy within the library will be analyzed in this study through an exploration of the discourses of obligation and prohibition. The selection of the LEMO library as pragmatic space to study these institutional discourses is also based on Bourdieu's (1998) argument when he asserts that his

> entire scientific enterprise is indeed based on the belief that the deepest logic of the social world can be grasped only if one plunges into the particularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, but with the objective of constructing it as a 'special case of what is possible,' as Bachelard puts it, that is, as an exemplary case in a finite world of possible configurations (p. 2).

As I hope to demonstrate, I consider this investigation at the LEMO library as a particularity of an empirical reality which is historically located and dated. I see a strong resemblance of Bourdieu's *scientific enterprise* at the level of lexico-grammar with Halliday's (2002) concepts of *system* and *instantiation*, where the system "is the pattern formed by the instances; and each instance represents an exchange with the environment – an incursion into the system …" (p. 359). Here, the LEMO library constitutes the *instance* of discourses of obligation and prohibition within the whole BUAP system of affordances and constraints.

In an investigation of this type (critical, multimodal), I will adopt a mixture of what Fairclough (2005a) calls *semiosis* and *discourse* to refer to *discourses*. In the first instance, Fairclough (ibid.) uses the term semiosis to refer to discourse "in an abstract sense as a category which designates the broadly semiotic elements…of social life (language, but also visual semiosis, «body language» etc." (p. 2). In the second instance, he takes discourse "as a count noun, as a category for designating particular ways of representing particular aspects of social life (e.g. …political discourses, which represent for example problems of inequality, disadvantage, poverty, «social exclusion», in different ways" (ibid. 2).

The discourses of obligation and prohibition, philosophically, pertain to *deontic logic* (See 3.3.1 below) or *Deontics*. As Alarcón (1996) points out, deontics are used in both pragmatic and semantic sense "[p]ragmatically, as a synonym for "directive", "preceptive", "prescriptive", "normative", as opposed to "descriptive", "declarative", "assertive" [and] semantically, in the sense of "concerning ought", to designate what constitutes the scope of ought or what describes the scope of ought" (p. 18). According to Searle's (1969) classification of speech acts, the discourses of obligation and prohibition, which are closely related (see 2.3.8), belong to *directives* or commands which may be carried out by direct or indirect speech acts. Sociologically, these discourses belong to what Goffman (1963) calls the *social order*, where "a social order may be defined as the consequence of any set of moral norms that regulates the way in which persons pursue objectives" (p. 8).

In this study, the concept of *institution* is taken from Sarangi and Roberts (1999) who maintain that "an *institution*…is an orderly arrangement of things which involves **regulations** [my stress], efficient systems and very different kinds of knowledge from that of the professional" (p. 14) (See more in 3.3.2 below). From this, it can be deduced that the discourses of obligation and prohibition are related to norms, rules and regulations within that institutional context. García-Camino, Rodríguez Aguilar, Sierra and Vasconcelos (2006) state that "norms can be used as a means to regulate the observable behaviour of agents as they interact in pursuit of their goals…A normative position … is the 'social burden' associated with individual agents, that is, their obligations, permissions and prohibitions" (pp. 671-672). In this study, the terms *organizational* and *institutional* discourses will be used interchangeably. Lemke (1999) points out that

> [a]n organization then is an ecosystem, but one in which cultural meaning matters, so that we cannot characterize the probabilities of events or even the flows of matter and energy that constitute it as a system, without taking into account what various things and doings *mean*. Objects and actions in such a system are both material items and processes and also signs, and their interactions depend jointly on their physical and their semiotic relations (p. 22).

These interactions in this particular context refer to "the structured collections of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing (as well as a wide variety of visual representations and cultural artifacts) that bring organizationally related objects into being as these texts are produced, disseminated, and consumed" (Grant & Hardy, 2004, p. 6).

Chia (2000) summarizes the relationship between discourse and organizational life by asserting that

> [t]he question of discourse, and the manner in which it shapes our epistemology and understanding of organization, are [*sic*] central to an expanded realm of organizational analysis. It is one which recognizes that the modern world we live in and the social artifacts we rely upon to successfully negotiate our way through life, are always already institutionalized *effects* of primary organizational impulses (p. 513)

A text in this study is a piece of multimodal, multisemiotic realization of discourse, a social product which has a specific communicative meaning. Drawing on Fairclough's (1995) concept of text, "[w]e can continue regarding a text as a primarily linguistic cultural artifact, but develop ways of analysing other semiotic forms which are co-present with language, and especially how different semiotic forms interact in the multisemiotic text" (p. 4). Based on Fairclough (2005a), a text will also be considered for its semiotic dimension as a *social event*, "the written documents and websites of government are «texts» in this sense, as also are interviews and meetings in government or business organizations" (p. 2). Texts with their different semiotic resources will be considered in this research.

In order to analyze the discourses mentioned above, a sample of six texts that range from general, directed to all library users, to specific, directed to an individual user, were selected. The selection of these texts for analysis rests mainly on the availability of texts in the library, their strategic emplacement (See Scollon & Scollon, 2003 below), and their salience (see Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006 below), among others. It is important to stress the fact that this study follows to a significant extent Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework (See Figure 2.3) where text, discourse practices and socio-cultural practices need to be considered to analyze discourse. It is also necessary to bear in mind that understanding the conditions of text production, text distribution and text consumption are necessary in order to carry out critical discourse analysis. Fairclough (1995) asserts that the

> analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discoursal practices within which texts are embedded…The interpretation of texts is a dialectical process resulting from the interface of the variable interpretative resources people bring to bear on the text, *and* properties of the text itself (p. 9)

The dialectical relationship between obligation and prohibition inevitably leads us to considerations of intertextuality and interdiscursivity (See section 3.3.4 below), where "texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present…[and] discourses are linked to each other in various ways" (Wodak, 2008, p. 3). Bearing in mind all the considerations mentioned above, this study addresses the following research questions:

- What type of texts (genres) are utilized by the LEMO library to communicate to its users institutional policies regarding the functioning of the library?
- How is obligation expressed in these texts?
- How is prohibition expressed in these texts?
- Is there an interconnection between the discourses of obligation and prohibition? If so, how is it expressed?
- Do library users comply with the institutional policies stated in the analyzed texts?

In order to address these questions, it is important to consider that "the discourse analyst looks for ways in which the lexico-grammatical, semantic and textual-discursive …options available to and chosen by individuals serve to construct, reinforce, perhaps question, social roles and social behaviour" (Candlin & Maley, 1997, p. 202)

3.1.2. Aim of research

The discourses of obligation and prohibition have been studied in Spanish from a legal and philosophical perspective, for example by Vernengo (1996) who focuses on norms, "the unit of analysis being the norm, whether for its grammatical aspects or for logical calculations…" (ibid., p. 89). His analysis is largely influenced by the work of von Wright (1951) on deontic logic, and Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) on speech acts. Vernengo asserts that "legal norms exist only if the illocutionary normative acts (command, regulate, etc.) are empirically satisfied, if they acquire a satisfactory perlocutionary effect over the receiver of the message" (ibid., p. 91). However, he concludes that different rationalizing criteria must be applied when discussing discourse and when discussing law. The discourses of obligation and prohibition have also been researched in English from a legal perspective by Trosborg (1997), influenced by the work on register of Halliday and Hasan (1989), and that of pragmatics by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Trosborg (ibid.) examines the genres of statutes and contracts, "viewed in terms of communicative acts" (ibid., p.15). She also analyzes the "rhetorical patterns of constitutional action involving communicative acts intended to regulate/modify social behaviour" (ibid.). Modalities of obligation (deontics) in research genres have been studied, for example, by Giltrow (2005). She concludes that "deontic expressions appear to be a discursive resource for representing knowledge and orienting it to social sectors, research communities and public systems. Findings are interpreted as evidence for the cooperation of neutrality and sociality in research writing" (p. 171). However, to my knowledge, the specific discourses of obligation and prohibition within an academic institutional setting have not been researched before from a multimodal, critical perspective. I take the term *critical* from Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak's (2004) *manifesto* where they state that "[c]critical social research draws upon the resources of social science to address the most pressing social problems of the day: those aspects of the structure, organization and functioning of human societies that cause suffering, injustice, danger, inequality, insecurity and self-doubt" (p. 1), issues which are related to asymmetrical relations of power. I expect to make a contribution to the area of applied linguistics and more concretely, to the areas of multimodal critical discourse analysis by describing, interpreting and explaining the discourses of obligation and prohibition within this academic context. I

also expect to raise awareness among text-producers and text-consumers of the various institutional policies that may afford and constrain library users and how to benefit better from the service provided by the library. It is important, though, to mention that the texts under analysis are less multimodally complex (fewer participants) than the texts in Study 1. For this reason, an emphasis will be placed on the linguistic text, without however neglecting other modes. Moreover, an ethnographic component will be added at the end of the study in order to discover whether the texts accomplish their social purpose(s) or not, whether they satisfy the perlocutionary acts expected. In other words, in order to more adequately address the analysis of the texts, it is necessary to analyze both conditions of production and reception. As Fairclough (1995) points out, "the analysis of discourse practice involves attention to processes of text production, distribution and consumption" (p. 9).

When analyzing organizational discourse, Oberhuber and Krzyzanowski (2008) advocate an ethnographic discourse analysis approach. They maintain that in organizational settings,

> linguistic exchange is oriented towards predefined goals and there exist several 'external constraints' on contributions: that is, one cannot say and do anything everywhere, and different subcontexts … require and allow for different kinds of talk and behaviour limited by different types of official and latent rules. Furthermore, discourse in organizations is articulated by a number of routines and practices that contribute to the ongoing reproduction of the organization…they [practices] are embedded within a multitude of spatial, material and technological conditions. (p. 183)

This ethnographic approach (See 3.3.7 and 3.6 below) suits to a large extent the object of this study, where social behavior is constrained by official, institutional rules. Furthermore, these rules contribute to the reproduction of social practices within the institution. As previously mentioned, for its theoretical and methodological foundations, this study will draw on Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three dimensional framework (See Figure 2.3), paying attention to text, discourse practices and social practices in order to discover the "construction of relations between text producer and audience through the text" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 8). In this study, the social practice dimension analysis will be mainly based on authors such as Bourdieu (1990, 1991, 1998) and Foucault (1980) on institutional power relations; and Oberhuber and Krzyzanowski (2008) on ethnography. The discursive practice dimension analysis will be based on the work of scholars such as Scollon and Scollon (2003), where discourses are studied according to the specific place they occupy in the material world; on Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) work on multimodal analysis, and on Fairclough's (1995, 1999a, 2005a) work on critical discourse analysis whose main aim is to "identify through the analysis the particular linguistic, semiotic and «interdiscursive»... features of «texts» …which are a part of processes of social change, but in ways which facilitate the productive

integration of textual analysis into multi-disciplinary research on change" (Fairclough, 2005a, p. 1). The discursive practice dimension will also draw on work done on intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Bhatia, 2004; Candlin & Maley,1997; Fairclough, 1999b; and Wodak, 2008), an "analysis of how genres, discourses and styles are articulated together" (Fairclough, 2005a, p. 3). Finally, the linguistic text analysis in terms of lexico-grammatical choices will mainly be based on authors such as Butt et. al. (2000), Halliday and Mathiessen (2004), Martin and Rose (2003), and White (2003) from a systemic functional linguistics perspective since I believe SFL, (especially in relation to the analysis of the interpersonal metafunction and tenor) is the appropriate tool to analyze linguistically the construction of discourses of obligation and prohibition.

3.2. Context

3.2.1. The LEMO as part of the BUAP: An institution within a larger institution.

The importance of addressing the construct of context when carrying out research in institutional and/or organizational settings is stressed by Cicourel (2003) who maintains that "discourse in the workplace shapes and is shaped by subtle and often explicit, local, emergent, socially organized activities" (p. 360). For this reason, I will provide, as thoroughly as I can, a description of the research context concerning this study.

The BUAP is a public autonomous university with BA majors in most fields, MA and PhD programs (see http://www.buap.mx/) with various campuses throughout the state of Puebla.

. The BUAP's mission is:

- To study, generate and transmit knowledge in order to ethically solve problems at regional and national levels
- To increase the capacity and quality of research
- To create in students the ability to solve problems in a rational and objective way
- To create autonomous, professional individuals who will act with political responsibility, social justice, equity, respect for diversity and care for the environment
- To create individuals who will protect the Mexican culture and build a productive, innovative, fair and safe society

(Plan de Desarrollo Institucional 2006-2007 "Estrategias para una universidad con rumbo")

The Language School with its major in language teaching (LELE= Licenciatura en la Enseñanza de Lenguas Extranjeras) was created in 1985 and it was part of the Faculty of Humanities. The creation of this major came as a result of a social need for the

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professionalization of teachers of foreign languages. In 1992, the Language School (LEMO, Lenguas Modernas) became independent when a major in translation was added (Brenes, 2007, personal communication). The school acquired its status of faculty when the Masters program in English teaching was launched in 2005. The LEMO offers two BA programs in language teaching (English or French), two BA programs in translation (English or French) and an open BA in English Language Teaching (ELT). It also offers a Masters program in ELT. Besides, The LEMO offers language courses to BUAP students and to the general public. (see http://www.escueladelenguas.com/inicio-inferior.html).

3.2.2. The LEMO Library

As every BUAP school, faculty, or unit, the LEMO has a space for a specialized lending library. The library, referred to also as the *reading room* (sala de lectura), has a total of 12,730 books out of which 75% are in English, 10% in French, and the remaining 15% are in German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Japanese and Náhuatl. Furthermore, it has four encyclopedias, approximately 50 dictionaries, and 350 theses. The entire BUAP has access to 31,041 journals through Elton B. Stephens Company (EBSCO). The LEMO library follows the Melvil Dewey decimal classification system, under the categories of consultation (dictionaries, encyclopedias, and theses), teaching, and translation. Among the services that the library provides are personalized assistance by the librarians, Internet service, book loans, and interlibrary loans. Books are lent to users for 10 days with the right to two renewals of three days each.

The LEMO library is used by approximately 140 students and teachers every day, out of which 12 are from other Faculties and eight are external to the LEMO. On average, 7,331 books are lent every month out of which 7,053 are returned.

Before entering the two-story library, there are approximately 50 lockers so that library users can leave their belongings in them. Users need to ask the librarian for a key in order to use the lockers and return it when they leave the library. This information is important for the analysis of text 2 (See 3.5.2). In order to avoid book theft, a magnetic gate was placed at the entrance of the library (see Figure 3.1 below). There is a reception desk with one librarian and a computer. At the back of the library there is another librarian with a computer.

Figure 3.1: The entrance

On the ground floor, there are 11 tables with four chairs each so that users can sit and read. There are also three computers so that users can consult the library's catalogue. Finally, there are shelves with specialized books around and at the back of the library (See Figure 3.2 below). On the first floor, there are four tables with four chairs each and three computers for users. The use of these computers is restricted for consultation purposes only. In this area there are encyclopedias, dictionaries, and theses.

Figure 3.2: The library

Having outlined the context where this investigation will take place, I will now turn to discuss the theoretical framework of this study.

3.3. Literature review

This section deals with the theoretical foundations of various fields on which this study is based. Although the methodology to be used will mainly be discourse analytical, it is necessary to draw on various other disciplines such as philosophy, ethnography, and sociology, among others, in order to have a more complete picture of the phenomenon under study. Fairclough (2005a) advocates *transdisciplinarity* as a way to work "through dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary processes of social change" (p. 1). Sarangi and Candlin (2004) state that it is necessary to "adopt a broader view of methodology as the philosophical, pragmatic and theoretic-analytical practices of engaging with data" (p. 101). Van Leeuwen (2005) calls for the integration of social theory, history and ethnography into discourse analysis. Wodak (2008), who maintains that "discourse analysis provides a general framework to *problem-oriented research*" (p. 2), also advocates interdisciplinarity and multiple perspectives on the subject under study. She goes on to say that every "…symbol is conceived as a *semiotic entity*, embedded in an *immediate, text internal co-text and an intertextual* and socio-political context" (ibid.). Finally, Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak (2004) also advocate interdisciplinarity in the field of critical discourse studies (p. 4). As will be demonstrated, I shall draw on various disciplines which are relevant and necessary for a study of this nature. I shall, therefore, present an overview of the various fields connected with this study starting with the philosophical foundations.

3.3.1. On Deontic Logic

I believe hardly anyone would question the fact that human behavior is regulated by rules, norms and regulations within a given society, community and/or institution (see Jones, 2007). Hilpinen (2001) states that

> Deontic logic is an area of logic which investigates normative concepts, systems of norms, and normative reasoning. The word 'deontic' is derived from the Greek expression 'déon', which means 'what is binding' or 'proper'…Normative concepts include the concepts of 'obligation' (ought), permission (may), prohibition (may not), and related notions, such as the concept of rights. (p. 159)

The philosopher von Wright (1951), maintains that there are *deontic modes* or modes of obligation. "These are concepts such as the obligatory (that which we ought to do), the permitted (that which we are allowed to do), and the forbidden (that which we must not do)" (p. 1). He then goes on to explore the *things* that are obligatory, permitted and forbidden which he calls *acts* and bases these acts under the concept of permission.

> If an act is not permitted, it is called forbidden. For instance: Theft is not permitted, hence it is forbidden. We are *not allowed to* steal, hence we *must not* steal. If the negation of an act is forbidden, the act itself is called obligatory. For instance : it is forbidden to disobey the law, hence it is obligatory to obey the law. We *ought to* do that which we are *not allowed not to* do. (von Wright, p. 3)

This seems like a plausible dialogical assertion which is important in the study of the discourses of obligation and prohibition. In this particular case, one may ask: What social practices are obligatory and what social practices are forbidden in the LEMO library? Goffman (1967), from a sociological perspective, asserts that "[r]ules of conduct impinge upon the individual in two general ways: directly as *obligations,* establishing how he is morally constrained to conduct himself; indirectly, as *expectations,* establishing how others are morally bound to act in regard to him" (p. 49).

The term *deontic* is common in the philosophical lexicon, both in a pragmatic and a semantic sense. "Pragmatically, as a synonym for «directive», «preceptive», «prescriptive», «normative», as opposed to «descriptive», «declarative», «assertive»… Semantically, in the sense of «concerning ought» " (Alarcón, 1996, p. 18). We may note that this term was adopted in SFL when referring to modality of obligation, thus forging a link between the social/philosophical and the textual (lexico-grammatical). Lozano (1990) asserts that "[i]n daily discourse, deontic modality serves the purpose of giving instructions and commands concerning everyday activities, but this modality also serves to express different types of obligation perceived as emanating from a higher authority" (p. 1119). The higher authority being in this particular case the LEMO library as an institution or part of a larger institution.

Chia (2000) observes that "through the regularizing and routinization of social exchanges, the formation and institutionalization of **codes of behaviour, rules, procedures and practices** [my stress] and so on, the organizational world that we have come to inhabit acquires its apparent externality, objectivity and structure" (p. 514). These codes of behavior, rules and procedures are expressed by discourse in various modes as will be demonstrated.

Having briefly outlined the philosophical (and to an extent the social) foundations of the discourses of obligation and prohibition, the following section discusses the concepts of institutions and institutional discourse.

3.3.2. On Institutional Discourses of Obligation and Prohibition

Before examining institutional discourse, it is necessary to explore what is meant by an institution. According to Sarangi and Roberts (1999), the terms *profession* and *institution* are sometimes used interchangeably, however the increasing amount of discourse-based studies in the workplace (Candlin, S., 2003; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Iedema & Scheeres, 2003; among many others), and on discourse and the conditions of late modernity (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999) which put into question many social identities and practices (for example, universities becoming more and more tied to governments), make it necessary to distinguish the terms institutional and professional. Sarangi and Roberts (ibid.) maintain that "[T]he notion of a profession stems from the idea of a vocation in which professed

knowledge is used" (p. 14). Based on Douglas (1987) and Weber (1947), Sarangi and Roberts point out that "[A]n *institution*, by contrast, does not have the same roots in people as active agents", but as mentioned before, an institution involves regulations and different kinds of knowledge than that used in the profession.. For example, an institution may be a school where different professions meet: teachers, administrators, secretaries, a doctor, a therapist, and their clients (students), all involving different types of knowledge. For the purposes of this study, the focus will be on the BUAP/LEMO/library as institution.

According to Vatn (2005), institutions are created with the idea of social construction,

> individuals are socialized into patterns of thinking, roles and responsibilities. They act according to what is appropriate given the actual situation. Thus, what become important issues is the result of a social process, and choices are more seen as a reflection of internalized expectations. Institutions are much more than constraints. They are also what constitute the individual and create meaning (p. 204)

This conceptualization seems to coincide with that of Iedema (1997, see below) when referring particularly to institutional discourse. Taking into account the normative aspect of institutions, Vatn (ibid.) maintains that

> the normative tradition has a stronger emphasis on the creation of common values and the pressure placed on individuals to fulfill certain obligations and expectations. Roles are not only structuring life through creating reciprocal expectation. The value of doing the right thing is emphasized (pp. 206-207)

From this, it can be understood that the creation of regulations in a particular institution such as the library is meant to aid the individuals in the particular setting, who take on different roles, such as librarians and library users. Fairclough (2005a) referring to social roles in semiotic terms, asserts that

> semiosis figures in broadly three ways in social practices (and the articulations of practices which constitute social fields, institutions, organizations) and social events. First, it figures as a part of the social activity, part of the action (and interaction). For instance, part of doing a job … is using language in a particular way ... Second, semiosis figures in representations. Social actors acting within any field or organization produce representations of other practices, as well as («reflexive») representations of their own practices, in the course of their activity, and different social actors will represent them differently according to how they are positioned within these fields or organizations. Third, semiosis figures in ways of being, in the constitution of identities – for instance the identity of a political leader… (pp. 2-3).

These different semiotic ways of constructing social practices will emerge during the analysis of the texts in this investigation. Influenced by Foucault, Fairclough (2005a) goes on to say that "[t]he semiotic aspect of a social field or institution … is an «order of discourse», a specific articulation of diverse genres and discourses and styles" (p. 3). The samples of texts under analysis pertain to different genres constituting an order of discourse. "An order of discourse is a social structuring of semiotic difference – a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning, i.e. different discourses and genres and styles" (ibid.)

Having made the distinction between an institution and a profession, and given that the LEMO is an educational institution (See 3.2 above) that prepares students to become professionals, it is necessary to make a distinction between professional and institutional discourses. Sarangi & Roberts (1999) assert that what professionals do to accomplish their duties and responsibilities can be called *professional discourse* as opposed to *institutional discourse* which includes features such as gatekeeping, management, routine procedures, and the "rules of the game" that represent an institution (pp. 15-16). They go on to say that "the institutional order, which feeds into the ruling apparatus, is held together not by particular forms of social organisation but by regulating discourses" (ibid., p. 16). Sarangi & Roberts also argue that there is an interplay between these two types of discourse with a dominance of the institutional order (ibid.). Candlin and Maley (1997) call this interplay *interdiscursivity* where professional discourse "represents the achievement of licensed belonging…on the basis of accredited skill and knowledge" (p. xii) whereas institutional discourse has "the potential exercise of authority, and gatekeeping, by virtue of that license" (ibid.). Iedema (1997) asserts that

> [a]dministrative and bureaucratic practices and institutions constrain, in that we are required to do things according to pre-established rules in particular ways, at particular times, and in particular places. However, these practices and institutions also enable: they facilitate complex social processes … Accordingly, institutional discourses can be typified as concerned with the realization of constraint, or 'shouldness', on the one hand, and with the construal of levels of institutional enablement and power on the other" (p. 73).

Iedema's point seems to fit the LEMO library practices very effectively. On the one hand, these rules regulate certain institutional practices as will be seen, on the other, they enable library users (clients) to accomplish their tasks in an orderly manner.

To conclude, it is important to recognize that "[o]rganizational discourse analysis is concerned with how *objectivity* is construed, achieved and contested, how its transmission is ensured or prevented, and what the consequences of this are for interaction" (Iedema & Wodak, 1999, pp. 12-13).

3.3.3. On Power and Institutions

In the previous section, I discussed the concept of *orders of discourse* according to Fairclough (2005a). These orders of discourse, Fairclough (1989) maintains, are "sets of conventions associated with social institutions" (p. 17). He goes on to say that these orders of discourse "are ideologically shaped by **power relations** [my stress] in social institutions and in society as a whole" (ibid.). Moreover, Bourdieu (1991) asserts that "relations of communication are always, inseparably, power relations which, in form and content depend on the material or symbolic power accumulated by the agents (or institutions involved in these relations…" (p. 167) (On symbolic power, see 4.3.5). In the case of the present study, the

discourses of obligation and prohibition are conventions associated with the LEMO library as a social/educational institution (rule maker) which exercises power over its users (rule compliers), thus creating an asymmetrical relationship. van Dijk (1996) asserts that

> [o]ne of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, such an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions".(p. 84)

Based on van Dijk (ibid.), I take the concept of power as "a property of relations between social groups, institutions or organizations" which is defined in terms of

> *control* exercised by one group or organization… over the *actions* and/or the *minds* of (the members) of another group, thus limiting their freedom of action…social power and dominance are often *organized* and **institutionalized** [my stress], so as to allow more effective control, and to enable routine forms of power reproduction (pp. 84-85).

Finally, van Dijk (ibid.) observes that dominance may be resisted by dominated groups, as I hope to demonstrate when dealing with compliance to the analyzed texts. Here, it is important to mention that the question of *agency* which is traditionally associated with *will* or *intentionality* to act that an individual may have (Ahearn, 1999; Jones & Norris, 2005b) to resist certain dominant practices, is also associated with groups. Jones and Norris (ibid.) maintain that "human action is *never* a matter of individual agency, but instead a product of the 'tension' between the agenda of the individual and the agendas… made available in the sociocultural setting and appropriated into the individual's *habitus* as component of social practices" (pp. 169-170). In reference to power relations, Bourdieu (1998) asserts that

> all societies appear as social spaces, that is, as structures of differences that can only be understood by constructing the generative principle which objectively grounds those differences. This principle is none other than the structure of the distribution of the forms of power or the kinds of capital which are effective in the social universe under consideration – and which vary according to the specific place and moment at hand (p. 32)

In the context of the LEMO library, I can identify the structures of differences Bourdieu refers to as those between the institution and the users, who most of the time are students. Based on Bourdieu (1990), Iedema and Wodak (1999) conclude that "power references both the *structured* (infrastructures, architectures, technologies) and the *structuring* (linguistic, kinetic, sartorial practices etc.) aspects of organizational life" (p. 12). In this particular case, I will be concentrating in some of the *structuring* aspects of the LEMO library.

Iedema and Wodak (1999) recognize the *dialogical* nature of interaction in organizations. On the one hand, organizations are *enabling and productive* sites, on the other, *organizational obedience* is required (p. 12). This dialogical relation, can undoubtedly be seen in the library, as mentioned earlier in 3.2, as enabling users with certain services, but

constraining them with certain rules of behavior. Bourdieu (1991, 1998) calls these rules exercised by institutions, *symbolic systems*, *symbolic resources* or *symbolic violence,* whereby one group dominates another "by bringing their own distinctive power to bear on the relations of power which underlie them and thus by contributing in Weber's terms, to the 'domestication of the dominated'" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167). Importantly, Iedema and Wodak (1999) maintain that discourse analysis "provides the means for regarding organizational power both as dynamic and embodied dialogic accomplishment … and for analyzing the physical-structural aspects of meaning making" (p. 12).

Finally, this study follows the methodological lines for studying power suggested by Foucault (1980), where power is studied at its extremities (LEMO library) "in its ultimate destinations, with those points where it becomes capillary, that is, in its more regional and local forms and institutions" (p. 96). Power relations at the LEMO library is studied

> at the point where its intention … is completely invested in its real and effective practices. What is needed is a study of power in its external visage, at the point where it is in direct and immediate relationship with that which we can provisionally call its object, its target, its field of application (Foucault, ibid., p. 97)

Having outlined the issue of power in institutions, where dominants and dominated interact, I now turn to explore textual issues of intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

3.3.4. On intertextuality and interdiscursivity at institutional level

In order to determine whether there is an interconnection between the discourses of obligation and prohibition within this particular pragmatic space, I shall explore issues of intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

Bakhtin (1999) maintains that no utterance (text) is completely new. Utterances are shaped "and developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual utterances" (p. 130). Every text has a degree of *otherness,* as well as a degree of "our-own-ness," varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate." (ibid.). Intertextuality is achieved by these reworkings and re-accentuation of texts. According to Fairclough (2003) intertextuality refers to "how texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualize and dialogue with other texts" (p. 17). Intertextuality has to do with how the *outside* of a text is incorporated into the text. Assumptions and presuppositions that people make when they produce a text play an important part in intertextuality, "[w]hat is 'said' in a text is always said against the background of what is 'unsaid' – what is made explicit is always grounded in what is left implicit" (ibid. p. 17, See also pp. 47-55).

According to Wodak (2008)

> *Intertextuality* refers to the fact that all texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present. Such links can be established in different ways: through continued reference to a topic or main actors; through reference to the same events; or by the transfer of main arguments from one text into the next (p. 3)

Wodak (ibid.) refers to the restating of arguments into new contexts and acquiring new meanings as *recontextualization*. Moreover, Iedema and Wodak (1999) argue that "organizational meaning making practices are to be considered as *multimodal* chains of recontextualization, with alternative semiotics such as design and built construction forming equally important links as does language in the chains of organizational processes" (p. 5).

On the other hand, interdiscursivity, according to Wodak (ibid.) refers to a link of discourses that are achieved in different ways. "If we define discourse as primarily topic-related, …a discourse on un/employment often refers for example to topics or subtopics of other discourses, such as gender or racism…" (p. 3). Connecting intertextuality and interdiscursivity, Candlin and Maley (1997) maintain that

> evolving discourses are thus intertextual in that they manifest a plurality of text sources. However, in so far as any characteristic text evokes a particular discoursal value, in that it is associated with some institutional and social meaning, such evolving discourses are at the same time interdiscursive (p. 203)

Keenoy & Oswick (2004) adopt the term *textscape* to refer to "the multiple intertextualities which inform and underpin the meaning(s) of any given piece of discourse" (p. 141), and where all meanings are context dependent and all texts implicate other texts. Fairclough (1999b) concludes that intertextual analysis "shows how texts selectively draw upon *orders of discourse* – the particular configurations of conventionalized practices (genres, discourse, narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers and interpreters" (p. 184).

Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are associated with the texts under analysis in so far as they contain *hybridized* discourses pertaining to different social practices, genres, and fields. These various discourses are expressed in obligation and prohibition texts.

Having discussed the issues of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, I now turn to discuss the purely linguistic dimension of texts in SFL terms.

3.3.5. On Systemic Functional Linguistics

All discourses are variously textualized. Accordingly, analysis of such textualization contributes to our understanding of discourse. SFL offers a means whereby the linguistic text dimension can be more adequately analyzed. More precisely, in this study, the six selected texts will be analyzed in terms of their lexicogrammar in relation to the interpersonal metafunction and the system of mood and modality; and how these relate to tenor, in order to

determine the relationship between text producers and text consumers. In what follows, I discuss the most relevant aspects of SFL that concern this study.

3.3.5.1 On the interpersonal metafunction

The SFL model of language (Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004; Martin & Rose, 2003) recognizes three basic functions of language use according to the ecological and social environment where language takes place. Halliday (1994) has categorized these functions into three metafunctions (or modes of meaning); the ideational or experiential, the interpersonal, and the textual. These metafunctions correspond to the organization of language and its context of situation realized by Field, Tenor and Mode. In an analysis of this nature (critical, multimodal), I will be referring to the more general term *text* rather than to language. The following chart, taken from Halliday and Hasan (1989) (Table 3.1) summarizes how these metafunctions or meanings are realized and their relationship with the context of situation . The sections in color are the most relevant to this study.
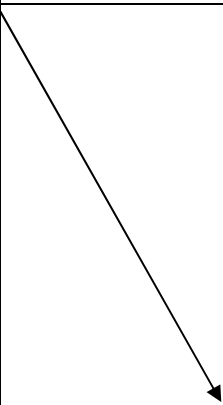
SITUATION: Feature of the context	(realized by)	TEXT: Functional component of semantic system
Field of discourse (what is going on)		Experiential (Ideational) meanings/metafunction (transitivity, naming, etc.)
Tenor of discourse (who are taking part)		Interpersonal meanings/metafunction (mood, modality, person, etc.)
Mode of discourse (role assigned to language)		Textual meanings/metafunction (theme, information, cohesive relations)

Table 3.1: Metafunctions (adapted from Halliday & Hasan, 1989, p. 26)

The interpersonal metafunction refers to how interactants create social relationships. "The **clause** of the grammar is not only a figure, representing some process…it is also a proposition, or a proposal, whereby we inform or question, give an order or make an offer, and express our appraisal of an attitude…" (Halliday & Mathiessen, p. 29). Halliday (1994) asserts that "[s]imultaneously with its organization as a message [ideational metafunction], the clause is also organized as an interactive event [interpersonal metafunction] involving

speaker, or writer, and audience" (p. 68). He uses the term speaker to refer to both speakers and writers and goes on to say that

> [i]n the act of speaking, the speaker [producer] adopts for himself a particular **speech role** [my stress], and in so doing assigns to the listener [consumer] a **complementary role** [my stress] which he wishes him to adopt in his turn. For example, in asking a question, a speaker is taking on the role of seeker of information and requiring the listener to take on the role of supplier of the information demanded (ibid. p. 68, see also Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004, p. 106).

In this study, the roles of the institution as *speaker* and the role of the library users as adopting a different role will be taken into consideration when determining their social relationships. Specifically, the institution as one which dictates dictating rules of obligation and prohibition will play a different role from that of the library users as complying (or not) with these rules. From a sociological perspective, Goffman (1997) sees participant roles in any social activity as "differentiated – a common circumstance – the view that one person has of what is going on is likely to be quite different from that of another" (pp. 153-154). This differentiation in perception according to the social agents involved in an activity is called, in Goffman's terms, a *frame* or *framework*. Goffman (ibid) maintains that

> these frameworks are not merely a matter of mind but correspond in some sense to the way in which an aspect of the activity itself is organized – especially activity directly involving social agents. Organizational premises are involved, and these are something cognition somehow arrives at, not something cognition creates or generates. Given their understanding of what it is that is going on, individuals fit their actions to this understanding and ordinarily find that the ongoing world supports this fitting. These organizational premises – sustained both in the mind and in activity – I call the frame of the activity (p. 158).

From an SFL perspective, Halliday and Mathiessen (ibid.) maintain that "[t]he most fundamental types of speech role, which lie behind all the more specific types that we may eventually be able to recognize, are just two: (i) **giving** and (ii) **demanding"** (p. 107). These types may constitute the exchange of (a) **goods-& services** or (b) **information,** which in turn "define the four primary speech functions of **offer**, **command**, **statement** and **question"** (ibid. p. 108-109, see also Ghio & Fernández, 2005). The speech functions are matched with a set of expected or discretionary responses as can be seen in table 3.2 below. The expected and discretionary responses will be observed in this study. In relation to the field of pragmatics, the closest classification relevant to this study would be that of *directives* (Levinson, 1983, p. 240), which again, as will be demonstrated, may take many forms. Similarly, the perlocutionary act, consequences or effects (Austin, 1962, pp. 101-132; Searle, 1969, p. 25) of directives (discourse in this study) will be observed

.

Initiation	Response	
	Expected	**Discretionary**
Offer	Acceptance	Rejection
Command	Undertaking	Refusal
Statement	Acknowledgement	Contradiction
Question	Answer	Disclaimer

Table 3.2: Speech functions (Adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 108)

Referring back to multimodal analysis and its relationship with the interpersonal metafunction, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), maintain that

> [a]ny semiotic mode has to be able to project the relations between the **producer** [my stress] of a (complex) sign, and the **receiver/reproducer** [my stress] of that sign. That is, any mode has to be able to represent a particular social relation between the producer, the viewer and the object represented (p. 42).

Kress and van Leeuwen stress the fact that different "modes offer an array of choices for representing different 'interpersonal' relations" (p. 42). These modes may consist of visual images, diagrams, or linguistic texts among others. I consider this approach to be very significant for the analysis of multimodal texts such as those concerning this study.

The interpersonal metafunction in English is realized grammatically by the systems of mood and modality. Ghio and Fernández (2005, pp. 102-106), based mainly on Halliday (1985 [1994]), offer a grammatical SFL perspective of Spanish, whereby the same systems are applied; however, more research and work is necessary in order to determine whether this is indeed the case.

> Butt et al. (2000) maintain that

> [w]henever speakers assert their propositions they put them up for agreement or disagreement by their hearers. In any discussion, argument or quarrel, it is the contents of the Mood Block which are at stake. This includes the Subject, the Finite and whether the proposition is positive or negative [polarity]" (pp. 110-111).

The Finite element is composed of verbal operators that express tense or modality (Halliday & Mathiessen, ibid., p. 111). "[T]he Mood element has a clearly defined semantic function: it carries the burden of the clause as an **interactive event** [my stress]" (ibid., p. 120). This is the case with finite clauses. In Spanish, from an SFL perspective, according to Teruya, K., Akerejola, E., Andersen, T. H., Kaffarel, A., Lavid, J., Mathiessen, C.M.I.M., Petersen, U. H., Patpong, P. and Smedegaard, F. (2007), the Subject, the Predicator and the Finite are the main elements that a clause contains for "dialogic exchange" (p. 892). The subject may be realized in the clause by "a nominal group with an independent personal pronoun or a lexical noun as Head…or it may be marked in the morphology of the verbal group in terms of person and number" (ibid.). The subject, when recoverable from context may be implicit. "The Predicator always contains a lexical verb realizing a process. The element that grounds this process in tense, modality and polarity is realized by that is called

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Finite" (Teruya et al., ibid., see also Gutiérrez, 2007, pp. 7-9). It is important to bear in mind Gutiérrez's observation regarding Spanish. She asserts that both the clause mood (subject and finite) and the verbal mood (indicative, subjunctive and imperative) are realized by the same lexicogrammatical units, the verbal inflections (ibid., p. 157).

From an SFL perspective, in English, certain grammatical forms are not considered to be open to debate or argument. This is the case of infinitives and participles. Butt et. al (2000) maintain that forms without a Subject "are not open to debate or argument, nor tied to a relationship of the here and now" (pp. 97, 113), However, I believe these forms may be open to argument (See White, 2003, below), at least in Spanish, as the analysis will show.

3.3.5.2. On Modality

Speakers indicate definite *yes* (positive polarity) and *no* (negative polarity) positions through the system of polarity in the finite verbal operators. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) assert that "The positive /negative opposition is one that is fairly certain to be grammaticalized in every language, in association with the clause as proposition or proposal. Typically the positive clause is formally unmarked, while the negative is realized by some additional element" (p. 143).

However, when speakers do not want to signal a definite *yes* or a definite *no* in their messages, they look for a position between the two. "These intermediate degrees, between the positive and negative poles, are known collectively as modality. What the modality system does is to construe the region of uncertainty that lies between 'yes' and 'no'" (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004, p. 147). According to Butt et al. (ibid.), speakers express modality by "changing the configuration of the Mood Block in some way... and it [modality] has its own metalanguage" (p. 113).

Modality in English and in Spanish refers to the expression of probability, usuality, typicality, obviousness, **obligation** (object of this study) and inclination (See Ghio & Fernández, 2005, pp. 111-114; Halliday & Mathiessen, ibid., pp. 146-150). White (2003), inspired by Bakhtin and Volosinov, argues that intersubjective linguistic resources such as **modality** [my stress]**,** polarity, and hedging among others should be treated as "fundamentally dialogic or interactive" (p. 260) in order to discover how "relations of status, power, social contact and solidarity are construed in text" (ibid.). He goes on to say that it is necessary to explore the lexico-grammatical choices to know how authorial personae are built, and by what means texts construct for themselves intended, ideal or model readerships (ibid., p. 260). It is important to notice that in this dialogicality White takes into account both conditions of production and reception of the text; this is why I consider that in Spanish, infinitives, for example, may be open to debate in the sense that when used to express obligation or

prohibition rules, recipients may choose to comply or not with the rules, or even to contest them.. Finally, Halliday (1994, pp. 88-92) refers to the scales of modality of inclination and obligation as modulation, and maintains that modulation can be realized in two ways, by a finite modal operator, or by an expansion of the Predicator (typically by a passive verb).

Giltrow (2005), who has examined *epistemic modals* (modalization) and *deontic modals* (modulation) expressing obligation in research genres, asserts that "deontic modals…should, must, ought to, have to – spring from or answer to social/moral perspectives on experience, behaviors, and events. They [modals] have been described, in various ways, as involving forms of social authority…what is obligatory, permitted, or forbidden" (ibid., pp.174, 175).

According to the statistical/quantitative analysis carried out by Gutiérrez (2007) through the exploration of a corpus and the calculation of probabilistic variation in order to identify the lexicogrammatical realizations of obligation in Spanish, modality of obligation is expressed by six lexicogrammatical choices which are:

1. Imperative Mood

2. Modal configurations (e.g. tener que + inf., deber de + inf.)

3. Adjectives introduced within the context of a relational clause (e.g. es necesario…)

4. Adverbs (e.g. obligatoriamente)

5. Configurations with an obligatory nature verb (e.g. sugerir, autorizar)

6. Interrogative Mood in the clause (p. 10-18) (e.g. ¿puedes + inf….?)

Teruya et al. (2007) categorize the imperative mood in Spanish into two subtypes: *optative* and *directive,* where the optative is used for "enacting wishes", and the directive "includes the core 'jussive' type of imperative, the addressee-oriented type and also the 'suggestive' type, which is oriented towards both addressee and speaker, embodying both a command … and an offer" (p. 895). The structures of these types will be discussed as they are encountered in the analysis Both Teruya et al's and Gutiérrez's contribution will serve as references to analyze obligation and prohibition in Spanish.

3.3.5.3. On Tenor

In SFL, the context of situation in which a text is produced is modeled by the construct known as *register*. "In SFL, register analysis is organized by metafunction into field, tenor and mode. The dimension concerned with relationships between interactants is known as **tenor"** (Martin & Rose, 2003, pp. 242-243). Halliday and Hasan (1989) maintain that

> the TENOR OF DISCOURSE refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech roles they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved? [*sic*] (p. 12).

Whereas Painter (2001) maintains that "[t]he most obvious dimension of tenor concerns power relations, determined by the relative status of the interactants" (p. 174), Martin and Rose (2003) assert that the "key variables in tenor are power and solidarity, the vertical and horizontal dimensions of **interpersonal** [my stress] relations" (p. 248) (See also 3.3.6 below). From the above, it is clear how the interpersonal metafunction at the language level is interwoven with tenor at the register level. Halliday and Hasan (1989) conclude "the tenor is expressed through the interpersonal function in the semantics**"** (ibid. p. 25) (see table 3.1 above).The various dimensions of tenor signal power relations, social distance and politeness, among others (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p. 631). These various dimensions of tenor will be discussed in each of the texts under analysis.

Having discussed the main issues of SFL concerning this study, I now turn to discuss the main issues of pragmatics related to this research.

3.3.6. On Politeness and Face

The construct of politeness is related to this study, especially in the analysis of tenor and the way text producers address text consumers. Brown and Levinson (1987) maintain that the main sociological factors that determine the level of politeness that a speaker/writer/producer will address his/her audience are those of: power (P), social distance (D) and ranking of the imposition when committing a face-threatening act (FTA). Brown and Levinson's (1987) work on face (based on Goffman, 1967), take into account power in asymmetrical relationships and provide an array of mitigating face threatening acts to show solidarity, especially when employing positive politeness (pp. 103-129). Goffman and Brown and Levinson's work has been critiqued for considering a rather static and individualistic nature of interaction exchanges (Arundale, 2006; Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003), and for not taking into account the social, joint co-construction in interaction. Arundale (2006) maintains that "face is a relational and an interactional, rather than an individual phenomenon, in that the social self is interactionally achieved in relationships with others" (p. 193). In this study, however, the constructs of power, social distance, ranking and solidarity will be taken into account when analyzing tenor, without neglecting the social interactional aspects of texts.

When considering politeness at the workplace, Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (2006) maintain that the first factor to take into account is "the nature of politeness itself and its possible variations in settings where interpersonal behaviour is also affected by specific situational and institutional **norms** [my stress] and practices" (p. 7). They go on to say that politeness is one of the factors that is always at play either in face to face or in mediated encounters in an institutional social order. In fact, the nature of politeness in this study is

related to norms (obligation and prohibition), power (institutional), social distance (between addressor and addressee) respect (e.g. address forms), and face (e.g. how to carry out an FTA) among others, expressed in various semiotic modes.

In conclusion, as Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (2006) maintain,

> politeness is most productively analyzed not as a system or a normative set of prescripts but as a social practice which is both dynamic and interactive, with variability seen as a positive component that builds into human communication a capacity for social and cultural negotiation and change (p. 12).

This variability will be noted when analyzing the texts in Mexican Spanish. One example can be the use of address forms *usted* vs. *tú.* and the various ways in which they indicate social distance and power relations.

3.3.7. On Ethnography and Institutional Discourse Analysis

In section 2.3.11, we (Castineira & Witten) advocate a *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) approach to studying texts from a multimodal critical perspective, taking into account aspects of context (historical, political, institutional) as well as all meaning making resources. Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski (2008) similarly, call for an ethnographic approach to discourse analysis. They maintain that it is necessary to gather as much background knowledge of the field under study as possible

> [i]n the case of formal organizations, this could be information on the organization's history, on its structures, practices and routines, on key groups and their conflicts, on core concepts used within the organization and their meanings, on **latent rules** [my stress] and so on. (p. 191)

Based on Wimer and Vining (2004), Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski (2008) continue by saying that "[o]n one end of an ideal continuum, ethnography might be employed as an element of the process of gathering discourse material, that is the researcher contacts and interviews people in the field " (ibid., p. 186) in order to collect documents that are not accessible otherwise. I have collected the texts I had access to, however, this study also utilizes *in situ* interviews both with library staff and with library users in order to deepen the understanding of the discourses of obligation and prohibition and to determine whether the users comply with the rules or not. Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski (ibid.) go on to say that "[t]he *observation of behaviour* (and of the settings in which it takes place) will often be an important part of the study of practices in organizations" (p. 186). My observations of the setting and pictures taken play a very important role in this study, as they are part of the description of context, as well as of the strategic placement the texts under analysis occupy. As will be seen, this ethnographic component will add *ecological validity* (Cicourel, 2007) to this study.

The analysis of setting, placement of the texts, as well as visuals included in the selected texts correspond to the field of visual semiotics. Scollon and Scollon (2003) observe

that "the understanding of the visual semiotic systems at play in any particular instance relies crucially on an ethnographic understanding of the meanings of these systems within specific communities of practice" (p. 160). In this particular case, the social practices at the LEMO library as community of practice have been taken into consideration in order to fully understand the analyzed texts.

Having outlined the main theoretical bases of this study, and which serve as tools to fill out the spaces within Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework (See Figure 2.3), I now turn to discuss the methodology used in this investigation. It is however, important to bear in mind again at this point the research questions posed in section 3.1

- What type of texts (genres) are utilized by the LEMO library to communicate to its users institutional policies regarding the functioning of the library?
- How is obligation expressed in these texts?
- How is prohibition expressed in these texts?
- Is there an interconnection between the discourses of obligation and prohibition? If so, how is it expressed?
- Do library users comply with the institutional policies stated in the analyzed texts?

3.4 Methodology

In this section, I discuss the data collection and the text selection processes of this study . I then analyze the data and discuss the results obtained. Each text will be discussed in terms of background, emplacement, composition (See 2.3.10.5), and linguistic textualization, followed by a discussion of tenor. At the end of this section, I include an ethnographic component which deals with the reception of the six selected texts.

3.4.1. Data collection process and text selection

Once the pragmatic space was decided, pictures of signs in the library were taken and documents concerning its functioning were collected. For the purposes of this study, six multimodal texts pertaining to three different genres (See 2.3.6 for a discussion on genre) were selected. It is important to bear in mind that

> [t]he speaker's [producer's] speech [text] will is manifested primarily in the *choice of a particular speech genre.* This choice is determined by the specific nature of the given sphere of speech communication, semantic (thematic) considerations, the concrete situation of the speech communication, the personal composition of its participants, and so on (Bakhtin, 1999, p. 126).

The principle for selection of the texts was from generality to specificity of audience. That is, texts directed at all library users inside and outside the library, texts for in-library users and a text directed at a particular user. This selection was made in order to delineate possible patterns, differences and/or similarities in areas such as modality, linguistic

textualization and tenor. It is important to bear in mind that the linguistic texts under analysis belong to a Mexican Spanish dialect. The following texts were selected:

Text 1: Protocol (Reglamento). Regulations for all library users (internal and external) (focus on obligation and prohibition).

Text 2: Notice (Aviso) to in-library users (focus on obligation)

Text 3: Notice (Aviso) to in-library users (focus on prohibition)

Text 4: Notice (Aviso) to in-library users (focus on obligation)

Text 5: Notice (Aviso) to in-library users (focus on prohibition)

Text 6: Memo (Oficio) to an individual user (focus on obligation)

3.5. Analysis and Findings

As previously mentioned, the analysis of the texts in this section will include details of the background of the texts, in particular referring to the social purpose the producers intended to fulfill when producing them. Emplacement is also important in an analysis of this type. Scollon and Scollon (2003) refer to emplacement in place semiotics as to where in the physical world a text is situated so that it has semiotic meaning. For example, a mat with the word *welcome* at the entrance of a house is a text with situated semiotic meaning. Emplacement is crucial to situated semiotics that includes "such common regulatory signs or notices as directions to the train in a metro system or an exit sign" (Scollon & Scollon, ibid., p. 146, see also 2.3.10.6). Emplacement will be important when analyzing the strategic place that the texts under analysis occupy. Another important feature to be analyzed is the composition (See also 2.3.10.5) of the texts with their different modes. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) relate composition to the representational and interactive meanings of any multimodal text. Composition is achieved by three interrelated systems according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, p. 177):

- *Information value.* Refers to the placement of the elements in a text which provides them with specific information values according to the *zones* of the text.
- *Salience.* Refers to the elements in a text which are made to attract the viewer's attention according to size, color and difference in sharpness among others.
- *Framing.* This refers to framing devices such as lines or frames meant to connect or disconnect elements within a text.

This study will concentrate to a larger extent on the language of the text, as previously mentioned, without excluding other semiotic modes. The linguistic text will be analyzed in

detail in terms of the interpersonal metafunction, paying special attention to mood and modality. An analysis *beyond the clause* is not part of the objective of this study, however it is carried out when necessary. A discussion of each text in terms of tenor will follow the linguistic analysis. Finally, an ethnographic component regarding the reception of the six texts under analysis will be presented.

3.5.1 Text 1: Reglamento (Protocol) (Figure 3.3 below)

3.5.1.1. Background

This text belongs to the genre that Butt et al. (2000) refer to as *protocol* which consists of regulations for all library users (internal, meaning BUAP users, and external, meaning users from the community or other universities). According to Butt et al. (ibid.), in protocols, "we give instructions for conditions that are designed to remain in place simultaneously. We can think of these conditions as protocol governing our behaviour. Often such conditions turn up as sets of rules" (p. 236). The text under analysis is a list of rules covering a range of fields related to the use of the library.

3.5.1.2. Emplacement

This multimodal text is strategically placed at the entrance of the library, crossing the magnetic gate. Any user entering the library is able to see it on his/her left-hand side. Scollon and Scollon (2003) point out that the place that a sign/text occupies is fundamental for its semiotic analysis. They go on to say that "[T]he first consideration is whether or not a particular place in the world is expected to have semiotic systems" (p. 142); these semiotic systems are taken in this study as meaning making resources. The particular place where this text is located provides it with prominence as the first text library users view. The same protocol is placed at the reception facing the users who are seated at their tables.

3.5.1.3. Composition

This text may be divided into two parts: the upper part and the main body of the text. In the upper part we find on the left hand side the coat of arms of the BUAP, on the right hand side the logo of the LEMO, both in colors. This may be considered in Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) compositional terms, as a polarized given/new form, where the BUAP is the given and the LEMO the new element (pp. 179-185). In the middle of the upper part, in bold capital letters, we find the names of the institutions involved in this protocol in descending order. The BUAP occupies the highest rank, the LEMO direction the middle rank, and the LEMO library the lowest rank. It may be said that the piece of the linguistic text in the bold and largest font separates or frames (See 2.3.10.5) the upper part with the main body of the text. The main body of the text is presented as a list which covers 11 different points, which are numbered. The whole linguistic text is written in capital letters, which is not

unusual in this context. One exception constitutes the part that reads: - Facultad de Lenguas - which is presented in the same form it appears in the Faculty logo. In terms of materiality, the whole text is fixed on a piece of wood which is covered with lacquer. This materialiaty, together with the official upper part with the logos makes the text more durable and more authoritative than the rest of the texts under analysis, as will be seen from the discussion below.

The reading path of the text is quite linear for the reader. Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid.) maintain that "[i]n densely printed pages of text, reading is linear and strictly coded. Such texts must be read the way they are designed to be read – from left to right and from top to bottom, line by line" (p. 204). Although this may be the case in this text, the reader/viewer also has the option to skim the text and scan for the specific information s/he is seeking. For example, how many books s/he is allowed to borrow. In terms of salience, the upper part with colors and bold capital letters attracts the eye of the viewer immediately. Finally, it is important to mention that in the background of the text, we can observe some symbols in light yellow, pink and blue colors that resemble the LEMO logo. This may be taken as an indication of the authority of the LEMO underlying the protocol.

3.5.1.4 Linguistic Text

First, the whole purpose of the text is expressed in the heading **PARA PRÉSTAMO A DOMICILIO Y ACCESO A LA BIBLIOTECA** (FOR LONG-TERM LENDING AND LIBRARY ACCESS). The purpose of the text is expressed by a prepositional phrase. An English translation of the protocol is included in Appendix E. Every effort has been made to keep to the grammar of the original Spanish text in the English textualization. I will utilize the terms rules/regulations interchangeably when referring to the norms that LEMO library users need to comply with.

1. PARA IDENTIFICACIÓN (FOR IDENTIFICATION). This rule on the protocol seems to work semantically as the title since having an ID is necessary in order to use the library. An elided verbal form might be inferred here. The text then is divided into two parts A) and B) where the types of ID accepted in the library are specified. Students have a restricted choice between two types of ID (A), however, external users and alumni (B) do not have a choice. Interestingly, there is no mention of teachers. Whereas teachers may be implied in (A), and show a BUAP ID, they do not have a self-access center ID. Teachers may also present their official IFE (Instituto Federal Electoral) ID in which case they fall into the *external c*ategory. Teachers then have a restricted choice which is not specified.

2. This rule makes use of the Spanish modal verb *poder* (can) in future passive voice, followed by the infinitive *disponer* (make use of). In Spanish, modal/auxiliary verbs are conjugated and have person, number and tense as in the case *se podrá*, which is in the third person singular. The *poder + infinitive* structure is considered by some Spanish grammarians as *perífrasis verbal* (verbal periphrasis) (See Alcina & Blecua, 2001; Marchante, 2005). This form of passive is known as the *impersonal reflexive* with no grammatical subject (See De Bruyne, 1995, p.460). Therefore, obligation is represented here by an impersonal reflexive passive form.

3. This rule makes the same use of the impersonal reflexive passive form, with the verb *poder*. It is important to note that the *poder + infinitive* structure is a very common resource in Spanish to express permission, suggestion, advice, capability, prohibition, and possibility among others (See Marchante, 2005). It can be noticed that one of the functions of the modal *poder* is to express modality.

4. The use of the future tense in this rule operates semantically and pragmatically as a command. Lozano (1990) maintains that certain future expressions

> such as those used in the Ten Commandments, are also examples of deontic modality. A higher religious, moral or legal authority expresses such commands. The individual knows that *No matarás* (Thou shalt not kill) and *No robarás* (Thou shalt not steal) are not merely expressions of future time, but commands which must be obeyed (p. 1120)

Similarly, in Article 3 of the Mexican Constitution (Constitución Política Mexicana, 2008), eight paragraphs which concern the purpose and nature of public education are written in future tense. "Not only is the language of this Article introduced in the form of the future expressing deontic modality, but all of the following eight paragraphs are also expressed with this «volitive» future" (Lozano, 1990, p. 1120). For example, 'II. El criterio que *orientará* a esa educación *se basará* en los resultados del progreso científico, *luchará* contra la ignorancia y sus efectos… (p. 3) (II. The criterion that *will orient* such education *will be based* on the results of scientific progress, *will fight* against ignorance and its effects…). Future tenses are presented in italics both in the Spanish and the English versions. "[A]ll of these stipulations, expressed in future form, have the force of law" (Lozano, ibid., p. 1120).

5. This rule contains more information than the previous rules. It is composed of three clause complexes. The first clause complex consists of a dependent clause indicating condition. This clause is followed by the main clause. Obligation is expressed in the main clause by the use of impersonal reflexive passive form in present plural *se disponen* (make use); this plural agrees in number with the prepositional phrase *de tres horas* (of three hours),

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which is a circumstantial adjunct. It is important to note that the impersonal reflexive passive can only be used in the third person singular or plural (See Gili, 1993, pp. 127, 128). The third clause complex also expresses obligation by another impersonal reflexive in future plural. Gili (ibid.) asserts that

> *se* is a sign of both passive and impersonal meanings, but there is no doubt that the sentence is passive, because the subject agrees with the verb [disponen, pagarán]. If the subject is singular, the verb will be singular… [these forms] should not be confused with the impersonal active, since the agreement with the verb ensures the passive character of the subject (ibid. p. 128)

6. This rule expresses obligation by making use of the modal *deber* (must, have to) in future tense: DEBERÁ (WILL HAVE TO), plus a passive infinitive form, which is formed by the verb *ser* (to be) and the participle of the verb *reponer*, SER REPUESTO POR EL USUARIO (BE REPLACED BY THE USER). It is important to note that the verbs *deber* and *poder* can only be followed by an infinitive form, not admitting a direct object, which gives them a particular character in Spanish (Alcina & Blecua, 2001, p. 990). The subject of this clause is *el material* (the material). This form stresses the importance and value of the material in the library and imposes obligation on the agent (the user).

7. This rule imposes obligation on the user by the use of two clause complexes in a linking relation of parataxis (See Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004, p. 385-6), indicating two commands. The first clause expresses obligation by the infinitive GUARDAR SILENCIO (TO KEEP SILENCE) which Teruya et al. (2007) consider as a type of informal imperative (p. 896). The second could either be taken as an infinitive reflexive form COMPORTARSE (TO BEHAVE ONESELF), or as *voz media* (middle voice) which are reflexive forms that are obligatory in certain verbs in Spanish (Alcina & Blecua, ibid., pp. 911-916) such as *comportarse*. At any rate, both infinitives impose obligation on the users.

8. This is the first rule that imposes prohibition on the user in this protocol. Two clause complexes in a linking relation of parataxis (See Halliday & Mathiessen, ibid., p. 385-6) are used, imposing two commands. The first clause expresses prohibition by the use of the negative polarity infinitive NO INTRODUCIR (TO NOT INTRODUCE), whereas the second by the impersonal reflexive infinitive ABSTENERSE (TO ABSTAIN ONESELF), which has a semantically negative nature. This is another case where the verb calls for a reflexive form (See Alcina & Blecua, 2001., pp. 911-916).

9. This is the second rule which imposes prohibition. It makes use of the negative polarity infinitive NO HACER (TO NOT MAKE). As mentioned, infinitives can impose obligation and may be considered as an informal type of imperative (Teruya et. al, 2007. p. 896).

10. This rule consists of a clause complex. The main independent clause indicates obligation by the use of the modal adjunct UNICAMENTE (ONLY) that expresses intensity (Halliday & Matthiessen, ibid., p. 355). and the reflexive passive in future tense SE REALIZARÁ (WILL BE DONE), followed by the dependent clause that contains what in Spanish is called *gerundio* PRESENTANDO (PRESENTING) which does not correspond to the gerund in English employed as a noun. In this case, the *gerundio*, although impersonal, is addressed to the user. It indicates an obligation/condition which has to do with time. Alcina and Blecua (ibid., pp. 747-753) maintain that the *gerundio* is one of the most controversial forms in Spanish; however it possesses certain fundamental characteristics, it has a durative aspect but it does not express tense by itself, but denotes tense by extension of the dominant verb, in this case *se realizará*. This means that the *gerundio* depends on the tense of the main clause.

11. This rule seems to impose obligation both on the library user and on the library staff. It consists of a clause complex where the main (independent) clause makes use of the future tense of the modal verb *deber* + infinite, which pragmatically and semantically operates as a command: EL USUARIO DEBERÁ DEJAR (THE USER MUST LEAVE) (See rule 4 above). In the dependent clause, which imposes obligation on the library staff, the subject of the clause is indicated by the nominal group EL PERSONAL RESPONSABLE (THE LIBRARY STAFF) followed by the subjunctive form COLOQUE (PLACE). In both cases the verbs agree in person and number with the subject of the clauses. There is an additional indication of obligation in the dependent clause, which is carried by the adverb CORRECTAMENTE (CORRECTLY). It is important to mention again that in Mexican Spanish the generic *he* is still used.

3.5.1.5. Discussion of Tenor

In terms of tenor, the above protocol expresses a distant relationship between the institution and the reader/viewer by the use of various lexicogrammatical forms such as the impersonal reflexive passive voice, future structures acting as imperatives, modal verbs, middle voice, modal adjuncts and subjunctives, among others. These forms seem highly modulated, allowing no choice to the user, thus marking the role of the institution as rule-maker and the role of the users as rule-compliers. (See 3.3.3 above). However, these somehow indirect lexicogrammatical choices indicating obligation/prohibition may be considered typical in rules, instructions and general advice. As Halliday and Mathiessen note when referring to the use of indicative forms expressing commands, "[t]hese 'indicative' variants provide a range of more delicate ways of commanding…examples of *you should* as the Mood element are typically milder versions of a command…" (p. 633). The user has little

or no agency or *"human capacity to act"* (Ahearn, 1999, p. 12) against the regulations. Furthermore, his/her non-compliance to the rule can be penalized (e.g. rules 4, 6). Tolchinsky and Rosado (2005) found that certain constructions in Spanish such as *se-passives* and *se-middles* downgrade agency, as is also the case of some of the structures analyzed in this text.

As the previous analysis shows, there exist various grammatical and semantic forms to express obligation and prohibition, such as modal verbs, *gerundio*, infinitives, and middle voice among others. The effectiveness of writing a protocol depends on how the writer has presented precise information and taken account of the audience (But et al., 2000, p. 237). The effectiveness of this particular protocol is reinforced by the use of visuals and colors and its position in salient spots of the library. I believe this protocol achieves its social purpose of presenting rules and regulations for the use of the library by making the tenor acceptable to its audience (distant relationship). Lozano (1990) points out that "deontic modality serves the purpose of giving instructions and command concerning everyday activities, but this modality also serves to express different types of obligation perceived as emanating from a higher authority" (p. 1119)

It is interesting to note that from the eleven rules, there are only two cases of expressed prohibition, the rest of the rules indicate obligation. Also noticeable is the absence of imperatives, probably due to the fact that the rules and regulations are not addressed to a specific individual (See Teruya et. al.ibid., pp. 895-896), but to the library users in general.

Figure 3.3: Text 1: Protocol

3.5.2. Text 2: Notice (Aviso) (Figure 3.4)

3.5.2.1. Background

In order to avoid book theft**,** and confusion with the users' belongings, the LEMO has established that library users are only allowed to take a notebook and a pen into the library. This is an unwritten rule, since there is no written document indicating this policy. Before entering the library users must leave their belongings in a locker. To be able to use the locker, users must ask the librarian for a key which they return to the librarian after they have locked up their belongings. Then, users can make use of the library and after they have finished, users must ask the librarian for the respective key, pick up their belongings and return the key again to the librarian.

The text under analysis refers to the above mentioned procedure. The text belongs to the genre of notices whereby the text producers draw the attention of the viewer to a particularly important issue.

3.5.2.2. Emplacement

As can be seen in Appendix F this notice is situated below the library's general rules and regulations. It is visible to users entering the library on their left hand side before and after crossing the magnetic gate. The notice is strategically placed on a column of the library counter so that users entering the library must look at it.

This notice presents a combination of *endophoric* (internal) and *exophoric* (external) situatedness, as will be discussed. Scollon and Scollon (2003) note that

> [i]n one type of sign, notices, there is normally an element of exophoric indexicality which links the internal semiotics of the sign to the external emplacement of the sign in the geosemiotic world. 'Exophoric' is a linguistic term meaning 'indexing something outside the text (p. 153).

The icon in the text pointing at the linguistic text creates a vector, with the word *Recuerda* (Remember). As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) point out, "[t]wo objects may be represented as involved in a process of interaction which could be visually realized by vectors" (p. 42, See also 2.3.10.5). The relationship between the icon and the linguistic texts presents endophoric situatedness since the icon points to an element inside the text, whereas the whole text refers to a specific place in the library indexing a place outside of the text. Scollon and Scollon (ibid.) continue, saying that "notices such as those for restrooms or no smoking regions similarly mark points outside of the frame of the sign within the geosemiotic world which is being indexed" (p. 153). This notice indexes, among other, 'this is the counter where you leave and pick up your key'.

3.5.2.3 Composition

The notice is made of green color paper and placed inside a plastic folder. It seems this notice was made on a computer by the library staff. The most salient elements are the icon on the left as well as the central upper linguistic text that reads: **AVISO** (**NOTICE**). This salience is determined by the use of black color on the icon and the bold and capital letters in the center part. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) maintain that elements or participants in a text "are made to attract the viewer's attention to different degrees, as realized by such factors as placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in…colour, differences in sharpness, etc" (p. 177). Lemke (1999) stresses that "visual salience is one of the usual semiotic realizations of evaluations of Importance" (p. 39). The rest of the linguistic text is written in upper and lower case letters.

The notice is a combination of an icon (left hand side of the text), an index within the icon, and symbols (linguistic text). Scollon and Scollon (2003) explain that an icon is a picture of the real world represented by a sign (p. 26). In this case, the icon is a representation of a human being. The representation of the left hand of the 'humanized' icon may be

considered an index since it indicates direction, similar to an arrow (See Scollon & Scollon, ibid. pp. 26, 27).

3.5.2.4 Linguistic Text

This notice has a succinct, straight to the point linguistic text which has a heading that reads AVISO (NOTICE), which announces the type of genre and its social purpose, to prepare the viewers to read specific, important information according to their frames of reference. Tannen (1993) points out that the notion of expectations underlie discussions about frames. She states that

> in order to function in the world, people cannot treat each new person, object, or event as unique and separate. The only way we can make sense of the world is to see connections between things, and between present things and things we have experienced before or heard about (pp. 14-15).

The linguistic text reads *recuerda dejar la llave del casillero en el módulo al entrar y al salir* (Remember to leave the key to the locker at the counter as you enter and leave). The use of the imperative (recuerda) second person singular seems to address directly a particular user, a student, or any student. In Spanish, the imperative form has number and person. (See Lozano, pp. 1118-1119) This form of address (tu vs. usted) is used in Mexico either when an older person addresses a younger person, a person with higher status addresses a person of lower status regardless of age, or two people from the same age and status address each other. The first two cases seem to apply in this notice where the institution addresses students, not teachers who can take their belongings with them into the library. This lexicogrammatical choice clearly marks the social distance between writer and addressee. As Halliday and Matthiessen point out, "[t]he semiotic distance is often manifested directly in the lexicogrammar as a syntagmatic extension of the wording" (ibid., p. 631) Lozano (1990) maintains that "the imperative is the «unmarked» example of deontic modality, since it is unambiguous and as such expresses only one grammatical [pragmatic] meaning" (p. 1119), that of a command.

3.5.2.5 Discussion of Tenor

So far, regarding text production, the two analyzed texts seem to come from two different institutional sources, the first text is more official, concerning general rules and regulations, where the presence of the BUAP coat of arms and the LEMO logo makes the text more formal. The second text, however, which is more informal and less durable seems to be made by the library staff and relates to the internal functioning of this specific library. .

The above analyzed text, may seem informal and viewer-friendly (use of color, presence of icon) in terms of tenor (Halliday and Hasan, 1989; Martin & Rose, 2003; Painter, 2002). However, the presence of the imperative in the second person singular clearly indicates

a power relation from higher to lower rank. This notice is directed to students (younger people), since the library staff addresses teachers with the formal form of address *usted*. Finally, there seems to be a distant relation between library staff and library users. This seems to be a case of visual and grammatical intertextuality, where the visual calls for a close relationship and the grammatical for a distant relationship.

It is worth indicating that at the moment of writing, this text has been removed from its original place and accommodated against the wall at the left-hand side of users facing the reception desk librarian. I take this *re-placing* as an indication of how we can see certain texts and discourses as *wandering texts* or *wandering discourses* which probably means that they can achieve their social purposes from different places.

Figure 3.4: Text 2: Notice

3.5.3 Text 3: Notice (Aviso) (Figure 3.5)

3.5.3.1. Background

Even though this text does not have a title, its format and linguistic text makes the viewer recognize it in genre terms as a notice (See discussion on genre in 2.3.6). The *generic integrity* (Bhatia, 2004) of a text makes the viewer/reader become aware of its genre because it has a "recognizable structural identity" (Candlin & Hyland, 1999, p. 6). As text 2, this text also belongs to the internal functioning of the library. However, this type of text can also be found in classrooms, factories, museums and other type of public places where food is restricted to certain areas.

Interestingly, at the time of writing, this notice has disappeared. A few weeks after starting this study, I came to the realization that the notice had disappeared from its original place, therefore a better picture could not be obtained. One of the librarians was asked where the text was and she answered that students had smudged it with a marker and it had to be removed and thrown away. I take the smudging of the picture on the part of the students as a protest, or as a *contratextual* (Martin, 1986) act, where there is a debate between the producers and the recipients. According to Cranny-Francis and Martin (1992), *contratextuality* refers to "the way in which expository texts…construct oppositional relation…and opposing discourses" (p. 286). They go on to say that from a Bakhtinian perspective, contratextuality can be "interpreted as a kind of dialogism in which voices mix not simply as a pluralistic expression of difference, but rather as an expression of ideological tensions centering around direct negotiation of power" (ibid, p. 286). Clearly, there was tension between the institutional rule that prohibits users to eat in the library and the students who opposed this rule, demonstrating their opposition by smudging the text. Lemke (1999) adds that contratextuality shows "direct political resistance to authority manifest in a heteroglossically opposed discourse" (p. 41).

This analysis is then made in absence of the text. However, it is important to note that when doing discourse analysis, the analyst needs to see what is and what is not in the text. As Candlin and Maley (1997) point out, we need to look at "the semantic and linguistic exclusions, the meanings that are unwelcome and non-functional" (p. 202-203) in a particular context. Clearly, a smudged text containing a prohibition was *unwelcome* in this institutional setting. For these reasons, the text will be analyzed *in absentia.*

3.5.3.2. Emplacement

This text was stuck with tape on to a wooden side of the reception desk (See Appendix G). It faced the main part of the library, so that users sitting at the library tables and facing the counter could not fail to see it. The reception desk, as can be inferred, serves multiple functions, one of them being that of a bulletin board. I believe the strategic placing of the text in question made it more vulnerable for users to contest it.

3.5.3.3. Composition

This notice shares certain characteristics with Text 2. It is made within the library on a computer. It is printed on orange color paper, which makes the notice particularly salient to the eyes of the viewer. Although it does not contain a title, it clearly belongs to the genre of notices. The text presents a polarized composition, divided into the top part and the bottom part. The top part, considered the *Ideal* by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) contains the linguistic text, the "generalized essence of the information" (p. 187), the most salient part,

whereas the bottom part, the 'Real' contains a visual text that complements the linguistic text. The Real part is opposed to the Ideal "in that it presents more specific information (e.g. details), more 'down-to-earth' information (e.g. photographs as documentary evidence) (ibid.).

3.5.3.4. Linguistic Text

The linguistic text reads PROHIBIDO ENTRAR CON ALIMENTOS (IT IS FORBIDDEN TO ENTER WITH FOOD). The participle *prohibido* (forbidden) acts as an adjective in the singular, masculine form. The participle acts as an Attribute that follows the elided form *está* (it is), which is a common structure in this type of notice in Spanish. This type of Attribute seems to pertain to the semiotic domain of *desideration/obligation* (Halliday & Matthiessen, ibid., p. 223).The use of the masculine, singular also indicates an impersonal form. This is followed by the infinitive *entrar* (to enter, to take in), at the same time followed by the prepositional phrase *con alimentos* (with food) acting as a circumstantial adjunct.

Lozano (1990) indicates that modality of prohibition and obligation can be indicated semantically by the use of deontic verbs such as *obligar, permitir, prohibir, ordenar, mandar, pedir, necesitar, preferir, sugerir, rogar, querer, desear, esperar, insistir en,* and *impedir*.(p. 1119). These are also commonly known as volition verbs. Heras (2006) makes a more delicate distinction and places the above mentioned verbs as *verbos de influencia* (influence verbs) (p. 898-890) except for *querer* (want).

This very succinct notice has a very strong meaning semantically. The notice apparently does not allow the viewer with any choice but to comply with the prohibition, however as noted, it was *contratextualized*.

3.5.3.5 Discussion of Tenor

This particular text makes the discussion of tenor particularly interesting. As long as the text remained in its place, clearly the relationship between the institution as rule-maker and the library users as rule-compliers created an asymmetrical relation of power. However, the fact that users committed a contratextual act indicates that this relation of power can be reversed. A proof of this is the fact the notice had to be removed and until this moment it has not been replaced, which means that a text can be produced, consumed and/or contested. The social distance of the text and its consumers seemed to be distant and imposing. Finally, it seems this text did not achieve its social purpose by being contratextualized. However, to this moment, eating is not allowed in the library.

3.5.4. Text 4: Aviso (**Notice**) (Figure 3.6)

3.5.4.1. Background

This notice, as texts 2 and 3, refers to the internal functioning of the library. It is intended to indicate to users not to pile up books on the library tables, and to facilitate the librarians' job when putting away books. In the past, users were supposed to put away the books they had used, but this situation created confusion as books were often misplaced. With the implementation of the new system, the librarians now have to put away the consulted books.

3.5.4.2. Emplacement

There are various samples of the same text strategically placed in the LEMO library (See Appendix H) so that users can see them from any place they may be sitting or standing. They seem to have been stuck by the library staff in an informal manner with scotch tape, which makes them rather vulnerable, however they are placed at a height where they cannot easily be reached by users.

3.5.4.3. Composition

This is the case of another notice constructed within the library. It is made on white copy paper containing only linguistic text, which makes it quite monomodal. The whole linguistic text is written in capital letters. The word **AVISO** is placed at the top center page in bold capital letters providing the word with salience. This is followed below by the centered linguistic text RECUERDA QUE SOLO PUEDES TENER 3 LIBROS EN LA MESA, AVISA SI VAS A NECESITAR MAS ACERVO (REMEMBER YOU CAN ONLY HAVE 3

BOOKS ON THE TABLE, CALL IF YOU ARE GOING TO NEED MORE BOOKS). 3 LIBROS is highlighted in red; however, this seems to have been done by hand with a red marker in order to indicate salience. This makes the notice more informal. Salience is placed both on *aviso* (bold, black) and *3 libros* (bold, red) which seems to capture the gist of the message.

3.5.4.4. Linguistic Text

This notice indicates obligation by the use of various lexicogrammatical structures. First, there is an imperative in second person singular (*recuerda=remember*), in the informal form as addressing the viewer as *tú* as opposed to *usted*. This is a request/command in the form of a reminder. Second, the adverb *sólo* (only) which functions as a modal adjunct expressing intensity (Halliday & Matthiessen, ibid., p. 355). Third, the presence of the modal verb *puedes* (you can) which limits the action of the viewer followed by the infinitive form of the verb *tener* (have). The second part of the body of the linguistic text (separated by a preceding comma) starts again with another imperative *avisa* (call/notify) also directed to the viewer as *tú* to introduce the condition *si vas a necesitar más acervo*.

3.5.4.5 Discussion of Tenor

The tenor of this text, although informal, and to a certain extent friendly (reminder), clearly indicates an asymmetrical power relation between the producer (library staff) and the users who are addressed as *tú*, thus indicating the difference in rank between the producer and the consumer. Based on this, the relationship seems to become distant. It may be speculated that this notice did not achieve its social purpose at the beginning, hence the necessity to highlight *3 libros*.
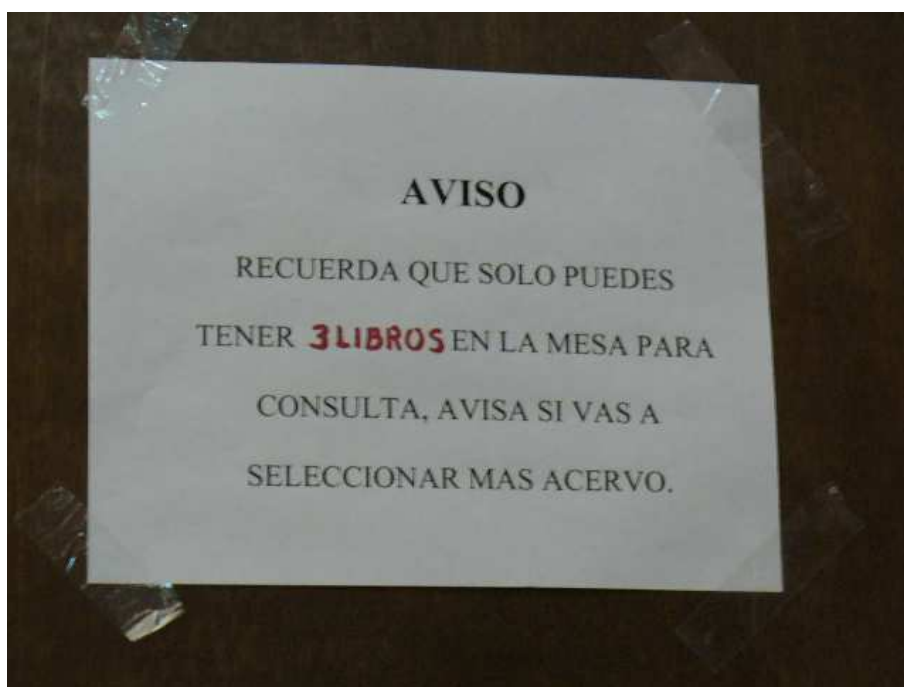
Figure 3.6: Text 4: Notice

3.5.5. Text 5: Aviso (Notice) (Figure 3.7)

3.5.5.1. Background

Since the library consists of two floors, each floor having its own classification of books, it is considered that in order to avoid mixing up the books between floors, they should not be removed from their respective floor. The reason why there are two different classifications is unknown, and as will be seen, is quite impractical. The library staff decided to place this notice to inform users that it is forbidden to take books from one floor onto another in order to avoid confusion.

3.5.5.2. Emplacement

As can be seen in Appendix I, this notice is strategically placed in between the ground floor and the first floor so that users going from one floor to another can look at it. The notice is stuck on the wall with scotch tape, next to the fire extinguisher, and seems vulnerable and rather old.

3.5.5.3. Composition

This is another example of a text constructed within the library. As the previous analyzed text, it looks rather informal, made on white copy paper in a computer, most probably by the library staff. The entire linguistic text is written in bold capital letters. At the top center of the page the word AVISO in bold red letters is read, giving salience to this word. The remaining linguistic text with smaller black font occupies the rest of the text.

3.5.5.4. Linguistic Text

The linguistic text in this notice reads: A MAESTROS Y ALUMNOS DE SALA DE LECTURA SE LES INFORMA QUE QUEDA ESTRICTAMENTE PROHIBIDO SUBIR LIBROS DE ESTA AREA. (TO TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF THE READING ROOM WE INFORM YOU THAT IT IS STRICTLY FORBIDDEN TO TAKE UPSTAIRS BOOKS FROM THIS AREA). First, it is interesting to note that whereas the previous notices do not specify the addressee, this notice is addressed particularly to teachers and students in the library. Moreover, teachers and students are addressed with the distant, impersonal structure of the middle voice *se les informa*. Then obligation is expressed by the passive present tense of the deontic verb *prohibir* (queda prohibido) and the adverb of manner *estrictamente* functioning as a circumstantial adjunct indicating quality (Halliday & Matthiessen, ibid., p. 355) The message is then completed by the prohibition itself (subir libros de ésta area).

3.5.5.5. Discussion of Tenor

In terms of tenor, this constitutes a strong message from the library as institution to the teachers and students of the LEMO. The asymmetrical relationship of power is clearly noticed especially by the use of the adverb *estrictamente*. The lexicogrammar of the text as well as the word *aviso* in red capital letters creates a distant relationship between participants. The social prohibitive purpose of the text is fulfilled by the strategic place of the text, its composition and the lexicogrammar. This notice seems to allow no choice to the viewer.
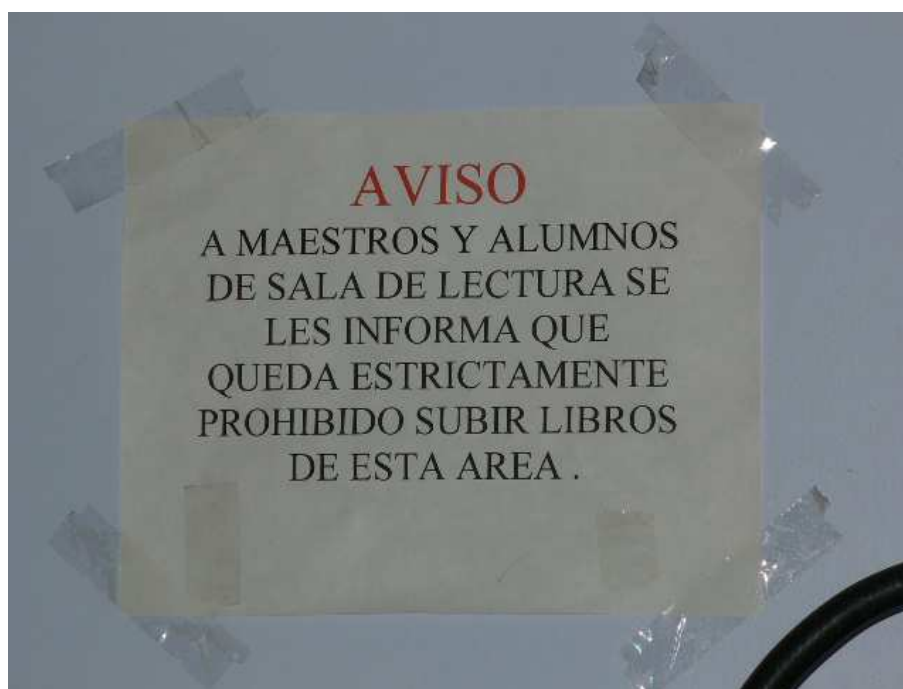
Figure 3.7: Text 5: Notice

3.5.6 Text 6: Oficio (Memo) (Text 3.8)

3.5.6.1. Background

This text belongs to the genre of memos (oficios), which in the BUAP have an internal use either within the university, or within a Faculty. This is the most usual way official circulation is accomplished. Lemke (1999) maintains that "[a]s media, memos, documents, and committee meetings all tend toward limited circulation of information" (p. 37). He goes on to say that such documents "must be circulated in order to have semiotic and material effects elsewhere" (ibid., p. 42). The analyzed *oficio* corresponds to those for internal use within the Faculty, from the Administrative Secretary intended to have effect on a particular teacher.

The LEMO library used to have its own policies and cataloguing system according to topics, for example, language acquisition, discourse analysis, and sociolinguistics. However, since the beginning of 2007 the central administration of the BUAP decided that all institutional libraries should use the same policies and cataloguing system, so the LEMO library went through a period of a rather chaotic change. Books which were borrowed had to be returned in order to have a whole inventory before entering the new system. The following *oficio* was addressed to a particular teacher (myself) in which the administrative secretary demanded that the borrowed books be returned. The usual manner of circulation of this type of text is through a secretary who delivers the *oficio* personally to the addressee who in turn has to sign a copy of the original as proof that s/he has received the document.

3.5.6.2. Emplacement

It can be said that this specific document has no particular *place in the world*, (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) it is not intended for public consumption, but for personal communication between the writer and the reader/viewer. A copy of the *oficio* is now most probably filed in the administrative secretariat's archives. As for the consumer, it is now being used for analysis taken from her personal files.

3.5.6.3. Composition

This text is written on the official letterhead paper of the Facultad de Lenguas of the BUAP. The text is divided into three parts which are marked by frames, or blue lines that run horizontally with the function of separating the various parts of the text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 203-4). The three parts are: the top, which contains in the center the linguistic text in blue: BENEMÉRITA UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE PUEBLA and below it FACULTAD DE LENGUAS, going from higher to lower rank institutional levels. These two also separated by a horizontal blue central line. On the left hand side there is the BUAP coat of arms in colors and on the right hand side the LEMO logo in its bright yellow,

blue and red colors. It is important to note that the coat of arms and the LEMO logo appear in the same order in the protocol analyzed above (text 1), which seems to be the normal order in official documents. The second part constitutes the body of the text, which occupies most of the space and which contains most of the linguistic text and ideational information which is analyzed below. The third section, the bottom, forms part of the official letterhead paper which contains the LEMO address, telephone and fax numbers in blue color.

In terms of format, this *oficio* follows the conventional LEMO format which contains the name of the addressee in bold at the top left hand side. There is no initial salutation to the addressee such as *estimada maestra* (dear teacher) but starts with a formulaic greeting in the body of the text which continues with the main communicative purpose of the text. The introductory paragraph is followed by a list (second paragraph) numbered from 1 to 6 which contains the titles of the books (in capital bold letters) that the library user needs to return. Because of its salience (numbering, bold capital letters), this is the most important part that the writer intended the reader to pay attention to. The third paragraph, analyzed in more detail below, is a *suggestion* to return the books as soon as possible. The last short paragraph of the *oficio* contains a formulaic final salutation thanking the reader for her attention.

Finally, the *oficio* ends with the formulaic spaced closing ATENTAMENTE (SINCERELY) in bold capital letters, the date, the signature of the administrative secretary, his name and title, and official position in the LEMO. On the right hand side of this part of the text the official seal of the Faculty is shown. The last part of linguistic text that the reader can see on the bottom left hand side, with very small letters, is the indication that there is a copy of this document in the official archives of the administrative secretariat. Finally, it is important to mention the presence of the LEMO logo in the background of the entire text, in low modality colors as a sign of *officialness* as in the case of text 1.

3.5.6.4. Linguistic Text

This *oficio*, as mentioned before, is addressed to a specific teacher indicating her title (MTRA.=MA), which comes before her full name, as is customary in Mexico. The use of the title is very important in a Mexican university context to show respect and degree recognition to the addressee. Goffman (1967) maintains that deference is a component of an activity "which functions as a symbolic means by which appreciation is regularly conveyed to a recipient" (p. 56). However, the use of the title and full name also indicates a high degree of social distance as Jeong (2003, p. 227) points out. The Faculty and the institution where the Faculty belongs is then indicated as the place of work of the teacher. It is worth mentioning that the indication of the teacher's affiliation institution is important in this context in order "to preserve a series of elements that are culturally implicit and to follow a certain form of

cooperation of polite or impolite forms of address" (Jeong, ibid., p. 227). Jeong (ibid.) refers to culturally implicit elements in the Mexican culture as those conventions and forms of behavior that characterize every individual according to his/her dress code, gestures, environment, and or institutional context, among other. The teacher's institutional membership is followed by the word *presente*, which indicates that she is being notified in person.

For the purposes of this study which focuses on obligation, and prohibition, the first and second paragraphs will not be analyzed in detail. However, a translation of these paragraphs reads:

> 1. By means of this document I send you cordial greetings and at the same time I inform you that, according to the last report sent to me by the Reading Room, you have in your power the following bibliography:
>
> 2. (list of books)

It is worth noticing that the addressee is addressed to with the formal singular form *usted*, both as a sign of respect and social distance.

A more detailed analysis of the third paragraph is now provided. In this one sentence paragraph, which syntactically is difficult to read, the academic secretary *suggests* the reader returning the borrowed books as soon as possible, attributing his request to the fact that there has been an amalgamation of the LEMO library with the *Dirección General de Bibliotecas* (General Direction of Libraries). This amalgamation implies new policies and *they* (the institution) do not wish the teacher to be affected by these new policies. The delay of the teacher in returning the books is introduced in a rather vague form since there is no previous mention that the teacher has kept the books for a long period of time. It is implied that delays in returning books will be penalized according to the new policies. The Spanish text reads:

> Por lo que le sugiero la devuelva a la brevedad posible debido a que ha habido una fusión con la Dirección General de Bibliotecas y hay nuevas disposiciones las cuales no deseamos le afecten por la demora.

A literal translation of this paragraph reads as follows:

> For this reason I suggest returning it [the bibliography] as soon as possible due to the fact that there has been an amalgamation with the General Direction of Libraries and there are new policies that we do not wish to affect you because of the delay. [we do not wish the new policies to affect you because of your delay in returning the books]

The entire paragraph constitutes a clause complex, composed of six clauses, introduced by the deontic verb *sugerir* (Lozano, 1990, p. 1119) indicating obligation. This is done in the first person (le sugiero=I suggest [you]). This suggestion, pragmatically, constitutes a request and/or command by the use of an indirect speech act (Levinson, pp. 263-

276). However, by providing reasons to the addressee, the writer uses a face-saving (for himself) polite strategy, and avoids responsibility (Goffman, 1967, pp. 5-45; Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp.142-189).   Another indicator of obligation or pressure tactic is the presence of the prepositional phrase *a la brevedad posible* (as soon as possible) which acts as a circumstantial adjunct of manner (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 279-280)

There is an implicit warning/threat when the Academic Secretary appropriates the voice of the institution by using first person plural, with negative polarity in the last clause and writes about the new policies *no deseamos que le afecten por la demora* (we do not wish them [the new policies]to affect you because of the delay). These suggestions and implicit threats, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), constitute intrinsic face threatening acts which "primarily threaten the addressee's (H's) negative-face want, by indicating (potentially) that the speaker [writer] does not intend to avoid impeding H's freedom of action" (pp. 65-66). Jeong (2003, p. 229) states that in Spanish, one of the resources to express politeness to mitigate certain face-threatening acts constitutes the use of first person plural as in the analyzed text.

The final clause in the body of the *oficio*, which reads *Agradezco, de antemano, su atención a la presente* (I thank you in advance for your attention [to this memo]), the writer goes back to using first person singular. Even though the writer thanks the addressee, this clause functions also as a demand assuming that the addressee will comply with it. Thanking in this case does not serve to protect the addressee's face, or to humble the writer (Brown & Levinson, ibid., p. 67, 189), but as a pressure tactic from the writer to the addressee, besides being a formulaic final salutation in Spanish.

3.5.6.5 Discussion of Tenor

In this study, text 6 has been the only text that is addressed to a specific person, leaving no choice to the addressee but to comply with the writer's suggestion. The writer is in a higher rank position and has the authority over the addressee. The analyzed *oficio* expresses a distant and formal relationship between the institution represented by the Academic Secretary and the addressee. This is shown by the use of various lexicogrammatical forms such as the addressee's title followed by her full name starting with her surname. According to Jeong (2003, p. 229) who has analyzed linguistic politeness in Mexican Spanish, the use of honorifics is regulated by different factors according to the realized speech act, interaction topics, as well as the obligations and expectations between interlocutors. Other forms expressing obligation constitute formulaic official expressions included in salutations,

structures acting as imperatives such as the verbs *sugerir*, first person plural forms such as *deseamos*, and prepositional phrases indicating obligation, among others.
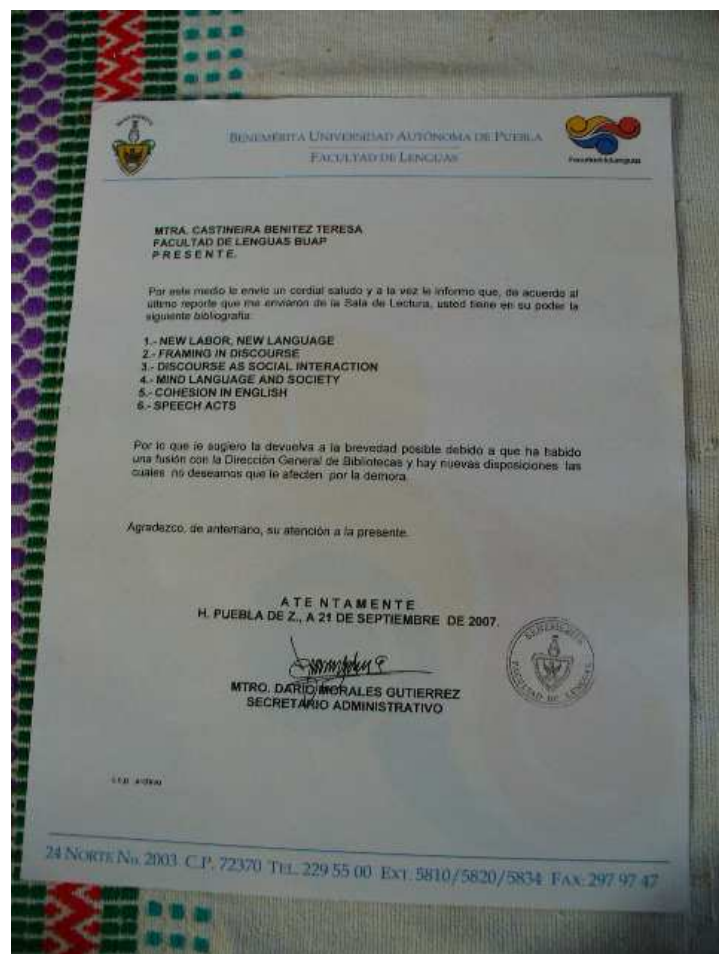
Figure 3.8: Text 6: Memo

Having analyzed the six texts in terms of background, emplacement, composition and linguistic text, the following section provides an ethnographic analysis of the six texts in order to determine their conditions of reception.

3.6 Ethnographic component

3.6.1. Ethnographic analysis

Fairclough (1995) points out that

> [T]here is still a need to bring close textual analysis together with social analysis of organizational routines for producing and consuming texts, and with analysis of specifically discoursal processes within the processes of production and consumption…[t]here is also a need to bring together critical discourse analysis of discursive events with ethnographic analysis of social structures and settings, in the search for what some have called a critical ethnography" (pp 9-10)

For this reason, I decided to carry out interviews *in situ* with several library users and staff separately. In order to have points of view from different perspectives of the same texts, several people were interviewed: from the library as institution, one of the librarians; three students (identified as 1, 2, and 3) who are regular library users, selected at random, and a teacher who is also a regular library user and who happened to be in the library at the time of the interviews. Although all interviewees are part of the same institution, it can be said that the librarian belongs to the category of rule-makers, whereas the rest belong to the category of rule-compliers as library users. All interviews were recorded in the library and carried out in Spanish in order to make the interviewees feel comfortable.

The instrument utilized in this component was a structured interview (See Appendix J). The library users and the librarian were asked the same questions, slightly modified according to their roles. The librarian is here identified as L, students as S1, S2, and S3, the teacher as T, and the interviewer/researcher as R. Conventional punctuation is used in the transcriptions.

In regards to **text 1** (Reglamento)**,** and in answer to question 1 that asks whether the users know the library rules and regulations, the librarian, who represents the institution and acts as a gatekeeper (See 4.3.1 for gatekeeping), answered that not all library users know the protocol and very few stop to read it. She added that when students become accepted at the LEMO, they have an induction course where the library staff explains the library rules and regulations to them. From the students' perspective, two of them (1 and 2) answered that they do not know the *reglamento* very well. However, one of them observed

8:     S1: bueno, nada mas sé la situación de los libros… este, como se sacan los libros pero… que no se deben tener alimentos, que no debes habar en voz alta y esas cosas, pero tomarme el tiempo para leer de las tantas veces que he estado ahí, pues, sinceramente no …

       (well, I only know about the situation of the books… ehm, how the books are taken home but…that you must not have food, that you must not speak loudly and that sort of things, but to take the time to read from the many times I've been here, well, honestly no …)

From this answer it can be inferred that this student is making use of her frames of reference. She knows the rules that apply to most libraries and expects to find the same at the LEMO library. Tannen (1993) points out that the notion of expectations underlie discussions about frames. She states that

in order to function in the world, people cannot treat each new person, object, or event as unique and separate. The only way we can make sense of the world is to see connections between things, and between present things and things we have experienced before or heard about (pp. 14-15).

There is no notice that asks users not to speak loudly in the LEMO library, but this student clearly answers based on her past experience. It is important to note the use of the modal verb *deber*+infinitive by Student 1 to indicate obligation. Student 3, who finished his career three years ago, but has not obtained his degree and is writing his thesis answered that he knows the *reglamento* very well. Finally, the teacher user answered that she has read the *reglamento*, and that it contains the same *basic* rules as every library in the world, therefore, she is also using her frames of reference (See Tannen, 1993 above).

In relation to **text 2** (Aviso), and in answer to question 2 that asks whether users comply with the notice that reminds them to leave the locker key at the reception desk, the librarian answered affirmatively, and she added that leaving their belongings in a locker is for the users' security and because the space between tables does not allow for users to have their belongings with them, especially when there are many students making use of the library. She also said that the reason why users have to leave the key at the reception desk after locking up their belongings is because they may forget the key on the tables and another user could take it. Finally, she mentioned the possibility of book theft. From the students' point of view, two of them answered that they know about the procedure with the keys, not because they have read the notice, but because they have been told about the procedure. The alumnus answered that whenever he uses the library, he only takes a piece of paper and a pen with him. The teacher said that the notice helps her comply with the rule since in the past she forgot to return the key to the library staff.

Regarding **text 3,** and in answer to question 3 that asks whether users comply with not eating in the library, the librarian answered that food is not allowed in the library because books may be stained in case of an accident, food may contain bugs, and for hygiene purposes in general. She added, however, that occasionally students need to be reminded not to eat in the library. From the students' side, student 1 answered that she never eats in the library, student 2 answered that he never eats in the library and gives his reasons

20:     S2: no eso si porque los libros se pueden manchar
        (no, that one yes, because books might get stained)

Student 3 went on to say

28:     S3: Si, de hecho cuando viene alguien con alimentos le digo …
        (yes, in fact when somebody comes in with food, I tell him/her…)
29:     R: aha, muy bien, pero ¿por qué? ¿Por qué ves el letrero? o ¿porque sabes que
        no debes de traer alimentos?
        (aha, very good, but why? Because you see the notice? Or because you know that you
        must not bring in food??
30:     S3: este, porque se que no debo de traer alimentos
        (ehm, because I know I must not bring in food)

The presence of the modal verb *deber (de)*+ infinitive is salient in Student's 3 answer. The teacher responded that she complies with the rule, even though the notice is absent. Again the modal verb *deber* in the reflexive form and in the *deber (de)*+ infinitive is present. She went on to say that

18:     T: no pues, dada las características de esta biblioteca en particular, este, creo que
        sería una falta de conciencia ¿no?
        (You can't, given the characteristics of this particular library, ehm, I think it
        would be a lack of conscience, right?

19:     R: mhm

20:     T: está tan chiquita está tan anticuada que yo creo que, que no se debe, bueno en
        ninguna biblioteca del mundo se mete comida ni se come dentro de la biblioteca.
        (it's so small, it's so old-fashioned that I think, that you must not, well in any library in
        the world, you can't introduce food or eat in the library).

21:     R: ni se bebe tampoco
        (you can't drink either)

22:     T: ni se bebe líquidos, menos porque, bueno entonces es una cosa que pues como ley
        de facto ¿no?
        (you can't drink liquids, because, well then it's a thing that, well like *de facto* law,
        right?

23:     R: Aha

24:     T: No. No debes de hacerlo
        (No. You must not do it

25:     R: Y no lo haces, y no por el letrero sino por …
        (and you don't do it, not because of the notice but …)

26:     T: esencia
        (essence)

Regarding **text 4** (notice), and in answer to question 4 that asks whether users comply with having only three books on the table, the librarian answered that the reason for this notice is that there are students who do not know how to select books or do not know how to look for material and pile up books on the tables. She said that some students, especially the new ones do not respect this rule, but eventually they get accustomed to it. From the students' perspective, students 1 and 2 said they respect the rule, however student 1 elaborated, using the modal verb *poder*+infinitive, indicating limitation:

18:     S1: si, porque hasta eso selecciono los libros, digo si nada más puedo tener tres ahí
        estoy, o a veces prefiero quedarme parada y ver cual sí voy a ocupar y ya es el que
        tomo ahí
        (yes, because I select the books, I say if I can only have three, there I am, or
        sometimes I prefer to keep standing and see which one I am going to use and that's the
        one I take there)

Student 3 commented:

35:     R: eh ¿sigues eso?
        (ehh, do you follow that?
36:     S3: Ahm, al principio, no
        (Ahm, at the beginning, no)
37:     R: Aha
38:     S3: No, tenia juntados los libros, cinco o seis y sobre la mesa
        (No, I had books gathered, five or six and on the table)
39:     R: Aha
40:     S3: Y, este, últimamente no mucho
        (and, ehm, not so much lately)
41:     R: aha, y luego?
        (aha, and then?)
42:     S3: y luego pues ya se aplicó el reglamento porque de pronto… Se pusieron
        muy estrictas con los reglamentos
        (and then, well, the rules were applied because suddenly … they became very
        strict with the regulations.

The teacher, referring to text 4 commented that

30:     T: yo trato de, me parece ridículo que te limiten a tres libros sobre la mesa y ¿qué
        haces? ¿sacas tres y después los avientas a dónde? Ó sea, ni siquiera hay un carrito
        para ponerlos ¿no?
        (I try to, it seems ridiculous that you have a limit of three books on the table and,
        what do you do? You take three and then you throw them where? I mean, there is not
        even a cart to put them, right?
31:     R: aha
32:     T: entonces, este, pues, uno usa los que tiene que usar y luego los deja aunque…
         porque no puedes regresar un libro
        (then, well, you use the ones you need to use and then you leave them even though…
        because you can't return a book)
33:     R: no
34:     T: entonces si no te sirvieron los tres libros ¿qué haces? vas por más.
        (then if the three books were of no use, what do you do? You go get more).

In regards to **text 5** (notice), and in answer to the question which asks whether users comply with not taking books from one floor to another, the librarian explained that the first floor material is considered *área de consulta'*(consultation area), whereas the ground floor is considered *área de trabajo* (work area). She explained that the materials in the consultation area are very expensive or difficult to find in Mexico, that is why their use is restricted to that area. She added that users can take books from the ground floor to the first floor, which is the opposite of what the notice says, however, the librarian said that users who take books to the first floor are asked to bring them back to the ground floor because there might be losses or confusion. Student 1 answered that she usually works downstairs as she does not like working on the first floor. Student 3 however, extended his answer by saying:

25: R: Ah, OK y el último letrero está entre piso y piso, y dice que no puedes subir libros de acá de la planta baja a allá arriba
(Ah, OK and the last notice is between floors, and it says that you can't take upstairs books from the ground floor)

26: S3: Lo mismo, al contrario, no puedo bajar
(The same, the opposite, I can't take books downstairs)

27: R: Aha, también no puedes bajar libros de allá a acá
(Aha, also you can't take books down from there to here)

28: S3: Si
(Yes)

29: R: ¿Si lo respetas?
(Do you respect that?)

30: S3: Si, inclusive ahorita tenía una duda y más que nada memoricé la palabra para ir a los diccionarios
(Yes, even just now I had a doubt and what I did was I memorized the word to go to the dictionaries)

31: R: Ah!

32: S3: y luego subir
(and then go upstairs)

33: R: Ah!

34: S3: Y luego bajé, mhm
(and then I came down, mhm)

As can be seen, Student 3 made use of the verb poder + infinitive in negative polarity to indicate prohibition. Finally, the teacher said she did not use the upstairs part of the library, however, she disagreed with the notice and added:

36: T: sí lo he visto y me parece ridículo. Dadas las dimensiones que tiene la biblioteca, es tan fácil. Ya tiene el sistema Dewey, o sea, si el libro es de arriba pues tiene la nomenclatura de arriba y se sube. O sea, a veces necesitas algo de una enciclopedia o de libros de referencia que tienen arriba, es más, se me hace más absurdo que exista una parte de arriba y una parte de abajo
(yes, I've seen it and it seems ridiculous to me. Given the dimensions of the library, it's so easy. It already has the Dewey system, I mean, if the book belongs upstairs, it has the upstairs numbering and you take it there. I mean, sometimes you need something from an encyclopaedia or from a reference book they have upstairs, even more, it seems absurd to me that there is an upstairs and a downstairs part)

This comment points to impracticality issues and to a system that most library users do not understand. Student 3 complies with the notice, but stressed the fact that he no longer visits the first floor.

In relation to **text 6** (memo), since I was the addressee of this text, I need to say that this *oficio* fulfilled its social purpose and the books in question were returned to the library immediately. There was no penalization since the new policies were applied later. Now, users, without exception, have to pay a fine if the books are not returned on time.

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3.6.2. Discussion of Ethnographic component

This ethnographic component served several purposes. Firstly, it provided us with important information regarding the users' perspective (reception) towards the analyzed texts and the institution in general. It is worth noting that sometimes the texts are not looked at, however, users use their frames of reference (Goffman, 1997; Tannen, 1993) in order to follow common rules of behavior in a library. This component also provided us with information about the more *human* institutional side (librarian) regarding the texts and the institution. The librarian explained in detail the *why* and the *how* of every text. One important result is the fact that she can allow users to bend the rules in certain cases. Also, this component showed to a certain extent the degree of compliance of the users with the rules and regulations in the library. In general, users comply with the rules even if they do not look at the texts. Sometimes, users look at the texts and follow the rules even though they find them impractical or they simply find the rules *ridiculous* and do not follow them. In linguistic terms, although not the focus of this ethnographic component, one salient element was the use of modal verbs of obligation and prohibition, such as *deber* + infinitive, and (no) *poder* + *infinitive* on the part of the users. Pragmatically, this component showed the degree of satisfaction with the perlocutionary acts (Searle, 1969) intended by each text.

3.7. Conclusion

From the study carried out, it is clear that a thorough analysis can only be done through a multidisciplinary approach drawing on various disciplines such as linguistics, critical studies, and sociology. In order to fully understand the texts, a complete description and understanding of the context and background is necessary. As the results show, institutional policies at the library are conveyed to users by protocols, notices and memos among others. The results also demonstrate that there are at least two sources of text production: the more official institutional texts dictated by the LEMO (1 and 6) and the in-library made texts referring to the functioning of the library (2, 3, 4 and 5). This is connected with materiality where more official texts are more durable (text 1) and produced in official letterhead paper (text 6). Emplacement also plays a crucial role, since texts are put up in strategic salient places where users have access to them. In terms of composition, it can be observed that most of these texts do not adhere to the information value (See 2.3.10.5) patterns presented by Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006), probably due to local, immediate circumstances such as practicality. It was noted how some discourses have an ephemeral nature when they can be contratextualized or contested, while others have a more permanent

nature. Other discourses have a wandering nature when they are moved from one place to another.

Regarding the lexicogrammar of the texts, the following table (3.3) summarizes the various structures used to indicate obligation and prohibition according to the analyzed texts:

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Obligation expressed by	Prohibition expressed by
- impersonal reflexive passive form (se + poder + infinitive) - Passive with modal 'deber + infinitive - Middle voice (comportarse) - Modal adjunct (solo) - Gerundio - Subjunctive - Imperative (second person singular) - Prepositional phrase (a la brevedad posible) - Modal verb (poder) - Deontic verbs in various forms	- Infinitive (negative polarity) - Modal adjunct - Deontic verb in various forms - Middle voice - Participle acting as adjective (prohibido)

Table 3.3: Obligation and prohibition

An interconnection between the texts was observed through intertextuality and interdiscursivity. These were accomplished through a dialogical relationship between the discourses of obligation and prohibition within the same pragmatic space, having as target the same actors (library users). All texts concerned the functioning of the library and the behavior expected in it.

The ethnographic component of this study demonstrated the interactive participants' relation (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, p. 95), that of text-producers and text-consumers and to what extent texts achieve their social purpose, which is limited in some cases. As Candlin and Hyland (1999) point out, "[d]ecisions about appropriate wording, structure, layout, graphics, materials …, and how the reader [viewer] is likely to interpret and act on the text, all play a critical role in writing [text producing] in professional, workplace and academic contexts" (p. 8)

Studies of this type shed light not only on discourses of obligation and prohibition, but on how an institution is organized and how it expresses its policies, as well as on how power

relations are exercised. I believe in this investigation I have sought to achieve what Cicourel (2007) calls *ecological validity* whereby we focus "on how we seek to convince others of the viability and authenticity of our claims and can be understood by our use of primary and secondary data sources" (p. 735). I have used visual texts and interviews in order to warrant my claims. I hope to have opened the way to more thorough multimodal, critical, institutional studies in the Mexican context.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY 3: GATEKEEPING PRACTICES AT THE LEMO: A MULTIMODAL APPROACH

4.1 Introduction

This study sets out to investigate one of the gatekeeping practices at the Facultad de Lenguas (LEMO) of the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla (BUAP). This practice consists of the professional examinations of competence (*exámenes profesionales*) that students have to go through in order to obtain their degrees of 'Licenciatura en Lenguas Modernas' (BA in Modern Languages). This degree refers to English teaching or Translation from English into Spanish.

Gatekeeping practices are highly characteristic of bureaucratic institutions where asymmetrical power relations are at play. Sarangi & Roberts (1999) assert that "[t]he gatekeeping settings which are typical of institutional life act as a magnifying glass, drawing on the inferential processes used in making social judgements in everyday life" (p. 30). These scholars consider the interplay between institutional and professional discourses, where the institutional discourses may refer to the gatekeeping practices of staff selection and training, "and the voices of the institution to represent itself to the outside world" (p. 16). On the other hand, professional discourses may refer, for example, to a consultation between doctor and patient for the purpose of diagnosis of a medical problem.

> Professional and institutional discourses share ways of constructing 'truth' out of rhetoric [discursive practices] and of developing rituals which both create and legitimate the practices of the profession and the institution. They also share conventions for the social distribution of knowledge and interests which account for the decision-making process" (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999, p. 16).

The interplay of parallel discourses (institutional and professional) will be examined in this study, with a focus on the professional discourse in an academic educational context. The gatekeeping practice of assessing candidates to become professionals constitutes an institutional practice, but the discourse they make use of belongs to the profession of English language teachers or English translators. According to Roberts (2000), there are two aspects to gatekeeping encounters, "the physical and social passage from outside to inside the institution [or community of practice] and the process of being assessed and let in (or not)" (p. 102). The gatekeeping encounter under study is related to these two aspects mentioned by Roberts.

This *site of engagement* (Scollon, 2001, p. 147) or the practices involved in the professional examination of competence (henceforth PEC) belong to the *institutional order*

(Sarangi & Roberts, 1999, p. 3) of the LEMO in which such practices routinely take place. In order to explore these gatekeeping encounters, I will address the following research questions:

- What moves are followed in such professional examinations of competence?
- What means and modalities (semiosis) are drawn upon in the interaction characteristic of such practices?
- How do gatekeepers allow candidates to access "the goods" they are instituted to protect?
- How are power relations displayed and characterized in such events?

It is worth noting that this site of engagement is related to a specific field of knowledge (English language teaching or translation) which is the goods that gatekeepers protect. The PEC is a legitimation that the candidate is worth passing through the gates, accessing the professional community of practice of language teachers or translators. Knowledge in this case is linked to Bourdieu's concept of cultural and symbolic capital (See 4.3.5 below). Bourdieu (1997) maintains that

> the school as institution *contributes* (emphasis on this word) to reproduce the distribution of the cultural capital, and with that, to the reproduction of the social structures…The reproduction of the cultural capital distribution operates in the relationship between the strategies adopted by the family and the specific rationale of the schools as institutions. These institutions tend to provide the school capital, in the form of certificates (credentials) (p. 108).*

The concept of cultural capital is well illustrated in the gatekeeping encounter under study, since the student (candidate) defending his/her thesis successfully will be awarded a BA degree. This degree will constitute at the same time what Bourdieu (1990) calls symbolic capital, namely that to do with social recognition, prestige and reputation, and which, in the present context may be compared with accreditation. The roles of human participants in these encounters, categorized as candidate and examiners are clearly *relevant* in Schegloff's (1999) sense, since this categorization is acknowledged by all participants at the moment of the interaction.

As in Studies 1 and 2 of this thesis, I will adopt a multidisciplinary approach to the event under study in order to more adequately deal with it. Therefore, this study will draw on theoretical sources from various disciplines such as those of sociology (Bourdieu, 1990, 1991, 1997, 1998; Goffman, 1959, 1967, 1971, 1981, 1983) and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2005a). Methodologically, I will utilize analytical tools from linguistic ethnography (Hammersley, 2007), multimodal interaction (Norris, 2004; Norris & Jones, 2005), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1999), conversation analysis (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson,1974) and systemic functional linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), among others in order to address as adequately as I can the three dimensions of discourse as set out in Fairclough's (1992, 1995) theoretical framework

(See Figure 2.3). The data collected for this research consists of four videotaped and audiotaped PECs, field notes obtained during the observations of these events and official documents from the LEMO (See 4.4 below).

To my knowledge, a discursive critical multimodal analysis of PECs has not been carried out before in the Mexican context. The overall aim of this study is thus to shed some light on the gatekeeping practice processes of PECs, to raise awareness of their associated practices among examiners, candidates and the educational institution, and to evaluate these practices that may either be maintained or changed. Finally, I hope this study will "encourage members of the university community--faculty and students--to think through the problem of institutional barriers" (Scollon, 1981).

4.2 Context

Cicourel (2007) argues that "[t]he validity of inferences from the study of observations and recordings of social interaction and discourse presupposes complex forms of social organization" (p. 736-737). Furthermore, Cicourel (ibid.) argues that social interaction is always situated and "embedded in daily life socio-cultural and cognitive/emotional processes that constrain and shape discourse. In order to adequately deal with this *situatedness,* a description of the context where this study takes place is now provided.

The LEMO awards the degree of *Licenciado en Lenguas Modernas* (BA in Modern Languages) with two branches: Teaching and Translation. These two branches may be in English or French. The general mission of the Teaching-focused BA in Modern Languages can be summarized as follows: "To educate teachers competent in foreign languages capable of applying various approaches, technologies, techniques and strategies, to facilitate language learning in different modalities and educational environments in answer to the Mexican educational and socioeconomic needs" (http://www.facultaddelenguas.com/lemo/index.htm).

The general mission of the Translation branch is: "To educate specialists in foreign languages able to translate the progress of science and technology as well as literary texts in foreign languages into Spanish" (ibid.).

4.2.1 The student body

The LEMO BA in English Teaching has 1346 enrolled students. Approximately 80% of these students are female. The staff of this program consists of 55 teachers, out of which 45 hold MA degrees in ELT or in Applied Linguistics. Two teachers hold a PhD, seven teachers are completing their doctorates in Applied Linguistics and three in Education. The LEMO BA in English/Spanish translation has a total of 160 students.

The duration of studies at BA level is five years, on average. The students may however choose to carry out their studies in three and a half years (taking summer courses), or in seven. In order to graduate, students need to take the Institutional TOEFL test and need to achieve a score of 550 minimum. All students need to write a thesis; however, those who have a minimum overall average of 85% (out of 100) do not need to defend their theses and take a PEC at the end of their university careers, they can obtain their degrees by *titulación automática'* (automatic graduation). Those students who have an overall average below 85% or have failed a subject during their university careers need to take a PEC to obtain their degrees. Those students who achieve 90% (out of 100) as an overall average, and who have not failed a subject during their university careers can opt to take a PEC and graduate with honors. There are two types of honors degrees: *Ad Honorem* and *Cum Laude*. Those students with a minimum average of 90% can obtain Ad Honorem if they have not failed any subject during their university careers and have taken the PEC, defending their thesis to an exceptionally high level before a jury. Students who obtain a Cum Laude degree need to have a minimum average of 95% plus the requirements of Ad Honorem (articles 56 to 63 of the Reglamento de Procedimientos y Requisitos para la Admisión, Permanencia y Egreso de los Alumnos de la BUAP).

4.2.2 The Event

In order to better understand the theoretical, methodological and analytical issues underlying this study, it is important to first describe the gatekeeping event under research. As mentioned before, candidates have to defend their theses in a highly ritualized, theatrical, trial-like (with the presence of a jury) ceremony which constitutes the PEC. In reference to this ceremony, Bourdieu's (1998) words seem relevant: "[t]he presentation of diplomas, often the occasion for solemn ceremonies, is quite comparable with the dubbing of a knight…the consecration of the statutory bearers of social competence, of the right to rule" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 22). In this particular case, candidates who demonstrate their professional competence are awarded with the degree of BA in Modern Languages.

The PEC shows a well-defined *participation framework* (Goffman, 1981). Cicourel (2007) maintains that "[e]cological validity appears to be high when we can identify locally created and sanctioned participant frameworks of agency and authority" (p. 739).The participation framework of the PEC is now outlined.

Before the examination, the thesis is read and approved by the director (supervisor) and two other readers, the three act as examiners or members of the jury in the PEC. The thesis is written and defended in English. Various roles are assigned by hierarchy to the members of the jury according to BUAP regulations. The role of president, who leads the

professional exam is assigned to the member with the highest category (Professor, Associate Professor, etc.), or the longest seniority. Another examiner becomes the secretary and the third becomes a *vocal* (member of the jury). Thus, the three examiners and the candidate constitute ratified participants with assigned functions in the *social encounter* (Goffman, 1981, pp. 130-157) of the PEC. The PEC may be categorized as a *podium event* (ibid.) where the candidate is the focus of attention, the leading actor within a given *participation framework* (Goffman, ibid.). In this participation framework, the candidate has two main functions: to present the contents of his/her thesis and to defend it by answering the questions posed by the examiners. The president's main functions are to lead the exam, to open and to close the event officially, and to take the oath (see moves below), keeping a black folder (which is given to the candidate at the end of the examination) with official documents such as the candidate's transcript of grades, regulations, and most importantly, the format that will allow the candidate to collect his/her degree in a given amount of time in the future.

The exam takes place in an auditorium (*sala de exámenes profesionales*, see Figure 4.1 below) and can last between one to two hours according to the length of the candidate's presentation, his/her language proficiency, the jurors' style, and the sophistication of the questions asked. The PEC is the culmination of the candidate's career, it is the last gate to be crossed in order to enter the community of practice of English language teachers/translators. The candidate may choose to take an *open doors* exam, where peers, family, and friends become the general audience, the *watches* according to R. Scollon (1998) and S. Scollon (2003) (See also 4.4.2 below); or a *closed doors* exam, where only the candidate and the examiners are present. It is the responsibility of the candidate to make arrangements for booking the auditorium, checking connections, lights, and placing bottles of water for the examiners among others.

It is important to provide a description of the place, the *territory* where professional exams take place (See Figure 4.1 below). The auditorium has a semi-circular form. As can be seen, there are assigned territories for the performer/candidate, who constitutes a *single*, as represented by the red icon in Figure 4. 1., the examiners (in blue color), who constitute *withs*, are assigned another territory. "A single is a party of one, a person who has come alone, a person 'by himself'…A with is a party of more than one whose members are perceived to be "together". They maintain some kind of ecological proximity…" (Goffman, 1971, p. 19). Finally, there is a territory for the general audience, who constitutes *watches* (empty seats in Figure 4.1). These spaces are divided by *boundary markers* which "mark the line between two [or more] adjacent territories (Goffman, 1971, p. 42). Even though the candidate does not go up on the stage, s/he remains very close to it. His/her place is separated from the examiners

by a table which is in front of the examiners. At the same time, the examiners space is separated from the general audience by a step where rows of seats for the audience begin one level higher. Usually, the candidate remains in his/her territory close to a laptop even when s/he is not using it.
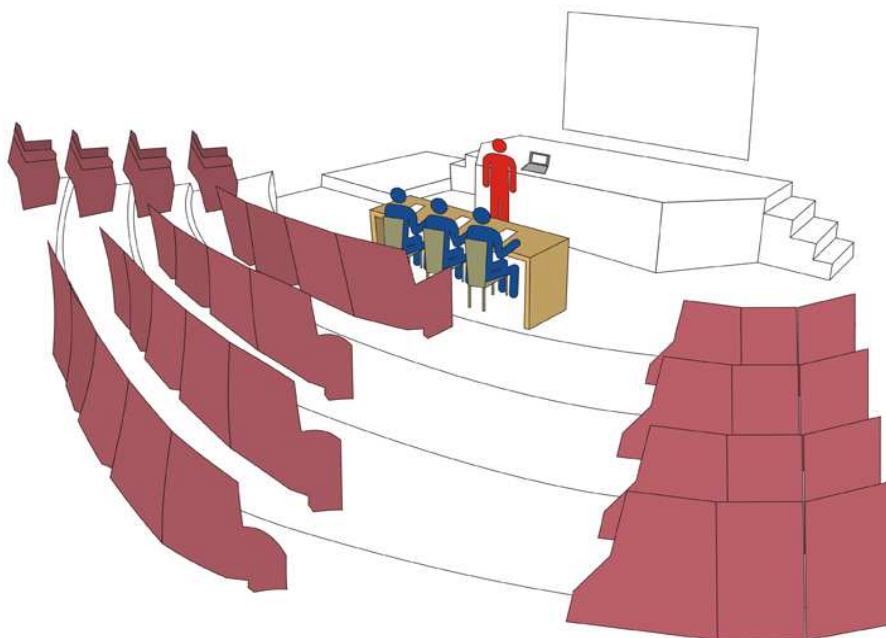
Figure 4.1: Professional examination of competence setting

The unit of analysis as a whole is the PEC as an *event* in the sense of a temporally organized unit (Gumperz, 1999, p. 465). PECs are also a type of genre (Swales, 1990, Bhatia, 2004) since they present a generic structure (See also 2.3.6) and address a particular audience. Bhatia (2004) points out that "[a]ll disciplinary and professional genres have integrity of their own, which is often identified with reference to a combination of textual, discursive and contextual factors" (p. 23). As previously mentioned, PECs present a ritualized structure where the following nine *moves* (Bhatia, 2004, Swales, 1990) were identified:

1. **The entrance**: Candidate, examiners, and general audience enter the auditorium. The door is closed, and each ratified participant takes their place.

2. **The opening**: The president of the jury introduces the candidate, the members of the jury and the topic to be developed. S/he tells the time and announces that the exam has officially started. S/he then asks the candidate to start his/her presentation.

3. **The presentation**: The candidate carries out his/her presentation in the form of a monologue accompanied by a Power Point presentation.

4. **The Q&A session**: A question/answer session follows, where examiners pose questions to the candidate, who in turn answers the questions posed by the examiners.

5. **The exit**: The president asks the audience and the candidate to leave the room for examiners to deliberate on the result of the exam, and closes the door.

6. **The deliberations**: Examiners deliberate behind closed doors and reach a decision.

7. **The return**: One of the examiners summons the audience and the candidate to enter the auditorium again. All participants take their seats while the candidate remains standing.

8. **The Oath**: The president stands beside the candidate and announces the verdict facing the audience. S/he then proceeds to the 'toma de protesta' (taking the oath), where the candidate promises to serve the community, the state and the country (See Appendix K).

9. **The conclusion**: The president announces the end of the ceremony, tells the time and place, congratulates the candidate and the formal ceremony is officially closed.

The particular focus of analysis in the PECs will be moves 4 and 6, where both frontstage and backstage (Goffman, 1959) events will be analyzed and contrasted. These moves may be considered as *critical moments* where the candidate demonstrates his/her expertise on the subject,

> where personal and community matters of concern are critically evidenced and in play, typically matters surrounding issues of **rights, powers, claims and responsibilities** [my stress], which set at question who the framers and gatekeepers of such issues are and who the respondent followers. Critical moments, moreover, where discursive (in)competence is at a premium (Candlin, 1997, p. x).

It is in moves 3 and 4 that the candidate has the opportunity to claim his/her right to become an English teacher or a translator by demonstrating to the examiners (gatekeepers) his/her expertise on the subject matter. These moves are closely related to move 6, as the presentation as well as the answers to the examiners' questions will play a crucial role in order to produce a verdict. Goffman (1959) maintains that

> [w]hen an individual appears before others his actions will influence the definition of the situation which they come to have. Sometimes the individual will act in a thoroughly calculating manner, expressing himself in a given way solely in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke from them a specific response (p. 6)

This is the case of the candidate's performance in the PEC, where s/he is expected to give the impression of expertise in a calculating manner, making use of specialized discourse in various modes such as language, gestures, posture and visual aids. Finally, in the Q&A session it is important to bear in mind Norris's (2004) assertion that in order to analyze interaction, "we analyze not only the messages that an individual in interaction sends, but also how other individuals in the interaction react to these messages" (p. 4). Here, we are concerned with the messages that the candidate sends to the examiners and by the same token how the candidate reacts to the examiners' messages.

Having described the background to this study, as well as the event itself, I now turn to discuss its theoretical foundations.

4.3 Literature Review

This section discusses the various macro sociological issues concerning gatekeeping encounters, such as power and cultural and symbolic capital. It also discusses the concepts of professional discourse and communities of practice and how they apply to this study. Macro methodological issues of multimodality are also presented. Finally, micro methodological issues and constructs taken from interactional sociolinguistics (IS), conversation analysis and systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and their relevance to this study are discussed.

4.3.1 On Gatekeeping

Schiffrin (1994) defines gatekeeping encounters as "asymmetric speech situations"(p. 146) where the person(s) who represents an institution has the right to seek information from people outside the institution who wish to be granted institutional privileges. This seems to be the case of the PEC, where undoubtedly asymmetric relations of power emerge. However, in this study, the analysis goes beyond the *speech situation* taking a broader view to gatekeeping encounters as whole events where various semiotic modes are at play, such as gestures, posture, dress-code, and space among others. According to Corra and Willer (2002), "[g]atekeepers control access to 'benefits' valued by others who are their 'clients'…that access is granted, not to something owned by the gatekeeper, but to benefits *external* to both the gatekeeper and the client-gatekeeper relation" (p. 180). In the case under study, there will be several gatekeepers: the thesis director and two other examiners (thesis readers) who become *ratified participants* (Goffman, 1981, pp. 124-157) by the institution, in their official status as members of the jury during the PEC. As Kerekes (2006) maintains, "[i]n some gatekeeping encounters, the gatekeeper serves as the ultimate authority figure who **judges** [my stress], often severely, the gatekeepee's adequacy … whereas in others, the gatekeepers may also act to a certain degree on behalf of their gatekeepees, as their advocates (pp. 27-28). The data in this study, however limited, will demonstrate how the examiners/judges will, at times, assume the role of advocates. At any rate, the gatekeepers will grant (or not) access to the candidate defending his/her thesis to the English teachers' or English translators' community of practice (Candlin & Candlin, 2007; Wenger, 1998a,b; Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002; See also 4.3.6 below).

Roberts (2000) points out that gatekeeping encounters are highly ritualized; she makes reference to space organization such as the configuration of furniture, and conventional behavior governed by principles of politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987) which play an

important role during these encounters. She goes on to say that "[t]he function of the gatekeeping event is to assess and decide on the relative merit of an individual's case and on the basis of this decision to allow access (or not) to scarce resources" (p. 102). This is especially relevant in the case of the PEC, where examiners assess the candidate's performance as will be demonstrated. In gatekeeping encounters, participants are on a different *footing* (See 4.3.7 below, Goffman, 1981, pp 124-157), where "not everyone present… is authorized to do or say everything that might be said on the occasion" (Harré, 2000, p. 697, 698), a principle which contributes to maintain the social order.

Sarangi & Roberts (1999) capture the nature of the gatekeeping encounters under study by asserting:

> Becoming a professional involves acquiring certain types of knowledge/discourse and so credibility. Apprentices … in the profession are gradually socialised into the discourses of the profession where the experienced professionals act as **gatekeepers** **of knowledge** [my stress] . The inferential processes into which the newcomer has to be socialised must themselves be learnt in order for such socialisation to take place (p. 37).

The required professional knowledge and discourses in a PEC has been acquired throughout the five years that the candidate has been a student at the LEMO. And the *gatekeepers of knowledge* have been the teachers who have assessed the candidate during those years, however, in a PEC, the gatekeepers of knowledge are represented by the three examiners.

In the context of second language testing, Young (2000) asserts that the success on a given interaction depends on *interactional competence,* which is characterized by four features: the first feature being the "language used in specific discursive practices rather than on language ability independent of context" (p. 5), the second is "characterized by a focus on the co-construction of discursive practices by *all* participants involved rather than on a single person" (ibid.), that is, the success of the candidate does not depend solely on his/her performance during the PEC, but on the examiners' performance as well. The third feature refers to the resources that participants draw upon in order to co-construct a discursive practice. In PECs these resources may be visual, gestural, and spatial among others. The fourth feature, according to Young (ibid.) should consist of an investigation of the discursive practice and its particular resources that compose its *interactional architecture* "and, then, compare[e] the architecture of that practice with others in order to discover what resources are local to that practice and to what extent the practice shares a configuration of resources with other practices" (p.5). The architecture of the PEC may be compared to a presentation in a conference, or to a job interview carried out in a second language, therefore, participants may

draw on resources such as linguistic, visual and/or gestural utilized in these discursive practices in order to succeed in their interactional competence.

Young (2000) maintains that in a given interaction (practice), participants bring the following six resources with them:

- A knowledge of rhetorical script

- A knowledge of register (including lexico-syntactic structures and semantic relations specific to the practice

- A knowledge of turn-taking

- A knowledge of topical organization

- A knowledge of appropriate ways of participating in the practice

- A knowledge of the means for signaling boundaries (transitions within the given practice) (p. 6-9)

In other words, a knowledge of the participation framework (Goffman, 1981) of the practice. Young (ibid.) asserts that "discursive practices are co-constructed by participants, each of whom contributes linguistic and pragmatic resources to the practice" (ibid.). Kerekes (2007), agreeing with Young (2000), adds that with the use of the above mentioned resources by all participants in a gatekeeping encounter, they demonstrate their interactional competence where the success or failure of an event is not attributed to one single individual, (the gatekeepee), but is "also a result of the gatekeeper's responses to that performance, and of the interaction between the two; the outcome, whether successful or failed, is co-constructed by the interlocutors. (p. 1944). This seems to be the case in the PEC, where a misunderstanding may arise, for example, when an examiner poses an unclear question, and a breakdown in communication occurs. An important point to bear in mind, also, is the fact that paralinguistic and material resources such as gestures, posture, and use of tools must be considered as resources that participants share, as they play important roles in a given interaction.

Goffman (1971), when discussing the territories of the self, specifically what he calls the *preserves*, uses certain constructs that can be drawn upon and applied in this study. The construct *claimant* can be used for the candidate taking his/her PEC, the *good* or desired object becoming an English teaching professional or a translator, the *claim* may correspond to the bachelor's degree, the *impediment* the PEC, and *authors* the examiners. Goffman (ibid.) observes that

[t]here is the "good," the desired object or state that is in question; the "claim," namely, entitlement to possess, control, use or dispose of the good; the "claimant," that is, the party on whose behalf the claim is made; the "impediment," meaning here the act, substance, means, or agency through which the claim is threatened; the "author" (or "counter-claimant", namely the party…on whose behalf the threat to claims is intended" (p. 28).

Bourdieu (1991) calls these gatekeeping encounters *rites of legitimation* or *rites of institution* that "involve a solemn transgression, i.e. one conducted in a lawful and extra-ordinary way, of the limits which constitute the social and mental order which rites are designed to safeguard at all costs" (p. 118). Based on the LEMO institutional order, obtaining a BA or any other academic degree does not constitute a form of transgression in the negative sense of the word, however PECs do involve rites of legitimation that solemnly mark the passage "over a line which establishes a fundamental division in the social order" (ibid.). Bourdieu (ibid.) adds that the passage

transforms the person consecrated: first because it transforms the representations others have of him and above all the behaviour they adopt towards him (the most visible changes being the fact that he is given titles of respect and the respect actually associated with these enunciations); and second, because it simultaneously transforms the representation that the invested person has of himself, and the behaviour he feels obliged to adopt in order to conform to that representation. (ibid., p. 119)

This is the case when candidates obtain their BA degrees, a whole transformation occurs. Indeed, the representations that society has from a *licenciado* is very different from the representation of students who have not yet crossed the gate. The *licenciado* obtains legal cultural and symbolic capital which in turn will become economic capital, since the possession of the degree represents not only new job opportunities, but the degree will be accepted by higher institutions if the *licenciado* wishes to pursue a postgraduate degree.

Finally, these gatekeeping encounters are characterized by asymmetrical relations of power. These relations are socially constructed and institutionalized through discourse. Foucault (1980) asserts that "these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse" (p. 93). Power, according to Foucault is not static, but it circulates in society (See also 2.3.5), where the powerless become powerful, power is not only coercive, but "it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse" (p. 119). In the PEC we can observe how power is produced through professional discourse, where the examiners representing the institution are in control, thus in a more powerful position than that of the candidate. At the same time, the candidate will be in a more powerful position once s/he crosses the gate. It is worth noting that candidates seem to apply the *Aikido politics* (Chew, 1995) strategy during the PEC to gain power, they do not constitute a challenge to the dominant organization of the LEMO, since they perform

within the framework of that dominance. There is no outward or explicit attempt to change the structure of the organization. It is a strategy whereby the less powerful subject must explicitly (and more often implicitly), through direct (and more often indirect) discoursal strategies, shrewdly acknowledge and recognize the power of the more powerful subject as firm. (ibid. p. 205).

In other words, candidates show their affiliation in line with the examiners and the institution by acting as expected. By doing so, candidates demonstrate that they are worth crossing the gate, therefore worth obtaining their BA degrees

Having outlined how gatekeeping encounters are defined, the parties involved and the issues at stake, I now turn to discuss matters of multimodal interaction which characterize the PECs.

4.3.2 On multimodal interaction

Stivers & Sidnell (2005) maintain that "[f]ace-to-face interaction is, by definition, multimodal interaction in which participants encounter a steady stream of meaningful facial expressions, gestures, body postures, head movements, words, grammatical constructions, and prosodic contours" (p. 2). They make a distinction between "vocal/aural" and "visuospatial" modalities. The former refers to spoken language including prosody, the latter to gesture, gaze and body postures. Stivers & Sidnell (ibid.), based on Kendon (1990) go on to say that "the way people organize their bodies when interacting with one another has been shown to be important for such issues as facilitating a common focus of attention" (p. 5).They also maintain that the visuospatial modality may serve several purposes such as "to communicate a preparedness to transition to a next activity…" (ibid.), or to select a recipient in a multiparty interaction. C. Goodwin (2000) calls for a *theory of action* whereby "both the details of language use and the way in which the social, cultural, material and sequential structure of the environment where action occurs figure into its organization" (p. 1489). He maintains that human action is carried out through the simultaneous use of multiple semiotic resources such as talk, gestures and "material structure in the surround" (ibid.). Goodwin (2000) adds that talk acquires its power as social action through larger sequential structures which include activities and participation frameworks (See also Goffman, 1981). These in turn, are constituted by "displays of mutual orientation made by the actors' bodies" (p. 1489). In this study, an attempt will be made to address multimodality in that the analysis will take into account the different semiotic modes of language, gestures, posture, gaze, and body orientation among others.

Particularly relevant to this study is a third type of modality, what C. Goodwin (2000) calls "semiotic artifacts", that is, the co-presence of artifacts such as computers, documents, books, leaflets. These artifacts will be considered as participants in the encounters, in line with Filliettaz (2005), Norris and Jones (2005) and Wertsch (1991). As Fairclough (1995)

notes, "[w]e can continue regarding a text as a primarily linguistic cultural artefact, but develop ways of analysing other semiotic forms which are co-present with language, and especially how different semiotic forms interact in the multisemiotic text" (p. 4). Wertsch (1991) observes that "human action typically employs "mediational means" such as tools and language, these mediational means shape the action in essential ways" (p. 12). So, the artifacts, objects mentioned above fall into the category of technical tools, essential in these encounters. Jones and Norris (2005) point out that these tools "come with histories that have shaped the kinds of things that can be done with them and the kinds of things that cannot: that is, they embody certain *affordances* and *constraints"* (p. 5). From an ecological perspective, these affordances and constraints are seen as "a relationship between an organism … and the environment, that signals an opportunity for or inhibition of action" (van Lier, 2004, p. 4). A Power Point presentation, for example, which may be considered a *cultural artifact* (ibid., p. 94-95), afford candidates to present their research projects in a more attractive and visual form. On the other hand, the same presentation constrains the candidate to use a certain format within a given space.

Norris (2004) maintains that

just as moving images or still photos can communicate meaning to the viewer, nonverbal channels such as gesture, posture, or the distance between people can – and do – carry meaning in any face-to-face interaction. All movements, all noises, and all material objects carry interactional meaning as soon as they are perceived by a person (p. 2).

In this study, besides language, distance and space are taken as meaning making resources which play an important role. In looking at visible (tools, gestures) and invisible (language) materiality. Norris (ibid.) asserts that

spoken language is neither visible nor enduring, but it does have audible materiality. Gesture, however, has visible materiality but is also quite fleeting. The mode of print has more visible materiality and is also enduring; and the mode of layout, thinking about furniture, for example, has highly visible materiality and is extensively enduring (p. 3).

These two types of materiality will be analyzed in this research. For example the spatial arrangement of furniture as can be seen in Figure 4.1 above. However, this investigation, will be largely focused on the invisible materiality of language, as language is a key issue for English language teachers and translators.

4.3.3 On Frontstage and Backstage

Drawing on Goffman's (1959) work, the dramaturgical terms of performance, actors, frontstage and backstage will be adopted in this study. Goffman (ibid.) uses the term performance to refer to "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" (p. 22). This term seems to be appropriate in this study to refer to the

interaction between the candidate who is taking his/her PEC in front of the examiners and the rest of the audience, which may be composed by the candidate's family and friends. The PEC allows for two different audiences as ratified listeners with different rights (Goffman, 1981, pp. 138-139). The examiners constitute an audience with the right to ask questions, whereas the second audience (family and friends) is not allowed to do that, they are ratified *hearers* and co-participants in the event. The candidate's performance has an influence or impact on both audiences; however, it is the examiners (jury) who in the end make a decision as to whether the candidate receives his/her degree or not.

As in any dramaturgical performance, interaction takes place in two regions: frontstage and backstage. By region, we understand "any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers of perception" (Goffman, 1959, p. 106). What the audience perceives takes place frontstage, the audience does not perceive what goes on backstage. Goffman (ibid.) calls frontstage or front region

> that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance…the expressive equipment of a standard kind intentionally or unwittingly employed by the individual during his performance (p. 22)

He then mentions the *standard parts* of the front such as the *setting* which includes "furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items" (ibid.). As noted above, this setting includes a stage, a screen where a Power Point presentation is projected, a laptop, a table with bottles of water, and chairs for the examiners, among other items (See Figure 4.1 above). Goffman (ibid.) asserts that "[a] setting tends to stay put, geographically speaking" (p. 22), so, performers must begin and end their performance in that particular setting. This is the case of PECs, which must be carried out in the auditorium (sala de exámenes profesionales), with very occasional exceptions.

Another important aspect to consider in the setting of professional exams concerning the participants is what Goffman (ibid. p. 24) calls *personal front*, which includes, age, gender, clothes, posture, gestures, and facial expressions among others. It is important to mention that the personal front is divided into *appearance* and *manner*. The former refers to "those stimuli which function at the time to tell us of the performer's social statuses…[and] of the individual's temporary ritual state, that is, whether he is engaging in formal social activity, work or informal recreation" (Goffman, 1959, p. 24). The latter refers to "the stimuli which function at the time to warn us of the interaction role the performer will expect to play in the oncoming situation" (ibid.). Goffman (ibid.) asserts that consistency between appearance, manner and setting are expected in any interaction. Furthermore, he maintains that a good performance is expected "if the individual's activity is to become significant to others, he must mobilize his activity so that it will express *during the interaction* what he wishes to

convey" (p. 30). It is precisely the candidate's wishes/intentions to persuade the examiners that s/he is worth of the degree of BA in English Teaching or Translation, and it is the examiners' duty to assess the candidate's performance.

"Often a performance will involve only one focus of visual attention on the part of performer and audience" (Goffman, 1959, p. 106). In PECs, the main focus is on the candidate. However, during his/her presentation the focus switches from the candidate to the slide accompanying the candidate's speech as will be noted, where the performance becomes bifocal.

According to Goffman (1959), backstage is "a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course" (p. 112). He goes on to say that

> [s]ince the vital secrets of a show are visible backstage and since performers behave out of character while there, it is natural to expect that the passage from the front region to the back region will be kept closed to members of the audience or that the entire back region will be kept hidden from them (p. 113).

In PECs, the examiners deliberate, discuss the candidate's performance, and make decisions behind close doors, therefore an examination of backstage interaction must be considered enlightening in the whole process of this gatekeeping event.

An important concept drawn from Goffman (1967) that will play an important role in the analysis of front stage is that of *face* and *face work*. Goffman (ibid.) maintains that the "term *face* may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p. 5), this particular contact being the PEC where members are expected to have self-respect and are expected to sustain a standard of considerateness "to save the feelings and the face of others present" (Goffman, ibid., p. 10). Brown and Levinson (1999) based on Goffman, agree on the universality of face and maintain that "it is intuitively the case that certain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten face, namely those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker" (p. 323). They refer to those acts as face threatening acts (FTAs). As will be seen, participants in this study in their ratified official roles (Goffman, 1981, pp. 130-131) as candidates defending their theses, and as examiners evaluating the candidates' knowledge/performance need to be conscious of face, each participant's "concern for face focuses the attention of the person on the current activity, he must, to maintain face in this activity, take into consideration his place in the social world…" (Goffman, 1967, p. 7). As the discourse analysis of the gatekeeping encounters will demonstrate, each participant will act as expected according to their place in the social world.

4.3.3.1 Interaction and Participation units

According to Goffman (1983) interactants participate in interaction according to certain arrangements or participation units. The participation unit that concerns this study is that of the *platform event*, which is the kind of arrangement

> found universally in which an activity is set before an audience. What is presented in this way may be a talk, a contest, a formal meeting, a play,…, a ceremony, a combination thereof. The presenters will either be on a raised platform or encircled by watchers. The size of the audience is not closely geared to what is presented (although it is to arrangements which allow for viewing the stage), and the obligation of the watchers is primarily to appreciate, not to do (Goffman, 1983, p. 7).

As previously mentioned, in this platform event, there are two types of audience (Goffman, 1981, pp.138-139), one in which the examiners as audience will interact with the performer (candidate), and the other in which the audience will not interact with the candidate (See Figure 4.1 above).

People attend any public event, either alone, as a *single* or as a *with*. In PECs, the candidate will be considered a *single* who has come to the exam by himself/herself with a specific purpose, that of demonstrating to the jury that s/he is capable of defending his/her thesis. The examiners, are considered *withs*, they come together to the exam, maintain proximity, and have the purpose of examining the candidate. At some points, however, examiners and candidate become a *with*, for example, in moves 4, 8 and 9 (See 4.2.2 above). A third participation unit to be considered in a platform event is what Scollon (1998) calls *watches*, where a group of people watches a spectacle. Watches "claim various rights regarding the spectacle such as to examine it fully without fear of the spectacle returning the examination" (Scollon, 1998, p. 206). S. Scollon (2003) adds that "members of the watch claim the right to listen to the spectacle or not and to comment on the spectacle without fear of the spectacle hearing what they say" (p. 5).

The interaction in platform events is very much *monofocal* with the exception of the candidate's presentation where the attention is *bifocal*, since both audiences look back and forth to the candidate and his/her Power Point presentation.

4.3.4 On Professional Discourse

As stated previously, (See 3.3.2), there is a difference between institutional and professional discourses, however they may overlap at certain practices in certain contexts, for example, in a hospital, the professional doctor/patient discourse and the hospital institutional policy discourse overlap. This way, interdiscursivity is achieved. (See also 3.3.4). According to Sarangi and Clarke (2002), expertise requires mastery of a field of knowledge and "professional knowledge is constituted within a given institutional order" (p. 140). This is the

case of the PEC, where professional expertise must be demonstrated through discourse by the candidate (and the examiners) within the LEMO as an institution.

This study deals with both institutional and professional discourses, placing an emphasis on the professional. Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski (2008) observe that in organizational settings

> linguistic exchange is oriented towards predefined goals and there exist several 'external constraints' on contributions: that is, one cannot say and do anything everywhere, and different subcontexts (for example, informal vs. plenary meetings in organizations) require and allow for different kinds of talk and behaviour limited by different types of official and latent rules… Furthermore, discourse in organizations is articulated by a number of routines and practices that contribute to the ongoing reproduction of the organization (p. 183)

The above mentioned *external constraints* apply to PECs where certain behavior and discourses are expected. For example, a member of the general audience cannot interrupt the candidate or the examiners while they are speaking. Because of the nature of the interaction where the domain of knowledge is predominant, the discourses drawn upon will be mostly professional. Candlin & Hyland (1999) observe that

> All discourse, and particularly the discourses of the professions, workplaces and the academy, are constructed, interpreted and acted upon in social sites of engagement and according to social norms. It is important to recall, however, that such discourses are not only contextually specific, they serve as well to regulate access to the roles, statuses and authority structures they realise in those contexts and those sites …meanings are socially mediated, or are specific to social groups, and discourse is essentially field-dependent" (p. 10).

The professional specialized discourses expected in the PECs are those utilized in the fields of English Language Teaching and Translation, constituting symbolic capital (See below) both for candidates and for examiners. In this respect, Bourdieu (1991) states that

> the specialized languages that schools of specialists produce and reproduce through the systematic alteration of the common language are, as with all discourses, the product of a *compromise* between an *expressive interest* and a *censorship* constituted by the very structure of the field in which the discourse is produced and circulates (p. 137)

4.3.5. On Cultural and Symbolic Capital

In a study that deals with knowledge in the academy, it is important to take into consideration some of Bourdieu's sociological concepts. Bourdieu (1998) asserts that "the school institution institutes *social borders* analogous to those which formerly separated nobility from gentry and gentry to common people" (p. 21). The idea of the school (LEMO) constituting social borders is undeniable. One can distinguish in this particular case, how candidates who have finished their studies will be distinguished from those who have not (or who have not been to school at all) since once candidates have passed their professional exams, the degree of *Licenciado en Lenguas Modernas* will be awarded to them. In this form, they will be separated from the *non-licenciados* by the degree constituting a social border.

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They will belong to the community of practice of English teachers or translators (See 4.3.6). Bourdieu (ibid.) goes on to say that

> [b]y means of the competitive examination and the ordeal of preparing for it, as well as through the ritual cut-off – a true threshold separating the last candidate to have passed from the first to have failed, instituting a difference in kind indicated by the right to bear a *name,* a *title* – the school institution performs a truly magical operation, the paradigm of which is the separation between the sacred and the profane according to Durkheim's analysis (ibid. p. 21)

Bourdieu's (ibid.) act of ordination is well represented in the professional exam and the taking of the oath that ends the whole ceremony (See 4.2.2 above). He also observes:

> The act of scholastic classification is always, but especially in this case, an act of *ordination*, in the double sense the words has in French. It institutes a social difference or rank, a *permanent relation of order*: the elect are marked, for their whole lives, by their affiliation ("old boys" of such-and-such an institution); they are members of an *order*, in the medieval sense of the word, and of a noble order, that is, a clearly delimited set (one either belongs or one doesn't) of people who are separated from the common run of mortals by a difference of essence, and therefore, legitimately licensed to dominate" (p. 21).

The title awarded by the LEMO/BUAP to candidates constitutes what Bourdieu (1998) calls *certificates of social competence*, which he compares to the titles of nobility. He maintains that these certificates are guarantees of technical competence. "In all advanced societies, social success depends very strictly on an initial act of *nomination* (the assigning of a name, usually the name of an educational institution…" (p. 22).

According to Bourdieu (1990), knowledge and competencies acquired by individuals within the school and the family become cultural capital when "it is inserted into the objective relations set up between the system of economic production and the system of producing the producers" (p. 124). He adds that cultural capital "is given the conditions of its full realization only with the appearance of an educational system, which awards qualifications durably consecrating the position occupied in the structure of the distribution of cultural [*sic*]" (p. 125).

In turn, when obtaining their degrees, candidates feel honored and are awarded recognition by the academic community, the state and the entire Mexican society. They obtain thereby symbolic capital.

> Symbolic capital is any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value … symbolic capital is the form taken by any species of capital whenever it is perceived through categories of perception that are the product of the embodiment of divisions or of oppositions inscribed in the structure of the distribution of this species of capital (strong/weak,… cultured/uncultured). It follows that the state, which possesses the means of imposition and inculcation of the durable principles of vision and division that conform to its own structure, is the site par excellence of the concentration and exercise of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 47).

The examiners in PECs are the social agents officially endowed by the Faculty with the capacity of perception and of appraisal of the candidate's performance, they can recognize and give value to it, therefore, are capable of granting symbolic capital to the candidate. The

process of granting symbolic capital in this context is complex and passes through various channels. The State and the community grant symbolic capital to the BUAP as an institution of higher education, the BUAP in turn grants symbolic capital to the LEMO. By the same token, the LEMO recognizes its academic staff to have symbolic capital, the staff then can take this symbolic capital to very end, the graduates. Bourdieu (1998) concludes by saying that "symbolic capital is capital with cognitive base, which rests on cognition and **recognition** [my stress]**"** (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 85).

In a study where English as a foreign language and an institution where foreign languages are taught and learned, the concept of cultural, linguistic and symbolic capital/power seems highly relevant.

Finally, one important concept to consider in this study is that of *investment*. According to Bourdieu (1998), "every social field, whether the scientific field, the artistic field, the bureaucratic field, or the political field, tends to require those entering it to have the relationship to the field that I call *illusio"* (p. 78). By illusio he means the fact that individuals entering a particular field or a game (in our site English Language Teaching or Translation) must believe that it is worth the effort entering it or playing it. Bourdieu (ibid.) goes on to say that "games which matter to you are important and interesting because they have been imposed and introduced in your mind, in your body, in a form called the feel for the game" (p. 77). Thus students entering the field, particularly the candidates have invested interest in English Language Teaching or Translation, they have the feel for the game.

Norton (2000) in the area of language learning states that "[t]he idea of investment…presupposes…organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they [learners] are and how they relate to the social world….they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will increase their value in the social world" (p.166). It is clear from statements such as this that we can note how the candidates have invested their time, effort and economic resources throughout their careers in the hope of gaining material resources (economic capital) and recognition (symbolic capital) in the community.

Having discussed the concepts of cultural capital, symbolic capital, and investment and how they relate to the types of participants in this study, I now turn to discuss the concept of communities of practice to which candidates will belong once they cross the gate of the PEC.

4.3.6 On communities of Practice

Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002) maintain that communities of practice "are groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis" (p. 4). It may be said then, that the purpose of the professional exam is not only to award the candidate

the degree of BA in English Teaching or Translation, but to grant him/her entrance to the community of practice of English teachers and/or translators. In other words, to ratify that the candidate is capable of working as an English teacher or a translator in a given institution. Wenger (1998a) states that a community of practice is defined in three dimensions:

- **What it is about** – its *joint enterprise* as understood and continually renegotiated by its members
- **How it functions** – *mutual engagement* that bind [sic] members together into a social entity
- **What capability it has produced** – the *shared repertoire* of communal resources (routines, sensibilities, artefacts, vocabulary, styles, etc.) that members have developed over time (p.2, See also Wenger, 1998b, pp. 73-85).

These dimensions correspond to the three characteristics that Wenger, McDermott & Snyder (2002) identify as the 'domain' of knowledge, which in this particular case would be the domain of English Teaching and Translation; shared interest and competence to which members of the community are committed to; the community of people (English teachers and translators) who care about this domain and engage in joint activities and discussions, helping each other and sharing information, thus building relationships that permit them to learn from each other; and the 'practice' (English teaching/translation) that practitioners develop to be effective in their domain creating a shared repertoire of resources such as experiences, stories, tools and ways of addressing recurring problems. However, as pointed out by Tusting (2005) Wenger's conception of communities of practice does not emphasize enough the central role that language plays in all practices, nor does he explore in detail "the relationship between interactions in communities and broader social structures" (p. 43). Tusting (ibid.) suggests investigating "the role of language within processes of communities of practice" (p. 42) as well as the interaction in communities of practice within broader structures through critical social linguistics. It is worth noting that in this study, the term practice in general will encompass social and discursive practices (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). Candlin and Candlin (2007) observe that the term community of practice must involve discursive practices, not only forms of language. These discursive practices consist of

acknowledging and claiming identities in interactions; representing in community appropriate genres, what is accepted and conventional knowledge; signalling membership by a range of semiotic and sociolinguistic performances; managing inter- and intra-community relationships by acknowledgement of rights, duties and roles (p.249)

The PEC consists precisely of an event where identities and membership are claimed through interaction between candidates and examiners, and among examiners. These participants signal membership through a variety of semiotic (language, gesture, posture) and sociolinguistic resources during the event, as mentioned by Candlin and Candlin above.

In Wenger's (1998a,b) terms, the candidates going through the PEC to become English teachers/translators would be referred to as *newcomers*, whereas the

teachers/translators who are already members of the community of practice would be called *old-timers*. It is through practice that newcomers become part of a community of practice (p. 46). This conception, according to Tusting (2005) conceptualizes a rather static view of a community of practice (p. 44), however, it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the ongoing nature of a community of practice. It is important, though, to stress the fact that this study analyzes the crucial moment of the passage from one community (university students) into another (English language teachers and translators**).**

In order to achieve *ecological validity* (Cicourel, 2007), this study draws on various methodological traditions such as interactional sociolinguistics (IS), conversation analysis (CA), and systemic functional linguistics (SFL), which will allow a more adequate analysis of the data collected. By drawing on these traditions I seek to "convince others of the viability and authenticity" (ibid., p. 735) of my claims. I now turn to discuss these traditions and how they relate to this research.

4.3.7 On Interactional Sociolinguistics

If we take a look at the following excerpt (Part of extract 6, analyzed in detail below), we observe that two examiners (2 and 3) are giving instructions to the candidate as to a slide that E2 wants to look at. We observe the presence of deictic (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) utterances, for example "there, that" (l. 26), or "this" (l. 27). We can also note that whereas it was E2 who asked a question and started to give instructions, he was joined by E3 who most probably did so, because she shared the same frames of reference with E2.

```
024 E2:  and then ahh , yeah if you could get=
025 E3:                              = move it up (points at the screen)
026 E2:  it put there it would be great, I think it's past that, it's after that one to that
         one= (points at screen with a pen, Figure 4.12)
027 E3:      = yeah this ((unint))
028 E2:  ((unint)) up there we see, the patients were asked to attend one venous
         occlusion (laughs) or something
```

In order to adequately analyze the proposed gatekeeping encounters, some constructs of interactional sociolinguistics (IS) such as *frames* and *code-switching* will be taken into consideration. As Sarangi & Roberts assert, "interactional sociolinguistics looks at the contextualising work of interactants and the ways in which context is both *brought along* and *brought about* in a situated encounter" (p. 30). Gumperz (1999) maintains that IS is based on "communicative practice … where societal and interactive forces merge" (p. 454). We can see how the societal force of the PEC as an event, merges with the interactive force of the participants interacting in it. Gumperz (ibid.) emphasizes the role that discursive practices

play in communicative practice when actors pursue their everyday goals. Gumperz (ibid.) goes on to say that

> [t]o interact, as conversational analyses have shown, is to engage in an ongoing process of negotiation, both to infer what others intend to convey and to monitor how one's own contributions are received. In other words, at issue are shared interpretations rather than just denotational meaning. And background knowledge that goes beyond overt lexical information…" (p. 454).

The ongoing process of negotiation is evident during the whole gatekeeping encounter, especially during the moves under analysis (Q&A session and deliberations) as will be seen.

Gumperz (ibid.) stresses the importance of sharing the same frames of reference when two or more interactants engage in spoken interaction in order to adequately interpret the process of communication and achieve their communicative goals. According to Goffman (1997) frames refer to the understanding and interpretation of the organization of a given activity by the social agents who take part in it. These frames or frameworks are acquired by the agents cognitively after the realization of what the activity consists of. Once this realization takes place, "individuals fit their actions to this understanding and ordinarily find that the ongoing world supports this fitting" (p. 158). These frames are also referred to as *schemas* (Tannen & Wallat, 1999) "to refer to participants' expectations about people, objects, events and settings in the world, as distinguished from alignments being negotiated in a particular interaction" (p. 349). In the PEC, interactants show their frames of reference in relation to the subject matter and to the social occasion. They show their knowledge of the subject matter through different modes of interaction such as language, gesture, and the use of tools. Interactants also show their frames related to the social occasion by behaving in a certain manner, and wearing certain type of clothes according to what is allowed and what is not allowed. Gumperz (1999) adds that

> what the presuppositions are that enter into conversational inference and how they are reflected in talk varies, among other things, with speakers' and listeners' communicative background, so that sharing of inferential procedures cannot be taken for granted. It must be demonstrated through ethnographically informed in-depth analysis of what transpires in an encounter. (p. 459).

Along these lines, this study has been ethnographically documented through different sources such as observations, audio, videotapes and field notes as will be seen (See 4.4.) Indeed, in discourse analysis we cannot take for granted the sharing of inferential procedures thereby the importance of frames of reference. However, in an event like a PEC, where professional specialized knowledge and discourse are evaluated, interactants are expected to share to a greater extent their professional expertise, especially that regarding the subject of the examination. This does not mean, as will be demonstrated, that breakdowns in communication do not occur occasionally.

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By taking a look at the following extract (taken from extract 15 analyzed below), where examiners are deliberating about the performance of the candidate, we can see the need for the construct of *contextualization cues*, especially of *code switching.*

```
016    E1: what is his other career?=
017    E3                              = he has he ahhh ingeniero agrónomo=
018    E1:                                                            = really?
```

Gumperz (1999) refers to contextualization cues as "any verbal sign which when processed in co-occurrence with symbolic grammatical and lexical signs serves to construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation, and thereby affects how constituent messages are understood" (p. 461). He adds that *code-switching* is one type of contextualization cue.

> 'code-switching' refers to "alternation among different speech varieties within the same event. Such alternations are employed throughout the world, particularly among participants in local networks of relationship…[code-switching] evokes a shift in contextual presuppositions which then in turn affects interpretation…code switching constitutes a basic communicative resource, that in many circumstances can be employed as a signaling strategy to achieve specific interpretive effects" (Gumperz, 1999, pp. 460-461).

As illustrated in the previous extract, code switching as a communicative resource from English into Spanish will play an important role in affecting interpretation, even in reaching decisions

4.3.8 On Conversation Analysis

By looking at the following excerpt (part of Extract 4, analyzed in detail below), which constitutes an adjacency pair (Question-Answer) and illustrates turn-taking during the Q&A session of the PEC, the need for some constructs of CA arises.

```
004 E1: but how did you pick up that particular I mean did was it the first article you
        saw or I mean what was the process that you followed?
005 C: well, I knew that that ahh these type of texts would be very difficult for me to
              understand ehh because …
```

In CA the concept of interactional sequence is of utmost importance since it recognizes the 'here and now' "definition of the situation to which subsequent talk will be oriented" (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 287). CA looks at interaction rules, procedures and conventions that underlie social organization. CA pays attention to context and how context shapes and is shaped by interaction (Goodwin and Heritage,1990, pp. 283-289; Richards, 2003, pp. 26-28, 212-213).

Since the focus of this study is on the Question &Answer and deliberations sessions of the PECs, it is appropriate to take into account two main aspects of CA: *adjacency pairs* and

turn-taking. Adjacency pair organization is important in the collaborative co-construction of meaning between participants since they "must analyze the developing course of others' actions in order to produce appropriate reciprocal action" (Goodwin & Heritage, ibid., p. 288). This concept will be relevant in the development of the Question &Answer session to determine whether or not a pattern is identified and if so, how it is constituted. Also, acknowledgement tokens such as 'aha, mmm' (See back-channel signals below), which in a certain way may seem to discontinue an adjacency pair, since they are intersected between a question/answer, will also be analyzed. As Goodwin and Heritage (ibid.) point out, these acknowledgement tokens or laughter, may project, but do not necessarily require "the continuation of another speaker's talk" (p. 288). However, they usually display an analysis of the previous speaker's talk as being incomplete, as in the example below:

```
056 C:  yeah yeah I know what you mean yes , uhh I think (.) the  results in this
         research only apply for
057 E3:              [aha yeah
058 C:               [this particular
059 E3:                 [yes I know
060 C:                    [yeah
```

From a sociological point of view, Goffman (1981) asserts that

> Whenever persons talk there are very likely to be questions and answers. These utterances are realized at different points in "sequence time." Notwithstanding the content of their questions, questioners are oriented to what lies just ahead, and depend on what is to come; answerers are oriented to what has just been said, and look backward, not forward (p. 5)

Turns are utilized to organize many types of social practices/interaction. In CA turn-taking is used to analyze 'speech exchange systems' such as interviews, meetings, ceremonies, and conversations. A PEC is mainly a mixture of interview, ceremony, and conversation, where interdiscursivity is achieved (Candlin & Maley, 1997; Fairclough, 1999; and Wodak, R. & Krzyzanowski, M., 2008). Whereas Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), observe that turn taking seems to be a "basic form of organization in conversation" (p. 700), Gumperz (1999) recognizes that "sequential position of turns at speaking is clearly an important input to conversational inference, but many other, analytically prior factors are also involved" (p. 458). Finally, Gumperz (1982) refers to "interjections such as, "O.K.," "right," "aha," or nods or other body movements" (p. 163) as *back-channel* signals through which "conversational cooperation is communicated and monitored by participants" (ibid.), as in the example above.

4.3.9 On Tenor and Modality

Two important constructs of SFL seem to be relevant to this study. First, the construct of *Tenor* whereby the power relations of participants are evident, and *Modality* of probability, used mainly by candidates when answering hypothetical questions (both constructs discussed more extensively in 3.3.5.2 and 3.3.5.3). Martin and Rose (2003) observe that the relationship between interactants are realized through Tenor (pp. 242-243). Halliday and Hasan (1989) maintain that

> the TENOR OF DISCOURSE refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech roles they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved? [sic] (p. 12).

Finally, Painter (2001) maintains that "[t]he most obvious dimension of tenor concerns power relations, determined by the relative status of the interactants" (p. 174), It is clear, then that the construct of Tenor is important in this study which takes into account the power and any other relations between candidate and examiners and between examiners themselves. In an interaction such as the PEC, where participants' roles are ratified and clearly demarcated, asymmetrical relations are at stake.

Modality of probability is referred to as modalization by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 147). This construct is important as it was found both in the examiners' as well as in the candidates' discourse, especially when referring to hypothetical situations where possibilities are open. Halliday & Matthiessen (ibid.) organize probability as a system of three values: high, meaning 'certain'; median, meaning 'probable'; and low, meaning 'possible'. (p. 147). These various forms to express probability will be explored in this study.

Having discussed the theoretical foundations concerning this study, I now turn to describe the methodology used, the analysis and results obtained.

4.4 Methodology

4.4.1 Data collection process

Participants were invited to participate in this research study on a voluntary basis. In order to carry out this investigation, four PECs were audio and videotaped with the candidates' and the examiners' written consent. The recordings were carried out between February and December, 2007. I was present during these examinations in order to take field notes that might complement the recordings. The whole encounters were listened to and viewed, then I proceeded to transcribe the moves that are the subject of this study. Errors in

the lexico-grammar in English were not corrected. The transcription conventions followed can be found in Appendix L. After transcribing the moves, I proceeded to select the representative excerpts to be included in this analysis. The selection of excerpts was based mainly on the identification of critical moments (See Candlin, 1997 above). As a technical criterion, clarity of sound and image was also important. After selection and analysis of the excerpts screen shots that captured details such as personal front, gesture and posture were added in order to achieve greater ecological validity (Cicourel, 2007) in this study.

4.4.2 Participants

It is important to distinguish at least two categories of human participants who play different roles in these gatekeeping encounters. Hall, Sarangi and Slembrouck (1999) note that "[h]ow one presents oneself is intimately linked with what is expected in a given situated context" (p. 294). They go on to say that

> …identity is negotiated through the differentiation and delineation of role expectations, whilst always recognizing that the opposite is also taking place, i.e., specific role models are confirmed/disconfirmed through situated identity work…This two way connection is aptly captured by the term "role-identity" – the attributes and dispositions expected of those who fill such roles. In conversation and writing, personal attributes and societal expectations, i.e. identity and role, are made available in order to manage the construction and negotiation of everyday interactions in particular locations (ibid., p. 294)

Although a discussion of identity is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note how the terms identity and roles are connected. In PECs, candidates are expected to defend their theses and examiners are expected to assess the candidates' capability of crossing the gate. From a CA perspective, it can be said that the roles of the participants in this interaction are clearly marked, thus showing the *relevance* of the *social structure* of the professional exam (Schegloff, 1999, pp. 107-120). Finally, it is important to note that "structures of domination – political, economic, theoretical, intellectual, and so on – are associated with allocative and authoritative resources as utilized by individuals invested in specific roles and identities within social practices" (Meurer, 2004, p. 94). Here, two types of roles are important: candidates and examiners.

4.4.2.1 Candidates

All candidates are non-native speakers of English. Three of the candidates are male and one is female. All candidates are in their twenties and have concluded their studies. Their theses have been approved and they are taking the examination for several reasons: Two of them (D*** and R***) did not need to take the professional exam, but decided to take it in order to obtain honors degrees and to pursue a master's degree later on. In Mexico, to enroll in a master's degree, most universities require a BA thesis where candidates have demonstrated that they are capable of carrying out research. The rest of the candidates took

the PEC because they did not have the required average (85%) to obtain the degree automatically (See 4.2).

4.4.2.2 Examiners

The examiners participating in this study are one male and 11 females. Most of the examiners are non-native speakers of English, with the exception of the male examiner. All examiners have a master's degree in various areas such as Applied Linguistics, English Language Teaching or Education. Some examiners are completing their doctorate degrees in areas such as Applied Linguistics or Education. They are all full-time teachers at the LEMO. Examiners are numbered from 1 to 3 from left to right facing the candidate.

4.4.2.3 Tools as participants

As mentioned above, in line with Norris & Jones (2005) and Wertsch (1991), tools in this study will be taken as active participants in the interaction. According to Filliettaz (2005), when analyzing discourse, other semiotic means such as material objects or non-verbal conduct must be taken into consideration. He goes on to say that "[f]from such a *multimodal* perspective, physical artifacts are not seen any more as 'contextual' or background elements, but as units of analysis that play a central role in our understanding of how human actions are carried out in society" (p. 101). Therefore, the presence of a laptop, a screen, a memory stick, copies of the candidates' thesis, which play an important role during the PEC, will be taken into consideration as important artifacts/participants in this analysis (See Analysis of Setting and Tools in 4.5.1 below).

4.5 Data Analysis and Findings

Since the four professional exams analyzed were carried out in the same setting, using the same tools, I will first present an analysis of setting and tools. I then provide an analysis of each sample, in chronological order, separately. Samples have been numbered from 1 to 4. A short background indicating the title of the examination, the gender of the candidate and of the examiners is provided for each sample. For ethical reasons, names have been erased, instead an initial letter is provided, for example: T***. Exact dates are not provided.

4.5.1 Analysis of Setting and Tools

As seen in Figure 4.1, the auditorium has a semicircular shape with a screen in the center which serves to project Power Point presentations. There is a stage which is about 70 cm. above the ground. The height of the stage makes candidates remain standing on the floor and place their laptops on the stage in order to be able to handle them. Usually, as can be observed in Figure 4.1, the candidate occupies a certain space and remains in that territory during the entire process of the PEC close to their laptops. This closeness to the laptop

suggests a strong bond between the laptop and the candidate, and it may be speculated that the laptop provides the candidate some sense of security. As a single, the candidate is exposed and vulnerable to the audiences in front of him/her.

The examiners remain seated in front of the candidate with their backs facing the audience. There is a table in front of the candidate which serves two main purposes. First, it acts as a boundary marker between the candidate and the examiners, leaving a distance of about 2 m. between candidate and examiners, which constitutes *social distance* in Hall's (1969) terms, and *public distance* between the candidate and the general audience. Second, each examiner has a copy of the candidate's thesis on the table, to which they may refer from time to time, or write comments on their copy during the candidate's presentation. Also, there is a leather folder in front of the president which contains the candidate's transcription of marks, the script of the oath, the regulations for awarding a grade to the PEC, and the official document (verdict) that the jury has to sign as proof that the candidate has taken and passed the examination. As will be seen, these official documents play an important role especially during the deliberations.

During the presentation stage, the lights in the auditorium are very dim, so that the Power Point presentation may be seen by the two audiences mentioned, the examiners and the general public. At this stage, eye-contact is difficult to make between participants, i.e. between the examiners and the candidate. It is worth noting, however, that in some cases, lights remained dim for no apparent reason.

As can be seen, the influence of technology is present and crucial in every PEC. Without a laptop or a memory stick, the candidate would not be able to perform appropriately. That is why s/he has to make sure everything is in order before the examination takes place. Occasionally, the examination would be videotaped by a candidate's relative or friend, or photographs might be taken by members of the general audience.

4.5.2 Analysis of Samples

In this section I analyze every sample separately, outline my findings and discuss them. A small chart with background information to each sample precedes each analysis.

Before proceeding with the analysis of each sample, it is important to make two general observations which are applicable to the four examinations analyzed. The first observation is related to eye-contact. Each candidate and examiners made eye-contact during the Q&A sessions. According to Goffman (1963), eye-contact plays a crucial role in human interaction, "eye-contact opens one up for face engagement (p. 95). Goffman (ibid.) utilizes Simmel's words and states that "[o]f the special sense-organs, the eye has a uniquely

sociological function. The union and interaction of individuals is based upon mutual glances. This is perhaps the most direct and purest reciprocity which exists anywhere" (p. 93). Furthermore, Argyle and Dean (1965) assert that "without eye-contact, (EC) people do not feel that they are fully in communication" (p. 289). Eye-contact is then an important semiotic mode that is present in the Q&A session and that opens up the opportunity for interaction. In a virtual environment, working with an embodied conversational agent (ECA) Bailly (n.d.) concludes that "eye gaze is an important social signal, and humans can accurately determine gaze direction of others" (p. 2), ", he adds that gaze constitutes a special stimulus which can orient attention to the location of the gaze. Gaze modulates the "processing of faces, including the recognition of individuals or the management of conversation" (ibid., p. 2). Space and technical constraints in this study, however do not allow for a detailed examination of gaze.

The second observation is related to the Tenor (See 3.3.5.3; see also Halliday and Hasan, 1989; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Martin & Rose, 2003) in the interaction of PECs. There is no doubt that power relations are clearly demarcated, influenced by the institutional setting, where examiners have the power to ask questions, and are thus placed in a position of authority over the candidate. It is also the case that, the candidate is obliged to answer the questions posed by the examiners. Nonetheless, a certain degree of solidarity or sympathy is observed from the examiners towards the candidate. In the end, though, it is the examiners who have the power to determine the success or failure of the candidate's performance.

4.5.2.1. Sample 1

The background for the analysis of the interaction in sample 1 is as follows:

Tape No.: 1
Candidate : R *** , young adult, male
Subject: Analyzing syntactic patterns used to perform requests in English by Mexican Spanish speakers
Examiners: 3 females, all non-native speakers of English

This examination took one hour and 10 minutes. Regarding the candidate's personal front, he is wearing black trousers, white shirt and a tie, which indicates formality, in accordance with the formal occasion and image he wants to project (See Figure 4.2 below) Examiners are dressed in a casual manner, probably as a sign that a professional exam is part of their everyday working routine. As can be noted, the presence of various artifacts on the table before the examiners can be observed. Every examiner has a copy of the candidate's thesis in front of them, so that they can consult it and make notes on it. There are also books, probably because the examination took place between classes and the examiners did not have time to put them away. The official documents to be read, signed and handed in to the

candidate after the examination are in a black folder at the center. Finally, the researcher's audiorecorder is strategically placed on the table in order to audiotape the entire event. Examiner 1 is the *vocal* and also the candidate's thesis supervisor, Examiner 2 is the president of the jury and Examiner 3 is the secretary. It is important to mention that the supervisor cannot act as a president in the professional exam. After moves 1 and 2, the candidate proceeded to make his presentation. He looked relaxed, made occasional eye-contact with the examiners and used his hand to point at the Power Point presentation. Examiners made occasional eye-contact with the candidate and took notes during the presentation. After 40 minutes of presentation the Q&A session began.

Figure 4.2: Candidate's personal front

Q&A Session

The candidate did not move from his presentation space when examiners began to ask questions (See Figure 4.2 above). One of the main characteristics observed during this session was the use of hypothetical questions that called for speculative answers. The following excerpt (1) illustrates part of the interaction between Examiner 1 and the candidate. In turn 14, we can observe that the examiner announces her question which asks for speculation "…the development of linguistics and the development of pragmatics ok, can you see any connection between those developments, what is the connection? The candidate rephrases the question in turn 15 in order to make sure he understood the question, adopting a thoughtful posture (see Figure 4.3). The candidate's answer consists of a long turn (17) which contains a considerable number of utterances expressing modality (See Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 146-150),

mostly indicating probability, such as*, could, would, probably* (highlighted in blue) as expected in hypothetical answers. It is worth noting how the candidate appropriates two role/identities in his answer. First, he identifies himself with a non-native speaker of English, "we, as non-native… our mother tongue" then he assumes the role of a student "…we are taught…" This can be seen by the use of pronouns and possessive adjectives (highlighted in yellow in the text). The candidate concludes his answer to this question using a modal adjunct and a modal verb, these two indicating median degree of probability "probably, would" (Halliday & Matthiessen, ibid., pp. 116, 128). It is important to note how the original question does not project any specific moment in time, but refers to the present reality. However, we can note that in order to adequately answer the question, the candidate moves in time (See Filliettaz, 2005, pp. 100-109) in turn 17, from the present in a general form to the past alluding to his own personal past experiences as a student "I remember that in my lessons I sometimes was told that…" in order to add credibility to his answer. He then moves back to the present.

Excerpt 1

014 E1: ok (nods) my next question is related to the development of linguistics and the development of pragmatics ok, can you see any connection between those developments, what is the connection?

015 C: mmhmm (nods in agreement) well, first of all ok, between the linguistic form and yeah the linguistic knowledge and the pragmatic knowledge (thoughtful, see Fig.3.)

016 E1: mmhmm (nods in agreement)

017 C: ok, ahh the connection ok I would say is uhh sometimes we as non-native speakers uhh have in our mother tongue like an awareness that we cannot be impositive mmhm? So probably the development of the linguistic form and the development of the of the appropriate use of that linguistic form is sometimes influenced by the ((unint)) the previous knowledge (right hand points back) that we have, but also as we probably we are taught that those structures have specific use and that we cannot use them with everyone I remember that in my lessons I sometimes was told that ehh for example may the the form may, may I, sometimes cannot be interchangeable with can cause one form conveys a specific illocution and the other form conveys another illocution so I would say that when we are taught our teachers teach us the form and also the the use of that form mhhm (affirms) so I would say that ahhh probably that relationship goes hand hand by hand with ahh sometimes our previous knowledge that we have of our first language and also the knowledge that we receive in the classroom. So, probably that that could be the relation.

Finally, it is important to note that both examiner (turn 16) and candidate (turn 15) use gestures and backchannel signals to show agreement and continuation.

Figure 4.3: Thoughtful posture

The following excerpt (2) illustrates a misinterpretation during the Q&A session due to an ambiguously posed question. After the candidate has answered the first question of Examiner 3 satisfactorily, in turn 55 Examiner 3 asks a question about asymmetrical relationships referring to age differences (older people as opposed to students), "…what about ahhmm an asymmetrical relationship?" and makes a gesture with her two index fingers, one above the other to indicate assymetry (see Figure 4.4), complementing her question. Probably in the candidate's view, asymmetrical relationships do not refer to age in this context but to power relations. In turn 56, the candidate believes he understands what the examiner asks and tries to answer that his research is not about that. A series of overlapping (turns 57-60) and latching (turns 61-62) utterances follow in an attempt to gain control of the floor on the part of both participants.

Figure 4.4: Asymmetry

However, the candidate surrenders and asks the examiner to repeat the question (turn 64), holding his head in a moment of despair (Figure 4.5). One of the communication strategies found by Kerekes (2007) in job interviews was asking for clarification, "from recasts to overt admissions of not understanding" (p.1964) as in this case.

Figure 4.5: Again, please

In turn 65 the examiner tries to paraphrase the question but is interrupted by the candidate's latching utterance asking for clarification "between?" (turn 66), making a gesture with his two hands and leaving a space between them to indicate a gap (Figure 4.6). In turns 67 to 73 the examiner tries to explain what she means by her question, with two interruptions (turns 70 and 72). Finally, in turn 74 the candidate tries to answer the question about asymmetrical relations, but is interrupted in turn 75 by the examiner who makes clear what she really means by her question (i.e. older people). The candidate seems surprised as he raises his eyebrows, makes eye-contact with the examiner to continue the exchange and repeats the clarification as if asking a question (turn 76) "older?...", another strategy used when asking for clarification.

Figure 4.6: Between…?

Finally, he understands what the examiner means and gives the answer that the examiner expected in the same turn (76), the candidate uses low degree modalization (highlighted in blue)*: may,* and medium degree of probability: *will, would,* to answer a hypothetical question. During this turn, the candidate indicates with his hands the difference between older and younger people, raising his right hand for older and lowering his left hand for younger to elaborate on his answer (see Figure 4.7) The examiner seems satisfied with the candidate's answer (turn 77) and closes this piece of interaction. I believe this is an example of how an ambiguously posed question might mislead a candidate to a considered wrong or unexpected answer.

Fig. 4.7: Older vs. younger

Excerpt 2

055 E3: ok what can you tell me about the asymmetrical relationship because here the
         students share more or less the same background, the same level the same age
         but what about ahhmm an asymmetrical relationship?(gesture in Figure 4.4)
056 C: yeah yeah I know what you mean yes , uhh I think (.) the results in this
         research only apply for
057 E3:   [aha yeah
058 C: [this particular
059 E3:   [yes I know
060 C: [yeah
 061 E3: but do you think what=
062 C: =yeah what would
063 E3: the difference be?
064 C: yeah I think uhhmm (…) ok, again the question again please (gesture in Figure 4.5)
065 E3: ok, the asymmetrical relationship=
066 C: = between? (gesture in Figure 4.6)
067 E3: ahaaa ehhh asymmetrical
068 C: mhhmm
069 E3: here is the same level of ahh the same age=
070 C: =ah ok ok
071 E3: ehh social background more or less but
072 C: yeah ok
073 E3: the other one is different
074 C: yeah, yes I think there is also a aaah the results <mark>might</mark> be different totally
          different because sometimes uhh well having uhh probably different ehh
          people with different background ok this is LEMO students but if compared
          with others that are not from LEMO and have a higher=
075 E3:   =older
076 C: older? (raises eyebrows and looks directly at examiner) Yes I think their their
          the performance <mark>will</mark> be different totally different because sometimes uhh
          older people <mark>may</mark> have a different use from the ones the one young people
          have ok so this is also part of the sociological ehh things ok so I <mark>would</mark> say
          ehhm there's going to be a difference between the use of ahh requests older
          people and young people (gesture in Figure 4.7)
077 E3: ok well that's it

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Deliberations

The following excerpt (3) illustrates how in this professional exam examiners negotiate and reach an agreement as to the grade to be awarded to the candidate. Examiner 1 starts by providing some background information about the candidate, she talks favorably about the candidate's past work. It seems the other examiners know the candidate well and are in agreement with Examiner 1 (turns 98-102) praising the candidate's academic skills "he's much better because he wants to continue studying and…". Then the discussion turns to the research requirements of some universities and the candidate's intentions for the future (turns 103-106) to purse an MA. In turn 107, Examiner 1 praises the candidate's work and performance and Examiner 2 gears back the discussion to the real purpose of the deliberations, the candidate's grade (turn 108). They continue discussing the candidate's qualities and grading system until they look at the written regulations in front of them and Examiner 1 says "it's here", (turn 114) realizing deixis both with language and with her right index finger. They then decide to award the candidate the highest grade (turn 117) "I think it's cum laude" after close examination of the rules. In this last part of the deliberations, a very important non-human participant/tool (See 4.4.2.3 above) constitutes the folder with the written regulations to which the examiners turn in order to reach a verdict. Without this participant, a wrong grade may have been awarded to the candidate with serious consequences for his future.

Excerpt 3

097 E1: and he actually participated in my study because he used all my data, all the
methodology is part of my project and he has ((unint)) a scholarship because
this is aaaah I registered my program in the ((unint)) and I registered him like
a part of my project like an assistant and he received a scholarship from the
((unint))
098 E2: ahh that was great
099 E1: that's why he had the the he had to present the thesis even though
100 E2: he didn't have to because of the regulations=
101 E3:   = he's much better because he
wants to continue studying and=
102 E2:   =yeah
103 E3: today some universities
104 E1:   [he wants to study a masters' degree
104 E3: ehhh
105 E2: yeah
106 E3: they don't care about your grades they want to see the kind of work you can
do
107 E1: mhmm he's an excellent student and he has done an excellent job
108 E2: ok, you know what his average
109 E3:   [and a very good memory
110 E1: is 9 point 6 so I'm suggesting to give him the ad honorem if it is possible
111 E2: mmhmm (agreeing)
112 E3: is it ad honorem the one or
113 E2: ahh there's one more it's cum laude
114 E1: it's here (looks at written regulations)
115 E3: it's here (looks at written regulations)
116 E3: probably *por mayoria o unanimidad* add honorem cum laude
117 E1: I think it's cum laude

Discussion

The previous analysis of some moments of the Q&A session, as well a moment in the deliberations has rendered important results. First, it has shown how an individual appropriates different roles in one utterance (non-native speaker, student) and how the use of modalization is present in the answer to hypothetical questions that do not have a clear, direct connection with the actual presentation. It has also shown how an ambiguously posed question may lead to misinterpretations and how through a process of overlaps and latching signals both examiner and candidate try to gain control of the interaction. An important part in the interaction is played by the gestures made both by the candidate and the examiners. Gestures seem to support, elaborate and explain what is being said through language. Finally, the deliberations showed how an agreement is reached through sharing some frames of reference regarding the candidate, e.g. his participation in academic projects as well as his past performance as a student. The important role of the artifact containing the rules and regulations is evident (Norris & Jones, 2005; Wertsch, 1990).

4.5.2.2. Sample 2

The background for the next PEC is as follows:

Tape No.: 2
Candidate : D***, young adult male
Subject: Analyzing the use of passive voice in translation from English into Spanish:
   A systemic-functional approach to scientific texts.
Examiners: 2 females, non-native speakers of English, 1 male, native speaker of English

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This examination lasted for one hour and 15 minutes. The candidate was dressed in gray color, without a jacket, but wearing a tie as a sign of formality. He was holding a laser pen which changed from right hand to left hand from time to time during the entire presentation (see Figure 4.8). The laser pen was used as a tool accomplishing two main functions: to point at certain features in the Power Point presentation, and to draw the audience's attention to what the candidate considered pertinent in the various slides, thus exercising some sort of control over the audience, as can be noted in the same photo by the gaze of the examiners. Examiners were dressed in a casual form. Examiner 1 (female) was the candidate's thesis supervisor and acted as a secretary, Examiner 2 (male) was the *vocal*, and Examiner 3 acted as president of the jury, the black folder with the official documents are in front of her. After moves 1, 2 and 3 were accomplished, the Q&A session started 40 minutes after the beginning of the examination.

Figure 4.8: Presentation

Q/A Session

The following excerpt (4) illustrates some important aspects regarding FTAs (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and mitigation. In turn 2, Examiner 1 goes straight to the point and commits an FTA by pointing out to the candidate bald on record what he did not explain in his presentation. However, once she realizes this might have seemed impolite, she tries to mitigate her FTA by providing reasons ("perhaps because of the amount of time"), using low degree modality (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 128) of probability (highlighted in blue), on why the candidate might have failed to explain how he chose the texts for his research project. She simplifies the question again. This question asks for the candidate to go back in time, to the past. The candidate then answers in a very long turn (3) after a couple of false starts "mmhhmm, ehhhh", and provides quite clear answers which are related to his interests, and translation problems. He adds that he has a particular interest in the use of the passive voice and wanted to explore its usage in medical texts. The candidate provides a short summary by saying "that was my point of departure", at which point he makes a gesture and points at himself with his right hand (See Figure 4.9). He then continues by going back in time alluding to his personal experiences. The candidate demonstrates his expertise in the field by the choice of lexical items such as "this trend of copying the syntactic structure of the English texts", or "this frequency of periphrastic constructions in Spanish texts". He uses low degree of modalization (highlighted in blue).

Figure 4.9: My point of departure

Examiner 1, however, is not satisfied with the candidate's answer and asks for a more concise answer, using the filler "I mean" twice, "but how did you pick up that particular I mean did was it the first article you saw or I mean what was the process that you followed?" (turn 4). The candidate then in turn 5 goes back in time and explains that he chose those texts that he could understand better. Examiners 2 and 3 laugh at this candid answer as a sign of sympathy or solidarity for the candidate, who is giving an excellent presentation as examiners will comment later. As Poggi and Chirico (1998) point out, "[W]e fulfill our communicative goals through the use of a great number of signals in different modalities" (p. 159). These authors, when referring to "the most frequent and (seemingly) polyfunctional non-verbal signal: smile" (p. 160), attach to this sign the most general feeling of pleasure. It seems that the examiners, when laughing, feel pleased with the candidate's answer. Turns 6 and 7 may be considered an adjacency pair where laughter is followed by laughter. Norris (2004) states that "every participant reacts to the perceived lower level actions of the other participant(s) whereby they are co-constructing the interaction. Laughter in this case constitutes a lower level action acknowledged by examiners co-constructing the interaction. Finally, this extract is characterized by the long turns on the part of the candidate, which illustrate both his knowledge of the field and his good command of English.

Excerpt 4

> 002 E1: ahmm yeahh I have three questions for you, ahhm you mentioned that , I
>   mean you pointed out in your presentation that the reason why you chose
>   academic texts was because of the frequency of the amount of passives in this
>   area but you did not explain in your presentation perhaps because of the lack of
>   time how did you choose actually the texts, I mean how did you get to those
>   actual articles? Why did you choose them?
> 003 C: mmhhmm, ehhhh when I was thinking about the topic for my thesis ehhh I
>   wanted to do something with the passive voice because I had ehh read a lot of
>   articles that said thaaat there was a trend in scientific texts specially medical
>   texts this trend of copying the syntactic structure of the English texts and ahhh
>   most of them are Spanish authors ahh talking about the translation of medical
>   texts and some of them even say that theee it is unacceptable this frequency of
>   periphrastic constructions in Spanish texts, they say that it just doesn't sound
>   natural to theee ear of the Spanish speaker and that was my point of departure
>   (points at himself, Figure 4.9) and that's when I ehh got interested in ehhh these
>   kinds of texts so that was the main ehh aspect that led me to the decision of
>   these kinds of texts and perhaps besides ehh the number of passives that we
>   can find within this text I wanted to see or to acknowledge whether the it was
>   like those authors said the use of passive voice unacceptable or acceptable ehh I
>   was eh intrigued by that question
> 004 E1: but how did you pick up that particular I mean did was it the first article you
>   saw or I mean what was the process that you followed?
> 005 C: well, I knew that that ahh these type of texts would be very difficult for me to
>   understand ehh because of thee special vocabulary they use so I went to the
>   library of medicine and I was looking for the a text in English and in Spanish
>   and I tried to find ehh like the more understandable=
> 006 E2:   = (laughs)
> 007 E3:   = (laughs)

In the next excerpt (5 below), it can be observed how Examiner 2 (native speaker) praises the candidate extensively before posing his question (turn 16). In fact, the examiner finishes up the turn without asking any questions. However, it is interesting to observe that the examiner is very conscious of the fact that the candidate does not belong to the community of practice of English translators by using the pronoun *we* (highlighted in yellow), as opposed to *students* and *they*. Here, the division between old-timers and newcomers is very clearly signaled. The candidate still has to cross the gate in order to become a translator. This division is also a matter of power between the *us* ("this academic community") and the *you* ("students"). It is worth noting that in the middle of his speech, the examiner makes a deictic gesture indicating with his right hand that the candidate did not need to "take … this thesis project to this point", meaning to the point of presentation (Figure 4.10), utilizing one gesture to contextualize the entire event. The candidate, however, remains with his hands clasped at

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the back while paying attention to the examiners' comments or questions. After this short speech, the candidate in turn 17 uses a back-channel expression and nods in agreement.

Figure 4.10: To this point …

Excerpt 5

> 016 E2: uhh Id like to start out by congratulating you D *** , on the work that you did ah I do have some questions but first things first uhh and I'd like to do it here in front of everybody you deserve congratulations for several reasons I believe and ah I'd like to point them out first of all you didn't have to uhhm take this translation to its uh I'm sorry this thesis project to this point (points to the entire event, Figure 4.10) you could've graduated uhh with an automatic ah title and I think that we as members of this academic community really appreciate it when students uhh who don't have to do their thesis continue the process until they do until they finish ahh it shows a certain dedication which is admirable and it shows ahh maturity in research that says, well I did research and one of the important part of research is the dissemination of research
>
> 017 C: mhhmm (nodding in agreement)

The next excerpt (6 below) constitutes an example of how an examiner pushes a candidate harder than usual because of his high competence. It also demonstrates how solidarity is marked by laughter, and how latching utterances co-construct the interaction. In turn 22 the examiner overtly states that he is getting "detailed", a remark which is unusual at the level of BA examinations. The extract becomes also interesting because of the important interplay between human and non-human participants (Power Point presentation, screen, laptop). In turn 22 the examiner tries to situate the candidate in the context of his question

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before actually posing it "there was one issue …", looking at his notes and pointing with his right hand at the Power Point presentation (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11: One issue

The candidate seems to infer where the preamble is heading and starts looking for the slide that will contextualize the question (turn 23), backchannels the examiner's utterance and nods in agreement. In turn 24, the examiner realizes that the candidate has understood where he is heading and gives verbal ("I think it's past that, it's after that one to that one") and non-verbal directions, (turns 24 and 26), making a deictic gesture with a pen pointing at the correct slide (Figure 4.12). Examiner 1, who is following the discussion closely, intervenes, giving also verbal and non-verbal directions (turns 25 and 27). The importance of non-human tools in this exchange is evident, since without their analysis the exchange would not be understood. Examiner 2 laughs in turn 28 ("up there we see, the patients were asked to attend one venous occlusion (laughs) or something") and both the candidate and the audience answer back by laughing. Laughter is probably the only expression allowed to the audience on this particular occasion. This is probably the only way in which the audience can actively participate in the examination. These two turns with laughter constitute an adjacency pair, where laughter generates laughter and may be interpreted as '*I am your friend*' as pointed out by Poggi and Chirico (1998). Laughter in this case may also serve as an indication of solidarity. The latching utterances between examiners and candidate in the entire exchange seem to add to the co-construction of meaning in the interaction.

Excerpt 6

022 E2: alright then, and (…) there was one issue (looks at his notes and points at the
ppt., Figure 4.11) in one of the examples. I very rarely get this detailed if you
want to know the truth when I'm asking this kind of questions I usually keep it
very general but I'm curious about this one part that you showed us today uhm
where the author was using a reflexive strategy and it said something in
English like the patients were asked to attend a certain kind of a test=

023 C: = mmhmm
(agrees and starts to operate laptop looking for the right slide)

024 E2: and then ahh , yeah if you could get=

025 E3:   = move it up (points at the screen)

026 E2: it put there it would be great, I think it's past that, it's after that one to that
one= (points at screen with a pen, Figure .12)

027 E3:   = yeah this ((unint))

028 E2: ((unint)) up there we see, the patients were asked to attend one venous
occlusion (laughs) or something

029 A, C: (laugh)

Deliberations

Excerpt 7 shows a moment in the deliberations, where decisions are made and
preparations for the next frontstage move are discussed. After having reached an agreement as
to the quality of the candidate's thesis and presentation, in turn 99 the president recommends
a *cum laude* grade. However, Examiner 2 looks at the file with the regulations and at the

candidate's academic transcript and points at them while reading (turn 100), then he realizes it is not possible to award the candidate with the highest honor. He announces the reason "he's not gonna get that because he got a six in French" (turn 102) and examiners 1 and 3 laugh, probably finding amusing that because a low grade in French will constitute an impediment for the candidate to graduate with the highest honor as an English/Spanish translator. Examiner 2 goes on explaining (turn 105) that the candidate obtained a low grade when he was taking common core subjects, code-switching to Spanish ("tronco común"). He then proposes to "make a little show", as if he were conscious of the dramaturgical nature of the examination, and clearly showing sympathy for the candidate. This turn plays a crucial role in the exchange since the examiner strongly takes the candidate's side and makes use of modulation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, pp. 147-148) with the modal verb *should* (highlighted in blue) to strongly suggest saving the candidate's face (Goffman, 1967) before the audience and giving him appropriate recognition by alluding to a technicality, namely, the fact that he does not obtain the highest honor. Examiner 2 closes his statement again modulating his utterance (highlighted in blue). Examiner 1, the candidate's supervisor, immediately agrees with examiner 2 (turn 105), Examiner 2 continues in turn 106 making sure all members are in agreement, stressing the technicality part, and finally Examiner 3 concludes this piece of interaction by agreeing with the other two examiners (turn 106).

Excerpt 7

099 E3: on that basis I would recommend him for the highest honor
100 E2: look here (points at regulations and reads silently)
101 E3: mhmm (thoughtful)
102 E2: he's not gonna get that because he got a six in French
103 E3: (laughs)
104 E1:   [(laughs)
105 E2: *en tronco común* we are not going to be able to give him the cum laude but I
        say that we should make a little show of saying he graduates with ad honorem
        and the only reason why he is not receiving cum laude is because of technical
        requirements, we won't even say ahm why=
105 E1:   = we don't want to put him in the
        spot
106 E2: because of the grade point average, we'll say because of a technicality=
107 E3:   =ok

Discussion

This PEC illustrated some ways of mitigating FTAs during the Q&A session, and how modality of probability is used when responding to FTAs. The presence of these FTAs constitutes an indication of asymmetrical power relations, a signal of the tenor of discourse

whereby the examiner is allowed to commit FTAs, whereas the candidate is not. An interesting finding was the presence of adjacency pairs consisting of laughter as a sign of solidarity and/or approval. The interaction in this PEC illustrated how a more competent candidate is asked more detailed questions than an average candidate at this level, as is overtly stated by one of the examiners. Boundaries between the institutional academic community of practice and the student community were signaled in one of the examiner's discourse, another indication of the tenor of the discourse, where the candidate does not yet have the power required in the academic community. The link between gestures and language was exemplified, and the important function of non-human tools was indicated. Finally, we observed the connections between frontstage-backstage-frontstage and how one stage influences the other. More concretely, the backstage deliberations extract, which is the result of the candidate's frontstage performance, shows a part not seen or heard by the audience, where an important decision was made, and reflected frontstage where the verdict was read after all participants were back in the auditorium.

4.5.2.3 Sample 3

The background to this sample is presented in the following table:

Tape No.: 3 **Candidate :** G***, young adult, female **Subject**: The effect of the Secondary-High School transition and EFL in a public High-   School **Examiners:** 3 females, all non-native speakers of English

This examination lasted for one hour and 20 minutes. The candidate is wearing a gray suit with a pink shirt and high heels, all these as signs of formality. Examiner 1, who acted as president, was wearing a dark jacket as sign of formality, which she later removed. Examiner 2 was the secretary and dressed casually, and Examiner 3, who was the candidate's supervisor, acted as *vocal* and wore a formal white jacket (See Figure 4.13). After moves 1, 2 and 3 were accomplished, the Q&A session began.

Figure 4.13: Frontstage

Q&A Session

The following excerpt (8) will focus on turn-taking and backchannel expressions which are salient in this piece of interaction. It is important to note that at the beginning of this session, while listening to the examiners' questions, the candidate kept her hands at her back in a quasi handcuffed manner, probably as an expression of shyness and vulnerability as a single performer in front of two audiences. However, as the Q&A session proceeded, the candidate showed signs of feeling more relaxed as she leaned against the platform and placed her legs slightly apart with one foot in advance of the other in a casual manner (See Figure 4.14).

Figure 4.14: You, as a teacher

The excerpt is characterized by short turns on the part of the candidate. Contrary to other examinations where both examiners and candidates take longer turns, in this piece of interaction the candidate gives very short answers.

The candidate has been asked a hypothetical question on how to help students who go through the apparently problematic transition stage from Secondary school to High school. In turn 18 the candidate starts developing her answer using medium and low degree modality of probability *would, can,* (highlighted in blue). She points at her Power Point presentation with her left hand referring back to "…those emotional factors…", without turning, and continues looking at the examiners (Figure 4.15). It seems that the candidate pauses giving incomplete answers and Examiner 2 uses backchannel expressions (mh, mh) in order to encourage the candidate to continue.

Figure 4.15: …those emotional factors

We notice the presence of a series of adjacency pairs (turns 20-21, 22-23, 24-25) , where the candidate provides a partial answer followed by a backchannel expression of approval on the part of the examiner. Up to turn 26, the candidate makes use of low degree modality of probability (*maybe, can*); however, in turn 27, the examiner paraphrases the candidate's answer "so you mean that for example that English teachers can be helped or can be, can work with psychologists", also using the same degree of modalization, to which the candidate responds with a backchannel expression (turn 28) making use of the same strategy as the examiner. It is interesting to note how in turn 26, the candidate already considers herself a member of the English teaching community by using the expression "English teacher, we…" (highlighted in yellow). Turns 29 and 30 constitute an adjacency pair of question-answer, where the candidate provides a minimal answer "yeah". Turns 31 to 35 constitute a series of latching utterances where the two interactants work collaboratively to

construct meaning, completing each other's ideas. Finally, turns 34-35, 36-37 also constitute two adjacency pairs where backchannel utterances play a supportive role on the part of the examiner in the interaction.

Excerpt 8

018 C: mhmm I would suggest to the principals to I think thee (...) well(.) it is
         important to consider those emotional factors (points at presentation with left
         hand, Figure 4.15) and also I think they can have a
         person, like a psychologist that can help up those students,
019 E2: mh mh (nods in agreement)
020 C: that has those problems
021 E2: mh mh (nods in agreement)
022 C: and then we can work with them
023 E2: mh mh (nods in agreement)
024 C: and maybe it is easy, but I think it is important to have (.) a , a professional a
          professionalist on that field
025 E2: mh mh (nods in agreement)
026 C: because as a, as an English teacher we can employ techniques or
           methodologies but I think it is necessary to to include more people to help the
           students
027 E2: so you mean that for for example that English teachers can be helped or can
          be, can work with psychologists=
028 C: mh mh (nods in agreement)
029 E2: to not only work on the methodology but on different emotional aspects in
          students?
030 C: yeah
031 E2: that's probably? To work probably together=
032 C: = yeah, to
033 E2: to understand=
034 C: =try to guide the students
035 E2:   mh mh (nods in agreement)
036 C: that are facing those problems
037 E2:   mh mh (nods in agreement)

The next excerpt (9) illustrates how the candidate can hardly manage to answer a question that is not completely related to her presentation. As previously seen, the candidate had already positioned herself as an English teacher. So, Examiner 1 asks the candidate how her research project would help her as a teacher (turn 62), asking the candidate to project herself into the future in time. The candidate probably was not prepared for this question, so makes a gesture of puzzlement and repeats the question asking for confirmation (turn 63). The examiner then draws on another semiotic device and points at the candidate with her two hands saying "…you, as a teacher", in an attempt to clarify the question (turn 64, see Figure 4.14 above). The gesture, however does not achieve its purpose and the candidate is still

confused and answers affirmatively (turn 65). In turn 66 the examiner then paraphrases the question and finally in turn 67 the candidate seems to travel to the future in time and partially succeeds in providing an answer that does not quite satisfy the examiner who goes back to her original question "ok, for you?" (turn 68). The candidate seems to satisfy the examiner in turn 69 by pointing at herself and saying "for me". The exchange ends with an adjacency pair, a closing sequence initiated by the examiner, who thanks the candidate (turn 70) and where the candidate answers back (turn 71).

Excerpt 9

062 E1: ok, and how will this research help you as a teacher? Ok?
063 C: as a teacher? (looks puzzled)
064 E1: for you, you as a teacher (points at candidate with her hands, Figure 14)
065 C: yes
066 E1: you did the study what impact will that have for you as a teacher? what does it
         make you think about?
067 C: to, to know how to treat teenagers students and maybe to in my classes to
         include those topics that they are interested in or or talk to them like make
         them feel more confident in order for them to learn better and to be to be
         ahmm to have a close relationship with them in order to feel better in my class
068 E1: ok, for you?
069 C: for me (points at herself)
070 E1: ok, good thank you.
071 C: you're welcome

Deliberations

This excerpt (10) shows part of the deliberations, where examiners evaluate the candidate's performance as well as the contents of her thesis. It is important to note that the whole extract illustrates a process where examiners discuss the candidate's negative points (turns 89-99), justify somehow her low performance during the examination (turns 100-101, 105, 106, 107, 112, 113), and finally talk about one good point (114-115), which is her command of English.

In turn 89, Examiner 3 acknowledges the candidate's poor performance during her presentation, and as her thesis director, somehow assumes the blame by giving a reason introduced by the mood adjunct (highlighted in blue) *probably*, which indicates median degree of modalization (Halliday & Matthiessen, ibid., p. 128). She asserts, raising her voice, that the candidate did not emphasize what was important in her presentation. In the next turn (90), Examiner 1 nods in agreement and backchannels Examiner 3, while Examiner 2 also agrees with a nod of her head. The discussion continues and Examiner 3 insists on the candidate not emphasizing "what was really important" (turn 93). Examiner 2 agrees and

makes reference to the candidate's short answers during the Q&A session (turn 94). The three examiners continue discussing and agree on what was missing in the presentation (turns 95-99). In turn 100 however, Examiner 1 seems to start giving some credit to the candidate by stressing that she included in her thesis the points missing, Examiner 3 (turn 101), agreeing with Examiner 2, points at the thesis as proof of what they are saying. The presence of the thesis is crucially important, since it acts as a witness of the candidate's academic competence. The criticisms continue (turns 102-104). In turn 105, however, Examiner 3 seems to draw on her past experience as an examiner and concludes that "sometimes that happens". In trying to give some justification to the candidate's poor performance, in turns 106 and 107 Examiners 2 and 3 refer to presentations like "hell" because of the amount of stress and emotion invested in them. Examiners continue discussing the issues missing in the presentation, until in turn 112 Examiner 2 blames poor presentation to nervousness to which Examiner 1 agrees. (Turn 113). These two turns seem to begin turning the examiners towards a more sympathetic stance towards the candidate. Immediately after that, Examiner 2 feels the necessity to point out one good quality of the candidate and mentions her good command of English, which is of utmost importance, since it constitutes the main component of cultural, linguistic and symbolic capital at the same time in this particular context. Bourdieu (1991) states that "the linguistic competence measured by academic criteria depends, like the other dimensions of cultural capital, on the level of education (measured in terms of qualifications obtained) and on the social trajectory" (p. 61). This last excerpt seems to exemplify Bourdieu's words, since the candidate's linguistic competence in English is measured by the examiners at this level before obtaining the BA degree which signifies the acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital. Finally, Examiner 1 agrees with Examiner 2 concluding this part of the interaction. An agreement is then reached. In the end, the candidate passed the examination unanimously.

Excerpt 10

089 E3: and and I think that in her presentation <mark>probably</mark> because I didn't work with
      her enough ah (raises her voice) **that in her presentation she didn't
      emphasize what was really important**
090 E1: mh mh (nods in agreement, while E2 nods in silence)
091 E3: I think she lost bits of her pre of her thesis
092 E2: yeah
093 E3: in her presentation because I think that she should because she wanted to
      include everything she didn't emphasize what was important, what was really
      important was the transition, the emotional factors in the transition
094 E2: yeah I wanted to see more in more in detail those academic factors because she
      said yes and no but what are really those academic aspects you know
095 E1: she didn't point them
096 E2: for example reading, writing which is very important you know and English,
      the learning of English how English is important in this transition why they
      they consider English as impor important or not?
097 E3: aha, that that was what I felt
098 E2: mh mh (agreeing)
099 E3: that her thesis lost in the process of her ((unint)) you know
100 E1: I mean she included in the thesis
101 E2: it's the it's here (points at the thesis in front of her)
102 E1: but she didn't present it as the most=
103 E2:   =she didn't raise it there in the
         presentation
104 E1: important part
105 E3: I think she lost some of the important issues in her presentation, and
         sometimes that happens no? some of them when you look at their
         presentations you think the thesis was much better than it was? And for others
         the presentation is
106 E2: presentation is hell (laughs)
107 E3: hell
108 E1: aha she lost ((unint))
109 E2: or vice versa sometimes the presentation is like **wow**
110 E3: yeah but then when you=
111 E1:   = and you ask some questions and they don't yeah
112 E2: uhh she's (.) it's a matter of nervousness and the time and space
113 E1: I think that most of all it was her nervousness yeah cause she=
114 E2:   = her English is
         fine
115 E1: yeah

Discussion

As was observed, the candidate used low and median degree modalization utterances ("I would suggest…, a psychologist that can help…") to offer alternatives for the future hypothetically. One important finding is that she already identifies herself with the community of English teachers. The presence of short answers is salient as well as the presence of coordinating latching utterances in order to co-construct meaning. Another

important finding is that it is not easy for this candidate to answer a question which connects the past with the future and does not have immediate connection with what she has presented. Due to clarifications required, the interaction does not follow the typical question-answer adjacency pair construction. During the deliberations session, we saw how examiners slowly moved from a negative opinion of the candidate to the crucial aspect that would determine her passing the examination.

4.5.4.4 Sample 4

The following chart provides background information for the last sample analyzed.

<div style="border:1px solid">

Tape No.: 4
Candidate : E***, young adult, male
Subject: Developing an ELT videogame for young learners: A needs analysis
Examiners: 3 females, all non-native speakers of English

</div>

This examination lasted 1 hour and 45 minutes and was a *sui generis* examination for several reasons. First, two more non-human participants were added to the presentation: a TV set, and a VCR, plus a child of approximately five years of age playing videogames. These were placed in front of the audience, the TV set facing the audience opposite Examiner 3, and the child facing the TV set, for around 15 minutes. The child was not removed from his place after his performance was accomplished. He remained in his seat looking at the candidate, the audience, or looking around. This addition of participants made the examination quite *polifocal* for the audience. Another reason for this examination being different was the fact that after the candidate concluded his presentation he tried to interact with the examiners by posing the question: "What do you think about cartoons?", to which none of them responded. The posing of a question on the candidate's part may be taken as an attempt to seize power, failing, however, to do so. The examiners' silence may be taken as a refusal to relinquish power. Lastly, at the beginning of the exam, the candidate thanked his mother in public (See Figure 4.16). Making a public statement on the part of the candidate may be considered as adding another move to the genre. As Bhatia (2004), when discussing the characteristics of genre points out, "[g]enres serve typical socially recognized communicative purposes; however, they can be exploited or appropriated to convey private or organizational intentions" (p. 25). This candidate made use of the examination to convey his personal intentions, which may have been a dangerous tactic, without having any consequences on the final result of the verdict.

Figure 4.16: Thanks

Regarding the candidate's personal front, he is wearing a dark brown suit, beige shirt with a tie, which is a sign of formality in the Mexican context, and brown shoes. It can be said he was dressed for a formal occasion. The three examiners were wearing jackets, also a sign of formality and respect, although Examiner 3 removed her jacket during the examination.

After moves 1 and 2, during 15 minutes, the audience could see the child playing videogames in Spanish and in English. After that, the candidate turned off the VCR, without turning off the TV which was showing a blurring image accompanied with a strange background noise, both acting as distracters in the interaction. The candidate then started his monologue aided with a Power Point presentation. After five minutes, one of the examiners stood up and turned the TV off. The candidate continued his presentation and after 20 minutes he showed a video where he was interviewing children about their preference on videogames. The examiners became restless, looked at each other, nodded and Examiner 3 asked the candidate to stop the video in order to proceed with the Q&A session. Although interrupting the candidate while presenting constituted an FTA by exposing the candidate to the audience, the candidate smiled and stopped the video posing the question previously mentioned: "What do you think about cartoons?". Two FTAs were committed here by the examiners, the interruption and their silence after the question was asked, which constitute indicators of power, the examiners decide what is appropriate to see, who must hold the floor, and who has the right to ask questions... The Q&A session then began.

Q&A Session

      This move is characterized by several salient elements. The following excerpt (11) illustrates how examiners are concerned with the contents of the videogame played by the child. They are paying more attention to the use of violence in videogames than in the candidate's performance or contents of his presentation. It also illustrates that in posing long questions, the candidate is able to provide long answers and defend his position, however he does not do it in a very firm manner, as can be seen by various elements: the constant use of low and medium degrees of modalization (*could, would*) (highlighted in blue); fillers such as "right?, yeah?" (highlighted in green), which also act as seeking for confirmation; and by the use of gestures with his right hand pointing to the boy at the front and to his Power Point presentation.

      In posing a question (turn 1), Examiner 1 probably knows that she is going to commit an FTA by being direct and tries to mitigate it, by announcing she is going to ask two questions, then by situating the candidate on the part of his presentation she will be referring to before directly asking "…do you believe that a video game for teaching English should contain violence …?" . The examiner then appropriates the voice of the jury by saying "something that calls **our** attention t he blood, t he shocks, the bombs…" She then laughs somehow sarcastically, summarizes by saying …"and all those things" and by making a gesture with her right hand referring t o "all those things" (See Figure 4.17), before finally posing a leading question: "… do you think that students would have the same type of fun ehhh, if it is not too much action?"

Fig. 4.17: …and all those things …

However, the candidate does not seem to be intimidated by the question and as previously stated, he is able to defend his position in a long turn (2) providing reasons, and pointing at the boy as evidence for his claims: "well according to my observations this is one example". Another persuasion strategy used by the candidate consists in posing questions which he answers himself: "…But why? Because when…" The candidate also defends his position by using generalizations with the use of the pronoun 'you': …"if you do something you like you would enjoy whatever thing". At this point, the candidate makes a gesture opening his arms with palms up, meaning an explanation is being given, also indicating an extension of "whatever thing" (See Figure 4.18)

Figure 4.18: …whatever thing …

It is interesting to note how the use of gestures such as pointing at the boy or at the Power Point presentation serves as an indication of evidence supporting the candidate's argument. Such gestures stress the important role that these two participants (the boy and the presentation) play in convincing the jury that the use of violence is justifiable. The candidate keeps constant eye-contact with the examiners and a friendly tone so as not to break the interaction, in which he succeeds. In the end, the examiner collaborates with him (turn 3) as can be seen in the overlapping utterance which seems to wrap up the candidate's answer: "to encourage the language".

Excerpt 11

001   E1: OK I have a couple of questions for you, ah in the beginning of your presentation you show some videos (..) eh they were action videos like Spiderman, do you believe that a video game for teaching English should contain violence, that most videogames have emerged to be interesting or exciting for children? Because that something that calls **our** attention the blood, the shocks, the bombs (laughs) and all those things (gestures with hands, Figure 4.17) , I'm wondering do you consider that, that should be a ((unint)) or do you think that students would have the same type of fun ehhh, if it is not too much action?

002   C: ehh, well according to my observations this is one example (points to the boy sitting at the front) I think this kind of games I mean violence games could be ahhh an option, but why? Because when a ((unint)) if you do something you like you would enjoy whatever thing (Figure 4.18) right? Ahhh and violence I think that violence like children right? According with eh (..) these results (points to the presentation) right? And most children, most children like videogames where they use bombs where they kill somebody so I think is ahh difficult to say bad, but I think that could be, could be an option yeah? Even if these videogames are violence or use violence right?

But I think could be an option to encourage children, but the point is to [encourage

003   E1:   [to encourage the language

In the following excerpt (12), Examiner 2 asks the candidate about his thesis writing process forcing the candidate to go back in time. Again, the presence of fillers (highlighted in green), or expressions seeking agreement are noticeable. One interesting element in this interaction is that in turn 13, the candidate appropriates the voice of teachers by using the pronoun *we* (in yellow) and points at the child sitting at the front while saying "we worry about what children think…" Again, the presence of the boy becomes salient, as in this case he represents children in general (Figure 4.19).

Figure 4.19: …what children think

The candidate considers that the most important point for him during his investigation was the contact with children and to learn about their thoughts. It seems Examiner 2 is not entirely satisfied with the candidate's answer, so she paraphrases the question in turn 14 acknowledging the candidate's previous answer with the stressed expression 'aha' giving him some credit. The candidate then elaborates on his answer (turn 15), this time generalizing with the use of the pronoun *you* (in yellow): "…when you take classes …, assuming here the role of a student. In contrast with the previous extract where the candidate had to defend his position, we note the absence of modality of probability.

Excerpt 12

012	E2: ok ahh I would like to ask you what surprised you in the process, because that ((unint)) what surprised you?
013	C: there is a ahhh important thing that ahh surprised me that was one thing ((unint)) child right? Sometimes as a professor or as a teacher we worry about what children think (points at the child sitting, Figure 4.19), right?, so that point was for me the more interesting thing because I had a contact face to face with children and I knew what they think about ehhh his work that's about children ok? And that was the point
014	E2: **aha**, and what did you learn from the process? What ahhh (.) what did you take from this process?
015	C: well ah (..) I learned many things ahh ((unint)) right? Because sometimes when you take classes is ah a little difficult ((unint)) right? Emm I learned to write (…) I learned some words I didn't, had learned yeah and (…) also learned ahh a thesis in this way because this kind of thesis ahh are different like another films, so I learned that.

In the following excerpt (13), we note how Examiner 3 goes back to the topic of violence, this time offering alternatives to the candidate. In turn 27 she summarizes the answers given by the candidate previously, but announces the real objective of her question which is making the candidate reflect and think of alternatives. With a turn of her head signaling Examiner 1, she is able to make the candidate and the audience aware of what went on previously at the beginning of the Q&A session, namely the use of violence. Interestingly, the candidate again tries to defend his position (turn 28), moving towards some middle ground, once more making use of low degree modalization (*could,* highlighted in blue) and fillers (highlighted in green) seeking agreement. He provides the example of a cartoon that has been used for teaching purposes showing the audience with a gesture what he has seen in the movie while saying "…children *levanten la mano* (raise your hands) (Figure 4.20)

Figure 4.20: Children, *levanten la mano…*

The candidate then adds that films such as *Duro de matar* (Die hard) would not be appropriate for children, thus moving towards a more acceptable answer for the examiners and contradicting himself in a certain way, since movies such as *Die hard* contain a great deal of violence. It is interesting to note how the candidate code switches to Spanish when providing the names of the films since he does not know the English titles. The linguistic weaknesses of the candidate are more noticeable in this excerpt. In the end, he accepts the alternatives provided by the examiner.

Excerpt 13

027	E3: you have mentioned that the most difficult part was writing the thesis writing the literature I think that you have answered very important questions, so I will ask you, have you considered movies for ((unint)) because what the teacher was asking (turns to E1) the violence in the videogames, what about using movies such (C drinks water) as Shrek or Nemo or other features that =
028	C: =could be could be because there is a cartoon is called the *Dora la exploradora* (..) yeah? And ahh sometimes I saw the character as children *levanten la mano* (raises his right hand, Figure 4.20) right? And the children raise their hand so there is ahh an interaction in this case between the cartoons and children right? And it could be movies but with the focus on fantasy because if you put *duro de matar* oh children don't like that kind of films but in this case Shrek or Spiderman whatever film it could be an option

Deliberations

The following excerpt (14) illustrates the beginning of the deliberations. Clearly, the shocking part for the examiners was the use of violence in the videogames as pointed out by Examiner 1 in turn 1. An important aspect in this part of the deliberations is the use of the examiner's hand to refer to the past context. By pointing at the empty chair where the boy was sitting, the rest of the examiners immediately understand she is referring to the absent child. Examiner 3 agrees with Examiner 1 by means of a back-channel utterance: "yeah". Examiner 3 goes on commenting on the boy's behavior (turn 3) rather than on the candidate's performance. She refers to her past experience as a mother: "when my kid started …" to indicate how shocking it was to observe a little boy play violent videogames. This intervention seems to deviate from the deliberations purpose, but clearly refers to the content of the presentation.

Excerpt 14

001	E1: well, I I just want to mention that I was worried about the violence part, there was too much killing too much ((unint)) as I was seeing I was ahhhh he is too little (points at the place where the child was) to be like =
002	E3: = yeah
003	E1: so involved like mentally in the thing, and I ohhh my goodness, I mean really because because when my kid started using this he was twelve or thirteen not so little

The examiners continue discussing v iolence for 12 turns, and then they start talking about the candidate's background and performance during the examination as can be observed in the following excerpt (15). Examiner 1, who was the candidate's thesis supervisor, indicates that he is an agricultural engineer (turn 17) making use of code-switching, probably in an attempt to give a clearer answer. Examiner 3 shows surprise (turn 18) in what can be considered a back-channel signal. Examiners point out the candidate's language weaknesses and draw several conclusions: that the candidate studied to be an English teacher because he thought that English would help him in his other career (turn 19); that he was not going to be able to answer questions on methodology because in reality he is an agricultural engineer (turn 20); and that probably there is something wrong with the candidate's throat (turn 21). Finally, Examiner 3 shows sympathy for the candidate by saying that she has seen worse presentations (turn 22), and stresses the fact that those presentations have been carried out by in-service teachers. In the end, the candidate obtains the *por unanimidad* award.

Extract 15

016	E3: what is his other career?=
017	E1 = he has he ahhh *ingeniero agrónomo=*
018	E3: = really?
019	E1: and he ahh knows he has ahhh (..) this is why he speaks this way ((unint)) he thought that language, English would help his other career
020	E3: because I was gonna ask him something about teaching, but then the more ((unint)) the more I said no I don't think I should ask about methodology or things like that because that's not his area
021	E2: he he I think he came to LEMO because he wanted to (coughs) work with ((unint)) and (..) it was very difficult because of the theme and I think it's difficult for him to talk there is something there (points at her throat)
022	E3: but he did right, well, I mean I've seen you knooow students present, who are teaching and everything else and maybe not as fluent, ooor not as expressive as he is. I think he learned during the process I think of writing the thesis this sort of improved his language

Discussion

The process of this professional examination was unorthodox according to LEMO standards. As illustrated, the introduction of more participants and one more move represented an innovation in this particular genre. One important aspect was that when the candidate felt *attacked*, he kept eye-contact with the examiners, he made gestures pointing at evidence to his claims; linguistically, he used low degree of modalization to talk about options, and fillers to seek agreement. Another important aspect was the use of the pronoun *you* to make generalizations, and that he assumed several roles: that of teachers, *we,* and that of students, *you,* as in "when you take classes". The joint co-construction of meaning between candidate and examiners is illustrated by the successful completion of the Q&A session, by moving from the present time to the past time, by sharing knowledge of the language and of certain frames of reference such as movies and cartoons. On the other hand, the co-construction of meaning among examiners is accomplished by sharing the language, certain frames of reference concerning violence and ELT methodology, and past experiences in PECs among others.

It is worth noting how gestures and language complement each other as meaning making resources as the screenshots show. From the examiners' side, it is important to stress the fact that one single gesture, and a hand pointing at an empty space, can activate the other members' schemata and create a context for the interaction, for example during the deliberations when one of the examiners points at the place where the child was sitting and says "… he is too little …" We can also note that during the deliberations, examiners talk about personal experiences related to the presentation; they also talk about the candidate's background and performance. Finally, examiners talk about the candidate's weaknesses, showing sympathy for him.

4.6. Conclusion

On the basis of this admittedly limited selection of data, we cannot make generalizations, however, this qualitative analysis has provided us with important insights into the nature of the gatekeeping interaction in professional examinations of competence at the LEMO, BUAP. PECs seem to follow the *order of discourse* or practices that pertain to certain social domains or institutions (Fairclough 2005a). The institutional, highly ritualized nature of the examination itself points at asymmetrical relations of power where there are two main visible types of human ratified participants, examiners and candidates/claimants. The examiners representing the institution have the power not only to challenge, question and judge the candidate, but to make decisions on his/her future. On the other hand, the candidate has to play by the rules utilizing *Aikido* strategies (Chew, 1995) to satisfy the examiners, even if it means to contradict himself/herself. Meurer (2004) asserts that "structures of domination – political, economic, theoretical, intellectual and so on – are associated with allocative and authoritative resources as utilized by individuals invested in specific roles and identities within social practices. (p. 94). It is clear that the teachers, in the social practice of the PEC exercise their intellectual domination in their main invested roles/identities as examiners/judges. On the other hand, this study has demonstrated how different participants may adopt different roles during the PEC, for example, candidates may assume the role of a teacher or a student, whereas examiners may adopt the rule of judge, teacher, or parent, the latter always in a higher position than the candidate.

This multimodal analysis has demonstrated that in this particular social practice, not only language, but personal front, eye-contact, gestures, space, and tools play a crucial role as semiotic modes when interpreting interaction. Norris (2004) points out that "you co-construct a focused interaction in which the utterances are sequentially structured; the gestures and the gaze are intertwined with and structured by the spoken discourse; and your talk is influenced by the layout …(p. 95). The joint co-construction of meaning in the PEC was evident as participants drew on different semiotic modes to follow the interaction even when misunderstandings arose. For example, we saw how the role of backchannel expressions helped the interaction to flow. Kerekes (2007) calls this co-construction of meaning *collaborative completion,* as an indication that the interlocutors are "well-aligned" and accept each other's completion (p. 1964) This study also allowed us to look at the interaction from two different perspectives: frontstage and backstage and how they intersect. An important fact is that during the PEC, either frontstage or backstage, interactants carry out several lower level actions (Norris, 2004) such as passing on papers to each other, signing papers, looking at

notes, drinking water, combining different communication modes such as writing, reading, and gestures among others.

In terms of modality, according to the tables below (following Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), we found that interactants made use of median and low degree modalization. The absence of high degree modalization is salient, which may be interpreted as a lack of certainty on the participants' utterances, or as an attempt to protect face on both parts. The absence of negative polarity modalized utterances is also notable.

Candidates

	Low	**Median**	**High**
Modals	may might can could	would will	
Adjuncts	perhaps maybe	probably	

Table 4.1: Modalization used by candidates

Examiners

	Low	**Median**	**High**
Modals	can		
Adjuncts		perhaps probably	

Table 4.2.: Modalization used by examiners

Methodologically, as in Studies 1 and 2, I have utilized Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three dimensional framework drawing on various disciplines. In order to research the social practice of PECs, I have drawn on sociology, anthropology and ethnography. In order to study the discursive practice dimension, I have drawn on interactional sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis. Finally, in order to analyze the text dimension, I have drawn on conversation analysis and systemic functional linguistics. All this undertaken within the framework of a multimodal approach.

It is important to mention that all four candidates obtained their degrees. There is an unwritten rule at the LEMO that allows all candidates who have successfully completed their thesis to obtain their degrees. However, although common knowledge, it is only after the PEC has ended and the examiners have read their verdict in public that candidates are 100% sure they are on the other side of the gate.

Due to space and technical constraints, it was not possible to carry out a more detailed analysis of gaze, gestures, and intonation, among others. Certainly, this study opens the road to more detailed multimodal analyses in other academic contexts such as the classroom, the school offices, the courtyard, the library and others.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have examined various types of discourses in different arenas from a critical, multimodal perspective. I have presented three studies dealing with three different fields: the political, the institutional, and the academic, all in the Mexican context. The underlying principles that connect the three studies are mainly methodological. I have adopted Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three-dimensional framework in order to examine the text dimension, the discursive practice dimension and the social practice dimension. Because of the nature of the data available and in order to deal with each dimension, I have taken a *transdisciplinary* (Fairclough, 2005a,b)*, multimodal discourse analytical methodology* (Candlin, 2007) approach. I have drawn from various disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, critical discourse analysis, and ethnography in order to seek to achieve a measure of *ecological validity* (Cicourel, 2007) in the three studies. Fairclough (2003) recognizes the limitations of doing purely linguistic textual analysis by saying "[T]extual analysis is a resource for social research which can enhance it provided that it is used in conjunction with other methods" (p. 15)

As Candlin and Sarangi (2004) point out, "there is a need for applied linguists to acknowledge that despite their adherence to language, linguistic means are only one of a range of semiotic modalities through which significant action may be coded" (p. 4). Hence the need for multimodal discourse analytical methodology. However, these scholars also warn us by stating that

> [M]ethodological eclecticism has to be balanced against a theory-method interrelationship so as not to sacrifice analytic integrity. The issue remains, nonetheless, how acceptable to those whose theoretical and analytical frameworks have been raided for ideas and practices is their manifestation in applied linguistic research. (Candlin & Sarangi, 2004, p. 5)

Drawing on multimodal studies (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Norris, 2004; Norris & Jones, 2005; Scollon & Scollon, 2003), I have taken into consideration the various modes which constitute semiotic, meaning-making resources in all three studies. Studies One and Two have dealt with visual texts, whereas Study 3 has analyzed spoken interaction, but supported by visual presentations of the context of engagement. Scollon (2000), stresses the importance of carrying out multimodal analysis of visual texts, including layout, typography, images, and placement in the physical world in order to explore the sociocultural processes involved in the societies in which texts are produced (p. 141). In a similar frame, (Norris

(2004), who has analyzed face-to-face multimodal interaction, maintains that posture, gaze, gestures, distance, pitch, intonation, and music are all communicative channels/modes that carry with them a range of meanings.

Drawing on critical social research, I have adopted the underlying tenets of CDA (Fairclough, N., Graham, P., Lemke, J. & Wodak, R., 2004). in order to investigate power relations within the political, institutional and academic contexts where these studies take place. Fairclough (2003) maintains that

> [t]o assess the causal and ideological effects of texts [as parts of social events], one would need to frame textual analysis within, for example, organizational analysis, and link the 'micro' analysis of texts to the 'macro' analysis of how power relations work across networks of practices and structures (pp. 15-16)

In the three studies of this thesis, I have attempted to link the *micro* analysis of texts with the *macro* analysis of power relations within the political, institutional and professional contexts. Fairclough (ibid.) goes on to say that "texts can bring about changes in our knowledge…, our beliefs, our attitudes, values, and so forth…texts have causal effects upon, and contribute to changes in, people, actions, social relations, and the material world" (p. 8). I hope that these studies have contributed to increase our knowledge and to raise awareness of how interaction in these contexts works, and if necessary, to seek ways to ameliorate certain asymmetrical situations. To my knowledge, no similar studies have been carried out to the present day in the Mexican context.

I now turn to discuss the conclusions drawn in each study.

5.1 Study 1: A Multimodal Analysis of the 2006 Mexican Presidential Campaign Billboards

"Political discourses produce and reproduce beliefs, opinions, and ideologies; moreover, political discourses serve persuasive ends and construct alliances and membership" (Wodak, 2004, p. 381)

This study was carried out by my colleague Michael Witten and myself and set out to investigate the 2006 Mexican presidential elections billboards released by the three main contending parties: PAN, PRD, and PRI. In order to focus our research, the following research questions were posed:

- What sociocultural/historical practices enable and constrain text production and consumption in presidential campaign billboards?
- How is party/candidate ideology constructed and conveyed through presidential campaign billboards?

- How does the party/candidate construct relations with readers/viewers through presidential campaign billboards?
- What is the generic structure of presidential campaign billboards?
- What is the nature of the relationship between linguistic text, image, and other semiotic elements on presidential campaign billboards?

In order to answer these questions, we analyzed eight billboards from the different parties and classified them according to three *temporal semiotic waves,* as we realized from our preliminary analysis that billboards were released with different social purposes during the time the presidential campaign lasted. We found that the first wave pursued the (re)construction of the candidate's identity and the construction of interpersonal relationship with the public. The second wave pursued the same social purposes, plus the construction of a sociopolitical agenda. The third wave pursued the same social purposes as the first and second wave, plus the extension of the sociopolitical agenda and the discrediting of other candidates' sociopolitical agendas.

In order to find out how and on what grounds sociocultural and historical practices afford and constrain text production and consumption in presidential campaign billboards, we examined the context of the larger presidential campaign. We examined the sociopolitical ideologies of each party. We analyzed the historical moments of the past that influenced the 2006 presidential campaign. We demonstrate how these sociohistorical moments shape the expectations of both text producers and consumers on the nature of presidential campaign billboards and their contents.

Our findings suggest that billboards, which are extensively used in the Mexican context, are multisemiotic texts that utilize a variety of modalities to achieve their social purposes. These billboards clearly constitute only one tool in the overriding sociopolitical purpose to gain power through the presidency. By analyzing the text external (Bhatia, 2004) indicators of the generic structure of billboards, we found that politicians engage in three different layers of embedded social practices in order to accomplish (or not) the overriding social purpose of gaining power (See Figure 2.12). Such layers include persuading and/or manipulating, establishing and extending interpersonal relationships with the public, promising, attacking other candidates, and reassuring. These social purposes are accomplished by the use of different semiotic modes such as colors, vectors, visual images and linguistic text. Another social purpose pursued by the political parties engaged in the campaign was that of conveying sociopolitical ideologies. Fairclough (2003) observes:

> [o]ne of the causal effects of texts which has been of major concern for critical discourse analysis is ideological effects – the effects of texts in inculcating and sustaining or changing ideologies … Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation p. 9).

By analyzing represented participants (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) as a text internal indicator (Bhatia, 2004) of billboards, we found that certain represented participants on billboards are obligatory, whereas other are optional (See Table 2.11. Another aspect of text internal indicators was the analysis of composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) or the combination of semiotic modalities on the billboards. This analysis demonstrated how these semiotic modalities enable candidates to express ideological positions to varying degrees, and enact multiple identities accordingly. Interestingly, we found that messages expressed in linguistic text, as text internal indicators, did little or nothing to define the ideological stance of each party when considered in isolation. It seems that the expression of political ideology is achieved on presidential campaign billboards through a combination of composition strategies (information value, salience and framing). We concluded that strategic composition seems to shape, extend and transform the potential meanings of the linguistic texts placed on presidential campaign billboards.

Finally, in analyzing power relations between billboards and people, we identified three dimensions of power:

- Struggle between political parties over the Mexican executive power
- Struggle between candidates as individuals to gain the Mexican presidency
- The electorate exercising power over candidates and political parties with their final votes

The identification of these three dimensions of power demonstrates Foucault's (1981) conception of power as circulating, but sometimes not overtly perceived (Bourdieu, 1990).

I would like to conclude this section by quoting Wodak (2004), who asserts that

Doing politics means that decision making, negotiating, persuading, including and excluding are to be seen as interactive processes, and can thus be studied by analyzing communicative actions on the macro- and micro- levels in official, semi-official, virtual as well as private spaces. (p. 381)

I now turn to discuss the conclusions drawn from the second study.

5.2   Study 2: Discourses of obligation and prohibition within an institutional setting

The goal of this study was to make a contribution to the field of applied linguistics, specifically to critical discourse analysis, by describing, interpreting and explaining the discourses of obligation and prohibition in the LEMO library. In this study, I took into account the university system of affordances and constraints (van Lier, 2004) which allow and disallow certain social practices. Because of the nature of the data, emphasis was paid to the

linguistic text. In order to approach this investigation, the following research questions were addressed:

- What type of texts (genres) are utilized by the LEMO library to communicate to its users institutional policies regarding the functioning of the library?
- How is obligation expressed in these texts?
- How is prohibition expressed in these texts?
- Is there an interconnection between the discourses of obligation and prohibition? If so, how is it expressed?
- Do library users comply with the institutional policies stated in the analyzed texts?

To address these questions, six visual texts were selected for analysis. These texts contained obligation and prohibition rules, in Spanish, related to the permitted and non-permitted social practices within the library. The genres utilized by the producers of these particular texts to express obligation and prohibition were: a protocol, notices, and a memo.

The selected texts were analyzed in terms of emplacement (Scollon & Scollon, 2003); composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) including layout, colors, images, salience, materiality; and linguistic text, followed by a discussion of tenor. The linguistic text was analyzed mainly in terms of systemic functional linguistics (SFL), with a special focus on *deontic* expressions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Lozano, 1990).

The analysis of the linguistic text demonstrated that obligation may be expressed by several lexicogrammatical elements such as: impersonal reflexive passive forms (se + poder + infinitive), middle voice, and modal and deontic verbs. Prohibition, on the other hand, may be expressed by negative polarity infinitives, modal adjuncts, deontic verbs and middle voice. It may be said that some lexicogrammar elements are used both to express obligation and prohibition with slight changes such as change in polarity.

The analysis of emplacement demonstrated that this plays an important role regarding the strategic place in the library where texts are put up for public consumption. In terms of composition, probably due to local, immediate circumstances such as practicality, these texts do not adhere to the information value (See 2.3.10.5) patterns presented by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). It is also important to mention that this analysis showed that some discourses have an ephemeral nature, they can be contratextualized or contested, while others have a more permanent nature. Other discourses have a *wandering* nature, meaning they are moved from one place to another and achieve their social purposes regardless of their emplacement.

Intertextuality and interdiscursivity were observed between the analyzed texts. These were accomplished through a dialogical relationship between the discourses of obligation and

prohibition within the same pragmatic space, having as target the same actors (library users). All texts concerned the functioning of the library and the behavior expected in it. Keenoy and Oswick (2004) suggest

> approaching organizational discourse through the notion of a 'textscape'. This is a metaphor to represent the conceptual-theoretic realms of intertextuality…our concern with time and space draws on these sources and it seems appropriate to choose the term 'textscape' to refer to the multiplex intertextualities which inform and underpin the meaning(s) of any given piece of discourse. Discursive construction is designed to communicate meanings (which implicates the listener or reader), but all meanings are context dependent (that is, all texts implicate other texts) (p. 140).

This construct of *textscape* seems applicable to a study of this nature where both text producers and text recipients are implicated. Fairclough (2003) maintains that

> [T]he production of the text puts the focus on producers, authors, speakers, writers; the reception of the text puts the focus on interpretation, interpreters, readers, listeners…we must take account of the institutional position, interests, values, intentions, desires etc. of producers; the relations between elements at different levels in texts; and the institutional positions, knowledge, purposes, values etc. of receivers (pp.10-11).

In order to take into account the positions, values, and purposes of recipients, an ethnographic component forms an important part of this study, where library users were interviewed regarding their compliance to the rules expressed on the texts. The ethnographic component showed that library users, in general, comply with the rules imposed by the library. One interesting point is that users comply not only because of the presence of the analyzed texts, but because they make use of their background knowledge. But, as Cicourel (2003) states, "linking the detailed analysis of discourse to an ethnographic understanding of organizational change and survival remains a challenge. For example, connecting organizational forms of control and command, examining the nature of communication during the situated exercise of power across settings" (p. 371).

The analysis of tenor demonstrated an asymmetrical relation of power between the library as institution and its users, where the institution appears as rule-maker and the users as rule-compliers. This asymmetry was indicated through emplacement, composition (for example, the use of the BUAP coat of arms, or letterhead paper) and lexicogrammatical elements such as imperatives, adverbs, and modal deontic verbs. At the same time, composition, emplacement and lexicogrammar indicated a distant relationship between participants in most texts. Most texts seem to allow no choice to the viewer, therefore fulfilling their social purposes. However, we notice that in certain cases this power relations can be reversed, as discourses can be contested. Cicourel (2003) observes that

[T]he ethnographically contextualized analysis of discourse in the workplace provides us with potential access to the ways in which policies are formulated and altered during their implementation. Further, we can learn about the trade-off between informal versus formal lines of authority and power, and the way interpersonal relations within and outside of work environments affect work routines and organizational outcomes (p. 371)

Finally, despite the limited nature of the data used for this study, it is clear that a thorough analysis can only be done through a multidisciplinary approach drawing on various disciplines such as linguistics, critical studies, and ethnography. In order to fully understand the texts, a complete description and understanding of the context and background is necessary.

Having described the second study which dealt with discourse at institutional level, I now turn to discuss Study 3 which deals with professional discourse.

5.3   Study 3: Gatekeeping practices at the LEMO: A Multimodal Analysis

This study set out to investigate the professional discourses utilized during the gatekeeping practices of professional examinations of competence (PEC) at the LEMO. This examination is taken by students upon finishing their careers in order to cross the gate and become part of the communities of practice of English teachers or translators. I have again taken here a critical multimodal approach based on Fairclough's (1992, 1995) three dimensional framework. In order to research the social practice of PECs I have drawn on insights and principles from sociology, anthropology and ethnography. To study the discursive practice dimension, I have drawn on interactional sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis. Finally, in order to analyze the text dimension, I have drawn on conversation analysis and systemic functional linguistics (tenor and modalization)

The nature of gatekeeping practices was extensively discussed based on authors such as Corra and Willer (2002), Kerekes (2006) and Roberts (2000). They all concur in that gatekeeping practices are characteristic of bureaucratic societies, where power relations play an important role. The gatekeeper's role (in this case the examiners) as representing an institution is to assess the gatekeepee's (candidate) competency to carry out a specific task.

This study, which analyzed a highly ritualized social practice, was influenced by Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical concepts of *frontstage* and *backstage*, where I look at the interaction taking place in PECs from two different perspectives. The frontstage section analyzed the Question-Answer session of the PECs, whereas the backstage section analyzed the subsequent deliberations between examiners. The selection of these sections to be analyzed was based on the fact that they constitute *critical moments* (Candlin, 1997) in the encounters.

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This work was also largely influenced by Bourdieu's (1997) constructs of *cultural* and *symbolic* capital as the gatekeeping encounters are related to the award and acquisition of knowledge, degrees and recognition. The acquisition of these types of capital tend to support the reproduction of social structures at the university specifically, and in the Mexican society in general.

Based on Sarangi and Roberts (1999), a distinction was made between institutional and professional discourses and the interplay between them was considered. Institutional discourses may refer to the bureaucratic functioning of the institution, whereas professional discourses may refer to the specialized discourses utilized by members of a given speech community. The focus of this study was on the professional discourses used in the academic context of the PEC, specifically, in the field of English Language Teaching and Translation.

In order to carry out this investigation, four selected audio and videotapes of PECs were analyzed, and the following research questions were addressed:

- What moves are followed in such professional examinations of competence?
- What means and modalities (semiosis) are drawn upon in the interaction characteristic of such practices?
- How do gatekeepers allow candidates to access "the goods" they are instituted to protect?
- How are power relations displayed and characterized in such events?

In the analysis of the PEC as an event and as a genre, the following nine moves (See Bhatia, 2004, Swales, 1990) were identified:

1. The entrance

2. The opening

3. The presentation

4. The Q&A session

5. The exit

6. The deliberations

7. The return

8. The Oath

9. The conclusion

This identification served to determine the generic structure (Bhatia, 2004) of the PEC even though no generalizations can be made. However, although it seems that the institution has established these different moves to be followed during the PEC, it was observed that there is space for certain innovations in this particular genre, such as the introduction of more participants in the interaction, or the introduction of more moves.

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In line with multimodal interaction analysis (Norris, 2004), this study included an analysis of the use of meaning making resources that interactants draw upon in order to interact successfully These resources included language, gaze, posture, personal front, distance and eye contact. The results obtained demonstrated that in this particular social practice, all these meaning making resources are orchestrated together in order to create a successful interaction.

This study included the analysis of human and non-human participants in line with Filliettaz (2005), Norris and Jones (2005) and Wertsch (1991). I analyzed the role of what C. Goodwin (2000) calls "semiotic artifacts", such as computers, documents, books, leaflets. These artifacts proved to fulfill a purposeful function during the interaction and create a "whole" together with the human participants.

The joint co-construction of meaning in the PEC was evident as the various participants drew on different semiotic modes (linguistic, gestural, postural) and artifacts to negotiate meaning and succeed in the interaction even when misinterpretations arose. As Cicourel (2003) maintains, "discourse shapes and is shaped by local and larger organizational practices and constraints" (p. 369). The space, distance, technology and organizational practices in the PEC constituted affordances and constraints for the interaction to take place.

The analysis of this institutional gatekeeping practice pointed at asymmetrical relations of power where two main visible types of human ratified participants (Goffman, 1981) were identified: examiners and candidates/claimants. The examiners, who are in a higher position representing the institution, demonstrated to have the power to challenge, question and judge the candidate's performance. However, at some point, examiners may signal solidarity and sympathy towards the candidate. This study also demonstrated that ratified participants may take on different roles during the interaction. For example, the examiners may act as judges, teachers or parents; whereas the candidates may take on the role of students, non-native speakers or teachers. This again, pointing at asymmetrical power relations.

The systemic functional linguistic (SFL) analysis of modality (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) showed that interactants made use of median and low degree modalization, whereas no negative polarity modalized utterance were utilized (See tables 4.1 and 4.2). The use of modalization was present especially when candidates were asked hypothetical questions, or when examiners committed an FTA. These results may be interpreted as a lack of certainty on the participants' utterances, or as an attempt to protect face on both parts.

I hope to have shed some light on the nature and underlying principles of professional exams of competence and to have opened the way to researchers to investigate similar gatekeeping practices in the Mexican context.

Implications

In this thesis, I have used critical, multimodal discourse analysis as a form of *qualitative social analysis* (Fairclough, 2003) by utilizing several representative texts. Fairclough (ibid.) maintains that this type of research "is rather 'labour intensive' and can be productively applied to samples of research material rather than large bodies of text" (p. 6)

In selecting the fields and texts for this thesis, my motivation as a researcher was inspired by CDA which is "the belief that texts have social, political, cognitive, moral and material consequences and effects, and that it is vital to understand these consequences and effects if we are to raise moral and political questions about contemporary societies…" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 14).

In order to investigate different arenas, I have dealt with three different fields: the political, the institutional and the professional. I hope to have made a modest contribution to each field, and specifically to critical multimodal discourse analysis. I believe discourse analysis can more adequately be addressed through transdisciplinarity. As Candlin and Sarangi (2004) maintain, "[c]rossings between disciplinary boundaries can be seen as productive rather than being intolerantly discredited as a disabling insight or as treading on someone else's toes" (p. 7).

There are, of course, certain limitations to these qualitative studies that need to be mentioned. The first is the limited amount of data utilized in the three studies, therefore conclusions are based on the available data. No generalizations can be drawn. Time and space constraints need also to be taken into consideration. Technical constraints were important, especially in Study 3, where it was not possible to carry out a more detailed analysis of gaze, gestures, and intonation, among others. Cicourel (2003) points out that

> applied linguists can influence changes in the workplace and the larger society, but the limitations of the 'reflexivity ad infinitum' notion need to be addressed…When we design and pursue research, we are constantly constrained by local, emergent information… that are part of our moment-to-moment conscious awareness... Field research is time-consuming; making practical decisions that will limit the reflexiveness of research activities becomes a necessity and invariably pursued activity, explicitly and implicitly (pp. 371-372)

These studies have followed the road of critical multimodal discourse analysis, but certainly, they have opened the road to more studies in similar or different contexts, especially in Mexico. For example, more multimodal studies in the political field utilizing other genres

can be carried out. By the same token, other type of normative discourses can be carried out at institutional level. Finally, more detailed multimodal analyses in academic contexts such as the classroom, the school offices, and the courtyard can contribute to explore the nature of multimodal interaction. I take research as Scollon (2000) takes ethnography "Ethnography is an impossible task if by ethnography we mean any finalized, finished, or putatively complete description of human society" (p. 142).

Finally, I would like to conclude this discussion with the following quote: "it is not always easy to disentangle methodology from theoretical/conceptual content. This is mainly because discourse and communication analysis – as much as applied linguistics – is in itself a methodological act" (Sarangi & Candlin, 2004, p. 102).

* Full transcriptions available upon request.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Manos limpias

Appendix B

Appendix C

Appendix D: Strike colors

Appendix E: Translation of protocol

<div align="center">

BENEMERITA UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA DE PUEBLA

OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES

RULES FOR THE LENDING OF BOOKS FROM THE LEMO LIBRARY

</div>

FOR LONG-TERM LENDING AND LIBRARY ACCESS

1.- FOR IDENTIFICATION:

A VALID BUAP I.D. AND/OR VALID SELF-ACCESS I.D. FOR LEMO, CELE AND CURSOS DE EXTENSION UNIVERSITARIA.

B VALID OFFICIAL I.D. FOR DISSERTATION STUDENTS AND EXTERNAL USERS.

2.- MATERIAL MAY BE USED FOR FIVE DAYS MAXIMUM, WITH THE RIGHT TO ONE RENEWAL.

3.- A MAXIMUM OF THREE BOOKS MAY BE CHECKED OUT.

4.- THE USER WILL PAY A FINE OF $5.00 (FIVE PESOS 00/100 NATIONAL CURRENCY) PER DAY AND PER BOOK, AS LATE FEES.

5.- IF MATERIAL IS CHECKED OUT TO HAVE COPIES MADE, THE MATERIAL MAY BE USED FOR THREE HOURS. AFTER THIS TIME, THE SAME LATE FEES ESTABLISHED IN THE PREVIOUS PARAGRAPH WILL BE PAID.

6.- IN CASE OF LOSS OF THE MATERIAL, TOTAL OR PARTIAL DAMAGE OF IT, IT WILL HAVE TO BE REPLACED BY THE USER.

7.- TO KEEP SILENT AND BEHAVE WITH PROPRIETY INSIDE THE LIBRARY

8.- NOT TO INTRODUCE FOOD, BEVERAGE AND ABSTAIN FROM SMOKING

9.- NOT TO USE CELLULAR PHONES INSIDE THE LIBRARY

10.- THE CONSULTATION OF DISSERTATIONS WILL ONLY BE DONE INSIDE THE LIBRARY, PRESENTING A VALID ID)

11.- THE USER MUST LEAVE THE BOOKS ON THE TABLE SO THAT THE LIBRARY STAFF MAY PLACE THEM BACK CORRECTLY IN THEIR PLACE.

Appendix F: Protocol and notice
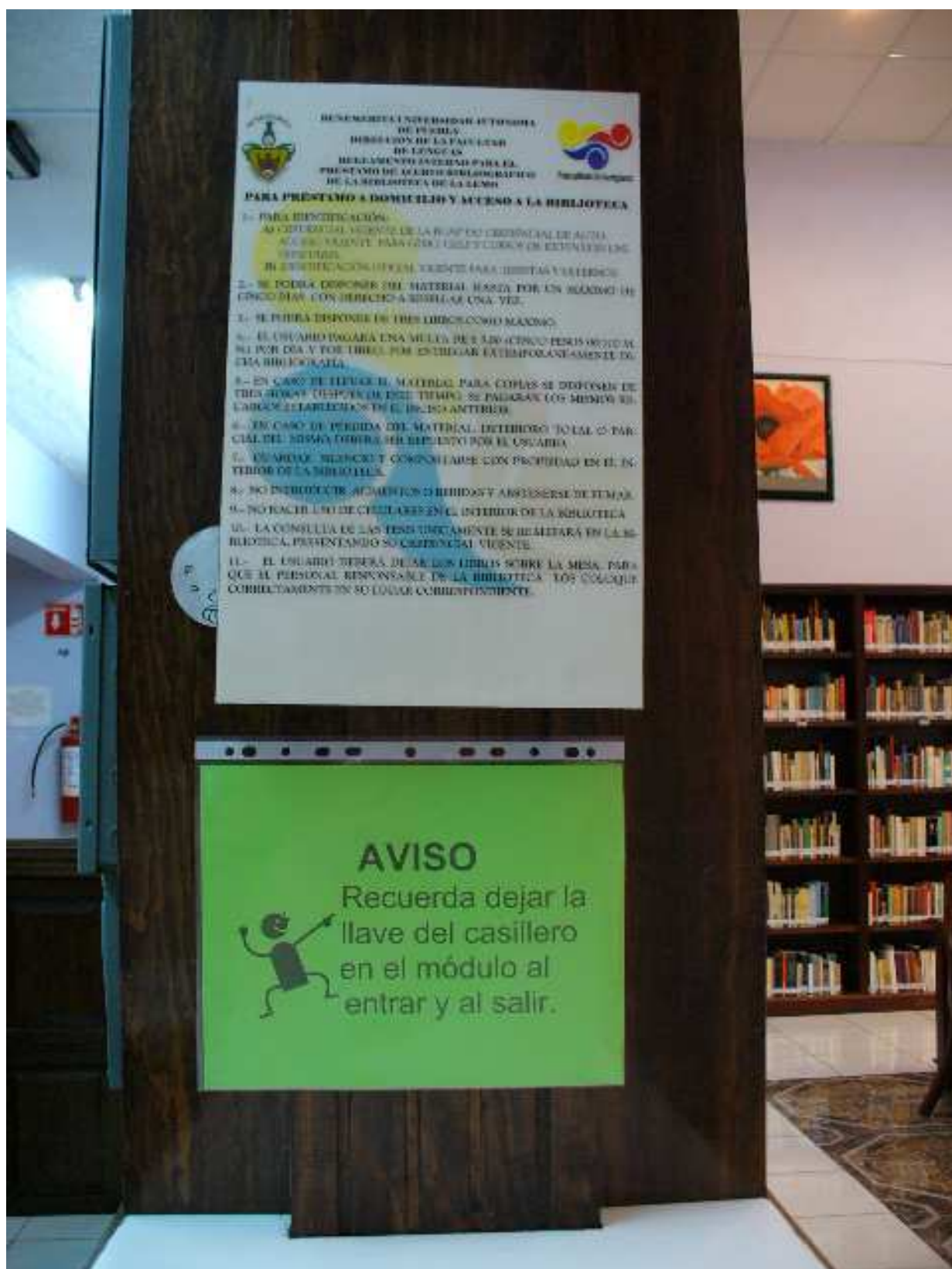
Appendix G: Notice

Appendix H: Three notices

Appendix I: Notice by stairs

Appendix J: Interview Questions

Para alumnos y maestros (For students and teachers):

Text 1 : Protocol

¿Conoces el reglamento de la biblioteca? (Do you know the protocol of the library?

¿Sigues la reglas que ahí se te indican? (Do you follow the rules indicated in there?

Text 2: ¿Sigues las indicaciones? (Do you follow indications?)

Text 3: ¿Consumes alimentos en la biblioteca? (Do you eat in the library?)

Text 4: ¿Sigues las indicaciones? (Do you follow indications?)

Text 5: ¿Sigues las indicaciones? (Do you follow indications?)

For library staff

Text 1: Los usuarios ¿conocen el reglamento de la biblioteca? (Do users know the protocol of the library?

¿Siguen el reglamento? (Do they follow the protocol?)

Text 2: Los usuarios ¿siguen las indicaciones de dejar la llave…? (Do users follow the indications to leave the key …

Text 3: Los usuarios ¿consumen alimentos en la biblioteca? ¿Prestan atención al aviso? (Do users eat in the library?) (Do they pay attention to the notice?)

Text 4: Los usuarios ¿siguen las indicaciones de no tener más de 3 libros sobre la mesa? (Do users follow the indications of not having more than 3 books on the table?

Text 5: Los usuarios ¿suben libros al primer piso? (Do users take books to the first floor?)

Appendix K: Toma de Protesta (The Oath)

CIUDADANO: _____
(Citizen: _____)

PROTESTA USTED CUMPLIR Y HACER CUMPLIR LA LEY GENERAL DE PROFESIONES Y REGLAMENTOS QUE DE ELLA EMANEN.
(Do you swear to obey and enforce the General Law of Professions and regulations that derive from this law?

SÍ PROTESTO (Yes, I do)

HACER USO DE SUS CONOCIMIENTOS PARA BENEFICIO Y PROGRESO DE LA HUMANIDAD
(To make use of your knowledge for the benefit and progress of humanity)

SÍ PROTESTO (Yes, I do)

A TRAVÉS DE SU DESEMPEÑO HUMANISTA Y PROFESIONAL, DAR PRESTIGIO Y RECONOCIMIENTO A NUESTRA INSTITUCIÓN.
(Through your humanistic and professional development, to bring prestige and acknowledgement to our institution)

SÍ PROTESTO (Yes, I do)

SI ASÍ LO HICIERA, QUE LA UNIVERSIDAD, EL ESTADO DE PUEBLA Y LA NACIÓN SE LO PREMIEN; Y SI NO, QUE SE LO DEMANDEN.
(If you did so, may the university, the state of Puebla and the nation reward you; if not, may they demand you)

H. PUEBLA DE ZARAGOZA, A ___ DE ___ DEL ____.
(Place and date)

Appendix L: Transcription conventions

?	Rising intonation
((unint))	Unintelligible utterance
(laughs)	Non-verbal comments
,	pause of around 1 second
(.)	short pause of around 2 seconds
(…)	long pause of approximately 3 seconds.
[	overlap
=	latching utterances
Italics	Spanish
Bold	Stress
E1	Examiner 1
E2	Examiner 2
E3	Examiner 3
C	Candidate
A	General audience