

3 Pragmatic guidelines and procedures

Chapter 1 of this book spells out some basic properties of ideology in the form of ‘theses.’ These properties give rise to the formulation of a number of ‘rules’ to be followed if we want to engage with ideology, as described in Chapter 2. This brings us to Chapter 3, which is a presentation of general ‘guidelines’ and practical ‘procedures’ to be followed in the actual process of investigation; these will be interspersed with a number of ‘caveats’ or warnings. What I hope to provide is *a package of methods grounded in a clear methodological perspective inspired by a general theory of linguistic pragmatics, viewed as the interdisciplinary science of language use*. The proposal will not at all contradict Thompson’s claim that

However rigorous and systematic the methods of formal or discursive analysis may be, they cannot abolish the need for a creative construction of meaning, that is, for an interpretative explication of what is represented or what is said. (Thompson 1990, p. 289)

On the contrary, *rejecting a clear opposition between formal and non-formal analysis, steps will be described that ought to be taken in order to provide sufficient grounds for interpretation* (and for refuting certain interpretations). Clearly, *interpretation is an integral part of the research process*. It is not an add-on to formal analysis, even though the full-scale formulation of an interpretation – in the guise of a research report – may be the last step (in which not all preceding steps need to be fully spelled out). In other words, the following recipe-like admonitions are not just guidelines and procedures for self-contained descriptions of context and formal analyses; they are ingredients and building blocks of an overall act of interpretation.

A brief summary of the core elements of the theory of pragmatics that underlies my approach is not superfluous.¹ The starting point is that using language is essentially an activity that generates meaning. It consists in the continuous making of choices, not only at various levels of linguistic structure, but also pertaining to communicative strategies and even at the level of context. Choice-making characterizes both language production and language interpretation. It can be a process or activity that takes place with varying degrees of automaticity or consciousness. While not all choices are equivalent (some may be more marked than others), they always evoke or carry along their alternatives by way of contrast.

¹ For a more complete account, see Verschueren (1999b).

But choice-making can never be avoided, and it is always mediated by a human cognitive apparatus involving metapragmatic reflexivity and exerting a monitoring influence.

A first key notion to make sense of the process/activity of choice-making is *variability*, i.e., the property of language and the contexts of language use which define the range of possibilities from which choices can be made. This range is itself not stable; it is fundamentally changing and changeable. A first pitfall to watch out for in pragmatic analysis is, therefore, the underestimation of variability. A second essential notion is *negotiability*, referring to the fact that choices are not made mechanically or according to strict rules or fixed form–function relationships, but rather on the basis of highly flexible principles and strategies. This property is responsible for various forms of indeterminacy of meaning, but at the same time for the vast meaning potential of limited (though always expandable) means. Its methodological implications will be a major concern in what follows, as the temptation to draw conclusions mechanically from the observation of formal patterns is always there. Finally, *adaptability* is what enables people to make negotiable choices from a variable range of possibilities in such a way as to approach points of satisfaction for communicative needs.² The term refers essentially to the dynamic and negotiable interadaptability of forms and functions in the making of meaning. It is this notion that enables me to define four research angles, none of which should be ignored when approaching discourse data: Contextual correlates of adaptability have to be identified; processes have to be situated with reference to different structural objects of adaptability; the dynamics of adaptability must be accounted for; and we must keep in mind the salience of the adaptation processes, i.e., their status in relation to a human cognitive apparatus. Basically, context and structure form the locus of the processes to be investigated. They will also be the anchoring points for the methodological steps described in the remainder of this book, but always keeping in focus that what ultimately concerns us is the dynamics of meaning generation, which is the meaningful functioning of forms of expression in relation to human minds. Figure 2 summarizes the above remarks about the structure of a theory of pragmatics.³

Before embarking upon the research guidelines and principles, two initial warnings need to be formulated. The first one generalizes the earlier claim that interpretations presented in a final research report do not constitute a chronologically

² For a more extensive account of the complex notion of adaptability, which can be used to link evolutionary aspects of language with the processes involved in language use, see Verschueren and Brisard (2002).

³ Note that, as the visualization in Figure 2 suggests, context and structure are intimately related (see, e.g., Verschueren 2008). For one thing, as soon as an utterance is made (i.e., as soon as a structure is produced) it becomes part of the context. Second, structural choices (e.g., the choice of an informal form of address) may affect properties of context (in the same example, aspects of social relations). Moreover, changes in context may cause shifts in basic properties of structural choices (e.g., in terms of markedness). Other aspects of the relationship will be clarified in the main body of this text (see, e.g., Guideline 2.3).

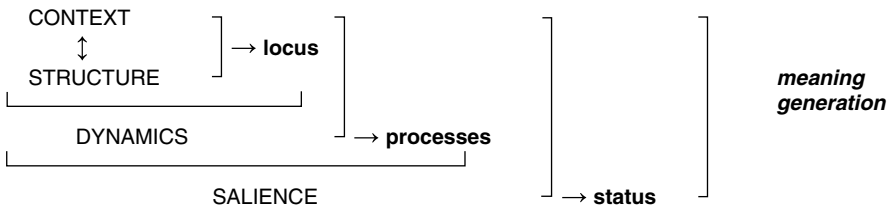


Figure 2. *The structure of a pragmatic theory*

later step in the overall investigation, by applying the same logic to the relationships between all other stages in the process:

Preliminary Caveat 1: *The following guidelines and procedures may be followed step by step. However, actual research will develop cyclically rather than linearly. Some steps cannot be completed without going on to further steps, while sometimes a new step will force you to go back to earlier ones. Therefore: Get to know the entire set of guidelines and procedures before beginning to apply them.*

This warning pertaining to research practices has implications for the way in which the following pages have to be interpreted. Since the presentation of the guidelines can be ordered only in a linear fashion, while actual research is cyclical, what I have been able to present is no more than a limited number of illustrations. The remainder of this part of the book, therefore, should not be interpreted as an example of a full-blown analysis. If the intention had been to offer a well-founded account of the ideological underpinnings of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century history writing about colonial affairs, I would have had to write a completely different book, the production of which would have been preceded by a systematic (and, yes, cyclical) application of the guidelines and procedures, which can now only be illustrated, to the entire corpus under investigation (and, as suggested before, undoubtedly to a much more elaborate one). Moreover, for specific research projects it is possible to concentrate on a subset of guidelines and procedures; this may be necessary if a corpus is large; in such cases, however, conclusions will have to be formulated in such a way that their relative significance avoids being overgeneralized.

In the same vein, a second preliminary caveat warns against looking at the guidelines and procedures in this book as constituting a self-contained and complete methodology:

Preliminary Caveat 2: *The following guidelines and procedures only serve the purpose of analyzing collected language use data in view of their relationship with ideological patterns and processes. A complete research project may have to involve other, in particular ethnographic, stages preceding or coinciding with the analysis stage.*

In particular when studying contemporary phenomena, an ethnographic approach may be required to collect the data (usually inevitable when spoken interaction is the topic, whether in institutional or informal settings) as well as for an accurate assessment of the contextual functioning of forms of language use (even if they consist in written texts). It is beyond the scope of this book, however, to spell out principles of linguistic ethnography. For a first introduction, the reader may consult articles on elicitation, ethnography, fieldwork, and interviewing in Senft, Östman and Verschueren (eds.) (2009). For a more extensive guide, see Hammersley and Atkinson (1995).⁴

The first guideline, then, is no doubt self-evident and would have to be respected irrespective of the theoretical background against which a study of discourse in view of ideological processes is to be situated:

Guideline 1: Get to know your data thoroughly.

Self-evident as this may be, its importance cannot be overemphasized. The practical procedures to be followed depend on the nature of the data, where a basic distinction can be drawn between the spoken and the written, and where for spoken data (in addition to their being preferably ‘witnessed’ in some kind of participant observation context – hence the need for ethnography as pointed out above) recording is a must. In the migrant research we carried out in the early 1990s, both types of data were represented; although there was a heavy emphasis on written materials, some television news programs were recorded and analyzed, and a full cycle of the training program organized by the then Royal Commissariat for Migrant Policies was attended, recorded, and transcribed.⁵ Naturally, the sample data for the history teaching case study in this book are all of the written type, while it would be extremely useful in the case of a similar study of present-day history teaching materials to supplement printed text with the spoken words of teachers and their interaction with students. Minimally, the following procedures apply:

⁴ It is equally beyond the scope of this book to go into the debate on the relations between historical and ethnographic scholarship. Ever since Lévi-Strauss (1958, 1963), a basic comparability between history and ethnography has been assumed, both being concerned with societies other than the one the researcher lives in, where ‘Otherness’ may be defined in terms of distance in time or space or simply in terms of the sociocultural heterogeneity of the here and now. Some work shows the need for ethnographic imagination in historiography (e.g., Sahlins 1992), while other authors emphasize the historical imagination required for good ethnography (e.g., Comaroff and Comaroff 1992). Also more recently, combinations of a historical and an ethnographic perspective are brought to bear on the study of specific social phenomena (e.g., Arborio *et al.* 2008 on ‘labor’). While these efforts are commendable and the insights they produce are clearly useful, we should keep in mind that, at its core, ethnography requires painstaking fieldwork (so that presenting a discourse analysis of texts situated in a temporally and geographically distant place as ‘ethnographic,’ as Blommaert 2008 does, may be stretching things).

⁵ I would like to repeat our debt of gratitude to Chris Bulcaen, who did all the time-consuming transcription work and the initial analyses.

Procedure 1.1: *In the case of audio-video-recorded data: Listen to/watch several times; transcribe all the data you want to subject to closer investigation.*

Serious research on spoken language data has become possible only since the availability of recording devices which allow one to listen to and/or look at the same stretches of discourse as often as one wants or needs to. For purposes of ideology research, in contrast to conversation analysis which would want to explore minute details of interaction processes for their own sake, relatively broad transcriptions marking the basic chunks of meaningful speech (and accompanying gaze and gesture if available) would usually suffice.⁶ But it is important to keep in mind that transcriptions of that kind – or of any kind for that matter – are simplified renditions of the spoken sounds, and that the real data remain the sounds (and images) on tape, to go back to whenever necessary. In Silverstein and Urban's (eds.) (1996) terminology, any transcription would constitute a new *entextualization* which, moreover, introduces a "professional vision" (Goodwin 1994): The way in which talk is turned into text is inevitably guided by choices (comparable to the choice-making that is at the core of all language use) inspired by and contributing to a professional linguistic perspective that will facilitate certain types of observations at the expense of others. This type of researcher influence on the data is inevitable, but as long as it is not naïvely ignored in the analysis, it does not have to be more problematic than the very process of data selection, or than the observer's paradox in ethnography.⁷

Procedure 1.2: *In the case of written text: Read and re-read until you are fully familiar with the materials.*

Simple as this may sound, remember that Carbó (2001) does not hesitate to advocate 'reading' as a method in its own right. Of course, going this far requires a special understanding of reading, but the motivation behind the recommendation is a sound one. In particular, it is important to note that *there are no shortcuts* to avoid or facilitate this stage: *There are no mechanical coding systems that would make it possible to 'access' the data rather than to 'know' them*, even if

⁶ Many kinds of transcription conventions are available. To make a choice appropriate to one's specific research goals, it is useful to have a look at some overview articles which contain references to more detailed proposals and descriptions. Two such articles are O'Connell and Kowal (1995) and Lenk (1999). More detailed descriptions of different systems are to be found in Edwards and Lampert (eds.) (1993). For a more recent overview of spoken language corpora, all using well-considered transcription conventions, see Aarts (2005). It is also worthwhile to familiarize oneself with the considerations underlying these approaches before engaging with currently available transcription software (which can easily be found on the internet).

⁷ The observer's paradox states that the ethnographer must observe, but cannot do this without somehow being 'present,' thereby changing the context to be observed. Rather than to problematize the observer's paradox, this inevitable condition of observation can be seen to provide information that would otherwise have been hard to get. Good examples are Meeuwis (1997) and Jaspers (2005b).

coding systems can be devised – adapted to one’s specific research purposes – to ‘mine’ certain aspects of texts to extract layers of structure and content that are useful to have available for purposes of analysis.⁸ In addition to the practical need for reading as part of research practice, it must be kept in mind that texts in themselves do not ‘mean’; they always require the sense-giving activity of reading (as is so well argued from an ethnomethodological point of view by Watson 2009) which, as a result, becomes part of the analyst’s object as well as his/her method.⁹

It goes without saying that the preparatory Procedures 1.1 and/or 1.2 have already set the stage for or provide the researcher with many of the details or questions required to be able to comply with Guideline 2 (which may also require the kind of ethnographic venture pointed at in Preliminary caveat 2):

Guideline 2: Get to know the context of your data. Ask yourself what it is you need to know in order to interpret the data, i.e., about the linguistic context, the immediate context of situation, and the wider context (social, political, historical, geographical, etc.).

Again, obvious as this may seem, much critical work on discourse fails to ask the relevant questions. Two different types of problems can be seen to emerge in a wide range of available analyses.

One problem is that the contextual embeddedness of the analyses themselves may escape the analyst’s attention. Thus it seems not to have occurred to George Lakoff (1996) that his dichotomous analysis of the conservative vs. the liberal models in the moral political field may have been dictated by his own rather arbitrary political context dominated by a two-party system. The apparent limitation of political choice to two possibilities in a US context obfuscates a much wider diversity of political thought that is also available there. One would already have to assume that the two-party system is a ‘natural’ consequence of the existence of two opposing ideologies, rather than the product of real-world political processes that have as much to do with vested interests as with ideas, to be able to

⁸ It is easy to imagine, for instance, the development of ‘text mining’ tools that could be used to facilitate certain procedures needed for a system of international communication monitoring, as proposed by Verschueren, Östman and Meeuwis (2002). But the risk of using such tools should be carefully evaluated in view of the principles of discourse-based ideology research set out in the rest of Chapter 3. With such evaluation in mind one can put to excellent use a number of available tools for qualitative analysis such as NVivo (as described, e.g., by Lyn Richards 2008, 2009) or Natural Language Toolkit (www.nltk.org). For a glimpse of some new methods of text analysis, see Mellet and Longrée (eds.) (2009), and specifically for text mining techniques Feldman and Sanger (2006), with a practical application compatible with the goals of this book in Pollak *et al.* (in press).

⁹ Watson (2009, p. 30) correctly rejects “other analytic formulations which, in effect, reduce one ‘half’ of the text-reading pair to the other whilst at the same time tacitly relying upon the disattended ‘half’ in order to conduct the analysis of the other.” In other words, ignoring the reading side, and trying to look only at the text as such, is in fact cheating.

take the analysis seriously. In an analysis of political discourse – whether in the United States or elsewhere – one should never lose sight of the contextual constraints imposed by existing political institutions embedded in a power structure. Otherwise one runs the risk of embarking, as Lakoff clearly does, upon an analysis that is itself subject to the same constraints as the discourse to be analyzed. (See also my earlier comments in Chapter 2.)

A second type of problem that should, in principle, be easier to avoid but which, nevertheless, emerges all the time is the simple neglect of (often obvious) aspects of context. Thus when Fairclough (1992, pp. 138–149) analyzes two samples of doctor–patient interaction, he engages in a metapragmatic framing of the contrasts (opposing, in his terms, a ‘standard’ medical interview, with a doctor controlling the interaction, following a preset agenda, showing no affinity and displaying an absence of politeness, etc., to an ‘alternative’ medical interview in which turn distribution is negotiated, the patient co-determines the topical development, the doctor shows a high degree of politeness, etc.) which completely ignores even the most basic contextual differences between the two events: Only in one of the two cases does the patient come to the doctor with a clear medical problem; and in one case doctor and patient know each other well whereas in the other case they do not.¹⁰

This is also the place to issue a warning related to the risk of introducing a gap, as is sometimes done, between (meaningful) forms (subject to formal analysis) and context (recoverable by non-linguistic means). Lähdesmäki and Solin (2000) correctly point out that an interdisciplinary approach, balancing linguistic and non-linguistic input, is important at all stages of the investigation: when asking the research questions, when engaged in analysis, when coming to interpretations. And though he seems to allow for a clear distinction between formal analysis and interpretation (a position I do not share), Thompson (1990, p. 291) may have a quite similar suggestion in mind when warning his readers that they should beware both of the *fallacy of reductionism* (“the fallacy of assuming that symbolic forms can be analysed exhaustively in terms of the social-historical conditions of their production and reception”) and the *fallacy of internalism* (“the fallacy of assuming that one can read off the characteristics and consequences of symbolic forms by attending to the symbolic forms alone, without reference to the social-historical conditions and everyday processes within which and by means of which these symbolic forms are reproduced and received”). The point where my view deviates from Thompson’s bears exclusively on the separability of formal and non-formal analysis. Before illustrating this, let me formulate the general warning in relation to the handling of context as follows:

¹⁰ For a more detailed account of this example, see Verschueren (2001). Note that the contextual differences mentioned are not even referred to in Fairclough’s analysis, though they are blatantly clear from the content of the interaction as such.

Caveat 2.1: *Context is not a stable ‘outside’ reality, nor is it finite in any sense. Hence it cannot be described exhaustively. Those aspects of context may be deemed most relevant – without radically excluding others – which are actualized in the discourse (hence the dictum that discourse constructs context) and which may thus become recoverable in the analysis.*

This formulation contains a number of elements that require further clarification.

First of all, from a pragmatic perspective, ‘context’ is a cover term for any constellation of ingredients of a speech event, ranging from aspects of a physical world through social-historical phenomena, to mental properties and processes and aspects of the (immediate as well as intertextual) linguistic context. This is why context is by definition non-finite and cannot be described exhaustively – a fact that does not make the notion useless for analysis, as should become clear soon.

Further, there are three senses in which context is not an ‘outside’ reality that could therefore be described separately or appealed to autonomously in the search for interpretations. First, it includes discursive elements as well: context and wider linguistic context, including the properties of the communicative channels that carry both. Second, the very production of discourse itself has an impact on non-verbal aspects of context: Almost all social action involves discourse and is partly shaped by the discourse it involves.¹¹ Third, language users carve out ‘lines of vision’ from the unlimited potential of context: It is those aspects of context that language users orient to (as well as aspects that might be carefully or carelessly left out) that are the most relevant for interpretation. More often than not, such orientations leave traces in the discourse itself, which makes it possible to subject them to investigation. In other words, the way in which discourse itself ‘constructs’ or ‘generates’ its own context by choosing to select focal points from a vast continuum enables the researcher to find out what the relevant aspects of context are. That is why formal and non-formal analysis must be fundamentally intertwined.

One should also warn, however, against an interpretation of these observations as if they were to imply that all information relevant for interpretation is to be found in the texts to be studied: We cannot radically exclude all contextual information for which no obvious discourse traces can be found. That would be committing what Thompson calls the fallacy of internalism – while from a different perspective it would be inadmissibly reductionistic as well. Such a stance would ignore another basic principle of pragmatics – which will underlie another range of guidelines and procedures to be spelled out later – viz. the inevitability

¹¹ A good test for this is to take a newspaper and to ask oneself which articles bear on events that do not fundamentally involve communication. Chances are that you are not going to find any. Even natural disasters tend to become newsworthy only to the extent that people are directly affected, when action is undertaken which is communicatively prepared and verbally commented upon.

of implicitness. In a sense, of course, implicit meaning is *there*, in the discourse; but in many cases it cannot be accessed without recourse to information that is not expressed at all. In other words, these remarks do not only concern ‘implicit meaning’ in a strict sense (‘carried’ as it were by discourse choices): Elements of a more general contextual background of knowledge may become important for interpretation.

By way of illustration of the methodological consequences of this relatively complex state of affairs, have a look at the following example from one of the accounts of the Indian Mutiny:

Bengal and the greater part of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies kept quiet; and the Sikhs of the Punjab *had been so well used by* Sir John Lawrence *that they helped* the British. (Fearenside 1922, p. 433; italics added)

This fragment is characterized by what one could call *suggestive vagueness*: The nature of “had been so well used by” is left completely underspecified, yet a causal relation is proposed with “that they helped.” This calls for contextual substantiation. The first thing to do is to look for elements of co-text that could provide the missing details. In the case of Fearenside’s account, however, this does not really help very much. The furthest we get is the following reference to the same state of affairs:

The Punjab, annexed [in 1849] after the Sikhs had been *defeated in hard-fought battles* at Chillianwallah and Gújrat, was *organised* by the brothers John and Henry Lawrence *in such a way that* the Sikhs proved the staunchest allies of Great Britain in the trying period of the Mutiny. (Fearenside 1922, p. 427; italics added)

At best, this reference is circular: it alludes to underspecified aspects of ‘organization’ which are in the same way causally linked to the Sikhs’ behavior at the time of the Indian Mutiny. In fact, this earlier passage raises additional questions. If the Sikhs had to be defeated in “hard-fought battles,” we can hardly assume them to have been natural allies of the British. Hence, crediting the Lawrence brothers (and in particular Sir John) for generating supportive behavior of the Sikhs only emphasizes the question as to what their ‘organization’ of the Sikhs, referred to as their “use” of the Sikhs in the first quote, involved precisely. Clearly, we are not going to find the answer to that kind of question in a book that refers to what happened in a vague, suggestive, and circular manner.

With this specific example, the rest of the corpus does not help either. Other texts, if they contain relevant references at all, remain equally vague. Consider:

Sir John Lawrence, the Governor of the Punjaub, who had, by his humane treatment of the Sikhs, endeared those natives to him, now marched in command of a united British and Sikh force to Delhi, the rebel stronghold. (Cassell’s 1903, p. 124)

The Punjab was annexed [...] and placed under a commission of able officers, who not only disarmed and pacified the Sikhs, but contrived in the course

of a few years to turn them into the most loyal and contented subjects of the British rāj in Asia. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 134)

After great exertions Delhi was captured, mainly owing to the fidelity of the recently conquered Sikhs, which enabled Sir John Lawrence, the commissioner of the Punjab, whose admirable rule had in four years completely won over the Sikhs, to send large reinforcements to the besiegers of Delhi. (Ransome 1910, p. 443)

Yet, it would be useful to have an explanation. The reason is not that the contemporary early twentieth-century user of the book would have been able to fill in the details, so that we would have to grasp those details in order to make an assessment of their interpretation at the time. In fact, it is quite likely that for those users the quoted passages were as vague as they are for us today, and that there was no additional background knowledge they could rely on to give further substance to the rather abstract expressions in the texts. The real reason is that we need to know, to the extent that we can achieve such knowledge, what it is that the author is leaving unsaid or implicit, whether or not by his own conscious design. Note that this is a case in which the language user's intentionality is not at issue – though we must assume that a serious historian would not make a suggestive appeal to background information without having access to that information him- or herself. What is at issue is the way in which the discourse carves out lines of vision in a historical 'reality,' and the obligation we have as researchers interested in ideological processes to gain whatever insight we can to be able to evaluate the discursive effects those lines have on a resulting picture of the described events. In other words, if this is necessary or useful or both, we cannot allow ourselves not to go beyond the texts. In other words, *though it is the texts that offers us clues as to what the relevant contextual parameters or phenomena may be, filling in the details may oblige us to look outside the texts.*

Going beyond the (corpus of) text(s) usually means going to other texts or other forms of discourse – and not only for historical topics, as most social events are profoundly communicative. For the specific case under consideration, we have a vast range of sources available. From reference works such as Lloyd (1996), Marshall (ed.) (1996), and Porter (ed.) (1999), as well as more specific scholarly studies of the East India Company's army,¹² such as Gupta and Deshpande (eds.) (2002), we can learn some of the basic 'facts' of the situation.¹³ Thus the well-trained and well-equipped Sikh army, which had become a threat to the British by its rapid growth in a context of serious instability after the death of Ranjit Singh

¹² Until 1858, British affairs in India – commerce (until about 1850), government, and the military – were managed by the East India Company. The Company's position had already weakened by that time, and there was rivalry between officers directly employed by the Company and those who belonged to 'the Queen's service.' The events of 1857–1858 were used as an opportunity to end Company rule and to transfer India to the Crown.

¹³ The extensive later Indian and British literature on the so-called Indian Mutiny includes Alavi (2007), Chaudhuri (1957), Dalrymple (2006, 2007), Embree (1987), Joshi (ed.) (1957), Khan (2000), Majumdar (1957), Mukharji (2007), Mukherjee (1984), Sen (2007), and Stokes (1986).

in 1839, was attacked and defeated by the British troops (consisting mostly of Indian sepoys¹⁴) in two wars in 1846 and 1849. After the final defeat in 1849, all of Punjab was annexed and the Sikhs were completely disarmed, leaving the area militarily occupied with regiments of the Bengal Army. As this left some 60,000 well-trained Sikh and Punjabi soldiers unemployed, the British soon decided to re-employ some to form extra regiments to guard the new northwestern border. In 1851 it was decided that by then it was safe enough to let Sikhs and Punjabis into the regular regiments of the Bengal Army, but this was heavily resisted by the Hindu sepoys.¹⁵ Then, when the Mutiny broke out and significant parts of northern India were quickly under the control of mutineering parts of the Bengal Army, the British were not keen on turning to native regiments from Madras and Bombay for help, as they were not sure whether the discontent that sparked the Mutiny was shared by the sepoys there. All they could do was to regroup the British forces, to disarm the Hindustani majority of the Bengal Army regiments stationed in Punjab, and to risk a gamble with the few Sikh and Punjabi members of those regiments, giving them key positions in a newly composed military force consisting mainly of re-recruited Punjabis and Sikhs who had themselves been disarmed only a few years earlier. A gamble it was, and doubts remained among the British, including Sir John Lawrence, who knew very well that helping to crush the rebellion was not the Sikhs' and Punjabis' expression of loyalty. Various factors were involved. For one thing, there was a lot of resentment against the now mutineering sepoys of the Bengal Army who were looked upon as inferior by the Sikhs and Punjabis but who had nevertheless been instrumental in the British victory of 1849. Now there was an opportunity to avenge earlier humiliation and – maybe even more importantly – to loot Delhi. Moreover, they could now put themselves in a position of influence that would guarantee long-term benefits. Reopening Punjab as a military recruiting ground offered the

¹⁴ At the time of the Mutiny, there were roughly five Indian soldiers for every British one. Figures given in our corpus vary slightly (257,000 vs. 45,000; 250,000 vs. 50,000; 290,000 vs. 50,000; nearly 300,000 vs. 43,000;? vs. 39,000). These approximations are confirmed by more recent studies. Bosma (2009), for instance, estimates average British garrison strength in India between 1851 and 1900 at 60,000 (compared to only 30,000 in the rest of the empire, and compared to an average of 21,500 before 1850) – where we must keep in mind that the number of British soldiers went up after 1857. In principle, with an annual replacement rate of 15 percent (bringing the estimated total for the period to about 450,000) and soldiers able to remain as a labor force after military duty, this could have resulted in significant white settlement in India. Bosma says: “British advocates of white settlement advanced the argument, for example, that a million Europeans in the hills of Darjeeling would be able to provide a military force that could nip in the bud any repetition of the Mutiny” (2009, p. 330). There were dreams of white agricultural enclaves in the healthier areas, but in fact mainly ‘railway enclaves’ emerged.

¹⁵ The British Army in India consisted basically of three armies, corresponding to the three presidencies: Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. So, Fearenside’s statement that “Bengal and the greater part of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies kept quiet” is somewhat confused and confusing, as there was no one else who could have been responsible for the revolt. The Mutiny was effectively started by regiments of the Bengal Army, stationed in the northern provinces bordering on Punjab. There is some clarification in Woodward (1921, p. 237): “In the Central Provinces the trouble was limited to the Ganges plain. Bombay, Madras, and Lower Bengal itself were untouched by it.”

prospect of restoring fortunes lost by earlier defeat.¹⁶ Because they realized that loyalty could not be taken for granted, the British were very careful not to recruit more men than was absolutely necessary to hold Punjab and to send reinforcements to Delhi, and Lawrence also paid special attention to the fact that in the new regiments a single group should not become dominant. In Yong's words:

Consequently, the composition of the new force came to be a mixed one, comprising Sikhs from the central Punjab, various Muslim tribes from the western Punjab (which had little in common except religion), Pathan and Baluch tribes from the frontier, hillmen, and Punjabi Hindus.

The raising of a Punjab Force, and its subsequent despatch to Delhi, in addition to meeting British manpower needs at a crucial moment, provided the British with an important tactical advantage: it reduced the threat of an internal uprising by Punjabis by drawing in potentially dangerous elements and sending them out of the Punjab. (2002, p. 20)

Against this background, Sir John Lawrence's "using" the Sikhs "so well" that they turned into "staunch allies" clearly has two components based in facts: First, the suggestion is that he must have availed himself of considerable skills of diplomacy to 'pacify' the recently conquered area; second, a causal link is introduced with the Sikhs' fighting on the British side. An unwarranted leap in the description is its suggestion of the Sikhs' "being" – as if unconditionally – on the British side as a result of good administration. In the years following the Mutiny, these same staunch allies were still distrusted enough by the British to make them keep the Punjabi and Sikh troops confined largely to the Punjabi regiments of the Bengal Army, rather than to use them to replace Hindustani elements altogether. The main guideline was a 'divide and rule' principle. It was not until the late 1880s that Punjab would become the main recruiting ground and backbone for the Indian Army, when the main threat was no longer perceived to be internal instability but the possibility of attack from outside the empire, notably by the Russians. It is likely that reliance on warriors from Punjab by the end of the nineteenth century¹⁷ colored turn-of-the-century perceptions and depictions of their attitude at the time of the Mutiny.

¹⁶ For all its shortcomings, the British raj in India was also known as a reliable source of income. Soldiers did get their pay. This contrasted sharply with what happened to the rebelling sepoy who could no longer rely on money or on supplies; as a result, for instance, many of the rebels left occupied Delhi, reducing their number from about 100,000 to roughly 25,000 by the time the city was recaptured; no doubt this was one of the major factors that contributed to the failure of the Mutiny.

¹⁷ During the final decades of the nineteenth century, the British tried to strengthen the Indian Army (as a defense against potential Russian imperial ambitions) by recruiting what they saw as the best fighting men in the region. To that effect, they relied on a theory of 'martial races': Some social groups or 'races' were seen as providing inherently better warriors than others; these included the Sikhs, Punjabis, Pathans, and Gurkhas – not surprisingly four categories that were also to be found on the British side in the suppression of the Mutiny. (See Gupta and Deshpande 2002.)

Keeping these remarks in mind, let us now look systematically at and comment on different aspects of context to be investigated, moving from the most general level to the more specific ones.

Procedure 2.1: Investigate the wider (social, political, historical, geographical, etc.) context, to the extent that it is accessible. In particular:

- 2.1.1:** *How does the context of the investigation relate to the context of the investigated discourse?*
- 2.1.2:** *How does the context of the investigated discourse relate to the social, cultural, political, historical context which the discourse is (presenting itself as being) 'about'?*
- 2.1.3:** *How does the investigated discourse carve out lines of vision in the 'world' it refers to?*

AD 2.1, IN GENERAL:

[Investigate the wider (social, political, historical, geographical, etc.) context, to the extent that it is accessible.]

As will be clear from the three questions that are formulated to give substance to an investigation of what is here called the 'wider context' (to be contrasted with an 'immediate context of situation' in Procedure 2.2 and the 'linguistic context' in Procedure 2.3), different aspects should be carefully distinguished. First, as already pointed out, a researcher engaging with language use and ideology should never forget his or her own positioning in relation to or involvement in the social structures, processes, and relations that are at issue. No doubt this is a tall order, requiring astute awareness of the (involvement-related) intuitions that lead to a researchable (set of) question(s), as described at the beginning of Chapter 2. A second layer of context pertains to the place occupied by the discourse under investigation. Third, discourse is always (presenting itself as being) 'about' something, and, as indicated before, it can never present a full picture of the 'world' it is about; the way in which 'lines of vision' are carved into that world is another layer of the wider context that can never be ignored, even if a good description of this would require recourse to data outside the object discourse (as illustrated with the example of Fearenside's mention of John Lawrence's good use of the Sikhs as an explanation for their support of the British at the time of the Indian Mutiny).

AD 2.1.1:

[How does the context of the investigation relate to the context of the investigated discourse?]

It is because of values and opinions prevalent in the world today that Lavis's categorization of "industry, trade, colonization of the world" as "works of peace" triggered my interest in historical accounts of colonization at the time when colonization by European powers was still regarded by many Europeans as the natural thing to do. The investigated materials are full of elements that are judged worthy of our attention just because they highlight divergences of perspective in relation to the investigator's. Consider another example:

This event closed a somewhat dragging war by compelling China to confirm a *Treaty of Tientsin*, made in 1858, which legalised the introduction into China of opium, ambassadors, and missionaries.

(Fearenside 1922, p. 432)

The enumeration "opium, ambassadors, and missionaries" may not have been unmarked even when Fearenside wrote this, but from a present-day point of view it highlights phenomena (the British being the drug traders of the nineteenth century)¹⁸ and connections (missionaries serving other than purely religious goals) in a particular way that cannot be disconnected from the researcher's own historical context and point of view.

This contextual 'positioning' of the investigation itself is harder to keep in focus when contemporary data are studied, which makes it all the more important if bias is to be kept at bay. The most useful application of ideology research may in fact be to show people how to detect naturalized, but possibly ill-founded, assumptions in texts they are inclined to fully agree with. By the same token, the best test for the validity of the proposed set of methods (and the best training for those learning how to handle them) would be to use them for the analysis of data one can feel aligned with, and then to come up with unexpected findings. This can be achieved only by carefully monitoring (and, when necessary, neutralizing or making explicit) the influence of one's own contextual involvement in the investigation.

Coming back to our case study, it should be clear that an answer to the question of how the context of the investigation relates to the context of the investigated discourse centers around the large distance between the two. We are looking at the history textbooks from a perspective determined by a century of later historical developments. The main difference between the research context and the context of the materials is no doubt the changed view of (the acceptability of) colonization, and hence of the actions and practices it involved. Two things should be kept in mind, however. First, already during the period in which our sample data are situated, colonial practices were not uncontested; Hobson's (1902) book on imperialism, for instance, offers a sharp critique of economic exploitation and exposes the idea of self-government as an imperial smokescreen. Second,

¹⁸ Here Fearenside refers to the second of two nineteenth-century Anglo-Chinese 'Opium Wars,' fought from 1839 to 1842 and from 1856 to 1860. These wars were started in defense of British merchants who imported opium from British India into China, in defiance of Chinese anti-opium laws.

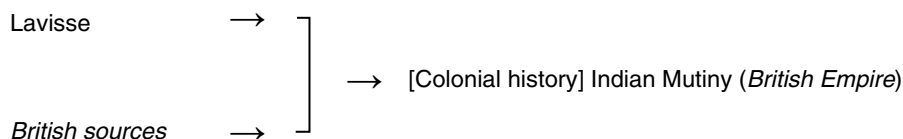
interesting parallels may emerge between the legitimation of colonization practices and a wide range of present-day assumptions (and rhetorical strategies) underscoring power relationships in the world.

Ad 2.1.2:

[How does the context of the investigated discourse relate to the social, cultural, political, historical context which the discourse is (presenting itself as being) 'about' ?]

Any complete attempt to describe the context of the investigation in relation to the context of the investigated discourse would of course bring forward most of the salient features of the latter and would thus reveal much of how the investigated discourse is to be situated socially, culturally, politically, historically in relation to what it is 'about'. The textbooks belong in a world strongly dominated by a few European powers controlling large portions of the globe. In that world, Britain was clearly the most successful of the colonizers, though in direct competition with France, and though the USA and Germany were rapidly expanding their influence while Russia had control over vast parts of Asia and was looking for a bridge to the Indian Ocean.

Clearly, our French source, Lavissee, is situated differently from the British sources. The difference could have been a symmetrical one, but in this case it is not, because of our main focus on an aspect of British colonial history as presented by both the French and the British sources. A simple visualization of the point of orientation is as follows:



The 'involvement' of the British sources in the depicted events will not be without consequence; a persistent form of reflexivity transpires in the British discourse. Throughout most of the Lavissee corpus, on the other hand, there is a keen awareness of the context of competition for colonial possessions, fueling expressions of regret that France did not do more to prevent the British from acquiring their dominant position (e.g., in India as well as in North America).

What Lavissee shares with the British sources is an overall common outlook on processes of colonization and relations between colonizer and colonized, details of which will emerge from the remainder of this book. A sense of rivalry transpires, but the French and the British are competing in the same game.

Ad 2.1.3:

[How does the investigated discourse carve out lines of vision in the ‘world’ it refers to?]

Finally, we need to devote more attention at this stage to the question of how the discourse under investigation carves out lines of vision in the ‘world’ it refers to. Far from pretending that we could tell the ‘full’ story behind the pieces of discourse in our case study sample, there are a number of things that can be put together from reading the sample sources themselves, as well as from more recent publications. I will restrict myself to two salient aspects of the historical ‘world’ which the texts are ‘about’: the causes of the Indian Mutiny, and the concatenation of events the term refers to. In relation to each, a table will be presented with an overview of the factors that our sources mention.

The reported *causes of the Mutiny* are quite wide-ranging and diverse. The following aspects seem to be involved:

- (I) Political discontent: ‘Native princes,’ who were still in control of parts of India in the period preceding the Mutiny, felt increasingly threatened by Lord Dalhousie’s annexation policies.¹⁹ Two aspects are repeatedly pointed at:
 - (a) It was decided that territories under the control of rulers who did not have a son would ‘lapse’ into the hands of the East India Company, and hence of the governor-general. Earlier, it was the practice that rulers without a son would pass on their authority and privileges to an adopted son. This practice was abolished by the British. (In fact, Nana Sahib, who became one of the leaders of the Mutiny, was the adopted son of a ruler who saw his eminence thus fade away.)
 - (b) In 1856, Dalhousie deposed the King of Oudh whom he regarded as too inefficient and corrupt, thus taking full control of one of the last relatively important independent kingdoms.
- (II) Social (rural) discontent: Some land reforms resulted in peasants feeling disfavored by taxation or by the gains of rival peasant communities.
- (III) Religious Unrest: Both Hindus and Muslims felt that the British were trying too hard to convert people to Christianity.
- (IV) Cultural unrest, based on the banning of old practices and the introduction of innovations representing westernization:

¹⁹ Technically, the East India Company still governed India. But anticipating a transfer of the colony to the Crown (which was effectively carried out shortly after the Mutiny in 1858), the British government appointed a governor-general. In the period preceding the Mutiny, this was Lord Dalhousie, who had just returned to Britain (in early 1856) and had been replaced by Lord Canning.

- (a) Government interfered with practices which the British regarded as barbaric (such as widow burning or infanticide).
 - (b) Roads were being constructed to unite the different parts of India, telegraph lines were being installed (at a very early time, just thirty years after their first appearance in the USA), a postal system was being developed, a railway system was under construction (though only a few dozen miles were already in place), and education was promoted (with emphasis on the teaching of English).²⁰
- (V) Discontent in the military:
- (a) Compensatory allowances for sepoys serving in the Bengal Army in Punjab were cut in 1850 (after annexation of Punjab in 1849), as well as in Oudh after the king had been deposed (the argument being in both cases that now they were serving within their own borders rather than outside them).
 - (b) Service conditions were deteriorating; in particular, all sepoys were beginning to be considered liable for overseas duty, disregarding earlier respect for Hindu sensitivities: For high-caste recruits, crossing the seas meant loss of caste.
 - (c) Quasi-hereditary privileges and sources of economic well-being were under threat as a result of the intention of the British to broaden the recruitment base, e.g., by letting Sikhs and Punjabis serve.
- (VI) Opportunity:
- (a) The presence of British soldiers in India was particularly weak at this time (say about 50,000, as opposed to 250,000 native Indian soldiers), as many regiments had been withdrawn for duty in the Crimean and Persian Wars.²¹
 - (b) The British military had suffered a loss of prestige; they were no longer seen as invincible, in particular as a result of the disastrous campaigns in Afghanistan.²²
- (VII) Prophecy: there was a belief that British rule in India would last no more than 100 years; the starting date was 1757, the battle of Plassey, which gave the British control over most of the Bengal region.

²⁰ As explained by Pennycook (1998), the emphasis on English was not exclusive; there was a strong tendency to promote primary education in the vernacular and higher levels of education in English; the teaching of English at the primary level was preparatory to its use later. As far as different aspects of 'modernization' are concerned, most Indians were not really touched by this at all by 1857 (Marshall [ed.] 1996), an observation which certainly reduces the relative weight of this 'cause' of the Mutiny. The building of railroads and communication lines was seriously accelerated after 1858, mainly for strategic reasons (Sinha 2007).

²¹ The Crimean War, 1853–1856 – a joint French and British action to limit Russian influence in Turkey – and the Persian War of 1856, also involving a struggle with Russia for control over the region.

²² Particularly disastrous was the first Afghan war, 1838–1842, which ended in the complete annihilation of the withdrawing British troops.

- (VIII) The final trigger: The British army replaced the Brown Bess rifle with the Lee-Enfield rifle, which required greased cartridges, with ends that had to be bitten off, thus bringing the soldiers' lips into contact with the grease that was believed to be cow fat (an insult to the Hindus) or pig fat (an insult to Muslims) or a mixture of both.

We can see the distribution of these causes across our data samples in Table 2.

When interpreting a table like this, it should be kept in mind that categories are not as clear-cut as would be desirable when assigning plus- or minus-values. Thus Fearenside's and Syngé's plus for I is based on implicit references to Ia and Ib (which have themselves been given a minus since they are not literally present in the text – this is also the reason why I occurs as a general item in addition to the more specific Ia and Ib, a distinction which was not necessary for the other categories of causes). Similarly, a plus for VIII always implies reference to religious factors, a more specific aspect of which is presented in III; clearly, then, VIII is not completely separable from III, as the greased cartridges were seen as a means of polluting sepoys in order to better prepare them for Christianization (nor, for that matter, are III and VIII completely separable from IVa and Vb).

Moreover, the absence of a clearly indicated cause does not mean that causes are not suggestively present. Thus the only source which does not go into causes at all, Parkin, still cannot avoid implicit reference to discontent which it is then suggested was basically a form of ungratefulness:

In 1857 occurred the Sepoy Mutiny, when great numbers of the men whom we had drilled and armed so carefully rose in rebellion against our rule.

(Parkin 1911, p. 213)

In the same way, the only two sources that explicitly recognize only one cause, namely the equipment of the army with guns requiring greased cartridges, refer suggestively to a wider context of discontent as well. This is clearest in the case of Cassell's, in which the discontent, which is itself left underspecified, is reduced to a product of manipulation:

It [the Mutiny] had been long maturing, but the reason put forward by the mutineers was [...] Leaders had for a long time past been instilling feelings of dissatisfaction in the minds of the men, and this pretext was advanced to start the rebellion. (1903, p. 124)

Lavissee is more opaque in his formulation. Just consider the following excerpts:

Il y avait dans l'Inde, en 1857, 290 000 soldats; 240 000 étaient des Cipayes, c'est-à-dire des Hindous. Ils avaient encore la vieille religion de l'Inde; ils croyaient que la vache est un animal sacré. Les officiers anglais voulurent leur faire tirer des cartouches enduites de graisse de vache. Les Cipayes se révoltèrent [...]

[...] depuis il n'y a plus eu de révolte, et les Hindous commencent à parler anglais et à adopter les usages des Anglais. (1902, p. 152)

Table 2. *Causes of the Indian Mutiny*

Cause Source	I	Ia	Ib	II	III	IVa	IVb	Va	Vb	Vc	VIa	VIb	VII	VIII
Lavisse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
[Cassell's]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Fearenside	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Hearnshaw	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
Innes	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
Kerr and Kerr	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Low and Sanders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
McCarthy	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
Parkin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ransome	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Richardson	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
Syngé	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Warner and Marten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Woodward	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+

[In 1857 there were in India 290,000 soldiers; 240,000 were Sepoys, that is to say Hindus. They still had the old religion of India; they believed that the cow was a sacred animal. The English officers wanted to make them shoot cartridges coated with cow fat. The Sepoys revolted [...]

[...] since then there have not been any revolts, and the Hindus are beginning to speak English and to adopt English customs.]

The first paragraph sticks to a factual account of the incident with the cartridges and explains why this was such an important matter for the sepoy. The second paragraph, then, subtly introduces the idea of a *culture conflict* which was resolved after the Mutiny: The Indians begin to go along with the ways of the British, which – as is implied by contrast – they may have resisted before. Thus these few words, pointing at some of the results of the British gaining the upper hand again, open lines of vision toward factors that are otherwise left unsaid but which are dealt with, sometimes in detail, by some of the British sources.

A few sources also introduce causes that are left too vague for inclusion in the above list, or that appear to be on a par with one of the factors that was already listed. Thus Innes refers, without further explanation, to “an extensive Mohammedan conspiracy [...] for restoring the Mogul dynasty and the Mohammedan ascendancy” (1927, p. 170), while Woodward says

it had been unwise to leave the Moghul as nominal sovereign in the ancient capital, Delhi, where his enormous wealth and the prestige of his name enabled his household to create a network of anti-British intrigue.

(1921, p. 236)

Both quotations refer to a political context; Innes suggests political discontent, giving rise to a ‘conspiracy,’ with religious overtones; Woodward adds an element of opportunity.²³ Similarly, Innes cites as a cause of discontent that “the strong hand of government had deprived the lawless sections of society of their old license” (1927, p. 169), a statement which is left unclear, but which may be similar in intent to Warner and Marten’s observation that the government had suppressed “bands of hereditary assassins who roamed about India strangling travellers” (1912, p. 690) – something they clearly present, however, as a British course of action “directed to bettering the lot of their subjects,” rather than as a possible cause of discontent. One of the additional causes, analogous to the cartridge story, which is mentioned twice (by Low and Sanders and by Richardson), is the circulation of a rumor that the dust of human bones would have been mixed with grain sold to the army. Moreover, directly related to the conditions of service that have already been mentioned as sources of unrest, there was the additional fact, pointed out by McCarthy, that the Indian Army had become “an army of native rank and file commanded by Englishmen” (1908, p. 174), a perfect recipe for lack of attention to the specific needs of the majority of the soldiers. Further, Hearnshaw sees in the Crimean War not only an event that drew away British troops from India, but also an event that, for reasons that are not clarified, “had excited the religious passions of the Mohammedan peoples of the peninsula” (1930, p. 154).²⁴ Low and Sanders, finally, mentions the average age of British officers as one of the reasons why the revolt could break out and spread so easily:

Promoted by seniority, many of them were enfeebled by age and long residence in a trying climate [...] These elderly warriors, as events sadly proved, often broke down under the strain of sudden emergency. (1910, p. 137)

²³ The Mogul (or Mughal) Dynasty ruled most of northern India from the early sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, their dominion had been reduced to a small area around Delhi, first under Maratha and later under British control. In 1857 the Grand Mogul was Bahádur Shah II, no more than a puppet emperor.

²⁴ This reference provides a good example to illustrate the importance of contextual information. A causal link is introduced between the Crimean War and Muslim religious passions in India, but no explanation is provided. The question is: What explains this link in the mind of the author, and does the author’s conceptualization match what was in the minds of Muslims in India at the time of the Mutiny? Conclusive answers to such questions would require serious historical research. Knowledge of some basic facts of the Crimean War seems to cast doubt on the causal link (though it may of course have been produced by a specific way of communicating or possibly manipulating those ‘facts’). To the extent that religion was at all involved in the causes of the war, it concerned a dispute between Catholic and Orthodox Christians (in relation to who was granted authority over the holy places in then-Ottoman Palestine). In the war, both Britain and France fought against the Russians for the protection of the (Muslim!) Ottoman Empire – mainly to stop the spread of Russian influence rather than out of sympathy for the sultan. A further question could be, then: Were there, perhaps, consequences that were disadvantageous to Muslims in such a way as to ‘excite religious passions’ in India? As said before, only historical research can provide the answers. But the conclusion may very well be that the author is confusing a number of things: the weakening of the British presence in India as a result of the war on the one hand, and differently grounded fears that the British would want to interfere in religious affairs on the other. But then, this confusion may also have been there in the minds of some Indians at the time of the Mutiny.

In line with this comment, it is suggested that a faster reaction to the uprising at Meerut could have prevented mutineers from reaching Delhi, which became the center of the rebellion once they did.

Table 2 also reveals interesting patterns. Most obviously, perhaps, of all the sources that go into causes, only one (Kerr and Kerr) omits reference to the story of the greased cartridges. This source, in addition to mentioning the small numbers of British soldiers present in India at the time, reduces the entire account of the causes to one sentence:

The native princes were jealous of the power of England, and the people thought that the British were going to interfere with their religion.

(Kerr and Kerr 1927, p. 183)

Note also, at the other end, that none of the sources mentions the fact that extra compensations for the sepoys sent out to Punjab and serving in Oudh had been slashed (Va) and that there was unrest related to anticipated changes in recruitment (Vc), two factors about which later historical accounts agree. Obviously, these did not belong to the story as commonly told at the time.

Finally, it is also clear from Table 2 that quite a number of authors (at least including Innes, Low and Sanders, McCarthy, Richardson, and Warner and Marten) make a conscious attempt to be as complete as possible in their enumeration of causes; whatever was left out by them may be all the more important, as they may have regarded them as simply negligible (rather than the author's not being aware of them, since emergence in other sources shows accessibility). The most complete accounts usually also add a measure of surprise regarding the fact that, in spite of the many causes for discontent, the British (except, according to one source, Sir Henry Lawrence) had not seen the Mutiny coming.

More important than the actual occurrence of a specific cause in the explanation given by a certain author is the way in which the cause is presented. Some of the details will re-emerge when discussing additional research procedures in the following pages. But meanwhile it is worthwhile drawing the attention to a few of the more striking phenomena.

First, the theme of a cultural conflict is evoked more strongly in many of the British sources than in Lavissee, though, as pointed out, it is to be found there as well at an implicit level. Here are a few of the examples:

Finally, the introduction of European education, the suppression of some cruel and obnoxious native religious customs, the zealous labours of Christian missionaries, the development of railways and other Western devices, appeared to forebode the total suppression of Eastern civilisation and the destruction of oriental faiths. (Hearnshaw 1930, p. 154)

Recent western innovations, and more particularly the introduction of railways and the telegraph, had shocked and alarmed the natives, who were encouraged by the Bráhmans to see in these inventions an attack upon their religion. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 136)

Further, Lord Dalhousie made railways, and introduced the telegraph and the use of postage stamps. The rapid changes upset the natives [...].

(Richardson 1924, p. 136)

Western reforms mystified and unsettled the Eastern mind, and natives thought that the world was being turned upside down.

(Warner and Marten 1912, p. 690)

It is undoubtedly true that the very passion for honest government which animated Lord Dalhousie had stirred up discontent amongst those who benefited most by his policy. He had not allowed – as Lawrence did in the Punjab – for the intense conservatism of Oriental races, to whom oppression from their own kin is preferable sometimes to freedom at the hand of foreigners. (Woodward 1921, p. 235)

Perhaps Indian society had been passing too quickly through a period of change; the British temper was restless and pushing; steam, electricity, education, newspapers, betokened a future still more disturbed.

(Woodward 1921, p. 236)

Though there is a suggestion of cultural backwardness on the part of the Indians, British measures are sometimes described as liable to criticism. In particular, many of the authors seem quite convinced that Dalhousie's annexation policies were a bit reckless:

The reforms were sometimes carried out with too little regard for the prejudices and racial customs of the Hindus themselves, and several times Lord Dalhousie offended them very much. (Richardson 1924, p. 136)

Thus some of the leading princely houses of Northern India, Hindu and Mohammedan alike, were smarting under a sense of wrong, and their agents were active in promoting discontent. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 136)

Since, at the same time, most of our sources praise Dalhousie to the skies as a man with vision and real leadership, interesting attempts are made to balance criticism and justification:

The violent changes in Oudh, well-meant from the English standpoint but injudicious in their suddenness, had been ill received.

(Woodward 1921, p. 236)

Necessary and justifiable as these proceedings were, they roused considerable alarm among the Indian princes and great landowners.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 135)

Sometimes justification does not have to be spelled out, as it is driven home with absolute clarity by ascribing the revolt completely to attitudes inherent to the mutineers, as in

It was not by any means a merely military mutiny. It was a combination of military grievance, national hatred and religious fanaticism, against the English occupiers of India. (McCarthy 1908, p. 170)

or by discrediting the grounds for resentment:

But we must above all other things take into account, when considering the position of the Hindoo Sepoy, the influence of the tremendous institution of caste. An Englishman or European of any country will have to call his imaginative faculties somewhat vigorously to his aid in order to get even an idea of the power of this monstrous superstition [...] No doubt there was in many instances a lack of consideration shown for the Hindoo's peculiar and very perplexing tenets. To many a man fresh from the ways of England, the Hindoo doctrines and practices appeared so ineffably absurd that he could not believe any human beings were serious in their devotion to them, and he took no pains to conceal his opinion as to the absurdity of the creed, and the hypocrisy of those who professed it. (McCarthy 1908, p. 173)

The presentation of the key element, recognized by all (except Parkin) as the immediate trigger for the revolt, the story of the greased cartridges, is interesting in its own right. One source brands this cause as 'trivial':

suddenly excited over a trivial dispute concerning greased cartridges
(Hearnshaw 1930, p. 154)

Another one calls it a 'pretext':

It [the Mutiny] had been long maturing, but the reason put forward by the mutineers was, that the cartridges served out to them were greased with cow's fat [...] Leaders had for a long time past been instilling feelings of dissatisfaction in the minds of the men, and this pretext was advanced to start the rebellion. (Cassell's 1903, p. 124)

All seem to agree, however, that it would have been stupid for the British to have greased cartridges with cow fat (and/or pig fat), given the sensitivities of Hindus (and/or Muslims). The crucial question, then, is the factual basis of this account. Some sources jump to a denial:

When the improved (Enfield) rifle was introduced into the Indian army in 1856, the idea got abroad that the cartridges [170] were made up in paper greased with a mixture of cow's fat and hog's lard. It appears that the paper was actually greased, but not with any such material as that which religious alarm suggested to the native troops. (McCarthy 1908, pp. 170–171)

In most cases, truth judgements are avoided by sticking to a 'report' or (opening the way to the possibility of falsehood more directly) a 'rumor':

And then came the report that Hindus and Mohammedans alike would suffer contamination by the use of the new rifles and cartridges just issued to the troops; since the cartridges were said to be greased with the fat of pigs which the Mohammedan reckons unclean, and of cows which the Hindu accounts sacred. (Innes 1927, p. 170)

Then came the rumour that the cartridges to fit the new rifles which had been lately given to them were greased with the fat of pigs and cows.

(Richardson 1924, p. 137)

It was rumoured that the new rifles required greased cartridges, and that they were greased with hog's lard, forbidden to Mohammedans.

(Syngé 1908, p. 113)

Two sources, however, mention explicitly that there may have been some facts behind the story:

The soldiers were rapidly drifting into that state of panic which is capable of driving Orientals to frenzy. Stories were circulated that the dust of human bones was deliberately mixed with the grain sold to the army by government contractors. And then came a rumour, more alarming than any other, which ran like wild-fire through the sepoy lines in the late autumn. The old Brown Bess musket was being replaced by the Enfield rifle, and then ew [sic] cartridges were lubricated in order to fit the grooves of the barrel. It was universally believed that these cartridges, which the men had to bite with their teeth, were greased with a mixture of cow's fat and pig's lard. Thus the soldiers of both religions were outraged by the thought of touching with their lips the fat either of the unclean pig or the sacred cow.² The government tried to allay the excite-[138]ment by publishing a chemical analysis of the cartridge-grease, and instructing the officers to assure the troops on parade that the defiling ingredients were not employed. But the sepoys were filled with terror and suspicion, and fit for any violence.

² It seems that some cartridges lubricated with the objectionable composition had actually passed into the hands of the troops before the issue was checked by the authorities. The evidence is however conflicting. See [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, pp. 138–139)

and

The story may have had a slight foundation of truth in it.¹

¹ The cartridges had to be greased in order to fit into the groove of the barrel. Though the evidence is conflicting, it is probable that some of these cartridges – though they were almost immediately recalled – were smeared, by some mistake, with the ingredients to which objection was taken.

(Warner and Marten 1912, p. 691)

Without going into this issue further, it may be interesting to note that more recent historical accounts also tend to be unclear on the issue. Thus Yong (2002, p. 15) talks of “Rumours that these cartridges were to be greased with cow and pork fat” Marshall (1996, p. 50) qualifies the cartridges as “apparently coated with ritually impure animal fat,” and Lloyd (1996, pp. 174–175) says: “when the new rifle turned out to have cartridges of which the paper had to be bitten off, Hindus and Muslims were united in common outrage because it [174] appeared that the cartridge paper was waxed with a mixture of pig and cow fat.” Others, e.g., Spear (1965) and Spilsbury (2007), clearly suggest that the first cartridges issued for the new Enfield rifle were indeed of the objectionable type, but that they were recalled and replaced quickly – though too late. Far from making claims about an objective truth, the preceding pages show the

differential positionings *vis-à-vis* aspects of context and how they are achieved by linguistic means.

The reported *events of the Mutiny*, looking collectively at all of our data samples, can be summarized as follows, ordering them in episodes rather than trying to respect a strict timeline:

- (A) Early outbreaks of rebellion before the ‘real’ start of the Mutiny.
 - (i) Open insubordination is reported in a number of places from as early as 25 February 1857.
 - (ii) These outbreaks are suppressed relatively quickly.
- (B) The outbreak of the revolt at Meerut.
 - (i) More than eighty sepoys refuse to obey their officers (in particular, they refuse to receive/use the greased cartridges); this is followed by a trial and prison sentences; sepoys are sent to jail on 9 May 1857.
 - (ii) Sunday, 10 May, the prisoners are released by their fellow sepoys who murder officers and other Europeans.
 - (iii) The revolt spreads to neighboring camps.
 - (iv) The night after the revolt, the mutineers escape from Meerut and march on Delhi.
- (C) Delhi is occupied by the rebels.
 - (i) Sepoys arriving from Meerut cause a general uprising in Delhi and Europeans are attacked and killed.
 - (ii) The old descendant of the Mogul kings, Bahádur Shah II, is set up as emperor.
 - (iii) Some British soldiers (under Lieutenant Willoughby) keep defending the arsenal for a while and blow it up when they can no longer hold it.
- (D) The siege of Lucknow.
 - (i) Sir Henry Lawrence tries to keep control over Lucknow from May onwards, but is forced to retreat into the Residency on 30 June.
 - (a) Sir Henry Lawrence is mortally wounded two days after retreat into the Residency, 2 July; he dies on 4 July.
 - (ii) In September 1857, Sir Henry Havelock comes to the rescue (after defeating enemy forces at Cawnpore) and manages to break through the enemy lines on 25 September after having been joined by additional troops under General Outram (on 15 September).
 - (a) General Outram, technically Havelock’s superior, decides to serve under Havelock, to leave him the honor of victory.
 - (iii) Havelock still does not have the manpower to break the siege and is forced to remain in the besieged city until more forces arrive.

- (iv) 16 November 1857,²⁵ Sir Colin Campbell arrives and relieves Lucknow; withdrawal of the entrapped garrison is completed on 24 November.
- (a) Havelock dies on 24 November.
- (E) Cawnpore falls into the hands of the rebels.
- (i) From 5 June, Sir Hugh Wheeler, in command of a small British force in a hard-to-defend open structure, and with about 400 women and children under his protection, withstands a siege of 21 days.
- (ii) Out of food and ammunition, the besieged surrender 27 June 1857 on Nana Sahib's promise of free conduct out of the city. The promise is broken: The departing troops are attacked, all men are executed (except four who escape) and the women and children are locked up in a small prison house, the Bibigarh.
- (iii) Eighteen days later, on 15 July, when British forces under Sir Henry Havelock are approaching, the women and children are murdered. Many sources have graphic descriptions of this event. It is also this that Lavissee refers to when he says:
- Le chef des révoltés, Nana-Sahib, massacrait les Anglais, les femmes comme les hommes, et faisait jeter les enfants au feu.*
- (Lavissee 1902, p. 152)
- [The leader of the rebels, Nana Sahib, massacred the English, women and men alike, and ordered the children to be thrown into the fire.]
- The final detail of this account does not occur in any of the other descriptions, most of which mention a well which all the bodies are thrown into.
- (F) Havelock defeats the rebel forces at Cawnpore, but arrives too late to rescue anyone; he cannot keep the city occupied, as he has to move on to Lucknow.
- (G) Delhi is recaptured.
- (i) Almost immediately after Delhi is occupied by the rebels, a long siege starts, from May to September 1857; several commanding officers follow each other: first General Barnard (who dies in June), then General Reed (who becomes ill), then Archdale Wilson, who holds on until sufficient reinforcements have arrived.
- (ii) 14 August 1857, John Nicholson (sent by Sir John Lawrence, who governs Punjab) arrives from Punjab with a combined British and Sikh army.
- (iii) 14 September 1857: A successful attack on the city is led by John Nicholson; Delhi is recaptured completely on 21 September.

²⁵ Synge (1908, p. 122) mentions 17 November; this date may bear on the actual relief of Lucknow rather than on Campbell's arrival.

- (a) John Nicholson is mortally wounded when he attacks the Lahore gate (the only gate which the British do not manage to take from the outside) from inside the city.
- (iv) The puppet emperor is captured and deported as a state prisoner to Rangoon.
- (v) There are massive reprisals and executions.²⁶
- (H) Campbell moves back from Lucknow with the rescued soldiers and civilians, and meets and defeats a rebel army from Gwalior (headed by Nana Sahib and Tántia Topí) before being able to take firm control over Cawnpore.
- (I) There is a second siege of Lucknow (where only General Outram has stayed behind with a small force in a fortress) in March 1858; British control of Lucknow is now complete.
- (J) A further campaign (including the capture of Jhánsi) by Sir Hugh Rose and Sir Colin Campbell, lasts well into 1858.
- (K) The Rání (princess) of Jhánsi, whose adopted son was one of those disinherited by Dalhousie's measures, retires with Tántia Topí into Gwalior, which is finally recaptured in June 1858.
- (L) By the end of 1858, all remnants of the revolt have been crushed, though Tántia Topí is not captured and hanged until April 1859; Nana Sahib escaped and was never heard of again.

Converting this into a timeline, we get Table 3.

An overview of the events, as mentioned in each of the data samples individually, is given in Table 4.

²⁶ The detail introduced by Lavissee concerning the use of cannons to execute leaders of the revolt is not to be found in any of the British sources. The closest we come is in McCarthy's account of the disarming of sepoys at Meean Meer soon after the outbreak of the revolt:

There was no actual reason to assume the Sepoys in Meean Meer intended to join the rebellion. There would be a certain danger of converting them into rebels if any rash movement were to be made for the purpose of guarding against treachery on their part. Either way was a serious responsibility, a momentous risk. The authorities soon made up their minds. Any risk would be better than that of leaving it in the power of the native troops to join the rebellion. A ball and supper were to be given at Lahore that night. To avoid creating any alarm it was arranged that the entertainments should take place [...] A parade was ordered for daybreak at Meean Meer; and on the parade ground an order was given for a military movement which brought the heads of four columns of the native troops in front of twelve guns charged with grape, the artillerymen with their port-fires lighted, and the soldiers of one of the Queen's regiments standing behind with loaded muskets. A command was given to the Sepoys to pile arms. They had immediate death before them if they disobeyed. They stood literally at the cannon's mouth. (McCarthy 1908, p. 180)

Also in later sources, very little is said about this manner of execution ('blowing from guns') which seems to have been used under Mogul rule – not a British invention. Nayar (2007, p. 110) indicates 1825 as the last date of its use. Spilsbury (2007, pp. 82–83), however, quotes eyewitness accounts of British recourse to the practice at the early stages of the revolt (not after its suppression) for the sake of deterrence. He mentions Nicholson's banning of the practice as a waste of gunpowder (p. 87), but Havelock's making at least one exception (pp. 208–209).

Table 3. *Timeline of events*

from 25 February 1857	Ai+ii	Early outbreaks
9 May 1857	Bi	Sepoys jailed at Meerut
10 May 1857	Bii+iii	Revolt at Meerut
10–11 May 1857	Biv	March of mutineers to Delhi
11 May 1857	Ci+ii+iii	Delhi occupied
mid-May 1857	Gi	Siege of Delhi starts
5 June 1857	Ei	Siege of Wheeler's British force in Cawnpore
early June		Neill's mass executions in Benares and Allahabad
27 June 1857	Eii	Surrender and massacre at Cawnpore
30 June 1857	Di	Lucknow, Lawrence's withdrawal into the Residency
2 July 1857	Dia	Sir Henry Lawrence mortally wounded
4 July 1857	Dia	Lawrence dies
15 July 1857	Eiii	murder of women and children in Cawnpore
16? July 1857	F	Havelock defeats rebels at Cawnpore
14 August 1857	Gii	Nicholson arriving at Delhi with reinforcements
14–21 September 1857	Giii+iv+v	Recapturing of Delhi
15 September 1857	Diia	Outram joins Havelock for assault on Lucknow
25 September 1857	Dii+iii	Havelock breaks through enemy lines at Lucknow
16 November 1857	Div	Sir Colin Campbell relieves Lucknow
17–24 November 1857	Div	Rescued soldiers and civilians withdrawn from Lucknow
24 November 1857	Diva	Sir Henry Havelock dies
6 December 1857	H	Definitive recapturing of Cawnpore by Campbell
March 1858	I	Second siege and definitive recapturing of Lucknow
June 1858	K	Ráni of Jhānsi and Tántia Topí defeated at Gwalior
throughout 1858	J+L	Further campaigns against remnants of the revolt.
April 1859	L	Tántia Topí captured and hanged

As in the case of Table 2, in Table 4 a minus-value does not necessarily mean complete absence of an event from the discourse. Thus, when Lavissee talks about the British recapturing Delhi, this implies that Delhi had been captured – an event that is not mentioned as such. On the other hand, a plus does not always mean that an event is presented individually. Thus Cassell's does not distinguish between the two separable episodes Eii (the attack on the troops trying to depart from Cawnpore under a false promise of free conduct) and Eiii (the murder of

Table 4. *Events of the Indian Mutiny*

	Lavisse [Cassell's]	Fearenside	Hearnshaw	Innes	Kerr and Low & Kerr	Sanders	McCarthy	Parkin	Ransome	Richardson	Syngé	Warner & Marten	Woodward
<i>A</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
<i>Ai</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
<i>Aii</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
<i>B</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Bi</i>	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
<i>Bii</i>	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
<i>Biii</i>	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
<i>Biv</i>	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
<i>C</i>	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
<i>Ci</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
<i>Cii</i>	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
<i>Ciii</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
<i>D</i>	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
<i>Di</i>	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
<i>Dia</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
<i>Dii</i>	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
<i>Diaa</i>	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
<i>Diii</i>	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
<i>Div</i>	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
<i>Diva</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
<i>E</i>	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
<i>Ei</i>	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-

Table 4. (cont.)

	Kerr and Low &										Warner &			
	Lavissee [Cassell's]	Fearenside	Hearnshaw	Innes	Kerr	Sanders	McCarthy	Parkin	Ransome	Richardson	Syngé	Marten	Woodward	
<i>Eii</i>	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
<i>Eiii</i>	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	
<i>F</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	
<i>G</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
<i>Gi</i>	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	
<i>Gii</i>	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	
<i>Giii</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
<i>Güia</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	
<i>Giv</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	
<i>Gv</i>	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>H</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>I</i>	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
<i>J</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	
<i>K</i>	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	
<i>L</i>	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	

the women and children a few days later). The two episodes are lumped together as follows:

The promise was broken: all except four, who escaped, were foully massacred, and their bodies thrown into a well. (Cassell's 1903, p. 124)

Similarly, Fearenside sums it all up under 'the massacre of Cawnpore,' further described as follows:

The Europeans at Cawnpore surrendered in June, after a month's siege, and were butchered. (Fearenside 1922, p. 433)

The topical overview in Table 4 shows that there is strong agreement on the main ingredients of the story line. It leads directly to an assessment of the overall weighting of certain reported events. All sources mention the outbreak of the revolt (B), though some do not provide details of the circumstances. Lavissee, for instance, restricts himself to a four-word sentence, omitting even the most commonly cited placename (Meerut) and continuing immediately to emphasize the general spread of the uprising:

Les Cipayes se révoltèrent. Ce fut une **révolte générale**.
(Lavissee 1902, p.152; bold in original)

[The Sepoys revolted. It was a **general revolt**.]

Equally sparse is the information provided by Parkin, who, however, stresses the fortunate fact that the revolt was *not* completely general:

For a short time it seemed probable that British power in India would be overthrown. Had the whole of the people of India joined in the rebellion, this would no doubt have taken place. But they did not do so, and of the Sepoys themselves many regiments remained faithful, and helped us to fight the mutineers. (Parkin 1911, p. 213)

In addition to the outbreak of the revolt, the events that attract most attention are the occupation and recapturing of Delhi (as the events marking the initial success and the final failure of the revolt), the siege of Lucknow (testifying to British resilience), and the Cawnpore massacre (symbolizing the mutineers' treacherous nature and cruelty).

What is not immediately clear from the overview is the systematicity with which certain events are downplayed or entirely passed over. Thus the ever-present emphasis on Nana Sahib's treachery and cruelty in Cawnpore completely overshadows the excessive brutality with which James Neill took control over Benares and Allahabad in early June, when the slightest suspicion of complicity or intent was sufficient to execute soldiers and civilians alike. If mentioned at all, it is done so fleetingly that making it into a separate 'episode' in the above overview could hardly be justified on the basis of our data. Yet later sources (e.g., Hibbert 1978, Nayar 2007, Spilsbury 2007) are unanimous about its importance, and its relevance is no doubt clear from inserting it in the timeline in Table 3 (the highlighted line): the events took place weeks before Cawnpore. Though

this may remain a matter of historical interpretation, Nayar assigns a causal link between Neill's actions in Benares and Allahabad and the Cawnpore massacre:

Often ignored is this sequence: Neill's actions at Benares and Allahabad *pre-ceded* Cawnpore, and to see Cawnpore as having provoked Neill's brutalities is to forget chronology. It is more than possible that it was Neill's horrific massacres that provoked Nana Sahib. (2007, p. 125)

It is true that, far from being denied in our sources, British brutalities are usually portrayed as vengeance for Cawnpore.

While there is obviously a correlation between the length of the text extracts and the amount of detail that is provided, it is not a straightforward one. For instance, while Lavisce and Parkin devote comparable amounts of text to the Indian Mutiny, Lavisce is considerably more specific on a number of event details. On the other hand, Innes puts as many factual details concerning the concatenation of events in three pages and a half as McCarthy in twenty-five, though of course with less extensive descriptions.

What is most important in relation to Table 4 is to see how texts that look very similar in terms of topical 'content' can be organized in very different ways, with different effects on the generated meaning, and how the same topic or event can be presented in very different ways. These phenomena, which have the deepest possible effect on the 'lines of vision' which the discourse carves out in the 'world' it refers to, will be clear from later illustrations. One example was already adduced. Neither Lavisce, emphasizing the generality of the revolt, nor Parkin, stressing its non-general nature, can be said to misrepresent a state of affairs. They simply highlight different aspects, but with clear rhetorical goals and implications. What is most interesting for Lavisce (and presumably for the French school children he writes for) is the fact of the revolt. Parkin, on the other hand, is primarily interested in educating British children about 'their' empire, the unity of which needed to be stressed in spite of obvious eruptions of dissent – a unity that was, furthermore, not simply imposed but that involved "the good government of our fellow-subjects in India" (Parkin 1911, p. 214).

Procedure 2.2: *Investigate the immediate context of situation that presents itself, i.e., the way in which the discourse carves out lines of vision into its own physical, social, mental world. In particular:*

2.2.1: *Who are the utterers and interpreters involved in the discourse? In particular:*

2.2.1.1: What system of person deixis is used?

2.2.1.2: What types of voices are involved on the utterer's side?

2.2.1.3: What types of interpreter roles are involved?

2.2.2: *What mental states are expressed or appealed to?*

2.2.3: *What (aspects of) social settings or institutions are involved/invoked?*

2.2.4: *How is the discourse anchored temporally and spatially? In particular:*

2.2.4.1: How do event time, time of utterance, and reference time relate to each other?

- 2.2.4.2: What aspects of temporal ordering are involved?
- 2.2.4.3: What spatial orientations are involved/invoked?
- 2.2.4.4: Are there any temporal and/or spatial constraints on the production of the discourse itself?
- 2.2.4.5: Are there any 'material' conditions that constrain/orient the discourse production or interpretation?

2.2.5: *In the case of (video-taped) spoken data: What relevant aspects of bodily posture, gesture, gaze, appearance can be pointed out for the discourse participants? In the case of written data: What graphic features (typography, pictorial representations) are used?*

AD 2.2, IN GENERAL:

[Investigate the immediate context of situation that presents itself, i.e., the way in which the discourse carves out lines of vision into its own physical, social, mental world.]

The overall question that is addressed here can be rephrased as follows: How do the 'actors' involved in the discourse (in the case of our sample data, mainly the author, but with clear assumptions about the targeted readers as well) position themselves and their discourse? Note that this is a very different question from the one asked in Procedure 2.1. The distinction is made, for lack of a better formulation, by contrasting *wider context* (in 2.1), referring to the social, political, historical, geographical world which the investigated discourse is *topically* related to (i.e., the world that it is somehow 'about' – with 2.1.1 trying to link that world with the one which the investigation itself is situated in), with *context of situation*²⁷ (in 2.2), referring to the immediate context which the discourse is itself *communicatively* situated in as a speech activity (i.e., the world of which the investigated discourse is an ingredient).

AD 2.2.1:

[Who are the utterers and interpreters involved in the discourse?]

Whenever discourse is investigated, it is important to be clear about the 'actors' involved and how they relate to each other. All the utterers (i.e., authors) of our sample data have academic and/or educational ambitions with the work they produce. In keeping with those ambitions, the targeted interpreters, i.e., the intended audience types, range from various levels of pupils or students (and their teachers

²⁷ A brief note on terminology: the terms 'context of situation'/'context of culture' were originally introduced by Malinowski (1923, p. 307) in contrast to 'linguistic context' (see also Senft 1997); what I am referring to as the 'wider context,' for lack of a better term, would also be included in his context of situation/context of culture, whereas my use of 'context of situation' comes closer to the more restricted sense the term acquired in certain trends of linguistic research (such as Firthian linguistics; see Östman and Simon-Vandenberg 1995).

and sometimes even their parents) in formal education, via an academic to a general audience. For an overview, see Table 1 (in Chapter 2). Reference will have to be made to specific properties of this utterer–interpreter relationship to explain certain discursive phenomena (as I have already done, however briefly, when commenting on a point of comparison between Lavisse and Parkin in the last paragraph of 2.1.).

Ad 2.2.1.1:

[What system of person deixis is used?]²⁸

Anticipating a point to be dealt with extensively later (see 3.1), it is clear that the genre of academic or semi-academic writing to which our sample data belong has a great influence on the way in which the authors refer to themselves and address their intended audience. The general expectation for scholarly textbooks would be a backgrounding of both the utterer and the interpreter, and a clear dominance of topic-related third-person reference. Though this expectation fits most of our data, there is still some serious variability. Both utterer and interpreter, author and reader, are present in the discourse, though under different guises and to different degrees, and with clear differences between prefaces and the main body of the texts.

Direct first-person reference in the singular is exceptional, but it can be found in some prefaces, and quite prominently so in Ransome:

In deciding what subjects to admit, I have had with great regret to omit [...] I have omitted [...] I am led to think [...] I have been guided by [...] I have contented myself with [...] I have spared no pains [...] I have been guided by what I have learnt [...] I have tried to bear in mind [...] I have in the earlier part of the work followed [...] I have rejected [...] I have followed [...] I have not attempted to [...] I have taken pains not to [...] published by Mr. A. H. Dyke and myself [...] I can only add that I am as conscious as anyone can be of the many shortcomings of the book. I have done my best [...] I should specially mention [...] to all of whom I owe a great debt of thanks.

(Ransome 1910, pp. iii–vi)

This preface contrasts sharply with the remainder of the book, which fits the expectation of a depersonalized style flawlessly. Clearly, Ransome feels the need to justify a number of choices he made in the selection of materials and in the style of presentation (including terminological choices) in view of outspoken scholarly and pedagogical principles. Such an overwhelming presence of ‘I,’ however, is rare, though it can still be found in other sources more sparingly, as in

²⁸ ‘Deixis’ is the term linguists use to describe a variety of ways in which language use is ‘anchored’ into a surrounding world by ‘pointing’ at variables along a number of dimensions (social, temporal, spatial, etc.) of that world.

I hope, then, [...]. (Parkin 1911, p. iv – note that the preface from which this is quoted was written by someone other than the author of the book)

But to the extent that the first-person singular pronoun occurs at all, it is usually more backgrounded, as in the following:

It has therefore been found necessary to add to the ‘Short History’ a summarised but, as I hope, in every sense symmetrical reproduction in this volume of the story told in the longer narrative. (McCarthy 1908, p. vii)

Our own times may, on the whole, be regarded as having created an ever memorable era in the development of civilisation, and I feel it an honour to have had a share, however limited and imperfect, in describing its progress. (McCarthy 1908, p. x)

Note that both these examples of the usage of the first-person singular pronoun embed it in a larger construction containing other devices as well to position the author in relation to his own communicative act (“It has therefore been found necessary [...]”) as well as its subject matter (“Our own times [...]”). Both of these devices will be commented on again later.

Direct first-person reference in the plural is slightly more common. This may take the form of a ‘royal *we*’ as in

Nous l’avons divisée en quatre périodes [...]. (Lavisse 1902, p. 2)

[We have divided it [i.e., the history of the world] into four periods [...].]

The country owes much to these two princes, for the part they took at her hour of need; and she has not, we are glad to think, proved herself ungrateful. (McCarthy 1908, p. 194)

or of an ‘inclusive *we*’ incorporating both author and readers, as in

We hear a great deal nowadays about [...]. (Kerr and Kerr 1927, p. 1)

We have seen how India was conquered for us largely by the help of natives [sic] troops, or Sepoys. (Parkin 1911, p. 213)

Not surprisingly, both Kerr and Kerr and Parkin, the sources of these two quotes, show a strong didactic orientation, supported by the use of this device. Occasionally, the ‘inclusion’ established by the use of *we* goes beyond utterer and interpreter:

Jusqu’au xve siècle, les Européens ne connaissaient qu’un *coin du monde*. Depuis les grandes découvertes, nous connaissons le **monde entier**. (Lavisse 1902, p. 68; italic and bold in original)

[Until the 15th century, the Europeans knew only a *corner of the world*. After the great discoveries, we know the **whole world**.]

Here the first-person plural pronoun “nous” is co-referential with “les Européens.” This is an example of how person deixis may serve identity construction.

Much more frequent, however, is indirect first-person reference. Several tools serve that purpose. First, the authors can realize self-reference by means of a third-person description:

The author takes this opportunity to gratefully acknowledge [...].
(Fearenside 1922)

The aim of the writer has been to select those facts which appear to him to be of prime significance [...]. (Hearnshaw 1930, p. v)

The author then has not overlooked the demands of Examiners and examinations; he has indeed [...] But he is satisfied that [...] His aim therefore has been [...]. (Innes 1927, p. vi)

The writer has tried to tell the story of [...]. (Richardson 1924, p. vi)

In giving the name *The Groundwork of British History* to this book, the writers seek to make clear the plan on which it is constructed.
(Warner and Marten 1912, p. v)

All these examples belong to an unmistakable preface-style. Second, in the same vein, but replacing the authors with their product, there are references to “our book” or “our aim”:

It is to meet such difficulties that our book is directed. Our aim is to provide the reader with [...]. (Warner and Marten 1912, p. vi)

Third, a slightly depersonalized version of the same device yields:

This book is intended to meet the requirements of [...].
(Fearenside 1922, p. iii)

This little book is intended in the first place for [...].
(Hearnshaw 1930, p. v)

the aim of the book is rather to suggest than inform
(Synge 1908, pp. vii–viii)

Fourth, we come across various indirect ways of positioning the author personally in relation to his own communicative act, as in

It has therefore been found necessary to add [...].
(McCarthy 1908, p. vii)

It is hoped, however, that [...].
[...] it has, of course, been found impossible to mention all the facts [...]
But it is felt that to have done so [...].

It is hoped that [...] The words used, if often long and sometimes uncommon, are, it is believed, [...].

It was originally intended [...], but it was found impossible [...].
(Hearnshaw 1930, pp. v–vi)

The illustrations will, it is believed, [...]. (Cassell’s 1903)

or in relation to the subject matter of the discourse, as in

Our own times may, on the whole, be regarded as [...].
(McCarthy 1908, p. x)

Moving from the utterer to the interpreter, the reader is addressed directly on a number of occasions by means of a second-person pronoun:

There are some facts which must be known about the population of the country before you can understand how English people got India, or how and why they keep it. (Parkin 1911, p. 207)

Note that in an example like this, “you” is of course interpretable as referring to ‘anyone,’ and not just as ‘you, the reader.’ In addition, readers are often appealed to in the form of imperatives (whether or not combined with further use of the second-person pronoun):

Substitute the following somewhat detailed account of [...].
(Cassell’s 1903)

Look at the map at the beginning of the book and you will see that [...].
(Kerr and Kerr 1927, p. 2)

As with the utterer’s self-reference, interpreter-reference takes an indirect third-person form more often than a direct one:

will commend it to **busy people** who desire to refresh their memories [...]
General Readers as well as **Teachers** will recognise [...] and **Scholars** will possess [...]. (Cassell’s 1903; bold in original)

that the youth of our race will learn from this book (Parkin 1911, p. iv)

to inspire the children of to-day (Synge 1908, p. ix)

If in reading it a boy comes to carry with him some idea of [...].
(Warner and Marten 1912, p. v)

Our aim is to provide the reader with [...].
(Warner and Marten 1912, p. vi)

And sometimes this type of indirect reference gets somewhat personalized in the following way:

the primary purpose is to remind our children that [...].
(Parkin 1911, p. iii)

nos enfants doivent apprendre [...]. (Lavisse 1902, p. 2)

[our children must learn [...].]

Here a personal connection is established between the author and the target audience, though the addressee is ambiguous in this case: The authors seem to be addressing other adults as well, persuading them of the suitability of the books for children.

When making a detailed analysis of person deixis in a given text (and of most other phenomena, as will become clear later), however, the most interesting observations tend to bear on apparent breaches of expected or discovered patterns. Thus Lavissee is a textbook example of a textbook, adhering to the expected norms almost without exception. The author positions himself in the preface in the first-person plural, only to move entirely to the background from then onwards. Similarly, the target audience remains in the third person in the preface (“nos enfants”). But all of a sudden, in the main body of the text, a form of direct address emerges:

Dans toutes ces guerres, les *colons* et les *marins français* ont fait leur devoir bravement. Mais la France était alors gouvernée par Louis XV, dont vous connaissez le triste règne. (Lavissee 1902, p. 96)

[In all those wars, the *colonizers* and the *French seamen* did their duties bravely. But at the time France was governed by Louis XV, whose sad rule you know.]

This switch of footing²⁹ may be motivated by the nature of this episode that seems painfully in need of explanation: Namely, how was it possible for the British to take over dominance of both India and North America from the French, who were there first? A similar form of direct address comes up in a passage that is meant to appeal directly to the school children’s imagination, after explaining the principles of human rights:

La plupart de ces règles vous paraissent toutes naturelles. Peut-être ne vous figurez-vous pas comment on peut vivre dans un pays où l’on n’est libre ni de travailler, ni de parler, ni de penser; où [...] Songez pourtant qu’encore aujourd’hui [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 100)

[Most of these rules seem very natural to you. Maybe you cannot imagine how one can live in a country where one is neither free to work, nor to speak, nor to think; where [...] Yet, know that still today [...].]

Clearly, specific communicative effects are aimed at when such switches are made. As with other phenomena, their full effect on the meaning generation process can be evaluated only in the totality of the discourse. It will be useful, therefore, to keep in mind these two examples while looking at other phenomena. Meanwhile, note that they function as clear indicators of the way in which the context of the investigated discourse relates to what the discourse is about (cf. 2.1.2).

²⁹ The term ‘footing’ refers to possible shifts in the social capacity in which an interactant is involved in an interaction; here a switch is involved that moves from addressing pupils as pupils to addressing them as French citizens or pupils knowledgeable about and somehow involved in French history. (See Goffman 1979.)

Ad 2.2.1.2:

[What types of voices are involved on the utterer's side?]³⁰

History books contain information of which the authors/utterers themselves are rarely the source. Rather, a chain of communicative acts underlies what ends up in the historical narratives, with an ultimate source that is usually many times removed and often unknown to the author.³¹ Yet, in our sample data, an explicit acknowledgement of sources is to be found only in a few footnotes, and this only in the single more academically oriented publication, Low and Sanders. In combination with the backgrounding of the author's own involvement, as discussed above in relation to person deixis, this strongly contributes to the creation of an impression that, as Hanks (1996) put it, history can be told as an objective story of chronology. The discrepancy between the manifest reality of non-personally witnessed events and their manifold subsequent entextualizations on the one hand, and the discursively produced impression of mere factuality and immediate accessibility on the other, hiding the modulations and calibrations introduced by intervening voices, results in a close connection between the investigated texts and a world view in which the author's (and the targeted readers') own temporal, geographical, and social deictic center abundantly prevails, thus making these materials eminently suitable for ideology research.

It is remarkable, in this context, that many of the prefaces situate the current texts in opposition to supposed or real alternatives and/or predecessors in terms of style (e.g., more concise, with fewer difficult words, etc.) and/or pedagogical considerations (e.g., principles of selecting or deselecting details, emphasis on perspective versus facts, etc.), but never in terms of content (except in relation to scope). Thus the other (real or virtual) voices that are invoked in the prefaces by way of contrast are not brought to life as sources of information. Occasionally, however, a virtual utterer is invoked to anticipate criticism, as in

These events are related, not in a spirit of boastful pride, but rather to inspire the children of to-day with a love of the country for which their near kinsmen have died, and a feeling of individual responsibility as members of so great

³⁰ 'Voice' is used as a cover term to distinguish different sources of the content of an utterance; the utterer may or may not be the source him- or herself; sources may be real or imagined; sources may be specified or remain vague; and so forth. To indicate the diversity of voices that may be involved in an utterance, the term 'polyphony' is used. For an overview article, see Roulet (2003).

³¹ The basic training of the historian involves acquiring the knowledge and skills needed to get at and to interpret sources which are usually fragmentary, sometimes isolated, sometimes related to each other along interesting dimensions of intertextuality. In fact, scholars dealing with present-day phenomena would also benefit greatly from a similar training. Intertextuality will therefore have to be brought in later as an important angle from which to look at data. In the case of the Indian Mutiny, there is a sizeable archive, the 'Mutiny Papers,' consisting of thousands of catalogued and indexed pages of original documents stored in the National Archives of India. Naturally, none of the authors in our corpus ever had direct access to those. Nor would it have helped, unless the authors were able to read Shikastah Urdu (Farooqui 2007, p. 14).

a heritage, remembering that ‘to whom much has been given, of him shall much be required.’ (Synge 1908, p. ix)

Here the possible criticism that Synge’s tale of great deeds could be seen as boastful is ‘controlled’ by giving it a voice, negating it, and contrasting it with all that follows “but.”³²

Virtual utterers are strikingly absent from the main body of the texts, further strengthening the impression of mere factuality. Even negative forms of expression (normally invoking their opposites) are extremely rare. And in the few examples where they occur, as in

For a short time it seemed probable that British power in India would be overthrown. Had the whole of the people of India joined in the rebellion, this would no doubt have taken place. But they did not do so [...].

(Parkin 1911, p. 213)

the power of the negative to invoke its opposite (the virtual utterer suggesting that all Indians joined in the revolt) is undermined by the preceding hypothetical and counterfactual constructions.

On a number of occasions, authors leave their own voice carefully implicit while not really hiding it. For instance, when they contrast the many causes of the revolt with the British unpreparedness, criticism transpires that is rarely made explicit but that is nevertheless clearly and consciously there.

There is a serious discrepancy, finally, between the extent to which British and Indian voices are brought in. A possible Indian voice is very much back-grounded, but our sources differ significantly in that respect, ranging from complete absence to subtle presence. Consider, for instance the contrast between the following:

Leaders had for a long time past been instilling feelings of dissatisfaction in the minds of the men, and this pretext [i.e., the greased cartridges] was advanced to start the rebellion. (Cassell’s 1903, p. 124)

Thus some of the leading princely houses of Northern India, Hindu and Mohammedan alike, were smarting under a sense of wrong, and their agents were active in promoting discontent. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 136)

While in the first quotation “feelings of dissatisfaction” are presented as the products of manipulation, Low and Sanders recognizes grounds for a “sense of wrong,” which then leads to manipulation. But none of the textbooks feels the need to engage in anticipatory response to possible defenders of the Mutiny (e.g., by saying something like “The rebellion was not without grounds, but ...”), which means that no one in the intended readership is expected to undertake such a defense.

³² This type of discursive pattern was aptly called ‘response-controlling *but*-prefaces’ by Baker (1975).

Occasionally, a mixing of mental spaces³³ also brings in the Indian voice, as in the following example:

They burst open the prison, released the eighty-five martyrs, and then proceeded to fire on their officers. (Synge 1908, p. 113)

The characterization of imprisoned sepoy in Meerut on 10 May 1857 as martyrs (which is what this sentence refers to) fits the mindset of the Indians involved at that time and at that place, rather than the author's own voice. The same device, however, usually moves the Indian voice to the background, as in

Lord Canning saw that the one important thing was to strike at Delhi, which had proclaimed itself the head-quarters of the rebellion.
(McCarthy 1908, p. 178)

It is unlikely that the mutineering sepoy would have used terms translatable as "rebellion" and "headquarters" in any act of 'proclamation,' as their goals – or hopes – were far more ambitious.

Ad 2.2.1.3:

[What types of interpreter roles are involved?]

Also with respect to interpreter roles, there are differences between the preface and the main body of most of our text samples. Many types of interpreters are involved, though they mainly fit into two categories which we can label 'primary' and 'secondary' audience. The *primary audience* consists of those the author wants to inform or teach about the narrated historical events: students, other scholars, or members of a general readership outside schools or academia. But in many cases (in particular: in all cases in which the texts are written for teaching purposes), there is also a *secondary audience*: fellow historians who may not want to read the book for the information it contains, but rather to check out the mode of presentation, its adequacy in relation to content and/or educational goals, etc.; parents who may be interested in getting acquainted with the stories their children will read or hear about; school supervisors or other people with the authority to select textbooks.

While the primary audience is always the addressee of the main body of the text (whether or not direct forms of address are used – see 2.2.1.1), it may be either the addressee or merely a side participant in relation to the preface. A typical textbook such as Lavissee, for instance, does not treat the school children for which it was written as addressees of its preface. Rather, they figure as third persons ("nos enfants," "our children") in discourse that is obviously addressed to others: parents and/or those responsible for (adhering to guidelines pertaining

³³ For the original use of the term 'mental spaces,' see Fauconnier (1985). It refers to frames of interpretation that may be evoked by specific patterns of wording a state of affairs. Different conceptual frames may be mixed or blended in the same utterance.

Table 5. *Interpreter roles*

	PREFACE	MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT
PRIMARY AUDIENCE: scholars, students, general readership	addressee <i>or side participant</i>	addressee
SECONDARY AUDIENCE: others (colleagues, parents, school supervisors, and so forth)	addressee	side participant

to) curriculum choices. But since the school children are not excluded from reading the preface, they still act as side participants whose presence must be taken into account.

Conversely, members of the secondary audience may be the direct addressees of the preface, while they remain side participants (whose presence is not without influence for the choices made by the author) for the main body of the text. This overall structure of interpreter roles is presented in Table 5.

Needless to say, not everything is so easily captured in a neat table. For one thing, there is the role of the history teacher who will use the textbook in class and who incorporates properties of both audience types. The complexity of the issue may appear from the following lines from Fearenside's preface:

This book is intended to meet the requirements of the London University Matriculation syllabus in Modern History, [...].

The syllabus states: "The questions will be framed to test the general conceptions of history and historical development rather than technical detail." In a text-book, however, technical detail is to some extent necessary in order that from it the reader may obtain conceptions which shall be duly in accordance with facts; and it is for the teacher to see that in endeavouring to fulfil the University requirements the learner finds his generalisations on a proper knowledge of leading events, persons, and dates, and also of the meaning of such common technical terms as must be used even in an elementary treatment of the subject. (Fearenside 1922, p. iii)

In this fragment, norms are invoked (the Matriculation syllabus) that will no doubt be handled by some members of the secondary audience to evaluate the book and the meeting of which is also crucial for members of the primary audience ("the reader," "the learner"). At the same time, it highlights the mediating role of the teacher, who must have a close affinity with the world of evaluators in order to be able to help students in their reading so as to achieve the required level of competence; thus the teacher must also be able to take on the interpreter roles associated with both audience types.

In addition, just like other discourse genres, the textbooks under consideration show clear traces of *audience design*: Forms of expression are adapted to interpreter roles; in other words, utterances are designed specifically for a target audience

so as to ensure continued attention and the required level of understanding. This becomes very explicit, for instance, in the following footnote in Lavissee:

1. Les mots marqués d'un astérisque sont expliqués dans le lexique placé à la fin de cet ouvrage. (Lavissee 1902, p. 1)

[1. The words marked with an asterisk are explained in the lexicon at the end of this work.]

Indeed, conscious efforts are made to keep or make the text intelligible for those it is intended for. This is also the case in many of the British sources, and some of the quotes above bear witness to that fact. Audience design, however, does not end with these explicit statements of purpose. Basically, all linguistic choices that are made are somehow related to this phenomenon. For example, consider a simple declarative of the following kind:

Le pays est très chaud et très malsain [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 151)

[The country is very hot and very unhealthy [...].]

This statement is inevitably comparative and incorporates assumptions about the life world of the audience which, consequently, is a clear point of reference, the standard of comparison. This could not be explained without the author's having a clear design of the audience in mind – however trivial this may seem.

Ad 2.2.2:

[What mental states are expressed or appealed to?]

In spite of the overall descriptive purpose of the history textbooks, the texts are full of expressions that reveal beliefs, goals, aspirations, intentions, etc., and topics are often clearly anchored into concerns that are 'personal' for the author, at least in his/her capacity as a citizen of the nation he/she represents.

I have already referred to some of the expressions of *regret* to be found in Lavissee, i.e., regret regarding the lost chances for France in India and in North America. Here is what he says:

Le directeur de la Compagnie française, **Dupleix**, avait commencé à conquérir les Indes. Cela n'était pas très difficile, car [...] C'eût été une **très belle conquête**, car l'Inde a aujourd'hui plus de 200 millions d'habitants, et elle produit en quantité du coton, du riz, du poivre, de la soie.

Les Anglais demandèrent au gouvernement français de destituer Dupleix, et le gouvernement le *destitua* (1754) [...]

Ce fut la même chose en Amérique [...]

(Lavissee 1902, pp. 93–95; bold and italics in original)

[The director of the French company, **Dupleix**, had started to conquer the Indies. That was not difficult, because [...] It would have been a **very nice conquest**, as India today has over 200 million inhabitants, produces great quantities of cotton, rice, pepper, and silk.

The English asked the French government to dismiss Duplex, and the government *did* (1754) [...]

It was the same thing in America [...]

It would have been nice indeed to have control over India and North America. All the more lamentable is the reason why that did not happen:

On dépensait beaucoup d'argent et de soldats à des guerres en Allemagne et en Italie, où la France n'avait rien à gagner, et on refusait d'envoyer aux colonies 4 ou 5 000 soldats qui auraient donné à la France l'*empire du monde*.

(Lavissee 1902, p. 96; italics in original)

[A lot of money and many soldiers were expended on wars in Germany and Italy, where France had nothing to gain, and there was a refusal to send the 4 or 5,000 soldiers to the colonies that would have given to France the *empire of the world*.]

And even somewhat more bitterly this state of affairs is summarized as follows in the *résumé* ending this chapter:

La France a laissé échapper alors, par la faute de son gouvernement, l'*empire du monde*; ce sont les Anglais qui l'ont pris.

(Lavissee 1902, p. 96; italics in original)

[Thus, France let escape the *empire of the world*, as a result of the mistakes of its government; it was the English who took it.]

The other side of this regret is the *pride* of the British, as voiced, for instance, by Synge:

These events are related, not in a spirit of boastful pride, but rather to inspire the children of to-day with a love of the country for which their near kinsmen have died, and a feeling of individual responsibility as members of so great a heritage, remembering that "to whom much has been given, of him shall much be required." (Synge 1908, p. ix)

There are, of course, many more subtle examples throughout the narrative accounts, where linguistic choices betray clear attitudes, whether cognitive or emotive. Thus an unmistakable personal *opinion* emerges from "under ill advice" in

In 1856 Dalhousie was replaced by Lord Canning, who, under ill advice, issued an Act under which all recruits in the Bengal army would in future be liable for service abroad. (Innes 1927, p. 169)

and *affect* or *involvement* (again in the form of pride) are equally clear in

Here a stubborn defence had been maintained, with a success chiefly due to the unceasing vigilance and energy of the Engineer department, whose counter-mines frustrated no fewer than twenty-five of the enemy's mines.

(Innes 1927, p. 171)

Choices such as “stubborn” or “unceasing vigilance and energy,” as qualities ascribed to the British side, occur frequently. On the Indian side they are to be found in only a few of the sources, and they are reserved for two protagonists, Tántia Topí and the Ráni of Jhánísi:

Tántia Topí, the Nana’s former minister, and the most able military leader on the rebel side during the entire campaign.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 151)

But the undaunted Ráni had an audacious scheme in reserve [...] Dressed like a man, the Ráni of Jhánísi charged with the cavalry of the Gwalior contingent, and was killed in the rout by a sword-stroke [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 157)

for his [Tántia Topí’s] courage and indomitable resolution could not save him from the doom he had earned by his participation in the infamies of Cawnpore. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 158)

Here a certain admiration is transparent, based in the case of the Ráni at least partly on the fact that she was a woman fighting like a man and in the case of Tántia Topí on his military strategic skills.

It is important to note, in this context, that the systematic attempts at attitudinal *distancing* that characterize the bulk of the corpus are themselves fundamentally *attitudinal* as well (a point to be commented on again, from a different angle, in relation to 2.2.3). Trying to approach the neutral rhetorical position of a scholarly text is itself the product of a decision to engage in a form of intellectual activity that neutralizes the cognitive or emotive interference of attitudes that are deemed inadmissible for the activity in question. This makes the surfacing of attitudes all the more interesting, as will be pointed out again later.

AD 2.2.3:

[What (aspects of) social settings or institutions are involved/invoked?]

It is not only details of the wider political-historical context to which the investigated discourse relates itself (as discussed in 2.1.2) that are important for an understanding of the discourse data. At least as important is the ‘local’ institutional embedding of the discourse itself. What we are dealing with is discourse that embodies a form of authority: the socially and politically sanctioned authority of the institution of education (though more centrally regulated in France at the time than in Britain), and the academically sanctioned authority of scholarship (making a bid for ‘objectivity,’ though in a diversity of ways and to differing degrees). Many of the relevant aspects of this contextual dimension were dealt with at length at the end of Chapter 2, where I situated the data in the history of mass education in the nineteenth century, in the history of history teaching, and in the history of history writing.

There are obvious processes of institutional identity construction at work beyond what is already reflected in specific usages of person deixis, identifiable voices, and interpreter roles. Most of them are easy to find in the prefaces or title pages which, by their very nature, position the texts in a world of discourse and of real-world social relations. Lavissee, for instance, makes explicit reference to “études primaires” and “l’enseignement secondaire” (“primary education” and “secondary education”; on the title page) as well as a “Programme de 1887. – Histoire” (“Program of 1887 – History”; at the bottom of the preface page). The institutional embedding of the text could not be any clearer. Similar devices are used in many of the British sources. The clearest parallel is “matriculation” in Fearenside’s title, while more fuzzy boundaries – but boundaries nonetheless – are suggested in Cassell’s “For School and Home Use,” Innes’ “For use in schools,” Parkin’s “For the use of schools,” and Richardson’s “A reading book for schools.”

Further, institutional identity construction also takes the form of opinions that are voiced about the educational role of history teaching. Thus Lavissee describes the teaching of history as “le complément de l’éducation patriotique” (loosely translated, “complementary to patriotic training”). A more intellectual goal is set by Hearnshaw in expressing the wish

that those who read a first sketch of English History should rise from their study with their reason satisfied, their curiosity aroused, and their interest quickened [...]. (Hearnshaw 1930, p. v)

More practical aspirations, related to a similar intellectual goal, are voiced by Ransome, whose book

shall give a clear and intelligible account of those events and institutions a knowledge of which is so much needed by the student of modern political life. (Ransome 1910, p. iii)

A role that is both patriotic and cosmopolitan is ascribed to history teaching by McCarthy. Not only is it a contribution to “national education,” but also

Now it may be taken as almost a scientific fact that the spread of national education in all countries must lead to the [viii] development of the arts of peace and the suppression of impulses towards the work of war.

(McCarthy 1908, pp. viii–ix)

In addition, there are also expressions of opinions about educational practices. Lavissee’s “pourvu qu’elles soient données sobrement” (about notions of general history: “on condition that they are presented in a restrained manner” or “if they are presented objectively”) defines the conditions under which notions of general history can be of service to students. It is with respect to such opinions that many of the authors seem to exercise the least restraint. Consider the following example:

Such a volume may be produced with a single eye to examinations – to simplify the process of acquiring and imparting knowledge which is intended

to be, not assimilated, but committed to memory in such a manner as to be readily reproduced at the end of a few weeks or months, and then wiped out of the mind. This method, however, is, educationally, worse than useless for intelligent pupils, because it inevitably inspires a strong distaste for the subject. On the other hand, if details and aids to memory are neglected, there is nothing for the less intelligent pupil to lay hold of, while the impressions received by the more intelligent are misty and inaccurate.

(Innes 1927, p. v)

Similarly:

It would have been easy, by adopting a method of analysis, summary, and tabulation, to pack ten times as much information into this book as it actually contains. But it is felt that to have done so would have involved so complete a sacrifice of movement, continuity, and life, that the result would have been fatal. (Hearnshaw 1930, p. v)

Clearly, the authors stake their claims in the institutional territory of education.

While such highly explicit processes are almost completely absent from the main body of the texts, it would be wrong to assume that institutional identity construction is not at work at that level as well. All of the above is to be situated against the background of the struggles for *authority* and authorization that are involved in language use. As Bourdieu (1991) has so accurately described, individual language users may derive authority from the way in which they fit into an institutional context, which always involves relations of power. The discursive reflection of authority is the right to speak on behalf of an institution, a group. In an educational or academic context, this combines with an assumption that the institution itself stands for objective knowledge. As a result, authority is established – or attempts at establishing authority are made – by distancing, the avoidance of personal positioning. In other words, educational or academic face is established by being faceless. Most of our data fit that paradigm, and occasional breaches further underscore the norm.

Ad 2.2.4:

[How is the discourse anchored temporally and spatially?]

At the most trivial level, all publications carry a date and place of publication. Both were discussed at length in relation to Rule 2.4. But in the main body of the texts, all temporal and spatial anchoring tools come in, as will be shown.

Ad 2.2.4.1:

[How do event time, time of utterance, and reference time relate to each other?]

Event time and *reference time* clearly dominate. Event time is simply the time at which an event takes place, which, in the history textbooks, is usually indicated by means of a temporal description or a date:

Au XVe siècle [...] En 1484 [...] le 11 octobre 1492 [...] En 1520 [...].
(Lavissee 1902, p. 64)

[In the 15th century [...]. In 1484 [...] on 11 October 1492 [...] In 1520 [...].]

Temporal adverbs (e.g., ‘then’) are often used to concatenate series of event times, though usually this is not even necessary. A more complex example of linking event times is the following:

The long-delayed assault took place at dawn on September 14. [149] [...] It was not till five days after the original assault that the Lahore gate was taken. (Low and Sanders 1910, pp. 149–150)

When event time becomes the deictic center in relation to which other events are positioned, it functions as reference time:

En 1519, l’Espagnol **Fernand Cortez** débarquait au Mexique avec 700 soldats, 18 chevaux et 10 canons. Les Mexicains n’avaient jamais vu ni Européens ni chevaux [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 65; bold in original)

[In 1519, the Spaniard **Fernand Cortez** disembarked in Mexico with 700 soldiers, 18 horses and 10 cannons. The Mexicans had never seen Europeans or horses [...].]

The phrase “n’avaient jamais vu” (“had never seen”) refers to a past preceding 1519, an event time which thus functions as reference time. Similarly:

1857. The Indian Mutiny, a rising of native Indian troops, broke out this year. It had been long maturing [...].
(Cassell’s 1903, p. 124; bold in original)

Here “this year” is co-referential with ‘1857,’ which serves as reference time for “had been long maturing.” Sometimes, of course, a future is referred to in relation to a given reference time:

In 1856 Dalhousie was replaced by Lord Canning, who, under ill advice, issued an Act under which all recruits in the Bengal army would in future be liable for service abroad. (Innes 1927, p. 169)

In spite of the clear dominance of event time and reference time, *time of utterance* also comes in occasionally (and significantly). This is unmistakably the case when “today” is referred to, as in

Songez pourtant qu’encore aujourd’hui [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 100)

[Yet, know that still today [...].]

the special significance of which was already hinted at in relation to our discussion of person deixis (see 2.2.1.1). The same effect of establishing the time of utterance as deictic center can also be achieved by means of tense usage. Consider the following:

Inside India, British rule has only once been in real danger, and that was in the year 1857. For some time there had been [...].

(Kerr and Kerr 1927, p. 183)

Here the present perfect “has [...] been” means “up to now”. The same quote illustrates the interrelations between the different temporal perspectives by also bringing in event time (“in the year 1857”), which is turned into reference time by means of “there had been.” At a more implicit level, a link with the author’s present is made by emphasizing, paradoxically, discontinuity between a moment in the past and the present:

La France a laissé échapper alors, par la faute de son gouvernement, l’*empire du monde*; ce sont les Anglais qui l’ont pris.

(Lavissee 1902, p. 96; italics in original)

[Thus, France let escape the *empire of the world*, as a result of the mistakes of its government; it was the English who took it.]

It is clear that the French government talked about here is not to be associated with the French government running France’s affairs at the time of writing.

Not surprisingly for history writing, past reference is the most frequent orientation. Sometimes, however, the relevance of past events for a present state of affairs is emphasized, as in

The Civil Service gained in status by the changes of 1858. It is through the strong, upright, and experienced men who from one end of India to the other, hold in their hands the local administration of justice, order, revenue, and public works, that the influence of British rule most makes itself felt. (Woodward 1921, p. 238)

Future tenses are used occasionally to highlight a general truth (a function for which also the present can be used, sometimes in combination with a future) or to give expression to expectations. Some examples:

Now a true Hindoo will not kill a cow, nor allow the meat of it to touch his lips. (Cassell’s 1903, p. 124)

The Hindu believes that his life beyond the grave is affected by caste; to preserve caste he will suffer anything. (Innes 1927, p. 169)

The Mutiny proved that India was not, and probably never will be, a country which can be united to oppose our rule. (Parkin 1911, p. 214)

AD 2.2.4.2:

[What aspects of temporal ordering are involved?]

Within the tradition of history writing to which our samples belong, there is a clear tendency to find a story line in which the linear ordering in the text iconically

matches sequences of event times.³⁴ Especially in shorter accounts (e.g., Lavissee, Cassell's, Fearenside, or Hearnshaw) the match is nearly complete, with minor expansions that go into circumstances that color or explain the chain of events. The longer the accounts become (e.g., Low and Sanders, or McCarthy), and the more details the authors want to provide, the more we see an inevitable tendency to let coherent 'episodes' take over whenever purely temporal ordering in the text would become impossible because of simultaneity or insufficiently documented temporal precision. In those cases, the result is very much like the ordering of events in Table 4, with a temporal baseline (presented in Table 3) and a superimposed episodic structure whenever useful. In the longer accounts, more – not surprisingly – than in the shorter ones, we also find expansions into circumstances as well as causes and consequences. While event time defines the temporal baseline, the expansions make use of the interplay between event time and reference time, and occasionally they also bring in the time of utterance. (More will be said about this when discussing sequencing in 2.3.3.)

Ad 2.2.4.3:

[What spatial orientations are involved/invoked?]

As will be clear from Table 4, 'episodes' in the chain of events are generally – i.e., not only in sources that sometimes let episodes take precedence over purely chronological ordering – defined in terms of *spatial points of reference* or place names. Just a few illustrations:

The main incidents in the struggle were the massacre of Cawnpore and the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow. (Fearenside 1922, p. 433)

Horrible barbarities and fierce fights were witnessed at Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore. (Hearnshaw 1930, p. 154)

There were six main theatres of operations: Delhi; Cawnpore and Lucknow; the Punjab; Central India; the rural districts of Oudh and Rohilkhand; and parts of Upper Bengal and Behar extending to the Nipál frontier.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 142)

Even the key actors involved in the events associated with those places, however highly profiled they are, do not have the same definitional value in the presentation of the events. While the actors' behavior (mostly heroic if they are British) determines the manner in which events take place, the predominantly spatial orientation toward the events themselves manifests the strongly military-strategic perspective taken by the authors.

³⁴ The notion of 'iconicity' that is appealed to here stands for the property of language that allows for non-arbitrary similarity between form and meaning. An example is indeed the correspondence between a sequence of events and the structuring of a narrative following the same sequence. History books that reverse the order are exceptional, but they simply switch perspectives rather than breaking the iconic pattern.

In addition, all the sources share, predictably, a Eurocentric spatial world view. Thus Lavissee describes India as a faraway place that is too hot and too unhealthy for Europeans to live (“c’est de l’Inde que nous vient le choléra,” Lavissee 1902, p. 151; “it is from India that cholera has come to us”): the British only go there for trade, government, and military control. Yet, switches of perspective can also be found, as in

Lord Canning [...] issued an Act under which all recruits in the Bengal army would in future be liable for service abroad. (Innes 1927, p. 169)

Here “abroad” must, of course, be interpreted from the Indian recruits’ point of view.

Spatial *distance and distribution* are frequently an issue. Thus Cawnpore is characterized as “a short distance from Lucknow” (Cassell’s 1903, p. 124), British troops in India are said to be “few and scattered” while the discontent “was most widespread in the native regiments in the North-West Provinces” (Fearenside 1922, p. 433), the revolt “rapidly spread throughout Upper Bengal and Oudh” (Hearnshaw 1930, p. 154), but “did not spread all over India” (Fearenside 1922, p. 434) or “did not extend beyond the Ganges valley” (Hearnshaw 1930, p. 154). Related to this is spatial *movement*, as in “the war had drawn away a [153] large part of the British garrison in India” (Hearnshaw 1930, pp. 153–154). The overall event being a string of military campaigns, reference to movements are very prominent indeed: The rebels “marched to and took possession of Delhi,” Havelock “succeeded with his troops in getting through the rebel lines into the city” (Cassell’s 1903, p. 124), and the British government “hurried reinforcements to India” (Hearnshaw 1930, p. 154). Or, to give a more elaborate example:

if no relief had arrived before the end of the month, they [the loyal sepoys] would probably have marched out. But relief came. Havelock [...] advanced with sharp fighting to Cawnpore [...] Then he marched towards Lucknow, but was forced to fall back. In the middle of September he was joined by Outram with fresh forces. On the 23rd the troops were four miles from Lucknow; on the 25th they fought their way in [...]

By this time Sir Colin Campbell had come out to Calcutta [...]; troops had arrived; others, on the way to the China War, had been diverted to help in the much more serious emergency in India. (Innes 1927, p. 171)

Permeating all of this we find two types of spatial concepts: points in space (that can be approached or moved away from) and contained spaces (that one can move into or out of). Both support the overall strategic-military approach.

Ad 2.2.4.4:

[Are there any temporal and/or spatial constraints on the production of the discourse itself?]

Most trivially, the available printing space imposes constraints on the authors. The exact size of a history book may be self-imposed by the author. In most cases it is, to a certain extent. Thus it is McCarthy's (1908) own decision to write a *short* 'history of our times' as a condensation of the more extensive *A History of Our Own Times*. And it is Lavissee's (1902) own decision to write a compact history textbook for primary school children. The Lavissee example, however, immediately points at the role of the intended audience as a co-determiner of size. It is only one step further to indicate the decisive role of the economics of book publishing which often leads to strict guidelines, even in terms of the number of characters to be used. It is worth inquiring to what extent such guidelines influenced writing at the beginning of the twentieth century. But no matter how many pages the authors had or decided to have available, the twin constraints of writing time and printing space always necessitate at least two types of non-trivial choices.

First of all, how dense or how expansive is the writing going to be? In general, our data show a high *degree of density*. There is an unmistakable preoccupation with the presentation of as many facts as possible in the smallest possible space. Consider the following sentence:

Les soldats anglais marchèrent contre les Cipayes révoltés, reprirent la ville de Delhi et attachèrent les prisonniers hindous à la gueule des canons (fig. 10). (Lavissee 1902, p. 152)

[The English soldiers marched against the revolting Sepoys, recaptured the city of Delhi, and tied the Hindu prisoners to the mouths of cannons.]

Here the initiation of the counterattack, its end result, and punishment for the instigators of the Mutiny require only this one syntactic structure. This is not untypical for the entire corpus, the main exception being Synge (1908), whose main concern is the telling of an entertaining story:

Such a time [when a nation must either fight or go down] had come now. Swiftly, silently the blow fell, and heroically, alone, without an ally, against odds too great to be counted, England in the face of the world set to work to re-conquer India. (Synge 1908, p. 111)

Capturing only the first steps toward the action described in the first phrase of Lavissee's sentence above, the emphasis is more on expansive description than on relating facts.

Second, what choices are made exactly as to *what is and what is not going to be communicated*? Here the most remarkable observation is that, no matter how much space is available (which, by definition, is always restricted so that choices have to be made, just like in any other form of communicative language use), and no matter how dense the account is (the longer texts often being just as dense as Lavissee, though at a different level of detail), the focus remains (as was already to be suspected from looking at the pattern of spatial orientations; see 2.2.4.3) on the military and strategic nature of the events. The meaning generating effects

of such choices are not to be ignored: This episode of colonial history is clearly cast in terms of power relationships, without ever going into what it means to be relatively powerless and how this could explain certain actions.

Ad 2.2.4.5:

[Are there any ‘material’ conditions that constrain/orient the discourse production or interpretation?]

One type of material circumstance that helps to shape the discourse was just mentioned with reference to the economics of book publishing: The production of a book requires an investment justifiable in terms of an expected return. This is not an equally pressing demand for all the books in our corpus. Though commercial considerations no doubt play some role for all of them, circumstances may significantly diminish the urgency involved. In the case of Lavissee (1902), for instance, the prescribed French school curriculum, combined with Lavissee’s academic status,³⁵ minimize the risks. On the side of the British sources, similarly ameliorating factors may be at play for Fearenside (1922), published by the London University Tutorial Press specifically to help students in their matriculation exams, so that students with such ambitions could not afford to ignore the book.

Needless to say, the material conditions of production and interpretation of books as physical and commercial objects are relatively simple when compared to what is happening with newer media. Especially the fast-developing technological possibilities and constraints of audio-visual and internet-based communication condition discourse production and interpretation in highly specific ways. Ideology research based on discourse in the new media will have to address most of the issues reviewed in this book, but will have to take into account the specificities produced by the highly different material conditions.³⁶

An important ‘material’ factor for most history writing as well as much journalistic discourse, as already mentioned when discussing ‘voices’ (2.2.1.2), is the lack of direct access to what it is one is writing about, because of temporal and spatial distance. While – remarkably – sources other than the author are rarely acknowledged explicitly in our sample data, this comment on the absence of observability for both utterer and interpreter feeds directly into what will later have to be said about intertextuality (2.3.2).

³⁵ Born in 1842, Lavissee studied Prussian history for a few years in Germany in the 1870s. He returned to France in 1875. In 1880 (two years before the first edition of his *Histoire générale*), he replaced the French historian Fustel de Coulanges at the Sorbonne, where he became adjunct professor in 1883 and succeeded Henri Wallon in 1888 as chair for modern history. Moreover, from the beginning of his career he was actively involved in the shaping of educational policies at all levels.

³⁶ For a first glimpse at the properties of audio-visual and computer-mediated forms of communication that have to be kept in mind while analyzing, the reader is referred to Slembrouck (1995) and Georgakopoulou (2005). On multimodality in general, see Jewitt (ed.) (2009).

Ad 2.2.5:

[In the case of (video-taped) spoken data: What relevant aspects of bodily posture, gesture, gaze, appearance can be pointed out for the discourse participants? In the case of written data: What graphic features (typography, pictorial representations) are used?]

I use only textual data for purposes of illustration in this book, but we should not forget that spoken data incorporate physical properties and physical types of behavior that are relevant in the overall process of meaning generation. Bodily posture, gesture, gaze, and general appearance are the most obvious examples.³⁷ There are parallel phenomena in writing as well. Thus font changes and layout could be seen, to some extent, as counterparts to gesture in writing. They will be discussed in relation to information chunking (under 3.3.1).

Of direct interest here are those graphic features that are specific to the channel of writing: pictorial representations. There are four types in our corpus:

- (i) *A photograph* (or what looks like one): In Richardson (1924, p. 140) there is a picture of Calcutta, the textual function of which may simply be that the reader get a glimpse of a well-known Indian city, an important point of entry; it presents a tranquil port scene, very much detached from the story line, even though early on during the period of the Mutiny there were fears that this city would be affected too; it is not unambiguously clear what historical period the picture should be situated in (the time of the Mutiny? the time of writing?); it is somehow suggestive, but suggestive of what? Do the larger ships in the background represent vessels that carried British troops that came to the rescue? We cannot answer such questions without access to more information (e.g., about Calcutta in various periods in the nineteenth century, about types of vessels and their changes over time, etc.).
- (ii) *A photograph of a painting* (or what looks like one): In Cassell's (1903, p. 123), we get a pictorial representation of one scene from the narrative, the meeting of Sir Colin Campbell and General Havelock at the relief of Lucknow; what we get is the layout of a classical painting with the protagonists taking center stage, backed by a force of rescuers, with the victims of earlier violence in the left bottom corner, and with the smoking buildings of Lucknow in the background; here the suggestive force unmistakably underscores a tale of British heroism.

Somewhat surprisingly, these are the only two examples in the British texts of our corpus. By contrast, Lavis (1902) makes extensive use of two other types of pictorial representations throughout his book, and both are represented in the relevant extracts:

³⁷ See Payrató (2006) for an overview and further references.

- (iii) *Drawings*, most probably specifically designed for the book, illustrating events in much the same way as (ii): On p. 65 we see Cortez entering Mexico, and on p. 153 the execution of the sepoys. While (ii) displays heroism, both of these pictures show power and superiority. Just consider Cortez, high up on his horse, in armor, backed by soldiers with spears and cannons, looking down on half-naked Indians, bowing their heads and assuming a humble posture. The picture is certainly in full harmony with its caption:

Les Mexicains prirent les hommes blancs pour des fils du Dieu-Soleil, les reçurent avec honneur et les laissèrent entrer à Mexico.

(Lavisse 1902, p. 65)

[The Mexicans took the white men for the sons of the Sun-God, received them with honor and let them enter Mexico.]

Note that the caption line is taken literally from the main historical narrative, where the Indians' respectful behavior contrasts sharply with the Spanish abuse of their trust:

Les Espagnols en profitèrent pour s'emparer des trésors du roi [...].

(Lavisse 1902, p. 65)

[The Spanish took advantage of this to grab the king's treasures [...].]

Thus, while both drawings show European power and superiority, they also emphasize more objectionable qualities of the Spanish (treachery) and the British (cruelty). This fits in with the undercurrent of global competition that was already said to be noticeable in Lavisse.

- (iv) There are three *maps* in our extracts from Lavisse (1902): pp. 66–67, 94–95, 156–157. All three are in fact maps of the world, which are progressively filled in with
- possessions of the Spanish and the Portuguese in the sixteenth century
 - European colonies in the eighteenth century
 - Europeans in the world in the nineteenth century
- showing ever-increasing European presence outside Europe. They occur in chapters labeled, respectively,
- 'inventions and discoveries'
 - 'the formation of the English empire'
 - 'Europeans outside of Europe'.

The naturalization of Europeans' presence all over the world becomes a simple story of chronology.

The embeddedness of pictorial representations in the text, and their interaction with the text in generating meaning, should be clear (except perhaps for (i)), and goes as far as to involve a pattern of sequencing (in the case of (iv)).

Procedure 2.3: Investigate the linguistic context. In particular:

- 2.3.1. What linguistic channel(s) is/are involved?
- 2.3.2. What intertextual links are required and how are they appealed to?
- 2.3.3. Is sequencing an issue?
- 2.3.4. What kinds of contextual cohesion are established, and how? (Think of conjunctions, anaphora, co-reference, self-reference, exemplification, explanation, ellipsis, enumeration, highlighting, contrasting, comparison, repetition, substitution, etc.)

AD 2.3, IN GENERAL:

[Investigate the linguistic context.]

There is a *linguistic* – in our case *textual* – *dimension* to the accomplishment of *contextualization*: That is what ‘linguistic context’ is about. At this point I should highlight an observation that, so far, was relegated to a footnote accompanying Figure 2: Context and structure are intimately related (as further explored in Verschueren 2008). The notion of linguistic context bears on the simple fact that, as soon as an utterance is produced, it becomes part of the context of whatever else is said. This should not be looked at in a strictly linear way: Discourse also anticipates what is going to be said, thus turning future utterances into (first virtual, then real) linguistic context as well. The linking of utterances, turning them into each other’s contexts, which is what the topics under 2.3.2, 2.3.3, and 2.3.4 are about, is a particularly conscious activity in writing, but is by no means restricted to that channel.

AD 2.3.1:

[What linguistic channel(s) is/are involved?]

All of our sample data use the channel of writing. Non-verbal elements, such as the pictorial representations discussed in 2.2.5 are functionally integrated as part of the same physical object, a text published as a book. Their contribution to the meaning generation process is significant, as pictures attract a reader’s attention.

Many of the sources are completely understandable on the basis of their being largely ‘monologic’ published written texts, with all the properties, restrictions, and possibilities this entails.³⁸ Though belonging to a common genre (if defined broadly enough), they display a wide range of styles. Some are clearly meant

³⁸ In this context, ‘monologic’ simply means ‘written by an author and unidirectionally addressed to an audience.’ This is not to deny the fundamentally ‘dialogic’ nature of all discourse, including this type of ‘monologic’ text. The fact that utterances are adapted to an intended audience, or that voices other than the author’s are invoked, produces polyphony in every text. See Angermüller (2011) for an example of the complex dialogical organization of print media discourse.

as reading materials only, whether or not oriented to other types of interaction (such as Fearenside 1922, meant to help students prepare for exams). Others show features typical for use in teaching contexts, and hence in assumed combination with spoken discourse; in some of those texts, features of dialogue are also brought in, such as direct forms of address (as reviewed in 2.2.1.1).

Lavisse (1902) goes furthest in bringing in elements of the channel of spoken language. At the end of each chapter, there is a section with the following heading:

Résumé (*à réciter*).

[**Summary** (*for recitation*).]

Those sections, summarizing the main points from the preceding chapters, are meant to be read aloud and/or recited after memorizing them. They belong to prescribed spoken language, utterances written-to-be-spoken, serving a pedagogical purpose.

Moreover, Lavisse (1902) brings in a dialogic element that is not to be found in the other texts: At the bottom of every page there are questions corresponding to one or more sentences in the text. Clearly, they can be used by pupils to test their own knowledge or understanding, or by teachers to interrogate pupils. In the latter case, there is again a possible orientation toward spoken language. But unless the whole set of questions is gone through sequentially, the teacher has to adapt (mainly by making more explicit) the questions, so that their prescribed nature is less solid.

Ad 2.3.2:

[What intertextual links are required and how are they appealed to?]

Various types of intertextuality are involved in our sample texts. In other words, interpreting the texts often requires awareness of intertextual links.

A first type of intertextuality concerns *the positioning of parts of a text in relation to each other*. There is a reason, for instance, why prefaces tend to behave differently from the main bodies of the texts with regard to aspects of person deixis (see 2.2.1.1). Because of their special status, they are allowed to deviate from certain norms which the rest of the text is expected to adhere to. Prefaces are typically written (or at least rewritten) after completion of the full texts, upon which they reflect so that the author can ascribe certain (intended) qualities to them, to the point of becoming self-congratulatory. McCarthy is a mild example:

[...] I have [vii] endeavoured to make the compressed version, contained in this new volume, not merely accurate as a record, but also clear, suggestive, and vivid [...] [viii] [...] Our own times may, on the whole, be regarded as having created an ever memorable era in the development of civilisation, and I feel it an honour to have had a share, however limited and imperfect, in describing its progress. (McCarthy 1908, pp. vii–x)

Such distancing, allowing for less subdued laudation, increases when the author of the preface is not the author of the book, as in Parkin (1911), where a certain Rosebery writes:

Mr. Parkin, the author of this book, whose earnest eloquence is inspired by a single zeal, pursues the picturesque and instructive method of a tour round the British Empire. He himself is best known as the untiring advocate of a cause which represents the high resolve to maintain Imperial unity [...] Such a cause can only be furthered and fostered by this little book.

(Parkin 1911, p. iv)

Other examples of intertextual links between functionally separate parts of the same overall text are provided by Lavissee's summaries and questions, as just mentioned (in 2.3.1). In relation to Lavissee I should add that he goes even further with the structuring of his book into separable parts that are intertextually linked. The book is divided into four 'livres' (or 'books'). At the end of each 'livre' there is (i) a section of "**Réflexions sur le Livre N**" ("**Reflections on Book N**"), which provides a summary – sometimes with additional thoughts – on a higher level of topical structure, as well as (ii) a section entitled "DEVOIRS DE RÉDACTION SUR LE LIVRE N" ("WRITING TASKS ON BOOK N"), giving a number of topics which pupils can be asked to write about, presumably by way of exam. Furthermore, at the end of the book (pp. 167–182) there is a section entitled

RÉVISION
DE L'HISTOIRE DE CHAQUE ÉTAT
PAR ORDRE ALPHABÉTIQUE

[REVIEW
OF THE HISTORY OF EACH STATE
IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER]

Here we find a summary of the main points that have been made about twenty-six states or regions in the course of the book. Finally, to top it all off, there is a "LEXIQUE" (pp. 183–185), a glossary of key terms marked with an asterisk in the main text – not to mention the more predictable "TABLE ALPHABÉTIQUE" or index.

Second, for a proper understanding of the texts, their *intertextual positioning in relation to a wider body of literature* belonging to the institutional contexts of education and scholarship must be appealed to. This institutional embedding has already been illustrated (under 2.2.3). Here I just want to draw attention to the intertextual dimension involved. It is worth noting, however, that a very explicit intertextual (and even sequential) link is indicated by Lavissee (1902) on his title page:

Ce livre fait suite à **tous les cours** d'Histoire de France

[This book follows **all courses** in French History.]

This is further motivated in the preface:

Ces notions d'histoire générale [...] seront le complément naturel de l'histoire de la France; car on ne sait pas toute l'histoire de son pays, si l'on n'a point appris quelle place il occupe dans le monde.

[These notions of general history [...] will be the natural complement to French history; because one does not know the entire history of one's country, if one has not at all learnt what place it occupies in the world.]

In other words, one cannot understand one's own history if one cannot place it in a wider framework – a framework that, in an educational setting, necessarily involves other texts.

Somewhere between these first two types of intertextuality, there is the frequent establishment (in the preliminary pages of the book, including the preface) of links and/or contrasts with earlier editions of the same work.

Remembering what was said about the material conditions of historical book publishing (see 2.2.4.5), and in particular the absence of direct accessibility of the reported events to the authors, it is surprising that there are almost no explicit references to specific items in the wider body of literature that is intertextually assumed, except in the footnotes to Low and Sanders (1910), the one source that is clearly directed at an academic audience. A quick quote from Sir George Trevelyan (who himself served in India for several years from 1862 onwards) is inserted by Synge (1908, pp. 144–145) to indirectly describe the dramatic conditions of the besieged British garrison in Cawnpore. We find in Kerr and Kerr an appeal to other literature, which is not further specified:

The story is too long to tell here. But if you want to know how [...] you must read the story in another book. (Kerr and Kerr 1927, p. 183)

And literature of a different type, Tennyson's poetry, is quoted at length by Synge (1908).

Coming to a third type of intertextuality, relatively limited use is made of *reported speech* or *direct quotations*, though the different texts vary a great deal in this respect. In Low and Sanders' footnotes, reported speech is often used together with an identification of the written sources the authors rely on as evidence. Synge (1908) uses a great deal of direct quotation, often without source indications at all, to liven up his narrative. In all other instances, both reported speech and direct quotations serve the recounting of communicative actions or events that are part of the story to be told. *Reported speech*, marked with linguistic action verbs and verb-like phrases³⁹ or related nouns (underlined in the examples below), occurs regularly. Here is a small sample:

Les Anglais demandèrent au gouvernement français de destituer Dupleix, et le gouvernement le destitua (1754). (Lavissee 1902, p. 94)

[The English asked the French government to discharge Dupleix, and the government discharged him (1754).]

³⁹ 'Linguistic action verbs' is used here as a cover term for all verbs that are used to describe instances of verbal or communicative behavior (including the more restricted set of speech act verbs). See Verschueren (1980, 1985b) for an approach to the semantics of these lexical items. For a general introduction to the topic of reported speech, see Holt (2009).

Les colons déclarèrent qu'ils ne payeraient pas [...] Les colons de chaque province nommèrent alors des députés qui se réunirent en congrès* à Philadelphie. Le 4 juillet 1776, ce congrès proclama que les États étaient indépendants* [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 97)

[The colonists declared that they would not pay [...] The colonists of each province then appointed deputies who gathered in congress* in Philadelphia. On 4 July 1776, this congress proclaimed that the States were independent* [...].]

Depuis le XVIIIe siècle, les libéraux réclamaient qu'on rendit la liberté à ces nègres [...] Mais les colons disaient qu'on ne pouvait se passer de nègres pour cultiver le coton et le café [...] Dans les États du Nord [...] ils demandèrent qu'on abolit l'esclavage." (Lavissee 1902, p. 122)

[From the 18th century on, the liberals demanded that liberty be given back to these negroes [...] But the colonists said they could not manage without the negroes to cultivate cotton and coffee [...] In the Northern States, they asked to abolish slavery.]

The Hindoos objected to do this and mutinied [...] this pretext was advanced to start the rebellion.

[...] Regiments of soldiers refused to obey their officers [...]

[...] they surrendered to that chief on the promise that their lives should be spared. (Cassell's 1903, p. 124)

Lord Canning, who, under ill advice, issued an Act under which [...].

(Innes 1927, p. 169)

And then came the report that [...]; since the cartridges were said to be greased with [...]. (Innes 1927, p. 170)

[...] the governor-general had made it known that he would regard a state as "lapsed" when [...]. (Low and Sanders 1910, pp. 135)

Rumours were circulated that the government intended to compel the people to embrace Christianity [...]. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 136)

Sir Henry Lawrence foresaw the approach of the revolt, and warned the government to prepare for it. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 138)

Bahádur Sháh [...] was proclaimed emperor.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 142)

He asked for large reinforcements from England [...]; he summoned reinforcements to Bengal from Ceylon [...] [142]; he ordered back to Calcutta [...] the troops under Outram [...]; and he took upon himself the responsibility of requesting Lord Elgin to land in India [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, pp. 142–143)

On July 31 he issued an order, intended to [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 143)

Nana Sahib, who agreed to send them down the river under safe conduct [...]. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 144)

Even Outram suggested that [...]. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 150)

She persuaded Tántia Topí to retire to Gwalior [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 157)

He had taken great interest in the framing of [174] regulations for the railway legislation [...]. (McCarthy 1908, pp. 174–175)

Mr. Disraeli, to do him justice, raised his voice in remonstrance against [...]

He declared that [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 178)

What all these examples have in common is the public nature of the acts described or of their consequences, whether or not the acts themselves belong to a formal, institutionalized, official type. Except in Synge (1908), *direct quotations* are rare. A few examples:

“I will not govern in anger,” said Canning.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 143)

Two days afterwards Henry Lawrence, the statesman, soldier, and saint, who asked only that it should be recorded of him that he had “tried to do his duty,” was mortally wounded by a shell. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 145)

argued for a bolder policy, and they were encouraged by the governor-general, who bade Lawrence “hold on to Pesháwar [148] to the last.”

(Low and Sanders 1910, pp. 148–149)

the officer [...] called out, ‘Sir Henry, are you hurt?’ ‘I am killed,’ was the answer that came faintly but firmly from Sir Henry Lawrence’s lips.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 181)

He desired that on his tomb should be engraven merely the words, ‘Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty.’ (McCarthy 1908, p. 181)

“Sir Henry, are you hurt?” cried a friend who was with him.

There was a moment’s silence.

“I am killed,” answered the wounded man firmly.

[...]

“Let every man die at his post – never make terms – God help the poor women and children!” he said in [119] broken snatches to those around him as he lay dying. Then, speaking rather to himself than to others, he mur-mured the now historic words, “Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty,” words which were carved on his tombstone [...].

(Synge 1908, pp. 119–120)

While some of these examples also refer to acts or consequences of a public nature, most of them highlight individual character traits – especially those the

author deems laudable – of the persons quoted. Quotation marks are also used to point at labeling practices that are relevant to the story line without being attributed to anyone in particular. A recurrent example is the following:

the calmness that earned him the sobriquet of “Clemency Canning” [...].
(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 143)

he was nicknamed ‘Clemency Canning’ [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 104)

He was called “Clemency Canning” [...].
(Warner and Marten 1912, p. 694)

But there are numerous other examples: Low and Sanders (1910, p. 147) makes use of quotes to refer to General Outram as “the Bayard of India,” Syngé (1908) mentions “Havelock’s Saints” (p. 116) and describes John Nicholson as the “Lion of the Punjab” (p. 123).

While functioning differently, as specified above, the way in which both reported speech and direct quotation are used underscores the factuality of the told communicative events. This is accomplished by the matter-of-factness of the descriptions. No doubt this is related to the norms associated with the genre of history writing. But that deviations from expected patterns are possible should be clear from the more flowery and effect-oriented way in which Syngé (1908) describes Henry Lawrence’s famous words.⁴⁰

Fourth, a comparison between the texts of the sample corpus shows reliance of the different accounts on a number of *common ‘master narratives.’* Thus there is the overall dominance of the themes of the greased cartridges and of the Cawnpore massacre which emerge with a great deal of consistency throughout. But similar patterns are to be found at lower levels of structure. For instance, the theme of John Lawrence ‘using’ the Sikhs so well (commented on earlier with reference to Fearenside – see Caveat 2.1) recurs, as was also pointed out, in equally vague and suggestive terms in a number of the other sources:

Sir John Lawrence, the Governor of the Punjab, who had, by his humane treatment of the Sikhs, endeared those natives to him [...].
(Cassell’s 1903, p. 124)

The Punjab was [...] placed under a commission of able officers, who not only disarmed and pacified the Sikhs, but contrived in the course of a few years to turn them into the most loyal and contented subjects of the British ráj in Asia. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 134)

Fifth, intertextual links also take the shape of *identical or near-identical phrasings* for the same actors, actions, and events. Examples are to be found in the above presentation of forms of direct quotation (the nicknaming of Canning as ‘Clemency Canning,’ Henry Lawrence’s words after having been wounded

⁴⁰ The natural-language description of verbal behavior may also be called ‘metapragmatic description.’ A good illustration of how much metapragmatic descriptions can deviate from a matter-of-fact style, even in a genre such as international news reporting, can be found in Verschueren (1985a).

and his own suggestion for an epitaph). Another example relates to the master narrative of the Cawnpore massacre:

the bodies were thrown, “the dying, with the dead,” down a well near by.
(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 145)

and the bodies, the dead with the dying, were thrown down a well (July 15).
(Warner and Marten 1912, p. 692)

and threw their bodies, “the dying with the dead,” into a well.
(Richardson 1924, p. 138)

Low and Sanders adds in a footnote attached to the quoted phrase “the dying with the dead”: “Inscription on the Memorial at Cawnpore.” If this is a correct indication, the quote certainly does not exhaust the complete inscription, but it explains the consistency of the phrasing across the sample texts as there is an identifiable source tapped by all of them (no doubt mostly indirectly). In other cases as well, identical wordings betray intertextual relations, though the ultimate source or the direction of borrowing is hard to determine – nor would that usually be important. Thus there is the story of William Hodson, who, after the surrender of the newly installed Mogul emperor in Delhi, takes the three Mogul princes from their hiding place and

shot them dead with his own hand.

which is told in identical terms – though narratively framed differently – by Low and Sanders (1910, p. 150) and McCarthy (1908, p. 191). A systematic search will no doubt reveal many instances of this type.

Ad 2.3.3:

[Is sequencing an issue?]

As there is no language use without the linear ordering of utterances, sequencing is always a property to be looked at. While the topic has been most intensively investigated in relation to turn-taking, adjacency pairs, repair, openings and closings and other conversational phenomena,⁴¹ it is equally basic for an understanding of written text. There are two major differences between spoken and written discourse in this respect. First, the written text, once published or ‘issued’ in a different way, acquires a frozen structure that does not allow for further manipulation on the utterer’s side, whereas spoken discourse, as long as it is actually ‘in use’ rather than simply accessed by memory, may undergo continued prospective and retrospective build-up moves. Second, oral language use, unless it is strictly monologic, is built up collaboratively, which results in an interactional dynamics that affects the build-up in a way that is only implicitly mirrored in an author’s interaction with a virtual reader.

⁴¹ For an introductory look at conversational sequencing phenomena, see Clift, Drew and Hutchby (2006), Sidnell (2006a, 2006b).

Though the surface structure is necessarily linear (in the case of a romanized writing tradition: left to right, top to bottom), sequential structuring frees itself from this restriction by means of retrospective and prospective moves. Typically prospective are the prefaces (even if written after completion of the books), while typically retrospective are, for instance, Lavissee's summaries (at the end of each chapter) and reflections (at the end of each 'book'). And throughout the texts, though sparingly, we find intratextual cross-references such as

We have already noted that [...]. (Innes 1927, p. 169)

as we have already seen [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 194)

Even hypothetical future discourse is evoked:

he will have to say that [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 182)

I have already commented upon sequentiality in the section on temporal ordering (see 2.2.4.2), where an iconic relationship was pointed out between the temporal order of events and narrative sequence, a relationship that was ignored only in longer accounts leading to episodic structuring. In addition to episodic structuring, however, longer accounts also deviate from merely temporal ordering in other ways. Take Low and Sanders (1910) as an example:

The news that the Indian native army had broken out into revolt in the late spring of 1857 came upon England like a thunder-clap [...]

Yet the state of affairs in the Asiatic empire might well have justified uneasiness [...] [132]

[...] [132–139]

Yet in that fateful spring of 1857 the danger signs were blowing thickly over the lowering skies of Northern India [...] The military revolt was imminent; but even then, if vigour and energy had been displayed, it might have been quelled at the outset.

Such qualities were conspicuously wanting when the disaffection first blazed into a flame of violent rebellion early in May, 1857, at Meerut, forty miles from Delhi. At this large [139] station [...]

(Low and Sanders 1910, pp. 132–140)

Here the events of May 1857 are first mentioned. Then many pages of digression are devoted to a detailed description of anterior circumstances and events (explaining why the 'thunder-clap' should not have been a thunder-clap). After this digression, the author gets back to the starting point from which then the narrative continues.

I have also mentioned (in 2.2.5) the sequential ordering of Lavissee's maps, describing a progressive presence of Europeans throughout the world. Obvious as this may seem, the sequential ordering, following the main story line and physically located at the 'right' places (without references to the maps in the text), is necessary for a good understanding; switching the maps around (even though the captions are explicit enough) would be most confusing.

Also, texts are subdivided into chapters, sections, and paragraphs. All of these are ordered consecutively. In some texts (Lavissee being an extreme case) they are also numbered accordingly.

Ad 2.3.4:

[What kinds of contextual cohesion are established, and how? (Think of conjunctions, anaphora, co-reference, self-reference, exemplification, explanation, ellipsis, enumeration, highlighting, contrasting, comparison, repetition, substitution, etc.).]

All texts contain formal markers of contextual (or co-textual) cohesion (closely related to, but still distinct from, discursive coherence, as discussed in 3.3.6.3). As this is a matter of great detail, it is worth looking closely at a specific text fragment, a more extensive extract, for which I have chosen paragraph 213 of Lavissee (1902, pp. 154–155), of which I am here presenting the English translation only.

213. Chinese wars. – 5. China is a very rich and densely populated country. **6.** It has at least **400 million inhabitants**, more than all of Europe together. **7.** The Chinese produce a lot of rice, tea, cotton; they manufacture porcelain and silk. **8.** One could trade with them on a large scale. **9.** But the Chinese government *does not like foreigners*, and did not want to let Europeans enter China.

10. Many Chinese have a habit of smoking **opium**. **11.** Those who smoke it go mad or die, because opium is a poison. **12.** The English sell a lot of opium in China. The Chinese government banned its purchase, and in 1839, it let 22,000 cases of opium, brought in by English ships, be thrown into the sea. **13.** The English waged war on China and, in 1842, forced the Chinese to open five ports where the Europeans would have the right to disembark and to sell their goods.

14. But the Chinese government had only accepted this treaty by force, and it continued to maltreat the French missionaries* and the English tradesmen. **15.** England and France then made an alliance and undertook two expeditions against [154] China (1857 and 1860). **1.** A small army of 12,000 Frenchmen defeated 40,000 Tatar cavalry, and entered **Peking**, the Chinese capital (1860). **2.** The Chinese government signed a treaty which allowed the Europeans to trade with China in certain ports.

3. Yet it is still very dangerous for a European to enter the interior of China alone; he would risk being murdered there. **4.** The *Mandarins** who govern China despise and detest Europeans, whom they call *barbarians*. **5.** A small railroad had been built in China. The Chinese government *had it destroyed*, in order not to change the old customs. (Lavissee 1902, pp. 154–155)

Markers of cohesion in this fragment include:

- *Conjunctions* such as “very rich and densely populated” (in 5, both conjoined elements being further substantiated in the following

sentences, 6 and 7), “But the Chinese government does not like foreigners, and did not want to let Europeans enter China” (sentence 9), “because opium is a poison” (in 11), “the French missionaries and the English tradesmen” (in 14), “Yet it is still very dangerous” (in 3).

- *Anaphora* establishing co-reference, such as the personal pronouns “It” (in 6 and 11), “they” (in 7), the demonstrative “Those” (in 11), the relative pronoun “whom” (in 4), the possessive “its” (in 12). Look, for instance, at the anaphoric interrelations between 10 and 11: “those” in 11 refers back to the “many Chinese” of 10, but it may also carry a more general reference to all (also non-Chinese) smokers of opium; “it” in 11 both refers back to “opium” in 10 and forward to “opium” (further characterized as poison) later in the same sentence.
- *Juxtaposition*, as with sentences 5 to 8, which are not linked explicitly, but where 6 and 7 provide a substantiation for the conjoined adjectives in 5 and together lead to 8 as a logical conclusion.
- What I have just referred to as ‘substantiation’ could also be called *explanation* (such as sentence 6 in relation to “densely populated” in 5) and *exemplification* (such as 7 in relation to “very rich” in 5). Other instances of explanation, of two quite different types, are the definite description “the Chinese capital” in relation to “Peking” (in 1), and “in order not to change the old customs” (in 5 on p. 155); the former explains the nature of a named entity, the latter explains reported action in terms of an attribution of intentions to the actors.
- Many sentences (such as 9, the second sentence in 12, 13, and 1) show *ellipsis*, as the subjects of the second verb phrase following the conjunction “and” are not repeated (or replaced by a pronoun).
- There is *highlighting* by means of italics and the use of bold face. But it is also accomplished by means of (*near-*)*repetition*, as in “despise and detest” (in 4).
- In this fragment, *contrasting* is also accomplished by means of juxtaposition, as when the sentence on the Chinese view of Europeans as barbarians (in 4) is immediately followed by a description of their own anti-modern behavior (5 on p. 155). Contrasts, in this case *comparisons*, are also made with the use of *numbers* (12,000 vs. 40,000 in 1).
- Forms of *substitution* occur, as when “the Chinese government” (in 9, 12, 14, and 2) is replaced by “The Mandarins who govern China” (in 4), to be replaced again by “the Chinese government” in the last sentence.

This is just a partial overview of some of the typical formal markers of cohesion that can be found in the corpus. As to their contribution to meaning generation processes, suffice it to say that all instances of conjoining, juxtaposing, contrasting, comparing, and the like may give rise to implicit meanings. Thus, stating

that a small army of Frenchmen defeated a much larger force suggests, without the author's 'saying' so, serious superiority in warfare. Formulating the Chinese view of Europeans as barbarians, followed by a statement concerning their willful destruction of a railroad (presumably built by Europeans) introduces an implicit contrast that, in this context, suggests the 'strangeness' (if not backwardness) of Chinese perspectives. Similarly, saying that opium is a poison, immediately followed by the observation that the English sell a lot of the stuff in China fits in nicely with Lavissee's recurrent attempts to covertly frown upon the behavior of France's competitors in colonial affairs; it also makes the Chinese government's reaction understandable; that the French join forces with the British later requires the prior description of a legitimating context in which not only British (opium?) traders but also French missionaries are victims of harassment.⁴²

It is, of course, not enough to look at such text fragments in isolation. Comparable patterns of cohesion extend across wider stretches of discourse. Consider, for instance, a few paragraphs further down the text in a section on Europeans in Japan:

Depuis ce temps, les Japonais ont fait connaissance avec les Européens, et au lieu de nous mépriser, comme les Chinois, ils se sont mis à **nous imiter**.

(Lavissee 1902, p. 156)

[Since that time, the Japanese have become acquainted with the Europeans, and instead of despising us, like the Chinese, they started to **imitate us**.]

Here a contrast is made textually explicit between two types of reaction to European progress, both of which imply European superiority: backward rejection or imitation – culture clash or adjustment.

Guideline 3: The core task consists in tracing the dynamics of meaning generation in relation to issues pertaining to social structures, processes, and relations.

Note, first of all, that there is a stronger continuity between the preceding pages and what follows than what the transition to a new guideline might suggest. Tracing the dynamics of meaning generation requires attention to levels of structure that are all ingredients of the linguistic context which embody meaning generating operations and processes. Before going into further details, a few preliminary warnings have to be formulated.

Caveat 3.1: There are hardly any fixed form–function relationships. Hence there are no interpretation rules that can be applied mechanically.

⁴² During the Second Opium War from 1856 to 1860, the French joined British anti-Chinese campaigns. In addition to securing open ports for the opium trade from British India into China, a number of concessions were forced upon China, such as the permission for foreigners, including missionaries, to travel freely. One of the French motives for engaging in this war – in addition to their own trading demands – had been the murder of a French missionary in Canton.

In order for communication to be successful, utterers and interpreters must be able to share meaning. Such an achievement would not be possible without conventions of language use. Conventions may guide interpretations, but they are not like rules that could be straightforwardly applied.⁴³ This has important implications for analysis. It would be most convenient if we could analyze texts with reference to a set of forms that would immediately yield specific interpretations. Unfortunately, this is out of the question. It is true that languages allow us to identify relatively stable grammatical rules, that grammar has a relation to meaning, and that there is a level of meaning that is strongly guided by linguistic form. It is even true that regularities can be observed in the relationship between forms and the ways in which they are habitually used, or that aspects of use can be seen to restrict choices of form. But the meaningful functioning of language in use allows for near-infinite manipulations of all those relationships, even if principles and strategies can usually be identified that underlie such operations. Thus interpretations can never be arrived at mechanically. Interpretation processes have to take into account variability and negotiability, basic properties of language use that characterize the contextual emergence of meanings. Contextual embeddedness, with all the dimensions of variation this entails (taking into account the complexity of context – see Caveat 2.1), must at all times be fully taken into account.

A couple of simple examples may help. Consider the use of quotation marks. They may serve two completely opposite functions. They may be used to strengthen a claim by invoking someone's authority. But they may also be used to weaken it by creating distance. In addition, as illustrated above (under 2.3.2), they may also simply be used to liven up an otherwise relatively dry narrative. Local processes of interpretation are required to determine the function of such forms.

As a second example, passive voice may serve – as is often, and quite correctly, pointed out in the critical discourse analysis literature – to allow an author to avoid identifying agentivity and responsibility for actions or events described. But this effect is considerably weakened, if not eliminated, by certain types of genre-specific stylistic conventions, even if the basis for the convention itself may be to facilitate 'evasion' as a general property of the genre (a point to be illustrated at length under 3.3.3).

Caveat 3.2: Though Caveat 3.1 does not allow jumping from the observation of forms to interpretations, whatever can be detected with a reasonable degree of certainty on the basis of a 'formal' analysis can never be ignored.

However important it may be to warn against the temptation to formulate quick conclusions on the basis of observed formal properties of a stretch of discourse,

⁴³ Donald Davidson (1986, 2001) goes so far as to suggest that convention (unlike beliefs, desires, and intentions) is not a necessary element in language, but that language is a condition for having conventions.

it is equally important to point out that *describable patterns do matter for interpretation*. Remember Rule 1: What we need is empirical evidence to support answers to questions, and if a counterscreening of the data reveals formal patterns that contradict a possible conclusion, the conclusion loses its validity.

Caveat 3.3: Because form–function relationships are never absolute, ideology research is necessarily comparative and contrastive.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault writes a chapter entitled ‘The Comparative Facts,’ in which he says the following:

Archaeological analysis individualizes and describes discursive formations. That is, it must compare them, oppose them to one another in the simultaneity in which they are presented, distinguish them from those that do not belong to the same time-scale, relate them, on the basis of their specificity, to the non-discursive practices that surround them and serve as a general element for them. (Foucault 1972, p. 157)

As might already be gleaned from some of the examples given above (under 2.3.4), close scrutiny of elements of comparison and contrast is a powerful tool for the interpretation of texts, as often patterns of implicit meaning are involved. Comparison may involve the contrasting of equivalent forms in different languages⁴⁴ or in variants of the same language, but it may also concern intertextual, intratextual, even intrasentential processes of conveying added meaning by

⁴⁴ Here is a simple example from our earlier migrant research, involving variability across languages and speech communities, situated at the lexical level. Consider the way in which a term such as ‘integration’ figures in debates surrounding ethnic diversity in different societies. In Dutch the term ‘integratie’ contrasts primarily with concepts such as ‘assimilatie’. In this context, a policy aimed at integration gets rhetorically associated with an open and tolerant attitude toward diversity: It is meant to accept groups of newcomers into the society without demanding their full assimilation, i.e., their abandoning their difference from mainstream society. In an American context, however, the primary contrast set is between *integration* and *segregation*, as in “the racial integration of public schools.” The integration concept thus comes to stand for full participation at every level of social and political life. It is the ethnic equivalent to *emancipation* in gender relations. Much more variability is possible. Elements of both contrast sets are incorporated into the concept of ‘integration’ as it is handled in the following excerpt from a Slovenian Ministry of Education and Sports report on the treatment of Bosnian refugees:

Thus the children are not integrated into our compulsory programme, for such integration would signify the first step toward the assimilation of these children. With the fact that lessons for the children proceed in their mother tongue, the national and cultural identity of these children is preserved and the psychological stress of their coming into a foreign environment is minimized. Also, the children will be able to join in normal life after their return to their homeland.

Here ‘integration’ is (i) contrasted with ‘segregation,’ and (ii) both contrasted and associated with ‘assimilation.’ This Slovenian political usage shares with Dutch usage the negative connotations attached to ‘assimilation,’ but while in the usage of the Dutch term the contrast with assimilation is focused upon to defend integration, the Slovenian usage zooms in on a link with assimilation (in terms of a continuum which makes integration lead toward assimilation) to argue against integration and in favor of segregation. With the American usage, the rhetoric of the Slovenian Ministry shares a semantic contrast, but none of the social and political considerations.

describing comparable phenomena in different terms or different phenomena in comparable terms.⁴⁵ The contribution which contrasts make to the meaning generation process will emerge from many of the following sections, perhaps most forcefully from the discussion of aspects of categorization (as in 3.3.2.1). It will be hinted at repeatedly, but should be kept in mind throughout.

Procedure 3.1: Define the activity type or speech event type (providing a general frame of interpretation) to which the investigated discourse belongs. In addition:

3.1.1: Identify the speech acts or language games of which the activity or event predominantly consists.

AD 3.1, IN GENERAL:

[Define the activity type or speech event type (providing a general frame of interpretation) to which the investigated discourse belongs.]

Many properties of the investigated discourse (e.g., the high frequency of passives – see 3.3.3) clearly are a function of the style that is *typical of a certain specific verbal activity type*, namely ‘academic writing.’ This activity type – one manifestation of the more general *genre* of academic discourse – is metapragmatically defined at the beginning of most of the books, where the publications literally define their own status (as further explained under 3.6). Like any other activity type, academic writing imposes *its own rules* and sets *its own boundaries of interpretability*. The emergence of verbal activity types is simply one aspect of the variability that sets the context within which strategies of meaning generation are negotiated.⁴⁶ In other words, a jump from the observation of certain forms to their interpretation in terms of specific functions, without taking into account this highly meaning-related type of variability, could never be justified. Such a

⁴⁵ For instance, consider the following sentence, which is a subtitle to an article in the *International Herald Tribune* (9 March 1993) on the social and economic situation in the former East Germany, a couple of years after the unification of the two Germanies:

In East and West, Resentment at Costs.

The mere juxtaposition expressed by the connector *and* gives the impression that East and West have something in common, viz. a *resentment at costs*, i.e., the costs of German unification. This phrasing, however, blurs the fact that the object of resentment, the cost of unification – talked about as if it were one single phenomenon – is completely different for East and West: For the West the cost involved is merely economic and financial (the only type of ‘cost’ called by that name in the article) whereas for the East the cost is a personal and social one (in particular the high rate of unemployment and the feeling of utter uselessness resulting from the dismantlement of uncompetitive industries). Thus an underlying contrast between incompatible phenomena is de-emphasized by a unifying description. (For more examples, see Verschueren 1996.)

⁴⁶ Other examples of speech activity types (or speech events) would be: classroom teaching, police interrogations, job interviews, wedding ceremonies, dinner conversations, story telling, service encounters, poetry readings, business meetings, and the like. These are all associated with norms or expectations related to properties which they typically display. Since they are ‘types,’ actual ‘tokens’ may of course deviate in various ways, but rarely without an effect on meaning.

jump from form to meaning would violate some of the most basic principles of pragmatics. But, remembering the centrality of the notions of variability and negotiability in general, the same principles would be at risk if we were to regard activity types as immutable grids for interpretation. Analysis, therefore, is always a balancing act: There is a rope to support us, but we are up in the air above it, responding to ethereal impulses – and grabbing the rope really is the end of the performance.

Keeping these remarks in mind, some prototypical properties of the activity type of academic writing, as found in the sample data, are the following:

- The *transparent structuring* of the texts: Not only Lavissee (the extreme case), but also the British sources make efforts to subdivide the text into clearly distinguishable parts, with dates, numbers, and/or titles that immediately clarify what these parts are about.
- An *expository style*: Except for Lavissee's didactically motivated questions at the bottom of every page, the texts consist mainly of straightforward statements of known or assumed facts (see 3.1.1). The emphasis on factual recounting also implies an attempt at *personal distancing*: Authors present their accounts of actions and events as *objective*, if not quite neutral.
- An endeavor at maximal *explicitness*: The authors are clearly concerned with attempts to avoid vagueness, hedges, and ambiguity. Thus, terms or names that are introduced are quickly defined or further identified, as in

The Indian Mutiny, a rising of native Indian troops, [...].

(Cassell's 1903, p. 124)

Sir John Lawrence, the Governor of the Punjaub, [...].

(Cassell's 1903, p. 124)

The British government (immensely aided by the electric telegraph, a new invention which had recently been installed) [...].

(Hearnshaw 1930, p. 154)

a policy of annexation; broadly speaking, of bringing under direct British dominion [...]. (Innes 1927, p. 169)

- Attention for *explanation*: Reported actions and events are linked by pointing out motivations, intentions, and causes. Thus Fearenside's (1922, p. 433) paragraph about the causes of the Mutiny is labeled "Causes of [...]" and further contains elements such as "One reason why [...]" and "[...] caused [...]." Similarly, 'because' (or its French equivalents 'parce que' or 'car') occurs regularly throughout the texts. Or consider the following extracts from Hearnshaw (1930), not at all untypical for the rest of the corpus, and illustrating in addition to an attempt at explanation also the transparent structuring of his expository discourse:

The Crimean War was one of the causes of the Indian Mutiny which broke out in 1857. On the one hand [...] [153] [...]; on the other hand [...] Other causes, however, were more potent. The Afghan disaster of 1842 had lowered British prestige. At the same time [...] Finally [...]

Hence [...] (Hearnshaw 1930, pp. 153–154)

All of these features are indeed easy to illustrate in all of the sample texts.

What is particularly interesting, however, is the observation of aspects of use that (seem to) violate the self-imposed rules and expectations of the adopted activity type. If violations are random, not much attention should be paid to them, but if they show systematicity, they become meaningful. Thus, I have already observed, with reference to Sir John Lawrence's commendable treatment of the Sikhs, that in spite of overall attempts at explicitness, significant episodes may show a serious degree of suggestive *vagueness* (see the discussion under Caveat 2.1). It is assumed, to stick to this example, that readers will know what a good treatment of colonial subjects involves, but it is unlikely that they will have more than an utterly vague idea about this. Such an occurrence of vagueness in relation to a core issue of the colonial process is a clear sign of the ideological embedding of the discourse in a context of colonization that is not itself questioned.

While true *ambiguity* (contributing to the discursive meaning generation process – as opposed to ambiguity that is simply part of the language system) is hard to find, *hedges* are more frequent in our sample than one might expect from typical academic writing.⁴⁷ Some examples (in which hedging constructions are underlined):

if no relief had arrived before the end of the month, they would probably have marched out. (Innes 1927, p. 171)

Yet the state of affairs in the Asiatic empire might well have justified uneasiness. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 132)

The military revolt was imminent; but even then, if vigour and energy had been displayed, it might have been quelled at the outset.
(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 139)

It is possible that if the Meerut rebels had been followed [...] the incipient rising might have been checked. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 141)

If the mutineers flying from Meerut had been promptly pursued [...] the tale we have to tell might have been shorter and very different.
(McCarthy 1908, p. 172)

He could not, perhaps, always conceal [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 178)

It seems that some cartridges [...]. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 138)

⁴⁷ 'Hedges' are linguistic devices that are used to modify an expressed proposition, usually by adding unclarity as to the utterer's commitment to truth or certainty. The most common ones are modal auxiliaries, certain linguistic action or mental state verbs, and hypothetical constructions, as well as a variety of adjectives, nouns, and adverbs that emphasize probability, possibility, likeliness.

There were peculiar reasons too why, if religious and political distrust did prevail, the moment of Lord Canning's accession to the supreme authority in India should seem inviting and favourable for schemes of sedition.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 176)

It must be owned that, given the existence of a seditious spirit, it would have been hardly possible for it to find conditions more seemingly favourable and tempting. (McCarthy 1908, p. 177)

there were moments when it began to seem almost possible that they might actually keep back their assailants until [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 112)

For a short time it seemed probable that the British power in India would be overthrown. (Parkin 1911, p. 125)

The outbreak was probably premature, a concerted rising having been arranged for a somewhat later date. (Woodward 1921, p. 236)

Dalhousie, somewhat against his own will, [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 135)

C'eût été une très belle conquête [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 94)

[It would have been a **very nice conquest** [...].]

on refusait d'envoyer aux colonies 4 ou 5 000 soldats qui auraient donné à la France l'*empire du monde*. (Lavissee 1902, p. 96)

[they refused to send 4 or 5,000 soldiers to the colonies who would have given France the *empire of the world*.]

All these examples show that the authors do not restrict themselves to the mere reporting of what they regard as facts. They make suggestions concerning unattested circumstances, and they formulate hypotheses for alternative scenarios. None of this seems to be random, and in all cases there is a rhetorical effect. When assumptions are voiced, they contribute to a pattern of explanation. When a contrast is introduced between what happened and what could have happened, an element of evaluation seeps in. Thus, a certain measure of blame is laid on those who failed to pursue the Meerut mutineers in their march on Delhi – actually, in spite of its hypothetical nature, this assumes the character of an intertextual master narrative.

When such evaluation is at stake, hedging defies the norm of *neutrality*, the overall academic attempt to keep some *personal distance*. This norm, though explicitly invoked in a number of the book prefaces, is deviated from in a variety of ways, adding a distinct scent of *personal opinion* or *attitude* to the narratives:

The rulers of India were at length alarmed, as well they might be, for Bengal lay at the mercy of the native soldiers. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 139)

On dépensait beaucoup d'argent et de soldats à des guerres en Allemagne et en Italie, où la France n'avait rien à gagner [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 96)

[A lot of money and many soldiers were expended on wars in Germany and Italy, where France had nothing to gain [...].]

More fully explicit still are the attitudes and opinions voiced by Lavissee in the sections with reflections at the end of the 'books.' A telling example, particularly relevant in relation to attitudes toward colonization, is the following:

Mais il n'est pas trop tard. Il reste encore bien des *pays à occuper*, et dans les pays occupés bien de la *place vide*. (Lavissee 1902, p. 166)

[But it is not too late. There are still quite a few *countries to occupy*, and in the occupied countries there is still quite a lot of *empty space*.]

This sentence is followed by a straightforward exhortation to consider serving France by going to one of these countries to be occupied or spaces to be filled.

In keeping with the expectations created by 'academic writing' as an activity type, our texts show a high degree of rational, analytical, unemotional discourse. Yet there are plenty of deviations from this norm, also in terms of *reference to emotions*. Take for example Fearenside's paragraph about the causes of the Mutiny (Fearenside 1922, p. 433). It contains the following terms and phrases:

anxiety and vexation
had annoyed
religious prejudices
been offended
cherished [...] grievances
vengeance
discontent

Here emotions are focused on quite straightforwardly. Whenever such deviations from activity-internal norms emerge, the task of the discourse analyst is to see if there is a pattern. In this case, there clearly is: Emotions are ascribed only to the 'Others,' the Indians. By implication, British actions are presented as *not* driven by emotions: The British soldiers do not want revenge, they are not angry, they are simply doing their job as good professionals in crushing the revolt (see also 3.4.3). Though emotions cannot be ascribed to the British, virtues such as courage may be suggested:

a handful of British troops [...] held the ill-fortified Residency

See also, in this respect, the following less-than-dryly academic description by the same author:

The rising failed partly because it was, for the most part, a military, [433] not a national movement; partly because it did not spread all over India; partly because the Hindus and the Muhammadans did not work well together; but above all because nearly all the British officers displayed a resourcefulness which matched the courage and endurance of the troops and civilians under their care. (Fearenside 1922, pp. 433–434)

Needless to say, such patterns become part of a process of legitimation underlying the dry academic discourse. What is also involved is implicit interactivity, as audience expectations are clearly oriented toward.

It would be wrong, however, to quickly generalize from a pattern as the one observed in this individual Fearenside extract. Counterscreening of the data reveals that non-reference to emotions or possible emotions (including feelings of vengeance) on the part of the British is not a general property of all the sources. Most of the texts conform to the patterns, but some deviate from it in significant ways. British anger and revenge are turned into explicit points of attention by Low and Sanders (1910):

He [the governor-general] retained his sense of justice even in the excitement produced by the outbreak; and he deprecated undue and excessive reprisals with the calmness that earned him the sobriquet “Clemency Canning” from some less able than himself to temper with mercy the uncontrolled and natural resentment kindled in English hearts by the news of the first massacres. “I will not govern in anger,” said Canning. On July 31 he issued an order, intended to check the summary execution of sepoy suspected of mutiny or of complicity in the murder of their officers. (p. 143)

rescuing the European residents and inflicting stern vengeance on the rebels. (p. 143)

His [Havelock’s] troops were fainting with fatigue, and some of them died of sunstroke and exhaustion on the field of battle. But the British soldiers had heard rumours of the Cawnpore butcheries, and nothing could stop them. They carried the enemy’s guns and drove the sepoy before them in a furious rush. The Nana fled; and Havelock’s wearied followers tottered into Cawnpore, to look down into the well where the still uncovered bodies of the 200 murdered women and children met their gaze. It was too late to save them – not too late for signal vengeance. Some of those who had taken a prominent part in the massacres [...] were forced by Neill under the lash to clean the [146] blood from the walls and floors of the Bibigarh, and then executed.

But there was little time to linger in Cawnpore either for revenge or for repose. (pp. 146–147)

before they could [...] amid a scene of tumultuous emotion at length enter the enclosure. (p. 148)

It may not be surprising that this side of the story is so clearly highlighted by our one source that is primarily, if not exclusively, directed at an academic audience. A true academic inclination must allow for a balanced presentation of differing perspectives. Low and Sanders obviously tries to accomplish this. Yet, descriptions such as “natural resentment” attenuate brutality on the British side by making it more comprehensible, as does the emphasis on Lord Canning’s role. The authors do their best to also empathically introduce explanations for the Indians’ decision to revolt; they are said to be “smarting under a sense of wrong” (p. 136)

which was understandable on the basis of British acts of government. But then those acts are also said to be “necessary and justifiable” (p. 135), and never will the mutineers’ violence be ‘normalized’ in a comparable fashion. That is how ultimately the balance breaks even in this text, which also does not shy from overt expressions of admiration for the authors’ countrymen – “Henry Lawrence, the statesman, soldier, and saint” (p. 145), “Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Neville Chamberlain, Montgomery, and Sydney Cotton, the ardent and daring spirits of the border province” (p. 148).

An extensive exploration of the same theme of British emotional involvement and Canning-like attempts to temper it, is offered by McCarthy (1908, p. 178), who does his utter best to make British anger understandable:

It is worthy of record as an evidence of the temper aroused even in men from whom better things might have been expected, that Nicholson strongly urged the passing of a law to authorize flaying alive, impalement, or burning of the murderers of the women and children in Delhi. He urged this view again and again, and deliberately argued it on grounds alike of policy and principle. The fact is recorded here not in mere disparagement of a brave soldier, but as an illustration of the manner in which the old elementary passions of man’s untamed condition can return upon him in his pride of civilisation and culture, and make him their slave again. (McCarthy 1908, p. 191)

In the case of McCarthy, there is never any lack of clarity about whose side he is on, in spite of admissions of extreme violence. His descriptions easily turn into hero-worship:

Amid all the excitement, of hope and fear, passion and panic, in England, there was time for the whole heart of the nation to feel pride in Havelock’s career and sorrow for his untimely death. Untimely? Was it after all untimely? Since when has it not been held the crown of a great career that the hero dies at the moment of accomplished victory? (McCarthy 1908, p. 193)

In this episode, there is a distinct smell of hagiography – further supported with phrases such as “Havelock’s Saints” (p. 193), which also surfaces in Synge (1908, p. 116).

Ad 3.1.1:

[Identify the speech acts or language games of which the activity or event predominantly consists.]

Activity or event types are always ‘meaningful’ in the sense that, like any other form of social action, they are interpreted by the actors (in this case language users) involved.⁴⁸ Those interpretations use ‘types’ as anchoring points, definable in terms of (proto)typical properties and corresponding normative expectations. Being ‘types,’ these are abstractions which allow for variable tokens and even

⁴⁸ Remember earlier references to Winch (1958).

outright deviations from the norms. But as the preceding examples show, deviations usually add meaning. Activities and events, ‘interpreted’ in terms of types, provide frames of meaning for the speech acts or language games of which they consist.⁴⁹ At that lower level of structure, the same processes can be observed.

I mentioned (in 3.1) the *expository style* typically expected of academic texts, consisting mainly of straightforward statements of known or assumed facts. The vast majority of sentence-level speech acts in the sample texts are indeed simple statements or assertives (sometimes framed as reminders). Their essential property is that they commit the utterer to the truth of the propositional content. Such a commitment is made by the authors. Nothing could be more straightforward than utterances such as

Le dernier roi fut mis sur des charbons ardents, et le Mexique devint une *colonie espagnole* (1521). (Lavisse 1902, p. 65)

[The last king was put on hot coals, and Mexico became a *Spanish colony* (1521).]

or

At Cawnpur Nana Sahib led the mutineers. (Richardson 1924, p. 138)

Looked at in isolation, such assertions almost sound as if Lavisse was in Mexico and Richardson in Cawnpore at the time of the reported events. The historical nature of the related events, however, defeats assumptions of first-hand knowledge. Thus the commitment to truth is somewhat diluted by the authors’ reliance on their sources’ assumed commitment to truth as implicated in their statements. The surface expression of such diluted commitment is the hedging described above.

Lavisse’s text is the only one reflecting stages in the educational process it is intended to be part of: exposition (the main historical narrative), rehearsal (the summaries at the end of each chapter), testing (at the bottom of every page), further reflection or discussion (at the end of each ‘book’), and writing tasks. These different stages all have their typically associated speech acts or language games. The main narrative and the summaries exhibit the expository style consisting of assertives. The ‘testing’ fragments are all questions. But they are not ordinary questions. First of all, like many interrogatives in an educational context, they are

⁴⁹ Note the gradient terminology: I have used ‘genre’ for general worlds of discourse associated with spheres of human activity (e.g., the genre of academic discourse in general) and ‘activity type’ or ‘(speech) event type’ for a more specific, but still general, manifestation of a genre (e.g., the activity type of academic writing); activity types, in turn, consist of lower-level acts or events which I now label ‘speech acts’ or ‘language games.’ There is an obvious reference here to speech act theory (Searle 1969) and Wittgenstein’s (1958) notion of language games. But these are merely parallel concepts and I do not feel bound by the technical restrictions which an orthodox reading might impose. In fact, on earlier occasions (Verschuereen 1999b) I tried to steer away from constraining technicalities by replacing ‘speech act’ with ‘speech genre,’ making use of Bakhtin’s allowance for the use of ‘genre’ with reference to wide ranges of utterance types (from single-word utterances to complex discourses). But I am here abandoning that practice in order to avoid confusion with the use of ‘genre’ at a higher level of abstraction.

not asked by someone interested in learning the answer, but rather by someone interested to know whether the addressee knows the answer; they may, moreover, also be used by pupils for self-testing. Second, if one were to pick out one of the questions at random, it would usually not be possible for anyone to answer. Take the following example:

Que possèdaient-ils? (Lavisse 1902, p. 68)

[What did they possess?]

What we find are strings of interconnected questions. Who ‘they’ are is clear from the preceding question only (“Où dominaient les Espagnols?” p. 67; “Where did the Spanish dominate?”). Moreover, the question depends for its proper interpretation on the topical and deictic anchoring of the main narrative. What does “que” relevantly refer to? What period are we talking about? In the “further reflection” parts, we also find a majority of assertives of the same kind as those in the main body of the text and in the summaries. On one occasion, one of the reflections assumes the nature of a prediction (grounds for which are to be introduced in the discourse that follows):

La France ne conduit plus, comme auparavant, les destinées de l’Europe; mais elle va prendre, par la **Révolution**, la direction de l’humanité.

(Lavisse 1902, p. 98)

[France no longer drives, like before, the destinies of Europe; but it will take, with the **Revolution**, the leadership of humanity.]

At the very end, there is even an exhortation:

VIII. Souvenez-vous que si on sert bien la France on combattant pour elle, on la sert aussi en allant au loin fonder une famille française, qui répandra notre langue, nos idées, nos habitudes, et qui fera respecter et aimer la France dans le monde entier. (Lavisse 1902, p. 166)

[VIII. Remember that if one serves France well by fighting for her, one serves her also by going and founding a French family far away, which will spread our language, our ideas, our habits, and which will make France respected and loved in the whole world.]

In other words, French school children are actively encouraged here to take part in the colonial process. The ‘writing tasks,’ finally, do not contain full propositions, but only themes that can serve as titles.

In the British texts, the dominant pattern of assertion (whether or not hedged) leaves room for little else. The main exceptions are summary renditions of conversations intended to liven up the story (e.g., Synge 1908, p. 119), and utterances in the form of questions. As to questions, only McCarthy seems to make use of them. They are, moreover, all of a rhetorical type, implicitly making claims though in the form of an interrogative:

Those walls might have been leaped over as easily as that of Romulus; but of what avail to know that, when from behind them always came the fatal fire of the Englishmen? (McCarthy 1908, p. 186)

his untimely death. Untimely? Was it after all untimely? Since when has it not been held the crown of a great career that the hero dies at the moment of accomplished victory? (McCarthy 1908, p. 193)

Not the faintest suspicion crossed any mind of the treachery that was awaiting them. How, indeed, could there be any such suspicion? Not for years and years had even Oriental warfare given example of such practice [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 186)

The latter example combines the force of a rhetorical question with the function of a question used to introduce a topic to be further explored or commented upon.

Procedure 3.2: Investigate the use of languages, codes, and styles. In particular:

- 3.2.1.** *What language(s) is/are used? And how does this relate to the wider linguistic context of the society/community in which the discourse is to be found?*
- 3.2.2.** *What codes are used? Is there any code switching? Is a specific communicative style involved?*
- 3.2.3.** *Is the style formal, informal, ...?*

AD 3.2, IN GENERAL:

[Investigate the use of languages, codes, and styles.]

AD 3.2.1:

[What language(s) is/are used? And how does this relate to the wider linguistic context of the society/community in which the discourse is to be found?]

For our sample data, the answer to this question is uncomplicated at first sight, French being the language for Lavisé, English for all the other texts. There is, however, more to be said about that. Already from the spelling it is clear that the English sources are British, and this identification is, as goes without saying, not trivial with regard to the topic at hand. Only one (Cassell's 1903) was actually printed outside England (in Australia, with a population that still had a very strong affinity with Britain at the time), though some of the publishers also had establishments in Bombay and Calcutta. The linguistic uniformity is nearly complete. As to the French materials, since there is only one source, there is no variation whatsoever. Moreover, being published in Paris, it fits all assumptions of French centripetal tendencies.

As to the temporal identification of the language forms used, differences between present-day French and English and the French and English from the

turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century are minimal. Yet, analysis must remain attentive to possible differences. Therefore, rather than to attach hasty interpretations to observed choices, an attempt must be made to reach a (historically) correct assessment. For instance, when I first read

There were peculiar reasons too why, if religious and political distrust did prevail, the moment of Lord Canning's accession to the supreme authority in India should seem inviting and favourable for schemes of sedition. The Afghan war had told the Sepoy that British troops are not absolutely invincible in battle. The impression produced almost everywhere in India by the Crimean war was a conviction that the strength of England was on the wane. The Sepoy saw that the English force in Northern India was very small [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 176)

I wondered what was so “peculiar” about the enumerated reasons. Upon closer inspection, however, I learnt that the strong overtone of ‘strangeness’ attached to ‘peculiar’ in common usage today was not necessarily there at the time of writing. ‘Peculiar’ could still simply be used in the sense of ‘distinctive’ or ‘specific’ (even if this was already often associated with ‘strange’ or ‘odd’, as in other examples in the same text, as when McCarthy mentions “the Hindoo’s peculiar and very perplexing tenets,” p. 173, or “the peculiar baptismal custom of the Mohammedans,” p. 174).

Clearly, when spoken discourse is analyzed, a much wider relevant range of variability must be taken into account. Participants in a conversation, for instance, may use distinct linguistic repertoires as resource, even in a so-called monolingual context, not to mention multilingual settings.⁵⁰

Ad 3.2.2:

[What codes are used? Is there any code switching? Is a specific communicative style involved?]

The code in all our samples is written standard language. Unlike in many oral contexts, especially – though not only – when multilingualism is involved, code switching⁵¹ is not an issue, except when Synge (1908) moves back and forth between his own narrative and the fragments of poetry that he quotes.

The overall communicative style⁵² is one typical for communities with long-standing traditions of literacy and schooling; it is within this style, allowing for

⁵⁰ For an example of sociolinguistic ethnography in an urban multilingual institutional context, in which a wide range of repertoires is drawn from, see Jaspers (2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2008).

⁵¹ ‘Code’ may be used for any distinguishable variant of a language. But ‘code switching’ not only refers to the switching between intra-language variable codes, but also between languages that are in use in the same (multilingual) setting. For the analysis of oral discourse, code switching must often be attended to. For an introduction to the topic, see Auer (ed.) (1998) or Auer and Eastman (2010).

⁵² The concept of ‘communicative style’ has been most often used in discussions of interethnic or intercultural communication, where members of ethnically and/or socioculturally definable groups can sometimes be observed to be socialized into distinctive habits of communicative

certain degrees of abstraction beyond the immediate demands of the here-and-now, that the normative properties and patterns of the activity type of academic writing have developed. We are confronted with discourse that takes itself very seriously. The texts have been written to teach, not to amuse, even if attempts are made to make the reading enjoyable. This contributes in no small measure to the seriousness with which interpreters are expected to gather meaning from the texts: They are supposed to get information, to learn facts, and they are supposed to do so at a cognitive level that abstracts from their own everyday situation. Even the patriotic sentiments that are appealed to – in ways I have already been able to illustrate – are not ‘personal’; they are more abstract, to be situated at the level of what is seen as advantageous to the wider community, the country, the nation. This is why the communicative style itself turns these texts into powerful ideology-sustaining tools.

Ad 3.2.3:

[Is the style formal, informal, ...?]

The sample texts, though parading a highly literate communicative style as manifested in typical examples of academic writing, differ significantly along the dimension of formality, but all are at the formal end of the scale. Choices producing this variability are in the first place the result of an assessment of the needs of the different primary audiences addressed. Thus compare Syngé (1908), which reads as a general children’s book, with Low and Sanders (1910), the book for an academic audience. The former introduces the sepoys as follows:

every one, both in India and at home, believed in the loyalty of the native soldiers, or Sepoys as they were called. (Syngé 1908, p. 112)

By way of contrast, Low and Sanders, when first mentioning sepoys, add a footnote:

The word should be written *sipáhi* according to the rules of orthography now officially recognised in the transliteration of Indian names; but in this, as in some other cases, the spelling consecrated by tradition and usage has been retained. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 137)

Many more subtle examples can be found.

Most interesting would be cases in which an author lapses from an adopted style into choices typical for a different one. The styles of all of the individual texts are, however, strikingly consistent. This mainly means that, when using examples from different texts, the differences in style typical for each of them must be fully taken into account. Consider the following three extracts:

behavior. Typically oral vs. typically literate traditions, for instance, give rise to differences in communicative style.

Havelock [...] encountered the Nana, with over 5,000 men and eight guns, drawn up to dispute the entrance to Cawnpore [...] They carried the enemy's guns and drove the sepoys before them in a furious rush.
(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 146)

He made one last stand against the victorious English in front of Cawnpore, and was completely defeated. (McCarthy 1908, p. 190)

They were resting [...] when, with wild shouts, a huge mass of native cavalry rushed upon them. Fiercely and swiftly the little English band advanced; in ten minutes they had captured the rebel guns and the Nana's troops were in full flight. (Synge 1908, p. 116)

These are three stylistically different descriptions of one and the same event. Compare “drawn up to dispute the entrance to,” “made one last stand against,” and “with wild shouts [...] rushed upon them.” Or “carried the enemy's guns and drove the sepoys before them in a furious rush” and “captured the rebel guns and the Nana's troops were in full flight.” The wording does not leave any doubt about an orientation toward different audiences. Underlying these differences, the perspective is conspicuously similar.

Procedure 3.3: Look for overt carriers of information structure. In particular:

- 3.3.1:** *How is information ‘chunked’ prosodically (with spoken data) or in writing?*
- 3.3.2:** *What patterns of word choice can be found? In particular:*
 - 3.3.2.1: *How are people, events, relations categorized?*
- 3.3.3:** *At the sentence level: How are grammatical relations, case categories, and semantic roles handled when describing events, actions, or relations between (groups of) people?*
- 3.3.4:** *Still at the sentence level: How are moods, modalities, negation, and evidentiality handled?*
- 3.3.5:** *And still at the sentence level: What is the calibration between given, new, and accessible information, and between highlighting/foregrounding and backgrounding?*
- 3.3.6:** *At the suprasentential level: How is coherence/relevance established? In particular:*
 - 3.3.6.1: *What discourse topics are established?*
 - 3.3.6.2: *How do central discourse topics relate to peripheral ones?*
 - 3.3.6.3: *What does the discourse progression or rhetorical structure look like (in terms of relations such as juxtaposition, justification, explanation, proving, elaborating, motivating, etc.)?*
- 3.3.7:** *In a wider corpus: How do discourse topics and rhetorical patterns develop/change across the different parts of the corpus?*

Ad 3.3, IN GENERAL:

[Look for overt carriers of information structure.]

The term ‘information structure’ is often reserved for the relation between given and new information at the sentence level. Gundel and Fretheim (2002) provide an excellent introduction to that specific phenomenon, which I will here deal with (under 3.3.5) within a broader spectrum of devices for information ‘packaging’ in discourse at varying levels of structure.

Ad 3.3.1:

[How is information ‘chunked’ prosodically (with spoken data) or in writing?]

In spoken discourse, prosody, intonation, pausing, hesitations, stress, rhythm, voice quality, and loudness, as well as paralinguistic signs (such as sighing), may overtly signal the way in which information is put into ‘chunks.’ There are parallels to these phenomena in writing: (numbered) chapters and paragraphs, punctuation, font changes, and layout. In our corpus, such devices are used most extensively by Lavissee. Consider the following fragment:

99. La boussole. – 2. La **boussole** est une aiguille aimantée qui *se tourne toujours vers le nord*. 3. Les Européens la connaissent aussi depuis de XIVe siècle, et elle a fait *une révolution dans la marine*.

4. Avant d’avoir la boussole, les marins n’osaient pas s’éloigner des côtes. 5. Avec la boussole, ils ont pu **aller en pleine mer** sans peur de se perdre, puisque la boussole leur indiquait le nord. 6. Les Espagnols et les Portugais en ont profité pour **découvrir le Nouveau Monde** (carte, p. 66).

(Lavissee 1902, p. 64)

[**99. The compass.** – 2. The **compass** is a magnetic needle which *always turns to the north*. 3. The Europeans have also known it since the 14th century, and it has made *a revolution in navigation*.

4. Before they had the compass, seamen did not dare to move away from the coasts. 5. With the compass, they could **go out on the open sea** without fear of getting lost, because the compass showed them where the north was. 6. The Spanish and the Portuguese made use of it to **discover the New World** (map, p. 66).]

As competent, literate language users, we normally process the semiotic signals with the same automaticity as prosodic features in spoken discourse. None of it, however, is random, and especially the effect on the interpretation side of meaning generation is significant. Pupils using the book will understand that there is a clear connection between the compass, visually as well as textually identified as the main topic of section 99, and the following sections 100 and 101 which are about the discovery of Africa and India (100) and the discovery of America (101). This connection is also propositionally expressed in sentence 6, and graphically highlighted with the boldface “**découvrir le Nouveau Monde**” which visually links the discoveries about to be made with – also in bold – the invented instrument (the compass, in the title of the section as well as in the first sentence, 2) and what it allowed people to do (to go out on the open sea, 5).

Furthermore, the explanation for how the instrument allowed people to go out on the open sea (by “always turning to the north”) as well as the historical significance this had (a revolution in navigation – further explained in the oppositional “before” and “after” of sentences 4 and 5) are emphasized by means of italics. Furthermore, the section number, 99, makes explicit the fact that whatever falls under its scope is a chunk of information following and preceding other separable chunks which, however, are linearly (in this case not just temporally but also logically) connected. The sentence numbers, on the other hand, serve the purpose of crossreferencing (with the questions at the bottom of the page), as does the page number between brackets at the end of the fragment, which serves as an instruction for the reader to look at a different page where they are told to expect a map that explains what “découvrir le Nouveau Monde” means. Within section 99, finally, there is a typographical break between sentences 2–3, of a more introductory background nature, and 4–6, containing the main point.

The British sources make use of similar devices, though less extensively. Cassell’s (1903) uses numbered sections, where the numbers are consecutive relevant dates, emphasizing the linear temporal progress of history as well as a ‘critical periods’ view of history; the content of longer sections is chunked by means of paragraphs. Fearenside (1922) and Hearnshaw (1930) are built up around consecutively numbered sections which usually coincide with paragraphs (though sometimes there are two or three, rarely four, paragraphs), with bold-face titles that clearly indicate the topic. Innes (1927) uses longer sections with centered titles in italics and dates indicating a time frame; these sections contain paragraphs, the topics of which are highlighted by means of smaller-print margin insets – sometimes more than one for a single (longer) paragraph. Low and Sanders (1910) write a long uninterrupted chapter on the Indian Mutiny, but the running titles mention themes or episodes (on the recto side) and contain dates (both recto and verso). No need to describe all the others here. Basically, subsets of the same overall set of conventions are used, with the same types of information-chunking functionality.

Not surprisingly, the structuring of the texts shows a common paradigm of thinking about history as a chain of events that can be told as a story of chronology in which causes, events, and consequences can be distinguished. There is also a strong parallelism in the choice of structurally highlighted topics in the sources where such highlighting occurs. Basic to this is, indeed, the distinction between causes or circumstances, actions and events, and the end result. Differences in the labeling of chunks of text are sometimes driven by the chosen conventions (e.g., paragraph titles vs. margin insets vs. running titles); if, for instance, multiple topics occur on two pages covered by one (recto) running title, a choice must be made to the neglect of another possible choice. There are also some differences in focus (both within and between texts), where a major dimension seems to be event-centeredness vs. person-centeredness. Practically all the chunking labels are as purely descriptive (from one specific point of view, of course) as they can be; but evaluative items occur as well, such as “The Caste

panic” (Innes 1927) and “Social progress” (Warner and Marten 1912). Table 6 makes it easy to compare five of the sources.

The labeling of information chunks is easy for our sample data because there is a transparently told story line. For other types of texts, labeling might not be so easy. But information chunking is a general process, though it may not always lead to similar parallels between related texts.

AD 3.3.2, IN GENERAL:

[What patterns of word choice can be found?]

Words are always chosen from sets of possible alternatives. Whatever choice is made, it carries along in its shade the sense potential of those alternatives. The implicit contrasts which are thus evoked are fully integrated in the meaning generating process. Consider the following sentence:

Calumnies of most extraordinary nature were spread and accepted with credulity. (Woodward 1921, p. 235)

“Calumnies” could have been ‘(false) claims,’ ‘(false) rumors,’ ‘untruths,’ or even ‘lies.’ But within this contrast set ‘calumnies’ emphasizes maliciousness and an unmistakable intent to injure or hurt someone or someone’s cause. Similarly, “accepted with credulity” could simply have been ‘believed.’ But “credulity” foregrounds a predisposition to believe, implying not so much naïveté as an extension of a form of maliciousness (even if only by way of prejudice) from the sources of the calumnies to their recipients. The terms chosen are clearly *marked*.⁵³

Even when the terminology seems more *neutral*, still *evaluations* often come in. Consider the following:

recent land settlements had annoyed the larger landowners, especially in Oudh, by favouring the actual cultivators of the soil [...].
(Fearenside 1922, p. 433)

The contrast between “larger landowners” and “actual cultivators of the soil” implies that the landowners did not actually cultivate the soil themselves; hence, “favouring” those who do the work seems very democratic, and reflects favorably upon the land settlements and negatively upon the annoyance of the landowners. That an old and probably stable social order is thus disrupted is backgrounded completely by this apparently objective description of events.

One type of markedness is the *euphemistic* nature of some choices. A striking example in the British texts is to be found in the numerous accounts of one of

⁵³ Sets of lexical choices within the same semantic field are usually called lexical or semantic fields. A useful approach to lexical fields is to place the items they contain along a number of salient dimensions of meaning variation (in the example from Woodward above, dimensions related to ‘maliciousness,’ ‘intent to injure,’ ‘predisposition to believe’). For a book-length set of examples, specifically in relation to the domain of linguistic action verbs, see Verschueren (1985b).

Table 6. *Chunking labels*

Innes (1927)	Low & Sanders (1910)	Syngé (1908)	Warner & Marten (1912)	Woodward (1921)
India and the Great Mutiny	The Indian Mutiny	The Indian Mutiny	Causes of Indian Mutiny	Lord Canning, 1856–1862
- Dalhousie's policy	- The Sikh wars	- Troubles in India	- Social progress 1823–56	- The mutiny 1857: its symptoms
- Sources of unrest	- Annexation of Oudh	- Mutiny at Delhi	- Causes of mutiny of 1857	- Its causes
- The Caste panic	- The sepoy army	- Spread of the mutiny	- 1857 The Indian Mutiny	- The outbreak at Meerut, May 10, 1857
- 1857 The Moghul proclaimed (May)	- The first outbreaks	- Cawnpore	- Outbreak of Mutiny, May, 1857	- Characteristics of the Mutiny
- June	- Spread of the revolt	- General Havelock	- The massacre of Cawnpore, July, 1857	- The danger at an end, Dec. 1857. The east India Company dissolved, 1858. The new Government of India
- Limits of the Revolt	- First attempts at Delhi	- The price of empire	- British heroism	
- Delhi captured (Sept.)	- Cawnpore and Lucknow	Lucknow and Delhi	- Native loyalty	
- Lucknow (June-Sept.)	- Havelock's march to Lucknow	- Siege of Lucknow	- Storming of Delhi (Sept.) and relief of Lucknow (Sept. and Nov.), 1857	
- Sir Colin Campbell 1857–8	- Nicholson at Delhi	- Death of Sir Henry Lawrence		
- India transferred to the crown 1858	- Second relief of Lucknow	- Relief of Lucknow		
	- Lucknow taken	- Sir Colin Campbell		
	- Operations in Oudh	- John Nicholson		
	- Capture of Gwalior	- End of the mutiny		

Dalhousie's new annexation practices which consisted in letting full authority over a given territory, already controlled but not ruled by the East India Company, 'lapse' into company hands when the native ruler did not have a natural son (while earlier Indian practice in such cases had been to pass on authority to an adopted son). Though this is also a technical legal term (referring to the loss of a right or privilege due to neglect, disuse, death, or failure of some sort), which was no doubt used in the texts regulating the new practice, the uncritical adoption (even if sometimes in quotation marks) of the term in the historical narratives, turns it into a euphemism for 'taking possession of,' 'appropriating,' 'confiscating,' 'terminating native rule,' 'dispossessing/divesting native rulers,' etc.

In addition to such compliance with institutionalized euphemism, euphemistic descriptions are to be found, for instance, in accounts of British actions in the crushing of the revolt. Even though, as pointed out earlier, excessive violence is not denied, it tends to be described in vague and general terms. Thus "inflicting stern vengeance on the rebels" is Low and Sanders' (1910, p. 143) account of one of the bloodiest episodes (preceding the Cawnpore massacre) at the hands of Neill in Benares and Allahabad, and later "signal vengeance" (p. 146) is said to follow the recapturing of Cawnpore. Both "stern" and "signal" strengthen "vengeance," but the abstract generality of the description is far removed from what was to be described, as is also the case in the following:

That considerable severity should be shown in revenge was inevitable [...]. (Warner and Marten 1912, p. 694)

And when McCarthy (1908, p. 178) talks about "the most savage and sanguinary measures of revenge," this is embedded in a sentence that talks about such measures as merely being proposed, and followed by a sentence emphasizing the rejection of such proposals.

Other lexical means of deviating from mere narrative neutrality are provided by *comparative and superlative* forms, which permeate the sample texts. Circumstances and people are said to be "most extraordinary," "most formidable," "most loyal and contented," "most capable," "most valuable," "most able," etc. Standards of comparison are, needless to say, left implicit. Also, choices of *adjectives and adverbs* in general are interesting devices to mark perspectives on entities and events, and hence important objects of scrutiny at the lexical level.

A final general point of attention in relation to patterns of word choice is the use of a group-specific lexis or *jargon*. Especially in the more educational and academic texts, terminologies are used that appeal to membership of the category of readers familiar with historical narratives. Lavis (1902), with his obviously pedagogical goals, makes a point of explaining all jargon-like terms in the appended "Lexique" ("Glossary"), to make sure his young readers will be able to understand. Thus, while the British sources just talk about practices such as 'annexation,' in Lavis this term will be explained in simple language:

Annexer, réunir un pays à un autre. (Lavis 1902, p. 183)

[To **annex**, unite one country with another.]

Needless to say, this definition leaves out an important element of perspective that must also be understood – and that probably was understood by the pupils using the book – for a proper placement of the practice in the context of colonization.

Ad 3.3.2.1:

[How are people, events, relations categorized?]

Patterns of lexical choice are basic linguistic tools for categorizing people, institutions, events, actions, practices, relationships, and hence for discursively making sense of the social world.⁵⁴ They are central to processes of ideological meaning construction because they always invoke contrasts or comparisons, whether implicitly (carrying along the possibility of alternative choices, as explained earlier) or explicitly. Discursive practices of categorization reflect and have an impact on how aspects of the social world are actually ‘seen.’ They are, as it were, conceptual and practice-related operations on that social world. The effects are not trivial. Thus, categorization in discourse enables us to *describe different phenomena as if they were comparable or even identical*. Consider the following:

3. Avant la Révolution de 89, l’Espagne, l’Italie, l’Allemagne, la Russie, la France, l’Amérique du Sud étaient, comme la Turquie aujourd’hui, gouvernées par **le bon plaisir** des rois et de leurs ministres. **4.** Excepté la Hollande, l’Angleterre, la Suisse et les Etats-Unis, aucun peuple ne se gouvernait lui-même. **5.** Il n’y avait **pas de nations**, mais seulement des **sujets**. (Lavissee 1902, p. 100)

[3. Before the Revolution of 89, Spain, Italy, Germany, Russia, France, South America, like Turkey today, were governed by **the whims** of the kings and their ministers. **4.** Except for Holland, England, Switzerland and the United States, no people governed itself. **5.** There were **no nations**, but only **subjects**.]

In sentences like these, lots of entities are lumped together under the same categories as if they are fully comparable. For instance, what are called Italy, Germany, and South America in sentence 3, is fundamentally different from Spain, Russia, and France in the period talked about (before the French Revolution of 1789). Italy was a patchwork of little states, sometimes independent, sometimes ruled in various combinations by outside powers. Germany consisted of numerous sovereign or virtually sovereign entities with feudal rulers. And South America was a collection of colonies, none of which were independent from Spain or Portugal as yet. So, also the extent to which “kings and their ministers” could be talked about with reference to the complete enumeration in 3 is dubious, whereas such identification of rulers would have been perfectly acceptable for two of the three

⁵⁴ One of the basic notions in ethnomethodology is ‘membership categorization,’ precisely because of the centrality of assigning categories and relationships for an understanding of the social world. For an example of how the ethnomethodological notion (often associated with analyses of conversational interaction) can be applied to textual analysis, see Watson (2009).

entities enumerated in 4 (Holland and England), though this set is supposed to be fully opposite to the first set in terms of ways of being governed. Lavissee being a knowledgeable historian, however, details of fact are quite consciously glossed over to drive home a rhetorical point: the difference between countries or states with a form of democracy (even if incipient) and autocratic ones, the French Revolution being presented as symbolic for the transition from the one to the other. This rhetorical strategy is then topped with the introduction of two new categories, nations vs. subjects, which again gloss over distinctions worth going into (such as the serious differences in content of the concept of ‘nation’ in the French context vs. the German or Italian contexts, where the term had also become applicable by the time Lavissee was writing his book).

At the other end, categorization also enables us to *give differential treatment to comparable phenomena*. In our corpus, this is easiest to illustrate with reference to the ways in which *events, actions and practices* are portrayed. Consider, again from Lavissee:

7. [...] Le chef des révoltés, Nana-Sahib, massacrait les Anglais, les femmes comme les hommes, et faisait jeter les enfants au feu.

8. Les soldats anglais marchèrent contre les Cipayes révoltés, reprirent la ville de Delhi, et attachèrent les prisonniers hindous à la gueule des canons (fig. 10). (Lavissee 1902, p. 152)

[7. [...] The leader of the rebels, Nana Sahib, massacred the English, women and men alike, and ordered the children to be thrown into the fire.

8. The English soldiers marched against the revolting sepoys, recaptured the city of Delhi, and tied the Hindu prisoners to the mouths of cannons (fig. 10).]

Sentences 7 and 8 describe two sides of the fighting of a war, offering significantly different views of those two sides, partly by picking out different subactions or subevents, partly by categorizing actions and events differently. Sentence 7, the Indian side, focuses on excessive violence, an indiscriminate “massacre.” Sentence 8, the British side, focuses on ‘regular’ military action: marching, recapturing, executing. The same differential presentation of involvement in the common activity of warfare, is to be found in the British texts. Fearenside (1922, p. 433), for instance, lists under the category of “the main incidents”:

the massacre of Cawnpore
the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow
the capture of Gwalior

It is significant that from the events at Cawnpore, one event is picked out that can be categorized as a “massacre,” while the military-strategic overarching concepts of “siege” and “capture” are used when talking about Delhi, Lucknow, and Gwalior, though these general events also involved what could be called massacres. From later sources, we know about the British plundering recaptured Delhi and Lucknow (efficiently assisted by those well-used loyal Sikhs) while killing

anyone coming in their way, about their burning of villages that resisted, and their indiscriminate killing ‘out of hand’ of mutineers and supposed supporters. Lloyd says:

the deaths of the captives at Cawnpore, in what seemed to be an outrageous blend of cruelty and treachery, left the British thirsting for revenge. And this they took: as they advanced against the mutineers they proceeded on the principle that any mutineers, or anyone who had helped the mutineers, or anyone who was thought to have helped the mutineers, should be executed.

(1996, p. 175)

But even this account presents British violence as a reaction (while, as said before, it is not impossible to assume that Cawnpore was already a reaction to earlier extreme violence by Neill and his troops in Benares and Allahabad – which itself, as is usual with violence, can in turn be seen as a reaction against, etc.). Also, “execution,” with its ring of legitimacy, remains the word. These aspects of the events are completely absent from most of the British sources, except McCarthy (1908) and Low and Sanders (1910) both of which address the issue quite directly. Low and Sanders is quite explicit about revenge, and suggest that summary executions took place:

On the day after his [the ‘puppet emperor’s’] surrender, Hodson dragged out the Mughal princes from Humayun’s tomb and was escorting them to the city when, fearing as he alleged that they would be rescued by the turbulent crowd of armed Mohammedan spectators, he caused them to descend from their palanquins and shot them dead with his own hand.¹ It was but one of many deeds of blood which conquered Delhi witnessed; for heavy indeed was the retribution that fell on the guilty city, and martial law, not always discriminating in its wrath, hurried hundreds of its citizens from their wrecked and pillaged homes to the gallows.

¹ [...] Hodson’s statement that the slaughter of the princes was justified by his situation was not accepted at the time or afterwards by those best competent to judge. [...]

(1910, pp. 150)

Next to the explicitness of the admissions, however, there is also the reference to “martial law,” providing an – albeit feeble – frame of legitimacy, as well as disapproval by other British actors involved, as spelled out in the footnote (following a discursive strategy comparable to the emphasis we observed in 3.1 on British attempts to temper admitted British emotional involvement leading to revenge). The pattern is clear: Truly despicable acts are ascribed to the Indian side, while highly comparable acts on the British side either remain hidden, or are embedded in a context of direct British criticism reducing the likelihood of a generalization of guilt,⁵⁵ or get the cloak of action or event categories which make description and explanation spill over into justification and legitimation work.

⁵⁵ It must be added here that many of the British sources also make an effort to make sure that guilt does not attach to all Indians: The contribution of those who remained loyal is often described extensively (e.g., in Parkin 1911, p. 213, where it gets as much attention as the events themselves).

In this context it is interesting to point out that the facts of violence during the crushing of the revolt were reasonably well known. Some twenty years after the events, Jules Verne wrote *La maison à vapeur* (*The Steam House*; 1880). This novel tells the story of a certain Colonel Munro, whose wife had been killed during the massacre of Cawnpore, and who is taken along by a bunch of friends on an adventurous trip through northern India ten years after the revolt, in 1867, traveling in a comfortable mobile home pulled by a giant steel elephant (in fact a sophisticated steam engine – hence the title of the book). In order to build up some dramatic tension around the shadowy figure of Nana Sahib, who had never been captured by the British, Verne gives a full history of the sepoy rebellion in chapter 3. This chapter also contains a detailed account of the crushing of the revolt, including details of extreme violence, supposedly leading to the death of 120,000 sepoys and 200,000 civilians. This chapter was left out of the English translations.⁵⁶

The *categorization of people*, as collectivities or as actors involved in specific events, is another important point of attention. Consider the following categorizations of the native peoples of America and Australia:

2. L'Amérique était habitée par *des sauvages*. 3. Mais il y avait *deux grands royaumes*: dans l'Amérique du Nord, le **Mexique**; dans l'Amérique du Sud, le **Pérou**. (Lavissee 1902, p. 65)

[2. America was inhabited by *savages*. 3. But there were *two great kingdoms*: in North America, **Mexico**; in South America, **Peru**.]

17. Il y a cent ans, [158] l'**Australie** n'était encore habitée que par des sauvages stupides et misérables, qui n'avaient ni maisons ni troupeaux, et parcouraient les déserts, n'ayant souvent à manger que des insectes et des bêtes mortes. (Lavissee 1902, pp. 158–159)

[17. A hundred years ago, **Australia** was still only inhabited by stupid and miserable savages, who had neither houses nor herds, and traveled the deserts, often without anything to eat other than insects and dead animals.]

14. Aux États-Unis et dans l'Amérique anglaise, il ne reste presque plus de sauvages; les Anglais en ont massacré beaucoup, les autres ont été tués par l'eau-de-vie ou les maladies.

[...] [163]

[...] 1. La plupart des Mexicains ne sont que les descendants des *anciens Indiens*. 2. Ces sauvages, mal civilisés, ne savent ni travailler ni se gouverner. (Lavissee 1902, pp. 163–164)

[14. In the United States and English-speaking America, there are hardly any savages left; the English have massacred many of them, the others have been killed by brandy or diseases.

[...]

⁵⁶ Swati Dasgupta drew my attention to the novel and the interesting detail about its English translations. She is now engaged in a study of French newspapers of the period, in search of the sources of Jules Verne's account.

- [...] 1. Most of the Mexicans are only descendants of the *old Indians*.
 2. Those savages, poorly civilized, are neither able to work nor to govern themselves.]

The views expressed here are hardly flattering. Though consistent in its denigration of Indians and Aborigines, there are some textual tensions, illustrative of the property of ideology in discourse that it may contain elements of apparent or real contradiction. For instance, how does the categorization of American Indians as “savages” chime in with the observation that there were “two great kingdoms,” which implies a recognizable level of civilization? And how can this be reconciled with the incapability to work or to govern themselves ascribed as inherent properties to those poorly civilized savages who are said to be the descendants of the same Indians who ran this great kingdom in Mexico? By way of explanation, one could of course point at the “but” introducing 3, possibly indicating a contrast between a majority and some exceptions, or at the “only” (“ne sont que”) which qualifies the Mexicans’ descendency from the old Mexican Indians in 1. There are tensions at a deeper level as well. Contrasting with the categorization of the Indians, there are descriptions of the violent and deceitful way in which the Spanish colonizers, characterized as “*aventuriers féroces*” (fierce – not to use savage – adventurers) only interested in stealing gold, got hold of Indian territory, as well as the massacres of Indians which the British were guilty of (in 14). The tension here is one between the ascription of inherent properties to members of a collectivity (the American Indians) and the attribution of responsibility for specific forms of behavior to members of a differently viewed collectivity: savage behavior does not seem to necessitate a categorization as ‘savage’, while non-European lineage, in combination with a non-European way of living, does.

For a different, though equally interesting, type of observation about the categorization of people, turn to Fearenside (1922, p. 433). Looking at the paragraph on causes of the Mutiny, we find many categorizations which, in line with the expectations raised by the activity type of academic writing, have a perfectly dry and descriptive appearance. Here is the full list:

British forces
 the native princes
 the larger landowners
 the actual cultivators of the soil
 the native sepoy
 those who cherished
 the British troops
 the native regiments
 their officers
 the Sikhs of the Punjab
 Sir John Lawrence
 the British

the Europeans
 a descendent of the Moguls/Emperor
 the mutineers
 troops from the Punjab
 John Nicholson
 (a handful of) British troops
 Sir Henry Lawrence
 Sir Henry Havelock
 Lord Clyde, the Sir Colin Campbell of Crimea fame
 Clyde

Ordinary as this may seem, interesting patterns emerge, and at least two phenomena should be pointed out. First, only on the British side do we find individuals. Yet, keeping in mind that one-to-one form–function relationships cannot be assumed, we should be careful with conclusions. Does this pattern function as a depersonalization of the enemy? Positing a direct link between the (non-)use of names and (de)personalization for strategic purposes would clearly be in violation of a basic principle of pragmatics (cf. Caveat 3.1). For one thing, it also happens that enemies are demonized precisely by giving them high-profile individualized names (such as Osama bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, or – depending on one’s perspective – George W. Bush). Moreover, treating Indians as a native ‘mass’ (except for the Sikhs) may be simply a matter of audience design: Categories are chosen in view of what the readers are supposed to know or recognize. The British protagonists can be supposed to be rather well known to the users of Fearenside’s history textbook. After all, Sir Henry Havelock has a statue on Trafalgar Square. But also this cannot be handled mechanically as an explanation for the pattern. When we go back to Lavisse (1902), for instance, we do find the name of one of the protagonists of the Indian Mutiny, even though this is a much more concise textbook than Fearenside and though the name in question is certainly not more recognizable for a French audience of school children (at the end of elementary education) than for British students (ready to go to university) – unless we assume widespread familiarity with Jules Verne’s *La maison à vapeur*. Such issues cannot be settled without wider research within the analyzed texts as well as intertextually. Many of the other British sources do give Indian names. Nana Sahib (mentioned in Lavisse) also occurs in Cassell’s (as concise as Lavisse), Innes, Low and Sanders (both much more elaborate), etc. A number of sources, e.g., Low and Sanders (1910, p. 141), also give several additional Indian names (three of which, Bahádur Shah II, Tántia Topí, and the Ráni of Jhánsi, recur often enough through the texts for inclusion in the overview of events given earlier in 2.1.3). Yet, when looking at the totality of the texts, a pattern persists: Either Indians remain unnamed (as in Fearenside), or else the names are accompanied by qualifications – making heavy use of adjectival characterizations – that are markedly less favorable than those accompanying British individuals. Thus, nothing good is said about Nana Sahib or Bahádur Shah. To give just one example:

The Nana Sahib was among the last of the fugitives, and the English missed the satisfaction of sending this bloodthirsty and perfidious scoundrel to the gallows. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 155)

The only positive words about the other two Indian protagonists concern Tántia Topí's military and strategic skills (he was the last major obstacle to British victory) and the Ráni's equally remarkable military skills and courage. Low and Sanders (1910, p. 156) talks about Ganga Bhai, "the Ráni of Jhánsi," as "the fiery Maráthá princess." The authors continue:

In this engagement the young Maráthá heroine, whose fertile brain and valiant heart had cost the English so many lives, lost her own. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 157)

What provides her with such exceptional distinction among the enemies of the British is her being a woman who, as is emphasized in several sources, fought like a man and died on the battlefield.

A second interesting observation (mentioned in 3.3.2) is the contrast between "the larger landowners" and "the actual cultivators of the soil." Here legitimation is at work for the "land settlements" imposed by the British. "Actual cultivators" refers negatively to those who are not, which turns the land settlements into a democratic measure.

Our sample texts also contain *categorizations of relations* between (categorized) groups of actors involved in the described events and states of affairs. Especially in Lavissee, the dominant way of categorizing the relationship between colonizer and colony is one of possession and mastery following from conquest, occupation, annexation:

4. Les Portugais et les Espagnols possédèrent alors des *pays immenses hors de l'Europe*. (Lavissee 1902, p. 66; similar phrasings on pp. 67 and 68)

[4. The Portuguese and the Spanish thus possessed *vast lands outside Europe*.]

9. Aujourd'hui la Cochinchine et le Tonkin appartiennent à la France. 10. Le Cambodge et l'Annam sont sous le *protectorat* français, c'est à dire qu'ils obéissent à des gouverneurs français. Les Français pourront bientôt, s'ils veulent, être **maîtres de l'Indo-Chine**, comme les Anglais sont maîtres de l'Inde.

[...] 11. La France a occupé, en 1853, la **Nouvelle-Calédonie**. [...]

14. En 1879, la France a annexé l'île de **Taïti** et les îles de la Société [...]

16. Les sauvages qui habitaient l'île disparaissent, il en meurt plus qu'il n'en naît; les Français les remplaceront. (Lavissee 1902, p. 158)

[9. Today Cochinchina and Tonkin belong to France. 10. Cambodia and Annam are under French *protectorate*, which means that they obey French governors. The French can soon, if they want, be **the masters of Indo-China**, like the English are the masters of India.

[...] 11. France occupied, in 1853, **New Caledonia**. [...]

14. In 1879, France annexed the island of **Tahiti** and the Society Islands [...] 16. The savages who lived on the island are disappearing, more die than are born; the French will replace them.]

1. En 1830, les Français prirent Alger, ils ont conquis ensuite toute [160] l'**Algérie** [...] 2. Beaucoup de Français sont allés s'y établir; ils ont semé du blé, planté des vignes, bâti des villes, et l'Algérie est devenue un **pays français**.

3. La France a fondé, de 1855 à 1860, la colonie du **Sénégal**. [...]

5. En 1882, la France a conquis la **Tunisie**, qui touche à l'Algérie. 6. Elle ne l'a pas annexée,* mais elle y a établi un gouvernement français, et la Tunisie sera bientôt habitée par des colons français.

(Lavisse 1902, pp. 160–161)

[1. In 1830, the French captured Algiers, since then they have conquered all of [160] **Algeria** [...] 2. Many Frenchmen have gone to settle there; they have sown wheat, planted vines, built towns, and Algeria has become a **French country**.

3. France founded, from 1855 to 1860, the colony of **Senegal**. [...]

5. In 1882, France conquered **Tunisia**, which borders on Algeria. 6. It did not annex* it, but it established a French government there, and Tunisia will soon be inhabited by French colonists.]

The picture is very similar in the British sources. Being 'masters' implies a clear division of labor:

We have only to repeat here, that as a matter of fact no indignities, other than that of the compulsory corn-grinding, were put upon the English ladies.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 188)

Clearly, corn-grinding did not belong to the regular duties of English ladies, if such work can be classified as an 'indignity.' The British sources also pay more detailed attention to the manner in which India was ruled by the British after conquest, acquisition, the establishment of control, annexation:

The East India Company, which till then had ruled India, transferred its rights over that country to the Crown of England, and a proclamation was issued by the British Government taking over the administration of the country. Since then India has been ruled by a Viceroy, or Governor-General and Council, on behalf of the Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland.

(Cassell's 1903, p. 124)

Dalhousie's annexations [...]

[...] [433] [...] the transfer of Indian administration from the Company to the Crown [...] The *Indian Government Act* of 1858 placed the control of British India in the hands of a new Secretary of State, responsible to Parliament, and represented in India by a Governor-General.

(Fearenside 1922, pp. 433–434)

the East India Company had been rapidly extending its dominions and its protectorates. [...] had been brought under control; [...] had been forcibly annexed; [...] incorporated; [...] acquired [...].

[...] the [154] East India Company was abolished and its functions transferred to the Crown; [...] British methods of governing India were thoroughly revised and remodelled. (Hearnshaw 1930, pp. 154–155)

In addition to this attention to manner of government, triggered by the changes which the Mutiny brought about, there is a complete naturalization of a full state of dominance underlying the description. Control is taken for granted; it just needs to be ‘transferred.’ Parkin (1911) makes this explicit and adds a prediction:

The Mutiny proved that India was not, and probably never will be, a country which can be united to oppose our rule. (Parkin 1911, p. 214)

The section on the Indian Mutiny is only a small part of Parkin’s chapter on British rule in India. Elsewhere, outside the sample in this book’s Appendix 2, he goes more deeply into the nature of the relationship with India:

If another nation, such as Russia, should conquer India, and take it from us, or if we left the country, and it fell back into the disorder which prevailed when we began to rule it, almost all these sources of income, which make so many of our people comfortable and prosperous, would disappear.

[...]

On the other hand, British rule has done a great deal for India. We can truly say that British people now wish to govern India for the good of the people in it. So we send out many of our ablest public men to make and carry out just laws, and they have given to the country peace, order, and justice, such as it knew little about in old times. Of all our exports to India none are [226] so valuable to the country as the honest and upright men which we have sent to it. (Parkin 1911, pp. 226–227)

Again this illustrates ideological tensions, and to a certain extent contradictions. While obviously the reason for being in India is the material benefits this produces for Britain, India is said to be governed by the British for the good of the Indians. Like Lavisé, Parkin would categorize colonization as a work of peace.

Categorization is a matter of perspective. Hence the mixing of perspectives or mental spaces, as already illustrated at the end of section 2.2.1.2, is also relevant here. Usually, however, the perspective from which a categorization emanates is crystal clear. Just think of the cover term for the events in India in 1857–1858. In all our sources it is called ‘the Indian Mutiny.’ This choice of terms takes a British perspective, emphasizing rebellion against legitimate authority. In later Indian history writing, the same events have come to be labeled ‘the great uprising’ (stressing insurrection under conditions of domination and repression) or ‘the First Indian War of Independence.’

Ad 3.3.3.:

[At the sentence level: How are grammatical relations, case categories, and semantic roles handled when describing events, actions, or relations between (groups of) people?]

One of the tools for discursively varying perspectives on events, actions, and the relations between (groups of) people is the system of functional relations between nominal constituents and the expressed activity, event, or state of affairs.⁵⁷ Have a look at the Agent–Patient and Subject–Object positions in the following (partial) description of the outbreak of the revolt in Meerut.

[1] The sepoy's rushed across to the European quarter, and [2] were joined by all the rabble of the native city. [3] Officers, civilians, women, and children were assaulted and murdered, [4] the defenceless bungalows were attacked, and [5] the ruffians of the bazaar kept up the orgy of bloodshed and plunder till morning.

[6] The mutineers went back to the lines, eager to make their escape from the scene of their crime. [7] With deplorable weakness they were suffered to depart without a blow struck against them. [8] The British troops were held inactive while the mutineers hastened through the night to Delhi; [9] and the next morning their cavalry rode into that city, with the infantry following. [10] They had marched on the wings of fear, never doubting that the tramp of English horse and the rumble of English cannon would speedily be heard behind them. [11] But there was no one to do with the cavalry and horse artillery at Meerut what Gillespie had done with the dragoons and galloper-guns at Vellore half a century earlier. [12] Hewitt was incapable of giving a decisive order; [13] Archdale Wilson, his brigadier, was weighed down by the responsibility of protecting the stores and residents at Meerut, and [14] he too kept the troops inactive.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 140; proposition numbering added)

Looking at this fragment proposition by proposition, we get the structure shown in Table 7. From a simple table like this, where I have highlighted the positions occupied by the rebelling sepoy's and their supporters, one can read the agentivity structure of the recounted episode. The grammatical relations and semantic roles show how clearly the sepoy's are described as having the initiative. Not until [7] and [8] do the British emerge in an Agent role – and then it is only implicitly, and their Agent role consists in their not doing anything to prevent the sepoy's from keeping the initiative. Similarly, [11] through [14] underscore British inactivity. Though this reads like – and is – a criticism of local British leadership in Meerut, it is at the same time an explanation for how the revolt could succeed to begin with, i.e., through individual failure (which is contrasted with a show of ability (in [11]) by a different British leader under comparable circumstances half a century earlier). Note that, in passing, the second in command is slightly exculpated by his being made (in [13]) into the Patient of being ‘weighed down by’ responsibilities.

⁵⁷ The term ‘grammatical relations’ refers to subject, direct object, indirect object, etc.; ‘case categories’ are nominative, accusative, dative, etc.; ‘semantic roles’ are agent, patient, experiencer, etc. There are interrelationships between these three, but not all are equally relevant for all languages; for English, with virtually no case marking, grammatical relations and semantic roles are the most relevant points of reference. For further background, see Rudzka-Ostyn (1995) and Ahearn (2010).

Table 7. *Grammatical relations and semantic roles*

	Subject	Agent	VERB	Object	Patient
[1]	the sepoys	the sepoys	rushed across to	[<u>destination</u> : the European quarter]	
[2]	the sepoys	all the rabble of the native city	were joined by		the sepoys
[3]	officers, civilians, women, and children	[<u>implicit</u> : the sepoys + all the rabble of the native city]	were assaulted and murdered		officers, civilians, women, and children
[4]	the defenceless bungalows	[<u>implicit</u> : the sepoys + all the rabble of the native city]	were attacked		the defenceless bungalows
[5]	the ruffians of the bazaar	the ruffians of the bazaar	kept up	the orgy of bloodshed and plunder	[<u>implicit</u> : officers, civilians, women, and children + the defenceless bungalows]
[6]	the mutineers	the mutineers	went back to	[<u>destination</u> : the lines] [<u>purpose</u> : eager to make their escape from the scene of their crime]	
[7]	they [the mutineers]	[<u>implicit</u> : the British, ‘with deplorable weakness’]	were suffered to depart without a blow being struck against them		they [the mutineers]
[8]	the British troops	[<u>implicit</u> : the British]	were held inactive		the British troops
[9]	their cavalry	their cavalry	rode into	[<u>destination</u> : that city]	
[10]	they [the mutineers]	they [the mutineers]	had marched	[<u>manner</u> : on the wings of fear]	
[11]	no one	no one	there was	[to do what ...]	
[12]	Hewitt	Hewitt	was incapable of giving	a decisive order	
[13]	Archdale Wilson, his brigadier	the responsibility of protecting the stores and residents of Meerut	was weighed down by		Archdale Wilson, his brigadier
[14]	he [Archdale Wilson]	he [Archdale Wilson]	kept inactive	the troops	the troops

In isolation, such observations would not be so remarkable. But again looking at this contrastively, we see that a similar pattern in the other direction is absent. When the British get the initiative back, their successes are due to intrinsic British merits rather than to failures or *laissez faire* on the part of the Indians.

Similar observations can be made and comparable patterns found by going beyond the elementary Agent–Patient distinction when charting semantic roles.⁵⁸ Consider:

Sir Colin Campbell arrived later on with an army, which fought its way through the streets of Lucknow to the fort. (Cassell's 1903, p. 124)

The semantic role structure of this sentence looks as follows:

Agent *arrived* Time { Accompaniment
Agent *fought* Result – Locative – Goal

This structure, again nothing remarkable in itself, combines with its referents to encapsulate a typical story of liberation for which parallels will be hard to find describing what could be objectively similar actions with Indian rebels as Agents.

Two grammatical forms which express a different relation between subjects and the action expressed by the verb, and of which there are already examples in Table 7, are active vs. passive voice. The difference provides a favorite example for authors in the critical literature on discourse bent on finding direct mappings between forms and functions. Consider Fairclough's statement of the functions of the passive (which he further links up with the discursive functioning of nominalizations):

⁵⁸ A few of the frequently distinguished semantic roles are the following:

- Accompaniment: person or thing participating in an action or event.
- Agent: a person or thing who is the 'doer' of an action or event; often this is the subject of an active verb; prototypically the agent is a conscious being, acting on purpose, and the action has a visible result. ('Force' is sometimes used for a non-volitional agent.)
- Beneficiary: the person or thing who/that is advantaged or disadvantaged by an action or event.
- Counteragent: force or resistance against which an action is carried out.
- Experiencer: the one who receives or experiences the named action or event.
- Goal: place toward which something moves or person/thing at which an action is directed.
- Instrument: thing used to implement an action or event.
- Locative: location or spatial orientation of an action or event.
- Manner: how the action, experience, process, or event is taking place.
- Patient: the affected or undergoer of an action or event; often the object of an active verb.
- Result: what is produced by an action or event.
- Source: place or entity of origin.
- Time: temporal placement of an action or event.

Active is the ‘unmarked’ choice, the form selected when there are no specific reasons for choosing the passive. And motivations for choosing the passive are various. One is that it allows for the *omission of the agent*, though this may itself be variously motivated by the fact that the agent is self-evident, irrelevant, or unknown. Another political or ideological reason for an agentless passive may be *to obfuscate agency, and hence causality and responsibility* [...] Passives are also motivated by considerations related to the textual function of the clause. A passive shifts the goal into initial ‘theme’ position, which usually means presenting it as ‘given’ or already known information; it also shifts the agent, if it is not omitted, into the prominent position at the end of a clause where we usually find new information [...]

Nominalization shares with the passive the potentiality of omitting the agent, and the variety of motivations for doing so. [...]

(1992, p. 182; italics added)

There is nothing wrong, as such, with this careful wording of the links between certain *forms* and the *functions* they are typically supposed to have. But problems may emerge as soon as this general observation of typical form–function relationships is mechanically handled as an analytical instrument. Take Fearenside’s (1922, p. 433) section on the causes of the Mutiny as an example. We find the following verb phrases:

X dragged on
 X had caused Y among Z
 X had annoyed Y by favouring Z
 X had been offended by Y
 X thought that they had Y
 X were few and scattered
 X was most widespread in Y
 X broke out in open mutiny, shot Y, and stirred up Z
 X kept quiet
 X had been so well used by Y that they helped Z
 X were Y
 X surrendered and were butchered
 X had been set up as Y
 X themselves were besieged by Y
 X held Y
 X were relieved by Y
 X were brought away by Y
 X reoccupied Y
 X was finally crushed by Y

And here are some nominalizations:

the preoccupation of British forces in India
 Dalhousie’s annexations
 recent land settlements
 the equipment of the native sepoy with rifles that required greased cartridges
 the capture of Gwalior

Of the verb phrases, about half are passive, and all these nominalizations capture complex actions, events, or circumstances. But in both the passives and the nominalizations, agentivity is always clear, i.e., an agent is identified or unmistakably identifiable from the discourse itself. Thus one of their basic functions, as attributed by Fairclough, does not seem to emerge. Nor could it be said that there is anything ‘marked’ about them. Their high frequency is most probably simply a function of the style that is *typical of a certain specific verbal activity type*, namely ‘academic writing’; see the remarks about this under 3.1. There is no doubt a reason why certain features become expected properties of specific activity types. But their capacity to obfuscate agency and responsibility does not seem to be a generalizable reason for the high frequency of passives in academic discourse. This does not mean that in a corpus such as ours such functionality does not occur. But in order for the passive to clearly serve purposes of taking away responsibility, more is needed than the passive alone: a ‘local’ context must support the interpretation. For example (from the introduction to Kerr and Kerr’s 1927 chapter on “India in the nineteenth century,” from which the fragment in Appendix 2 is taken):

You remember how the English first went to India, because of its trade, and how the British East [179] India Company was drawn into war, first with the French, and then, after the Black Hole of Calcutta, with the native princes. Once the Company began to interfere with native affairs it found that it could not stop.” (Kerr and Kerr 1927, pp. 179–181)

Here “was drawn into war” is a way of using the passive that clearly de-emphasizes the East India Company’s own initiative in the endeavors of war: The passive effectively serves as a device to remove responsibility. It is hard to assume the Company’s reluctance to engage with the French; after all, they were actively disputing each other’s access to and control over the trade lines they were in India for in the first place – as is presupposed in the first part of the quotation. As to war with “native princes,” the burden of guilt is put on Indian shoulders: Warfare is presented as a natural consequence of the ‘Black Hole of Calcutta’ incident⁵⁹ rather than the Company’s own decision. And subsequent wars are presented as an equally natural inability to stop ‘interfering with native affairs’ once this course of action had started.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Reference is to a highly mythologized (and disputed) event in 1756, when the Bengal nawab imprisoned East India Company soldiers in a small lockup for petty offenders (the ‘Black Hole’) – far too many for the available space – and most of them died.

⁶⁰ Note that, in the relationship between active and passive, active can be marked. In the article “In East and West, resentment at costs” (referred to in n. 44, and taken from the *International Herald Tribune*, 9 March 1993, on the social and economic situation in the former East Germany, a couple of years after the unification of the two Germanies), the following subtitle occurs:

East Germans Weigh Down Europe.

This sentence refers to the fact that Europe’s economic prosperity could have been greater at that point in time if the former East Germany had not needed support. But rather than to describe this as an effect of circumstances, an agentive role is assigned to the East Germans.

Note that taking away personal responsibility, which is sometimes accomplished with the choice of a passive voice or the nominalization of a complex event, may also be achieved by different means. For instance:

The mutineers fled along the road to Delhi; and some evil fate directed that they were not to be pursued or stopped on their way.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 172)

Here the personification of “some evil fate,” made into an agent, does the same.

Ad 3.3.4:

[Still at the sentence level: How are moods, modalities, negation, and evidentiality handled?]

‘Modality’ is a term for what utterers do with a proposition to indicate (degrees of) necessity, possibility, certainty, likelihood. The linguistic means used for this purpose include grammatical mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative – a system that is more elaborate in French than in English), modal auxiliaries, adjectives, adverbs, sentence adverbs, and particles.⁶¹ Most of these have been extensively illustrated in 3.1, when hedging constructions were discussed. Hedging is indeed a common way of modifying or specifying the attitude with which a proposition is expressed. Sometimes hedging co-occurs with the strengthening of a claim; look at the underscored items in the following:

It seems that some cartridges lubricated with the objectionable composition had actually passed into the hands of the troops before the issue was checked by the authorities. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 138, footnote)

“Actually” emphasizes the factuality of the claim which is at the same time weakened by “It seems that.” McCarthy combines the same attenuated admission with a negation bearing on the composition of the lubricant:

It appears that the paper was actually greased, but not with any such material as that which religious alarm suggested to the native troops.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 171)

It is hardly surprising that this modal tension is so clearly present in the recounting of a somewhat embarrassing episode. But strengthening also occurs with hypothetical claims:

Their government was abominably oppressive and [134] corrupt, and at the same time so feeble that they would certainly have fallen before external attack or domestic rebellion, but for the support of the English.

(Low and Sanders 1910, pp. 134–135)

For a more straightforward strengthening of propositional content, a variety of devices can be found in the following examples:

⁶¹ For some basic literature, see Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg (2009), Foolen (1996), Kiefer (1998), Lenk (1997).

In fact, the native princes all held aloof from the revolt [...].

(Innes 1927, p. 170)

They had chains put on them in the presence of their comrades, who no doubt regarded them as martyrs [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 171)

If, however, each of these acts of policy were not only justifiable but actually inevitable, none the less must a succession of such acts produce a profound emotion among the races in whose midst they were accomplished [...] they yet felt that national resentment which any manner of foreign intervention is almost certain to provoke. (McCarthy 1908, p. 176)

He must have begun to know by this time that he had no chance of establishing himself [188] as a ruler anywhere in India.

(McCarthy 1908, pp. 188–189)

It is undoubtedly true that the very passion for honest government which animated Lord Dalhousie had stirred up discontent amongst those who benefited most by his policy. (Woodward 1921, p. 235)

The pragmatic particles “in fact” and “no doubt,” as well as the adjective “certain,” the adverb–adjective combination “undoubtedly true,” and the modal auxiliary “must,” indicate a heightened certainty with regard to the statement that is made. In general, while hedging was said to be quite common in spite of the expectation of factuality accompanying the activity type of academic writing, a true strengthening of expressed propositional meaning is relatively rare. No doubt this is related to the historical nature of the topic which does not allow for direct observation as a basis of certainty. That is what may be behind the reflex underlying the insertion of “almost” in “is almost certain to” – absolute certainty seems like a tall order.

Another type of modality, not so much related to parameters of necessity, possibility, or certainty, is found in the use of the particles “still” and “yet” in the following sentences:

Still the idea was strong among the troops that some design against their religion was meditated. (McCarthy 1908, p. 171)

they yet felt that national resentment which any manner of foreign intervention is almost certain to provoke. (McCarthy 1908, p. 176)

Such expressions evoke alternative possible worlds which, in spite of considerations already voiced in the immediately preceding discourse, were not realized.

All examples so far bear on what is commonly known as ‘epistemic modality,’ modalizations related to ‘knowledge.’ By way of contrast, so-called deontic modality, related to ‘obligation,’ is rare, just as imperatives are rare (except in the few cases in which the authors of our sample data directly address their audience). Yet, here are a couple of examples:

Il faut se garder de vouloir tout dire [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 2)

[One must refrain from wanting to say everything [...].]

But if you want to know [...], you must read the story in another book.
(Kerr and Kerr 1927, p. 183)

One name must not be forgotten among those who endured the siege of Lucknow. (McCarthy 1908, p. 194)

While the first two are simple pieces of advice (the first one self-addressed as much as aimed at the reader), the third carries with it some moral urgency. Lavissee (1902) contains a passage in which deontic modality is used in a legal context, spelling out the human rights principles of 1789; e.g.:

La loi doit être la même pour tous. (Lavissee 1902, p. 99)

[The law must be the same for all.]

In most of the cases in which the modal auxiliary “must” occurs, however, we are confronted with an obligation that bears on a way of handling knowledge:

Une histoire des principaux peuples anciens et modernes doit être enseignée avec *discretion*, car elle est immense. (Lavissee 1902, p. 2)

[A history of the principal ancient and modern peoples must be taught with *discretion*, as it is boundless.]

To all this must be added that the English had suffered considerable loss of prestige through the Afghan disasters of 1841–42, and subsequently through the Russian war, of which very misleading accounts had been circulated. (Low and Sanders 1910, pp. 136–137)

But we must above all other things take into account, when considering the position of the Hindoo Sepoy, the influence of the tremendous institution of caste. (McCarthy 1908, p. 173)

So far we have been concerned with the extension of the British control in India, but it must not be supposed that the efforts of British rulers were not directed to bettering the lot of their subjects.

(Warner and Marten 1912, p. 690)

This mixture of the deontic and the epistemic is an appeal to intellectual honesty.

Of particular importance for our data is the phenomenon of *evidentiality*. Utterances may not only indicate (degrees of) certainty, necessity, possibility – the province of modality proper – but also the manner in which the utterer had access to the communicated meaning. Such linking with a source of information is what the term ‘evidentiality’ refers to. One type of source is direct perception.⁶² Clearly, this is not a relevant option in our sample (though even for historical

⁶² A common categorization of types of evidentiality (proposed by Willett 1988) is as follows:

- Direct, i.e., attested/perceived (visually, auditorily, ...)
- Indirect
 - reported (second-hand, third-hand, folklore)
 - inferred (from results, or through reasoning)

For further reading, see Dendale and Tasmowski-De Ryck (eds.) (2001), Kiefer (1998).

accounts, if bearing on events more recent relative to the moment of writing, this would not be impossible). When discussing the utterer's voices (in 2.2.1.2), we already observed the nature of historical writing as the product of a chain of entextualizations, adding that, however, transparent reference to earlier texts is almost completely absent. This 'appropriation' of the propositional content, where indirect evidentiality in the form of 'reporting' is largely absent (reported speech being restricted to recounted speech events that are part of the told history – see 2.3.2), contributes to a taken-for-granted objectivity or factuality of the story. Even implicit and vague source attributions (common, for instance, in journalistic writing)⁶³ do not occur. The closest we come is in the appeal to (what is presented as) common or encyclopedic knowledge:

Mais la France était alors gouvernée par Louis XV, dont vous connaissez le triste règne. (Lavissee 1902, p. 96)

[But at the time France was governed by Louis XV, whose sad rule you know.]

The story of the mysterious *chupatties* is well known.
(McCarthy 1908, p. 177)

alarming news was reaching England of a native revolt in another part of her Dominions, a revolt known to history as the Indian Mutiny.
(Synge 1908, p. 111)

On the other hand, indirect evidentiality in the form of 'inferring' is common in our sample texts. The devices used for expressing an inference are often the same as those expressing an epistemic modality, whether of the strengthening or the hedging type; e.g.:

If, however, these acts of policy were not only justifiable but actually inevitable, none the less must a succession of such acts produce a profound emotion among the races in whose midst they were accomplished.
(McCarthy 1908, p. 176)

He must have begun to know by this time that he had no chance of establishing himself [188] as a ruler anywhere in India.
(McCarthy 1908, pp. 188–189)

His faithful lieutenant, Tantia Topee, had given orders, it seems, that when a trumpet sounded [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 187)

This they did, but apparently without doing much harm.
(McCarthy 1908, p. 189)

Devices specific to the signaling of inference are used too:

Les Portugais et les Espagnols possédèrent alors des *pays immenses hors de l'Europe*. (Lavissee 1902, p. 66)

⁶³ E.g. of the type 'X was said to have done Y,' or in French 'X aurait Y.'

[The Portuguese and the Spanish thus possessed *vast lands outside Europe*.]

Tous sont donc **égaux** devant la loi. (Lavisie 1902, p. 100)

[All are thus **equal** before the law.]

Les Chinois mangent peu, supportent bien le froid et la chaleur, et sont très économes; ils peuvent donc travailler partout à bien meilleur marché que les ouvriers Européens. (Lavisie 1902, p. 155)

[The Chinese eat little, withstand the cold and the heat well, and are very thrifty; therefore they can work everywhere much more cheaply than European workers.]

Thus, when the rulers of *Nagpur* and of *Jhansi*, in Central India, died without direct heirs, their territories “lapsed” to the Company.

(Warner and Marten 1912, p. 690)

George Canning’s son, Lord Canning, who had succeeded Dalhousie, was continued in office and was thus the first Governor-General in India who can be called “Viceroy.” (Fearensie 1922, p. 434)

Consequently, in the Mutiny, the landowners of Oudh were against the British. (Warner and Marten 1912, p. 691)

The main conclusion we can draw from a look at the functioning of evidentiality in our data is that, while obviously there must be extensive reliance on prior sources, this dependence is not really acknowledged. Hence, except in the form of hedging, there is no real distancing from the propositional content, the truth value of which is thus stressed.

Though controversy surrounds the appropriateness of doing so, *negation* is often dealt with in conjunction with modality. After all, negating is something an utterer does with a proposition. There are, however, many negation-specific phenomena that would justify making it into a grammatical-semantic-pragmatic category in its own right (see Miestamo 2006 for an introduction). For one thing, negation is a marked form in relation to affirmative sentences. This is why (as pointed out in 2.2.1.2) a negation always evokes a voice presenting its opposite. Consider the following:

One name must not be forgotten among those who endured the siege of Lucknow. (McCarthy 1908, p. 194)

So far we have been concerned with the extension of the British control in India, but it must not be supposed that the efforts of British rulers were not directed to bettering the lot of their subjects.

(Warner and Marten 1912, p. 690)

Yet the heroism of British soldiers must not lead us to forget the services of those natives who were loyal. (Warner and Marten 1912, p. 693)

These negative prescriptions suggest that under normal circumstances there would be a good chance of ‘forgetting’ (or, in fact, ignoring) a name considered important by the author, or the fact that there were loyal Indians as well as rebels, and of ‘supposing’ that the British rulers were not interested in the lot of their subjects (the latter thus placing another negative within the scope of the negative prescription). What is involved here is the dialogic property of (even ‘monologic’) discourse, making use of the ability to negate or deny, one of the basic language-related human capacities. Note how this relates to what was identified (in Thesis 1.1) as a property of ideological meaning, namely its being rarely questioned. What negations of the above type do is to present a point of view which the author assumes could be somehow ‘questioned’ (by way of forgetting or ignoring or, more directly, by way of supposing the opposite). From the point of view of a study of ideology, therefore, it is interesting to look at precisely what meanings negation is used to try and prevent.

Equally interesting is the low frequency of occurrence of negation in our corpus (as also pointed out in 2.2.1.2). Again this contributes to the creation of an impression of factuality: Not very much of what is communicated is presented as open to dispute. The evocation of the opposite often serves merely the function of rhetorical contrast. Consider

Car le gouvernement anglais a l’habitude de *ne pas tracasser les colons* anglais, et de *ne pas se mêler de leurs affaires*. (Lavisse 1902, p. 97)

[Since the English government usually *does not harass the English colonists*, and *does not mingle in their affairs*.]

which introduces an episode in which, straying from this habit, the British government did mingle too much in the affairs of colonists in North America by levying heavy taxes, which then led to the fight for independence. In many cases, therefore, a clause with ‘not’ is followed by one introduced with ‘but.’ As said elsewhere, contrasts are always interesting to look at.⁶⁴

Ad 3.3.5:

[And still at the sentence level: What is the calibration between given, new, and accessible information, and between highlighting/foregrounding and backgrounding?]

Sentence-level information structuring is most commonly looked at in terms of the givenness vs. the newness of information. Gundel and Fretheim (2002) make a useful distinction between referential givenness/newness and relational givenness/newness. *Referential givenness/newness* pertains to the relation between a linguistic expression and a non-linguistic entity (whether in the language user’s

⁶⁴ When investigating different, especially spoken, types of discourse, the pragmatics of negation is more complex. For a quick review, see Miestamo (2006); for a more detailed account, see e.g. Horn (1989).

mind, the discourse, or a real or a possible world).⁶⁵ For ‘reference’ to be successful, all referring expressions must show a certain degree of referential givenness or accessibility. Consider the following sentence:

The main incidents in the struggle were the massacre of Cawnpore and the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow. (Fearenside 1922, p. 433)

Here “the struggle” refers to the Indian Mutiny, uniquely identifiable from the preceding paragraph in the same text. What the sentence brings into focus is “The main incidents in the struggle”; they are clearly identifiable as types; world knowledge tells the reader that any armed struggle must have incidents, and that some are more important or decisive than others. Both “the massacre of Cawnpore” and “the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow” provide new information; there is no real referential givenness yet, but accessibility is assured, partly by what a reader can imagine terms such as “massacre” and “siege” in a warlike context to cover, partly by the ensuing text which briefly describes the events referred to. In other words, referential givenness/newness relates what is said to the audience’s assumed background knowledge and/or information still to be provided. To the extent that background knowledge is appealed to, elements of what is taken for granted may come in, making the phenomenon of referential givenness relevant for ideology research. (There is also a link here with the phenomenon of presupposition, further to be explained in 3.4.1.)

Relational givenness/newness, on the other hand, distinguishes what a sentence is about (the ‘given’ part X, often coinciding with what could be called the ‘theme’ or ‘topic’) from what is predicated about X (i.e., the ‘new information’ or Y, the ‘rheme’ or ‘comment’).⁶⁶ Y is new in relation to X. Quoting Gundel and Fretheim (2002), “Relational givenness/newness thus reflects how the informational content of a particular event or state of affairs expressed by a sentence is represented and how its truth value is to be assessed.” Needless to say, this is a phenomenon central to a sentence’s contribution to discursive meaning generation, in which the utterer’s choices are important (while the referential givenness status of a linguistic expression is more dependent on the interpreter). Consider the following sentences:

One reason why the Second Chinese War dragged on so long was the pre-occupation of British forces in India. (Fearenside 1922, p. 433)

Before the war with China had gone far, the country was startled by the news of a mutiny among the Bengal sepoy in India. (Ransome 1910, p. 442)

⁶⁵ The distinction is borrowed from Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993), where a ‘givenness hierarchy’ (in focus > activated > familiar > uniquely identifiable > referential > type identifiable) is proposed and explained in detail.

⁶⁶ Note that terms such as ‘given,’ ‘theme,’ ‘topic’ on the one hand, and ‘new,’ ‘rheme,’ ‘comment’ (to which could be added ‘focus’) on the other, do not fully overlap. Details of the way in which they are used in the linguistic literature are not crucial for present purposes. I will, therefore, restrict myself to using only the contrast ‘given/new,’ in those terms.

Both authors start from the givenness of the ongoing war with China (framed in slightly different ways) as a background against which the new information of events in India is introduced. In the new information part, India is specified clearly in both cases, but the nature of the events to be reported on is kept vague in Fearenside (suggesting only that they were such as to form a “preoccupation” for British forces), while Ransome summarizes the entire situation (news that startled “the country,” a mutiny, Bengal sepoy as perpetrators).

The specific choices that are made within the two structures that show a strong parallelism in terms of a givenness/newness articulation score different effects in terms of *highlighting* or *foregrounding* and *backgrounding*.⁶⁷ While keeping the new information vague, merely anticipating further details and thus rousing the reader’s curiosity, Fearenside draws attention to a specific aspect of the war with China, namely that it “dragged on so long” (an element already emphasized in a preceding part of the text), and by using as opening words “One reason why” he highlights or foregrounds the explanatory power of the events he is about to tell for another event. In the process, nothing gets really backgrounded. Ransome, on the other hand, merely uses the Chinese war as background to situate the events in India historically (suggesting only that the war with China had just begun), thus literally backgrounding it and bringing India clearly into the foreground.

Close attention is required to the types of contrast introduced by highlighting and backgrounding, as well as to the systematicity with which some things are handled as given and others are introduced as new.

AD 3.3.6, IN GENERAL:

[At the suprasentential level: How is coherence/relevance established?]

Devices for structuring information at the sentence level are building blocks for the meaning generation work utterers set out to do at the suprasentential discourse level. The organizational principles handled at that higher level, making use of sequencing principles (see 2.3.3) and all the devices for establishing contextual cohesion (see 2.3.4), may be captured with the labels coherence and relevance.⁶⁸

Pertinent questions include: What does the overall message of a piece of analyzed discourse look like? How does the discourse ‘build’ the message? What distinguishable and significant parts is it composed of? How do these parts hang together, i.e., how do they ‘cohere’? What is the relevance of one in relation to the others? Answers to such questions search for the ‘why?’ behind topical choices. We must keep in mind, however, that it is not just utterers’ intentions we are after, but primarily likely effects at the level of conveyable meaning.

⁶⁷ For the notion of ‘grounding,’ see Wårvik (2006).

⁶⁸ A basic introduction to the notions of cohesion and coherence is to be found in Bublitz (1998). In this book I am using an everyday notion of relevance, not the technical notion it is within relevance theory (see Blakemore 1995, Wilson 2010).

Ad 3.3.6.1:

[What discourse topics are established?]

Table 4, with its overview of distinguishable events in the story of the Mutiny, gives part of the answer to this question. But topics, of course, are not restricted to events. By way of illustration, consider Fearenside again:

[1] **537. Causes of the Indian Mutiny, 1857.** – [2] One reason why the Second Chinese War dragged on so long was the preoccupation of British forces in India. [3] There Dalhousie's annexations had caused considerable anxiety and vexation among the native princes; [4] recent land settlements had annoyed the larger landowners, especially in Oudh, by favoring the actual cultivators of the soil; [5] and religious prejudices had been offended by the equipment of the native sepoys with rifles which required greased cartridges. [6] Those who cherished these and other grievances thought that they had a good opportunity for vengeance in the fact that the British troops in India were few and scattered. [7] The discontent was most widespread in the native regiments in the North-West Provinces; [8] and in May 1857 some of these, stationed at Meerut, broke out in open mutiny, shot their officers, and stirred up similar mutinies in the neighbouring camps. [9] Bengal and the greater part of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies kept quiet; [10] and the Sikhs of the Punjab had been so well used by Sir John Lawrence that they helped the British.

[11] The main incidents in the struggle were the massacre of Cawnpore and the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow. [12] [...]

(Fearenside 1922, p. 433; numbering of propositions added)

A simple list of the topics brought up in this extract would include at least the following:

[1], [3]–[6]:	<i>causes</i> of the Mutiny
[2]:	the Second Chinese War
[2]:	preoccupations of British forces
[2], [8]–[12]:	the Mutiny
[3]:	local reaction to annexations
[4]:	local reaction to land settlements
[5]:	reaction to the new rifles
[6]–[7], [9]–[10]:	<i>circumstances/properties</i> of the Mutiny
[6]:	low presence of British troops as opportunity
[7]:	spread of the discontent
[8], [11]–[12]:	<i>events</i> of the Mutiny
[8]:	start of the Mutiny
[9]:	non-participation in Bengal, Madras, Bombay
[10]:	support from the Sikhs – result of good government
[11]–[11]:	further events

Of course, such topics do not occur as a mere list. They are related to each other in a variety of ways.

Ad 3.3.6.2:

[How do central discourse topics relate to peripheral ones?]

In the above Fearenside (1922) extract, the *Indian Mutiny* is clearly the central discourse topic, its treatment falling apart into *causes* and *events* (even if the title in boldface refers to causes only, in contrast to results, on which the next numbered section of the book concentrates), but also *circumstances/properties*. In the wider structure of the book, this topic is subsidiary to the general issue of *British war efforts in the middle of the nineteenth century*, from the Crimean War (1853–1856, concluded with the Peace of Paris in 1856), via the Persian War (1856) and the Second Chinese War (1856–1860) – qualified as “a somewhat dragging war” (p. 432) – to the Indian Mutiny, all of which the category ‘preoccupations of the British forces’ in [2] would be applicable to.

In this extract, the only two topics that are peripheral to the central one(s), are (i) the Second Chinese War, brought in in [2], where at the sentential level it is somehow highlighted (as explained in 3.3.5), and (ii) the suggestion of good government that is supposed to explain the support from the Sikhs. Nothing else in the extract can be said to be peripheral, which means that it is a topically well-focused piece of text. There is, however, a distinction between the central topics and the subtopics, including the individual causes, circumstances/properties, and events.

There is a significant amount of variation in the way in which the different texts in the sample corpus handle topics. Longer accounts of the Mutiny allow for the insertion of more peripheral topics or digressions. They are able, for instance, to expand on aspects of the climate, structural properties of cities and fortifications, details of (British) heroism and suffering, often going beyond the main story line while still underscoring it. Looking at these in detail, rather clear patterns emerge, as it is usually the same types of information that are used for digressions.

Variability is also to be found in the foregrounding or backgrounding of subtopics and, also at that level, patterns emerge. For instance, the events in Cawnpore are an absolute favorite for expanding upon.

Ad 3.3.6.3:

[What does the discourse progression or rhetorical structure look like (in terms of relations such as juxtaposition, justification, explanation, proving, elaborating, motivating, etc.)?]

The topical progression of the above extract from Fearenside (1922) can be described as follows.

- [1] as title of section 537, *contrasts* causes of the Indian Mutiny with its results, described in the following section (538)

- [2] *situates* the Indian Mutiny in the context of a superordinate discourse topic, the British war efforts in the middle of the nineteenth century, and frames the entire episode, somewhat euphemistically categorized as “the preoccupation of British forces in India,” as an *explanation* for why another event in the wider context “dragged on so long.”
- [3] zooms in on India (“there”) and starts an *enumeration* of causes
- [3] local reaction (“considerable anxiety and vexation among the native princes”) to annexations (by Dalhousie)
- [4] local reaction (“annoyed the larger landowners”) to “recent land settlements”, for which an *explanation* is offered: the land settlements favored “the actual cultivators of the soil”
- [5] reaction (“religious prejudices had been offended”) to “the equipment of the native sepoys with rifles which required greased cartridges”
- [6] makes a *transition* from causes to circumstances: the low numbers of British troops in India provides a context that may itself also have served as a trigger (“a good opportunity for vengeance”) for “those who cherished these and other grievances”; at the same time, [6] *summarizes* the enumerated causes (only *juxtaposed* in [3] to [5]) with the label “grievances,” and reference to “other grievances” turns the enumeration of causes into an open-ended list of *examples*
- [7] *elaborates* on circumstances by describing the spread of the “discontent” (used as an equivalent for “grievances”) that caused the Mutiny
- [8] opens with “and,” *conjoining* information on causes and circumstances with their result, and it describes the start of the Mutiny as a string of *juxtaposed but sequentially related* subevents: “broke out in open mutiny,” “shot their officers,” “stirred up similar mutinies in the neighbouring camps”
- [9] and [10] further *elaborate* on circumstances, singling out two aspects that *contrast* with the spread of the discontent described in [7]
- [9] Bengal, Madras, and Bombay mostly “kept quiet”
- [10] the Sikhs of Punjab “helped the British,” which is *explained* by their having been “so well used by Sir John Lawrence”
- [11] switches the focus to events following the start of the Mutiny, and *enumerates* the “main incidents,” which are then individually *elaborated* upon in [12].

Making rhetorical links explicit in this way helps us to observe important aspects of the meaning generating potential of a stretch of discourse. Just a few observations in passing:

- The ‘framing’ of the episode, as in [2], detracts from the importance of the Indian Mutiny in its own right; the importance of the event is defined in terms of its effect on the war with China, and (in section 538) its function as a trigger to implement measures (such as the

reorganization of the Indian Army and the transfer of Indian administration from the East India Company to the British Crown) which were needed anyway and which had already been contemplated before.

- The explanation offered for the “annoyance” of “the larger land-owners” (in [4]) serves – as pointed out before – as justification for the land settlements (which are not further specified, neither in this extract, nor elsewhere in the book).
- Since land settlements were justified, the negative Indian reaction was not; in contrast to [4] it is interesting to observe that there does not even seem to be any need for explanation or justification in [3] and [5]; Dalhousie’s annexations are taken for granted (as they were justified earlier in the book as “made partly for purposes of frontier defense and partly to secure better government,” p. 427); and the negative reaction to the new cartridges is not deemed worthy of any explanation (how can “greased cartridges,” as such, be objectionable?) as it can be reduced to “religious prejudices.”

Such aspects of a text allow us to look at general patterns of argumentation or global meaning constructs that are left largely implicit.

Often it suffices to observe very simple patterns such as parallelism, repetition, juxtaposition, and sequential ordering. Using juxtaposition and sequential ordering as an example, see how they are mobilized by Lavisse (1902) – in two parallel and almost repetitious episodes – to establish the relationship between violent action and colonization (which is ignored in the categorization of colonization as a work of peace in his Preface):

[...] 7. Les Mexicains n’avaient jamais vu ni Européens ni chevaux; ils prirent les *hommes blancs* pour des fils du Dieu-Soleil, les reçurent avec honneur et les laissèrent entrer à Mexico (fig. 5).

8. Les Espagnols en profitèrent pour s’emparer des trésors du roi; les Mexicains se révoltèrent, et plus de 100 000 guerriers vinrent assiéger Cortez, qui pourtant finit par les vaincre. 9. Le dernier roi fut mis sur des charbons ardents, et le Mexique devint une *colonie espagnole* (1521). (p. 65)

[...] 7. The Mexicans had never seen Europeans or horses; they took the *white men* for sons of the Sun-God, received them with honor and let them enter Mexico (fig. 5).

8. The Spanish took advantage of this to grab the king’s treasures; the Mexicans revolted, and more than 100,000 warriors came to besiege Cortez, who still managed to defeat them. 9. The last king was put on hot coals, and Mexico became a *Spanish colony* (1521).]

1. Une autre bande espagnole, commandée par **Pizarre**, entra dans le Pérou et prit le roi (1529). 2. On le força à payer pour sa rançon une *chambre pleine d’or*, puis on l’étrangla. 3. Et le Pérou fut *conquis par les Espagnols*.

(p. 66)

[1. Another Spanish unit, commanded by Pizarro, entered Peru and captured the king (1529). 2. They forced him to pay a *room full of gold* as ransom, then they strangled him. 3. And Peru was *conquered by the Spanish*.]

As could be expected on the basis of the activity type (see 3.1), a noticeable amount of attention goes to the explaining of events, albeit in a very elementary way. Look at Lavissee's (1902) explanation for slavery:

2. Les Espagnols qui allaient en Amérique étaient presque tous des *aventuriers* féroces*. 3. Ils voulaient se procurer *de l'argent* et ils *forçaient les habitants du pays* à travailler dans les mines, les tourmentaient, les faisaient chasser par leurs chiens. Les habitants mouraient tous.

4. On envoya alors acheter des nègres en Afrique, on les ramenait en Amérique où on les faisait travailler comme **esclaves**. 5. Ce commerce inhumain s'appelait la **traite des noirs**. (Lavissee 1902, p. 68)

[2. The Spaniards who went to America were almost all *fierce adventurers*.* 3. They wanted to gain *money* and they *forced the inhabitants of the country* to work in the mines, they tormented them, and had them chased by their dogs. The inhabitants all died.

4. They then sent for negroes to be bought in Africa, they brought them back to America where they made them work as **slaves**. 5. This inhuman trade was called the **slave trade** [literally: "trade of blacks"].]

Explanations usually carry an evaluation with them. The point of view from which this passage is written is one that no longer takes the slave trade as an acceptable practice. The fact that it emerged in the context of colonization thus again creates some tension with the positive view Lavissee espouses of colonization in general. This passage also gives a clue as to how Lavissee manages to escape from a looming contradiction. Slavery is presented, as are the feats of Cortez and Pizarro, as a historical past that no longer has an essential link with his colonial present.

Ad 3.3.7:

[In a wider corpus: How do discourse topics and rhetorical patterns develop/change across the different parts of the corpus?]

Since we are not working with a single extended corpus, rhetorical pattern development is hardly an issue.⁶⁹ A few hints can be given here, however, of types of phenomena to look at. In particular, it is interesting to see how certain connections do *not* get established in a wider discourse context. Thus Lavissee (1902, p. 99) elaborates on the 1789 French Declaration of the Rights of Man as meant not only for the French ("les droits que doivent avoir non seulement les Français")

⁶⁹ By way of contrast, it would be most interesting, for instance, to study the way in which the Belgian migrant debate (as analyzed in Blommaert and Verschuere 1998) has developed and changed over the past ten to fifteen years. A usable corpus would be easy to compose in which transformations of rhetorical patterns could be traced.

but for all other peoples (“tous les autres peuples”). Still the need for colonial possessions, necessarily implying control over other people, is taken for granted, while the link with the “inhuman” practice of the slave trade is properly made and its abolishment is proudly presented as a French achievement:

5. Les Français avaient donné l'exemple en 1789, en abolissant l'esclavage.
 6. Mais les colons disaient qu'on ne pouvait se passer de nègres pour cultiver le coton et le café, et ils avaient fait rétablir l'esclavage.
 7. Les Français l'ont aboli de nouveau en 1848, et tous les autres Européens les ont imités. (Lavissee 1902, p. 122)

[5. The French had set the example in 1789, by abolishing slavery. 6. But the colonists said they could not manage without the negroes to cultivate cotton and coffee, and they had slavery re-established.

7. The French abolished it again in 1848, and all other Europeans followed their example.]

Similarly, some of the British textbooks take pride in the increasing establishment of democratic principles at home. Rhetorically, the ideas are sometimes presented as if fully extended to subjects in various parts of the empire:

But the most important thing to be noted about the [4] British Empire is that it is not an Empire in the old-fashioned sense of the word, that is to say, a number of races and peoples held together, largely by force, under a strong centralised government. It is rather an association of peoples united by their common love of liberty, justice, and self-government, and by political institutions which protect their rights against attack from within and without [...] As we shall show later, the people, first of England and later of the rest of the Empire, have been safe and prosperous just in proportion as they were faithful to the ideals and principles upon which their Commonwealth was founded. And the history of the Empire is largely concerned with the growth of freedom and self-government within its boundaries, and with the attempts of less free and progressive peoples to interfere with that freedom and to prevent it spreading over the world.

(Kerr and Kerr 1927, pp. 4–5)

This general view of the British Empire brackets all the stories of war and violence, even though they are fully told. Conceptually, the contradiction is evaded by defining violence as a necessary evil if subjects do not faithfully accept the ideals and principles that are provided for them.

In Lavissee there is also a noticeable contrast between the cursory way in which the ‘taking’ of colonies is described, and the pains it takes to explain that expansion in Europe by France after the French Revolution was subject to the consent of the people involved:

Les Français n'avaient pas fait toutes ces guerres pour agrandir leur territoire. Ils se contentèrent d'annexer* à la [103] France la Savoie, la Belgique, et la rive gauche du Rhin, après avoir demandé aux habitants de ces pays s'ils consentaient à devenir Français. (Lavissee, 1902, pp. 103–104)

[The French had not conducted all these wars to enlarge their territory. They were satisfied with the annexation* to France of *Savoy*, *Belgium*, and the *left bank of the Rhine*, after having asked the inhabitants of those countries *whether they consented to becoming French*.

All other European conquests are presented as having been made to free the people, i.e., to establish republics. Napoleon is then presented as a later aberration, disrespecting the French constitution.

Procedure 3.4: Look systematically for carriers of implicit meaning. In particular:

- 3.4.1:** Find presupposition-carrying expressions and constructions (e.g., definite descriptions, change-of-state verbs, factive verbs, implicative verbs, cleft constructions, scalar notions).
- 3.4.2:** Find logical implications and entailments.
- 3.4.3:** Find implicatures.
- 3.4.4:** Investigate tropes, i.e., cases of simile, metonymy, metaphor, irony, overstatement and understatement, rhetorical questions (as well as cases of humor, politeness, and the like).

AD 3.4, IN GENERAL:

[Look systematically for carriers of implicit meaning.]

If ideological meaning is defined (cf. Thesis 1.2) as often being carried along implicitly rather than to be formulated explicitly (though there is always an interaction between the explicit and the implicit), screening different types of carriers of implicit meaning in the discourse under investigation is of central importance to empirical ideology research – bearing in mind the need for counterscreening as soon as one is inclined to draw conclusions from the observed data (see Rule 1).

AD 3.4.1:

[Find presupposition-carrying expressions and constructions (e.g., definite descriptions, change-of-state verbs, factive verbs, implicative verbs, cleft constructions, scalar notions).]

The most ubiquitous type of presupposition is what is usually called ‘existential presupposition.’⁷⁰ A sentence such as

The main incidents in the struggle were the massacre of Cawnpore and the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow. (Fearenside 1922, p. 433)

⁷⁰ For an introduction to the topic of presupposition, see Bertuccelli Papi (1997) and Delogu (2007). An extremely useful list of types of presupposition triggers is to be found in Levinson (1983, pp. 181–185).

presupposes the ‘existence’ (or possible referential substantiation – which makes the notion akin to, though not identical with, ‘referential givenness’ as discussed in 3.3.5) of

- a specific struggle
- incidents in that struggle
- the main incidents in that struggle
- cities called Cawnpore (present-day Kanpur), Delhi, and Lucknow
- the massacre of Cawnpore
- the siege of Delhi
- the siege of Lucknow

Such presuppositions have to be satisfied – i.e., the corresponding entities or events must exist or have occurred at a given time and/or place – for the sentences in which they occur to be ‘meaningful.’ This does not mean that a reader, or even an author, of our textbook samples is necessarily able to identify, describe, ascertain such ‘existence’ or ‘occurrence’; there are just too many people, places, and events mentioned for such personal knowledge to be possible. But it is one of the assumptions behind a history textbook as activity type that none of the entities or events talked about is fantasized. In other words, an entire world, not accessible to individual observation, is assumed to be there for the historian to talk about. This does not imply that one should not be attentive to factual errors at the level of existential presuppositions. More important, however, is the observation that the typical function of presuppositions, which is to ground an utterance in assumed shared knowledge, is systematically deviated from in texts of this kind: Most of the entities or events that figure in definite descriptions, thus presupposing their ‘existence,’ are not familiar to the average intended reader. In other words, what is formally presupposed is in fact new information. Sometimes this new information is subsequently provided with further substance, as when “the preoccupation of British forces in India” (in [2] of Fearenside’s section 537) introduces a topic that is then expanded upon. But in many cases the “information” remains at the level of a mere assumption of “existence,” as when “the larger landowners” contrasted with “the actual cultivators of the soil” (in [4] of the same extract) suggests a social structure that is not further explained, or when “the neighbouring camps” (in [8]) are nowhere specified.

Different types of presuppositions are triggered by a variety of lexical items and grammatical forms. An extremely common type consists of the verbs of motion that reflect the military-strategic preoccupations of the narrative: Leaving X presupposes prior presence in X, entering X presupposes prior presence outside X, returning to X presupposes both absence from and earlier presence in/at X. Here is a brief overview of other types, with examples from the corpus (in which presupposition triggers are underlined):

It was unfortunate [...] that *Lord Canning* [...] [690] [...] was not made aware of the peculiar conditions of land tenure in Oudh, and that his subordinates

aroused the hostility of the great landowners in that province by a settlement of the land which did the landed aristocracy grievous injustice.

(Warner and Marten 1912, pp. 690–691)

➔ ‘Aware of’ presupposes the factuality of what follows.

Outram was content to remain quiescent, knowing when he entered Lucknow that Delhi, the heart and centre of the rebellion, had already fallen.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 148)

Therefore in the opening days of 1857, it was known among the native populations of India that the East India Company was at war with Persia and that England had on her hands a [176] quarrel with China.

(McCarthy 1908, pp. 176–177)

They did not know of the help even now approaching.

(Synge 1908, p. 116)

When the sepoys realised their strength, [...].

(Kerr and Kerr 1927, p. 183)

He was worn with deep anxiety, for he realised as no other Indian official how deep-seated was the discontent of the Sepoys.

(Synge 1908, p. 118)

The Mohammedan and the Hindoo forgot their own religious antipathies to join against the Christian.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 170)

D’ailleurs presque personne ne comprenait que *les colonies sont nécessaires à une nation*.

(Lavissee 1902, p. 96)

[Besides, almost no one understood that *colonies are necessary for a nation*.]

➔ “Knowing” and “known” presuppose the factuality of what is within the scope of “that” (in contrast, e.g., to ‘thinking,’ which does not carry such a presupposition). Similarly, “know of” presupposes that there was really help on its way and “realised” presupposes the reality of the sepoys’ strength (in Kerr and Kerr) and the deep-seatedness of their discontent (in Synge), just as “forgot” presupposes a more usual context of mutual religious antipathies. And “comprenait que” presupposes the truth of the following proposition.

Yet the telegraph operator had first managed to flash half his warning message through to the Panjab; and the Europeans had succeeded in blowing up the arsenal.

(Innes 1927, p. 170)

The troops sent up from the coast just managed to secure Benares and Allahábád [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 143)

Nana Sahib himself managed to escape [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 152)

Après la grande guerre civile de 1865, ils avaient une dette de 20 milliards, qu’ils sont arrivés à payer.

(Lavissee 1902, p. 163)

[After the great civil war of 1865, they had a debt of 20 billion, which they managed to pay.]

Les Espagnols en profitèrent pour s'emparer des trésors du roi; les Mexicains se révoltèrent, et plus de 100 000 guerriers vinrent assiéger Cortez, qui pourtant finit par les vaincre. (Lavisse 1902, p. 65)

[The Spanish took advantage of this to grab the king's treasures; the Mexicans revolted, and more than 100,000 warriors came to besiege Cortez, who still managed to defeat them.]

Il parvint enfin à décider le roi d'Espagne à lui donner trois mauvais navires. (Lavisse 1902, p. 64)

[At last he managed to persuade the king of Spain to give him three bad ships.]

Ils réussirent à reprendre l'Inde [...]. (Lavisse 1902, p. 152)

[They succeeded in regaining control over India [...].]

→ “Managed,” “succeeded,” “sont arrivés à,” “finit par,” “parvint à,” and “réussirent à” all presuppose that the subjects of the sentences tried to do what they are said to have done, and that it may not have been easy.

As it happened, Sir John Lawrence was then away at Rawul Pindee, in the Upper Punjab [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 179)

The English themselves began to show a perplexing kind of aggressive enterprise, and took to making little sallies in small numbers indeed, but with astonishing effect, on any bodies of Sepoys who happened to be anywhere near. (McCarthy 1908, p. 186)

→ ‘Happened’ presupposes the absence of conscious planning in relation to the relevant circumstances.

5. Ce commerce inhumain s'appelait la **traite des noirs**. 6. Les Espagnols l'avaient commencé en 1517 [...]. (Lavisse 1902, p. 68)

[5. This inhuman trade was called the **slave trade** [literally: ‘trade of blacks’].

6. The Spanish had started it in 1517 [...].]

11. Le directeur de la Compagnie française, **Dupleix**, avait commencé à conquérir les Indes. [...] [93] [...]

[...] 3. Alors les Anglais commencèrent eux-mêmes à conquérir [94] les Indes. (Lavisse 1902, pp. 93–95)

[11. The director of the French Company, **Dupleix**, had started to conquer India. [...] [93] [...]

[...] 3. Then the English started to conquer [94] India themselves.]

et les Hindous commencent à parler anglais et à adopter les usages des Anglais. (Lavisse 1902, p. 152)

[and the Hindus begin to speak English and to adopt English customs.]

and the first Sikh war began. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 133)

Rangoon became the capital of British Burma, and began to make a rapid advance towards its present standard of population and prosperity.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 134)

A mutinous spirit began to spread itself abroad.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 171)

A section among the native Indians began to demand some share in the government of the country [...]. (Richardson 1924, p. 141)

His troops were growing tired and began to drag behind.

(Synge 1908, p. 123)

But the loyal sepoy were beginning to lose heart [...].

(Innes 1927, p. 171)

➔ All underlined verb forms indicate a change of state; in particular, they presuppose that what is beginning to be done or to take place was not done or did not take place before.

Depuis le XVIIIe siècle, les libéraux réclamaient qu'on rendit la liberté à ces nègres et qu'on cessât d'en acheter de nouveaux.

(Lavissee 1902, p. 122)

[From the 18th century on, liberals demanded that liberty be given back to these negroes and that new ones would no longer be bought.]

It was resolved that the Company's control should cease, and the government of India should be transferred to the Crown.

(Innes 1927, p. 172)

The use of the cartridges complained of was discontinued by orders issued in January 1857. (McCarthy 1908, p. 171)

➔ Here again the underlined verb forms indicate a change of state, presupposing liberty that had been taken away before, earlier practices of buying slaves, prior control of the East India Company over India, and earlier use of a certain type of cartridge.

Ils augmentent sans cesse et on ne sait si un jour les Chinois n'occuperont pas l'Océanie et la moitié de l'Amérique. (Lavissee 1902, p. 155)

[Their numbers keep growing and one does not know whether one day the Chinese won't occupy Oceania and half of America.]

Lord Canning [...] was continued in office [...].

(Fearenside 1922, p. 434)

Havelock was enabled to continue his victorious march [...].

(McCarthy 1908, p. 192)

➔ A continuation of a process, condition, or activity presupposes that it had already started.

Puis ils détruisirent les colonies françaises (1763), et ils devinrent les **maîtres de l'Inde**. Ils le sont encore. (Lavissee 1902, p. 95)

[Then they destroyed the French colonies (1763), and they became the **masters of India**. They still are.]

Songez pourtant qu'encore aujourd'hui presque tous les peuples de l'Orient [...] *vivent sous un régime arbitraire*.* (Lavissee 1902, p. 100)

[Yet, know that still today almost all the peoples of the Orient *live under arbitrary* regimes*.]

La France ne conduit plus, comme auparavant, les destinées de l'Europe [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 98)

[France no longer drives, like before, the destinies of Europe [...].]

→ The adverb “encore” presupposes a pre-existent state of affairs which continues, while “ne ... plus” presupposes an earlier state of affairs that has ceased.

Meanwhile the Chinese war was also apparently brought to a satisfactory conclusion [...] It broke out again, however, [...]. (Innes 1927, p. 172)

On July 13 Havelock's first battle was won at Fatehpur, where the rebels were scattered, losing eleven of their guns; and they were again defeated in two actions on the 15th. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 146)

We have only to repeat here, that as a matter of fact no indignities, other than that of the compulsory corn-grinding, were put upon the English ladies. (McCarthy 1908, p. 188)

The same scenes of murder were repeated at Delhi [...]. (Richardson 1924, p. 137)

→ Both the adverb “again” and the iterative verb “repeat” presuppose earlier occurrence of what is described; more specifically, “we have only to repeat here” presupposes that what is about to be said has been said before (in this case not in the same text, but in a wider world of discourse).

Avant d'avoir la boussole, les marins n'osaient pas s'éloigner des côtes. (Lavissee 1902, p. 64)

[Before they had the compass, seamen did not dare to move away from the coasts.]

Mais depuis qu'on a creusé le *canal de Suez* et que beaucoup de marchands européens se sont établis au Caire et à Alexandrie [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 128)

[But since the *Suez Canal* was dug and many European merchants have established themselves in Cairo and Alexandria [...].]

It seems that some cartridges lubricated with the objectionable composition had actually passed into the hands of the troops before the issue was checked by the authorities. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 138)

a sepoy attacked the adjutant, while his comrades looked on and some even assisted him. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 139)

it was just a hundred years since the battle of Plassy was fought.
(Richardson 1924, p. 136)

→ The temporal clauses introduced with “avant de,” “depuis que,” “before,” “while,” and “since” presuppose that now seamen have compasses, that the Suez Canal has been dug and that European merchants have moved to Egypt, that the issue of the cartridges was indeed investigated by the authorities, that the sepoy’s comrades were looking on and assisted him, and that the battle of Plassy did take place.

C’était la première fois qu’on faisait le *tour du monde*.
(Lavisse 1902, p. 65)

[It was the first time that a *trip around the world* was made.]

It was not, however, till September that the force on the Delhi Ridge had been sufficiently strengthened to make an attack on the city.
(Innes 1927, p. 171)

→ The underscored temporal clauses bring in the subsequent propositions by way of presupposition.

it was Canning who suggested the transfer.
(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 143)

It was to Nana Sahib, then, that poor old Sir Hugh Wheeler in the hour of his distress applied for assistance. (McCarthy 1908, p. 184)

Ce sont les Chinois qui ont construit les chemins de fer de l’Amérique [...].
(Lavisse 1902, p. 155)

[It is the Chinese who constructed the American railroads [...].]

→ The first of these cleft sentences presupposes that someone suggested the transfer, the second that Wheeler turned to someone for assistance, the third that someone built railroads in America.

Les Européens la [la boussole] connaissent aussi [...].
(Lavisse 1902, p. 64)

[The Europeans were familiar with it [the compass] also [...].]

Les Russes se sont avancés aussi au sud de la Sibérie.
(Lavisse 1902, p. 154)

[The Russians have also moved south of Siberia.]

Outside the Ganges basin, the sepoys in the districts to the south and southwest of Agra also revolted. (Innes 1927, p. 170)

Meanwhile the Chinese war was also apparently brought to a satisfactory conclusion [...]. (Innes 1927, p. 172)

Hewitt was incapable of giving a decisive order; Archdale Wilson, his brigadier, was weighed down by the responsibility of protecting the stores and residents at Meerut, and he too kept the troops inactive.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 140)

→ In these sentences, “aussi” and “also” presuppose that others (in addition to the Europeans) were familiar with the compass, that the Russians had advanced elsewhere, that sepoys inside the Ganges basin had revolted, and that other wars had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Similarly, “too” presupposes that not only Wilson keep the troops inactive.

others, on the way to the China War, had been diverted to help in the much more serious emergency in India. (Innes 1927, p. 171)

The administration of this veteran soldier was no more peaceful than that of his predecessor [...]. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 133)

Another annexation which attracted more attention at the time was that of Oudh. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 134)

It was arranged that [...] a better system of government should be established. (Synge 1908, p. 124)

Stranger still, their blind indifference to the portents about them was shared by many of the officers commanding the native regiments [...].

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 139)

→ These comparative constructions presuppose that the China War was a serious emergency, that the predecessor’s administration was not peaceful, that other annexations also attracted attention, that there was already a good (though improvable) system of government, and that something else has just been said that could also be a source of surprise.

Les États-Unis, qui n’ont pas de voisins à redouter, n’ont pas besoin d’une armée. (Lavissee 1902, p. 163)

[The United States, which has no neighbors to fear, does not need an army.]

Many of the tálukdárs, or revenue collectors, who exercised ownership rights over the villages, were dispossessed. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 138)

→ The non-restrictive relative clauses contain presupposed information.

But the loyal sepoys were beginning to lose heart, in the belief that the defence was hopeless; and, if no relief had arrived before the end of the month, they would probably have marched out. (Innes 1927, p. 171)

→ The counterfactual conditional presupposes that relief arrived before the end of the month.

Many of these examples, when looked at in isolation, do not necessarily contribute much to an ideological level of meaning generation. As with other formal phenomena, the point is that their local functioning in combination with other discourse features should be attended to. Moreover, there are also the more exceptional individually significant examples, such as

D'ailleurs presque personne ne comprenait que *les colonies sont nécessaires à une nation.* (Lavissee 1902, p. 96)

[Besides, almost no one understood that *colonies are necessary for a nation.*]

to which we can add

The fact is recorded here not in mere disparagement of a brave soldier, but as an illustration of the manner in which the old elementary passions of man's untamed condition can return upon him in his pride of civilisation and culture, and make him their slave again. (McCarthy 1908, p. 191)

which manifests a strong belief in civilizational progress, which is in no way shaken by the facts of warfare, though aberrations are admitted – and presented as aberrations. Note the multiple embedding of presuppositions in the latter sentence. The phrase “an illustration of the manner in which” presupposes the factuality of what follows, and hence the correctness of the perspective that is taken. The brave soldier’s “pride of civilisation and culture” is supposed to have removed him from “the old elementary passions” that are attributed to “man’s untamed condition”; being removed from them, however, they can (actively – note the semantic roles involved, as discussed in 3.3.3) “return upon him” and “make him their slave again”.

Though not all individual examples have such immediate relevance, all of them contribute to the way in which an overall discursive perspective is generated, so that systematic attention to the functioning of presuppositions (keeping in mind that some of them are used to communicate new information, and that many of them are dependent for their interpretation on what is said explicitly elsewhere in the immediate or wider discourse, while others convey meaning that remains fully implicit) is an essential ingredient of a methodology for ideology research.

Ad 3.4.2:

[Find logical implications and entailments.]

The interpretation of presuppositions requires inferences that take into account contextual information. There are also forms of implicit meaning, however, that can be logically deduced from certain forms of expression. They form a general category of phenomena that have been given various labels such as (logical) implication, entailment, or sometimes conventional implicatures.⁷¹ Though making

⁷¹ Making detailed distinctions would lead us too far here. For basic sources of information on such phenomena, as well as those in 3.4.3, see Grice (1989), Levinson (1983), R. Lakoff (1995), and Huang (2007).

the implications explicit may often be tedious and sometimes sound trivial, their contribution to the overall pattern of discursive meaning generation is crucial, as the following examples (with implication triggers underlined) will show.

2. Ils [les Portugais et les Espagnols] se sont emparés, en Amérique, en Afrique, en Asie, en Océanie, des pays qui leur convenaient, et ils ont pris *les pays les plus riches*. 3. Mais comme ils gouvernaient très mal, leurs colonies sont devenues pauvres et faibles. (Lavissee 1902, p. 93)

[2. They [the Portuguese and the Spanish] have seized, in America, in Africa, in Asia, in Oceania, the countries that appealed to them, and they have taken the richest countries. 3. But since they governed very badly, their colonies have become poor and weak.]

It [the Indian Mutiny] had been long maturing, but the reason put forward by the mutineers was, that the cartridges served out to them were greased with cow's fat. (Cassell's 1903, p. 124)

Yet, with hardly an exception, the authorities in India were perfectly unsuspecting. (Innes 1927, p. 170)

Even then Canning and his council and the commander-in-chief, General Anson, saw no occasion for special anxiety.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 139)

→ “Mais” establishes a *contrast* between the situation of certain parts of the world before and after colonization by the Portuguese and the Spanish, while “comme” indicates a *causal connection* between the fate of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies and their being poorly governed (an element that is brought in by way of presupposition). “But” introduces a contrast between “the reason put forward by the mutineers” and a prior context with unspecified circumstances which are thus implicitly presented as the real reasons for the Mutiny. A strong contrastive marker is “yet,” which in the above example suggests that what follows should not have been the case given the facts observed in the paragraphs preceding this sentence; somehow, what we get here is the opposite of a causal connection; in other words, what was observed in the previous paragraphs should have led to the opposite of what is said in the sentence introduced with “yet.” “Even then” functions in much the same way.

Tous les citoyens doivent payer les mêmes impôts. Tous sont donc égaux devant la loi. (Lavissee 1902, p. 100)

[All citizens have to pay the same taxes. Therefore they are all **equal** before the law.]

At one time it was intended that the native troops should be commanded for the most part by native officers. The men would, therefore, have had something like sufficient security that their religious scruples were regarded and respected. (McCarthy 1908, p. 174)

→ “Donc” and “therefore” present the proposition with which they occur as a *logical conclusion* from preceding propositions. In cases like these, it is always interesting to look closely at the precise statements that are introduced as sufficient grounds for the conclusion. What is particularly striking in the British example is the logical connection that is established between a clearly unrealized antecedent at the level of intentionality and a vaguely formulated (“something like”) counterfactual (“would have had”).

“There was great danger of a Sikh rising, and of an attack from the frontier clans and the Afghans. Even Lawrence hesitated for a moment, and was disposed to hand over Pesháwar to the Amír Dost Muhammad in return for his assistance [...]. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 148)

Not for years and years had even Oriental warfare given example of such practice as that which Nana Sahib and the graceful and civilised Azimoolah Khan had now in preparation. (McCarthy 1908, p. 186)

→ “Even” evokes a *scalar contrast*. If “even Lawrence” hesitated, this implies that others, lower on a scale of being resistant to hesitation, would certainly have done so (and probably did). If what Nana Sahib and Azimoolah Khan “had now in preparation” surpassed what “even Oriental warfare” usually offered, this places “Oriental warfare” fairly high on a scale of expected atrocities and suggests that what happened during this particular episode of the Indian Mutiny would have been less likely elsewhere.

Ad 3.4.3:

[Find implicatures.]

Implicatures (see Grice 1989, Levinson 1983, R. Lakoff 1995, Huang 2007 for more details) are forms of unexpressed or unsaid meaning inferred by an interpreter from an utterance on the basis of assumed standard adherence to general communicative principles. Such principles include: that one would normally try to give the amount of information needed at a given moment – not more, not less (quantity); that one would say what one believes to be true, or for which one has sufficient evidence (quality); that one would make an attempt to say relevant things (relation or relevance); that one would try to make one’s communication succinct, clear, orderly (manner).

The quality principle is by definition strong in academic writing. Hence the preponderance of assertive speech acts. Authors are assumed to communicate what they ‘know,’ even if only indirectly through other sources. The fact that they can expect to be judged by such norms is no doubt partly responsible for the significant amount of hedging that occurs (see 3.1). But even hedged assertions implicate that the author believes, has evidence for, what is said. If questions were asked – other than Lavissee’s testing questions or rhetorical questions – this would implicate that the author does not know the answer. Since they do not occur, our sample texts take a clear position of authority.

As to the manner principle, history book authors write under similar constraints. The expected orderliness is responsible for the fact, for instance, that events that are recounted in a specific order are interpreted as having occurred in that temporal order, even if there are no explicit temporal markers, and unless such markers lead to a different conclusion (see 2.3.3 on sequencing). Most narratives, including those in history textbooks, do not abide by a strict rule of providing information in as succinct a manner as possible. Consider the following:

It was not till five days after the original assault that the Lahore gate was taken. Fighting their way through the streets, the assailants reached the palace and gradually mastered the city, though not before 1,145 officers and men had been slain in the process of capture.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 150)

It would have been sufficient to say “Five days after the original assault, the Lahore gate was taken and the city was mastered, at the cost of 1,145 lives.” The lengthier description carries added meaning beyond the literal content of the extra propositions; in particular, it evokes the difficulties experienced and the heroism needed to recapture Delhi.

As to the need for an appropriate quantity of information, take the fact – already observed in 3.1 – that Fearenside (1922, p. 433) ascribes emotions only to the mutineering Indians. The assumption that Fearenside is trying to give as much information as is needed in this narrative, combined with the fact that, in contrast to the account that is given of the involvement of the Indians, nothing is said about the emotional side of British involvement in the conflict, communicates the implicit message that British emotionality is not relevant to the story. In other words, British actions are implicitly presented as *not* driven by emotions: The British soldiers do not want revenge, they are not angry, they are simply doing their job as good professionals in crushing the revolt. Though some (two) other British sources do not follow this pattern, and therefore do not carry a similar implicature, it is clearly there in Fearenside and in some of the others. Also consider the following:

The soldiers were rapidly drifting into that state of panic which is capable of driving Orientals to frenzy. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 138)

There were frightful massacres of our people. (Parkin 1911, p. 213)

The specificity with which susceptibility to frenzy is attributed to Orientals implicates that others, in general, are not equally susceptible; hence implicature serves as a categorization device in this example. Similarly, specifying “our people” as the victims of massacres during the events of the Indian Mutiny, if the sentence is supposed to abide by a principle of quantity that says that sufficient relevant information must be given, implicates that there were no other comparable victims.

As to a principle of relation or relevance, look at just two examples. First:

In 1857 occurred the Sepoy Mutiny, when great numbers of the men we had drilled and armed so carefully rose in rebellion against our rule.

(Parkin 1911, p. 213)

If the restrictive relative clause is assumed to be relevant, it implicates ungratefulness on the part of the rebelling repyoys. The second:

Fighting their way through the streets, the assailants reached the palace and gradually mastered the city, though not before 1,145 officers and men had been slain in the process of capture. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 150)

This passage being written so clearly from the point of view of the British assailants whose courage is evoked with the longer-than-necessary description, mentioning the “1,145 officers and men” who were slain would be less relevant without the implicature that those officers and men were British – a fact that therefore does not have to be stated explicitly.

Ad 3.4.4:

[Investigate tropes, i.e., cases of simile, metonymy, metaphor, irony, overstatement and understatement, rhetorical questions (as well as cases of humor, politeness, and the like).]

A wide range of tropes or figures of speech (see, e.g., Kienpointner 2005) is used to communicate implicature-type added meaning, as the literal meaning of the chosen forms of expression would not make sufficient sense or might even clearly violate general communicative principles.⁷² Some examples (with underlining of the relevant stretches added):

A conviction began to spread among the mutineers that it was of no use attempting to conquer these terrible British sahibs; that so long as one of them was alive he would be as formidable as a wild beast in its lair.
(McCarthy 1908, p. 186)

➔ In a different context, the comparison of British soldiers with wild beasts would be avoided. And it is certainly not the intention to equate the two. Here the *simile* evokes certain properties such as strength and courage.

the transfer of Indian administration from the Company to the Crown.
(Fearenside 1922, p. 434)

➔ Here ‘the Crown’ *metonymically* refers to British government, with the monarch as head of state.

But it was not till the end of the year that the last embers of the great revolt were finally stamped out. (Innes 1927, p. 171)

Before the end of the year all danger was over, though Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Hugh Rose had still work to do in stamping out the last embers of revolt. (Woodward 1921, p. 237)

⁷² I am here avoiding the discussion concerning the generality of the communicative principles in question. There is evidence that at least their universality can be questioned. But for the interpretation of a number of phenomena in the types of discourse under investigation, they remain useful.

This success broke the neck of the mutiny. (Ransome 1910, p. 443)

The news that the Indian native army had broken out into revolt in the late spring of 1857 came upon England like a thunder-clap.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 132)

The news of the outbreak at Meerut, and the proclamation in Delhi, broke upon Calcutta with the shock of a thunder clap.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 177)

And then came a rumour, more alarming than any other, which ran like wild-fire through the sepoy lines in the late autumn.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 138)

Yet in that fateful spring of 1857 the danger signs were blowing thickly over the lowering skies of Northern India. (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 139)

when the disaffection first blazed into a flame of violent rebellion

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 139)

They had marched on the wings of fear [...]

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 140)

→ All of our sample texts contain numerous *metaphors* of the above types. Even this small selection of examples shows that there are intertextual consistencies in the choices of metaphors. They are not random; rather, they emphasize aspects which the authors deem important, such as the surprise element and startling effect evoked by “thunder clap,” of the difficult-to-control force-of-nature character of the revolt suggested by the many fire-related metaphors. In addition to those, there are of course many stock metaphors that form essential ingredients of the texts (e.g., the ‘spreading’ of rumors, etc.).

Not for years and years had even Oriental warfare given example of such practice as that which Nana Sahib and the graceful and civilised Azimoolah Khan had now in preparation. (McCarthy 1908, p. 186)

They burst open the prison, released the eighty-five martyrs, and then proceeded to fire on their officers. (Synge 1908, p. 113)

→ It is hard to assume that “graceful and civilised” is literally meant to characterize Azimoolah Khan in this context (even though elsewhere in the text it is said that he is fully capable of presenting himself as such). Similarly, “martyrs” does not correspond to the really intended categorization of the imprisoned sepoys (even though it would be the applicable category in the mental world of the other rebels – see 2.2.1.2). In both examples, where quite the opposite is meant, we are confronted with cases of *irony* – which are predictably rare in our sample texts, as they belong to an activity type supporting expectations of seriousness.

The little garrison, thinning in numbers every day and almost every hour, held out with splendid obstinacy, and always sent those who assailed it scampering back – except of course for such assailants as perforce kept their ground by the persuasion of the English bullets.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 185)

→ Even more exceptional than mere irony in our corpus – for the same reason – is a sentence like this which overtly tries to be *humorous*.

Utterly, overwhelmingly, preposterously outnumbered as the Englishmen were [...]. (McCarthy 1908, p. 186)

He had under his command only some 5,000 men, a force miserably inferior in number to that of the enemy; but in those days an English officer thought himself in good condition to attack if the foe did not outnumber him by more than four or five to one. (McCarthy 1908, p. 192)

but for the grand courage of Havelock, the fierce energy of Nicholson, the unsleeping toil and forethought of Lawrence, this prophecy would have come true. (Synge 1908, p. 112)

→ These *hyperbolic* utterances or *overstatements* clearly deviate from simple adherence to a principle of quantity; as a result they put heavy emphasis on the odds faced by the British soldiers and the latter's resourcefulness.

He was a brave and clever soldier, but one who unfortunately allowed a fierce [191] temper to overrule the better instincts of his nature and the guidance of a cool judgment. (McCarthy 1908, pp. 191–192)

→ Here *understatement* is used to downplay or mitigate the graveness of Hodson's killing of the three royal princes of Delhi.

his untimely death. Untimely? Was it after all untimely? Since when has it not been held the crown of a great career that the hero dies at the moment of accomplished victory? (McCarthy 1908, p. 193)

→ These *rhetorical questions*, deviating from the principle that one does not ask a question to which one knows the answer, are indirect ways of making a statement, which strengthens its rhetorical effect by implicating that the very asking of the questions is in fact senseless.

When analyzing interactional types of discourse, it is under this rubric that it would make sense to inquire into issues of *politeness* (see Kasper 1996, Eelen 2001). The closest we come in written academic discourse to strategies for avoiding face threats or for supporting positive face is in the flattering ways in which the earlier acts of compatriots are described and the mitigating phrasing for possible points of criticism and blame.

Procedure 3.5: Investigate interactional aspects. In particular:

- 3.5.1:** *In the case of overtly interactional data (e.g., conversations, correspondence), investigate the sequential organization and patterns of mutual engagement.*
- 3.5.2:** *In the case of covertly interactional data (anything that looks like it is purely 'monologic'), look for aspects of dialogic organization, i.e., implicit patterns of interaction.*

AD 3.5, IN GENERAL:

[Investigate interactional aspects.]

When investigating data that are literally interactive, with two or more participants who are all uttering and interpreting, the study of interactional aspects is one of the more crucial angles from which to approach the discursive generation of meaning.⁷³ It would be a mistake, however, to believe that no such angle can be taken to look at written, apparently 'monologic,' data. As Watson's (2009) work clearly demonstrates, authors install 'events-in-the-world' into their texts; they do so on the basis of their own interpretative engagement with earlier entextualizations; moreover, they do so in such a manner as to render their own categorizations and representations credible; and the meaning generation process is not complete until 'readings' are produced. As discourse analysts without direct access to others' readings, we have to keep these fundamentally interactive structural processes in mind to achieve a balanced picture of the meaning potential of a text.

AD 3.5.1:

[In the case of overtly interactional data (e.g., conversations, correspondence), investigate the sequential organization and patterns of mutual engagement.]

For conversational data, various aspects of sequential organization (see Sidnell 2006b) have to be studied in detail, including openings and closings, adjacency pairs, pre-sequences and insertion sequences, interruptions and overlaps, pauses, hesitations, false starts, and repairs. Patterns of mutual engagement must also be investigated: Who introduces what topics when and how? How are they accepted and elaborated? Is there a dominant party in the interaction? How is attentiveness signaled? Furthermore, all of this must be looked at with due attention to prosody, gaze, gesture, and bodily positioning.

In our sample corpus, the closest we come to these kinds of phenomena is in the summary rendition of some reported cases of interaction. An example that occurs more than once (thus becoming indicative of an intertextual master narrative) is the following:

⁷³ For a number of introductory texts on a variety of interactional phenomena, see D'hondt, Östman and Verschueren (eds.) (2009).

“Sir Henry, are you hurt?” cried a friend who was with him.

There was a moment’s silence.

“I am killed,” answered the wounded man firmly.

(Synge 1908, p. 119)

The opening turn is a simple yes–no question. It is followed by a pause, punctuating the weight of the following answer. Then the answer comes, which does more than to respond to the literal import of the question. It reinterprets the question as “How badly are you hurt?,” and, in answering that question, Sir Henry takes the unexpected further step – which makes the story worth reporting – not to describe the current situation but the anticipated outcome, which he does in such a way that the utterance he produces, if taken literally, would not make sense.

Ad 3.5.2:

[In the case of covertly interactional data (anything that looks like it is purely ‘monologic’), look for aspects of dialogic organization, i.e., implicit patterns of interaction.]

The texts in our sample corpus are not simply representations of (assumed/ believed) facts. As Watson (2009, p. 53) would put it, they are “representations for particular types of recipients” who all bring their own interpretation categories into the reading of the texts. All features of audience design, already touched upon under Rule 2.4 and Procedure 2.2.1.3, are relevant here. In addition, the features I have repeatedly highlighted in Lavis (1902), with its overt structuring for classroom use (left more implicit in the British sources, except in some of their prefaces), openly define the texts as central ingredients in “textually-mediated social action” (Watson 2009, p. 93). Furthermore, what has been said (under 2.2.1.2) about the various voices involved or invoked in the discourse also signals covert interactionality.

Our largely ‘monologic’ printed texts, moreover, sometimes show phenomena directly analogous to dialogic units. Thus the questions that are sometimes asked (in the British texts), even if rhetorical, do get answered. There are interesting openings such as

In May 1857 the great Indian Mutiny shook to its foundations the whole fabric of British rule in Hindostan. (McCarthy 1908, p. 170)

with twenty-five pages later an unmistakable closing:

On December 20, 1858, Lord Clyde, who had been Sir Colin Campbell, announced to the Governor-General that the rebellion was at an end, and on May 1, 1859, there was a public thanksgiving in England for the pacification of India. (McCarthy 1908, p. 195)

There are also parallels to repair strategies:

The Queen created him a baronet, or rather affixed that honour to his name on the 27th of the same month, not knowing then that the soldier’s time for struggle and for honour was over. (McCarthy 1908, p. 193)

Finally, in some parts of the narratives, clear *interaction profiles* are set up. One type we find in Low and Sanders' use of footnotes:

Tántia Topí, the Nana's former minister, and the most able leader on the rebel side during the entire campaign.¹

¹ With the possible exceptions of the Oudh maulvi and the Ráni of Jhánsi, Sir Hugh Rose thought that the Maráthá princess was "the best and bravest military leader of the rebels." (Low and Sanders 1910, p. 151)

A different device for letting different opinions/views interact, this time without identifying the sources (though the stability of the same opposition across texts suggests some sort of 'common knowledge' status):

He is commonly thought to have died of fever in the jungle, though it was long rumoured that he had escaped to Tibet, or was hiding in India.

(Low and Sanders 1910, p. 155)

Nana Sahib escaped, and is thought to have died of fever in the jungle, though there is some reason to believe that he escaped, and lived in concealment in Nepal. (Richardson 1924, p. 139)

Sometimes an outside voice is contradicted by the author, as in

On July 2 he had been up with the dawn, and after a great amount of work he lay on the sofa, not, as it has been well said, to rest, but to transact business in a recumbent position. (McCarthy 1908, p. 181)

or simply invoked:

He had just time left, it is said, to order the murder of a separate captive, a woman who had previously been overlooked or purposely left behind.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 190)

Not surprisingly, these examples also take us back to the discussion of evidentiality (see under 3.3.4).

Procedure 3.6: Investigate metapragmatic functioning. In particular:

3.6.1: Look for indicators of metapragmatic awareness (ranging from *verba dicendi*, to sentence adverbs, question tags, hedges, quotations, and reported speech).

AD 3.6, IN GENERAL:

[Investigate metapragmatic functioning.]

As was pointed out at the beginning of Chapter 3, in the discussion of a background theory of pragmatics, metapragmatic reflexivity is an essential ingredient of language use. In fact, language as we know it would be unthinkable without reflexive awareness of what it is that one is doing when using language; it would not be possible, for instance, to decide on what needs to be said explicitly and what kinds of information can be left implicit as they can be assumed to be 'computed' by the interpreter. Or to repeat my earlier formulation (when explaining Thesis 1), language use shares with any other form of social action the basic

property of its being ‘meaningful’ in the sense that it is always interpreted by the people involved, and that these reflexive interpretations need to be understood if we want to make sense of observed behavior. This is not only a basic premise of linguistic pragmatics; it is shared by philosophers (Winch 1958 – one of the first to drive home this point in relation to the social sciences), sociologists (Thompson’s 1984 ‘hermeneutics of everyday life’ depends on it), and ethnomethodologists (see e.g. Watson 2009).

At a general level, we cannot even ignore the role of ideologies of language and communication when investigating discourse. Our sample texts very clearly define their own status, and this status is often associated with normative expectations. Lavissee’s (1902) title page provides a clearly reflexive definition of the book:

Notions sommaires [...]

Leçons – résumés – réflexions

[Basic notions [...]

Lessons – summaries – reflections]

He further specifies the speech act purpose of the “résumés” with “(à réciter),” whenever they occur. His preface, furthermore, clearly spells out self-imposed communicative norms:

Une histoire des principaux peuples anciens et modernes doit être enseignée avec *discretion*, car elle est immense. Il faut se garder de vouloir tout dire, et sacrifier résolument les détails: nous les avons sacrifiés.

[...]

Ces notions d’histoire générale, pourvu qu’elles soient données sobrement, rendront grand service aux écoliers. Elles seront le complément naturel de l’histoire de la France; car [...]. Elles seront aussi le complément de l’éducation patriotique: nos enfants doivent [...]. (Lavissee 1902, p. 2)

[A history of the principal ancient and modern peoples must be taught with *discretion*, as it is boundless. One must refrain from wanting to say everything, and sacrifice the details resolutely: we have sacrificed them.

[...]

These notions of general history, if they are presented objectively, will render a great service to the students. They will be the natural complement to the history of France; since [...]. They will also complete patriotic education: our children must [...].]

Lavissee also provides comments on content organization, defending his decision to take a ‘universal’ perspective rather than dealing with different ‘peoples’ one after the other.

Similarly, Hearnshaw’s preface introduces a contrast between authentic history, legend, and anecdote:

This little book is intended in the first place for school children who, having passed through the early stages of instruction, in which legend and anecdote play the main part, are called upon to make their first systematic survey of authentic English History. (Hearnshaw 1930, p. v)

Hearnshaw also makes a normative statement about language use:

The attempt to tell a complex story entirely in Anglo-Saxon monosyllables may give the narrative an air of child-like simplicity; but, as one or two well-known and awful examples show, the simplicity is delusive and the monotony deadly. (Hearnshaw 1930, p. vi)

Most of the other sources contain similarly reflexive and normative judgements, recommendations, and expressions of intention. Some also give a further characterization of the type of prose to be expected; thus McCarthy's preface, like many of the others, describes what follows as the telling of a 'story' or a 'narrative.'

Ad 3.6.1:

[Look for indicators of metapragmatic awareness (ranging from *verba dicendi* to sentence adverbs, question tags, hedges, quotations, and reported speech).]

Many of the formal features that have already passed the review rely for their proper interpretation on metapragmatic awareness and thus serve as indicators of such awareness. They include:

- The *positioning of utterer and interpreter* (for instance, by means of certain types of person deixis, as discussed in 2.2.1.1, the appeal to voices [2.2.1.2] and interpreter roles [2.2.1.3], as well as placement in relation to institutional settings [2.2.3], time and space [2.2.4]).
- The use of supporting *graphic features* (see 2.2.5).
- Properties of the *linguistic context* (including choice of *channels* [2.3.1], the establishment of *intertextual links* [2.3.2, including *quotation and reported speech*] and contextual *cohesion* [2.3.4]).
- The definition of the *activity type* (see 3.1, including a treatment of *hedges*, but also the general comments under 3.6 above).
- The choice of *languages, codes, and styles* (see 3.2).
- Choices related to *carriers of information structure* (see 3.3, including quite centrally patterns of word choice and the categorizations they imply, modality and evidentiality, foregrounding and backgrounding, and the establishment of coherence).
- All *carriers of implicit meaning* (see 3.4), as choices at that level depend crucially on an assessment of what an interpreter can be assumed to already know.
- All *interactional features* (see 3.5), as they require awareness of meanings or discourse one interacts with, and hence awareness of what it is one is doing communicatively.

It is not by accident that this list includes just about everything we have already been dealing with. Nor is it, as one might object, trivial to present such a list of non-new information at this stage. It must serve as a reminder that what we are dealing with here is a metalevel, the level of active or potential consciousness, that has every aspect of language use within its scope.

Therefore, looking for indicators of metapragmatic awareness (of which the examples listed in parentheses in the formulation of procedure 3.6.1 are just some of the most typical ones) is a task to be carried out throughout a discourse-analytic exercise. Let me draw attention here to just a few of the more striking types of explicit metacomment that we find in one of our sources, McCarthy (1908):

Let the bitterest enemy of England write the history of her rule in India, and set down as against her every wrong that was done in her name, from those which Burke denounced to those which the Madras Commission exposed, he will have to say that men, many men, like Henry Lawrence, lived and died devoted to the cause of that rule, and the world will take account of the admission. (McCarthy 1908, p. 182)

Lord Dalhousie had shown in many instances a strangely unwise disregard of the principle of adoption [...] [183] [here follows a long explanation of Nana Sahib's missing a princely status as a result] A sense of his [Nana Sahib's] wrongs had eaten him up. It is a painful thing to say, but it is necessary to the truth of this history, that his wrongs were genuine. He had been treated with injustice. (McCarthy 1908, pp. 183–184)

It may be said at once, that of the gallant little party who went ashore to attack the enemy, hand to hand, four finally escaped, after adventures so perilous and so extraordinary that a professional story-teller would hardly venture to make them part of a fictitious narrative.

(McCarthy 1908, p. 188)

These examples show full reflexive awareness of the British-friendly perspective taken in this, as in other sources, on British history. Extolling the virtues of British commanders is what also enables the author to admit mistakes without loss of face. But quite elaborate, explicitly metapragmatic comment is needed to accomplish that task.

Procedure 3.7: *If possible, try to identify any strategies of meaning generation that may appear from any of the observations based on the foregoing procedural steps. In particular:*

3.7.1: *Look for potentially strategic ways in which the interplay between the explicit and the implicit is exploited.*

AD 3.7, IN GENERAL:

[If possible, try to identify any strategies of meaning generation that may appear from any of the observations based on the foregoing procedural steps.]

All language use involves strategies, though not all choices at that (or any other) level can be interpreted as fully intentional. Here we must come back once more to the earlier observation that there are hardly any fixed form–function relationships (Caveat 3.1). As was said at that point, the meaningful functioning of language in use allows for near-infinite manipulations of such (often conventional but always negotiable) relationships. As was also suggested, such manipulations or negotiations are not random; rather, principles and strategies can usually be identified. In our history

textbook samples, for instance, presupposition-carrying constructions are quite systematically used to convey new information in such a manner that its factuality is underscored by a surface assumption of common ground – the ‘typical’ prerequisite for the use of presuppositions. And no doubt, for most, if not all, of the authors, there are motivations beyond the mere conveying of academically justifiable knowledge, the ‘typical’ or conventional function of the chosen activity type; patriotic fervor, for instance, is often quite evident; but since it is usually not the overt goal to instill patriotic zeal in the readers, such an effect may be all the stronger.

Here I will not return to the possible strategic exploitation of all the levels of structure we have already reviewed. This exercise can be performed by every reader by asking on every occasion the following question: What does the choice of this specific form of expression, from among a set of contrasting alternatives, contribute to the meaning that is generated by this text? Rather, I will concentrate only, in the next section, on the fact that communicative strategies often hinge on the way in which explicit and implicit information are made to interact.

Ad 3.7.1:

[Look for potentially strategic ways in which the interplay between the explicit and the implicit is exploited.]

To illustrate the strategic interplay between the explicit and the implicit, look at one coherent stretch of text from Parkin (1911), one of the more condensed accounts of the Indian Mutiny.

[1] We have seen how India was conquered for us largely by the help of natives [sic] troops, or Sepoys. [2] These same Sepoys proved, however, to be a great danger as well as a great assistance. [3] In 1857 occurred the Sepoy Mutiny, when great numbers of the men whom we had drilled and armed so carefully rose in rebellion against our rule. [4] There were frightful massacres of our people. [5] For a short time it seemed probable that British power in India would be overthrown. [6] Had the whole of the people of India joined in the rebellion, this would no doubt have taken place. [7] But they did not do so, and of the Sepoys themselves many regiments remained faithful, and helped us to fight the mutineers. [8] The **Sikhs** of the Punjaub, whom we had conquered shortly before, fought valiantly upon the British side, and rendered great assistance, as did also the princes and people of some of the feudatory native States. [9] The common people of the country went on as usual rendering us those services which are almost necessary for the existence of Europeans in the hot climate of India. [10] Never perhaps did British soldiers display greater courage and endurance than during the Sepoy Mutiny. [11] But it was put down by native aid as well as by the exertions of our own troops. [12] The Mutiny proved that India was not, and probably never will be, a country which can be united to oppose our rule. (Parkin 1911, pp. 213–214; sentence numbering added)

A schematic presentation of explicit and implicit information in this text, sentence by sentence (but leaving out existential presuppositions), is to be found in Table 8.

Table 8. *Explicit vs. implicit*

	Explicit	Implicit
[1]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “we”: inclusive reference to author + readers - “we have seen”: anaphoric reference to earlier text 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “how India was conquered for us largely by the help of native troops, or Sepoys” is presupposed as shared knowledge on the basis of the earlier text which “we have seen” refers to - embedded presupposition: the conquering was done “for us,” where “us” refers to the community shared by author + readers - “largely” implies ‘not only’ - though carried along as presupposed, the equivalence “native troops” = “Sepoys” is spelled out as a reminder
[2]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “these same Sepoys proved to be a great danger” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “however” implies a real contrast between a previous proposition (reintroduced after “as well as”) and the current one - “proved” presupposes that the “great danger” was not merely a possibility, a risk, but that something already happened; thus this choice of word is a projection toward the following narrative (which is thus expected to clarify the meaning of “a great danger”) - the meaning of “a great assistance” is supposed to be known from the preceding discourse
[3]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “in 1857” - “great numbers of sepoys rose in rebellion against our rule” - this event is called “the Sepoy Mutiny” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the lengthy redefinition of “sepoys” as “the men whom we had drilled and armed so carefully” presents them by implicature as beneficiaries of “our rule,” and hence their rising in rebellion as an act of ingratitude - “great numbers of” implicates ‘not all’ - the fact that rule in India was “our rule” is presupposed (as a logical consequence of India having been conquered “for us,” and again with “our” referring to the community shared by author + readers)
[4]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “frightful massacres of our people” took place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “our” – see above - the specific mentioning of “of our people” implicates that no others were victims of “frightful massacres”
[5]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “British power in India” was in real danger, “for a short time,” of being overthrown 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “for a short time” implies “not very long”, and hence it anticipates the crushing of the revolt; in combination with “it seemed probable that ... would be ...” it presupposes that the overthrowing did not happen - the equivalence of “British power in India” with “our rule” is treated as known information

- [6] - the situation was such that, under certain circumstances (“the whole of the people of India” joining the rebellion), “this” (British power in India being overthrown) would have happened
- “had . . . , this would no doubt have . . .” presupposes again that the overthrowing did not happen
- [7] - “they” (the whole of the people of India) “did not do so” (did not join the rebellion)
- “but” sets up a contrast between what was implicitly communicated (in [5] and [6]) as not having happened, and introduces an explicit statement of what did happen
- many sepoy regiments “remained faithful,” and “helped us to fight the mutineers”
- “remained faithful”: implicitly ‘to us’
- “us” – see above
- [8] - the Sikhs “fought valiantly upon the British side, and rendered great assistance”
- “the Sikhs of the Punjaub” implies “all of them”
- the fact that “we had conquered” the Sikhs “shortly before” is introduced by way of presupposition
- “and rendered great assistance” implies that there were other forms of assistance in addition to fighting with the British
- “some of the feudatory native States” implies “not all”
- “we” – see above
- “rendered great assistance”: implicitly “to us”
- [9] - “the common people of the country” continued providing the usual services
- “the common people of the country” sets up an implicit contrast between military and non-military
- “went on as usual” presupposes earlier activity of the type described
- “those services which are almost necessary for the existence of Europeans in the hot climate of India” implies that the hot climate of India is a well-known fact, that this makes life for Europeans difficult, that their life in India can be made more bearable if certain services are rendered by the locals, and it presupposes that readers can be assumed to know what those services are
- “us” – see above

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Explicit	Implicit
[10] - perhaps it has never been the case that ...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the complete structure “never perhaps ... than during the Sepoy Mutiny” presupposes that the Sepoy Mutiny was an occasion on which British soldiers displayed great courage and endurance, and that it was the occasion on which – though this is modified with “perhaps” – the greatest courage and endurance were displayed - “greater courage and endurance” presupposes that great courage and endurance has also been displayed on other occasions
[11] - the Mutiny was put down - this was done with native aid and efforts of “our own troops”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “but” sets up a contrast between British courage and endurance (reintroduced after “as well as”) and “native aid” - “native aid” refers back to and presupposes the types of aid described in the preceding discourse (in [7], [8], and [9]) - “our own troops” – see above
[12] - the Mutiny proved something	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “proved that” presupposes the truth of what follows - “a country which can be united” presupposes that it is not united - “our rule” – see above

Unlike what might be suggested by this tabular presentation, explicit and implicit information are not just juxtaposed and added up. There are interesting forms of interaction, and usually it is not by accident that a bit of information ends up in one column or in the other. The most remarkable property of the meaning generation process that is immediately transparent from Table 8 is the heavy load of implicit information. The explicit seems to function only as a skeleton, and even most of the new information is either implied or carried along in presupposition-carrying constructions. As a communicative strategy, this helps in *building up an interesting narrative*. For instance, that the Mutiny was eventually put down was clear from [5] onwards, but it is not said explicitly until [11], which is an effective way of keeping the reader's attention focused on what the author wants to communicate about circumstances and events leading to this outcome.

Some of the other effects of the use of implicitly communicated content in this text fragment include:

- The *creation of solidarity*: the multiple references to an unquestioned shared community between author and readers, involved in, and clearly situated on one side of, the reported conflict.
- The complete *naturalization* of 'our rule,' culminating in the assessment and corresponding prediction in [12], the truth of which is simply presupposed.
- Aspects of *evaluation*: The combination of explicit statements with implicated meaning casts good vs. bad Indians; the bad, restricted to a group of sepoys in this narrative, are ungrateful beings; since absolutely nothing is said about their reasons for rebelling, except for the suggested ungratefulness, it is implicated that they are rebels without a cause.

Turning all of this into explicit statements would make it more difficult to communicate the same meaning. For one thing, the need would arise to defend and explain. It would take quite an effort, for instance, to argue for the absence of motives; at least reference would have to be made to what the rebelling sepoys regarded as their motives, and then an argument would have to be made for not regarding these professed motives as legitimate. This is the essence of what underlies the strategic interplay of the explicit and the implicit in language use, and laying bare such phenomena is a powerful key to insight into ideological processes.

Guideline 4: For an overall interpretation, ask yourself whether the assembled observations can be seen to represent an identifiable pattern of meaning in relation to issues pertaining to social structures, processes, and relations.

All of the preceding guidelines are pragmatic building blocks for empirical discourse-based ideology research. Since they were only meant as descriptions of tools, all illustrated with reference to the same body of data, they do not in

themselves constitute a full-blown analysis on the basis of which definitive conclusions can be drawn, even in relation to that restricted data set. Yet it is possible to also illustrate the types of concluding interpretations that research may lead to. The main thing is to distinguish clearly between the *topical or informational content* of the discourse of narratives under investigation, and the *involvement or perspective* that can be identified on the basis of careful analysis. In our sample data there seems to be a clearly favorable disposition toward the phenomenon of colonization. Sometimes this is very explicit, most obviously in Lavissee (1902); sometimes colonial possessions (in this case India) are treated as such completely natural phenomena that explicit statements of the Lavissee type are not necessary (e.g., in Synge 1908):

6. Mais la France était alors gouvernée par Louis XV, dont vous connaissez le triste règne. D'ailleurs presque personne ne comprenait que *les colonies sont nécessaires à une nation*. 7. On dépensait beaucoup d'argent et de soldats à des guerres en Allemagne et en Italie, où la France n'avait rien à gagner, et on refusait d'envoyer aux colonies 4 ou 5 000 soldats qui auraient donné à la France l'*empire du monde*." (Lavissee 1902, p. 96)

[6. But at the time France was governed by Louis XV, whose sad rule you know. Besides, almost no one understood that *colonies are necessary for a nation*. 7. A lot of money and many soldiers were expended on wars in Germany and Italy, where France had nothing to gain, and there was a refusal to send the 4 or 5,000 soldiers to the colonies that would have given to France the *empire of the world*.]

"There are times in the history of every nation when she must either fight or go down."

Such a time had come now. Swiftly, silently the blow fell, and heroically, alone, without an ally, against odds too great to be counted, England in the face of the world set to work to re-conquer India. (Synge 1908, p. 111)

Given this favorable disposition, it is not surprising that, in the face of conflict, the colonizer's side or perspective is always taken. That is explicitly the case in the above quotation from Synge (1908), while it is left implicit in the following:

Meanwhile the Chinese war was also apparently brought to a satisfactory conclusion [...]. (Innes 1927, p. 172)

Evaluative terms such as "satisfactory" always imply a perspective. Though in principle the sentence leaves open whether the conclusion of the war was satisfactory for the Chinese or for the British, there is little doubt as to the 'correct' interpretation.

Another aspect of the emerging, quite coherent, pattern is the *legitimation* work that goes into making acceptable what could otherwise be condemned, such as mingling in the affairs of others, suppression, and even violence. When such things happen, they are presented as a necessity, rather than a matter of choice:

Mais depuis q'on a creusé le *canal de Suez* et que beaucoup de marchands européens se sont établis au Caire et à Alexandrie, les Européens sont forcés de s'occuper des affaires de l'Égypte. (Lavissee 1902, p. 128)

[But since the *Suez Canal* was dug and many European merchants have established themselves in Cairo and Alexandria, the Europeans have been forced to occupy themselves with the affairs of Egypt.]

Note that there is a missing link; it is not said why – and hence taken for granted that – the mere presence of European merchants leads to a mingling in Egyptian affairs. Or consider the following:

Lord Dalhousie was distinguished by a policy of annexation; [...] in distinction from the custom, which had hitherto prevailed generally, of maintaining the native rule unless annexation had become a palpable necessity.

(Innes 1927, p. 169)

Though mildly critical of Dalhousie's rash policies (a recurrent attitude in many of the British sources), it is taken for granted that there are – further unspecified – circumstances that necessitate the annexation of (in contrast to mere control over) territory. And when war is involved, as in

14. Mais le gouvernement chinois [...] continua à maltraiter les missionnaires* français et les commerçants anglais. **15.** L'Angleterre et la France s'allièrent alors et firent deux expéditions contre la [154] Chine (1857 et 1860). (Lavissee 1902, pp. 154–155)

[**14.** But the Chinese government [...] continued to maltreat the French missionaries and the English merchants. **15.** England and France then formed an alliance and undertook two expeditions against [154] China (1857 and 1860).]

or

2. [...] en 1857, quelques missionnaires furent massacrés. **3.** La France envoya une expédition qui prit *Saïgon*. (Lavissee 1902, p. 157)

[**2.** [...] in 1857, some missionaries were murdered. **3.** France sent an expedition which captured Saigon.]

there is a tendency to present the military “expeditions” as reaction rather than action, the murder or maltreatment of missionaries being an excellent form of legitimation, even though the link is left implicit.

In other types of texts, less concerned than our samples of academic writing with the communication of ‘facts,’ in addition to legitimation strategies, we may be able to distinguish strategies of *persuasion* or even *propaganda* and *manipulation* (see, e.g., Chilton 2002, 2004). Essentially, the linguistic tools used for these purposes are the same, so that analyses based on the guidelines in this book are appropriate as long as special care is taken with counterscreening steps at all crucial stages of the analysis, especially when claims about intentional misleading are concerned.