

***“I DON’T THINK IT’S THE WHOLE STORY!”:
A CASE STUDY OF THE LINGUISTIC
FACE MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES
OF DYSLEXIC ADULTS***

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ABSTRACT

Dyslexia is primarily a neurobiological disorder and much research has been conducted on this (see for example Coltheart 1996; Shaywitz and Shaywitz 2000 and 2004). However, little has been done which investigates the social construction of dyslexia. Because dyslexia affects reading, writing and spelling to varying degrees, although it may originate from genetic inheritance, it manifests itself in social spheres. Brown and Levinson's (1987) Face Theory states that people use strategies to minimise the damage to the positive face of others. My research focuses on how dyslexic individuals use linguistic strategies to minimise potential face-threatening acts or FTAs against themselves and in so doing preserve their own positive face. Using elements of Face Theory and APPRAISAL I constructed a typology reflecting these linguistic face management devices of adults with dyslexia. With this research I hope to contribute to the field in an innovative and meaningful manner through an exploration of the linguistic face management strategies used in the management of positive face.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Research and Research Questions

Dyslexia is generally considered to be a neurologically-based condition in which areas of the brain which control visual perception and short-term memory-storage have been altered through an accident or due to a biological inheritance. This, in turn, results in altered abilities when reading, writing or spelling (Goswami 2002). Reading and writing are social activities, which mean the condition will have social consequences. Possible consequences include being seen as unintelligent by peers and teachers; not getting the necessary marks to attend tertiary education; and/or not being considered for job promotions (McLoughlin, Fitzgibbon and Young 1994). Therefore, although biological in origin, dyslexia is realised or 'performed' (Butler 1990) when communicating within social environments.

While there is a large body of literature on dyslexia (see for example Baddeley *et al.* 1982; Beacham and Alty 2006; Ellis *et al.* 2000 and Shaywitz and Shaywitz 2001 & 2005) it is predominantly medical in nature, focussing on the neuro-biological effects of the condition. Little of the available literature on dyslexia focuses on the way in which dyslexia is made manifest within social spheres. The research therefore aims to address this gap in the literature by exploring the linguistic strategies of people with dyslexia and, in so doing, contribute to the field in a meaningful and novel manner.

Society does not typically view dyslexia as being a positive attribute (Drewe 2003). Negative connotations have been attached to the condition and, as a result, it is generally not a topic of discussion that a dyslexic individual will willingly participate in (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994). Discussing dyslexia could therefore be seen as a potential face-threatening act (or FTA) in that the individual will try to negotiate face since they do not want to be seen by non-dyslexic people as being deficient in some manner. Of interest to me are the linguistic face-management strategies dyslexic individuals engage in when discussing personal accounts of topics such as dyslexia. The study therefore seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. *Using elements of Face Theory and APPRAISAL as interpretive frameworks, what are the linguistic strategies used by adult dyslexics when negotiating potential face-threatening situations?*
2. *What typology would accurately capture these strategies?*

The aim of this research is thus an investigation of the face-management strategies used in the negotiation of possible FTAs during verbal interactions. Adult dyslexics were my chosen population sample as they have had the opportunity to develop linguistic face-management strategies in a wider range of contexts than younger people (e.g. working in a professional environment).

Key terminology introduced in these research questions will be explained fully in sections 2.7. and 2.8. However, a brief introduction is necessary at this point. Face Theory investigates the linguistic behaviour speakers and hearers undertake to negotiate face-threatening acts (or FTAs), where the face of the speaker or hearer is potentially imposed upon (Erbert and Floyd 2004). APPRAISAL is a sub-section of Systemic Functional Grammar (or SFG) which specifically explores the interpersonal meta-function of texts, looking at the ways in which language is used to communicate attitudes, judgements of others and an appreciation of entities (Martin and Rose 2003).

1.2. Fields of Research

Dyslexia is generally considered to be neurological in origin (Monachina 2006) and has therefore commonly been studied within the sub-discipline of psycholinguistics. However, there is also a strong social element to dyslexia which has been largely underplayed in previous literature. Discourse Analysis focuses on how we build meaning in the larger social communicative sense rather than simply through grammatical units (Hunter 2006). In other words, meaning is construed through the investigation of an entire text or conversation rather than the observation of a single sentence (Hunter 2006). As such, Discourse Analysis provides useful tools for exploring social aspects of dyslexia. Since I consider there to be a (largely unexplored) social aspect to dyslexia, this thesis explores the novel possibility of a Discourse Analysis perspective on the condition.

One study which does investigate this element is Undheim (2002), where she looked at the psycho-social elements of dyslexia within a group of Norwegian students. Here the study found strong correlation between the self-esteem of dyslexic individuals and social interactions. Since reading, writing and spelling (all of which are part of communicative competency and thus necessary for successful communication) are affected by dyslexia, this in turn affects an individual's social interactions. In line with Undheim's (2002) study, there appears to be a strong link between Face (a psychological construct) and discourse (a social construct). Our sense of the face we convey to the hearer is constructed in the language we use. Dyslexia affects one's face since it is constructed and reflected in discourse.

In order to analyse face management strategies, elements of Face Theory (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987) were combined with APPRAISAL (Martin and Rose 2003) in this study. Using this combinatory framework, I aim to reveal how the linguistic strategies revealed in my typology serve to construct and maintain the positive face of dyslexic individuals when discussing the condition. Face Theory (Brown and Levinson 1978) reveals the linguistic behaviours used to preserve face in front of others. APPRAISAL (Martin and Rose 2003), meanwhile, allows for an investigation into the emotions and evaluations that the participants attach to dyslexia. Therefore I believe using this combinatory interpretive framework allows for an enriched, nuanced analysis which will reveal how the participants negotiate face.

For the purposes of this research I focussed the APPRAISAL analysis on the responses to a particular interview question: *How did you feel when you first found out you were dyslexic?* However, the Face elements looked at the responses to all interview questions. The reason for this is that the focussed nature of APPRAISAL prevented me from covering the entire scope of the interview responses. Although distinct in their focus I do conflate the two at times in the analysis and seek to demonstrate parallels where relevant.

My research therefore differs from prior studies as it aims to investigate explicitly the linguistic behaviours of people with dyslexia. While there is some literature available which addresses the behaviour of dyslexic individuals (see for example Drewe 1999;

McLoughlin *et al.* 1994), there is currently no available literature which describes how dyslexics perform dyslexia through discourse. Because of this gap in the social reproduction of dyslexia, this research aims to contribute to the field in an innovative and meaningful way.

This particular piece of research cannot aim to expand the common neuro-biological study of dyslexia. However, it does aim to draw and expand on DA-related literature (as well as on the participants' insights) in an attempt to better understand dyslexia and the linguistic face-management strategies implemented by people with dyslexia. I would define such strategies as being linguistic behaviours which affirm the speaker's positive face. By doing this, the potential face-threatening act (FTA) of the revealed information is also ameliorated, thereby helping to preserve the positive face of the speaker.

The following section seeks to explain the significance of life histories before providing background information on the research participants of this study.

1.3. Life Histories: Their Significance

According to Frank (2003:39), the life history offers “a relatively unspecialised technique for collecting materials relevant to any set of concerns about human existence in society”. It allows the reader to step into the lives of the research participants, gaining knowledge about significant events in their lives and, in so doing, developing an idea of the identity that these individuals have created over their lifetimes. I believe that, by allowing a glimpse into their past, the participants no longer become mere research objects; they become real human beings who face both ordinary and extraordinary everyday struggles. Although space precludes the inclusion of comprehensive life histories in this dissertation, a basic knowledge of the participants' backgrounds is also important because the life histories inform my analysis of the data, making it richer and more nuanced in the understanding of how contextual variables within a dyslexic's life history constrain their linguistic choices in the interview data.

The following section provides some necessarily brief descriptions of the personal histories of the participants. Please note that the names have been changed to protect the identity of my research participants.

1.3.1. Personal History: CHARLES

Charles is a twenty-four-year-old man originally from Durban who recently graduated with a Doctorate in Forensic Entomology at Rhodes University. There is a strong family history of dyslexia among the males in both sides of his family. Charles was unofficially diagnosed by a teacher when he was ten years old due to poor spelling and reading abilities. He typically preferred the practical component of subjects because of this. He very seldom reads information around him, focussing rather on any accompanying illustrations.

1.3.2. LEANNE

Leanne is a thirty-three-year-old office administrator/housekeeper at a hotel with a family history of dyslexia. In grade eleven Leanne realised she was dyslexic through a suggestion from her English teacher as she was struggling with essay-writing. She never did well in tests and exams. Unlike the conventional stereotype of dyslexic individuals disliking reading, Leanne loves to read and recounts how she and her sisters read avidly in their spare time. Like many dyslexics (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994), she struggles distinguishing left from right, recounting how her driving instructor had to write 'L' and 'R' on her hands so she could follow the hand with the appropriate marking.

1.3.3. MICHAEL

Michael is a twenty-one-year-old student who has spent the majority of his life moving between different schools while travelling around the world with his family. This disruption to his schooling meant he lagged behind in class activities and struggled to adjust to new teaching environments and this impacted negatively on his competencies, including his reading ability. It was only when Michael was about nine that he finally learnt how to read. No-one else in his family shows any symptoms of dyslexia. At age

thirteen he was sent to the Dyslexia Institute in England where he was prescribed a pair of purple-tinted glasses which, he claims, assist his reading abilities a hundred-fold as this particular shade prevents letters from doubling up and merging together when he reads. Michael works at a bar/restaurant while completing his BComm Management degree by correspondence. He dislikes reading intensely, saying he can only read the occasional magazine without losing concentration and getting bored.

1.3.4. MELISSA

Thirty-six-year-old Melissa grew up in the Transkei but was largely schooled in Grahamstown. There is no family history of dyslexia. Her academic difficulties were only established as dyslexia-related at the beginning of her matric year when her English teacher suggested the term. While pleased to finally have a label that described her difficulties, Melissa long felt frustrated by the discrepancy between the work she put in and the results she achieved at school. However she later completed a Bachelor of Social Science at Rhodes University and was recently awarded her PhD through the University of New Zealand.

1.3.5. TIMOTHY

Twenty-two-year-old Timothy is a first-year architectural student at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University with a family history of dyslexia. He only first became aware of being dyslexic in grade eleven when an English teacher suggested he be tested for dyslexia due to extremely poor spelling. However, he later discovered that his parents had suspected for several years that he had dyslexia as it had apparently been picked up with when he was tested for Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Condition (ADHD) when he was five years old. Timothy loves reading but finds writing frustrating because he knows high register words but is unable to spell them and so often does not use them.

1.3.6. WANDA

Wanda is a forty-three-year-old chef originally from Cape Town. Being adopted she does not know of any family history of the condition but she knows that none of her sons have dyslexia. Interestingly, Wanda says she does not talk about dyslexia with her husband or her children, having never explicitly stated ‘I have it’. In the interview Wanda revealed that I was in fact the first person with whom she has ever openly discussed it. Wanda was sent to a child guidance clinic in Cape Town for testing in grade five, where she was diagnosed as dyslexic and sent for lessons in laboratory-reading which helped her identify the meaning of words by their shape. Wanda never pursued any formal tertiary education – after school she went overseas and worked in a restaurant kitchen for four years before returning to South Africa.

1.4. Conclusion

From these life histories it is clear that having dyslexia has impacted on my participants’ life choices, although several of them have reading-intensive careers. All participants seem acutely aware of the social implications of their condition and so they have put in place various linguistic and behavioural mannerisms to over come these (see section four for further elaboration).

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of a further four chapters. In Chapter two, a theoretical model of dyslexia is described. Possible definitions of dyslexia are outlined before I briefly present the sub-types and causes of dyslexia. The reading difficulties associated with dyslexia are then discussed. Thereafter, I reflect on the effect dyslexia has on one’s sense of face. This precedes the exploration of politeness theories and face-management, showing their relevance to the ways in which dyslexic individuals present themselves when discussing the condition.

Chapter three presents the methodological design of the research before discussing the reasons behind my choice of participants and the ways in which I approached them to become participants in the research. I then consider and validate my use of the interview method as my primary means of gathering data and consider the effect of a possible power imbalance between the researcher and the participants. The chapter concludes with a description of the interpretive frameworks I used to analyse my data.

Chapter four presents my findings. I introduce and explain my typology of linguistic face-management strategies, loosely based on Brown and Levinson's notion of face-preservation. The typology is a sense-making tool to identify common strategies in the data. I focus on the linguistic means by which participants ameliorated the extent of dyslexia's impact on their lives (thereby preserving their positive face), as well as the manner in which they maintained their positive face through disassociation from particular incidents being revealed in the interviews.

The focus of this analysis is on the linguistic face-management strategies aimed at preserving positive face which were elicited from the responses provided by participants in the interviews themselves. This is combined with an APPRAISAL analysis of responses to the question *How did you feel when you found out you were dyslexic?* I have concentrated on the respective answers of the research participants to this particular question as I believe it elicits sufficient indications of their perceptions of dyslexia and of themselves as dyslexic individuals. The role of Attitude (to be defined and elaborated in chapter three) is therefore discussed in order to elicit these perceptions.

The final chapter concludes the study, summarising the main findings and highlighting its potential contribution to the field. This precedes a discussion of the various limitations of my research, suggesting possible alternatives and refinements that could be made in any future research of a similar nature.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

My aim in this chapter is to provide the foundation for later sections where I explore the strategies used by dyslexic individuals to mediate face when discussing dyslexia. Before I can discuss linguistic face-management strategies, however, it is important to understand why such strategies are necessary.

Section 2.2 provides a brief description of dyslexia to present the reader with a basic concept of the characteristics that dyslexic individuals share before presenting a more theorised definition of the condition. Section 2.3 addresses earlier definitions of dyslexia before I provide my own working definition, which includes the (currently lacking) social dimension of the condition.

Sections 2.4 and 2.5 describe the various types of and factors influencing dyslexia that exist and which produce varying strengths and weaknesses in reading, writing and spelling. These take into account firstly the genetic and neurological influences and include a description of the possible correlates of dyslexia (these being left-handedness, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder and/or being male), as well as distinguishing between the development of dyslexia as a result of genetic inheritance and as a consequence of brain damage from an accident or stroke. Section 2.6 explores the social factors implicated in dyslexia, discussing the effect that family environment and quality of education have on the literacy skills of a dyslexic individual. As reading is most affected by dyslexia, this section also discusses reading and reading problems. I look at the current theories of reading before revealing which one I consider to be most appropriate for dyslexic readers.

In section 2.7 I discuss Brown and Levinson's (1987) Face Theory and its relevance to dyslexia and this study. The section describes the potential effects dyslexia has on the Face of dyslexic individuals, before introducing the APPRAISAL system.

2.2. Dyslexia: A Broad Description

For several decades dyslexia was regarded as a childhood condition, where the affected individual would struggle through school or drop out during the process but who professionals believed would somehow ‘grow out of it’ and go on to make a living in some field (Morgan and Klein 2000). It is only in the last twenty years or so that specialists have come to recognise that, in fact, dyslexia is a life-long condition whose symptoms, though sometimes cleverly concealed through various strategies, can continue to be evident for the rest of their lives (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994).

The symptoms vary in intensity and in combinations, but dyslexia can be broadly characterised by an individual’s difficulties with the accurate and fluent recognition of words when reading. This is frequently accompanied by a reduced ability to spell correctly and can often affect the fluent recognition or representation of numbers (Drewe 2003). It can be seen as a visual perception condition in that the area of the brain that controls the processing of visual input is often damaged and results in the impaired ability to read letters, numbers and other symbols (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994). Short-term memory is also generally affected and contributes to the difficulties that occur when dyslexic individuals attempt to match symbols read with their appropriate sounds (Lendman 2006). Dyslexia can be seen as a condition which is either a genetic inheritance from one’s immediate family or is acquired through a stroke or accident that results in damage to certain areas of the brain (Lendman 2006).

Having dyslexia is not only associated with negative symptoms, however. There are several positive attributes associated with dyslexia, including creativity and lateral, out-the-box thinking (Bradford 2002). According to Brooks (2004), large international corporations such as IBM identify dyslexic employees for the innovative ideas that they produce, as it is the consistent pioneering creativity of the company which is seen as pivotal to the continued financial success of the corporation.

The topic of my research is how dyslexic individuals discuss and ‘perform’ dyslexia within an interview setting, focussing on face-management strategies in particular.

2.3.1. Defining Dyslexia: Common Themes in Definitions in the Literature

Definitions of dyslexia have varied over the past few decades. I will therefore briefly provide examples and explanations of these varying perspectives. My working definition acknowledges the neuro-biological inheritance of dyslexia but seeks to include an additional social aspect to the condition, acknowledging the fact that dyslexia is performed in social spheres and therefore contains a social element.

2.3.1.1. Children

While there can of course be no single definition of dyslexia (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994; Payne & Turner 1999; Reid 1999) due to the difference in severity among affected individuals, different aspects of the condition have been the focus of definitions depending on the decade in question. Many earlier definitions of dyslexia focussed on its prevalence among children, with no reference to its retention into adulthood. Critchley (1970, cited in Newton & Thomson 1975:6), for example, has defined dyslexia as being “a language disorder *in children* [my italics] who, despite conventional classroom experience, fail to attain language skills of reading, writing and spelling commensurate with their intellectual abilities”.

This definition and others tend to view dyslexia as a childhood condition, consequently excluding adults. This notion is problematic since, although dyslexia may manifest itself in childhood, it does not suddenly disappear as one ages – the challenges a dyslexic has with reading, writing and spelling persist throughout life (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994). Consequently, much available research on childhood dyslexia is “largely irrelevant for adult dyslexics... [since they] are not simply children with a learning disability ‘grown up’” (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994:3).

It should be noted that central to this re-conception of dyslexia as a lifelong condition is the notion of establishing a set of strategies to mitigate its effects. These should be distinguished from the linguistic strategies which are the central concern of this thesis, which are orientated to negotiating general face issues rather than dyslexia-specific effects.

2.3.1.2. Deficit Approaches

More recent definitions have attempted to encompass dyslexia's various facets more fully. Dyslexia can be identified as “distinctive patterns of difficulties relating to the processing of information within a continuum... which results in restrictions in literacy development and discrepancies in performance” (Reid 1999:2). Monachina (2006) similarly characterises the condition as an individual's difficulties with accurate and/or fluent word recognition, as well as reduced spelling and decoding abilities.

McLoughlin *et al.* (1994) suggest that the majority of definitions in fact focus on ‘discrepancy’ – namely, that there is a significant difference between a person's reading, writing and spelling capabilities and their actual potential to perform in these areas. An example of such ‘discrepancy’ definitions would be Thomson and Watkins (1990, cited in McLoughlin *et al.* 1994:4), who define dyslexia as “a severe difficulty with the written form of language *independent* [my italics] of intellectual, cultural and emotional causation”. These ‘discrepancy’ definitions can also be problematic, however, in that no distinction is made between those who are dyslexic and those who are merely poor readers (Stonovich 1991, cited in McLoughlin *et al.* 1994:4). McLoughlin *et al.* (1994) offer the critique that such definitions:

...cannot be applied to older dyslexics who have been able to compensate, by one means or other, and no longer have major problems with literacy. According to a discrepancy definition, such adults would no longer be dyslexic, but... they continue to experience difficulties which stem from the *inefficiency* that was responsible for their slow acquisition of literacy skills during childhood [my italics]

(McLoughlin *et al.* 1994:4/5).

I feel the word ‘inefficiency’ is itself problematic as it does not differ significantly in meaning from discrepancy – McLoughlin *et al.* (1994) appear to be substituting one negative term for another, providing a term which also suggests that dyslexic individuals are deficient in some manner from people without the condition. It seems that such definitions place undue emphasis on what people with dyslexia lack – if this was a componential analysis, those with dyslexia would have predominantly [-] features in

comparison to the supposed ‘norm’. While I understand that this is a seemingly natural comparison to make – ‘us’, the strong readers, versus ‘them’, the weak ones – it seems unfair to use words with such negative connotations to describe them. In line with Morgan and Klein (2007:3), I believe that dyslexia should be seen as “a difference rather than as a deficit”. Nevertheless, whatever my personal beliefs, it is a fact that society at large tends to view dyslexia in a negative light; the respondents in this study were very aware of this perception and used a variety of face-management strategies to engage with it.

2.3.1.3. Biological Approaches

Biological definitions of dyslexia tend to focus on genetic inheritance of dyslexia. According to Lendman (2006:1), dyslexia is a learning disability in which the affected person has biological traits that differentiate them from other individuals. In this there exists (1) a cognitive deficit, (2) a behavioural performance deficit and (3) manifestations of a disability (Lendman 2006). She suggests further that, even if individuals produce strategies that successfully improve the performance deficit and in so doing reduce the effect of the disability’s manifestation, the learning disability continues to exist despite these improvements (Lendman 2006). Essentially this means that an individual with dyslexia who has developed various strategies to overcome any challenges arising from dyslexia will still have dyslexia, even if it does not manifest visibly in their actions.

This is because, from a biological perspective, dyslexia is understood to be rooted within the neural systems of the brain. The dyslexic individual has an impaired ability to read and write possibly related to differences in the angular gyrus and environs of the brain (Lendman 2006), wherein the affected individual is able to see words but is unable to grasp their meaning (bearing in mind, however, that there may be several brain mechanisms that, although disparate in their function, all give rise to effects associated with dyslexia). On the following page is a diagram of the brain showing various surface gyri, including the angular gyrus which transfers visual and auditory information to the brain and is therefore an essential component to reading:

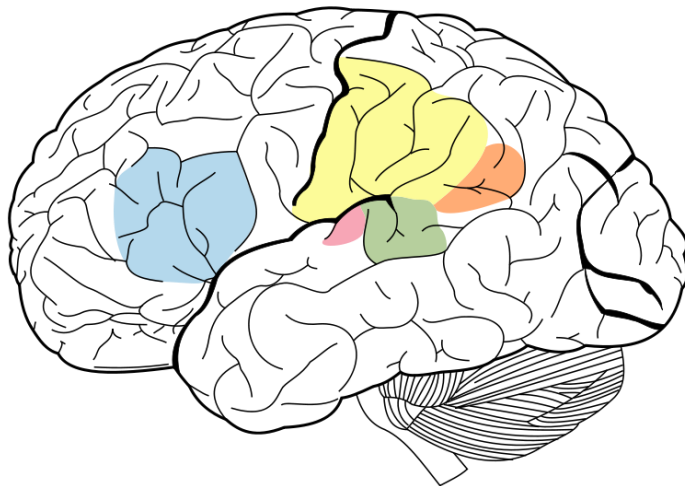


Fig. 1: Diagram of human brain showing surface gyri and the primary auditory cortex

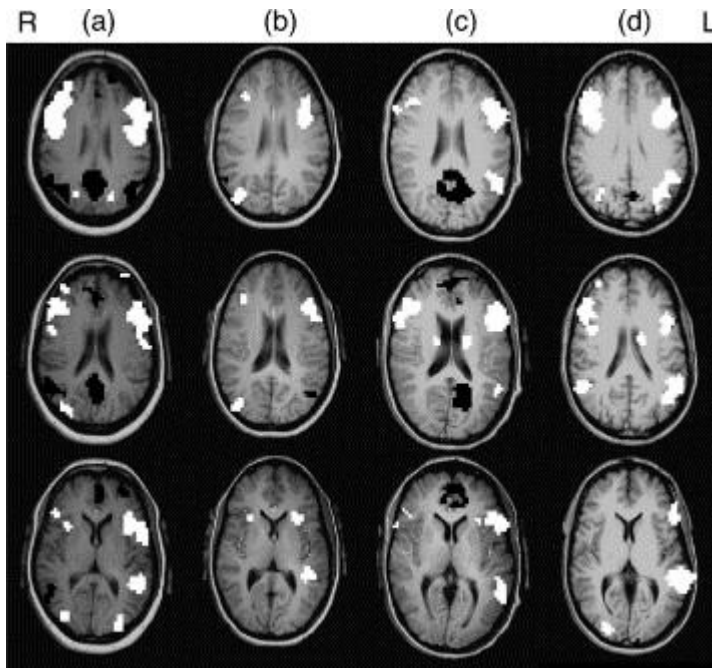
- Angular Gyrus
- Supramarginal Gyrus
- Broca's Area
- Wernicke's Area
- Primary Auditory Cortex

(courtesy of Wikimedia Commons 2008).

According to Horwitz, Rumsey and Donahue (1998), the angular gyrus in the left hemisphere provides a link to the visual areas in the occipital and temporal lobes. In a later study by Rumsey *et al.* (1999), it was revealed that the cerebral blood flow connecting the angular gyrus and the temporal regions of the brain was significantly reduced in participants with dyslexia. The results of the study suggest that this is due to a functional lesion in the area and, further, that the more severely the symptoms of dyslexia are apparent in a participant, the more the cerebral blood flow is reduced (Rumsey *et al.* 1999). This results in a difficulty in transmitting visual and auditory information to the occipital and temporal lobes of the brain; consequently, the information cannot be processed efficiently and the dyslexic individual struggles to comprehend a text.

Auditory ability may also be affected by dyslexia. Wallace (2003) suggests evidence that dyslexia is a multi-sensory condition, affecting auditory and phonological, as well as visual processing. The study (in which dyslexic readers and a control group were placed in front of a screen and asked to push a button in response to auditory and visual stimuli) appears to demonstrate that “lifelong dyslexic individuals integrate visual and auditory information differently from good readers” (Wallace 2003:2).

Fig. 2: Brain Scan Results



In the above brain scan (courtesy of Hampson *et al.* 2006) each column represents one subject and they are ordered from left to right with increasing composite reading scores. The first two subjects (a and b) were classified as dyslexic readers and the second two (c and d) as non-dyslexic readers. Positive correlations are white, negative correlations are black. The two dyslexic readers on the left show brain scans which are considerably darker than the non-dyslexic readers on the right. This correlated with slower reaction times and lower reading scores.

In research on male participants suffering from developmental dyslexia by Horwitz *et al.* (1998), they illustrate how the angular gyrus is functionally disconnected from these lobes, resulting in an obstructed capacity to see and, hence, read and write (Horwitz *et al.* 1998). Dyslexia can therefore be seen as a visual perception condition which is neurologically based and which results in an impaired ability to process and produce information (Lendman 2006). It is a “persistent, chronic condition” (Shaywitz and Shaywitz 2001:1) brought about by this neurological malfunction in the brain.

While much of the research focuses on neurological malfunctions in dyslexics, there is some research which suggests that there are cognitive benefits associated with dyslexia. As previously mentioned, Drewe (2003) argues that people with dyslexia are lateral thinkers with an attention to detail. Bradford (2002) similarly suggests that people with dyslexia tend to be creative and have good physical co-ordination, while Brooks (2004)

contends that dyslexics are able to think outside the box in an imaginative and innovative way.

2.3.1.4. Short-Term Memory: The Storage of Data

Roderick, Nicolson and Baddeley (1992) suggest that the human brain stores memory in three different areas, through which information can be transferred. These areas are called sensory, short-term and long-term storage respectively. In sensory storage, a trace of the stimulus involved is held while the brain attempts to match it to a previously-experienced pattern (Field 2003). In terms of reading, this would take the form of a brief impression of the word or symbol on the page. This image is transferred to short-term memory, where current or recent information is accumulated. Because this storage-space only holds information temporarily, the brain approaches the long-term memory storage to extract lexical information, after which it can process the relevant word or symbol (Field 2003).

According to this model, short-term memory is therefore partially responsible for language operations such as reading. This could explain why dyslexics, who often have an impaired ability to store memory within the short-term storage space (Moody 2005), in turn find it difficult to process the symbols and letters that they read. Miles (1983, cited in McLoughlin *et al.* 1994:5), suggests that a more useful description of dyslexia should take note of a variety of symptoms stemming from a limitation in short-term memory. He comments that "... the reading and spelling problems of a dyslexic person are part of a wider disability which shows itself whenever symbolic material has to be identified and named" (Miles 1983:5, cited in McLoughlin *et al.* 1994). Drewe (2003:1) suggests similarly that this weakness in short-term memory "contributes to difficulties found when attempting to match a written symbol with the spoken sound". Peng (2005) goes on further to state that:

Language is actually memory-governed, meaning-centred and multifaceted. Without the brain functions of memory there is neither language nor distance thinking... therefore, memory impairment and disorders in distance thinking or in expression are symptoms of language disorders

(Peng 2005:48).

It would appear, then, that dyslexia is a “difficulty in processing information which may be linked to short-term memory and visual coordination” (Drewe 2003:1), which manifests itself as challenges in varying areas. Peng (2005:169) suggests that usually “the goings-on of the here-and-now increase the brain functions of memory as capacity because of familiarity”; however, when memory is impaired it becomes more difficult for familiarity with information to occur. For those with dyslexia, this means that reading and writing become problematic because the brain struggles to recall previous times spent on identical material.

Within the short-term memory system (also known as ‘working memory’) there is a component called the articulatory loop (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994), which is itself divided into two sub-divisions: the phonological store and the articulatory control process, which control speech perception and speech production respectively. A discrepancy in either sub-system results in difficulties with the recall of phonological material, in that the ability to recall information from long-term memory is impaired. According to McLoughlin *et al.* (1994), this can in turn result in the impaired development of literacy skills. Gathercole and Baddeley (1990, cited in McLoughlin *et al.* 1994:8) suggest that “the storage space of the articulatory loop in a dyslexic person is smaller than it is for other people”, which means that fewer items can be stored in the short-term memory of people with dyslexia than those of people whose articulatory loops are not impaired.

Short-term memory can also be affected by impaired neural connections. Myelination is a process in which neurons are wrapped in a fatty substance to facilitate the speed of responses to various types of stimuli (Peng 2005). Peng (2005) suggests that partial demyelination could play a role in the impaired responses of those with language conditions, stating that when nerves controlling memory functions are demyelinated, the damage results in an impaired ability to retrieve information and, consequently, a limited capacity to decode written symbols.

2.3.2. Defining Dyslexia: A Working Definition of Dyslexia

For the context of this study, dyslexia is seen as a neurological condition in which areas of the brain which control visual perception and short-term memory-storage have either been damaged through trauma or impaired due to biological inheritance. This damage results in impaired reading, writing and spelling abilities

What I find relatively absent from existing definitions, however, is any social element attached to being dyslexic. Social and linguistic performances of Face are not specific to dyslexics, of course, but are an important linguistic ability for everybody. Dyslexic participants, like anybody else, adopt particular subject positions in response to being dyslexic and this position is performed within the context of real-life situations. It is in these real-life contexts where the ramifications of dyslexia (if unchecked by behavioural and/or linguistic mechanisms) can lead to face-threatening situations i.e. situations where dyslexia-related challenges can result in a loss of face in front of non-dyslexic others. I would therefore argue that the social element of dyslexia should be included in any full description or definition of it.

My working definition of dyslexia therefore acknowledges the common biological perspective that emphasizes the neuro-biological origins of dyslexia. In addition, however, I also include the social dimension of dyslexia as a performance or social construct. This humanistic perspective is largely absent in current definitions but is an approach to dyslexia that I believe is most pertinent to my research. I would therefore define dyslexia as a lifelong condition, neuro-biological in origin, which commonly impacts reading ability (but can also affect spelling, writing and numeracy to varying degrees) and therefore has a profound social impact on the way dyslexic people negotiate literate society.

The way dyslexics construct the condition in interaction will in part be determined by the degree to which it manifests behaviourally in their everyday lives. Therefore it is necessary to view briefly the various types of dyslexia that exist and are therefore ‘performed’ by dyslexic individuals.

2.4. Types of Dyslexia

The effects of dyslexia differ between individuals. This is in part because there are different types of dyslexia, with each causing varying effects in different areas of their language abilities. Dyslexia can be roughly divided into two types: developmental and acquired. Developmental dyslexia is an inherited neurological dysfunction which results in difficulties with reading, writing and/or spelling (Funnell 2000). Within this one can have one of two dyslexia sub-types, these being either phonological or surface dyslexia. Acquired dyslexia results from damage to the brain caused by, for example, accidents and strokes and can itself be divided into three primary types. As illustrated by the following tree diagram, the variant types are pure alexia, deep, phonological and surface dyslexia (Funnell 2000). A description of these sub-types follows in the sub-sections below.

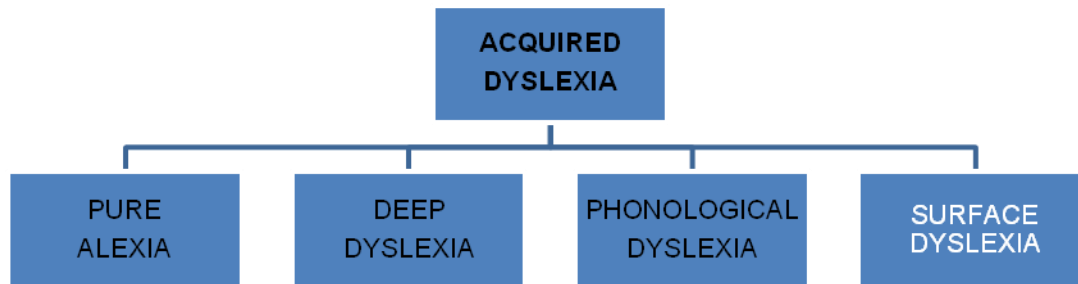


FIG. 3

2.4.1. Pure Alexia

One relatively uncommon sub-type of acquired dyslexia is known as pure alexia and was first described by French neurologist Dejerine in 1892 (Coltheart 2004). In this form of dyslexia writing and spelling may be unaffected. However, the reading of words or non-words is a long and arduous process as the individual has to read by spelling out each letter before saying the actual word. As a result, the affected individual is able to write a passage but is unable to read it aloud in a fluent manner (Coltheart 2004). Pure alexia is often temporary depending on the extent of the brain injury and can disappear when the patient recovers within a few months.

2.4.2. Deep Dyslexia

Deep dyslexia is caused by damage to the dominant cerebral hemisphere (Coltheart 1996) and exhibits the following symptoms: changes are often made to the grammatical class of words being read, with preference being given to a particular word class (often nouns), depending on the affected individual (Funnell 2000). An example of this would be reading 'sailing' as 'sailboat'. Concrete words (such as 'grass') are more likely to be read successfully than vague concepts (such as 'idea'). Non-words cannot be read aloud and function words such as 'and' or 'the' are poorly read (Coltheart 1996). Semantic errors are also common, in that words are read as something unrelated orthographically but related semantically (for example, 'gnome' being read as 'pixie'), while the ability to accurately comprehend grapheme/phoneme correspondence is all but eliminated (Funnell 2000).

2.4.3. Phonological Dyslexia

Phonological dyslexia (which can occur in both acquired and developmental dyslexia) refers to affected individuals who show a discernible disparity between their ability to read words and non-words (Funnell 2000). Such dyslexics find it a challenge to read aloud non-words (such as '*schoof*') or words with which they are unfamiliar. This is because there is a general inability to regularise pronunciation of words with similar derivational morphemes and/or rhymes (Patterson 2000). For example, phonological dyslexics are generally able to read a word such as 'bear' but may struggle to connect this word as being the opening syllable of the word 'bearable' (Funnell 2000).

Field (2003) says that those with phonological dyslexia struggle most from a difficulty in mapping phonemes to their respective representations in language. However, they do not make semantic errors so much as confuse words with others that are orthographically similar. Paterson (2000) illustrates the difficulties experienced in reading non-words through a case study concerning an acquired phonological dyslexic. The participants were asked to read words out loud in isolation and the results showed that they read ten out of forty-eight non-words correctly (an accuracy-rate of only twenty percent), with the

incorrect responses consistently being orthographically similar to ‘real’ words. For example, ‘*roond*’ was read as ‘room’ and ‘*wune*’ as ‘wine’ (Patterson 2000:65).

2.4.4. Surface Dyslexia

Those with surface dyslexia (be it acquired or developmental) can recognise neither previously familiar words nor irregular ones, but there is still a relatively sound knowledge of letter-sound correspondence (Ellis, Lambon-Ralph, Morris and Hunter 2000). Because of this, if the spelling of a word matches its pronunciation, surface dyslexics are likely to read the word correctly. However, irregular words such as ‘quay’ are likely to be pronounced as ‘/kwei/’ rather than ‘/ki:/’ (Ellis *et al.* 2000). According to Field (2003), this is because those with surface dyslexia struggle in relating word rhymes with different phonetic realisations.

Those affected make extensive use of regularisation rules, resulting in exceptions being mispronounced (for example, ‘pint’ being pronounced to rhyme with ‘mint’). This indicates that those with surface dyslexia are able to recognise rule-governed sound sequences and from this overgeneralise phonemic rules. In a case study by Ellis *et al.* (2000), over sixty-five percent of the errors made by the participants were as a result of regularisation. Those with ‘output’ surface dyslexia yield a regularization error when reading words aloud – they understand the meaning of the word, but are unable to pronounce it correctly. Dyslexic individuals with ‘input’ surface dyslexia, on the other hand, convert words to regular phonological forms to access the meaning, resulting in comprehension errors - for example, reading ‘bear’ as ‘beer’ (Coltheart 2004).

2.4.5. Conclusions

Phonological and surface dyslexia are seen as the predominant forms of dyslexia. According to Behrmann, Nelson and Sekuler (1998), findings of studies on phonological and surface dyslexia suggest that the impaired reading abilities of individuals with either type of the condition can be attributed to a more general deficit in phonological processing and semantic memory, respectively. These underlying deficits make

themselves evident during the linguistic processes involved in reading (Behrmann *et al.* 1998).

It is evident that dyslexics cannot be put into a box and declared that they are all the same – in reality, the dyslexia of any individual will manifest itself in varied and often contradictory ways from his/her fellow dyslexics. The type of dyslexia that an individual has therefore plays an important role in their career-making decisions, as occupations would be chosen according to the characteristics of the particular individual with his/her particular dyslexia-type, as well as altering the manner in which they perceive and hence express themselves to others. Similarly, the cause of dyslexia may play a role in the manner in which dyslexia is constructed in interactions with others. A discussion of the neuro-biological and social factors involved in dyslexia therefore follows.

2.5. Factors Involved in Dyslexia: Neuro-Biological

The two main causes of dyslexia are related to the type of dyslexia involved; namely, whether the dyslexia was brought about through genetic or functional means. According to Drewe (2003:1), cognitive research has increasingly focussed on problems of phonological awareness which may be linked to problems in a specific area of the brain; neurological research, similarly, suggests there may be some abnormality in the functioning of the left side of the brain which controls the lexical system (Drewe 2003). These problem areas or abnormalities in the brain can occur through either acquired or genetic conditions. A discussion of these two conditions follows.

2.5.1. Factors Involved in Acquired Dyslexia

Bradford (2002) states candidly that the cause of dyslexia is unknown but claims that there appear to be at least two ways in which dyslexia can occur: either through the development of early hearing problems or through genetic factors. During the first five years of life, if a child suffers frequently from colds and throat infections the ears can become consistently blocked such that hearing becomes impaired. If not detected at this early stage of development, the brain struggles to make links between the sounds it hears and the words it will later read (Bradford 2002). He does however fail to discuss the

acquisition of dyslexia through unexpected events such as accidents or strokes where brain impairment occurs. This is perplexing since acquired dyslexia is primarily as a result of strokes and accidents rather than hearing loss as a child.

Coltheart (2004) states that acquired dyslexia arises from damage incurred to the dominant hemisphere of the brain which in turn affects the individual’s ability to read. The possible variants of acquired dyslexia that the individual may have (as previously described in section 2.4) will affect people in different ways depending on the particular variant they have acquired as a result of left-hemisphere brain damage.

2.5.2. Genetic Influences on Dyslexia

There is a strong genetic component in developing dyslexia. According to statistics provided by Shaywitz and Shaywitz (2001), there is evidence for there being a relatively strong likelihood of inheriting dyslexia if someone from one’s immediate family also has it. Three interesting results emerged: firstly, twenty-three to sixty-five percent of children who have a dyslexic parent also have the condition; secondly, forty percent of people who are siblings to dyslexics themselves have dyslexia; and, thirdly, twenty-seven to forty-nine percent of parents of children with dyslexia may also be dyslexic (Shaywitz and Shaywitz 2001). The following table demonstrates these figures:

	<u>Dyslexic Parent</u>	<u>Dyslexic Sibling</u>	<u>Dyslexic Child</u>
<u>Dyslexic Child</u>	23-65%		
<u>Dyslexic Sibling</u>		40%	
<u>Dyslexic Parent</u>			27-49%

FIG.4. Likelihood of inheriting dyslexia according to Shaywitz and Shaywitz (2001)

Dyslexia has been consistently found to run in families – according to Bradford (2002), more than eighty percent of people diagnosed with dyslexia have a family history of learning difficulties. Singleton (2000) suggests that genes play the most important role, resulting in an individual becoming dyslexic in almost two-thirds of examined cases, while Critchley (1963, cited in Goldberg and Schiffman 1972:141) advocates that indeed

it is “rare” to find a dyslexic individual who does not have a “similarly affected” family member. However, while Morgan and Klein (2000:75) confirm that dyslexia is inherited; they warn that “familial links are not always obvious” and comment that being the only one in the family can lead to feelings of inadequacy.

Olson (2006) conducted research into the genetic probability of twins inheriting dyslexia. The hypothesis suggested that if genetic factors were the only cause for dyslexia, then identical twins (sharing all genes) would inevitably both be dyslexic, while fraternal twins (who share only half of their genes) would presumably have the equivalent genetic similarity to that of ordinary siblings and would therefore have a fifty percent chance of either one being dyslexic. However, this pattern was not discovered in the study; rather, the difference in results was seen as due to the combination of different environmental influences (such as living conditions and family values) on the various twins’ lives (to be further discussed in section 2.6).

Research by Gayan and Olson (1999, cited in Olson 2002) illustrates how regions on chromosomes two, six, fifteen and eighteen respectively can be linked to the dyslexic gene. The various possibilities in affected chromosomes suggests that there are “different genetic pathways to dyslexia in different individuals” (Olson 2002:3) and means that there is no one specific gene (yet identified) that is undeniably responsible for carrying dyslexia. Regardless though, it is clearly evident from the statistical evidence provided that such a gene must in fact exist – the high proportion of familial inheritance of dyslexia cannot be coincidence.

2.5.2.1. Neurological Evidence of Dyslexia

Chiappe (2002) investigated the validity of the so-called ‘timing hypothesis’, which alleges that dyslexia could be caused by innate difficulties in processing a rapid sequence of information, which in turn hampers an individual’s ability to process both the spoken and the written word. In this study, both dyslexic and non-dyslexic adults were given a set of written and spoken language tasks either rapidly or at a slower pace. The responses

from the individual in terms of their respective speech production and/or motor coordination were timed.

According to the hypothesis, those with dyslexia should perform poorly in the faster tasks, but improve when the task is presented more slowly. However, Chiappe (2002) discovered that for every task bar one the dyslexic participants performed just as well as those without dyslexia. The exception was a naming task involving the need to name digits on a chart as quickly as possible. According to Chiappe (2002), this result suggests that, rather than a timing-deficit, the causes of dyslexia are more likely to be task-specific.

A study by Olson (2002) investigated the development of dyslexia-related symptoms in both identical and fraternal twins. The results suggest that a significant influence among twins (be they fraternal or identical) is the fact that they shared the same intra-uterine environment. Evident discrepancies between certain twin pairs were seen as a result of outside influences such as accidents that took place during birth or through a disease inflicting only one of the pair (Olson 2006). Singleton (2000) also suggests that difficulties in the birthing process can influence the acquisition of dyslexic symptoms. This is because the subsequent brain damage that occurs results in acquired dyslexia (Olson 2002).

Such brain damage will affect reading abilities. Reading is a function of the brain, a neurological process (Crosby 1968) that has been defined as “a process which involves understanding printed symbols and extracting some sort of information from them” (Hood, Solomons & Burns 1996:27). This as a definition can be problematic due to its limited nature since reading entails considerably more. It involves the eyes or hands being used to stimulate the area of the brain responsible for visual or tactile perception (Crosby 1968). Once activated, comprehension of the words being read is required; as a result, Wernicke’s area of the brain is stimulated. This is where the sound of language are decoded such that both written and spoken words are made comprehensible (Joseph 2004). Wernicke’s area therefore provides “the auditory equivalent of a visually-perceived written word” (Joseph 2004:5) such that the individual is able to know how the

words s/he reads sound like in the real world. Below is a diagram of the brain demonstrating where Wernicke's area is located.

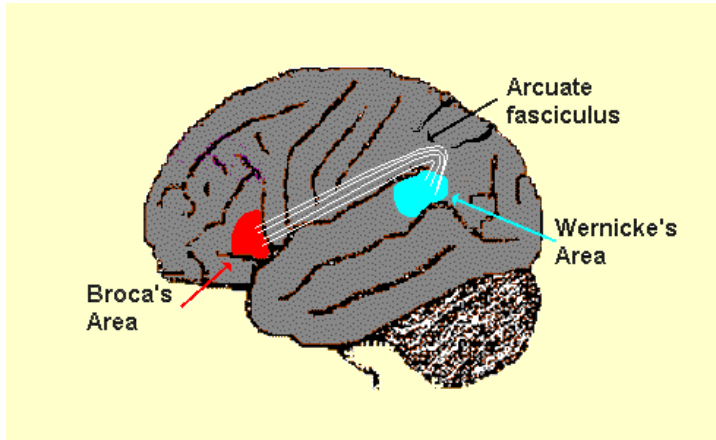


Fig. 5 Wernicke's Area (courtesy of About.Com 2008)

Since it has been established that dyslexia is largely as a result of damage to areas in the brain related to visual perception and memory-storage (c.f. 2.3), it is evident why individuals with dyslexia would find reading texts a difficult process – the conventional neural pathways are defective and so new routes need to be developed for reading to occur. It must be noted though that there is a danger in generalizing the reading pathways of developmental dyslexics with those of acquired dyslexics. Underwood and Batt (1996) suggest that:

It is plausible that, having suffered brain damage, mechanisms that have already been established are further developed in unique and unrepresentative ways. These routes to a word's meaning and pronunciation would normally be considered inefficient in normal readers and would not usually be utilised.

(Underwood and Batt 1996:142).

2.5.2.2. Demographic and Physiological Correlates of Dyslexia

There appear to be three primary correlates of dyslexia, these being your sex (Rutter 2004), left-handedness (Field 2003) and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (Pennington 2006). Each will be explained and discussed in the following sections.

A: Male/Female Correlates

Earlier studies on dyslexia indicated that there was a distinctive prevalence of dyslexia among males rather than females (see for example Goldberg and Schiffman 1972). Singleton (2000) says that the exact ratio is unknown but states that three males to one female and five: one are “commonly quoted figures” (Singleton 2000:3). A recent study by Rutter (2004) confirms this, suggesting that in fact the likelihood of having dyslexia is roughly doubled in males. In this research, over ten thousand children (not necessarily dyslexic) were randomly selected and given standard reading tests. From the results, around twenty-two percent of the male participants were confirmed to be dyslexic, as opposed to about eight percent of participating females. Rutter (2004) states that, since they did not gather a judgement sample from children previously diagnosed with a learning condition but rather a random assortment of children, there was no possibility of distorting the results since there was no sample bias.

A 1992 report from the US National Institute of Child Health and Development suggests that up to eighty percent of individuals diagnosed with dyslexia are male (Centre for the Advancement of Health 2001). However, Shaywitz and Shaywitz (2001) suggest that this is not due to any greater genetic likelihood of dyslexia among males. Rather, they propose that these statistics reflect the fact that schools identify about four times as many boys as girls as having the condition, resulting in skewed statistics that do not in fact represent the true prevalence rate of dyslexia in each sex. According to the results of their research, there is in fact no significant difference in the pervasiveness of dyslexia between male and female children – what differs is the hemisphere in the brain that responds to decoding stimuli among the sexes (Shaywitz and Shaywitz 2001).

B: Dyslexia and Left-Handedness

According to Field (2003), dyslexia appears to be more prevalent among people who are left-handed than those who use their right hand (i.e. who have right brain dominance). The majority of the world's population are right-handed (up to ninety-five percent, according to Goldberg and Schiffman (1972)) with left-hemisphere dominance in the brain. The left hemisphere generally controls analytic processing and symbolisation (Goldberg and Schiffman 1972), so from this one could presume that left-handed people are at a disadvantage when it comes to procedures such as reading and writing, since this involves extensive usage of symbols (Field 2003), which are in turn typically interpreted in the left cerebral hemisphere.

However, Rasmussen (1964, cited in Goldberg and Schiffman 1972) concluded that, contrary to the popular belief that the language abilities of left-handers are housed in the right hemisphere (since this would prove the natural opposite to right-handed people, who possess left hemisphere language dominance), “the left hemisphere is still very likely to be dominant for the language function” (Goldberg and Schiffman 1972:129). Peng (2005:45) asserts this view, suggesting that this alleged parallelism of left- and right-handed language centres in the brain is “erroneous” and is due to antiquated pseudo-facts prevailing in contemporary medical schools.

While there appears to be evidence of a possible correlation between dyslexia and hemispheric dominance and lateralization patterns, the contradictory conclusions of the various researchers of this supposed link between left-handedness and dyslexia would suggest that (as of yet) there is no definitive proof for either position.

C: The Link between Dyslexia and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)

ADHD is characterized by poor concentration and hyperactivity, with patients being easily distracted and prone to impulsive and, at times, erratic behaviour (Barkley 1995). Rutter (2004) suggests that there is a significantly greater likelihood of males manifesting more severe cases of dyslexia and says that they are more prone to behavioural conditions such as ADHD. Pennington (2006:392) says that across studies, between twenty-five and

forty percent of research participants who had either dyslexia or ADHD “also meet criteria for the other disorder” (see August and Garfinkel 1990 or Dykman and Ackerman 1991). This phenomenon is termed “co-morbidity” (Pennington 2006:394) in that there is significant evidence for the co-occurrence of these conditions within individuals.

According to Pennington (2006), there is significant evidence for a genetic overlap between dyslexia and ADHD. Comparative studies done between identical and fraternal twins reveal that there is “bivariate heritability” (Pennington 2006:395) or combined inheritance of dyslexia and ADHD, in that some of the genetic influences on the first trait are the same as some on the second and that when such a combination occurs, it is the “inattentive symptoms of ADHD [rather] than the hyperactive/impulsive ones” (Pennington 2006:397) that are more pronounced. As such the inability to concentrate (i.e. the attention-deficiency as cited in the name ADHD) becomes more pronounced when the individual also has dyslexia since they both carry this characteristic.

Like dyslexia, ADHD also inhibits the effectiveness of working memory, resulting in a reduced ability to remember and retrieve information (Seidman 2006). Seidman (2006:469) further states that those individuals with both ADHD and dyslexia have more pronounced features than persons with only ADHD, due to the “additive effect of combining two cognitive conditions which both include attentional and memory dysfunctions”. This appears to be true in Timothy’s case – he comments how: *I do have definite problems with[short-term memory] [both laugh] I’m very very bad with that I don’t know if it’s just me or it’s the ADHD or whatever I don’t know (.) but I’m really bad [266-268].*

The amount of literature that is available on the neurobiological basis for dyslexia and its various correlates is clearly evident. There is however much less literature available on the social and environmental influences on dyslexia, which is the topic to which I now turn.

2.6. Social Factors Relevant to Dyslexia

In comparison with the neuro-biologically-based literature, the social element of dyslexia has been largely under-researched. What follows is part of the limited literature available on features of dyslexia that appear to be socially linked.

2.6.1. Environmental Factors Relevant to Dyslexia

Socio-economic factors contribute to literacy practices. Vinegrad (1994) says that those raised in poverty are more likely to exhibit dyslexic attributes. Similarly, the Centre for the Advancement of Health (2001) suggests that parents with lower-income spend considerably less time assisting their children in schoolwork, resulting in a susceptibility to learning difficulties. Vinegrad (1994) suggests that this is due to the fact that many of these parents themselves have relatively low reading levels and consequently do not encourage the skill in their children. A dyslexic individual raised in a low-income household may therefore receive little support in his/her formative years, resulting in severe dyslexic symptoms manifesting and prevailing into adulthood. This correlates strongly with the social theory of reading (explained in further detail in section 2.7.2), which suggests that our ability to read is affected by the society in which we live.

For Shaywitz and Shaywitz (2000), environmental influences also include whether the language of teaching and learning (LOLT) is the mother-tongue or second language of the dyslexic individual. Vinegrad (1994) states similarly that reading and writing are further impeded among people with dyslexia if the language being used is not their first language. Olson (2002) suggests that an environmental constraint such as a second language would play an important role in the difficulties experienced and in turn would mitigate the role of genetics in an individual's reading deficit. Symptoms of dyslexia evident in one's mother tongue would therefore be exacerbated and intensified when attempting to read and/or write in another language.

2.6.2. Education and Literacy

The link between quality of education and level of literacy has been extensively explored in recent years. It has been shown that attending an institution which provides inadequate teaching or learning methods will result in an impaired ability to read and write within the learners of that school (Murray 2006). For the dyslexic individual, attending such a school would result in their being further disadvantaged – without the educational and emotional support of more affluent schools, dyslexic pupils in inferior institutions will struggle considerably more than if they were placed in a nurturing, caring environment with the proper facilities and training to assist them.

In Brice Heath (1982) a comparative study of bed-time story-reading and the interaction between children and their parents within three different communities was conducted. It was found that the children raised in a middle-class community which encouraged critical thinking and creativity excelled academically in school over their classmates from lower-income communities who did not promote this bed-time story interaction. From this it would appear that the literacy practices at home could have an effect on the manifestation and development of dyslexia, in that children with dyslexia raised in poorer communities may become disadvantaged in school due to the fact that alternative literacies valued in their own communities are not congruent with school literacy practices (this links directly to the social theory of reading in section 2.6.2.3).

Olson's (2002) research on twins reveal that the majority live within the same household and are therefore jointly influenced by the family literacy habits. They also generally attend the same school, thereby receiving the same quality of educational guidance (Olson 2006). This suggests that those twins with a positive nurturing environment at school and in the home would have reduced dyslexic characteristics than those with little guidance or whose parents do not read often in the home environment.

Because reading is such an invaluable life-skill it becomes even more important that dyslexic people develop mechanisms which, when put in place, facilitate the reading process. This is especially important within the South African context, where the majority

of schools are under-resourced and under-staffed, resulting in a lack of individual attention (Murray 2006). Within such a learning environment, any literacy difficulties can be kept hidden from educators and peers. Fortunately for my participants none believed they experienced inadequate attention or lack of guidance in class.

2.6.2.1. Dyslexia and Literacy

The human brain is not inherently pre-wired for reading – the development of literacy skills is a result of socialisation (Hjelmquist and Von Euler 2002).

In the Olson (2006) study of dyslexic twins, the majority lived within the same household and were therefore jointly influenced by the family literacy habits. They also generally attended the same school, thereby receiving the same quality of educational guidance (Olson 2006). This suggests that those twins with a positive nurturing environment at school and in the home would have reduced dyslexic characteristics than those with little or whose parents do not read often in the home environment.

For a dyslexic any one of the three areas of processing i.e. visual, auditory and motor integration (Harriss and Cooper 2005) can be affected to varying degrees and this subsequently affects one's ability to take in sequences of information. Hjelmquist and Von Euler (2002) describe the psychological processes behind the literacy development of those with a reading disability as being the externalisation of experience i.e. othering one's difficulties and developing non-conventional manners of reading.

According to Hoiem (2003, cited in Hjelmquist and Von Euler 2005), orthographic and phonological processing skills are essential for reading abilities. Consequently, poor phonological awareness is not the only possible reason for difficulties in literacy. Morgan and Klein (2000:17) comment that literacy and learning skills are best acquired when they are “context-bound rather than hypothetical and distant”. In other words, real-life contexts result in a better application and development of literacy practices.

2.6.2.2. Social Theory of Reading

There has been extensive research leading to the construction of various models of reading, many of which have since been challenged and refuted. Some of the earlier models included ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ processing. In the ‘bottom-up’ reading process, readers first grapple with decoding the text before bringing contextual background knowledge into play to further their understanding of the text, while in ‘top-down’ processing, a reader makes use of context to pre-empt words and, in so doing, minimises superfluous visual processing (Field 2003).

From the 1960s social and critical theories of reading came into being. Social theory sees reading as a social process in that we take on different subject positions as we read depending on the particular occasion that the written text is being engaged with (Wallace 1992). Within this model the interpretation of a text is also socially determined, being dependent on both the current context and the previous experiences of similar texts by the reader. This is linked to the notion of intertextuality, in that texts are said to exist in relation to each other and, as a result, the reader draws on his/her knowledge of these previously-read texts in order to understand the current one (Wallace 1992). Critical theory sees reading instead as a process in which the assumptions of the author and the position s/he places the reader in are acknowledged and refuted where necessary. Here reading is not the passive absorption of knowledge, but is rather an active analysis of the given information to test its validity (Wallace 1992).

These theories therefore take into account the fact that literacy is best learned when it is context-bound rather than hypothetically-bound (Morgan and Klein 2000). Given the emphasis on social contexts of reading, the social theory of reading lends itself to a definition of dyslexia that includes a focus on social factors involved in the condition and is therefore a model of reading which seems most salient for people with dyslexia.

2.6.3. Conclusions

For the purposes of this study, accurate reading is seen as the ability to understand and draw meaning from a text while simultaneously having the ability to pronounce the words correctly when reading aloud. This is a skill that many dyslexic individuals find problematic – according to Funnell (2000), with deep dyslexia, one cannot read aloud non-words and in phonological dyslexia both non-words and unfamiliar words are problematic. Those with surface dyslexia find reading aloud particularly difficult, resulting in the incorrect pronunciation of both words and non-words due to an over-extension of pronunciation rules.

Once people have mastered the ability to read and to read aloud, they are no longer consciously aware of the complicated processes and the range of skills, knowledge and understanding that are involved in this. According to Whitehurst and Lonigan (2001:12): “learning to read is affected by the foundation skills of phonological processing [and] print awareness”, skills which dyslexics find challenging to grasp.

Approaching challenges typically necessitates the negotiation and management of Face. Because of this, a discussion on Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) Face Theory and its relevance to the preservation of the dyslexic face follows.

2.7. Face Theory

Due to the important role that Face and Face preservation plays in my research (c.f. research question 1 and chapter 4), it is necessary to elaborate on the theory and explain its significance.

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) claim that all people have both a positive and negative face and that it is mutually beneficial for both parties in a conversation to preserve each other’s face. Brown and Levinson (1987) therefore work under the assumption that all competent adult members of a society understand and organize their interactions around the notion of ‘face’. This is “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself” (Brown and Levinson 1987:60) and it consists of two related aspects: (a)

negative face; wherein the individual is free from claims which impede his/her actions; and (b) positive face; i.e. the face that an individual conveys to the world. However, due to the fact that certain speech acts are inherently face-threatening, linguistic strategies are put into play which ameliorate the potential loss of face associated with the act. In addition, these members of society are believed to retain certain rational capacities; in other words, they follow consistent modes of reasoning and can deduce the means that will achieve the desired result.

The notion of 'face' is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term which connects the concept of face with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated; i.e., of 'losing face' in front of peers. Therefore face is something that the individual invests into any interaction and is something which can be lost, maintained or enhanced, depending on the conscious attention given to it during the particular act of communication (Brown and Levinson 1987). In general interaction, people are believed to cooperate - and assume each other's cooperation - in face-maintenance due to the fact that all participants involved suffer from "the mutual vulnerability of face" (Brown and Levinson 1987:61).

According to Watts (2003), Brown and Levinson (1987) work from the concept of face based on the 'personality' or face that an individual has developed prior to an interaction. This suggests that face is a constant variable within an individual. Watts (2003) contrasts this with Goffman's concepts of face, which stem from the belief that an individual's face is an ongoing construction and hence is constantly renegotiable. This in turn relates to Butler's notion of 'performativity' since it refers to one's face being constantly performed through discourse. De Kadt (1998, cited in Watts 2003) suggests that the notion of face as 'public property', as being something realised in the course of interaction and dependent on others, fits the collective ethos of many cultures. Watts (2003) considers face to be dependent on the interpretation of other participants more than on ourselves; i.e. it is the addressees who determine whose face is being threatened or flattered. Because of this, our face cannot be seen as a permanent aspect of ourselves.

example, Wanda [108-109] when broaching the subject of dyslexia says: *I just knew that uhm everyone in the class was reading very well and I was struggling but I I didn't know* (..) Here you have to infer that she is referring to dyslexia since she does not verbalise it explicitly. In this way, she addresses her negative face.

A question that intrudes into private spheres and personal experiences or concern deviance from the norm (as inquiries into the respondents' dyslexia are wont to do) is itself a face-threatening act. Face is seen as a person's desired public image and can be either positive or negative (Erbert and Floyd 2004). Positive face refers to either a person's aspiration for recognition or approval from others, while negative face refers to a person's desire for autonomic independence at the risk of losing public approval. Behaviours that run counter to the face-needs of senders and/or receivers are known as face-threatening acts or FTAs (Erbert and Floyd 2004).

Certain aspects of the Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) model of politeness have been critiqued. Politeness strategies are not universal but rather culturally-dependent and – enforced. Nevertheless, the advantage of this model of Face and Face-Threatening Acts is that it provides a set of tools to discuss the performativity of dyslexia and reveal how strategies to manage the preservation of positive face are used.

2.7.1. Adaptations to Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987)

It must be noted that there are crucial differences between the focus of Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) and myself. They deal specifically with face-threatening speech acts such as requests, whereas mine is more of a general overview. This is because the negotiation of face is not necessarily just about negotiating face threat, putting on the best possible face irrespective of whether your face is threatened or not. The typologies of Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) find it difficult to deal with these types of face management strategies; consequently, in order to extend their threat-based model to include non-threat contexts, I have included APPRAISAL in the typology.

For example, when Leanne says *Yes unfortunately junior school was several ja we unfortunately moved an incredible lot [78]*, she is not actually engaging in a face-threatening act. Rather, she is expressing how she felt her right to a stable education was compromised, which threatens her negative face. So expressions such as this, while not explicitly dealing with face, are still able to provide an opportunity to negotiate and/or manipulate Face. This negotiation/ manipulation is achieved through the inclusion of language structures, words, etc. which may invite APPRAISAL.

In addition, while the focus of Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) Face typology is on both the speaker's and the hearer's Face (depending on the branch), my typology focuses exclusively on the Face of the speaker. The reasoning behind this lies in the fact that when speaking about a potentially face-damaging topic, the speaker may make a greater attempt to preserve their own Face than to preserve the hearer's. Speakers do not necessarily orient themselves exclusively towards the face needs of the hearer, but also have their own sense of face-preservation in mind (Watts 2003). Specifically, in discussing feelings associated with dyslexia, the speaker is aware of the hearer's perceptions (or those of society more generally) and perceives them as threatening to the face of the speaker; the hearer may not interpret the topic and/or their relationship to it as face-threatening to the same degree. In other words, certain topics entail an 'every-man-for-him/herself' reaction, wherein the speaker seeks to put themselves forward in the best possible light with relatively few attempts being made to preserve the hearer's face.

Inherently impolite, this form of linguistic behaviour seems in fact contrary to that posited by Brown and Levinson (1987). Because of this I am using the aspects of Face that are most salient to the nature of my research; namely that of the preservation of the speaker's positive face (see section 4.2.1 for further elaboration). Face strategies must therefore cater to the face needs of speaker and hearer in an optimal way. This is because I assume a performative notion of face, whereby face is seen as an ongoing construct that is newly negotiable in every different scenario or situation (Butler 1990).

Although the typology was constructed with dyslexic people in mind, I am not suggesting that the linguistic strategies I have proposed are unique to dyslexics. Rather, I am saying

that people with dyslexia use linguistic resources (like everybody else) to address their Face. The question asked by this research is: in what ways do dyslexics utilize which strategies to mediate their face needs.

2.7.2. Enriching Face Theory

Through the adapted typology I will also enrich Face Theory with relevant concepts from (a) Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 2001) and (b) APPRAISAL with a systemic functional perspective.

2.7.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Because I am focusing on a specific topic, being the maintenance of positive face when discussing dyslexia, I have chosen to include a few certain terms from Fairclough (2001) which are relevant to my understanding of the construction of dyslexia in discourse. The terms I have incorporated into my research include the following:

- * Notions of positive or negative expressive value for certain terms
- * Over-wording
- * Positive or negative construction of sentences
- * Pronoun-usage.

Words used with a positive or negative expressive value reveal the attitude of the speaker towards the subject being discussed. Similarly, repetition of a particular word or synonyms thereof reveals a preoccupation with a particular aspect of reality and hence reveals the topic of the text and, at times, the ideology. Sentences constructed in a negative format, meanwhile, presuppose a world where the positive version is 'normal'. In other words, making specific reference to the presuppositions of the hearer. For example, saying *It didn't bother me I wasn't fazed* [Michael, line 78] presupposes that the hearer inhabits an ideological world where he should be 'bothered' and 'fazed'. Pronouns can be used in an inclusive manner i.e. 'we dyslexics' but can similarly also be used to distance oneself from the topic being discussed by invoking a generic referent rather than a particular one; in addition, the use of 'you' invites the hearer to construe the speaker

and hearer together as a group and in this way enhance solidarity e.g. ‘because you know *you* don’t wanna sound dumb so *you* just avoid it’. I therefore chose these particular elements of CDA as they allow me to focus on a specific topic within spoken discourse, combining well with the APPRAISAL analysis.

2.7.2.2. APPRAISAL Analysis

APPRAISAL Analysis is a fairly recent development from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Within SFL, language in use is classified broadly into three metafunctions: the experiential, the interpersonal and the textual (Bloor and Bloor 1995). The experiential metafunction is concerned with the way we use language to try build a logical and comprehensive picture of the way we and others experience the world, what exactly we experience and what sort of impact it has on us. The interpersonal metafunction is about the way language is used in interaction to negotiate participant positions and to establish a particular relationship between participants, and the textual metafunction is concerned with the logical organisation that makes texts function coherently as a whole (Bloor and Bloor 1995).

APPRAISAL Analysis is a tool designed to explore, thoroughly and in fine detail, the interpersonal metafunction of texts, specifically the ways in which language is used strategically to communicate attitudes, evaluations, feelings, judgements of others and appreciation of entities, as part of a process of aligning an audience and creating a ‘community of feeling’ (Martin and Rose 2003, Martin and White 2005). The framework seeks to describe such interpersonal meanings in terms of how they are constructed at the lexico-grammatical level, both explicitly and implicitly. The more implicit meanings are not always obvious without close analysis and can therefore be particularly effective in aligning the reader. This framework is also suited to the analysis of discourse associated with dyslexia as it seeks to uncover the participants’ attitudes towards and judgements of dyslexic and non-dyslexic individuals, the strength of their attitudes, and the extent to which listeners are persuaded to share them. The APPRAISAL framework explores the functioning of evaluative language according to three main subsystems: Attitude, Graduation and Engagement. The following sections discuss each of these in turn.

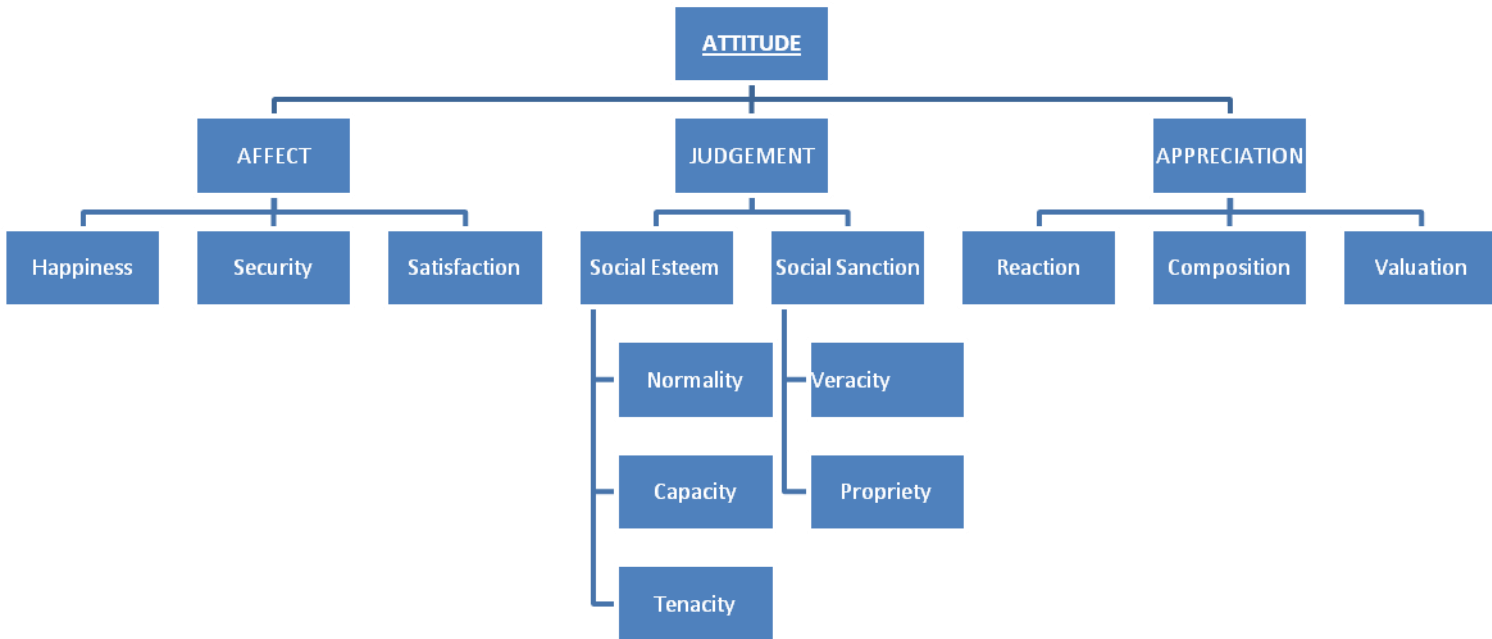


Fig.7: Typology of the APPRAISAL Sub-System

2.7.2.2.1. Attitude

The subsection of Attitude concerns “the resources used to make either a positive or negative evaluation of phenomena” (Droga & Humphrey 1995:75). These evaluations are subcategorised according to: the expression of one’s feelings or emotions (Affect), a normative or moral judgement of people’s behaviour (Judgement) and the evaluation of objects, artefacts or situations (Appreciation) (Droga & Humphrey 1995).

Expressions of Attitude can be either inscribed (explicit) or evoked (implicit) and this distinction is important when it comes to ascertaining the degree of an individual’s persuasiveness. Whereas inscribed expressions of Attitude are encoded into discourse at a lexico-grammatical level, evoked expressions are not. Instead, they are found in expressions which invite APPRAISAL as part of the interpretation (Adendorff & De Klerk 2005). Inscribed instantiations are the most overt and explicit way of expressing attitudinal meaning and can be seen clearly in words which encode such meaning as part of their semantics e.g. *fortunate* (inscribed Judgement). Evoked Attitude is where

attitudinal meanings are expressed indirectly such that they must be inferred by the reader (Droga & Humphrey 1995:84) e.g. *everyone found her so accomplished* (evoked positive Judgement). I have analysed both inscribed and evoked instantiations of Attitude because both are equally important and effective in a text, albeit in different ways and for different reasons. The perceived credibility of the speaker may depend on how direct the evaluative language is and how far this is appropriate. Both work together (as the following chapter will reveal) as strategies with which to discuss particular topics.

Within the subsection of Affect, the feelings expressed are categorised according to Happiness, Security and Satisfaction (in both positive and negative terms). Expressions of inscribed Affect can be expressed by a variety of grammatical resources such as attributes, epithets, verbal processes, nominalisations and modal adjuncts (Droga & Humphrey 1995). Affectual meanings can be seen in words such as *cheerful, confident* (positive Affect) and *depressed, upset* (negative Affect) (examples taken from Appendix C interview transcripts).

Judgement of human actions can be expressed positively or negatively according to Social Esteem or Social Sanction. Social Esteem concerns judgements of an individual according to his/her capacity, aptitude or temperament. Judged under Social Esteem are: Normality (what is singular/individual about a person), Capacity (the extent to which a person is capable) and Tenacity (the degree to which a person is dependable) (Droga & Humphrey 1995). Social Sanction is concerned with judgements based on laws of morality, ethics and legality, and includes: Veracity (the extent to which a person is truthful) and Propriety (how ethical a person is) (Droga & Humphrey 1995). Expressions of Judgement may be inscribed or evoked and can be signalled by a range of grammatical resources. Examples of inscribed Judgement are: *lucky/abnormal* (Normality), *clever/dumb* (Capacity), *brave/terrified* (Tenacity), *honest/lying* (Veracity) and *moral/evil* (Propriety) (examples from Martin 2000 and Appendix C).

Within the third subsection (Appreciation) an accomplishment, artefact or state of affairs is evaluated (Martin 2000). It does not concern human behaviour but people can be evaluated in terms of Appreciation (e.g. *Prof X was very influential* is a positive valuation

of the professor in terms of Appreciation). Evaluation in terms of Appreciation involves Reaction (the degree of one's emotional response to something), Composition (the degree to which something has been structured and organised as a coherent whole) and Valuation (how far something is worthwhile, significant or useful) (Droga & Humphrey 1995). Examples of inscribed Appreciation are: *interesting/boring* (Reaction), *proportional/distorted* (Composition) and *intense/insignificant* (Valuation) (examples from Martin 2000 and Appendix C).

Although the focus of my analysis is on Attitude (Affect and Judgement), the subsystems of Graduation and Engagement also play a role in aligning the listener and presenting a particular evaluation of the dyslexic individual. I have therefore included a description of Graduation and Engagement in this overview in order to provide valuable context for the primary sub-system Attitude. In addition, both Graduation and Engagement played a formative role in the construction of my typology of linguistic face-management strategies.

2.7.2.2.2. Graduation

Graduation or Amplification is concerned with the degree to which meanings are presented as more or less intense (Force) or more or less exact (Focus). It is a way of encoding interpersonal meanings into largely experiential language (Martin and White 2005) and is therefore included in my analysis to provide a more nuanced expression of Attitude within the interview responses.

The Force of an evaluation can be inscribed in a text through intensification or quantification (Martin & White 2005). Intensification concerns the grading of qualities or verbal processes and is inscribed by single lexical items such as Graders (e.g. *very*, *rather*), repetition or expletives/swearing (Martin & White 2005, Droga & Humphrey 1995). It can be evoked through metaphors e.g. *Exams were a nightmare* or lexical items which are themselves graduations of a particular meaning (Droga & Humphrey 1995) e.g. *pleased* which is less intense than *delighted* which in turn is less intense than *overwhelmed*. Quantification involves measurements of amount (e.g. *several*, *some*), time

(e.g. *recently, ages ago*) or distance (e.g. *far, isolated*) which can be used to intensify expressions explicitly or implicitly (Martin & White 2005).

The Focus is sharpened or softened by means of a range of linguistic resources and can be applied to language that already instantiates attitude or evaluation; e.g. *he was the most useless English teacher I ever* (.) or experiential language which does not in itself contain attitudinal meanings that can be scaled (Martin & White 2005); e.g. *sort of establishing where the problem lay* (softening) or *he's really dyslexic* (sharpened).

2.7.2.2.3. Engagement

The subsystem of Engagement is wide-ranging and “includes a range of resources which speakers and writers use to negotiate positions and ‘enter into dialogue’ with both listeners and readers” (Droga & Humphrey 1995:90). Engagement is realised in a text by means of Attribution, Modality and Disclaimers and Proclaimers. Instantiations can be lexical items or phrases. Attribution involves the evaluation of sources through endorsement (the extent to which a claim is supported), source type (the ways in which a source is referred to, and authority/status is conferred onto the source) and textual integration (how material from an external source is incorporated into the text).

Modality is realised by resources such as hedging and the use of modal auxiliaries to “indicate that speakers or writers are aware that what they are proposing could be seen as contentious or likely to be challenged by a potential reader or listener” (Droga & Humphrey 1995:95). The intention is to allow space for alternative attitudes or evaluations in the text and possibly to show less overtly how a speaker/writer wishes to align a reader. Disclaimers and Proclaimers are used to ‘open up’ or ‘close down’ dialogue through the presentation of ‘facts’ defined and supported (or rejected) by outside sources, which are also evaluated in terms of their credibility (Droga & Humphrey 1995). Engagement, like Graduation, is an effective sub-system to further validate the analysis of Attitude.

2.8. Conclusion

This research aims to contribute to the understanding of socially-linked linguistic dimensions of dyslexia by exploring the linguistic mechanisms used by adults with dyslexia in their respective fields of work or study. These linguistic strategies are not unique to dyslexics but are part of a common linguistic resource to manage Face.

The review began by providing a definition of dyslexia, after which I established the working definition of dyslexia which I use in this study. I looked briefly at the various types of dyslexia, commenting how devised strategies would differ depending on the particular dyslexic sub-type an individual has. I addressed the neuro-biological causes of dyslexia, drawing correlates between dyslexia and gender, left-handedness and ADHD, before reviewing literature related to social correlates such as family upbringing and education. I highlighted the fact that there is an inordinate amount of literature available on the genetic factors involved in dyslexia when compared to the amount on possible social factors. This research aims to go some way toward filling that gap.

I discussed theories of reading as dyslexia is primarily a reading condition, situating this study within the social theory of reading. The chapter concluded with a discussion on Brown and Levinson's Face Theory and its relevance to my research on the management and preservation of the speaker's positive Face. I discussed the modifications that were made to the original typology, which lead to a discussion on the APPRAISAL system (a sub-division of Systemic Functional Grammar) to show how an investigation into the attitudinal linguistic behaviour of the participants of this study would complement my research. .

The following chapter describes the research methodology, providing an overview of the analytical frameworks I utilised to analyse the gathered data.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter initially discusses my choice of case studies as an analytical tool in section 3.1.1 before 3.1.2 addresses the research paradigm in which my study is situated. Section 3.2 describes how I collected my research data. Section 3.2.1 discusses my choice of participants, while 3.2.2 looks at how I conducted population sampling before focussing on the interview method in 3.2.3. Within this section I discuss the particular settings used for the various interviews as well as my role as interviewer and the effect this relationship would have had on the collected data. Thereafter I address the content of the interviews, discussing the questions used, before section 3.2.4 discusses the tape-recording and transcription process.

3.1.1. Type of Research: The Case Study Method

No interview stands alone. Each has meaning to the researcher only in terms of other interviews and observations (Whyte 2003). For this reason my research is a compilation of case studies, known as a collective case study (Holland and Herstad 2001). Six case studies have been investigated to explore the face-management strategies of six adult dyslexics. Kumar (1996:99) suggests that the case study explores “social phenomena through a thorough analysis of an individual case” and allows the researcher to capture particular details. Cohen and Manion (1994) further state that a case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit. Creswell (1998) defines a case study as an exploration of one or several cases through thorough, meticulous data collection which involves multiple sources of information that are rich in contextual information. According to Yin (1989, cited in Holland and Herstad 2001:2), a case study consists of empirical research that “investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context”.

In case study research, the focus is on the particular, the unique, and on what can be learnt from this difference (Holland and Herstad 2001). I aim to acquire a deeper understanding of the linguistic mechanisms for the preservation of face among of

individuals with dyslexia who have progressed past the schooling system and into the studying or working world (see research questions under section 1.1 for a reminder of my aims).

3.1.2. Research Paradigm: Interpretive

In this research a qualitative mode of inquiry (Patton 1990) has been pursued within the interpretive paradigm (specifically using Face Theory, selected aspects of CDA and APPRAISAL as interpretive lenses). This paradigm aims to identify and understand the subjective spheres of human experience (Cohen and Manion 1994), while simultaneously aspiring to advance, contribute to or refute commonly-held social beliefs (Geertz 1979). Cantrell (1993:101) argues similarly that interpretive research “emphasises an understanding and interpretation of complex interrelations between social structures and the meanings people give to phenomena”.

In the pursuit of this understanding, subjectivity is perhaps unavoidable but not regrettable. Academic study may be subjective in the sense that it may be unrepeatable and the data itself is filtered through the researcher. But this makes the interpretation neither arbitrary nor undisciplined nor unable to be held to account to various standards. The interpretive paradigm seeks to act as an effective tool in the further enhancement of knowledge and understanding about the attitudes and behaviours of people within a specific context, while still acknowledging the value of objective study and by drawing theoretically informed conclusions.

Whether ‘true’ objectivity exists is after all debatable - Guba (1985) claims that objectivity is an illusion; similarly, Lakoff (2000:14) suggests that “often beneath the objective surface a writer’s real beliefs exist in distorted and covert forms, presupposed rather than asserted and therefore difficult to identify and critique”. The interpretive approach therefore seeks to combine the apparent polar opposites of objectivity and subjectivity. Guba (1985:87) calls this combination “perspective” and suggests that this alternative allows the researcher to explore his/her perceptions of the data while

simultaneously drawing conclusions based on a particular body of theory in a disciplined way.

3.2. DATA COLLECTION

The following section serves to discuss the manner in which my data was collected.

3.2.1. Choice of Participants

In order to find potential participants in this study, an advertisement was placed in the *Grocott's Mail* (a local Grahamstown community newspaper) in the editions published on the fourth and seventh of April 2006 (see Appendix A for a replica of the published advertisement). The advert invited adults with dyslexia to share their experiences with me with the assurance of confidentiality. From this request for assistance six responses were received from people willing to be interviewed. This included three males and three females, ranging in age from twenty-one to forty-three years. Participants therefore volunteered to be interviewed and were not pre-selected for interview purposes.

I realise that placing my advertisement in the *Grocott's Mail* may have affected the sample with some bias based on the demographics of the readership which is largely, though not exclusively, middle class. In hindsight perhaps it would have been advisable to publish the advert in the *Grahamstown This Week* (being a free publication and therefore more accessible to the greater public). However, while I acknowledge it would have been advisable to have people from various social levels participating in my research to reveal a more rounded perspective, there are arguments against it.

The line between impaired literacy due to poverty and due to dyslexia is blurry (Harriss and Cooper 2005) and is one which I possess neither the means nor knowledge to clearly separate. Here I am assuming a correlation between social class and literacy levels i.e. that being middle class necessarily entails access to good education and therefore enables people to achieve advanced literacy competencies. It would have therefore been difficult - if not impossible - to distinguish between difficulties experienced as a result of a poor educational background and difficulties encountered as a result of having dyslexia.

Finally, I felt it would be preferable to maintain at least one constant social variable in this research since the tertiary and employment situations of each participant differ so greatly.

Race and class were deliberately omitted as variables as they are seen as irrelevant to this study – the face-management strategies, being a set of linguistic resources available to any language user, should not differ according to class or race, but according to discourse circumstances the dyslexic individual finds him/herself in. There is also an enormous difficulty in defining class. It has been described in terms of the market situation – according to Weber (2001), ownership of property under capitalism forms the underlying basic categories of all class designations. A class can be said to exist when a number of people have a common specific component of their life, which is “represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income under conditions or labour markets” (Weber 2001:2).

3.2.2. Population Sampling

The following section looks at the manner in which my participants were involved in the study and discusses the Observer’s Paradox.

Sampling of the Grahamstown population was on a voluntary level to ensure validity. Because participation was of a voluntary nature I did not take a random sampling of the Grahamstown population – this would not have been effective in an investigation of a small subset of the local community. Due to every participant having willingly offered their time to share their experiences with me, informed consent (Basseby 1995) was obtained (see Appendix B for a replica of the consent form). Participants in my research were told from the outset the nature and purpose of the study. The aims of the study were framed as exploring how and in what area dyslexia has affected their lives and what they have done to overcome these challenges.

Six dyslexic individuals were interviewed in the time period between September 2006 and February 2007. The three younger male respondents (age range being between 21 and 24 years of age) are in the process of completing their studies in various tertiary

institutions: Rhodes University, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and UNISA respectively. The remaining three female participants (aged between 36 and 43 years of age), meanwhile, work in relatively diverse fields: one is a Research Assistant at a Rhodes-based institution; another an Administrative Assistant at a local hotel-cum-restaurant; while the third operates as the Manager, Sous-Chef and Co-Founder of a successful Grahamstown restaurant/bed-and-breakfast establishment. As a result there has been an inadvertent dichotomy between the younger participants who are all male and the older participants who are all female. This was not intentional, being merely the product of the voluntary nature of participation.

A substantial portion of the success and ultimate validity of any interview relies on the ability to overcome the Observer's Paradox. This refers to the difficulty involved when attempting to elicit authentic natural speech from informants (Labov 1972). Aware that everything being said is to be recorded and analyzed by the interviewer, respondents are likely to adapt the content of their speech and produce it in a less natural, more formal style. The paradox, therefore, lies in the fact that there needs to be a researcher with a recording device to capture unmonitored speech, but the presence of this machinery and researcher will inevitably provoke the 'wrong' (monitored) type of speech (Labov 1972). Accordingly, it was necessary to try avoid making gross generalizations from my findings.

Labov (1972) states further, however, that another method in minimizing the effects of the Observer's Paradox is to interview self-selected respondents. I feel this was achieved in the study as participation in my research was on an entirely voluntary basis. According to Labov (1972), one method to minimize this paradox is to record interviews in groups (ideally self-selected) rather than recording one-on-one interactions. This serves to enforce group norms and to ensure quality information is provided to the interviewer. Unfortunately, in the context of this research such a measure was impractical - the likelihood of self-selected groups of similar dyslexic individuals is slim to none since there is no support group for adult dyslexics in Grahamstown. Being a sensitive topic that is not likely to come up in general conversation, there is little opportunity for such a group to naturally form without being under the umbrella of a larger organization.

In addition, the potentially sensitive nature of the research topic means that, if put into a group to be collectively interviewed, participants were more likely to be overly self-conscious among these strangers and therefore respond more hesitantly than if they were to share their experiences solely with me. As a result, interviews took place as one-on-one interactions rather than in the form of enforced groups. This also allowed for a greater control of the interview situation by the interviewer: as will become clear in the next section, the success of the data-elicitation technique relied, not on the elimination of the observer's paradox, but on a moderate manipulation of it.

3.2.3. The Interview Method and the Observer's Paradox

In the social sciences, a large proportion of data on human behaviour is generated or obtained through the interview process (Jones 1996). The aim of qualitative interviewing is to develop an understanding of the processes that have occurred among people who have had particular sets of experiences.

According to Jones (1996), an interview is (in its broadest sense) a simple social interaction between two people, during which one seeks to acquire knowledge or information from the other and attempts to accomplish this through the mode of inquiry. The interview interaction differs from other similar exchanges, however, in that here the interviewer has an objective which has been previously defined prior to the interaction. As a researcher, one enters into a social relationship with the participants and as such good communication and mutual trust is essential (Murray 2006). Indeed, it is this social contact between the interviewer and interviewee that differentiates the interview process from impersonal questionnaires, even when the questions and potential responses are similar (Whyte 2003).

I therefore felt it best to conduct interviews where social contact is made and a greater compulsion towards authenticity is created in the participant, rather than distributing anonymous questionnaires as a nameless face who earns no obligation for honest answers.

The questions posed in qualitative interviewing tend to be open-ended rather than closed in nature as this provides respondents the liberty to express themselves as fully and accurately as possible. In addition, open-ended questions assist in conveying interest in the interviewee's responses (Jones 1996) as questions which follow up on provided information are an indication that the interviewer is listening and responding to the information being provided. As a result I made significant use of open-ended questions during the course of my interviews (see Appendix C for examples in the interview transcripts).

The interviews themselves, involving a power dynamic between an interviewer and an interviewee, necessarily involved a degree of face threat. Furthermore, the topic of conversation and the questions that probed the issue of dyslexia and the interviewee's relation to it further resulted in some face threat. Thus, the very nature of the data collection technique was such that it aimed to elicit data on linguistic face-management strategies. The methodology and research questions are therefore aligned. As such, the technique involved a moderate degree of manipulation of the observer's paradox.

It is important, however, to realise that at no point were the interviewee's rights to dignity threatened: (a) all interviewees volunteered, (b) full disclosure occurred, (c) the topic of the interview was known to the interviewees before they volunteered, and (d) when the interviewees finished answering a question, the interview moved on to the next question with relatively little occurrence of 'probing'; i.e. "verbal or non-verbal behaviour made by the interviewer with the intention of encouraging the interview participant to continue, amplify or clarify an answer" (Jones 1996:134). The following section contains a more detailed exploration of the way the interviews were conducted.

3.2.3.1. Interview Setting

The interviews took place on separate occasions and were one-on-one interactions in all cases. The majority (i.e. four) of these interviews took place either within the home or the workplace of the individuals involved. Bogardus (2003:86) says that the respondent's

home can be considered the preferred venue in which to conduct an interview as it is in one's natural surroundings that interviewees feel most at ease.

Two of the interviews took place within the English Language and Linguistics Department at Rhodes University. While not the ideal setting, it was necessary under both circumstances. The Rhodes PhD student shares his office with several colleagues and so felt it would be preferable to conduct the interview in my department where it would be preferable to conduct the interview in my department where it would be more private. The NMMU student, meanwhile, lives on a farm twenty kilometres outside of town and so felt that it would be easier if he came to see me.

3.2.3.2. My Role as Interviewer

Because of the power hierarchy incumbent with interview situations (Fairclough 2001), I came into each interview as one with the greater power. This inequality is not typically conducive to a situation where the interviewee can freely and openly discuss their experiences and is exacerbated when the discussion is on a potentially sensitive topic such as dyslexia. However, as described above, the power dynamic facilitated the production of face management strategies.

I did at times convey the fact that I was attentive and supportive in the interviews so as not to completely alienate the participants. Linguistically this is expressed by means of backchannels, minimal responses and commenting on the participants' responses (Labov 1972). In addition I would argue that latched utterances (such as that evident in utterances 119 and 120) typically indicate a relaxed and cooperative interaction. Below are some examples of these linguistic expressions aimed at introducing a rapport with the interviewee and in so doing reducing the power imbalance:

111b)C: Um and then cousins on my those were that's my mom's side and there are cousins on my dad's side as well= =yeah but mostly males again

121b)L: =oh wow=

131b)L: Okay ja that's from (.) studies say that dyslexics are typically male

141b)C: Ja ja must be something in the Y chromosome sorry anyway [laughs]

1173b)W: So I think my mother spent a lot of time justifying and not wanting to admit that there was a problem

1193c)L: But then around standard three she started taking you to=

1203c)W: =well the school started they
said well you have to go and my mother used to go regularly (..) in fact about three times
a week we used to go

In the first extract I provided a minimal response in line 12 and in line 13 I strove to validate C's comments on the dyslexics in his family being male by stating that related literature largely agrees with him. In the second extract I showed evidence of having paid attention to previous information provided by the interviewee by using this to confirm newly provided facts.

However I typically did not always downplay the power balance between myself and my participants. The following extract which shows that I did have more power than the participants during the interview interaction.

51h)La: Ja it might just be a temporary thing= =and does your son know about your

52h)Li: =Yes=

53h)La: dyslexia or is he a bit young to=

54h)Li: =no ja ja he's a bit young yes so I don't think it's
er=

56h)La: =very necessary at this point=

57h)Li: =ja [both laugh]

582a)La: And um (..) going back to your childhood...

In utterances 51, 53 and 56 I make evaluative comments which lead Leanne's interpretation. In utterance 58 I explicitly change the topic, therefore affirming my authoritative role where I have control of the interview content.

In retrospect I found myself to have inadvertently repeatedly framed dyslexia as being deficient in some manner; for example, "*was it apparent to your peers that you had difficulties?*" and "*do your lecturers make concessions for you because of it?*". I therefore acknowledge that I was not neutral in my questioning. In part, this reflected my own flawed understandings of dyslexia at the time, based on literature framed in terms of deficit. However, through the responses of the interviewees I came to realise that they did

not necessarily see themselves through this lens and consistently produced face-management strategies to counter it.

3.2.3.3. Interview Questions

The questionnaire included 100 questions divided into 13 broad topics (see Appendix C for examples). Of these 8 were biographical, 6 related to early reading practices, 6 to discovery of dyslexia, 15 to schooling, 7 to tertiary education, 9 to working experience, 4 to memory, 5 to speaking, 10 to current reading practices, 8 to writing/spelling, 6 to smses and emails, 8 to numbers and 6 to dyslexia experiences.

From these, only one question was selected for analysis. There are a number of reasons why a selection was made. First, the interviews produced a large amount of data of which only a small section could be analysed given the space constraints of this thesis. Second, one question in particular requested the interviewees to evaluate their own perceptions of and feelings toward dyslexia – i.e. this question specifically addressed issues relating to FACE and APPRAISAL.

The question focused on was 3d) *How did you feel when you found out you had dyslexia?* Because of its focus on opinion and attitude APPRAISAL works effectively in an analysis of the responses to this question. Similarly, being a potentially face-threatening question required the respondents to speak in a way which maintained their positive Faces.

The remainder of the questions are described below. The respondents were questioned about various areas of their lives. Question one and the sub-questions associated with it inquired about the family circumstances surrounding the participants – namely, whether other relatives are also dyslexic or, at least, reveal certain characteristics. This was to attain a general feel for the genetic prevalence among the various participants' families. Although not central to the research questions of my study, since it has been conclusively shown that dyslexia is for the most part a genetic inheritance (see Singleton 2000, Shaywitz and Shaywitz 2001; Bradford 2002 and Olson 2006), any relative revealing similar symptoms would further validate current research on this matter. Within question

one I asked about their marital status and the existence of any children before asking whether they were also dyslexic and whether they knew about and openly discussed the dyslexia of their spouse/parent respectively.

Question two related to the participants' introduction to reading prior to attending school. Respondents were asked to share their experiences of being read to as a child before I asked of their experiences while learning to read. Positive or negative associations with reading during the initial stages of learning to read could have an additional impact on the ability to read well (Crosby 1968). Question three asked about their age and the nature of the dyslexia diagnosis and asked how the respondents initially felt when they first discovered that they had dyslexia. While such a question is potentially face-threatening and hence could have affected their responses, I feel the fact that it was face-threatening worked to my advantage as it meant the participants were more likely to use the face-saving linguistic strategies I was trying to elicit.

Within question four we discussed the effectiveness of the reading and writing methods taught to the respondents in both their primary and high school careers. I asked the participants how many schools they had attended and what type of schools they had attended as well as whether they had lived at home or had boarded at the school(s). Smaller numbers in the classroom means there is a greater possibility for personal attention and assistance from the teacher, so those who attended private school would have been at a slight advantage over those who had not. Similarly, those who lived at home during their schooling would have had easy access to the assistance of their parents and other relatives when experiencing difficulties with their schoolwork, whereas boarders would have had to rely on a matron who had thirty or more other children to attend to, so those living at home should have had a more accommodating environment in which to do their homework.

I asked the participants to share their experiences regarding tests and exams and asked how they felt about their academic results at school. McLoughlin *et al.* (1994) suggest that there is often a disparity between the amount of effort a dyslexic student has put into their studying and the results they receive and several of my participants commented on

this disparity. Where relevant I asked about tertiary studies and what faculty they chose. I also asked whether their lecturers and the tertiary institution itself had any knowledge about their being dyslexic. I asked about any challenges experienced during the course of these studies. From these questions I aimed to elicit the face-management strategies used within a tertiary environment.

Under question five we discussed their respective employment histories and positions held. Drewe (2003) states that many people with dyslexia deliberately avoid positions where extensive paperwork is involved, opting for more practical hands-on employment. The current employment of the various respondents (where applicable) was discussed in terms of what the job entails, whether the employer knows about the participant's dyslexia and has made any subsequent concessions and whether they are happy in their current position.

In question six I queried their memory-retention, asking about their attention span and their short- and long-term memory retention abilities. A short-term memory deficit is seen as a prevalent feature of dyslexia (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994, Drewe 2003, Peng 2005) so I was interested in seeing whether the participants do in fact struggle in this regard. Question seven addressed public-speaking, where I asked how the participants experienced addressing groups of people and their preference between group and private discussions. Field (2003) and McLoughlin *et al.* (1994) suggest that people with dyslexia have a tendency towards compensating for a limited literary with a predilection towards public-speaking proficiency, so I was interested to assess whether this was indeed the case with these dyslexic individuals.

Within question eight we discussed their perceptions of reading, their preferred genres and how frequently they visit a local library. The assumption arising out of related literature (for example Underwood and Batt 1996) is that dyslexic individuals would have negative associations with reading and would therefore not be inclined towards reading voluntarily in their spare time, so I wanted to see whether this was in fact the prevalent feeling. In question nine I asked about the pace of the participants' writing and their proficiency in spelling. I asked how the respondents experienced writing letters,

telephone messages, cheques and filling in forms before inquiring how legible they believe their handwriting to be and whether they could read their own handwriting easily. Dysgraphia, an impeded ability to write fluently or with great accuracy, is a common feature of dyslexia (see Coltheart 2004 and Beacham and Alty 2006) and so I wanted to see whether this was a prevalent feature among the research participants.

The ability to type and read smses was discussed under question ten. Sms-talk frequently consists of abbreviated words (such as ‘accom.’ for ‘accommodation’), single letters, numbers or symbols acting as entire words (as in ‘c u @ 8’ for ‘see you at eight’) and letter-number combinations (as in ‘l8a’ for ‘later’). While not really relevant to the face-management strategies within a work or study context, being confident with smses is a necessary social skill. Because this form of discourse differs significantly from the norms of general written communication and requires a fair amount of phonemic awareness, I was interested to see whether the participants made use of and could easily read this form of sms-speech. The ability to type emails, browse the internet and work with various computer programs was considered to see if any particular difficulties and subsequent strategies were evident before progressing onto the respondents’ confidence with numbers. Question eleven asked whether the respondents could do sums in their head without the use of fingers or paper because the literature (such as Field 2003) suggest that this proves to be a challenging task among dyslexic individuals.

In the final set of questions (question twelve) the respondents’ general feelings towards dyslexia were considered, asking what it meant to them and whether they saw it as permanent or temporary. I also asked whether the respondents saw dyslexia as a disability in their lives and whether they would prefer to call ‘dyslexia’ by another name i.e. if the term itself was offensive in any way. The participants shared what their being dyslexic means to their friends and family before finally revealing whether they spoke about dyslexia at all and, if so, with whom and under what circumstances it would be discussed. In retrospect this would have combined effectively with my analysis of responses to question 3b) from a Face perspective.

3.2.4. Tape-Recording and Transcriptions

Tape-recordings and the transcriptions of these recordings allow for an accurate description of the data to occur. According to Maxwell (1992), transcribing creates a complete and permanent record of the interviewee's responses, which allows for analysis and re-analysis as needed. Even with a proficient note-taker, "the condensations, summaries, and key words that make up notes of an ongoing conversation leave out as much as, if not more than, they include" (Jones 1996:148). Therefore, by releasing the interviewer from the need to take notes, tape-recordings make it easier to attend and listen to what the respondent is saying, alerting the interviewer to areas where probing is needed and therefore ensuring that the various interview-guide topics are sufficiently covered (Jones 1996).

The transcription of the various interviews was done in a broad rather than narrow linguistic manner, foregoing the traditional discourse-marking conventions used by conversation analysts within the field of linguistics.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter looked at the interpretive paradigm before focussing on the data collection process. I addressed my choice of participants and interview type as well as the environment in which the interviews took place. I discussed my role as interviewer, highlighting how the unequal power dynamics facilitated my search for face-management strategies. In addition, I have reflected on some of the shortcomings of this type of research. I went through the interview questions and the concept of interviews being an FTA before considering tape-recordings and transcriptions of the interviews.

The small collection of case studies in this research does not allow for definitive generalisations to be made. However, the guiding question in my mind was not 'to what extent can the findings be generalised?' but rather 'what can be learnt from each case?' and 'to what extent can these insights deepen and enrich our understanding of the possible face-management strategies in general?'

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

The chapter begins with an illustration of the typology of linguistic face-management strategies which the research participants use during face-threatening conversations about dyslexia (see fig. 8). In section 4.2 I provide an explanation of the face-saving typology I created and contrast the self-constructed typology with that of Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) version.

Using elements of Face Theory in conjunction with APPRAISAL I analyse the responses to question 3d): *How did you feel when you first found out you were dyslexic?* This question was chosen as I felt it would most effectively elicit attitudinal responses to dyslexia.

In section 4.3 I address the preservation of the speaker's positive face through means of minimising the extent of challenges they may face as dyslexics. Incorporated into this is an investigation of the use of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement to ameliorate the degree of dyslexia and in so doing distance the speaker from the condition. I look at strategies which disassociate the speakers from a particular dyslexia-related experience, thereby preserving their positive face (section 4.4) as well as incidents where potential FTAs are avoided completely (section 4.5).

4.2. Constructed Typology of Face Management

Because the typology is self-constructed it is appropriate to explain how the typology came into being. I reviewed the interview responses several times and, with this inspection as well as drawing on Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) (being further enriched by more recent APPRAISAL approaches) I devised a typology as a way of reflecting the linguistic devices being put into play during discussions with me. Elements of the typology were influenced by Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) typologies on Face Theory as well as sub-divisions of APPRAISAL (namely Attitude, Graduation and Engagement) which accurately reflect the participants' linguistic face-management strategies when discussing dyslexia to manage the preservation of their positive face.

Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) developed Goffman's concept of 'face-saving', in which efforts are made by participants in a verbal interaction to preserve their own face and/or the face of others (Watts 2003). According to Brown and Levinson (1978), 'face' is the emotional investment discourse participants put in to ensure that we and our fellow participants are not embarrassed, but rather that our discursive 'face' is maintained in interaction through means of politeness strategies. Face is sub-divided into two types: positive and negative. Positive face refers to the individual's desire to be appreciated and approved of in social interaction, whereas negative face is the desire for freedom of action and freedom from imposition (Brown and Levinson 1978, Watts 2003) (See section 2.7 for further information regarding Face-Work).

This theory is illustrated by means of various typologies (two of which are illustrated below). The typologies in the following pages depict politeness strategies which preserve the positive face or negative face of either the speaker or the hearer. Politeness strategies are those which strive to support and enhance the addressee's positive face (known as positive or solidarity politeness) as well as those which aim to avoid transgressing the desire for choice of action and freedom from imposition (i.e. negative politeness) (Brown and Levinson 1978, Watts 2003).

Fig.8: Brown and Levinson's (1978) Politeness Theory Typologies

A: Positive Politeness Strategies

B: Negative Politeness Strategies

(Figure A is on the following page (62), while figure B is on page 63 due to their size)

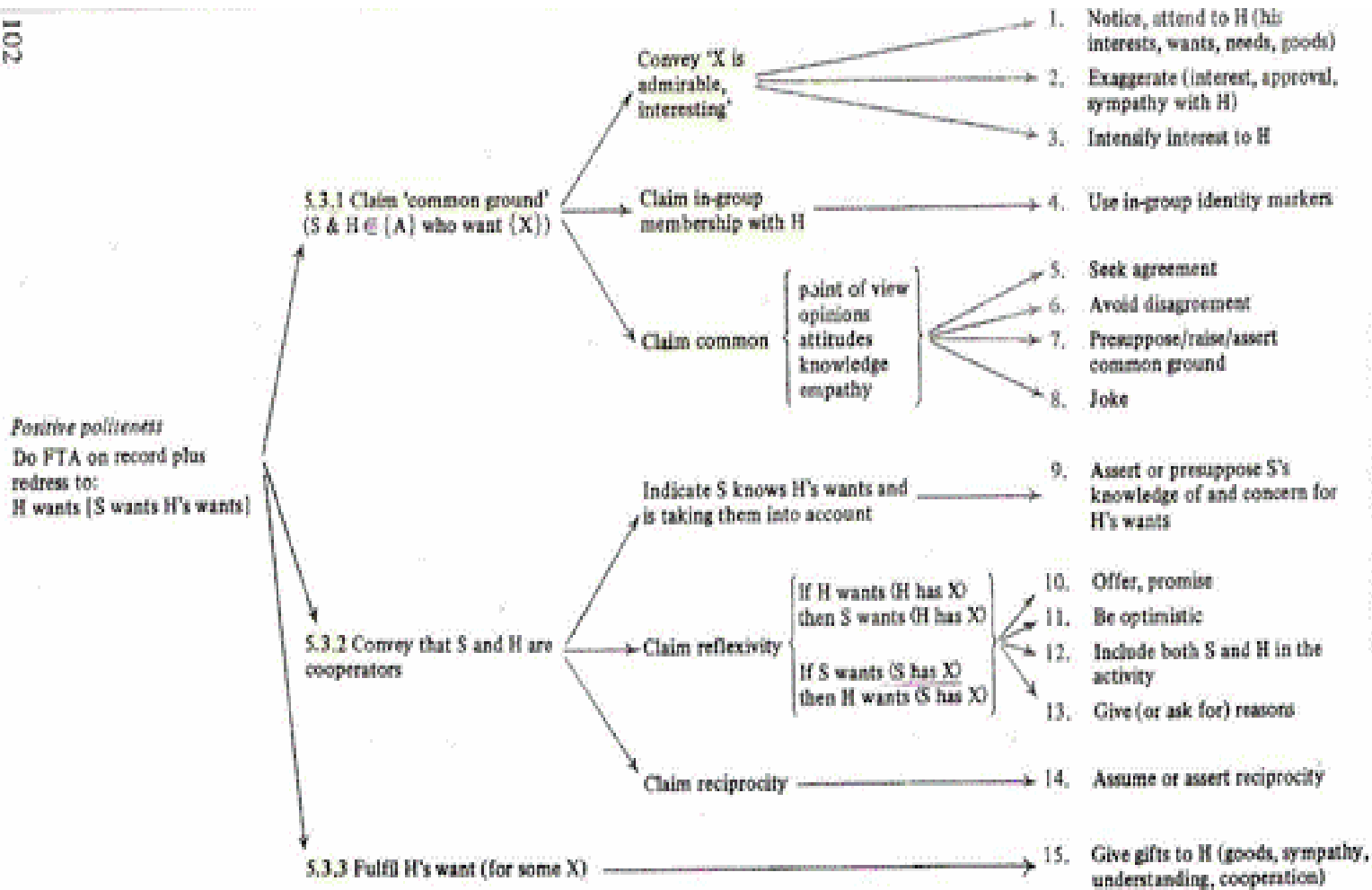


Fig. 3. Chart of strategies: Positive politeness

Certain kinds of speech acts intrinsically threaten face as they, by their very nature, run contrary to the desires of the addressee and/or the speaker (Brown and Levinson 1978). Interviews are one such threatening situation so face-preservation work should inevitably come into play. In addition, the topic under discussion (that of dyslexia) was itself face-threatening. Finally, the nature of the interview itself led to a degree of face threat. The interview was characterised by (a) the fact that I was relatively inexperienced and (b) I inadvertently framed dyslexia from a deficit perspective at times. This was compounded by the fact that the participants were actually doing me a favour and by the fact that the female participants were older than me. All these factors came into play to provide contexts where face-management strategies were important.

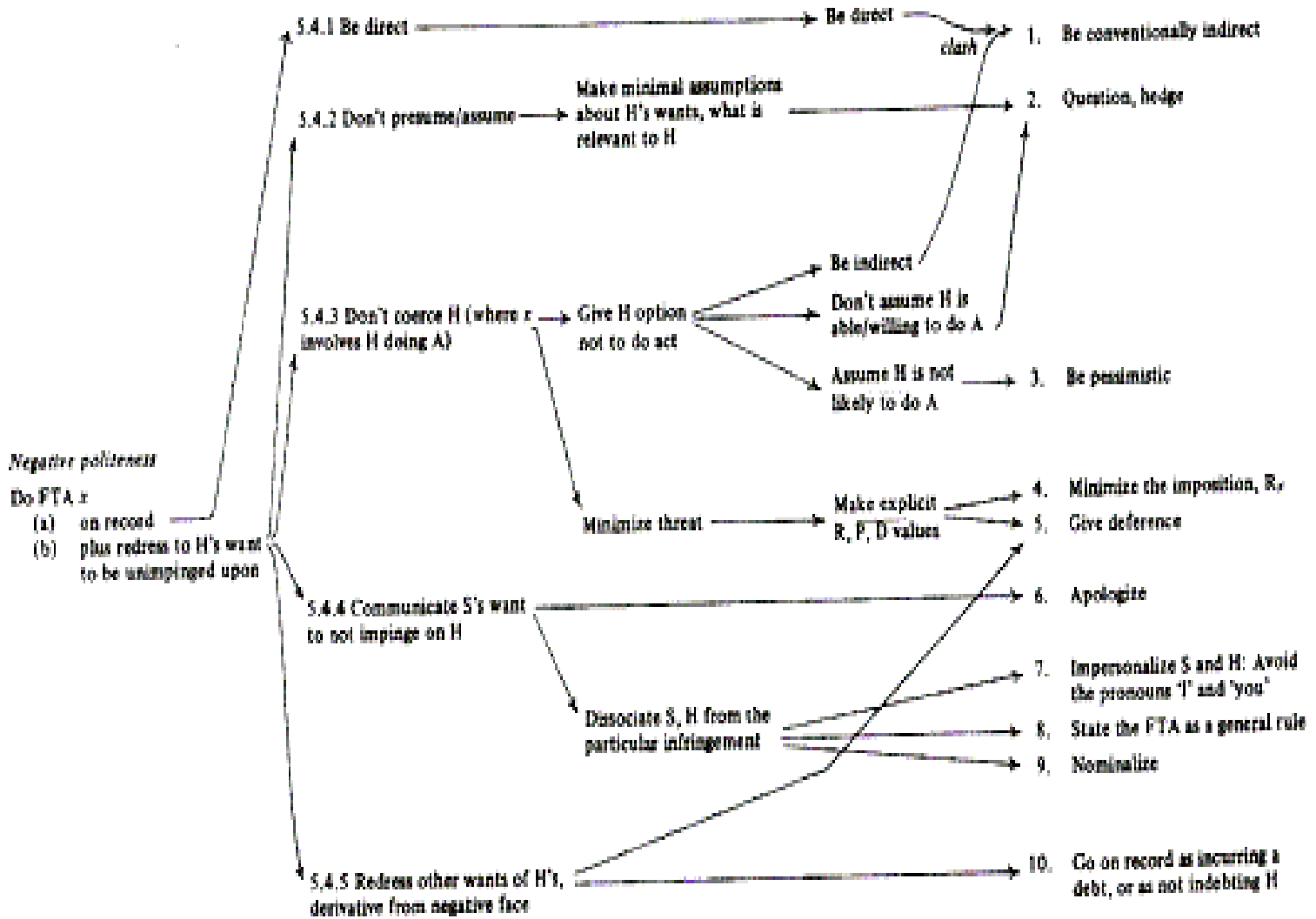


Fig. 4. Chart of strategies: Negative politeness

When constructing this typology I initially assumed it would involve the preservation of both the speaker and the hearer's face (as depicted in Brown and Levinson's (1987) models). However, maintaining the positive face of the hearer does not seem to be addressed when describing experiences pertaining to dyslexia. In this context it would appear to make sense because the topic under discussion is face-threatening for the speaker, not the hearer, and therefore any minimising of potential face-threats will be aimed at the speaker's face. As a result of this desire to preserve the face of the speaker, my typology and the accompanying analysis focuses on the preservation of the speaker's positive face. An illustration of my constructed typology is provided on the following page.

My emphasis on Face differs from that of Brown and Levinson in that, unlike the traditional view which concentrates on how the speaker tries to ameliorate potential impositions on the hearer, I am more interested in situations where the speaker tries to ameliorate their own potential loss of face rather than that of the hearer. In other words, I am concerned with the face-saving perspective of the dyslexic speaker, particularly with how they preserve face when revealing personal information related to the topic with a non-dyslexic hearer. The speaker's face is therefore more salient than the hearer's in this particular context because of the self-preservation impulse that comes into play when discussing a sensitive topic with a stranger.

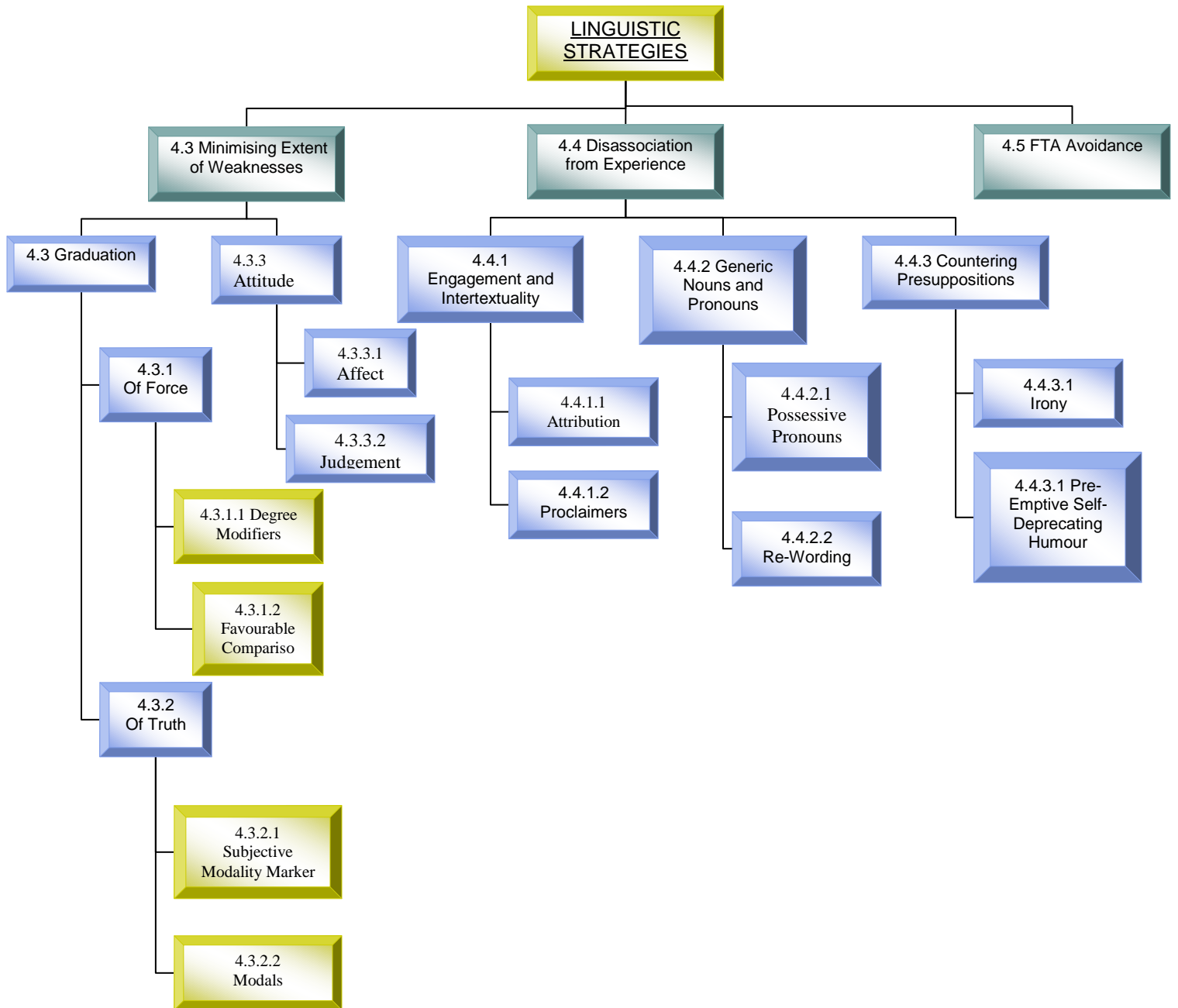
In light of this, I found that the typologies constructed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987, revealed earlier on pages 74 and 75) do not sufficiently cover this perspective – the speaker's concerns for the hearer predominate in the theory and its related typologies, whereas dyslexia discussions produce a speaker's concern for the speaker due to the face-threatening nature of the topic. Consequently, I felt it necessary to create my own typology based on the gathered data, elements of APPRAISAL and on relevant aspects of Brown and Levinson's (1978) Politeness Theory concerning Face (this constructed typology can be viewed in the next page).

The three broad strategies taken by the participants involve minimising the challenges associated with dyslexia, disassociating themselves from particular experiences or avoiding the FTA entirely. It is important to note that none of these strategies are in any way unique to dyslexia; they are general face-management strategies available to any language speaker.

The first involves the APPRAISAL subsystem Graduation, where events, emotions, etc. are downgraded and downplayed to 'save face'. The force or truthfulness of a proposition can be minimised by means of degree modifiers such as hedging and by making favourable comparisons between oneself and another. The truthfulness of a proposition can also be downgraded through linguistic strategies such as the use of subjective modality markers and/or modals e.g. 'I *might* be dyslexic'. In addition, the APPRAISAL

subsystem Attitude (specifically Affect and Judgement) has been used to ameliorate the extent of perceived limitations.

Fig. 9: Constructed Typology of Linguistic Face-Management Strategies



Disassociating from particular experiences involves, firstly, the APPRAISAL subsystem Engagement, which highlights where participants use other voices to voice opinions rather than their own. This is achieved through either Attributions, where facts or opinions are attributed to someone other than the speaker, or through Proclamation, where other voices are quoted to express their opinion. The use of generic nouns and pronouns is also a linguistic strategy which is used to preserve positive face by universalising dyslexia as something common-place. Possessive pronouns such as ‘my’ dyslexia or ‘his’ dyslexia suggest that it is something which can be internalised and separated or graded depending on who being discussed has dyslexia. Re-wording also takes place, in which the term ‘dyslexia’ is itself re-framed using different, sometimes euphemistic, terminology.

Countering presuppositions is a strategy which serves to preserve the positive face of the speaker. Here the speaker assumes the hearer has certain notions about dyslexia and so counteracts these presuppositions by stating what is in fact the case. Irony is used to counter presuppositions by juxtaposing what one would assume a dyslexic does or feels with the reality. In this particular situation, it might be the case that the participants built a ‘hearer-model’ of the interviewer. Many of my participants’ responses could be accommodated by such a model without having to speculate about societal assumptions about dyslexia.

4.3. Minimising Extent of Challenges

According to Brown and Levinson’s (1978, 1987) model, positive politeness is almost exclusively represented as “a technical concept applying to acts with inherent potential for conflict and which, furthermore, presupposes constant awareness of the most efficient ways of saying things” (Keevalik 2005:213). Therefore politeness strategies seek to ameliorate the extent of potential face-threatening acts.

Positive politeness is typically about maximising praise and uses linguistic devices such as compliments in order to enhance the hearer’s face (Sifianou and Antonopoulou 2005). However, in the context of disclosing information about a potentially-sensitive topic such

as dyslexia, positive politeness serves to concentrate on the speaker's rather than the hearer's face. This is because the topic and interview situation itself is potentially face-threatening to the speaker and as a result the speaker may feel compelled to take linguistic measures to ensure that their positive face is preserved. The sections which follow serve to discuss the various branches of the typology relating to this attempt at minimising the extent of one's challenges.

4.3.1.1. Graduation of Force: Degree Modifiers

As the name implies, degree modifiers modify the degree to which an action or emotion is felt/expressed by the speaker. This is known as softened Force in the APPRAISAL system. For example, Timothy says: *I try not to – I mean it is a disability but I try not to think of myself as being disabled in a certain way (.) it doesn't really I try not to let it bother me* [429-430]. In this Timothy has marked dyslexia as being a disability but expresses his attempts to not view himself as disabled. In so doing he may be attempting a positive construction of being dyslexic.

There is considerably more use of softened Force than sharpened in the participant's responses. This is generally used to hedge the degree to which an action was done or an emotion felt – for example, Wanda states: *I can't really remember (.) but I would I would imagine it's like quite a relief* [125], where she has phrased it in a manner that both suggests a lack of commitment to the proposition and downplays what that feeling is. Down-grading the degree to which one feels X about dyslexia is a means by which the positive face of the speaker is preserved. This could potentially indicate that the participant felt a need to make herself appear to be a 'better' dyslexic, perhaps due to attempts at maintaining positive face. However, as 'I would imagine' is preceded by the phrase 'I can't really remember, it is possible that this hedging was a response to her not remembering rather than to her dyslexia itself.

4.3.1.2. Graduation of Force: Favourable Comparisons

In terms of the speaker's positive face, another strategy may be to downplay the extent of perceived challenges related to dyslexia. However, we cannot be sure to what extent the

participants perceived challenges associated with dyslexia and to what extent they were simply reacting to the interviewer's deficiency perspective.

The favourable comparison strategy is occasionally done through the use of humour but is largely as a result of relational structures and hedging. Relational structures relate to the measures by which participants construct themselves as dyslexic in relation to others. This can be achieved by means of favourable comparison, in which the speaker compares him or herself to another dyslexic in a favourable manner, e.g. 'I'm not that bad; there're others worse than me'.

Four of the participants attempted to ameliorate the extent of being dyslexic by means of favourable comparisons i.e. they strove to suggest that 'I may have dyslexia but there are others who are worse than me'. This proposition varied between being explicitly stated; e.g. Melissa: *Another friend of mine also also has it [401]... her dyslexia is a bit worse than mine [409-410]* and implied; e.g. Wanda: *you know that friend of mine I told you about who's very dyslexic [573]* and Timothy: *I don't think I'm seriously dyslexic otherwise I'd know you know? I'm dyslexic to a certain point [92-94]*. In these examples linguistic features are used which downplay dyslexia include adverbs such as 'seriously' and low expressive modality markers such as 'to a certain point'.

Timothy also makes comparisons between being dyslexic and having ADHD, where the degree to which dyslexia affects him is downplayed. He refers to having ADHD twelve times, emphasising how it plays a more significant role in his life than dyslexia. Some examples include: *I don't know if it's just me or it's the ADHD or whatever I don't know [267]* and *you see dyslexia doesn't affect me that much it's the ADHD affects me more than dyslexia [423-424]*.

More implicit examples of favourable comparisons include Leanne's comment that *you never did typing that was for the really (.) sick kids who really really battled [136-137]*, which seems to classify students with academic issues as being 'sick' or abnormal. Similarly, Melissa's remark that *It wasn't like I was then put in a special class or something you know [106]* seems to imply that she feels more like the standard than those in a special class.

Also of interest is the fact that these participants may have adopted a non-binary conception of dyslexia, viewing it as a continuum rather than an either/or scenario. However, regardless of the level of explicitness, it would appear that some participants used strategies which presented themselves in comparison to others. By presenting other dyslexics as being worse off than them, the participants were able to cast themselves in a more favourable light. By positioning themselves at one end of the dyslexic spectrum they were able to preserve their positive face because comparisons with other dyslexics allow the participants to downplay the extent of their own potential challenges, thereby constructing a more positive sense of face.

4.3.2.1. Graduation of Truth: Subjective Modality Markers

Although sharing some similarities, I have made a distinction between modals and modality markers for the purposes of this study. Modals are auxiliary verbs which indicate tense as well as the degree of certainty or tentativeness that the speaker feels – for example, words such as ‘may’ and ‘might’ (Markkanen and Schroeder 1997). Modality markers, meanwhile, are main verbs typically relating to feelings and emotions which similarly reveal either confidence or uncertainty about the truthfulness of the expressed proposition, words such as ‘believe’ or ‘feel’ (Clemen 1997). The primary distinction being made between the two is that of their verb-type, modals being auxiliaries and modality markers being main verbs and the non-factivity of the latter.

With regards to the speaker’s positive face, their use allows the speaker to make the proposition tentative (Clemen 1997). This is closely related to Fairclough’s (2001) notion of low expressive modality, in that some participants express a weak commitment to the truth of their propositions. They reflect the speaker’s commitment to the truth-value of the proposition (Prince *et al.* 1982, cited in Markkanen and Schroeder 1997). An example would be Charles’ utterance: *But I think that that was a result of knowing of being dyslexic* [67]. The use of the tentative clause ‘I think’ downplays his degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition. Clemen (1997) states that such tentativeness reflects ‘fuzziness’ in the relationship between the content of the proposition and the

speaker. In so doing, subjective modality markers reduce the degree of liability that a speaker might face when expressing the proposition.

4.3.2.2. Graduation of Truth: Modals

Hedges typically indicate some form of markedness in that the entity or emotion being described is marked as being more or less typical with respect to class membership (Clemen 1997). According to Markkanen and Schroeder (1997), linguistic strategies used to achieve this include the use of modal auxiliaries. Examples of modal auxiliary-usage include: Wanda: *I can't really remember but (.) I would I would imagine it's like quite a relief* [125] and Timothy: *he advised that my parents should look into the fact that I might be dyslexic* [73-74].

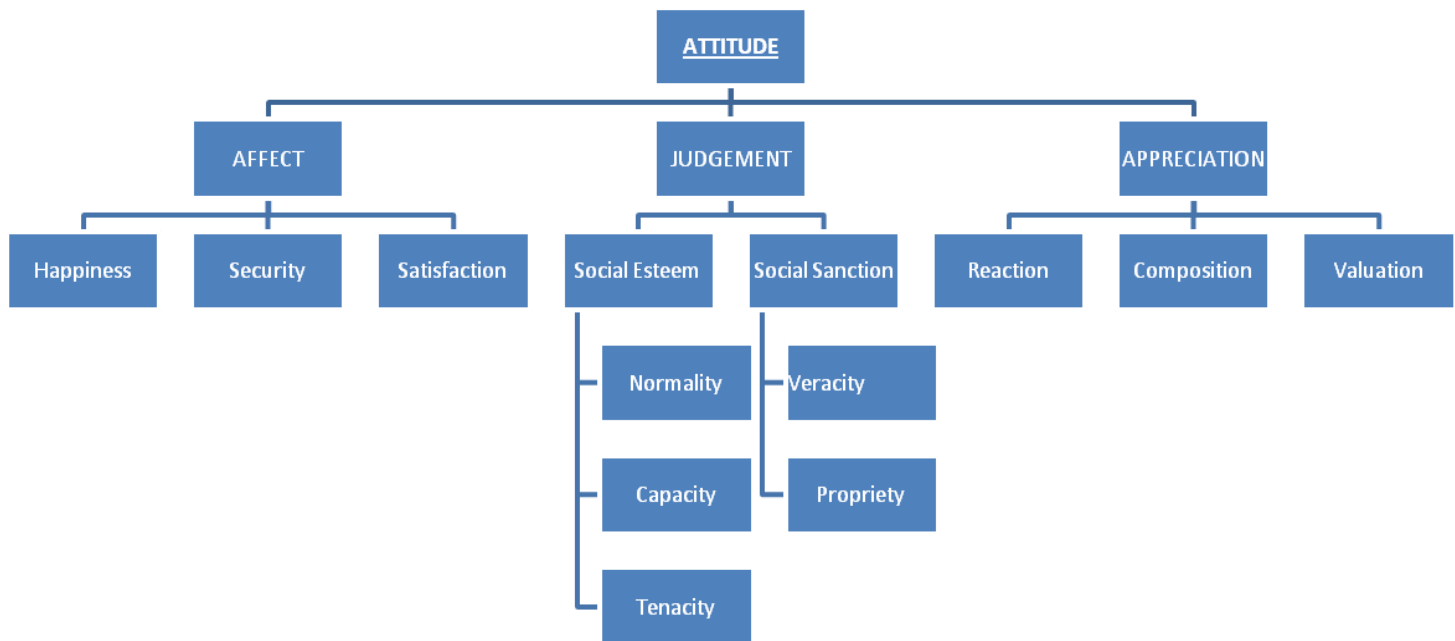
Exemplification of the use of adjectives and adverbials to reduce the truth-value of propositions or imply more favourable comparisons of themselves, meanwhile, can be found in: Timothy: *Apparently ja but I mean this [dyslexia diagnosis] was a long time ago* [82], Charles: *Maybe the method of teaching it didn't gel with me* [157-158] and Wanda: *that friend of mine I told you about who's very dyslexic* [573]. In terms of class membership Timothy introduces the possibility that he could be categorised as dyslexic, while Wanda has classified her friend as a member of the dyslexic category through the intensifier 'very' and, in so doing, seems to be identifying herself as 'less' dyslexic. This form of hedging involves the speaker attempting to preserve his/her positive face by minimising the extent to which they are certain or sure about the narrated experience. Linguistic devices such as modal auxiliaries, adjectives and/or adverbials are used extensively (76 times) by all participants for this purpose.

It is apparent that hedges are useful tools when having to mediate a potentially sensitive topic. Using hedges in this manner enables the speakers to preserve their positive face. This is because expressing a lack of commitment to the propositions being expressed could be seen as 'saving face' through means of linguistic strategies which ameliorate face threat. It is worth noting, however, that a lack of commitment to the truth of a

proposition could also be indicative of a desire to be accurate in cases of uncertainty (such as Wanda's *'I don't really remember but'*).

4.3.3. Attitude

In terms of the APPRAISAL analysis of the transcripts I chose to focus most of my analysis on the responses to a particular question, 3d) *How did you feel when you found out you were dyslexic?* This is because this question explicitly elicits the participants' emotions and attitudes towards dyslexia. In terms of the speaker-model if dyslexia carries negative connotations then the participant would likely make an effort to distance themselves as much as possible from it. This linguistic distancing allows the participants to indicate their feelings towards dyslexia without extending these emotions to the people who have it. Having incorporated most of the APPRAISAL system into my typology, the typology of the Attitude sub-system of APPRAISAL found in section 3.3.2 (fig. 7) is repeated here.



As one might assume, the expression of Attitude plays an important role in the individual responses to question 3(d). Of the three subsections, Affect and Judgement (Social Esteem) play the largest role. I did not find instances of Appreciation nor of the subsections found in Social Sanction under Judgement. Appreciation is not present, possibly because it is linked to the textual metafunction of language and involves the degree to which something has been structured and organised as a coherent unit. Since the participants were not asked to analyse the construction of a text this feature would not be present in their response to question 3d). Social Sanction, on the other hand, refers to judgements of individual behaviour based on institutional laws and morals and includes Veracity (the extent to which a person is truthful) and Propriety (how ethical a person is) (Droga and Humphrey 2002). Having been asked about their response upon discovering they were dyslexic, these subcomponents would understandably not be present since ethics and truth were not brought into question.

The table in Appendix D indicates the clauses being investigated. I have left out those clauses which do not contain tokens of Affect as my analysis is only based on the relevant parts of the extracts which concern Attitude. As far as possible and for the sake of simplicity I have tried to keep to the general rules: one instantiation, one attitudinal expression. However, there were clearly several instances where expressions carried more than one attitudinal meaning. In order to accommodate this, I allowed for ‘double’ or ‘triple’- coded expressions (Adendorff & De Klerk 2005) which I believe show how meaning is layered and is a useful way of discerning nuances of meaning. I have therefore tried to use double and triple coding only where a second or third evaluation appears to be evoked through the language itself rather than my own interpretation.

The APPRAISAL sub-section of Attitude has been positioned within the ‘Minimising Extent of Challenges’ branch of the typology. This is because Attitude reveals the feelings and emotions of the participants towards dyslexia and so greater amounts of tokens with a negative expressive value will result in the condition being downplayed.

Below is an overall summary of the tokens found in responses to question 3d) *How did you feel when you found out you were dyslexic?* The results of this table will be explained in sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.2.

Fig. 10: Table of APPRAISAL Statistics

OVERALL STATISTICS	
<u>Attitude: Judgement</u>	
Negative Normality	14
Positive Normality	12
Negative Capacity	23
Positive Capacity	10
Negative Tenacity	5
Positive Tenacity	0
<u>Attitude: Affect</u>	
Negative Satisfaction	14
Positive Satisfaction	1
Negative Security	2
Positive Security	3
Negative Happiness	12
Positive Happiness	1
<u>Attitude: Appreciation</u>	
Negative Valuation	21
Positive Valuation	1
Negative Reaction	2
Positive Reaction	0
<u>Engagement: Attribution</u>	
Engagement: Attribution	18
Engagement: Proclamation	8
<u>Graduation: Focus (softening)</u>	
Graduation: Focus (softening)	17
Graduation: Focus (sharpening)	10
Graduation: Force (softening)	13
Graduation: Force (sharpening)	6

4.3.3.1. Attitude: Affect

In terms of Affect, there was a distinct difference between the expression of positive and negative Happiness in the interview responses to question 3d). The sole case of positive Happiness was inscribed and instantiated by Leanne, where she comments on her good fortune to have gone to a good school: *Although I was lucky I had a good education*

[117]. In comparison there were nineteen instances of negative Happiness. Only eight of these instantiations were inscribed, the other eleven being evoked. An example of inscribed negative Happiness is from Charles: *It gave me an aversion to reading I I prefer not to* [87], while Leanne provides an example of an evoked instantiation of Affect: *it was a total nightmare* [124]. The pronoun in this phrase refers to an exam rather than dyslexia per se; however, it must be noted that I am not solely analyzing sentences that are explicitly linked to dyslexia – rather, I am using APPRAISAL to evaluate the tone of the entire context i.e. dyslexia and everything related to it as instantiated in the answer to the interview question. The fact that there were primarily negative tokens of Happiness (the majority of whom were evoked rather than inscribed) seems to me to reveal a predominant unhappiness towards their initial discovery of dyslexia which they did not want to reveal too explicitly so as to preserve their positive face.

There were no instantiations of positive Satisfaction. Combined with the high instances of negative Happiness, this suggests a highly negative undertone to their discovery of being dyslexic. Fifteen examples of negative Satisfaction were present. Of these eight instantiations were evoked. The participants therefore appear to be indirect in their appraisal of dyslexia. This is possibly because a negative appraisal of dyslexia is indirectly a negative reflection of themselves and therefore a threat to their positive face. An example would be Wanda: *Because what happened was then I was failed at the end of the year* [131-132]. Wanda's use of the passive voice makes her failure more the action of others than her own (compare this with if she had said *I failed at the end of the year*) and implies a degree of dissatisfaction over the situation. Seven tokens, meanwhile, were inscribed – for example, Melissa: *But I mean he was the most useless English teacher I've ever (.)* [114-115]. The tokens of negative Satisfaction (contrasted with no instances of its positive counterpart) suggest that dyslexia is perceived in a relatively negative manner in their every-day lives.

There is an equal amount of positive and negative Security, but examples of either are minimal (only three apiece). Positive instantiations include *It's like quite a relief that if you feeling like now you know (.)* [Wanda, 125-126]. Note however how this positive

instantiation is minimized with the adverbial *quite* (softening Focus in terms of Graduation). This minimizes the degree of Security she in fact felt upon discovering she was dyslexic and the quotation also reveals the value of naming: in being diagnosed with dyslexia she felt appeased and relieved as it meant that something was medically wrong with her, she was not just ‘dom’ as she had previously believed. The evoked example of negative Security comes from Melissa, who comments how *It was never explained about like the implications* [122], suggesting her insecurity was as a result of a lack of knowledge about the condition.

Responses outside of question 3d) do however reveal instances of positive Happiness with regards to dyslexia; for example, Charles says: *it identifies who I am I’m very happy with that* [439]. This appears to explicitly indicate how dyslexia is a major part of the construction of his identity and how he attaches a positive expressive value to the label. Michael in turn states that: *I mean if someone asked I would happily tell them if they want to know* [482]. This token of positive Security suggests he is comfortable enough with being dyslexic to share it with others when asked.

The overall Affect contained in the participants’ responses to 3d) would therefore appear to be predominantly negative in nature. The stark contrast between examples of positive and negative Happiness and between positive and negative Satisfaction, coupled with minimal tokens of positive Security, would seem to indicate that their initial reaction to having dyslexia was a negative one. Although some of these tokens referred negatively to aspects of school rather than dyslexia per se, since dyslexia would have affected their scholastic achievements I feel the tokens still relate to dyslexia (albeit in an indirect manner).

However, some responses outside of question 3d) seem to indicate a subsequent positive expressive value attached to dyslexia since their initial encounter with the label, stating it is a salient and positive part of their face. Responses towards dyslexia would therefore appear to be a complex combination of positive and negative reactions.

4.3.3.2. Attitude: Judgement

I would like to conflate a brief discussion of Focus within this section to prevent repetition within the separate Graduation component of the analysis. Wanda sharpens her commentary by emphasising the effort she and her mother made to find a solution for her learning difficulties: *in fact about three times a week we used to go* [122], while Melissa uses a significant amount of sharpened Focus to discuss matters such as the suggestion that it is a natural state of affairs that her parents would seek answers for her troubles – *well then obviously she took me to these special tests* [103]. ‘Obviousness’ is ideologically constructed, in that it constructs a world where it is expected that her parents take her in for testing after she had displayed dyslexic symptoms.

In addition, she sharpens Focus when she did not receive marks worthy of the amount of hours put into her work: *I just seemed to work unbelievably hard...* [109] and comments repeatedly on the fact that she never really knew what dyslexia actually entailed until later in life: *it was never actually explained...* [121]. For me, it appears fairly pertinent to Melissa that she was kept uninformed about the true nature of dyslexia as a child and that there was a significant discrepancy between the amount of work she put into her studies and the marks she received for it. These remarks suggests she appears to be countering both the assumption that one should not have to work unbelievably hard and that dyslexia *should* have been explained to her.

Here there are more instantiations of positive Normality than negative. These positive examples are provided primarily by Michael who describes his dyslexic friend as ‘normal’ since *His English is perfect reading writing spelling whatever* [82] and how within the context of his particular class it was ‘normal’ to have learning difficulties: *Guys knew that if you were in that set you sort of knew that you had some sort of learning difficulty* [86]. There are interesting degrees of normality implicit in these comments: the first statement suggests that dyslexics typically find reading, writing and spelling problematic. In addition, the second statement implies that to have learning difficulties in his class was the norm. From these remarks it would appear to me that Michael sees

normality as a relative construct and, as a result, he is suggesting that within certain contexts his dyslexia was viewed as the norm and hence he fitted in.

Later in the interview while discussing the effectiveness of his purple-tinted reading glasses Michael comments how: *most people who try it on anyway if they read the writing it looks clear anyway to a normal person but to me it works a hundred and ten percent* [115-117]. Here he sets up an implicature of himself as non-normal, comparing the clarity of writing seen by ‘most people’ with his need for the tinted glasses to accomplish the same effect. Again Michael appears to be positioning himself as being different to non-dyslexic readers in response to his awareness of the perceptions of society and the normativity of the interview situation.

Instances of Negative Normality (both evoked and inscribed) suggest that, for the participants, being someone dyslexic is something ‘abnormal’ according to social norms. For example, Leanne’s comment that *you never did typing that was for the really (.) sick kids who really really battled* [136-137] classes students with academic issues as being marked. Similarly, Melissa’s remark that *It wasn’t like I was then put in a special class or something you know* [106] sets up an expectation that dyslexics are put in a special class. This has the potential to negatively affect their face as they strive to minimize these perceived notions of difference by minimizing the extent of being dyslexic.

Instantiations of Capacity are predominantly negative and inscribed, encoding the participants’ felt inability to achieve in certain areas. Examples include Leanne: *I just couldn’t finish or get it correct* [125] and Timothy: *I knew I couldn’t spell before so... if I can’t spell I can’t spell* [90 and 92]. In addition, authority figures’ inability to explain what was wrong with them is also exemplified through negative Capacity. Melissa, for example: *It wasn’t ever like I was sat down and actually explained what it was... it was never explained about like the implications* [121 and 123] and Wanda: *[being told you’re stupid] you know that doesn’t help* [128] describe how others did not explain the possible ramifications of dyslexia and how they in turn belittle those who have it.

There is a tension implicit in these responses – on the one hand they choose to use negative tokens to describe dyslexia and on the other they use strategies to mediate face threats created by the use of those tokens. One must question why they do not simply stop using the negative tokens rather than having to devise other linguistic strategies to manage them. One possible reason is that the interviews may have conditioned the use of negative tokens. Another possibility is that their use of the negative is a reflection of society's or the hearer-model's orientation towards dyslexia. This would be an indication of the dyslexic speaker's intention to create solidarity (itself a form of positive politeness) with the non-dyslexic by implicitly agreeing with the expressive value they attach to dyslexia, even if it differs from their own.

In terms of my typology the implications of use of negative tokens (be it happiness, security or capacity) are that this creates an increased need to make use of linguistic strategies which distance the dyslexic speaker away from their perceived negative characteristics. However, later evaluations of dyslexia prove to be more positive in nature, indicating that the expressive value attached to the term became more positive once they were accustomed to being dyslexic. The participants therefore seem to have 'learnt to live' with dyslexia, having integrated it into their lives as a means of affirming themselves and hence preserving their positive face.

There are fewer instantiations of positive Capacity than negative and, unlike its negative counterpart, all refer to the capabilities of others rather than themselves. Timothy, for example, speaks of how his parents would have been better equipped to discuss dyslexia with me than he could: *They know more about this than I do actually* [86] and Michael comments on how his dyslexic friend is competent in areas where dyslexics typically struggle i.e. reading, writing and spelling [82]. Other examples include Melissa, whose teacher arranged extra time for students like herself [116] and Leanne, who comments on how taking typing at school (perceived as a subject for 'sick' kids) had lead to students earning 'brilliant' salaries [138].

I find it interesting that there is little mention of their own capabilities, the focus being rather on their perceived deficiencies. Melissa however highlights the tension between

the negative effects of dyslexia and the positive personal qualities she has developed as a result of being dyslexic: *it continues to be a major nuisance and irritation in my life but like ironically it's also given me a huge sense of determination* [631-632]. The use of high Force for both the positive and negative aspects of her dyslexic identity ('huge' and 'major' respectively) serves to reinforce this tension. Note however how Melissa downplays the negative expressive value of dyslexia – a 'nuisance' and 'irritation' is far less problematic than a 'frustration' or 'stress', for example – which seems to further reflect her overall positive attitude towards dyslexia. Thus, while the initial response to having dyslexia saw it as being disempowering rather than empowering, later reflections reveal a tension between the positive and negative ramifications for the dyslexic individual.

There is little expressed that relates to negative Tenacity and none with regards to positive Tenacity. This may be partly due to the nature of the questions they were asked. The participants (bar perhaps Melissa) focus less on their determination to succeed but rather on others' apparent lack of concern about their condition. The two instantiations of the negative version that do occur refer to a need to perform an action rather than any actual desire to do so; for example, Charles: *I only read stuff that I have to... stuff I can use* [88-89]. Leanne in turn speaks of her teacher's general apathy when it came to providing academic or emotional support for struggling students like herself, twice citing a *lack of support* [116 and 117]. Reference is therefore made to both the individual participants' and others' lack of Tenacity respectively.

The responses to question 3d) imply degrees of normality with people with dyslexia seen as being on the lower end of the spectrum due to their experience with reading, writing and spelling. This can affect their face in that they strive to minimize the extent of being dyslexic. However, as can be seen in the previous paragraph, a more positive construction of dyslexia has been achieved.

4.4. Disassociating from Particular Experience

The following strategies are examples of ways in which the participants used language to remove themselves from previous negative dyslexia-related experiences.

4.4.1. Intertextuality: My Definition

According to Fairclough (2001) no text is produced in a vacuum – they are all chains of texts inter-related to one another. Intertextuality is a process involving relations between texts; how one text builds on, endorses, cites or refutes other texts. From this the reader interprets a text in terms of its genre and the genre of the text confers certain properties onto the text and the writer. My application of the term ‘intertextuality’, however, differs fairly distinctly from that of this original meaning since I focus on verbal responses rather than written texts. In addition, I concentrate on the role of other voices being used in discourse as a means to distance speakers from what is being said.

4.4.1.1. Engagement and Intertextuality

I will be using the APPRAISAL framework of Engagement here to discuss intertextuality as it affectively describes the role of using other voices in discourse. According to Droga and Humphrey (2002:90), Engagement is a comprehensive subsystem with a range of resources from which speakers/writers may draw to “negotiate positions and ‘enter into dialogue’ with both listeners and readers”. Sub-categories of this sub-system relevant to the analysed responses include Attribution (where ideas/ emotions are attributed to someone other than the person expressing them) and Proclaimers (where speakers quote an Other to express an idea or emotion). Bloor and Bloor (2007) state that Attribution involves evaluation through endorsement; i.e. it indicates the degree to which the speaker’s beliefs are supported by others. Proclaimers, meanwhile, use pseudo-dialogue to present ‘facts’ as being supported by an outside source (Bloor and Bloor 2007). Both of these sub-categories therefore reveal a need to present other voices who serve to endorse the speaker’s ideas or beliefs.

Given that the identification of dyslexia occurred several years before the interview with the respondents, it is expected that they might choose to use various devices (e.g. temporal deixis) to distance themselves temporally from the situation. However, in addition, it was found that the respondents used strategies to distance themselves in other ways too which are not necessarily directly attributable to the fact that the diagnoses occurred far in the past.

Other voices were sometimes used in the description of a participant's personal feelings towards discovering they had dyslexia. This would appear to be a manner of distancing oneself from the experience. Michael's pronoun usage, for example, is interesting in that he uses it to distance himself rather by speaking 'through' his friend and class. Initially using *I* and *me* [77], Michael quickly reverts to recounting his friend's experience of dyslexia: *I remember him saying everyone thinks that you see every word mixed up* [80]. When he does attempt to verbalise his own feelings he falters: *and then I found out and then I I don't know I just (.)* [85]. Having faltered, he turns to universalising his experiences through the use of 'guys' and the generic 'you', e.g. *guys knew that if you were in that set...* [85-86].

This use of reported speech and the generic 'you' collectively serves to ameliorate any imposition on Michael's. He therefore appears to be distancing himself away from his experience of dyslexia and presenting it through the voice of others (either a fellow dyslexic or through the collective 'you').

4.1.1.2. Engagement: Attribution

Attribution refers to the act of attributing some fact or speech act to a specific person other than oneself (Martin and Rose 2003). Where Attribution is made explicit in the interview responses it is predominantly associated with the speaker i.e. there is a typical construction of 'I think x' or 'I did y'. However, certain participants made extensive use of other voices in constructing their recounts (these generally being the voices of friends, parents and/or teachers, but also occasionally the voice of a non-dyslexic other).

Leanne attributes all statements made to herself rather than others. However, her response reveals an (evoked) indication of her beliefs about schools and about her teacher's inability to deal with her problems (for example *I was lucky I had a good education* [117] and *I just don't think it was well-known* [119]), rather than actually answering the question of how she felt when she realised she was dyslexic. Melissa, in turn, emphasises her mother's anxieties rather than any potential anxiety she may herself have felt: *my mom also came a number of times to the teachers and said you know 'What's like going on?'* [111-112].

Wanda's instantiations of Attribution express the views of her school and her mother respectively, e.g. *which my mother thought was probably better* [133]. She repeatedly remarks on how her mother constantly needed to 'justify' Wanda's struggles (see examples below). She therefore makes use of inter-textual referencing, using a voice other than her own. The over-wording of her mother 'blaming' the system and 'justifying' Wanda's difficulties also suggests that these terms are ideologically loaded.

I think my mother spent a long time thinking that this gobbledygook system is not learning what words actually look like and 'uh' 'buh' 'kuh' was the reason I was struggling to read [66-68] *they realised I couldn't read that well and my mother blamed the ITA system* [70-71] *my mother blamed the ITA system* (.) [73] *my mother's a great justifier of things* [109-110] *so I think my mother spent a lot of time justifying and not wanting to admit that there was a problem* [117-118].

In addition, Wanda's mother's advice also serves as a justification for dyslexia-related difficulties: *I always remember my mother had this saying about "oh don't worry about it your brain works faster than – your hand works faster than your hand - your brain works faster than your hand" that was one of the things my mother always used to say* (.) [215-218].

It should be noted that this is one of several possible interpretations. By repeatedly conveying her mother's feelings Wanda could be simply expressing the strong relationship she and her mother have and the determination her mother felt in finding

ways to deal with Wanda's dyslexia. I would like to argue though that the former interpretation is most likely because Wanda spends a lot of time emphasising the fact that it is her mother, not herself, who blamed the International Teaching Alphabet (ITA) system and who sought justification for her challenges. The over-wording relates to the notion of negative politeness in that Wanda appears, to me, as wanting to free herself from any dyslexia-related imposition by transferring any possible anxiety onto her mother.

This can be juxtaposed with Wanda's own perceptions of dyslexia, which focus on the negative impact it has on her writing skills rather than her reading abilities which her mother concentrated on. Wanda chose not to do any formal tertiary studies after school because she felt *to write something down for me is quite challenging it's quite difficult* [281] and that it *would be a nightmare* [to have to write] *so I had to do something practical that was a definite* [283-284]. Wanda's clear understanding of her abilities as a result of dyslexia led her to a career which did not require much paperwork or reading (namely that of a culinary chef).

4.4.1.3. Engagement: Proclaimers

Proclamation is a linguistic tool where the speaker quotes another voice to convey information rather than explicitly stating it themselves (Martin and Rose 2005). It is used significantly less than Attribution, with only Michael, Melissa and Wanda quoting others a number of times. The initial two instantiations illustrate the reported speech of Michael's friend talking about dyslexia e.g. *he used to tell me 'no I'm dyslexic'* [78] and a particular numeracy issue associated with it. In the next instance Michael himself finds similarities between his own difficulties and that of this dyslexic friend e.g. *and I was like 'Ooh that sounds quite familiar'* [84]. His third instantiation quotes a non-dyslexic other: *I don't feel they were like 'oh now he's a nerd I'm gonna steal all your lunch money'* [88-89]. The majority of this recount (26 turns out of 42 turns in the narrative) of his personal experience with dyslexia has been told primarily by way of voices other than himself. For me, this would suggest an uncomfortable identification with dyslexia which results in him speaking through others rather than expressing his emotions explicitly.

Melissa quotes her mother, saying: *When I came to high school my mom also came a number of times to the teachers and said you know 'What like what's going on?' like 'Didn't they think there's something?'* [111-113] in a search for answers from Melissa's teachers. Later she also quotes a non-dyslexic other: *It was just like this term that was thrown at me "Oh you suffer from dyslexia" it was never explained bout like the implications (.)* [121-123], where the unknown person uses a verb with a highly negative expressive value; namely, 'suffer', to describe her being dyslexic without explaining the repercussions. Wanda, meanwhile, presents two examples of Proclamation, one which quotes the imperative given by her school: *they said 'well you have to go [to extra classes]'* [121], while the other quotes a nameless other: *You know, he's always going to be stupid* [127-128]. The direct quotation of others again serves to allow the participants to hide behind the words of others. Consequently, other voices appear to have been used to substantiate and in so doing legitimate the participants' feelings about dyslexia.

From certain responses it would appear that parents are seen to be more knowledgeable about dyslexia than the affected individual themselves. An example would be in Timothy's response, where he comments *I would have given [these questions] to my parents, they know more bout this than I do actually* [86-87]. In addition, his repetition of the adverb *apparently*: *Well appar- apparently no [I did not enjoy learning to read]* [61]; *Apparently ja [I was diagnosed] but I mean this was a long time ago it was done with my my testing for ADHD* [82-83] suggests similarly that he has been informed by others about aspects of dyslexia.

4.4.2. Generic Nouns and Pronouns

Pronouns are an important linguistic resource which can be used in a number of different strategies. For example, they are also used in the section discussing strategies of Attribution (see section 4.4.1.2 for further details).

Participants in this study strove to downplay the extent of being dyslexic by means of generalising dyslexia to others; i.e. 'I may be dyslexic but there are others like me'. By speaking of dyslexia as being something which many people are, the speaker is

simultaneously able to distance themselves from being dyslexic and construct a type of group identity, thereby strengthening themselves. Wanda, for example, twice speaks of ‘dyslexic people’ when she is actually referring to herself: *I think that would have been bad for me to do I don’t think dyslexic people should do that* [364-365] and *Dyslexic people have phenomenal memories, it’s how they get by* [376].

Wanda also makes an interesting pronoun choice in her response where she comments: *you don’t want to be stupid (.) it’s better to have a name and be dyslexic than to be dom (.) ‘You know, he’s always going to be stupid’ you know that doesn’t help* [126-128]. Having begun using the collective ‘you’ to establish solidarity with the hearer, she distances herself by using the male pronoun ‘he’ where the female version would have been more appropriate, given her sex. Here she appears to have generalised dyslexia by using the supposedly generic ‘he’ to universalise her feelings.

All participants achieved this de-personalisation strategy through extensive use of the collective ‘you’ (seen 24 times within the particular question-response being analysed). Some examples include:

Wanda: *when you can’t read so well you learn to remember* [40]; Leanne: *so you’d try to read a sentence* [126] and *you never did typing that was for the really (.) sick kids* [136]; Charles: *I know you can ask for extra time in exams* [213-214] and Melissa: *with dyslexia you get like very much in your comfort zone and then cause you put all these strategies in place* [359-360].

It should be noted, however, that use of the generic ‘you’ can sometimes be the unmarked option in discourse and therefore does not always serve to de-personalise the claim or ameliorate the loss of negative face. A distinction therefore always had to be made between instantiations which indexed de-personalisation and those which did not. To make this distinction I looked for generic ‘you’ usage in clauses which explicitly related to dyslexia (see the above paragraph for examples) and which were being used as a means of generalising experiences to that of the broader dyslexic community.

4.4.2.1. Possessive Pronouns

The use of possessive pronouns by both myself and the participants is of interest. In retrospect I discovered I used the phrase ‘your dyslexia’ in seven of the interview questions. This implies a clear distinction between themselves as dyslexics and the interviewer as a non-dyslexic. Having been framed as different, it is perhaps inevitable that they would make similar ‘us-versus-them’ distinctions. Examples include: Wanda: *I don’t know my dyslexia is like (.) uhm (.) I don’t write down what I think I’m writing down and my spelling is shocking* [211-212]; Charles: *I’ve learnt how to deal with my dyslexia and I’ll learn the patterns of writing on paper and I and I think those patterns will overcome my dyslexia* [449-450]. Here the use of ‘my’ constructs dyslexic as being something almost tangible, something they have taken ownership of and embraced as theirs.

Other examples such as Melissa: *But at the same time ironically cause I mean her dyslexia is a bit worse than mine but in both of us its given us immense stubbornness* [409-410] creates a favourable contrast between the friend’s dyslexia and her own, perhaps implying that every affected individual will manifest their dyslexia in different ways and to varying degrees. Charles’ *It’s part of the job and his dyslexia I don’t even think he notices it any more* [444], meanwhile, suggests that while his father may not ‘notice’ being dyslexic anymore, Charles is still very much aware of his.

4.4.2.2. Re-Wording

Occasionally dyslexia is referred to by the participants by another term or is re-phrased such that the word ‘dyslexia’ is not explicitly said but rather implicitly inferred. Part of CDA terminology, re-wording provides an alternative perspective on reality. Re-framing dyslexia in this manner constitutes a re-wording of the condition, representing it in an alternative way, and it could perhaps suggest an attempt at distancing oneself from the term and hence from the negative connotations associated with it. Examples include:

Wanda: *He did have learning problems* [5] and *sort of establishing where the problem lay* [77]. Being labelled a ‘learning problem’ suggests that dyslexia is not seen in a

positive light and can be equated with difficulties in the acquisition of knowledge. Leanne similarly appears to see dyslexia as something negative and something to which non-dyslexic people react unsympathetically: *Lindsay doesn't have a problem at all* [22] and *you know then the problem kids were just pushed out* [120]. Charles equates dyslexia more with reading difficulties: *my sister also shows um some (.) traits she's a slow reader* [5] and *my dad's also a slow reader* [8] while Melissa sees the associated writing deficiencies as more salient: *my dad er his is more ja he just never seems to want to write* [5-6]. These somewhat euphemistic terms have perhaps more positive connotations than the term 'dyslexia', hence the use of alternate words to describe it.

4.4.3. Countering Presuppositions

The participants use several strategies to distance themselves from the experience being recounted. In the context of the passages being analysed, this experience relates to how the participants felt upon being told they were dyslexic.

One such method would be countering presuppositions, which is a way of re-interpreting an experience by countering the connotations attached to it. Here the participants use the negative construction of sentences to convey what they (allegedly) do not feel or believe. Examples include Michael, who repeatedly states that neither himself nor people associated with him are concerned with the fact that he is dyslexic. He notes how his tutors *are not fazed I don't think they're bothered about it at all* [26], later commenting how being dyslexic *didn't faze me* [77] and how he *wasn't bothered about it I didn't get fazed* [88/89]. As the interview drew to a close he also stated that people to whom he reveals his being dyslexic *are not bothered by it* [486]. This reveals a significant amount of usage of the words 'not fazed' and 'not bothered'. The negative is used to counter the presupposition that he should be 'fazed' and 'bothered' by dyslexia.

Other participants also present instances of countering presuppositions when discussing their emotions regarding dyslexia. Timothy's responses: *it didn't bother me much* [78], *it never really bothered me that much* [89/90] and *I try not to – I mean it is a disability but I try not to think of myself as being disabled in a certain way (.) It doesn't really I try not*

to let it bother me [429-430] suggest a similar evaluation of the term ‘bother’. In addition, these responses also reveal a gradual reduction in certainty – initially just *much* is used to qualify the degree of his ‘botheredness’, then *never really...that much* before *it doesn’t really I try not...* is used.

I would argue that the regular occurrence of these phrases constructed in the negative presupposes that dyslexia should in fact ‘faze’ them since being dyslexic unfortunately carries a stigma (McLoughlin *et al.* 1994). However, regardless of whether or not they are in fact ‘fazed’, the over-wording of these terms would suggest that Timothy and Michael are countering the presupposition implied by myself the interviewer that they should be.

4.4.3.1. Irony

It is of interest to me how often one particular contributor, Melissa, uses the adverbial ‘ironically’ when discussing herself and dyslexia. Spoken thirteen times, they invariably present scenarios where it is presupposed that someone dyslexic (like herself) should behave in a particular way but for whatever reason does not follow the norm for dyslexic behaviour (and is therefore a way of countering presuppositions). The extensive use of the juxtaposing term could perhaps be as a result of her own life experiences – Melissa was recently awarded her PhD in anthropology. It might also be an attempt to address her positive face by presenting herself in a favourable light. Examples of such juxtapositions include:

Ironically I did very well at accounting [207], which presupposes that people with dyslexia should not be comfortable working with figures; *Well ironically he actually enjoyed my essays* [224], suggesting that in fact her teacher should not have enjoyed her writing; and *Well ironically all research-related because well firstly well you know I ironically I actually enjoyed studying* [348-349], countering a widely-held popular assumption that dyslexics should not work in a research-related field and that they should not enjoy studying.

Remarks such as *I'm also not very good at skim reading like I have to read line-by-line although ironically if it's an academic paper then I can skim fine* [505-506] and *Well like ironically I actually go to a book club once a month* [517] presuppose a world where people with dyslexia should not be able to skim-read academic texts (being considerably more dense than your average text), nor should they engage in activities such as a book club since this would entail regular bouts of reading. Observations like *You know ironically I actually quite enjoy writing letters* [556] and *Ironically like I'm a great smser* [583] suggest that conventionally dyslexic people are not seen as enjoying writing nor smsing (perhaps due to the spelling contractions associated with these activities). In addition, commentary like *you definitely do feel hard done by cause it's a mission [laughs] but at the same time ironically... its given us immense stubbornness* [408-411] and *it continues to be a major nuisance and irritation in my life but like ironically its also given me a huge sense of determination* [631-632] emphasise the benefits of being dyslexic despite the various described disadvantages of having dyslexia. The fact that Melissa foregrounds the positive aspects of dyslexia by means of this adverb is of interest because, for me, it reveals an attempt to construct a positive face in spite of being dyslexic. Her face-preserving strategy therefore seems to be concerned with forging a positive face.

It appears that Melissa is aware of society's construal of dyslexia and carries various assumptions and presuppositions about what a dyslexic should be and how they should behave and feel. The extent to which she uses herself as an example to counter these presuppositions would suggest that she does not see herself as a 'typical' dyslexic but rather one that goes against the norm.

4.4.3.2. Pre-Emptive Self-Deprecating Humour

To some extent the use of humour is at odds with the typology because humour is itself a strategy that uses a wide range of linguistic devices and, as such, humour can be used at multiple positions in the typology. However, in the contexts of discussing potentially embarrassing and hence face-threatening scenarios, humour is used to pre-empt and challenge assumptions the speaker may feel to be present in the hearer.

Occasionally humour was used by participants as a means to preserve their positive face. Constructing potentially face-threatening information about the speaker in a way that makes the hearer laugh rather than feel pity or sympathy is therefore another linguistic strategy used to prevent ‘losing face’. An example would be Michael who has to wear purple-tinted glasses in order to read. He comments how: *when I’m wearing my purple glasses okes are like ‘why you wearing purple glasses you look like Elton John or something’* [235-236]. The glasses make him stand out in a potentially negative way by classifying him as different. However, by making light of such face-threatening situations with humour Michael is able to ameliorate any loss of face.

Another example would be Wanda’s use of humour. She describes her spelling and typing abilities as extremely poor and feels this reflects badly on her when having to communicate in written form with others. However, she then jokingly remarks: *so you can’t have a romance on the internet [both laugh] probably a good thing, hey? [both laugh] cause they’d think you were stupid* [557-558]. Here she has conveyed the idea that she believes she appears ‘stupid’ when writing, but she expressed it in a humorous manner to undermine any sympathy potentially felt by the hearer. Leanne, too, uses humour to minimise her spelling difficulties, saying: *thank goodness for spell check or I wouldn’t have a clue* [313]. By being self-deprecating, Leanne pre-empts any feelings of sympathy from the hearer.

Mutual laughter is an expression of solidarity between speaker and hearer – if both find the same story or situation humorous, then, there is a rapport build between them (Watts 2003). So by making use of humour the participants further express positive or solidarity politeness with the hearer. Among my participants, humour is a linguistic strategy used as a means of minimising potential embarrassment in or sympathy from the non-dyslexic hearer while simultaneously building and maintaining rapport.

4.5. FTA Avoidance

An isolated case within the context of this study is Leanne’s response to question 3d). Unlike the other participants she does not use another voice in her response so much as

provide a social commentary, circumventing the actual question asked by providing related but unnecessary information – an apparent violation of Grice’s Maxim of Quantity. This ran counter to the question posed to her, which implied an interest in a description of her personal dyslexia-related experiences. She instead speaks about the quality of education in her days, juxtaposing it with the apparent *lack of support* [116 and repeated in 117] from her teachers, before commenting on her difficulties in exams and the advantages of technical schools and typing classes. Leanne does something similar later in the interview; when asked about whether her peers were aware of her being dyslexic she responds by commenting on how taboo divorce was within her community [see 181-194].

This avoidance of the FTA, whereby Leanne talks around the topic and never explicitly states that ‘finding out I had dyslexia made me feel X’, would appear to me to be a form of linguistic distancing since Leanne avoids actually addressing the question. It is therefore also a means by which the speaker preserves her positive face since the personal feelings associated with dyslexia are actually avoided through use of a broader social commentary.

For the most part, participants did not feel the need to explicitly state ‘finding out I had dyslexia made me feel X’; rather, their feelings towards the situation was brought across in a more implicit manner, compelling the listener to infer their feelings. For example, Melissa’s: *It was just like this term that was thrown at me* [121] implies unhappiness over the way dyslexia was presented to her rather than explicitly saying ‘I didn’t like the way I was told I had dyslexia’. A possible explanation for the participants’ indirectness could be the fact that expressing an overtly negative attitude is a potential face-threat to their positive face.

4.6. Conclusion

It would appear that when attending to the speaker’s positive face there is a strong desire to minimise the extent of the challenges brought about as a result of dyslexia. This is done largely as a result of making favourable comparisons, universalising dyslexia and

making use of tentative language when hedging. Preserving the speaker's negative face, meanwhile, is accomplished by disassociating themselves from possible dyslexic experiences through the use of intertextuality, circumlocution and countering presupposition. These various strategies serve to distance the speaker linguistically from being dyslexic as the speakers tend to address their own dyslexia through the voice of an other (be that a parent or friend) rather than by addressing the topic from the perspective of their own personal experience.

Extensive use of hedging serves to minimize the degree of the speaker's commitment to the truth-value of propositions. This allowed the participants to distance themselves away from the feelings being expressed and the experiences being narrated, and from the perceived negative conditions associated with dyslexia. In addition, minimising their commitment to the truth facilitated participants in their attempts to preserve their positive face (i.e. not wanting to look bad in front of myself the hearer). Markkanen and Schroeder (1997) suggest that speakers use a linguistic strategy like hedging in order to protect themselves from potential embarrassment.

Negation has experiential value in that it is the basic way in which one distinguishes what is not the case from what is in fact reality (Fairclough 2001). This means when participants use over-wording in the negative construction of sentences they serve to highlight words that are ideologically-loaded for the speaker. This construction consisted largely of phrasing such as 'not feeling X'. Combined with the collective or generic 'you', speakers were able to distance themselves from the experience being recounted ('it's not just me, others have problems too'). This was facilitated by the use of euphemisms, which all reveal a negative expressive value towards dyslexia.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Introduction

As a reminder for the reader I will reiterate the research questions of this study before I answer them in the sections which follow.

1. *Using elements of Face Theory and APPRAISAL as interpretive frameworks, what are the linguistic strategies used by adult dyslexics when negotiating potential face-threatening situations?*
2. *What typology would accurately capture these strategies?*

5.2. Summary of the Main Findings

Using elements of Face Theory and APPRAISAL as interpretive frameworks, I identified the linguistic strategies my participants used to construct their dyslexia in a particular type of discourse (namely, an interview situation) that aimed to elicit linguistic strategies to mediate face-threat. In addition, I developed a typology to represent the linguistic strategies used by adult dyslexics when negotiating potential FTAs while discussing the condition. The following sections will elaborate on the findings.

5.2.1. First Research Question: Linguistic Strategies to Negotiate Face

A number of linguistic strategies were revealed through the interview responses and were subsequently compiled into a typology to reflect them (see fig. 9 in section 5.2.3. for a reminder). A brief summary of these strategies follows, with the table below providing an example of each strategy.

Fig. 11: Table of Linguistic Face-Management Strategies

LINGUISTIC STRATEGY	EXAMPLE
Graduation of Force: Degree Modifiers	<i>it <u>doesn't really</u> I <u>try not to</u> let it bother me</i>
Graduation of Force: Favourable Comparisons	<i>her dyslexia is <u>a bit worse than</u> mine</i>
Graduation of Truth: Subjective Modality Markers	<i>But I <u>think that</u> that was a result of knowing of being dyslexic</i>
Graduation of Truth: Modals	<i>I <u>would</u> I <u>would</u> imagine it's like quite a relief</i>

Attitude: Affect - Positive Happiness	<i>it <u>identifies</u> who I am I'm <u>very happy</u> with that</i>
Attitude: Affect – Negative Happiness	<i>it was a total <u>nightmare</u></i>
Attitude: Affect - Positive Security	<i>It's like quite a <u>relief</u></i>
Attitude: Affect – Negative Security	<i>It was <u>never explained</u> about like the <u>implications</u></i>
Attitude: Affect - Positive Satisfaction	<i>N/A</i>
Attitude: Affect - Negative Satisfaction	<i>But I mean he was <u>the most useless</u> English teacher</i>
Attitude: Judgement - Positive Normality	<i>His English is <u>perfect</u> reading writing spelling whatever</i>
Attitude: Judgement - Negative Normality	<i>that was for the <u>really</u> (.) <u>sick kids</u> who <u>really really</u> <u>battled</u></i>
Attitude: Judgement - Positive Capacity	<i><u>They know more</u> about this than I do actually</i>
Attitude: Judgement - Negative Capacity	<i>I knew I <u>couldn't spell</u> before so... if I <u>can't spell</u> I <u>can't spell</u></i>
Attitude: Judgement - Positive Tenacity	<i>N/A</i>
Attitude: Judgement - Negative Tenacity	<i>I <u>only</u> read stuff that I <u>have to</u>... stuff I can <u>use</u></i>
Engagement & Intertextuality: Attribution	<i>which <u>my mother</u> thought was probably better</i>
Engagement & Intertextuality: Proclaimers	<i>and I was like 'Ooh that sounds quite familiar'</i>
Generic Nouns & Pronouns	<i>I don't think <u>dyslexic people</u> should do that</i>
Determiners Preceding Dyslexia	<i>I think those patterns will overcome <u>my dyslexia</u></i>
Re-Wording	<i>you know then the <u>problem kids</u> were just pushed out</i>
Countering Presuppositions	<i>it never really <u>bothered me</u> that much</i>
Irony	<i>it's <u>a mission</u> but ironically its given us <u>immense stubbornness</u></i>
Pre-Emptive Self-Deprecating Humour	<i>Thank goodness for spell check or I wouldn't have a clue!</i>
FTA Avoidance	<i>there was a general <u>lack of support</u> at school</i>

5.2.1.1. Graduation of Force: Degree Modifiers and Favourable Comparisons

Degree modifiers use sharpened or softened Force to modify the degree to which an action or emotion is felt or expressed. In the participant responses there was considerably more use of softened Force than sharpened Force. This strategy was used to minimize actions or emotions, down-grading as a means to preserve the positive face of the speaker by making themselves appear to be 'better' dyslexics. Similarly, favourable comparisons were used to present themselves in a perceived better light. Here participants would compare themselves to another dyslexic in ways which constructed the speaker as being 'less' dyslexic and hence better off than the individual being compared with. Through the graduation of Force the participants sought to preserve their positive face by minimising the extent of any challenges through hedging and by making positive comparisons.

5.2.1.2. Graduation of Truth: Subjective Modality Markers and Modals

Subjective modality markers such as 'I think' or 'I would imagine' allow the speaker to make tentative propositions, expressing a weaker commitment to the truth of their

propositions. These reduce the degree of liability that a speaker might face when expressing the proposition, therefore preserving their positive face even when discussing events or situations which might otherwise threaten the speaker's face. Modals assist in marking something as being more or less typical with respect to class membership e.g. 'might' versus 'may be X'. In conjunction with adjectives and adverbials, they reduce the truth-value of propositions or imply more favourable comparisons of themselves. This graduation of the truth reveals the speaker attempting to preserve his/her positive face by minimising the extent to which they are certain about the narrated experience, expressing a hesitation to fully commit to the truth value of a proposition.

5.2.1.3. Attitude: Affect and Judgement

The overall Affect contained in the participants' responses was predominantly negative in nature. There were considerably more tokens of negative Happiness, Security and Satisfaction than there were positive. The majority of tokens encode negative Security and negative Capacity. However, responses outside of question 3d) indicate a subsequent positive expressive value attached to dyslexia since their initial encounter with the label, where participants claim it as a positive part of their face.

In terms of Judgement the responses to question 3d) suggest that there are perceived levels of 'normality' and that people with dyslexia are sometimes seen as being at one end of the spectrum due to their difficulties with reading, writing and spelling. This can affect their face in that they strive to minimize these perceived notions of difference by minimizing the extent of their being dyslexic.

5.2.1.4. Engagement and Intertextuality: Attribution and Proclamation

I defined intertextuality for the purposes of this study as being where the participants use the voices of others to speak for them. Because of this, Attribution and Proclaimers (which fall under the Engagement sub-system of Attitude) seemed appropriate tools to analyse this linguistic strategy. The focus was on their use of reported speech when presenting a narrative and the manner in which the speakers attribute opinions to others, drawing on other voices to legitimate their perspective or to consider alternative

perspectives. Where Attribution was made explicit there is a typical construction of ‘I think X’ i.e. claims were attributed to the speaker. However, certain participants made extensive use of other voices in constructing their recounts, being either the voices of friends or parents. There were fewer tokens of Proclaimers but they revealed a preference to recount one’s personal experience with dyslexia by quoting voices other than oneself.

5.2.1.5. Generic Nouns and Pronouns: Possessive Pronouns and Re-Wording

Generic nouns and pronouns can be used to universalise dyslexia by speaking about the individual in the collective. These strategies collectively create a sense of belonging to a group by showing that dyslexics are part of a collection of similar individuals where one can be ‘better’ than another. The use of possessive pronouns by myself and the participants framed dyslexia as an ‘us-versus-them’ scenario. Saying ‘my dyslexia’ constructs dyslexic as being something tangible and consciously embraced. ‘Her’ and ‘his dyslexia’ meanwhile were generally used to imply a favourable contrast between the friend’s dyslexia and their own.

In terms of re-wording, dyslexia was at times referred to by another term, being re-phrased such that the word ‘dyslexia’ was not explicitly said but implicitly inferred. Re-framing dyslexia in this manner could simply be a re-wording of the condition, representing it in an alternative way, or it could perhaps suggest an attempt at distancing oneself away from the term and hence from the negative connotations associated with it.

5.2.1.6. Countering Presuppositions: Irony and Pre-Emptive Self-Deprecating Humour

The respondents proved to be acutely sensitive to societal prejudice toward dyslexia and also to the dynamics of the interview situation. The over-wording of dyslexia and related terminology revealed a sensitivity toward a negative depiction of dyslexia. The respondents used irony and humour in order to counter these presuppositions; the specific form of the strategy was to use negative clauses along the lines of ‘not feeling x’ (where x might be ‘faze’, ‘bother’, ‘embarrass’ and/or ‘depress’).

Various assumptions and presuppositions regarding what a dyslexic should feel and how they should behave were expressed. This was in turn juxtaposed by what was in fact felt or behaved. Humour was also used by participants at times as a means of preserving their positive face. Here they conveyed potentially face-threatening information about themselves in a way that neither embarrassed the speaker nor invoked sympathy from the hearer.

Combined with the collective or generic 'you', speakers were able to distance themselves from the experience being recounted. Another form of countering presupposition was to explicitly discuss positive interpretations of dyslexia leading to the use of words with a positive expressive value attached to dyslexia. For example, Melissa speaks of dyslexia having given her an 'immense stubbornness' and an 'I'll show you' attitude.

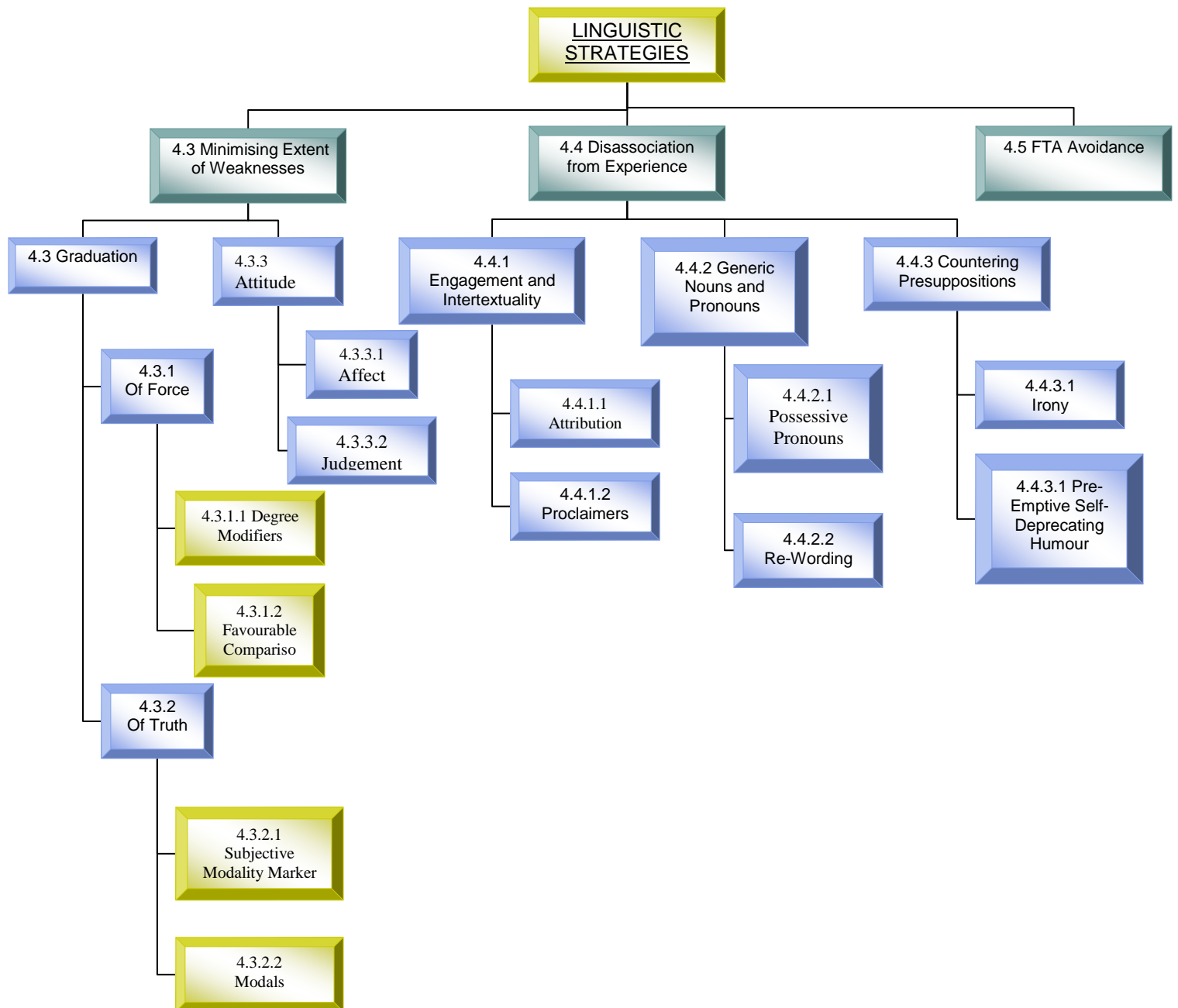
5.2.1.7. FTA Avoidance

Avoiding committing the FTA by talking around the question instead of answering it directly is a form of linguistic distancing since the question posed was not addressed. This is also a means by which the speaker preserves their positive face since the personal feelings associated with dyslexia are couched within a broader social commentary such as Leanne's frustration with the lack of support in schools. Participants did not feel the need to explicitly state 'finding out I had dyslexia made me feel X', compelling the listener to infer their discontent. A possible explanation for the participants' indirectness could be the fact that expressing an overtly negative attitude is a potential face-threat to their positive face.

5.2.2. Second Research Question: Typology of Linguistic Strategies

On the following page is the typology I constructed to represent the linguistic strategies used to preserve the speaker's positive face in discussions on dyslexia:

Fig.9: Typology of Linguistic Face Management Strategies



5.3. Limitations of this Research and Suggestions for Future Research

The novelty of my research lies in the conceptualization of a new Face Management typology, incorporating the sub-system of Systemic Functional Grammar known as APPRAISAL with existing elements of conventional Face Theory. However, there are a number of areas in which improvements and further developments could have been made in order to further substantiate my findings. It should first be noted that this study cannot be used as a diagnostic; namely, if someone were to display use of these strategies one

cannot infer that they must then be dyslexic. What I researched were in fact general linguistic strategies which are not limited to use by dyslexics alone.

In terms of participant numbers the findings of my research are based on the number of participants who provided the data. The numbers involved in this study were necessarily small. However, conclusions based on case study interviews with six people cannot be generalised to a wider population.

In addition, the thesis focused on the responses to one particular question out of a number of questions asked during the respective interviews. I chose this avenue due to the question's focus on the emotions associated with dyslexia; however, I do realize that this resulted in the study being based on a very slim corpus of data. Ideally, any future studies of this nature should incorporate all - or at least most - of the interview data collected to ensure a rounder, more substantive investigation.

In terms of methodological limitations, I found in retrospect that my attempts to avoid the observer's paradox led instead to the perpetuation of it. The manner in which I asked the participants questions, implying dyslexia as a deficiency, meant the interviewees felt compelled to make use of face-saving strategies. The interview situation I created was somewhat artificial. This made it well designed in the sense that it allowed me to elicit the kind of data I was looking for (i.e. the use of face-management strategies), but it also made the interview non-naturalistic. This is an unfortunate limitation to the study and is one which future studies should avoid by eliciting more naturalistic data.

Finally, the issue of normativity and deficit perspectives on dyslexia became a central issue during this study. It is important to avoid framing dyslexia in terms of deficit. But this is rendered difficult by two factors (a) the literature (b) the assumed views of society (reified as the hearer in an interaction) and (c) the language of the respondents themselves. Within the neurolinguistic literature there is a strong tradition of labeling dyslexia in deficit terms and this is amply illustrated by the quotations in the literature review of this thesis. Given this framing it is very difficult to frame dyslexia in any other way. Society itself has largely negative views of dyslexia and my research has indicated

that the participants were acutely aware of this fact and used various strategies to engage with it. Finally, the respondents themselves used language which to some extent reflected these societal views as indicated by the high numbers of tokens of negative happiness. Future research should take care to engage with these issues to ensure that deficit perspectives of dyslexia are not perpetuated.

5.4. Conclusion

Using the constructed typology and elements of Face Theory and APPRAISAL the study demonstrated the linguistic strategies which dyslexics use to minimize dyslexia and therefore their sense of dyslexic self, distancing themselves from the perceived negative connotations attached to it.

These various positions in turn all helped to preserve positive face. In terms of the Face involved in the discussion of dyslexia, there are diametrically opposed forces at work which counter-act each other and create a tension. On the one hand, there is a need to construct a positive face. This is attempted through comparisons between their achievements with that of other ‘worse-off’ dyslexic individuals, where the participants make efforts towards face-preservation without damaging the face of the other individual concerned in the interaction. On the other hand, there is also a need to explain writing/spelling errors through comparisons of their challenges with so-called non-dyslexic ‘norms’. The speaker maintains positive face by managing this tension produced as a result of these conflicting needs. I would like to conclude this thesis with an extract from one of the participant interviews (being but one example of many) which suggests an overall sense of optimism:

Melissa: *I think (..) like the older I get the less hung up I am about it... I mean not that we go around feeling sorry for ourselves but you definitely do feel hard done by cause it's a mission [laughs] but at the same time ironically in both of us its given us immense stubbornness that you can't you know we will achieve [laughs]... like I read some of these articles where dyslexics drop out and do all of these things and I don't think it's the whole story I think they're focussing too much on the negative (.) I mean I don't know if you have to be born with the stubbornness or the dyslexia makes you stubborn [laughs] but definitely in the two of us its been like "we're gonna show you!" [both laugh] [lines 405-417]*

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APPENDIX A:
ADVERTISEMENT IN
GROCOTT'S MAIL

(As published on 4th and 7th April 2006 respectively)

My name is Layle Henderson and I am a Masters student at Rhodes University looking at the face-management strategies of adult dyslexics. If you would be willing to volunteer your time and share your experiences with me, please contact me on 084 517 3824 or at layleh@yahoo.com. Your input would be greatly appreciated and confidentiality would be assured.

APPENDIX B:
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, do hereby give my consent to being interviewed and tested concerning my dyslexia, being fully aware that the interview will be recorded and the data incorporated into the research project of Layle Henderson from the English Language and Linguistics Department at Rhodes University.

Under the assurance of confidentiality, I agree to answering questions about my dyslexia to the best of my ability, in the understanding that my responses will not be made open to the general public but will be analysed and presented within the context of a Masters thesis.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation from this research at any point in time, but agree at this time to all that it entails.

[SIGNATURE]

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Provided here are the responses to question 3d) which has been focused on in the analysis of the data.

CHARLES

803c)C: I suppose yes I presume soon after I started attending these lessons I was diagnosed as being dyslexic ja and I think my parents were anticipating it because it ran in the family so ja

843d)L: Um and how did you feel when you found out

853d)C: Um I di- not um (.) I didn't feel like depressed or 'ah I'm useless' or anything like that I just I just suppose it gave me (.) scared I suppose would be the word (.) it gave me an aversion to to reading I I prefer not to ja um (.) ja and still today actually I don't read that much I only read stuff that I have to when it comes to stuff like journals (.) stuff that I can (.) use for for my papers exactly ja but novels and things like that no (.) I think the last novel I read was in my matric year ja I had to read four so I read them [both laugh]

LEANNE

1123c)me: Okay (.) so then once your teacher sort of picked it up did you go to anyone for a sort of official diagnosis or

1143c)L: No no no I was just given extra time in the English exam ja

1153d)me: Okay and um how did you feel when you found out

1163d)L: Um [long pause] probably just a lack of support ja (.) ja ja it was just ja it was just a lack of support although I was lucky I had a good education even though I went to a government school our schools were good in those days so so yes but um (.) I just don't think it was well-known you know there wasn't such a thing as a (.) you know then the problem kids were just pushed out move on you know=

1213d)me: =make
your own way in the world=

1223d)L: =yes ja ja so I'd be one of those students who would work so hard and do so well in like the homework and everything but when it came to writing exams it was a total nightmare I just couldn't finish or get it correct or nerves and just ja (.) so you'd try to read a sentence and get it the question get it right so I know I battled yes and it's quite funny now because now you can go to they call it in Afrikaans 'handelskools' I think it must be=

1293d)me: =like a
trade school?=
=no I think it's commercial I don't know if we still have commercial

1303d)L: schools I think that would be your technikon today your technical college ja so in

place of learning um silly things like biology and science that you wouldn't have done in the school=
=yes yes
1353d)me: =it would be more like hands-on stuff=

1363d)L: like typing at high school I can remember thinking typing you never did typing it was for the really (.) sick kids who really really battled and you know it's so stupid cause today kids who did typing are earning brilliant salaries because it's what you needed

1403d)me: What with like computers and everything

1413d)L: Ja so I think ja I just don't think our teachers were (..) equipped to deal with it hmhm ja it was very strange yes

MELISSA

1043c)L: But they didn't diagnose anything at that stage

1053c)M: No it just kinda got (.) you know I don't think they came up with anything concrete or ja because I mean it wasn't like then I was put in a special class or you know my life I don't remember it changing or ja just carried on until high school and ja I never knew there was anything like wrong, just that I seemed to work unbelievably hard and just like (.) I mean not just scraping through but just average you know which shouldn't have been [laughs] and then when I came to high school my mom also came a number of times to the teachers and said you know 'What like what's going on?' like didn't they think there's something or I don't know they just kept like dismissing it except for this man ja and and then he arranged (.) but I mean he was the most useless English teacher I've ever (.) I mean I don't know a single grammar, I don't know (.) because he just never taught us ja and then ja and then he organised like extra time and those kind of things

1183d)L: Okay so then in matric when when he suggested the extra tests and you were sort of finally diagnosed how did you feel when you found out

1203d)M: [pause] ag it was upsetting (.) no well you see it wasn't ever like I was sat down and actually explained what it was it was just like this term that was thrown at me "Oh you suffer from dyslexia" it was never explained bout like the implications (.) even my parents it wasn't like they were embarrassed or uncomfortable with the idea (.) it was just ja I just think people didn't know too much about it so I never knew what it actually really meant (.) life just continued you know ja [laughs]

MICHAEL

733b)M: Through the Institute I mean they recommended okay ‘Matthew hasn’t been performing so well you might want to look into that’ and my father said ‘why not’ and he came over to visit us in the UK and took me to Swindon

763d)L: Okay and how did you feel when you found out

773d)M: At first it didn’t faze me I actually I had a friend I sat in maths with a guy we were in the bottom set and he used to tell me ‘no I’m dyslexic’ and so I asked what it was and he was like ‘oh he just has problems with numbers’ and he said ‘everyone thinks that (.)’ I remember him saying everyone thinks that you see every word mixed up but it’s not always like that and he said he just struggled with numbers (.) he said his English is perfect reading writing spelling whatever it’s just his maths he just struggled with the figures and learning the concepts so and I was like ‘Ooh that sounds quite familiar’ [L laughs] so I said (.) and then I found out and then I I don’t know I just (..) guys knew that if if you were in that set you sort of knew that you had some sort of learning difficulty or you struggled with that sort of subject so no-one really bothered about it I wasn’t bothered about it I didn’t get fazed (.) I mean I don’t feel they were like ‘oh now he’s a nerd I’m gonna steal all your lunch money’ [L laughs] all that sort of stuff so it was fine

TIMOTHY

773b)L: [laughs] Had they never discussed it with you before that?

783b)T: Well they wanted to but ag I didn’t really pay attention (.) it didn’t bother me much

803c)L: Okay um [pause] so then did you go – when you were sort of officially diagnosed did you go see someone or

823c)T: Apparently ja but I mean this was a long time ago it was done with my my testing for ADD

843c)L: Which was done when?

853c)T: Young [pause] bout five (.) maybe younger I’m not sure. You should have given me this I would have given it to my parents, they know more bout this than I do actually [both laugh]

883d)L: Okay, how did you feel when you found out=

893d)T: =ja=
=that I was dyslexic?= = it
never really bothered me that much (.) I mean I knew I couldn’t spell before so

913d)L: Okay [giggles]

923d)T: And you know you just accept it if I can’t spell I can’t spell (...) I don’t think I’m seriously dyslexic otherwise I’d know you know? I’m dyslexic to a certain point but -

WANDA

1173b)W: so I think my mother spent a lot of time justifying and not wanting to admit that there was a problem

1193c)L: But then around standard three she started taking you to=

1203c)W: =well the school started they said “well you have to go” and my mother used to go regularly (..) in fact about three times a week we used to go

1233d)L: Sho (..) uhm how did you feel when you found out that this was something you know official

1253d)W: I can't really remember but (.) I would I would imagine it's like quite a relief that if you feeling like you because you don't want to be stupid (.) it's better to have a name and be dyslexic than to be dom “You know, he's always going to be stupid” you know that doesn't help so that makes you feel very (..) and then when I was in standard four my parents took me out of school for a year (.) uhm my father was a journalist so we went to Rhodesia (.) uhm and I don't think that was a good idea because what happened was then I was then failed at the end of the year because I hadn't been to school and then I ended up in a lower class which my mother thought was probably better cause I would now cope being a little bit older (.) cause I was young for my year so I don't know if that was a feeling but that's what happened so so (.) and I didn't like that because all my girlfriends that I'd been in school with in sub A sub B standard one standard two standard three standard four were now moved on (.) so then I was then in a younger grade class which is always quite difficult

APPENDIX D:
APPRAISAL CLAUSE ANALYSIS

Please see the following pages.

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judge.	Apprec.	Grad.	Engage.	Pos/ Neg	Sharp/Soft	Insc/ Evok	Appraised
105	she took me to these special tests ja	Melissa		Norm.				neg		evoked	
	it just kinda got (.)					Force			soft.		dyslexia
	you know I don't think					Focus			soft.		
106	they came up with anything concrete			Capac.				neg		inscribed	dyslexia diagnosers
	or then I was put in a special class or			Norm.				neg		inscribed	
107	you know my life I don't remember it changing				Valuat.			pos		evoked	her life
108	I never knew there was anything like wrong			Norm.				neg		evoked	
109	I seemed to work unbelievably hard			Capac.				pos		inscribed	
	I mean not just scraping through			Capac.				neg		inscribed	her marks at school
110	but just average you know			Capac.				neg		inscribed	her marks at school
	which shouldn't have been (.)			Norm.				neg		inscribed	her marks at school
	and said you know						Attrib.				dyslexia
112	'What like what's going on?'						Proclam.				dyslexia
	like 'didn't they think there's something?'						Proclam.				dyslexia
113	or I don't know					Focus			soft.		
	they just kept dismissing it		Satis.					neg		evoked	dyslexia
	except for this man ja and			Capac.				pos		evoked	her English teacher
114	and then he arranged (.)			Capac.				pos		evoked	her English teacher
	but I mean he was the most useless English teacher I ever (.)			Capac.				neg		inscribed	her English teacher
	(double coding)		Satis.					neg		inscribed	
	I don't know a single grammar			Capac.				neg		inscribed	her grammar abilities
	he just never taught us ja and then ja and then			Capac.				neg		inscribed	her English teacher
	he organised like extra time and those kinds of things			Capac.				pos		inscribed	her English teacher
120	ag it was upsetting (.)		Happi.					neg		inscribed	dyslexia
	(double coding)				React.			neg		evoked	
	it wasn't ever like I was sat down			Capac.				neg		evoked	
	(double coding)				React.			neg		inscribed	

121	and actually explained what it was					Focus			sharp.		dyslexia
	it was just like this term that was thrown at me		Happi.					neg		evoked	dyslexia
122	'Oh you suffer from dyslexia'		Happi.					neg		evoked	
	it was never explained bout like the implications			Capac.				neg		inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.			neg		evoked	
123	even my parents is wasn't like					Focus			sharp.		
	they were embarrassed		Secur.					neg		inscribed	
124	or uncomfortable with the idea (.)		Satis.					neg		inscribed	dyslexia
	people didn't know too much about it				Valuat.			neg		evoked	non-dyslexic people
125	so I never knew						Attrib.				
	what it actually					Focus			sharp.		
	really meant (.)					Focus			sharp.		dyslexia
126	life just continued you know ja				Valuat.			neg		evoked	her life

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judge.	Apprec.	Grad.	Engage.	Pos/ Neg	Sharp/Soft	Insc/ Evok	Appraised
117	So I think	Wanda				Focus			soft.		
	my mother spent a lot of time					Force			sharp.		
	justifying and				Valuat.			neg		evoked	her mother
118	not wanting to admit				Valuat.			neg		inscribed	her mother
	there was a problem			Norm.				neg		evoked	
121	they said 'well you have to go'						Proclam.				her school
	and my mother used to go regularly (..)					Focus			sharp.		her mother
122	in fact about three times week we used to go					Focus			sharp.		
125	I can't really remember					Focus			soft.		
	but I would I would imagine					Force			soft.		
	it's like quite					Force			soft.		
126	a relief that		Secur.					pos		inscribed	dyslexia 'discovery'
	if you feeling like now you know (.)		Secur.					pos		inscribed	
	because you don't want to be stupid (.)		Satis.					neg		inscribed	dyslexia
127	it's better to have a name and be dyslexic			Norm.				pos		inscribed	
	than to be dom			Norm.				neg		inscribed	
	you know he's always going to be stupid'						Proclam.				
	<i>(double coding)</i>		Satis.					neg		evoked	dyslexia
128	you know that doesn't help			Capac.				neg		inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>				React.			neg		evoked	
	so that makes you feel very (..) dumb		Happi.					neg		evoked	negative labelling
	<i>(double coding)</i>		Satis.					neg		inscribed	
	my parents took me out of school for a year (.)		Satis.					neg		evoked	forced leave school
131	uhm and I don't think						Attrib.				
	that was a good idea			Norm.				neg		evoked	
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.			neg		inscribed	
132	I was failed at the end of the year		Satis.					neg		evoked	academic failure due
	<i>(double coding)</i>		Happi.					neg		inscribed	to forced removal

132	because I hadn't been to school				Valuat.			neg		inscribed	
	and then I ended up in a lower class			Norm.				neg		evoked	
133	which my mother thought						Attrib.				her mother
	was probably better					Focus			soft.		
	cause I would now cope		Secur.					pos		inscribed	scholastic studies
134	being a little bit older (.)					Force			soft.		
	cause I was young for my year				Valuat.			neg		inscribed	
135	so I don't know					Focus			soft.		
	if that was a feeling				Valuat.			neg		inscribed	discussion of feelings
	but that's what happened so so (.)				Valuat.			neg		inscribed	towards dyslexia
136	and I didn't like that				Valuat.			neg		inscribed	
137	because all my girlfriends were now moved on (.)				Valuat.			neg		evoked	friends in higher grade
138	which is always					Focus			sharp.		
	quite					Force			soft.		
	difficult		Satis.							evoked	friends in higher grade
	(double coding)				Valuat.			neg		inscribed	

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judge.	Apprec.	Grad.	Engage.	Sharp/Soft	Pos/Neg	Insc/ Evok	Appraised
114	I was just given extra time in the English class ja	Leanne									for dyslexic
116	[it was] probably					Focus		soft.			students
	just a lack of support ja			Tenac.					neg	inscribed	
117	ja it was just a lack of support			Tenac.					neg	inscribed	
	although I was lucky		Happi.						pos	inscribed	
	I had a good education			Norm.					pos	inscribed	quality education
118	our schools were good in those days			Norm.					pos	inscribed	
119	I just don't think it was well-known you know			Norm.					neg	inscribed	ignorance about
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.				neg	evoked	dyslexia by Others
120	you know then the problem kids		Satis.						neg	evoked	lack of
	were just pushed out move on you know		Satis.						neg	evoked	
123	ja so I'd be one of those students who would work so hard					Force		sharp.			hardworking
	<i>(double coding)</i>			Tenac.					pos	inscribed	student
	and do so well in like the homework and everything					Force		sharp.			
	<i>(double coding)</i>			Capac.					pos	inscribed	
124	but when it came to writing exams										exam-writing
	it was a total nightmare		Happi.						neg	inscribed	difficulties
	<i>(triple coding)</i>					Force		sharp.			
	<i>(triple coding)</i>			Capac.					neg	evoked	
125	I just couldn't finish or get it correct or nerves			Capac.					neg	inscribed	difficulties
	so you'd try to read a sentence			Capac.					neg	inscribed	exam-writing
	<i>(double coding)</i>		Happi.						neg	evoked	difficulties
126	so I know I battled yes			Capac.					neg	inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>		Happi.						neg	evoked	
	I think it must be					Focus		sharp.			
130	I think it's commercial					Focus		soft.			
	I don't know if we still have commercial schools					Focus		soft.			
132	so in place of learning um										rather than

	silly things like biology and science		Satis.					neg	inscribed	academic ones
133	that you wouldn't have done in the school			Norm.				neg	inscribed	
136	like typing at high school									changing view
	you never did typing			Norm.				neg	inscribed	subject
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.			neg	evoked	
137	it was for the really (.) sick kids			Capac.				neg	inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>					Force			sharp.	
	who really really battled			Capac.				neg	inscribed	of typing as a
	and you know it's so stupid because		Happi.					neg	inscribed	subject
	<i>(double coding)</i>					Force			sharp.	
138	today kids who did typing are earning brilliant salaries			Capac.				pos	inscribed	
139	because it's what you needed			Norm.				pos	evoked	
	<i>(double coding)</i>			Capac.				pos	inscribed	
	I just don't think						Attrib.			knowledge
	our teachers were (.) equipped to deal with it			Capac.				neg	inscribed	about dyslexia
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.			neg	evoked	
142	hmhm ja it was very					Force			sharp.	
	strange yes		Satis.					neg	inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.			neg	evoked	

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judge.	Apprec.	Grad.	Engage.	Sharp/Soft	Pos/Neg	Insc/ Evok	Appraised
81	I suppose yes	Charles				Focus		soft.			
	I presume					Focus		soft.			Time of
	soon after I started attending these lessons I was diagnosed										dyslexia diagnosis
82	as being dyslexic ja & I think my parents were anticipating it					Focus		soft.			genetic
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.				neg	evoked	inheritance
83	because it ran in the family so ja			Norm.					pos	evoked	
85	I didn't feel like depressed		Happi.						neg	inscribed	towards dyslexia
	or 'ah I'm useless'		Happi.						neg	inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>						Proclam.				
	or anything like that		Happi.						neg	inscribed	
86	I just I just suppose					Focus		soft.			
	it gave me (.)		Happi.						neg	inscribed	his feelings
	scared I suppose					Focus		soft.			towards dyslexia
	would be the word (.)		Secur.						neg	inscribed	
87	it gave me an aversion to reading		Satis.						neg	inscribed	
88	I don't read that much					Force		soft.			
	I only read stuff that I have to			Tenac.					neg	inscribed	
89	when it comes to stuff like journals (.)										dislike of reading
	stuff that I can (.) use				Valuat.				neg	evoked	
	for for my papers exactly ja					Focus		sharp.			
90	but novels and things like that no (.)				Valuat.				neg	inscribed	
	I think the last novel I read was in my matric year ja			Tenac.					neg	inscribed	dislike of reading
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.				neg	evoked	
91	I had to read four			Tenac.					neg	inscribed	
	so I read them		Satis.						neg	evoked	

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judge.	Apprec.	Grad.	Engage.	Sharp/Soft	Pos/Neg	Insc/ Evok	Appraised
77	At first it didn't faze me	Michael	Happi.						neg	evoked	dyslexia
	he used to tell me			Norm.					neg	evoked	
	no I'm dyslexic'						Proclam.				his friend
79	and so I asked what it was						Attrib.				
	oh he just has problems with numbers			Capac.					neg	evoked	his friend
80	I remember him saying			Norm.					pos	evoked	
	everyone thinks that you see every word mixed up						Attrib.				
81	but it's not always like that				Valuat.				neg	inscribed	dyslexic features
	he just struggled with numbers (.)			Capac.					neg	inscribed	
82	his English is perfect			Capac.					pos	inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>			Norm.					pos	evoked	
	reading writing spelling whatever			Capac.					pos	inscribed	his friend
	<i>(double coding)</i>			Norm.					pos	evoked	
83	it's just his maths					Force		soft.			
	he just struggled			Capac.					neg	inscribed	his friend
	with the figures and learning the concepts so				Valuat.				pos	inscribed	
84	'Ooh that sounds quite familiar'					Force		soft.			dyslexic features
	<i>(triple coding)</i>						Proclam.				
	<i>(triple coding)</i>			Norm.					pos	evoked	
	so I said (.)						Attrib.				
85	and then I found out					Focus		soft.			dyslexia
	and then I don't know I just (..)						Attrib.				
	guys knew			Norm.					pos	inscribed	class difficulties
86	that if you were in that set			Norm.					neg	evoked	
	you sort of knew			Norm.					pos	inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>					Force		soft.			
	that you had some sort of learning difficulty			Capac.					neg	evoked	class difficulties
87	or you struggled with that sort of subject			Capac.					neg	inscribed	

	so no-one really bothered about it		Happi.						neg	evoked	
88	I wasn't bothered about it		Happi.						neg	evoked	
	I didn't get fazed (.)		Happi.						neg	evoked	his feelings
	I mean I don't feel					Focus		sharp.			towards dyslexia
89	they were like						Attrib.				
	oh now he's a nerd I'm gonna steal all your lunch money'						Proclam.				
90	so it was fine		Satis.						pos	inscribed	towards dyslexia

Line	Instantiation	Appraiser	Affect	Judge.	Apprec.	Grad.	Engage.	Sharp/Soft	Pos/Neg	Insc/ Evok	Appraised
82	Apparently ja	Timothy				Focus		soft.			
	but I mean this was a long time ago					Force		soft.			time of dyslexia
83	it was done with my testing for ADD										discovery
85	Young (.) bout five					Force		soft.			
	maybe younger					Force		soft.			
	I'm not sure					Focus		soft.			
	You should have given me this			Norm.					neg	inscribed	
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.				neg	evoked	parent's knowledge
86	I would have given it to my parents			Norm.					pos	inscribed	of dyslexia
	they know more bout this than I do actually			Capac.					pos	inscribed	
90	it never really bothered me that much (.)		Happi.						neg	evoked	towards dyslexia
	I mean I knew I couldn't spell before so			Capac.					neg	inscribed	inability to spell
	<i>(double coding)</i>				Valuat.				neg	evoked	
92	and you know you just accept it		Satis.						neg	evoked	inability to spell
	if I can't spell			Capac.					neg	inscribed	
	I can't spell (...)				Valuat.				neg	evoked	
93	I don't think I'm seriously dyslexic					Force		soft.			
	otherwise I'd know you know?			Capac.					pos	evoked	degrees to
94	I'm dyslexic to a certain point but -					Force		soft.			dyslexia
	<i>(double coding)</i>			Norm.					pos	evoked	

OVERALL STATISTICS	
<u>Attitude: Judgement</u>	
Negative Normality	14
Positive Normality	12
Negative Capacity	23
Positive Capacity	10
Negative Tenacity	5
Positive Tenacity	0
<u>Attitude: Affect</u>	
Negative Satis.	14
Positive Satis.	1
Negative Secur.	2
Positive Secur.	3
Negative Happi.	12
Positive Happi.	1
<u>Attitude: Appreciation</u>	
Negative Valuat.	21
Positive Valuat.	1
Negative React.	2
Positive React.	0
Engagement: Attrib.	18
Engagement: Proclam.	8
Graduation: Focus (soft.)	17
Graduation: Focus (sharp.)	10
Graduation: Force (soft.)	13
Graduation: Force (sharp.)	6