

KARADENİZ TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

BATI DİLLERİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI
UYGULAMALI DİL BİLİMİ PROGRAMI

IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE MARKERS IN JOHN MCGRATH'S
THE CHEVIOT, THE STAG AND THE BLACK, BLACK OIL

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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NİSAN-2012

TRABZON

**KARADENİZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE
APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

**IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE MARKERS IN JOHN MCGRATH'S
*THE CHEVIOT, THE STAG AND THE BLACK, BLACK OIL***

MASTER'S THESIS

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APRIL-2012

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ONAY

Ali ALTUN tarafından hazırlanan Ideological Discourse Markers in John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil* adlı bu çalışma 20/04/2012 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda oybirliği ile başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı Uygulamalı Dil Bilimi dalında **yüksek lisans** tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Yukarıdaki imzaların, adı geçen öğretim üyelerine ait olduklarını onaylarım. / /....

.....

Prof. Dr. Yusuf ŞAHİN Enstitü Müdürü

BİLDİRİM

Tez içindeki bütün bilgilerin etik davranış ve akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde edilerek sunulduğunu, ayrıca tez yazım kurallarına uygun olarak hazırlanan bu çalışmada orijinal olmayan her türlü kaynağa eksiksiz atıf yapıldığını, aksinin ortaya çıkması durumunda her tür yasal sonucu kabul ettiğimi beyan ediyorum.

Ali ALTUN

20.04.2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank my supervisor Asst. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Zeki ÇIRAKLI, committee members Asst. Prof. Dr. M. Naci KAYAOĞLU and Asst. Prof. Dr. Recep Şahin ARSLAN whose suggestions helped me in the formation and completing this study. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. İbrahim YEREBAKAN, without whose support and encouragement I would not have started my academic life. I would like to thank Instructor Fehmi TURGUT, Res. Asst. Doğan SALTAŞ and Ria KULCU for their comments on the study. My special thanks to Asst. Prof. Dr. Öznur SEMİZ and Instructor Ali Şükrü ÖZBAY for providing me invaluable resources for the study. I am very much indebted to Res. Asst. Evren TUÇ, who has always supported and encouraged me in this challenging process.

I am grateful to my loving wife, Elif ALTUN for her patience, support and encouragement throughout my life.

April 2012

Ali ALTUN

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ABSTRACT

John McGrath depicts social inequalities and power relations in Scotland in his *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*. This study aims to show how ideologies of bourgeois and labour classes, inequalities and power relations between have been depicted in the play and uses Critical discourse analysis, an approach which attempts to show social disparities and power relations in society. The play has been analysed in terms of word choices, speech acts and conversational implicatures. Word choices show how two opposing classes view and evaluate the events, speech acts show social status of characters and power relations between them and conversational implicatures serve as linguistic tools to reveal real aims and intentions of characters. The analysis of the play indicates that John McGrath made use of discourse markers to provoke the oppressed labour class to fight against the capitalists and unify under the roof of socialism.

Keywords: John McGrath, Critical Discourse Analysis, Word Choices, Speech Act, Conversational Implicatures

ÖZET

John McGrath *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil* adlı oyununda İskoçya'daki sosyal eşitsizlikler ve güç ilişkilerini betimler. Bu çalışma burjuvazi ve işçi sınıflarının ideolojilerinin, eşitsizliklerin ve güç ilişkilerinin nasıl anlatıldığını göstermeye çalışmaktadır. Bu çalışma toplumdaki sosyal eşitsizlikleri ve güç ilişkilerini göstermeye çalışan Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi yaklaşımını kullanır. Oyun sözcük seçimleri, sözedimleri ve konuşma sezdirimleri açısından incelenmiştir. Kelime seçimleri her iki karşıt sınıfın olayları nasıl görüp değerlendirdiğini, sözedimleri karakterlerin sosyal statülerini ve aralarındaki güç ilişkilerini gösterip konuşma sezdirimleri ise karakterlerin gerçek amaç ve niyetlerini ortaya çıkaran dilbilimsel araç görevi görmektedir. Oyunun analizi John McGrath'ın işçi sınıfının kapitalistlere karşı savaşıp sosyalizm çatısı altında toplanması fikrini iletmek için söylem belirteçlerinden faydalandığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: John McGrath, Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi, Sözcük Seçimleri, Sözedim, Konuşma Sezdirimleri

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA : Critical Discourse Analysis

The Cheviot : *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

One of the most important political figures that British drama has ever seen, John McGrath always took side with the oppressed and exploited. McGrath started his artistic career at Oxford by writing reviews, articles, writing plays and acting in dramatic performances. Holdsworth (2002: xiv) talks of his experience in the Army and Oxford, and says:

For a young man from a working-class, Irish Catholic background, experience of Army and Oxford life opened his eyes to the class privilege endemic to the social organisation of British society, knowledge that was to inform his advocacy of revolutionary socialism, as well as providing subject matter for several later plays

As a man of letters, McGrath dealt with the problems of abused and social issues in his works. The playwright deliberately staged his plays at social clubs and local theatres where working class people could watch. This is clear evidence of the fact that he was opposed to mainstream theatre where the plays were staged for middle class people. McGrath thought that playwrights who staged their plays at the mainstream theatres were in the service of bourgeois class, neglecting the problems of working class and the social inequalities among society (McGrath, 1989). Thus, McGrath aimed to create a kind of counter-ideology against the ideology of the ruling, rich class who hold a great deal of power in their hands, use and abuse this power in the interest of their material success.

The leftist political playwright never gave up depicting the social problems of the society. In his greatly appreciated and well-known play *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil*, McGrath deals with how the Highlanders have been abused and oppressed by England and other capitalist powers for over two centuries in the form of a documentary. The play has been examined within the framework of linguistic elements because these elements are useful tools to go deep into world of characters and analyse

their ideology and aims in the course of events. This study focuses on John McGrath's *The Cheviot*, in which the playwright depicts inequalities among bourgeois and labour class, the oppression and abuse of Scottish people in Great Britain.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an approach which aims at creating a counter-ideology to display inequalities, and power relations in society. In the play McGrath takes side with the abused, oppressed working-class and deals with what England started doing to Highlanders in the nineteenth century and has continued up to now. It is clearly seen that the oppressors have an ideology which is to humiliate the Highlanders and remind them of the fact that they are inferior to aristocrats so that they should be in the service of their superiors. After humiliating them, these oppressors idealise a society that will be more civilised and advanced and live more comfortably. But this idealisation turns out to be deception because they persecute the Highlanders and finally start to exploit them. As a matter of fact, the playwright shows how exploitation started and continued in the course of history. Thus the playwright warns these poor people against the hypocrisies of the exploited and calls for a fight against capitalist powers and the unification of working class.

The Cheviot has been textually analysed within the context of literature by critics and academics but there is no example of its analysis with regard to CDA. Seeking to reveal the ideology in the play and how this ideology is conveyed through linguistic and discursive elements, this study aims to show how a dramatic play can be analysed in the light of CDA and to make some contribution to the related literature.

In this study *The Cheviot*, has been analysed with respect to word choices which the playwright has made, the speech acts between characters and their functions in demonstrating the inequalities among social groups and conversational implicatures which help readers grasp the background information about the historical events in Britain, specifically in Scotland. The speech act theory put forward by Austin and developed by Searle, and co-operative principle developed by Grice has been applied to the dramatic text in order to show that the playwright aimed to show the abuse by England, and tried to create a kind of counter-culture and counter-ideology to break chains between social groups and unify the society under a roof: a socialist society. In the second chapter, the definitions of discourse and how they are interpreted by linguists have been given as well as those of CDA, its functions, and aims have been discussed. In addition to this how CDA

is viewed and operated in literature, be it in novels, poems and dramatic texts has been examined. John McGrath and some information about his life and literary life and how these functioned in the formation of his literary career have been dealt with and in the last section the synopsis of the play has been given. What is more, some theoretical background information about word choices, speech act theory and conversational implicatures have been provided. In the third chapter the methodology to be adopted in the process of play analysis has been explained. Moreover three tables which consist of certain words to convey the ideology in the play, speech acts to indicate power relations and social status of characters and implicatures to reveal real aims of characters have been designed to make the analysis clear. In the fourth chapter, the analysis of the play has been carried out by applying the linguistic elements; word choices, speech act theory and conversational implicatures to the text. Moreover, the above mentioned functions and significance of the elements during the interpretation of the play have been under scrutiny. In the final chapter, the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the play, the interpretations of it and suggestions for further studies have been supplied. This chapter gives a general overview of the study. It includes the background, the purpose, the research questions, the significance and limitations of the study.

1.2. Background to the Study

For the past four decades, the analysis of literary texts has been one of central occupations for linguists such as Halliday, Leech, and Short. In spite of the fact that a lot of attention has been paid to novels and poems, little has been paid to drama. Among linguists and critics, Short (1989) has been the one who tried a lot to contribute to analysis of a dramatic text within the context of linguistic aspects, applying some theories to dramatic texts. Short did not do a comprehensive analysis, but the analysis helped to give insight to researchers on how to apply linguistic elements to dramatic texts.

As far as the play under scrutiny is concerned, *The Cheviot* has not yet been studied within the context of linguistics. In spite of the fact that such political playwrights as Sarah Kane, David Hare, Edward Bond, and Tom Stoppard within the context of literature, and Harold Pinter stylistically have been studied, there has been no study related to John McGrath and/or his works in Turkey. Yet he is very well known across the U.K and very

much appreciated by those who are involved in drama. One of the aims of this study is John McGrath's being introduced to Turkey so that those who want to study political theatre in the Great Britain and a dramatic piece within the context of linguistics, specifically discourse analysis, will be given insight and inspiration.

Dealing with historical events starting from the early nineteenth century and going on up to now, John McGrath displays England's capitalist attitude towards Highlanders. The play attracted working-class men's attention, and was seen and appreciated by many men of lower class. Given that the play includes some linguistic elements that help to spread the playwright's views and ideology, the play has been aimed to be analysed with respect to word-choices, speech acts and conversational implicatures.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

McGrath, who was very much appreciated by his fellows and critics for his style and success to reach thousands of non-theatre going audiences, displays his views both explicitly and implicitly in the play. The purpose of the study is to investigate the ideology in *The Cheviot*. This study attempts to provide an analysis of word-choices of the playwright, the speech acts in dialogues and the implicatures drawn from the utterances of characters to show the characters' ideologies.

1.4. Research Questions

The study addresses the following questions in its attempt to find out the ideology in the play. The questions in the study are:

- What ideology is there in the play?
- How does the playwright reveal the ideology?
- How do the linguistic elements function to reveal social status of characters?
- What is the function of linguistic elements to reveal the ideology?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Application of linguistic elements to literature has been done by some linguists and critics, yet not so much interest has been drawn to drama. This study examines a dramatic text based on the analysis of some linguistic theories and elements. The study is significant in that very few studies have been done by applying linguistics to drama within the framework of CDA, although some studies have been carried out within the context of stylistics. Moreover, this study is significant in terms of its subject-matter both for those who study linguistics within the context of literature, particularly in drama, and those who study political theatre in Britain. Both John McGrath and his contribution to literature in Britain and CDA seem to have been neglected or to have been given little importance. In Turkey, Oktar (2001), Bozkurt (2003), Duman (2006) and Yağcıoğlu and Cem-Değer (2001) have studied media discourse; Özüdoğru (2000) has analysed political discourse with respect to CDA and Çelikleş (2004) has dealt with CDA with regard to literature. This study does not cover a full analysis of the play with respect to linguistics. It is hoped that it will inspire those who are interested both in drama and linguistics, particularly in Turkey.

1.6. Limitations

John McGrath made many productions in which he attacked on and criticised the policies of capitalist powers. It is not a comprehensive investigation of all of his works in which McGrath deals with both local and universal themes such as oppression of women, cultural imperialism, alcohol abuse, labour abuse. The reason why *The Cheviot* has been selected lies in the fact that the playwright vehemently criticises the policy of England towards the Highlanders. In addition, the play is his well-known and appreciated work, on which much interpretation and criticism have been done. There are some other linguistic elements which support this thesis but few of them are neglected not to lose the focus of the study but to provide an insight into the scrutiny.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to give information about the playwright, John McGrath and his literary life as well as the synopsis of *The Cheviot*. Moreover it gives theoretical information about discourse, CDA, word choices, speech act theory, co-operative principle, conversational implicature and how they have been viewed and examined in literature.

2.2. A SOCIALIST PLAYWRIGHT: JOHN McGRATH (1935-2002)

John McGrath is known to use the stage as a political arena (Kershaw, 1992:149) to promote his opinions and provoke the labour class audience to react against the established capitalist system in Britain (Holdsworth, 2002: xvii). With socialist insights into the nature of social struggle and the provoking tone concerned with the issues of oppression, McGrath's plays can be classified as examples of agit-prop drama (Innes, 2002:181). McGrath uses the stage as an instrument of socialist propaganda and exerts the variations of linguistic elements to give didactic political messages. Having been very much influenced by Brecht and his theatrical style (Reinelt, 1996:179), McGrath performed his plays at non-theatre buildings such as working-men clubs, pubs on wagons and platforms. Yet it should be noted that McGrath did not only make use of agit-prop style to give messages but also used documentaries in his plays (Holdsworth, 2002: xiv), especially in *The Cheviot*. As the present study will demonstrate, the reason why McGrath used both agit-prop style and documentary form is to attract labour class attention to their oppressed status and give them some political messages. In order to be more effective on the

audience, McGrath's *Cheviot* is presented in the form of documentary so that the audience would perceive the events from a historical lens.

As McGrath was influenced by some political thinkers of the left such as Antonio Gramsci, Rosa Luxemburg and Mao Tse Tung, he did not remain indifferent to the social and political atmosphere of the late 1960s (Holdsworth, 2002: xv). McGrath went to Paris during the revolts of May 1968, which made important marks on him, started to grow opposition to the class-based British society and thus believed in the formation of a counter-culture. The playwright, therefore, adopted a nonconformist attitude towards the inequalities among social groups, also protesting against the imperialist regimes, and turned out to be a playwright mostly dealing with class struggle and the issues of oppression.

As far as drama is concerned, the playwright became interested in the works of Bertolt Brecht and Joan Littlewood, who dealt with working class community, its cultural traditions and values in their works. As a responsive person to social and political conditions of his time, McGrath wrote plays which include political and social issues. According to Holdsworth, there were some obstacles to reach audience because there were few working class members attending theatre, whereupon he found a solution, which was to reach his audience via television (Holdsworth,2002:xiv).

In 1971, McGrath, his wife Elizabeth MacLennan and her brother David MacLennan established the 7:84 Theatre Company, which took its name from a statistic that was published in *The Economist* that 7 per cent of the population of Britain owned 84 per cent of the country's wealth. Barnes quotes McGrath's comments in a textual note of 1974 that "although this proportion may have fluctuated marginally over years, we continue to use it because it points to the basic economic structure of the society we live in, from which all the political, social and cultural structures grow" (Barnes, 1974:146). According to Patterson the reason why the company was founded lies in the fact that McGrath wanted to show the necessity of a struggle, a political organisation, and a hard, bitter, disciplined fight against powerful forces of capitalism (2003:109). Holdsworth indicates that the main aim of the company was to attract the audience to popular theatre so that they could be shown and provided with day-to-day realities of working class life. Yet it was not that easy to attract the audience to the theatre (2002: xvi).

In order to manage to attract crowds to his non-theatre performances, McGrath made use of such popular forms as song, live music and caricature, performing his works at the working-men's clubs and trade union buildings where the working class men spend their time. McGrath chose subject matter that was about working class men who were depicted as they really were. Moreover working class men were represented different from bourgeois class so that they would be aware of the fact that they could make a change if they gathered under the same roof. As a matter of fact, it is clear that McGrath made use of context, form and subject matter to attain his main goal; to attract the working-class men to the theatre and convey his ideology through the stage (Holdsworth, 2002: xvi).

7:84 played a very important role in the development of drama in that it pioneered some left-wing theatre groups to start a life during 1970s. Theatre stage became a social, industrial and personal arena to promote ideological campaigns for him and those who were of his opinions. In a 1983 interview McGrath, commenting on this period of 7:84, stated "We are trying to produce the kind of theatre of the left that would be able not just to go into a community centre and have fun with the audience, but would also contest the values of the theatre itself" (quoted in Barnes, 1986: 147).

In 1973, however, the company were divided into two branches; English and Scottish. Kershaw stated that

His move to Scotland can be read as emblematic of a much more widespread dissatisfaction among young theatre workers with the irrelevance of most theatre to the mass of the populace. The geographic progression from the metropolitan centre to the provincial periphery signalled a decisive break, the final stage in a deliberate shift from the commercial mass-populism of the media, through the subsidised minority-elitism of mainstream theatres, to an ambitious stab at a (to begin with) self-financed popular localism. In moving to Scotland McGrath's aim was to forge a new kind of theatre practice: political community performance (1992:148).

According to Kershaw (1992:138), McGrath established "the Scottish 7:84 Theatre Company as a collective determined to promote Marxist analysis of local history through subregional tours of shows which celebrated Celtic resistance to centuries of repression and exploitation".

The first production of 7:84 Scotland was *The Cheviot*, which is considered the masterpiece of John McGrath. The play provides information about different classes and historical background of the Highlands, how its people and natural resources were

exploited by the upper-class and their capitalist aims after the discovery of the North Sea oil. The main aim of the play was to make the audience aware of what had happened in Highlands and to tell of tales of local resistance, and at the same time to entertain them. McGrath used ceilidh form, unofficial histories, the Gaelic language and music of the region, which helped to arouse interest among the locals, which brought success to him and made him more popular. McGrath started to tour remote places and this was very much appreciated and liked by the audience, who had been given no opportunity to see a play because of its geographical location. Even the distant areas were now introduced with theatre and this led to an increase in the number of audience, who also took more social responsibility. 7:84, whose founders, actors, staff were of the same opinion, played a very important role in that it influenced other dramatists and theatre companies across the world and it helped theatre to be liked by the Scottish people.

McGrath expressed his beliefs and opinions about industrial Scotland, the history of Red Clydeside, the position of women and their growing political consciousness in Scottish society, apathy in Scotland, the power of businessmen, capitalism and most importantly the exploitation of Scotland by England (Holdsworth,2002: xviii).

Throughout his career, McGrath was engaged in theory and practice for popular theatre. He declared his thoughts on the form, subject matter and potential efficacy of popular theatre and debated with other playwrights like David Edgar and David Hare. *A Good Night Out* (1979) and *The Bone Won't Break* (1990), two remarkable works that should be kept in mind, were a challenge to mainstream theatre in that it could not entertain the majority of society; on the contrary it was a platform for the bourgeois people. In *The Bone Won't Break* McGrath tried to show the destructive impact of right-wing ideology on radical theatre, for they had put some restrictions and McGrath and his collaborators had shown resistance to these problems.

2.2.1 *The Cheviot, the Stag and the Black, Black Oil* (1981)

Considered the best and most famous play by John McGrath, *The Cheviot*, has been investigated mostly by such academics as Holdsworth (2002), DiCenzo (1996), Kershaw (1992), Patterson (2003), Winkler (1990), Richards (2007) and Yerebakan (1997). Holdsworth (2002) edited *The Naked Thoughts That Roam About*, in which she gives brief

information about McGrath's plays, productions and views on theatre. DiCenzo (1996) in *The Politics of Alternative Theatre in Britain, 1968- 1990: the Case of 7:84* (Scotland) and Kershaw (1992) in *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention* concentrates on the 7:84 (Scotland) and its productions. They especially deal with *The Cheviot*, interpret the play and its effects in the society. Moreover, Winkler (1990) in *The Function of Song in Contemporary British Drama* focuses on the songs and their importance both for the Highlanders and aristocrats in the play. Richards (2007), however, deals with the highland clearances which is the main issue in the play. Despite many studies having been done in Europe, researches related to the play and/or the playwright in Turkey have been limited to Yerebakan (1997), who evaluates the play as a political platform and assesses it in terms of politics.

The play tells of some historical events that happened in the Highlands. In this respect, the play is seen as a documentary. The playwright divides the play into three major phases; displacement of the Highlanders into British colonies, Highlands becoming a theme park to attract tourists and the oil discovered there.

The play starts with a song which tells of the love of the Scottish Highlands, then some historical episodes which give information about different phases of exploitation by the rich. Historical episodes start with the "Clearances" in Sutherland from 1813 to 1882, during which absentee landlords made arrangements for the removal of the Highland crofters to make way for the Cheviot, a hardy breed of sheep. Highland crofters' resistance is violently suppressed and families are displaced to British colonies. Then the Highlands are turned into a playground for the noble; the rich and powerful come hunting the stag in the Highlands, which continues until the twentieth century, in which the Highlands have become a holiday theme park. With the discovery of oil in 1962, oil rigs are constructed off the Scottish coast and lives of the Highlanders have been ruined with the industrialisation. The play ends with a song that reminds the Highlanders of the richness in their lands and calls for a fight to gather and resist against the exploiters.

2.3. Discourse

The term discourse has been given different definitions by scholars in different fields. For many, especially linguists, “discourse” is anything “beyond the sentence.” In *A Dictionary of Discourse Analysis* it means language in use for communication which studies the rules of language (Bahrami, 1999: 59). According to Foucault (1972), it is an “active relation to reality, that language signifies reality in the sense of constructing meanings for it” (in Fairlough, 1992:42). Berkhofer (1995:80) defines that discourse “refers to the actual or specific arrangement or expression of the content in narrative or nonnarrative histories; ‘story’ and ‘argument’ refers to the implicated message or substance of the discourse in the narrative and nonnarrative histories respectively”. Johnstone (2008:3) describes discourse as “actual instances of communicative action in the medium of language.” In this sense it has linguistic aspects. Critical theorists and those influenced by them, however, talk of “discourse of power”, where the term also comes to refer to a broad “conglomeration of linguistic and non-linguistic social practices and ideological assumptions that together construct power” (Schiffrin, Deborah et al, 2001:1).

Johnstone (2008:10) states that there are six categories which one should keep in mind while talking about a discourse:

- Discourse is shaped by the world and discourse shapes the world.
- Discourse is shaped by language and discourse shapes language.
- Discourse is shaped by participants and discourse shapes participants.
- Discourse is shaped by prior discourse and discourse shapes the possibility for future discourse.
- Discourse is shaped by its medium and discourse shapes the possibility of its medium.
- Discourse is shaped by purpose and discourse shapes the possible purposes.

As can be seen above, there is no sole definition of the term, yet the term, in general, can be classified into three main categories: discourse is (a) anything beyond the sentence, (b) language use, and (c) a broader range of social practice which includes non-linguistic instances of language (Schiffrin et al, 2001:1). According to Parker (1992:5) “a good working definition of a discourse should be that it is a system of statements which constructs an object and presents seven criteria which do not constitute an accepted method

and should not necessarily be employed sequentially, though. Parker's criteria that deal with different levels of discourse are listed below:

- Discourse is realised in texts;
- A discourse is about objects;
- A discourse contains subjects;
- A discourse is a coherent system of meanings;
- A discourse refers to other discourse;
- A discourse reflects in its own way of speaking;
- A discourse is historically located.

Discourse provides theoretical accounts for debating the value of one way of talking about reality over other ways. This study depends on the definition of discourse which is "conglomeration of linguistic and non-linguistic social practices and ideological assumptions that together construct power" (Schiffrin, Deborah et al, 2001: 1). So, while analysing the play, the questions "Why was this said, and not that? Why these words, and where do the connotations of the words fit with different ways of talking about the world?" have been answered in this study.

2.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

People read novels, short stories, poems, watch dramatic performances, movies, documentaries, news all of which are parts of everyday life and, explicitly or implicitly, affect them. But is there an ideology behind these texts or productions? Do writers or producers aim to give a message? For most analysts, the answer would be "Yes". CDA approach deals with the discourse which harbours a hidden, implicit ideological system in its language (Cameron, 2001:123).

Having started in the early 1990s, CDA has become the general label for a particular approach to the study of text and talk, which critically analyses the relationship between language and society. It emerged from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general "a socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication" (Van Dijk, 1995:17). More specifically, CDA is a kind of

discourse-analytical research which is interested in analysing the way, social and political inequalities are revealed in and reproduced through language (Wooffitt, 2005:137). Relatively, the special principles, practices, aims and theories of many fields, approaches and subdisciplines in language and discourse studies have been restricted, whereas it is not that easy to delimit theoretical frameworks of CDA.

CDA can also be defined as an interdisciplinary programme which includes various approaches towards the social analysis of discourse. The roots of CDA are connected with Rhetoric, Text linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies and Sociolinguistics as well as Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics (Wodak, 2011). CDA is usually associated with researchers such as Norman Fairclough, Teun A. Van Dijk and Ruth Wodak, who have tried to identify outline and draw the lines of CDA despite the fact that there is no clear cut boundary that frames it, for research in CDA varies in style and focus. This difference in style and focus makes the discourse be analysed by means of various theoretical and philosophical orientations (Wooffitt, 2005:18).

Contrary to many other forms of linguistic analysis, CDA is not just interested in words in a text yet it subsumes going through social context. It analyses the choice of words and their places and roles in a text and if the text has any intertextual elements in itself. First developed by Norman Fairclough (1989), this approach has three-dimensional framework to analysis. The “description” stage involves text analysis, the “interpretation” stage focuses on the relationship between text and interaction, and the “explanation” stage goes through the relationship between interaction and social context (Baker and Ellece, 2011:26).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271–80) offer the following statements as the central principles of CDA:

- CDA addresses social problems.
- Discourse is a form of social action.
- Discourse does ideological work.
- Power relations are discursive.
- Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- Discourse is historical.

- The link between text and society is mediated.

Some other approaches have been put forward to make CDA, yet all tried to combine the text with social context. Reisigl and Wodak (2001), for example, use “argumentation theory”, Jäger (2001) comes up with an approach based on using theoretical and methodological aspects of Foucauldian critical discourse, Van Dijk (1995) introduces “social-cognitive” approach to CDA, Hart and Lukeš (2007) deal with the association between cognitive linguistics and CDA, O’Halloran (2003) takes ideas from “relevance theory” and brings out a model on the basis of interpretation, whereas Partington (2004) and Baker (2006) have developed an approach making use of corpus linguistics methods (Baker & Ellece, 2011). It is so clear from the examples that there is no generally accepted approach to CDA. The analysts have freedom in choosing texts, how to analyse and what approaches to apply to them. Weiss and Wodak (2003:12) stress that CDA “has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory, and one specific methodology is not characteristic of research in CDA. On the contrary, studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds and oriented towards very different data and methodologies”.

CDA is part of broad spectrum in social sciences such e.g., in sociology, law, literature etc., thus it does not aim to give absolute answers to a specific problem as in natural sciences but helps to shed light on the essence of the societal disparities and inequalities, in other words, the problem and its possible interpretations. While doing this, linguistic elements are used to detect the explicit or implicit messages behind what is said. This, however, requires systematic analysis, self-reflection at every point of one’s research, and distance from the data which are investigated (Wodak, 2011:52).

To sum up, CDA does not include a systematic theoretical framework. Wodak (2011:25) summarises this diversity as follows:

- CDA works eclectically in many respects
- There is no accepted canon of data gathering; however, many CDA approaches work with existing data, that is texts not specifically produced for the respective research projects.
- Operationalization and analysis are problem-oriented and imply linguistic expertise.

So it can be said that critical discourse analysts are of different opinions about methodology and theoretical framework but they share a common goal which is the critique of “dominant discourses and genres that affect inequalities, injustices and

oppression in contemporary society.”(Van Leeuwen, 2009:277). This study seeks to uncover the ideology in the play which is against the dominant ideology and culture.

CDA has a particular interest in the relationship between language and power which is encoded in discourse and genre, thus discourse and ideology struggle for dominance in a text. While doing this, the use of language, its functions are benefited and thus its efficacy is created through its power in itself. The approach of Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) is significant enough to be quoted at some length.

CDA sees discourse- language use in speech and writing-as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned- it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects- that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

So discourse may be sexist, racist, imperialist, socialist, in short, it may bear a specific ideology, and it is CDA’s aim to uncover the ideas and messages which seem to be unclear to people. The interrelations between discourse and society are analysed better by means of combination of linguistic and sociological approaches. CDA aims to

systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (Fairclough,1995:132).

Van Dijk (2001:354) states that “the typical vocabulary of many scholars in CDA will feature such notions as “power”, “dominance”, “hegemony”, “ideology”...” besides the more familiar discourse analytical notions. Van Dijk focuses on some concepts which are of great importance in doing CDA. According to Van Dijk (2001) the basic concepts in CDA are:

Macro vs. micro: Micro level of the social order subsumes language use, discourse and communication whereas macro level represents power, dominance and inequality among social groups.

Power as control: There are different types of power, e.g., coercive power of military and of violent men is rather based on force, and professors' power is based on knowledge, while the rich have power because of their money.

Control of public discourse: Powerful social groups have more access and control over public discourse, thus influencing more people.

Mind control: It is a way to influence social groups via lessons, learning materials, trustworthy and credible materials so that dominance and hegemony can be reproduced.

Van Dijk (1995:21) talks of discursive control which “may apply to all levels and dimension of text... such as language variants, genres, topics, grammar, lexical style, rhetorical figures, overall organization, local and global coherence, speech acts, turn taking, politeness forms, and so on.” Thus one can say that those who hold the power may control the discourse by making use of elements mentioned above.

CDA concentrates on the ideology behind power, inequalities, dominance and the resistance against social disparities and aims to disclose what is implicit or hidden behind this ideology. When uncovering this, CDA also implies a critical and oppositional stance against the powerful groups, who hold the power in their hands and abuse it. As a matter of fact, studies in CDA explicitly help to create or develop a kind of counter-power and counter-ideology against the dominated.

Discourses are not neutral or objective, but are “inherently ideological” (Gee, 1992:107) because the authors, explicitly or implicitly, express their beliefs and views by integrating words in discourses, so the choices in the structure of text show the author's ideology. Taking into consideration that the author shows his ideology in discourse, McGrath could be said to hold views against dominated, white, rich, male ideology in England. McGrath thought that England had benefited from fruitful lands of Scotland, and had abused poor people's labour.

In the play *The Cheviot*, the playwright John McGrath takes a political stance and opposition to England. McGrath thought that England abused Highlanders, benefited from their labour and natural resources and thus did great harm to those living in the Scottish

Highlands, who were compelled to leave their homelands either in exchange for money or violently. In this study, the discourse of both the abused and the abusers will be analysed critically to reveal what happened and is still happening and the unequal relations of power in the Highlands.

As far as Van Dijk's basic concepts in CDA are concerned, McGrath deals with the oppression of poor Highlanders by wealthy factors to English lairds at the micro level, so one can say that the poor are oppressed by the rich at the macro level. Again the playwright depicts that the rich made use of Highlanders' labour and aim to make more money in the play. At the macro level, this could be interpreted as the fact that the capitalist countries are in the pursuit of abusing poor countries. The socialist playwright uses the stage as a political arena to deploy the idea that the poor, the oppressed, must gather under a roof to resist against the aims of capitalist countries. McGrath spread his views via literature to have an impact on those who have suffered and/or are suffering from any oppression by any dominant group, thus controlling public and minds. Trying to develop a counter-power and counter-ideology, McGrath opposes anything with regard to hegemony and power of dominated group, namely, the capitalists. McGrath stages his plays not at the mainstream theatre buildings but on the streets, and at public places such as working men clubs. The playwright explicitly shares his anti-capitalist views and beliefs and gives support to the working class.

2.5. CDA within the Context of Literature

There has been a growing tendency in CDA for the past two decades. CDA, however, has been done more on political speeches, media and sociological studies, its application to literature, especially drama, has been given little importance. Studies in CDA are mostly referred to Fowler (1986), Fairclough (1992; 1995; 1997), Wodak (2001; 2011), Van Dijk (1995; 2001) and others. This rapidly growing approach uses "linguistic analysis to uncover hidden assumptions and ideological positions in texts, and thus has some parallels with deconstructionist accounts of literature" (Short, 1990:184). Most of the proponents share left-wing political views and use their works as a medium to spread their ideological beliefs. CDA has been introduced by Fairclough and has been developed and adapted within the context of literature by Fowler (1986), Birch (1989) and Weber (1989).

CDA is linked with left-wing ideology and its discourses, yet it would be surprising that analysts with more right-wing political views have not used this approach on text about which they feel critical.

A particular approach to the study of text and talk, CDA deals with hidden ideological system in language. The main aim of CDA is to uncover imbalances and inequalities in society but it does not have a systematic theoretical framework. According to Wodak (2011) CDA works eclectically, with existing data and implies linguistic expertise. Thus the analysts are free to choose texts and how to examine them. Barreno (2011) discusses and compares two instances of state violence within the context of CDA. The study covers how talk and text were used by the Spanish Crown and later by the Guatemalan state to dominate and kill Mayan peoples and Carvalho investigates the role of the media in the war on Iraq by examining *Time* magazine articles prior to the war. Carvalho comes to conclusion that Discourse reflected in the magazine articles is in parallel with that of the presidential one and these articles serve as tools to influence the public and legitimise the attack on Iraq.

Çeliksaş (2004) examines sixteen short stories of Sabahattin Ali and the language of characters in his works within the framework of CDA and comes to conclusion that Ali reflects his ideology in them. Çeliksaş suggests that ideological and political views could be conveyed to the readers via literature. In addition, Duman (2006) researches some Turkish women magazines in which Duman makes use of words, their deep meanings and effects on the readers. What is more, Karahan (2006) analyses gossip columns published in some Turkish daily newspapers within the framework of stylistics and CDA and concludes that different gossip columnists have almost the same style. Additionally, Yağcıoğlu and Cem-Değer (2001) examine two Turkish daily newspapers that have opposing ideologies and deal with how each newspaper reflects its ideology. Making use of linguistic codes to identify the meaning and ideology, Solak (2011) examines Tarık Buğra's *Küçük Ağa* to show how the ideology of media texts is presented. Similarly, Bozkurt (2003) and Özudođru (2000) analyse the relation between language and ideology. Bozkurt examines three different women's magazines, whereas Özudođru investigates political speeches made by Prime Ministers between the years 1984-1998. From the idea that the analysts have freedom in how to analyse and what elements to apply to the text, this study has been examined with respect to word choices, speech acts and conversational implicatures.

Burton (1980) and Korpimies (1983) apply a particular method of discourse analysis to literature, both of whom build their studies on Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). Both of them analyse conversational exchanges in dramatic texts; Burton (1980) in *The bald prima dona* by Ionesco, and *The dumb waiter* by Harold Pinter, Korpimies (1983) focuses on *The birthday party* by Pinter. Carter and Simpson (1989) edited *Language, Discourse and Literature*, a collection of thirteen articles devoted to the use of discourse and pragmatic approach to literature. In the book, examples from three genres; novel, drama and poetry, are analysed with regard to discourse structure, the cooperative principle, politeness, and language variation in literature. Pratt (1977), Downes (1988), Fowler (1986), Herman (1986), Leech and Short (1981) and Noguchi (1984) examine and discuss discourse approaches in literature in terms of textual meaning. To do this, they take up ideas of Grice, a speech act philosopher, who developed the co-operative principle, based on, what he labelled (a) the maxim of quantity (b) the maxim of quality (c) the maxim of relation and (d) the maxim of manner. Sperber and Wilson (1986) develop relevance theory model, which they “build on and challenge Grice” (Short, 1990:182). In addition, York (1986) uses speech act theory, presupposition and conversational implicature to discuss some modern European poets (Short: 1990).

Short (1989:137) discusses the debate whether the text or performance of a play should be analysed. Short comes to conclusion that to do analysis of performance of a play may lead to various interpretations, for in order for critics to discuss the performance of a play, they are to see and argue about exactly the same performance. On the other hand, to analyse a text would be more objective than the performance. A text can only be understood, “as an object embedded within a set of linguistic conventions” (Short, 1989:140). Short exemplifies this with a conversation between a father and his daughter. If his daughter comes to the study while father is working and asks him how to make butter, he will reasonably reply by telling her to put some cream into a bottle and shake it until it solidifies. If father replies “buy a cow”, then father is giving insufficient and non-relevant information and will probably be interpreted as being rude. Then she may conclude that her father does not want to be disturbed. So in order to analyse what lies behind the utterances, what is meant between the lines, we can apply some linguistic theories to conversations or texts. In the example above, Short has made use of Grice’s co-operative principle. Father has floated the maxim of relation and daughter infers that her father does not want to be disturbed.

2.6. Linguistic Elements to Be Analysed in the Play

As Short (1989) has already shown, dramatic texts can be analysed in terms of discursive linguistic elements such as speech acts, pragmatic presuppositions, co-operative principle, intertextual elements can be applied to dramatic texts. In this study, the word choices, speech acts and conversational implicatures will be investigated to demonstrate the relationship between the discourse markers and the central message of the play.

2.7. Word Choices

Speakers utter a variety of words every day and they communicate with one another via these utterances. Do speakers actually choose which words to utter or do they use words at random? The answers to these questions would probably be difficult to give, but one can say that majority of writers deliberately make word choices to attract the readers' attention and arouse interest to reach as many readers as possible. While preparing their works, they use words according to subject matters which they talk about. But why do they make deliberate word choices? Do they really have a hidden agenda behind the words? The central claim of CDA is "the choices speakers and writers make in doing it- are not just random but ideologically patterned. These choices do much of the work of naturalizing particular social arrangements which serve particular interests, so that in time they may come to seem like the only possible or rational arrangements" (Cameron, 2001:124). It can be put forward that writers have some kind of ideology and they make word choices in parallel with their ideology. Why they choose this word but not that word can lead the addressee to uncover the imposed ideology. As Socrates put it, "words have the power to reveal..., conceal and signify all things; they... also turn things this way and that" (quoted in Yeibo, 2011:138). Thus writers may choose words to convey their ideology.

The word choices help to reveal the writers' styles. Each writer has his/her own style, namely, how they present their works may bear some resemblance with other writers but their styles cannot be identical. Two writers may deal with the same subject matter, say, death of a president. If the writer has sympathy with the dead person and is a supporter of him/her, the writer may use "pass away" regarding his death, while if the other does not

appreciate and/or like the dead person, writer may say “kick the bucket” after the death. Although the subject matter is the same, how it is viewed is different, which is related to the attitudes of writers to the dead person.

As far as the play is concerned, characters have different attitudes towards the same subject matter. Each character makes word choices while talking about the same subject matter and they deal with it according to their perception of event and their ideology. The words choices in the play greatly affect the perception of plot among the audiences. In order that the playwright can convey his ideology, the play becomes a way to reach as many audiences as possible. Throughout the play, the playwright explicitly or implicitly supports the working, abused, oppressed class and attacks on bourgeois class. The word choices in the play make audiences perceive the events from the eyes of the playwright, whose aim is to inform the audiences about the events occurred in their history and get some lessons from these events by reminding them that history repeats itself.

2.8. Speech Acts

Speech act theory, as one of the main tenets of pragmatics, has been examined in various fields such as Psychology, Anthropology, Philosophy, and Linguistics. Although how it is perceived and/or interpreted varies from disciplines to other fields, the general aspects remain the same. The term speech act is used to describe actions such as ‘requesting’, ‘ordering’, ‘questioning’, or ‘informing’ so it can be defined as the action performed by a speaker with an utterance. When you say “I’ll kick him out” you are not only speaking, but also performing the speech act of threatening. The theory was introduced by philosopher John L. Austin with his *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), in which he theorizes how utterances operate in the language. John R. Searle (1979), on the other hand, criticized Austin’s speech act theory and developed it with *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. Both theories have both similarities in common and totally different aspects from each other. In the following, both theories will be explained in general terms, for it would take volumes of books to define and discuss them in detail, which is beyond our scope.

2.8.1. Austin's Speech Act Theory

In *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) Austin tries to show that language does not just provide information, but it also carries action. He wants to show that words are a means of performing action. He classifies utterances into two categories: constatives and performatives. In the example (1) the speaker provides information about something in sight and a fact, while in (2) the speaker both gives information for a future event and offers a promise.

There is a car in front of the house.

I promise that I will be with you.

The first example is classified into constatives because it provides information about facts. These statements bear truths and it is possible to evaluate whether they are true or not. The latter, however, is included in the category of performatives because the utterance offers to perform an action. Austin (1962:5) illustrates this with some examples below:

*I do (take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife) -- as uttered in the course of a marriage ceremony.

*I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth – as uttering when smashing the bottle against the stern.

*I give and bequeath my watch to my brother- as occurring in a will.

*I bet you sixpence it will rain tomorrow.

For Austin, in saying “I do (take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife)” the speaker does not describe what he is doing, but actually performing the act of marrying just like the act of naming the ship.

There are some criteria which distinguish performatives from non-performatives (assertions and other utterances). In order for a performative to be valid it has to be used in the

- first person (I name this ship Queen Elizabeth)
- simple present (I order you to go out)
- active mood (I sentence you to ten years' prison)

and lastly the speaker has to be the authority. If someone shouts from the crowd, (3) “You are out!” at a football match, the effect of that performative cannot be felt because it is only the referee who has the authority to send a player out. Austin formulated these conditions and called them “felicity conditions”, so if a performative should be valid, it must not violate one of the conditions mentioned above.

On the other hand, the distinction made between performatives and non-performatives does not always come true because some performatives are not in the first person or active mood or present simple. Seeing that distinction between performatives and constatives are not always valid and/or true, Austin reformulated the classification, according to which a speech act basically consists of locutionary act, illocutionary act and perlocutionary act.

2.8.1.2. Locutionary Acts

It is the act of producing an utterance which has a literal meaning. Not every utterance is accepted as a locutionary act because it must have understandable meaning. For example if someone says “calternem dnese” the utterance will not be understood by the hearer because it has no literal meaning although it is an utterance. In short, locutionary act is the production of meaningful sounds and/or words.

2.8.1.3. Illocutionary Acts

It is the “making of a statement, offer, promise, etc. in uttering a sentence, by virtue of the conventional force associated with it (or with its explicit performative paraphrase)” (Levinson, 1983:236). Austin focuses more on illocutionary acts which he refers to speech acts. As far as illocutionary acts are concerned, felicity conditions are to be fulfilled and illocutionary force should be taken into account. In saying (1) “Shoot her!” Austin describes it as “having the illocutionary force of, variously, ordering, urging, advising the addressee to shoot her; but the perlocutionary effect of persuading, forcing, or frightening the addressee into shooting her” (Levinson, 1983: 237). The felicity conditions and

illocutionary force and their importance can be better understood with the example below. The speakers are mother and son:

A: If you don't eat the meal, I won't let you watch TV.

B: (Starts eating)

Son (hearer) interprets the illocutionary force of mother's utterance as a threat and obeys her. The condition is felicitous because mother is in authority and she has control over her son.

2.8.1.4. Perlocutionary Acts

The act is the effect of the utterance received by the hearer, in other words, "the bringing about of effects on the audience by means of uttering the sentence, such effects being special to the circumstances of utterance" (Levinson, 1983:236). As in the example above, after mother tells son to eat the meal, the son starts eating so the perlocutionary act is effective. It should be kept in mind that in order for a perlocutionary act to be effective, the hearer is to interpret the force of utterance correctly. Only then can the perlocutionary effect be achieved.

To sum up, an utterance has three parts with respect to Austin's speech act theory. The example "Shoot her!" is classified as follows:

Act (A) or Locution

He said to me "Shoot her!" meaning by shoot "shoot" and referring by her to "her."

Act (B) or Illocution

He urged (or advised, ordered. etc.) me to shoot her.

Act (C) or Perlocution

He persuaded me to shoot her. (Austin, 1962:101)

2.8.2. Searle's Speech Act Theory

From the formulations of Austin, Searle (1979) developed speech act theory. He does not take for granted what Austin says with regard to speech acts, on the contrary he finds weaknesses in Austin theory and criticises for its deficiencies. Still it does not mean that he utterly and completely rejects the theory. There are some points which he both agrees and disagrees with Austin. Like Austin, Searle et al (1980: vii) stated that “the theory of speech acts starts with the assumption that the minimal unit of human communication is not a sentence or other expression, but rather the performance of certain kinds of acts, such as making statements, asking questions, giving orders, describing...”

On the other hand Searle (1979) differs with Austin's notion of felicity conditions and reasons that these conditions are not adequate to fulfil speech acts by themselves and formulates a set of conditions; the propositional content, the preparatory condition, the sincerity condition and the essential condition.

2.8.2.1. Searle's Felicity Conditions

Searle lays out four conditions so that utterances can be counted as speech acts. The first condition is the propositional content, which is likened to Austin's locutionary act. This condition refers to the content of utterance whether it is an order, a promise or threat etc. In saying “I promise to help you”, the propositional content is that the speaker provides a promise which refers to a future event. The utterance is intended for the hearer's future and thus it is a speech act. The next condition is the preparatory one. As for this condition, the speaker must be in a position that he/she has authority to perform an act. For example, a referee can send a player out because he is legally entitled and has the power to achieve this. As far as sincerity conditions are concerned, the speaker must be sincere, that is to say, he/she must really mean what he/she says and believes the act to be true. The speaker, for example, must be sad for what he/she has got upset with. The last one is the essential condition which refers to speaker's attempt to do something by uttering a sentence.

2.8.2.2. Searle's Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts

Searle finds some difficulties with Austin's taxonomy which consists of Verdictives, Exercitives, Commissives, Expositives, and Behabitives. Searle summarises these weaknesses as follows:

There is a persistent confusion between verbs and acts, not all the verbs are illocutionary verbs, there is too much overlap of the categories, too much heterogeneity within the categories, many of the verbs listed in the categories don't satisfy the definition given for the category and, most important, there is no consistent principle of classification. (Searle, 1979:12)

Alternatively, Searle comes up with a taxonomy which includes five categories of illocutionary acts.

Declarations: These are words and expressions which are made by authority and change the world. For example, I hereby pronounce you man and wife, in which two single people are turned into a married couple. Other words are: I bet, I declare, I baptise, I name etc.

Representatives: "The acts in which words state what the speaker believes to be the case, such as describing, claiming, hypothesising, insisting, predicting etc" (Cutting, 2002: 17). For example, I saw him stealing money.

Commissives: These are actions which commit the speaker to a future event or action, such as promising, offering, threatening etc. For example, I promise to help you.

Directives: These are the words which are aimed to make the hearer do something, such as commanding, requesting, suggesting etc. For example, I advise you to sleep early.

Expressives: These are the words which state the feelings of the speaker, such as apologising, praising, congratulating etc. I am so sorry, honey!

2.8.3. Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Speech acts are part of everyday life and the classification of utterances in terms of direct or indirect speech acts seems to be impossible, for utterances do not necessarily

operate on one level, they may do on both levels. Both Austin (1962) and Searle (1979) touch on these issues.

According to Austin (1962) “a request to turn out the lights can be communicated directly, not only by using an explicit performative sentence like ‘(1) I order you to turn out the lights’, but also by employing an implicit performative sentence such as ‘(2) Please turn out the lights’ (quoted in Geis, 1995:6). In parallel with Austin, Searle said that “a speaker using a direct speech act wants to communicate the literal meaning that the words conventionally express; there is a direct relationship between the form and the function” (quoted in Cutting, 2002:19). As can be seen from the explanations, there are two ways of performing a speech act; either directly or indirectly. On the other hand, Cutting (2002:19) explains Searle’s explanation that someone who uses an indirect speech act wants to give a different meaning from the apparent meaning. One direct representative speech act could also be an indirect commissive one. That is to say, one speech act is performed through another one. This explanation reminds us of the distinction between what is said and what is indeed meant.

In direct speech acts, what the speaker means is palpable and there is a direct correlation in the utterance type and the function. So the utterances (3) ‘I promise to help you’ and (4) ‘Bring me that’ are direct speech acts, for the utterance in (3) is commissive and commits the speaker to future action, as for (4), the act is directive and the speaker orders someone to do something.

In indirect speech acts, the speaker aims to give a meaning different from the literal one, yet in order for an indirect speech act to be achieved successfully the hearer is to make inferences or interpretation. For example in uttering “Can you close the door?” the speaker does not ask the ability of the hearer to manage it, but indirectly wants the hearer to close the door. Thus in indirect speech acts which include speech acts and general principles of cooperative principle developed by Grice (1975) both the speaker and the hearer mutually share linguistic as well as non-linguistic information. The speaker conveys messages to the hearer through implications and inferences on the part of the hearer (Searle 1979: 31).

2.9. Co-operative Principle

The co-operative principle was developed by Grice who proposed his ideas on the analysis of implicatures at Harvard (in Levinson, 1983:100). According to Grice, two types of meanings can be derived from an utterance; what is said and what is meant or implied. His co-operative theory is about how people use language. Grice formulated four maxims of conversation, which will help the utterance to be understood clearly by the hearer. The co-operative principle of conversation and sub-principles which Grice calls maxims are as follows:

The co-operative principle:

Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

The maxim of quality:

Try to make your contribution one that is true, specifically:

- (i) Do not say what you believe to be false.
- (ii) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

The maxim of Quantity:

- (i) Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange.
- (ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

The maxim of Relevance:

Make your contributions relevant.

The maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous, and specifically:

- (i) Avoid obscurity.
- (ii) Avoid ambiguity.
- (iii) Be brief.
- (iv) Be orderly (quoted in Levinson, 1983:101-102).

When the speaker obeys all the principles mentioned above, the hearer will understand the utterance clearly because the speaker does not provide misinformation and is informative enough; the utterance is clear, truthful and relevant to the topic, and is unambiguous.

People, however, do not obey these conversation principles most of the time. They may, intentionally or unintentionally, break these rules. Short (1989:148) explains the case in Grice's words:

- (i) A speaker may unostentatiously violate a maxim; this accounts for lies and deceptions.
- (ii) He may opt out of the co-operative, as, for example, the members of government do when they refuse to answer questions on the ground that the information required is classified.
- (iii) He may be faced with a clash, and will have therefore to break one maxim or another.
- (iv) He may ostentatiously flout a maxim, so that it is apparent to his interlocutors.

2.9.1. Violating the Maxim

Violation of maxims occurs when the speaker does not provide the hearer with enough information about what is being talked about, the speaker could be telling a lie with good intentions, to change the topic, in short, the speaker intentionally conceals the truth from the hearer, thus the hearer only understands the apparent meaning of the utterance.

2.9.2. Opting out the Maxim

Opting out of maxims occurs when the speaker for some reasons indicate that s/he is unwilling to provide information in the way the maxim requires. For instance, he may say, "I cannot say more; my lips are sealed" (quoted in Fasold, 1990:130)

2.9.3. Clash

Clash occurs when the speaker, despite the fact that s/he is lack of information, tries to fulfil the quantity maxims and cooperate. For example, the speaker may not exactly

know when an album of a star is released, yet despite this, the speaker may say it is being released nowadays.

2.9.4. Flouting the Maxim

When the speakers do not follow the maxims deliberately but expect the hearers to infer the implied meaning, they flout the maxims. Just like indirect speech acts, the speaker says something but the hearer does not take the literal meaning. The speaker assumes that the hearer knows s/he is not going to take the apparent meaning when the speaker flouts the maxims.

2.10. Conversational Implicature

The term ‘implicature’ is used by Grice “to account for what a speaker can imply, suggest, or mean, as distinct from what the speaker literally says” (Brown and Yule, 1983:31). Conversational implicature provides account of possible meanings of what is literally said. In conversations speakers communicate meaning via implicatures and hearers recognize the meanings via inference. In the following example speaker A is kindly asking B to tell the time, B, on the other hand does not give an explicit answer to the question. Instead B provides information from which A can deduce the approximate time; The English class has just started. A now presumes the approximate time of speaking according to what time the English class starts.

A: Can you tell me the time?

B: English literature class has just started.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the procedure of the study stating research questions, explaining discursive elements and relating them to the representation of power relations determining social structure and class struggle. Considering social inequalities and injustices depicted in *The Cheviot*, the present study aims to analyse the linguistic elements expressed to reveal the ideology that constitutes the backbone of the dramatic action. In order to show the social disparities between labour class and bourgeoisie and to represent power relations, some “discursive elements” are employed by the playwright who is registered to the convention of agit-prop drama mainly concerned with irritating, agitating and provoking the reception of the play and evoking some certain reaction on the part of the audience. Thus, the present study argues that the “effect” that the play aims to achieve is closely related to these discursive elements which also serve to the interpretation and critical reading of the work. The application of these elements has brought out conclusions mostly based on these interpretations of actions of the characters, whose “utterances” are of significant value in this context. So the study has been conducted on the basis of discourse analysis with regard to the relationship between discourse markers and the attempted meaning/effect of the play.

3.2. Research Questions

The present study aims to explore what lies behind words/utterances and to what extent discursive elements serve to achieve the intended message. Moreover aiming to bring out and decipher the codes of the ideology prevailing over the discourses of the characters throughout the play, this study also shows how linguistic elements function to

reveal this ideology and lastly the function of linguistic elements to indicate the social status and power relations of these characters.

The social problem that the play deals with is as follows:

The rich and powerful bourgeoisie have been abusing, oppressing and exploiting the working class in the name of bringing civilization and advancement. It is clear that the playwright strongly holds an ideology against this. So, the playwright is seen to give messages and teach lessons to the labour class audience so that they will gather and react against the present policies of the capitalist powers.

3.3. CDA as a Method

CDA as a method can be applied to many literary genres but as put forward before it does not have a systematic theoretical framework and works eclectically. Thus the method of analysis varies from one genre to another. Since there is not a fixed theoretical framework and indicated boundaries of CDA, the methods of research are built up by researcher. As Widdowson (2004:97) notes that CDA “does not involve the systematic application ..., but the expedient picking and choosing of whatever aspect of it seems useful for its purposes”. So this study has been examined with respect to word choices, which indicate the perceptions and attitudes of characters towards events and other characters, speech acts to show social status of characters and lastly implicatures which serve as important linguistic tools to uncover the real aims and intentions of characters.

3.3.1. Discursive Elements and Application of the Method

The leftist political discourse used in agit-prop drama never gives up depicting the social problems of society. *The Cheviot*, the political discourse manipulated by the playwright, aims in a documentary fashion to reveal how the Highlanders have been abused and oppressed by capitalist powers for over two centuries. The text of the play, comprising a number of (sign)ificant discursive elements, manifests the craving of the lower class by stressing ideologically coded and verbally ironic indicators that serve as

well for the critical reading of the play. Considering the significant value of these discursive and linguistic elements, clarifying the intended message related to the existing social situation and highlighting the impetus behind the play itself, the present study tries to explore the suggestions (word choice), expressions (speech acts), implications (implicatures) of the play, which presents us both with a text (linguistic item) and a message (critical content).

The analysis of this study has been parted into three sections:

The first section includes the word choices the playwright has made in the play and deals with how certain “words” affect the interpretation of the play. These word choices of the playwright have been examined with respect to the idea that “the way certain realities get talked or written about... are not just random but ideologically patterned” (Cameron, 2001: 124). This indicates that the choices of writers are ideological and these choices serve particular functions. In the play words being used for a certain reality have been researched to discover whether they are neutral or biased. And the words used for the same events, the synonyms and connotations of these words have been divided into two parts. The words used by Highlanders and those used by aristocrats indicate how they view the course of events. In the first part more negative and emotional words have been used whereas in the latter more positive and encouraging words have been uttered. Some songs, for example, are repeated in the play yet these songs are sung by both the abused and the abusers. So the present study tries to understand how “word-choice” as a linguistic element and rhetorical device functions in both cases.

The second section deals with “speech acts” and their function in the development of the plot and characters. Are characters sincere or not, do they perform what they say or do vice versa? In this part the answers to these questions will be given. The speech acts have been analysed with respect to taxonomy of Searle’s theory. These speech acts have been used as a tool to show the social status of characters and the power relations between them, the beliefs of characters about the events and their aims and plans for the future. Similarly Short (1989) makes use of speech act theory to investigate social status and relationships of characters. Moreover, Aygün (2007) examines speech act theory in Harold Pinter’s plays to reveal real intentions of characters and language of Pinter. In this study the representative speech acts have been used to give background information about the events, expressives for their feelings about the events, declarations for the changes in the

world of characters, directives and commissives for the social status of characters, power relations between them and their aims for the future. Also, indirect speech acts have been used in the play but they have been analysed together with conversational implicatures because indirect speech acts are part of cooperative principle.

Finally, the implicatures drawn from the utterances and their importance throughout the play will be examined because they are also of crucial importance considering the intended effect and message. Conversational implicatures which function to reveal implied messages and the ideology of the playwright have been examined. When detecting speech acts in the play, it is found out that some characters break the maxims put forward by Grice. Because breaking of these maxims leads to implicatures, they have been analysed as a linguistic tool to reveal the real aims of aristocrats and their plans for the future. Tekin (2007) attempts to find out implied meaning of utterances by observing characters' breaking of maxims and make inferences what they have not said. Correspondingly, Short (1989) scrutinises conversational implicatures to discover indirect messages given by characters. As far as the play under scrutiny is concerned, the breaking of maxims especially maxim of quality have been examined because the use of metaphors and ironies imply deep meaning and intentions behind what the characters say.

3.4. Data Analysis Instruments

Having reviewed the indicators relating to suggestions (word choice), expressions (speech acts), and implications (implicatures) of the play, the following chapter explains how and why these linguistic elements have been chosen in the analysis of the play.

3.4.1. Word Choices

In order to categorise the biased words used by powerful groups, three tables have been prepared. In the first table word choices of the playwright have been examined and grouped into four parts indicating the four phases of social abuse: (1) humiliation, (2) idealization, (3) persecution and (4) exploitation. The first phase, humiliation includes

words that are uttered by aristocrats to denote the Highlanders. These people of higher class deliberately use these words to make Highlanders feel weak and inferior so that they should serve for the aristocrats. The second phase, idealization consists of encouraging and tantalizing words so that Highlanders could easily believe and trust the aristocrats. The future of Scotland has been idealised with the coming of “advancement”, “civilization” and “democracy”. The third phase, persecution includes words that show the beginning of events which lead to the removal of Highlanders from their homeland. On the other hand, the Highlanders, who were forced to leave, understand the course of events and see that what happened there was the destruction, exploitation of them. The fourth phase, exploitation contains words that explicitly refer to tools which will be used in this process.

To conclude, aristocrats first degraded and humiliated the Highlanders and show themselves as superior so that they should be obeyed. Secondly, these Highlanders were told that they were going to be wealthier, more civilised and developed. Thirdly, powerful groups started to achieve their real aims by driving the Highlanders to coastal areas. Finally, the aristocrats made use and profit out of Highlanders and exploited them. Thus the words related to these phases were chosen and grouped into four categories to explain procedure of the events in Scottish history.

Table 3.1: Word Choices in *The Cheviot*

<i>Humiliation:</i> PHASE I	<i>Idealization:</i> PHASE II	<i>Persecution:</i> PHASE III	<i>Exploitation:</i> PHASE IV
Aboriginal Degeneracy Beggars with no stock Cunning Lazy Indolence	Wealth Advance Comfort Pleased Happiness Pleasure Pleased	Emigration Departure Remove Removal Evict Eviction Evictor	Businessman Money Capital Stock Cash Dollars Capitalism

Savage	Satisfied	Clear off	Capitalist
Wild	Civilized	Clearance	Interest
Banditti	Civilisation	Throw out	Own
Barbarous	Develop	Throw off	Profit
Slavery	Improve	Destroy	Profitable
Ruthless	Improvement	Destruction	
Unprincipled	Prosperity	Exploit	
Ruling class	Industry	Exploitation	
Superior	Industrial	Exploiter	
	Democracy	Imperialist	
		Fight	
		Oppress	
		Control	

3.4.2. Speech Acts

In this section speech acts generated through the course of the play have been examined with respect to taxonomy developed by Searle. In the following tables “the speech acts,” “the locutionary acts” and their “illocutionary acts” have been analysed. The analysis of speech acts shows that illocutionary acts of representatives signify the fact that the speakers utterly assert their judgements about incidents and situations and they deny allegations attributed to them. Moreover, expressives show how the speakers feel about the events and declarations indicate how the different worlds of the characters change after utterances. Finally illocutionary acts of directives reveal that speakers either order the hearers to do something, or urge, or request them to do something. These directives and commissives which suggest threat, vow and promise serve as signs of social status of characters and their superiority over others. As for the effects of the speech acts, the majority of “perlocutionary acts” indicate provocation and agitation.

Table 3.2: Speech Acts in *The Cheviot*

Types of Speech Acts	Locutionary Acts	Illocutionary Act
Representative	Y.H. (1) With her fancy palaces and feasts for Kings and fine French wines — and it's our rent she's spending.	Assertion
	FIRST WOMAN. (2) Rent! You never pay any rent –	Assertion
	Y.H. (3) Where would I get the money to pay rent?	
	SELLAR. (4) The common people of Sutherland are a parcel of beggars with no stock, but cunning and lazy.	Assertion
	LOCH. (5) They are living in a form of slavery to their own indolence.	Assertion
	SELLAR. (6) They require to be thoroughly brought to the coast, where industry will pay, and to be convinced that they must worship industry or starve. The present enchantment which keeps them down must be broken	Assertion
Directive	SELLAR. (7) Get on with it, man, you're costing me a fortune with your verbiage	Order
	SELLAR. (8) Well, get her out, man!	Order
Expressive	WOMAN. (9) Mo mhàthair, mo mhàthair. (My mother, my mother).	
Directive	SELLAR (to SHERIFF'S MAN). (10) Get her out. (SHERIFF'S MAN hesitates.) Do your job, man –	Order
	SELLAR. – (12) let her burn.	Urge

Representative	SELLAR. (13) Re the charge of culpable homicide, my Lord – can you believe, my good sir, that I, a person not yet cognosed or escaped from a madhouse, should deliberately, in open day, by means of an officer who has a wife and family, burn a house with a woman in it? Or that the officer should do so, instead of ejecting the tenant? The said tenant and woman being persons of whom we have no felonious intent, no malice, no ill-will.	Denial
Directive	JUDGE. (14) Therefore, I would ask you (the jury) to ignore all the charges except two. One of these concerns the destruction of barns.	request
Declaration	JURY. (15) Oh, not guilty, no, no, no, etc	negation
	JUDGE. (16) My opinion completely concurs with that of the jury.	affirmation
Representative	BOTH. (17) Oh it’s awfully, frightfully, ni-i-ice, Shooting stags, my dear, and grice –	assertion
Commissive	LADY PH. (18) We’ll clear the straths	Vow, threat
	LORD CRASK. (19) We’ll clear paths	Vow, threat
	LADY PH. (20) We’ll clear the bens	Vow, threat
	LORD CRASK. (21) We’ll clear the glens BOTH. We’ll show them we’re the ruling class	Vow, threat
	LORD CRASK. (22) Don’t forget to pay your rent	Threat

	LORD CRASK. (23) We'll cut off your grasping hand.	Threat
	LADY PH. (24) You had better learn your place,	Threat
Representative	DUKE. (25) because our country is in need	Assertion
	DUKE. (26) We are	Assertion
Commissive	Duke. (27) Every man who enlists today will be given a bounty of six golden sovereigns from my own private purse	Promise
Representative	Old Man. (28) You robbed us of our country and gave it to the sheep.	Assertion
	(29) Therefore, since you have preferred sheep to men, let sheep now defend you.	Covert negation (irony)

3.4.3. Conversational Implicatures

This section includes utterances, their implications and inferences drawn from these utterances. Implications and inferences are clear evidence of the fact that both the exploiter and the exploited have a hidden agenda and they are in pursuit of achieving their aims. The aim of the exploiters is to make use and take advantage of the Highlanders, whereas the exploited aim to fight against these powerful groups. The following table consists of utterances both by exploiters and the exploited in order that both ideologies can be revealed.

Table 3.3: Implicatures in *The Cheviot*

Utterances	Implication
<p>M.C. (1) It's a story that has a beginning, a middle, but, as yet, (2) no end –</p>	<p>The exploitation of Scotland has not finished and will continue in the future.</p>
<p>LOCH&SELLAR (3)All the blessings of life fall in showers from me (4)So if you'd abandon your old misery – (5)I will teach you the secrets of high industry:</p>	<p>The lands in Scotland are fruitful. The supposedly Scottish audiences are asked to leave their customs. The Highlanders will be thought how to make money out of money, which is to learn the rules of capitalism.</p>
<p>(6)Your barbarous customs, though they may be old (7)To civilised people hold horrors untold – What value a culture that cannot be sold? (8)The price of a culture is counted in gold.</p>	<p>The Highlanders are not civilised but primitive. Culture is invaluable and money cannot buy it.</p>
<p>LOCH. (9)There's a many a fine shoal of fish in the sea (10)All waiting for catching and frying for tea (11)And I'll buy the surplus, then sell them you see (12)At double the price that you sold them to me.</p>	<p>Highlanders are forced to earn their livings on fishery. Highlanders are supposed to fish and the capitalists will make more money and profit out of these fish.</p>
<p>SELLAR. (13)I've money to double the rent that you pay (14)So off you go quietly – like sheep as they say</p>	<p>The capitalists make money out of money. Highlanders are asked to leave their homeland showing no resistance like sheep.</p>
<p>LOCH &SELLAR. (15)Don't think we are greedy for personal gain What profit we capture we plough back again We don't want big houses or anything grand We just want more money to buy up more land.</p>	<p>Actually what the capitalists have done is to achieve their own interests, which is to make more money and take the control of the whole land.</p>
<p>SELLAR. (16) I am not the cruel man they say I am. I am a business man. <i>He winks and goes</i></p>	<p>He is a businessman so he will seek his own interests.</p>

<p>WOMAN 2. (17) he's to open his own meal store and we can only buy from him</p>	<p>The aristocrats hold the monopoly of food in the market.</p>
<p>MAN 3. (18) And do you know the factor has ordered me to shoot my own dog in case he worried the sheep</p>	<p>Sheep are more valuable than Highlanders.</p>
<p>LORD CRASK. (19)MacDonald here, he's a bit of a peasant – LADY PH. (20) Yes, you're a peasant, aren't you? GHILLIE. (21)MacPherson, sir. LORD CRASK. (22)Nothing wrong with you is there, Macalister – GHILLIE. (23)MacPherson, sir. LORD CRASK. (24)That's right, Mackenzie – none of your people complaining, eh? GHILLIE. (25)Dead, sir – LORD CRASK. (26)Marvellous, no complaints, marvellous LORD CRASK. (27)Oh Mary – bright little girl – always singing happily around the house, never understand a word she says</p>	<p>In the eyes of aristocrats, the Highlanders are not important individually. What is important is to what extent they serve for the aristocrats. How Highlanders feel about events are not taken into consideration by aristocrats. Everything is fine on the part of aristocrats. Gaelic, mother tongue of Highlanders revives in songs and ballads. Highlanders speaking and/or uttering a word of Gaelic become happy but aristocrats do not know it. What is more they deny Gaelic.</p>
<p>M.C. (28) They died to defend something.</p>	<p>Highlanders have warred for their honour and country.</p>
<p>(29) Those who came back found very little worth defending.</p>	<p>Scotland has been invaded by sheep, touristic centres and has taken over by capitalists.</p>
<p>TEXAS JIM & WHITEHALL. (30)As the rain on the hillside come in from the sea (31)All the blessings of life fall in showers from me</p>	<p>America, American companies and Whitehall have been trying to make use of Scotland.</p>
<p>GIRLS (32)Conoco, Amoco, Sheel-Esso, Texaco, British Petroleum,</p>	<p>American and British oil companies will search for oil in the North Sea.</p>
<p>(33)yum, yum, yum. <i>(Twice.)</i></p>	<p>Natural resources of Scotland are so tasty and delicious.</p>
<p>TEXAS JIM. (34)There's many a barrel of oil in the sea (35)All waiting for drilling and piping to me I'll refine it in Texas, you'll get it, you'll</p>	<p>North Sea is full of oil which is going to be used for the benefit of capitalist powers. Highlanders are going to be used in oil industry and capitalist powers will sell Highlanders this oil more than it is worth.</p>

<p>see</p> <p>At four time the price that you sold it to me</p>	
<p>WHITEHALL.</p> <p>(36)There's jobs and there's prospects so please have no fears,</p>	<p>Highlanders will be employed in oil industry.</p>
<p>Stage Direction. (37) <i>No oil can</i></p>	<p>Capitalists leave nothing after they have used something.</p>
<p>POLWARTH. (38)Now all you Scotties need have no fear,</p> <p>(39) Your oil's quite safe now the trouble-shooter's here,</p> <p>(40) So I'll trust you, if you'll trust me,</p> <p>(41) 'Cos I'm the ex-director of a trust company.</p>	<p>Scottish oil has been under control of American and British companies. Polwarth previously worked for other trust companies which were in the service of capitalist powers. So Polwarth is not man to be trusted.</p>
<p>POLWARTH. (42) Now I am a man of high integrity,</p> <p>(43) Renowned for my complete impartiality,</p> <p>(44) But if you think I'm doing this for you,</p> <p>(45) You'd better think again 'cos I'm a businessman too –</p>	<p>Polwarth belongs to higher class and is not objective. Polwarth is a businessman so he will seek his own interest.</p>
<p>M.C. The song says:</p> <p>(46)'Remember that you are a people and fight for your rights –</p> <p>(47)There are riches under the hills where you grew up.</p> <p>(48)There is iron and coal there grey lead and gold there –</p> <p>(49)There is richness in the land under your feet.</p> <p>(50)Remember your hardships and keep up your struggle</p> <p>The wheel will turn for you</p> <p>By the strength of your hands and hardness of your fists.</p> <p>Your cattle will be on the plains</p> <p>Everyone in the land will have a place</p> <p>And the exploiter will be driven out.'</p>	<p>Scotland is full of natural riches such as iron and coal so Highlanders should gather and fight against the capitalists so save their country. They will win this war and gain their independence someday. Then they can live in peace together.</p>

3.5. Data Analysis

Having listed and categorised the indicators relating to suggestions (word choice), expressions (speech acts), and implications (implicatures) of the play, the following chapter presents the analysis of the play. In the analysis, the findings shown in the tables above have been used and elaborated in terms of the scope of CDA. With reference to already raised research questions, the chapter aims to explain discursive elements and relate them to the representation of power relations that determine social structure and class struggle. The study also relates word choices, speech acts and implicatures to power relations and the oppressive strategy carried out through the biased rhetoric of the authoritative discourse. The present study also links the above findings with certain “effect” that the discourse aims to achieve. From a critical perspective of the biased discourse, the “utterances” have been interpreted and shown to have a significant value in this context. The analysis aims to reveal that there is a relationship between discourse markers, namely suggestions (word choice), expressions (speech acts), and implications (implicatures), and the attempted meaning to be extracted and effect to be evoked.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to investigate how the playwright, from a socialist perspective, depicted his views and beliefs, the class struggle between the labour and bourgeois class in *The Cheviot*. First, the word choices of the playwright have been examined to reveal that McGrath, as a socialist playwright, tried to have an impact on the audiences by provoking their feelings about the events having occurred since nineteenth century, and thus unify the labour class against the dominant culture. Second, the speech acts of the characters have been investigated to show the social status of characters and the power relations between them. Lastly, the conversational implicatures drawn from characters' speeches have been examined to uncover the intended meanings and real aims of the characters.

4.2. Conflict in Perception: Word Choices

Word choices of the playwright are of great importance in the play in that it shows his attitudes towards the events having occurred in the history of Scotland. Judging from the language use of the playwright, it can be claimed that the playwright has a biased approach against capitalism, imperialism, policies of England on Scotland and oppression of Highlanders via these policies. The word choices of the playwright have been examined to show that the playwright has an ideology and wants to convey it through the play.

Through certain word choices, McGrath sought to draw the attention of the audiences to the fact that the capitalists had been exploiting their country in the name of bringing comfort and civilization. The playwright creates an ideology against the dominant ideology of the capitalist and powerful groups.

The playwright seems to adopt a political stance for Scottish people, harshly criticises England and her policy, and calls for a fight against inequalities and politics of powerful countries. As a political playwright, McGrath deliberately uses some words to attract the audience's attention and convey his ideology by having an impact on them, who are faced with their own history. In doing so, he wants to reach his main goal: to unite the working-class under the same roof and act together against the exploiters of their country. When describing the Highlanders, Scotland, the working-class, namely, the exploited and the oppressed, he uses words which are more emotional than their synonyms. For example, a Young Highlander addresses audience (supposedly the Scottish people) about the introduction of the Cheviot to Scotland and its effects on Highlanders:

Y.H. Sir John Sinclair of Caithness had invented the Great Sheep; that's to say, he had introduced *the Cheviot* to the North. Already in Assynt the Sutherland family had *cleared* the people *off* their land—and the people were not too pleased about it (italics mine; McGrath: 1981: 3).

As seen in the above words, the word “clear off” is used as an indirect reference to the removal of the Highlanders from their land. According to Richards, the word “clear off” was more emotional than its earlier synonyms and was much used as a reference to eviction of Highlanders. Moreover, it was a derogatory term used for the eviction methods in the Highlands (Richards, 2007:7). “Clear off” is much more provoking than “removal” or “eviction” or “migration” so there is an intentional use of the word “clear off”. It also stimulates the potential of uprising or reaction even though a certain reaction is not achieved and such a word turns into a tool for recognition, recognition of one's own class. The playwright not only depicts a conversational scene but also appeals to the mind of the Scottish which is already numb with capitalist propaganda or infected with the prevailing ideology in which the Scottish have no place even as having a respectful name of their own.

McGrath makes use of certain words in order to draw a picture of events in the minds of audiences but he is not objective in doing this. On the contrary, he uses derogatory and insulting words uttered by aristocrats to denote the Highlanders with whom he sympathises. For example, James Loch and Patrick Sellar, factor and under-factor to the Sutherland estates use such words as “aboriginals” (1981:5), “slavery”, “beggars with no stock”, “cunning and lazy”, “indolence” (1981:6), “barbarous customs” (1981:8) to depict the Highlanders. On the other hand, they use words like “advancing, wealth,

civilisation, comfort, industry, virtue and happiness” (1981:7) to depict the landlords, and English people. In the eyes of the powerful groups, the Highlanders lead a primitive life and they should be “civilised”. These words help to uncover the aims and ideology of powerful groups, which is to make use of Highlanders’ labour and their lands for their own interests.

From the point of view of Highlanders, what has been done to them is seen as exploitation whereas the land lords explain the process as improvement or advancement of Scotland. Andy, who works for Crammem Inn Investment Ltd., is talking to Lord Vat of Glenlivet:

ANDY. Excuse me, me and wor company’s got plans to develop this backward area into a paradise for all the family—improve it, you know, fair enough, eh?

LORD VAT. Look here, I’ve spent an awful lot of money to keep this place private and peaceful. I don’t want hordes of common people trampling all over the heather, disturbing the birds.

ANDY. Oh no, we weren’t planning to do it for nothing, an’ that—there’ll be plenty in it for you (McGrath: 50).

Andy wants to turn the area into a commercial place to make money out of it. What she and the company she works for want to do is actually to use the area for their own interests under the name of “improvement”. Although Lord Vat seemingly does not want to sell it on grounds that common people will use it, after a hard bargain with Andy, he agrees to sell.

Another example would be a conversation between two women who talk about Loch and Sellar upon their coming up the strath:

SECOND WOMAN. I hope they haven’t come to improve us.

FIRST WOMAN. Bi samhach. (Behave yourself). (Giggles) (McGrath: 4).

Sellar and Loch are in the service of rich lairds. They claim that they are going to improve the Highlands with the introduction of the Cheviot, which will help to increase the income. Yet, in the eyes of Highlanders, they are going to be exploited by them. The rich use the word “improve” for the events whereas the peasantry see the process as “exploitation”.

Most of characters are labelled according to their gender, race, age or title, such as “Young Highlander”, “crofter”, “judge”, “Red Indian”. Some characters are fictional such as Andy McChuckemup, Lady Posphate and Texas Jim, while some others are historical

figures; Patrick Sellar, James Loch, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lord Selkirk and Queen Victoria (DiCenzo,1996:168). Kershaw (1992:158) states that the character list looks like

an almost complete catalogue of Althusser's institutional state apparatuses: it includes the aristocracy (Lady Phosphate, Lord Selkirk), religion (the minister), law (the Judge), royalty (Queen Victoria), art (Harriet Beecher Stowe), civil service (Whitehall), parliament (Westminster), and capitalists and their functionaries (Texas Jim, McChuchemup, Loch, Sellar).

Judging from what the DiCenzo and Kershaw say about the characters and their names, it can be claimed that the playwright made a certain name choices to indicate that they act in compliance with their names. Two aristocrats, Lord Crask and Lady Phosphate, for example, wear typical plaid and tartan, carry guns for a shooting party and make awful jokes.

In the play the song, "These Are My Mountains", is sung by two opposing characters who state their feelings, aims and expectations. Although the beginning of the song is the same, the rest of the song serves for what they aim for the future. The song is first sung by MC and the whole company:

These Are My Mountains

For these are my mountains
And this is my glen
The braes of my childhood
Will see me again
No land's ever claimed me
Though far I did roam
For these are my mountains
And I'm coming home.

For fame and for fortune
I've wandered the earth
But now I've come back to
The land of my birth
I've gathered life's treasures
But only to find
They're less than the pleasures
I first left behind. (McGrath:2)

Then the same titled song is sung by Queen Victoria.

These are my mountains
 And this our glen
 The braes of your childhood
 Are English again
 Though wide is our Empire
 Balmoral is best
 Yes these are our mountains
 And we are impressed (McGrath: 37).

As seen in the first song, the Highlanders see themselves as the owner of the Highlands. Although they have been to many places, they do not feel they belong to any other places but to Scotland. On the other hand, Queen Victoria sees herself as the owner of the Highlands. The debate is that two opposing characters claim that they are the owners: the Highlanders because of there being their homeland, whereas Queen Victoria for being the Queen of the U.K and thus naturally of Scotland.

As far as the whole play is concerned, the significant word choices in the text can be grouped as follows:

Table 3.1: Word Choices in *The Cheviot*

<i>Humiliation:</i> PHASE I	<i>Idealization:</i> PHASE II	<i>Persecution:</i> PHASE III	<i>Exploitation:</i> PHASE IV
Aboriginal Degeneracy Beggars with no stock Cunning Lazy Indolence	Wealth Advance Comfort Pleased Happiness Pleasure Pleased	Emigration Departure Remove Removal Evict Eviction Evictor	Businessman Money Capital Stock Cash Dollars Capitalism

Savage	Satisfied	Clear off	Capitalist
Wild	Civilized	Clearance	Interest
Banditti	Civilisation	Throw out	Own
Barbarous	Develop	Throw off	Profit
Slavery	Improve	Destroy *	Profitable
Ruthless	Improvement	Destruction *	
Unprincipled	Prosperity	Exploit *	
Ruling class	Industry	Exploitation *	
Superior	Industrial	Exploiter *	
	Democracy	Imperialist *	
		Fight *	
		Oppress	
		Control	

* Word choices in bold refer to the discourse of the oppressed.

As can be seen in the above table, word choices referring to social abuse can be divided into four groups that signal the gradual phases of oppression; (1) humiliation, (2) idealisation, (3) persecution and (4) exploitation. In the first phase the words such as “cunning, lazy, indolence, savage, wild, banditti, barbarous, slavery, ruthless, unprincipled, ruling class” and “superior” have been deliberately used to denote Highlanders. These words are clear indicative of the fact that the Highlanders have been degraded and humiliated so that they would feel inferior to capitalists and easily serve them. Second phase includes such words as “advance, comfort, pleased, happiness, pleasure, satisfied, civilized, civilisation, develop, improve, improvement, prosperity, industry, industrial” and “democracy” which have been used by aristocrats and people of higher class. The aim of using these words lies in the fact that these aristocrats and people of higher class tried to idealise a society who will lead a happy, satisfactory life. There will be development, advancement, civilisation and democracy and thus everyone will live in peace. Yet the third and fourth phases clearly indicate main aims and interests of the capitalists. The third phase includes words “emigration, departure, remove, removal, evict, eviction, evictor,

clear off, clearance, throw out, throw off, **destroy, destruction, exploit, exploitation, exploiter, imperialist, fight**, oppress” and “control”. These words are clear evidence of the fact that the capitalists were not sincere about what they had promised and forced the Highlanders to leave their homeland. They, however, call the process “emigration, departure, remove and eviction” which are relatively soft and do not provoke anyone to have bad feelings. The words in bold like “**destroy, destruction, exploit, exploitation, exploiter, imperialist, fight**” have been uttered by the Highlanders, now very well aware of what has been in their homeland. Lastly, the fourth phase includes words “businessman, money, capital, stock, cash, dollars, capitalism, capitalist, interest, own, profit” and “profitable”. These words are directly linked with exploitation. The aristocrats behave like businessmen and what is in their minds is to make more money and more profit, which refers to capitalism.

To sum up, it can be said that the word choices of the playwright function in two ways: to convey the ideology of the playwright himself and to attack on the ideology of the powerful groups. The playwright uses these words to show that the capitalists are not sincere about bringing civilization to the dwellers. What they have done up to now is to use, abuse and exploit the Highlanders and the riches in their homeland in the name of civilization. Moreover, these word choices show that the playwright has a specific ideology, which is to vilify the England and her policy in Scotland and to inculcate that the oppressed, abused people should get together and react against the capitalists.

4.3. Class-segregation and Struggle: Speech Acts

Speech acts and indirect speech acts which play an important role in understanding the conversations between the characters are employed as representative discourse elements referring to class. The speech acts in the play have been investigated to show the social status of characters, the power relations between them, their beliefs and views about the events and lastly their aims and plans for the future. These help the readers/audiences to resolve the characters and their intentions. All types of speech acts as classified by Searle exist throughout the play. The aim of this study is not to analyse all the speech acts in the play, yet some striking examples will be given so that the readers can have some ideas about the analysis of characters and events.

The following table reviews the speech acts in relation to their status as locutionary and illocutionary acts:

Table 3.2: Speech Acts in *The Cheviot*

Types of Speech Acts	Locutionary Acts	Illocutionary Act
Representative	Y.H. (1) With her fancy palaces and feasts for Kings and fine French wines — and it's our rent she's spending.	Assertion
	FIRST WOMAN. (2) Rent! You never pay any rent –	Assertion
	Y.H. (3) Where would I get the money to pay rent?	
	SELLAR. (4) The common people of Sutherland are a parcel of beggars with no stock, but cunning and lazy.	Assertion
	LOCH. (5) They are living in a form of slavery to their own indolence.	Assertion
	SELLAR. (6) They require to be thoroughly brought to the coast, where industry will pay, and to be convinced that they must worship industry or starve. The present enchantment which keeps them down must be broken	Assertion
Directive	SELLAR. (7) Get on with it, man, you're costing me a fortune with your verbiage	Order
	SELLAR. (8) Well, get her out, man!	Order
Expressive	WOMAN. (9) Mo mhàthair, mo mhàthair. (My mother, my mother).	
Directive	SELLAR (to SHERIFF'S MAN). (10)	Order

	Get her out. (SHERIFF'S MAN hesitates.) Do your job, man –	
	SELLAR. – (12) let her burn.	Urge
Representative	SELLAR. (13) Re the charge of culpable homicide, my Lord – can you believe, my good sir, that I, a person not yet cognosed or escaped from a madhouse, should deliberately, in open day, by means of an officer who has a wife and family, burn a house with a woman in it? Or that the officer should do so, instead of ejecting the tenant? The said tenant and woman being persons of whom we have no felonious intent, no malice, no ill-will.	Denial
Directive	JUDGE. (14) Therefore, I would ask you (the jury) to ignore all the charges except two. One of these concerns the destruction of barns.	request
Declaration	JURY. (15) Oh, not guilty, no, no, no, etc	negation
	JUDGE. (16) My opinion completely concurs with that of the jury.	affirmation
Representative	BOTH. (17) Oh it's awfully, frightfully, ni-i-ice, Shooting stags, my dear, and grice –	assertion
Commissive	LADY PH. (18) We'll clear the straths	Vow, threat
	LORD CRASK. (19) We'll clear paths	Vow, threat
	LADY PH. (20) We'll clear the bens	Vow, threat
	LORD CRASK. (21) We'll clear the glens BOTH. We'll show them we're the ruling class	Vow, threat

	LORD CRASK. (22) Don't forget to pay your rent	Threat
	LORD CRASK. (23) We'll cut off your grasping hand.	Threat
	LADY PH. (24) You had better learn your place,	Threat
Representative	DUKE. (25) because our country is in need	Assertion
	DUKE. (26) We are	Assertion
Commissive	Duke. (27) Every man who enlists today will be given a bounty of six golden sovereigns from my own private purse	Promise
Representative	Old Man. (28) You robbed us of our country and gave it to the sheep.	Assertion
	(29) Therefore, since you have preferred sheep to men, let sheep now defend you.	Covert negation (irony)

As for the analysis of certain exemplary scenes from the play, the opening scene, for instance, provides remarkable discourse elements. This scene can be analysed in terms of speech acts. At the beginning of the play a woman and a Young Highlander are talking of Countess:

FIRST WOMAN. The Countess has always been very kind to us.

Y.H. Aye, and she's away in England.

FIRSTWOMAN. Why wouldn't she be?

Y.H. (1) With her fancy palaces and feasts for Kings and fine French wines — and it's our rent she's spending.

FIRSTWOMAN. (2) Rent! You never pay any rent –

Y.H. (3) Where would I get the money to pay rent? (To audience.) If it's not bad weather flattening the barley, it's mildew in the potatoes, and last year it was both together... And now they're talking about bringing in soldiers to clear us off the land completely... (McGrath:4).

In (1) Y.H presupposes that the Countess has palaces and arranges feasts for Kings and they drink French wines. Common people are not allowed to participate in such arrangements and goes on to say that she spends the rent which common people pay. It is implied that the Countess wastes money throwing parties for the honour of the noble, ruling class instead of using it for the benefit of society. In (2) first woman accuses Y.H. of not paying rent, yet Y.H. replies with a question (3) to dramatize the situation. Seeing the way they are quarrelling about the Countess, it can be said that there is no superiority of one to another. Both characters are of equal social status and thus the felicity conditions are appropriate for the action. Since both characters are claiming and stating what they believe to be true, the speech act between these characters is a representative.

Another representative speech act is performed between Loch and Sellar when they talk about the present condition in the Highlands.

SELLAR. (4) The common people of Sutherland are a parcel of beggars with no stock, but cunning and lazy.

LOCH. (5) They are living in a form of slavery to their own indolence. Nothing could be more at variance with the general interests of society and the individual happiness of the people themselves, than the present state of Highland manners and customs. To be happy, the people must be productive.

SELLAR. (6) They require to be thoroughly brought to the coast, where industry will pay, and to be convinced that they must worship industry or starve. The present enchantment which keeps them down must be broken

LOCH. The coast of Sutherland abounds with many different kinds of fish. (LOCH takes off his hat, and speaks directly to the audience.) Believe it or not, Loch and Sellar actually used these words. (Puts hat on again.) Not only white fish, but herrings too. With this in mind, His Lordship is considering several sites for new villages on the East Coast—Culgower, Helmsdale, Golspie, Brora, Skelbo and Knockglass—Helmsdalen in particular is a perfect natural harbour for a fishing station. And there is said to be coal at Brora (McGrath: 7).

In (4) both Sellar and Loch are talking about Highlanders, whom they think are lazy and unhappy. They find the solution of their happiness in their working for the rich (5). This shows that Loch and Sellar have the right to order or threaten them, which means they are superior to Highlanders. In (6) they offer Highlanders two choices; if they accept moving to coastal areas, they will have to live on fishery, which they are not used to doing, but if they do not move and stay there, they will face unemployment, could not earn and make a living and thus will be left to starve. Under these circumstances, they are made to accept the first, which means being in the service of the rich. Sellar and Loch's belief that Highlanders are cunning, lazy and beggars comes to be a direct representative speech act.

Their belief is a clear example of the fact that the landowners and aristocrats consider themselves as superior to the working class.

One of the striking scenes in the play is when Sheriff's Man reads the eviction order and Sellar's interrupting him.

SELLAR. (7) Get on with it, man, you're costing me a fortune with your verbiage: I've got a flock of sheep waiting in Culmailly.

SHERIFF'S MAN. Sheriff Macleod said to be sure and read this, Sir

SELLAR. Sheriff Macleod's well known to be a poacher – how would he not be sympathetic to other thieves and thinkers? Who's in there, then?

SHERIFF'S MAN. William Chisholm, sir –

SELLAR. Another tinker.

SHERIFF'S MAN. His family have lived here for some time, Mr. Sellar –

SELLAR. Well, he'll no be here for much longer – he's a sheep-stealer, a squatter who pays no rent, and the Minister informs me he's a bigamist. Get him out – (McGrath:15).

Sellar orders Sheriff's Man to read the eviction order and degrades him in saying (7) 'you are costing me a fortune with your verbiage' and Sheriff's Man obeys Sellar. It is clear that Sheriff's Man is inferior to Sellar both by obeying and calling him 'Sir' or 'Mr. Sellar'. In this conversation direct speech act has been performed by the speakers because they act in accordance with felicity conditions: Sellar by force of his social status can order Sheriff's Man, who has to show respect and obey what Sellar says.

SHERIFF'S MAN (to SELLAR). There's an old woman in there, sir –

SELLAR. (8) Well, get her out, man!

A WOMAN comes out in great distress. A man, MACLEOD, has come on. He watches.

WOMAN. (9) Mo mhàthair, mo mhàthair. (My mother, my mother).

SELLAR (annoyed at the Gaelic). What's she saying?

SHERIFF'S MAN . She says it's her mother, sir –

The WOMAN goes over to him.

WOMAN. O mhaigstir MhicLeoid, tha mo mhàthair ceithir fichead bliadhna'sa coig deug –'s ma theid a carachadh theid a mort. (Oh, Mr Macleod, my mother is 94 years old and if she's moved she'll die).

MACLEOD. She says her mother is 94 years old, Mr. Sellar, and if she's moved she'll die.

SELLAR (to SHERIFF'S MAN). (10) Get her out. (SHERIFF'S MAN *hesitates.*) Do your job, man –

SHERIFF'S MAN. I'd rather lose my job, sir –

SELLAR (*quietly.*). Get the torch.

SHERIFF'S MAN *goes out* (McGrath: 15).

Two other characters participate in the conversation. Sellar goes on to give orders (8), this time Sheriff's Man is ordered to get a woman out. Meanwhile the woman is crying for her mother (9) because her mother is too old and she may die. Sellar, however, plays the ruthless and ignores them (10).

SELLAR (to SHERIFF'S MAN). (10) Get her out. (SHERIFF'S MAN *hesitates*.) Do your job, man –

SHERIFF'S MAN. (11) I'd rather lose my job, sir –

In (10) Sheriff's Man interprets the illocutionary effect as an order, and normally he is supposed to obey the order but he does not (11) and thus perlocutionary effect fails. He cannot stand a word of Gaelic, which makes it clear that he does not care about these people. What is in his mind is to get them out and thus fulfil his goals.

Yet Sheriff's Man later on enters.

SELLAR. – (12) let her burn.

Sheriff's Man feels that he has to obey because Sellar has the right to order him. The illocutionary force is an order and Sheriff's Man gets the torch onto the cottage and lets it burn (12). At the end the speech act is performed successfully because the perlocutionary effect is achieved.

Sellar is accused of having a house with a woman in it burnt and is tried before the Judge and Jury.

SELLAR. (13) Re the charge of culpable homicide, my Lord – can you believe, my good sir, that I, a person not yet cognosed or escaped from a madhouse, should deliberately, in open day, by means of an officer who has a wife and family, burn a house with a woman in it? Or that the officer should do so, instead of ejecting the tenant? The said tenant and woman being persons of whom we have no felonious intent, no malice, no ill-will.

JUDGE. (14) Therefore, I would ask you (the jury) to ignore all the charges except two. One of these concerns the destruction of barns. In this case, Mr Sellar has ignored a custom of the country, although he has not infringed the laws of Scotland. And the second case concerns the burning of the contradictory nature of the testimony. Now if the jury are all at a loss on this part of the case, I would ask them to take into consideration the character of the accused, for his is always of value in balancing contradictory testimony. For here there is, in the first place, real evidence as regards Mr Sellar's conduct towards the sick – which in all cases has been proved to be most humane. And secondly, there are the letters of Sir George Abercrombie, Mr Fenton and Mr Brodie – which although not evidence, must have some weight with the jury. And there are the testimonies of Mr Gilzean, and Sir Archibald Dunbar – (*Sees him in the*

audience, waves.) – hello, Archie. All of them testifying to Mr Sellar’s humanity of disposition. How say you?

JURY. (15) Oh, not guilty, no, no, no, etc.

JUDGE. (16) My opinion completely concurs with that of the jury.

JURY applaud PATRICK SELLAR (McGrath: 19).

Judge and the Jury are the authority to decide whether the accused is guilty or not. By law, they have the right to do so but Sellar in his speech (13) aims to have direct influence on the decision and achieves this. The testimony of lords is counted reliable, yet lords are acquaintant of the Judge, who in his speech indirectly asks the Jury to give a decision in favour of Sellar. The fact that the Judge requests the Jury to ignore the charges (14) is the illocutionary force and consequently the perlocutionary effect is achieved because the Jury decide that the accused is not guilty (15). Then the Judge declares him not guilty and changes the world of Sellar (16). This is a declaration because he will be either imprisoned or set free. In both cases the Judge is the authority to decide.

Lady Phosphate and Lord Crask, two Victorian aristocrats are singing a duet, which tells of their aims and plans for the future.

BOTH. (17) Oh it’s awfully, frightfully, ni-i-ice,

Shooting stags, my dear, and grice –

And there’s nothing quite so righ-it-it

As a fortnight catching trite:

And if the locals should complain,

Well we can clear them off again.

LADY PH. (18) We’ll clear the straths

LORD CRASK. (19) We’ll clear paths

LADY PH. (20) We’ll clear the bens

LORD CRASK. (21) We’ll clear the glens

BOTH. We’ll show them we’re the ruling class (McGrath: 41).

Both characters directly commit their actions to future. They will shoot stags and have fun with grouse shooting (17), they will clear all places and turn them into touristic areas and thus they will attract the tourists who will spend money there (18, 19, 20, 21). So the rich will have made more money out of these areas.

Lord Crask and Lady Phosphate look down on the Highlanders and threaten them.

They become more serious. They turn their guns on the audience

LORD CRASK. But although we think you’re quaint,

(22) Don't forget to pay your rent,

And if you should want your land,

(23) We'll cut off your grasping hand.

LADY PH. (24) You had better learn your place,

You're a low and servile –

We've cleared the straths (McGrath: 43).

In (22, 23, and 24) both Lord Crask and Lady Phosphate are making a threat. The utterances fulfil the rules of felicity conditions. The propositional content is that the speakers make a threat which refers to a future event. Both characters are in authority to threaten the Highlanders because they are aristocrats and are seen superior to the peasantry. The speakers are sincere for what they say and explicitly threaten them with cutting off their hands. All these show that there is an achieved, direct commissive speech act.

Duke of Sutherland enters and speaks to the audience that they need soldiers to fight for England against Russia. He wants the Highlanders to join the army but there is no volunteer to do.

DUKE. Good morning. I have all this way to Golspie to speak to you, my tenants, (25) because our country is in need.

TENANT. (*from audience*). Baa-aah.

DUKE. The Russians under their cruel despotic Tsar seem to think they are the masters of Europe. Well, they're not. (26) We are. And we're going to show him we are. The Queen, God bless her, upon whose Empire the sun never sets, will not be dictated to by some pesky, Rusky, potantate. Particularly when it comes to the great trading arrangements she had made all over the globe, to the everlasting benefit of all of us, of you – er – and particularly of me. Now she has called upon us, her sturdy Highlanders, to come to her aid in far-off Crimea... The Quenn needs men, and as always, she looks to the North. My Commisioner, Mr. Loch informs me that the response so far has been disappointing.

Enter LOCH, now an old man.

LOCH. Disappointing? A disgrace. In the whole of Sutherland, not one man has volunteered.

DUKE. I know you to be loyal subjects of the Queen. I am prepared to reward your loyalty. (27) Every man who enlists today will be given a bounty of six golden sovereigns from my own private purse. Now if you will all step up in an orderly manner, Mr. Loch will take your names and give you the money.

The DUKE sits. Silence. Nobody moves. The DUKE stands angrily.

DUKE. Damn it, do you want the Mongol hordes to come sweeping across Europe, burning your houses, driving you into the sea? (*LOCH fidgets.*) What are you fidgeting for Loch? Have you no pride in this great democracy that we English –er – British have brought to you? Do you want the cruel Tsar of Russia installed in Dunrobin Castle? Step forward.

Silence. Nobody moves.

DUKE. For this disgraceful, cowardly conduct, I demand an explanation. (McGrath: 45-46).

There is a danger of Russians' invading Europe (25), but Duke believes that they (English) are the master of Europe (26). In order to be the absolute power in Europe, they must war against Russians. Duke tries to persuade the Highlanders, even offers them gold in exchange for joining the army (27) but Highlanders do not compromise. The illocutionary force of Duke's utterance is perceived as a force but perlocutionary effect is not achieved. The speech act has not been successful because the Highlanders do not agree to fight for country. And as a response Old man, after a short silence, stands up in audience and says:

OLD MAN. I am sorry for the response your Grace's proposal are meeting here, but there is a cause for it. It is the opinion of this country that should the Tsar of Russia take possession of Dunrobin Castle, we could not expect worse treatment at his hands than we have experienced at the hands of your family for the last fifty years. We have no country to fight for. (28) You robbed us of our country and gave it to the sheep. (29) Therefore, since you have preferred sheep to men, let sheep now defend you (McGrath: 47).

The response is quite sharp for the Duke because the Highlanders, who are ruled by England, are supposed to accept the order. Duke gets angry with them but they do not care about it because they have suffered from what England has been doing to them (28). As clear from the conversation, the speech act is not performed because the Highlanders do not obey what they have been asked (29). From this example, it is clear that the Highlanders do not feel that they are inferior to the aristocrats rather they are attempting to show that they are of equal social status from now on.

Consequently, the speech acts have been examined to show that the utterances of the speakers show their social status in the society. The aristocrats are shown to be superior to the Highlanders because they can order and threaten the Highlanders. On the other hand, unfulfilled speech acts show that some Highlanders do not regard the aristocrats as superior and they claim they are equal in society with the aristocrats. This implies that the playwright achieved the idea of a society based on equal terms. By means of speech acts, the power relations between the characters are revealed. The aristocrats are shown to be more powerful than the Highlanders and thus they have the right to order and rule the Highlanders. Despite the fact that the aristocrats are shown to be superior and more powerful, the Highlanders resist the concept of superiority in disobeying what has been ordered them to do. Lastly, both Highlanders and aristocrats express their feelings about

the events and their aims and plans for the future, which becomes a tool to uncover their hidden agendas.

4.4. Power Inference and Manipulation: Conversational Implicatures

The implicatures are useful way of analysing the hidden agenda behind the utterances and they help the intended meanings of speakers to be revealed. The conversational implicatures have been examined to show that both the oppressed and the oppressors have a hidden agenda and they act in accordance with their hidden agendas. In addition, these implicatures give some messages and lessons to the audiences about their future and warn them against the real aims of capitalist powers. Throughout the play, the characters either flout, or violate or opt out the maxims and the flouting, violating or opting out of maxims lead to the inferences of utterances by the hearers. The play is full of such inferences drawn from the utterances, which give information about the future of Scotland and warn the audiences against the possible dangers that the insincere capitalist powers will pose and the effects of capitalism in the future. The implicatures also help to inform the audiences about the real aims of the powerful groups in Scotland, about the importance of their culture.

Table 3.3: Implicatures in *The Cheviot*

Utterances	Implication
M.C. (1) It's a story that has a beginning, a middle, but, as yet, (2) no end –	The exploitation of Scotland has not finished and will continue in the future.
LOCH&SELLAR (3)All the blessings of life fall in showers from me (4)So if you'd abandon your old misery – (5)I will teach you the secrets of high industry:	The lands in Scotland are fruitful. The supposedly Scottish audiences are asked to leave their customs. The Highlanders will be thought how to make money out of money, which is to learn the rules of capitalism.
(6)Your barbarous customs, though they may be old (7)To civilised people hold horrors untold –	The Highlanders are not civilised but primitive. Culture is invaluable and money cannot buy it.

<p>What value a culture that cannot be sold?</p> <p>(8)The price of a culture is counted in gold.</p>	
<p>LOCH. (9)There's a many a fine shoal of fish in the sea</p> <p>(10)All waiting for catching and frying for tea</p> <p>(11)And I'll buy the surplus, then sell them you see</p> <p>(12)At double the price that you sold them to me.</p>	<p>Highlanders are forced to earn their livings on fishery. Highlanders are supposed to fish and the capitalists will make more money and profit out of these fish.</p>
<p>SELLAR. (13)I've money to double the rent that you pay</p> <p>(14)So off you go quietly – like sheep as they say</p>	<p>The capitalists make money out of money.</p> <p>Highlanders are asked to leave their homeland showing no resistance like sheep.</p>
<p>LOCH & SELLAR. (15)Don't think we are greedy for personal gain</p> <p>What profit we capture we plough back again</p> <p>We don't want big houses or anything grand</p> <p>We just want more money to buy up more land.</p>	<p>Actually what the capitalists have done is to achieve their own interests, which is to make more money and take the control of the whole land.</p>
<p>SELLAR. (16) I am not the cruel man they say I am. I am a business man.</p> <p><i>He winks and goes</i></p>	<p>He is a businessman so he will seek his own interests.</p>
<p>WOMAN 2. (17) he's to open his own meal store and we can only buy from him</p>	<p>The aristocrats hold the monopoly of food in the market.</p>
<p>MAN 3. (18) And do you know the factor has ordered me to shoot my own dog in case he worried the sheep</p>	<p>Sheep are more valuable than Highlanders.</p>
<p>LORD CRASK. (19)MacDonald here, he's a bit of a peasant –</p> <p>LADY PH. (20) Yes, you're a peasant, aren't you?</p> <p>GHILLIE. (21)MacPherson, sir.</p> <p>LORD CRASK. (22)Nothing wrong with you is there, Macalister –</p> <p>GHILLIE. (23)MacPherson, sir.</p> <p>LORD CRASK. (24)That's right, Mackenzie – none of your people complaining, eh?</p>	<p>In the eyes of aristocrats, the Highlanders are not important individually. What is important is to what extent they serve for the aristocrats.</p> <p>How Highlanders feel about events are not taken into consideration by aristocrats. Everything is fine on the part of aristocrats.</p> <p>Gaelic, mother tongue of Highlanders revives in songs and ballads. Highlanders speaking and/or uttering a word of Gaelic become happy but aristocrats do not know it. What is more they deny Gaelic.</p>

<p>GHILLIE. (25)Dead, sir –</p> <p>LORD CRASK. (26)Marvellous, no complaints, marvellous</p> <p>LORD CRASK. (27)Oh Mary – bright little girl – always singing happily around the house, never understand a word she says</p>	
<p>M.C. (28) They died to defend something.</p>	Highlanders have warred for their honour and country.
<p>(29) Those who came back found very little worth defending.</p>	Scotland has been invaded by sheep, touristic centres and has taken over by capitalists.
<p>TEXAS JIM & WHITEHALL.</p> <p>(30)As the rain on the hillside come in from the sea</p> <p>(31)All the blessings of life fall in showers from me</p>	America, American companies and Whitehall have been trying to make use of Scotland.
<p>GIRLS (32)Conoco, Amoco, Sheel-Esso, Texaco, British Petroleum,</p>	American and British oil companies will search for oil in the North Sea.
<p>(33)yum, yum, yum. (<i>Twice.</i>)</p>	Natural resources of Scotland are so tasty and delicious.
<p>TEXAS JIM. (34)There's many a barrel of oil in the sea</p> <p>(35)All waiting for drilling and piping to me</p> <p>I'll refine it in Texas, you'll get it, you'll see</p> <p>At four time the price that you sold it to me</p>	North Sea is full of oil which is going to be used for the benefit of capitalist powers. Highlanders are going to be used in oil industry and capitalist powers will sell Highlanders this oil more than it is worth.
<p>WHITEHALL.</p> <p>(36)There's jobs and there's prospects so please have no fears,</p>	Highlanders will be employed in oil industry.
<p>Stage Direction. (37) <i>No oil can</i></p>	Capitalists leave nothing after they have used something.
<p>POLWARTH. (38)Now all you Scotties need have no fear,</p> <p>(39) Your oil's quite safe now the trouble-shooter's here,</p> <p>(40) So I'll trust you, if you'll trust me,</p> <p>(41) 'Cos I'm the ex-director of a trust company.</p>	Scottish oil has been under control of American and British companies. Polwarth previously worked for other trust companies which were in the service of capitalist powers. So Polwarth is not man to be trusted.

<p>POLWARTH. (42) Now I am a man of high integrity,</p> <p>(43) Renowned for my complete impartiality,</p> <p>(44) But if you think I'm doing this for you,</p> <p>(45) You'd better think again 'cos I'm a businessman too –</p>	<p>Polwarth belongs to higher class and is not objective. Polwarth is a businessman so he will seek his own interest.</p>
<p>M.C. The song says:</p> <p>(46) 'Remember that you are a people and fight for your rights –</p> <p>(47) There are riches under the hills where you grew up.</p> <p>(48) There is iron and coal there grey lead and gold there –</p> <p>(49) There is richness in the land under your feet.</p> <p>(50) Remember your hardships and keep up your struggle</p> <p>The wheel will turn for you</p> <p>By the strength of your hands and hardness of your fists.</p> <p>Your cattle will be on the plains</p> <p>Everyone in the land will have a place</p> <p>And the exploiter will be driven out.'</p>	<p>Scotland is full of natural riches such as iron and coal so Highlanders should gather and fight against the capitalists so save their country. They will win this war and gain their independence someday. Then they can live in peace together.</p>

Considering conversational implicatures, the prevailing discourse in the play is rich in implications that provoke the audience to reconsider their own situation in the social ladder. At the very beginning of the play, for example, M.C is presenting the play to the audience.

M.C. (1) It's a story that has a beginning, a middle, but, as yet, (2) no end – (McGrath: 3).

M.C is flouting the maxim of quantity in that he does not provide enough information about the story (2). The utterance “it's a story has a beginning, a middle, no end” (1) comes to be inferred by the hearers that what has been done in Scotland has not finished and it will continue in the future. The hearers make the inference that their country will go on to be exploited by the capitalists, rich countries and when it will finish is not yet

known. The audience is expected to infer that they should be aware of the policies put into practice by these countries and should not fall for the promises made by these countries.

The maxim of quality is flouted with use of figures of speech such as metaphor, hyperbole, irony etc. The play has metaphors as well as ironies which lead to implicatures to be conveyed by the hearers. Loch and Sellar are singing a duet, 'High Industry', which tells their main aims in Scotland.

LOCH & SELLAR.

As the rain on the hillside comes in from the sea

(3)All the blessings of life fall in showers from me

(4)So if you'd abandon your old misery –

(5)I will teach you the secrets of high industry:

(6)Your barbarous customs, though they may be old

(7)To civilised people hold horrors untold –

What value a culture that cannot be sold?

(8)The price of a culture is counted in gold.

Chorus:

As the rain, etc.

LOCH. (9)There's a many a fine shoal of fish in the sea

(10)All waiting for catching and frying for tea –

(11)And I'll buy the surplus, then sell them you see

(12)At double the price that you sold them to me.

Chorus:

As the rain, etc.

SELLAR. (13)I've money to double the rent that you pay

The factor is willing to give me my way

(14)So off you go quietly – like sheep as they say

I'll arrange for the boats to collect you today.

Chorus:

As the rain, etc.

LOCH & SELLAR. (15)Don't think we are greedy for personal gain

What profit we capture we plough back again

We don't want big houses or anything grand

We just want more money to buy up more land.

Chorus:

As the rain, etc (McGrath: 8-9).

In the first and second stanzas, the functionaries of land lords want to make use of the blessings of Scotland (3) and see Highlanders as barbarous people who should abandon their old customs and serve for the land lords who are thought to be more civilised (4, 6, and 7). If they do so, they will be taught the secrets of industry (5) and turn into a capitalist society. The audience infers that the capitalists are acknowledged to be civilised (7) whereas the non-capitalists are barbarous (6) and primitive. In (8), the value of a culture is 'counted in gold' means that a culture is invaluable.

In the third stanza, what Loch is saying draws the audience's attention to the fact that the Highlanders are now made to earn their livings by fishery (9 and 10), about which they have no idea. Since they will fail to earn by doing so, there will be surplus of fish (11) and the functionaries will sell and make profit out of it (12). The audience is proposed to infer that whatever the capitalists have done to Highlanders has been in favour of the rich. The Highlanders were driven from their homeland to coastal areas so that they could live on fishery but the illiterate Highlanders indirectly serve the capitalists' interests.

In the fourth stanza, Sellar's utterances about how he makes more money can be interpreted as that the Highlanders pay the rents and the functionaries use this money for their own financial interests with the permission of factors (13). The Highlanders are made to leave their homeland showing no resistance, 'like sheep' (14) and the functionaries will arrange their leaving.

In the last stanza, the utterance that 'Don't think we are greedy for personal gain' (15) comes to be an irony in that what they are actually doing is for their personal gain at the micro-level and for the capitalists, the rich, the powerful groups at the macro-level.

As far as this song is concerned, the audience infers that the capitalists make use of their homeland's blessings, the Highlanders are asked to leave their customs, serve for the capitalists and become 'civilised'. The Highlanders will live on fishery but this indirectly means serving for the capitalists who will make use of the surplus of fish. And lastly, the capitalists have always been greedy for their own interests and have been in pursuit of making more and more money.

Sellar breaks the maxim of quality when saying:

SELLAR. (16) I am not the cruel man they say I am. I am a business man.

He winks and goes (McGrath: 10).

Here the audiences infer that Sellar is not telling the truth that he is not a cruel man (16) because he winks after saying so. On the other hand, having suffered from greediness of the business men, the Highlanders cannot be expected to count them as not cruel.

Many Highlanders have been driven from their homeland to coastal areas and those who stay home are faced with financial problems, for the rents have gone up high and trade has been under the control of factor.

WOMAN 2. Did you hear, the factor's closed all the shops – (17) he's to open his own meal store and we can only buy from him (McGrath: 32).

The trade of food has been in the monopoly of factor, which means that it is the factor who will decide on the price and everybody has to buy meal from his store however much they cost (17). The sheep are shown to be so important to the factor that they are observed in all cases just because they are earning them profit (18).

MAN 3. (18) And do you know the factor has ordered me to shoot my own dog in case he worried the sheep – (McGrath: 32).

The conversation between Lord Crask and Lady Phosphate with Ghillie, their helper for shooting stag is striking in that they do not know and even care about those who work for them.

LORD CRASK. Absolute poppycock – look at (19)MacDonald here, he's a bit of a peasant –

LADY PH. (20)Yes, you're a peasant, aren't you?

GHILLIE. (21)MacPherson, sir.

LORD CRASK. (22)Nothing wrong with you is there, Macalister –

GHILLIE. No sir, no sir, not at all.

LORD CRASK. Everything's all right with you, Macalister –

GHILLIE. Just fine, sir, just fine, everything's just fine.

LORD CRASK. Been with me twenty years. Just like one of the family, aren't you? Mac – er. What's your name again?

GHILLIE. (23)MacPherson, sir.

LORD CRASK. (24)That's right, Mackenzie – none of your people complaining, eh? How's your father?

GHILLIE. (25)Dead, sir –

LORD CRASK. (26)Marvellous, no complaints, marvellous – None of your people had to leave the district, what?

GHILLIE. Oh no sir, my own niece from Skye, Mary, she's away working in your house in Edinburgh – Mary MacPherson's her name.

LORD CRASK. (27) Oh Mary – bright little girl – always singing happily around the house, never understand a word she says (McGrath: 44).

Lady Phosphate looks down on MacPherson and calls him 'a bit of a peasant', (20) which means that in the eyes of aristocrats Highlanders are individually not important to them so long as they serve for the aristocrats. This inference is reinforced with MacPherson's reminding them of his real name each time he is called with a different name; Macdonald, MacAlister and Mackenzie (19, 22 and 24). It should be noted that MacPherson each time corrects them his name (21 and 23) which means that he is not happy with how he is treated by his superiors. MacPherson is first degraded by being called 'a bit of a peasant' (19) then he replies to Lord Crask that his father is dead (25) and the response he gets from Lord Crask 'Marvellous, no complaints, marvellous' (26) is so tragic because normally the response would be expressing one's sadness to another's death. The last irony lies in the Lord Crask's utterance about Mary. Lord Crask observes that Mary is singing in her mother tongue, Gaelic and does not understand a word of it (27). It can be inferred that Scottish people are not happy with speaking in English and they want to communicate in Gaelic, which was forbidden to speak. Throughout the play some songs are sung in Gaelic but very few of the audiences understand it because they were not taught their language. This is also an irony in that many people cannot speak their mother tongue instead they communicate with the language of dominant class.

M.C acts like a narrator in the play and gives documented information about the history of Scotland and its people. He talks of the scene after the war between Great Britain and the Crimea.

M.C. Every village has its memorial. Every memorial has list of men. (28) They died to defend something. (29) Those who came back found very little worth defending (McGrath: 47).

The Highlanders were faithful for the Great Britain and have always fought and died for them (28). But when they returned home they 'found very little worth defending' (29) because their homeland had been invaded by sheep, touristic centres. There was no Scottish culture and the scene is highlighted with the fiddler playing a lament to affect the audiences' feelings.

Texas Jim and Whitehall are singing a duet as an echo of Loch and Sellar, which tells of their aims with regard to the North Sea oil.

TEXAS JIM & WHITEHALL.

(30)As the rain on the hillside come in from the sea

(31)All the blessings of life fall in showers from me

So if you'd abandon your old misery

Then you'll open your doors to the oil industry –

GIRLS (*as backing group*). (32)Conoco, Amoco, Sheel-Esso, Texaco, British Petroleum, (33)yum, yum, yum. (*Twice.*)

TEXAS JIM. (34)There's many a barrel of oil in the sea

(35)All waiting for drilling and piping to me

I'll refine it in Texas, you'll get it, you'll see

At four time the price that you sold it to me

GIRLS. Conoco, Amoco, etc. (Four times.)

WHITEHALL.

(36)There's jobs and there's prospects so please have no fears,

There's building of oil rigs and houses and piers,

There's a boom-time a-coming, let's celebrate – cheers –

TEXAS JIM *pours drinks of oil.*

TEXAS JIM. For the Highlands will be my lands in three or four years.

(37) *No oil can.* (McGrath: 63-64)

Again the song comes to imply that both Texas Jim, representing America and American companies, and Whitehall, representing civil service in the Great Britain, are in pursuit of making use of blessings of Scotland (30, 31, and 34). They want the Highlanders to appreciate their policy, in other words, their financial interests. The Girls utter some oil companies (32) which will search for oil in the area and their saying 'yum, yum, yum' (33) means that they will 'eat' their tasty, natural resources. The audiences infer from their saying that there will be oil industry and people of the area will find jobs and can make their living (34, 35 and 36) but the irony is that the powerful ones will have the big slice of

the pie and will get over the lands in a couple of years. But finally there will be no oil to be drilled in the area just like 'no oil in the can' (37).

One of the important figures of speech used in the play is irony. Polwarth, for example, is the Minister of State but he was the Governor of the Bank of Scotland, Chairman of the Save and Prosper Unit Trust before. Although he is supposed to seek interests of Scotland, he serves for the capitalist powers. Polwarth does not act in compliance with his words. In a song which he sings with Texas Jim and Whitehall, he flouts the maxim of quality, which leads to an irony.

POLWARTH. (38) Now all you Scotties need have no fear,
(39) Your oil's quite safe now the trouble-shooter's here,
(40) So I'll trust you, if you'll trust me,
(41) 'Cos I'm the ex-director of a trust company. (McGrath: 68)

POLWARTH. (42) Now I am a man of high integrity,
(43) Renowned for my complete impartiality,
(44) But if you think I'm doing this for you,
(45) You'd better think again 'cos I'm a businessman too – (McGrath: 69).

In the first part of the song, Polwarth attempts to convince the Highlanders that they can trust him and should not fear (38). He is there to shoot the trouble (39) and asks for being trusted (40), giving a reference to his previous title (41). Polwarth flouts the maxim of quality in (39) by giving wrong information about the safety of oil. Actually the oil is not safe because it is under the control of English and American companies. In the second part of the song, Polwarth speaks well of himself, "a man of high integrity", "renowned" and "impartiality" in (42) and (43). When saying the above qualities, Polwarth flouts the maxim quality in which he depicts himself contrary to what he actually is. In (44) and (45), however, Polwarth reveals his real aim which is to make more money out of the oil because he is "a businessman too". In both parts of the song, Polwarth tries to show himself as a trustworthy and objective man but the irony is that what the character says does not coincide with what he does. This makes the audience infer that none of the businessmen is trustworthy and all of them are in search of making more money and more profit out of anything valuable.

At the end of the play all the characters are on the stage speaking to the audiences. They summarise what has been done in Scotland and therefore to Scottish people. But the play ends with a song sung by a Gaelic singer and is translated by M.C.

M.C. The song says:

(46) 'Remember that you are a people and fight for your rights –

(47) There are riches under the hills where you grew up.

(48) There is iron and coal there grey lead and gold there –

(49) There is richness in the land under your feet.

(50) Remember your hardships and keep up your struggle

The wheel will turn for you

By the strength of your hands and hardness of your fists.

Your cattle will be on the plains

Everyone in the land will have a place

And the exploiter will be driven out.' (McGrath: 73-74)

In this song, the audiences are reminded of riches in Scotland (46, 47 and 48) and are asked to struggle for their country and culture (46 and 50). They infer that if they gather under the same roof, they will get over the exploiters and their interests in Scotland. Though it is not explicitly mentioned, the audiences know that the roof under which they should gather is socialism. If they are ruled according to socialist rules, they can make use of their own riches and natural resources; that's why they should struggle against the capitalist policies and fight for a regime based on equality among society, which is socialism.

In conclusion, the implicatures drawn from utterances show that the insincere capitalist powers have aimed to make more money out of Scotland riches and do not care about how and what the Highlanders feel. The audiences are given a picture of history in which the Highlanders are left to starve to death or serve for the capitalist powers. Thus the audiences are warned against the dangers of capitalism and are reminded of importance of their culture and identity.

CONCLUSION

McGrath, an outstanding political playwright in British theatre, deals with what and how England and her alliances have done to Highlanders since nineteenth century in *The Cheviot*. The study has shown that the play, presented in the form of documentary, highlights historical events in four phases that is represented through certain discourse markers. In this agit-prop play, the discourse of the characters is shaped to penetrate into the minds of Scottish audience to provoke their feelings so that they will get together and react against the capitalist system.

Seeing that the play reveals two opposing ideologies; the exploiter's ideology and that of the exploited, *The Cheviot* has been analysed within the context of CDA, which deliberately traces and foregrounds social disparities and injustices in society. Since CDA employs discourse analysis in itself, discursive and linguistic elements have been chosen as tools to analyse the ideological text. As a matter of fact, these elements have been applied to the play to gain insights into the oppressing ideology and its discourse practices. Also, these ideological markers have helped to uncover the intentional attempts of opposing discourses and analyse what and how these discourses do to achieve their implied (and provoking) messages. Using word choices, speech acts and conversational implicatures as linguistic tools, the study has demonstrated how injustices employed by powerful groups are related to and reflected by the discourse of the oppressing classes.

In this study word choices have been examined to show how the playwright tries to make the audiences aware of the fact that these powerful groups regard the exploitation and abuse, which they imposed in Scotland, as improvement, advancement and civilisation. The words used in the play have a great impact on the audiences because on the one hand, these words uttered for the Scottish people and Scotland, and those for powerful, capitalist groups lead the audiences to have an opposition to England and the exploiters, on the other hand, there grows sympathy and awareness towards their own culture. Thus this study shows that the playwright aims to convey his ideology through words and gather the labour class under an umbrella to fight for a system based on

equality. The investigation of word choices has helped to reveal both the ideology of aristocrats and that of working class. On the other hand, the play has become a political text for the playwright to spread his beliefs. As a political playwright, John McGrath, to some extent, managed to create a counter ideology and culture against the capitalists, reaching thousands of audiences.

Speech acts in the play have been investigated to show harsh policy imposed by powerful groups. The analysis of speech acts has been a useful tool to indicate the social status of characters and their functions in the play. Considering the whole play, the characters are seen to act according to their social status; those who are shown to be superiors order, vow, promise and threaten, while those who are shown to be inferiors just obey. But still in some scenes of the play, the inferiors do not obey their “superiors”, namely, the speech act has not been achieved. This implies that those who have been made use of now recognise what lies behind the words / speech acts of the exploiters. As far the whole play is concerned, aristocrats are shown to be superior to Highlanders at the micro level, whereas the rich are acknowledged to be superior to the poor at the macro level. It is seen that the powerful groups have made use of the peasantry and used and abused them for their material success and interests.

Lastly, the conversational implicatures have been used as a means of showing the hidden ideology behind the utterances of characters. Characters who are serving for the powerful groups sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly reveal their main aims in the Highlands. Thus the analysis of these implicatures sheds light on intended meaning of what characters say and/or feel about events. In addition, McGrath used these linguistic elements as a tool to convey his beliefs and ideology. Regarding the inferences drawn from what aristocrats utter, the supposedly Scottish audiences are taught that the process of capitalism started centuries ago and it has not yet finished. Thus they should be on alert against capitalist powers who will seek their interests in Scotland.

Finally, John McGrath has made use of linguistic elements, which have been quite effective on the audiences. The playwright takes a political side with the Scottish people and reacts against England and the policies of capitalist groups. Moreover McGrath, in *The Cheviot*, is in search of revealing the injustices imposed to the Scottish people and creating a kind of counter culture against the dominant one. The play has been examined within the context of CDA and discursive elements have been used to achieve this. The play could

also be analysed with regard to other applied linguistic disciplines such as stylistics and sociolinguistics for further studies.

The significance of this study comes from a forerunner application of a documentary agit-prop discourse in Turkey. This study significantly contributes to the shallow literature produced so far about McGrath's plays. The study argues that the discourse of documentaries, agit-prop plays and documentary based agit-props like *The Cheviot* can be analysed by using the technical vocabulary and terminology of Applied Linguistics. Furthermore, the study underlines the fact that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can provide a shared field of study between Linguistics and Literature.

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