Genres and Public Events to Understand Discourse in Social Context: A Critical Discourse Analysis of 'Fatima Kori'

Dr. Rukya Hassen
Assistant Professor of Applied Lingustics, Wollo University

Abstract
This study is a critical discourse analysis of one discourse genre – 'fatima kori'- in the multicultural community of South Wollo, Ethiopia. Discourses are seen to affect our views on all things; it is not possible to avoid discourse. Discourses is a way of representing aspects of the world - the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the mental world of thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and the social world. Like elsewhere, in the traditional Ethiopian cultures, there are many social practices that govern conscience. There are many rules of thumb that people agree to govern their lives with. Different discourses from various social practices in the traditional Ethiopian community that are transmitted through oral discourse were taken for analysis. The genre or public event was recorded during two-month partial ethnography participant observation conducted in Tehuledere Woreda in May 2015 G.C. The result of the study shows that there are very unique discourse genres in different societies which are critically observed by the society as vehicles of traditional and customary practices. Discourse has become both the means and the end of social practice. Discourse is shaped by many factors such as culture, language, participant, and history. It, in turn, shapes them back. Discourse shapes and reshapes the thought and practice of the speech community who owns it. This discourse genre is specifically for women participants only. Such genres empower women.
Keywords: genre, 'fatima kori', female, critical discourse analysis

Introduction

South Wollo is the study site. Wollo is bounded by Tigray in the North, Gojjam in the West, Shewa in the South and Afar in the East. The capital city, Dessie, is 400 km away to the North of Addis Ababa. In Wollo, Muslims and Christians live together peacefully (Amsalu and Habtemariam, 1969:1). The community has a unique history of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. This community consists of a large number of Muslims and Christians. There is a thick historical record that this community exhibits a harmonious and peaceful contact and an intense sense of belongingness. The Wollo community is far more than mixed. There is a strong blood tie as there is intermarriage among Muslims and Christians. There is also cultural diffusion, and a strong sense of togetherness that has been held for generations. Many significant cultural and historical contexts tie the Muslim-Christian Community to a great extent.

Wollo is one of the sub regions of Amhara Regional State which is also known as Region Three. Wollo is bounded by Tigray in the North, Gojjam and Gonder in the West, Shewa in the South and Afar in the East. The central town, Dessie, is 400 km away from Addis Ababa.

Topographically, the region is mountainous and cold in the Western and Northern part. In the East, it is very hot. In the population senses of 2007, the population of Wollo is 4, 022, 733 and more than 62% of this live in South Wollo Zone. This in figure is 2, 519, 450.

In South Wollo, the Muslim-Christian mix is high and there are considerable Muslims in this zone as compared to the rest of the Zones of the Amhara Region. From the 20 Weredas of South Wollo, the researcher conducted the study in Tehuledere (Sulula, Gishen), Dessie Zuria (Bilen, Kelem, Boru, Gerado), Kutaber (Alasha and Kutaber), and Dessie. Moreover, the researcher had co-researchers who helped collect data from Ambasel, Kelala, Jama, and Debat. Particularly, the areas where large data were collected are Alasha (Kutaber Wereda), Sulula (Tehuledere Wereda), Boru (Dessie Zuria Wereda), Bilen (Dessie Zuria Wereda), Gerado (Dessie Zuria Wereda), Kelem (Dessie Zuria Wereda), and Gishen (around Hitecha, Tehuledere Wereda).

Wollo is a place with rich historical and cultural assets. The area is claimed to be the origin of the Amhara ethnic group (Getachew, 1984:10). According to Getachew, the first original home of the Amhara is Amhara Saynt (Ibid: 12). He claimed that Amhara means 'agrarian' and Saynt 'a place where harvest is collected' in Arabic. He further states:

> Though the Agew people is mixed and so it is named as Agew Midr Begemidir, and though
> because of Oromo it was named Wollo later; Bete Amhara includes the areas bounded by Tigray
> in the North, Begemdir and Gojjam in the West, Shewa in the south. In the middle was all the
> area of Bete Amhara (Wollo) (Getachew, 1984:12).

The Amhara ethnic group lives in Lasta, Wadla Delanta, Woreilu, in large numbers, and in Dessie area, Yeju, Ambasel, Raya, Kobo, Borena and Worehimeno mixed with other ethnic groups (Gebre Kidan, 1981:II). Ethnic groups that reside in Wollo are Amhara, Agaw, Argobba, Oromo, Warra Sheikh and Mamadoch (Sheikh Seid Muhammed, in Edris 2007:115-119).

Wollo was known as "Bete Amhara" (house of Amhara) before it was named Wollo (G/Kidan, 1981:7; Sheikh Seid Muhammed, in Edris 2007:112). After Gragn, according to Getachew, because of the Oromo's movement to the area of Bete Amhara, the name was changed to Wollo after the name of the governor of Bete Amhara who came from the south and central part of Ethiopia (Ibid). He was the son of Kereyu and the grandson of Berentuma. Wollo had children by the names Bukon, Woregura, WoreIlu, Wore Kereyu, WoreAlu (Ibid). Because of him, the name of "Bete Amhara" 'the house or homeland of Amhara' was changed to Wollo and the sub regions were also named after his children.

Historically, both Christianity and Islam have lived for long in Wollo. Of all the Amhara region, Wollo is where a large number of Muslims live. Islam faced difficulties in the reign of Tewodros II (1855-1868 E.C.) and Yohannes IV (1872-1889 E.C.). Wollo Muslims became victims of power and suppression especially during the latter's reign (Getachew, 1984:48).

According to Getachew (1984), of the four schools of thoughts in Islam (Mezhabs) known throughout the world, two are found in Wollo. These are Shafi which was established by Abu Abdela Muhamed Ibn Idris (767-870 G.C.) and Hanefiya established by Abu Hanifa Al Nueman Ibn Sabit (699-767 G.C.). The former school has great followers in Dewoy and Yifat. The second school that is Hanefiya is common in Kalu, Borena, Worehimeno, Worebabo and Yeju. Wollo is also a place where great Muslim scholars who have done a lot to teach and sustain Islam in Ethiopia originated (Ibid). There are many places of pilgrimage among which Jema Nigus, Geta, Dana, Deger, and Chale are most known (Ibid).

Wollo is a place where people of different ethnic groups, beliefs and cultures are believed to have coexisted peacefully. The languages spoken in the region are Amharic, Agew, Oromo, Tigray, Afar and Argoba (G/Kidan, 1981: II; Getachew, 1984:17). The people are known as 'Wolloyye'. The people do not want to identify themselves by their ethnic groups but by the place, 'wolloyye' (the Wollo person) (Ibid: 18).

The four musical melodies of Ethiopia, Anchihoyelene, Tizita, Bati, and Ambasel, are found in Wollo. Tizita was known as Wollo before it was renamed as such (Ibid). The melodies are named after the names of places of Wollo. This shows that the people are accustomed to expressing their culture, history, love, and overall lives through their music (Getachew, 1984:43).

Menzuma is a major artistic work performed by Wollo 'Ulemas' (Muslim religious scholars). The people of Wollo have used Menzuma for many years for different purposes. They use it for prayer, and for teaching their religion. Among the well known Menzuma performers are Sheikh Husen Jibril, the Arsi Emebet (Yejuye), the Mersa Aba Getye, the Guna Nigus (Yejuye), the Dessie's Tengego Sheikh and the recent Sheikh Mohammed Awol. These people are known even outside of Wollo by their Menzuma chants.

Wollo is rich in natural resources. There are many rivers, lakes and minerals in the region. In Wollo, Awash, Mile, Miowa, Chireti, Ala, Hormat, Tiratina Zamra, Tekeze, Borkena, Abay, Becho, Wayeta and Gerado rivers flew (Getachew, 1984:52-53). These rivers flow all year long. The lakes are Loga Hayk, Ardibo, Abi Gurgura, Afanbo, Ashenge and Maybar (Ibid:53). Among the minerals are iron soil, marble, green soil, salt, red sand, coal, and others that can be used for production of cement, paintings, and jewelries (Ibid: 58-59). There are different archeological findings in Wollo that provide valuable information for genealogical studies of human beings (Ibid). There are scriptures of Christian and Muslim traditions that reveal the spirituality of the people.

The one significant history of Wollo that the people are not proud of but legendarily stereotyped is drought and famine. The description of Wollo barely completes without the description of the effect of famine that has affected the people. In fact, Ethiopia is known for the same mainly because of its impact on the people of Wollo. Wollo is a place where many times famine has had its bad effects on the people. The drought has had unforgiving effect to the extent that the image of Ethiopia has remained a symbol of famine until now (Getachew, 1984:63). Sadly, the damage of the famine had been known first to the rest of the world before it was known by Ethiopians. This is because the ruling elites of the time wanted to keep it secret to safeguard their interest. Many blame the government for this and it became a case for its downfall.

Apart from this, there are many things that place Wollo in historical times among which are its historical places such as Lalibela which is one of the wonders of the world. It is one of the things that identify Wollo as a unique area (Ibid:21).

Beauty, love, kindness and innocence are traditionally associated with Wollo people. The following appreciations are often heard about Wollo and Wolloyye.

> battinna komboləčča kämisenna härbu
> yänäšäggyä ʾäggär yännayyt' t'äggäbu
> Bati Kombolcha Kemisie and Harbu, (names of Wollo places)
> The country of the beautiful and the ever-wanted,

Also, Wollo is known for love. This is explicated in many traditional Wollo songs.

> yäfəqqr ʾəngočča yämiqqwaddäsubš
> yähullu ʾäggär ʾəkul yäwbät ʾäddaraš
> A place where people share love,

A place for all equally, a parlor for beauty,

It is generalized that the men and women of Wollo are love addicts. The Wollo people are also known to be kind and innocent. This is also indicated by the popular saying 'Wollo the barley'. The Wollo people are also known to be not trust worthy as the proverbial saying 'an empty neighbor house is better than a Wolloyye neighbor/ käwälo goräbet yšalal bado bet' has it. Wolloyyes, however, do not accept this stereotype.

'Fatima Kori' is one of the discourse genres practiced around South Wollo. Specifically in the target group of Tehuledere Woreda people, this is a common practice. It is performed at the ninth month of a woman's pregnancy. Porridge would be prepared and some females are called to the place of the pregnant women to make prayers and eat porridge.

Objective
The objective of this study is to critically analyze the role of the discourse genre of 'fatima kori' for females of the study area.

Methodology
The discourse genre 'fatima kori' was recorded at three different events. It was sequentially described and analyzed based on its role for the female participants of the study area – Tehuledere Woreda, Southe Wollo, Ethiopia.

Discourse Genre
As Wolfson (1997:116) says, "Every society has a variety of types of speech event… set off from each other by different rules of speaking." The target speech community employs different speech events. Genres are considered speech events in this study. Genres are explicit 'discoursal' features constructing communicative events (Fairclough, 2003:66). Language use is reflected through verbal as well as non-verbal means. All speech making is inevitably related to a discourse genre (Rouveyrol, et al., 2005:289).

The word genre comes from the French (and originally Latin) word for 'kind' or 'class'. Genre is "a recurrent verbal forms (or text-type) associated with a recurrent purpose or activity; 'genre knowledge' is the procedural competence required to produce a form and use it" (Johnsoneg 2008:184). It is also defined by Davies (2007:163) as a "type of spoken or written discourse or text recognized as distinct by members of a speech community." The term is widely used in rhetoric, literary theory, media theory, and more recently linguistics, to refer to a unique kind of 'text'. Genres are communicative events with specific purpose, form (structure/style), content (theme) and action. It is a class or category of communicative event having a particular form, content, technique, and other linguistic and non-linguistic attributes. It refers to the demarcated or non-casual speech or utterances.

Various genres and public events should be studied to understand discourse in social context (Wodak, 2005:2). Natural communicative events or genres are suitable for investigating communication norms and they are all around everyday language use (Wolfson, 1997:125). This includes poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, prayers, lectures and editorials. These speeches are marked and that distinguishes them from the usual. They are appropriate in particular situations and not in others. It is often within the genres associated with given social occasions that power is either exercised or challenged (Wodak, 2002:11).

The concept of genre differs in different disciplines. In literary studies, genre is a work of literature. Such aesthetically featured genres include ballads, sonnets, short story, and novel. In linguistics genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. Genre operates at discourse structure as opposed to register which operates at linguistic levels of vocabulary and syntax. It works at the level of complete discourse or text structure that specifies beginning and ending. "From one standpoint the analysis of speech into acts is an analysis of speech into instances of genres… all speech has formal characteristics of some sort as manifestation of genres" (Dell Hymes, 2003:45).

The genres were analyzed based on the following procedure of genre analysis outlined by Knoblauch and Luckmann (2000: 304-305).
1. First comes the recording of communicative events in natural contexts.
2. The recordings are then transcribed.
3. Then the data is interpreted and subjected to a sequential analysis.
4. A conversation analysis is conducted with detailed sequencing.
5. In this way structural models are set up.
6. Finally, structural variants are considered.

The analysis of genres followed the above procedure. Yet, some modifications are made. The whole conversation is not sequentially presented. Besides, the fifth and sixth steps are escaped. This is done because in this study, the objective is to demonstrate the language use as reflected in the chunk with the purpose the communicative event is meant to serve not the lexical or structural formulas. There are genres which are unique

to the cultural group. There are rhetorical patterns associated with different genres. Some genres of the speech group are described as follows.

The Discourse Genre 'Fatima Kori'
'Fatima Kori' literally means the bowl of Fatima. Fatima is the name of one of the daughters of Prophet Muhammad. The bowl represents the porridge which is meant to be served to female guests. Fatima Kori is a prayer conducted at the ninth month of pregnancy of a woman. The attendants are females. Luckily, the researcher found a pregnant woman for whom the event was organized.

Figure:1 A Cultural Communicative Event of 'Fatima Kori'

Three, five or seven old ladies are invited to the prayer for a pregnant women at her ninth month (as shown in figure 5). The objective of Fatima kori is to eat porridge and thereby make supplication (prayer) to make the labor of the woman easy. Other women in the neighborhood are also invited to the event.

The old ladies known as 'duberties' take their seats. The three duberties (in this case) gave their blessings. Porridge ('Genfo') is presented in three big bowls known as 'Kori'. Coffee is prepared as the porridge is presented. There is incense, grass, č'at and other things required for the event. As many of the genres in the speech group, Fatima Kori is a multimodal genre. Multimodal genres involve more than one media written, spoken, recorded, music, and so on. Blessings such as the following are said in abundance to the pregnant woman.

ʾərəguzwam bähäyər təggälaggäl
yäzämäd mäggabiya hunu
bäräka huñ
ʾənəgədih häbətam ləğ
läzämäd ʾəmibäğ ləğ wəläğ
ʾäwon ʾənəgədih bäräkahuñ
wänəd ləğ ğäba
härä dähəna tägälagäy
May the pregnant give birth in peace,
May you be entrance for relatives,
May you be blessed,
May it be a blessed child,
Give birth to a child good for relatives,
Let you be blessed,
Here take a male child,
Oh let you give birth in peace. (29)

A puppet child is prepared from cloth and it is put in front of the 'duberties'. The doll is meant to represent the unborn baby of the pregnant woman. This is represented in a form of a toy. They cover it with cloth. Then they give the toy to the pregnant woman saying:

<div align="center">

ʾələləlelələlə   ʾələləlelələlə

ʾələləlelələlə   ʾələləlelələlə

tutututtutu   tutututu (30)
</div>

Such forms of yelling are local forms of expressing happiness and blessing.

The puppet is then given to the pregnant woman after all have spit on it. Then they would still continue to give their blessings as follows:

ləǧǧum wänd yəhun	may the child be male,
mət'um gär yəhun	may the labor be easy,
bätäsäb yämit'äqm	one who benefits family,
ʾərəme yalläw ləǧ yəhun	one who lives long, (31)

They have the pregnant woman's legs stretched and touch all over her body and express their blessings.

<div align="center">

bädähna tägälgäy

bähäbt yämiyadg ləǧ yəst'š

bähäyər tägälagäy

dabbašm ʾäyəsmaš

ʾənǧara yaläw ləǧ yəst'əš

häyattəšən ʾəzakač yargäw

ʾälahumäsole. (32)

May you give birth with ease,

May God give you a blessed child,

May you be relieved in peace,

May your laps do not hear the pain,

May God give you a child with wealth,

May your life be long.
</div>

The porridge ('genfo') is then served. Everybody eats. They say 'tu tu' spitting on the porridge when they finish. The pregnant woman eats the blessed porridge. When they finish, they wash their hands together in a bowl half of which is filled with water. They all insert their hands into the bowl and say the following as they wash their hands:

<div align="center">

ʾələləlelələlə   ʾələləlelələlə

ñañañaña   ñañañaña (33)

(expression of happiness)

mariyam mariyat mariyam mariyat

mariyam mariyat mariyam mariyat
</div>

Mary, give her mercy; Mary, give her mercy (34)

When they say 'mariyam mariat' they are using the borrowed concept of the Christians that Mary helps people relieve from their troubles. This concept is not Islamic. This is in conformity with Wodak (2002) who stated that power is also signaled by control of social events by means of genres as revealed in the performances of the people.

In the mean time, coffee is prepared and served. Blessings and all the other elements of the coffee ceremony are there. Č'at is also served to extend the prayer. The 'abegar' (leader) gives the č'at to the attendants. Menzumas are also chanted.

<div align="center">

gəbu gəbu ʾəmete ʾänša gəbu gəbu ʾəmete ʾänša yäʾumätu hulla mäšäša

gəbu gəbu fat'uma gəbu gəbu fat'uma ʾənədihonəllən hätima

gəbu gəbu ʾäminat gəbu gəbu ʾäminat yäsäyədaččən ʾənat

gəbu gəbu ʾäminat gəbu gəbu ʾäminat yämuhämmäd ʾənat

gəbu gəbu ʾäminat gəbu gəbu ʾäminat yänäbəyyaččən ʾənat

Get in mother Ansha Get in Get in mother Ansha, the host of the people,

Get in Get in Fatuma Get in Get in Fatuma, so it becomes good ending,

Get in Get in Aminat Get in Get in Aminat, the mother of the prophet,

Get in Get in Aminat Get in Get in Aminat, the mother of Mohammed,

Get in Get in Aminat Get in Get in Aminat, the mother of the prophet. (35)
</div>

The prayer (dua) continues like the other kinds of prayers. Blessings are given now and then, tales told in between and Menzumas (religious chant) continue to make the 'dua' lively.

<div align="center">

häǧaččənən ʾällah zäw yarəgäw
</div>

> häyat ʾällah yəzzäyədačəhu
> kəbərät ʾällah yəzzäyədaččəhu
> moššärän moššärän ʾänəddäzze
> əndet ʾənhonallän hulläzze mize
> gwaddäññan gwaddäñña t'älətot
> zämädun zämädu ʾät'əqətot
> ʾällah hullun ʾäšəräw banəddənnät
> ʾäntä st'än rahmät dähnənät
> May Allah give us the prayer,
> May Allah give you long life,
> May Allah give you wealth ,
> Make us brides once,
> How can we always be best men/maid of honor?
> Friends hate friends,
> Relatives missing relatives,
> Allah bless us all,
> Give us blessing and wellbeing. (36)

Blessing is both the beginning and ending of the event. The blessing is general as well as specific to the event, focusing on the pregnant woman and the expected child.

Conclusion

Through 'fatima kori', the female of the target group were empowered. The women of the target group expressed their power as mothers. Motherhood was expressed as power. They also expressed their belief as determined power. Through their discourse, they defended the belief that female is powerless and male is powerful. They legitimize their power as an ultimate one which can befall good or bad on others. They become 'abegar'- leader who is empowered to do anything.

The discourse genre reveals their cultural values, beliefs, practices and different rituals that are valued by their members. Religious, cultural and ritual practices were revealed in the genre. Peaceful co-existence as a cultural value was revealed in the discourse genre of 'fatima kori' which is practiced by the Muslim community of the target area. Prayer, blessing, cursing, begging and other practices were part of the rituals in the cultural events of the community. Hence, discourse genre reveals the chunk of cultural performance of a community which helps to capture who they are and the major values they have.

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