

# **Valuing circus**

**A corpus-assisted critical discourse  
investigation of review texts**

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This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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## Abstract

This dissertation explores how circus has been represented as valuable in British review texts and, following the understanding that reviews are a crucial component of circus discourse (Purovaara, 2009), addresses the implications of this public representation for circus workers and audiences. Drawing on the principle that evaluation as realised in texts is an expression of underlying value systems (Thompson and Alba-Juez, 2014:10; Bednarek and Caple, 2017:78), a position is outlined for the ways in which three publications value circus through their reviews. This has been determined through Corpus Linguistic analysis utilising keyword tools (Scott and Tribble, 2006) and application of APPRAISAL theory (Martin and White, 2005). The publicly available access to these value systems is then considered via a Critical Discourse Analysis approach, identifying which values are legitimised and which effaced in these reviews.

The publications in the study are *The Stage* (a general arts industry newspaper available in newsagents), *King Pole* (a fan-club magazine available through membership of the Circus Friends Association), and *The Catch* (the most recent print magazine produced by and for circus practitioners in the UK, which ceased publication in 1998). Reviews are all taken from 1996, and results show a restricted range of values expressed in both *King Pole* and *The Stage* in comparison to *The Catch*. Furthermore, these are presented in a more authoritative and legitimising way than in the practitioner magazine. The effect is that the publications available to the widest section of the public obscure pertinent ways that circus can provide value to audience members, impacting consumer choice and therefore the financial security of people who make their living from circus work.

Recommendations are made to encourage representation of multiple perspectives in UK circus discourse through reviews that realise more diverse value systems in their text.

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## List of Abbreviations

SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
CL	Corpus Linguistics
CADS	Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
PDA	Positive Discourse Analysis
PARS	Performing Arts Reviews
CirRC96	Circus Review Corpus 1996
CdS	Cirque du Soleil subcorpus

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Aims and background

Critics, according to circus educator Tomi Purovaara (2009:23), are ‘one of the most important’ disseminators of information for the circus field. However, previous investigation has indicated that circus practitioners do not recognise adequate knowledge of the circus sector in the output of mainstream reviewers (Kavanagh, Forthcoming, 2019). Mainstream reviews, therefore, were not meaningful to the participants of this study, because they did not address the values that were considered appropriate by the practitioner group. Conversely, for people unfamiliar with contemporary circus, ‘the various genres, artistic aesthetics and creative ideologies that operate[...]are not always explicit or identifiable’ (Seymour, 2018:244).

Circus is a performing arts form that has expanded dramatically in scope over the last fifty years, now offering distinctly varied entertainment experiences that diverge from the stereotypical big top production that is still prevalent in collective imagination through popular cultural representations of ‘animal tamers, clowns and sequins’ (Hahn, 2010:38, translation mine). This big top foundation of nineteenth and twentieth century circus, characterised by its compilation of spectacular acts demonstrating humankind’s supremacy over the natural world, is now complemented by work appearing in theatre, street, educational, and humanitarian environments. Work that sites human endeavor on a more intimate scale, and work that focuses on mutual interaction over dominance. Circus performance in the twenty-first century sometimes asks its audiences to attend in the mode of an art gallery visitor, absorbing form and interpreting the sensation generated by its visual qualities; sometimes like a concert hall attendee, appreciating the complex orchestrations of its polyphonic movement harmonics; sometimes as the crowds gathered to watch a popular lecture, eager to learn something new and surprising. Circus-theatre can offer narrative and meaning-making. Dance-circus comprises evocative choreography. Sometimes a range of skills and performers are on display, sometimes only a single artist, sometimes only a single discipline (see Lavers et al., 2019 for fuller discussion).

This study identifies how reviewers evaluate the phenomenon of circus performance, and extends these findings to illustrate how circus artists and potential audience members are impacted by the way these values are communicated. The bulk of the analysis establishes what elements of production and experience are given high or low values and how these are

linguistically realised. The results are then interpreted through a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) lens (Fairclough, 1995), indicating how certain values are legitimised or otherwise within the UK arts sector, and the effect this may have on the circus ecology.

The study analyses review texts from three separate publications over the course of a year, each with a different reach and purview. Bednarek (2006) has established that different publication types project different values when reporting on news. In her example of broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, both are readily available to readers, thus providing a consumer choice that allows readers to select the expression of values that most closely aligns with their view of the world (or otherwise). However, as newspapers can be seen to control public discourses in their selection of material and framing (Baker and McEnery, 2015:244), when a subject—whether a news item or other content—is not given coverage across different publication types, such discourses are limited to whichever value system is openly presented. In the case of review texts, which purportedly serve to offer consumer advice to their readers (Smith, 1991), a limited set of incorporated values accordingly limits the number of readers who might feel the reviewed product is for them. Circus performance is rarely visible in mainstream or online arts reviews, which suggests that the range of values audience members can place on their experience of attending may not be fully represented. Moreover, the reviews that potential audiences are able to access may not offer the information required to make an informed consumer choice.

## **1.2 Research questions**

The impetus to discover where value is taken for granted and where it is overlooked in public discussions of circus performance have been condensed here into a specific research query:

How does the evaluation realised in circus review texts influence public perceptions of circus—and, ultimately, the creative ecology of circus?

This project addresses the query via the following sub-questions:

- 1) What is being evaluated in reviews of circus performance, and in what way?
- 2) What comparisons can be drawn between the projected value systems of circus practitioners, general performing arts industry reviewers, and self-proclaimed circus fans?
- 3) What impact do these projected values have on public discourse and what might this mean for circus creators?

### 1.3 Approach

The linguistic framework of APPRAISAL (Martin and White, 2005) offers a systematic method of identifying the ways in which evaluation is realised through text, and is utilised as the principle methodological tool in this study. This is supplemented by the Corpus Linguistics (hereafter CL) method of keyword analysis (Baker, 2006), which allows comparisons to be made across the entire body of reviews. These tools are used to address Questions 1 and 2 (above), and my approach to both is described in Chapter 3. Chapter 2's literature review opens with a theoretical grounding for each method, which is followed by an equivalent discussion of CDA, used to address Question 3. The literature review closes with an overview of the barely-researched field of circus criticism.

Chapter 3, in addition to detailing my own use of APPRAISAL and keyword analysis, provides an explanation of how the corpora were collected and then down-sampled. Chapter 4 offers analysis of these findings, beginning with the three reviews of Cirque Du Soleil's production *Saltimbanco*, then expanding to present the results of each publication in turn, before finishing with a cross-corpora comparison. When numbered examples of text are referred to, numbering is restarted for each new section throughout the dissertation.

The analyses are further interrogated in Chapter 5's discussion to arrive at recommendations for further research and for changes within the circus criticism milieu. Evaluation is realised in a cumulative fashion through texts, described as 'prosodic' by Martin and White (2005:18-23) following Halliday's representation of interpersonal meaning (1979:66-67). In a like manner, the analysis presented in this dissertation unfolds as a cumulation of evidence to arrive at an overall assessment concisely stated in Chapter 6. The dissertation completes with full references, and appendices that include the sampled texts, examples of the coded data and computed results.

## 2 Literature review

This review begins with an introduction to linguistic perspectives on value—with a particular focus on APPRAISAL method. This leads to discussion of CL and CDA approaches in the second and third sections, before closing in section four with an overview of work that touches the under-researched field of circus criticism.

### 2.1 Evaluation and APPRAISAL

The study of value, incorporating both ethical and aesthetic angles, is known as axiology and is generally positioned within the field of philosophy. However, just as ‘the concept of value permeates our life at every step’ (Hart, 1971:29), so too, logically, does it permeate our language. Within linguistic studies, underlying concepts of value are seen to materialise through cognitive stances that are realised in texts as evaluation (Thompson and Alba-Juez, 2014:10; Bednarek and Caple, 2017:78). As all speech or writing can be seen ‘as in some way stanced or attitudinal’ (Martin and White, 2005:92), evaluation has been a key area of investigation for a number of scholars, resulting in a variety of approaches to and understandings of the term. Monika Bednarek (2006:24-35) details the ways that the word ‘evaluation’ has been adopted by linguists:

- In everyday, non-technical usage
- As reference to positive/negative value judgements
- In narrative structure (e.g. Labov, 1972)
- In clause relations (e.g. Hoey, 2000)
- As ‘Stance’, following Douglas Biber and his various collaborators (e.g. Biber and Finegan, 1989), defined as ‘the overt expression of the speaker’s attitudes, feelings, judgements or commitments concerning his/her message’ (Bednarek, 2006:25)<sup>1</sup>
- In APPRAISAL theory, developed by Jim Martin and Peter White, and most comprehensively detailed in their 2005 book *The Language of Evaluation*. Bednarek characterises this approach as most similar to her own use of the term, and as revealing ‘the significance of context and the interpersonal character of evaluation as well as the communicative importance of evaluation itself.’ (31)
- Via Bednarek’s own parametric analysis, introduced in the same volume

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<sup>1</sup> In contrast to Alba-Juez and Thompson’s (2014:10) more helpful positioning of ‘stance’ as psychologically internal and realised textually as ‘evaluation’.

Whilst Bednarek shares a perspective on evaluation with proponents of APPRAISAL theory, she moves away from the system of analysis developed by Martin and White, expressing concerns about its reliance on analysts' familiarity with Systemic Functional Linguistic theory (henceforth SFL). Nonetheless, she sits alongside Thompson and Alba-Juez (2014:14)—editors of the follow-up collection to Hunston and Thompson's (2000) influential volume of evaluation research—in declaring that APPRAISAL remains the most comprehensive and systematic framework linguists have for examining the phenomenon (32). APPRAISAL is able to address all three functions which Hunston and Thompson (2000:6) identify as important features of evaluation: organising discourse; negotiating dialogic relations between writer and reader; and, most pertinently to this study, reflecting the values of a community or group through expression of a writer's opinion<sup>2</sup>.

The benefits that APPRAISAL offers as a tool appear to outweigh the initial inconvenience of laying out its position within a systemic functional model of language, especially as the granularity of SFL allows for investigation to be conducted at different levels of depth in various parts of the system as required by the scope of individual research projects. Therefore, a brief explanation follows that situates APPRAISAL within this model.

SFL was founded by Michael Halliday, who followed John Rupert Firth in the understanding that study of language cannot be divorced from study of language use (Honeybone, 2005). SFL theory is used to investigate the resources of language, and the various ways meaning can be created by combination of these resources (Halliday, 2014:5). In short, the functions that an instance of language is intended to have are seen to determine the choices made when a speaker or writer selects particular resources over others. Moreover, every instance of language is seen to operate across three metafunctions: *ideational* (expressions of content); *interpersonal* (expressions of interrelation between producer and receiver); and *textual* (markers of structural cohesion)<sup>3</sup>. Analysis is conducted by mapping particular choices discerned through texts against potential alternatives via interacting systems of a network; this operates on a stratified model whereby smaller, more concrete elements realise meaning on more expansive, abstract planes (see Halliday, 2004).

SFL has been found not only to offer a useful theoretical base from which to analyse corpora, but also as a 'powerful tool' for many CDA practitioners (O'Grady, 2019:462-

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<sup>2</sup> The same also applies in spoken language, but as this research focuses on written texts I have simplified for clarity throughout.

<sup>3</sup> Halliday does acknowledge some exceptions (e.g., 2014:11), but for overview purposes this generalisation is adequate.

463;479). Within SFL, APPRAISAL theory was developed among students of Halliday to provide a particular systematisation of resources that ‘construe the value of social experience’ (Oteíza, 2017:458). It was designed to work across different lexicogrammatical constructions to uncover evaluative prosodies in relation to register and genre—defined as stratifications of context (Figure 1)—and so exists at a discourse semantic level rather than a grammatical one (Martin, 2014:17-18). Rather than appearing within fixed grammatical structures such as lexemes or clauses, ‘appraisal groups’ are identified, which must contain as components an appraiser, an appraised, an appraisal type, and an orientation towards positive or negative (Whitelaw et al., 2005:626). These groups may express evaluation across grammatical boundaries through either explicit or implied means.

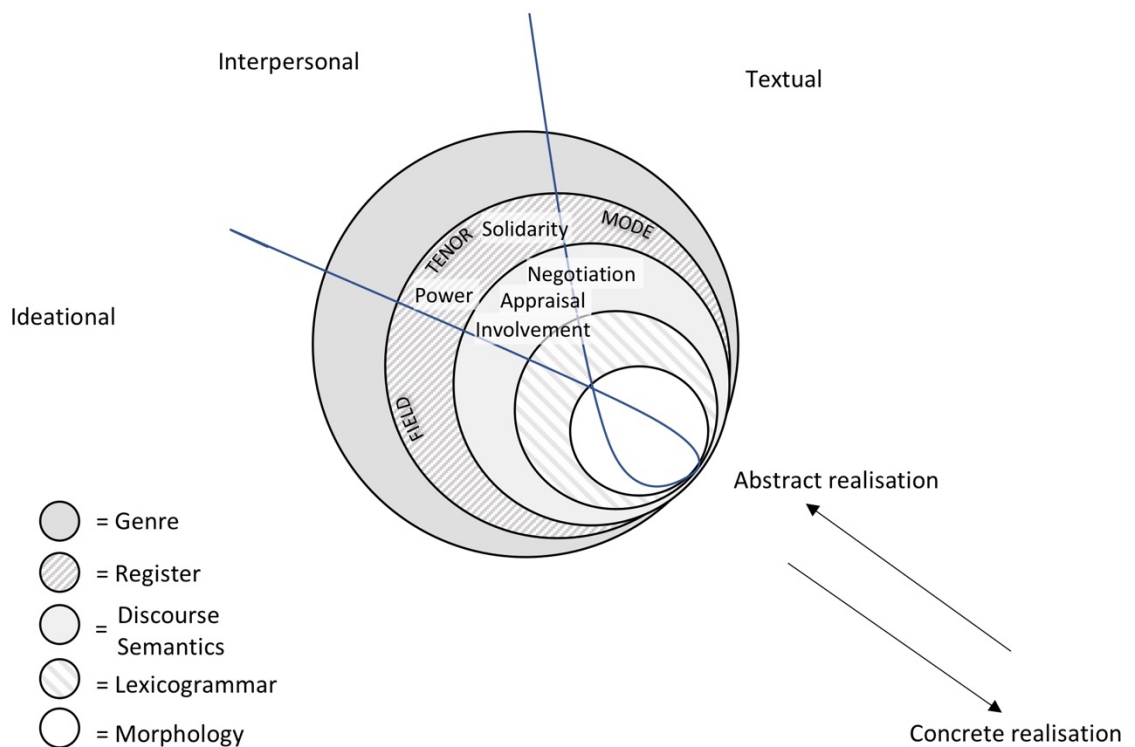


Figure 1. Locating appraisal within Martin and White's (2005) stratified model of contextual realisation

As such, appraisal groups can be over-lapping and multi-layered, which Khoo et al. (2012:871) acknowledge as a particular challenge to analysts. Their solution is to focus on elements of the system that are key to the research in hand when identifying appraisal group tokens (873). Furthermore, Macken-Horarik and Isaac (2014) emphasise the importance of adapting the established APPRAISAL model based on requirements of the text-type studied. Martin and White themselves (2005) declare their framework as a starting point rather than a

rigid system, and this flexibility allows APPRAISAL to be used in a variety of situations. The same flexibility, however, necessitates a careful marking of each analyst’s individual reading position and methodological approach (Fuoli, 2018).

The major tenets of APPRAISAL are illustrated in Figure 2. Three inter-relating systems allow analysts to identify features that (1), negotiate relationships between writer and reader (ENGAGEMENT); (2), express feeling towards a target (ATTITUDE); and (3), adjust the weight of an evaluation (GRADUATION).

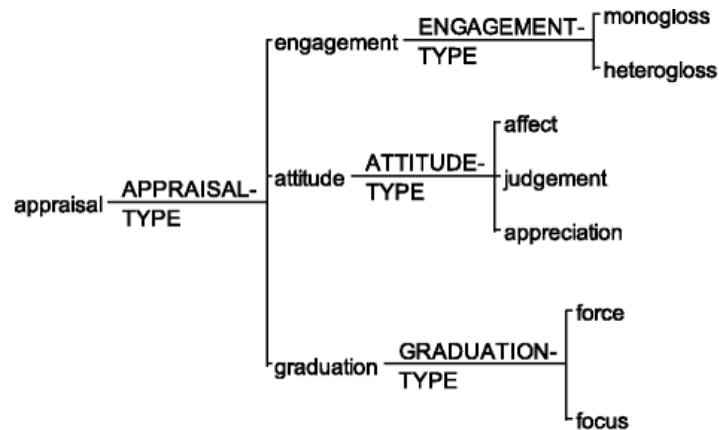


Figure 2. Initial levels of Martin and White’s (2005) APPRAISAL system

The feelings expressed as ATTITUDE are classed as AFFECT when articulated directly as emotional sensation, but can also be ‘institutionalized’ (Martin, 2000:147) as JUDGEMENT—when interpreted through a moral lens—or as APPRECIATION—when interpreted through an aesthetic lens (Figure 3). The FORCE or FOCUS of these feelings is communicated as varying in intensity through GRADUATION, while ENGAGEMENT is categorised by whether authors acknowledge the existence of other perspectives within their writing (HETEROGLOSS) or present their assessment as bare fact (MONOGLOSS). As is the nature of SFL, these categories extend into finer grained levels of detail as required.

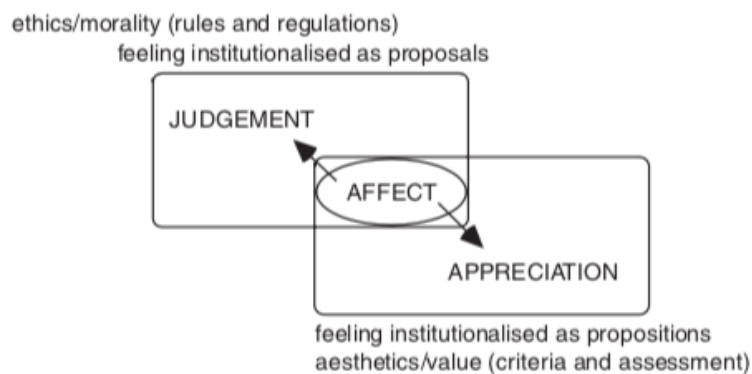


Figure 3. JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION as institutionalised AFFECT (Martin, 2000:147)



In her 2017 survey of APPRAISAL use within discourse analysis, Teresa Oteíza describes how corpus linguistic methodologies can be used to help systematise evaluative meanings (465), while Martin and White (2005:260) recommend quantitative investigation of APPRAISAL variables across corpora to complement their qualitative studies. Bednarek successfully combines elements of APPRAISAL theory with corpus methodologies as compatible tools in her study of ‘emotion talk’ (Thompson, 2010:400), but points out the labour intensive coding work necessitates the use of small corpora (Bednarek, 2006:8). Results can, however, be reinforced with triangulation of other methods from a larger corpus sample, and the following section elaborates on the approach used in this study.

## 2.2 Corpus Linguistics and keywords

Corpus Linguistics (CL) is a computational approach to identifying language patterns across collections of texts. Whilst often assumed to require large corpora amounting to millions or billions of words, the size of corpus is less important than ‘the representativeness and principled selection of the corpora compared’ (Gabrielatos, 2018:233). Research into smaller corpora of specialised genres has become increasingly common and such small, purpose built collections have been deemed more suitable for studies of particular discourse types because of the additional access they can provide to context (Handford, 2010, 2017). ‘Bottom-up’ approaches, which begin with quantification of textual features to derive text descriptions and analyses, are commonly referred to as ‘corpus-driven’, whilst ‘top-down’ approaches, which use pre-existing theory to determine how a corpus will be investigated in line with particular research queries, are frequently labelled ‘corpus-based’<sup>4</sup>—although some scholars dispute this binary distinction, as any analysis is always couched in theory (McEnery, 2012; Nartey and Mwinlaaru, 2019).

A number of analyses can be carried out using CL tools, and for reasons of space I shall limit the discussion here to that which is relevant to this research: keyword analysis<sup>5</sup>. It seems almost customary to begin a discussion of keywords in a corpus linguistic context with a comparison to the socio-cultural keywords of Raymond Williams (1976). The concept of ‘keyness’, that for Williams identifies salient concepts for a culture rooted in time and place—and, in more general use, tends to refer to any item of importance within a particular field—has a particular methodological basis in corpus linguistics. Words that are key in a text

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<sup>4</sup> See Tognini-Bonelli (2001)

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive introduction to the range of commonly employed corpus linguistic analyses, see Crawford and Csomay (2016)

or corpus are those that have ‘the greatest statistical prominence’ in comparison to a reference corpus (Scott and Tribble, 2006:163). Beyond simply words that are frequent within a corpus, keywords are those that are significantly *more* frequent in the focus corpus than in another and so are constitutive of the distinct textual character of that focus corpus (sometimes alternatively known as a target corpus). Analysis of keywords, therefore, can reveal underlying patterns in language that may not be available to intuition (Culpeper, 2009:50).

Corpus information can be categorised and coded by grammatical or semantic categories, the latter being ‘closely related to content analysis’ (Culpeper, 2009:46). Data from the focus corpus can be compared both against a larger and more general reference corpus, or another that is ‘related to the first in some way’ (Baker and McEnery, 2015:247). The crucial underlying notion is that if we wish to make statements about the way a phenomenon appears in any text type, this must be made relevant through comparison with the way it appears in other text types (Partington, 2008:219).

Mike Scott and Christopher Tribble (2006) conduct tests using a range of reference corpora to generate keyword lists for Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* and note that, while the choice of reference corpus is important in relation to the research purpose, there is a core of keywords that strongly identify the focus text against all four alternative reference corpora. Jonathan Culpeper (2002, 2009) has also researched keywords in *Romeo and Juliet*, but by comparing the speech of each of the six main characters against the speech of the other five. Although this creates much smaller reference corpora, they are more adapted to the goals of Culpeper’s particular study. Furthermore, Scott and Tribble (2006:64) suggest that this method may be preferable when looking for markers of individual difference between similarly constituted bodies of text. Culpeper himself asserts in later work that ‘the closer the relationship between the target corpus and the reference corpus, the more likely the resultant keywords will reflect something specific to the target corpus’ (2009:35).

The keyword research detailed in Culpeper (2002, 2009) and Scott and Tribble (2006) focuses primarily on the ‘aboutness’ of texts, although the latter acknowledge—and begin to explore in their penultimate chapter—the potential for ‘broader cultural analysis’ using keyword-based methodologies (168). More recent studies have indeed used keyword analysis to identify ideological standpoints that underlie the more overt messages of texts (e.g. Bondi, 2007; Lukač, 2011; Tabbert, 2015). Leslie Jeffries and Brian Walker (2017) use a corpus of political news articles from three UK broadsheets to identify new socio-cultural keywords in the vein of Williams’ (1976) influential work. Their study has been subject to some criticism that the empirical starting point of statistical keywords becomes unavoidably subjective in the

interpretations of the words' socio-political meaning (Schröter, 2018:3-4). Alan Partington (2008:190), however, argues that good corpus linguists 'exploit the interaction of intuition and data, giving balanced attention to analysis, description, interpretation, explanation', and the most pertinent part of Schröter's critique appears to be that the authors' own ideological standpoint is not clearly declared.

Partington's own work (Partington, 2008; Partington et al., 2013 e.g.) develops an approach that explicitly integrates corpus linguistic and discourse analysis methodologies, defined as Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis (CADS). The phrase 'corpus-assisted' manages to bypass the uncertain 'corpus-based'/'corpus-driven' dichotomy described earlier, and so is adopted for the purposes of this study. Moreover, CADS can be seen to elide with the recommendations of Paul Baker et al. (2008) for the application of CL methods in CDA research. A recent survey of published studies that have combined CL with distinctively critical approaches in the decades before and since the recommendations supports the argument for their productive synergy, concluding that:

*'corpus-based CDA presents both discourse analysts and corpus linguists with a robust methodology to tackle research questions bordering on discursive reflections of social issues and to identify new sites of public discourse for systematic analysis.'* (Nartey and Mwinlaaru, 2019:203)

This synergy addresses weaknesses that critics have highlighted in both CL and CDA. In CL this is a propensity to divorce language fragments from their context in use (Widdowson, 2000), which the social orientation of CDA foregrounds. In CDA, a major criticism has been of bias in selecting material for analysis (Widdowson, 1995; 1998), which developments in corpus analysis have flattened to a methodological consideration rather than an inherent flaw, allowing for 'replicable and valid findings' to be made (O'Grady, 2019:473). Like SFL, CL and CDA can both trace a lineage back to Firth—the former via John Sinclair's developments around collocation and contribution to computational methods, the latter through Critical Linguistics (Fowler et al., 1979)—and these shared roots have resulted in a particularly complementary set of approaches. An overview of CDA follows in the next section.

### **2.3 Critical discourse approaches**

Whilst CL and APPRAISAL, discussed above, are most clearly recognised as methodological and analytical *tools* respectively, CDA can be seen more as an analytic *approach* for which various tools can be used, and is characterised by a focus on social practice (Van Dijk, 1995). Beginning by exposing underlying causes of power imbalance as enacted through texts and

their relation to society, CDA ultimately aims to bring about social change (Fairclough, 1995). Prominently spearheaded by Norman Fairclough, CDA evolved when social and critical theory were added to the mix of Critical Linguistics (O'Grady, 2019:467), which was itself underpinned by Halliday's SFL (Fowler, 1987:483). Social reality and language use are seen to mutually influence each other in complex dialectical relations that CDA looks to uncover and influence. The broad macro-politics of gender, race and nationhood are often the subjects of CDA research, but its principles are also applied within micro-politic environments such as small communities or organisations (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010; *Genus*, 2014).

Mark Nartey and Isaac Mwinlaaru (2019:206) characterise the process of CDA in three steps: 'description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context'. However, they miss Fairclough's (2015[1989]:11) crucial final point of 'action'. Whilst it may remain unfeasible within the scope of most small—or even medium scale—linguistic research projects to begin enacting a process of change beyond awareness raising, this goal should not be abandoned by the wayside, and a distinct position should be taken towards social dynamics and how change might come about. Otherwise, a purportedly CDA project can easily veer in the direction of Widdowson's (1998) astringent critique of the approach and become glorified literary criticism applied outside of literary texts.

The main preoccupation of CDA is deconstructing power relations to reveal social injustice. Martin (2004) has described this approach as CDA 'realis', and introduces a CDA 'irrealis' (as a form that has yet to be substantially realised) which, conversely, works to promote empowering dynamics found in the same relations of texts, social practice, and societal structures. It is, perhaps, easier to visualise—and so undertake—the kind of productive action that this approach promotes than the deconstructive activities demanded of CDA realis, however Martin asserts that both approaches need to co-exist as complementary forces. In the same paper, Martin relabels CDA irrealis as PDA—'Positive Discourse Analysis'—and this angle has gained some traction with other scholars (e.g. Bartlett, 2012; Hughes, 2018; Nartey and Ernanda, 2019). Martin's own SFL contribution of APPRAISAL has been recognised as a particularly useful tool for CDA, because it can be used to reveal how 'the negotiation of solidarity between writers and readers legitimate certain positions and social values over others' (Oteiza, 2017:469). Importantly, for CDA studies to offer a valuable contribution they must rest their social resistance and emancipation activities on

‘solid linguistic description and analysis’—such as that which SFL and CL tools can offer—to ground the analyses (O’Grady, 2019:473).

The final section of this chapter describes the current field of circus criticism and relates some of the surrounding societal conditions that are key to the CDA dimension of this research, whilst also clarifying my own analytic position.

## **2.4 Circus criticism**

Nearly ten years ago, an article published by the French National Centre for Information on Street Art and Circus Arts, HorsLesMurs, noted that the idea of circus criticism was largely alien in Europe, outside of France and Finland (Hahn, 2010). The publication followed two four day seminars organised by HorsLesMurs and Circostrada—the European network for Circus and Street Arts—for cultural journalists to explore the intricacies of circus production and realisation. Through visits to shows and meetings with circus professionals, participants developed their understanding of the field and their ability to write knowledgeably on the subject. The writers, from eleven European countries, highlighted that their criticism is influenced both by the way circus is perceived in different countries, and by the various conventions of text form they might be required to produce (such as reviews, interviews, or feature articles). In a resulting publication, British dance critic Mary Brennan (2009:8) suggests that borrowing terminology from other fields in lieu of circus vocabulary is of little consequence. However, she does not consider the constraining effects of also borrowing discourses of value from elsewhere, which Bauke Lievens (2009:15-16) rightly describes in her own contribution as leading to ‘the neglect of a whole range of codes and dialectics specific to the circus piste’.

In the years since the initial HorsLesMurs initiative, it seems that little has changed within the British landscape of circus criticism and readers familiar with circus practice do not recognise appropriate knowledge of the sector in mainstream reviews (Kavanagh, Forthcoming, 2019). Notably, the UK has no national resource centre for research and communication around circus arts as other countries do, nor an established hub for academic research like those exemplified by Stockholm’s University of Dance and Circus (DOCH), Montréal’s Concordia University and École Nationale de Cirque, or the University of Münster’s Zirkuswissenschaft group.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that little linguistic attention has been afforded to circus criticism texts to date. Live performing arts review texts (PARS hereafter) of any kind are poorly represented in linguistic research, with apparently only four published papers all

originating from the CL research of David Roberts (1997; 1998; 1999, 2002). Roberts does not touch on evaluation within his papers and, though other types of review have more recently been considered in this light (e.g. Hyland and Diani, 2012; de Jong and Burgers, 2013; Carretero and Taboada, 2014), he suggests reviews of different cultural items should be considered as distinct genres (2002). This is in line with the SFL approach adopted for this research, where different review types are recognised as varieties of ‘response genre’ (Rose, 2011:220-222). Suffice to say, a study of evaluation in PARS of any kind is a contribution so far lacking.

My position as analyst is that of a frustrated circus fan-turned-critic. My background is in theatre, both creating and performing, yet the world of circus was invisible to me until a skills development opportunity with NoFit State Circus in 2008 thrust me inadvertently into a run of international circus festivals. On discovering the diversity and distinct qualities of circus as an artform, I wanted to learn more. However, I was thwarted by a conspicuous lack of critical discourse around the form, available neither via print or online texts, nor through conversation in the way I was familiar with in the theatre field. I eventually turned my hand to publishing reviews online to try and introduce a critical perspective I hadn’t been able to access before as an anglophone, and to encourage others from within the circus field to do the same. It remained clear that critical discourse within the circus practitioner community was very different to that presented in mainstream arts discourse, a fact that has been regularly presented to me in conversation as a problem in respect of marketing and promotion. This research aims to provide evidence that can be used to warrant a change in practice.

In a study undertaken at Edinburgh Festival Fringe, Shrum (1996) gives evidence that PARS’ value to the arts industry is not derived from any particular verdict, but from the mere existence of ‘secondary discourse’ (201). If, however, such secondary discourse excludes evaluative resources that determine whether an audience is able to engage with a production’s content, then that value is restricted to the minimal. Smith (1991:99) similarly characterises evaluations as ‘commodities of considerable value’, but goes further to explain the contingencies of this value. As artworks are amongst the objects for which value judgements are ‘highly subject-variable’ (100)—that is, with comparatively high divergence in values based on relatively low divergence in the individual circumstances of evaluators and their context—the institutional position of the evaluator and the assumed subject knowledge associated with that position become more important in a reader’s interpretation of the value judgement. Moreover, in the economy of cognitive process, new ideas must be connected to those previously held to enable a reader or listener to relate (106). Correspondingly, Conner

(2013) finds that if audience members' pre-existing understanding of what an arts event 'should be' is not met, they will not be able to connect with the experience (110). The effect of these corresponding phenomena is that an audience will be little able to appreciate an artwork or event unless they have been allowed the frame through which to do so, via public or private discourse. If the frame is limited, the level to which the event can be appreciated is likewise limited. In the context of this research, the institutional positioning of the three publications whose circus reviews are analysed, and the values express therein, are considered as delineating factors of the frames by which audience members can cognitively access and appreciate circus performance. Accordingly, the following chapters situate these publications in the public domain and present findings on the values they communicate.

### 3 Method

This chapter details the corpus used for the investigation, including the make-up of its various subcorpora, and the analytical procedures undertaken. The first section provides information on corpus collection and the sourced texts, followed by an explanation of the down-sampling process in section two. Sections three and four elaborate on the analytic approach, describing first the keyword method, and finally the analysis of APPRAISAL resources.

#### 3.1 Corpus collection

Typically of the CADS studies discussed in Section 2.2, this research uses ‘ad hoc specialised corpora’ (Partington, 2008:193). The four subcorpora used for the study were derived from the specially collected Circus Review Corpus 1996 (hereafter CirRC96). CirRC96 was taken from three British print publications, each selected for their distinct readership and positioning in relation to the circus arts: *The Catch*, *King Pole*, and *The Stage*. Respectively, these represent the nominally separate stakeholder groups of circus practitioners, circus fans, and the broader performing arts industry. From these publications, all the reviews of circus productions appearing in the UK during 1996 were collected<sup>6</sup>, resulting in a subcorpus from each publication, and a further subcorpus that takes material from each of the other three. The reviews from *The Catch* and *King Pole* were scanned from physical copies of the publications and converted to plain text documents using online software Smallpdf (2019), while those from *The Stage* were downloaded in automated OCR plain text from The British Newspaper Archive (2015-). All conversions were then checked for spelling and grammar against the scanned originals<sup>7</sup>, and any text that was not part of the target review was removed. A description of each publication and its contextual relevance shall be given in brief, followed by details of the down-sampling process that was used to create the subcorpora samples for comparative analysis.

*The Stage* is a weekly newspaper that was established in 1880 as the monthly *The Stage Directory—a London and Provincial Theatrical Advertiser*, becoming a weekly publication a year later at the same time as changing its name to the current form. Its readership is predominantly those working in or aspiring to careers within the UK performing arts industry, including stage and broadcast production but generally excluding the field of music (whilst music is, clearly, a performing art, the distinct term of ‘music industry’ is usually

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<sup>6</sup> The year was selected for pragmatic reasons as will be discussed later.

<sup>7</sup> Spelling errors in the originals were retained.



applied to separate it from theatrically driven arts). A review section has been a staple of the publication since its inception, and receiving a review from the paid writers of *The Stage* is a symbol of legitimacy for artists, regardless of the assessment. For example, during a focus group held last winter for circus practitioners to discuss circus criticism<sup>8</sup>, a performer who received a one-star review for a recent production described it as ‘the best press we’ve ever had’ because people sat up and took notice that the small production had been covered by the prestigious national paper. *The Stage* began operating a star rating system in their reviews in 2014, where one-star was designated for ‘appalling examples of their type that fail on every or nearly every level’, increasing to five-stars ‘used only for shows that are the very best of their kind’ (Shenton, 2014). There were no quantified evaluations accompanying the 1996 reviews used in this study, making the linguistically realised evaluations more pertinent.

The changes to the review section in 2014 were part of a larger shift in presentation, which also removed genre based section headings in the print edition. Online, section headings remain for navigation, using three of the major pre-existing distinctions (Theatre, Opera, and Dance), while combining Television and Radio into a single section, adding the heading of Various, and removing those of Light Entertainment and Showcase. When collecting the corpus from 1996 editions of the paper, circus productions were found to be positioned overwhelmingly within the Light Entertainment category. However, all sections were checked for appropriate shows, and one review was found under the Dance heading, and one within the mixed genre section of reviews from Edinburgh Festival Fringe. The defining features of circus remain contentious (Kann, 2018), and it is beyond the remit of this thesis to delve into such territory. For the purposes of collecting this corpus, I included reviews of all productions that were explicitly identified as circus, or that fit within the now-recognised single-discipline brand of contemporary circus performance that was just beginning to emerge in the 1990s (Lavers et al., 2019). This means shows consisting of just one conventionally identified circus skill, such as juggling, aerialism, or equestrian performance.

When collecting review texts from *King Pole*, no such selection was necessary, as the magazine is published by the Circus Friends Association (CFA) of Great Britain with the sole purpose of sharing news about the circus world. The glossy magazine is published quarterly and is provided to CFA members, with its production paid for from annual membership subscriptions and selling advertising space. Production of the magazine is managed by a

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<sup>8</sup> Conducted with approval from Cardiff University’s Ethics Committee as part of the requirements for this taught MA.

volunteer committee, and all content—including reviews—is submitted pro bono by members. The first *King Pole* in its current format was published in September 1969, and followed a previous CFA magazine called *The Sawdust Ring* that launched with the Association in 1934 and a series of shortlived editions that ran between 1938 and 1969. The magazine focuses predominantly on classical tenting circus, typified by a compilation of unconnected acts, often presented by a ringmistress or ringmaster, and commonly run as a family-based business. Variations from the classical format were becoming more common in the 1990s, and did receive some coverage over the period from which I collected the corpus, though rarely reported on in more recent years.

*The Catch* was a quarterly magazine that ran for 24 issues between 1992 and 1998 for the expanding community of new circus practitioners<sup>9</sup>, published on lightweight paper out of a Bristol address and distributed through juggling shops, events and postal subscription. It emerged from the juggling community, and maintained a focus on this area, subtitled ‘Juggling. New Circus. Street Theatre.’ The independently printed and distributed magazine was organised by the pseudonymic ‘Diabolo’, and also sold advertising space to cover costs while printing pro bono contributions from community members. Much of the content was about maintaining a circus practice, offering training tips and opportunities, and reporting on skills convention events, which typically involve a mixture of professional, semi-professional and amateur practitioners.

Since *The Catch*, there has been no print publication for the circus sector within the UK. As this is a stakeholder group whose values are particularly pertinent to explore, it was important that this study sample a period during which practitioners’ discursive presentations of the artform are recorded<sup>10</sup>. The previous (unpublished) study that led to this investigation (Kavanagh, 2019b)<sup>11</sup> explored evaluations within a corpus of reviews from *The Stage*—of all performance genres—sampled from 2006, 2002 and 1996. It seemed appropriate, therefore,

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<sup>9</sup> Historically, circus skills were predominantly transmitted through familial ties and apprenticeships (Jacob, 2018). The ‘New Circus’ movement that emerged out of liberal 1960s and 1970s ideologies saw an influx of practitioners to the field from non-circus backgrounds (Wall, 2013:259-261).

<sup>10</sup> Since the advent of the internet, a number of short-lived blogs have appeared that review circus productions from the perspective of practitioners in the UK, some with as few as a single post and three of notable longevity. Sideshow Magazine (Ellingsworth, 2009-2015) and LucyLovesCircus (Van Hove, 2014-2018) were both single author publications and so deemed unsuitable for this comparative study. The Circus Diaries (Kavanagh (ed.), 2013-) has, in recent years, begun to source multiple contributors but, as I have been the primary author and continue to act as editor of those contributions, it does not seem appropriate to include as a source for this project.

<sup>11</sup> The two unpublished studies cited in this dissertation are work I produced for assessment of taught modules during this MA programme.

to take 1996 as the period for this research, coinciding with both this previous work and the period during which *The Catch* was in circulation.

### 3.2 Sample selection

The three opportunistic sub-corpora collected for the study differ both in number of texts and in the average wordcount of collected texts (Table 1). Moreover, there was little overlap in the productions reviewed across sub-corpora. One single production was reviewed by all three publications—*Saltimbanco*, by Cirque Du Soleil at the Royal Albert Hall. These three ‘Saltimbanco’ texts were used as a subcorpus (CdS) for an initial comparative study, which provided indicative areas of similarity and difference between the three publications. A further five representative texts from each sub-corpus were selected for coding and analysis to see if these initial findings were supported, and whether anything new was revealed.

Table 1. Breakdown of CirRC96 data by subcorpus

Subcorpus	Total number of reviews	Total wordcount		Total number of authors
		tokens	types <sup>12</sup>	
<i>The Stage</i>	23	6483	5686	8
<i>King Pole</i>	33	26569	23005	18
<i>The Catch</i>	8	6290	5323	8
<i>CdS</i>	3	5728	4847	3

The first criterion for selecting the samples was to avoid reviews of student showcases, focusing only on professional productions, as non-professional work is rarely subject to the same level of criticism. Similarly, two reviews written by children of *King Pole* adult members were deemed ineligible for the sample to ensure consistent comparison between adult writers. The next criterion was to avoid duplicate authorship, in order to represent the different views that make up each publication-type’s projected value system instead of focussing on the projected values of a particular author. This was most pertinent in *The Stage* sub-corpus, where almost two thirds of the texts were written by Liz Arratoon. Her role with the publication in April 1996 was listed as ‘Picture Desk’, and she was also credited with proof reading responsibilities (Comerford, 1996). She has, however, continued to write about circus, and currently co-authors the website *The Widow Stanton* with her husband Adrian,

<sup>12</sup> ‘Tokens’ refers to the total number of words recorded, while ‘types’ refers to the total number of word varieties recorded. In the phrase ‘the cat sat on the mat’, for example, there are six tokens, but only five types, as ‘the’ is repeated.

publishing written interviews with cabaret and circus performers. On the ‘About’ page of *The Widow Stanton*, Liz Arratoon’s biography describes her as ‘*the circus critic for The Stage newspaper in the UK from 1993-2014, championing the art form at a time when no other journalists were interested in it*’ (Arratoon, —). Regardless of whether her role as a ‘circus critic’ was formalised during the 1996 period from which my texts were collected, it remains reasonable to accept that she had a level of expertise and interest in circus performance that stood her apart from the other reporters covering circus productions for *The Stage*, perhaps with values expressed in her writing more closely aligned with those of the *King Pole* fandom-type texts. There has been no ‘circus critic’, officially titled or otherwise, at *The Stage* since Liz Arratoon’s departure in 2014 so, as the aim of investigating texts from *The Stage* is to discover the values expressed by non-circus specialist writers publishing within the general performing arts industry media—the current approach of the publication—the decision was made not to replicate the dominance of Arratoon’s authorship within the analysed sample. Accordingly, the other sub-corpora were also subject to the same criterion of non-duplicated authors.

The third method used for narrowing the sample was to select the five texts (with non-duplicated authorship) closest to the median wordlength from each sub-corpus. The CdS texts had the highest wordcount in both *The Stage* and *King Pole* sub-corpora, and second highest in *The Catch*. In each case, the wordcount was well beyond the Median Absolute Deviation<sup>13</sup>. The texts closest to the median, however, remained the same regardless of whether or not the CdS ‘Saltimbanco’ texts were taken into consideration, making this a better marker of representativeness than proximity to the mean. Details of the selected sample texts can be seen in Table 2.

### 3.3 Keyword analysis

The keyword analysis in this study aims to highlight semantic areas that are given particular prominence in review texts, based on the understanding that if something is afforded attention, it is considered important and therefore representative of values. In line with Scott and Tribble’s (2006:58) assertion that a reference corpus ‘should be an appropriate sample of the language which the text we are studying[...]is written in’, the keyword analysis for each

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<sup>13</sup> This seems to reflect Bednarek and Caple’s (2017) observation that ‘Eliteness’—or celebrity—of an organisation tends to afford it more newsworthiness, and therefore more coverage.

subcorpus was conducted using the full CirRC96 as a reference corpus. With similar ‘aboutness’ in the overt content of the texts, this method is able to provide data on divergence

**Table 2. Sampled texts used for analysis from CirRC96**

<b>Text</b> <i>(TS=The Stage</i> <i>C=The Catch</i> <i>KP=King Pole)</i>	<b>Reviewed production</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Wordcount</b> <b>(tokens / types)</b>	<b>Subcorpora token count statistics</b>
TS-CdS	Saltimbanco	Liz Arratoon	418 / 369	TS Mean: 282 TS SD: 57 TS Median: 288 TS MAD: 23
TS-1	Caballo de Espana	Lisa Vanoli	294 / 259	
TS-2	Great Yarmouth Hippodrome	John McNamara	274 / 242	
TS-3	The Russian Circus	John Moore	339 / 299	
TS-4	Stung	Emma Manning	266 / 235	
TS-5	Superdome Circus	Robin Duke	246 / 217	
C-CdS	Saltimbanco	(‘Diabolo’?) <sup>14</sup>	1212 / 1015	C Mean: 786 C SD: 577 C Median: 554 C MAD: 262
C-1	Blink	Anja	248 / 207	
C-2	Chinese State Circus	The Sandman	881 / 737	
C-3	Die, Circus, Die	Nils Doon	586 / 490	
C-4	Gandini Juggling Project (1)	Bill Sheldrick	522 / 437	
C-5	Gandini Juggling Project (2)	Haggis McLeod	337 / 282	
KP-CdS	Saltimbanco	David Jamieson	4098 / 3549	KP Mean: 805 KP SD: 679 KP Median: 709 KP MAD: 245
KP-1	Bobby Roberts Super Circus	Andrew Lewis	668 / 578	
KP-2	Circus Ginnett	John Exton	643 / 556	
KP-3	Circus Atlas	Mark Twitchett	810 / 701	
KP-4	Circus King	Sheila and Chris Elsey	827 / 716	
KP-5	Zippos Circus	John Cooper	709 / 614	

<sup>14</sup> No author is attributed to this review, leading me to suspect it was written by the magazine editor, ‘Diabolo’.

between the different subcorpus publications. The CdS subcorpus was also referenced against the full CirRC96, as the ‘Saltimbanco’ texts’ extreme difference in wordlength from each publication’s average already indicates that they are out of the ordinary for their publication. Finally, keyword lists were generated comparing each publication-based subcorpus to enTenTen15—a publicly available web-crawled corpus comprising fifteen billion words of English<sup>15</sup>—to provide a basis for comparing similarities between each set of reviews. The decisions made regarding statistical tests were minimal, relying for the most part on the *Sketch Engine* defaults. The *Sketch Engine* keywords application measures effect size (Gabrielatos, 2018) with a formula of

$$\frac{fpm_{focus} + n}{fpm_{ref} + n}$$

, whereby ‘ $fpm_{focus}$  is the normalised (per million) frequency of the word in the focus corpus,  $fpm_{ref}$  is the normalised (per million) frequency of the word in the reference corpus,  $n$  is the simple Maths (smoothing) parameter’ (Lexical Computing Ltd, 2015). While the default smoothing parameter ( $n$ ) is 1, this study used 2.5. With a scale that goes up to 1000, this low setting displays the rarest words nearest to the top of the list and is thus most likely to present ‘contentful’ lexical words (Culpeper, 2009:42), as opposed to a high setting which would be most likely to rank grammatical function words first.

Searches were made using the Advanced options, locating keywords by lemma, regardless of capitalisation. In such a way, the verb forms *dancing*, *Dance*, and *danced*, for example, would all be counted as instances of the same word, allowing maximum possible capture for a concept. With these conditions in place, a final setting adjustment was made to ensure only (lemmatised) words occurring at least three times in the focus corpus would be counted, thereby avoiding potential skewing of data by hapax legomena (words that only occur in a single instance). Although Culpeper (2009:35-36) suggests that a minimal occurrence of ten times is a usual cut off, he warns that this might not be appropriate for small data sets, and his own research used a minimum occurrence of five. As mentioned above, this research is concerned with capturing a maximum number of concepts, and the dispersion of keywords across texts within each subcorpus was checked through concordancing.

A concordance line is an instance of the keyword as found in its original context, with preceding and succeeding co-text provided around the keyword as ‘node’. Concordance lines were also checked for contextual meaning to avoid polysemous words being counted

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<sup>15</sup> See Jakubíček et al. (2013)

synonymously in error. The first 100 keywords in each list were manually coded into categories to identify particular trends in the language use that could indicate where value was being attributed (or not) in each subcorpus. Baker (2006) describes this ‘key categories’ approach of looking beyond the lexical level to shared semantic meanings or grammatical functions as ‘a useful way of revealing[...]the existence of particular discourse types’ (143). Initial categories for this analysis were set out based on tacit knowledge of the field and previous unpublished research (Kavanagh, 2019a), but these evolved in response to the data that emerged (Table 3).

In some cases it might be possible to anticipate where polysemy is likely to be found in the dispersion of a keyword across texts and where cross-referencing would therefore be required, for example, in *launch*, which appears in this data set: does it refer to the launch of a new production, or the launch of an acrobat’s body, or even an intuitively unconnected NASA space launch? However, it is important when conducting the analysis to ensure *all* keywords are checked by concordance, regardless of whether or not they appear to be ambiguous (Baker, 2006:128). This can be illustrated by examples of keywords found in the names of shows, companies, or acts (Appendix D:92). Across eight texts, *death* is used five times for a type of human-powered rotating cage equipment known as the Wheel Of Death, twice for a spherical cage for motorcycle riders popularly called a Globe of Death, and once in the describing the ‘narrative contents’ (Bednarek, 2014) of an acted skit where a character was ‘clubbed to death’. Nine texts use *liberty* to refer to a type of equestrian presentation, which is the exclusive use of the word in the corpus. The word *imagination* appears four times across three texts, for the names of two separate productions, and once describing affect in ‘caught the public imagination’. These examples show word usage beyond what intuition is able to guess at, and therefore the necessity of checking concordance lines before categorising the keywords.

In the earlier example of *dancing*, *Dance*, and *danced*, not all instances of the wordform *Dance* would necessarily be counted under the ‘dance’ lemma, as noun usage and verb usage are separated by the *Sketch Engine*’s autotagger. This potentially skews the frequencies that determine the keywords lists and is a limitation of the method. Within this data, as illustration, the lemmatiser fails to recognise an instance of *Setting* as a version of the verb ‘to set’, and similarly misses one instance of the verb *staging* whilst incorrectly including one instance of the noun *staging* amongst its verb count. A further interrogation of this project’s limitations is reserved for the ‘Discussion’ chapter (Chapter 5:53), but these examples demonstrate that keyword lists derived from automated lemmas can only give an indication

of a language sample’s actual patterns, reinforcing the importance of triangulation with other analysis methods.

**Table 3. Keyword categorisation types**

<b>Category label</b>	<b>Description</b>
Proper noun 1	Names of humans, including stage names (e.g. <i>Trio Harlequin</i> )
Proper noun 2	Names of shows/art objects/cultural products (e.g. a song or magazine)
Proper noun 3	Names of companies
Proper noun 4	Names of locations in time or space
Prop	Can be glossed as ‘a noun that is an accessory to the performed act’, including animals and sound technology.
Performance discipline	If the item is preceded by 'on', it is categorised as a Prop (above), otherwise it’s a Discipline. For example, in ‘performing <i>on</i> keyboards/aerial hoop’ the keyboard/aerial hoop is a Prop, whereas in ‘performing keyboards/aerial hoop’ the same word form is a Discipline
Human/s	Categorisation (Van Leeuwen, 2008) or pronominal reference
Performing arts nouns	Nouns that have a specific meaning in relations to performance not covered above. For example ‘circus’, or ‘show’
Other nouns	Nouns that do not fall into any of the above categories
Action of performance/creation	Verbs that refer to an element of the enacted performance or to the production process
Non-performance action	Verbs that do not fall into the above category
Adjective or descriptive adverb	Any adjective, or adverbs that characterise how a thing exists or behaves <sup>16</sup>
Function words	Also commonly called ‘grammatical words’. These include prepositions, determiners, modal verbs, conjunctions, exclamations, and non-descriptive adverbs

<sup>16</sup> Typically, these would be adverbs commonly referred to as Adverbs of Manner, Adverbs of Time, Adverbs of Place, and Viewpoint or Commenting Adverbs (EducationFirst, 2019), although not all of these fit the descriptive category as conceived here.



### 3.4 APPRAISAL coding

The APPRAISAL analysis in this study aims to uncover the broad evaluative character of circus reviews as a genre, and of the subcorpora as text-types presenting potentially distinct value systems. The down-sampled subcorpora were annotated for APPRAISAL using the free UAM CorpusTool software (O'Donnell, 2008a; 2008b). Of the various corpus tools available, UAM is notable for its dedicated facilities for APPRAISAL analysis (O'Donnell, 2014:100) and, accordingly, has been used in a number of corpus studies investigating evaluation (e.g. Trnavac et al., 2016; Hu and Tan, 2017). According to Matteo Fuoli (2018), the first principle of maximising reliability and replicability in APPRAISAL analysis is to account for all coding decisions by creating a context specific annotation manual, providing 'explicit and detailed guidelines that other researchers can review and use' (249). Discourse analysts such as Fuoli (2018) and Baker (2019) advise that decision making rules should develop through familiarity with the data and its own particularities, echoing Scott and Tribble's (2006:163) assertion that a bottom up approach is the 'proper procedure' for corpus research. Accordingly, the guidelines detailed in the following sections evolved through my own growing familiarity with the texts, with the ultimate coding strategy focusing more on projected values than writerly approach. Figure 4 shows the adapted version of Martin and White's (2005) APPRAISAL network that is used for this study, and the following sections clarify the way in which it is interpreted.

#### 3.4.1 Units

The length of coded tokens—or 'appraisal groups'—is determined by the coupling of one APPRAISED target with one APPRAISAL type. There is no limit here to the number of times a single lexical item or phrase can be coded if multiple APPRAISAL types can be polysemously attributed. Similarly, tokens can be nested in a 'Russian Doll' manner (Thompson, 2014), within the limits of a sentence (See Read and Carroll, 2012:432,440). The nature of review texts is that their major purpose of the whole is to evaluate the subject in question<sup>17</sup>. However, the cumulative effect of the coded tokens is not taken into account for this study as I am interested in the types of elements that are evaluated on the way to the overall evaluation. This 'greedy' tagging best suits my purpose to capture the maximum relevant data.

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<sup>17</sup> While it may seem self-evident that a review's main purpose is to evaluate, it can also be argued that editorial policies of different publications may variously prioritise purposes of reader entertainment or education.

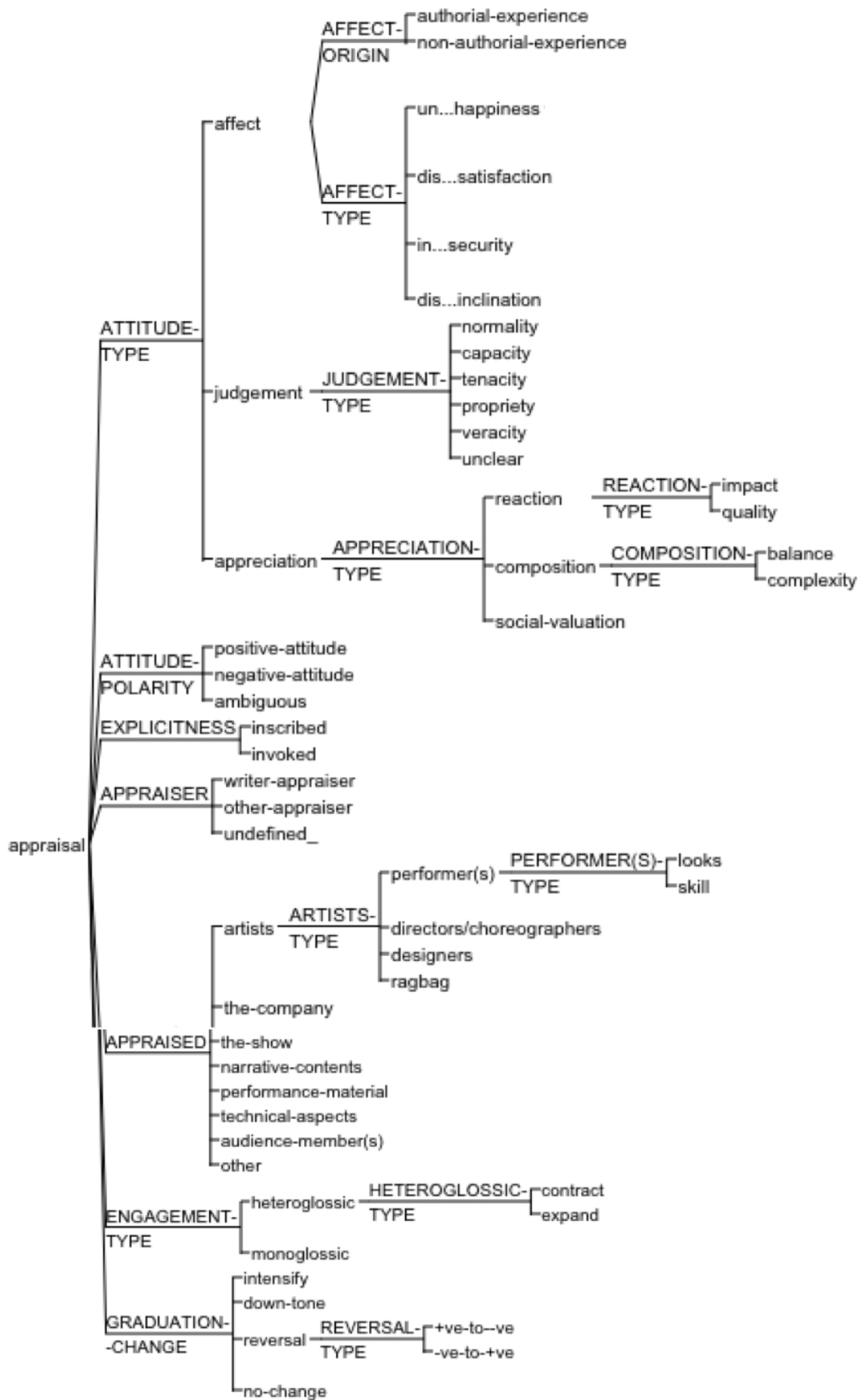


Figure 4. Adapted APPRAISAL network for this circus review study

In illustration, drawing on Read and Carroll's (2012:432) example phrase [1], interpretation within the framework of this research would include two APPRAISAL tokens for [2], as listed in [3] and [4].

[1] *the design* was deceptively simple

[2] deceptively simple

[3] simple (APPRECIATION:COMPOSITION:COMPLEXITY; POSITIVE-ATTITUDE)

[4] deceptively (APPRECIATION:REACTION:IMPACT; POSITIVE-ATTITUDE)

In each case the evaluated object is *the design*—the APPRAISED target is the same for each token, as it is not relevant to this research to consider that the 'simple'-ness is being evaluated in isolation from the design target. The fact that the phrase evaluates the 'simple'-ness differently to an alternative phrasing, such as [5], would be acknowledged additionally via the system of GRADUATION.

[5] the design was simple

### 3.4.2 GRADUATION

Rather than Martin and White's (2005) standard GRADUATION scheme of FOCUS and FORCE, this research adopts Trnavač et al's (2016:178) network of CHANGE, identifying the way a polarity of positivity or negativity is increased or decreased via resources of *Intensify*, *Down-tone*, *Reversal* or *No\_Change*. This change is applied when an evaluative token can retain its ideational sense with the removal of lexical parts, as in the same example where removing [1] does not affect the coding of [2] in evaluating *the design* of [3], and therefore a function of [1] is adjusting the polarity—in this case, increasing its positiveness: [4].

[1] deceptively

[2] simple (APPRECIATION:COMPOSITION:COMPLEXITY; POSITIVE-ATTITUDE)

[3] *the design* was deceptively simple

[4] deceptively simple (APPRECIATION:COMPOSITION:COMPLEXITY; POSITIVE-ATTITUDE;  
GRADUATION:INTENSIFY)

Based on this principle, semantic differences in intensity expressed through near-synonyms of the same polarity are not coded differently for GRADUATION. For example, [5] would receive the same coding as [6], namely APPRECIATION:REACTION:IMPACT; POSITIVE-ATTITUDE.

[5] an exquisitely executed somersault

[6] a well executed somersault

In the case that one target is appraised with two identical APPRAISAL type items in a ‘\_ and \_’ formation, the two items will be coded as a single token with GRADUATION:INTENSIFY. For example, [7] would be a single token of APPRECIATION:REACTION:IMPACT, in contrast to the two tokens coded from a mixed type construction such as [8].

[7] bright and gleaming

[8] intricate and daring

In the former, either word could be removed and the ideational sense retained, therefore the ‘\_ and \_’ construction has a function of intensification, but the same is not true of the latter, necessitating instead two distinct tokens (APPRECIATION:COMPOSITION:COMPLEXITY and JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY), each with GRADUATION:NO\_CHANGE.

### 3.4.3 JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION

In a majority of APPRAISAL literature, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION types are differentiated by whether or not their APPRAISED target is a human. This anthropocentric division is not convincing, as language in use often attributes ethical or moral dimensions to non-human targets with evaluative lexis (Bednarek, 2009). Such attribution is often an indication of nominalisation (Fowler et al., 1979), and to overlook it seems remiss in a CDA oriented study. For example, ‘ethical make-up’ would be traditionally tagged as APPRECIATION:REACTION:IMPACT, despite the clear semantic connection to the Social Sanction of PROPRIETY through the term ‘ethical’. By tagging such tokens for JUDGEMENT instead, it is possible to investigate a corpus not just in terms of what qualities are evaluated positively or negatively, but also in terms of where human actors are silenced. A bath product cannot be ethical in itself. The people who produce the make-up are those who are ethical or otherwise, but in this linguistic construction they are protected from direct evaluation by the anonymity of complex nominalisation<sup>18</sup>.

With a similarly CDA driven agenda, tagging human targets with APPRECIATION evaluations, traditionally reserved for non-human targets, can reveal where objectification and othering occurs. ‘An attractive dancer’, for example, does not fit easily within the Social Esteem categories of NORMALITY, CAPACITY or TENACITY, but is more naturally tagged as would be ‘an attractive carpet’ - REACTION:IMPACT. Qualities of ‘likeability’, in this manner, will all be tagged consistently, regardless of whether the target is human or otherwise. This

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<sup>18</sup> This construction also implies a positive judgement of PROPRIETY on the purchaser of such a product, a clever marketing tool (or—to deconstruct the CAPACITY judgement here and reveal the underlying actors—a tool clever marketers employ).

approach echoes Sue Hood’s coding gloss of JUDGEMENT as evaluation of character and behaviour, APPRECIATION as evaluation of things—where ‘things’, in the sense of objects named with nouns, includes humans—and AFFECT as expression of feelings or emotions (Hood, 2004:74).

When applause or other mass audience reaction is described, indicating that the author judges the performance to have been deemed worthwhile by those around them, APPRECIATION:SOCIAL VALUATION is used.

#### **3.4.4 EXPLICITNESS**

Explicitness, following Martin And White’s (2005) framework, is coded as either an INSCRIBED or an INVOKED realisation. In this research, INSCRIBED is used for lexical expressions that are unambiguous in their evaluative function, taking into consideration conventions of the circus review text type. (For example, to be ‘distracted’ in some situations can be a positive – such as being distracted from pain – but, in the context of PARS, to be distracted from the show is a negative in unmarked usage). INVOKED tokens are those that use phrases or metaphors that can be interpreted as providing an evaluative function by someone familiar with the circus review field, but which may be ambiguous or interpreted differently outside of the analysed context and co-text. Context is therefore taken into consideration when coding. For example, [1] can only be tagged as positive evaluation when considered in light of earlier comments [2]. However, it is easy enough to imagine another possible context where polarities of the surrounding INSCRIBED phrases were inverted as in [3], and then [1] would be read as a negative token (cf. Hood, 2004:86).

[1] a supremely confident swagger

[2] astonishing hand-balancing; tops; honed to perfection; breathtaking lifts and counterbalances

[3] dull hand-balancing; the pits; weak and flabby; yawn-inducing lifts and counterbalances

#### **3.4.5 Who is the APPRAISER?**

The APPRAISER network used in this research differentiates between the writer’s own evaluation and their reporting of other people’s evaluations. If this is unclear, as in [1], an ‘UNDEFINED\_’ tag is available.

[1] entrancing everyone from the start, as expected<sup>19</sup>

When the APPRAISAL type is AFFECT, the tags can identify the writer's own feeling (AUTHORIAL-EXPERIENCE), or the feeling of others. If the writer expresses the feelings of others, the token is tagged NON-AUTHORIAL-EXPERIENCE, even if their own feelings are also included within a broader group. This is also used when it's unclear whether the feelings of others are included or not, for example, in [2]; is the author using 'your' to refer solely to themselves, or to imply others were experiencing the same?

[2] there was so much going on that your eye was distracted

In combination, these options allow for analysis to record the difference between the writer saying what they feel, the writer saying what someone else feels, the writer reporting another person saying what they feel, or the writer reporting another person saying what a third party feels.

### 3.4.6 APPRAISED

The APPRAISED system is a variation of Martin and White's (2005) TARGET system, which identifies the object being evaluated within each token. The categories (Table 4) come from my familiarity with the text-type, my previous research into APPRAISAL in PARS, my CDA orientation and the texts themselves.

I also introduced a further coding layer (Figure 5) that sits outside of the APPRAISAL framework to capture additional information about the representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Ultimately the finer grained detail of this data was not included within the analyses reported here, but remains an avenue for potential future study.

The following chapter presents the analyses facilitated by these coding procedures in a prosodic fashion appropriate to evaluation research, before Chapter 5 (53) addresses their broader implications for people who create and consume circus.

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<sup>19</sup> As I read this, it can either be interpreted as the writer expecting everyone to be entranced from the start, or as everyone expecting to be entranced from the start. Rather than arbitrarily select one, using UNDEFINED\_ records the ambiguity construed through the writer's choices.

Table 4. APPRAISED categorisation types

APPRAISED	Description
Artist	Distinct humans, individually or as groups, who perform in or contribute to the creation of a production (e.g. acrobat, director, sound operator)
Company	The reviewed performing company as a distinct entity (e.g. Cirque du Soleil)
Show	The reviewed production as a distinct entity (e.g. <i>Saltimbanco</i> )
Performance material	Elements of the reviewed production as experienced live, performed/created by Artists (e.g. an act, the lighting, a somersault)
Technical aspects	Logistical elements of the reviewed production that enable live performance (e.g. rigging, trucks, lighting equipment)
Audience member(s)	Humans who attend live entertainment
Other shows	Productions that aren't the reviewed production
Other	Any other target

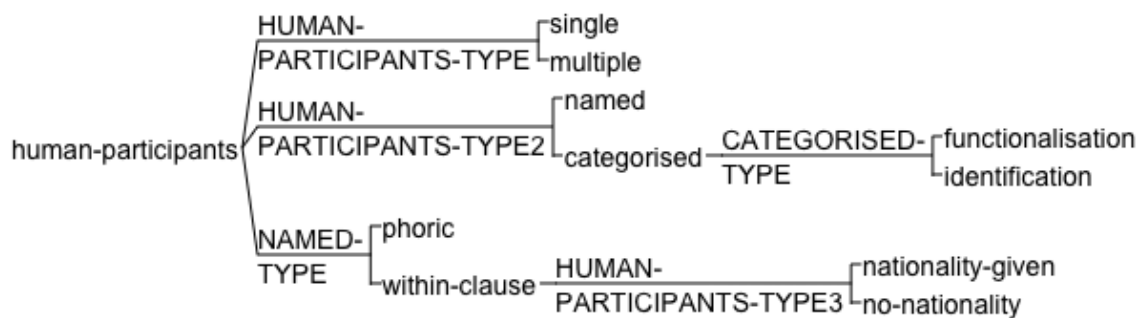


Figure 5. Coding network for representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 2008)

## 4 Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the keyword and APPRAISAL analyses conducted across each of the subcorpora. The first section provides findings from the pilot analysis of the three ‘Saltimbanco’ reviews that make up the Cirque Du Soleil (CdS) subcorpus, comparing across all three publications. The following three sections explore the wider results of each publication in turn. The final section of this chapter returns to cross-comparison discoveries, relating similarities and differences between the publications. The further implications of these discoveries in respect of their publication-type and readership are discussed in Chapter 5.

### 4.1 ‘Saltimbanco’

The keyword analysis for the ‘Saltimbanco’ texts compares each of the three reviews against the full CdS subcorpus as reference, and the number of keywords returned for each text appears to reflect the different text-lengths. Table 5 records categorisations of the first 100 keywords, and the sole text to exceed this number in total is *King Pole*, with 163 keywords identified by Sketch Engine, compared to 64 for *The Catch* and 11 for *The Stage*. This increase is not proportional however, as the *King Pole* review contains roughly three times as many words as *The Catch*’s review, which in turn contains roughly three times as many as the review from *The Stage*. The number of keywords relative to total word types amounts to 3% in the review from *The Stage*, 6% for *The Catch*, and 5% for *King Pole*. Although these differences are small, it suggests that there is most variety in the way circus is discussed in *The Catch* and *King Pole* with least in *The Stage*.

When the three texts were further compared against the enTenTen15 reference corpus, the keyword lists for each text were surprisingly similar in size and content to those already retrieved. Of the 11 keywords listed for *The Stage*’s review, nine were identical between the two reference corpora. Of the 68 keywords listed for *The Catch*’s review, 60 were identical to those on the original list. Of the top 100 listed keywords for *King Pole*’s review, however, only 61 are shared across reference corpora<sup>20</sup>. The purpose of comparing the texts against the enTenTen15 corpus was to establish key areas the three reviews have in common, so it isn’t a concern how much or how little discussion of circus is included within the larger corpus. However, it would be interesting for future study to collect a corpus of public texts that

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<sup>20</sup> A further 60 keywords are shared beyond the top 100, with all but one of the original 163 appearing in the 200 generated from enTenTen15. The enTenTen15 list introduces 16 new keywords into its top 100.



include the word ‘circus’ to analyse how the subject is typically reflected in mainstream public discourse beyond review texts.

**Table 5. Keyword categories for CdS subcorpus ranked by frequency in top 100 keywords<sup>21</sup>**

<i>n</i> normalised to parts per 1000 words	<i>The Stage</i> (369 word types)		<i>The Catch</i> (1015 word types)		<i>King Pole</i> (3549 word types)		Total CdS subcorpus (4933 word types)	
	CdS <i>n</i> (%)	enTenTen15 <i>n</i> (%)	CdS <i>n</i> (%)	enTenTen15 <i>n</i> (%)	CdS <i>n</i> (%)	enTenTen15 <i>n</i> (%)	CirRC96 <i>n</i> (%)	enTenTen15 <i>n</i> (%)
PN 1 (human name)	-	-	-	-	1% (1)	2% (2)	9% (9)	10% (10)
PN 2 (title of cultural item)	-	-	-	-	4% (4)	4% (4)	4% (4)	4% (4)
PN 3 (company name)	-	-	2% (1)	3% (2)	3% (3)	4% (4)	5% (5)	6% (6)
PN 4 (location)	-	-	-	-	16% (16)	14% (14)	16% (16)	12% (12)
Prop	-	-	2% (1)	1% (1)	1% (1)	9% (9)	5% (5)	10% (10)
Performance discipline	-	-	-	-	-	4% (4)	1% (1)	4% (4)
Human/s	-	-	9% (6)	9% (6)	5% (5)	6% (6)	3% (3)	7% (7)
Performing arts nouns	-	9% (1)	9% (6)	9% (6)	17% (17)	25% (25)	6% (6)	21% (21)
Other nouns	-	-	3% (2)	3% (2)	11% (11)	5% (5)	17% (17)	5% (5)
Action of performance/creation	-	-	-	-	3% (3)	2% (2)	2% (2)	3% (3)
Non-performance action	9% (1)	9% (1)	16% (10)	13% (9)	8% (8)	3% (3)	8% (8)	-
Adjective or descriptive adverb	-	-	3% (2)	3% (2)	20% (20)	20% (20)	13% (13)	16% (16)
Function words	91% (10)	82% (9)	56% (36)	59% (40)	11% (11)	1% (1)	11% (11)	2% (2)

<sup>21</sup> For category definitions see Table 3:23. For coded keyword lists see Appendix B:86.

The results of this pilot comparison are naturally inconclusive regarding the publications more widely, but highlight initial distinctions between the texts rather than similarities. While each text has its ‘robust core’ of keywords (Scott and Tribble, 2006:64), there is little overlap in their dispersion amongst categories (Table 5). The most similarity that can be seen is a roughly approximate level of performing arts nouns, however Scott and Tribble (2006:72) found nouns are particularly likely to feature prominently in keyword lists so this is not a surprising discovery. Conversely, the same study found that proper nouns have an even higher likelihood of appearing, so their relative scarcity in these texts is noteworthy. It suggests a lack of direct credit to performers and creatives involved in the production, and hints that if individual arts workers are referred to, it is more likely to be in metonymic, nominalised forms than by name.

The frequencies of keyword categories when comparing the CdS subcorpus against the full CirRC96 correspond closely to the *King Pole* text’s results, indicating that they are influenced by the significant difference in wordcounts rather than giving a balanced representation of how the famed Cirque Du Soleil might be discussed in different terms than those used for the smaller productions that make up the bulk of the corpus. With this imbalance in mind, the pilot APPRAISAL analysis was limited to comparing the three texts between themselves on a proportionate basis.

Analysis of the various APPRAISED targets reinforces the indication that *The Stage* review ascribes value to the least variety of element types. The difference here is more marked than in the keywords analysis, with seven different APPRAISED categories appearing in evaluative tokens for *The Stage*, compared to 13 in *King Pole* and 16 in *The Catch*. The top five categories for each text appear in

Table 6, showing that the performance material—the contents of someone’s act or contribution—and artists themselves were consistently given high evaluative attention, suggesting that these are the elements most highly valued in each publication (although the artists themselves are somewhat less valued than the acts they present).

**Table 6. Top ranking APPRAISED items in CdS texts  
as a percentage of total APPRAISAL tokens per text**

<i>The Stage</i>	<i>The Catch</i>	<i>King Pole</i>
Performance material 30%	Performance material 29%	The show overall 28%
Artists 23%	Artists 16%	Performance material 23%
The show overall 23%	The company 15%	Artists 15%
Technical elements 14%	Other shows 10%	The company 9%
Audience members 7%	The show overall 9%	Venue/location 7%

While the *King Pole* text focuses its attention on elements exclusively connected with the reviewed production, *The Stage* considers elements which can be seen to link the circus production more easily with other types of performance that the newspaper might cover, which all similarly require technical operations and an audience. *The Catch* text appears to contextualise the reviewed production in the light of other shows with which its readers might be familiar. Moreover, *The Catch*'s review was the only one found to directly reference the interpersonal relationship of both reader and writer in its evaluative tokens, lending more weight to the suggestion that this publication may be the most inclined to outward-looking, discursive representations of circus. This indication is further supported by the finding that nearly 20% of the APPRAISAL tokens in the review from *The Catch* are heteroglossic, next to just over 10% in *The Stage* and under 5% in *King Pole*. Other results suggest *King Pole* may be more oriented to values of convention, with the highest percentages of both APPRECIATION:SOCIAL VALUATION and JUDGEMENT:NORMALITY tokens in its review (Table 7).

The most common ATTITUDE types across all three texts are JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY and APPRECIATION:REACTION:IMPACT. AFFECT receives little acknowledgement, suggesting that the publications' writers ascribe little value to communicating the direct sensations experienced when visiting a circus production. The review from *The Stage* contains the most evaluations of AFFECT, and also has a noticeably larger proportion of APPRECIATION:REACTION:QUALITY than seen in the other texts. These tokens outnumber

those for AFFECT in this review, and this could be read as a tendency of the paper to repackage expressions of direct experience into authoritative aesthetic interpretations of that experience. Instead of ‘I was amazed’, for example, a repackaging into ‘it was amazing’ heightens the monoglossic character of the text with a projected sense of objectivity, silencing the writer as a participant in the communicative act. Combining the two ATTITUDE categories in this manner puts evaluations of direct experience into tied most populous position for *The Stage* alongside JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY, showing a distinct difference from the other two texts.

**Table 7. ATTITUDE resources in CdS subcorpus**

n normalised to parts per 1000 words	AFFECT	JUDGEMENT					APPRECIATION						
		NORM.	CAP.	TEN.	PROP.	VER.	SOC. VAL.	COMP.	REAC.				
									IMP.	QUAL.			
<i>The Stage</i> (n=103.1)	11% (11.7)	32% (32.8)	0% (0)	79% (25.8)	7% (2.3)	14% (4.7)	0% (0)	57% (58.6)	12% (7)	24% (14.1)	64% (37.5)	62% (23.4)	38% (14.1)
<i>The Catch</i> (n=77.5)	8% (6.5)	50% (38.7)	19% (7.3)	67% (25.8)	2% (0.8)	4% (1.6)	8% (3.2)	42% (32.3)	15% (4.8)	17% (5.6)	68% (21.8)	100% (21.8)	0% (0)
<i>King Pole</i> (n=43.7)	7% (2.9)	33% (14.5)	32% (4.6)	41% (6)	7% (1)	7% (1)	13% (1.9)	60% (26.3)	19% (5.1)	12% (3.1)	69% (18.1)	91% (16.4)	9% (1.7)

A surprising feature of the CdS texts was that only *The Stage* used DOWNTONE resources more frequently in negatively loaded tokens than in positively loaded ones. Previous research has shown that review texts are more likely to hedge negative evaluations than positive ones (Shaw, 2009:220), so the texts from *King Pole* and *The Catch* are unusual in not conforming to this pattern. Similarly, the reviews from *The Catch* and *The Stage* appear unusual in that a larger proportion of their negative tokens are INSCRIBED than their positive ones. All the texts conform to expectation in boosting more positive evaluations than negative ones, using the INTENSIFY resource, but it is notable that the review from *The Catch*—the circus practitioner magazine—is the most overtly critical, both in its use of these resources, and in its overall make-up (Table 8).

**Table 8. POLARITY resources in CdS subcorpus**

<i>n</i> normalised to parts per 1000 words	<i>The Stage</i> ( <i>n</i> =103.1)	<i>The Catch</i> ( <i>n</i> =77.5)	<i>King Pole</i> ( <i>n</i> =43.7)
POSITIVE	73% (74.9)	63% (49.2)	67% (29.2)
NEGATIVE	16% (16.4)	33% (25.8)	24% (10.6)
AMBIGUOUS	11% (11.7)	3% (2.4)	9% (3.9)

These indicative findings give a point of departure for the analysis of the larger corpus samples that follows, and also provide a base to consider any potential effect that text length might have on the results. When normalised to parts per 1000, the number of evaluative tokens in each text appears to decrease with increased word-length (although, as with keywords, not proportionately). Whilst evaluation is realised as a cumulative prosody across texts and therefore cannot strictly be quantified, within the limits of this study frequencies of tokens obtained from the coding method detailed in Chapter 3 indicate differences between the evaluative strategies of the publications, following the CL premise that ‘frequently occurring items are important items’ (Handford, 2017:55). In this light, a further comparison of texts that review one production across all three publications but which have similar word-lengths would be valuable to cross-reference validity of these results as representative, for, despite a paucity of studies into evaluative coherence through texts (Thompson and Zhou, 2000:122; Asher et al., 2009:280), text length has been seen to impact on the proportionality of textual elements in other matters of coherence (Syed and Spruit, 2017).

In lieu of such data, another measure was used to determine whether the CdS texts were representative enough to be included within the down-sampled subcorpora for APPRAISAL analysis, on the basis that an increase in available results could potentially offer more robust findings. For each publication, mean frequencies of coded tokens (normalised at parts per 1000) were recorded across the first level APPRAISAL systems, once including and once excluding the CdS text. Each set of these two means was then compared using a t-test, after a series of Shapiro-Wilk tests revealed that all the component sets of tokens met the necessary condition of normal distribution. The difference in means was not significant in any resource system ( $p > 0.05$ ), indicating that the CdS texts are representative of their publications in terms of proportional evaluative content, despite their unusual length. This

result led to the decision to include the CdS texts within each publication’s down-sampled subcorpus for the APPRAISAL analyses in the following sections.

## 4.2 *King Pole*

This section presents the results obtained from analysing the *King Pole* subcorpus. Keyword analysis was conducted using all the available texts from within CirRC96, while APPRAISAL analysis was limited to the down-sampled selection reported in Table 2 (20).

The keyword analysis reveals that the relatively high proportions of performing arts nouns and proper nouns found in the *King Pole* CdS text are reflected in the way the broader sample of *King Pole* texts compares to the other publications. To determine relative frequency, the mean frequency and standard deviation of each key category across the three subcorpora were calculated, and categories that sat outside the standard deviation in any one publication were highlighted as comparatively frequent or infrequent. Table 9 displays these results for the *King Pole* sample.

Table 9. Keyword categories for *King Pole*, ranked by frequency in top 100 keywords

Category	Frequency
Proper Noun 1 (human name)	27
Prop	13
Other nouns	13
Adjective or descriptive adverb	12
Action of performance/ creation	8
Performing arts nouns	8
Proper Noun 4 (location)	6
Performance discipline	4
Non-performance action	4
Proper Noun 3 (company name)	2
Function words	2
Human/s	1
Proper Noun 2 (title of cultural item)	0

KEY:		high		low
		= relative frequency		= relative frequency

The relatively low use of show titles in *King Pole* may be explained by the fact that the majority of the productions reviewed are by tenting companies<sup>22</sup> that do not commonly have show titles but advertise based on the company name. This, however, has not led to a higher than average frequency of company names. The low frequency of metonymic and pronominal reference to humans may more easily be explained by the high incidence of individual names as the most frequent category. A noticeable feature of the *King Pole* texts is the use of bullet pointed lists to relate show contents. While the majority of the *King Pole* reviews use only full grammatical sentences, the 39% that include note-form lists is striking, and no doubt also gives rise to the relatively high proportions of nouns and proper nouns that indicate evaluative focus on the ‘who did what where’ facts of a circus event (for examples see KP-1, KP-2 and KP-3, Appendix A:82-84).<sup>23</sup>

Among the APPRAISAL resources identified within the *King Pole* subcorpus (Table 10), their comparatively low frequency noted in the magazine’s CdS text is echoed in a normalised mean frequency of 39.2 tokens per 1000 words. The split between first level ATTITUDE systems is also consistent with that in the CdS review, and similarly favours APPRECIATION, then JUDGEMENT, then AFFECT.

**Table 10. ATTITUDE resources in *King Pole* subcorpus**

<i>n</i> normalised to parts per 1000 words	AFFECT	JUDGEMENT					APPRECIATION						
		NORM.	CAP.	TEN.	PROP.	VER.	SOC. VAL.	COMP.	REAC.				
									IMP.	QUAL.			
<i>King Pole</i> ( <i>n</i> =235.3)	5% (11.8)	32% (74.9)	38% (28.4)	48% (35.7)	5% (3.6)	7% (5.3)	3% (1.9)	63% (148.6)	13% (18.9)	12% (17.6)	75% (112.1)	86% (95.9)	14% (16.2)

Less attention is given to AFFECT in this wider sample than in the CdS text, and this decrease is coupled with an increase in the frequency of APPRECIATION:REACTION:QUALITY as discussed in the previous section. After APPRECIATION:REACTION:IMPACT and JUDGEMENT:CAPACITY, the third most frequent type of evaluative token is JUDGEMENT:NORMALITY. This does not necessarily mean that normalness is valued more

<sup>22</sup> The term ‘tenting’ refers to circus companies touring their own show with a big top-type tent.

<sup>23</sup> This could be read further as a sign of fan solidarity, with writers ‘proving’ their fan status by evidencing personal knowledge of circus artists and terminologies.

highly than uniqueness, but rather that the cline on which they both sit is given prominence in the texts (O'Donnell, 2014:106-108). Concordance lines were checked for each case of JUDGEMENT:NORMALITY in the sample (Appendix E:95-97) to find out whether one end of the cline was more dominant, enabling tokens such as [1] and [2] to be clarified by their preceding or subsequent co-text, given in [3] and [4].

[1] In the most traditional of manners

[2] The usual range of large thrill rides

[3] Overall excellent circus in the most traditional of manners (KP-1)

[4] And there is the usual range of large thrill rides and the attraction of the zoo (KP-2)

These examples indicate that established convention and tradition are valued positively in the *King Pole* reviews. However, when all the NORMALITY tokens are counted, six are coded with such positive loading for normalness, while eight are coded with positive loading for novelty or uniqueness. Neither end of the NORMALITY cline received any codings for negative loading, but three tokens are coded as ambiguous: The surrounding co-text of [5], [6] and [7] did not add any clarity to my understanding of the phrases' valence. A traditionalist could read them as positive, whilst a novelty seeker could read them as negative.

[5] The usual announcements (KP-4)

[6] The usual refreshments and novelties on sale (KP-4)

[7] The usual pyramids and solo tumbling (KP-1)

Without co-textual clues to indicate the angle each writer intended, any attempt to interpret the loading of such tokens is based on other contextual perceptions, such as the character of the publication and/or its contributors. My understanding of *King Pole* is that it focuses on circus traditions in much of its content, leading me to suspect that the tokens above are positive evaluations. I am equally aware, however, that this could be a writer's kind way of expressing dull experience, which my familiarity with more assertive critique may make me less sensitive to. It could be argued that the use of 'usual' in these phrases is merely descriptive rather than evaluative, however it seems that the author must have a particular stance towards the modified target nouns in each case, which has resulted in the choice of word. That stance just remains inaccessible through analysis of its linguistic realisation. One danger as an analyst is in injecting too much of your own stance into an interpretation of text that results from someone else's. This is particularly recognised with INVOKED tokens of APPRAISAL (Thompson, 2008:172-174), but these examples show that even when explicitly evaluative lexis provides an INSCRIBED token, the underlying stance might remain hidden. In a larger study, multiple blind coders can be employed to cross reference analytical



interpretations (Read and Carroll, 2012), although different reading positions will necessarily create some divergence in results. That was not an option within the constraints of this research and, although I have attempted to err on the side of caution with such AMBIGUOUS codings, these examples provide further argument for using triangulated methods within discourse analysis, mitigating the inherent frailties of individual approaches.

**Table 11. POLARITY resources in *King Pole* subcorpus**

<i>n</i> normalised to parts per 1000 words	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	AMBIGUOUS
<i>King Pole</i> ( <i>n</i> =235.3)	88% (206.2)	7% (16.1)	5% (13)

Table 11 shows that positive evaluative tokens in the *King Pole* subcorpus occur more than twelve times as frequently as negative ones. Speculatively, the reason that the ‘Saltimbanco’ review was written less positively could be due to the New Circus style of the production, as the publication usually includes reports for and by more traditionalist fans, although it should also be remembered that not all evaluations within the feature-length text refer directly to the show itself. Additionally, the CdS review includes quotations from other mainstream publications’ reviews, which may have impacted the frequencies of POLARITY type. As this subcorpus already has a low APPRAISAL token count, it seems likely that the additional quoted writers may have served to bring the total frequencies up, but in which areas is not clear without further investigation. A longer study would also be required to investigate whether these quotes affected the keyword results.

### 4.3 *The Catch*

The results presented in this section are those found from analysing the subcorpus of reviews from *The Catch*. As with the previous section, keyword analysis was conducted using all the available texts from within CirRC96, while APPRAISAL analysis was limited to the down-sampled selection reported in

Table 2 (20)



The categories of keywords across the texts of the subcorpus were treated by the method described above (Section 4.2) to identify categories with relatively high or low frequencies in relation to the other publications. As illustrated in Table 12, the key categories for *The Catch* are those which have no explicit connection to the performed event or the people involved in its creation, while specific props, performing arts nouns and performance

verbs all feature relatively infrequently in the top 100 keywords compared with in the other subcorpora. This lends credence to the idea raised by the CdS analysis that *The Catch* offers particularly diverse representations of circus—and in a more discursive manner—than the other publications.

Table 12. Keyword categories for *The Catch*, ranked by frequency in top 100 keywords

Category	Frequency
Function words	22
Other nouns	21
Non-performance action	15
Adjective or descriptive adverb	12
Human/s	9
Proper Noun 1 (human name)	5
Proper Noun 2 (title of cultural item)	4
Proper Noun 3 (company name)	4
Action of performance/ creation	4
Proper Noun 4 (location)	3
Performing arts nouns	1
Prop	0
Performance discipline	0

KEY:		high = relative frequency		low = relative frequency
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To explore further, the keywords identified from each of the three key categories were inspected, listed here as [1] non-performance nouns, [2] non-performance verbs, and [3] function words. The words are listed in order of keyness, and those with a keyness score of more than five are marked in bold. Underlined, italicised and circled word groups are discussed below.

- [1] value; standards; **pages**; **nothing**; **expectation**; **encouragement**; rest; reason; mirror; *funding*; anyone; idea
- [2] **suppose**; respect; want; *afford*; tell; read; prepare; wonder; ask; try; think; get; *pay*; remain; lose
- [3] **whatever**; **tho**; **ok**; **oh**; **why**; how; because; possibly; please; if; yet; every; behind; could; should; even; not; can; must; across; where; still

The function words indeed confirm a strong interpersonal nature to the texts, including modal verbs and interrogative pronouns, along with the informal character of the four most frequent keywords<sup>24</sup>. According to Biber (1995), the distinction between formal and informal is one of three major dimensions in which text types can differ, for which he uses using the terms ‘informational’ and ‘interactional’. Kilgarriff (2012:3-4) highlights verbs and adverbs, such as those seen here, as particularly common features of interactional language. Underlined words in the example link explicitly to dialogic processes of meaning-making, reflecting the higher proportions of heteroglossic evaluation noted in *The Catch* compared to the other publications. The difference in ENGAGEMENT between the three subcorpora is less marked than the initial CdS analysis suggested<sup>25</sup>, but these keyword findings reinforce the observation that the reviews in this circus practitioner publication can be characterised by a tendency towards discursivity in relation to the others.

Another observation of the prominent keywords for this publication’s reviews is their focus on financial matters, as highlighted in the italicised examples. This reflects the wider context in which circus productions are created. Finally, and most strikingly, are the circled words relating to moral concerns in three of the most pertinent keyword positions. This focus suggests that APPRAISAL analysis will reveal a higher proportion of PROPRIETY tokens in *The Catch* reviews than in the other publications.

**Table 13. ATTITUDE resources in *The Catch* subcorpus**

n normalised to parts per 1000 words	AFFECT	JUDGEMENT					APPRECIATION						
		NORM.	CAP.	TEN.	PROP.	VER.	SOC. VAL.	COMP.	REAC.				
									IMP.	QUAL.			
<i>The Catch</i> (n=357.5)	6% (20.8)	40% (143.4)	17% (25.1)	59% (84.8)	3% (4.7)	12% (17.7)	8% (11.2)	54% (193.3)	11% (20.4)	24% (47)	65% (125.9)	92% (116.2)	8% (9.8)

Whilst the PROPRIETY tokens only amount to 5% of the total APPRAISAL resources used, this compares to only 2% in each of the other subcorpora, both of which attribute more weight to TENACITY after CAPACITY and NORMALITY within their JUDGEMENT resources. The results shown in Table 13 reveal that TENACITY is the least important of the JUDGEMENT values in

<sup>24</sup> ‘Whatever’ appears four times across three texts in the subcorpus. Once is to launch a question, twice are in the form of the standard pronoun, and once is used in the manner—perhaps associated with flippant youth—synonymous with ‘and so on’.

<sup>25</sup> Within the sample, results of all APPRAISAL tokens show 5% heterogloss in *King Pole*, 6% in *The Stage*, and 8% in *The Catch*.

*The Catch*, perhaps because hard work is taken as read amongst fellow circus practitioner writers familiar with the particularly gruelling nature of the vocation. Instead, a 3% share of total evaluation is given to VERACITY (8% of all JUDGEMENT resources), compared to just 1% and 0% in *King Pole* and *The Stage* respectively. This equates to nine instances across three of the six texts in the subcorpus (Appendix E:94). Broken down, these are realised in two comments about misleading audiences through staged trickery, two comments relating to how a true version of a performing arts form should manifest, and five comments about whether events correspond to their publicity materials or not. This, albeit in a small way, gives another example of the relational values that *The Catch* draws upon in comparison with the other corpora, looking outside of the event itself to its connections with the wider world. The other instances of VERACITY in the CirRC96 corpus all come from the ‘Saltimbanco’ review in *King Pole*, comprising one comment about whether someone’s knowledge credentials make them a true arbiter of judgement, three comments about how truthfully the event is represented in its publicity, and four about the way a true version of an artform should manifest. This also shows interest in external relations, but slants more towards a value of convention, as already highlighted in Section 4.2. Whilst these numbers are tiny in terms of traditional quantitative analysis, the cumulative effect of multiple reinforcing results corresponds to the prosodic nature of interpersonal meaning through which evaluation—and, correspondingly, value systems—are realised (Martin and White, 2005:18-23).

Another point of note is that *The Catch* is the only publication which featured more than one review of the same production by different authors, despite having significantly fewer reviews in total across the sampled year (Table 1:18). This engagement with multiple perspectives again points to the magazine’s inclination to engage in dialogic, discursive representation of circus.

Moving on to criticality within *The Catch*, Table 14 shows that positive evaluations occur just over twice as often as negative ones, with a slight increase in ambiguous tokens compared to the initial findings in the ‘Saltimbanco’ review. As the next section will reveal through evidence of *The Stage* results, this is—as in the CdS subcorpus—the highest proportion of negative evaluation produced across the three publications.

**Table 14. POLARITY resources in *The Catch* subcorpus**

<i>n</i> normalised to parts per 1000 words	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	AMBIGUOUS
<i>The Catch</i> ( <i>n</i> =357.6)	63% (230.8)	29% (102.5)	7% (24.3)

#### 4.4 *The Stage*

This section presents the results obtained from analysing the subcorpus of *The Stage* reviews. As with the other publication subcorpora, keyword analysis was conducted using all the available texts from within CirRC96, while APPRAISAL analysis was limited to the down-sampled selection reported in

Table 2 (20).

Unlike the other publications, only one of the keyword categories was found to be over or under represented within *The Stage* in comparison to the other two magazines (Table 15). The preponderance of adjectives and descriptive adverbs is an indication that interpreting experience is of higher importance to the reviews in *The Stage*, while a lack of further distinction hints at a more limited discursive range, as suggested in the CdS analysis.

Table 15. Keyword categories for *The Stage*, ranked by frequency in top 100 keywords

Category	Frequency
Adjective or descriptive adverb	30
Other nouns	11
Action of performance/ creation	9
Function words	8
Human/s	8
Prop	7
Proper Noun 2 (title of cultural item)	6
Performance discipline	6
Non-performance action	6
Proper Noun 1 (human name)	4
Performing arts nouns	3
Proper Noun 4 (location)	2
Proper Noun 3 (company name)	0

KEY:		high = relative frequency		low = relative frequency
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The adjectives and descriptive adverbs identified as keywords can be further distributed along a cline of personal to shared experience. At one end are descriptions that seem more likely to be considered ‘objective’ in that they can be expected—in the context used here—to be

widely held by a majority of people (for example, a ‘low wire’ is a particular piece of equipment that differs from a ‘high wire’). At the other end, are the assessments more easily recognisable as ‘subjective’, emerging directly from the authors’ personal sensations of affect<sup>26</sup>. As illustrated in Figure 6, the more distinctly personal experience of the event is most heavily represented in the keywords of *The Stage*.



Figure 6. Approximate distribution along subjectivity cline of adjective and descriptive adverb keywords in *The Stage*

The type of representation, however (Table 16), obscures the presence of the author by presenting a higher proportion of these expressions as APPRECIATION:REACTION:QUALITY than AFFECT (O’Donnell, 2014:104). Correspondingly, of the total evaluative tokens in *The Stage*, 94% are monoglossic. The effect of backgrounding the author’s ‘subjective’ position is that the newspaper presents a more authoritative verdict on the reviewed production, adhering to traditions of ‘objective’ journalistic reporting<sup>27</sup>. Nonetheless, the relative emphasis of *The Stage* on experiential description initially appears to be supported by the APPRAISAL analysis, with the highest levels of both AFFECT and APPRECIATION:REACTION:QUALITY compared with the other publications. However, these results are skewed upwards by the especially high quantities identified in the CdS review (Table 7:35), whilst the other subcorpora results are

<sup>26</sup> Following Smith (1991), this research is based on an understanding that all value—and thus expressions of evaluation, such as that inherent in adjectives—is contingent on ‘multiple, continuously changing, continuously interacting variables’ (30). Notwithstanding, the terms ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ are convenient shorthand for the purposes of this dissertation.

<sup>27</sup> Although outside the main scope of this project, an interesting feature came to light when comparing keywords for the 1996 output of *The Stage*’s circus specialist Liz Arratoon against the full subcorpus of the paper’s circus reviews that year: Within the top 100 keywords were pronouns ‘I’, ‘my’ and ‘you’, as well as the discursive marker verb ‘say’, suggesting that her familiarity with, affection for, and knowledge of the form gave her writing more of the character of *The Catch*’s circus practitioner writers than that of her colleagues at *The Stage*.

skewed downwards. With the CdS reviews removed from the calculations, *The Stage* fields the lowest proportions of these categories.

**Table 16. ATTITUDE resources in *The Stage* subcorpus**

n normalised to parts per 1000 words	AFFECT	JUDGEMENT					APPRECIATION						
		NORM.	CAP.	TEN.	PROP.	VER.	SOC. VAL.	COMP.	REAC.				
									IMP.	QUAL.			
<i>The Stage</i> (n=501.3)	7% (34.1)	35% (175.8)	30% (51.9)	53% (93.6)	12% (21.9)	5% (8.4)	0% (0)	58% (291.3)	8% (24.1)	22% (64.7)	70% (202.5)	82% (165.5)	18% (37)

So what does it mean that *The Stage* has such a high relative frequency of adjectives and descriptive adverbs amongst its keywords? Perhaps it is not to do with the values perceived in the circus productions at all, but in the values associated with writing reviews. That is, a matter of style over content. *The Stage* has the highest number of APPRAISAL tokens per 1000 words, and the high proportion of descriptive keywords may be a function of applying as much evaluative information as possible within the limited wordcounts of the publication's editorial policy. This does not, however, equate to a higher proportion of criticality, with 17% negative loadings across the subcorpus (Table 17). Whilst this remains considerably higher than the 7% of *King Pole*, it should be noted that the negative loading discovered within *The Stage* across all performing arts genres over a comparable period was 21% (Kavanagh, 2019b). In that sample, the single circus review item was found to contain 0% negative evaluation, presenting a question as to whether it should more accurately be represented as a member of an interested promotional genre, closer akin to marketing copy than the disinterested critical genre suggested by the title 'review' (see Shaw, 2009). While this more dedicated exploration shows that the 0% item was an anomaly, it still appears that circus productions received less critical evaluation than non-circus productions in *The Stage* over the sampled period.

Further, the indication from the CdS pilot that *The Stage* acknowledges fewer targets for evaluation of circus than the other publications is borne out in the APPRAISAL analysis. The top three categories of APPRAISED make up 92% of all targets, compared to 73% in *King*

*Pole* and 69% in *The Catch*<sup>28</sup>. The indication is that *The Stage* provides the most evaluative detail about the performed material of the show in isolation from other contextual factors.

Table 17. POLARITY resources in *The Stage* subcorpus

<i>n</i> normalised to parts per 1000 words	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	AMBIGUOUS
<i>The Stage</i> ( <i>n</i> =501.4)	76% (382.4)	17% (85.7)	7% (33.2)

#### 4.5 Sub-corpora comparison

Whilst some cross-corpora comparisons have been necessarily introduced in the preceding sections, this section addresses new considerations and also restates the major findings from above for cohesive clarity.

The reviews from each of the three publications analysed in this study can be seen as equally complex, but expressing different values. They share very similar lexical density, with type-token ratios (TTRs) for each sub-corpus of between 84-88%<sup>29</sup>. This means that there are many unique words used within each publication's reviews, and a low level of word repetition. Furthermore, the TTR range observed between the sampled sub-corpora corresponds with that observed among the full sub-corpora, reinforcing its validity.

In the circus fan magazine *King Pole*, the lexical diversity revealed through the keyword lists includes a higher rate of proper noun and performing arts noun usage than in the other two publications. APPRAISAL analysis shows it is also the publication with the lowest rate of evaluative tokens per 1000 words, as well as an 88% rate of positive loading. Evaluative content appears highest in the performing arts industry newspaper *The Stage*, evidenced both in keyword and APPRAISAL analysis. The standardised 250-word limits for authors writing reviews in *The Stage* may be a factor in the APPRAISAL density, but the propensity for descriptive terms to appear as keywords also highlights a different communicative agenda from the listed content items of *King Pole* reviews. More value is placed on describing how the production elements were experienced than on recording their 'objective' pragmatic details and, though the evaluations were still predominantly positive, this was less extreme with an overall proportion of 76%. Providing an additional contrast,

<sup>28</sup> See Table 18 (50)

<sup>29</sup> Baker (2006:52) suggest that for texts of under 5000 words, the TTR is an adequate measure of lexical diversity.



texts from the circus practitioner magazine *The Catch* focus more on connections with the world outside the performance moment, with the largest proportion of keywords sitting in the ‘functional’ category and in verbs and nouns relating to activity beyond the staged production. The rate of positive loading is also the lowest, at 63%. All three publications have a 6-7% rate of ambiguously loaded tokens, so the variation in negative loading is inversely proportionate to the positive, marking *The Catch* as the most critical, and *King Pole* as the least. The APPRAISER in each set of reviews is overwhelmingly the writer, with 97-99% share across the subcorpora, excepting the anomalous CdS review article in *King Pole* that makes a feature of comparing other comments from the mainstream press (containing just over 50% writer-appraiser).

Scott and Tribble (2006:72) established that proper nouns are particularly likely to become keywords. While this was the case in the *King Pole* subcorpus, the relative lack of proper nouns in the keyword lists for the other subcorpora is marked, and reinforces the indication seen in the pilot CdS results that the social actors who make the reviewed shows happen rarely receive explicit public credit for their work as performers and behind-the-scenes creatives.

Baker (2006) warns against over-reliance on differences between comparative corpora, and advocates for attention to also be paid to features they have in common. Culpeper (2009:55) reiterates this warning in particular regard to keyword analyses. When looking at keywords across CirRC96 with the enTenTen15 as a reference corpus, there is a small range of circus specific performing arts nouns that are shared across the three publications [1]. A larger number of keywords are shared between just two of the subcorpora, with *The Stage* and *King Pole* having most in common [2], and *The Catch* sharing more in common with *The Stage* [3] than *King Pole* [4].

[1] **acrobat**; bungee; circus; **clown**; ~~juggle~~; **juggler**; juggling; routine; *soleil*

[2] acrobatic; acrobatics; aerial; *archaos*; balancing; *cirque*; **contortionist**; corde; *cottle*; **duo**; finale; hoop; *laci*; lisse; pole; *ramsay*; **ringmaster**; somersault; trampoline; trapeze; **troupe**; *willie*

[3] act; **audience**; ball; **cast**; costume; dance; **performer**; swing

[4] tent

Proper nouns are marked in italics, and all the words that refer to human actors are marked in bold. The single performing arts action is circled<sup>30</sup>. Of the keywords remaining, all fall into the category of performing arts nouns, or its subcategories of props or performance disciplines. This shows a strong sense of ‘aboutness’ to the CirRC96 texts, rather than indicating any evaluative function that might be expected of reviews. Whilst all the keywords common to the three publications—and to *King Pole* and *The Stage*—can be considered specific to circus-based genres of performing arts, this specialism is much less clear in the remaining keywords shared by *The Catch*. Alongside the magazine’s propensity for broader contextual representations of circus, its writers also appear to use less circus-specific terminology in their reviews. This may, however, be a reflection of the smaller number of available texts in the corpus (Table 1:18). It is particularly interesting how little *The Catch* and *King Pole* have in common, as both have a dedicated circus focus. The distinctions between the circus practitioner readership of *The Catch* and the non-practicing circus fan readership of *King Pole* appear more prominent than their distinctions from generic performing arts newspaper *The Stage*.

While *The Catch* is the most dialogic in its content, none of the three subcorpora have more than 8% heteroglossic evaluation, positioning circus reviewers as authoritative voices. All present more positively loaded evaluations than negative, and around three quarters of each publication’s APPRAISAL tokens have NO\_CHANGE in their GRADUATION resources. None of the subcorpora include more intensification than down-tone, although these levels are equal within *The Catch*. The similarities between the publications also extend to their prioritising of certain evaluative targets, as the top three APPRAISED items correspond across the subcorpora (Table 18).

Differences appear in how much space is dedicated to evaluating other targets, and along this dimension *The Catch* and *King Pole* are more closely aligned than *The Stage*<sup>31</sup>. It is also noteworthy that the 3% attention to technical aspects in *The Stage* is limited to costumes, make-up and grooming, with over four fifths coming from its CdS review. *King Pole* expands its technical attention to other logistics of a touring circus enterprise, including equipment rigging, seating arrays, tent building, stabling and transport. *The Catch* maintains its external looking approach noted in the pilot CdS analysis with its cross reference to other productions.

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<sup>30</sup> While other keywords have been used as verbs, these are the minor portion so are not circled here: Three of the 45 instances of ‘juggling’ that appear are verb forms; two of the 22 instances of ‘balancing’ that appear are verb forms; four of the 30 instances of ‘dance’ that appear are verb forms. Similarly, ‘duo’ is not italicised because only four of the 13 instances that appear are proper nouns.

<sup>31</sup> See Appendix D (93) for ‘other’ APPRAISED categories found across subcorpora.

**Table 18. Top ranking APPRAISED items in CirRC99 as a percentage of total APPRAISAL tokens per text**

<i>The Stage</i>	<i>The Catch</i>	<i>King Pole</i>
Performance material 38%	Performance material 30%	Performance material 36%
Artists 29%	Artists 21%	Artists 21%
The show overall 25%	The show overall 18%	The show overall 16%
Technical elements 3%	The company 11%	Technical elements 13%
Audience members / Author / The experience / The company Each at 1%	Other shows 5%	The company 4%
(Other targets) (0%)	(Other targets) (15%)	(Other targets) (10%)

Another similarity between *The Stage* and *King Pole* is the tendency for their writers to objectify performers much more readily than those of *The Catch*. Of all their artist targets, just under a third are evaluated using aesthetic APPRECIATION resources (32% in *The Stage*, 30% in *King Pole*), in contrast to just 5% in *The Catch*. All three publications use between 4-5% AFFECT resources when evaluating artists, so the remainder are found as JUDGEMENTS, traditionally reserved for human targets. Across all publications, artists are the most common target for JUDGEMENT resources (Table 19). However, when the show or performance materials (an ‘act’, or ‘routine’, for example) are evaluated using JUDGEMENT, this is a sign that nominalisation is taking place, attributing values associated with human behaviour to entities that stand in for the creative work of individuals. Again, this is most common in *The Stage* and *King Pole*.

Similarly, when individuals’ actions are evaluated in terms that express the production company as target, as in [1], the metonymic representation obscures their identity.

[1] *Soleil take the production values of a West End Show and use them to reinforce a series of performances that far surpass anything that the Lloyd-Webbers and their minions can manage (C-CdS, Appendix A:71)*

Whilst this also shows that the individual artists and creators are not being directly credited for their work or having agency attributed to them by the authors, it can be interpreted more

**Table 19. APPRAISED targets of JUDGEMENT resources by subcorpus**

<i>n</i> normalised to parts per 1000 words	<i>The Stage</i> ( <i>n</i> =175.8)	<i>The Catch</i> ( <i>n</i> =143.3)	<i>King Pole</i> ( <i>n</i> =74.8)
Artist	52% (91.2)	48% (68.3)	43% (31.9)
Company	2% (2.9)	14% (20.6)	8% (5.7)
Show	20% (35.3)	3% (4.4)	13% (9.9)
Performance Material	19% (32.7)	11% (16.4)	14% (10.8)
Technical Aspects	3% (4.7)	0% (0)	5% (4)
Audience Member(s)	1% (2.3)	4% (5.6)	3% (2)
Other Shows	0% (0)	5% (6.7)	1% (0.5)
Other	4% (6.7)	15% (21.3)	13% (10)

as a reflection of certain value systems from within the circus community. The idea of unity and communal effort within a circus ‘family’ gained strength rather than losing it with the New Circus movement in the late sixties and seventies, and teamwork and group cohesion are still expressed as key influences on circus practitioners today, despite blood ties no longer being the dominant way of joining the industry. This, perhaps, is the reason that the circus practitioner magazine *The Catch* uses the metonymic form more often than the other publications as its second most frequent target of JUDGEMENT resources. If so, the circus fan magazine *King Pole* can also be seen to reflect these communal values more closely than the arts industry newspaper *The Stage*. For writers using the metonymic form in *The Catch*, it is also potentially a way of hedging direct evaluations of other practitioners to avoid the fear of social and professional repercussions that criticism may engender in the ‘very small and inter-mobile industry’ of circus (Kavanagh, Forthcoming, 2019). As already indicated by the keyword analysis results, *King Pole* writers are most likely to name the people they discuss, with just under two thirds of social actors nominated and the remaining 36% categorised. The other two publications are split much more evenly, with 51% categorised in *The Catch* and 53% in *The Stage*.

While creators are the most frequently referred to social actor in the corpus<sup>32</sup>, the APPRAISAL analysis explored further which types of creator were most frequently evaluated

<sup>32</sup> 67% of 799 social actor references were to creators, 15.4% to audience members, 8.1% to the author of the text, and 9.4% other.

(Table 20). Performers are the most common, and it is reassuring that their evaluations refer overwhelmingly to their skills and activity rather than looks and identity<sup>33</sup>. Beyond this, however, there is very little representation of other workers who create the reviewed productions. Reinforcing earlier observations, *The Catch* is revealed to offer the broadest representation. Interestingly, no designers are mentioned in any of the sampled texts, despite evaluations of design elements in the reviews.

**Table 20. APPRAISED artist types by subcorpus**

<i>n</i> normalised to parts per 1000 words	<i>The Stage</i> ( <i>n</i> =143)	<i>The Catch</i> ( <i>n</i> =66.6)	<i>King Pole</i> ( <i>n</i> =49)
Performers	95% (136.3)	67% (44.6)	92% (45.3)
Directors and choreographers	5% (6.7)	14% (9.6)	7% (3.5)
Designers	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
Technical	0% (0)	6% (4)	0% (0)
Multi-role/Unspecified	0% (0)	13% (8.4)	0% (0)

<sup>33</sup> 92% of performer evaluations in *King Pole* refer to skills, 95% in *The Stage*, and 98% in *The Catch*.

## 5 Further Discussion

In this chapter, the findings of Chapter 4 will be considered through a CDA lens. In the first section, the analyses are synthesised while limitations of the project are acknowledged. The second section highlights the implications of the study's linguistic discoveries for people working within the circus sector.

### 5.1 Discoveries and limitations

The analyses detailed in the previous chapter provide a description of both the broad evaluative characteristics of circus reviews (as far as can be determined from this study's limited sample), and the ways in which individual publications within the broad umbrella diverge from or link to each other. This is illustrated in Figure 7.

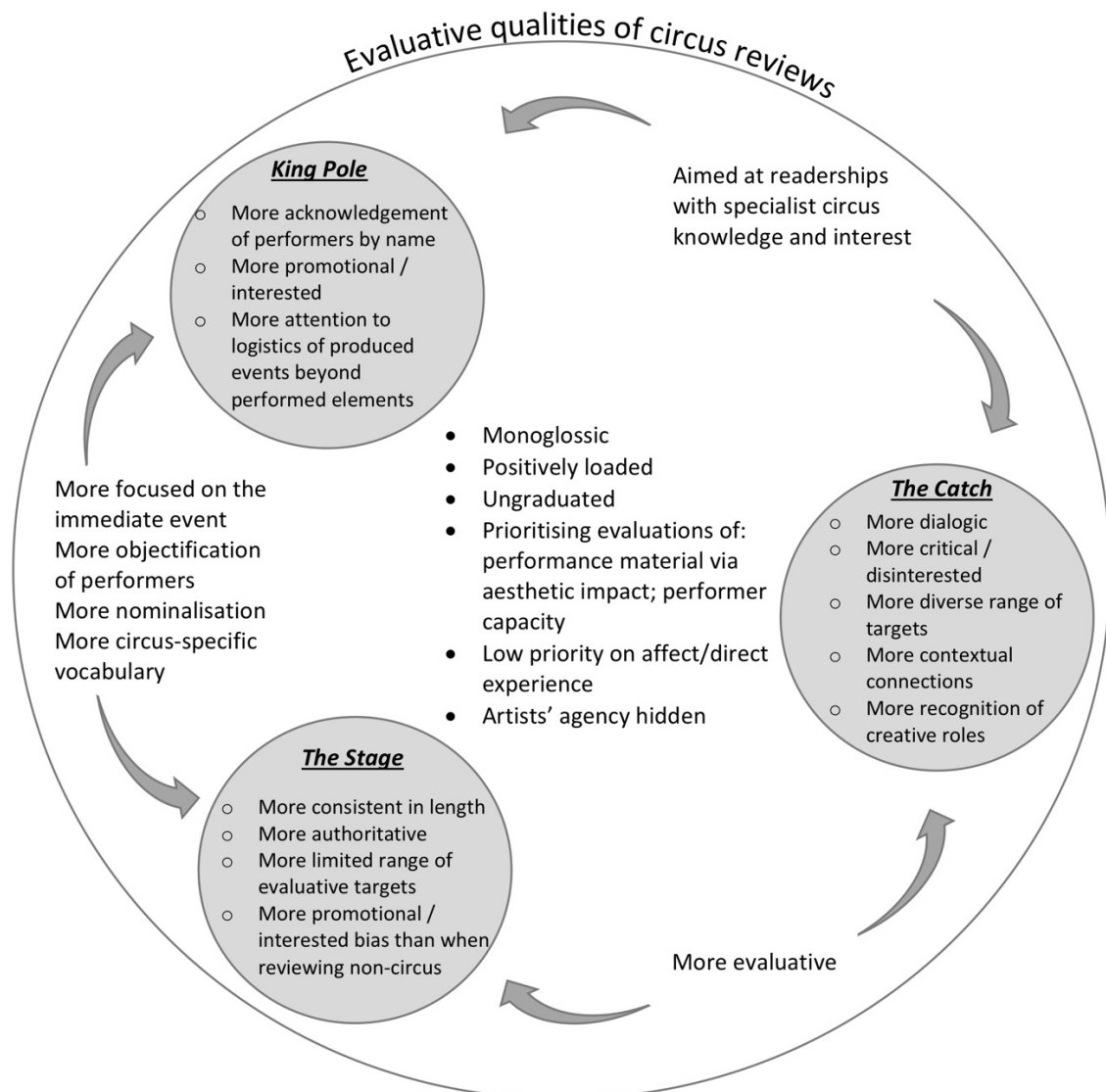


Figure 7. The evaluative characteristics of circus reviews

Of all the publications, *The Stage* has the widest public reach, available nationally through any newsagent, and regularly stocked by larger branches. It can be stumbled across by chance, whereas the other two magazines require(d) pre-existing knowledge of either the Circus Friends Association fan club (*King Pole*) or the circus practitioner network that distributed *The Catch*. This means that the values most widely communicated by circus reviews during the analysed period were limited in scope due to the narrow range of *The Stage*'s evaluative targets. At the same time, these were presented in a particularly authoritative and legitimised manner, both through the social standing of the newspaper and the linguistic resources used within its reviews. Further, the creatives who produced and performed the shows were construed as invisible and non-agentive, diminishing the power and status they could otherwise have been afforded. This assessment may be overstating the case somewhat, as the dominant authorial presence of circus aficionado Liz Arratoon was not recreated within this analysis<sup>34</sup>. However, a third of circus reviews in 1996 were still penned by non-circus specialists and, since 2014, that stands true for all the paper's circus reviews. Furthermore, there has been no print publication for circus practitioners in the UK since 1998, and limited online content, suggesting that representation of circus in Britain today may be even more restricted than in the nineties, particularly as *The Catch* offered a notably diverse range of discursive angles and a level of criticality not seen in the other publication-types.

The three publications used in this study were chosen as representative of publication-types, each geared towards a different readership and therefore a different potential audience group. However, it remains to be established whether the chosen publications are indeed representative of the broader types they have stood in for. This would require further corpus collection of circus reviews from arts industry publications, circus fan publications and circus practitioner publications to analyse in the manner laid out in this research, to determine whether the value systems are respectively represented. This method presents particular difficulties due to the sparse nature of such publications in English. Whilst a contemporary data-set including online texts might provide more material than that available synchronically to CirRC96, researchers considering a time period for collection must account for the rapidly changing nature of the circus sector and attempt to mitigate diachronic variance in the texts selected.

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<sup>34</sup> Liz Arratoon authored 65% of the circus reviews collected from *The Stage*.

A further limitation of this study is that the values inherent in the very form of a written review are not taken into consideration here. In a digital era, there are doubtless audience members who engage in arts discourses via podcasts, vlogs, and social media channels, but will pay scant attention to the traditional written forms of review text.

An underlying assumption of this analysis is that the linguistically derived categories of APPRAISAL can be considered quantitatively equivalent to held values. However, it may be the case, for example, that expressions of AFFECT actually carry more weight than those of JUDGEMENT or APPRECIATION, in which case the apparent lack of value ascribed to direct sensation and experience in these analyses could be inaccurate. Likening this to the idea of one picture telling a thousand words, it could be the case that one AFFECT delivers the impact of a thousand APPRECIATIONS, regardless of the two networks' like position in the first level of the APPRAISAL system. Whilst following Thompson and Alba-Juez (2014:10) in the understanding that evaluation in texts constitutes 'the actual verbal realization or manifestation' of a writer's stance, this study makes clear the need for more research into the precise manner by which stance becomes textual evaluation. Martin and White (2005) emphasise that APPRAISAL meanings should not be considered as isolated elements, but in conjunction with each other and their co-text as 'integrated complexes of meaning' (159). This corpus based research has attended to the combinations of APPRAISAL resources in the different publications, but the sequences in which they appear require further attention for a full APPRAISAL analysis.

The major keyword analysis undertaken here reflects Culpeper's (2002, 2009) method of comparing one dimension of a corpus against its overall make up. However, it differs in the fact that the focus subcorpus was not excluded from the reference corpus. Scott and Tribble's (2006) study of the UK's *The Guardian* newspaper followed this same procedure, comparing subcorpora of news items from single years against their entire inclusive corpus of items to identify how themes in the news shifted diachronically. Whilst it seems reasonable to suppose that this strategy produces a more conservative keyword list than Culpeper's, so facilitating more focused analysis, a full investigation into the difference between the exclusive and non-exclusive approaches is required to lend support to this assumption and validate the intuitive method.

As briefly mentioned in the Method chapter (Section 3.3:19), using automatically tagged lemmas to form the keyword lists opens up the potential for semantic error, but beyond this the basic semantic categorisation undertaken would benefit from further interrogation. Baker and McEnery (2015:250) recommend analysis of concordances,



collocates and clusters for identified keywords in order to reveal more about the discourses that exist within a corpus. In Culpeper's (2009) investigation into how keyness can be extended into semantic domain analysis, when likening semantic annotation of keywords to content analysis, he reminds us that the latter term usually connotes statistical analysis, and is therefore 'more systematic and rigorous'(46). In order to increase the rigour of future studies, use could be made of Culpeper's proposed solution: the Semantic Analysis System (USAS) developed by Lancaster University's UCREL (University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language), an automated system that tags lexical data with semantic codes at a 'remarkably high' rate of recognition (Piao et al., 2004:502). This would be particularly pertinent for the datasets of this study, as Culpeper (2009:54) observes that semantic analysis carries more weight in determining linguistic patterns when keyword lists are dominantly ideational in character (that is, filled with the sort of lexical items that convey 'aboutness' as seen here).

For this study, the *Sketch Engine* software (Kilgarriff et al., 2014) was used to derive keywords that occurred significantly more frequently in the focus corpus than in its reference corpus. By purchasing additional software, such as *WordSmith Tools* (Scott, 2016), it would also be possible to obtain a list of negative keywords, which are those that occur significantly less frequently in the focus corpus. The results of such analysis could offer further insight into the values realised in the reviews of different publication-types.

Finally, within the keyword analysis conducted using the enTenTen15 reference corpus, it is clear that the web-crawled language may have differences to the focus corpora based on era rather than content. Creating an equivalent synchronous reference corpus would be a larger task than its results could foreseeably justify within the limits of this research. The issue could, however, be resolved by collecting contemporary reviews available online to create new focus corpora.

## **5.2 Implications for people working in the circus sector**

The title of this section was initially going to read 'Implications for the circus sector' and the reasons for its change warrant explanation before going further. Whilst snappier as a heading, the abandoned version showed me committing the sin critical discourse analysts often work to highlight: using a nominalisation that silences the presence of actor participants by converting a material process into a noun phrase (Bartley, 2018:18). In this research, the underlying aim is not to provide support to an amorphous faceless body (a 'circus sector'), but to the people whose lives and livelihoods may be affected by the way their work is

represented in the public domain. Michael Billig (2008) argues convincingly for critical discourse analysts to consider how their own use of language reinforces or contests the social situation they are trying to alter. People who work as circus artists and producers offer more value to their audiences—and potential audiences—than the public discourse fragments analysed in this research acknowledge. Concertedly changing the way we write about circus workers, in dissertation headings and elsewhere, is part of the challenge for anyone who wants to improve public perceptions of the value circus professionals have as arts providers.

The prominent way in which a limited public perception of circus harms people who work in the field is that earning a living is made more difficult. Selling tickets is harder, because the prevailing discourse only acknowledges a restricted set of values, and potential audiences who do not value the same qualities are therefore led to believe circus is not for them. Simultaneously, artists who do not value the same qualities are less likely to have their work recognised or lauded in the press, reinforcing a cycle that perpetuates an image of circus as a narrow artform with attenuated public benefit. Potential audiences are also losing out on opportunities to add value to their lives because existence of that value is concealed. Marketing circus performance within a culture where the full range of valuable qualities it can offer are not articulated in mainstream public discourse becomes a Catch 22. This can be explained further through the frame of Bernstein's (1974) 'restricted' and 'elaborated' codes, whereby dominant social systems have access to 'elaborated' modes of articulation, but groups who hold values that sit outside the hegemonic system of reference are 'restricted' to areas of overlap. Historically, this theorising has often been subject to misinterpretation (Ivinson, 2018), with some scholars construing the 'restricted' nature of underrepresented groups' articulation as a lack of richness in their value systems, reflected by a perceived lack of corresponding linguistic richness. Ivinson's (2018) revisiting of Bernstein's work clarifies his original meaning of being restricted *by* the dominant systems, where certain values are inarticulable within a society that does not recognise them. In the classic example of working and middle classes, the values of the working class cannot be articulated within the sociolinguistic structures evolved to articulate middle class perspectives. What is often overlooked is that, likewise, middle class values cannot be articulated by a sociolinguistic system evolved to communicate working class perspectives. The restriction is not an inherent quality of a demographic group, but an effect of power structures that allow the values of one group to dominate the systems by which the other must live.

The public prominence and authoritative tone of *The Stage* in UK discourse around circus performance during the analysis period presents the limited values it contains as

dominant. With the demise of *The Catch* in 1998, it can further be projected that the values the circus practitioner magazine held ceased to be publicly accessible. Without discursive connections to other cultural events and ideas, circus is presented as an insular, hermetic field; without a sense of criticality, circus productions are presented as unimportant, of no consequence, unworthy of considered attention. These conditions impact on the attitudes of policy makers and gatekeepers in the arts industry and other areas of public life<sup>35</sup>, as well as on creative developments, restricting the extent to which new ideas within circus can be explored and interrogated. The dominance of *The Stage* legitimises its limited values of performer skill (which is too often evaluated from a non-expert perspective) and aesthetic interpretation of performed material, and reinforces the low value placed on artist agency and direct experiential affect.

While the focus of this study has been on discourse analysis, that is only one element of Fairclough's (2015[1989]) three-pronged CDA approach of 'critique—explanation—action' (11). More time is required to move beyond the speculative explanations offered here. Nonetheless, it remains a truism that 'the problem is not what language does or does not do: it is what people do with language' (Billig, 2008:796). The (speculative) solution seems multi-faceted: writers who have a public platform for their work to be widely received should be offered opportunities to diversify their knowledge about the various values of attending a circus production that they may not have considered before, and people who value circus for reasons outside of those legitimised by the current arts media should be provided with access to public platforms from which to share their perspectives. In the past, there have been two prominent attempts at the former that received funding from arts bodies: *Unpack The Arts*, which was a European project developed from the HorsLesMurs workshops discussed in Chapter 2.4 (12) and ran across 12 arts festivals between 2012 and 2014, exposing 120 arts journalists to some of the internal value systems and working methods of the 'Contemporary Circus' industry<sup>36</sup>; and *Circus Stories, le cirque vu par...*, which followed the *Unpack The Arts* model for North American journalists at Montréal Complètement Cirque festival, with 30 participants between 2014 and 2016. Similarly, two small schemes have made steps to pro-actively address the latter consideration: Theatre op de Markt's 'circuskritiek' workshops held in Flemish (Circuscentrum, 2015), and the micro-scale #CircusVoices

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<sup>35</sup> For example, councils who determine rents for tenting circuses, programmers for venues and festivals, or legislators in the field of animal welfare.

<sup>36</sup> The scheme excluded circus work in more traditional formats, focusing on what may otherwise be called experimental, theatrical, or live art based circus.

scheme that I have run on four occasions, fostering opportunities for English-speaking circus practitioners to learn about reviewing and to publish their work online (Kavanagh, Forthcoming, 2019)<sup>37</sup>. The education offered in circus schools rarely touches on matters of critical appreciation or creative articulation the way that training programmes for other art forms do (Lavers et al., 2019:157), although recommendations are beginning to emerge that they should (Ryznar, 2018; Seymour, 2018). It is unreasonable, then, to imagine that broader arts education programmes put aside time to consider circus values. In order for all potential audiences to have access to review material that address the elements of experience they value—and therefore be able to make informed consumer choices—the discourse needs to shift. The broad range of twenty-first century circus needs to be engaged with from multiple perspectives in public discourse around the arts. Not only will this provide more appropriate consumer information, it will also create a wider field of knowledge around circus arts, which can allow for more effective marketing and creation strategies within the field, and aid development of circus arts in the UK, as diverse perspectives can be a step on the path towards creating new, collective meanings (Conner, 2013:130). Furthermore, as Conner (2013) also points out, increasing the volume and availability of discourse around an arts subject allows for greater enjoyment of that subject. Put simply, by widely sharing multiple viewpoints on—and diverse values of—circus, more people will be able to enjoy the form. The interlinking outcomes of such developments can thus be predicted as improved economic health for the circus sector, fostering in turn creative growth and further expansion of circus as a multifaceted art-form; potential audiences will have more meaningful consumer guidance and increased pleasure; people working in circus will have improved access to opportunities and financial well-being stemming from more appropriate marketing vocabularies and better management of audience expectations.

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<sup>37</sup> Other online platforms for circus writers now exist in English, notably CircusTalk (<https://circustalk.com>) and Carnival Cinema (<https://www.carnivalcinema.com.au>). However, these do not appear to actively nurture participation of new contributors.

## 6 Conclusion

This study offers two main contributions: new linguistic understanding of evaluative construction in PARS, and an assessment of how these evaluative constructions in circus reviews affect the social reality of circus artists and their audiences. The second of these is the more tentative, but has the weightiest potential impact. Whilst it is interesting to see how different stakeholder publications position their reviews—fans addressing logistical details of circus production and primarily expressing praise; practitioners connecting the content of performance events to wider contexts and offering a balanced proportion of negative to positive critique; general arts industry journalists focusing on authoritatively presented interpretations of positive experience relating directly to performed elements of a production—the real value of this research is the implications it reveals of such positioning within the social environment. Many of the possible ways circus can be appreciated are not communicated to the general British public through accessible means, impacting on development, marketing, sales, and enjoyment of circus arts. Echoing Conner's (2013:112) general call for the arts industry 'to take more responsibility for creating informative paratext materials and for finding new and vibrant ways to distribute them', this research provides evidence for why people working in the circus sector specifically should take up the call.

As Martin (2004) notes, the semiotic coding of values is a crucial factor in realising solidarity and designing change. If a group of humans—such as circus practitioners—wish to move away from hegemonic systems that erase their values in discursive practices, then 'progressive discourses' (Hughes, 2018) that highlight such values must be amplified. From a PDA perspective, platforms such as the now out-of-print magazine *The Catch*, which circus practitioners created for themselves in order to share insider community perspectives on their art—and which, as these findings show, resulted in a substantially broader representation of ways that circus can be valued than non-practitioner publications—should be encouraged as emancipatory models that will bring desired change to the circus sector and the lives of people working therein. Simultaneously, arts writers from non-circus backgrounds should be offered further opportunities to expand their conception of how circus can deliver value to different audiences, such as those previously offered by *HorsLesMurs* and their offshoots. These recommendations will enable a fuller range of values to be acknowledged on a wider public scale, broadening the mainstream circus discourse in the UK to provide increased relevance and benefit to stakeholders on all sides.

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## 8 Appendices

### Appendix A: Texts used in APPRAISAL analysis sample (see Table 2:20)

#### TS-CdS

It has been five long years for circus enthusiasts awaiting the return of Montreal's fabulous Cirque du Soleil. Considered too perfect by some, Saltimbanco, directed by Franco Dragone, is one of its three current productions.

Entrancing everyone from the start, as expected, this exciting and colourful spectacle was packed with some of the most skilful acts the circus world is likely to see, as well as music (MD Rene Dupere), song, dance, choreographed by Debra Brown and mime - all performed on an elaborate set designed by Michel Crete.

Charming clown Guennadi Tchijov emerged from an ethereal, white sheet and lay down to sleep. Was he then dreaming that humans can do such things? Arty make-up by Jean Begin and quirky costumes (Dominique Lemieux) exquisitely created the bizarre look, but made naming names almost impossible.

At times there was so much going on that your eye was distracted, but tops for me was the astonishing hand to hand balancing of brothers Marco and Paulo Lorador from Portugal. Honed to perfection, they exhibited breathtaking lifts and counter-balances with a supremely confident swagger. Also thrilling were the intricate and daring somersaults executed by the acrobats catapulted from a Russian swing. The same troupe switched off gravity as they glided and leapt up and down four Chinese poles.

Rene Bazinet was an hilarious little boy clown/mime, making amplified sound effects and playing with the crowd. The man he commandeered to join him was a great sport, although the interlude went on rather too long. There was also a beautifully choreographed aerial ballet on bungee straps. Shana Carroll on static/swinging trapeze, four snake-like contortionists, the whirlwind juggler Miguel Herrera and the startling adagio acrobatics of the Tchel nokov family (Nikolai, ten-year-old Anton and Galina Karableva).

One disappointment, though, was the visually stunning double high wire work of Wang Jingmin. Wearing a lunge (safety wire) throughout enabled her to attempt very difficult moves, but at times she looked decidedly wobbly.

However, a prolonged standing ovation showed that Saltimbanco will doubtless attract many new and needed fans to the circus as well as more than satisfied existing ones, and with consummate ease achieve its aim to "hold the audience spell bound."

#### TS-1

Magnificent Spanish dancing horses these may be, but their beauty and grace fails to hold up this show which supposedly traces the history of the animal in its homeland.

Not stimulating enough for adults or entertaining enough for children, this is a rather drawn-out event which, to the untrained eye, just looks like people dressing up in different costumes riding around the arena.

The show chronicles Spanish folklore through colourful fiestas, which include rather too much flouncing and stamping of the feet by the backing dancers and musicians, on to a surreal scene where someone wearing a monk's cassock is lunging a horse.

The Conquistadors display includes some beautiful movements showing the relationship between man and horse at its best. The team performs various dressage moves under saddle and then shows its skills at long reining, where the animals stood gracefully on their hind legs drawing gasps of approval from the audience.

In the last piece, a single dancer and horseman perform together, each carrying a long pole as is the tradition of the Garrochistas. This is the most visually stunning element of El Caballo, with the male dancer surrounded by fire moving in harmony with the horse.

Overall, the show seemed to lack direction. As a horse lover I could appreciate the hours of schooling that are needed to perfect the dressage skills, but without commentary to explain the historical scenes, frankly it becomes a little bit tedious. Peter J Maddison-Greenwell, Danielle Lawnizac, Jeff Edwards



and Simone Howarth look superb on their Andalusian stallions, while the flamenco dancing is choreographed by El Moreno and Sahor de Espana.

### **TS-2**

This world premiere of Peter Jay's animal-free circus at the Hippodrome presented an imaginative departure from the norm.

The Circus of the Imagination is very different from any circus I have seen before, but strangely classical in its feel and atmosphere.

All-human, the cast is superb. An international troupe featuring Moroccan acrobats, a Mexican trick-cyclist and Russian clowns meld together to give a fantastical performance set against a sound track of truly beautiful and calming classical music.

There is a gymnastic feel to this production but, as Jay points out, all the traditional skills of circus and stagecraft are there.

The clowns, Yuri and Leon, for example, are simply superb. Originally from the Moscow State Circus, their residency last year at Blackpool earned them the title of British Circus Clowns of the Year.

Featuring plenty of mind-bogglingly dangerous trapeze, the show's choreography is the work of Basil Shoultz, renowned globally for his aerial creations, perhaps most notably for Canada's touring Cirque Du Soleil.

With the dreamlike Arabian Nights theme, the thrill of the continual movement, and the exotic cast, most of the audience remained spellbound for the entire two hours.

And 16-year-old Karen Rose, a petite, international standard gymnast, became the star of the show in set-piece after dazzling set-piece. Topping it all, the Hippodrome's famous Water Spectacle finale, complete with fireworks, rounded off a memorable experience. Circus of the imagination might be animal-free - but it is also a must-see!

### **TS-3**

The Russian Circus toured extensively this summer in the Republic of Ireland and made the most of the UK's Indian summer to tour in Scotland's south west.

It is a show of rare calibre, the whole packaging brilliant in its exhibition of a wide range of circus skills and inclusive of probably as many as five acts of the superb quality able to top bills anywhere and in any company. Showstoppers all.

The star spot went to a fantastic and very literally death-defying Wheel of Death worked at high revolve by Georgy assisted by Kamilia.

In terms of risk and speed timing, the aerial act of Alyona and Irina Ulyanov was likewise impressive, and their marvellous agility imbued their performance with that special 'it'.

Yuri Mayovsky gave a display of spectacular Cossack riding with such agility and at such speed that the audience held its breath until the thunderous applause.

An Ali Baba theme provided Albert Arslanov with the opportunity to show amazing juggling, balancing and athletic skills with knife in mouth, goblets, ball and long sticks.

The Georgievsky Troupe (V Georgievsky, V Grachyov, O Turkin, V Bourovitsky) on the trampoline got the audience off to a great start with their fast, thrilling acrobatics and comedy.

The clowns Ramon and Nikolai won hearts right from the word go and delighted all, particularly the children, with entr'acte fillers throughout and in their first half closer with gimmicked taxi routine.

Other outstanding presentations were the pole act by the Four Tasevy, the Trio Paradox, Miss Kamilia (on ladder), the Two Sirius (aerial rolla-rolla balancing) and the animal acts of Miss Tanya with four stallions, Ivan Ivanovich with three African elephants, and a presentation of a troupe of five llamas.

Andrei Kadnikov, himself a former Cossack troupe rider, was a commanding ringmaster.

### **TS-4**

Formed in 1993, Momentary Fusion specialises in anti-gravity dance. Yes, this was a new one for me, too. But, in effect, performers who practise this medium risk life and limb as they manipulate themselves, on some apparatus or other, suspended from the flies. The company rehearses in a Victorian church tower in South London, and works without a safety net.

Directed by Isabel Rocamora, who performs *Stung* with Sophy Griffiths and Lindsey Butcher, the programme note suggests a theme concerning "the overlap between the state of half sleep and the physical state of deep emotion" and punctuates slow motion acrobatics, on either a horizontal hoop, a rope or a trapeze, with unexpected movements which make the audience nervous.

The more frantic action is accompanied by a percussionist, Neil Conti, whose arrival on the stage is precluded by a dozen or so drumsticks thrown from the wings like a box of matches. The performers' more soporific weavings, and their eerie, larger-than-life shadows flooded on to the backcloth, are executed in silence, broken by a dreamer's sighs and murmurs, and Gareth Williams' atmospheric soundscape.

Courageous and unorthodox though this aerial dance undoubtedly is, this performance lacked sparkle, and came over as a worthy but sterile circus act. And the long periods of silence, coupled with painfully slow and sometimes very tense movement, hardly convinced me that anti-gravity dance is that riveting.

### **TS-5**

George Orwell could learn a lesson or two from Suzanne Chipperfield, star of Peter Jay's Superdome Circus, who handles elephants, zebras, horses, giraffes and farmyard animals in fine style.

Other acts include Prague's Martina Coskova who reinvents what you can do with a hula hoop, while young clown David proves an instant hit with all ages, both in his solo routines and as part of the highly acclaimed French trio the Martinis. On his own he wins with a sequence of successful audience participation items before the trio take over with a perfectly timed comedy boxing match routine.

Mexican juggler Thomas Aguiler's act is as slick as ever, with clubs, footballs, hats and particularly ping-pong balls taking to the air in rapid fashion.

Fellow Mexicans the Rodogels complete the bill with three very different acts. First there is an athletic trampoline routine with Lancelot Ramos currently clocking up 70 consecutive somersaults and then a sort of inverted bungee jump when two of the troupe perform as Les Elastiques, going up when gravity decrees they should be coming down - but along the way creating quite a new circus skill.

Finally the whole group performs an award-winning trapeze act that makes triple somersaults and aerial leaps seem so easy we should all be doing them. As ever, the ringmaster is Blackpool's own sawdust legend, Norman Barrett.

### **C-CdS**

Call me gullible and simple-minded [don't tempt me-d], but I'm always pleased when 'hype' turns out to be 'true'. As we've said in these pages before, winding up expectations has always been part of the trickster/circus/fair game - and when mighty expectations are fulfilled, not only is there an almost-transcendental feeling of 'release', it also legitimises that whole process - which is good for all of us, even the gullible and simple-minded; those like me, like the audience.

Choose the words carefully, then. 'Soleil at the Albert Hall was undoubtedly the best circus production I've ever seen'. I've seen better performers, more exciting shows, seen more done with the idea and framework of circus, but still not seen a show like this one. And when this performance (actually the last of the series, with the trucks stacked up outside waiting to move the rig the moment we were out) climaxed with a standing ovation from 5000 (or however many holes it takes), the atmosphere matched all but the most-exciting longest-awaited events, rock-shows, whatever, that I've ever seen - in the circus world, I'd guess that only seeing Archaos again could surpass it for me.

Production. I trust you're familiar with the term. Lighting, choreography, costumes, pacing - matters that Trad. Circus takes as read (though they have at least evolved a highly-polished style in them all) and which New Circus rarely has the time or finance (or, let's face it, not always the skills) to think about. Soleil take the production values of a West End Show and use them to reinforce a series of performances that far surpass anything that the Lloyd-Webbers and their minions can manage - no wonder it utterly blew away an audience who have probably never seen a modern circus, or (despite the best efforts of Soleil-clone Surreal) even been tempted to.

Production aside, those of us familiar with the recent history of the best European and British shows won't have been so amazed. The music - face it, live music is essential to a good show - was faultlessly contemporary, occasionally excellent tho' unmemorable bar one tune. Remember, we

expect nothing less from even a small-scale NoFit/Swamp size company, and the better Continental teams manage to integrate their musicians more fully into the company and the show. Choreography in movement and dancing, tho', was way above the standard we've had to put up with (which usually only means people waving their arms around basically in tune).

The circus/theatre element was, as with Surreal (ironically!), difficult to follow, the characters obscure and their interaction near-meaningless. Contrast this with the French companies, who contrive to have you recognise the characters, if not by name then by type, very quickly (and without as much banter as the Brits, the pace of the shows being different) and can then develop on their interaction. That the Canadians do have a feeling for character-play was evident with the very entertaining very Street-influenced clown entrée which opened the show, and, really, promised better on that front than the show itself delivered. Perhaps (but only perhaps) the Canadian public are used to the Soleil characters, like a Medieval European public would recognise the figures in Mummer, Mystery or Commedia cycles - but either the company has forgotten how to build character or never knew. For the greatest show on earth (or what could be) this was an oversight. At least it gives European companies something to feel smug about.

OK. Being a circus and not a theatre, they have 'acts'. In many cases, Boy, 'do they have' acts!

THE CHINESE POLES Why have one person doing this when you can have 16? Production values again! Apart from NoFitState, which was different, we've only seen the navy do this before. How 'do' they run up them like that? Bet the guy who did it straight-armed wouldn't pass a drug test. Probably ex-Navy, then.

CONTORTION & ACROBATS What a word! (I've just been reading this ace Peter Carey book with a sort-of Circus in it - called The Unusual Life of Tristan Smith - where they use the word 'posturer' which I think I like better) Synchronised agony! How long do they take to warm up? What do they have for tea? The kid & dad are from Russia but I don't think she's the real mother. I wonder if she knows he stays up really late - he's only 10. Strongman gymnasts, whatever you call them, are a really popular contemporary flavour, and these two were devastating. Would you like a body like that? Women need not reply.

RUSSIAN SWING haven't seen this before, tho' it's big in big trad. shows. Gets you higher than breathing deeply in the Cabaret tent at Glastonbury! Notice how they didn't even bother to try to catch till the third time - get our expectations going...

BUNGEE TRAPEZE is still effective, beautiful even; but with others doing it perhaps this won't last long. Their freefall patterns were an innovation, but I'm still burning to see the bungee flyers someone was threatening. Stuart reckons adding opera was a stab at high art and stretching it a bit, but he'll stoop pretty low for a pun.

THE JUGGLER (MIGUEL HERRERA (Cuba) Probably the fastest power-bouncer with silicon balls we've ever seen - we couldn't work out if the platform was helping the bounce, but don't really care; more of a puzzle was why he only bounced 7, not juggled them, when he was so solid on 6. A treat, anyway.

THE CLOWN - RENÉ BAZINET (Germany). Is he a genius at picking volunteers, or was the young man who stole the show from him a plant? We can't decide. For a solo performer to keep 5000 spellbound he's got to be blimmin' good - but I felt his act was too slow and compared unfavourably with Surreal's Donimo.

CIRQUE DU SOLEIL. It's true. The sun does shine out... In the best traditions of The Greatest Show, all I can say is: Come back soon.

## C-1

Starting point was a carefully assembled stage set up (which incidentally was also an excellent advert for Yellow Pages) incorporating a number of white silicone balls on oddly-shaped black holders scattered through space. The emphasis being as much on interactive movement as on the bouncing and balancing, but involving comedy throughout the whole performance. The drops, which did happen, were used to establish the contact between the group and the audience, making the performance accessible and even funnier for the spectator.

It involved a wide range of skills to a high degree including some impressive club juggling and passing (nothing which has not been done before - but very smooth and well choreographed).

Unicycling: one of the highlights probably being five clubs while rocking on a unicycle by the side of

the saddle (no idea what you call that), accomplished very casually... Some glowball juggling (incorporating swinging moves and possibly making the Aerotech demonstrators go green with envy). Two handed staff swinging with - guess what? Exactly: rolls of Yellow Pages! Someone climbing gracefully through a metal coathanger. And last but not least (and not in order of accuracy or importance) up to three diabolos!

In spite of its diversity the whole performance was rounded and polished and made great entertainment! Shame that Blink is based so far away...

## C-2

A lush late summer bright & stormy sky and salty breezy smell surround several trios of plain red flags fluttering over the sea--front at Southsea. They belong to the thirty-one acrobats from Changchun, on tour with eight musicians, one cook and one doctor. The tent was the one used by Surreal earlier this year, a good sized audience, families prepared to pay high prices for high class live action. New Circus take note...

A going signal the start, live music takes over from the tape, then a Greeting first in Chinese and then in monotonous English; bring on the first act - please... Big Banner Balancing with bells on, acrobats jumping all over the shop, catching the banners (more like telegraph poles) on their chins, foreheads, and behinds if needs be. Chinese humour is generally represented in the 'link' characters, each a classic Chinese tale, like the Mirror Cleaners where one person mirror's the other's actions to great comic effect. The stilt walkers get themselves into a semi-No Fit routine, though of course this leads into the Russian Pole, used in this occasion not for dancing around but as a springboard for throwing a stilt-walker in high smooth somersaults.

If you've seen the Chinese before you'll be on familiar ground. The music is tremendous, clanking and stomping one moment then mellow, eerie, and mountainous the next, it can be scary for babies all those cymbals and gongs. Even though the handouts proclaim an 'all new' show (this refers to the all new cast), there's Hoop Diving, Dragon Dance, Jug Juggling, Lion Dance and much more still in the show from previous tours--thank Buddha. The Dragon and Lion dances always get a big oooo! and an aarr! and a Cantona from the children, deservedly so 'coz they are 'so' cute and cuddly. This year also sees the return of the legendary Unicycle on a Globe! A 6' giraffe with a small wheel on a globe about 4'6" across, the girl tosses objects from her foot up to a catch in a bowl balanced on her head: that's riding one-footed, by the way!!! The details are excellent, if at times predictable, like the predominance of the colour red, or the tassels, or the spotters standing to order in their delicate blue overalls. Some of the costumes, notably the Peking Opera ones, must have taken months to make and hours to put on. And who minded when they needed two or three attempts to make a trick? It builds the tension and with the live musicians adding additional colour we get perfect timing at the apex. The Bicycle Balance - two bikes, three people and at times 5 or 6 rings 20 foot up. Some rather snazzy plate spinning with up to 96 plates (so far as I could count) by a cast of twelve-ish had our photographer [whoosis, Aidie?-d] pleading to be allowed up into the rigging to look down on the spinning black-centred plates to take a snap, or was it to check if there were mirrors hanging around? At one point a girl spinning 8 plates while standing on the shoulders of another girl also spinning 8 plates goes into a headstand on another girl's head who is also spinning 8 plates!

There is a massive 7-person Chair Balance to top off a series of chair stacks, very precarious, and although the top three were wearing safety wires you trust there was slack. If you see it, pay attention to how the girls dismount after the balance. I wonder if a balance like this ever comes crashing to the ground, somehow I doubt it. Even when the lights went out during the second half of the matinée due to a thunder storm, and we watched under halogen work lights until the end, the show kept us on the edges of our clichés, I mean chairs; at the end there was a standing ovation.

The highlight of this year's show, one of the very many, were the 'flying elastics'. I shall not try to describe the effect, you can imagine what fun can be had on a bungee, well the Chinese go too far - as usual. They have three flyers looping round a trapeze-type platform hung centre stage, spinning so fast they simply blur. Whereas Surreal's bungees were slow, graceful, and filled large amounts of space, these are fast and concentrated to a spot. Whatever will they think of next? Bungee club passing probably.

You can't match the Chinese for style. Theirs is unique. You should never get tired of seeing them.

### C-3

Your intrepid reporter, searching the globe for events of circusy significance, alighted recently in Indianapolis.

Where? Indianapolis: a middle American city of a million souls, previously famous only for its annual 500-mile motor race, Dan Quayle, and the authors Kurt Vonnegut and Michael Z. Lewin. But now the birthplace of 'Die, Circus, Die'.

Springing full-grown from the loins of the two-year-old Secret Cabaret, 'Die, Circus, Die' is a circus-skills revue created by a group of local professional performers. Their idea was that circus skills performers could take on a character for the duration of a show and that their skills-performance could arise from the character, rather than the other way around.

It's not that notions of this kind haven't been developed before, but these folks worked it out for themselves. The Archaoses and Cirques Surreal don't make it to the Indianapolis. Indy is so isolated they haven't even heard of The Catch!

'Die, Circus, Die' is an antidote to sweets-for-the-kiddies-circus. The first act, Twinkle the Happy Clown, is straight from the Yellow Pages. He is clubbed to death with a baseball bat.

"But I know a way to make him OK again," Abercrombie the Ringmaster says to the audience. "If you believe in clowns. Do you believe in clowns?"

But the audience's collective belief is insufficient.

Twinkle remains deceased and his head (oh, all right: a pumpkin representing his head) is posted on a pike for the rest of the show. Other heads follow.

The clowning and juggling are taken on by the sociopathic Krembo and Jeery. Andrea, the hermaphrodite, offers partial evidence as to how he/she can fuck him/herself (it's a circus for the 18+). Dead Paco's whip slices cigars protruding from parts of his own body, and prunes roses held by Tara. In her own right, Tara is the Princess of Pane. Her act is an ecstatic wild side walk on freshly broken glass.

The review unites earth (the glass), wind (the whip), water (Twinkle pissing his pants), and fire. "Fire eaters used to be considered gods," Abercrombie tells us. "Do you want to see a god?" Pity about that clown sneaking up behind him with the lighter...

Before the short stage show barkers urge to view such sideshow delights as the goat boy, the Louisiana Dogcatcher, and photographs of some of PT Barnum's 'freak' performers.

The curious can also have "votre future" read by Andrea.

The 'Die, Circus, Die' group includes Dylan Roahrig, Bart Simpson, Elliot Feltman, Rick Northam, Michael Morales, Tara Mead, Andrea Merlin, and Scott Soltermann. They hope to tour and Bart Simpson (his real name, I was assured by Tara, but is that her real name?) can be contacted at [address redacted].

Meanwhile they are opening some eyes in a part of America where the slit-lidded, disapproving stare still reigns.

### C-4

I have been pondering whether to report the Gandini Juggling Project to the Advertising Standards Authority... or to the Consumer and Trading Standards people re. the Trades Description Act.

Certainly there is a Gandini in the cast: there is some juggling (but not much); and the definitions of 'project' include 'proposals being worked on' - '...and other curious questions' came across as something in rehearsal stage. The poster shows Sean Gandini juggling 5 rings while the accompanying postcard mentions 5 dancers. At no point during the performance did anybody, including Sean, attempt to juggle five of anything, let alone rings, and I do not think I saw anybody dance. On the balance of this evidence, it probably should be Advertising Standards.

My partner came home from work, said she popped into the Tron at lunch time and noticed that the Gandini Juggling Project were performing; I asked her to pick up some tickets. I also asked my daughter if she wanted to come along. Her response was phrased along the lines of having more interesting things to do, like study for her forthcoming exams or watch paint dry.

I first saw the Project perform in atrocious conditions at the Birmingham Convention in 1993. Since then, they have caused very disparate reactions amongst other jugglers, ranging from sycophantic gushings to expressions of complete tosh [presumably you're im- plying it's the Gandinis that are tosh, not the expressions -d]. My view up to now has been somewhere in the middle, the Gandini

Project had been different, but interesting. By combining juggling with dance and movement, they have been moving into the realm occupied by Air Jazz - an area with a rich potential and one that can be very entertaining.

With '...and other curious questions', the third show, rather than progress, they have seriously regressed. It came across more as a rehearsal for a class exercise for a first year university interpretative dance course. Aimless wandering about the stage, even when weaving amongst themselves, does not constitute dance. The use of flashlights held by members of the cast to spotlight individual performances may have sounded innovative on paper, but came across as tacky and makeshift, like they could not afford proper lighting. The only curious question this performance raised with me was, why was one of the best jugglers in Europe wasting his talents on this crap? The night was not a complete waste. Afterwards, we went round the corner to McChuills to listen to Red Doc and the Congregation, a local blues band. They played a rousing set, one charged with passion, emotion, and no pretensions. The Gandini Juggling Project could learn a lot by incorporating all of these elements into their performances.

### **C-5**

The perfect venue for what must be one of the most controversial pieces of movement juggling since WC Fields punted a dog over a wall on film! The studio styled space, on-stage metronome and the grey T-shirt with blue jeans uniform all added to the experimental work in progress feel of the show. A soundtrack of garbled dialogue resembling a cross between the Shopping Channel and Prime Minister's Question Time provided well-needed light relief. A five person three ball weave overdubbed with "is this better than shopping?" had me wondering for hours. [and that Haggis should wonder this has me wondering for, um, seconds d]

The first glimpses of more traditional dance styles stood out enormously. "You've been Tango'ed, Sean".

Lindsey Butcher and Jeremy Robbin's piece on Web rope was different, wrapping each other up, entwined yet always self-dependent, sailing head first to within inches of the ground! Lindsey brought gasps from the whole audience, yet the complexity of the Juggling seemed to go unnoticed most of the time. Passing clubs left- and right-handed, the five-person weave feeds with single, double and triple spins were all performed flawlessly. The ability even to memorise the whole show, step by step, throw by throw, is to be admired and respected.

The use of repetitive movement, both with and without object manipulation, acts as a musical score. Tempo, thrust of action and freedom of movement are layered and shuffled, in turn, both exposing and covering the juggling and dance. One fact remains: greater risks were taken with the movement of the props than were ever taken by the jugglers themselves. Perhaps the Director, Gill Clarke, should sacrifice some elegance for energy and start throwing the artists around as much as they do the props.

### **KP-CdS**

When many of the packed house stood to give an ovation to the opening performance of Cirque du Soleil (Circus of the Sun) at the Royal Albert Hall on Friday 5 January, it was the latest successful chapter in the story of this innovative French Canadian company which began in 1984.

More particularly, it was the sixth major city on the extensive European tour which began in Amsterdam on 9 March 1995, where the show has its European headquarters, before taking in Munich, Berlin, Dusseldorf and Vienna. After London, the 1996 tour is Hamburg, from 8 February; Amsterdam again, from 5 April; Stuttgart, from 31 May; Antwerp, from 26 July; Zurich, from 13 September; and Frankfurt, from 1 November, the tour ending in December 1996.

Four productions in 1996

Saltimbanco, the production featured on the European tour, is one of four Cirque du Soleil shows which can be seen around the world this year. Alegria, which toured North America in 1995, visits Japan in 96 and may tour in Europe for 97-98. Mystère has been custom-built for its special theatre in the Treasure Island Resort in Las Vegas; and a new production will make its debut in Montréal in April. Longtime fan of Cirque du Soleil, Stewart McGill of the Playbox Theatre, Kenilworth, will be at the première and will write about the new show in the next King Pole.

Brief history of Cirque du Soleil

Cirque du Soleil has its origins in the group of street performers, the Club des talons hauts (the High Heels Club), which entertained with its stilt walking, juggling and fire eating in Baie-Saint-Paul, mecca for painters in Québec, in the summer of 1982. They organised a festival which led, in 1984, to the first Cirque du Soleil shows, initially in Canada, and the United States for the first time in 1987, when Cirque Réinventé (We Reinvent the Circus) was presented at the Los Angeles Festival, a forerunner of numerous stays in major American cities.

Subsequent milestones in the story include:

- the debut of Nouvelle Expérience in 1990 in Montréal, followed by a 19 month tour of the States during which 1.3 million people see the show
- the presentation of Cirque Réinventé under the big top in London's Jubilee Gardens and the Cirque d'Hiver in Paris in 1990
- in 1992, the contortionistes from Nouvelle Expérience win a Gold Clown at Monte Carlo; and artistes from Cirque Réinventé combined with the Knie family and their horses and elephants for the Swiss National Circus Knie's annual tour; Fascination, using acts from past shows, was presented in Japan; Nouvelle Expérience had a year long engagement at the Mirage Hotel, Las Vegas; and Saltimbanco made its debut in Canada and then went to the States
- in 1993, Mystère opened in its own theatre in Las Vegas; Saltimbanco ended its 19 month tour of the States where it was seen by 1.4 million, before going to Tokyo for six months; and a new production, Alegria, was launched as usual in Montréal before commencing its North American tour.

Circus for affluent audiences

As this summary indicates, Cirque du Soleil is a highly successful operation, having established its own brand of modern theatrical circus which draws audiences in the more affluent and sophisticated cities of North America, Europe and Japan. It has carefully developed a style which rejects many of the expected features of the circus - no animals, no ring or ringmaster, no clowns in the traditional sense - and with its specially written modern electronic music, its emphasis on interconnecting production and the creation of a bizarre world of characters. For some, the end result is too far from the original style of modern twentieth century circus to merit the name. Even among those interested enough in contemporary performing arts and rich enough to afford the high ticket prices of £22 and £35 at the Albert Hall, there were some who did not find it to their taste. The elderly couple next to us had their fingers stuck in their ears throughout and, during the interval, complained of the poor mime and the music 'like sludge,' while enthusing over 'real circus' and Victoria Chaplin's minimalist Cirque Imaginaire seen in London some years back. A press photographer, who had spent six weeks with Archaos, admitted it did little for him - "We see it all in London, though, and you get blasé about things." Such reservations and criticisms seemed in the minority, however, as the Albert Hall season generated considerable enthusiasm, prompting one viewer to say it was "like ballet but more exciting than ballet, like gymnastics but more exciting than gymnastics... it's a wonderful mix of acrobatics, comedy, music and spectacle!"

Mixed views from the London critics

It received some critical acclaim too. Clive Hirschhorn in the Sunday Express wrote, "Like extra-terrestrials on an interplanetary gig, the members of Cirque du Soleil are not of this world... a spectacular extravaganza whose title, Saltimbanco (Italian for street clown) serves notice that, despite the show's sci-fi look, its origins spring from the commedia dell'arte world of pantaloons... its ineffable mixture of the new with the old creates an extraordinary entertainment. A circus without a single animal, it co-ordinates what you see and what you hear with exemplary skill and precision. Co-ordination, in fact, is what Cirque du Soleil is all about... Lighting and sound effects are crucial and contribute immeasurably to the success of a unique concept."

But Lyn Gardner in the Guardian wrote of "Perspiration but no inspiration. Fast becoming Canada's most famous export, Cirque du Soleil is, like the country it hails from, spectacular to look at but rather lacking in soul. After all the hype, Saltimbanco (the name comes from the Italian for street performer) turns out to be rather less than the greatest show in earth and slightly more than a hi-tech, balletic pop concert... a new style rock'n'roll circus (actually the sound track is often more New Seekers than Rolling Stones) whose success rests as much on the laser light show as it does on the contortionists or the trapeze artists... There is an overload of sensory experience, to the point where you feel like a circuit board that is liable to explode under the strain... the final acrobatic bungee ballet is beautifully conceived and executed. But what this show really lacks is a whiff of danger and a sense of anarchy.

The clowns are too tidy and well behaved, the choreographer is obsessed with symmetry, and the whole show is so well drilled that it loses any feeling of spontaneity. What one misses is the vulgarity that characterises more traditional circus... I can't imagine that too many people would dream of running away to join Cirque du Soleil."

And Jenny Gilbert in the Independent on Sunday wrote, "Like many modern circuses, this Canadian outfit has shaken up the old formula. Out go blobby noses, custard-pie and water fights, and, of course, trained animals. In comes a new breed of circus animal - weird, beautiful, hermaphrodite, and more dangerous than any cage of tigers. The 'ringmaster' is a mincing gremlin with a long blue tail, whose barking exhortations to performers (in what sounds like a hybrid of Hungarian and Norse) go largely ignored."

She enthused over several of the acts, notably the hand balancing act - "the square-jawed Lorador brothers, Marco and Paulo (who steamed up the Royal spectacles at the last Variety Performance) strut their stuff in skin-tight leather trows and oiled torsos, but gently send up the homo-eroticism with subtle smirks. They sweetly peck each other on the cheek and spend a lot of time holding hands - one 13-stoner supporting another on a single raised fist." She concluded that there were plenty of "reasons for scraping together the high ticket price; go and see a show which, for once, really does provide the promised novel experience. And despite its elaborate staging, Saltimbanco still leaves room for that intimate connection between audience and players which is the essence of circus art."

The Albert Hall: appropriate for circus

The Royal Albert Hall is one of the most prestigious venues in the world, steeped in history from the times when Queen Victoria's British Empire dominated much of the globe and with a unique reputation for a range of quality entertainments encompassing classical music, opera, ballet and rock and pop concerts.

Its classical architecture and its circular auditorium and arena make it reminiscent of a larger version of a French circus building, but with a couple of exceptions it has not been used for a major circus presentation before Cirque du Soleil. The exceptions were the Billy Smart Circus Ball in the late 1960s, with human circus stars only, and a miniature circus, with ponies, dogs, clowns and acrobats, put on by Sir Garrard Tyrwhitt-Drake for ten days for charity in the 1920s, probably 1923. According to his book *The English Circus and Fairground* (1946), this was "the only circus that has ever appeared in this celebrated building. It was patronized by Royalty and the Lord Mayor of London and his Sheriffs."

The Albert Hall is considerably larger, with 3800 seats, than the big top being used for the European tour, which accommodates 2500. For those in the stalls, and especially those close to the circular stage area, Cirque du Soleil was more impressive than for those far away in the balconies. Here, you were admittedly on a level with, or even looking down on, the aerial acts, but, with the dark lighting and an emphasis on small groups of performers, you lost that closeness between audience and artistes which is needed for the show to be satisfying for the public.

Opening night atmosphere

There was a sprinkling of show business celebrities, from Alexei Sayle, Annabel Croft and Susan George to Ronnie Corbett and Derek Nimmo, in the opening night's full house audience, with British circus directors Peter and Christine Jay and Phillip and Carol Gandey and families in the front row. As the lights dimmed, half a dozen clown characters entered the auditorium, taking a run of plum seats from their well-heeled ticket holders, helping a girl to perform a quasi somersault, and whipping off a man's T-shirt, warming up the audience in a slightly strange manner and warning them that the evening's circus was going to be bizarre and unexpected, not warm and familiar. On stage, a blue devil pulled on a rope, a bell rang, and a clown read the welcoming announcement, in French and English, and thanked the sponsors. From then on, the stage came alive for the opening number, the Baron (a balletic Julian Clary type) leading the cast and the Saltimbanco character of the poster lifting the cover off his silver tray amid dry ice to reveal a model of the Albert Hall to the haunting Kumbalawé sung by a girl. The music, all specially written by René Dupère, is a unique blend of electronic rock with influences and themes from Africa, Italy, Spain, Japan and elsewhere, performed by five musicians on keyboards, saxophone, guitar, bass guitar and drums, led by Marc Sohier, and with singers Laur Fugère, Chantal Hamel and Eve Montpetit.

The adagio acrobatics of a Russian trio, Galina Karableva, Anton Tchelnokov and 10 year old son Nikolai Tchelnokov, was notable for the smooth quality of the contortionism and for the symbolic



family presentation (see the photo in King Pole No, 107) and the youngster plays his part in the continuity, poking fun at his elders in the company. The house troupe was seen next in a highly impressive Chinese mast presentation, involving 15 acrobats working with energy and precision. This was one of the big attractions in the show which really made an impact on the audience in this large hall.

#### Solo comedy

German comedy artiste René Bazinet was featured in two long spots, one in each half. Wearing short trousers, his small boy character managed to keep much of the audience entertained with his solo mime work, accompanied by his own voice sound effects using a neck microphone, as he came up against imaginary doors, skipped, played baseball and caught 'balls' thrown at him from the audience. The solo high wire routine of Chinese Cheng Wei commenced with a long walk from stage to the platform. Her rig was unusual in that it had two parallel wires, one a few feet higher than the other. The routine included a back somersault, riding a unicycle and a back somersault from the lower wire to the higher one. All this was accomplished with a safety lunge and it certainly appeared that one or two of the harder tricks would have been impossible without it.

Cuban juggler Miguel A. Herrera specialises in work with up to seven balls, much of it onto the floor of a small platform, and ultimately juggling them down a flight of steps. His work was strong but inevitably concentrated on the platform and thus lacked the movement and effect of more varied solo jugglers. The first half ended with the four young girl contortionistes who won a Gold Clown at Monte Carlo in 1992 - Nadine Binette, Isabelle Chassé, Jinny Jacinto and Laurence Racine. Now obviously older, the quality of their work and effective choreography remains just as impressive, perhaps more so, although the dark blue lighting means that they were less appreciated than they should have been, even from a few rows back.

#### Excellent Russian swing action

The second half commenced with a number from the band, drawing the audience back from the bars, and a dynamic Russian swing routine by the house troupe, numbering 15. In contrast, the solo swinging trapeze act of Shana Carroll from the USA had a graceful and gentle quality which did not prevent her including some spectacular twisting tricks towards the end which caught the public imagination. This routine normally alternates with the double trapeze of Karyne and Sarah Steben, Silver Clown winners at last years Monte Carlo Festival, but this act was out for the London season as one girl had had an operation on her shoulder. This had proved successful and meant that she should re-join the show a month after the Albert Hall date.

An ogre in a cloak turned out to be clown René Bazinet who picked up a man from the audience for his mimed visit to a jungle, filmed walk and stumble, archery, dance and gunfight. I thought it was all enjoyable enough, though its effectiveness certainly suffered from the size of the Albert Hall.

The two Portuguese brothers, Marco and Paulo Lorador, were Silver Clown winners at Monte Carlo in 1990 under the name the Alexis Brothers, in tribute to their father. Their hand to hand balancing and their muscular film star good looks had already impressed the first night audience but their almost agonising selling of the final difficult trick got many of them, including actress Susan George, on their feet in prolonged applause.

#### Ethereal bungee ballet

The final aerial routine was also the most original in the show - a quartet of bungee acrobats, Linda Bélanger, Marek Haczkiwicz, Daniel Touchette and Huang Zhen. Dressed in white, they performed a succession of group manouevres of increasing complexity, creating gasps of admiration at the sheer beauty and control of flying movement. As they returned to the stage, two pairs of comedy bungee enthusiasts 'broke the spell' with some apparently chaotic movements. The finale brought the company back time and time again, for a standing ovation lasting several minutes. Cirque du Soleil President Daniel Gauthier and Founding President Guy Laliberté, Vice President Creation Gilles Ste-Croix, Director Franco Dragone and their creative team were hopefully well pleased with the reaction. Cirque du Soleil leather jackets for £309

The Cirque du Soleil merchandising, on sale at the Albert Hall and by mail order, includes programmes (£7, £5 at the Albert Hall), cassettes (£13) and CDs (£18) of four of the shows, a china mug (£7), caps (£13, £15), T-shirts (£11, £15) and sweatshirts (£25), watches (£16, £57), keyrings (£7), videos (£11, £18), book with French or English text (£23), silk scarf (£37), silk ties (£25), denim jacket (£80) and leather jackets (£309). A full colour catalogue is available free by writing or faxing

Cirque du Soleil, Postbus 59100, 1040 KC Amsterdam, Westergasfabriek, Haarlemmerweg 8-10, 1014 BE, Amsterdam, Nederland. Fax: (31) 20.686.4702.

#### Marketing campaign

The Albert Hall season was originally announced as January 5 to 14, then extensions to the 21st and later the 28th were announced. The selling of the show, virtually unknown in Britain until last Autumn, involved a great deal of work and expense. Harvey Goldsmith Entertainments Ltd and the Royal Albert Hall worked in conjunction with Cirque du Soleil and Mark Borkowski's PR agency, well known for its work for Gerry Cottle, Archaos and the Jim Rose Circus. Sponsors included Digital PC, The Daily Telegraph, Virgin Radio and Orange mobile phones. A charity gala was held on 9 January for the Royal National Institute for the Blind.

The inclusion of key extracts in the Royal Variety Show last Autumn was an excellent way of making the public aware of the coming of the show in January. Television coverage which increased awareness included Pebble Mill and Blue Peter and there were features in the Times and Telegraph magazine in December. At the back of this was an expensive advertising campaign including national daily newspapers, a half page in colour in Radio Times, and large posters on the London Underground and adverts on Capital Radio.

The investment paid off. The show did about 85% capacity, even at the high prices of £22 and £35 (no reductions for children), with many tickets being sold on the door for each performance.

#### Staging the show in the Albert Hall

Brian Andro-Dewhurst is the Artistic Coordinator for Cirque du Soleil. Brian's comedy wire walking was well known to British audiences. His appearances include Great Yarmouth and with Mills at Olympia and tenting in the 60s and with Mary Chipperfield's tenting tour in 1972. He then started Circus Senso, one of the first New Circuses, with an avant-garde theatrical feel to it and with no animals, before joining Cirque du Soleil. Brian commented to me that the show's success in London had been "incredible - the tens of thousands it cost to put on were invested well" - and the staging of it in the Albert Hall had been the result of careful planning. The technical rig of interlocking gold rings was more or less the same height in the Hall as in the Saltimbanco big top but the cupola was a bit higher. Thus the aerial routines, including the bungee jumping, were working at the same height as in the tent, though it appeared different because of the space above and around the performers and rigging in the Hall. The high wire rigging had been difficult, the circus riggers working with the Albert Hall surveyors to achieve the correct tension.

Brian Andro-Dewhurst had spent several days in discussion in Dusseldorf with the show's Artistic Director Andrew Watson (who began his circus career with Gerry Cottle in 1984 before going to Roncalli and then winning a Silver Clown in Monte Carlo with his then partner Jacqueline with their aerial cradle act). A model of the Albert Hall was made and the project manager, Marc-André Leclerc and the team worked closely with the Albert Hall people who were very cooperative. They had to consider the storage of props, usually brought in from the back on the tenting show, whereas in the Albert Hall there was minimal storage space backstage near the built-in organ. Sight lines had to be looked at and adjustments made. In the big top, the artistes use an aisle round the stage area, whereas in the Albert Hall the nearest equivalent was at the back of the boxes. This meant that many entrances and the positioning of lunges and rigging had to be re-considered.

The show finished in Vienna on 17 December. There was some work done before the team arrived in the Albert Hall on 27 December for four days putting in the rigging and staging, then three days of new staging directed by Andrew Watson and Brian Andro-Dewhurst, including the final dress rehearsal, to a very sizeable house of journalists, photographers and other interested parties, on Thursday 4 January, prior to the opening the following evening.

Brian Andro-Dewhurst considers that the Albert Hall is "almost a perfect venue for circus." If Cirque du Soleil does return to London and indeed other British venues, such as Edinburgh during the Festival, it will be interesting to see whether it uses the Albert Hall, or other concert halls of prestige, like Edinburgh's Usher Hall, or whether it is presented in its own big top. It would have been interesting to see it in its own tent, away from the gravitas and sheer size of the Albert Hall.

Saltimbanco contains many strong circus performances, with a unique style and some memorable music all its own. Compared to some of the current great circuses of the world like Roncalli, Arlette Gruss, the Big Apple, and Knie, for me it lacked warmth and friendliness, through its bizarre characters, with choreography that's as tight as for a top cabaret. As an entertainment, for all its

innovations, it was for me interesting and impressive but ultimately less satisfying than the best of the more traditional style circuses.

### **KP-1**

For their fourth tour, the show is now using a smart red, white and blue big top containing two blocks of tiered seats plus ringside boxes. There is a good lighting rig controlled by Derrick Rosaire, including two follow spots, whilst the music is supplied by Paul Crompton and Kevin Banham (keyboards and drums) who are stanced up above the smart red ring doors first used in Glasgow at Christmas. Ivor Rosaire is the red coated ringmaster with clear announcements.

At the performance I attended, the programme ran as follows:

- Overture and introductions by Ivor Rosaire.
- Exotica: Bobby Roberts Jnr. with three llamas plus a chestnut horse to weave between the pedestals.
- Bobo and Oxo (Jock McPherson) - 'hello' run-in.
- Steven Sallai. A good juggling act using balls, hoops, clubs and ending with fire clubs.
- Mochine. An improving routine first on the static then swinging trapeze with tricks including a one foot hang, back balance and a drop to be caught by the heels.
- Big & Little. Bobby Jnr. with a large chestnut and a small pony in a new routine.
- Bobo and Oxo - 'mind reading' gag.
- Duo Biddal. An exciting revolving carousel act, the first of two numbers by Paul and Julie Cook.
- Bobo and Oxo - fun with a chair.
- Pets on Parade. Kitty Roberts with her well known poodle act including hurdle jumping, scooter and all leaving on a cart.
- The Olympians. A comic vaulting act by the Menza troupe dressed as a variety of characters including a policeman and a drunk.
- Bobo and Oxo - bucket on a pole.
- Royal Command elephants. Bobby Jnr., assisted by Jean and Petra, with, on this occasion, two elephants whose act is now Scottish themed in its music and costuming: The routine includes a waltz, carousel, walk over the girls and a grand mount to close.
- Interval
- Derfel. Derfel Williams (assisted by Pamela) with his pagoda balance routine.
- Bobo, dressed as Charlie Chaplin, with three geese in a short routine.
- Oxo - 'trying to find a seat' and 'minding the baby' run-in.
- Steven Sallai. A good head and hand balancing act including walking down a flight of steps on his hands and a revolving head balance.
- Duo Biddal. A 'trip into outer space' with Paul and Julie and their space ship trapeze act which concludes with a helicopter spin by Julie.
- Bobby Roberts Jnr. and his Arab stallions in a smoothish routine including a waltz, directional changes, and a running gag with a titbit.
- Paul Rosaire. A promising display of trick riding.
- Della West. A short rope spinning act with smart props.
- Oxo - giving away balloons.
- Indian Braves. The Menza Troupe enter playing drums before making the usual pyramids and solo tumbling.
- Finale, followed by the National Anthem.

During the interval, a variety of concessions were on sale including a model circus and a new programme will be on sale soon. After the performance, the stables were open and kept very tidy. The show was close to two hours long, quite balanced and very entertaining, with good lighting and music, perhaps a little weak on the comedy side but overall excellent circus in the most traditional of manners. Bobby Roberts' Super Circus 1996 touring programme must surely be a serious contender for the "Best Circus" award.

### **KP-2**

This year Mike and Jounita Austin provide up to five half-hour shows during peak periods at this North Yorkshire entertainment complex. Other live entertainment includes performing parrot and sea

lion shows and there is the usual range of large thrill rides and the attraction of the zoo, although this appears to have diminished slightly in recent years.

Two completely different performances are alternated throughout the day and with Patrick and his sister, Nina, having this season been booked by their parents to appear in the new Circus Atlas, the show takes on a new look and incorporates completely new talent with no house acts included. Jounita Austin of course continues to comper the show which continues to use the four-pole tent from previous years, but there are several notable additions to transport and concession trailers and some very good sections of lightweight aluminium seating for the tiers. To recorded music, the content of the two shows was as follows:

1. Recorded overture "Join the Circus" from Barnum with Clown Brum known to us all as Tommy Cook encouraging the audience and also providing a pre-show welcome to visitors to the tent.

2. Announced as Gypsy Sandow, Amanda Sandow presents her accomplished tight wire routine assisted by Carl Orry. There is dancing on the wire, jumps over a fire prop and a good stilt walk included. There are also jumps through hoops concluding a most entertaining routine which is beautifully costumed.

3. Brum enters with a montage of gags including the bucket and tray on the pole and a novel water on tray using a large fake milk bottle which sprays the audience.

4. Duo Endrez are the children of Attila Endrez who present a very good unicycle act using a wide range of cycles from miniature to models which are 12ft high. Attila Jnr. and Gracianna alternate tricks and also perform an ascension of some steep ramps together with various fake, and sometimes real falls included. Having worked for some years on cruise liners and in clubs, this is the first time that I had seen the act, but found it very impressive and capable of appearing in any of the major circuses.

The second show commences with a similar overture and introduction with the acts as follows:

- Duo Endrez with an excellent comedy plate spinning routine with Attila costumed as a chef and his sister, Gracianna, appearing as a very dumb waitress dressed as a French maid. The skill of the plate spinning is more than matched by the comedy introduced by both performers with this being one of the best of its type I have seen in recent years.

- Limping Lizard and Screaming Chicken are Carl Orry and Amanda Sandow with their comedy western act, well known to most circus fans in the U.K. They present the full routine of whip work, knife throwing and rope spinning and receive excellent participation from the audience.

- Tommy Cook as Clown Brum makes various entrées during this show including his extended musical performance with assistance from Jounita Austin. His traditional make-up and excellent costume add greatly to the overall enjoyment and quality of the show.

- At some performances Amanda Sandow has now started to introduce an act developed during the winter months and worked in place of her tight wire routine. The new act involves both static tricks and work on the swinging trapeze followed by a moon walk across a bar secured to the cupola of the tent. Again, the costumes are outstanding and the act very polished, even at this early stage.

### **KP-3**

Gabi Donnert and Bernie Hasler are the directors of the new Circus Atlas which I caught on pull-down day, Sunday, on the Basildon Council controlled site of Gloucester Park. They have an attractive 32 metre four pole tent from France, formerly from Cirque Pauwels, light blue with yellow diamond designs on the wallings. The tent is very high and spacious for aerial acts with just 12 quarter poles, making for good viewing and easier for pull-down. The poles are painted red and there is a full size ring. There are classy, dark blue velour ring door curtains, a follow spotlight and good, strong lighting on the king poles. The vehicles are painted predominantly white and blue with the new Circus Atlas logo decal on cab doors. The music is taped but well chosen and played at an appropriate volume.

Unfortunately Gabi Donnert has been ill with a kidney complaint since the start of the season so on doctor's orders his Dunai juggling on horseback and High School riding numbers have been omitted, but he was nevertheless presenting his liberty horses and playing a full role in the proceedings.

Besides being the administrative partner in the show, Bernie Hasler makes a friendly ringmaster-announcer throughout.

The running order at Basildon was as follows. • Danny Centner, juggling number featuring three balls, five hoops, three, four then five clubs and finally three fire torches. • Beverley Donnert presenting the big and little equines, Alcazar and Copper • Clown Armo, from the Moscow State Circus, catching soft balls thrown by members of the audience on 'bulls horns' attached to his head. • Barrel jumping in and out of four black dustbins on tables by Mike and Jounita Austin's son Patrick. Finishing with blindfold jumps, this young man has an unusual number and is a real 'chip off the old block.' • Robert Foxall, making his entrance in a striking red Indian war bonnet, on the cloudswing. Robert is more usually associated with the Roman rings these days but he has an equally polished routine on the cloudswing. • Elizabeth Axt with a delightfully graceful handbalancing number on a revolving pedestal ending with handstanding and the breaking down of two piles of bricks and walking down steps from the pedestal to the ring on her hands. • Clown Armo with lots of audience participation with watering can, umbrella and hula hoop. • Gabi Donnert presenting his six Arab liberty horses (four of them new), four chestnuts and two greys, in a very full and satisfying act for such young horses. They not only look splendid in white harness and plumes but the routine includes all the manoeuvres the purists expect plus lots of hindleg walking to close.

Following the interval, during which the ring boards are laid: Danny Centner demonstrating his unicycling skills on machines of varying heights including bouncing up and down steps and the 'ultimate wheel' - his unicycle without a seat. • Mike and Jounita's daughter Nina with a trapeze act on a revolving chrome prop including toe hangs and a teeth spin. Nina is an attractive and confident young lady and, dare I say it again about these junior Austins, just so reminiscent of her mum. • Clown Armo with balloon modelling and playing two trumpets at the same time. • Escapologist Billy Tempest, assisted by Nina Austin, with an escape from 11 metres of chain in 90 seconds in the nick of time before the apparatus blows sky high! • Clown Armo with more audience participation and an imaginary car journey. • Elizabeth Axt with a sensational trapeze Washington number, providing a thrilling close to the show. This lovely 19 year old has style and presence far beyond her years and grace and strength in a rarely seen act. That she should have developed such an excellent act is no surprise as her parents were the Duo Axt on Ringling-Barnum some years ago. She closes by balancing on her head on the trapeze while it not only swings to and fro but is also spinning at the same time.

Gabi's juggling on horseback routine would normally be the last act followed by the finale with all the company. Rebecca Kranston's unsupported ladder act will replace Billy Tempest shortly as he has other commitments. My overall impression is one of an enthusiastic company of attractive, young, smiling artistes. Circus Atlas deserves to do good business this summer.

#### **KP-4**

Once inside the four pole blue, white and red big top, an attractive programme with excellent photographs of all the acts can be purchased. Before the show commenced, three one year old lionesses were let into the prop filled big cage to play and familiarise themselves with the crowds, lighting, etc. This idea of training seemed to work well with the audience and there seems to be a good rapport between the lionesses and Paul and Jackie Richards. After the lionesses departed, the usual announcements were made clearly by ringmaster Simon Anthony. Chico Rico then came in clapping and waving to the crowd, setting the mood for the show. Paul Richards presented his three Royal Bengal tigers in an unhurried, relaxed routine which included a good pedestal to pedestal leap over a standing tiger, sit ups, etc. Chico Rico covered the dismantling of the cage with a spot of juggling and his catching the potato on the fork gag. Catherine Morales did an excellent corde lisse act with a brilliant choice of music and was aided by a temporarily sane Chico Rico turning the rope. She managed numerous poses and spins by both wrist and ankle, finishing to loud applause from the audience with a fast wrist spin. It made a pleasant change for an act of this nature not to be used as cover for dismantling the cage, allowing the audience to fully appreciate this act which showed in the applause received.

Jeffrey Hoffman presented the eight small Shetland ponies in an attractive liberty routine amidst lots of oohs and aahs from the audience. Chico Rico with his crazy chef routine included lots of water being sloshed at the audience from his mixing bowl, leading on to a good plate spinning routine, including juggling forks, potatoes and even eggs, with one landing down the front of his trousers and apparently hatching, causing a bit of chaos when he dragged a rubber chicken out. The four Francos

came next with a good high speed juggling act, including as their finale one of the four catching bowls thrown by the other three. Jeffrey Hoffman presented his three Indian elephants in a relaxed routine, including playing football, a head stand, and finally a grand mount as they exited.

During the interval, there were pony rides for the under sevens and the usual refreshments and novelties on sale. Paul Richards accompanied Freddy the Canadian black bear in a short light hearted routine to open the second half. It included several slides and a barrel walk. Maria and Ramon showed some excellent acrobatic and balancing skills including head to head and hand to hand. A very polished routine from such a young duo which attracted good applause. Eli Hoffman showed her Little & Large equine number, a beautiful pale horse and black Shetland, yet another well received animal act, tastefully shown.

Senorita Juanita came next with her (ouch) hair hanging presentation, managing a variety of tricks before finishing with a really fast spin. Dressed as a fireman, Chico Rico worked his trampoline spot where, despite pleadings from Simon Anthony to keep his trousers secure, he still managed to lose them amidst much laughter from the audience especially when they they caught in the rigging of the big top. Jason appeared with his dogs Paddy and Luke in their usual well trained chaotic act, now aided by Tara the little Yorkie who jumped her own fences and does a rollover, then after her spot proceeded to race round the ring after the other two dogs, thoroughly enjoying herself. This act proved to be as popular as ever.

The eight Wolfs with their unsupported ladder routine showed highly original skills of strength, balance and acrobatics, a very highly polished and entertaining routine. Chico Rico produced plenty of laughter with his tiger presentation gag, possibly due to Chico's choice of volunteer to play his unwilling tiger. All too soon it was time for the last act, Marco Polo on the high wire, an act which continues to thrill and entertain all in the big top.

The running time for this show was one hour and 50 minutes of continual entertainment, made even better by the clear and precise introductions by ringmaster Simon Anthony who, to the delight of the audience, manages to mention each animal's name as well as that of the trainer. On the whole the artistes appeared well costumed and relaxed. The only comments heard from the public were favourable. Overall a very entertaining show - not to be missed.

#### **KP-5**

It has become a tradition for Zippo to appear over Easter on Highbury Fields, usually as the first stand of a London tour. This year there was a decided difference and even purists would agree that the circus had come to town, as Martin Burton (a.k.a. Zippo) has engaged Tom and Linda Roberts and their horses. Unusually, the stable tent is sited at the front of the big top so that patrons can see from the box office that there are animals present and observe their conditions.

Zippo's new show features artistes from the Mongolian State Circus, namely the Suhbaator Troupe, which was at Blackpool Tower in 1995 and in France with Arlette Gruss the previous season. With Zippo the 12 acrobats offer three numbers with a fourth available, although this was not presented as the young lady was immobilised and could neither perform her hula hoop act nor participate in the hand voltige feature. In the latter, her principal position was taken by the young man who has a solo chair balancing number early in the show, presented with skill and enthusiasm. The other Mongolian act is Miss Tsatsa with contortions in classical style.

Tom and Linda Roberts follow the contortionist with their six beautiful palominos in a full routine with virtually no cues apparent from the presenter. The music starts slowly and increases in tempo, thus gaining even greater audience reaction. Earlier in the proceedings, Tom presents a Big and Little routine with both equine participants in the guise of unicorns, this being part of the "Enchanted Toy Box" sequence. Two of the diverse characters emerging from the toy box itself are Kenny Darnell and Jeff Jay who display the skills of whip cracking and knife throwing, their targets being their ladies, Kathy and Jackie, respectively. Needless to say, Jeff's comedy trampoline is also featured. This never fails to amuse and I doubt that it has ever been exactly the same twice.

Former Zippo's Academy of Circus Arts (ZACA) student, Tina Carter, remains on the show, this year working on solo trapeze and moving straight into a swinging routine without any static work. Tina also participates in the flying act, The Academy of Flight, which opens the second half, being joined by Nikki Jeffries, Kris Sayers and Chris Wimmer, all having been trained by ZACA aerial tutor, Mike Wright. Both the men are capable of catching (which is done from a cradle) and the act (which is

already good) has great potential. Immediately prior to the interval, Nikki and Kris have emerged from the enchanted toy box as fantasy characters to present a bungee aerial routine.

Clowning is in the hands of the same team as last season although, without Zippo himself appearing in the performance I saw, we were left with Alexi, Tweedy and Stiffy. The comedy car remains, but their other routines are new.

Live music is played by Kenny Darnell, although when tapes are used, he will be found seated behind the drum kit, a place also occupied at times by Jeff Jay or Chris Wimmer, the latter playing bass guitar too.

Evidently only one Council has refused Martin Burton permission to present animals on its land although he felt that another was on the verge of doing so. Neither of these is a London borough.

Whether this reflects the common sense of local officials or their realisation that bans are of questionable legality I cannot say. What I do know is that both Martin Burton and David Hibling have worked hard in order to obtain these grounds and, therefore, to open them up again. For this they are to be both praised and thanked. Fortunately, the show that will be visiting these places is of a high standard, as we have come to expect from anything carrying Zippo's name.

## Appendix B: Top 100 Keywords for each supcorpus against CirRC96 as reference corpus

Key to colour coding of categories:

Proper noun 1 (human name)
Proper noun 2 (show/art object/cultural product e.g. song, magazine)
Proper noun 3 (company)
Proper noun 4 (location in time/space)
human (metonymic or pronominal reference)
Prop
Discipline
Other performing arts nouns
Performance/creation action
non-performance action
Adjective/descriptive adverb
function words (inc. prepositions, determiners, modal verbs, conjunctions, exclamations, non-descriptive adverbs)
Other nouns

<i>The Stage</i>	<i>The Catch</i>	<i>King Pole</i>	CdS
uv	die	pony	saltimbanco
thierree	gandini	interval	european
sawdust	whatever	final	carlo
flaming	crap	lacey	monte
dressage	soviet	gag	rené
athletic	suppose	bobby	bazinet
abound	curious	whilst	amsterdam
cloud	tho	liberty	silver

international	ok	pedestal	december
tiny	oh	commence	staging
skilful	longer	jnr	states
impress	jealous	ten	montréal
adagio	indianapolis	attractive	knie
weird	respect	sale	herrera
visually	circomedia	tiger	jacket
v	twinkle	enter	concert
strange	sean	oxo	tchelnokov
song	andrea	bobob	tho
sequin	value	appearance	president
satisfy	standards	female	vegas
rare	pages	contain	las
launch	nothing	zippo	réinventé
invisible	expectation	ray	miguel
imagination	encouragement	stable	paulo
eerie	surreal	seating	lorador
device	why	tier	expectation
among	project	january	nouvelle
aim	tara	autumn	albert
stunning	d	plan	hall
clever	how	improve	soleil
le	rest	sword	du
scene	because	tray	brian
energetic	want	chicken	modern
delightful	undoubtedly	waltz	experience
amazing	afford	rosaire	marco
superb	staff	nikki	successful
manipulate	reason	igor	feeling
artist	mirror	toy	book
though	funding	pirouette	leather
death	anyone	near	debut
surely	tell	main	cirque
sometimes	moscow	guitar	canadian
outstanding	fine	screen	ticket
hoc	read	keyboard	japan
eye	prepare	goose	write
perfect	question	drum	january



dancing	idea	cage	sound
strap	us	revolving	less
choreograph	wonder	contribute	history
dancer	possibly	conclude	lunge
trio	please	harlequin	warm
whose	slick	sadow	canada
thrilling	weave	nina	gold
love	incorporate	kharen	north
leap	ask	chico	radio
beautifully	opera	brian	bizarre
track	arm	aimée	royal
speed	you	street	ballet
sort	we	past	difficult
might	try	lively	rig
hic	kid	empty	choreography
germany	something	clear	spend
daring	least	richmond	read
chaplin	russia	assistant	despite
air	if	table	almost
theme	think	shetland	really
create	get	setting	like
themselves	they	mount	character
cast	pass	russell	unique
static	pay	rico	lack
human	our	nimmo	how
hat	town	jounita	ovation
direct	course	jetto	those
mime	local	fips	success
acrobatics	person	austin	consider
safety	everyone	souvenir	familiar
win	yet	foyer	national
thrill	every	feat	win
fan	behind	door	interesting
express	funny	concession	contemporary
equine	bounce	comment	english
contemporary	humour	auditorium	street
cabaret	country	onto	bungee
particularly	could	sensational	london

turn	should	winter	production
ramsay	even	north	platform
low	whole	monte	month
fun	not	slosh	away
evening	can	radio	british
without	must	tito	price
introduce	remain	shandy	rigging
however	bit	santus	world
your	across	rusty	him
strength	simply	phillip	quality
everyone	point	row	mean
couple	night	result	begin
contortionist	where	photo	perhaps
body	still	pair	its
bill	chinese	overture	name
against	lose	model	solo

## Appendix C: Selected results from APPRAISAL coding using UAM Corpus Tool

ATTITUDE-TYPE	Saltimbanco/TS CdS.txt		ie Stage/Caballo de Espana.txt		The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt		The Stage/Russian Circus.txt		The Stage/Stung.txt		The Stage/Superdome Circus.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
- affect	5	11.7	1	3.3	2	6.7	3	8.7	1	3.7	0	0.0
- judgement	14	32.8	6	20.1	11	37.0	11	32.0	4	14.8	10	39.4
- appreciation	25	58.5	17	56.9	16	53.9	17	49.4	9	33.2	10	39.4
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>103.0</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>80.3</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>97.6</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>90.1</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>51.7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>78.7</b>

ATTITUDE-TYPE	Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt		Catch/Blink.txt		Catch/Chinese State.txt		Catch/Die Circus Die.txt		Catch/Gandini Juggling Project.txt		Catch/Gandini2.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
- affect	8	6.5	0	0.0	6	6.7	0	0.0	1	1.9	2	5.7
- judgement	48	38.7	9	36.0	18	20.1	5	8.3	12	23.1	6	17.2
- appreciation	40	32.3	10	40.0	31	34.6	7	11.6	21	40.4	12	34.4
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>77.5</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>76.0</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>61.5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>19.9</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>65.4</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>57.3</b>

ATTITUDE-TYPE	Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt		King Pole/Bobby Roberts.txt		King Pole/Circus Atlas.txt		King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt		King Pole/Circus King.txt		King Pole/Zippos.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
- affect	12	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.5	5	6.0	1	1.4
- judgement	60	14.5	6	8.9	8	9.8	9	13.9	8	9.6	13	18.2
- appreciation	109	26.3	16	23.8	20	24.4	15	23.1	33	39.8	8	11.2
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>43.6</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>32.8</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34.1</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>38.5</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>55.4</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>30.8</b>

ATTITUDE-POLARITY	Saltimbanco/TS CdS.txt		The Stage/Caballo de Espana.txt		The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt		The Stage/Russian Circus.txt		The Stage/Stung.txt		The Stage/Superdome Circus.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
- positive-attitude	32	74.9	12	40.1	26	87.5	31	90.1	3	11.1	20	78.7
- negative-attitude	7	16.4	11	36.8	2	6.7	0	0.0	7	25.8	0	0.0
- ambiguous	5	11.7	1	3.3	1	3.4	0	0.0	4	14.8	0	0.0
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>103.0</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>80.3</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>97.6</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>90.1</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>51.7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>78.7</b>

ATTITUDE-POLARITY	Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt		Catch/Blink.txt		Catch/Chinese State.txt		Catch/Die Circus Die.txt		Catch/Gandini Juggling Project.txt		Catch/Gandini2.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
- positive-attitude	61	49.2	17	68.0	45	50.3	7	11.6	9	17.3	12	34.4
- negative-attitude	32	25.8	1	4.0	6	6.7	5	8.3	24	46.2	4	11.5
- ambiguous	3	2.4	1	4.0	4	4.5	0	0.0	1	1.9	4	11.5
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>77.5</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>76.0</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>61.5</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>19.9</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>65.4</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>57.3</b>

ATTITUDE-POLARITY	Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt		King Pole/Bobby Roberts.txt		King Pole/Circus Atlas.txt		King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt		King Pole/Circus King.txt		King Pole/Zippos.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
- positive-attitude	121	29.2	20	29.8	27	32.9	25	38.5	42	50.6	18	25.2
- negative-attitude	44	10.6	1	1.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2	2	2.8
- ambiguous	16	3.9	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.6	2	2.8
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>43.6</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>32.8</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34.1</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>38.5</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>55.4</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>30.8</b>

EXPLICITNESS	Saltimbanco/TS CdS.txt		The Stage/Caballo de Espana.txt		The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt		The Stage/Russian Circus.txt		The Stage/Stung.txt		The Stage/Superdome Circus.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
- inscribed	36	84.3	14	46.8	23	77.4	20	58.1	7	25.8	14	55.1
- invoked	8	18.7	10	33.4	6	20.2	11	32.0	7	25.8	6	23.6
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>103.0</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>80.3</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>97.6</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>90.1</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>51.7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>78.7</b>

Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	Catch/Blink.txt		Catch/Chinese State.txt		Catch/Die Circus Die.txt		Catch/Gandini Juggling Project.txt		Catch/Gandini2.txt		
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	
51	41.2	8	32.0	21.2	8.3	5	8.3	19	36.5	8	22.9
45	36.3	11	44.0	40.2	11.6	7	11.6	15	28.8	12	34.4
96	77.5	19	76.0	61.5	12	19.9	34	65.4	20	57.3	

Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	King Pole/Bobby Roberts.txt		King Pole/Circus Atlas.txt		King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt		King Pole/Circus King.txt		King Pole/Zippos.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
107	25.8	19	28.3	22.0	22	33.9	39	47.0	10	14.0
74	17.8	3	4.5	12.2	3	4.6	7	8.4	12	16.8
181	43.6	22	32.8	34.1	25	38.5	46	55.4	22	30.8

ENGAGEMENT-TYPE	N	Per1000Wds
- heteroglossic	5	11.7
- monoglossic	39	91.3
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>103.0</b>

Saltimbanco/TS CdS.txt	The Stage/Caballo de Espana.txt		The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt		The Stage/Russian Circus.txt		The Stage/Stung.txt		The Stage/Superdome Circus.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
5	11.7	0	0.0	3.4	1	2.9	3	11.1	0	0.0
39	91.3	24	80.3	94.3	30	87.2	11	40.6	20	78.7
44	103.0	24	80.3	97.6	31	90.1	14	51.7	20	78.7

Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	Catch/Blink.txt		Catch/Chinese State.txt		Catch/Die Circus Die.txt		Catch/Gandini Juggling Project.txt		Catch/Gandini2.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
17	13.7	3	12.0	2.2	0	0.0	1	1.9	0	0.0
79	63.8	16	64.0	59.2	12	19.9	33	63.5	20	57.3
96	77.5	19	76.0	61.5	12	19.9	34	65.4	20	57.3

Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	King Pole/Bobby Roberts.txt		King Pole/Circus Atlas.txt		King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt		King Pole/Circus King.txt		King Pole/Zippos.txt	
	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds	N	Per1000Wds
7	1.7	2	3.0	1.2	0	0.0	1	1.2	3	4.2
174	41.9	20	29.8	32.9	25	38.5	45	54.2	19	26.6
181	43.6	22	32.8	34.1	25	38.5	46	55.4	22	30.8

## Appendix D: ‘Other’ categories identified as APPRAISED evaluative targets

(as percentage of total APPRAISAL tokens by subcorpus)

<i>(n normalised to parts per 1000 words)</i>	<i>The Stage</i>	<i>The Catch</i>	<i>King Pole</i>
Technical Aspects	3% <i>(17.4)</i>	2% <i>(6.7)</i>	13% <i>(31.1)</i>
Company	1% <i>(5.2)</i>	11% <i>(37.7)</i>	4% <i>(9.7)</i>
Venue / Location	0% <i>(0)</i>	3% <i>(9.8)</i>	3% <i>(8.2)</i>
‘Circus’ in general	0% <i>(0)</i>	0.4% <i>(1.6)</i>	0% <i>(0)</i>
Audience members	1% <i>(7)</i>	2% <i>(7.5)</i>	1% <i>(2.5)</i>
Marketing	0% <i>(0)</i>	3% <i>(11.3)</i>	1% <i>(2.9)</i>
Other shows	0% <i>(0)</i>	5% <i>(16.7)</i>	1% <i>(1.9)</i>
The experience	1% <i>(3.4)</i>	1% <i>(4.6)</i>	1% <i>(1.4)</i>
Author	1% <i>(6.7)</i>	1% <i>(3.3)</i>	0% <i>(0)</i>
Legislators / Legislation	0% <i>(0)</i>	0% <i>(0)</i>	2% <i>(4.2)</i>
‘New’ circus	0% <i>(0)</i>	2% <i>(5.7)</i>	0.1% <i>(0.2)</i>
Atmosphere	0% <i>(0)</i>	1% <i>(1.9)</i>	0.2% <i>(0.5)</i>
Fans	0.5% <i>(2.3)</i>	1% <i>(1.9)</i>	0% <i>(0)</i>
Finance / Resource	0% <i>(0)</i>	0.2% <i>(0.8)</i>	0.3% <i>(0.7)</i>
‘Trad’ circus	0% <i>(0)</i>	0.2% <i>(0.8)</i>	0.2% <i>(0.5)</i>
‘Circus’ in general	0% <i>(0)</i>	0.4% <i>(1.6)</i>	0% <i>(0)</i>
Reader	0% <i>(0)</i>	0.2% <i>(0.8)</i>	0% <i>(0)</i>
Programmers	0% <i>(0)</i>	0% <i>(0)</i>	0% <i>(0)</i>

## Appendix E: Example concordance lines

Reference	Left	kwic	Right
doct0	and in any company. </s><s> Showstoppers all. </s><s> The star spot went to a fantastic and very literally death-defying Wheel of	Death	worked at high revolve by Georgy assisted by Kamilla. </s><s> In terms of risk and speed timing, the aerial act of Alyona and
doct1	, and the gasps of astonishment as Ingo Dock and Thomas Ramsay on the cloud swing, and Willie Ramsay on the wheel of	death	, brushed against the roof of the tent, must have been gratifying. </s><s> Added to that, the limbo dancing of Tanzania's Nyota
doct7	restrictions robbed us of the chance to see all three of the daredevil brothers - circling inside the thrilling globe of	death	. </s><s> Boo. </s><s> Low spot was the kinky static trapeze of Gerard Faoli and the bare-breasted Veronique LaFaurie. </s><s> I figure if you
doct10	, April and Sarah Cottle, Alexia Lazou and Pam Watson) and a rabble of chaosmongers, notably Willie Ramsay (wheel of	death	) and Johnny Brenner (olla-rola). </s><s> Schock horror scenes - imagine Rocky Horror crossed with Bladerunner - combined
doct13	shoulders were particularly impressive. </s><s> Later Laci created the show's thrilling finale with his flaming wheel of	death	- a rare treat unfortunately missed by those who stayed away. </s><s> When the renowned French artist Jerome Thomas introduced
doct18	on Roman rings and from an aerial platform was exquisite - and Mexico's dare-devil Alegria Brothers. </s><s> Their wheel of	death	was the most thrilling I have seen and they also shone individually - Francesco trampolining on a sprung slack rope and
doct43	work, with a soothing video background of fish swimming. </s><s> The final sequence is the War Game with the globe of	death	. </s><s> On stage, the globe itself seemed larger than those usually seen in big arena circuses, but I suspect this was simply
doct59	. </s><s> The first act, I winkle the Happy Clown, is straight from the Yellow Pages. </s><s> He is clubbed to	death	with a baseball bat. </s><s> "But I know a way to make him OK again," Abercrombie the Ringmaster says to the audience. </s><s> "If you
doct24	act which showed in the applause received. </s><s> Jeffrey Hoffman presented the eight small Shetland ponies in an attractive	liberty	routine amidst lots of coits and aahs from the audience. </s><s> Chico lico with his crazy chef routine included lots of water
doct25	a master of the art of ad lib and takes advantage of any unforeseen remark or incident in the audience. • Pedro the llama at	liberty	, presented by the very attractive Nikki Christian, with the true skills of a circus girl born and bred. • Nikki's
doct25	corde lisse by way of descent. • Nikki Christian returned with the unusual combination of spot pony and young llama in a	liberty	routine. </s><s> Nikki's handling of the animals is very professional and confident. </s><s> The problem is to take one's eyes off
doct25	, Neal also sports a beard, which threatened to start a forest fire, but does not do so. • Two nice cream ponies in a	liberty	routine, including direction change, pirouettes, pas deux, and counter running, ably presented by Daniela de
doct28	Duna Juggling on horseback and High School riding numbers have been omitted, but he was nevertheless presenting his	liberty	horses and playing a full role in the proceedings. </s><s> Besides being the administrative partner in the show, Bernie Hasler
doct28	with lots of audience participation with watering can, umbrella and hula hoop. • Gabi Donnet presenting his six Arab	liberty	horses (four of them new), four chestnuts and two greys, in a very full and satisfying act for such young horses. </s><s> They not
doct29	I cannot quote the names of all the artistes. </s><s> It proved a well balanced show and included two spots by Philip Hansen - the	liberty	routine with three white Highland Garron ponies and secondly his well presented herd of three African elephants. </s>
doct30	family atmosphere which gives Circus Galaxay its appeal. </s><s> Ray Smith presents his four Mexican spotted ponies in their	liberty	and pedestal routine. </s><s> Kelly follows with her elegant and confident display on the aerial ladder. </s><s> The chaos of the
doct30	on the corde lisse by Larissa Smith. </s><s> After the raffie draw, educated horse Minstrel appears with Ray, firstly with a	liberty	display, then counting, ending with a new hind leg stand. </s><s> The show ends with Running Bear with his fire eating display
doct42	the centre of the ring, passing the balls and hoops to Laci. </s><s> The act ended with five fire clubs. 23. </s><s> Bobby Roberts with his	liberty	horses in a complicated but smooth routine. 24. </s><s> Paul Rosaire in his bareback riding which continues to improve. 25. </s><s> The
doct46	with	liberty	ponies. </s><s> As they were appearing in my home village I was able to help with build up. </s><s> This year Mike and Jounita Austin
doct49	act presented by a Bulgarian couple. • Corde lisse by Miss Nina (daughter of Russell and Aimée) • Arab stallion at	liberty	presented by Miss Aimée. • Three young downs new to the circus this year. </s><s> Gag with children from the audience (the local
doct51	its hind legs. </s><s> This is a good act, quietly presented and just proves you don't need a ring full of horses to provide a good	liberty	act. 18. </s><s> A Spanish dance by Natalie covers the erection of the safety net. 19. </s><s> Flying Rodogels. </s><s> Five members (one female
doct6	excitement, but also a challenge that needs to be lived up to. </s><s> Carreg Dressage, in creating Horse Theatre of the	Imagination	, has met that challenge. </s><s> It has turned its indoor riding school into a theatre and gathered together a cast of top actors
doct17	Peter Jay's animal-free circus at the Hippodrome presented an imaginative departure from the norm. </s><s> The Circus of the	Imagination	is very different from any circus I have seen before, but strangely classical in its feel and atmosphere. </s><s> All-human,
doct17	famous Water Spectacle finale, complete with fireworks, rounded off a memorable experience. </s><s> Circus of the	Imagination	might be animal-free - but it is also a must-see! </s><s> Celebrating 50 years, Billy Smart's famous circus, produced by
doct40	quality which did not prevent her including some spectacular twisting tricks towards the end which caught the public	Imagination	. </s><s> This routine normally alternates with the double trapeze of Karyne and Sarah Steben, Silver Clown winners at last

Concordance lines created with *Sketch Engine* provide substantial co-text around the node (pictured above). Furthermore, clicking on the node within the software allows for the co-text to be expanded as much as required.

Concordance lines created with *UAM CorpusTool 5.1a* provide minimal co-text around the node (pictured below). However, clicking on the node within the software redirects to the full coded text to enable co-text to be inspected.

File	Pretext	<Appraisal-edit feature="veracity"/>	Posttext
Catch/Chinese State.txt	<i>cymbals and gongs.</i>	Even though the handouts proclaim an 'all new' show(this refers to the all new cast), there's Hoop Diving, Dragon Dance, Jug Juggling, Lion Dance and much more still in the show from previous tours	-thank Buddha. The D...
Catch/Chinese State.txt	<i>tes to take a snap,</i>	or was it to check if there were mirrors hanging around	? At one point a gir...
Catch/Gandini Juggling Project.txt		I have been pondering whether to report the Gandini Juggling Project to the Advertising Standards Authority.	.. or to the Consume...
Catch/Gandini Juggling Project.txt	<i>mentions 5 dancers.</i>	At no point during the performance did anybody, including Sean, attempt to juggle five of anything, let alone rings	, and I do not think...
Catch/Gandini Juggling Project.txt	<i>et alone rings, and</i>	I do not think I saw anybody dance	. On the balance of...
Saltimbanco/CdS.txt	<i>always pleased when</i>	'hype' turns out to be 'true'	. As we've said in t...
Saltimbanco/CdS.txt	<i>are from Russia but</i>	I don't think she's the real mother.	I wonder if she kno...
Saltimbanco/CdS.txt	<i>ns adding opera was</i>	a stab at high art and stretching it a bit,	but he'll stoop pre...
Saltimbanco/CdS.txt	<i>king volunteers, or</i>	was the young man who stole the show from him a plant?	We can't decide. Fo...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>orld of characters.</i>	For some, the end result is too far from the original style of modern twentieth century circus to merit the name	. Even among those i...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>usic 'like sludge,"</i>	while enthusing over 'real circus	' and Victoria Chapl...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>r 'real circus' and</i>	Victoria Chaplin's minimalist Cirque Imaginaire	seen in London some...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>on some years back.</i>	A press photographer, who had spent six weeks with Archaos	, admitted it did li...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>er lacking in soul.</i>	After all the hype, Saltimbanco (the name comes from the Italian for street performer) turns out to be rather less than the greatest show in earth	and slightly more t...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>rock'n'roll circus</i>	(actually the sound track is often more New Seekers than Rolling Stones)	whose success rests...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>t price; go and see</i>	a show which, for once, really does provide the promised novel experience	. And despite its el...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>ill leaves room for</i>	that intimate connection between audience and players which is the essence of circus art	." The Albert Hall:...
Catch/Chinese State.txt	<i>cymbals and gongs.</i>	Even though the handouts proclaim an 'all new' show(this refers to the all new cast), there's Hoop Diving, Dragon Dance, Jug Juggling, Lion Dance and much more still in the show from previous tours	-thank Buddha. The D...

File	Pretext	Appraisal-edit feature="normality"/>	Posttext
Catch/Blink.txt	<i>uggling and passing</i>	(nothing which has not been done before - but	<i>very smooth and wel...</i>
Catch/Chinese State.txt	<i>smooth somersaults.</i>	If you've seen the Chinese before you'll be on familiar ground	<i>. The music is treme...</i>
Catch/Chinese State.txt	<i>be had on a bungee,</i>	well the Chinese go too far - as usual	<i>. They have three fl...</i>
Catch/Chinese State.txt	<i>entrated to a spot.</i>	Whatever will they think of next?	<i>Bungee club passing...</i>
Catch/Chinese State.txt	<i>Chinese for style.</i>	Theirs is unique.	<i>You should never ge...</i>
Catch/Die Circus Die.txt	<i>e other way around.</i>	It's not that notions of this kind haven't been developed before	<i>, but these folks wo...</i>
Catch/Gandini Juggling Project.txt	<i>ni Project had been</i>	different, but	<i>interesting. By com...</i>
Catch/Gandini2.txt	<i>for, um, seconds d]</i>	The first glimpses of more traditional dance styles stood out enormously	<i>. "You've been Tango...</i>
Catch/Gandini2.txt	<i>en Tango'ed, Sean".</i>	Lindsey Butcher and Jeremy Robbin's piece on Web rope was different	<i>, wrapping each othe...</i>
King Pole/Bobby Roberts.txt	<i>Kitty Roberts with</i>	her well known poodle act	<i>including hurdle ju...</i>
King Pole/Bobby Roberts.txt	<i>drums before making</i>	the usual pyramids and solo tumbling.	<i>• Finale, followed...</i>
King Pole/Bobby Roberts.txt	<i>ll excellent circus</i>	in the most traditional of manners	<i>. Bobby Roberts' Sup...</i>
King Pole/Circus Atlas.txt	<i>th blindfold jumps,</i>	this young man has an unusual number	<i>and is a real 'chip...</i>
King Pole/Circus Atlas.txt	<i>ace and strength in</i>	a rarely seen act	<i>. That she should ha...</i>
King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt	<i>shows and there is</i>	the usual range of large thrill rides and the attraction of the zoo, although this appears to have diminished slightly in recent years	<i>. Two completely dif...</i>
King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt	<i>ly in recent years.</i>	Two completely different performances are alternated throughout the day	<i>and with Patrick an...</i>
King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt	<i>e new Circus Atlas,</i>	the show takes on a new look	<i>and incorporates co...</i>
King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt	<i>takes on a new look</i>	and incorporates completely new talent with no house acts included	<i>. Jounita Austin of...</i>
King Pole/Circus Ginnett.txt	<i>comedy western act,</i>	well known to most circus fans in the U.K.	<i>They present the fu...</i>
King Pole/Circus King.txt	<i>lionesses departed,</i>	the usual announcements	<i>were made clearly b...</i>
King Pole/Circus King.txt	<i>he under sevens and</i>	the usual refreshments and novelties on sale	<i>. Paul Richards acco...</i>
King Pole/Circus King.txt	<i>dder routine showed</i>	highly original skills of strength, balance and acrobatics,	<i>a very highly polis...</i>
King Pole/Zippos.txt		It has become a tradition for Zippo to appear over Easter on Highbury Fields,	<i>usually as the firs...</i>
King Pole/Zippos.txt	<i>d of a London tour.</i>	This year there was a decided difference and even purists would agree that the circus had come to town	<i>, as Martin Burton (...</i>
King Pole/Zippos.txt	<i>s and their horses.</i>	Unusually, the stable tent is sited at the front of the big top s	<i>o that patrons can s...</i>
King Pole/Zippos.txt	<i>dy car remains, but</i>	their other routines are new	<i>. Live music is play...</i>
Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>on I've ever seen'.</i>	I've seen better performers, more exciting shows, seen more done with the idea and framework of circus, but still not seen a show like this one	<i>. And when this perf...</i>
Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>ore exciting shows,</i>	seen more done with the idea and framework of circus	<i>, but still not seen...</i>



Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>rld, I'd guess that</i>	only seeing Archaos again could surpass it for me	. Production. I trus...
Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>cter or never knew.</i>	For the greatest show on earth (or what could be)	this was an oversig...
Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>ction values again!</i>	Apart from NoFitState, which was different, we've only seen the navy do this before.	How 'do' they run u...
Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>up them like that?</i>	Bet the guy who did it straight-armed wouldn't pass a drug test	. Probably ex-Navy,...
Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>eply. RUSSIAN SWING</i>	haven't seen this before, tho' it's big in big trad	. shows. Gets you hi...
Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>tive, beautiful even</i>	; but with others doing it perhaps this won't last long	. Their freefall pat...
Saltimbanco/C CdS.txt	<i>is won't last long.</i>	Their freefall patterns were an innovation	, but I'm still burn...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>n the story of this</i>	innovative	French Canadian com...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>I operation, having</i>	established its own brand of modern theatrical circus	which draws audienc...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>, the end result is</i>	too far from the original style of modern twentieth century circus	to merit the name....
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>d little for him - "</i>	We see it all in London, though, and you get blasé about things	." Such reservations...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>day Express wrote, "</i>	Like extra-terrestrials on an interplanetary gig, the members of Cirque du Soleil are not of this world.	.. a spectacular ext...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>ld of pantaloons...</i>	its ineffable mixture of the new with the old	creates an extraord...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>nary entertainment.</i>	A circus without a single animal	, it co-ordinates wh...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>y to the success of</i>	a unique concept	." But Lyn Gardner i...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>but no inspiration.</i>	Fast becoming Canada's most famous export,	Cirque du Soleil is...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>t on Sunday wrote, "</i>	Like many modern circuses, this Canadian outfit has shaken up the old formula	. Out go blobby nose...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>t price; go and see</i>	a show which, for once, really does provide the promised novel experience	. And despite its el...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>ch of the globe and</i>	with a unique reputation for a range of quality entertainments	encompassing classi...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>a girl. The music,</i>	all specially written by René Dupère, is a unique blend of electronic rock with influences and themes from Africa, Italy, Spain, Japan and elsewhere	, performed by five...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>lai Tchelnokov, was</i>	notable	for the smooth qual...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>ge to the platform.</i>	Her rig was unusual	in that it had two...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>al routine was also</i>	the most original in the show	- a quartet of bung...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>arted Circus Senso,</i>	one of the first New Circuses,	with an avant-garde...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>performances, with</i>	a unique style	and some memorable...
Saltimbanco/KP CdS.txt	<i>s an entertainment,</i>	for all its innovations	, it was for me inte...
The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt	<i>iere of Peter Jay's</i>	animal-free	circus at the Hippo...
The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt	<i>ippodrome presented</i>	an imaginative departure from the norm	. The Circus of the...
The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt	<i>the Imagination is</i>	very different from any circus I have seen before,	but strangely class...
The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt	<i>I have seen before,</i>	but strangely classical in its feel and atmosphere.	All-human, the cas...

The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt	<i>as Jay points out,</i>	all the traditional skills of circus and stagecraft are there	. The clowns, Yuri...
The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt	<i>ard gymnast, became</i>	the star of the show	in set-piece after...
The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt	<i>l, the Hippodrome's</i>	famous	Water Spectacle fin...
The Stage/Great Yarmouth.txt	<i>of the imagination</i>	might be animal-free - but	it is also a must-s...
The Stage/Russian Circus.txt	<i>south west. It is</i>	a show of rare calibre	, the whole packagin...
The Stage/Russian Circus.txt	<i>probably as many as</i>	five acts of the superb quality able to top bills anywhere and in any company	. Showstoppers all....
The Stage/Stung.txt	<i>anti-gravity dance.</i>	Yes, this was a new one for me, too	. But, in effect, pe...
The Stage/Stung.txt	<i>pe. Courageous and</i>	unorthodox	though this aerial...
The Stage/Superdome Circus.txt	<i>Martina Coskova who</i>	reinvents what you can do with a hula hoop	, while young clown...
The Stage/Superdome Circus.txt	<i>ng the way creating</i>	quite a new circus skill.	Finally the whole...
The Stage/Superdome Circus.txt	<i>all be doing them.</i>	As ever, the ringmaster is Blackpool's own sawdust legend	