#### **CHAPTER IV**

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings obtained from the research and discussion of the results. It deals with the analysis of Mikhail's labels and stancetakings.

#### 4.1 Findings

Based on the data analysis the writer found linguistic devices, label and stance, which construct Mikhail's personal identity. Label is divided into two categories. They are label by self and label by others. Meanwhile, stance consists of three types. They are evaluation, positioning (affective and epistemic), and alignment.

### 4.1.1 Label

McDonald describes label as a metaphoric word or phrase that defines the labeled individual's identity and constructs the relationship between the labeled and the labeler (as cited in Plangger et al., 2013). A label attached to person can be analyzed in order to find out his/her personal identity construction. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) argue that identity may be linguistically indexed through the use of label. They regard label as one of linguistic resources that indexically produce identity (pp. 607-608). A label carries either negative or positive value as well as the implication to the labeled person (Galinsky et al., 2003). It can be put both by self and by others (p. 222).

Referring to the result of analyzed data on Mikhail's utterances, there are 16 labels attached to him. Those labels are categorized based on the labels put by self (Mikhail) and by others (his society).

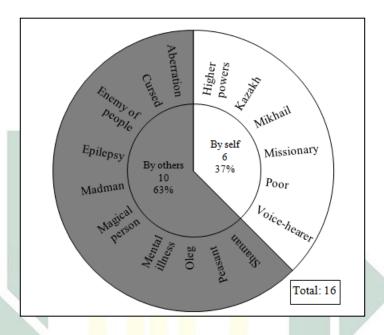


Figure 4.1 Mikhail's labels

From the data taken in figure 4.1, there are 6 or 37% labels attached to Mikhail put by him. They are "higher powers", "Kazakh", "Mikhail", "missionary", "poor", and "voice-hearer". On the contrary, there are 10 or 63% labels attached to Mikhail put by others. It is almost double the number of labels than by self. They are "aberration", "cursed", "enemy of people", "epilepsy", "madman", "magical person", "mental illness", "Oleg", "peasant", and "shaman". The frequency of use of each label is presented in figure 4.2.

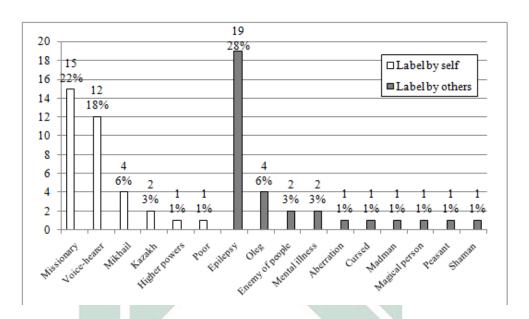


Figure 4.2 Mikhail's labels frequency and percentage

In figure above the white bars signifies Mikhail's labels put by him, whereas the grey bars signifies his labels put by others or his society. Among all labels attached to him, "epilepsy" has the highest frequency (19 times or 28%). Meanwhile "higher power", "poor", "aberration", "cursed", "madman", "magical person", "peasant", and "shaman" have the lowest frequency (each used only once or 1%).

Among labels put by Mikhail himself, "missionary" is the most frequently used. It constitutes 15 times or 22%. It indicates that Mikhail more often uses the label to construct his personal identity. Whereas "higher powers" and "poor" is the least frequently used. It constitutes only once or 1%. Apart from "missionary", the highest frequent label is "voice-hearer". It is used 12 times or 18%. "Mikhail" and "Kazakh" are used respectively 4 times or 6% and twice or 3%.

Among labels put by others, "epilepsy" is the most frequently used. It constitutes 19 times or 28%. It indicates that "epilepsy" is commonly used by his society to identify him. It is followed by "Oleg" (4 times or 6%), "enemy of people", and "mental illness" (each used twice or 3%). The least frequent labels are used only once or 1%. They are "aberration", "cursed", "madman", "magical person", "peasant", and "shaman".

The explanation of each label regarding Mikhail's personal identity construction through the use of label will be presented in order of the highest frequent to the smallest frequent labels put by self (Mikhail) and his society.

## 4.2.1.1 Mikhail's Labels Given by Self

There are six labels used by Mikhail to identify him. They are "missionary", "voice-hearer", "Mikhail", "Kazakh", "higher powers", and "poor".

### 1) Missionary

"Missionary" is a person undertaking a mission and especially a religious mission (Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, n.d.). Mikhail implicitly labels himself as "missionary" by saying, "I'm a person with a mission" (p. 64). The mission was from a little girl (a spirit that is called the Lady).

- (1) 1 She (the little girl) also tells me that **I have a mission** to
  - 2 fulfill, and that mission is to spread the true energy of love
  - 3 **throughout the world**. (p. 109)

The excerpt (1) is taken from his conversation with character I and the beggars in Paris. During the conversation he tells them his life story in Kazakhstan. In line 1, he tells them that he has a mission from the little girl. In lines 2-3, he explains that the mission is to spread the true energy of love throughout the world.

Mikhail only identifies himself as "missionary" during his stay with Paris people (pp. 63-119). He decides to keep the mission until he meets Esther. Later, he dares to openly speak about his mission in Paris. It is the most significant label in constructing his personal identity. Among the labels given by him, it has the highest frequency (15 times or 22%). The label carries a positive value to him. It also plays a positive role on his career success as well as "voice-hearer".

#### 2) Voice-hearer

Mikhail implicitly labels himself as "voice-hearer" to Kazakh steppes people and Paris people by claiming that he can hear a voice (pp. 65-111).

- (2) 1 "We (Mikhail and his mother) wake early and, when we arrive,
  - 2 the girl appears, but my mother cannot see her. My mother
  - 3 tells me to ask the girl something about my (dead) father...I do
  - 4 as she requests, and then, for the first time, **I hear the voice**.
  - 5 The girl does not move her lips, but I know she is talking to
  - 6 me: She says that my father is fine and is watching over us,
  - 7 and that he is being rewarded now for all his sufferings on
  - 8 earth." (p. 106)

The excerpt (2) is still taken from his conversation with character I and the beggars in Paris. He tells them the first time he hears the voice. In line 4, "the voice" belongs to the little girl. He claims to

know the condition of dead people through the voice (lines 6-8). Besides this ability, he also claims to know the feeling of character I by saying, "The voice is telling me something now. I know that you're anxious and frightened." (p. 84)

"Voice-hearer" is the second highest frequency (12 times or 18%). The label has a positive value. It defines Mikhail having an extraordinary ability. The use of the label has a great deal of positive and negative effects on his position in his societies. It leads the emergence of new labels created by some communities. Some Kazakh steppes people such as the hunter and poor villagers respect his presence. They regard him as "shaman" and "magical person". Meanwhile the others such as the Communists, devout Muslims, and well educated people cannot accept him. The village people label him "aberration", the headmaster labels him "mental illness", and the Communist label him "enemy of people". He also faces some discriminatory ill-treatment because of his claim. For example, being expelled from school, dismissed from his job, and betrayed by people he has helped.

On the other hand, Paris people tend to give a positive response. People who do not believe in his claim prefer to ignore him, whereas the others more appreciate him. The appreciation has some contributions to his career success in Paris. His weekly performance in a restaurant gets a lot of audiences. He successfully founds his

community among people in the restaurant, a group of beggars, and a group of new nomads.

#### 3) Mikhail

"Mikhail" is a name chosen by him when he decides to change his name. Since he moves to Paris, he introduces himself to other people as "Mikhail" instead of "Oleg".

(3) 1 Marie: "What's your name?" 2 Mikhail: "Mikhail." (p. 42)

The conversation (3) is taken when he attends to a book signing in order to meet character I. Marie is a character I's girlfriend. It is the first time for her and other people in the book signing to see Mikhail. When Marie asks his name, he answers with "Mikhail" instead of his real name "Oleg". In other occasion he explains to character I about his decision to change his name:

- (4) 1 "Mikhail is the name I chose when I decided to be reborn to life
  - 2 Like the warrior archangel, with his fiery sword, opening up
  - 3 path so that... the 'warriors of light' can find each other. That i
  - 4 my mission." (p. 65)

Galinsky et al. (2003) assert that individuals will change their names and seek to dissociate from their disreputable past. Mikhail's concept of reborn to life (in line 1) indicates his aim to become a new person. He begins using a new name by labeling himself "Mikhail" to construct a new identity in order distance himself from his disreputable past and derogatory labels such as "epilepsy" and "enemy of people".

#### 4) Kazakh

"Kazakh" is a name given to people of Kazakhstan (Thefreedictionary's online dictionary, n.d.). Mikhail uses label "Kazakh" twice or 3 % in order to share his national identity to Paris people. He says, "I was born in the **Kazakhstan** steppes" (p. 44). By stating "Kazakhstan" as his country of origin, he implicitly labels himself as a "Kazakh". It is supported by his other utterance:

- (5) 1 "I think that everyone born in my country (Kazakhstan) feels
  - 2 what the land felt, because every Kazakh carries his land in
  - 3 his blood" (p. 45).

The excerpt (5) is taken from his conversation in the book signing. In this utterance, Mikhail regards every person who born in Kazakhstan as "Kazakh". Since he reveals that he was born in Kazakhstan, he automatically considers himself as a "Kazakh".

# 5) Higher powers

Mikhail labels himself "higher powers" to Almaty people instead of using "voice-hearer" and "missionary". The label derived from a fashionable book on mysticism in Almaty, a book about people with so-called higher powers (p. 112). It is only used once or 1%:

- (6) 1 "I invent some story about being in possession of 'higher
  - 2 **powers'** and this earns me their respect. They ask for my
  - 3 help, consult me when they have problems with their
  - 4 girlfriends or with their families, but I never ask the voice for
  - 5 advice—the traumatic experience of seeing the tree cut down
  - 6 all those years ago has made me realize that when you help
  - 7 someone you get only ingratitude in return." (p. 111).

It is taken from his conversation with character I and the beggars in Paris. In lines 1-2 he confesses that he invents some stories and claims as a "higher powers". He decides to do not make any contact with the voice in order to avoid experiencing discrimination anymore. His traumatic experiences during his stay with Kazakh steppes people influences him to keep "voice-hearer" and "missionary" labels. Furthermore, his claim as "higher powers" earns him a respect from other people.

## 6) Poor

Mikhail labels himself "poor" to Paris people. The label is only used once or 1%. It is the only label given by Mikhail to himself that has a negative value. It occurs when he and character I take a walk by Seine River and talk about Esther.

- (7) 1 "She was the one who brought me here, a poor twenty-one-
  - 2 year-old with no future, an **aberration** in the eyes of the people
  - 3 in my village, or else a madman or some sort of shaman who
  - 4 had made a pact with the devil, and, in the eyes of the people in
  - 5 the city, a mere **peasant** looking for work." (p. 82).

In excerpt (7) line 1, he uses label "poor" to portray his miserable condition when he just arrives in Paris. It is made clear by asserting "with no future".

Based on the labels used by Mikhail to identify him, it can be concluded that he is an arrogant person. Ryan (1983) argues that arrogance is a form of positive self-reference that is motivated by anxiety and requires a person to resist the acquisition of information about self and

therefore to resist change. Among six labels put by him, five labels have positive value. They are "higher powers", "Kazakh", "Mikhail", "missionary", and "voice-hearer". In excerpt (6) Mikhail confesses that the use of "higher powers" label to Almaty people instead of "voice-hearer" is influenced by his traumatic experiences during his stay with Kazakh steppes people. It indicates that the use of the label is motivated by his anxiety. He also refuses the derogatory labels given by his society such as "epilepsy". He prefers to keep label himself with "voice-hearer". It means that he cannot accept any negative view from other people.

## 4.2.1.1 Mikhail's Labels Given by Others

There are 10 labels used by others (Mikhail's society) to identify him. They are "epilepsy", "Oleg", "enemy of people", "mental illness", "aberration", "cursed", "madman", "magical person", "peasant", and "shaman".

### 1) Epilepsy

"Epilepsy" is a disorder of the nervous system that can cause people to suddenly become unconscious and to have violent, uncontrolled movements of the body (Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, n.d.). Mikhail says:

- (8) 1 "One afternoon, on my way home, I feel a strong wind
  - 2 blowing, see lights all around me, and lose consciousness for a
  - 3 few moments. When I come to, I am sitting on the ground, and
  - 4 a very white little girl, wearing a white dress with a blue belt,
  - 5 is floating in the air above me. She smiles but says nothing,
  - 6 then disappears." (p. 105)

The excerpt (8) is taken from his conversation with character I and the beggars in Paris. In lines 1-3 he tells about his fit. His utterance "lose consciousness for a few moments" is nearly appropriate with the definition of epilepsy: "can cause people to suddenly become unconscious".

Mikhail is firstly diagnosed with "epilepsy" by a doctor at the age nearly fifteen years old when he still lives in the village:

- (9) 1 "One day, she (his mother) takes me to see a doctor who is
  - 2 visiting the area. After listening attentively to my story, taking
  - 3 notes, peering into my eyes with a strange instrument, listening
  - 4 to my heart, and tapping my knee, he diagnoses a form of
  - 5 epilepsy. He says it isn't contagious and that the attacks will
  - 6 diminish with age. I know it isn't an illness, but I pretend to
  - 7 believe him so as to reassure my mother." (p.110)

In lines 4-5, the doctor diagnoses him suffered from epilepsy. However, Mikhail does not blindly accept the diagnosed. He says that it is not an illness. It means that he believes that what he has experienced (in excerpt 8) is not an epileptic fit.

Mikhail refuses to be labeled "epilepsy" by labeling himself as "voice-hearer". However, label "epilepsy" continued attached on him put by some Almaty people such as his boss at garage (p. 110) and Paris people such as the owner of a pizzeria (p. 68). The sustainability of his seizure caused some people continued label him "epilepsy".

"Epilepsy" label has the highest frequency among all labels. It is used 19 times or 28%. It is not only used by Kazakh steppes people but also Almaty people and Paris people. The label carries negative value.

He is regarded as abnormal person. Therefore, he is only accepted by minority groups such as the hunter of the steppes and the beggars in Paris. The label also causes him experiencing some discrimination and getting difficult to look for job.

### 2) Oleg

"Oleg" is a name given to Mikhail at birth. Mikhail is not his real name as he says to character I while they meet at a restaurant, "Mikhail isn't my real name. My real name is **Oleg**." (p. 65). He is called "Oleg" as his personal name by Kazakh steppes people and Almaty people (pp. 65-173).

A name "Oleg" is a Kazakh name. "Oleg" means holy and successful in Russian and sacred in Scandinavian ("Names", 2009). The birth name "Oleg" has a positive value containing his parent wishes for his future. It also describes his gender identity as a male, national identity as a Kazakh, and carries his father origin as Russian (p. 102). Cheang's view on label (2008) states a name serves as a label for people to share their identity and provide some information regarding a person, such as gender, month of birth, religion, and cultural background.

#### 3) Enemy of people

"Enemy of people" is put by Kazakh steppes people especially the Communist. Mikhail tells character I and the beggars in Paris that after he is expelled from school, he becomes a shepherd. Unfortunately, during the first week, one of the sheep dies. People believe that he is cursed because of his father's lie. The label "cursed" that attached to him makes the owner of sheep worried. Then, he continues his story:

- (10)1 "One day, he (the owner of the sheep) decides to go to the
  - 2 Communist Party office in the next village, where he learns
  - 3 that both I and my mother are considered to be enemies of the
  - 4 **people**. I am immediately dismissed." (p. 109).

In excerpt (10) Mikhail explains the label "enemy of people" not only attached to him but also to his mother. The label has negative impact on his life. He loses his job as a shepherd and becomes unemployment after the Communist label him as "enemy of people".

#### 4) Mental illness

Mikhail is labeled "mental illness" by Kazakh steppes people as a consequence of his confession as a "voice-hearer". It has negative value. The label was used 2 times or 2% by the headmaster (p.106) and the director of the museum (p. 110).

- (11)1 "He (the headmaster) explains to me that I must have some
  - 2 mental problem—there is no such thing as 'visions'; the only
  - 3 reality is what we see around us." (p. 106)

Based on Mikhail's utterance in excerpt (11), the headmaster implicitly labels him "mental illness" by saying that "(Mikhail) must have some **mental problem**". He disbelieves his vision and more believe in reality.

## 5) Aberration

The label "aberration" refers to person who is abnormal or unusual. It is attached to Mikhail by Kazakh steppes people. It is only

used once or 1%. In excerpt (7), Mikhail says, "(I am) an **aberration** in the eyes of the people in my village". It indicates that the people in his village regard him as an "aberration" or in other words they have labeled him "aberration". The label has a negative value. It means that he has deviated from the right way.

#### 6) Cursed

"Cursed" is a label given by Kazakh steppes people. It carries a negative connotation. It identifies Mikhail as a person who always carries or causes bad things happened. It is only used once:

- (12) 1 "Since I have nowhere to go and study ... I become a shepherd.
  - 2 During the first week, one of the sheep dies and a rumor goes
  - 3 around that I'm cursed, that I'm the son of a man who came
  - 4 from far away and promised my mother great wealth, then
  - 5 ended up leaving us nothing" (p. 109).

In excerpt (12), Mikhail tells about how he gets the label to character I and the beggars in Paris. The label emerges after the sheep that he herds dies (lines 2-3). People in his village relate it to his father's lie in the past. They assume that it is a part of his punishment, so they identify him as "cursed".

## 7) Madman

"Madman" is one of labels put by the villagers of Kazakh steppes people. He says, "In the eyes of the people in my village... (I am) a **madman**" (p. 82). It indicates that people in his village identify him by using label "madman". The label carries a negative value. It emerges because of his confession as "voice-hearer".

## 8) Magical person

The use of label "magical person" identifies Mikhail as a person with a magical power. The label is put by the hunters of Kazakh steppes people. It carries a positive value and positive impact on his life. He says:

- (13)1 "(After the owner of the sheep dismissed me) I now have all
  - 2 the time in the world and so I wander the steppes with the
  - 3 hunters, who know my story and believe that I have magical
  - 4 powers, because they always find foxes when I'm around." (p. 110)

The hunters implicitly label him "magical person" by regarding that he has magical powers (lines 4-5). Because of this belief, Mikhail is accepted and appreciated by the hunters while other groups distance themselves from him.

### 9) Peasant

"Peasant" is a poor farmer or farm worker who has low social status; or a person who is not educated and has low social status (Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, n.d.). In short, the label "peasant" refers to a poor person who is not educated and has low social status. The label is put by Almaty people on Mikhail. He says as noted in excerpt (7), "In the eyes of the people in the (Almaty) city, (I am) a mere **peasant** looking for work" (p. 82). The label carries a negative value which depicts him as a poor villager and unemployment.

#### 10) Shaman

"Shaman" is someone who is believed in some cultures to be able to use magic to cure people who are sick, to control future events, etc (Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, n.d.). The label is attached to Mikhail put by Kazakh steppes people. Mikhail tells that the people in his village regarded him as "a **shaman** who had made a pact with the devil" (p. 82) as noted in excerpt (7). The label has either positive or negative value. However, regarding his utterance that uses "who had made a pact with the devil" to describe "shaman", it is considered having a negative value.

As a result, among ten labels attached to Mikhail given by others, two labels have positive values ("Oleg" and "magical person"). Meanwhile, 8 labels have negative values ("epilepsy", "enemy of people", "mental illness", "aberration", "cursed", "madman", "peasant", and "shaman"). Galinsky et al. (2003) argue that stigma is said to exist when individuals possess (or are believed to possess) some attribute, or characteristic, that conveys a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context. Mikhail's labels such as "epilepsy" and "cursed" have discredited him among society. Those labels also complicate him to get a permanent job. Besides, he is not fully accepted by society and, sometimes, he should face some discrimination. Therefore, based on the number of those negative values and implications for his life, his societies regard him as stigmatized person. It is triggered by Galinsky et al.'s (2003)

view that to be stigmatized often means to be economically disadvantaged, to be the target of negative stereotypes, and to be rejected interpersonally.

During Mikhail's stay with the three societies (Kazakh steppes people, Almaty people, and Paris people), he always earns label. Sometimes the label keep attaches to him such as "epilepsy" and sometimes it is used only by certain community or society such as "aberration". It also applies to the labels created by him.

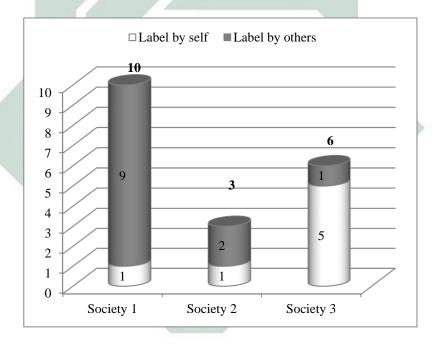


Figure 4.3 Mikhail's labels in the societies

From the data taken in figure 4.3, there are three categories: Society 1 (Kazakh steppes people), Society 2 (Almaty people), and Society 3 (Paris people); and there are two series: label by self (Mikhail) and label by others (his society).

In the first society there are 10 labels attached to Mikhail, 1 label by self ("voice-hearer") and 9 labels by others ("aberration", "cursed", "enemy

of people", "epilepsy", "madman", "magical person", "mental illness", "Oleg", and "shaman"). In the second society there are 3 labels attached to him, 1 label by self ("higher powers") and 2 labels by others ("epilepsy" and "peasant"). Meanwhile in the third society there are 6 labels attached to Mikhail, 5 labels by self ("Kazakh", "Mikhail", "missionary", "poor", and "voice-hearer") and 1 labels by others ("epilepsy").

Based on the chart, Mikhail puts the highest number of labels on himself during his stay with Paris people (5 labels) and the lowest number of labels during his stay with Kazakh steppes people (1 label) and Almaty People (1 label). Meanwhile for the labels given by others, he gets the highest number of labels during his stay with Kazakh steppes people (9 labels) and the lowest number of labels during his stay with Paris people (1 label). It has been discovered that his moving to Paris successfully reduces derogatory labels. He has more courage to identify himself with a variety of positive labels in a new society. As a result, the more he puts label on himself, the less he gets label from others.

#### **4.1.2 Stance**

In this part, the writer presents analyzed data of Mikhail's utterances based on Du Bois's theory of stance. Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the socio-cultural field (Du Bois, 2007). There are three types of stance acts.

They are evaluation, positioning (epistemic and affective), and alignment. The following figure illustrates the findings in term of Mikhail's stancetakings.

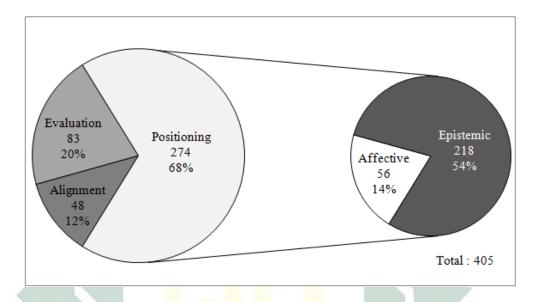


Figure 4.4 Mikhail's stancetakings

In Figure 4.4, it can be seen that positioning stance is the most frequently used. It constitutes 274 or 68%. It consists of two other types of stances, affective (56 or 14%) and epistemic (218 or 54%). Meanwhile the least frequent stance is alignment. It constitutes only 48 or 12%. Evaluative stance is in the middle frequency which constitutes 83 or 20%. The results will be presented in order of evaluation, positioning (epistemic and affective), and alignment.

#### 4.2.1.1 Evaluation

Evaluation is the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value (Du Bois, 2007). The number of Mikhail's utterances containing evaluative

stance are eighty three (20%). Here are some examples of Mikhail's evaluative stance:

(14) 1 Mikhail: "I wanted you to know that **she's all right**, that she may even have read your book." (p. 41)

In excerpt (14) Mikhail evaluates Esther's condition. Mikhail performs as the stancetaker, the one who is speaking. The object of his stance or the thing (person) evaluated is pronoun "she". It refers to "Esther". The stance predicate "all right" is used to evaluate Esther's recent condition positively.

(15) 1 The publisher: "He (character I) never usually invites anyone!

Come on, let's all go and have supper!"

Mikhail: "It's very kind of you, but I have a meeting I go to every Thursday." (p. 42)

In utterance "It's very kind of you", the stance object that Mikhail evaluates is "you". It refers to "the publisher". Meanwhile the pronoun "it" has a function as expletive subject. The stance implies a positive judgment regarding the publisher's generous by requesting Mikhail to join.

(16) 1 Mikhail: "Put the oil in the pan, but first offer it up to the Lady.

Apart from salt, it's our most valuable commodity."

(p. 180)

In contrast to the previous example, the pronoun "it" in "it's our most valuable commodity" stands for the object of evaluative stance. It refers to "the oil". Mikhail uses evaluative predicate "our most valuable commodity" to give a positive value as well as the salt.

The following examples are evaluative stances toward some social issues.

(17)	1	Mikhail:	My country is in Central Asia. It has barely
	2		fourteen million inhabitants in an area far
	3		larger than France with its population of sixty
	4		million."
	5	The publisher:	"So it's a place where no one can complain about
	6		the lack of space, then,"
	7	Mikhail:	"It's a place where, during the last century, no
	8		one had the right to complain about anything,
	9		even if they wanted to. When the Communist
	10		regime abolished private ownership, the livestock
	11		were simply abandoned and 48.6 percent of the
	12		population died. Do you understand what that
	13	7/	means? Nearly half the population of my
	14		country died of hunger between 1932 and
	15		<b>1933</b> ." (p. 44)

Mikhail's utterance in lines 1-4 exemplifies some characteristics of Kazakhstan by comparing its population and land area to France. In line 7-15, he begins evaluating the Communist policy. The use of noun "regime" instead of "government" is a technique that used by him to show his negative view on the Communist. It is supported by the previous utterance "no one had the right to complain about anything, even if they wanted to". It is indicates the human rights abuse in his country. Mikhail continues to index some negative effects of the Communist policy in line 10-15. He mentions the abandoned livestock and high percentage (48.6%) of the inhabitants died of hunger.

(18) 1 Mikhail: "It was a bit of a waste of time for you really and a great opportunity to catch pneumonia. I hope you realize that it was just his way of showing you how welcome you are." (p. 180)

Excerpt (18) is taken from his conversation with character I.

Mikhail evaluates his dedication ceremony. The ceremony is one of steppes culture. The object of stance "it" refers to "the dedication

ceremony". Mikhail evaluates the dedication ceremony by asserting two evaluative predicates. The first predicate "a bit of a waste of time for you really" indicates that it is unnecessary. The adjective "really" expresses his certainty of its unnecessary. The second predicate "a great opportunity to catch pneumonia" indicates his assumption of the bad effect of the ceremony on character I's health. The adjective "great" expresses his belief in strong possibility of catching pneumonia. The use of two adjectives "really" and "great" strengthens his evaluative predicates.

In sum, Mikhail's evaluative stance object covers people, things, and social phenomena. His evaluations consist of positive and negative value. It depends on his view toward the object.

### 4.2.1.2 Positioning

Positioning is the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking socio cultural value (Du Bois, 2007). The number of Mikhail's utterances containing positioning stances are two hundreds and seventy four (68%). The data are further divided into two types, those containing affective positioning and those containing epistemic positioning.

## 4.2.1.2.1 Affective Positioning

Affective is the speaker's feeling about a proposition, an utterance, or a text (Irvine, 2009). Mikhail's affective positioning stances are 56 or 14%. There are three kinds of lexical features of

Mikhail's affective stance predicate. They are verb, adjective, and noun.

The lexical features are categorized as follow:

- Verbs: want, miss, feel, need, admire, sense, respect, like, regret,
   hope
- Adjectives: afraid, sorry, alone, amazed, worried, frightened, surprised, welcome, free, tired
- Nouns: state, love

Below are the examples of some Mikhail's affective stances controlled by verb, adjective, and noun:

(19)1 Mikhail: "As long as you pay for my ticket, of course. I **need** to go back to Kazakhstan. I **miss** my country."

(p. 140)

In above utterance there are two affective stances taken by Mikhail, "I need to go back to Kazakhstan" and "I miss my country". Both stance utterances index personal pronoun "I" as the stancetaker. They are followed by affective verb "need" and "miss", indexing the affective predicate. The first affective predicate expresses Mikhail's feeling: the need. The object of stance is "to go back to Kazakhstan". Meanwhile the second expresses his feeling: missing. The object of stance is "my country". Both affective predicates position Mikhail along an affective scale either "need something" or "miss something".

- (20)1 Mikhail: "**I am amazed** at the cars, the huge buildings, the neon signs, the escalators and—above all—the
  - 3 elevators." (p.111)

In excerpt (20), Mikhail expresses his amazement at the cars, the huge buildings, and so on. He positions himself affectively by choosing a position along an affective adjective "amazed". Mikhail performs the stancetaker, while "the cars, the huge buildings, the neon signs, the escalators and—above all—the elevators" becomes the stance object. The affective predicate is an adjective "amazed".

(21) 1 Mikhail: "**I am in love with her**, with this woman I have only known for a matter of hours." (p. 112)

The bold words below index an affective stance. The stancetaker is the personal pronoun "I" that refers to Mikhail. The stance object is "her" that refers to "Esther". Mikhail uses a noun "love", a stance predicate, to express his deep affection feeling.

Hence, Mikhail performs affective stances in order to express his feeling and position himself along the affective scale. The use of affective predicate is varied including verb, adjective, and noun. Meanwhile his object of stance includes the things, people, and places.

### 4.2.1.2.2 Epistemic Positioning

Epistemic stance is the speaker's degree of commitment to a proposition (Irvine, 2009). It concerns the truth-value of a proposition and the speaker's degree of commitment to it. Mikhail's epistemic positioning stances are 218 or 54%. The frequency is the highest among all distinction stances. The lexical features of Mikhail's epistemic

stance consist of adjective, adverb, conjunction, modal, noun, preposition, pronoun, and verb.

- Adjectives:
  - expressing certainty: sure, familiar, impossible, necessary
  - expressing uncertainty: possible
- Adverbs:
  - expressing certainty: really, exactly, of course, in fact,
     always, completely, entirely, obviously, properly
  - expressing uncertainty: perhaps, possibly, almost
- Verbs:
  - expressing certainty: know, realize, say, understand, see, tell, look, believe, happen, notice, recognize, find, reckon
  - expressing uncertainty: doubt, think, seem, suggest
- Modals: may, can, will, might, could, would, must
- Conjunction: whenever
- Noun: reason
- Preposition: according to
- Pronouns: all, anyone, everyone, no one

Below are the examples of some Mikhail's epistemic stances:

- (22) 1 Character I: "I need a bath. I need to change my clothes."
  - 2 Mikhail: "That's impossible. You're in the middle of the
  - 3 steppes." (p. 180)

Based on the conversation above, Mikhail performs epistemic stance by uttering "that's impossible". He expresses his degree of

certainty that proposed information from character I, taking bath and changing clothes, is unable to be done. Mikhail positions himself along epistemic scale certainty using adjective "impossible". The stance predicate consists of one linguistic feature, an adjective. The next example presents epistemic stance using two linguistic features.

- (23)1 The beggar: "Did she never tell you her name?"
  - 2 Mikhail: "Never. But it doesn't matter because I always
  - 3 **know** when she's talking to me." (p. 107)

The epistemic stance "I always know" consist of an adverb and verb. The adverb "always" is used to modify the value of epistemic verb "know". By uttering the epistemic stance, Mikhail positions himself along a strong epistemic scale as knowledgeable.

Chindamo et al. (2012) argue that yes/no or tag question and expressing one's opinion can apply epistemic scale. It is in line with the findings:

- (24) 1 Character I: "What's she doing?"
  - 2 Mikhail: "Do you really want to know?"
  - 3 Character I: "Yes, I do." (p. 62)

The use of yes/no question above expresses Mikhail' doubt about the question given by character I. Mikhail's question implies his request for confirmation from character I. It indexes a certain degree of epistemic scale: likelihood or doubt.

(25)1 Mikhail: "Everyone thinks I'm just having an epileptic fit, and I let them believe that because it's easier." (p. 84)

According on Chindamo et al. (2012) report, the phrase "everyone thinks" indicates Mikhail's degree of certainty by claiming all people involved do the same thing. It is similar with his utterance:

(26) 1 Mikhail: "Whenever I say where I was born, about ten

2 minutes later people are saying that I'm from

Pakistan or Afghanistan" (p. 44)

The use of subordinating conjunction "whenever" also indicates his degree of certainty. He claims that his opinion has been supported by regular facts.

Based on the examples above, Mikhail tends to express the degree of certainty. It means that he usually speaks with confidence. Therefore, his speech is more powerful than other characters.

## 4.2.1.3 Alignment

Alignment can be defined as the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stancetakers (Du Bois, 2007). The number of Mikhail's utterances containing alignment stance are forty eight (12%). It consists of alignment and disalignment. Mikhail takes alignment stance via imitation, feedback, and agreement. Meanwhile for disalignment, he takes the stance via changing topic, disagreement, and refusal. Below are the examples of Mikhail's alignment stances, both alignment and disalignment:

#### (27) Alignment via imitation

- The publisher: "So it's a place where no one can complain
- about the lack of space, then,"
- Mikhail: "It's a place where, during the last century, no

4 one had the right to complain about anything,

5 even if they wanted to. (p. 44)

In order to provide a clear explanation, the writer adapts Du Bois's (2007) diagraph as follows:

The It's a place where about the no one can publisher: complain lack of space

Mikhail: It's a place where, during no one had the about the last right to anything,

> complain century,

The diagraph shows that Mikhail uses a similar utterance with the publisher. Concerning some divergent such as appositive, it does not influence the notion of its alignment. Du Bois (2007) argues that if the stancetaker uses a lexically identical utterance, the effect would likely somewhat strange.

Mikhail's use of term "epileptic fit" in his utterance: "I only have 'epileptic fits' at moments when I am under great nervous strain" (p. 118) also indicates alignment stance. He uses the same term "epileptic fit" like other people.

### (28) Alignment via feedback

"I'm a lawyer and I specialize in contested divorces." 1 The lawyer:

"What does that mean?" (interrupt) 2 An audience:

(Feeling irritated) "It's when one of the parties won't 3 The lawyer:

agree to the separation," (pause)

"Go on," (p. 53) 5 Mikhail:

By uttering "go on", Mikhail aligns with the lawyer. It indicates that he understands the lawyer's utterance and lets him continue his story.

#### (29) Alignment via agreement

1 Mikhail: "I thought I'd see you here."

2 Character I: "And I imagine you know the reason."

3 Mikhail: "After I've let the divine energy pass through my body, I know the reason for everything." (p. 56)

In conversation lines 3-4, Mikhail takes his stance in relation with character I's opinion. He expresses his agreement that he knows the reason. He takes a positive pole, indexing alignment stance.

## (30) Disalignment via changing topic

1 Mikhail: "Mikhail is the name I chose when I decided to be reborn to life. Like the warrior archangel, with his fiery sword, opening up a path so that—what is it you call them?—so that the 'warriors of light' can find each other. That is my mission."

6 Character I: "It's my mission too."

7 Mikhail: "Wouldn't you rather talk about Esther?" (p. 65)

Mikhail's question "Wouldn't you rather talk about Esther?" indicates that he prefers to change the topic. He takes a negative pole, disaligning with the character I.

## (31) Disalignment via disagreement

1 Character I: "I could start with some small talk about the success of A *Time to Rend and a Time to Sew* or the contradictory emotions I felt last night as I watched your performance."

5 Mikhail: "It's not a performance, it's a meeting. We tell stories and we dance in order to feel the energy of love." (p. 60)

In Mikhail's stance utterance "It's not a performance, it's a meeting", the personal pronoun "it" refers to "your performance" uttered by character I. The negation "not" asserts his disagreement with character

I. He takes a negative pole (disalignment) in term of alignment. Later, he corrects his interlocutor's misperception by stating "it's a meeting".

## (32) Disalignment via refusal

1 Mikhail: "But the voice has been speaking to me ever since I

was a child, when I first saw the Lady."

3 Character I: "What lady?"

4 Mikhail: "I'll tell you later."

5 Character I: "Whenever I ask you something, you say: 'I'll tell you

6 later." (p. 84)

In line 4, Mikhail refuses to answer character I's question. His refusal, however, indicates his disalignment with the character I whom request his answer about the Lady.

The findings show that Mikhail's disalignment has higher frequency than his alignment. It constitutes 32 times, whereas his alignment only constitutes 16 times. Since alignment is the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, the high frequency of disalignment indicates his tendency to take a negative pole toward his interlocutor. Mikhail should have a strong mentality to express what he feels, thinks, or wants although it is contrary to what his interlocutors do.

Hence, Mikhail constructs his personal identity through stancetaking by evaluating the object, positioning himself along affective scale or epistemic scale, and aligning or disaligning with his interlocutor. As a result, Mikhail successfully founds his own community and becomes their spiritual leader because of his tendency to position himself along epistemic scale certainty and disalign with his interlocutors.

#### 4.2 Discussion

The findings reveal that the labels attached to Mikhail and his stancetaking index his personal identity construction. The labels attached to him, both by self and by others, define him among others. Meanwhile, he takes the stances in order to position himself among others.

Regarding his labels given by others, the writer concludes that his society regard him as a stigmatized person derived from Galinsky et al.'s (2003) view on stigmatized (person and group). In contrast, from Mikhail's view on himself through the labels that he puts to himself, writer concludes that he is an arrogant person derived from Ryan's (1983) characteristics of arrogance. Therefore, by analyzing the labels attached to a person given by others, we can discover how others view or regard him/her in society. Meanwhile, by analyzing the labels given by his/her self, we can determine how he/she defines him/herself among others as well as his/her personality.

Mikhail's labels given by self have some functions besides to construct his personal identity such as to share national identity (e.g. Kazakh), describe his condition (e.g. poor), and combat some derogatory labels (e.g. Mikhail). Mikhail's changing name from "Oleg" to "Mikhail" is considered to be one of Galinsky et al.'s (2003) responds to stigmatizing labels. Galinsky et al. have suggested that re-labeling or renaming is a second way for combating the negative implication of derogatory labels. For example, Jeff Gilloley, the man who orchestrated the attack on skater Nancy Kerrigan during the Olympic trials, legally changed his name to Jeff Stone. Mikhail

uses this strategy, re-label, to construct his new identity as well as to distance himself from some bad experiences and derogatory labels attached to him in past.

A label not only has a positive or negative value, but also has one or both of positive and negative impact to the labeled life. A label such as "voice-hearer" carries a positive value, having an extraordinary ability. In fact, it also brings some negative and positive impacts for Mikhail's life. The use of the label has successfully influenced some people in his village to respect his presence such as the hunters and poor villagers. In addition, it has some contributions to his career success in Paris as well as the use of "missionary" label. Apart from its positive impacts, it leads some discrimination and causes the emergence of other labels given by others such as "enemy of people" and "mental illness".

The comparison between the number of his labels given by self and those given by others in each society shows that the more he puts label on himself, the less he gets label from others. Besides the labels, one can assume that his moving to Paris brings a positive impact for his life and successfully reduces derogatory labels.

From the three kinds of stance, Mikhail's epistemic positioning stance achieves the highest frequently used (218 times or 54%). It is followed by evaluation (83 times or 20%), affective positioning (56 times or 14%), and alignment (48 times or 12%). The relation between stance and identity construction relies on its functions in displaying subjectivity (eg. evaluation

and positioning), which Du Bois (2007) defines as the relation between the stancetaker and the object of stance, and intersubjectivity (eg. alignment), which Du Bois defines as the relation between one actor's subjectivity and another's. Mikhail constructs his personal identity through stancetaking by evaluating an object, positioning himself along affective scale or epistemic scale, and aligning or disaligning with his interlocutor.

Based on the findings, Mikhail evaluates people, things, and social issues. His evaluations consist of positive and negative value depending on his view toward the object.

Mikhail performs affective positioning stances in order to express his feeling and position himself along the affective scale. The use of affective predicate is varied including verb, adjective, and noun. It is less than Biber and Finegan's lexico-grammatical features connected with affective stance (as cited in Chindamo et al., 2012): adverb, verb, adjective, and noun. The object of Mikhail's stance includes the things, people, and places.

Mikhail performs epistemic stance in order to express his degree toward the object of stance and position himself along the epistemic scale. The use of epistemic predicate is varied including adjective, adverb, conjunction, modal, noun, preposition, pronoun, and verb. It is more than Biber and Finegan's lexico-grammatical features connected with epistemic stance (as cited in Chindamo et al., 2012): adverb, modal, verb, adjective and noun.

Conjunction (whenever) and pronoun (all, anyone, everyone, no one) are used to express Mikhail's opinion along epistemic scale certainty. Chindamo et al. (2012) write:

Martin and White point out how appealing to common opinions might have a relational function: for example, in the utterance "Everyone knows the banks are greedy" (p. 100) the phrase "everyone knows" introduces a degree of certainty by claiming consensual support for the speaker's claim. (p. 619)

However, both conjunction and pronoun cannot stand alone to present an epistemic stance. The pronoun needs a verb, whereas conjunction should connect a dependent clause to an independent clause. For example, in the utterance "Everyone thinks I'm just having an epileptic fit" (p. 84) the phrase "everyone thinks" consist of pronoun "everyone" and verb "thinks". The phrase indicates Mikhail's degree of certainty by claiming all people involved do the same thing.

On the other hand, in the utterance "Whenever I say where I was born, about ten minutes later people are saying that I'm from Pakistan or Afghanistan." (p. 44) Dependent clause "whenever I say where I was born" consists of subordinating conjunction "whenever". It has a function as adverbial. The whole whenever clause answers the question when people are saying that I'm from Pakistan or Afghanistan? The example also indicates Mikhail's degree of certainty. He claims that his opinion has been supported by regular facts.

Mikhail calibrates his relation to his interlocutor by taking alignment and disaligment. Mikhail takes alignment stance via imitation, feedback, and

agreement. Meanwhile for disalignment, he takes the stance via changing topic, disagreement, and refusal.

It is undeniable that an utterance can contain two or all three kinds of stances as in the following example (taken from Du Bois, 2007):

(33) 1 Sam: "I don't like those"

2 Angela: "I don't (like those) either." (p. 166)

Du Bois explains:

As for the three stance actions, in these data, the verb specifies both the evaluation of the object and the positioning of the subject, so the two labels are combined in a single column. Angela's use of the word either indexes alignment, taking account of the fact that Angela's stance utterance is a stance follow which builds dialogically off of Sam's prior stance lead. (p. 166)

Mikhail's utterance below also performs the three stances:

(34) 1 Character I: "I know that I'll emerge bruised and battered, like the
master who wanted to sit between the buffalo's horns,
but I deserve it. I deserve it because of the pain I
inflicted, however unconsciously. I don't believe
Esther would have left me if I had respected her love."

Mikhail: "You understand nothing," (p. 57)

In "You understand nothing", Mikhail evaluates his interlocutor (character I) and positions himself by giving epistemic value to his object of stance as ignorant. The utterance indexes alignment, particularly, in term of disalignment via disagreement. Character I implicitly says that he is knowledgeable by using verb "know". Mikhail takes a negative pole, disagreeing his statement. In sum, while Mikhail evaluates character I, he positions himself. As he positions himself, he disaligns with character I.

Regarding Mikhail's tendency to express the degree of certainty while he takes epistemic stances, the writer concludes that he usually speaks

with confidence. Therefore, his speech is more powerful than other characters. It is in accordance with his tendency to take a negative pole toward his interlocutors (disalignment). Mikhail should have a strong mentality to express what he feels, thinks, or wants although it is contrary to what his interlocutors do. Thus, by taking epistemic and alignment stance, Mikhail successfully found his own community and become their spiritual leader.

Apart from the results above, the writer finds some topics related to Islamic values. Mikhail's migration to Paris is similar with a concept of *hijra* in Islam. Literally speaking, *hijra* indicates moving from one place to another to live there ("The Prophet's Hijrah", 2009). *Hijra* is established by Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) as he immigrates to Madinah after experiencing hard times in Mecca. The calendar year of Islam also begins with the migration. Allah says:

وَالَّذِينَ هَاجَرُواْ فِي اللهِ مِن بَعْدِ مَا ظُلِمُواْ لِنْبَوِّنَتَّهُمْ فِي الدُّنْيَا حَسَنَةٌ وَلَأَجْرُ الآخِرَةِ أَكْبَرُ لَوْ كَانُواْ يَعْلَمُونَ ( النحل: 41)

## The meaning:

"To those who leave their homes in the cause of Allah, after suffering oppression, we will assuredly give a goodly home in this world; but truly the reward of the Hereafter will be greater; if they only realized (this)!" (An-Nahl: 41)

Mikhail concept of "to be reborn in life" by changing his name is also found in Islam. A new Muslim convert commonly changes his/her name. However, there is no obligation to change her/his name as long as it conveys a good meaning ("New Convert", 2004). The Prophet (pbuh) said:

The meaning:

"You will be called on the Day of Resurrection by your names and the names of your fathers, so have good names." (Abu Dawud)

The Prophet (pbuh) used to change only those names that carried wrong meanings or un-Islamic ideas and concepts ("New Convert", 2004).

Mikhail's contact with the lady and his belief in her are regarded as *shirk* in Islam. *Shirk* is a belief in and worship of many deities ("Shirk (Polytheism)", n.d.). The Prophet (pbuh) said:

### The meaning:

"Whoever cancels one's intention to do something because of attiyarah (an evil omen), that one has committed shirk". The companions asked, "What is its kafarah (penalty for repentance)?" The Prophet (pbuh) answered, saying, "O Allah, there is no good except from You and there is no misfortune except from You. Indeed, there is no good but You". (Imam Ahmad)

The Prophet also forbids Muslims to approach a fortune-teller, moreover they believe in him/her:

The meaning:

"Whoever approaches a fortune-teller and acknowledges him/her that person has committed *kufr* to what was revealed to Muhammad." (Imam Ahmad)

To sum up, there are some similarities and differences between Mikhail's language use, label and stance, to construct his personal identity and the previous studies, including some values in Islam.