

Proceedings of ISFC 35: Voices Around the World

Edited by

Canzhong Wu
Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen
Maria Herke


Voices
AROUND THE WORLD
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Canzhong Wu, Christian Matthiessen and Maria Herke

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In loving memory of our friend and colleague

Manoj Kumar
(26/4/1980 — 4/7/2008)

a much valued member of the SFL community



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Preface

The Organizing Committee of the 35th International Systemic Functional Congress extend to you our warmest greetings and welcome you to Sydney and to Macquarie University! We, at Macquarie, are very happy and proud to be hosting ISFC for the second time — the first time being the very successful ISFC convened by Professor Ruqaiya Hasan in 1992, leading to an unprecedented number of publications.

The theme of ISFC 2008 is “Voices Around the World”, and we indeed welcome many voices from different parts of the world. This theme is to be interpreted in a very broad inclusive sense — systemic functional linguistics from many places around the world presenting and talking with one another, voices focussing on different languages around the world in analysis and description and in comparison (including translation and typology), voices representing different combinations of theoretical and institutional backgrounds, voices representing different currents within SFL. The papers in this volume reflect a good range of the spectrum of systemic functional linguistics. There are business linguistics, computational linguistics, contributions in comparative and typological linguistics, descriptive linguistics, discourse (text) analysis (including the analysis of verbal art), educational linguistics (including papers dealing with the teaching of second/ foreign languages and papers dealing the multimodal issues in institutions of education), forensic linguistics, linguistic computing, media linguistics, medical linguistics, metatheory, multimodality, and theory. Common themes here are a serious engagement with language and other semiotic systems, as both system and text, and an orientation towards problems in the community that need solving.

The 35th ISFC was supposed to be held in Beijing this year, and Sydney was the site for ISFC in 2009. However, because the Olympics made it impossible for our colleagues in Beijing to organize ISFC this year, we stepped in, and swapped places. It was really the only solution possible, but it has meant that we have had to approach the organization of ISFC 2008 with much less lead time, thus adopting some unconventional strategies. We are very grateful for all the support we have received, and all the understanding of our very special circumstances. We are also tremendously grateful to Professor Fang Yan and her colleagues for the extraordinary level of co-operation and collaboration, making it possible for us to plan ISFC 2008 and ISFC 2009 together in certain important respects.

Although the events are being held here at Macquarie, the Institute and the Congress are really efforts by Sydney, Systemic City! We recognize that any ISFC is a community event and a community effort and we thank the wider systemic community in and around Sydney for their assistance in many tasks, not least the huge task of abstract and paper reviewing.

In organizing ISFC 2008, we have also had generous sponsors, including generous Australian ones — AMES (for the Institute), Appen, ASFLA, the Centre for Language and Social Life, and the Department of Linguistics at Macquarie, giving us a huge boost, thanks to Linda Cupples, our wonderfully supportive Head of Department, and international publishers — Benjamins, Continuum and Equinox.

For ISFC 2008, we have tried to innovate on a number of fronts, and we would like to take this opportunity to mention these innovations to you:

- A volume of Congress proceedings (refereed, with ISBN number) published in time for the Congress. — First ever.

- A regional panel, organized by a regional subcommittee, representing “Voices Around the World”. — First ever.
- A research network and research centre panel (modelled partly on AILA’s research networks, replacing their scientific commissions), organized by a research network subcommittee. — First ever.
- A Translation-&-Interpreting Day focussing on and nurturing the rapidly increasing exchange between the community of professional translators and interpreters and SFL (modelled partly on Len Unsworth’s Education Day as part of ISFC 2005). — First ever.

So a very warm welcome to you all -- and sincere thanks for contributing such a wonderfully rich range of reports on current research!!!

All the best, the ISFC35 Organizing Committee

Table of Contents

ISFC 2008 Sponsors	vi
ISFC 2008 Organizing Committee.....	vi
Preface	i
Table of Contents.....	iii
Author Index	vii
A Comparative Study of Interpersonal Metaphors in English and Chinese Call Centre Discourse Xu Xunfeng, Wang Yan and Gail Forey.....	1
A Systemic Functional Micro-Grammar of Spanish Clitics Victor M. Castel.....	7
On the importance of ‘showing’ Frances Christie and Chris Cléirigh	13
Grammatical Intricacy – the pedagogical significance of counting by word, clause or idea Howard Doyle.....	19
Nouns in School Children’s Science Writing: A Functional Linguistics Perspective Zhihui Fang	25
Reviewing reading pedagogy through the lens of a stratified model of language Susan Feez	31
University examination questions in the context of an international student cohort Susan Hoadley	38
A ‘good enough’ grammatics: Developing an effective metalanguage for school English in an era of multiliteracies Mary Macken-Horarik	43
Self- Assessment of Foreign Language Speaking Skills: With a Focus on Gender Difference Nasrin Hadidi Tamjid.....	49
Transitivity Profiles as Indicators of the Development of Student’s Narrative Writing: a Corpus-based Study Wang Shanshan and Guo Libo	55
Question-answer as a genre in students’ academic writing in Spanish Natalia Ignatieva	61
Ideational Perspectives on Feedback in Academic Writing Angelia Lu	67
Reports in Spanish writing: generic features and text quality Ana Martín-Úriz and Susana Murcia-Bielsa.....	72
Hetero-balancing Approach to Curriculum Planning using the Systemic-Functional Analysis K. Ram Chandra.....	78
Speaking to Write and Writing to Speak: A case study of university students in Japan Jonathon Adams and Andrea Orlandini	83
The effects of teaching Hasan’s Semantic networks in a reading class in a Japanese university Andrea Orlandini and Jonathon Adams	89

A Correlation between the Systems of Taxis and Projection in Newspaper Articles	
José Manuel Durán	95
Social Representations and Experiential Metafunction: Poverty and Media Discourse	
Denize Elena Garcia da Silva	100
The explanatory power of the SFL dimensions in the study of news discourse	
Annabelle Lukin	106
Representing Crime in Contemporary Cambodia: <i>The Phnom Penh Post's</i> Police Blotter	
Stephen H. Moore.....	112
Ideational projection and interpersonal projection in news reporting: patterns of evaluation in English and Japanese	
Ayako Ochi	119
Reporting Armistice: Grammatical evidence and semantic implications of diachronic context shifts	
Claire Scott	125
Reporting Armistice: Authorial and non-authorial voices in <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> 1902-2003	
Claire Scott	131
Interacting voices: 'mother' as token and topic in psychotherapy	
Caroline Henderson-Brooks	137
Patient Safety: a tri-stratal interpretation of communicative risk in the Emergency Departments of public hospitals	
Maria Herke, Christian Matthiessen, Jeannette McGregor, Marie Manidis, Hermine Scheeres, Diana Slade, Jane Stein-Parbury and Rick Iedema	143
Using SFL to Understand and Practise Dialogue Interpreting	
Helen Tebble.....	149
Agency in Cardiff and IFG: Competition or Collaboration?	
Tom Bartlett.....	155
Leech and the Limits of Functionalism	
Peter K Wylie	161
Process and Grammatical Metaphor in Wordsworth's <i>The Prelude</i> and Niitsi'powahsin (Blackfoot) Grammar	
Andrew Goatly	167
The Person Deixis in Bagri and Punjabi	
Gopal Ram.....	173
A Contrastive Study of English and Japanese Transitivity: The Kyoto Grammar Approach	
Masa-aki Tatsuki	178
A Profile of Òkó Voice	
Ernest S Akerejola	183
Exploring the experiential meaning of the Chinese nominal group	
Jing Fang	189
Ideational and Interpersonal Manifestations of Projection in Spanish	
Jorge Arús Hita.....	195
On Honorifics	
Abhishek Kumar Kashyap.....	201
Using honorific expressions to ensure addressee compliance with commands: a case study of Japanese texts in the organisational context	
Yumiko Mizusawa.....	207
A systemic functional analysis of Topic NPs in Korean	
Gi-Hyun Shin and Mira Kim.....	213
Thematic Structure and Theme Variation in the Language of Javanese 'Ludruk'	
Susanto	219
Projection in Modern Greek	
Chrystalla A. Thoma.....	225

Representations of Women in Six Japanese Folk Tales	
Elizabeth A. Thomson.....	229
Eight English Noun Phrase Types as Indicators of Genres (News and Novels) in ICE-SIN	
Yang Kun.....	235
Russian Poems and their English Translations: Is there crime in a rhyme? Is there reason in rhythm? Is metaphor a poem's core?	
Ivan Berazhny.....	241
Promoting Beijing in English: an interpersonal exploration of online tourism texts	
Hua Guo.....	247
Translation of the Transcripts of Audio Recordings	
Jieun Lee.....	253
Clause Boundary Shifts in Interpreting: Chinese-English	
Sunny Xiaoying Wang.....	257
Direct Vs Indirect Preparation for Technical and non-Technical Interpreting	
Qiaolian Zhu and Nan Zhang.....	263
Intention, obligation, effect: Categories of the Verb in an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea	
Alan Jones.....	268
Relating Lexis to Culture: First Nations' Loan Words in Early Canadian Texts	
Derek Irwin.....	274
From Chinglish to Chinese English as One of the World Englishes	
Eden Li, Han Yang and Percy Wong.....	280
World Standard English: Reflections from a Multilingual Perspective	
Poonam Sahay.....	285
Construing an Airline Destination: English Clause in a Network	
Ivan Berazhny.....	290
Heteroglossic Harmony: Multimodal ENGAGEMENT Resources and Their Gradability in China's EFL Context	
Yumin Chen.....	296
Us vs. Them: A Critical Analysis of Superman - Peace on Earth Comic Book	
Francisco Osvanilson Dourado Veloso.....	302
Playing with "femininity": Multi-modal discourse analysis of bilingual children's picture book <i>The Ballad of Mulan</i>	
Ping Tian.....	308
Multisemiotics of Conferencing: Challenges to researching and training presentation skills	
Eija Ventola.....	316
Critical Discourse Analysis of a Political Text: Using Appraisal Theory	
Shohreh Bolouri.....	322
Two Characters in Search of an Ending: A Linguistic Approach to an Ancient Egyptian Story	
Camilla Di Biase-Dyson.....	328
Investigating ideological relations in McDonald's <i>Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) report (2006)</i>	
Joanne Jung-wook Hong.....	334
Making sense of place: Further descriptions of Circumstance of location	
Shoshana Drefus and Pauline Jones.....	340
Truth and contexts in Brazilian immigration policy	
Rachael Anneliese Radhay.....	345
Evaluative Metaphors: logogenetic development of appraisal in Pacific War discourses	
Ken Tann.....	351
Lexical Density in Japanese Texts: classifying text samples in the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ)	
Motoki Sano and Takehiko Maruyama.....	359

A Corpus-based Approach to the Role of Nominalization in Registers Xinzhang Yang	365
Analyzing Philosophical Discourse Joe Fincham	371
Theoretical Framework of the Genre of Academic Writing: A Social-Cultural Perspective Yinghui Sun	376
The Stylistic Value of Grammatical Metaphor in English Metalinguistic Texts: A Functional-Cognitive Stylistic Perspective Liu Chengyu	383
Systemic Functional Grammar applied in the Stylistic Analysis of D.H Lawrence's <i>The Prussian Officer</i> Zhongshe Lu	390
Appraisal Theory: A Functional Analysis of Sarojini Naidu's Poem K. Ratna Shiela Mani	396
Fuzzy grammatics and fuzziness tagging: a temporary approach Chen Jiansheng ^{1,2} and Xu Xunfeng ¹	400
Evolution and the system of AGENCY Kathryn Tuckwell	406

Author Index

Abhishek Kumar Kashyap.....	201	K. Ram Chandra.....	78
Alan Jones	268	K. Ratna Shiela Mani.....	396
Ana Martín-Úriz.....	72	Kathryn Tuckwell	406
Andrea Orlandini	83, 89	Ken Tann.....	351
Andrew Goatly	167	Maria Herke	143
Angelia Lu.....	67	Marie Manidis.....	143
Annabelle Lukin	106	Mary Macken-Horarik	43
Ayako Ochi.....	119	Masa-aki Tatsuki.....	178
Camilla Di Biase-Dyson.....	328	Mira Kim.....	213
Caroline Henderson-Brooks	137	Motoki Sano.....	359
Chen Jiansheng.....	400	Nan Zhang.....	263
Chris Cléirigh	13	Nasrin Hadidi Tamjid.....	49
Christian Matthiessen	143	Natalia Ignatieva	61
Chrystalla A. Thoma.....	225	Pauline Jones.....	340
Claire Scott	125, 131	Percy Wong.....	280
Denize Elena Garcia da Silva	100	Peter K Wylie.....	161
Derek Irwin.....	274	Ping Tian.....	308
Diana Slade.....	143	Poonam Sahay.....	285
Eden Li	280	Qiaolian Zhu	263
Eija Ventola	316	Rachael Anneliese Radhay.....	345
Elizabeth A. Thomson	229	Rick Iedema	143
Ernest S Akerejola.....	183	Shohreh Bolouri.....	322
Frances Christie	13	Shoshana Drefus	340
Francisco Osvanilson Dourado Veloso	302	Stephen H. Moore	112
Gail Forey.....	1	Sunny Xiaoying Wang.....	257
Gi-Hyun Shin.....	213	Susan Feez	31
Gopal Ram.....	173	Susan Hoadley	38
Guo Libo.....	55	Susana Murcia-Bielsa	72
Han Yang.....	280	Susanto.....	219
Helen Tebble	149	Takehiko Maruyama	359
Hermine Scheeres	143	Tom Bartlett	155
Howard Doyle	19	Victor M. Castel.....	7
Hua Guo	247	Wang Shanshan.....	55
Ivan Berazhny.....	241, 290	Wang Yan	1
Jane Stein-Parbury.....	143	Xinzhang Yang	365
Jeannette McGregor.....	143	Xu Xunfeng.....	1, 400
Jieun Lee.....	253	Yang Kun	235
Jing Fang	189	Yinghui Sun	376
Joanne Jung-wook Hong	334	Yumiko Mizusawa	207
Joe Fincham.....	371	Yumin Chen.....	296
Jonathon Adams	83, 89	Zhihui Fang.....	25
Jorge Arús Hita.....	195	Zhongshe Lu	390
José Manuel Durán.....	95		

A Comparative Study of Interpersonal Metaphors in English and Chinese Call Centre Discourse

Xu Xunfeng, Wang Yan and Gail Forey

Department of English, Hong Kong Polytechnic University
Hung Hom, Kowloon, Hong Kong
wyan603@yahoo.com.cn

Abstract

The past few decades saw a fast growth of the call centre industry in which language and communication skills play an important role in providing quality service to customers. For successful communication at call centres, both the Customer Service Representatives (CSRs) and the customers need to be sensitive to the various linguistic realizations (whether indirect or incongruent) through which social positioning occurs. Within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) a great deal of attention has been given to grammatical metaphor (Halliday, 1994/1985; Martin, 1992, Berry et al. 1996). However there are relatively few applications of this theory to professional discourse analysis (Simon-Vandenberg et al., 2003). This paper aims to investigate the use of interpersonal metaphors in English and Chinese call centre discourse and address the incongruence between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD and the metaphorical realizations of probability, usuality, inclination and obligation in call centre interactions. Based on the English and Chinese data of telephone conversations collected from call centres in the Philippines and China, a comparative analysis is conducted to reveal the metaphorical realizations of interpersonal meanings (metaphors of mood and modality) in call centre communication and explore their similar functions in different language communities and cultural backgrounds.

1 Introduction

The fast growth of the call centre industry in the past few decades has given rise to an expanding interest in research. A great deal of research has been carried out from the domain of business and addressed issues related to work organization (e.g. Taylor et al. 2002), labour relations (e.g. Glucksman 2004; Taylor & Brain 1999, 2007) and customer service (e.g. Brown & Maxell 2002; Bolton & Houlihan 2005). Globalization has also drawn attention from researchers in this field (e.g. Taylor & Brain 2005; Cameron 2000). Recently, a number of linguistic studies have focused on the language and communication at call centres, e.g. employee language assessment (Friginal 2007), accent neutralization training (Cowie 2007), communication breakdown (Forey & Lockwood 2007) and conversational structures (Murtagh 2005; Landqvist 2005). SFL (Systemic Functional Linguistics) studies have also attended call centre communication, e.g. Forey and Lockwood (2007) identified the generic stages of call centre transactions, and Hood and Forey (forthcoming) analysed the appraisal resources of call centre discourse.

Grammatical metaphor has been one of the preferred topics of discussion since it was introduced in the first edition of Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985). Interpersonal metaphor, as one type of grammatical metaphor, has also received widespread attention from studies on both English and Chinese languages (e.g. Thibault 1995; Butler 1996; Lemke 1998; Lassen 2003; Fan 2000; Fang, 2001; Yang 2006), whereas the application of this concept to professional discourse analysis is far from sufficient. According to Halliday (1994/1985: 342), "there is a great deal of variation among different registers in the degree and kind of metaphor that is encountered". Since communication lies at the heart of the customer service, call centre discourse attaches great importance to the construction of interpersonal relationships. We will focus on the use of interpersonal metaphors in call centre discourse and investigate how the interpersonal meaning is construed through the metaphorical realizations of mood and modality. The analysis is based on a comparable data set of 100 English calls and 100 Chinese calls, collected from call centres in the Philippines

and China. A comparative analysis is conducted to reveal the functions of interpersonal metaphor in the professional context in different language and cultural backgrounds.

2 Interpersonal Metaphors in Call Centre Discourse

The traditional notion of metaphor (i.e. lexical metaphor) is expanded by the concept of grammatical metaphor which addresses the grammatical variation between congruent and incongruent forms. In SFL, the interpersonal metafunction is realized through two systems (mood and modality), based on which two major types of interpersonal metaphors can be identified: metaphors of mood and metaphors of modality (Halliday 1994/1985).

Mood expresses the speech function, which can be represented as a substantive proposition in its own right; and this proposition is a figure of sensing or saying that projects the original proposal or position (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 627). Typical examples of mood metaphors are “speech-functional formulae” (Halliday 1994/1985: 356). Similar to mood, the grammatical variation in metaphors of modality is based on the semantic relationship of projection. The modal meanings are incongruently expressed outside the clause by means of a projecting clause rather than in the clause by modal elements as in the congruent realizations (Halliday 1994/1985).

2.1 English Data Analysis

2.1.1 Metaphors of Mood

According to Halliday (1994/1985), the four basic types of speech function are congruently realized by different moods: statement – declarative, question – interrogative, command – imperative, and offer – various. The incongruent realizations of the speech function are metaphorical. In the type of mood metaphor, the proposition or proposal is realized by a clause nexus of projection rather than by a simple clause (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 630). We now cite some examples of mood metaphors from our call centre data (C refers to the customer; R refers to the CSR, i.e. the customer service representative):

- (1) C: Also *do you see on the screen so far ...* the last time I talked to Rachel was December 20th? (“statement” realized by “interrogative”)
- (2) R: *Please understand that* the verbal pair up code is for information purposes only. (“statement” realized by “imperative”)
- (3) C: So *I’m just wondering* how much is the amount. (“question” realized by “declarative”)
- (4) C: *Tell me* what they are. (“question” realized by “imperative”)
- (5) R: *Can I get you to* log in to your PPP account, please? (“command” realized by “interrogative”)
- (6) R: So *the best thing I can strongly suggest to you is to* send us a text message when you see a commercial on the television. (“command” realized by “declarative”)

These examples can illustrate how different types of speech function are metaphorically modalized or modulated. Metaphors of this kind, as noted by Halliday (1994/1985) and others (e.g. Lassen, 2003; Fang 2001; Yang 2006), have been extensively studied by speech act theory and referred to as “indirect speech acts”. According to Searle (1975), an indirect speech act usually consists of the primary illocutionary act, which is non-literal, and the secondary illocutionary act, which is the literal meaning of the utterance. The most frequent explanation of indirectness is that speakers employ indirect speech acts for reasons of “politeness” (Brown & Levinson 1987). The incongruent or metaphorical form used to realize the non-literal meaning of the utterance is intended to maintain the positive and negative “face” and the predicated “face-threatening” act may be mitigated by indirectness. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the degree of mitigation required depends on the three factors of social distance, relative power and size of imposition. In the call centre context, the customer’s elevated status as “King” and the CSR’s role as “service provider” may decide the way they communicate with each other. For instance, the CSRs tend to use

more indirect and polite expressions to make requests, e.g. (5) and (6), whereas the customers are more likely to be direct when demanding service or goods.

2.1.2 Metaphors of Modality

In SFL, polarity is the choice between positive and negative and is expressed in the Finite element (the finite verbal operator). The intermediate degrees between the positive and negative poles are known collectively as modality. The system of modality includes modalization (scales of probability and usuality) in propositions and modulation (scales of obligation and inclination) in proposals. The four orientations (subjective explicit, subjective implicit, objective implicit and objective explicit) determine how each type of modality will be realized. The metaphorical expressions refer to those explicit realizations of modal meanings, i.e. the explicitly subjective and explicitly objective forms of modality, in which the speaker's opinion is coded as a separate, projecting clause in a hypotactic clause complex (Halliday 1994/1985). For example:

- (7) C: *I think* it was my mother's maiden name. (subjective explicit: probability)
- (8) R: *It's possible that* the computer is infected what we called the spyware. (objective explicit: probability)
- (9) R: But first *I want you to* sign in. (subjective explicit: obligation)
- (10) C: No, it seems *it's luck* that I can do it. (objective explicit: usuality)

Since modality represents the speaker's angle and the system of modality construes the region of uncertainty that lies between "yes" and "no", the speaker may use various strategies to give prominence to his/her own point of view or make it appear as if it was not his/her point of view at all (Halliday 1994/1985: 362). At call centres, both the CSRs (representing the organization) and the customers have their rights and obligations. If they fulfill their roles or they are certain about what they say, the congruent forms of modality are often used, because it is not likely to cause any problem. But when risk and liability are involved, they may choose to use metaphors of modality to shift responsibility or protect themselves or their organization. For instance, if the customer doubts his/her own memory, he/she will use explicit subjective forms of modality (*I think...*), meaning that the information provided is to be further verified by the CSR, e.g. (7). Whereas the CSR uses the same expression to make it clear that what he/she says is just his/her personal opinion and the organization will not be responsible for the validity of the proposition. In contrast, the explicit objective variants enable the speakers to distance themselves from the proposition or proposal. For example, if the CSR makes a suggestion or request, he/she may use expressions like *it is suggested/requested/asked/important that...* The proposal turns out to be an institutional instruction rather than a subjective opinion or command. The voice becomes more authoritative and the customer will be more willing to accept it. The CSR can shift the modal responsibility to the organization at the same time.

2.2 Chinese Data Analysis

Similar metaphorical expressions of mood and modality can also be identified in the Chinese call centre data:

- (11) R: *那不是*拿出一千多能够得到两千多的话费, *那不是也蛮优惠的?* (*Isn't it that, isn't it a favourable rate that* you can have a deposit of more than two thousand yuan in your account if you make a payment of one thousand yuan plus?) ("statement" realized by "interrogative")
- (12) R: 在NN省内拨 这个号码免费的, *请您放心*。 (*Please be assured that* it is free of charge to dial this number within the NN Province.) ("statement" realized by "imperative")
- (13) C: *我想咨询一下*这个业务怎么收费的。 (*I want to inquire* how you charge for this service.) ("question" realized by "declarative")
- (14) C: 那 *你把我*这架手机的那个那个客户客户代表 *告诉我吧*。 (Then *tell me* who is that, that customer, customer service representative of my mobile phone.) ("question" realized by "imperative")

- (15)R: 那么您方不方便就直接发送短信或者到……登入邮箱里面直接取消一下? (Then will it be convenient for you to directly send a short message or ... log in to your email account to cancel it?) (“command” realized by “interrogative”)
- (16)R: 那他可能对我们这个系统还有业务的话, 可能不是非常清楚, 我觉得。(He probably, he may not be very familiar with our system and the service, I think.) (subjective explicit: probability)
- (17)R: 那有可能是在您无应答的情况下呢才会转的。(There’s a possibility that the calls are only transferred when there is no response.) (objective explicit: probability)
- (18)R: 应该来说, 今天、办理今天起的24小时之内是不会收费的。(It is a general rule that today, the date of your subscription, there will be no charge within 24 hours.) (objective explicit: usuality)
- (19)R: 我建议您可以拨打一个1010xxxx的电话。(I suggest you dial the number 1010xxxx.) (subjective explicit: obligation)

Though Chinese is a very different language from English, the two languages may look more alike when described in systemic terms, because the description is freed from the constraints of structural variation (Halliday & McDonald 2004: 311). From the examples cited above, we can see the interpersonal metaphors in Chinese similar to those in English are also used to maintain the interpersonal relationship between the CSRs and the customers. The primary reason for this similarity is because their communicative goals are similar to those of the English speaking call centre interactants.

3 Discussion

3.1 Indeterminacy of Metaphorical Realization

Although the concept of grammatical metaphor is clearly defined and prototypical examples are easily identifiable, the indeterminacy or fuzziness related to categorization has been noted by Halliday (1994/1985) and others (e.g. Thompson 2003). There could be “a whole series of intermediate steps linking the clause to a postulated ‘most congruent’ form” (Halliday 1994/1985: 366). When we try to apply this concept to discourse analysis in professional contexts like the call centre, we find it difficult to decide what are congruent forms and what are metaphorical realizations. A great deal of examples just fall into the grey area.

3.2 Language and Cultural Factors

The interpersonal clause systems in Chinese include the basic systems of MOOD and POLARITY, and the elective systems of MODALITY and ASSESSMENT (Halliday & McDonald 2004: 329). As in English, all major clauses in Chinese select for mood and realize the four types of speech function. Two kinds of modality can also be recognized: modalization and modulation. But polarity in Chinese is different from that of English. In English, “yes” or “no” implies “the proposition is positive or negative”, whereas in Chinese, the equivalent of “yes” or “no” implies “I agree/disagree with you” (ibid.: 341). That is reason why the Chinese speakers like to say “对” (*dui*: “right”) quite often in the call centre conversation, meaning “yes, you are right, I agree with you”.

There are some clausal particles in Chinese, such as “吧” (*ba*), “吗” (*ma*), “呢” (*ne*) and “啊” (*a*), which can be used to realize a grammatical system of ASSESSMENT (ibid: 341). The CSRs and customers use *shi ba* (“is it?”), *dui ma* (“is that right?”), *hao ma* (“is it OK?”), etc. to check understanding, seek approval or ask for permission. These modal particles have an important role in constructing the interpersonal meaning. Whereas in English (which has no particles), this is realized by the system of MOOD and intonation.

Different from the Chinese call centre interactants who are both native Chinese speakers, the English speaking CSRs are Filipinos who may have problems in language proficiency and cultural appreciation, which may lead to misunderstanding and communication breakdown (Forey & Lockwood 2007). Their use of grammatical metaphors is also different from that of the native speakers. The language and cultural factors cannot be ignored when

we analyse the metaphorical realizations of interpersonal meanings.

3.3 Institutionalized Workplace Discourse

Due to language and cultural differences, the interaction between the CSRs and customers may have different features as shown in the English and Chinese data. However, when we compare their communication strategies in both languages, we can find similar patterns in the use of interpersonal grammatical metaphors. This observation may be resulted from the fact that call centres all over the world usually follow similar industrial practices. Call centre communication is a conversation between an organization and an individual. The institutionalized goals and procedures may decide the style of communication, no matter what language is used as the medium. The buyer's market in the call centre industry today prescribes the relatively higher social status of the customer, which explains the CSR's polite and indirect ways of expression.

4 Conclusion

In this paper, we have investigated the functions of interpersonal metaphor in English and Chinese call centre discourse. The theory of grammatical metaphor proves to be an effective tool which can be applied to interpreting the interpersonal meanings in call centre interactions. However, there is still work to do in describing the characteristics of grammatical metaphor in that it is a fuzzy concept in terms of the distinction between congruent and incongruent forms. The present study is designed to join the discussion from the perspective of professional discourse analysis.

The comparative study has shown that the metaphorical expressions by the CSRs and customers in both languages present similar patterns although their interactions are different culturally-defined reinstatements of telephonic customer service transactions. As a type of institutionalized workplace discourse, call centre communication needs to be studied in the specific professional context so as to achieve a better understanding of the linguistic choices made by the participants in the negotiation of interpersonal relationship in different language and cultural backgrounds.

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A Systemic Functional Micro-Grammar of Spanish Clitics

Víctor M. Castel

Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas
Universidad Nacional de Cuyo
Mendoza, Argentina
vcastel@lab.cricyt.edu.ar

Abstract

The word order patterns and participant role distribution of Spanish clitics are two well-known phenomena which have been thoroughly studied in Hispanic Linguistics from the perspective of both formal and functional grammars. Arús (2006) is a Sydney Grammar approach to the semantics of *se* but with no references to explicit realization rules or integration with the morpho-syntactic and semantic distributional properties of other clitics. Thus, there are currently no descriptions integrating these phenomena from the viewpoint of Systemic Functional Linguistics, let alone the Cardiff Grammar framework and the specifics of River Plate Spanish (RPS). A set of data illustrating the two phenomena is here accounted for adequately and elegantly in terms of the Cardiff Grammar framework (Fawcett 2000, 2008), more specifically within the new computational version of GeneSys, the Cardiff Grammar Generator of Fawcett & Castel (2006). The paper presents a micro-grammar capable of generating representations that capture both the patterns constraining word order and the expression of participant roles of RPS clitics.

1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to specify a micro-grammar of River Plate Spanish clitics (GSC) within GeneSys, the Cardiff Grammar (CG) environment for the development of generation oriented grammars (Fawcett *et al* 1993, Fawcett & Castel 2006). CG is a theoretical framework based on Halliday's leading ideas on the systemic-functional approach to natural languages (Fawcett 2000, 2008).

Since the CG framework has not yet been applied to Spanish (Fawcett 2008: 3), let alone River Plate Spanish (RPS), this paper addresses the problem posed by the word order patterns and participant role distribution of RPS clitics from the CG perspective.¹

2 Word Order Patterns and Expression of Participant Roles

The word order constraints underlying the distribution of RPS clitics can be abbreviated by the schemas (1)-(3):

- (1) III II I A/D, (Modified version of Perlmutter (1972)'s surface structure filter.)
- (2) III II I A/D + V [non-imperative finite form],
- (3) V [imperative or infinitive or gerund] + III II I A/D,

where 'III II I A/D' is a growing monotonic sequence in which roman numbers stand for clitic person values, 'A/D' is either an accusative (A) or dative (D) clitic, 'V' stands for a verb, the expressions within square brackets refer to forms of such a verb, and the sign '+' marks the relative order between the clitic sequence and 'V'. The schemas capture in an abbreviated way two aspects of word order: (i) patterns governing the occurrence of clitics with other clitics (cf. (1)), and (ii) patterns governing the occurrence of clitics with their governing verbs (cf. (2)-(3)).

According to (1), the sequences in Table 1 are all the possible well-formed clitic sequences that can occur in RPS clauses, i.e. any other clitic sequence is ill-formed:

¹ Arús (2006) is a Sydney Grammar approach to the semantics of *se* but with no references to explicit realization rules or integration with the semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of other clitics.

Table 1: Word Order Patterns among Clitics

One clitic	Two clitics		Three clitics		Four clitics
se	se te	te le(s)	se te me	se me lo/a(s)	se te me le(s)
te	se me	te lo/a(s)	se te nos	se nos lo/a(s)	se te nos le(s)
me	se nos	me le(s)	se te le(s)	te me le(s)	se te me lo/a(s)
nos	se le(s)	nos le(s)	se te lo/a(s)	te nos le(s)	se te nos lo/a(s)
lo/a(s)	se lo/a(s)	me lo/a(s)	se me le(s)	te nos lo/a(s)	
le(s)	te me	nos lo/a(s)	se nos le(s)		
	te nos		te me lo/a(s)		

Table 2 presents a few examples illustrating the well-formedness conditions captured by the schemas (2) and (3) on the occurrence of clitics in relation to their governing verbs:

Table 2: Word Order Patterns between Clitics and their Governing Verbs

Clauses satisfying (2)	Clauses violating (2)	Clauses satisfying (3)	Clauses violating (3)
Me saludás.	*Saludásme.	Saludame.	*Me saludá.
Lo saludás.	*Saludáslo.	Saludalo.	*Lo saludá.
Me lo regalás.	*Regalásmelo.	Regalámelo.	*Me lo regalá.
Te las quieren regalar.	*Quieren te las regalar.	Quieren regalártelas.	*Quieren te las regalar.
Se estaban saludando.	*Estaban se saludando.	Estaban saludándose.	*Estaban se saludando.

The following table abbreviates a few core correlations between participant roles (PR), and the clitics and verb endings that express them:

Table 3: Correlations between PRs, and Clitics and Verb Endings

Me lo regalo/ás/a. $me_i, Af-Ca lo_n, Af-Po regalo_i/ás_k/a_k, Ag$	Me le regalo/ás/a. $me_i, Af-Po le_j, Af-Ca regalo_i/ás_k/a_k, Ag$	Me regalo/ás/a. $me_i, Af-Ca regalo_i/ás_k/a_k, Ag$ $me_i, Af-Po regalo_i/ás_k/a_k, Ag$
Te lo regalo/ás/a. $te_i, Af-Ca lo_n, Af-Po regalo_k/ás_i/a_k, Ag$	Te le regalo/ás/a. $te_i, Af-Po le_n, Af-Ca regalo_k/ás_i/a_k, Ag$	Te regalo/ás/a. $te_i, Af-Ca regalo_k/ás_i/a_k, Ag$ $te_i, Af-Po regalo_k/ás_i/a_k, Ag$
Se lo regalo/ás/a. <u>Spurious se:</u> $se_i, Af-Ca lo_n, Af-Po regalo/ás/a_k, Ag$ <u>Reflexive se:</u> $se_i, Af-Ca lo_n, Af-Po regala_i, Ag$ <u>Impersonal se:</u> $se_i, Ag lo_n, Af-Po regala_i, Ag$	*Se le regalo/ás. // Se le regala. <u>Reflexive se:</u> $se_i, Af-Po le_n, Af-Ca regala_i, Ag$ <u>Impersonal se:</u> $se_i, Ag le_n, Af-Ca regala_i, Ag$	*Se regalo/ás. // Se regala. <u>Reflexive se:</u> $se_i, Af-Po regala_i, Ag$ $se_i, Af-Ca regala_i, Ag$ <u>Impersonal se:</u> $se_i, Ag regala_i, Ag$

Note that no examples are given of clauses containing three or four clitic sequences, for no provision is made here for *ethical* participants.

3 System Network and Realization Rules

The system network and the realization rules (RRs) needed to account for the data in §2 are given in Figures 1-7, and Figure 8, respectively. The RRs assume that the syntactic unit clause (CI) filling the text-sentence element ‘Σ’ is made up of a certain number of *places*. When a ‘CI’ is introduced into the linguistic representation being constructed, a structure like (4) is defined:

$$(4) \quad \Sigma[[\text{selection_expression}]_{\text{CI}}[1, \dots, 120]_{\text{CI}}]_{\Sigma}$$

where ‘selection_expression’ is a variable ranging over semantic features selected from the system network (cf. Figures 1-7), and ‘...’ ranges over 2 through 119.¹ RRs are defined for the elements Operator (O), Verb Root (M), and Verb Ending (Vnd) to occupy places 99, 100 and 101, respectively:

$$(5) \quad \text{CI}[\dots 95 \quad 96 \quad 97 \quad 98 \quad 99 \quad 100 \quad 101 \quad 102 \quad 103 \quad 104 \quad 105 \quad \dots]_{\text{CI}}$$

Cl _{t3}	Cl _{t2}	Cl _{t1}	Cl _{tA}	O	M	Vnd	Cl _{t3}	Cl _{t2}	Cl _{t1}	Cl _{tA}
			Cl _{tD}							Cl _{tD}

The places 95-98 are reserved for the occurrence of clitics with non-imperative finite verb forms (cf. schema (2)), and 102-105 for the occurrence of clitics with imperatives (= *proposal_for_action*), infinitives and gerunds (cf. schema (3)). See lines L2-L3 of RRs 20.11-12, 20 and 20.2-3 of Figure 8, responsible for the exponence of ‘Cl_{tA}’, ‘Cl_{tD}’, ‘Cl_{t3}’, ‘Cl_{t1}’, and ‘Cl_{t2}’ as *lo/a(s)*, *le(s)*, *se*, *me/nos*, and *te*, respectively. Note that only the clitic sequences in Table 1 are allowed.

GSC generates text-sentences like (6), (8) and (10), after deletion of unused places and stripping of the corresponding linguistic representations (7), (9), and (11), respectively:

(6) Lo saludás. (Cf. *Saludáslo. See second row in Table 2.)

$$(7) \quad \Sigma[[\dots, \text{giver}, \dots]_{\text{CI}}[1 \dots 97 \text{ Cl}_{tA}/\text{Af}[\text{lo}] 99 \text{ M}[\text{salud}] \text{ Vnd}/\text{Ag}[\text{ás}] \dots 119 \text{ E}[\dots]]_{\text{CI}}]_{\Sigma}$$

(8) Saludálo. (Cf. *Lo saludá. See second row in Table 2.)

$$(9) \quad \Sigma[[\dots, \text{proposal_for_action}, \dots]_{\text{CI}}[1 \dots 99 \text{ M}[\text{salud}] \text{ Vnd}/\text{Ag}[\text{á}] 102 \quad 103 \quad 104 \text{ Cl}_{tA}/\text{Af}[\text{lo}] \dots 119 \text{ E}[\dots]]_{\text{CI}}]_{\Sigma}$$

(10) Se lo saluda. Impersonal *se*. (Cf. *Lo se saluda.)

$$(11) \quad \Sigma[[\dots, \text{agent_and_affected}, \text{non_coref_rel_ag_af}, \text{agent_fcs}, \text{outsider_fcs}, \text{low_deixis_fcs}, \text{outsider_low_deixis}, \text{outsider_fcs_recoverable}, \dots, \text{singular_fcs}, \dots, \text{agent_stated}, \text{affected_stated}, \dots, \text{outsider_af_recoverable}, \dots, \text{singular_af}, \text{high_deixis_af}, \text{least_active}, \text{outsider_high_deixis_least}, \text{non_feminine_af}]_{\text{CI}}[1 \dots 94 \text{ Cl}_{t3}/\text{Ag}[\text{se}] 96 \quad 97 \text{ Cl}_{tA}/\text{Af}[\text{lo}] 99 \text{ M}[\text{salud}] \text{ Vnd}/\text{Ag}[\text{á}] \dots 119 \text{ E}[\dots]]_{\text{CI}}]_{\Sigma}$$

RR 20.11 of Figure 8 is triggered by the feature *outsider_high_deixis_least*. This feature corresponds to the meanings ‘other’, ‘high deixis’, and ‘least’ that García (1975) assigns to the clitics *lo/a(s)*. The system of Figure 5 introduces it as a gate on the basis of the disjunctive features *high_deixis_af* and *high_deixis_af_po* subcategorizing outsiders and a subset of addressees in the semantic specification of the PRs Affected (Af) and Affected-Possessed (Af-Po), respectively. These PRs ‘Af’ and ‘Af-Po’ conflate with the element ‘Cl_{tA}’ depending on whether the clause selection expression contains the feature *high_deixis_af* or *high_deixis_af_po*, respectively. Cf. L4-L5 of RR 20.11. The element ‘Cl_{tA}’ is expounded by the lexical item *lo/a(s)*, independently of the position it occupies with respect to the governing verb, and also independently of whether it has been conflated with ‘Af’ or ‘Af-Po’. Cf. L6-L17 of RR 20.11. Whether the exponence of ‘Cl_{tA}’ is *lo*, *la*, *los*, or *las* depends on the selection of specific features

¹ It is assumed here that GSC requires 120 places for the clause.

from the systems PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER, and TENOR. ‘CltA’ is expounded by *lo* (cf. L6-L8) if the clause selection expression contains either (i) a singular outsider (*singular_af* or *singular_af_po*), non-feminine (*non_feminine_af* or *non_feminine_af_po*), or (ii) a singular addressee (*singular_addressee_af* or *singular_addressee_af_po*), non-feminine (*non_feminine_af* or *non_feminine_af_po*), and the tenor is formal. *Mutatis mutandis*, ‘CltA’ is expounded by *la* (Cf. L9-L11), *los* (Cf. L12-L14), and *las* (Cf. L15-L17).

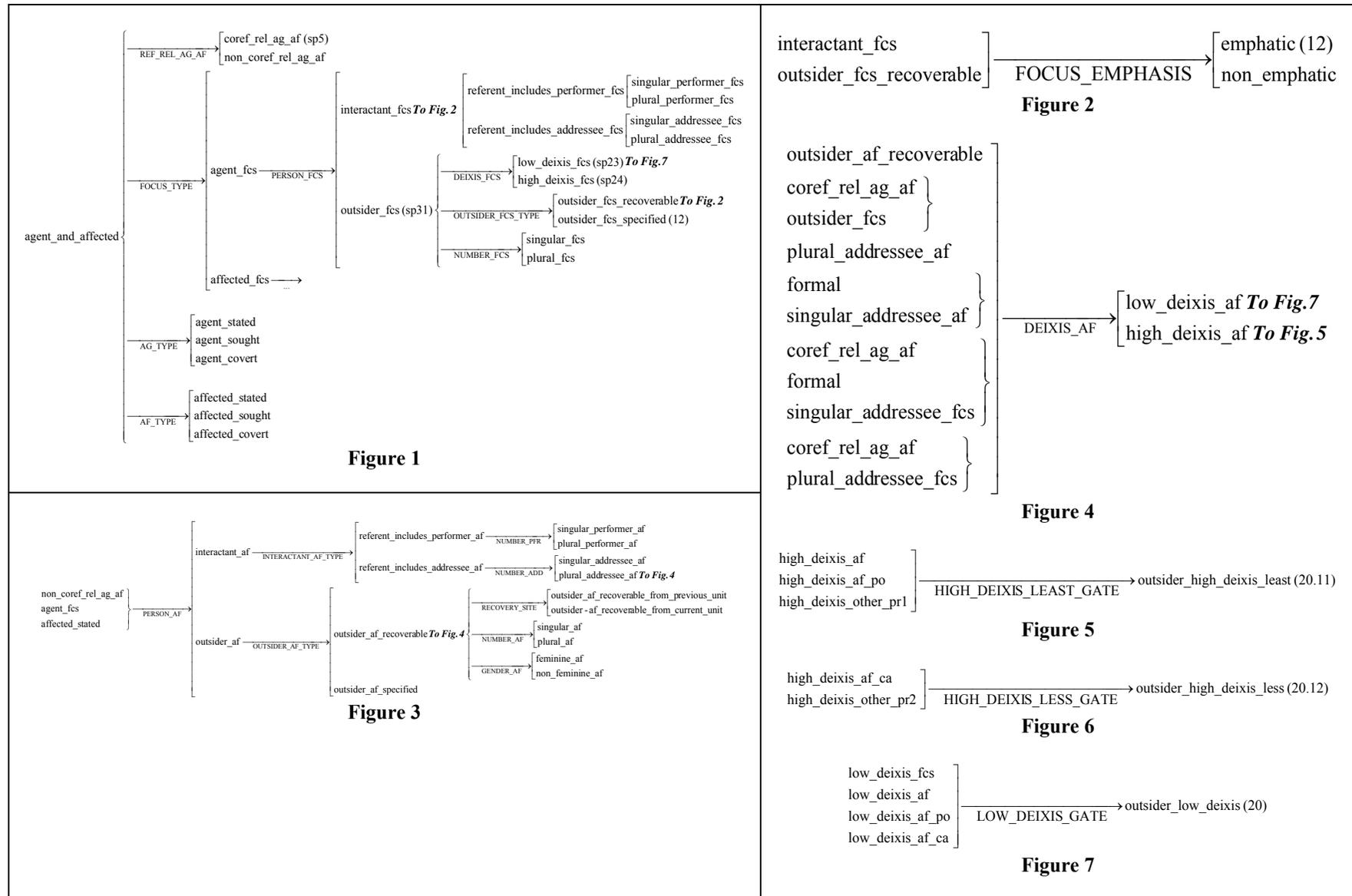
The occurrence of *se* in (10) results from the application of RR 20, which is called by the feature *outsider_low_deixis* introduced by the rule of Figure 7. The features *low_deixis_fcs*, *low_deixis_af*, *low_deixis_af_po*, *low_deixis_af_ca* subcategorize outsiders and a subset of addressees in the semantic specification of the PRs ‘Ag’, ‘Af’, ‘Af-Po’, and ‘Af-Ca’, respectively. The rule in Figure 7 reduces the disjunction of features to the gate *outsider_low_deixis* and thus it captures García (1975)’s proposal that the meaning of *se* is made up of ‘other’ and ‘low deixis’, fulfilling in (10) a defocussing function.

4 Conclusions

The paper has presented the system network and realization rules of a generation oriented micro-grammar of RPS clitics. The specification is based on Castel (2007)’s rule typology of the Cardiff Grammar framework (Fawcett 2008, 2000; Fawcett *et al* 1993). GSC is written within GeneSys, the development environment of the Cardiff Grammar Generator (Fawcett & Castel 2006). GSC accounts for core phenomena of RPS clitics in simple clauses: the word order patterns governing the occurrence of clitics with other clitics and with their governing verbs, and the distribution of participant roles.

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Figures 1-7: Systems Relevant for Clitic Realization Rules

<p>L1 20.11 : outsider_high_deixis_least :</p> <p>L2 [if not (proposal_for_action or infinitive or gerund) then CltA @ 98,</p> <p>L3 else CltA @ 105],</p> <p>L4 [if high_deixis_af then Af by CltA],</p> <p>L5 [if high_deixis_af_po then Af-Po by CltA],</p> <p>L6 [if (singular_af or singular_af_po or (formal and (singular_addressee_af</p> <p>L7 or singular_addressee_af_po))) and (non_feminine_af or</p> <p>L8 non_feminine_af_po) then CltA < "lo"],</p> <p>L9 [if (singular_af or singular_af_po or (formal and (singular_addressee_af</p> <p>L10 or singular_addressee_af_po))) and (feminine_af or</p> <p>L11 feminine_af_po) then CltA < "la"],</p> <p>L12 [if (plural_af or plural_af_po or plural_addressee_af or</p> <p>L13 plural_addressee_af_po) and (non_feminine_af or</p> <p>L14 non_feminine_af_po) then CltA < "los"],</p> <p>L15 [if (plural_af or plural_af_po or plural_addressee_af or</p> <p>L16 plural_addressee_af_po) and (feminine_af or feminine_af_po)</p> <p>L17 then CltA < "las"].</p> <p>L1 20.12 : outsider_high_deixis_less :</p> <p>L2 [if not (proposal_for_action or infinitive or gerund) then CltD @ 98,</p> <p>L3 else CltD @ 105],</p> <p>L4 [if high_deixis_af_ca then Af-Ca by CltD],</p> <p>L5 [if (singular_af_ca or (formal and singular_addressee_af_ca))</p> <p>L6 and not outsider_af_po_recoverable then CltD < "le"],</p> <p>L7 [if (plural_af_ca or plural_addressee_af_ca) and not</p> <p>L8 outsider_af_po_recoverable then CltD < "les"].</p> <p>L1 20 : outsider_low_deixis :</p> <p>L2 [if not (proposal_for_action or infinitive or gerund) then Clt3 @ 95,</p> <p>L3 else Clt3 @ 102],</p> <p>L4 [if low_deixis_fcs then Ag by Clt3],</p> <p>L5 [if low_deixis_af then Af by Clt3],</p> <p>L6 [if low_deixis_af_po then Af-Po by Clt3],</p> <p>L7 [if low_deixis_af_ca then Af-Ca by Clt3],</p> <p>L8 Clt3 < "se".</p>	<p>L1 20.2 : referent_includes_performer :</p> <p>L2 [if not (proposal_for_action or infinitive or gerund) then Clt1 @ 97,</p> <p>L3 else Clt1 @ 104],</p> <p>L4 [if referent_includes_performer_af or (coref_rel_ag_af and</p> <p>L5 referent_includes_performer_fcs) then Af by Clt1],</p> <p>L6 [if referent_includes_performer_af_po or</p> <p>L7 (agent_and_affected_posessed_coref and</p> <p>L8 referent_includes_performer_fcs) then Af-Po by Clt1],</p> <p>L9 [if referent_includes_performer_af_ca or</p> <p>L10 (agent_and_affected_carrier_coref and referent_includes_performer_fcs)</p> <p>L11 then Af-Ca by Clt1],</p> <p>L12 [if singular_performer_af or singular_performer_af_po or</p> <p>L13 singular_performer_af_ca or (coref_rel_ag_af and</p> <p>L14 singular_performer_fcs) or (agent_and_affected_posessed_coref</p> <p>L15 and singular_performer_fcs) or (agent_and_affected_carrier_coref</p> <p>L16 and singular_performer_fcs) then Clt1 < "me"],</p> <p>L17 [if plural_performer_af or plural_performer_af_po or</p> <p>L18 plural_performer_af_ca or (coref_rel_ag_af and</p> <p>L19 plural_performer_fcs) or (agent_and_affected_posessed_coref</p> <p>L20 and plural_performer_fcs) or (agent_and_affected_carrier_coref</p> <p>L21 and plural_performer_fcs) then Clt1 < "nos"].</p> <p>L1 20.3 : singular_addressee :</p> <p>L2 [if casual then [if not (proposal_for_action or infinitive or gerund)</p> <p>L3 then Clt2 @ 96, else Clt2 @ 103],</p> <p>L4 [if singular_addressee_af or (coref_rel_ag_af and</p> <p>L5 singular_addressee_fcs) then Af by Clt2],</p> <p>L6 [if singular_addressee_af_po or</p> <p>L7 (agent_and_affected_posessed_coref and</p> <p>L8 singular_addressee_fcs) then Af-Po by Clt2],</p> <p>L9 [if singular_addressee_af_ca or</p> <p>L10 (agent_and_affected_carrier_coref and</p> <p>L11 singular_addressee_fcs) then Af-Ca by Clt2],</p> <p>L12 Clt2 < "te"].</p>
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Figure 8: Clitic Realization Rules

On the importance of ‘showing’

Frances Christie and Chris Cléirigh

University of Sydney

Abstract

Many texts written by students from mid to late adolescence in English, history and science, make use of various lexical verbs of ‘showing’, including ‘reveal’, ‘demonstrate’, ‘suggest’, ‘indicate’, ‘illustrate’ and ‘represent’, to name a few. Their emergence is developmentally significant, since they don’t appear before about the age of 15 years, and they are then found, among successful writers, in texts that deal with very abstract experience. Such texts include various *response genres* in English, written to evaluate other texts; historical texts, written to review and interpret findings in history; and in science, texts written to interpret experimental data. This paper will consider a sample of uses of ‘showing’ verbs, arguing that they lie between identifying and verbal processes, representing different ways to create symbolic meanings.

1 Introduction

There are three related issues to be explored in the paper:

- 1) How can we characterize the distinctions between process types that are verbal and those that are relational, both of which can be used to build symbolic meanings?
- 2) What’s in it for us that we have this apparent ‘symbolic slippage’ between the two, and what advantages does this confer in making meaning?
- 3) Why is it that the use of verbs that realize symbolic meanings - especially various lexical verbs of ‘showing’ – appears to emerge in young people’s writing by quite late- i.e. about age 15? What is that telling us re the processes of maturing, at least with regards to expressing symbolic meanings in written language?

The texts to be discussed are drawn mainly from secondary school English, though reference will also be made to some texts from history and science, principally to demonstrate the point that the processes at issue are found in all secondary school subjects. They are fundamental to the building of the abstract meanings valued in a secondary schooling.

2 Discussion

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) provide an account of English process types, in which they distinguish ‘the physical world’ (realized in material and behavioural processes) the ‘world of consciousness’ (realized in mental processes) and the ‘world of abstract relations’ (realized in relational and verbal processes).

As their figure (Figure 1 from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 172) makes clear, the borders between process types are fuzzy. This fuzzy character derives from ‘a fundamental principle on which the system is based – the principle of systemic determinacy’ (2004: 173). In other words, the borderlines between process types are indeterminate because the ‘world of our experience’ is like that.

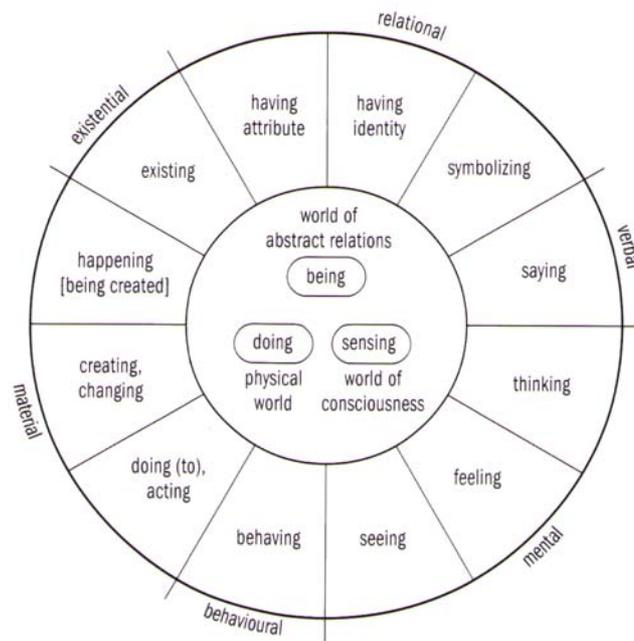


Figure 1: The grammar of experience: types of process in English

2.1 Some prototypical examples

Two prototypical examples of the processes involved, taken from the writing of adolescents, are as follows. The first was written by a girl aged 15/16 about a science experiment:

<i>This</i>	<i>showed</i>	<i>me</i>	
Sayer	Pro: verbal	Receiver	
<i>why</i>	<i>the alga</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>one of the first life forms on the planet Earth.</i>
	Token	Pro: int.	Value

Another possible analysis in the light of recent exchanges on Sysfling would be:

<i>This</i>	<i>showed</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>why</i>	<i>the alga</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>one of the first life forms on the planet Earth.</i>
α			β			
Phenomenon/ Agent	Pro: mental	Senser/ Medium		Token	Pro: int	Value

The second prototypical example is from an essay on Robert Frost’s poem, ‘The Road Not Taken’, where the girl (aged 17/18) was discussing the significance of the wood referred to in the poem:

<i>For example</i>	<i>the wood</i>	<i>represents</i>	<i>life</i>
	Token	Pro: intensive	Value

There are some grammatical tests that confirm the characterization of both processes here:

- 1) In the clause complex in the first instance, the verbal Process projects and the Process also has a Receiver: these are not characteristics of relational Processes.
- 2) The verbal clause projects content at the level of wording, what Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 443) term a *Locution*.
- 3) In the second instance, there is only one clause. There is no sense in which even an implicit projection is involved, while an identifying relationship is set up between two

entities, each realized by a nominal group. More specifically, one participant- the *Value* – is treated as the ‘content’ of another - the *Token*. The effect overall is to create a meaning as a *Value*.

2.1.1 An important theoretical distinction

There is an important theoretical distinction to be made at this point between projection and identification, both of them involved in creating symbolic experience. Identification relates *two levels of abstraction*, such that the higher level is the ‘content’ of the other. Projection, on the other hand, relates *two orders of experience*, the material and the semiotic (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 441). Thus, the projecting clause is a construal of first order (material) experience (*a phenomenon*), while the projected clause is a construal of second order (semiotic) experience (*a metaphenomenon*).

2.2 Some ‘fuzzy’ examples

(Henceforth, where displaying clause complexes involving a projecting clause, the projected (β) clause will be displayed on the same line as the projecting clause, in the interests of establishing the presence of a *Locution*, in contrast with the *Value* found in identifying processes.)

There are instances we can note of processes that can be parsed both ways. Examples include the following, where the writer discusses aspects of Melvyn Bragg’s book, *On Giants’ Shoulders*:

Biographical details and anecdotes	effectively	illustrate	how Archimedes’ innovative methods and ideas “set the world on a course”.
<i>Sayer</i> (<i>Symbolizer</i>)	<i>Circ:</i> <i>Manner:</i> <i>quality</i>	<i>Pro:</i> <i>verbal</i>	<i>Locution</i>

Biographical details and anecdotes	effectively	illustrate	[[how Archimedes’ innovative methods and ideas “set the world on a course”.]]
<i>Token</i>	<i>Circ:</i> <i>Manner:</i> <i>quality</i>	<i>Pro: int.</i>	<i>Value</i>

Some tests:

- 1) The nominal group that realizes the Participant role of Sayer is very abstract, and for that reason we label this a Symbolizer, though this is a semantic, rather than a grammatical term, reminding us of the very broad meaning of the Sayer role. A *Symbolizer* is a ‘symbolic source’ of meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999: 130).
- 2) The projected clause represents a ‘wording’ or a *Locution*.
- 3) When parsing ‘illustrate’ as an identifying Process, the clause that realizes the Value is understood as embedded. This means that ‘how Archimedes’ innovative methods and ideas “set the world on a course” ‘ (the *Value*) is represented by ‘biographical details and anecdotes’ (the *Token*).
- 4) The tense choice is simple present, and this tends to dispose the Process realized in ‘illustrate’ more towards the relational in the expression of symbolic meaning. (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 255)

Two other examples will be displayed. The first is by a girl aged 15/16 writing about ‘To Kill a Mockingbird’, and discussing how the children in the novel ‘grow’:

Many situations throughout the book	show	the children's reactions and emotions.
<i>Sayer (Symbolizer)</i>	<i>Pro: verbal</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>

There is no issue of direct projection involved here, though the student can be said to be construing 'many situations throughout the book' as a symbol source, where he/she is engaging with a semiotic order projected by the author. Hence, a case can be made for a reading as a relational identifying Process:

Many situations throughout the book	show	the children's reactions and emotions.
<i>Token</i>	<i>Pro: int.</i>	<i>Value</i>

The writer here (as in the example immediately above) is rhetorically clever, in that she does not refer to particular events or incidents in the novel. Rather, she generalizes about them, creating two abstractions, where the one is *Token* of the other - the *Value*. Less successful students often get stuck in writing entirely about events, recounting the details of what people do, and seeming unable to reach beyond them to a more abstract plane of experience, to do with the symbolic significance of the events.

The second example involves a boy of 15/16 writing about some actions of the character of Antonio in 'The Merchant of Venice':

This	shows	how Antonio's emotion has erased rational thinking.
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro: verbal</i>	<i>Locution</i>

Here, 'this' is the symbol source, while 'shows' equals 'says'. Hence, we can say that 'this shows' construes first order (material) experience, while the projected clause, 'how Antonio's emotion has erased rational thinking' construes second order (semiotic) experience.

But if we this parse as relational identifying:

This	shows	[[how Antonio's emotion has erased rational thinking.]]
<i>Token</i>	<i>Pro: int.</i>	<i>Value</i>

we mean that 'how Antonio's emotion has erased rational thinking' is represented or 'revealed' by 'this'.

2.3 Examples from subjects apart from English

Two examples are drawn from ancient history, written by a girl aged 17/18, discussing archaeological excavations and their evidence for the Bronze Age Thera society:

Their excavations of pithois from buildings	have revealed	information regarding the society's economy
<i>Sayer (Symbolizer)</i>	<i>Pro: verbal</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>

Here again the participant of Sayer/Symbolizer is a symbolic source, while the Verbiage represents a 'content' requiring no further interpretation (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 294). The same clause can also be parsed thus, where 'their excavations of pithois from buildings' is understood to be *Token* of 'information regarding the society's economy' - the *Value*.

Their excavations of pithois from buildings	have revealed	information regarding the society's economy
<i>Token</i>	<i>Pro: int.</i>	<i>Value</i>

About the information gained from the digs, the writer goes on:

This	indicated	that there was trade occurring between the two settlements for some period of time.
<i>Sayer (Symbolizer)</i>	<i>Pro: verbal</i>	<i>Locution</i>

while in the relational identifying reading, we find a Fact clause:

This	indicated	<i>(the fact)</i> [[that there was trade occurring between the two settlements for some period of time.]]
<i>Token</i>	<i>Pro: int.</i>	<i>Value</i>

In science, similar expressions can be found, in this case in the writing of a boy aged 17/18 writing of a science experiment investigating the principle of an AC Induction Motor:

It (the experiment)	shows	that a magnetic field can produce movement.
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Pro: verbal</i>	<i>Locution</i>

It (the experiment)	shows	<i>(the fact)</i> [[that a magnetic field can produce movement.]]
<i>Token (Symbolizer)</i>	<i>Pro: int.</i>	<i>Value</i>

And he concluded:

<i>The Principle of an AC induction motor</i>	<i>was demonstrated.</i>
<i>Value</i>	<i>Pro: int.</i>

3 What's in it for it for us that we have this symbolic slippage?

Verbal clause complexes relate lower to higher order meanings (material to semiotic orders of experience) by projection, whereas *identifying clauses* relate lower to higher order meanings (levels of content) by a relational process.

Hence, when using verbal processes, students use the text in English, the data in history, or the experimental data in science, as the source (*Symbolizer*) of higher level meanings (semiotic content): *Locutions*. And when using relational clauses, students use the text in English, the data in history, or the experimental data in science, as the source (*Symbol*) of higher level meaning (content): *Value*.

The skill in using either process involves (i) constructing information of a 'lower order' kind, so that the writer can then (ii) construct a 'higher order' meaning on its basis.

4 What can we say of the emergence of processes of 'showing' and their importance?

Processes of 'showing' seem to appear in students' writing at about age 15, or in mid adolescence - surprisingly late in some ways. Successful students master the use of such processes as a necessary part of building the symbolic meanings of English, history and science, and no doubt of all other subjects, for they are a common feature in all academic writing. Where students experience difficulties in expressing symbolic meanings, it is possible to intervene and teach ways of using verbs of 'showing'.

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Grammatical Intricacy

– the pedagogical significance of counting by word, clause or idea

Howard Doyle

Kochi University, Japan
Dept. of International Studies, Kochi University, Akebonocho 2-5-1, Kochi 780-8520, Japan
hdoyle@kochi-u.ac.jp

Abstract

In the systemic functional linguistic tradition, much is made of systemic functional partners, lexical density (LD) and grammatical intricacy (GI), but GI seems to get less attention. This paper seeks briefly to show how to give GI more significance in language and literacy pedagogy.

First it is noticeable that the significance of GI formula calculations become a guide rather than a SFL rule. As such, first variations on the GI formula are demonstrated: GI by Grammar-Word count; by Grammatical Clause count; and by Ideational Clause count. These approaches respectively are based on various understandings of 'clause': syntactic (ie as units of language for grammatical analysis); semantic (ie as units of meaning); and ideational (incorporating wider intellectual or emotional worth and pragmatic significance)

Then how each of these variation has a bearing on understanding language functions (ie language form) and communicative functions (ie use) is discussed. With this in mind, finally a continuum of suggested fields of language and literacy pedagogy for the different variations of GI is proposed.

1 Grammatical Intricacy as Sibling of Lexical Density

A subtheme of this paper could be to give more credence to Grammatical Intricacy (GI), which in many ways is a cold-shouldered sibling of the more popular Lexical Density. Both are essentially ways of seeking elements of the language – normally at word-level though also at other unit-levels of language (ie group, clause, etc.) - in a text for analytical purposes. LD analysis seeks out semantically significant language, while GI focuses on syntactically significant elements. In the realm of systemic functional linguistics, meaningfully significant aspects of language receive attention in as far as language is a means to articulate what a user thinks, feels or otherwise wishes to communicate. In this sense, LD with its nominal focus on the lexical tends to receive priority attention, while GI with its focus on devices (eg grammar words) for organizing and packaging that meaning receives less.

Halliday's work is normally cited as a source of LD and GI. For instance, in an easily accessible and seminal short work in which Halliday (1985) draws attention to LD, he also makes a *de facto* GI analysis of the same texts he uses to examine LD. This is demonstrated in Figure 1 with selections from the examples Halliday provides.

	Written	Spoken
1.	Development into real facility makes a long-term investment (L: 7; G: 3) T: 10; C: 1 GWC: 3 / 10 = 0.300 GCC: 1 / 10 = 0.100	If you invest in a real facility, this implies that you are going to be committed for a long time (L: 7; G: 13) T: 20; C: 3 GWC: 13 / 20 = 0.650 GCC: 3 / 20 = 0.150
2.	The growth of attachment between infant and mother signals the first step in the development of a child's capacity to discriminate amongst people. (L: 12; G: 11) T: 23; C: 2 GWC: 11 / 23 = 0.478 GCC: 2 / 23 = 0.087	When an infant and its mother start to grow attached to each other, this is a sign that the child is beginning to discriminate amongst people. (L: 10; G: 16) T: 26; C: 5 GWC: 16 / 26 = 0.615 GCC: 5 / 26 = 0.192
3.	A grey-faced Dr Coffin unlocked the door. (L: 6; G: 2) T: 8; C: 1 GWC: 2 / 8 = 0.250 GCC: 1 / 8 = 0.125	Dr Coffin unlocked the door, and as he did so his face went gray. (L: 5; G: 9) T: 14; C: 3 GWC: 9 / 14 = 0.643 GCC: 3 / 14 = 0.214

Figure 1: Examples of Lexical and Grammar-Word Counts, Grammar-Word and Grammatical Clause GI [NB. 'T' = 'total number of words; 'C' = number of clauses; 'GWC' = Grammar-Word count; 'GCC' = Grammatical-Clause count] (Source: Halliday 1985 pp 61 – 62; GWC & GCC are own calculation data)

Halliday himself counts lexically significant words but also grammatically significant words ('grammar words'). In counting the latter, Halliday accomplishes a GI analysis by word-count. Halliday does other things too: having started with chosen segments of written language, he paraphrases them as spoken language (ie with more clauses and more grammar words). In so doing he removes any authentic quality from them, and the texts become synthetic with a demonstrative or educational social purpose of presenting written style language as opposed to spoken style. In some ways he does what language teachers around the world – and of course this is not limited to English teachers – do: he transforms language to demonstrate a point.

Two observations can be made from this:

1. though some are authentic, real-world texts, many of the texts used by teachers and language analysis seem **artificial**. Then, if some contrast is made, texts made subsequent to and based on the first one must be **paraphrases**; and
2. in the relevant literature authors tend to start with the **written** and **then** move onto the **spoken**. This naturally then can cause **Lexical Density** featuring in their thinking **before Grammatical Intricacy**. Thus, GI is probably normally going to get less attention than LD anyway.

2 A New Typology of Texts

From this premise it is possible to draw up a typology of types of texts used for pedagogical (and also analytical) purposes.

- *Real-world* – texts which can be captured in the real world
- *Artificial* – texts made (by teachers, researchers, whoever) in order to show some feature of language, discourse or whatever (includes authentic-looking texts)
- *Paraphrased* – a text which you have changed, assumedly keeping something of the integrity of the original

For instance, in the examples above, Halliday is selecting segments of literary and other texts. By selecting them has moved them from their original contexts to a new context for the

purpose of demonstrating a point, and in so doing gives them an artificial quality. Further, he has changed – or paraphrased - them to demonstrate a subsequent point.

3 Language and Ideational Functions in Clauses

With this typology in view, it is possible to refocus on GI. The title of this paper refers to GI and its quantification by counting words (as Halliday did), by clause as a syntactical unit of text, and also by clause as an ideationally significant unit of text. GI by clause-count is a minor departure from functional systemic GI orthodoxy, but it is not new. Lassen (2003) refers to it in relation to readability of technical manuals (p 162). Another study by Colombi (2002) of students' Spanish-writing skills development focuses on combining clauses as a way to develop a more appropriate academic written register. She engages with clauses: the idea of having more or fewer clauses and other systemic functional grammar (SFG) devices to achieve these ends. Similarly, in a grammar-focused module which was focus of action research conducted by the author (Doyle 2007), clause-count became a feature of the course content: ie. the teaching point was that spoken language has more clauses and written language has fewer. To illustrate this point, the following examples presented in Figure 2 were taken from the actual course materials. However, artificial text examples are based on a transcript of the actual words of the teacher in the first lesson of the first delivery of the module. Subsequent variations become paraphrases, as *per* the typology outlined above.

Original	“OK, much of the instructions in the written materials in this course are in a spoken style – as if I was actually speaking to you...”
Written transcript as read aloud	1. 'o k comma much of the instructions in the written ...'
Artificial texts: - Ideational clauses - Grammatical clauses	1. - OK, 2. - much of the instructions in the written materials in this course are in a spoke style – 3. - as if I was actually speaking to you... 1. - OK, much of the instructions in the written materials in this course are in a spoken style – 2. - as if I was actually speaking to you...
Paraphrases of transcript: - less polite form variation - - more polite form variation - - moderately polite form variation -	① - Shut up! ② - much of the instructions in the written materials in this course are in a spoken style – ③ - as if I was actually speaking to you. ... ① - Is it OK ② - if everybody listens now? ③ - much of the instructions in the written materials in this course are in a spoken style – ④ - as if I was actually speaking to you. ... ① - Excuse me, ② - much of the instructions in the written materials in this course are in a spoken style – ③ - as if I was actually speaking to you. ...

Figure 2: *Original, Artificial & Paraphrase Variations of Teacher's Classroom Spoken Language*

The purpose of this is to demonstrate how the artificial texts have naturally developed around the concept of the clause as unit of language. The artificial texts in Figure 2 are presented firstly as 3 ideational clauses and secondly as 2 grammatical clauses for what are in fact the same utterance.

The difference is that grammatical clauses rely on language form: syntax primarily; and traditionally grammatical conventions focusing on the verb forms of dependent and independent clauses. Meanwhile, the ideational clause perspective draws from Fairclough's (1992) discursive view of language in which, with reference to Hallidayan notions, he identifies three types of language function: “‘identity’, ‘relational’, and ‘ideational’” (p 64). In the present context, an ideational clause does not rely on syntactical form to register itself – in a sense it is a unit of discourse rather than a unit of language. For instance, Figure 2

shows how paraphrases of the original language show variations in politeness: the original ‘OK’, is transformed in ascending politeness, into ‘Shut up!’, ‘Excuse me,’ and ‘Is it OK / if everyone listens now?’. The first 2 paraphrases are simpler, whereas the most polite form consists of 2 grammatical clauses. This represents more complex syntax required for articulating the more discursively complex – more grammatically intricate - more polite form.

A limitation of ideational clauses is that they may not correspond to language forms bound up as grammatical clauses. They may range from clause complexes down to phrases or word groups (or even words in the case of ‘OK!’ in Figure 2, an utterance for getting attention). As such, GI counts will vary, as is the case in Figure 3. Figure 3 presents GI counts for artificial spoken language texts across Explanation, Process and Advice genres and written language paraphrases of them produced by students (reported in Doyle 2007 and Doyle and Ishinuki 2007). In this case, it was even found that the normal tendency for GI of written language to be less than for spoken language did not occur for ideational clause count within particular text-types (in this research in Explanation and Advice genre texts). This was despite the students’ writing coming after explicit instruction and practice transforming similar texts in the same genres.

Text Genres according to mode	GI by Grammatical Word -Count (no of grammar words / total no. of words)	GI by Grammatical Clause -Count (including non -finite clauses) (no. of clauses / total no. of words)	GI by Ideational Clause -Count (no. of clauses / total no. of words)
Explanation (Spoken mode)	72 / 118 = 0.610	15 / 118 = 0.127	16 / 118 = 0.135
Explanation (Written mode)	24 / 47 = 0.510	4 / 47 = 0.085	7 / 47 = 0.149
GI Ratio Percentage Differences between Spoken and Written - Mode	-16.3%	33.0%	-10.3%
Process (Spoken mode)	64 / 105 = 0.610	17 / 105 = 0.161	20 / 105 = 0.190
Process (Written mode)	33 / 71 = 0.465	11 / 71 = 0.155	12 / 71 = 0.169
GI Ratio Percentage Differences between Spoken and Written - Mode	23.7%	3.7%	11.0%
Advice (Spoken mode)	121 / 201 = 0.602	34 / 201 = 0.169	38 / 201 = 0.189
Advice (Written mode)	47 / 89 = 0.528	16 / 89 = 0.180	18 / 89 = 0.202
GI Ratio Percentage Differences between Spoken and Written - Mode	-12.2%	-6.5%	-6.8%

Figure 3: GI Ratios and GI Ratio Percentage Differences for Explanation, Process and Advice Genre Texts in Written and Spoken Language Modes used in a Short Grammar Course. (Source: Doyle 2007)[NB. Underlined ‘GI Ratio Percentage Differences are negative percentages. These signify points when written texts had higher GI than spoken texts instead of more customary lower]

4 Grammatical Intricacy and Pedagogy for Language and Literacy

It remains to account for the pedagogical significance of GI according to the different ways to count and calculate it (as in Figure 3). This has already been alluded to in the previous section with reference to different types of language function. The first is that the generalization - that spoken language is more grammatically intricate (and written language is less so being more lexically dense) - seems to act at best as a guiding principle rather than general rule.

Second is that the principle seems to become less significant if clauses are considered as ideational units rather than syntactical units of language. This has bearing if a clear distinction between communicative functions and grammatical functions respectively are

made in language being taught or learned.

This second point has bearing on a third, that GI analysis itself can have a pedagogical role. GI analysis is based on deconstruction of language into clauses: syntactical units (most commonly focusing on verbs - or processes – but also plausibly on word groups, phrases or even clause complexes); or as ideational units.

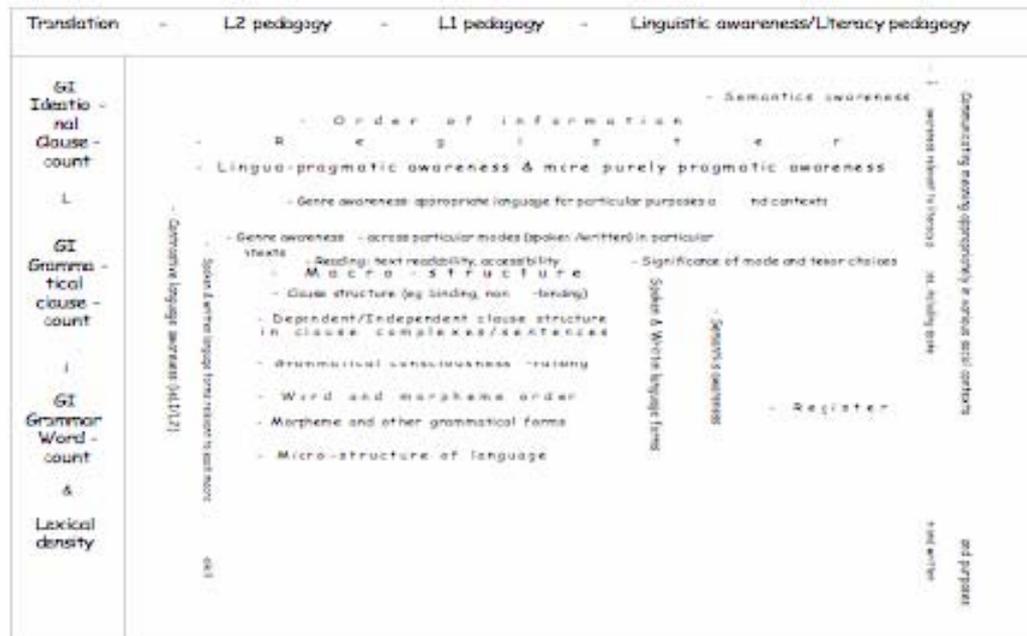


Figure 4: *Language and other teaching/learning points potentially incorporating different approaches to GI.*

Having learners do actual analysis of language for different understandings of GI on real, artificial or synthetic texts - their own or from other sources – could foster better awareness of the language they are meant to know or use. Figure 4 presents various points at which different approaches to GI could be used across a range of language and literacy pedagogy fields.

This paper does not put forward GI as a substitute for any repertoire of approaches to language or literacy pedagogy. However it seeks to show how understandings of GI and corresponding formulae for its calculation can be used for a range of pedagogical purposes. The basis for this is a more sophisticated view of GI than has been commonly held.

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Nouns in School Children's Science Writing: A Functional Linguistics Perspective

Zhihui Fang

The University of Florida
Gainesville, FL, USA 32611-7048
zfang@coe.ufl.edu

Abstract

Nouns are a key grammatical resource in constructing science meanings. This paper examines patterns of noun use in elementary and secondary students' science writing. Linguistic analysis of sample texts from a corpus of 360 science reports written by third, fifth, seventh, and ninth graders reveals considerable variations within each grade as well as developmental trends across the grades in the ways nouns are used to build technical taxonomies, construe abstraction, expand information, create discursive flow, and develop logical reasoning. The findings are interpreted in light of relevant research and their educational implications are discussed.

1 Theoretical Framework and Purpose

Recent years have witnessed a surge of interest among science and literacy educators in examining the role of language in the development of science literacy. At the beginning of this millennium, for example, the U.S. National Science Foundation sponsored two international conferences aimed at reinforcing, consolidating, and further stimulating cross-disciplinary dialogues between language/literacy educators and science educators (Hand, et al, 2003; Saul, 2004). It is acknowledged that science is not only an empirical subject involving hands-on experiments, but a discipline whose advancement depends on the use of language, particularly written language (Wellington & Osborne, 2001; Norris & Phillips, 2003). Scientists use language to communicate scientific discoveries and construct reasoned arguments. This means that part of becoming scientifically literate entails learning to use language effectively in science.

But the language used in science is not the same as the language school children use in their everyday social interactions. As a technical discipline that encapsulates complex bodies of knowledge, theories, and values, science has evolved, over the centuries, a specialized language that meets its needs to develop new theories, methods, and arguments (Halliday & Martin, 1993). This "language of science" is simultaneously technical, abstract, and dense; and one grammatical resource key in constructing these discourse features is noun (Fang & Schleppegrell, 2009).

From a functional perspective, nouns are grammatical participants in a text that construct different semantic roles. There are many different kinds of nouns, including pronouns (*we, this*), proper nouns (*Chicago, Prince Harry*), technical nouns (*trachea, polygon*), abstract nouns or nominalizations (*deforestation, frequency*), and nouns with pre- and/or postmodifiers (*the small table with a yellow cloth*). Texts that are written for different purposes and contexts often use nouns in distinct ways (Fang, Schleppegrell, & Cox, 2006). In informal registers, for example, simple nouns such as pronouns are often used to establish endophoric or exophoric references, whereas in more formal registers, nouns of varying complexities - particularly technical nouns, abstract nouns, and nouns with pre-/post-modifications - are often used to construe technicality, generalization, agency, abstraction, and density. In written science, nouns take on particular functional loads, as they enable scientists to create technical taxonomies, distill everyday concrete experiences, expand information, develop logical reasoning, embed values, and provide cohesive linkages within a text (Halliday, 1998; Veel, 1997). From this perspective, learning to write in science

involves learning to use nouns in scientifically meaningful ways.

The purpose of this study was to examine the use of nouns in the science reports written by elementary and secondary students. Two specific research questions are addressed: (a) What are the types and functions of nouns used in these students' science writing? (b) Are there variations within each grade and developmental trends across grades in their use of nouns?

2 Research Methods

Participants were 360 students from third (60), fifth (60), seventh (120), and ninth (120) grades in a K-12 Florida school in the United States. The school had a student body of about 1000 that represents the public school population in the state in terms of gender (50% male, 50% female), race (55% White, 27% Black, 13% Hispanic, 5% others), socioeconomic status (31% on free/reduced lunch), and academic ability. The reading and language arts instruction in these grades was delivered primarily through the district-approved basals, supplemented with children's literature. The science curricula were inquiry-based, placing a heavy emphasis on hands-on laboratory experiences.

Participants were asked in their language arts class to assume the role of scientist author and write an informational report about crocodilians, a topic that had high interest and familiarity to students. The picture book *Crocodile* (Blake, 1996), with all the words covered, was used as prompt to elicit student writing. The 24-page picture book presents rich factual information about crocodilians, with each page depicting an aspect of the animal, such as its origin, physical features, habitat, hunting habits, reproduction cycle, and utility to human. It has many format-based features typical of informational science books, including absence of human characters, temporal sequence, and goal orientation. In other words, nothing in the book would prompt students to write a story instead of an informational report. All students completed the writing task within the 50-minute class period.

Eight texts, two per grade level, were purposefully sampled for analysis from the larger corpus of 360 science reports composed by the participants. Two research assistants, one former language arts teacher and the other former science teacher, were asked to jointly select two samples - one high quality text (HQT) and one low quality text (LQT) - from each grade level as if they were holistically rating their own students' assignments in their respective classes. Nouns in each text were then identified and coded as technical (e.g., carnivore); abstract (e.g., strength); simple, which includes pronouns (e.g., they) and non-abstract/technical nouns with one or no modifier (e.g., alligators, the meat); or complex, which includes nouns with two or more premodifiers (e.g., these wondrous creatures), nouns with post-modifiers only (e.g., one of the most interesting animals) and nouns with both pre- and postmodifiers (e.g., the ancient time of dinosaurs). The functions of these nouns in the text were then determined. Finally, noun density, average number of words per noun, was calculated as a syndromic measure for the nominal complexity and density of the text.

3 Findings

The study suffers from several limitations that warrant caution in the interpretation of its findings. First, the data were collected from one experimental task, instead of multiple authentic tasks that would have allowed students to more fully demonstrate their science knowledge and writing competence. Second, only two text samples per grade level were analyzed. Although representative, these texts might not have given the full range of richness or variation in students' scientific writing ability. And while such a small sample size makes detailed linguistic analysis manageable, the generalizability of their findings is limited. Third, the task itself, using a picture book to elicit writing for all grade levels, helps establish reliability for comparison, but might not have allowed for the cognitive development of the

older students to be revealed in their language choices, as they might opt to write a simpler text than they are capable of.

3.1 Patterns of Noun Use within Each Grade

The results from linguistic analysis by grade level are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Patterns of Noun Use in School Children's Science Writing¹

Category	Third Grade		Fifth Grade		Seventh Grade		Ninth Grade	
	HQT	LQT	HQT	LQT	HQT	LQT	HQT	LQT
Total Nouns	30	27	33	16	52	34	42	53
Technical Nouns	1 (3%)	1 (4%)	1 (3%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	2 (6%)	4 (10%)	1 (2%)
Abstract Nouns	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (9%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	4 (10%)	0 (0%)
Complex Nouns	5 (17%)	1 (4%)	5 (15%)	1 (6%)	16 (31%)	1 (3%)	13 (31%)	0 (0%)
Simple Nouns	24 (80%)	25 (92%)	24 (73%)	14 (88%)	36 (69%)	30 (88%)	24 (57%)	52 (98%)
Noun Density	1.67	1.48	2.12	1.31	2.56	1.32	3.24	1.32

In third grade, students use primarily simple nouns, that is, pronouns (e.g., *they, he, I*) and nouns with one or no premodifier (e.g., *the meat, water*). The percentage of simple nouns for LQT (92%) is much higher than that for HQT (80%). Pronouns are used principally to establish referential links within the text (e.g., *alligators...they; the crocodile...he*) and, in the case of LQT, to also introduce relevant personal experience, i.e., 'my encounter with a crocodile'. Most other nouns have only one premodifier in the forms of pronoun (e.g., *their babies, that alligator*), adjective (e.g., *webbed feet, some people*), or numeral (e.g., *80 teeth, 2 feet*). Only one noun was used to create technical taxonomies, that is, alligators are *reptiles* (LQT), not *mammals* (HQT). No abstract nouns are used. The percentage of complex nouns is higher in HQT (17%) than in LQT (4%). HQT uses three nouns with more than one premodifier (*a long time, very sharp teeth, a lot of strange foods*) and two nouns with both pre- and postmodifiers (*a shorter hole than a crocodile, any kind of meat*); LQT uses only one noun with a postmodifier (*a crocodile [that is] 9 feet long*). In these instances, the premodifiers are article, pronoun, and adjective, and the postmodifiers are comparative clause, prepositional phrase, and elided embedded clause. These pre- and postmodifiers help expand information on the head noun (*hole, kind, crocodile*). Overall, noun density is low for both texts, averaging less than two words per noun.

In fifth grade, simple nouns also constitute a significant percentage of the nouns used in both HQT (73%) and LQT (88%). However, HQT uses a much lower percentage of pronouns (3 out of 24) than does LQT (9 out of 14). Pronouns are used to establish referential links (e.g., *most alligators...they*) and, in the case of LQT, to also engage the reader (e.g., *Have you ever seen...*) and introduce personal experience (e.g., *I have*). While each text uses one noun to create technical taxonomies (*reptiles* for HQT and *mammals* for LQT), HQT uses three abstract nouns (*beginning, warmth, protection*) that incorporate processes (*to begin, to*

¹ Note: The percentage in each column does not always add up to 100 because (a) when the same technical noun is repeated in the same text, it is counted only once; and (b) when a technical or abstract noun appears in a complex noun, it is counted in both categories.

protect) and qualities (*is warm*), compared to none in LQT. In terms of complex nouns, the percentage for HQT (15%) more than doubles that for LQT (6%). Specifically, HQT uses three nouns with both pre- and postmodifiers (*the beginning of the dinosaurs, many kinds of animals, a soft thing like shell that is easy to get out of*) and two nouns with more than one premodifier (*cold-blooded animals, their mother's mouth*), whereas LQT uses only one complex noun (*different shape noses*). The premodifiers in the nouns used in HQT and LQT are article, adjective, and noun, and the postmodifiers are prepositional phrase and embedded clause. These modifiers allow students to pack more information into the noun. Overall, the noun density of HQT (2.12) is considerably higher than that of LQT (1.31).

In seventh grade, simple nouns occupy 88% of the total nouns used in LQT, compared to only 69% in HQT, although both texts use similar proportions of pronouns (20/36 for HQT vs. 15/30 for LQT) and nouns with one or no premodifier (16/36 for HQT vs. 15/30 for LQT). Pronouns in these texts are used to establish intra-text referential links (e.g., *crocodiles...they*) and, in the case of LQT, to also interact with the reader (e.g., *Have you ever wondered...*) and explicitly introduce personal thought processes (e.g., *I know, I think*). In terms of technical and abstract nouns, LQT uses *reptiles* and *carnivores* to create technical taxonomies, whereas HQT uses *the difference* to incorporate qualities (*are different*). HQT uses a much higher percentage of complex nouns than does LQT (31% vs. 3%). Whereas LQT uses only one complex noun (*The cool thing about being a reptile*), HQT uses seven nouns with more than one premodifier (e.g., *these wondrous creatures, relatively flat heads*), four nouns with postmodifiers only (e.g., *one of the most interesting animals, water [that is] a few feet from the shore-line*), and five nouns with both pre- and postmodifiers (e.g., *a clear sort of eyelid that they use to cover their eyes, a few distinctive characteristics that separate them, a broader head than a crocodile*). In these instances, the head noun is expanded through the addition of pronoun, adjective, adverb, numeral, prepositional phrase, comparative clause, and embedded clause. The noun density for HQT is almost twice as much as that for LQT (2.56 vs. 1.32).

In ninth grade, simple nouns make up nearly 100% of all nouns in LQT, but only slightly over half of the total nouns in HQT. Pronouns are used here to help establish referential links in the text and become interactive with the reader (*I am writing..., so there you have it*). HQT uses a higher percentage of technical nouns and abstract nouns than does LQT. Whereas LQT uses one technical noun (*reptiles*) and no abstract noun, HQT uses four technical nouns (*cretaceous period, paleontologist, evolution, genetics*) that are unique to science and four nouns (*long distances, opening, immense strength, relative ease*) that incorporate qualities and embody abstraction. Finally, while LQT does not use any complex noun, HQT uses 13 (31%) complex nouns, including four nouns with more than one premodifier (e.g., *their powerful jaws*), one noun with postmodifiers only (*some of the oldest living creatures*), and eight nouns with both pre- and postmodifiers (e.g., *truly fascinating creatures with their scaly bodies and their sharp teeth, another thing that adds to the danger level of an alligator, an incredibly strong jawbone capable of killing most things in an instant, the fact that alligators are incredibly fast swimmers*). The premodifiers are pronoun, adjective, and adverb, and the postmodifiers include prepositional phrase, embedded clause, and appositive clause. These modifiers enable a large quantity of information to be packed into the complex noun, resulting in substantially higher noun density for HQT (3.24), when compared to LQT (1.32).

3.2 Patterns of Noun Use Across Grades

Several developmental trends are detected when syndromes of nominal use are compared across the grades. First, few technical nouns are used by students, regardless of grade level and text quality. Second, abstract nouns are found only in HQT but not in LQT, although

they are limited in number, with none in third grade, three in fifth grade, one in seventh grade, and four in ninth grade. Third, the percentage of simple nouns decreases for HQT (from 80% in third grade to 57% in ninth grade) but remains high for LQT (88%-98%) across the grades. Fourth, the percentage of complex nouns increases dramatically from elementary (15%-16%) to secondary grades (31%) with HQT, but remains low across all grades for LQT (0%-6%). Fifth, noun density remains low for LQT in all grades, but increases steadily from elementary to secondary grades for HQT, with ninth grade (3.24) nearly doubling third grade (1.67). Finally, in terms of noun functions, the nouns in the sample texts are used mainly to establish referential links within the text and, occasionally, to create technical taxonomies. They are also used to expand information and distill experience (primarily in HQT) as well as to engage the reader and introduce personal involvement (primarily in LQT).

4 Discussion

This study takes an in-depth look at the nouns used in science reports composed by elementary and secondary school students. There are considerable variations within each grade as well as developmental trends across the grades in the students' use of technical, abstract, complex, and simple nouns. Although the sample size is small, the detailed analysis yielded valuable insights into how school children draw on the grammatical resource of noun to help them construct meaning in science. The study's findings suggest that noun is a sensitive indicator of quality in science writing; it can be used to differentiate high quality science texts from low quality ones. The two research assistants who were asked to select an HQT and a LQT from each grade were not aware of the linguistic features analyzed in this paper. And yet, analysis of these sample texts shows that HQT uses more noun features that are consistent with scientific language, as science registers often use technical nouns, abstract nouns, and complex nouns to build technical taxonomies, distill concrete experiences, create discursive flow, and expand information. While simple nouns such as pronouns are also used in science registers, their primary functions are to establish intra-text connections, rather than to be interactive with the reader, as scientific language tends to assume a more authoritative, impersonal, and detached voice (Fang, 2005).

The participants in the study seem reasonably well developed in their ability to use nouns to build endophoric references, a skill critical to gaining control over written language. One key difference between HQT and LQT lies in LQT's consistent use of pronouns I and you to engage the reader and introduce personal involvement, features rarely present in the more formal registers of science discourse. The students are also capable of, to varying degrees, expanding information at the clause level through the use of complex nouns. However, it remains unclear why some students are able to construct texts with greater noun density than others. Developmental, experiential, and pedagogical factors might all be at work here and deserve further exploration. Low occurrences of technical and abstract nouns in the sample texts - especially those that distill experience, incorporate perspective, create discursive flow, and develop logical reasoning - could be due to a number of factors. First, the study's task might not have allowed students to produce authentic texts of what they are truly capable of. Second, while students had gained considerable knowledge about alligators and crocodiles in their daily life, that body of commonsense knowledge might have yet to be formalized, thus limiting their use of specialist terminologies. Third, certain uses of language, such as nominalizations, do not emerge until late childhood or adolescence (Christie, 2002). This partly explains the infrequent and uneven uses of abstract nouns in the sample texts. Fourth, a lack of awareness of the specialized linguistic features of science could also have contributed to the lack of sophistication in students' use of nouns. Dominant literacy and science pedagogies do not explicitly encourage teachers to learn about the grammatical features of written genres and to teach students to be aware of these features. The capacity to use language in discipline-specific ways is an important marker of content area literacy (Fang &

Schleppegrell, 2009). This capacity does not develop naturally for all students and can be enhanced through an explicit instructional focus on nouns and their varied functions in constructing scientific meanings and values.

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Reviewing reading pedagogy through the lens of a stratified model of language

Susan Feez

School of Education
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
sfeez@une.edu.au

Abstract

In the English-speaking world, public debates about reading pedagogy tend to be cast in terms of opposing, even irreconcilable, perspectives, described by Schleppegrell (2004, pp. 148-149) as “‘meaning’ versus ‘form’”, and exemplified in the distinction made between *whole language* and *phonics* approaches to reading instruction. In these debates, literacy development is represented as if semantics and phonology are competing alternatives, while learning about grammar is supplementary or optional. This representation becomes unsustainable when viewed from the vantage point of the systemic functional stratified language model because the model makes clear how the possibilities for pedagogy are skewed and diminished if one perspective is favoured at the expense of another.

While there is evidence that policy-makers are recognising the need for a more balanced approach (NITL 2005), in practice, the study of grammar, or grammatics (Halliday 2002 [1996], p. 384), remains under-exploited in literacy pedagogy, despite a series of proposals over the years derived from systemic functional linguistics, including more recently Martin and Rose (2005), Rose, Gray and Cowey (1999) and Williams (1999, 2004, 2005).

This paper offers another perspective on the use of the stratified model of language as a resource for evaluating and designing reading pedagogies. Specifically, the paper will consider how grammatics can be used as a means for leading young children towards reading fluency, as exemplified in reading pedagogy designed by Maria Montessori a century ago.

1 Introduction

In public debates the field of literacy education is regularly portrayed as if it were a war of attrition between opposing camps, whether ‘phonics’ versus ‘whole language’, ‘grammar’ versus ‘no grammar’ or ‘traditional’ grammar versus ‘functional’ grammar. These oppositions have become the framework through which the teaching of literacy in schools is evaluated in the public domain. This popular evaluation, however, does not reflect the reported experience of most teachers and students in classrooms, it does not account for the much more complex and nuanced picture which emerges from the research literature, nor does it account for the lessons of history and the changing contexts in which children are being taught to read and write (Freebody 2007). It does, however, as Freebody (2007:42) notes, continue ‘to stultify debates and divert the attention and effort of generations of teachers and researchers’.

Using the systemic functional stratified model of language, it is possible to renovate the impoverished and distorted representation of language which underpins the public debate, and to develop a more productive framework for designing and evaluating literacy pedagogy. In this paper I will review the value of such a framework and apply it to a reading program developed a hundred years ago by Dr Maria Montessori.

2 Renovating the ‘phonics’ versus ‘whole language’ opposition

The phonics/ whole language opposition suggests that instructing children in the sounds of English and their correspondence with the letters of the alphabet is irreconcilable with immersing children in meaningful language use. This opposition is generalised by Schleppegrell (2004:148-149) as ‘form’ versus ‘meaning’ to underwrite her claim that neither

approach is sufficient. She argues instead for a richer, text-based functional approach derived from social semiotics. Her view is echoed by Freebody (2007:41), who recasts the debate as ‘code’ versus ‘meaning’. The evidence, as reported by Freebody (2007), suggests that an integrated approach is both the most effective and the one favoured by classroom teachers.¹

That teachers should prefer to teach reading by integrating ‘code’ and ‘meaning’ is unremarkable from the perspective of systemic functional linguistics. From this perspective, a debate which represents code (expression) and meaning (semantics) as competing alternatives is unsustainable, given that systemic functional linguistics models semantics and expression as different vantage points for viewing the same phenomenon, language, semantics being the view from above and expression being the view from below (Halliday 2004:24-25). From the systemic functional perspective, the redundant vantage points built into this layered model are a resource offering rich possibilities for exploitation in literacy pedagogy. These possibilities are diminished and skewed when only one vantage point is favoured.

Locating the terms ‘code’ and ‘meaning’ on the systemic functional stratified model of language (Figure 1) further reveals that, even when both viewpoints are integrated in literacy pedagogy, the intervening layer, lexicogrammar (vocabulary and grammar) can still be overlooked. This intervening layer is the layer which, in systemic functional linguistic terms, organises meaning so it can be expressed by the phonological, and corresponding graphological, code. Thus, from a systemic functional perspective, without considering the role of grammar, literacy teachers are limited to shunting, in a fragmented and disconnected way, between sound-letter correspondence and texts viewed ‘as undifferentiated lakes of meaning’ (Martin & Rose 2005:258).

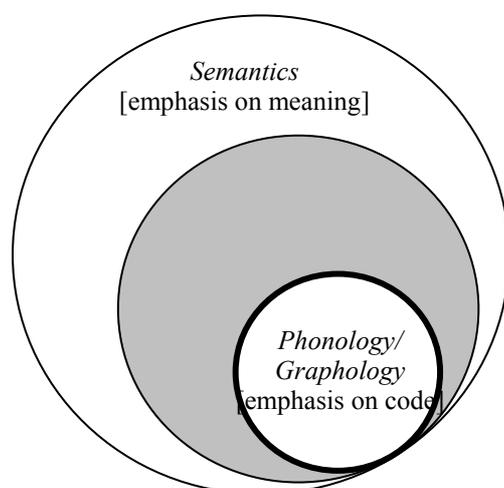


Figure 1: Locating meaning and code on the stratified model of language

3 Renovating the ‘traditional’ versus ‘functional’ grammar opposition

In Australia the public debate about whether the study of grammar helps students to use language ‘correctly’, or not, is now overlaid with the traditional/functional opposition. The representation of this opposition in the media includes more misinformation and blurring of categories than can be addressed here. Two issues, however, deserve attention. The first is the role the study of grammar might play at different stages in the process of learning to read

¹ While recent policy documents (CIERA 2003; NITL 2005) advocate an integrated approach to literacy instruction, an analysis of the metalanguage used in these documents reveals a strong bias towards instruction emphasising the graphophonic code.

and write. The second, and related, issue is the choice of grammatical terminology, or *metalanguage*, to use in schools.

The first step in making the debate more coherent is to distinguish between the grammar of a language and the study of that grammar. Just as the metalanguage used in the study of language is termed *linguistics*, Halliday (2002 [1996], p. 384) proposes the metalanguage used in the study of grammar and vocabulary be termed *grammatics*. Children arrive at school having, unconsciously, learned the *grammar* of spoken language (Halliday 1975; Painter 1999). The question is whether an explicitly taught, and consciously learned, *grammatics* has a useful role in learning about written language, and, if so, what type of *grammatics*. Similarly, it is worth distinguishing the study of the code (*graphophonics*) and the study of meaning (*semantics*).

Projecting the terms *graphophonics*, *grammatics* and *semantics* onto the stratified model of language generates a map of the broad metalinguistic ‘terrain’ opened up to literacy educators when all three vantage points for studying language are exploited. In Figure 2, the terms are glossed, following Halliday (2004:24-25), with terms which make their meaning more accessible to non-specialist teachers, parents and students.

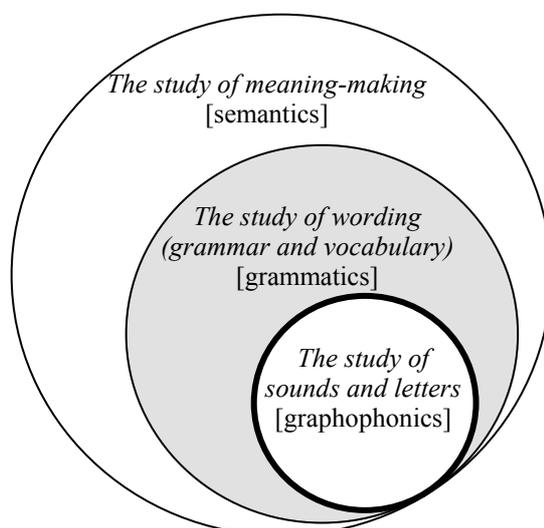


Figure 2: The terrain opened up by an integrated approach to literacy pedagogy

The stratified language model highlights the role grammar plays in mediating meaning and expression (phonology/graphology) in language use, and, therefore, the potential role grammatics can play in mediating semantics and graphophonics in an integrated literacy pedagogy. Grammatics, in this model, is a functional grammatics (Halliday 2004: 24-25), although it remains an open question whether the metalanguage used should be based on the functional terms of systemic functional grammar or on the more widely used and recognised mixture of formal and functional terms known as ‘traditional grammar’.

4 Exploiting the metalinguistic terrain of an integrated approach

The value of a literacy pedagogy that integrates semantics, grammatics and graphophonics is supported by research reviewed by Freebody (2007:48-50). The value of grammatics is implied by the emergence in this review of ‘word meaning’ as an important connection between knowledge of the graphophonic code and the meaning of a text.

Literacy programs derived from systemic functional linguistics are cited by Freebody (2007:49) as examples of teaching which move ‘between levels of language knowledge’ while providing a metalanguage to talk about this movement. One example, elaborated across several educational contexts, is the ‘concentrated language encounter’ (Gray 2007; Rose, Gray & Cowey 1999), which exploits relations between text, grammar and expression to teach previously unsuccessful learners to read and write, an approach also applied in the *Learning to read: Reading to Learn* pedagogy (Martin & Rose 2005). Genre-based approaches to the teaching of writing (Martin 1993, 1998; Rothery 1996) emphasise the relation between text structure and grammar. While genre-based approaches have resonated with teachers at the level of text structure, the value of grammatics has had less traction. That grammatics, and a functional grammatics at that, can be a very valuable, and accessible, tool in the study of texts at school has been demonstrated by Williams (1999, 2004, 2005), but a extensive exploration of the value of integrating grammatics in literacy pedagogy has yet to be undertaken.

To support literacy educators as they learn to navigate the metalinguistic terrain opened up by the systemic functional stratified model of language, landmarks, based on rank scales and recognisable to teachers, can be added to the map, as proposed by Martin and Rose (2005:256-57). A possible elaboration of this approach is illustrated in Figure 3 to reveal to teachers the scope of the metalinguistic terrain available when designing an integrated literacy program.

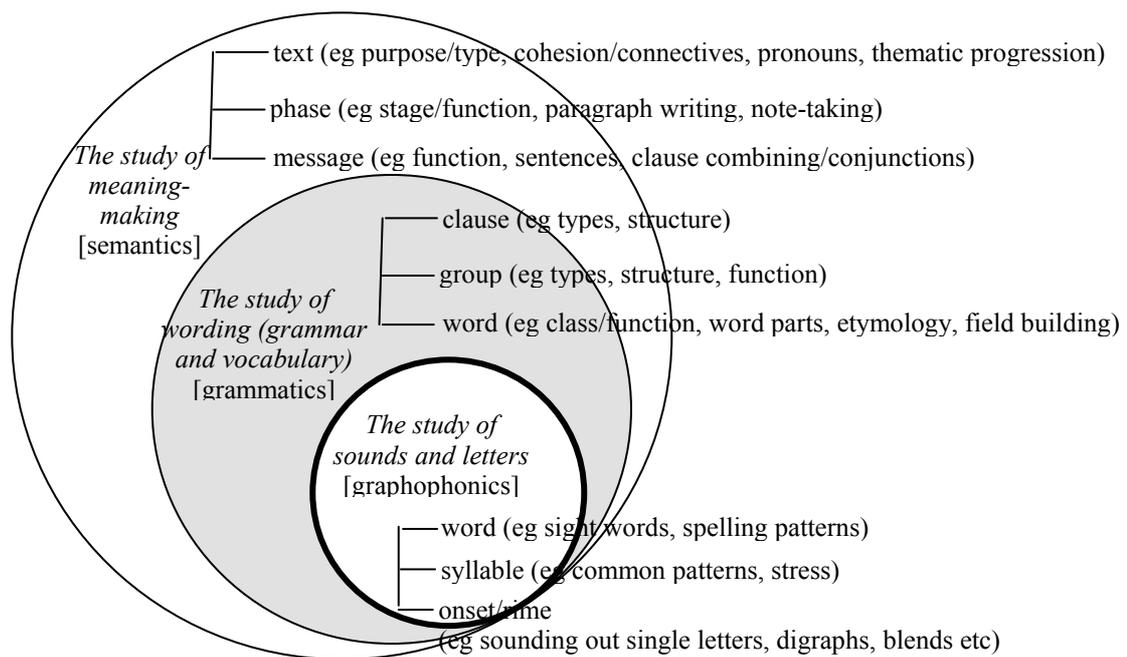


Figure 3: Displaying the metalinguistic terrain available to literacy educators (following Martin & Rose 2005:257)¹

Teaching programs can be evaluated against such a map, both in terms of how much of the metalinguistic terrain is exploited but also for the coherence of the coverage. Comparing the coverage and coherence of a range of teaching programs with student outcomes at the end of

¹ The map could be adapted to include, for example, handwriting, typography, punctuation, layout and visual literacy.

each program would over time build a bank of evidence teachers could exploit as they design programs for specific student profiles.

5 Learning from history

One hundred years ago in Rome Dr Maria Montessori designed a reading program for slum children aged from three to six years. Over several decades it was developed into a primary school literacy program, still in use today, comprising many hundreds of exercises which exploit much more of the available metalinguistic terrain than literacy programs typical of that time or this. The foundation of the program is a diverse array of spoken language activities which begin the process of mapping pathways from one vantage point of the terrain to the next (sound games, rhyming games, vocabulary games, conversation games, story-telling and poetry).

5.1 Connecting graphophonics (sounding out) with semantics (meaning)

From about three years of age in Montessori classrooms children are introduced to single letters cut out of sandpaper and glued onto cards, vowels on red cards and consonants on. The letters are cursive and large enough for the children to trace with their fingers. As they trace each letter, the children say the default sound for that letter. As soon as children know enough letters and sounds, they are introduced to an alphabet of moveable letters, red vowels and blue consonants. The children sound out words, and later groups of words and short texts, of their own choosing, using the moveable alphabet to ‘compose’ the words on a mat, at this stage, not necessarily using conventional spelling. Through this activity the children connect their own meaning-making with the sounds of single letters. This connection between semantics and graphophonics is reinforced and broadened for English-speaking children when later they are introduced in the same way to a set of key digraphs.

5.2 Entry-level grammatics

Initially, composing with the moveable alphabet is an analytical exercise in experimental graphophonics and children do not read back the words they compose. From about four years, however, children usually become aware that they can decode the words they have laid out on the mat. In the Montessori tradition, the children have now reached the ‘word-reading’ level. Their attention is drawn incrementally to the spelling patterns and morphology of words, while at the same time they are presented with hundreds of words each on a separate card they can use to label objects, actions and qualities, as well as categories of educational knowledge represented concretely in the classroom environment. The design of the environment supplies these single-word labels with a text-like cohesion. When children are reading these single words they are said, in the Montessori tradition, to have achieved ‘mechanical’ reading (decoding), and to have reached the ‘doorway’ to reading connected written language, or ‘total’ reading.

5.3 Learning to read through grammatics

To power the transition from ‘mechanical’ to ‘total’ reading, Montessori developed a pedagogic grammatics, a grammatics which bridges the distance between knowing how to decode the letter patterns of words and knowing how to read the meaning of written texts. Just as, in the Montessori graphophonics, children used the manipulable letters of the moveable alphabet to compose words from the *sounds* of their own language, in the Montessori grammatics they use units of grammar (words, groups of words, phrases and clauses) written on manipulable slips of paper to compose text from the *meanings* of their own language.

The Montessori grammatics begins with a series of games in which children, from the age of five, learn the ‘functions’ of words. The children are given questions to probe for the functions of words in groups and clauses written on slips of paper to match objects and actions in the games (eg *Which word tells me the name of the object? Which word tells me the action?*). The children tear the slips apart, experiment with word order and label each function with a moveable ‘grammar symbol’. Each symbol, one for each part of speech, is a geometric shape varying in colour and size in a way which draws attention to the function of the word and its relation to other words. For example, a large red circle symbolizes the action in a clause and a large black triangle symbolizes the name in a noun group; adverbs are smaller orange circles and adjectives are smaller blue triangles. Echoing the way the moveable alphabet is used by children to attend to the stream of sound of their language, the grammar symbols are used by children to analyse the stream of meaning of their language.

After about the age of six children are introduced to the technical terms for the parts of speech (eg verb, noun). They are also introduced to manipulable material, colour-coded for grammatical function, which enables them to analyse sentences and their component parts, as well as boxes of word cards, again colour-coded for grammatical function, which they use to compose written sentences. The Montessori grammatics culminates for children from age eight when they use their grammatical knowledge to compare the ‘style’ of different texts and, finally, to study grammar as it is taught in their own language and culture.

In my own experience the Montessori grammatics provides young children with an active and playful pathway into reading fluency. This is achieved using a ‘traditional’ metalanguage, although, significantly, a feature of the Montessori grammatics is that the symbols draw children’s attention not only to individual word classes, but also to word groups and phrases, and to the functions of those groups in clauses. For this reason, it would be easy to replace the ‘traditional’ metalanguage with a functional one if preferred.¹

6 Conclusion

The Montessori reading program covers large areas of the metalinguistic terrain available to teachers of literacy. This coverage also has a coherence which both reinforces learning at each level of the terrain as well as relations between each level. If I were to use the full map of the terrain as a tool for evaluating the Montessori literacy program, I would include, for children who are challenged by the decoding of English, more activities focusing attention on patterns related to onset/rime and syllabification. I would also augment the text level work with genre-based approaches. In practice, I have found the Montessori grammatics a valuable tool for drawing students’ attention to variation in grammar patterns across different types of texts.

The challenge the Montessori reading program throws out to literacy educators in the twenty-first century is that we should at least be able to match Dr Montessori’s achievement and, ideally, be able to build on it. She was able to assume, which we cannot, that all teachers had a basic grammatical metalanguage. The metalanguage she uses, however, is minimal and accessible. Her achievement is the way in which she has combined that metalanguage with manipulable, multimodal resources to enable beginning readers to attend to grammatical

¹ At the time Montessori was developing her grammatics for small children from about 1916 to the early 1930s, Bühler was writing about language function in Vienna, a period of great expansion of Montessori schools in that city, largely through the efforts of a student of both Montessori and Bühler (Kramer 1978 [1976]). This may explain her emphasis on grammar function.

function in the context of age-appropriate play, and, by this means, to integrate decoding and meaning-making in the service of learning to read.

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University examination questions in the context of an international student cohort

Susan Hoadley

Macquarie University
North Ryde, NSW, Australia
susanhoadley@mac.com

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present the results of research conducted on a corpus of university examination questions from the field of economics and financial studies.

In common with worldwide trends, the Economics and Financial Studies Division of Macquarie University enjoys an increasingly international student cohort. However, as the percentage of international students has increased, failure rates have also increased. Given that many of the international students are L2 English speakers, concerns were raised about the “wording” of the questions in examinations. In order to address this concern, the Division commissioned a linguistic review of a corpus of examination papers and the findings were used to develop guidelines for examiners.

The research draws on generally accepted principles in the area of education (Bloom et al, 1956) and more recent studies on assessment (eg James, McInnis and Devlin, 2002 and Watty, Yu and Lowe, 2006). Connections are also made to elements of universally designed assessments defined by Thompson, Johnstone and Thurlow (2002). However, this research focuses on the analysis and description of examination questions using systemic functional linguistics.

The paper will discuss the findings of the research in relation to the themes of relevance, accessibility and clarity, particularly in relation to an international student cohort. It will examine the role of generic structure, mood choice, experiential elements and logical resources in realizing the meanings of the questions in relation to these three themes.

1 Introduction

This paper describes the results of research conducted on a corpus of university examination questions from the field of economics and financial studies. The original purpose of the research was to analyze the examination questions in order to determine whether the way the questions were written was contributing to increased failure rates for student cohorts including a high proportion of L2 English speakers. That is, could the questions be reasonably equally understood across the entire student cohort, given the different competencies and varieties of English within the cohort? In this context “understood” refers not only to clarity, but also accessibility and relevance to the learning outcomes of the course. After a brief description of the data, the findings of the analysis of the corpus in relation to mood choice and generic structure and the way these two resources interact are presented. Finally, the conclusions drawn from the analysis and their implications for the preparation of examination questions for an international student cohort are discussed.

2 Data

The corpus consists of 100 examination questions drawn from 2007 examination papers from the Economics and Financial Studies Division, Macquarie University. The Division has a number of different departments and the questions were taken from Accounting, Actuarial, Business Studies and Economics examination papers. The corpus includes a range of question types (although answer type is probably a more accurate description of this categorization system); multiple choice, short answer, long answer, essays, case studies and question that require calculations or the re-presentation of information in a different mode ie financial charts and tables. The questions are taken from first, second and third year

examinations. The questions selected are a representational sample across the different departments (and therefore subjects) and years.

3 Findings

The corpus of 100 questions reveals a great degree of variation in the way that questions are written. Arguably, this is a function of the learning outcome being assessed. That is, using Bloom's cognitive learning outcomes as a convenient taxonomy (Bloom et al, 1956), a question which is used to assess knowledge will need to be different to a question which tests evaluation, for example. These differences are primarily reflected in the mood (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) of the clause that expresses the actual question (termed the nucleus or nuclear element, this is the obligatory generic element of an examination question) and the generic structure of the question in terms of elements in addition to the nuclear element (Halliday and Hasan, 1985).

3.1 Mood of nucleus

Whilst it might be expected that the nucleus of an exam question will be realized by an interrogative clause, the nucleus can also be realized by imperative and declarative clauses in addition to interrogatives, both wh- and yes/no.

3.1.1 Wh- Interrogatives

What is the term structure of interest rates?

When the nucleus is expressed as a wh- interrogative the wh- element represents the missing information that is being demanded as the answer (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). Thus, the most congruent answer is encapsulated in the wh- word used. For instance, for the above example the most congruent answer would be "The term structure of interest rates is <<nominal group>>" or simply the nominal group in an ellided version. Whilst this varies to some extent depending on the choice of wh- word (arguably "why" or "how" require longer answers than "what, which, when, where, who"), a wh- interrogative implies a relatively short answer eg group or clause and, in the absence of any additional elements, generally assesses lower levels of learning outcomes such as knowledge and comprehension.

3.1.2 Imperatives

Explain the Law of One Price

If the nucleus of an examination is in the imperative mood the verbal group expresses the process the student has to carry out to answer the question. In contrast to wh- words, as verbs are an open word class, the range of processes is unlimited, and therefore imperatives have the potential to assess the full range of learning outcomes. However, what is meant by a particular verb is much less restricted than wh- words and may vary across contexts and speakers. This means that, in the absence of any additional elements, the examiner's expectations of the answer to an examination question in which the nucleus is in the imperative mood may not be similarly understood by all students.

3.1.3 Declaratives

The goal of financial management is ...

The Superannuation Guarantee legislation was introduced by the labour party.

Declaratives clause are also used to express the nucleus of an exam question, either for multiple choice questions, where the choices are a missing element that completes the clause, or for true/false questions. Such questions are typically used to assess knowledge, but can be extended to other learning outcomes if contextual information is provided in the question.

3.1.4 Yes/No interrogatives

In a capitalist society is industrial conflict inevitable?

Whilst highly marked, there are examples of questions in the corpus in which the nucleus is expressed as a yes/no interrogative. Although the most congruent response to a yes/no question is “yes” or “no”, this is not generally what is required. For instance, the above example is an essay question worth 20% of the examination.

3.2 Generic structure

Many examination questions have elements in addition to the nucleus. These elements can be broadly categorized as contextual information, that is providing a context for the nucleus, or answer format information, explaining how/where the question should be answered. The inclusion of these elements in a question enables questions to assess different learning objectives to those implied by the grammatical form alone and/or make the answer requirements more explicit.

Both contextual information elements and answer format elements can be expressed as different units of language. On the rank scale, these elements can be realized as part of a group, a phrase or group, a clause or a separate clause complex. In addition, contextual information elements can be expressed separate paragraphs or even separate texts. (NB Depending on the length and complexity of the question, the additional elements may be expressed in multiple units within the same question, resulting in a more complex generic structure, however a fuller description is beyond the scope of this paper.) The following sections provide examples the additional elements at each unit of language.

3.2.1 Part of a group

Contextual information, and to a lesser extent answer format information, can be realized as a postmodifier in a nominal groups, for example:

the price [[that should be paid on 13 July 2007 || to yield $j - 6\%$ to maturity]]

3.2.2 Phrase

Both contextual and answer format information is frequently realized by prepositional phrases realizing circumstances, for example:

with reference to the video cases viewed in class, namely, 3M, Singapore Airlines, AMEX, Club Med and Haagen Daaz

in the appropriate special journal

3.2.3 Clause

The corpus contains examples of independent, dependent finite and dependent clauses realizing contextual information and answer format elements. When the element is realized by an independent clause it has the potential to usurp the nucleus in terms of status, for example

Use fully labeled diagrams||to....

The relative status of the additional element in relation to the nucleus is clearer if the additional element is realized by a dependent clause, for example

if the supplier commits to buying all 50,00 units required each year

Using a net yield to maturity of $j = 5\%$

In the first example above, the both the taxis and the logic-semantic type are marked by the conjunction “if” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). In the second example, the taxis is made explicit by the non-finite verbal group but the logico-semantic type is implicit.

3.2.4 Clause Complex

Both contextual or answer format elements can be expressed as clause complexes. In both cases the mood type of the independent clause(s) used is either declarative or imperative, for example:

You do not need to solve the expression.

Assume that the bond matures in 10 years instead of 20 years.

As the additional element is a separate clause complex, the relative status of the additional elements in relation to the nucleus cannot be made explicit through taxis. The relationship between the additional element and the nucleus is sometimes made more explicit using cohesion for example:

*Support **your answer** with evidence.*

3.2.5 Paragraph/Texts

Contextual elements can also be expressed as separate paragraph or texts. Generally speaking, if the contextual element is a paragraph it is an constructed scenario, whereas if it is a separate text in a real scenario (ie a media article or case study). A number of problems were found in the examples of constructed scenarios in the corpus. Some scenarios were not coherently structured, lexicogrammatical resources were used inconsistently and contextual elements were not always clearly delineated from the nucleus. In addition, some scenarios included culturally specific humour and double entendre and others relied on cultural norms unlikely to be shared across the student cohort. Further, some scenarios were unnecessary to the question.

4 Conclusions and recommendations

The findings of the analysis demonstrates both language as choice and the meta-redundancy of the linguistic system (Matthiessen, 2002). It is possible for the nucleus of an exam question to be expressed using four different mood types. Additional elements in the generic structure of exam questions can be expressed in different ways at different units of language. Whilst the selections made when writing exam questions are related to the learning outcome being assessed, that is particular learning outcomes make particular selections more likely, the potential for variation is such that, in the context of an international student cohort, the conventions for using linguistic resources to assess learning outcomes should be articulated and shared by both the faculty and the student cohort. The key points of such conventions highlighted by this paper are the appropriate selection of mood type and the inclusion of additional elements as appropriate to the type of answer required and the level of learning being assessed.

The mood of the nucleus has implications for the anticipated answer and the level of learning being assessed. These implications should be used to guide the selection of the mood type of the nucleus. That is, wh- interrogatives should be used for short answer questions and imperative clauses reserved for longer answer questions. Since the use of a wh- interrogative is of little value in a multiple choice question, where the format of the answer is known, the use of declarative clauses in multiple choice questions is a way to reduce complexity and increase accessibility in the context of an international student cohort. The use of yes/no interrogatives in examination question should be limited to cases where a yes/no answer is required. That is the metaphorical use of yes/no questions where other longer answers are required should be avoided.

The inclusion of additional generic elements in the question enables the assessment of learning outcomes to be extended beyond those implied by the mood of the clause, either by

the provision of contextual information or answer format information to scaffold the answer, so that the questions can be made relevant to the learning outcomes of the course. However, it is important that the additional elements add to, rather than detract from, the clarity and accessibility of the question. As far as possible, including contextual or answer format information within the nominal group should be avoided as it increases the complexity of the nominal group structure and can be difficult for L2 English speakers to “unpack”. When additional generic elements are realized by clauses or clause complexes, the relationship between the nucleus and the additional elements needs to be made as explicit as possible. For clauses within clause complexes the relationship should be made explicit by hypotaxis and conjunctions. For clause complexes appropriate choice of mood, declarative rather than imperative, and cohesion are important resources. Contextual information provided as semantic units, paragraphs or texts, needs to be carefully written (or selected) and presented to ensure it is clear and accessible for the student cohort.

It is important to note that the findings and recommendations of this paper, whilst originally driven by concerns in respect of L2 English speakers, will also improve relevance, clarity and accessibility in examination questions for the entire student cohort. This is because, as previous research has repeatedly shown, changes to assessments made in response to the needs of a particular set of students are beneficial to the entire student cohort (eg James, McInnis and Devlin, 2002 and Watty, Yu and Lowe, 2006). Educational researchers have been applying the principles of universal design to academic assessments (Thompson, Johnstone and Thurlow, 2002). This paper provides specific recommendations for the use of lexicogrammatical resources to realize some of the principles identified by these researchers.

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A 'good enough' grammatics: Developing an effective metalanguage for school English in an era of multiliteracies

Mary Macken-Horarik

School of Education, University of New England,
Armidale, NSW, 2351
Australia
mmackenh@une.edu.au

Abstract

Textuality is 'core business' in school English but its nature is increasingly problematic, especially within a multiliteracies context. In this paper I explore the metalanguage issue through a seafaring metaphor, picturing English as a ship we are steering through uncertain waters where films, posters and video games jostle Shakespeare's plays and contemporary novels, all demanding analysis. What kinds of tools will serve our navigational needs as we journey across a sea of change? In this paper, I explore the challenge of a grammatics that will work for school English, drawing on Halliday's distinction between language in use and metalanguage. I argue that a 'good enough' grammatics needs to accommodate four realities of school English:

- (i) the specifics of texts – the instance,
- (ii) larger semiotic potentials – the system,
- (iii) diverse social-semiotic practices,
- (iv) enhanced student repertoires.

But a good enough metalanguage is not enough. In order to work productively with these tensions, we need a protean mind. Tackling contemporary textuality requires a similar ability. The protean mind is alive to changes of form (and mode) and able to see commonalities across forms of textuality. It is also attuned to realities of institutional power and the possibilities of new semiosis. In this paper, I argue for the usefulness of systemic functional grammatics in fashioning a 'good enough' metalanguage for contemporary English and its teachers.

1 Introduction: English is a boat on unfamiliar seas

With a national curriculum on the horizon, English has entered a period in which the communication landscape has altered beyond recognition, with expanded notions of text and new modes of textuality - from Baz Luhrman's *Romeo and Juliet* to SMS texting, to CD covers and computer games. Not only have the kinds of text encountered in classrooms proliferated; new ways of reading these have become part of the standard fare of English teaching. Reading is now understood as a social practice which integrates several sub-skills or sub-processes: code breaking, meaning making, text using and text analysis (amongst others). Beyond this textual diversity is the linguistically differentiated nature of our national demographic – the fact that English is a second, a third and even a foreign language for many students. The multiliteracies agenda has put social and linguistic difference firmly at the centre of our landscape and those who fashion a national curriculum must deal with it.

Cutting across this diversification is ferment of a different kind – a conservative campaign in some media and political quarters to restore the 'lost order' of English as a discipline. Every few days or so, we read feature articles and editorials in newspapers such as *The Australian* calling for a return to traditional appreciation of 'great works' of literature, freedom from jargon related to critical literacy and post-structuralism and re-instatement of traditional grammar. Key apologists within the *English Teachers' Association* are defending their discipline, arguing for rich and inclusive understandings of literacy practices in English, for a respect for insights made available in literary theory and the importance of functional approaches to language. Counterposed to the spreading heterogeneity of curriculum possibilities in English we observe the centripetal pull of a 'back to basics' agenda – focussing on 'core business', 'consistency' and system accountability.

English can be likened to a re-fashioned boat on turbulent seas at this moment in its history. And English teachers are like sailors attempting to navigate and steer the boat through (often) unfamiliar waters of an expanded textuality. They may be excited about the expedition – new opportunities for film study, for e-literature, for student-initiated blogs; but all too often they are responding to demands ‘from above’ to add A-E reporting to portfolio assessment, to prepare students for national testing and to negotiate an increasingly crowded school timetable. What kinds of talk about text and language will serve them here? What navigational tools will help them orient their disciplinary boat in turbulent seas? Perhaps, the first task is one of construal: how do we represent the nature of the challenge facing development of a good enough metalanguage in contemporary English? In the next section, I outline some semiotic and social parameters of this challenge in an introductory way.

2 Four aspects of the challenge for English

Firstly, there is a need to make space for both text and system. Along this dimension, we relate the specifics of text (as instance) to the resources of the system (as potential) that underlie each act of communication? The text is a particular act of meaning and the system is the code that underlies this act of communication, renders it meaningful, shareable. When we look closely at a text, we focus on what an individual student (a meaner) has achieved. When we consider the system, however, we focus attention on the potential behind the instance. Both are important, as Halliday has argued:

It is of little use having an elegant theory of the system if it cannot account for how the system engenders text; equally, it adds little to expatiate on a text if one cannot relate it to the system that lies behind it, since anyone understanding the text does so only because they know the system. Discourse analysis has to be founded on a study of the system of language. At the same time, the main reason for studying the system is to throw light on discourse – on what people say and write and listen to and read. Both system and text have to be in focus of attention.

[Halliday, 1994: xxii]

A knowledge of both text and system is important if we are to relate students’ acts of meaning to the potential (or relevant sub-potentials) of the discipline. And teachers need to be able to interpret the relative achievement in any student’s text – the extent to which it approximates, even supersedes, the potential opened up in the classroom.

Secondly, we need to consider the relationship of students’ ways of meaning (repertoires) to the disciplinary practices that occur in curriculum, pedagogy and assessment contexts. Some repertoires developed in their everyday lives often bear little relation to the skill-set required in English. Some students are adept at video games, at blogging and at subversive u-tube filming without these skills being in the least acknowledged or built upon in school literacies. How do English teachers make space for both formal and informal literacy repertoires that students bring with them into the classroom? How do we make space for desire as well as distinction?

Textual repertoires are shaped by social-semiotic practices of different kinds. Alongside the new practices associated with multiliteracies, there are familiar institutional practices such as examinations. Teachers need tools for exploring practices that are innovative and conventional. Again, the challenge is one of how to encompass diversities and hierarchies. Figure 1 represents the coordinates of the challenge facing development of an adequate toolkit for contemporary school English.

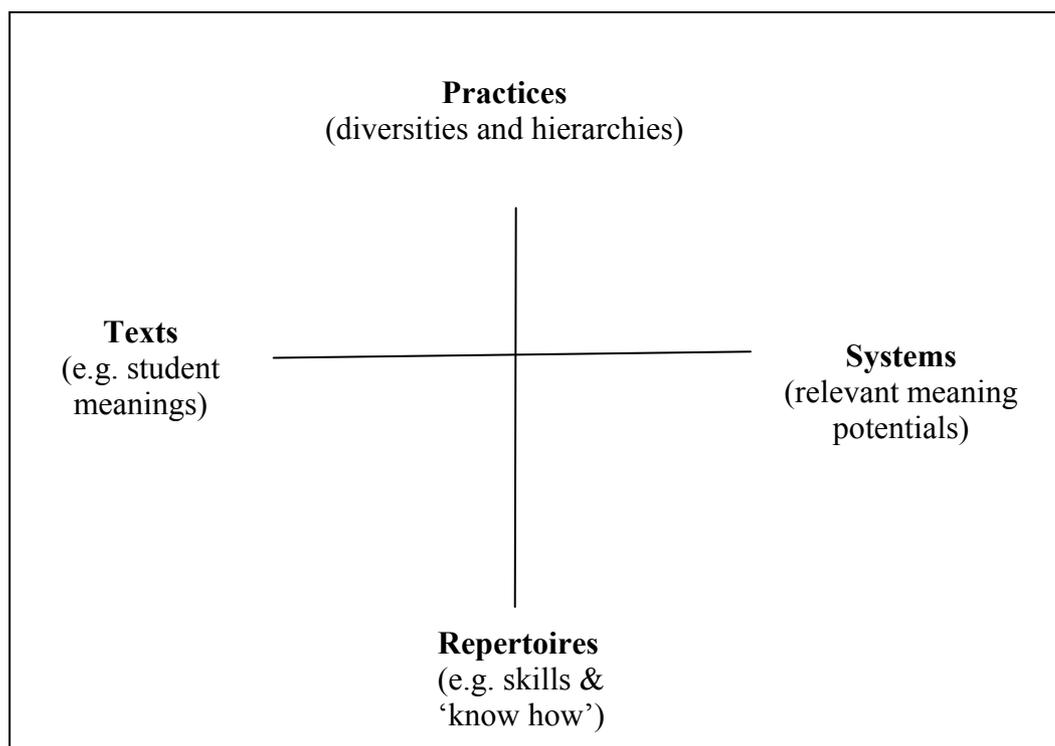


Figure 1: Four coordinates of the challenge facing a metalanguage

Let's assume that a 'good enough' metalanguage can be developed for school English as it sets forth on its 21st century expedition. What affordances are there in systemic functional grammatics? How should it be adapted for English?

3 Systemic Functional Grammatics

The term 'grammatics' comes from Halliday who began to think in the 1980s about the need to distinguish between the grammar of unselfconscious language use and the metalanguage we use to study this. As he describes this problem:

All systematic knowledge takes the form of 'language about' some phenomenon; but whereas the natural sciences are language about nature, and the social sciences are language about society, linguistics is language about language – 'language turned back on itself' in Firth's oft-quoted formulation... How does one keep apart the object language from the metalanguage – the phenomenon itself from the theoretical study of that phenomenon?'

[Halliday, 2002: 384]

Why complicate what is surely complicated enough? Why not just use grammar and get on with it? Well, the slippage between the two meanings of grammar is part of the problem. When Prince Charles rails against the terrible grammar of his office workers, he is not referring to their knowledge about language but to their actual use of language. When people learn that I am a linguist, they start to tell me that their grammar is 'awful' or that they hated grammar at school (generally to share old wounds) thus slipping between grammar as etiquette and grammar as the study of this. When a government minister complains about the grammar of pre-service teachers, he may be referring to their language use or to the knowledge about language (in one notable case, whether they could define a syllable). The slippage between language use and metalanguage in the term grammar can mean that we never distinguish what we are talking about. And the history of grammar teaching is full of

the history of denigration of the perfectly functional uses of language by groups of people whose social location was the problem. Difficulties such as this can be more easily tackled if we recognize, as Halliday does that 'grammatics is to grammar as linguistics is to language'. Of course, the power of SF grammatics lies in its mimetic connections to the grammatical patterns on which it is modelled. It is very like the thing it describes and this gives the metalanguage both a formal and a functional appositeness. This grounding makes the grammatics 'very good to think with' about all modes of semiosis – verbiage, image and multimodal communication.

This analogical potential was clear also to Halliday in later years:

When I first used the term 'grammatics', I was concerned simply to escape from the ambiguity where 'grammar' meant the phenomenon itself – a particular stratum in language – and the study of that phenomenon; I was simply setting up a proportion such that grammatics is to grammar as linguistics is to language. But over the years since then I have found it useful to have 'grammatics' available as a term for a specific view of grammatical theory, whereby it is not just a theory about grammar but also a way of using grammar to think with.

[Halliday, 2002:416]

Any grammatics that is going to be adequate both to disciplinary parameters outlined above and to teachers and their students needs to be 'good to think with' and good to use'. In other words, it needs to make the turbulent seas of 21st century communication more tractable for teachers without reductive over-simplifications. A 'hotted up' traditional grammar will never do in this enterprise. This is not to reject its contribution but to relativize it. Some aspects of traditional grammatics are important, for example, in understanding constituency – the formal structures underlying functional units of meaning. But study of parts of speech and parsing and analysis of the traditional kind will not enable teachers and students to do the hard work of interpreting and composing texts of many kinds. Nor will it serve in a rhetorically oriented curriculum such as English is becoming. Nor in the task of exploring multimodal textuality or reading and writing practices of different kinds. Besides, so much has already been achieved in the functional linguistics tradition. The grammatics already developed by functional linguists such as Martin, Rothery, Christie, Kress and van Leeuwen, amongst others has added much to understandings about genre-based literacy, register-rich descriptions of context and, recently, compelling adaptations of analytical tools like transitivity and information structure to images and multimodal semiosis.

We are now in a position to draw on all we have learned in educational linguistics to fashion a powerful navigational toolkit for teachers of English – one that will enable us to move forward rather than backward, to engage with complex social-semiotic practices, to diagnose strengths and weaknesses in students' texts, relating them in a principled way to the relevant meaning potentials on which they draw. That is why we need a grammatics and not a grammar, or rather why our grammatics needs to be soundly based in grammar (mimetically related to it) but also portable and adaptable. The whole point is to develop tools that will help us to help our students negotiate multiliteracies – our seas of change. Any metalanguage we develop – any grammatics - needs to have at least four qualities. It needs to:

- (i) connect with semiotic practices (what people do and how they do it);
- (ii) enhance student repertoires (formal and informal 'know how');
- (iii) enable pattern recognition within and across texts (systemic knowledge)
- (iv) recognize emergent potential in students' texts (development).

The difficulty of such an enterprise is more than off-set by the excitement of adapting such a powerful toolkit as SFG to the contextual and textual demands of English teaching in this contemporary moment. But even more is needed.

4 The protean mind

Awareness of the challenges of the new territory of English and of the navigational affordances of SF grammatics is not enough, despite the promise of this metalanguage. What is also needed is a ‘protean mind’. English teachers are always shaping tools and strategies to new contexts – making do with what is ‘to hand’. They are what Levi Strauss called ‘bricoleurs’ rather than ‘engineers’, certainly when it comes to classroom adaptations of tools. In this enterprise, we need to honour their capacity to make choices about what is needed and to make learning meaningful for students. Eclecticism, however, is often code for a theoretical laziness. I prefer to use the term, the ‘protean mind’. For me this suggests better the teacherly disposition to explore different forms of semiosis in new ways.

The word, ‘protean’, comes to us from Greek mythology. Proteus was a prophetic Old Man of the Sea who would often transform himself into new forms to escape capture by powerful others. According to Homer’s *Odyssey*, Menelaus’ ship was becalmed as he journeyed home from the Trojan war. Menelaus learned from Proteus’s daughter that if he could capture and hold on to her father, he would reveal information needed to restore order in his family and thus propitiate the gods. When Proteus emerged from the sea one night to sleep among his colony of seals, Menelaus was able to hold him through several changes of form - from lion through snake, leopard, pig water and even tree. Grasped by a more powerful force through his changes of form, Proteus agreed to reveal his special knowledge about Menelaus’s situation so he could journey on to right these wrongs. Proteus is an important archetype for English at the present time because he both changes and holds his identity. He embodies both continuity and change. English teachers and teacher educators need protean minds – a curiosity about the discipline as it morphs through different models and variants at the current time and a willingness to pursue the commonalities through these changes, revealing perhaps a deeper unity. It would be a mistake to seek the deeper unity, an abstract universalism, without keeping an eye on the particularities of meaning and form that distinguish one text or one mode from another. Holding both the specifics and the abstractions is crucial if we are to steer a path through difficult but exciting shoals and reefs of change. Any grammatics that is going to be ‘good enough’ will have to engage the protean minds of its teacher-consumers and to allow for the adaptations that occur in ordinary classrooms. This is a challenge for SF grammatics.

While the affordances of SF grammatics are promising and have influenced literacy teaching across Australia, its technicality has proved forbidding for many teachers. SFG is a specialized field with a demanding conceptual architecture and requires induction into multiple linguistic systems. Despite its promise and some productive interventions such as the genre movement and the ‘Write it Right’ project in the Disadvantaged Schools Program in Sydney, many teachers have remained beyond the reach of this metalanguage. The level of complexity in the grammar (at lower levels such as clause, group/phrase and word level) has made professional development demanding and expensive for educational authorities to subsidize and demands of specialized training prohibitive. The textbooks stand unused in professional libraries or bookshops. Many teachers with a smattering of terms remain sceptical. And media recontextualizations have been unhelpful, to say the least. But SF grammatics has yet to make major inroads into curriculum theorizing, especially in high school English. Teachers need an interface grammatics - one that they can take on without having to retrain as linguists, one that engages with understandings developed elsewhere, such as in literary and media theory.

A metalanguage that is too general or too specific will not serve; we need one that is functional, stretchable and good for teachers to think with – what Gee (2000) calls ‘mid-level generalizations’. Only this kind of grammatics will suffice to guide students as they set sail

on textual adventures with some idea of how to get where they want to go.

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Self- Assessment of Foreign Language Speaking Skills: With a Focus on Gender Difference

Nasrin Hadidi Tamjid

Islamic Azad University – Tabriz Branch
No.37, Khoy-e-Khazar, Abresani Ave., Tabriz, Iran
nasrin37@hotmail.com

Abstract

The current trend in learner-centered language teaching approaches, and a growing interest in “authenticity and interactiveness” (Bachman & Palmer, 1996) have led to a greater interest in expanding the use of second language self-assessment (e.g., Bachman, 2000). Oscarson (1997, cited in Brindley, 2001) argues that participating in self-assessment can help learners become skilled judges of their own strengths and weaknesses and to set realistic goals for themselves. The present study was undertaken in an attempt to answer two research questions as they apply to Iranian young language learners:

RQ 1: Is there any relationship between self-assessment and teacher assessment?

RQ 2: What is the difference between males and females in their self-assessment?

This research was conducted in four language institutes in Tabriz. Altogether 114 language learners participated in this study. A questionnaire was adapted in Likert 5-point scale to assess the learners' speaking skills. Moreover, the participants were interviewed as part of their placement exam. The learners' scores in the questionnaire and the teachers' assessment scores in the interview were compared to find out if there were any agreement. Additionally, the researcher explored the relationship between gender and self-assessment to find out whether males or females were more accurate in estimating their speaking skills.

1 Introduction

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the application of assessment procedures, which are different from traditional forms of assessment. Nunan (1999) notes that in traditional assessment, teacher alone assesses the students' progress, and learners do not develop ability to assess what they have learned. In contemporary views towards assessment, learners are trained to assess their own learning progress, and can identify their own strengths and weaknesses. In fact, the use of nontraditional forms of assessment in the classroom reflects the changing paradigm in education in general and in second language teaching in particular, e.g., from emphasis on product to emphasis on process, from teacher-centered classes to learner-centered classes, from tests that test to tests that also teach, etc. (Huerta-Macias, 2002).

2 Review of the related literature

2.1 Defining self- assessment

The term assessment is derived from ‘ad sedere’ – to sit down beside. According to Wang and Wang (2007), the implication of its etymology is that it is primarily concerned with providing guidance and feedback to the learner. Ekbatani (2000, cited in Chaplin & Brindley, 2002) defines self-assessment as an integral part of learner-centered approaches to instruction which aims to encourage the active participation of the learner in different stages of learning/teaching process. Blanche and Merino (1989, cited in Brindley, 2001) suggest that with training, learners can be capable of self-assessing their language ability with reasonable accuracy. According to Kavaliauskiene (2004), learner self-assessment helps learners think about their own progress and find ways of changing, adapting and improving. In fact, many language learners, particularly the most successful language learners, regularly engage in self-assessment as part of their learning (Dickinson, 1991, cited in Kavaliauskiene, 2004).

2.2 Some insights into language teaching

Research into the use of self-assessment in different contexts has provided a number of insights into language teaching. Chapelle and Brindley (2002) mention four insights in this regard. First, the ability to carry out self-assessment cannot be taken for granted and learners should be provided with adequate training in the use of self-assessment techniques (e.g., see Cram, 1995). Second, how learners accurately self-assess appears to be related to the instruments used and their transparency. Backman and Palmer (1989, cited in Chapelle & Brindley, 2002) suggest that learners find it easier to say what they ‘cannot’ do or what they have difficulty doing than what they ‘can’ do. It seems that more self-assessment scales are typically presented as ‘can do’ statements. Third, studies such as Oscarson (1997) indicate that self-assessment scales work best when the self-assessment statements are situation-specific and closely related to learners’ personal experience. And finally, there is some evidence to suggest that cultural factors affect learners’ willingness to self-assess and also the accuracy of their self-assessments.

3 Rationale for self-assessment

The motives for introducing self-assessment vary and usually include the practical impossibility for teachers to keep effective track of all their students’ changing learning needs (Kavaliauskiene, 2004). Oscarsson (1989, cited in Coombe & Canning, 1999) gives six different reasons why self-assessment can be beneficial to language learning. First, he stresses that self-assessment promotes learning, plain and simple. It gives learners training in evaluation which results in benefits to the learning process. Secondly, it gives both students and teachers a raised level of awareness of perceived levels of abilities. Training in self-assessment, even in its simplest form, like asking “What have I been learning?” encourages learners to look at course content more carefully. Thirdly, it is highly motivating in terms of goal-orientation. Fourth, through the use of self-assessment methodologies, the range of assessment techniques is expanded in the classroom. As a result of using self-assessment, the learner broadens his/her range of experience within the area of assessment. Fifth, by practicing self-assessment, the students participate in their own evaluation (Dickinson 1987, cited in Coombe & Canning, 1999). They, in effect, share the assessment burden with the teacher. Finally, by successfully involving students in their own assessment, beneficial post-course effects will result.

Liang (2006) summarizes the benefits of self-assessment in the following way:

- Self-assessment directly involves learners in their own destiny.
- Self-assessment promotes learner autonomy in language learning.
- Self-assessment trains learners to evaluate their own language performance accurately, see the gap in their learning, and initiate self-repair
- Self-assessment increases learners’ awareness of the learning process and stimulates them to consider course content and assessment critically.
- Self-assessment increases learners’ knowledge of their learning goals and their learning needs, and thus enhances their motivation and goal orientation.
- Self-assessment reduces the teacher’s workload.

4 The present study

The present study investigates how accurately language learners can estimate their speaking skills. Moreover, there is an attempt to find out if there is any gender difference in self-assessment.

Two questions have guided the study:

RQ 1: *Is there any relationship between self-assessment and teacher assessment?*

RQ 2: *What is the difference between males and females in their self-assessment?*

5 Methodology

The present study was carried out in 4 language institutes in Tabriz. The target participants of this study were mostly junior highschool or university students. Altogether 114 language learners participated in this study, among whom, 43 were girls and 71 were boys. These students had registered for the placement exam. All the students who enrolled to take the placement test were included in this study.

In order to do this research, data was gathered through a self- assessment questionnaire, in Likert 5-point scale and an interview. The participants were told that there would be no connection between the scores on the questionnaire and their actual placement. They were told that it was just part of a research project. Moreover, an emphasis was made that there was no 'right' or 'wrong' answer, so they were required to choose what they believe they can rather than what they should be able to do.

The questionnaire was administered before the participants were interviewed and collected immediately when they finished it. The questions were written in English and the students were required to question any ambiguity in the items. The questionnaire took a participant 10 minutes to finish. The interview was carried out after the questionnaire was completed by the participant. The interview also lasted about 10 minutes for each participant. The questions in the questionnaire and interview were mainly related to the participants' speaking skills and their confidence in them. All the teachers doing the interview were consulted about the questions in the questionnaire and the interview. The questionnaire was marked by each student before being interviewed. The students were supposed to estimate their own speaking skills by marking the items in the questionnaire which ranged from 1(very difficult) to 5 (very easy) .Those who highly estimated their speaking skills approached 5 in each item. The total score of each questionnaire was calculated. Later, the language learners were interviewed. The interviewers were supposed to ask questions similar to the items in the questionnaire. They rated the students at 8 levels from elementary to advanced.

6 Data analysis

To compare self-assessment and teacher assessment, the scores in the questionnaire were also converted into 8 levels. This classification was done based on the mean and SD of the total scores in the questionnaire.

To answer the first research question, crosstabulation was employed to show in tabular format the relationship between two variables, i.e., the learner assessment and the teacher assessment. The point was to see if there is any agreement between teacher assessment and self-assessment. The following means plot illustrates the results:

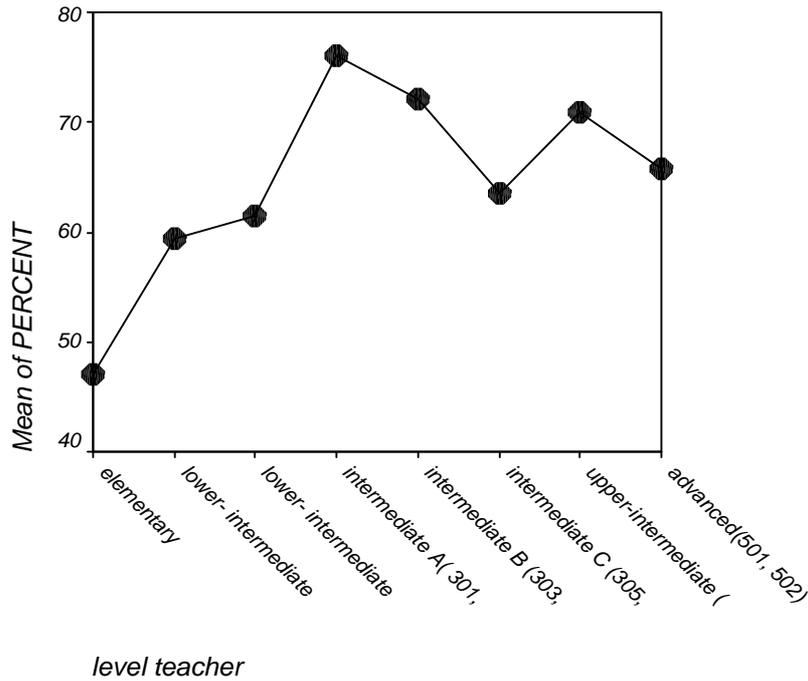
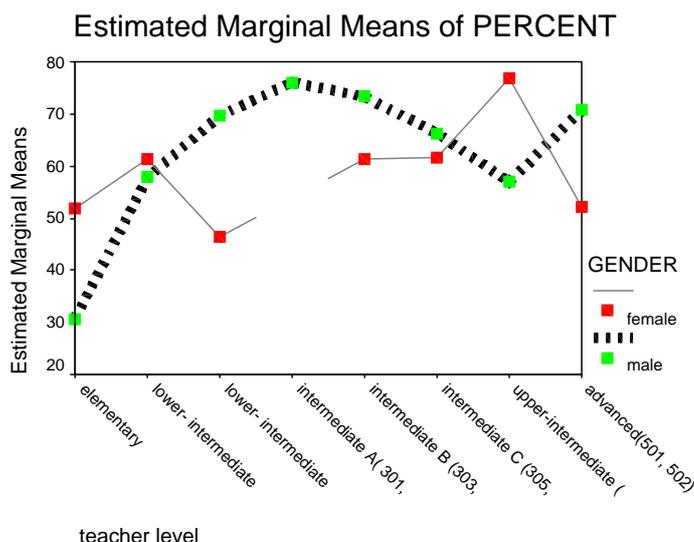


Figure 2: Means Plot

As it is illustrated in this plot, there is agreement between teacher assessment and self-assessment except for intermediate C and advanced levels. In order to give evidence for the probability of any relationship between gender and self-assessment, correlation was measured. The correlation value between female students' self-assessment and teacher assessment was .091, not significant at the 0.05 level. Regarding male participants, correlation value was .062 which is not significant at 0.05 level either. This shows that there was no agreement between males' assessment and teacher assessment. Yet, considering the whole 114 participants, p value of .003 indicated that correlation was significant.

Moreover, the raw data, i.e. the total scores of the students in the questionnaire was analyzed using a T-test, to find out the confidence interval and to see if the difference between the means of the male and female students is significant. The following plot has summarized the comparison between females and males in their self-assessment and teacher assessment.



As it is illustrated in this plot, there is disagreement in self- assessment and teacher assessment of males specifically at intermediate C and upper-intermediate levels. In case of females, there is disagreement in their self-assessment and teacher assessment at lower-intermediate and advanced levels.

Regarding gender difference, it was revealed that males overestimated their speaking skills more than females, whereas females estimated their speaking ability more accurately than males. The following table illustrates the results:

	Overestimated	Underestimated	Accurately estimated
All participants	64 %	21.9%	14%
Females	51.1%	20%	27.9%
Males	71.8%	22.5%	5.6%

What is revealed is that males overestimated themselves more than females, and females seem to be more accurate in estimating their speaking skills than males. Considering the results of the T-test , in which the 95% confidence interval of the difference was between -13 to -3, with p=0.002, we can say that there is a significant difference between males and females in their self-assessment, and that males significantly overestimated themselves more than females. What is inferred from all these analyses is that, on the whole, students tend to overestimate their speaking skills, and this is more common among males.

7 Conclusion

The techniques of self-assessment and evaluation play important part in evaluating the effectiveness of individual learning, training learners for a life long learning and teacher self-development. Learners need to assess their progress and accomplishments in order to plan their future learning. It seems that the results of self-assessment can not only raise the students' self-awareness about their meta-cognitive conditions, but also provide teachers with the students' shortcomings. However, because self-assessment is performed through complex cognitive processes which are affected by many uncontrollable factors, there still remains much disagreement in the discussion regarding the effective use of self- assessment. Despite a number of difficulties in appropriately implementing self-assessment, the ways in which we resolve these issues will certainly provide valuable insights into the nature of language

teaching, learning, and assessment. When these challenges are met, it is hoped that language institutions and classroom teachers will consider the potential of self-assessment as both a valid and reliable supplement to traditional assessment.

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Transitivity Profiles as Indicators of the Development of Student's Narrative Writing: a Corpus-based Study

Wang Shanshan and Guo Libo

with the assistance of Hong Huaqing and Siti Azlinda Ashama
National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University
NIE5-B3, 1 Nanyang Walk, Singapore 637616,
shanshan.wang@nie.edu.sg; libo.guo@nie.edu.sg;

Abstract

Drawing on Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Washitake (2004) and Foley & Lee (2004), this study examines the variation of TRANSITIVITY patterns in generic stages of the narrative writings of Primary 5 and Secondary 3 students. By analyzing generic stages and the patterns in TRANSITIVITY selections, it is shown that (1) overall process type selections vary from Primary 5 to Secondary 3; (2) process type selections vary from one generic stage to another; (3) the patterns of process type distribution with regard to generic stage differ from Primary 5 to Secondary 3; and (4) Secondary 3 students are more adept in employing the different types of processes in their narratives.

1 Introduction

Genre-based literacy pedagogy has been burgeoning in the last two decades, delineating a range of written genres in primary and secondary schools (Derewianka, 1990; Unsworth, 2001; Christie 2005). Since genre is conceived as 'a staged, goal oriented social process' achieved through language (Martin 1984), it is important to identify the generic stages of each genre and pinpoint how the stages allow the genre to achieve its goals through the lexicogrammatical choices made in each stage. This entails both a qualitative perspective in terms of the choices made from a functional system network and a quantitative perspective in terms of how frequently each of these choices is made (Halliday, 2005). For instance, Foley and Lee (2004) analyzed both the generic structure and the selections made in the lexicogrammatical networks in selected primary school children's writing. In their study, however, no attempt was made to reveal how one generic stage differs from another in the choices made within the lexicogrammatical networks. Washitake (2004), among other things, presents the TRANSITIVITY profiles in the construction of each generic stage of one narrative text, but this method has not yet been applied to a larger corpus of student writing. More recently Matthiessen (2007) also addressed the possible link between generic stages and TRANSITIVITY profile in the building of texts.

Contributing to this line of enquiry and in particular responding to Matthiessen's (2007) call, this paper attempts to examine how the frequency of occurrence of TRANSITIVITY choices made in students' writing is related to the development of students' narrative genre competence. To trace discernable development, we compare and examine a small corpus of the narrative writings of Primary 5 (11-12 years old) and Secondary 3 (15-16 years old) students to address the following questions:

- 1) How does the overall selection of TRANSITIVITY features act as an indicator of the development in students' narrative writing from Primary 5 to Secondary 3?
- 2) How do TRANSITIVITY patterns vary from one generic stage to another in primary and secondary school students' writing?

2 Methods

2.1 Selection of Students' Texts

From a large database of student's writing across the curriculum collected as part of a larger study of pedagogic practices in Singapore schools (Luke, Freebody, Lau and Gopinathan, 2005), we selected a small corpus of 38 narratives, of which 27 are from Primary 5 (P5) students and 11 Secondary 3 (S3) students.

Table 1: Students texts used in this study

Level	No. of Students	No. of Texts	Total Running Words
P 5	27	27	8705
S 3	11	11	8920
Total	38	38	17625

2.2 Annotation

Using MMAX2 tool (Müller & Strube 2006), two sets of annotation were carried out on the student work. First, following Rothery and Stenglin (1997:244), each student work was segmented into generic stages which consist of: (Optional stages are shown in parenthesis)

(Abstract)	Orientation	Complication	Evaluation	Resolution	(Coda)
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Second, following the TRANSITIVITY system of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), an annotation scheme was devised. It should be noted that the focus of TRANSITIVITY annotation and subsequent analysis reported in this paper is on Process types. Although it would be worthwhile to investigate the process types in relation to their Participants and Circumstances, only the Process type was discussed in detail here since it is the 'nucleus' of the clause which 'make distinctive contributions to the construal of experience in text' (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004).

2.3 Processing of statistical reports

The annotation output was uploaded to the SCoRE online query package (Hong 2005) to retrieve statistical reports. These statistical reports were processed in line with our study and will be further tabulated and analyzed in the next section.

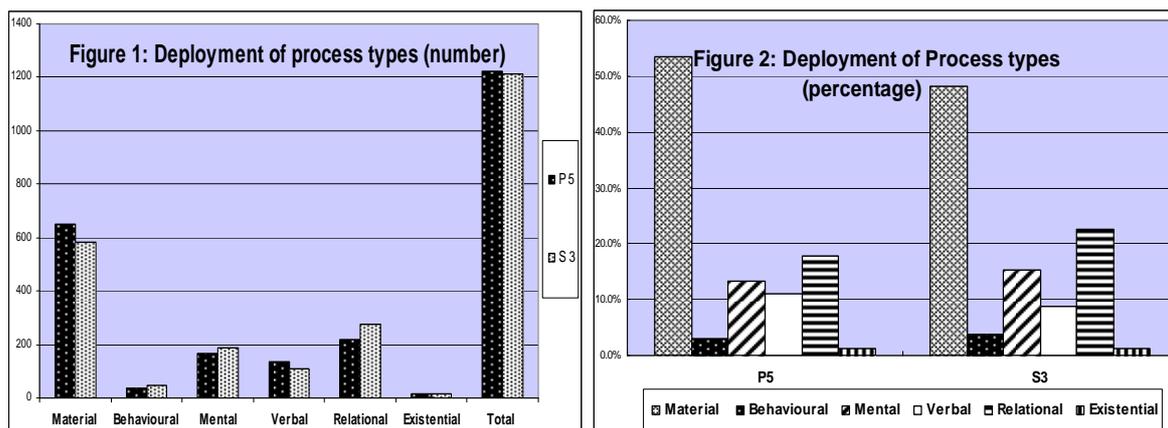
3 Results

3.1 Transitivity Analysis

Table 2: Occurrences of Process types

	Material	Behavioural	Mental	Verbal	Relational	Existential	Total
P5	653	37	164	136	219	14	1223
	53.4%	3.0%	13.4%	11.1%	18.8%	1.1%	100%
S3	584	45	186	107	274	16	1212
	48.2%	3.7%	15.3%	8.8%	22.6%	1.3%	100%

From Table 2, Figure 1 and Figure 2, the usage of the six process types in P5 and S3 students' narratives is distributed in quite a similar pattern, with Material process as the dominant process type, followed by Relational, Mental and Verbal processes and fewer occurrences of Behavioural and Existential processes. This agrees with the findings of Foley & Lee (2004) and Washitake (2004).



Material process dominates because narratives are mostly concerned with events and actions which are primarily construed through material processes. The proportion of Material process as compared to the other process types is higher in P5 than that in S3. Relational and Mental processes are more evident in the S3 narratives than in the P5 narratives. Since Relational clauses serve to characterize and to identify (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004), the more usage of relational process in S3 shows that the writings of S3 students are more richly descriptive and more precise. This agrees with the findings of Foley & Lee (2004), where the use of Relational process increases as the children get older while the rate of Material process decreases. S3 students also use more mental processes to present the emotion and perception. Comparatively speaking, P5 students use more Verbal process than S3 students. P5 students mainly use Verbal processes to incorporate dialogues in their narratives. This is in contrast to S3 narratives where verbal processes are used not only to introduce dialogues but also to encode emotions and attitudes. Besides the common verbs 'say', 'tell', 'reply' and 'answer', S3 students employ verbs that exhibit the characteristics of mental, behavioural processes, e.g., 'yell', 'interrogate', 'demand', 'stammer', 'insist', 'admit', 'pour out', 'assure', etc.

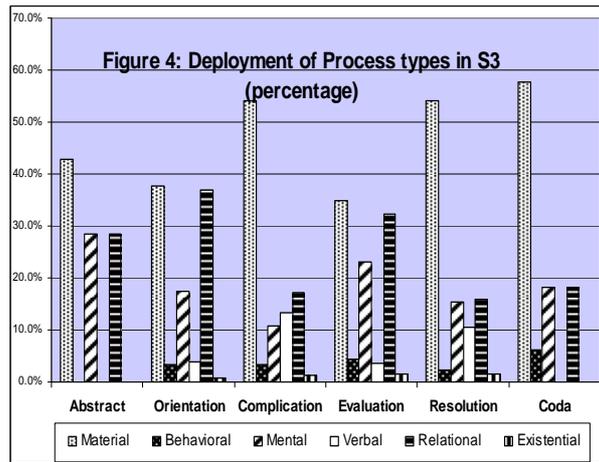
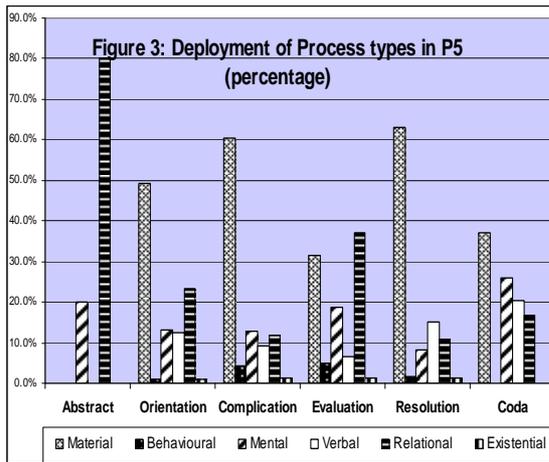
In summary, S3 students are more adept in employing various process types.

3.2 Transitivity in the Construction of Generic Stages

Table 3, Figure 3 and Figure 4 present the deployment of different process types in each generic stage. This will be analyzed according to the generic stages in narrative.

Table 3: Deployment of process types (occurrences)

	Level	Abstract	Orientation	Complication	Evaluation	Resolution	Coda
Material	P5	0	111	317	52	153	20
	S3	9	58	298	87	98	19
Behavioural	P5	0	2	23	8	4	0
	S3	0	5	19	11	4	2
Mental	P5	2	30	67	31	20	14
	S3	6	27	59	58	28	6
Verbal	P5	0	28	49	11	37	11
	S3	0	6	73	9	19	0
Relational	P5	8	53	62	61	26	9
	S3	6	57	95	81	29	6
Existential	P5	0	2	7	2	3	0
	S3	0	1	7	4	3	0



3.2.1 Abstract and Orientation

According to Rothery and Stanglin (1997), Abstract is an optional opening generic stage for Narrative. This stage is mainly constructed with Material, Relational and Mental processes, which gives a prospective evaluation and establishes an interpersonal context for what is to follow.

In our samples, only 5 out of 11 and 4 out of 27 narratives from S3 and P5 respectively begin with an abstract. All of these narratives serve to establish an interpersonal context to draw readers into the story. This can be seen from the examples:

John has now regretted for trusting Mark. (S3)

Timothy and Samuel had a frightening experience with a red-coated Pharaoh honnd (P5)

(*All the examples of students' writing are reproduced verbatim.)

Most narratives begin with the Orientation generic stage, which “orients” the reader to what is to follow. The function of Orientation is more than introducing the main characters and establishing a physical setting; it also creates a context for understanding what is to follow in the subsequent stages (Rothery & Stenglin 1997). Orientation usually specifies the when, where, who and why of the events, which is realized through Relational and Material processes. As noted in Figure 4, the main process types in Orientation are Material and Relational processes. In this stage, S3 essays employ much more relational processes which provide relatively more background information than P5 essays:

My name is Sarah and I have a brother named Jack. Last night my parents had to come home late and there was nobody to take care of us. So that night, we were very bored. (P5)

These girls were in the same class in Primary Six back of primary School. They were a girly clique and mostly went around in a group. Those girls were a giggly lot and besides small talk, laughter was also one of their prominent characteristics. These girls, in a positive light, would most probably stay young and always in the pink of health, as the saying goes, "Laughter is the best medicine." They would also bring good cheer and a bit of bounce to the mundane School life.(S3)

This is in contradiction to the findings of Washitake (2004), where Mental process accounts for 50% and Relational and Existential processes each accounts for 25%. This may be due to difference in sample size as Washitake analyzed only one narrative in which only 3 clauses make up the Orientation stage.

3.2.2 Complication, Resolution and Coda

As shown in Figure 3 and Figure 4, the generic stages of Complication and Resolution in both P5 and S3 are characterized by Material process —60.4% (P5) and 54.1% (S3) in Complication and 63.0% (P5) and 54.1% (S3) in Resolution. The high rate of Material

process is due to the fact that Complication mainly consists of a series of unusual events and acts while Resolution consists of the acts that resolve the disruption.

As in Orientation, in Complication and Resolution, S3 students employ more Relational processes and provide more descriptive information than P5 students. Compared with other stages, the rates of Mental, Verbal and Behavioural processes are higher in these two stages; this tendency is more evident in S3. These three process types work together with the material process to weave the details of the story together and move the plot of the story forward.

Coda is the optional concluding stage of narrative, which “gives an overall evaluation” of the events. It often deals with the moral or lesson drawn from the event. The distribution of process types in S3 narratives is similar to that of Washitake (2004) with Material process dominant, followed by Mental, Relational and Verbal processes. While in P5 narratives, Material, Verbal and Mental processes dominate and are evenly distributed.

3.2.3 Evaluation

Evaluation, which is interspersed with Complication, reflects on the thoughts and feelings of the characters and evaluates the situation and development to draw the readers into the narrative as the story develops.

As shown in Figure 3 and Figure 4, compared with other stages the rate of material process in Evaluation is comparatively low, with larger proportions of relational and mental processes. This is due to the fact that Evaluation relies on the deployment of relational and mental processes to express attitude, reaction and to describe the situation. As shown in the figures, S3 students use more Relational and Mental processes which make the story more attractive as they detail the situation of the events and the emotional state and responses of the characters.

In summary, the above analysis demonstrates the differences and variations of TRANSITIVITY patterns in P5 and S3 students' narratives. It can be seen that S3 students are more adept than P5 students in employing various process types in the construction of generic stages. The better command of various process types allows S 3 students to effectively develop the narratives stage by stage and make the texts more interesting to read.

4 Conclusion

This study has attempted to illustrate that TRANSITIVITY analysis in relation to generic stages might be a possible means to assess students' narrative writing competence. Such analysis provides us with insights as to how genre is constructed through generic stages and how generic stages are realized by TRANSITIVITY patterns. Future research can apply this method to other written genres.

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Question-answer as a genre in students' academic writing in Spanish

Natalia Ignatieva

National Autonomous University of Mexico
DLA, CELE-UNAM, C. U., Coyoacán, 04510, México, D. F.
ignatiev@servidor.unam.mx

Abstract

This paper is part of a major on-going project investigating language use in the field of the humanities in Mexico and the United States. The main objective is to analyze the functional components of different genres within the academic register and to explore lexicogrammatical features of these genres. In my paper at the 34th ISFC (Ignatieva 2007) I presented the beginning of this investigation with text examples from two academic genres. Now I will report on the next stage of the project, namely, a more profound study of art students' texts from the systemic functional perspective. Fifteen texts are studied, all belonging to one genre: a mini-essay which is part of a question-answer examination written in class. Each text is analyzed according to several parameters: genre analysis; thematic analysis; transitivity analysis; interpersonal analysis; grammatical metaphor analysis and lexical density analysis. The paper examines the textual organization and the predominant lexicogrammatical features in the students' writing in order to identify the genre characteristics of the texts under analysis.

1 Introduction

This paper is part of a joint project between the National Autonomous University of Mexico and the University of California, Davis, investigating the language of humanities in Mexico and the United States¹. The main objective is to analyze the functional components of different genres within the academic register and to explore lexicogrammatical features of these genres.

In this paper I will limit myself to presenting the Mexican part of the project, and only a small portion of it, namely, a study of students' texts collected at the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts (National Autonomous University of Mexico) from the systemic functional perspective. The paper will analyze fifteen students' mini-essays in order to examine the differences and similarities in the textual organization, the selection of thematic structures, process types and other parameters so as to single out the predominant lexicogrammatical features in the student writing. The detected differences and similarities that reveal a distinct realization of academic writing will allow us to identify genre characteristics of the language analyzed.

2 Theoretical bases

The theory underlying this study is Systemic Functional Linguistics originated by Halliday (1975, 1985, 1994) and developed by other exponents of this trend (Martin 1992; Martin & Rose 2003, Matthiessen 1995, Thompson 1996, etc.). In Spanish there exist relatively few studies (Rébora Togno 2002, Montemayor-Borsinger 2003, Montemayor-Borsinger & Ignatieva 2005, Colombi 2003, Ghio & Fernández 2005, etc.) although the number and influence of research in this area has increased lately.

The systemic functional approach in linguistics is a way to consider grammar in terms of usage and the creation of meaning. According to Halliday, language is structured to create 3 main types of meanings: ideational, interpersonal and textual. Ideational meanings serve to encode the speaker's, or writer's, experience in the exterior world, interpersonal meanings

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serve to express the interaction of the speaker with others, and textual meanings to organize a text as a coherent whole. Ideational meanings are expressed in terms of transitivity and permit the consideration of a sentence or a clause as composed by different combinations of participants organized around a process. Interpersonal meanings are expressed in the systems of mood and modality. Modality, in turn, consists of two subsystems: *modalization* (meanings that have to do with the probability of events) and *modulation* (meanings related to obligation, necessity, etc.). Textual meanings are expressed in terms of the two major components of a clause: *theme* as the departure point for the message and *rheme* as the remainder of the message (Halliday 1994: 38).

The three types of meaning are realized in language simultaneously and their distinct combinations produce an infinite variety of texts. We are especially interested in examining how these are combined with different genres and how, if at all, the genre influences the realization of these three basic types of meaning.

3 Methodology

As I have already mentioned, we analyzed students' texts collected at the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, namely, the Department of Modern Languages and Literature. The texts represent essays on Spanish literature topics, the majority of them about "Don Quijote" by Cervantes.

I shall consider here only one genre: a mini-essay, part of a question-answer examination written in class. First I shall analyze one text as an example, then I shall present the whole of the analysis applied to the fifteen texts according to six parameters: 1) thematic analysis that takes into consideration two textual units: the theme and rheme of each main clause, as well as the thematic progression of the text; 2) transitivity analysis where a special emphasis is put on different types of processes; 3) interpersonal analysis which is carried out in terms of mood and modality; 4) grammatical metaphor which will be analyzed in its two representations: ideational and interpersonal; 5) lexical density analysis that takes into account the number of content words per total words in the text; 6) genre analysis which consists of examining the formal and functional components of the text.

It is important to mention that thematic, interpersonal and transitivity analyses are carried out only in main clauses, while grammatical metaphor and lexical density analyses are applied to the whole of the text.

4 Text Analysis

4.1 Analysis Sample: Text 2

I chose one of the texts (Text 2) as an example for presenting the type of analysis we applied to our corpus. Text 2 is a mini-essay, part of a question-answer exam, written in class concerning relations between Don Quijote and Dulcinea. It consists of 9 paragraphs and contains 20 main clauses.

The *thematic* analysis reveals that there are 20 ideational themes, 7 textual themes and no interpersonal themes. Among the ideational themes 5 are simple noun groups or nouns including *Don Quijote* (4 times), 4 complex noun groups, e. g. *todos estos discursos* ('all these discourses'), *este juego del loco-cuerdo* ('this game of the mad prude'), including one complex noun group with an embedded clause, and 4 verbs. Besides, 5 themes are expressed as circumstances, e.g. *en este discurso* ('in this discourse'), three of them are complex: one theme includes an embedded clause, another one constitutes a hypotactic clause, and still another is a small clause. The textual themes include such conjunctions as *y* ('and'), *pues* ('well'), and other connectors: *además* ('besides'), *de lo contrario* ('on the contrary'), etc.

As for the *transitivity* analysis, there are 8 verbal processes, 6 relational processes, 3

material processes, and 3 mental processes, so that verbal processes occupy the first place, e.g. *decir* ('say'), *advertir* ('warn'), *explicar* ('explain'), etc.

In the *interpersonal* analysis only two elements can be found: an interpersonal grammatical metaphor: *me parece* ('it seems to me') expressing the modalization and the particle *no* expressing the negative polarity. So Text 2 is characterized by a minimum number of interpersonal elements.

As far as *grammatical metaphors* (GM) are concerned, we shall deal only with ideational metaphors, taking into account that interpersonal metaphors are treated within the interpersonal analysis. We should mention that only nominalizations of verbs and adjectives combined with complex noun groups were considered here as ideational metaphors. A search for GM shows that two of these are used in the text: *un amplio conocimiento del resto de las ciencias* ('an extensive knowledge of the rest of the sciences') and *la importancia de la andante caballería* ('the importance of the errant cavallery'), both of them correspond to nominalizations and complex noun groups.

In the *lexical density analysis* of the text we measured the number of content words per total words. It should be noted that in counting content words we excluded all functional words and also the first 25 most frequent words of Spanish according to the frequency dictionary (Davies 2006). Thus the text under analysis has 226 content words versus 517 total words, so its density is 43.7%.

Finally, from the point of view of *genre analysis* Text 2 shows a lack of essay structure: it has no introduction or conclusion, nor a thesis to develop; the author rather limits himself to answering a question.

4.2 Thematic analysis

Now we are going to examine each parameter analysis carried out on the total corpus of fifteen texts which will be numbered from 1 to 15. We shall present the data in a rather resumed manner beginning with the thematic analysis.

Table 1. Thematic Analysis Resumed Data.

Texts	Ideational themes	Interpersonal themes	Textual themes	Multiple themes	Complex themes
1	12	1	5	5	1
2	12	1	5	5	0
3	20	0	6	6	7
4	4	0	1	1	2
5	15	0	7	7	3
6	12	0	3	3	5
7	7	1	4	4	1
8	19	0	11	11	1
9	17	3	8	9	8
10	13	0	6	6	4
11	15	0	3	3	2
12	14	1	9	9	3
13	16	0	4	4	6
14	14	1	1	2	1
15	6	0	2	2	3
Totals	196	8 (4%)	75 (38%)	77 (39%)	47 (24%)

Table 1 shows the distribution of different types of themes in the texts examined. We can observe that our corpus has 196 ideational themes which correspond to the total number of

clauses analyzed. Among other types, interpersonal themes seem to be rather scarce (only 4% of the total number of themes), complex themes occupy an intermediate position (with 24%) while the numbers for textual and multiple themes are comparatively higher (38% and 39%, respectively).

4.3 Transitivity analysis

Examining different types of processes within the transitivity analysis we found that the predominant processes in the students' texts are *material* followed by *verbal* processes while *relational* processes occupy the third place and the number of *mental* processes is twice as small as the relational ones. As for *existential* and *behavioral* processes, they seem to appear very rarely in the students' writing and we can see in the Table 2 that very few students use them.

Table 2. Transitivity Analysis Resumed Data

	Material	Relational	Verbal	Mental	Existential	Behavioral	Total
1	1	2	7	2	0	1	13
2	6	1	5	1	0	0	13
3	4	5	8	3	0	0	20
4	0	1	1	2	0	0	4
5	6	2	10	0	0	0	18
6	3	1	6	2	0	0	12
7	4	0	3	0	0	0	7
8	14	4	1	4	0	0	23
9	2	9	5	1	0	0	17
10	2	6	1	3	1	0	13
11	5	4	4	1	1	0	15
12	2	2	3	4	1	2	14
13	6	5	2	2	1	0	16
14	4	9	1	0	0	0	14
15	1	3	0	2	0	0	6
Totales	60	54	57	27	4	3	205

4.4 Interpersonal Analysis, Grammatical Metaphor and Lexical Density

In this section we have combined the three parameters mentioned in the heading in order to save space. The summary of data on interpersonal analysis as well as on grammatical metaphor and lexical density analysis can be found in Table 3. It is a comprehensive table which sums up the most important results of all the parameters in our analysis.

As for the interpersonal analysis, in the corresponding column we included all the elements having to do with it: interpersonal themes, interpersonal grammatical metaphors, modal verbs and adjuncts, uses of negative polarity and personal pronouns. Even so it is evident that students do not employ these rhetoric means much as their presence is very scarce: 33 interpersonal elements all in all corresponding to an average of 2.2 elements per text.

As far as the GM analysis is concerned, it can be deduced from Table 3 that most students do not use grammatical metaphors, the total number of the GM found in all the texts is 10 which corresponds to 0.6 per text as an average value.

In the lexical density analysis the data are somewhat heterogeneous, ranging from 32.08% (minimum) to 45.8% (maximum), the average being 40.27%.

Table 3. A Complete Analysis General Summary

	Clauses number	Paragr. number	Multiple themes	Complex themes	Predom. processes	Interpers elements	GM (ideat.)	Lexical density
1	12	3	27.7%	8.3%	Verbal	1	0	32.4%
2	12	2	27.7%	0%	Mater.	1	0	40.95%
3	20	6	30%	35%	Verbal	2	2	43.7%
4	4	2	25%	50%	Mental	1	0	38.88%
5	15	6	46.66%	19.99%	Verbal	0	3	45.8%
6	12	3	24.99%	41.66%	Verbal	1	2	40.97%
7	7	1	57.14%	14.28%	Mater.	1	0	47.12%
8	19	4	57.89%	5.26%	Mater.	0	0	42.47%
9	17	1	52.94%	47.05%	Relat.	9	2	34.74%
10	13	2	46.15%	30.76%	Relat.	2	1	32.08%
11	15	4	19.99%	13.33%	Mater.	4	0	39.76%
12	14	4	64.28%	21.42%	Mental	1	0	39.61%
13	16	5	25%	37.5%	Mater.	8	0	41.52%
14	14	6	14.28%	7.14%	Relat.	1	0	42.9%
15	6	2	33.33%	49.99%	Relat.	1	0	41.2%
Total	196	51	77	47		33	10	
Average %			39.28%	23.97%	Mater.	2.2	0.6	40.27%

4 Conclusions

In this study we have analyzed fifteen texts belonging to a question-answer genre (QA) from the systemic functional perspective. The analysis carried out in an academic setting permitted us to reveal the distinctive features of this genre. Thus, we could observe that QA type texts show a lack of essay structure in that they have no clearly detectable parts, such as introduction or conclusion.

Another characteristic is a notable scarcity of interpersonal meanings, it seems that the students do not try to *modalize* or *modulate* their discourse, the result is a rather impersonal style. A scarce use of complex themes and grammatical metaphors in the students' writing indicates its structural simplicity. It is of interest to note also that the predominant processes in QA texts are material and that in second place there are verbal processes which project a colloquial quality to these texts.

To sum up, we could characterize the QA text style in our corpus as rather simple, impersonal, almost colloquial. However, our corpus is small, so more research is needed in order to draw more convincing conclusions about different genres in the students' academic writing.

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Ideational Perspectives on Feedback in Academic Writing

Angelia Lu

Nanyang Technological University
angelia.lu@nie.edu.sg

Abstract

This paper examines ideational clause types as defined in systemic functional grammar to be material (doing verbs), relational (static/reporting verbs), verbal (saying verbs), mental (thinking verbs), behavioral (part mental, part material verbs) and existential (is/are verbs) processes. It focuses on the change in clause types as ESL tertiary students do drafting based on different feedback patterns. Its research question is: would there be a difference in any clause type due to (a) drafting process within group; (b) feedback order between groups? The orders of feedback were (1) peer feedback before teacher feedback; (2) teacher feedback before peer feedback (3) peer feedback before teacher feedback + verbal feedback; (4) self feedback twice. Results are as follows (a) The group who had peer feedback before teacher and verbal feedback became more inclined than other groups to add material processes to improve scientific aspects. (b) Effects were observed for the rise in material processes within this described group compared with other groups. Results also hinted at the fact that despite feedback, the rise in the number of relational clauses (often valued in expository clauses), did not occur much in self-feedback and teacher-feedback-first, peer-feedback-later groups.

1 Introduction

Much research has been focused on process writing, rather than on product writing. More importantly, process writing is no longer merely popular in the research arena, but in teaching as well. This is particularly true of tertiary institutions around the world. This study will be carried out to ascertain shifts in the transitivity system as the analyses progress from Draft 1 to Draft 3 in expository writing.

Transitivity is understood as a grammatical system of process types by which we manage and construe the world of experience (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 181). The basic way of representing the patterns of our experience emerge as a result of the three fundamental processes of doing, sensing and being. “In lexicogrammar, the clause is the central processing unit, i.e., it is the clause that meanings of different kinds are mapped into an integrated grammatical structure. These meanings are embedded in clauses and through language, the construing of human experience into such meanings leads to the creation of metafunction, whereby we make sense of our experience by categorising them” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 29). This is why it is interesting to explore the percentage change of process types from draft to draft, particularly if the sum of meanings of clauses leads to a context (Butt et. al, 2003). An example of enriching research carried out was by Martin (1983: 73) who found that processes in expositions were less tangible or concrete than those in narratives. Following this strand of research, the author hopes to uncover the ideational aspects concerning clause type changes in drafting.

2 Methodology

Four feedback orders are labelled Orders 1 – 4 as shown below. All classes were given instructions on how to write the essay, e.g., the first draft was written in a classroom situation of an hour and a word limit of 500. Students were subsequently given feedback on content, grammar, coherence, mechanics and vocabulary in relation to their writing by either their peer or their teacher, depending on the order they were assigned to. The treatment group (Order 4) did self feedback twice. Important research questions were: (a) Would there be a change in the percentage of certain types of clauses within subjects? (b) Was such a change was more likely to occur in one order group; for instance, was Order 1 more likely to

experience a sharper increase in material and relational clauses given that they had had peer feedback before teacher feedback? To alleviate experimental bias and to ensure reliability and validity, names of students were omitted when the processes were double counted by a colleague.

- ◆ Order 1: (10 students)
Peer feedback first, teacher feedback (written) later.
- ◆ Order 2: (10 students)
Peer feedback first + teacher (written + oral) feedback.
- ◆ Order 3: (10 students)
Teacher feedback first, peer feedback later.
- ◆ Order 4: (10 students)
Self feedback + self feedback.

3 Results

Relational Processes

Relational processes are often known as processes of ‘being’. They often appear in clauses whereby a thing is being identified or its attributes are being described. Alternatively, it could be a “*possessive-have*” relational clause. For instance, let us consider the examples below:

(1) Extract from Order 2

McDonald’s crispy chicken	was	genetically modified.
	Relational Process.	Attributive.

(2) Extract from Order 2

as the advantages	are	more than the disadvantages.
	Relational Process	Identifying

Although relational processes constituted about 40.58% of all processes in the first drafts; the percentage constituent of relational clauses in newly introduced clauses from Draft 1 to Draft 3 was only 29%. The ESL students were had been initially rather competent in the portrayal of their topic as sounding “heavier” or more formal than another genre of writing i.e., newspaper tabloids or narratives.

Material Processes

Material processes are those of ‘doing’ whereby a person or thing does something which may, “in turn be performed by another person or thing” (Halliday, 1994: 110).

(3) Extract from Order 3

They	inject	syrups	into live chickens...
Actor	Material Process	Goal	Beneficiary

(4) Extract from Order 1

Scientists	have successfully grown	vegetables.	without the need for soil.
Actor	Material Process	Goal/Range	Circumstance

(5) Extract from Order 4

In addition,	new allergens	could be created.	
	Agent	Material Process	

Science is about activities which happen in an environment, and it involves processes whereby an actor does something to a beneficiary, or an agent tests for results which require interpretation. Each paragraph in the students’ first drafts contained an average of 30% material processes. The increase in material processes was the largest among all processes, which constitutes 49% of the newly introduced clauses.

Material processes may improve the vividness of the “genetic modification” process during the reading process; i.e., in our mind’s eye, we are able to picture the insertion of chemicals into genes or the prevention of blindness by vitamin A as an agent simply because we choose to present the information in the following manner: Actor Participant Goal (Circumstance). On the other hand, if we choose to present the information in a relational manner, the writing would sound more formalised and scholarly, but a slight trade-off might be a difficulty in picturing the process of A doing something to B, which is a very transparent style in scientific/expository discourse.

Mental Processes

Mental processes are the interesting of all categories to discuss in the drafting process of the ESL student essays. Though changes had been suggested, neither the teacher nor the peer suggested these needed to be mental processes, so the choice of process type was up to the writers.

(6) Extract from Order 1

Some people	might think	that it is not safe to take genetically modified food.
Senser Subject	Mental Process	

Example (6) was an example of such changes as they were taken from the later drafts: i.e., these sentences did not appear in the initial drafts. A suggestion is that students might have put so much more thought into the topic in their later rather than earlier drafts that they were beginning to get comfortable with the idea of “projecting their thoughts” or “reflecting view”. This is in fact a healthy phenomenon for good expository writing, for constant reflection of the topic is projected and realised lexico-grammatically via the mental processes.

Behavioural Processes

(7) Extract from Order 2

In conclusion	I approve that genetic modification	should be approved	as advantages are more than disadvantages.
Behaver		Behavioural Process	Phenomenon.

Behavioural processes were far and few between in the essays. Approximately one process could be found in every four essays. Typical verbs used are “approve” and “support” as a part material, part mental kind of behavioural process.

Verbal Processes

Verbal processes construe saying. The potential participant roles are *sayer*, (doer of process), *receiver* (addressee of the speech), *target* (the participant which is the object of the talk), and *verbiage*. Examples are illustrated below.

(8) Extract from Order 2

Others	argue	that these genetic modified products have been rigorously tested and offer many benefits.
Behaver	Verbal Process	Phenomenon.

In fact, examples such as (8) indicated above are appropriately utilised as argumentative tools to improve the interpersonal flavour of the essay. By raising the fact that other people “argued” i.e., had an alternative viewpoint, the writer was indicating an awareness of what is going on both sides of the issue in question. His arguments would therefore seem more mature and less lopsided by utilising such verbal process structures.

Existential Processes

Existential processes represent experience; e.g., ‘there was/is something’. For instance, consider the extracts from the text:

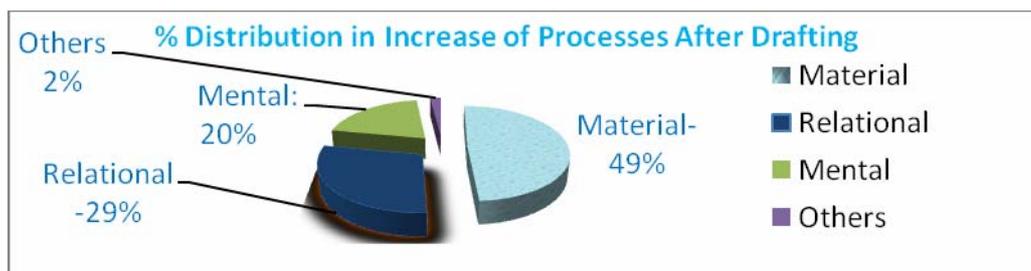
(9) Extract from Order 2

Even today,	there are	people from developing countries who believe in such thoughts.
	Existential Process	Existent.

(10) Extract from Order 3

Nevertheless,	there are	risks and uncertainties in genetically modified food.
	Existential Process	Existent.

There was almost one existential process in every essay. The function of the existential process was to inform the reader of the presence (or absence) of a phenomenon, be it benefits, controversy or disadvantages with regard to an issue, as illustrated by the examples above.

**4 Conclusions**

There was an overall increase in three types of processes as a result of drafting: (a) material processes (49%) and (b) mental processes (20%) (c) relational processes (29%). There was hardly any increase in the other processes (only 2%). An observation was that the increase or decrease in these experiential functions was almost always dependent upon the comments phrased during the feedback process. For instance, if the reviewer cited an example, the change in the draft almost invariably involved a relational process: “An example is the.....” “For instance, the greatest change would be.....”. If the reviewer, on the other hand, solicited agreement on an opinion or expressed his own view on examples already present, the process that emerges always appears to be mental. For instance, “we can see a breakthrough.....”, “therefore I believe that.....”

The fact that there was an increase in material processes is indeed surprising because the expository genre often creates expectations that there would be more factual material (and hence relational clauses) than ‘actions’. Only students who went through peer-teacher and teacher-peer feedback sessions included more mental processes in later drafts. However, given that the students had not added a lot of information in the process of drafting except for volunteering extra information on certain description of scientific processes, it was no wonder that there was only a relatively slight increase in relational processes. Perhaps the student reviewers felt that facts, as conveyed by relational processes, were adequate in the original forms of their essays, but material processes of describing the scientific processes had remained insufficient to the expository task. This study therefore carries important pedagogical implications that we could consider when teaching expository essays to students at any level.

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Reports in Spanish writing: generic features and text quality

Ana Martín-Úriz and Susana Murcia-Bielsa

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Dpto. de Filología Inglesa.
Cantoblanco – 28049, Madrid, Spain
Email: susana.murcia@uam.es, ana.martin@uam.es

Abstract

This paper is part of a larger empirical project exploring Spanish pre-university students' competence in genre in English as a Foreign Language and Spanish. Here we present a pilot study of reports written in Spanish, focusing on generic structure (presence or absence of the required stages) and on the participants in the compositions (in particular, the resources used by the writers to represent participants as generic or specific). Our aim is to discover to what degree our subjects are capable of producing the generic structure and register of Report, and whether the presence of generic features –structure and register– correlate with quality. After evaluating the texts using holistic scales, we carry out our analysis using the UAM CorpusTool. The results are then correlated with the quality of the texts as evaluated.

1 Introduction

This paper presents the results of a pilot study on reports written in Spanish by native secondary school students in response to a task that elicited that genre. It is part of a larger project¹ on generic competence, that is, on the ability of writers to select the appropriate generic features for a specific text (Bhatia 1999), as manifested in production.

In the past we have focused on English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in Spanish secondary schools. We have studied the way Spanish EFL students use the generic structure and features expected in Report, focusing on their use of participants (Martín-Úriz et al. 2007a, Martín-Úriz 2008) and the use of Theme (Martín-Úriz et al. 2007b), correlating the results with text quality. Now we focus on mother tongue generic structure –presence or absence of the required stages– and on the participants in the compositions –the resources used by the writers to represent participants as generic or specific. We hope that the results of these analyses will reveal the extent to which our subjects have internalised generic competence and show developmental stages in the acquisition of this genre.

The ultimate purpose of these analyses (as part of a wider project) is to design and implement pedagogical interventions that could help to make students aware of the grammatical resources available in the language (Spanish or English) to construct better texts.

2 Genre Theory: Report genre

We are working in the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, specifically the work on school genres. However, our analyses do not focus on the discourses of school disciplines, but on the discourses secondary school students use to convey the meanings of their daily experiences –the genres they produce to write about events in their lives, to describe and explain the world around them, and to get involved in debates that closely affect them.

A genre is a conventionally shaped type of text that fulfils a social function in a given culture. The social function is achieved through the unfolding of stages and the realisation of consistent patterns of meaning. Of importance for this paper, the Report genre has the function of describing entities and phenomena in the physical world and their categorisation (Christie, 1998, 2002; Knapp and Watkins 2005; Martin 1992, 1997; Martin and Rose 2003).

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As Martin (2001:214) points out, reports have to do with “how the world is organized” and “focus on classification and description”. To achieve this function, the Report genre develops in two stages: an initial Generalisation stage –often expanded by a classification– and a subsequent Description stage in which each of the members of the classification are described and/or explained. There might follow a third, optional, stage which we call Closure and has the function of summarising or taking the reader back to the initial stage, through abstraction and generalisation. The linguistic choices that embody the meanings in reports include the packing of information in nominal groups in relational clauses rather than representing it congruently (Halliday 1989, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). Two other characteristics of the Report genre, that we will explore in his paper, are the strong use of generic participants (participants not referring to specific entities) and the reference to abstract entities rather than concrete ones.

3 Data and methodology

Our subjects are 24 Spanish pre-university students from a Secondary School in a middle-class socio-economic area of Madrid¹. In class, the subjects responded, in 25 minutes, to a composition prompt which elicited a text in the Report genre. The prompt required the students to carry out a writing task on a topic which was appropriately contextualised:

Escribe una redacción sobre el tema “La familia española”. Responde a la carta de un/a amigo/a extranjero/a que no ha estado nunca en España, en la que te preguntaba sobre la familia española.

We collected 24 reports, of which 22 conformed to task and to genre. For this pilot study we have randomly selected 9 texts from three different levels –high, medium and low– as assessed by our scale.

As previously stated, our main objective is to find out if our subjects, writing in their mother tongue, have internalised generic competence, manifested in text as generic structure and generic participants. To achieve this purpose we asked three questions: (1) do our subjects use the required stages for Reports?, (2) do they choose participants appropriate for that genre (e.g. generic ones, abstract ones)?, and (3) is there any correlation between the generic features selected by the subjects and the quality of their texts?

The procedure in the analyses included a preliminary evaluation of the texts by two expert raters using a holistic scale with five components (Content, Organisation, Grammatical form, Diction and tone, and Mechanics), which was designed for composition evaluation by Martín- Úriz (2004), based on Jacobs et al. (1981). Our texts consist of letters where the report is embedded between interpersonal stages related to letter writing (greeting and initial and final interactions between writer and reader). Our first task was thus to identify just the report text. We then divided the report into the conventional generic stages. O’Donnell’s UAM CorpusTool (2008) was used to annotate the text with generic stage, and categorise participants as specific/generic, as well as by form. A qualitative analysis was also performed to capture information not present in our system network.

We found three main problems in classifying participants: (1) cases where a participant seems specific since the expression uses a previously mentioned entity to ground the reference, e.g., “his wife”. However, where the other entity is itself generic, we opted to code such references as generic. (2) Contextual clues often had to be used to classify nouns as abstract or concrete, following Alcina and Bleca (1975). (3) In relation to “*se* constructions”, the three categories identified in the literature (Alcina and Bleca 1975, Hernanz 1987, Mendikoetxea 1999, RAE 1973) have been collapsed in this study under the class of “clitic *se*” (Mendikoetxea 1999).

¹ Grateful thanks to Luis Ordóñez, who collected the data.

3.1 The analyses: Results

We analysed 9 texts, consisting of 1781 words, in 238 clauses (high 99, medium 69, low 70), with an average of 7.5 words per clause. Texts given higher evaluation have higher average length (high: 250 words; medium: 176 words, low: 167 words).

3.1.1 Generic structure

The analysis of generic structure reveals that our students' texts are constructed using the three stages of Reports. In our corpus, the Generalisation stage typically contains much fewer clauses than the Description stage (high: 6% vs. 87%; medium: 19% vs. 68%; low: 16% vs. 73%). All of the students include several descriptions in the Description stage (high: 4.3, medium: 3, low: 2.6). Besides, the texts at the three levels present a similarly long Closure.

3.1.2 Participants

The analysis of a total of 340 participants found in the texts shows that our subjects use a much higher percentage of generic reference (81%, with 253 tokens) than specific reference (19%, with 59 tokens). The small proportion of specific participants is not relevant for our study. Consequently, from now on, we focus only on generic participants.

In our network, we had anticipated that our students would use three different categories of generic participants: noun group (NG), verbal morpheme (e.g. *viven*), and clause. The NG is the most frequent category found in the texts (207 tokens 82%), followed by verbal morpheme (36 tokens 14%), and a very small proportion of clause as participant (9 tokens 4%). When analyzing the realisations of generic participants in the three levels, we found that while the high and medium texts did not greatly differ, the lowest rated texts had a higher proportion of verbal morpheme as participant (high: 14 tokens 13%, medium: 2 tokens 3%, low: 20 tokens 26%), and a lower percentage of NGs (high 84%, medium 89%, low 72%).

The analysis of the categories within NGs and verbal morphemes allowed us to discover patterns within the realisations of generic participants at each of the levels, and possible developmental sequences in knowledge of the genre.

When looking at the NG realisations, we observe that high and medium rated texts tend to have fewer **pronouns** as head than lower rated texts (high: 15 tokens 16%, medium: 2 tokens 4%, low: 14 tokens 25%). And in lower rated texts, we find a higher proportion of personal pronouns than in the other two groups (high 67%, medium 50%, low 86%). When we add together the numbers for **pronouns and verbal morphemes**, we notice that they refer to a general person (*uno, tú, nosotros, ellos*) in 45% (13 tokens) of the instances in high, 50% (2 tokens) of medium text instances, and 38% (13 tokens) of low text occurrences. Most of these prototypically generic pronouns or verbal morphemes are used in the Description (93%) and none in the Closure.

As regards NGs, we find that high and medium evaluated texts contain a slightly higher proportion of **nouns** as head than low texts (high 84%, medium 97%, low 75%). Similarly, the percentage of **abstract nouns** is higher in the best than in the lowest rated texts (high 19% of 77 instances, medium 38% of 55 tokens, low 14% of 42 tokens), being the proportion especially high in the Description stage (83%). Interestingly, among abstract nouns, there are more abstractions (high 87%, medium 67%, low 67%) than nominalisations (high 13%, medium 33%, low 33%) in all three sets of texts. In general, the three groups of texts contain a high percentage of concrete nouns (high: 62 tokens 81%, medium: 34 tokens 62%, low: 36 tokens 86%).

Regarding NG **noun modification** (70 tokens), which we predicted to be a good indicator of quality, the raw numbers were not significant, though high texts tend to have more generic

noun modification (high 43%, medium 40%, low 36%). However, the qualitative analysis of the types of modification used by the students in each level reveals the following patterns:

Type of modification		High (33 instances)	Medium (22 instances)	Low (15 instances)
Modification by Adjectives	Premodifier	4	0	0
	Postmodier	11	5	7
Modification by PP	PP (+ NG)	8	14	7
	PP (+ AdvG)	0	1	0
	PP (+ non finite cl.)	2	1	3
Modification by clause	Relative clause	16	4	1
	Non-finite clause	1	0	2

Except for modification by prepositional phrase (PP), the texts that scored high present a higher number of instances in each category than texts in the other two levels –being the relative clause the most frequent choice at this level. The most frequent modification in medium texts is the PP. Low texts tend to prefer equally postmodifying adjectives or PPs.

When nouns are modified by adjectives, premodification is only found in good quality texts. Adjectival postmodifications found in low texts included repeated tokens and the items in the composition prompt, and were never graded. High quality texts never repeated the modifying tokens and these were sometimes graded. In medium texts, modifying adjectives were rarely graded.

Regarding modification by PP, medium rated texts exhibit greater diversity of prepositional heads (*de, en, por, para*) while the other two groups only use *de*. The meanings expressed by these prepositional phrases are represented in high evaluated texts by more complex grammatical choices. Here we find a remarkably large number of relative clauses that are elaborated by embedding, juxtaposition, coordination and dependent clauses, often including modality (*la familia monoparental, [[en la que los padres se han separado]] [[y se turnan // para ver a los hijos, [[que normalmente, después del divorcio comienzan a verse llenos de regalos y exentos de broncas]]]]*). There is a very small proportion of non-finite clause modification in high and low texts, and none in medium.

4 Discussion

The average number of words in the texts at each level shows the degree of fluency of the students, with a great difference between the highest rated texts and the other two sets.

As regards generic structure, the average distribution of clauses by generic stages indicate that the best writers have the ability to condense their Generalisations into fewer clauses and to develop their Descriptions (4.3 per text *vs.* 2-3 in the other groups) in more detail (86 clauses) than those students producing medium (47 clauses) and low rated texts (51 clauses). As to the Closure, the three groups of students show a similar control of this stage. As expected, the Generalisation in the three sets of texts contained a small number of clauses (high 6%, medium 19%, low 16%) –interestingly fewer in high rated texts– than Descriptions.

Regarding the selection of generic or specific participants, we have found no evident difference in the three groups of writers, which seems to indicate that our subjects have control of this feature of Report. There are, however, differences in the use of generic participant realisations. At a general level, more competent writers, when using generic pronouns, choose those that typically show genericity (*uno, tú, nosotros, ellos*).

The fact that writers who produce the best quality texts choose more nouns than pronouns or verbal morphemes shows their tendency to be explicit. Besides, it appears that these students also select a wider range of lexical items, which suggests a variety of classifying

entities or phenomena. This, however, is an intuition that needs further research. On the contrary, the less competent writers' texts contain a high percentage of pronouns (many of them personal and not typically generic) with a textual or cohesive function, which results in a simplified representation of the world.

The grammar needed for the description of the world and the classification of experience in reports differs from the grammar of speech that we use to express our everyday experiences, and involves abstractions (grammatical metaphor or nominalisations). The presence or absence of these features in students' texts represent varying degrees of literacy. All the texts analysed show a very small proportion of abstract nouns, revealing that the writers have not yet reached advanced competence in this genre and need to develop their grammatical resources to be able to handle the grammar of written language, instead of using the more congruent grammar of speech for representing the world and knowledge.

The results of the choices for noun modification can be interpreted as three different stages in development: simple and infrequent modifications in low texts, some sophistication in medium texts (e.g. modification by PP), and structural complexity in the best texts. Here we find premodifying adjectives (usually learnt late in Spanish mother tongue), and meanings that are elaborated in highly complex relative clauses that compact information. A similar development has been found in EFL texts written by Spanish learners (Martín-Úriz et al. 2005). However, these meanings could be better expressed through grammatical metaphor. These writers need to move a step further in their grammatical development for the written language.

5 Conclusion

In answer to our research questions, this pilot study has revealed that our secondary school students are able to use the stages in the report genre, though with differences in their ability to compact Generalisations and develop their Descriptions. Thus, the extent to which the writers control the conventionalised generic stages reflects degrees of competence, as manifested in the evaluation. Our students also seem to control the main feature of Report – generic participants. However, the differences in how they realise generic participants indicate varying degrees of literacy among our subjects: the best writers have a higher command of the grammar (abstractions, nominalisations, noun modification, explicitness) that successfully constructs knowledge. Nevertheless, even the most competent writers' grammatical resources are immature to construct the type of texts that they will meet in their future jobs or university courses. Their grammatical resources need further development so that they master the non-congruent grammar of specialised and academic texts.

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Hetero-balancing Approach to Curriculum Planning using the Systemic-Functional Analysis

K. Ram Chandra

Department of English, V.R. Siddhartha Engineering College
Vijayawada, India

Abstract

This paper aims at analyzing the current scenario of language teaching in India with special reference to the courses in technical education. Pedagogic Extremities and Linguistic Eccentricities have been some of the regular features in the teaching –learning process especially with regard to Language Teaching in India.

An Analysis of the strategies of curriculum planning administered is undertaken with a view to ascertaining the efficacy and relevance of the current syllabi and such other devices implemented at present for the students of technical courses. An attempt has been made to present a contrast between certain courses which claim themselves to be patho-specific (Specific Purpose courses) and the proposed Hetero-balancing Phenomena.

In addition to undertaking a theoretical study of the syllabi, methods of teaching and evaluation patterns, a survey has been taken up with a representative section of curriculum planners, teachers, HR professionals and students. The findings are being triangulated in order to come up with a pragmatic outcome.

In conclusion, a concept is going to be proposed namely ‘Hetero-Balancing approach’ to curriculum planning using the Systemic-Functional analysis.

1 Prelude

The cybernetics of pedagogic execution, with all its allotropes, gets channalised through many an effervescent strategy. Keeping this in view one has to assimilate the fact that academic endeavours can be considered to be fructified when they amount to moulding the potential human resources into skilled manpower that participates in the productive activities in turn contributing to the overall development of the Nation. But, it may not be an exaggeration to state that many of the strategies adapted, approaches suggested, methods followed and models enunciated have seldom acted like all compelling energizers which drive the learners hither and yon to scale great academic heights. The educational scenario of the nation has been subjected to swift changes. The winds of change have been blowing in such away that every passing day has been heralding a development rather an upheaval. Innovation, experimentation and metamorphosis have been the qualities of every society and culture in each epoch of human existence. Academic investigations represent unlimited capabilities of systematic and organized thinking possessed by human beings.

In the light of this, one has to understand that man has been attending to a highly variegated role set of society. The complex web of societal activities compels him to acquire greater potential and much better interactive skills. Hence, a linguistic system that offers excellent exposure to various aspects of language shall be introduced so as to enable the users to successfully conduct various operations on a grand note.

2 The state of the English language teaching in India

The state of the English language teaching in India presents a kaleidoscopic perspective. It is unfortunate that many schools and most of the Junior Colleges have not been able to prepare their learners for further use of the English language in training for or attempting to enter careers that demand considerable linguistic competence. This is as true of under developed

as it is of developed states of the country. If one considers the billion or so individuals that make up the population of the country, certainly a very small percentage of them are able to go to school at all and to learn English. Proficiency levels may or may not be encouraging. But, given vast number of individuals who do go to school with their hope of finishing, the number of people who are taught English every year is enormous. But it is to be understood that they constitute a small percentage of the population and that their future role in society is tremendously consequential. In Commerce, in specialized fields of work such as science and technology, and foundation disciplines of study or work such as teaching languages and those subjects that make up the basis of further education for ever new generation of learners, and ancillary occupations that force them to conduct their business in English – what they learn or fail to learn makes the most significant of difference in the country's general effort to develop.

These days it is found that many people that elevate science and technology to the position of be all and end all of the life of youth fail to appreciate the starkest of facts – that English is the medium of the learning of most subjects and training in most careers including science and technology. Consequently, parents, principals of schools and colleges, managing bodies of institutions and teachers have been according greater prominence to content subjects when compared to the languages.

This is a suicidal policy. The results speak loudly. This fundamental error of judgment clouds the thinking of every one involved. Nothing can be more serious and consequential than this mistaken notion that content matters and medium does not. They are inseparable, always have been, and will remain so.

The basic problems that still dog most Indians are - (1) Poverty (2) Remoteness from or inability to secure admission in good schools and colleges, (3) Lack of learning opportunities and material for independent study via reading and listening, (4) Inadequate textbooks, (5) confused and damaging attitudes to English. That is to say, it is not really possible for an average Indian pupil to learn English without adequate and rich exposure to its use demonstrated with fluency, and flexibility by the teacher and by reading material that may be available or can be supplied.

When the government and the constitution of the country promised compulsory primary education to those who could not otherwise afford it, it was automatically assumed that education would be good. Reality has failed to justify the assumption. The case of primary education being so dismal, it was bound to be even more depressing at higher, inevitably costlier levels of education. Such has been the case with regard to basic disciplines are concerned - language(s) as medium, Mathematics, and the basic sciences. Indeed, it must be stated here that despite anything that may suggest otherwise, the state of intellectual education in India has kept pace with the grave shortfall in linguistic education in India. That, in short, is the reason why, despite increasing numbers of schools and colleges, education in general has kept sliding backwards.

Considering the above, it is to be understood that a situation of progressive attrition in which the whole system is caught, as none of the parties in the Teaching-Learning process (curriculum planners, textbook designers, teachers and ultimately students seems to possess a pragmatic (rather a perpetual) approach. To bridge the gulf between what is to be learnt and what is being taught has not been properly perceived and steps have not been initiated. It may not be an exaggeration to state that some of the curriculum planners and teachers with their 'sparse' methods of planning are creating a scenario of gradual wearing out of the system. On the other hand, some conscientious teachers have been successful by imparting insightful learning to the students.

The Multi Lingual set up of the country demands a very high standard of communicative

ability on the part of the learner. Whatever may be the content that is communicated, it should be in an authentic way using rich and appropriate linguistic resources. Unfortunately, the syllabus offered at different levels in our country is not only confined but also limiting.

2.1 An overview of ESP courses in India

There has been an unprecedented spurt in the technical education in India. Most of the technical institutions have been offering courses nearly akin to the general English courses which are offered for the students of Humanities, commerce and pure sciences. It is understood that needs analyses have not been taken up properly. The very awareness of devising curriculum for technical courses has not been consciously exhibited by many of the curriculum planners and most of the teachers that have been teaching language courses at technical institutions have not been trained to handle the technical English curricula.

Very few institutions specify the details related to technical aspects. For example, Many institutions have prescribed 'Report writing' as an item in the syllabus. But, very few institutions have specified the details related to its extent and scope. Even some of the top-notch institutions of technical education are no exception to this. The curriculum planners are blissfully silent over the kind reports that are going to be taught. In the garb of Skill Based Teaching, the courses at some institutions have become training modules for certain academic and professional competitive examinations.

As has already been presented, relegating language to an insignificant position at the primary levels and clamouring for high levels of language proficiency at advanced levels of education has been the order of the day since the MNCs insist on a respectable ability of an individual with regard to language is concerned. The most significant of the issues is that most of the on-campus recruitment drives prove to be confined seekers and motive driven investigations which are misunderstood by common public as in-depth evaluation of the learners. Even though it is the moral responsibility of the academic institutions to churn out Industry-ready professionals, institutions should not undermine the fundamental structure of academics and should not allow teachers to accord a pride of place for making the learners get confined to parroting the (stage managed) artificial utterances.

Even though some institutions have been employing certain authentic materials for the pedagogic processing, many have still been administering graded and structured materials. This phenomenon is found even in certain high rated institutions.

2.2 Heterogeneity – the point of concern

Indian classrooms are known for their heterogeneity. The scale of difference depends on different aspects, namely Socio-economic, political, psychological etc. India was reeling under imperialism for about two centuries and like some other countries in the world, learning was esoteric with scores of communities being orchestrated. In addition to the above, Education has been placed under Concurrent list of items in independent India which enables both the Union Government and state Governments to prepare and execute academic policies and programmes. This phenomenon gave rise to a lot of in-consistencies.

Rural population in India is enormous, i.e. more than 70%. The teaching –learning process in the rural areas continues to be a teacher-centred process with structural approach and Grammar-Translation method dominating the scenario. The vocabulary range of most of the students happens to be very limited rather confined to the prescribed textbook. It is more astonishing to learn that even the textual expressions also are not properly learnt since the parameters that govern the linguistic item are not properly discussed in the class. Language learning is nothing but mimicry-memorising the explanatory note that is either dictated by the teacher or copied from ready reference materials prepared for commercial purposes.

Communicative tasks and authentic situations are not taken up. Stilted structures are taught mostly. In other words, language learning is neither natural nor functional.

The low self image of many of the regional medium background students of rural and semi-urban origin and the over confidence of many of the English medium back ground students of urban origin who are reasonably and relatively fluent but with out respectable levels of accuracy creates a very subtle situation for the teacher in the classroom.

3 The Survey

The researcher undertook a simple and general survey in order to record the opinions of the parties involved in the process. As has been discussed, India has a Multi-Lingual set up which throws a challenge to the teacher. The survey has been undertaken with a representative section of the teachers, students, curriculum planners and HR professionals.

An open ended questionnaire was administered on 300 students of second year and third year B.Tech .The questionnaire focused on Time frame, Components and coverage of the syllabus and suggestions were sought. Almost all students put forward a request for a broad based curriculum that can bridge the gulf between their current levels of proficiency and the market requirements. In other words, they realized the need for up grading their knowledge on one hand and presented the point that there lies a gap between their actual proficiency and the assumption-driven syllabus on the other.

10 teachers who have been handling language classes, 10 HR professionals and 6 curriculum planners were interviewed on the steps that can be initiated in order to improve the situation.

Teachers wanted more pedagogic freedom and better infrastructure to facilitate learning. 70% of teachers admitted that they need specific training since their understanding of language items needs to be fortified. All the HR professionals focused on leadership qualities and such other Soft Skills.

4 Observations and the proposed model

Based on the interviews with the teachers handling the courses at engineering colleges, the researcher could understand that many of the teachers handling the programme are managing without any clarity of the ESP ideology and practice. Curriculum planners have also been subjected to general and societal compulsions.

Certain academic programmes which were hither to considered urban bastions till recently have been conquered by the rural population to a large extent. In spite of the proficiency in the content subjects, the students from rural areas, particularly those that hail from regional medium background are not able to prove their mettle in those fields such as Engineering etc. It is an established fact that the processes that are involved in acquiring (the word is used since the setting is primarily L2) a language makes an individual undergo many intricate and multi-dimensional phenomena.

It is common understanding that one's proficiency and competence in administering linguistic devices depend not only on the knowledge related to the orthographic, syntactic, semantic features but also on the understanding of the pragmatic aspects related to the functional orientation.

In the light of the above, the premise of systemic-functional approach that language is a '*semiotic potential*' shows us the way out. If the teachers and curriculum planners still feel that thorough understanding of the rules of implementation of government and binding makes one acquire proficiency, it is detrimental to the student community at large. On the other hand , Perennialism & Essentialism (Teacher centred approaches) have still been experienced.

The proposed Hetero-Balancing Approach to curriculum accords significance to the Semantic, Lexicogrammar, and Phonological aspects based on the SF ideology since other methods and approaches undertake the approach which may not be a comprehensive one.

Language is a systematic resource for expressing meaning in context and linguistics, according to Halliday, is the study of how people exchange meanings through the use of language. This view of language as a system for meaning potential implies that language is not a well defined system not a "the set of all grammatical sentences." It also implies that language exists and therefore must be studied in contexts such as professional settings, classrooms, and language tests. In short, SF theory states that particular aspects of a given context (such as the topics discussed, the language users and the medium of communication) define the meanings likely to be expressed and the language likely to be used to express those meanings. Language acquisition is learning how to express meanings acquiring the functions one can perform with human language. This perspective, of course, subordinates the acquisition of linguistic structure, recognizing the learners can express meanings using a variety of analyzed and unanalyzed pieces of the lexicogrammar. Much of Halliday's early work was concerned with how children acquire the functions of their first language. Others have applied SF principles to second language acquisition problems such as defining communicative competence and investigating content based L2 instruction

[Carol .A. Chapelle 1998]

A professional is expected to perform umpteen functions which expect him/her to be a communicatively competent individual and not at all a person with mere linguistic awareness. In stead of mastering Meta Language which means acquiring a command over what is an adjective and what is subjunctive, it is better one acquires an insight into the way things function in given contexts.

5 Conclusion

Considering the above, it can be considered that since the scale of heterogeneity is very high and still the trails and tribulations of underdevelopment haunt huge masses patho-specific approaches do not hold water. Hence, a hetero-balancing approach that puts forward the grammatico-semantic features, phonological elements in a pragmatic manner has to be undertaken. The researcher humbly submits that this work is at a rudimentary level and the concept needs further exploration.

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Speaking to Write and Writing to Speak: A case study of university students in Japan

Jonathon Adams and Andrea Orlandini

Shinshu University, Japan
390-8621, 3-1-1, Asahi, Matsumoto, Nagano Prefecture, Japan
baskervilles@gmail.com
mal-o@beige.plala.or.jp

Abstract

There is a tendency for conversation to be perceived as trivial and that ‘nothing happens’ (Eggins, S. and Slade, D., 2006: 16). On the other hand, writing (and reading) are traditionally defined as a central aspect of literacy (Hyland, K., 2002: 53) and, therefore, separate from spoken texts.

Using the social theory of language defined by Burns and Joyce (1993) and their concept of the ‘literacy event’ as a way of categorizing various spoken and written texts, we explicitly taught our students how spoken and written texts are structured differently and how they relate to each other in social contexts.

Our research question is: Can explicit instruction about the differences and interrelated nature of written and spoken texts be effectively applied in our context?

Students were introduced to the procedure genre within a teaching-learning cycle (Burns and de Silva Joyce, 2005, p. 31), to support and structure units of work. Activities were developed along a mode continuum to show the shifting relationships, similarities and differences in written and spoken discourse (Burns, A., Joyce, H. and Gollin, S., 1996: 85).

1 Background

Initial investigations revealed that for English language classes in a Japanese university, learners could not clearly identify the differences between spoken and written texts. For both forms of communication, the learner output appeared similar and not clearly defined as either. This may be due to high school education, where the greatest focus of English education is on the written, and lack of exposure to explicit instruction concerning the different features and interrelated nature of the two text types. Textbooks and teacher roles also serve to reinforce the lack of awareness¹.

Adopting the broader aim of critical literacy and language use to help students to ‘critique the spoken and written texts’ within their social contexts (Burns and Joyce 1993) and the notion of the ‘literacy event’² as a social practice, material was designed.

1.1 The literacy event

In our context, the choice of literacy event as a social practice was determined by several factors and choices. The social context of the learners was viewed as their lifestyles, as independent individuals, living alone or with friends. It was decided that the literacy event would be defined as ‘sharing recipes for cheap living’. The majority of students live away from home, and cooking appeals to most learners in general. Recipes from various sources took the role of the text to be spoken about, with students using the genre of procedure to share ideas in the form of recipes. Preliminary investigations as well as assumptions,

¹ Hyland (2002, p. 49) confirmation of this by stating that ‘coursebooks are often devoted to one skill, and many teachers are assigned classroom roles which focus on either “speaking” or “writing”.’

² ‘It simply means when talk centres around a written text’ (Burns and Joyce, 1993, p.60; Brice Heath, 1982, 11: 49-76).

suggested that learners had limited cooking skills and therefore a motivation for learners to engage in the social process of exchanging ideas.

1.1.1 Text selection

The learners were given links to several web-based sources for recipes in English. These were authentic sources used and defined as for use by native English speaking university students. The parameters for choice involved finding accessible recipes for the demographic; simple and easy to make dishes, using readily available ingredients. For practical reasons, the number of steps in the process was limited to between about eight to ten.

2 Aims and procedure

The general aim of the research as mentioned above, was that of enabling learners to critique spoken and written texts within their social environment. The research addresses the question of whether the instruction can be ‘effectively applied’. To clarify this question more, it was assumed that the learners would take an authentic L1 text (in the form of a recipe) and through what Boomer (1986) defines as translation¹, change this into spoken text in a conversation.

The motivation behind the case study was provided by Burns and Joyce’s (1993) paper on spoken language and its relation to literacy². A sequence of tasks were planned on the mode continuum from spoken to written tasks (Burns, Joyce, and Gollin, 1996). Key differences in spoken and written texts were identified according to the differences in lexical density as defined McCarthy (2006, p.71) and Tribble (2006, pp. 17-8).

2.1 User-generated multimodal texts

In the process of translating the texts into their spoken form, learners generated images to assist the recipients of their recipes. The procedure genre accommodated the visual representation of circumstantial elements of each stage in the recipe. This reduced the burden of the potential complexity of language on both participants, whose learner levels were low and also supported the ‘context-embedded’, ‘action-related’ nature of spoken language.³ The learners planned language on paper next to the images for each stage of the recipe. The text was written as ‘spoken’ text⁴, using the characteristics defined above by McCarthy (2006) and Tribble (2006).

2.1.1 Spoken output and other modes of expression

In line with the context-embedded and action-related nature of spoken texts, other modes of communication were also covered in the instruction about the differences between speaking and writing. Gestures as well as multimodal texts were intrinsic to the literacy event, as illustrated by Hyland (2006).⁵

¹ ‘...converting something from an abstract code to everyday language’. Boomer (1986)

² In this paper, the role of texts in social contexts, the literacy event and their teaching-learning cycle are covered. The research is an application of the ideas put forward in this paper.

³ Joyce and Burns, A.(1992) Language and literacy in the workplace and the classroom. Prospect, 7 (2): 28-39. In Hyland, K. (2002) *Teaching and Researching Writing*. p.53.

⁴ The ‘spoken’ text written served as a general outline, for organizational purposes, and was not read out verbatim.

⁵ Hyland (2006) remarks that speech is commonly perceived as relying ‘on gesture and paralanguage’

3 Methodology

The tasks were constructed and implemented following the teaching-learning cycle provided by Joyce and Burns (1993).¹ The cycle was as follows: building knowledge of Field, modelling of Text, Joint construction and Independent Construction.

3.1 Building the Field

The procedural genre was introduced within the context of recipes. Their context of sharing recipes for simple and cheap living created a context for learners to speak with each other about their eating and cooking habits. Related vocabulary and the grammar of imperative clauses were dealt with, which included identifying participants, material processes and circumstantial phrases.

3.2 Modelling of Text

An example, ‘how to make microwave macaroni’ was presented to students. The authentic text was given for learners to identify the grammar features and structure of the text. A spoken interpretation, in the form of a transcript, with hand-drawn visual material was also presented. The focus was on the contrasts between the transcribed text and the original printed form. Learner’s attention was directed to the differences using audio versions of the recipe being read out, and of the recipe being explained in a conversation. This was played, with short tasks asking the learners to identify the differences between the two.

A handout referring to each stage of the spoken version and its related visual image contrasted with the original printed version became reference material for their independent construction later on in the course.

3.3 Joint construction of Text

With a different, short recipe example provided, the shift from authentic, printed text to spoken translation in conversation was constructed in groups, and then as whole class, on the white board. The event of communicating the recipe was constructed in terms of images, and how to visualize circumstantial elements, the use of gesture to guide participants to aspects of the images and use of spoken context-embedded references were emphasized.

3.4 Independent construction

Learners then chose their own recipe to explain to others in a conversation. The task was to go through the same stages from the model and joint construction. Learners applied their knowledge in the classroom, exchanging recipes with each other in conversation.

4 Results

The results of the speaking outcomes were recorded on video. Two samples were transcribed following the principles for transcription given by Burns (1996)² and are presented below.

¹ de Silva Joyce, H. and A. Burns (2005, p. 31).

² Burns (1996: 62) uses a set of procedures adapted from Halliday and Plum (1985: 17-18).

Both samples illustrate various characteristics of spoken discourse described by Burns and Joyce (2002)¹. The context dependent nature of the data are revealed by the actions accompanying the language. Gestures to mimic actions, nodding the head to acknowledge, pointing to visual media and transactional actions such as offering an open hand feature in both samples. The content is dialogic in nature and the texts are clearly jointly created. Transcript contains two occasions when the speakers engage in repetition of actions with

Sample transcripts from the spoken activity

Sample transcript 1

B: Please you {hand gesture to indicate speaker A's turn}
 A: My turn...making pizza. Pizza ((?)), pizza ((?))
 {pointing to his recipe sheet} First, flour and water
 mix...mix. {gestures mixing with circular hand action}
 B: {nodding head} Yes...I see.
 A: And...er...add salt {gestures adding salt} and yeast
 {gestures adding yeast}...and mix pizza {wide hand
 gesture spreading hands in the air} ...over and over.
 B: {nodding head} I see.
 A: Then, take out this {gesture taking out something
 with two hands} and {mixing gesture with both
 hands} mash mash mash.
 B: {nodding head} Ahh...I see, I see.
 A: And err make the shape circle...circle...{gesturing a
 circle with both hands}
 B: [{nods head}]
 A: ...to make ((?)) {circular gesture with closed hands}
 base base...the topping egg ((?)) ...and tomato.
 B: {nodding head} Ahh...I see, I see.
 A: Then...err...sprinkle olive oil and pepper and salt
 and herbs. {gesturing sprinkling oil, tipping salt and
 pepper and sprinkling herbs with hands}
 B: {nodding head} OK.
 A: Next, add the cheese. {gesturing placing cheese}
 B: Yes.
 A: Then, put in a oven...oven {gestures placing in the
 oven}...cook for twenty minutes {raises two fingers to
 speaker B} at 180C.
 B: {nodding head} I see.
 A: And take out it and cut at it {gestures a circle shape
 with fingers, then cutting action} finish...that's all.
 B: Sounds good
 A: Thank you.

Sample transcript 2

A: {laughing and gesture to indicate speaker B's turn}
 How about you?
 B: {pointing to his recipe sheet} My recipe is
 shrimp...ebi pilaf, pilaf.
 A: Oh! ebi pilaf... ebi pilaf...[oh!]
 B: First, wash rice with water...water .{gestures
 washing of rice with circular hand action}
 A: [Oh...OK OK OK.] {mimicking the
 same hand gesture}
 B: Second, whisk one ((?)). {accompanied sound of
 whisking ((?)) and whisking gesture}
 A: {mimicking of whisking gesture} Yes. OK!
 B: Next, fry up butter and olive oil
 A: [Oh! oh! butter and olive oil]
 B: Butter and olive oil. Then, add...add butter and
 mushrooms...
 {Speakers A and B repeat mushrooms three times
 each, jokingly, using gestures to indicate frying
 mushrooms}
 B: Mushrooms!... {pointing to speaker A} Finally, add
 rice.
 A: OK.
 B: Water.
 A: Oh.
 B: Soy sauce.
 A: Oh!
 B: White wine
 A: [Ooooooh!]
 B: White wine {gestures pouring wine from a bottle}
 {Speakers A and B repeat white wine a few times
 each, jokingly, using gestures to indicate pouring wine
 from a bottle}
 A: Very ((?))
 B: Wealthy...wealthy white wine!
 A: {laughs}
 B: Salt and pepper {gestures tipping salt and pepper}
 A: Ah yes...yes...yes...yes. {mimicking the same hand
 gesture}
 B: And fry up. {gestures frying food}
 A: Oh... {mimicking the same frying gesture}
 B: And, finish! {gestures eating}
 A: Whoa! {claps} sounds good!
 B: Thank you! Bye..bye. {claps}

¹ Burns and Joyce (2002: 12) present a summary of the differences between spoken and written language.

gestures and words (the words ‘mushrooms’ and ‘white wine’). Sample 2 also features the two speakers jointly defining a noun.¹ Exophoric references are also present in both samples. The word ‘this’ is used in sample 1, and gestures replace material processes in sample 2, illustrating the context dependent nature of both texts.

Both texts are unrehearsed and spontaneous (as they happened in real time) but were within the parameters of the literacy event. Sample one contains several pauses and examples where gesture is being used to compensate for lack of vocabulary or circumstantial information. In the opening lines, speaker A repeats the word ‘mix’, something not expected in written instructional language. Sample 2 contains two spontaneous bursts of repetition, possibly prompted by nerves or humor, and the Japanese word for shrimp² is also present.

Evident in both samples is the dominance of processes to carry meanings. The material processes are communicated verbally, with gesture and pictorially. Most noticeable in the spoken interactions was the emphasis on processes through gesture, both in frequency and scale.³

The samples are also made up of incomplete utterances, with hesitation and grammar inaccuracies. The speakers have also chosen to limit the vocabulary, with simplified terms and a reliance on visuals and gestures to communicate the meaning. Cohesion is represented verbally by the use of conjunctions, in contrast to the numerical ranking of recipe instructions.

4.1 Speaking with user generated multimodal texts

The introduction of user generated multimodal texts allowed learners to communicate meaning where the low level of language proficiency may have presented barriers for both giver and receiver. Simplified ‘spoken’ text served to guide the contents and reinforce the differences between written and spoken texts within the context. The visual images reinforced the spoken text, and also prompted the speaker for other modes of communication in the form of gestures. After the spoken interaction, the learners compared their texts with the authentic printed recipe to discover the differences, and in particular to consider the value nature of communication beyond the printed word.

In many cases, the recipe sheet the learners made became the focal point of the interaction. Images triggered spoken language in the form of exophoric references and other context embedded communication.

These texts also played a role in identifying the shift from written to visual forms of communication of key features in a recipe procedural text. Learners used the visual mode to take the burden of the more lexically dense, circumstantial elements and complex material processes. The authenticity of such user-generated texts could be questioned, but the context of situation supports the case for validity.⁴

¹ With the word ‘white wine’, speaker A tries to comment on the wine with a word sounding like ‘smelthy’ (possibly a confusion between ‘wealthy’ and ‘smell’) and speaker B corrects or interprets it as ‘wealthy’.

² The word ‘ebi’, illustrates a breakdown in language, which would not occur in printed recipes.

³ Gestures with hands were emphatic, utilizing areas of space equal to the width of the speakers’ bodies.

⁴ The context was first-year beginner level, L2 learners in an English conversation class exchanging recipes for cheap living.

5 Conclusions

The results and interpretation indicate that the learners in the context stated, did effectively communicate printed recipes taken from authentic English sources and translate them into spoken discourse, as defined by the authors referenced in this paper.

The results presented in this paper also offer insights into the role of user generated multimodal texts in literacy event or communicative events. The paper illustrates how such texts can be used to elicit context embedded language and how visuals can be used to communicate features of procedural texts. The visual mode could also possibly compensate for the language limitations of both participants in the spoken interactions. The possibility that the visuals in the multimodal texts were being used as prompts to encourage the use of gestures for material processes cannot be confirmed from the sample transcripts, but could possibly be inferred from the video recordings of the learner interactions.

The role of multimodal texts in teaching English communication needs further exploration for implications and applications across other genre and literacy events happening in various classroom contexts. This will be a focus for further action research.

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The effects of teaching Hasan's Semantic networks in a reading class in a Japanese university

Andrea Orlandini and Jonathon Adams

Shinshu University
3-1-1, Asahi, Matsumoto city, Nagano
andrea.orlandini31@gmail.com
baskervilles@gmail.com

Abstract

Our case study examines an application of Hasan's semantic network (cited in Matthiessen, 1995: 246-48) to raise awareness of discourse organization and texture in a group of low to intermediate learners with prior TESOL experience in the generative grammar tradition. Previous research applying Systemic Functional Linguistics in the TESOL reading classroom can be seen in "Critical literacy awareness in the EFL classroom" (Wallace, 1992). We use Freebody and Luke's framework of receptive skills (adapted in Feez, 2002: 102-3) to plan and assess reading activities based on Hasan's semantic network in a student centred learning environment.

Research in discourse organization and reading states that basic verbs can play a role in providing cues for discourse organization (Grabe and Stoller, 2002: 80). The research question is: how could instruction in formal knowledge of Hasan's semantic network (systematically describing the systems of material processes) affect reading performance, using the adaptation of Freebody and Luke's framework as an index of performance.

Each student's reading performance is compared to points gained in discrete point item tests measuring formal knowledge of Hasan's network. Based on our observations of a previous class, we expect the better readers to score higher on the tests. We discuss the implications of the results in the context of the theme: analysing texts in order to assess achievement systematically and comprehensively (Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks, and Yallop, 2000: 268-71), and our challenge of accommodating our students' prior TESOL experience in the generative grammar tradition (ibid: 261) in a communicative learning environment. is an example abstract.

1 Drawing on learners prior knowledge

Our group of learners all have in common 6 years experience in a test driven high school English curriculum based on the generative grammar tradition¹. In 'Using Functional Grammar'(2001), it is pointed out that a learning background in traditional grammar is not a hindrance, but a help when implementing SFL in the language learning classroom. The teaching strategy² is to emphasize the discourse semantics strand of SFL to harness the experience our students have in traditional grammar. The selection of the discourse strand instead of the register strand was partly motivated by our observations of standard high school English exams. Below is a typical sample of a high school test using gap fill to focus on semantics at word and sentence level:

One day, a black woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks, got on a bus. She was told to give her seat to a white passenger. But she (1). The bus driver called the police and they (2) her. King and other black preachers (3) a meeting. Mrs. Parks bravely (4) to go to court and fight for her civil rights. A boycott of the Montgomery city buses began. Black people around the city joined it. After 381 days of the boycott, the US government (5) a new law: segregation on buses in all states was illegal.

passed agreed arrested refused organized

¹ In the generative grammar tradition, structure is stated in terms of grammatical classes, and is generated by a system of rules (Matthiessen, 1995).

² In 'Text Based Syllabus', teachers may select either horizontally or vertically from the Functional Systemic Linguistics map of potential language outcomes. The semantics stratum is represented horizontally on this map between the stratum of lexicogrammar and register.

A common link that we emphasized between these tests and the course, is the salience given to the traditional parts of speech and their semantic meanings. Another factor motivating the decision was Hasan's work on semantic networks¹. We are interested in exploring the extent to which our students can accommodate this network into their preexisting knowledge base. A third factor was a reluctance to use the approach in "Critical literacy awareness in the EFL classroom" (Wallace, 1992), which assumes learners are best served by focusing on the context of register (field, tenor, and mode). An important difference between the semantics and the register strand is their location inside or outside the language system. A decision to exclude social processes and roles in the social system from the coursework was due to time constraints, and limitations in students' prior knowledge.

1.1 Materials selection

As in "Critical literacy awareness in the EFL classroom" (Wallace, 1992), students selected their own reading material. Based on parameters defined below, material selection plays a central role in raising awareness of texture².

A working hypothesis we are using is that if students select an authentic article with material processes characterized as event existential verbs as a task requirement, then the article is likely to manifest the remaining categories of material processes represented in the network: intensive results, creative thing verbs, and possessive result verbs. The framework of material processes is broadly classified as "creative: existential vs. others, where the others are dispositive: expanding, classified into intensive (elaborating result), possessive (extending result), or circumstantial (enhancing result)." (Matthiessen, 1995: 245).

Students were given the options of selecting from three sets of on-line official news websites: broadsheet news sites, mainstream sites, and sites offering English articles specifically for audiences in Japan. We suggested that broadsheet news sites represented more advanced English usage, the mainstream sites offered more readable material, and the Japanese English news sites offered the most user-friendly English. The responsibility for selecting articles in the appropriate level was the choice of the students, but a task requirement was selecting a science based article with event based verbs.

One student, we shall call Shun, selected an article entitled "New Jersey Lawmakers Set to Approve Embryonic Stem Cell Research" from New York Times. We shall look at his responses shortly. His responses will be covered below.

1.1.1 Framework of receptive skills

Four receptive goals based on Freebody and Luke's framework were used to assess the groups' comprehension of their articles. While students were encouraged to integrate these goals within the categories of Hasan's network³, it was not a strict task requirement.

¹ The network referred to and cited in Matthiessen is a systemic network that represents paradigmatic organization at the stratum of semantics. As a system, it consists of a statement of choice between two or more terms, and an entry condition. Our approach to teaching Hasan's network was not so formal, and some compromises needed to be made. An important compromise involved reducing the amount of instruction given to effective and middle clause structure, as we realized that students were not being receptive to it. We therefore decided to abandon it, and possibly reintroduce at a latter stage of the course.

² What is important in defining a text is that it is a harmonious collection of meanings appropriate to its context (Butt et al 2000: 3). This unity of purpose gives a text both texture and structure. A similar belief in defining text as language held together and given unity by meaning is also expressed in Feez (2002: 4).

³ 1. decoding (all categories), 2. working out the meaning (all verbs categories), 3. using what has been found out (creative thing verb), and 4. deciding what to think about the information and its affects (possessive result verb).

A key method we used to monitor progress in Freebody and Luke's framework of receptive skills was through Hasan's network. For example, if the question concerned an event in the article, we instructed students that it would be useful to literally paraphrase the verb cueing the event in the article, in their reports. Students were also advised to colour code the subtypes of material processes to increase the ease of both teacher and learner monitoring.

1.1.2 Instructions at semantic level

A key component of instructing the network was contextualization within the student's article, but this instructional framework was backed up with formal instruction of the four network categories. Formal instruction involved presentations of the entire networks through traditional matching and grouping activities. Visual displays (mind maps, hyponymy trees, tables, and taxonomies) were utilized to reinforce the systematic organization of the networks of material processes, and to structure activities.

The instructions relating to students' articles and reading goals were modeled at semantic level. There were four instructions given to each member of the group: 1. What event is informed by the article?; 2. What are the problematic results (intensive) of this event?; 3. What creative solution is informed by the article, as a response to these results?; or, does further research on this creative solution; 4. What do you think about the information you have read in your article? Do you agree or disagree with it?

1.1.3 Research methodology and question

We explore evidence of a relationship between a formal knowledge of Hasan's network of material process verbs and communicative reading ability as defined by the adaptation of Freebody and Luke's framework. The aim has been to implement research in discourse organization and reading, which states that basic verbs can play a role in providing cues for discourse organization (Grabe and Stoller, 2002: 80), and to explore the more relevant implications that formal teaching of verbs within a systemic framework could have on performance.

Our main hypothesis in this short paper is that learners achieving higher points in a discrete point test, and assessing our groups formal knowledge of Hasan's network, will also do better in Freebody and Luke's Framework. Before checking the test, the sample of Shun was intuitively selected as doing relatively well in the context of the framework, and the groups' general performance. After marking the tests, a relationship between test and communicative performance was confirmed in his case. Our next step involved checking if such a relationship existed with the rest of the group. Test scores are compared to participation and performance in Freebody and Luke's Framework.

2 Results

Before checking the results of the main hypothesis, it will be illustrated through Shun, how the group utilized Hasan's network as a cuing system, guiding them across the parts of their chosen article, the event, the results (intensive) of this event, the creative solution, as a response to these results, and to the possessive results that formed the context for the discussions.

Firstly, Shun worked out the meaning of the article from the perspective of the event. He identified 'experimentation on stem cells' and 'new treatments' as key events by using the verb 'lead to' as a cue. The verb 'generate' cued 'stem cells' and 'specialized cells of the body' as another aspect of the event that contextualizes the article. The event cuing verbs are underlined:

The debate over experimentation on stem cells from human embryos has pitted patient group and scientists who say the research could lead to new treatments for diseases like Parkinson's. Stem cells, which are also found in adult bone marrow generate nearly all the specialized cells of the body.

Shun cites the intensive result verbs network to elaborate on the problematic nature of the event. In the examples below, he refers to the scale of the event, the speed in which it has increased in scale, and the problematic nature of arguing against the use of human embryos. He notes that such embryos would be 'destroyed' anyway:

It has grown with dizzying speed, as have hopes for learning how the cell-division process can go awry and cause crippling disease. The most immediate gains are expected in studies of neurological disorders, spinal cord injuries, and diabetes, but many other realms of medicine may be affected.

Proponents of the research note that the early-stage embryos that provide the cells, usually surplus fertilized eggs from in-vitro fertilization clinics would be destroyed anyway.

He cited the verb 'create' to locate the 'thing' that could be created by stem cell research as an interpretation:

Medical researchers ultimate goal is to create, for example, 'insula- producing cells for diabetes and dopamine-producing cells for parkinsons' victims.

Shun went on to think about the article based on an interpretation of possessive result verbs in the article, and other interpretations. He noted the verb 'give' as a cue to understanding that stem cell research would inevitably be taken on:

New Jersey legislators are poised to give official approval for research on embryonic stem cells,...

In this immediate context, Shun offers a discussion in his own words which goes as follows:

In today's situation, I can agree with using stem cells from adult cells, but I can't agree and disagree with using stem cells from early stage embryos. If we use stem cells from early stage embryos, it includes the problem of when life starts. It means it is obscure whether stem cells from early stage embryos are human or not. If we define it human, we can't use them in research, but if we don't we can use them. In both cases I think we must not decide it easily. I think deep discussion are necessary. Such an important area of research cannot be stopped because of one group's religious views, and allowed easily because of scientist's optimism. If we can use stem cells from early stage embryos, the benefits may be very large, but at the same time, it has the possibility to create many problems.

2.1 A comparison of test scores and communicative performance

Table 1. below shows the results of the group of 24 students involved in the research. The table shows the number of errors incurred in the test by each participant out of a possible maximum of 41 errors. These results are correlated with a description of participation in Freebody and Luke's framework, and Hasan's network of material processes. The table suggests that communicative success is more likely, but not a necessary condition of a high test score.

Participa nts	Errors	Answered the questions based on Freebody and Luke				Utilized Hasan's network	
		Qu.1	Qu.2	Qu.3	Qu.4	Yes	No
	2.5	no	yes	yes	yes	Qu.2, 3, 4	Qu.1
	6	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	6	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	6	yes	yes	yes	yes		
	8	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	8	yes	no	yes	yes	Qu.1, 3, 4	Qu.2

	9.5	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	10.5	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	10.5	yes	yes	yes	no dat	Qu.1, 2, 3	
	12.5	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	12.5	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	12.5	yes	no	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 4	Qu.3
	13	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	13.5	no	yes	no	yes	Qu.2	Qu.1, 3, 4
	13.5	no	yes	no dat	no dat		
	14	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	15	no	no	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2,	Qu.3, 4
	16	no	yes?	yes	yes	Qu.2, 3, 4	Qu.1
	16	abs	no	yes	yes	Qu.3	Qu.1, 2, 4
	16	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3	Qu.4
	17.5	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	21	no	no	no	yes		Qu.1, 2, 3, 4
	23.5	yes	yes	yes	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3, 4	
	24	no	no	no	yes	Qu.1, 2, 3,	Qu.4

3 Discussion

While higher test points suggest a greater likelihood of success in the framework of reading goals, it certainly is not a major factor in this small scale study. Participants aware of the task requirements, and motivated to achieve them were still able to succeed in the outcomes, in spite of low test scores. While the better readers did score higher on the test on average, some participants who scored poorly on the test were still able to achieve satisfactorily in Freebody and Luke’s framework. An interesting issue from our perspective is that while such students were unable to comprehend Hasan’s network in the context of the test, they could do so in the context of the interpretive community defined by their social groups. By making the assessment criteria in relation to the framework of receptive skills and Hasan’s semantic networks explicit, students were clear about what was expected of them (Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks, and Yallop, 2000: 268-71). Observations suggested frequent discussions by students sharing the meta-language of Hasan’s network and the reading goals..

4 Conclusion

Our challenge of accommodating our students’ prior TESOL experience in the generative grammar tradition (ibid: 261) in a communicative learning environment was successful from the viewpoint of fostering a small scale interpretive community. Because our students already had a solid foundation in traditional grammar, it was only a small step towards expanding it to systemic parameters. One participant of the group in our research sums up our position:

When I read English sentences, I saw I have to take notice of verbs. The important information was on the periphery of event verbs, intensive verbs, creative thing verbs, possessive result verbs in my article. The article is structured many sentences, but the sentences that needed to understand the content isn’t all sentences. I would like to memorize 4-type verbs, and I would like to read quick the contents into many articles.

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A Correlation between the Systems of Taxis and Projection in Newspaper Articles

José Manuel Durán

Universidad de Belgrano, Buenos Aires,
joseduran@ciudad.com.ar
joseduranlinguist@yahoo.com.ar

Abstract

Based on the results of a study by Nesbitt and Plum, that show that locution favours parataxis and idea favours hypotaxis, Halliday (Webster, 2006:56) has proposed the hypothesis that probably at some earlier time there was only one system for the logico-semantic relation of projection based on either direct speech or indirect thought. A discursive genre particularly rich in projecting clauses is that of newspaper articles, especially those articles that deal with political news within the context of a national election. Hence, this paper aims to analyse the correlation between the system of taxis (parataxis and hypotaxis) and the logico-semantic system of projection (locution and idea) in newspaper articles published in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in the period pre- and post-national elections 2007. The articles have been selected with a comparative criterion from a newspaper edited in English, Buenos Aires Herald, and a “prestigious” (Verón, 1987) newspaper in Spanish, La Nación.

1 Introduction

Based on the results of a study by Nesbitt and Plum, that show that locution favours parataxis and idea favours hypotaxis, Halliday (in Webster, 2006:56) has proposed the hypothesis that probably at some earlier time there was only one system for the logico-semantic relation of projection based on either direct speech or indirect thought. Researchers interested in the evolution of languages might test Halliday’s hypothesis by scrutinising texts belonging to different chronological periods, say Old English, Middle English and present-day English and trying to assess how the correlation between the systems of taxis and projection has evolved throughout the years. Alternatively, and assuming Halliday’s hypothesis to be true, cross-linguistic analysts might carry out studies to try to assess how two different languages have evolved. If such correlation is sustained in one of these languages but differs strikingly in the other, this might prove that the second language has evolved more rapidly than the first. If, on the other hand, both languages show similar patterns in the abovementioned correlation, this might prove that they have evolved in parallel ways¹.

At the moment of making contrastive analyses of any kind, it is desirable that ancillary variables remain under control as much as possible. One such variable is the register from which texts to carry out a quantitative study are taken. A discursive register particularly rich in projecting clauses is that of newspaper articles, especially those articles that deal with political news within the context of a national election. Hence, this paper aims to analyse the correlation between the system of taxis (parataxis and hypotaxis) and the logico-semantic system of projection (locution and idea) in newspaper articles published in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in two different languages, namely English and Spanish, in the period pre- and post-national elections 2007. My objective is to apply a quantitative analysis of the correlation between the systems of taxis and projection to a corpus that belongs to a very different register from that used by Nesbitt and Plum (1988, in Webster, 2006) in order to:

¹ Although it must be admitted that similar results in cross-linguistic studies would not necessarily show this, because it can also be possible that language A has evolved more rapidly than language B and, in its evolutionary process, returned to a ‘previous’ stage, so that at a certain point in time, both languages represent a certain phenomenon in a strikingly similar fashion.

- 1) Reveal the equiprobability or skewness of both the systems of taxis and projection in the register of newspaper articles on political discourse.
- 2) Contrast the results in English and Spanish.
- 3) Contribute to characterise such register in terms of the systems of taxis and projection.

The following section explains the methodology I have used in the paper.

2 Methodology

The articles have been selected with a comparative criterion from a newspaper edited in English, Buenos Aires Herald, and a “prestigious” (Verón, 1987) newspaper in Spanish, La Nación. I have chosen articles that referred the same pieces of news in the two newspapers. In order to do so, I have selected articles published on Mondays before and after the national elections in Argentina, covering the 12 Mondays between September 10th, 2007 and November 26th, 2007.

A corpus of 24 articles was thus obtained, amounting to 1234 clauses of 12921 words in all. All complex nexuses that included projection clauses were tabulated and analysed separately according to both the systems of taxis and projection. Table 1 below provides examples taken from the corpus.

Table 1: Examples from the corpus

BAH0621 ³⁰	“We did it in 2002, when we had an 11 percent monthly inflation and an annual projection of 300 percent,” he said.	P ³¹	L
BAH0627	In an interview with DyN news agency, Sobisch said that if he wins in October’s elections he will promote “national integration, a greater role of provincial governments in the federal administration and the re-insertion of Argentina in the world.”	H	L
BAH0106	Sources speculate on two options, either he did not want to appear at the bottom of the ticket or he intends to be a minister in Cristina’s Cabinet if she becomes president.	P	I
BAH0606	[...] while most of Argentine citizens nowadays believe our country has already paid its external debt, [...]	H	I

3 Results and Discussion

The total number of complex nexuses are shown in Table 2 below and separated into the ones occurred in Spanish and in English in Table 3 below.

Table 2: Overall Distribution of Tokens

	Locution	Idea	Total
Parataxis	59	4	63
Hypotaxis	156	18	174
Total	215	22	237

³⁰ The codes in the examples consist of seven digits: the first three identify the newspaper from which the example has been taken: BAH for Buenos Aires Herald and LNC for La Nación. There follow two digits from 01 to 12 that refer the number of article. The remaining two digits signal the number of example within the article.

³¹ P stands for parataxis; H, for hypotaxis; L, for locution; and I, for idea.

Table 3: Distribution of Tokens by Newspaper

	Buenos Aires Herald			La Nación		
	L	I	T	L	I	T
Parataxis	21	2	23	38	2	40
Hypotaxis	86	8	94	70	10	80
Total	107	10	117	108	12	120

Tables 2 and 3 above reveal that the systems of taxis and projection are unassociated or fully independent since each of them exhibits an unmarked choice and a marked one. What is more, which is the unmarked variant in one of the systems is not affected by the choice in the other system. Only the extent to which a certain variant is unmarked is modified by the choice in the other system. In order to clarify this, in the following two subsections, I will show percentages taken by row or by column.

3.1 Percentages by Row

If we sum the rows and calculate percentages along these lines, we obtain table 4 (from table 2) for the overall figures, and table 5 (from table 3), for each of the newspapers taken separately.

Table 4: Overall Percentages per Line

	Locution	Idea
Parataxis	94 %	6 %
Hypotaxis	90 %	10 %
Total	91 %	9 %

Table 5: Distribution of Percentages by Line and by Newspaper

	Buenos Aires Herald		La Nación	
	L	I	L	I
Parataxis	91 %	9 %	95 %	5 %
Hypotaxis	91 %	9 %	87.5 %	12.5 %
Total	91 %	9 %	90 %	10 %

It can be seen that the figures obtained are strikingly similar in both languages. Since either considering the corpus as a whole (table 4), or separating them into the two different languages (table 5), once the system of taxis is defined in terms of either parataxis or hypotaxis, locution is the unmarked choice and idea is the marked choice. It can be concluded that the register under study is characterised in terms of the system of projection by an overwhelming majority of locutions and very few ideas. Thus, the Buenos Herald presents 91% of locutions and 9% of ideas; and in La Nación these percentages amount to 90% and 10%, respectively. In other words, the system of projection in the register of political news published in newspaper articles portrays locution as the unmarked choice and idea as the marked choice. This can be explained since newspapers, in an attempt to be characterised as fairly objective rather than subjective, seek to reproduce what different participants in the political arena have said, rather than what these participants think. If ideas outnumbered locutions, this could be interpreted by the readers as mere speculation on the part of the journalist, the editor or the newspaper as an institution.

A further point to mention is that the system of taxis does not influence the system of projection. That is to say, in the register under study, the system of projection is highly independent from the system of taxis. While in the case of Spanish, the percentages are fairly similar; this is more salient in the case of English, which exhibits the same percentages in the

three lines (See Table 5).

3.2 Percentages by Column

If we sum the columns, instead of the rows, the percentages obtained are shown in table 6 (from table 2), and table 7 (from table 3).

Table 6: Overall Percentages by Column

	Locution	Idea	Total
Parataxis	27.4 %	18 %	27 %
Hypotaxis	72.6 %	82 %	73 %

Table 7: Distribution of Percentages by Column and by Newspaper

	Buenos Aires Herald			La Nación		
	L	I	Total	L	I	Total
Parataxis	20 %	20 %	20 %	35 %	17 %	33 %
Hypotaxis	80 %	80 %	80 %	65 %	83 %	67 %

It can be deduced from the tables above that both languages are also similar as regards the system of taxis, in the sense that both of them show an unmarked choice and a marked one. Even though the differences are more striking in English than in Spanish, both languages prefer hypotaxis over parataxis. The only difference is the extent to which this preference is held. While English chooses hypotaxis over parataxis four times as frequently (94 tokens over 23, or 80 % of the times against 20 % of the times), Spanish does so only twice as much (80 over 40, or 67 % of the complex nexuses over 33 % of them).

A possible explanation for the fact³² that political news portrayed in newspaper articles extensively favour hypotaxis over parataxis can be understood if a new variable is introduced, namely the relative position of the projected clause with respect to the projecting clause. Languages offer two possibilities for the position of the projecting clause: it can be either positioned before or after the projected clause. If we tabulate such positions intersected with the system of taxis, it can be appreciated that while hypotaxis extensively favours the order projecting clause followed by projected clause, parataxis favours the reversed order.

Table 8: Order of Clauses Intersected with Hypotaxis

	Projecting + Projected	Projected + Projecting
Parataxis	23	40
Hypotaxis	167	7

Table 9: Order of Clauses Intersected with Hypotaxis by Newspaper

	Buenos Aires Herald		La Nación	
	G³³ + D	D + G	G + D	D + G
Parataxis	8	15	15	25
Hypotaxis	92	2	75	5

Consequently, it can be said that the unmarked order of clauses is projecting clause followed by projected clause in the case of hypotaxis; and projected clause followed by projecting clause in the case of parataxis. Therefore, the fact that political news published in newspaper articles favour hypotaxis over parataxis entails the fact that this register also

³² I must admit that this can only be considered a fact within the limits of the study carried out. Further analyses over larger corpora are needed in order to validate my findings.

³³ G stands for 'Projecting Clause' and D stands for 'Projected Clause.'

favours the order projecting clause followed by projected clause. This preferred order of clauses in the register in question may be attributed to the major emphasis given to the projected clause that the former allows the writer. That is to say, the news published seems to be focused more on the projected clause rather than on the projecting clause. In other words, what a certain participant said seems to be more important than who said it. Besides, this seems to be more salient in the case of English than in Spanish, probably because of the more flexibility of word order and clause order that Spanish allows.

4 Conclusion

The quantitative analysis applied to a corpus of texts of newspaper articles on political news has revealed that:

- 1) The systems of projection and taxis are fully independent from each other.
- 2) The systems are more independent in English than in Spanish.
- 3) Each of these systems is skewed in the sense that they exhibit unmarked and marked choices.
- 4) Political news portrayed in newspaper articles favour locution and disfavour idea.
- 5) Political news portrayed in newspaper articles favour hypotaxis and disfavour parataxis.
- 6) Projecting clauses precede projected clauses if they are in a hypotactic relation.
- 7) Projected clauses precede projecting clauses if they are in a paratactic relation.
- 8) Political news portrayed in newspaper articles favour projecting clauses preceding projected clauses, which is a direct consequence of (5) to (7) above.

Moreover, my findings from a quantitative analysis of the correlation between the systems of taxis and projection to a corpus that belongs to a very different register from that used by Nesbitt and Plum (1988, in Webster, 2006) are only partly similar to theirs. My findings are in accord with those of Nesbitt & Plum in the sense that both their study and my study show that idea favours hypotaxis. However, as opposed to their study, which shows that locution favours parataxis, in my case I have found that hypotaxis is preferred irrespectively of the choice in the system of projection. This may either indicate a feature of the register in question, or a different stage in the chronological evolution of languages. Since only twenty years have passed since Nesbitt and Plum collected their corpus, it seems to me that the former is a more plausible explanation. However, further and larger studies applied to different registers would be needed in order to offer more insights into the correlation of the systems of taxis and projection.

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Social Representations and Experiential Metafunction: Poverty and Media Discourse

Denize Elena Garcia da Silva

Universidade de Brasília (UnB) – Brasil
SHIS QL 20 CONJ. 5 CASA 8 – Brasília (DF) – 71650-155
denizelena@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper seeks to identify a series of social representations underlying media discourse on homeless people in Brazil. In light of this, the dialogical relation existent between the functional language concepts proposed by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) in Functional Systemic Linguistics (FSL) and the text analysis model geared towards social research and put forward by Fairclough (2003) within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is adopted. Further, this study is based upon qualitative research. Data was generated from texts in the written media. Components such as transitivity (processes, participants, events), as well as types of meaning (actional, representational and identificational) were considered with a view to identifying underlying social representations. Van Leeuwen's (1997) analytical categories were used in examining the representation of social actors in the texts. Initial results suggest that journalistic discourse as an institutionalized social practice has contributed to naturalizing social representations such as "inclusion", "exclusion" and even "invaders", in reference to those who are socially excluded. This reflects ideological positions in keeping with the dominant power.

1 Introduction

The decision to focus upon three issues – social representations, poverty and media discourse based upon Functional Systemic Linguistic (FSL) is due to two factors, at least in the scope of this study. In the first instance, discussing the functional aspect of language, associated with situations that imply the representation of poverty in media discourse as well as the voice of actors who live in street situations, means a leaning towards what Halliday (1994) points to as general proposals that underlie all language uses: understanding the context (ideational), as well as operating through the latter with the others (interpersonal).

From this perspective, trying to break the social image that poverty is a difficult, inaccessible and solutionless problem, is equivalent to perceiving a situation and trying to revert it. In my opinion, this goes hand in hand with Halliday's third metafunctional component, that is, the text as message. This is so because discourse, once conveyed through texts, constitutes a form of social practice. There is the possibility to intervene in reality through messages as forms of action, above all those unchained through contextual situations that in some way affect others. At the same time, the 35th ISFC's incentive to open space for the engagement of studies based upon Systemic Functional Linguistics implies the opportunity to discuss and understand issues that take into account distinct social contexts – situational and cultural – in which the representational aspect of language stands out, especially in the grammar of people's experiences, as their voices echo distinctly in the world.

2 Representation from a theoretical-methodological triangulation perspective

This section triangulates Fairclough's studies (2003) and van Leeuwen's (1997) work with Halliday's proposal (1973, 1994), focusing specifically on representation as an analytic category. Representation is considered in Halliday's ideational function through focus on transitivity processes within the sentence, this involves three elements: processes, participants in the processes and circumstances.

Halliday argues (1973) that language is developed to meet certain functions that can be

called, in a broad sense, “social functions”. It is possible that traces are left in language due to how these functions are used. This leaves us with a major question pertinent to the relation between language functions and the nature of the linguistic system. It must be pointed out here that the term “function” refers to the manner in which language is used socially, given that functionality is manifest in the linguistic system through three macro-functions that occur simultaneously in texts, be they oral or written.

Further, it is important to point out that Halliday’s systemic theory represents a proposal that involves the study of language in its interiority. However, it also takes into account choices, options, needs, as well as speakers’ intentions, reflected in language’s externality. This has to do with the linguistic and social structure correlation. It is from this perspective that SFL identifies three simultaneous macro-functions in language, which can be identified in texts: *ideational* (focus on the sentence as process); *interpersonal* (focus on the sentence as speech act); and *textual* (focus on the sentence as message).

In his dialogue with SFL, Fairclough suggests (2003) that a text does not only involve ideational, interpersonal (identity and relational) and textual functions, but it must be seen through three types of meaning in language, that is, *action* (through genre), *representation* (through discourse) and *identification* (through style) which are three elements in discourse orders. In this sense, each discourse order encompasses characteristic discursive genres that articulate discourse and styles in a relatively stable manner in a specific socio-historic and cultural context.

Fairclough (*op.cit.*) observes that genres, discourses and styles constitute elements of discourse orders, different from nouns and sentences that are elements in linguistic structures. According to Fairclough, discourse orders can always be seen as the organization and control of linguistic variation which can be studied, in my opinion, through language transitivity based upon Halliday’s proposal. Transitivity is pertinent to the ideational function, geared towards the grammar of experience that reflects the representations of the speaker’s world (physical, mental and social) in accordance with Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 172).

In light of the above, I focus in this study on transitivity processes in language, associated not only with Halliday’s ideational function but also with representational meaning in language as proposed by Fairclough (2003). In short, whilst the ideational function that perceives the sentence as process, consists in expressing context, the speaker’s/writer’s experience through grammar in relation to the real world (including notions of time and space) and to the inner world of his/her conscience, representational meaning is expressed in discourse, the level at which aspects of the world are represented in texts.

The third dimension that complements the theoretical-methodological triangulation is van Leeuwen’s (1997) study that refers to the forms in which social actors are represented in texts. This allows for identifying ideological positionings in relation to these actors and their activities. According to van Leeuwen, social actors can have their identity blurred or highlighted in representations; they can be represented through their activities or utterances; or they can even be referred to in ways that make assumptions about who they are or what they do. Thus, van Leeuwen suggests a socio-semantic inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented.

An analysis of such representations can be used in revealing ideologies in texts and interactions since a given representation can include or exclude social actors so as to serve specific interests and purposes or even background them in a text. Inclusion can occur in different manners, such as nomenclatures or categorization. Actors can be represented in terms of a unique identity by being named or categorized. The nomenclature occurs typically through proper names, whilst categorization occurs through functionalisation and identification. The first representational choice occurs when actors are referred to in terms of

an activity, occupation or function to which they are linked (garbage collector). In the case of identification, they are represented by what they more or less permanently are or inevitable are, such as sex, age or even social class (street dwellers or homeless people).

In a recent study, Silva & Ramalho illustrate how street dwellers have their identity represented or rather, blurred in press discourse, as representations indicate that the press operates in cahoots with authorities' actions concerning public policies geared towards poverty. Empirical data to be presented below were analysed and bring out representations of poverty by social actors.

3 Representations of poverty: a contrast of voices

This section is an analysis of data that indicate a contrast of voices, which resonate in and through the world of poverty. The data include an interview-narrative, conducted with persons who live on the streets in Brasília as well as a news bulletin, taken from a widely circulated newspaper in the Federal District.

3.1 Interview-narrative

A gente morava em Brasílinha. Trabalhei na TERRACAP sete anos em serviço de demolição [de prédios públicos desativados]. Depois que passaram a exigir concurso, eu fiz a prova... num passei...aí eu fui mandado embora. Fiquei desempregado porque eu num tinha outra profissão. Chegá em casa, vê a mulher e os filho chorando em frente as panela vazia...o jeito foi vim pra Brasília e acampá nas ruas com a família... recolhê entulho na carroça e vendê o que achar... latinhas... papelão e outras coisas... pra dá de comer e podê sobrevivê.

[Antônio, 43 anos]

We used to live in Brasílinha. I worked at TERRACAP for seven years in the demolition service [abandoned public buildings]. Then, they started to require a public service examination, I did the test...but I didn't pass...so I was fired. I was unemployed as I didn't have any other job. Going home, seeing my wife and children crying in front of an empty pot...the only thing was to come to Brasília and live on the streets with my family...I started collecting garbage in a cart and selling what I could find...cans...cardboard and other stuff...enough to eat and to survive.

[Antônio, 43 years]

The start of the excerpt shows material processes, with the narrator as the main actor - (I) worked at TERRACAP...I did a test...(I) did a test – in other words, the verbs used represent the narrator's experience in the physical world, there are categorical meanings that involve "doing" as well as "happening". At the same time, the following two 'units of information – *I became unemployed as I didn't have any other job* – involve verbs that denote relational processes, with meanings associated with abstract relations, that is, to the world of "being". In the sentences with material processes, whose nuclei reveal other participants than the narrator, there is the omission of the actor and the passive agent as shown in the structures (a) and (b) presented below.³⁴

(a)

		MODE		RESIDUE	
<i>Depois/After</i>	<i>Que/that</i>	----- -	<i>Passaram/the y started</i>	<i>a exigir/to demand</i>	<i>Concurso/public service examination</i>
Circumstantial	connective	subject (actor)	finite	predicator	complement (goal)

³⁴ The structures presented represent an adaptation of Halliday's model. The term MODE designates a sentence process that involves subject + finite form (auxiliary verb), whilst the term RESIDUE involves main verb + complement.

(b)

	MODE		RESIDUE		
<i>Ai/So</i>	<i>Eu/I</i>	<i>Fui/I was</i>	<i>Mandado/fired</i>	<i>embora/away</i>	-----
Connective	subject (affected)	finite	predicator	circumstantial	passive agent

It can be observed that the indeterminacy highlighted in the lines identified in Tables (a) and (b) implies according to van Leeuwen (1997: 199) a “generalized exophoric reference” since there is a type of impersonal authority attributed to the social actors who affect Antônio’s life.³⁵ It is a type of coercive, invisible force that is powerfully felt and which affects the narrator’s identity.

In the material processes that make up the actions and events in the excerpt – *you arrive home, you see your wife and children crying in front of an empty pot...*

what stands out is the mental process verb with a categorical meaning geared towards the world of conscience. It is the verb *to see* that involves an ‘experiencer’ (narrator) and a ‘phenomenon’, terms also suggested by Halliday (1994). The other verb forms underlined not only imply material processes in the physical world – *arrive, come, camp, collect, sell, give to eat, able, survive* – they also represent consequent actions of perception of the ‘experiencer’ in relation to the ‘phenomenon’ of poverty, expressed in the family’s crying and in the hunger metaphor, represented in the empty pot, and this affects the family head’s identity.

The following example focuses upon poverty from the media’s perspective.

3.2 Street dwellers expelled

Uma representação pedindo providências contra a expulsão de moradores de rua da cidade de Apucarana, no Paraná, será encaminhada ao procurador geral de Justiça do estado pelo chefe da Ouvidoria-Geral de Cidadania da Secretaria Especial de Direitos Humanos, Pedro Montenegro. “Se o fato de não ter ocupação habitual, não ter moradia constitui crime, então teremos milhões no Brasil nessa situação”, advertiu Montenegro. Segundo o ouvidor, houve uma denúncia de que os moradores de rua estariam sendo expulsos do município pelos órgãos públicos locais e alguns deles teriam sido inclusive fichados pela polícia.

[Correio Braziliense, pp.8/9, 26/03/07]

A document seeking provisions against the expulsion of street dwellers in the city of Apucarana, in Paraná will be forwarded to the State Prosecutor’s Office by the head Ombudsman for Citizenship at the Special Secretariat for Human Rights, Pedro Montenegro. “If the fact of not having a place to live constitutes a crime, then there will be millions in Brazil in this situation”, warned Montenegro. According to the Ombudsman, there was a complaint that street dwellers were being expelled from the municipality by local public organs and some were even booked by the police.

[Correio Braziliense, pp.8/9, 26/03/07]

From this new item’s very title, the blurring of the passive agent can be observed as the press neutralizes agency of action in the reader’s eyes. This is reinforced within the text through the use of verbal forms in the future perfect, a rhetorical strategy that imprints on information a notion of possibility that the actions are not really true. In focusing on the sentence underlined so as to consider the ideational function in the transitivity of each ‘information unit’, this illustrates in a lucid manner, the representational meaning underlying the discursive process. The first segment in focus topicalizes a participant indirectly involved in the reported speech (according to the ombudsman) indicates an existential verbal process

³⁵ For ethical reasons, pseudonyms have been used in this research.

(houve- there was) that is complemented in this case by what is existent (a complaint). The processes that appear in the following two units of information hold categorical meanings of “identification”, this refers to the world of abstract relations, of “being”. See the operationalisation of these meanings in structure (c).

(c)

	MODE		RESIDUE			
<i>De que</i> That	<i>os moradores de rua</i> street dwellers	<i>estariam</i> would be	<i>sendo</i> being	<i>expulsos</i> expelled	<i>do município</i> from the municipality	<i>pelos órgãos públicos locais</i> by local public organs
connective	identified (affected)	finite	predicator	identifier (predict complement)	circumstance: place	passive agent

The same identifying process can be observed in the unit of information distributed in the structure (d).

(d)

	MODE		RESIDUE			
E/And	<i>alguns deles/some of them</i>	<i>teriam</i> would have	<i>sido</i> been	<i>inclusive</i> including	<i>fichados</i> booked	<i>pela polícia</i> by the police
connective	identified (affected)	finite	predicator	circumstance: inclusive mode	identifier (predicative complement)	passive agent

The segments outlined above – constructed in the passive voice, with agents belonging to the world of authorities (local public organs, police) constitute identificational sentences that allow for pointing out the affected identified (street dwellers, some of them) and the identifying complements (expelled, booked), related among themselves in a symbolic manner. It is important to point out here that the relational processes predominate the news item pointed out in example (2): *not having an occupation*, [...*não ter ocupação*..], *not having housing*, [...*não ter moradia*] *so we will have...*, [*então teremos*...], *they would be expelled*,[*estariam sendo expulsos*] *...some of them would be booked*.....[*alguns deles teriam sido fichados*]; *those who were from the municipality itself*.. [*os que eram do próprio município*].

All this is not by chance, given that, as Halliday and Matthiessen suggest (2004: 247), “more than other types of processes, relational ones have a rich potential for ambiguity, exploited in many types of registers”. This allows for creating a link with the journalistic text considered here. The text’s ambiguity starts, in my opinion, from its very title with the blurring of the agent as well as with the use of the future perfect that indicates uncertainty not only in terms of the tenor of actions but also in relation to the fact reported. Thus, at first sight, the reader does not identify on which side the journalist is on, in favour or against the expulsion of street dwellers, tacitly considered to be “invaders”.

4 Final considerations

The results indicate the naturalisation of social practices (expulsion, dislocation of people in cities) whose generating sources are normally government actions, almost always lessened in the representations conveyed by the media concerning street dwellers, whose identities are reflected in their discourse, associated with the context of the situation experienced, in this case, one of injustice and iniquity. It was possible to note that the press through its discursive

practices aligns its ideological positions with the ruling authorities. This is evident in the manner in which street dwellers are mentioned, they are categorized in a general sense, since they are ignored by public policies. This study sought therefore to gather knowledge so as to construct a critical vision of social representations in our society as well as open windows for reflection so as to bring about change. One window would be to generate awareness on media discourse regarding social actors oppressed by poverty, as its grammar is based on exclusion. This social exclusion has occurred, in my opinion, not only in the Brazilian political context, but also in many countries in the world.

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The explanatory power of the SFL dimensions in the study of news discourse

Annabelle Lukin

Centre for Language in Social Life
Department of Linguistics Macquarie University
annabelle.lukin@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

Driving much of the sociological and linguistic work on media has been a belief in, or desire to model, the relation(s) between news discourse and social, economic and political contexts. Hall (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, U. of Birmingham) for instance argued that “the production structures of television...draw topics, treatments, agendas, events, personnel, images of the audience, ‘definitions of the situation’ from other sources and other discursive formations within the wider socio-cultural and political structure of which they are a differentiated part...” (Hall 1980: 137-8). In *News as Discourse*, van Dijk asserted that one of the central questions in the study of news discourse is “the complex relationships between news text and context: How do cognitive and social constraints determine the structures of news and how are the understanding and the uses of news influenced by its textual structures?” (1988: 2). In this paper I will argue for the descriptive power of the dimensions of SFL – structure; system; stratification; instantiation; metafunction (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) – in understanding the relations of news to social context. My data will be taken from a study of the ABC’s reporting of the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

1 Language as ‘multidimensional semiotic space’

The focus of this paper is the relationship of news discourse to its social context, an issue of abiding interest since linguistics became one of the disciplines involved in exploring the nature of the media discourse. The work of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies Centre and then the Critical Linguistics group at East Anglia have been important foundations. But I will be approaching this issue from an SFL perspective. That is, I will be examining the context of news discourse in the light of the dimensions of language proposed by Halliday. Halliday (e.g. as in Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 20) proposes five dimensions: structure, system, stratification, instantiation, and metafunction. Their ‘ordering principles’ are rank, delicacy, realization, instantiation and metafunction, respectively. The significance of these dimensions to the SFL model is indicated by the fact that these dimensions and their inter-relations now appear on the cover of his *Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Hasan links Halliday’s notion of context of situation to Goffman’s phrase “motivational relevancies” (Goffman, 1975, in Hasan 1996a). She argues that “The interaction as it unfolds through the mediation of various modes of meaning – verbal and non-verbal – is an evidence of such relevancies” (Hasan, 1996a: 37). In other words, the text is the ‘realization’ of these ‘motivational relevancies’, with realization seen as a bidirectional relationship. As noted above, realization is the ‘ordering principle’ for the dimension of stratification; it is an inter-stratal relation (Halliday, 2002 [1992]). As Halliday has noted, realization is not a causal relation: “If the situation caused the text, the situation would have to exist first; and it would be impossible for the text to cause the situation – if *a* causes *x*, then *x* cannot also cause *a*...But text and situation come into being together; so whatever kind of order we set up between them, it must be such that we can start from either end” (2002 [1992]: 15). The ‘context’ of a news report is no simple notion; we can see this from the fact that the media and its products are studied from many disciplinary points of view. The Wikipedia entry on ‘media studies’ lists 17 different fields from which are drawn the ‘theories and methods’ of media studies - without mentioning the contribution of linguistics! In applying SFL to the problem of news and its social context, we are not trying to theorize each and every force shaping the media as an institution. But we do want to provide the most

detailed account we can of what the linguistic products and processes of the media can tell us about ‘what is going on’ (Hasan, 1996).

2 The ABC’s reporting of the Coalition invasion of Iraq

When the Coalition invaded Iraq in March 2003, Australia’s public broadcast network, the ABC, was, like media services around the world, ready to cover the unfolding events. The ABC embedded a correspondent with US Marines, put a TV journalist in the Kurdish north of Iraq, and stationed another at the Coalition briefing centre in Qatar. Others were in the region, so that they could file stories from Israel, Turkey, Kuwait, Jordan and Syria. Washington was another relevant location: two correspondents were available so that daily reports from the Pentagon briefings could be made. This paper draws data from the first two weeks of reporting by the ABC television news (specifically from its 7pm bulletin). ABC TV produced 123 stories in this period, roughly five hours and 8 minutes of news (a corpus of around 45, 000 words) exclusively focused on the invasion and its immediate aftermath.

If, as Halliday suggests we can start with either the context or the text, I will begin with the text. But since the text itself can be viewed from different points of view, I will use this paper further as an exploration of Hasan’s idea that “there is a continuity from the living of life on the one hand right down to the morpheme on the other” (Cloran et al, 1996: 1). The implication here is each and every morpheme is recruited to the business of construing the context – which in this case is one where meaning is highly contested. The Marine Corps public information director, Lt. Co. Richard Long, who oversaw the training for embedded journalists told a conference in April 2004 that “Frankly our job is to win the war. Part of that is information warfare. So we are going to attempt to dominate the information environment. Overall we were very happy with the outcome”³⁶.

In particular, the ‘morphemes’ that interest me include: assault, strike, invade, attack, and kill, including all their morphology potentials (e.g. kill, killed, killing)³⁷. For lack of space some initial findings only will be presented here. The selection is experientially motivated, and should be self-explanatory: the reporting of an invasion by the world’s greatest superpower will presumably need to recruit these words in some form. One might expect that as processes, these forms would be prototypically transitive, i.e. material processes which not only require an Actor, but which presuppose a Goal. Figure 1 gives the total number of instances of each word (blue line), and then maps the number of instances where the word appears in a verbal group (red line).

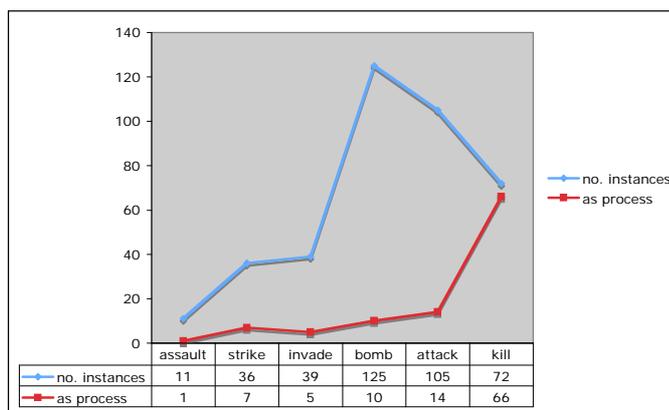


Figure 1 Keywords represented as sum total and as process

³⁶ See http://www.americanfreepress.net/04_06_04/Media_Coverage/media_coverage.html).

³⁷ Thanks to Wu Canzhong for use of SysConc, which underpinned the research for this paper.

As Figure 1 shows, the verbal potential of these forms – with the exception of ‘kill’ – is only minimally taken up. In construing arguably the defining feature of war, the ABC favoured a nominalising mode. The explanation may be textual: nominalization is a feature of more formal written registers. While the channel here is aural, the majority of stories are written to be read. The exceptions are those ‘stories’ that consist of interviews with ABC correspondents, where the medium is spoken. But there is a ideational trade-off, as Halliday and Matthiessen note (2004: 641-2). Clearly, we lose a sense of these intense and impactful modes of action as fully fledged processes. Also, participant roles are lost. Thus, it is possible to recode ‘the Coalition attacked Baghdad’ as simply ‘the attack’. [Of course ‘a Coalition attack on Baghdad’ is also possible, a form which is a reductive, nominal analogue of a transitive clause – but the grammatical patient is presented obliquely, and the agentive role becomes a Classifier]. Nominalization also means we no longer access these events with the meanings associated with tense selection, i.e. the opportunities to construe these events as already experienced (‘attacked’, ‘have attacked’), or as currently unfolding (‘are attacking’) - temporal orientations which Hasan has described as ‘actualising time’ (Hasan, 1983) – are diminished. Logical relations must also become metaphorized, under the pressure of nominalization.

The product-like nature of the nominal form indicates a distancing from the vitality of processness, and must have implications for tenor. If these acts of violence are repackaged as nominal groups, then in some sense the events themselves suffer a reduction of focus – they become an element in a clause configuration, rather than filling out the full clausal space themselves. Thus, we see: ‘We know this first strike was limited’; ‘The advance was accompanied by another night of bombing’; ‘The main attack is expected within 12 – 24 hours’. With a tendency away from the verbal forms, it is likely that when these events are construed congruently, the form is even more striking. The feeling of the ‘violence’ would be heightened. In this light, it is interesting to note that the single instance of the use of the ‘assault’ as a process is to describe an action not perpetrated by the Coalition. The context is a grab played by the ABC of a NSW Assistant Police Commissioner speaking to the media from the site of anti-war protest: “What we found is that some of the cowards from the crowd came in, **assaulted** the police and then ran back to the crowd”. This finding is more significant in light of the distribution of the word ‘violence’ and its agnate forms (‘violent’, ‘violently’) across the corpus: in 12 out of 16 refer to anti-war protests, clearly creating a strong association between ‘violence’ and anti-war protests. The terms are never used to refer to the actions of the Coalition.

‘Invade’ turns up as process in 5 out of 39 references. Again, notably, the single instance of it with its past tense morphology – ‘invaded’ – is in a grab from one of the founders of the Palestinian organization Hamas, Abdel Rantissi. He is the single voice in the ABC news who puts ‘Coalition’ plus ‘invaded’ plus ‘Iraq’ together in a clausal configuration. It seems remarkable that no ABC journalist reported that ‘Today, the Coalition **invaded** Iraq’. Instead, when the item is used as a verb by ABC journalists, the Goal of the process is left unspecified (as in e.g. “Australian British and American journalists have been given extraordinary access travelling with Coalition forces as they **invade**”). The ABC journalists have other options for lexicalizing this event, including, for instance: “Good evening. The ground war is underway in Iraq, with Coalition forces advancing north after crossing the Kuwaiti border” – a construal which merits its own examination, but I will leave that for a later discussion. Viewers for the most part met the word ‘invade’ in its nominal form (invasion). The form was equally found at head of the nominal group and as Classifier, e.g. in a nominal group such as ‘the invasion force’ – a grammatical positioning which surely backgrounds the process potential of ‘invade’.

With ‘attack’ and ‘bomb’ the most frequent items, let’s consider how they play out in this

corpus. I want to draw here on Hasan's 'cline of dynamism' (1985) to explore these two lexical items.

If we define effectuality – or dynamism – as the quality of being able to affect the world around us, and of bringing change into the surrounding environment, the semantic value of the various –er roles must be seen as distinct. This distinction correlates with two factors: (1) the nature of the Process configuration into which the –er role enters, i.e. what other transitivity functions there are within the same clause; and (2) the nature of the carriers of roles, other than the –er role under focus. It may be added as a generalization that a human carrier of –er role appears more dynamic than a non-human animate, and the latter appears more so than an object (Hasan, 1985: 45).

Hasan illustrated the cline in relation to a character in a poem to show how the rather passive construction of the character in his environment. My focus is to track the way the potential of these two lexical items as either process or in a reduced, metaphoric form as a nominal element in the clause. My argument, following from Hasan, is that a fully transitive construction is a more dynamic representation of the event, than when the nominal form is brought into play. But when nominalized, we still need to ask what participant roles are taken up. For instance, 'the attack' or 'the bombing' can be Actor in an effective clause (viz "Coalition forces step up security after **a suicide bombing** kills four US soldiers"). Or the violence can be brought in obliquely, through a circumstantial selection ("Baghdad has come **under fresh sustained bombardment**"). The cline of dynamism for the item 'bomb' appears in Figure 2. The x axis codes the point along the cline, where points 1-4 are material & effective with variations in type of participants (1=Actor & Goal as humans; 2=Actor is nominalization or object, Goal is human; 3=Actor is human, Goal is inanimate; 4=both Actor is nominalization or object, Goal is inanimate). Points 5 - 7 are material processes, but the processes have either no Goal (5-6) or Range only (7). At 8, the participant is Phenomenon or Target; at 9 and 10, it is either the 'er' role in a relation process (9), or the 'ed' role (10). At 11, the participant is Existent, 12 it is circumstance, and finally 13 it enters as a clause fragment. While I have represented these options as points on a cline, I take Hasan's point that it is the 'general tendency' that is of interest (Hasan, op. cit.: 46).

For the lexical item 'bomb' there are far fewer items relating to Iraq or an Iraqi as perpetrator – 11 in total, versus 93 for the Coalition. Despite both the higher frequency, and the much greater technological superiority of the Coalition (Iraq had no airforce to speak off), we find, proportionally, a much greater 'potency' given to Iraqi bombings: they are in effective material process, where the effected entity is human (points 1-2). For the most part these entries concern themselves with a single, but high profile event: a suicide bombing that kills four American soldiers. It is given considerably more prominence than, for instance, the report of the killing of between 150 and 300 Iraqi soldiers by the US 7th Cavalry. The peaks for the Coalition are at 4, where the Actor is an object or nominalization, and the Goal is inanimate (e.g. "**Hundreds of bombs and missiles** hit government buildings."), and at 12, where the nominal entity is push out of the nuclear process-participant configuration into a circumstance. Note that most of the entries at '1' for the Coalition are quotes, one from the Iraqi information minister (who was widely derided in the media), and the second from a Greens senator – a vocal opponent of the war. Those at 2 for the most part are attributed to external sources. I have also excluded from the count those events where agency is disputed or modalised. These are the bombings which have resulted in significant numbers of civilian deaths. The cases receive no serious investigation by the ABC news; for instance, none merit even being the focus of an entire news story.

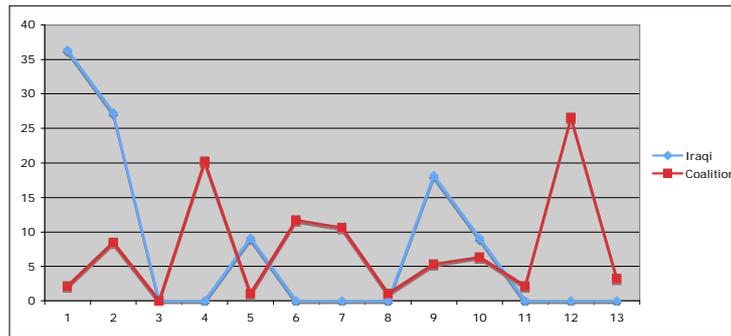


Figure 2 Cline of dynamism (Hasan 1985) for lexical item 'bomb'

For lack of space I won't display the spread along the cline for the lexical item 'attack'. The distribution, proportionally, for Iraqi and Coalition attacks is similar, with most of the instances populating points on the right hand end of the cline, with circumstance the largest category in both cases. It needs to be noted, however, that less than half of cases referring to attacks from the Iraqi side are to actual attacks (40%), while of the references to Coalition attacks, 86% are attacks that have already happened, or are about to happen. Thus, the circumstantiation of 'attack' in the case of the Coalition violence is a downplaying of actualized violence, while on the Iraqi side we find circumstantiation as a function of the dramatizing and fear of potential violence.

This distinction is more stark when we look into the internal nominal group structure. There are 51 instances where the nominalised 'attack' refers to Coalition violence. 47% of these instances involve premodification, specifically through the use of Classifiers, which distinguish 'air' or 'ground' attack, or which indicate some time reference ('today's attack', 'yesterday's attack'). There are fewer instances of the nominal form referring to Iraqi violence – 30 in all – yet four out of five of these instances are premodified, through Classifiers which invoke what Martin and White (2005) would call 'negative Appraisal': 'suicide attacks', 'surprise attacks', 'chemical weapons attacks', 'guerrilla attacks'. The effect is to contrast Coalition violence – constructed from orderly principles, or as fully specified through a 'deixis+thing' structure alone ('the attack') – versus Iraqi violence, which is disordered, unprincipled, and something which presents a threat etc. In fact the lexical item 'threat', where it means threat of violence, is used by the ABC *only* to refer to the threat of Iraqi violence. The word never turns up to describe Coalition violence. I note one further indice of this contrastive construction: while the Classifier 'guerrilla' predominantly classifies attacks by Iraqi perpetrators, the one exception is its use to refer to the actions of Australia's SAS troops – described not as 'guerrilla attacks' but as 'guerrilla style operations'; the term 'operations' of course denotes again something that is rationalized and organized. The premodification potential on relation to 'bomb' shows a similar finding, in that the typical premodifiers for a Coalition bombing are Classifiers which construe type (aerial), or intensity ('heavy', 'massive', 'major', 'increased', 'intensive'). Interestingly, here we also find a couple of instances where the premodification potential is used as a small window for the ABC journalists to be 'metadiscursive' (Hasan, 1999) - to raise questions about what the Coalition is doing in relation to what they claim to be doing: e.g. 'Despite what the Americans call precision bombings, there are casualties'. Note however the use of the existential process type in the main clause.

3 Conclusions

My argument here is that what can be seen as lexical reactances is both the expression and construal of the contextual forces at work. This argument is possible when lexical choices are seen from the dimensions of systemic theory: as located by rank (their potential as group or

phrase, and then within the clausal environment); as the more delicate outputs of lexicogrammatical options; as metafunctionally responsive; as the feature of texts, which are in a realization relation to the context of situation, texts which are themselves instances of the systemic potential. From a field point of view, certain modes of representation are favoured over others, with the general effect of distancing the viewer from the violence, but also offering distinct construals of the acts of violence by the Coalition versus those by Iraq. I am not suggesting that I have fully explored these features here – but that I have begun to sketch out what Hasan has called ‘strong lexical nodes’ (Hasan, 2004). These lexical nodes are “a ‘magnet’ for specific collocates”, a patterning which we can see at the semantic level also: “a strong ‘semantic node’ attracts other predictable semantic features, particularly because such nodes relate directly to the construal of context, more specifically to the component called *tenor*” (op. cit.: pxx). These semantic nodes allow us to develop claims about the ‘motivational relevancies’.

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Representing Crime in Contemporary Cambodia: *The Phnom Penh Post's* Police Blotter

Stephen H. Moore

Department of Linguistics
Division of Linguistics and Psychology
Macquarie University, Sydney
Stephen.Moore@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

This paper explores the representation of crime in Cambodia as it is reported in the local English-medium newspaper, the *Phnom Penh Post*. Cambodia has long been depicted as a violent country where a culture of impunity reigns and justice is seldom achieved. *The Economist* magazine, for example, has long reported Cambodia in this way (Moore, 2004). As an international journal with a global readership and an agenda for 'globalisation', the views of *The Economist* reflect its cultural heritage and western notions of progress and modernity. However, as advocated by Blommaert (2005), it is worth considering alternative perspectives realised through the discourses of local media outlets submerged in a different cultural semiotic environment to see to what extent they challenge or reinforce such globalised perspectives. Drawing from Potter & Kappeler (2006), this paper explores how the *Post* construes crime in contemporary Cambodia through its 'Police Blotter' feature. A sample of Police Blotter articles is investigated through concordancing of key vocabulary; a sub-sample of articles is then investigated through a lexicogrammatical analysis of the ideational metafunction (per Halliday, 1994) centred on the role of the police. The paper aims to shed light on notions of justice and authority in Cambodia.

1 Introduction

The *Phnom Penh Post* (hereafter 'the Post') was established in 1992, a time when Cambodia was just beginning to open up to the outside world after nearly two decades of isolation and civil war. With the influx of UN and NGO personnel, as well as foreign business traders, there began a strong demand for information in English, which has remained unabated ever since. Indeed, English quickly and easily established itself as the preferred foreign language, dislodging Russian and French for this role (Clayton, 2002).

The owner, founding publisher and editor-in-chief of the Post is an American expatriate, Michael Hayes. Throughout the Post's history he has managed the newspaper and consolidated its reputation as a quality publication. It is, in fact, Cambodia's oldest English language newspaper. When interviewed about the Police Blotter feature, Hayes remarked that it was one of the newspaper's most popular features according to reader feedback (Hayes, 2008). This is a somewhat surprising revelation, given that the content of the Police Blotter makes for rather grim reading: it is a summary of reported crimes, drawn from two leading Khmer-language newspapers. The research³⁸ reported in this paper seeks to explore the linguistic dimensions of how these crime reports might be appealing to English language readers

2 Description of *Phnom Penh Post*

The Post is a 16-page tabloid-sized newspaper, and is published fortnightly on every second Friday. Its audience consists of locally-based expatriates, tourists, Cambodian readers of English, and Cambodia 'watchers' (i.e., academics, government officials and NGO personnel) overseas. It reports almost exclusively on Cambodia, rather than extending its coverage to regional issues. It does not publish editorials, but does publish opinion pieces from contributors other than Post staff. From its inception, the newspaper has been

³⁸ This research was funded by Macquarie University New Staff Research Grant No. 920072810.

innovative in its use of high-quality colour photography, a hallmark of its 'look'. Hayes admits that the Post runs on a shoe-string budget, relying heavily on advertising income as well as on subscription and newsagency sales (an issue typically selling for US\$1), and low-cost trainee journalists.

3 Research questions

Having established its background and the context in which the Post operates, let us now turn to the issue of researching the newspaper's discourse. There are two principal research questions addressed by this research:

1. How, through the Police Blotter feature, does the Post represent crime in contemporary Cambodia?
2. What are some of the implications for readers' understanding of Cambodia?

4 Literature review

The research was inspired by Blommaert (2005) and his call for a critical approach to discourse analysis to encompass multiple perspectives, including the voices of local stakeholders. This approach, in combination with understanding how crime is constructed in media reporting (Potter & Kappeler, 2006), provides the scaffolding for the study. The linguistic analyses are informed by both a corpus approach using concordancing (Biber et al., 1998) and a lexicogrammatical analysis focusing on the ideational metafunction (Halliday, 1994). There appear to be no published accounts of any discourse analysis of the Post, so the research presented here is breaking new ground in this regard.

5 Methodology of the study

Since it first appeared in August 1992, there have been over 400 issues of the Post published, of which approximately 340 included a Police Blotter feature. A sample of 41 articles (~12% of 340) was selected randomly within calendar years, with each year weighted in terms of the number of Police Blotter features published. Thus, if 26 Police Blotter features were published in one calendar year, a larger random sampling was taken from that year than a year in which, say, 18 Police Blotter features were published. Concordances³⁹ were run on this sample of 41 articles, the results of which are reported below. A sub-set of 15 articles (i.e., one article from each full year of publication (1993-2007) was analysed lexicogrammatically for the ideational metafunction, in order to shed light on the issue of how police were represented in the reporting of crime. Those results are also reported below.

6 Analysis and results

6.1 Concordances

The five most frequently occurring words in the sample of 41 articles were: **a** (x 1616); **the** (x 1482); **in** (x 1222); **was** (x 1082); and **police** (x 767). As the fifth most frequent word, and the first 'lexical' or 'content' word, police are clearly central to how crime is represented in the Police Blotter reports. Furthermore, in terms of density, police are mentioned in 77% of news items reported (i.e., in 557 out of 723 in this sample of 41 articles).

Concordancing also reveals interesting information about Cambodia's recent past. For example, given Cambodia's recent history of civil war, it is not surprising that there is a relatively high frequency of military-related vocabulary present in the Police Blotter reports: **AK-47** (rifles) (x 48); **grenade** (x 20); **bomb** (x 9); **guerrillas** (x 4); **B-40** (rocket launcher) (x 3); and **bayonet** (x 3). Also, in accordance with reporting about a non-Western cultural environment, there is the presence of certain exotic or unusual words: **sorcery** (often by way

³⁹ The concordance software used was TextSTAT 2.6.

of explaining a motive for a criminal act); **buffalo** (an everyday sight); and **chop** (a preferred method for inflicting bodily harm). Conversely, there is an absence of certain words that one might have expected to see, given their presence in Western reports about Cambodia, for example, **impunity** and **paedophile**.

Another interesting feature of the discourse revealed through concordances is the frequency of circumstances of place in the reports. In terms of word frequency ranking: **village** (15th); **Phnom Penh** (17th); **district** (22nd); **province** (32nd); **house** (42nd); **kampong**⁴⁰ (45th); and **hospital** (46th). These words are often foregrounded thematically in the actual news items reporting crime.

From even this brief analysis of key words, we can see that concordancing is able to provide a sense of an orientation to crime reporting as it is represented in the Police Blotter. Most significantly, it suggests that police are in some way central to the reports. Their role will now be addressed more directly and fully through the ideational analysis of the lexicogrammar of the sub-set of 15 Police Blotter articles.

6.2 Ideational analysis

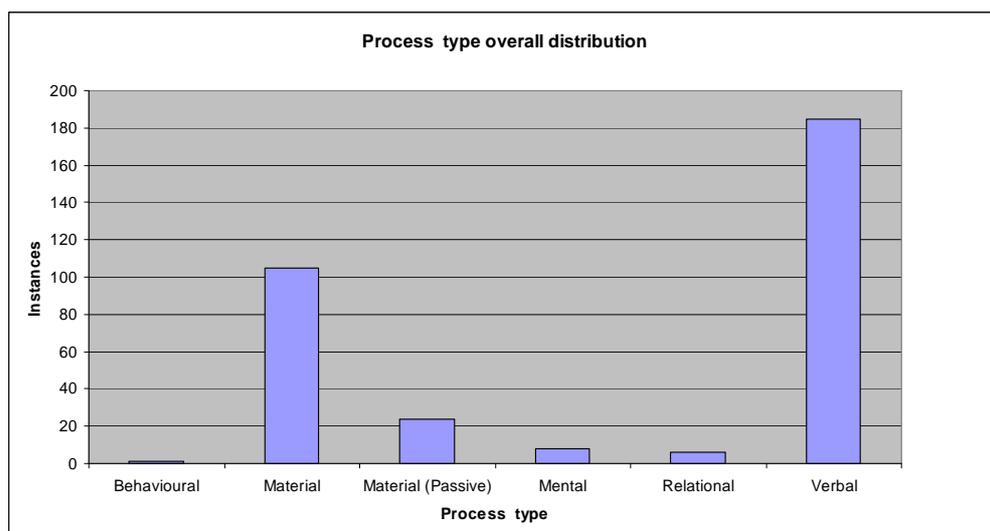
To better appreciate the news items that were actually analysed ideationally, a sample news item is provided here, with processes involving police highlighted in bold face:

MARCH 12: Kim Vandan, 48, **was arrested** for a murder a day earlier in Tasen village, Kampong Cham province. **Police said** Vandan tried to escape after shooting dead a vehicle garage's owner, Yean Mengleang, while he was asleep the previous night. Vandan **told police** Hong Sreymom, 33, the extra-wife of Mengleang, hired him to kill her husband with a promise of paying him \$2000. **Police arrested** Sreymom for questioning and she later **confessed** to ordering Mengleang's murder.

The sample size of 15 articles (i.e., one per year) represents approximately 4% of the total 340 articles published. (Each article contains an average of 17 news items, thus approximately 7000 news items have been reported in the Police Blotter to date). In terms of research methodology, any clause complex containing the word **police** (or derivatives, such as **policeman**) was analysed for its ideational meanings. In terms of research findings, the process types were dominated by Verbal (51.2%) and Material (41.3%), as shown in the graph below. Interestingly, the analysis revealed that around 1999 there was a trend away from Material and towards Verbal processes. This change coincided with a change of translator at the Post.

Summary of process types in sample of 15 Police Blotter articles 1993-2007

⁴⁰ *Kampong* is a geographic area smaller than a province but larger than a district.



Summary of participant roles of police in sample of 15 Police Blotter articles 1993-2007

Role	Occurrences	%
Actor	140	38.0
Attributor	-	-
Behaver	1	0.3
Beneficiary	-	-
Carrier	5	1.4
Classifier	1	0.3
Ellipted	8	2.2
Goal	12	3.3
Location	-	-
Means	-	-
Passive	1	0.3
Receiver	41	11.1
Sayer	148	40.1
Senser	11	3.0
Token	-	-
	368	100.0

6.2.1 Police as Actor

As can be seen from the sample news item above, the police are often reported arresting suspects. Indeed, as shown in the table above, when police are Actors in a material process, (i.e., 38% of their participant role, compared to 3.3% as Goal) they are overwhelmingly **arresting** suspects. On other occasions, and much less frequently, they are **shooting** or **killing** alleged criminals; **confiscating** goods; **investigating**; **looking for**; **seeking**; **finding**; and **rescuing**.

6.2.2 Police as Sayer or Receiver

Also evident from the sample news item above and the table are the roles of police as Sayer or Receiver, with the former role occurring four times more often than the latter role (i.e., 148 vs. 41). Again, overwhelmingly, there is one verbal process which dominates the police as Sayer, and that is the word **said**. This semantically neutral projector of verbiage suggests a certain objectivity in the reporting of crime. The police seem to be represented as simply conveyors of information. Indeed, what is said is invariably either recounting an incident or

reporting something as fact. In terms of police as Receiver, overwhelmingly the verbal process is **told**, and this too conveys a neutral and objective stance. Interestingly, the majority of what is reported to police is reported by **witnesses**. Less commonly, a news item reports **victims**, alleged **offenders**, and **neighbours** as Sayer.

7 Discussion

Interestingly, over the 15 years of the Police Blotter studied, the police presence in news reports increased significantly, from an average of approximately 11 instances per article for reports from 1993-98, to an average of approximately 29 instances per article for reports from 1999-2007. This change, coinciding with a change of translator at the Post (Aun, 2008), reinforces the centrality of police to the reporting of crime. Whereas earlier reports would often not mention the police at all, subsequent reports often depended on police as providers of the details of the crimes being reported.

The Police Blotter provides information about criminal activity in Cambodia that has taken place during the fortnight prior to its publication. The police are a central feature of this reporting, but they are represented in fairly inflexible terms. Where they are involved in Material processes, they are invariably arresting people. Where they are involved in Verbal processes, then they are invariably explaining something or receiving an explanation. These relatively static positions are an effect of the translation process from Khmer to English, given that the Khmer language newspaper sources are less restricted in their construals of police activities⁴¹. The Post's translator uses English as a foreign language, and thus has a reduced linguistic repertoire for rendering more varied or complex formations of Khmer into English.

Another interesting aspect of the lexicogrammatical analysis is that police are usually represented as 'talkers', (i.e., either telling someone about a crime or being told about a crime), rather than as 'doers' (i.e., actually solving crimes). This finding helps explain the reader's sense that in Cambodia, the police's role is not 'to serve and protect', nor to intervene to resolve conflicts. Rather, it is to react to crimes that have already been committed by arresting alleged offenders and providing explanations for crimes. Moreover, the reader could perceive that, in a sense, 'saying' closes the case as far as the public is concerned. Indeed, this perception is quite plausible in a cultural context favouring the spoken over the written word. It also raises interesting questions about the *authority* of the police possibly residing in their spoken word rather than in their physical action.

As Sacco (1995/2006) notes, crime reports are often based on 'private trouble' becoming a 'public issue'. It is evident that much of the Police Blotter is concerned with domestic disputes among ordinary Cambodians. The crimes reported are thus private disputes made public. They do not reflect so much a 'culture of impunity' (as Cambodian society is often depicted in Western media reports), as a culture of short-term gain, where crimes are committed in the heat of the moment, seemingly without any regard to possible public sanctions. It is interesting to note here that the aftermath of crimes is often dealt with directly by the families of the victims and the perpetrators, through a complex process involving financial award and saving of face (Steinberg, 1959). The notion of *justice* here is not served by an independent arbiter, but negotiated through family mediators.

8 Conclusion

This paper has shown how a local English-language newspaper reports crime in Cambodia. We have seen that although police are usually central to what is reported, their roles are

⁴¹ A sample of news items from the Police Blotter was retraced to their source Khmer-language newspapers to check the reliability of representations in English.

different to what Westerners might expect. A police officer in a Western society is expected to be kept occupied with preventing or solving crime. A police officer in Cambodia is depicted as one who *talks* about crime. One might anticipate, therefore, a potential for intercultural misunderstanding when people from outside Cambodia have dealings with Cambodian police. This ‘disconnect’ between the image of a police officer and their actual function could well contribute to why the Police Blotter is reportedly ‘enjoyed’ by some readers of the Post. An equally compelling reason for its popularity could be that the Police Blotter provides a window through which to glimpse the lives of ordinary Cambodians that would not otherwise be open to the non-Cambodian English-language reader. This in turn suggests a powerful case for the validity of local representations having a voice that can be heard globally.

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Ideational projection and interpersonal projection in news reporting: patterns of evaluation in English and Japanese

Ayako Ochi

Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University
ayako.ochi@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

Projection is the most recurrent semantic motif manifested in the register of news reporting. In news reports, the status of exchanged information is assessed on the basis of some kind of evidence, and the assessment is achieved through two complementary metafunctional modes; it is construed ideationally and it is enacted interpersonally as the patterns of projection that typically permeate news reports. First, in this paper, I will explore how ideational projection and interpersonal projection are manifested in Japanese in terms of both rank and metafunction. Secondly, I will compare and contrast the ways in which the two metafunctional modes of projection are realized in the register of news reporting in English and Japanese. I will show how reporters construe the “reportable” experience of the world through projecting and projected figures (clauses in their experiential role) and how they enact these figures as propositions imbued with modal assessment of evidentiality. I will also show that the ways in which two modes of projection are grammaticalized determine the register-specific strategies of assessment in English and Japanese respectively. Finally, based on the data obtained from the register-specific study, I will focus on one of the “component” systems of modal assessment crucial to news reporting, the system of EVIDENTIALITY in Japanese, and sketch a brief description of it.

1 Aim and background of the paper

The present paper aims to explore how reporters employ the system of PROJECTION to assess the information presented as news in English and Japanese news reports, either construing their assessment ideationally or enacting it interpersonally. The paper is a part of my ongoing PhD research project “The reporter’s voice in news report in English and Japanese”. It is a register-specific study of news reports, which is a ‘reporting’ type of register in terms of a context-based typology of registers (e.g. Matthiessen, 2006b: 44-47; Teruya, 2007: 12). The key sources for the systemic functional description of the grammar employed in the present paper are Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) for the description of the grammar of English and Teruya (2007) for the description of the grammar of Japanese. The discussion on two metafunctional modes of projection is provided in Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) and Matthiessen (2004; 2006a). The central source for the study of media discourse is Iedema, et al. (1994). The description of “appraisal” by e.g. Martin (2000), Martin & Rose (2003: Ch. 2), and Martin & White (2005) is used as a part of the description of the interpersonal semantic system of assessment.

2 Corpus

The corpus employed for the paper consists of 102 texts collected from 4 Japanese news WebPages, including 18 texts from *asahi.com*, 21 from *Kyodo News*, 28 from *Mainichi.jp*, and 35 from *Yomiuri Online*; and 44 texts from 4 news WebPages written in English, including 3 texts from *The Australian*, 6 from *The New York Times*, 23 from *Sydney Morning Herald*, and 8 from *washingtonpost.com*. They are searched with 2 keywords *kirachosen* “North Korea” and *kaku* “nuclear” among the articles published from 10th to 16th February 2005. The subject domain (“subject matter”) is the North Korean nuclear crisis culminated by their pronouncement of nuclear arms on 10th February 2005.

3 Ideational projection and interpersonal projection in Japanese

Projection is “the logical-semantic relationship whereby a clause comes to function not a direct representation of (non-linguistic) experience but as a representation of a (linguistic)

representation” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 441). Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: Ch.10) suggest that, when viewed “from above”, the semantic system of projection is manifested more than one location in the lexicogrammar: it can be manifested (i) all along the rank scale and (ii) across three metafunctions – the logical, the experiential, and the interpersonal metafunction (ibid). Projection manifests logically as a separate ‘verbal’ or ‘mental’ clause, experientially construing a ‘Projector’, and interpersonally as a modal assessment within the projected clause “grounded in the speaker’s own semiotic act” (Matthiessen, 2004: 655).

In Japanese, projection is manifested logically through a clause nexus, experientially as a Circumstance of Angle (e.g. *shinbun ni yoruto* “according to the newspaper”), and interpersonally as a part of projecting clause (e.g. *sooda*) enacting the speaker’s assessment towards the projected clause (Matthiessen, ibid).

metafunction	system	construal or enactment	realization	rank
ideational: logical	INTERDEPENDENCY	Projecting clause and projected clause (‘content’)	verbal/mental projection	clause nexus
ideational: experiential	CIRCUMSTANTIATION	Projector: specific	circumstance of Angle: source (e.g. <i>ni yoruto</i>)	prepositional phrase in clause
		Projector: nonspecific	Epithet (e.g. <i>wayuru</i> ‘so-called’)	adjective in nom. group
interpersonal	MODAL ASSESSMENT	modality: probability, evidentiality	Predicator ^ modal item(s) (e.g. <i>toiu, sooda</i>)	clause

Table 1: Types of projection and domain of realization in Japanese

Logically, projection is manifested either hypotactically as a ‘report’ or paratactically as a ‘quote’ in Japanese, and the mode of projection is determined by the nature of the role in exchange (‘giving’ vs. ‘demanding’). However, the distinction is not always instantiated in a text except for the reported ‘demand’ type of projection because deictic elements are often elliptical in Japanese (Ochi, in press). It can be made explicit either prosodically with brackets or with optional markers for ‘quoting’ such as Negotiators (e.g. *ne, sa*), politeness markers, and features of spoken Japanese (Teruya, 2007: 417). The projecting clause tends to be realized towards the end of clause complex, and the end of the projected clause is often signaled by a negotiatory marker *to* (Teurya, 2007: 234). Therefore, the unmarked syntagmatic structure of logical projection in Japanese is:

projected clause [: proposition ^ to] ^ projecting clause [Sayer ^ verbal/mental Process]

In news reporting, Subject comes before the projected clause in its unmarked realization. This is because the Sayer of the projection in news reporting is always the news sources; therefore it is essential to thematise the source of information in this register for its credibility purpose.

Interpersonal projection also manifests towards the end of the clause in Japanese, because typologically interpersonal meanings tend to be realized associating with a Predicator. Matthiessen (2004: 652-) has shown how projection is manifested not only in the ideational metafunction as a ‘quotative’ but also in the interpersonal metafunction as a ‘hearsay’ based on Harris & Campbell’s (1995: 168-172) notion of “quotation-to-quotative transition”, which can be interpreted in systemic functional terms as a move from logical projection to interpersonal projection. For example, *toiu* in Japanese is an example of interpersonal projection enacting EVIDENTIALITY of ‘hearsay’ type, which is grammaticalized from the

ideational projecting Process *iu* “say” in a verbal projecting clause preceded by a negotiatory marker *to*. The unmarked syntagmatic structure of interpersonal projection in Japanese is:

projected clause [: proposition [: Subject ^ Predicator-modal assessment]]

The following examples are (1a) ideational projection construing ‘quotation’ and (1b) interpersonal projection enacting ‘hearsay’. Note that the Projector is *sensei* “doctor” in the ideational projection, whereas the Projector in the interpersonal projection is the speaker, whose absence makes the modal responsibility of the clause implicit.

ideational projection: ‘quotation’

(1a)

<i>Sensei wa</i>	<i>natto wa</i>	<i>kenkoo ni</i>	<i>yoi to</i>	<i>itta</i>
Doctor WA	fermented soybeans WA	health NI	good TO	say + inf. PAST
	“β			α
Sayer				verbal Process

‘The doctor said (that) fermented soybeans are good for health’.

interpersonal projection: ‘hearsay’

(1b)

<i>Natto wa</i>	<i>kenkoo ni</i>	<i>yoi</i>	<i>toiu</i>
Fermented soybeans WA	health NI	good	hearsay
Subject	Complement	Predicator	

‘They say that fermented soybeans are good for health’

4 Register profile of the patterns of projection

4.1 Ideational projection

In this section, I will profile ideational projection of ‘locution’ and ‘idea’ in the corpus, and compare the two languages in terms of mode of projection (‘quoting’ vs. ‘reporting’). In Figure 1, the most striking difference between the profiles of the English texts and the Japanese texts is the high frequency of direct ‘quote’ in Japanese compared to English. Among the total occurrences of 325 projection nexuses in Japanese, 258 are direct ‘quote’, whereas in English among the total occurrence of 545 projection nexuses, quotes occur 138 instances. This suggests that Japanese news reports make it explicit that the locutions are reproduced accurately to the original in order to present the news as based on some evidences. This may be motivated by the grammar because the distinction between quoting and reporting is often unclear in Japanese. In contrast, English news reports prefer indirect ‘report’, and this enables the projection of ‘fact’ to be presented as if it is a logical projection by merging it in the consistent manifestation of indirect reporting in the text. For example:

- (2a) North Korea **admitted** on Thursday for the first time [[that it had nuclear weapons and had quit international disarmament talks]]. (Sydney Morning Herald_8)
- (2b) North Korea’s government publicly **acknowledged** for the first time Thursday [[that it has nuclear weapons]] || and **said** || it was suspending participation in six-nation talks [[aimed at getting it to abandon its nuclear ambitions]]. (Washington Post_2)

Through verbal Processes such as *admit* and *acknowledge*, the reporter assesses the locution as an existing ‘fact’, and construes North Korea’s negative attitude towards their locution as ‘say + unwillingly’. (2b) shows the contrast between the logical projection and the verbal Process *said* and the projected ‘fact’.

When we focus on the choice of Processes, we can see a ‘verbal’ Process *say* is dominant in English. In contrast, the semantic equivalent of *say* in Japanese *iu* is not realized in the focused register at all. Instead, the verbal Processes in Japanese are more lexically diverse

than in English. The frequently occurred verbal Process are *noboru* “state” (79 occurrences), *suru* “do” (34 occurrences), and *kataru* “talk” (26 occurrences). Interestingly, *suru* is not lexicalized with the meaning of ‘say’ and seems that it is employed to enact the reporter’s attitude to ‘distance’ from the locution in the register in focus.

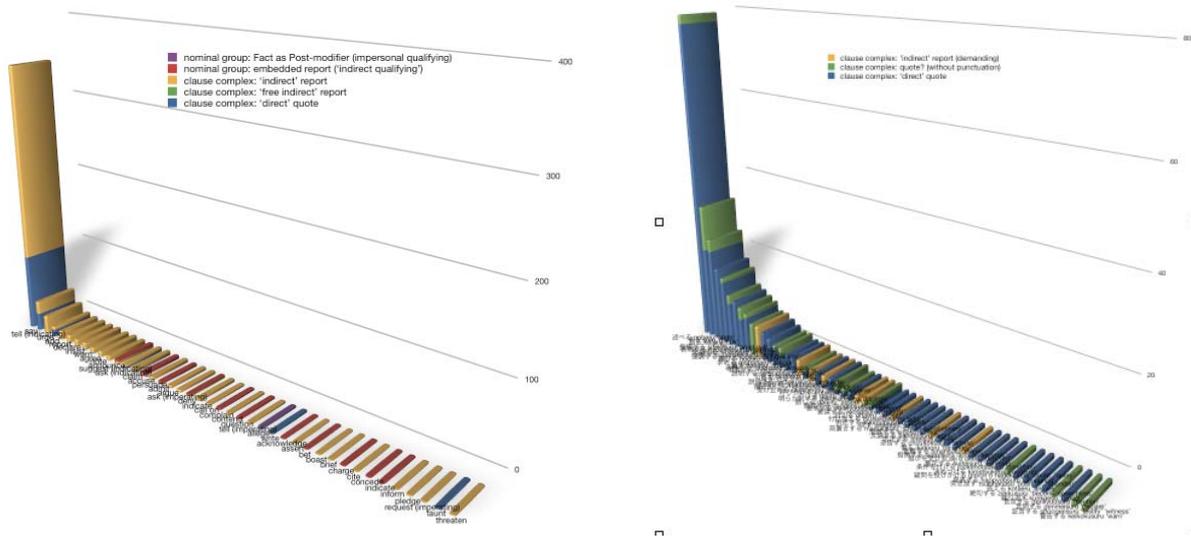


Figure 1: Ideational projection of ‘locution’ in English (left) and in Japanese (right): Processes and tactic relationships

The reporter’s attitude to the proposition in English seems to be enacted by projection of ‘idea’ (see Figure 2). The most frequently manifested mental Process *believe* shows the reporter’s ‘distancing’ assessment towards the projected clause indicating it is different from the reality. The receptive voice *is believed, is expected, is thought, is understood* make the projection as impersonal and present the projected ‘idea’ as widely accepted.

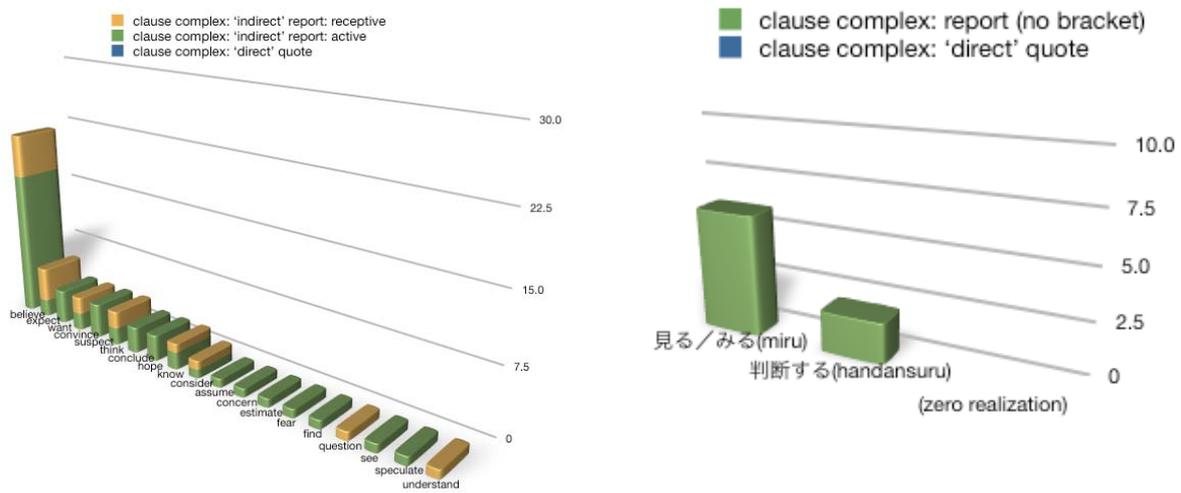


Figure 2: Ideational projection of ‘idea’ in English (left) and in Japanese (right): Processes and tactic relationships

Compared to English, the occurrence of mental Process in Japanese is much less frequent and the choice of Processes is very limited. One of the features of the register of news reporting in Japanese is that ‘perceptive’ mental Process *miru* “see” is construed as a ‘cognitive’ type. In Japanese, Projection of ‘idea’ manifests experientially rather than logically as a nominal group of Head. For example, mental Process *miru* “see” is related to

mikata “perspective” and it is exchanged as an Angle ‘viewpoint’ through the relational Process *simesu* “indicate” in *S wa [...toiu] mikata o simesita* “S showed a perspective that...”. Another examples are *sisei* “attitude”, *tachiba* “position”, *kamae* “stance”. *Kenen* “concern” and *osore* “fear” relate to mental Process (negative attitude) towards the embedded ‘idea’, *kitai* “expectation” and *kibou* “hope” relate to mental Process (positive), and *kanoosei* “possibility” relates to MODALITY of probability type.

4.2 Interpersonal projection

Interpersonal projection is frequent in Japanese news report, whereas not in English in this register. In Japanese, the register of news reporting is characterized by EVIDENTIALITY of hearsay type *toiu* and inference *soda* and *mirareru*. These interpersonal projection and *iu* “say” and *miru* “see” as ideational projection are complementarily realized interpersonally and ideationally, and this is the reason why there is no realization of a verbal Process *iu* in logical Projection. The profile of the frequently manifested interpersonal projection among different registers is decided by the ORIENTATION of interpersonal projection. For example, editorial is characterized by (i) inference *yoda*, *yoonimieru*, and *yosoosareru*, (ii) modality modalization of probability type *chigainai* and *kamosirenai*, (iii) and modality modulation of obligation type *beki(da)*.

5 EVIDENTIALITY in Japanese

Evidentiality “is concerned with the source of the information embodied in the proposition – personal experience, hearsay, inference and so on” (Matthiessen, 2005: 25). It is manifested in the semantic environment of SPEECH FUNCTION type of ‘statement’ (Cf. Teruya et al. on mood typology). Assessor is always the speaker for any modal assessment. The distinction between hearsay and inference is made by the “Projector”, which is manifested implicitly in the interpersonal projection. Projector for hearsay is the information source (‘they say’), whereas Projector for inference is the speaker (‘I hear/ saw/ think’). The distinction is also realized by their potential of co-occurrence with modality. While hearsay can co-occur with modality, inference cannot co-occur with modality. This is because the Projector in modality is the speaker.

modal assessment		Assessor	Projector
evidentiality	hearsay	the speaker	Sayer: other than the speaker
	inference	the speaker	Senser: the speaker
modality	modalization	the speaker	Senser: the speaker

Table 2: Projector and Assessor in modal assessment

When the information is imparted from the external sources, it can be either ideational projection (with Sayer/Senser other than the speaker) or EVIDENTIALITY ‘hearsay’ type. In both types of projection, Projector is the speaker, but the type of assessment makes a distinction between ideational projection and hearsay: hearsay only indicates that the information is provided by some external sources (‘I hear’ or ‘they say’), whereas the information is attributed to the speaker in ideational projection.

6 Conclusion

In the present paper, I have shown that the ways in which two modes of projection are grammaticalized determine the register-specific strategies of assessment in English and

Japanese respectively. The potential of the reporter's assessment in Japanese news reports is opened out by interpersonal projection, which allows the reporter to enact his/her assessment towards projected proposition without taking the modal responsibility. This may suggest the reason that Japanese news reporting employs less lexical assessment than English one.

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Reporting Armistice: Grammatical evidence and semantic implications of diachronic context shifts

Claire Scott

Centre for Language in Social Life, Macquarie University
Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University
North Ryde, NSW, 2019, Australia
claire.scott@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

Journalists reporting war have increasingly been embedded with military units, especially in the recent Iraq War (e.g. Cottle, 2006: 76; Tumber, 2004). Being ‘on the ground’ amongst the action might suggest that the news produced is more strongly ‘grounded in reality’ than reports constructed in the newsroom from news ‘off the wire’. However, this investigation of seven armistice reports from the Sydney Morning Herald spanning a century (1902-2003) suggests that there has been a gradual shift away from strongly grounded, accountable reporting towards engaging, crafted prose. Across the archive of these texts, the patterning of circumstantial elements reflects shifts in the priority placed upon specificity of time and place. These grammatical patterns are indices of contextual differences in the demands of technology and process through which news reports have been produced. An example is the shift from lists of telegraphic corantos to ‘integrated’ articles published under a specific reporter’s byline. One conclusion that can be drawn from this is that as the reporter’s ‘voice’ mediates between reader and events, there is some sacrifice of the readers’ ability to reconstruct the unfolding of events. This conclusion prompts us to problematise the mediation of war in the news about armistice.

1 Introduction

The end of the Gulf War in 1991 was reported in the Sydney Morning Herald (SMH) as the result of a declaration of victory by the US military:

The Gulf War ended last night when President Bush declared that "Kuwait is liberated; Iraq's Army is defeated; our military objectives are met"... (Walker & Stephens, 1991)⁴².

Almost 90 years previously, in June 1902, the end of the Boer War had been reported in the same newspaper thus:

LONDON, June 1. The terms of peace have been signed at Pretoria. June 2. After signifying their acceptance of the British terms all the Boer delegates arrived at Pretoria on Saturday and signed at half-past 10 o'clock at night the document containing the terms of surrender... (Sydney Morning Herald, 1902).

From these extracts, it is on the one hand very easy to gather where and when the Boer War ended and on what general basis (i.e. a mutually accepted peace treaty formalised in a legal document), and on the other hand rather difficult to say where or exactly when or on what grounds the Gulf War ended. These two extracts form part of a set of seven reports of the end of war from the SMH over more than a century. My initial readings of the texts left me with the sense that there had been a shift over time in the degree to which the time and location of events was specified. In the earlier texts in the corpus (from the Boer War and World War I) it was clear where and when the armistice had come about. But in general, as I continued to read through the World War II text, then Korean and Vietnam War texts, and finally the Gulf War and Iraq War texts, the explicit anchors in time and space realised by such grammatical options as Circumstances of temporal or spatial location became fewer and/or less specific. This resulted in a feeling of being adrift in the flow of information about what went on, rather than having a clearer understanding of how the end of war came about.

In the literature on news discourse, the location of news events in time and space is often

⁴² Extracts from *The Sydney Morning Herald* are used with permission.

assumed as an obligatory element (e.g. Bell, 1994: 112), and so linguistic resources for expressing time and space are duly identified and explained (e.g. Bell, 1998: 93) but not problematised. The importance of location in time and space is also implied by the recognition that news stories are ethereal, being superseded daily (Fowler, 1991: 225-226), and that modern news stories in particular are meant to be understandable independent of their context of delivery (unlike earlier texts that were to be read aloud in coffee houses) (Matheson, 2000: 570). Australian television producer Stephen Rice, responding to the overwhelming flux of media discourse on the Iraq War, also recognised the necessity of giving adequate contextual information, saying: "...if the purpose of journalism is to give context, then this is its antithesis... the volume of words and images is dazzling. We may never have been told more, and understood less" (Rice, 2003: 12). The problem as he saw it was that the globalisation of news and the speed of communications meant that information from news sources was decontextualised and never properly recontextualised for publication, and consequently contributed more to misunderstanding than understanding.

According to other literature on the media, the role of journalism includes providing fast, reliable information (Harrison, 2006: 3), providing topical and entertaining information based in the here-and-now, as an antidote to rumour (Conboy, 2004: 3, 6), and helping consumers make sense of both the 'small picture' of particular events and the bigger picture of events in a wider context (Boyd-Barrett, 2004: 26). These notions about the role of journalism in today's society implicate the inclusion of contextual anchors as a crucial element in fulfilling that purpose. If readers are unable to glean basic information from a news report about where and when the reported event occurred, it is of limited use to them as a source of information about real events going on in the world.

In this diachronic study I am attempting a systematic approach to hermeneutic investigation of journalism in the SMH (a cultural benchmark for Sydneysiders), by maintaining relative topical consistency (the conclusion of war) and working towards a way of keeping control of systemic variations at all strata, using the systemic resources of the Hallidayan model. My analysis of this set of seven texts reporting the end of war raises questions about the social and professional significance of differences in specificity of contextual details of time and space over the century. If this kind of information is lacking, that must indicate something about the semantics and context of reporting armistice and how the semantic options are realised in the grammar. In this paper I present findings from my analysis of the selections of Circumstances of temporal and spatial location in the grammar of Transitivity, acknowledging that there are other grammatical resources for encoding these meanings also (e.g. tense selection and temporal conjunctions).

2 Findings and Interpretations

The seven texts I investigated totaled 5863 words in 625 clauses. The space limitations of this paper prevent me from including extracts from each of them, so I will present a general discussion of the patterns, referring to examples where appropriate. A summary of general statistics for the texts, including frequencies of Circumstances of time and place, is presented in Table 1. Circumstances of time and place in the World War II and Korean War texts occur at around twice the rate of the other texts, and there is a significant difference in the frequency of Circumstances of time and place in the Iraq War text, with Circumstances of place occurring at more than four times the rate of Circumstances of time.

Text	Per Clause			
	Clauses	Circ:Time	Circ:Space	Words
Boer War Text (3 rd June, 1902)	149	0.11 (17)	0.15 (22)	7.93
World War I Text (12 th November, 1918)	58	0.16 (9)	0.09 (5)	9.40
World War II Text (16 th August, 1945)	33	0.24 (8)	0.30 (10)	9.70

Korean War Text (28 th July, 1953)	98	0.26 (25)	0.23 (23)	9.67
Vietnam War Text (1 st May, 1975)	92	0.13 (12)	0.29 (27)	9.16
Gulf War Text (1 st March, 1991)	109	0.07 (7)	0.13 (14)	11.63
Iraq War Text (10 th April, 2003)	86	0.08 (7)	0.35 (30)	8.81
Total	625	85	131	
Average	89.29	0.15	0.22	9.38

Table 1. General Statistics for the set of texts

A close examination of Circumstances of time and space reveals significant contrasts in their degree of specificity. I identified four sub-categories of varying specificity among each kind of Circumstance; these are explained in Table 2. The sub-categories are shown in order of decreasing specificity, from the specific to the relative. The general trend across the texts is towards relative Circumstances of time (relative date and event-relative time), and towards specific Circumstances of place (map-based or concrete location), as shown in Figure 1. The sub-categories are represented in order of decreasing specificity from the y-axis up (i.e. clock-based time and map-based location at the bottom), with the darker shading representing the more specific sub-categories and the lighter shading representing the more relative sub-categories. In the case of the most recent two texts (Gulf War and Iraq War), specific Circumstances of time drop out altogether in favour of relative times.

I will mention here some contrasting findings from three of the texts, Boer War, Korean War, and Iraq War texts, before presenting a general discussion of findings and intentions for further study. The Boer War text has only one specific clock time reference but, significantly, this occurs in the opening move of the text (see extract above), giving a clear point of reference in time for the crucial event of the truce signing. In this analysis I have excluded the datelines of each article as they relate to the reporting process rather than the reported events. This text is generally oriented to the days of the week relative to the week of utterance, e.g. *on Saturday*, rather than specific dates or times. This may be due to the time lag between event and report as a result of the state of the communications technology at the time (telegraph); in this case the main event took place three days before this issue of the newspaper. Following the conventional ‘coranto style’ of the time (Nanri, 1993), the newspaper construes the social activity of reporting armistice as a process of passing on the cables from London (and elsewhere) each day, just as they are received, without conflating them into one cohesive article or giving them local contextualisation. The Boer War text is also strongly oriented to map-based locations at the level of towns and cities, e.g. ‘at Pretoria’, focussing on sites of conference, celebration, commemoration, and declaration, so reporting armistice is construed as a record of official actions and statements, as well as public response. The audience, who is geographically and probably also psychologically distant from the events, is kept at a distance from the events through this patterning of Circumstances of location.

Sub-category	Explanation and Exemplification
Time	
Clock-based Time	a time that could be represented on a clock face, e.g. <i>At 9.40 a.m.</i> (Korean War text)
Calendar Date	a date that could be shown on a calendar, e.g. <i>on August 17</i> (Korean War text)
Relative Date	a date (realised in the nominal group) that must be interpreted with respect to the 'here-and-now' of the text, e.g. <i>on Monday</i> (Iraq War text)
Event-relative Time	a time relation with a particular event (realised in the adverbial group) or a phase of time, or time relative to, an event (realised by in the nominal group), e.g. <i>at the close of the service</i> (Boer War text)
Space	
Map-based Location	a geographical place name that could be found on a map (realised in the nominal group), e.g. <i>In Sydney</i> (World War II text)
Concrete Location	a tangible place (realised by concrete, inanimate Thing in the nominal group, which may or may not be a Proper Noun), e.g. <i>at the Mansion House</i> (Boer War text)
Abstract Location	an abstraction (semiotic or material), institution or human collective as Thing, identified as location by the use of a locative preposition, e.g. <i>beyond victory and war</i> (Gulf War text)
Aspectual Relation	spatial aspect, e.g. movement towards or away from (realised by adverbial group), e.g. <i>back</i> (Korean War text)

Table 2. Explanation of sub-categories of Circumstances of time and place

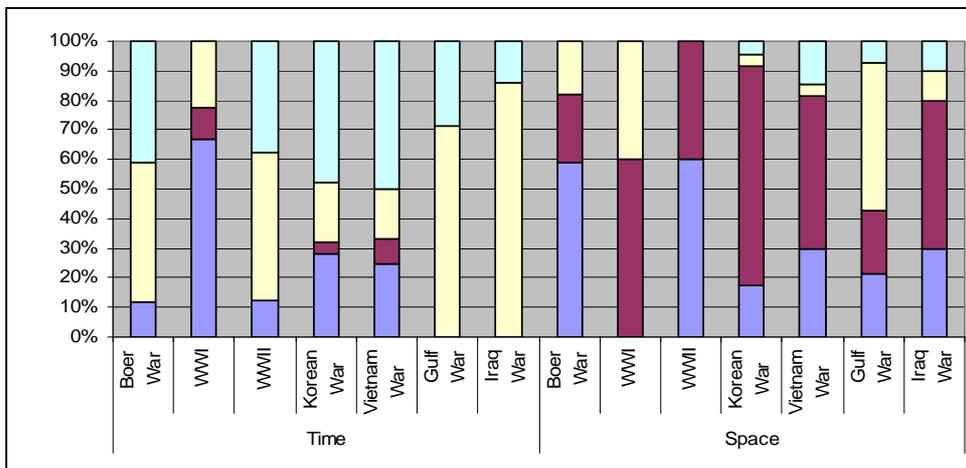


Figure 1. Distribution of sub-categories of Circumstances of Time and Space

The Korean War text foregrounds a pattern of clock-based time. It is concerned with locating the armistice events in precise moments of time, guiding the reader through the timeline of events, e.g. through Circumstances as Marked Theme: *At 5.40 a.m.*, *At 9.40 a.m.*, and *At 10 a.m.* Event-relative time Circumstances, e.g. *Later*, *immediately*, *a few minutes later*, also help to create a strong sense of the sequence of events. In terms of space, this text is strongly oriented to general concrete locations in the immediate material context of events, e.g. *into a wooden building*, *at tables*. The audience is thus brought right in to the material context of the signing ceremony, but is not given a wider perspective on the sites of struggle such as the 38th parallel, which was at the heart of the conflict.

The Korean War text is one of only two texts in which there are more instances of

Circumstances of time than of place, the other being the WWI text. Both wars involved the surrender of one warring party to another and the high-profile, controversial negotiation and signing of a treaty. Therefore the foregrounding of specific moments in time at which events took place may serve to emphasise and reinforce the legal process and implications of the signing of a peace treaty. The Korean War text construes reporting armistice as the creation of a public historical record, giving the specific times of various stages of the armistice process (but, notably, not the conditions of the truce) as a safeguard against potential attempts to break the truce, which is construed as precarious or uncertain in this text.

The Iraq War text is notable for the scarcity of Circumstances of time and total lack of specific Circumstances of time. The reader is told when the events occurred relative to the time of reading, e.g. *yesterday*, but nothing more specific than that. This construes a context in which such specific grounding in time is not a high priority, perhaps because the audience may access specific time information from other media sources, e.g. TV, radio, or online newspapers. The technological and media context has shifted over the course of the century, such that newspapers are in competition with these other kinds of media and must maintain relevance by making their reports complementary to the other news available. They no longer occupy the privileged position of monopoly on dissemination of news that the newspapers of 1902 and 1918 did. In contrast to the non-specific representations of time, the Iraq War text frequently uses Circumstances of location, particularly very specific locations at the level of suburb and landmark, e.g. *past the Martyrs' Monument, three kilometres east of the central Jumhuriya Bridge over the Tigris*. This systematic selection of detailed Circumstances construes a writer (here, identified as the SMH's Middle East correspondent, Paul McGeough) who has strong local knowledge of Baghdad, and it has the effect of making the city of Baghdad seem familiar to the reader: a city like any other, with a city centre and familiar landmarks. At the same time, the level of detail prompts questions about what relevance it would have to readers in Sydney, most of whom would presumably not have visited Baghdad. The text has the effect of a timeless 'montage', giving snapshots of apparently simultaneous events occurring in different locations. In this sense it resembles more verbal art than news report, and so it differs in style from the 'hard news' traditionally found reporting important events in this focal position in the newspaper.

3 General Discussion

The analysis briefly described here demonstrates the complexity of the semiotic event, such that even just the selection of one kind of grammatical option, the Circumstance of time or of space, must be interpreted in light of the configuration of parameters of context. If there is a slight shift in the mode of discourse (e.g. competition with other kinds of media), the field of discourse (e.g. the legal status of the war and/or its conclusion), or the tenor of discourse (e.g. the degree to which the correspondent's voice becomes part of the text), then the semantics of time and space also shift slightly, and the grammatical selections must reflect this. There appears to have been a gradual shift in professional and societal perceptions of the role of journalism and expectations of the degree of understanding required. The laboured style of the earlier texts, with their separate datelines and compartmentalisation of information under sub-headings, made for more precise representation across a number of considerations, and the reader had the opportunity at least to work backwards from the datelines to decode the sequence of events. The more recent texts, in creating dramatic, engaging descriptions, have sacrificed the ease with which the reader might piece together a clear understanding of the unfolding of events.

Furthermore, there is no intrinsic reason that a dramatic piece should neglect to encode details of time and space, or that a less engaging piece should tend to encode them precisely. What also seems to have happened, then, is that the personality of the correspondent or

journalist, not just the processes of news gathering and production, has become the mediator of the experience of war. This is demonstrated further by the fact that, of the seven texts, only the Gulf War and Iraq War texts are attributed to named journalists. All other texts are either unattributed (WWII text), or attributed to a location (e.g. London in Boer War and WWI texts, Saigon in Vietnam War text) or an agency (A.A.P. in the Korean War text). Thus a paradox becomes apparent: even if the journalist is, and is construed as being, 'on the ground' at a particular time and place, the events of the conclusion of war are not necessarily more temporally or spatially 'grounded'.

This study presents just one narrow, but nonetheless revealing, angle on the similarities and differences between instances of news reporting in the SMH over a century. The crucial contribution of the wider project is the move towards an understanding of the legacy of news reporting in history, recognizing that

the way news is produced, what it concentrates on, how its stories are put together and who takes an interest in it, all depend to some extent on the habits and conventions - not to mention technology - which were developed in a previous historical period... In other words, the language of news culture is grounded in a historical process which makes certain choices easy, others more difficult (Hartley, 1982: 8).

The cumulation of angles of comparison of text instances in the study will enable a description of the system of meaning potential for reporting armistice and the complexity of the semiotic event of news reporting, and will likely challenge assumptions about the habits and conventions of the media.

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Reporting Armistice: Authorial and non-authorial voices in *The Sydney Morning Herald* 1902-2003

Claire Scott

Centre for Language in Social Life, Macquarie University
Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University
North Ryde, NSW, 2019, Australia
claire.scott@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

Media discourse is dialogic in nature (cf. Bakhtin, 1981; Zelizer, 1989), frequently including information or opinions sourced from beyond the reporter (e.g. Fairclough, 1995; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 252; Waugh, 1995). The way reporters include other voices in the dialogue, as well as the range of meanings permitted in the dialogue, are crucial factors in the issue of 'grounding' news reports (Carey, 1986; Waugh, 1995: 132). This paper presents findings from an analysis of non-authorial sourcing in armistice reports from the Sydney Morning Herald over a century (1902-2003), and considers how the uptake of resources for attributing this kind of information has changed in relation to changes in context, particularly technological and institutional context. A downward shift in the degree to which authorial responsibility is articulated and circumscribed seems to coincide with increasingly advanced and diverse technology for gathering and disseminating news. This suggests that advancements in technology do not necessarily lead to more accurate, balanced or grounded reporting, even when the technology potentially makes available a much greater range of information sources. Findings such as this have implications for understanding the changing character of news as a product of changing production processes, and for understanding the social purpose of news as a dynamic, changing social activity.

1 Introduction

News discourse is dialogic in nature (Martin & Rose, 2007: 49; Zelizer, 1989: 370); as with Bakhtin's observations of the novel, we can observe of the news report that it makes use of 'the internal stratification of language, of its social heteroglossia and the variety of individual voices in it' (Bakhtin, 1981: 264). A number of scholars, both from linguistics and media studies backgrounds, have acknowledged that the issue of direct and indirect reported speech in media and other discourses is an important one (Fairclough, 1995; Hsieh, 2008; Leech & Short, 1981; Waugh, 1995; Zelizer, 1989), and have argued that news texts tend to reproduce asymmetrical power relations (Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991). Hall et al further argue that this reproduction occurs not necessarily through conspiracy, but because of the kind of relationship that has developed over time between the media and the most powerful voices in society (e.g. Hall, Crichton, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978). In over 500 years of newspaper history, this practice of incorporating a variety of voices into the news appears to have been a consistent feature. The practice was indeed part of the origins of the newspaper, as postmasters in 16th century Europe wove into brief newsletters the latest news received by courier from their counterparts in other major cities of trade. In the 21st century, where press releases, press conferences, digital voice recordings, agency copy, and the internet are all part of the journalist's professional toolbox, the range of voices that might be included is even greater.

One of the major shifts in the language of press news in the twentieth century, according to Waugh (1995: 152), was the way external voices were incorporated into the text, from long tracts of direct speech quoted in narrative style to a greater use of reported speech, paraphrased and woven into the journalist's professional interpretation of the news events. This coincides with the period that Matheson argues saw a significant shift in the professional practices and social function of journalism (Matheson, 2000). One of the characteristics of 'pre-modern newspapers' (before the 1930s), as a legacy of the early European newsheets or corantos (cf. Stephens, 2007: 139), was that journalists largely

operated as “relayers of documents” (Zelizer, 1989: 373). After the 1930s, journalists took on a role of interpretation and recontextualisation of news information, such that news became “a form of knowledge in itself, not dependent on other discourses to be able to make statements about the world” (Matheson, 2000: 559).

In this paper I focus on the journalist’s role in articulating, circumscribing, interpreting and recontextualising news information, as realized through non-authorial sourcing. The discussion is based on a selection of findings from an analysis of the way non-authorial material is identified and incorporated into seven *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) news articles reporting the conclusion of war during the period 1902-2003. Shifts in the dialogic nature of the discourse construe contextual shifts, particularly related to technological advances and assumed reader expectations.

2 Findings and Interpretations

The seven texts, each taken from the first day of reporting of the end of war or a phase of war, are listed in Table 1 below. Of the 5863 words in the set, 35.5% are attributed either directly or indirectly to a source other than the author, and of the 625 clauses, around 16% are Verbal or Mental projecting clauses. Table 1 presents some general statistics related to the issue of non-authorial sourcing in the texts. ‘Attributed words’ includes all words presented as originating either directly or indirectly from a source beyond the writer, e.g. the underlined portion in *Mr Bush said the outcome was a victory for Kuwait, the coalition partners, the United Nations, all mankind, the rule of law, and for what is right*⁴³ (Gulf War text). Direct quotations (cf. Fairclough’s ‘direct discourse’, Leech and Short’s ‘direct speech’) include only words orthographically presented (through quotation marks or other punctuation) as the actual words of an external source, e.g. the underlined portion in *he announced that he would observe the truce for “a limited time”* (Korean War text).

The Gulf War text contains the highest proportion (54%) of words attributed to sources other than the author of the article, followed by the Boer War text (47%). However, these two texts use the attributed material quite differently in terms of the kinds of meanings attributed to other voices, and the way these voices and their meanings are circumscribed. These contrasts will be explained in sections 2.2 and 2.3 below.

	Words	Clauses	Projecting clauses (Verbal/Mental)	Attributed Words	Direct quotations
Boer War Text (3rd June)	1181	149	23	555 (47%)	137 (12%, 25% ⁴⁴)
World War I Text (12th November)	545	58	11	169 (31%)	43 (8%, 25%)
World War II Text (16th August)	320	3	4	44 (14%)	0
Korean War Text (28th July)	948	98	8	136 (14%)	24 (2.5%, 18%)
Vietnam War Text (1st May)	843	92	17	263 (31%)	81 (10%, 31%)
Gulf War Text (1st March)	1268	109	28	684 (54%)	390 (31%, 57%)
Iraq War Text	758	86	12	239 (32%)	208

⁴³ Extracts from *The Sydney Morning Herald* are reproduced here with permission.

⁴⁴ The first percentage represents the proportion of directly quoted words in relation to the total word count of the text, the second percentage represents the proportion in relation to the total attributed words in the text.

(10th April					(27%, 87%)
Total	5863	625	103	2085 (35.5%)	881 (15%, 42%)
Average	837.57	89.29	14.71	297.86	125.86

Table 1. General statistics

2.1 Persistent voices

There is no consistency across the set of texts in terms of how each text as a whole is attributed to an author. The Boer War, WWI, Korean War and Vietnam War texts carry space/time indexes indicating a time and location as the origin of the information (e.g. *London, Saigon*). The Korean War text also bears an attribution to the agency A.A.P. as well as a space/time index to *New York*. The WWII text bears no attribution at all. The Gulf War and Iraq War texts are the only texts that name the journalists through the use of bylines.

However, there is one striking consistency throughout the whole set of texts in relation to the use of external sources: the Sayers and Sensors to whom information is attributed are overwhelmingly sources of the Thing type ‘simple: conscious: person’ (63%) (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 190), with coalition allegiance, e.g. *President Bush*. Figure 2 shows the proportions of different kinds of sources across the corpus. Sayers of the type ‘coalition person’ fall into four categories based on social role: national leaders (39%), military leaders (37%), politicians (13%) and other civic leaders (e.g. mayor) (11%). The enemy’s voice is rarely heard: Sayers allied with the enemy occur less than 20% of the time. Most of these instances occur in the Boer War (30%) and Vietnam War (40%) texts. The allegiance ‘other’ includes neutral parties as well as, for example, Iraqi civilians, who are emphatically construed as ‘not enemy’ in the Gulf War text.

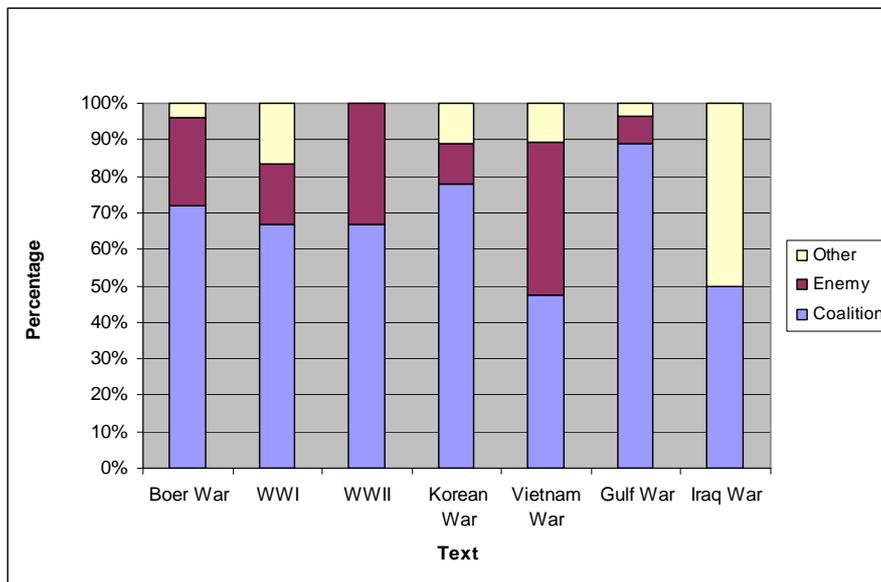


Figure 1. Proportions of Sayer Allegiance

The dialogue of this news discourse, therefore, primarily involves the SMH journalists’ voices and the voices of those in power on the coalition side. In this respect, each report follows the semantic pattern of the ones before, where coalition officials were construed as the most newsworthy voices and valid sources of news information. However, given the Australian context of this newspaper, there is a notable absence of Australian voices. Only two Australian sources are quoted, both in the Vietnam War text, showing the Australian government’s response to the end of the Vietnam War: *The Leader of the Opposition, Mr*

Fraser, and a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department. It is interesting, also, that it is the Leader of the Opposition and an unidentified spokesperson for a government department who are represented, not the Prime Minister. This may be explained by reference to both co-text and context: an adjacent article reports that the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, was out of the country and was also at the centre of some controversy over communications with North and South Vietnam. This is an example of how the study of discourse can identify anomalies that point to issues in the social, political or historical context.

2.2 Boundaries around voices

A crucial issue in relation to who holds responsibility for the views presented is how clearly that responsibility is articulated and circumscribed textually. If news discourse is dialogic, in the Bakhtinian sense, then in order to be accountable as a source of information about real events with human significance, it has a responsibility to readers to ensure that the various voices in the dialogue are easily distinguishable. However, increasingly, this is a responsibility that has not been fulfilled, as demonstrated by comparing the Boer War (Sydney Morning Herald, 1902) and Gulf War (Walker & Stephens, 1991) texts.

The Gulf War text carries a byline identifying the correspondents as *Tony Walker in Riyadh and Peter Stephens in Washington*. These correspondents are thus identified as carrying responsibility for the statements made unless otherwise attributed (Bednarek, 2006: 60). But meanings originating from other sources are not always clearly circumscribed, as shown in the following paragraph, which appears about half-way through the Gulf War text:

So complete was the victory that in the last hours of the battle fewer than 20,000 Iraqi troops of the more than 500,000 sent to confront the coalition were still fighting. More than 40 of the 42 divisions sent to defend Kuwait were put out of action, according to a US spokesman.

The information in the second clause is attributed to an unspecified *US spokesman* through the Circumstance of Angle at the end of the clause, and one is left wondering whether this attribution is also supposed to apply to the information in the first clause complex. This is similar to what Fairclough codes as ‘unsignalled’ free indirect discourse (Fairclough, 1995: 58), where the boundary between the information the journalists take responsibility for and that which they distance themselves from is blurred. In this instance, the information in question is factual and is potentially falsifiable by checking with a source of official statistics, so at one level this is perhaps not too serious. This kind of blurring with ‘factual’ information also occurs to a lesser extent in the Vietnam War text. A more concerning example of the blurring of authorial responsibility occurs a few paragraphs later in the Gulf War text:

"We must now begin to look beyond victory and war," he said. "We must meet the challenge of securing the peace."

There could be no solely American answer to the challenges of the region, but the US was ready to assist and to be "a catalyst for peace".

The first two sentences are clearly attributed to President Bush (who was Sayer in the previous projecting clause) through the projecting clause *he said*, but what of the following sentence? Certainly the end of the sentence is attributed to someone else as it is in inverted commas. The unusual use of *could* in the earlier part of the clause complex, which is probably a ‘backshift’ from *can* in an original utterance (cf. Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1972: 786-7), also implies that it should be interpreted as Bush’s view. Fairclough refers to this as ‘slipping’ (1995: 55); the responsibility for the statements made in that sentence is not explicitly claimed by the journalists, nor clearly made the responsibility of someone else, and the result is that the reader must guess their way through the tangle of voices, rather than being able to accurately interpret the wordings according to whose voice they represent. This instance is of more concern than the one presented above because the

information whose source is unclear is a matter of opinion rather than falsifiable information. The journalists have presented an evaluation of a state of affairs in a way that suggests they endorse it, even if it was not their opinion originally.

In contrast, the Boer War text is, in the first instance, entirely attributed to sources other than SMH writers. Following the convention of the time, each 'coranto' article (see Stephens, 2007: 139-143) in the Boer War text is headed with a space/time index indicating the time and place of origin of the telegraphic intelligence, e.g. *LONDON, June 1*. London was the primary source of non-local news for Australia from European colonization (1788) at least up until WWI⁴⁵ (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931). All instances of non-authorial sourcing in the Boer War text (as indicated by the London telegraph source, at least), whether direct or indirect quotations, are explicitly attributed to a Sayer or Senser, e.g.

King Edward VII, in a message to the people, says:- "The King has received the welcome news of the cessation of hostilities with infinite satisfaction..."

The "Express" states that Mr Kruger, upon learning that peace had been proclaimed, exclaimed, "My God, it is impossible."

This text also attributes content to a range of other British newspapers, including the *Express*, as in the above example, as well as a Berlin newspaper, the *Tageblatt*. Many of the meanings attributed to these sources are evaluations of what has gone on, presumably from the editorials of those newspapers, e.g.

The "Standard," in commenting upon the conclusion of peace, says that as long as the drama unfolded itself the feelings of the spectators underwent change, and that the closing act will add to Great Britain's prestige and weight in the councils of the world.

Thus there is a slightly different blurring of the boundaries between reporter and commentator voice: in this text, the editorial opinion of other newspapers is presented as news. But because it is explicitly circumscribed as such, the reader is able to know to interpret the evaluation as being not the opinion of the SMH (although perhaps endorsed by the SMH). The SMH journalist relays the documents at its disposal in a responsible and accountable way, with minimal interpretation or recontextualisation.

3 Concluding Remarks

This brief presentation of findings demonstrates some of the differences and similarities I have found between texts reporting the end of a war or phase of war across a period of time. As instances of the greater potentiality, each text contributes to the system potential for reporting armistice, displaying variation in a principled way according to the pressures of context, e.g. censorship, media competition, and technological facilities. The legalistic gravity of the context of armistice has put pressure on the system such that it has tended to favour the selection of official coalition individuals as the sources of much of the evaluation and evidence in armistice reporting over the past century.

As argued by scholars such as Matheson (2000) Waugh (1995), and Zelizer (1989), news production practices over the last century have seen a shift from journalists as "relayers of documents" (Zelizer, 1989: 373) to journalists as independent, warranted interpreters of events. This is reflected in the contrast between the explicitly circumscribed attribution in the Boer War text and the very loosely circumscribed sourcing of the Gulf War text, which is oriented towards the integration and recontextualisation of sources into a unified style of prose (Waugh, 1995), at the expense of grounded, accurate interpretation by readers.

⁴⁵ The WWI text, for example, begins with intelligence attributed to New York and Vancouver, then London, and finally Melbourne, the then capital city of Australia.

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Interacting voices: ‘mother’ as token and topic in psychotherapy

Caroline Henderson-Brooks

CLSL
Macquarie University

Sydney Australia 2109
chenders@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

Psychotherapists are keenly interested in language as evidence of psychotherapeutic progress. My own research involves working closely with a psychotherapy model which has a strongly theorised view of language; yet within the broader psychotherapy world it appears that this explicitness is not taken up by all models. What do psychotherapists miss by engaging with language in an undertheorised (sometimes untheorised) manner? To explore this question I take a single expression (here a lexical item which constitutes a topic at the semantic stratum) common to psychotherapy sessions: *mother*. Twenty three sessions of a twenty six session corpus contain the word *mother*. Although the explicit evaluation of *mother* is quite restricted in this corpus, SFL analysis demonstrates fundamental forms of interpersonal patterns. A close examination of one patient/therapist dyad shows how a patient’s construal of *mother* can change in profound ways. It shows the emergence of a new voice which reflects a patient’s expanded meaning potentials and increased reflective capacities to assess her own complex world. The voice of this SFL research contributes to the world of psychotherapy by applying a theorised multistratal approach to language which can reveal more than a lexical approach alone. It demonstrates language as evidence of psychotherapeutic change.

1 Introduction

In this paper I engage the voice of SFL with the voice of psychotherapy. A current NHMRC project for the Centre for Language in Social life (CLSL) at Macquarie University works in conjunction with psychotherapists using the Conversational Model of psychotherapy. They have a theorised approach to language, where, as patients undergo psychotherapy there is an expectation of change in the construal and experience of self, where self during therapy may be described as a ‘shifting state’ with ‘words being its marker’ (Meares 1998:876). The project work includes determining linguistic correlates of concepts of the Conversational Model.

As well as this work, the CLSL increasingly engages with other psychotherapeutic models, which are not as well theorised about language. My interactions at a recent psychotherapy conference confirms Muntigl’s observation in his work on couple’s counselling, that although social constructionist approaches recognise “the importance of language in altering client realities, scant attention is given to the linguistic means through which change occurs” (2004:1). The psychotherapists at the conference had corpora of patient therapist sessions and were keen for linguistic help. They were in general lexically focused and interested in data analyses such as ‘Lexcimancer’ and content analysis.

This paper considers how we best talk across disciplines when considering language as evidence of psychotherapeutic change. What can a SFL multistratal analysis add to therapists’ initial lexical investigations?

2 Mother as topic and token

To explore this questions I take a single expression (here a lexical item which constitutes a topic at the semantic stratum), which is a frequent and important topic in psychotherapy sessions: *mother*. Twenty three sessions of a twenty six session corpus (7 patients interacting with 5 therapists) contain the word *mother*: 131 nominal group tokens of *mother*; 168 tokens

of *mum* and 9 processes. This does not include the pronominal references to mother. In comparison, there are 45 tokens of *father* and 49 tokens of *dad*. The explicit evaluation of *mother* is quite restricted in this corpus, making it difficult for a non-linguist to determine the next route to investigating language as evidence of change concerning *mother*.

I am now going to illustrate how the construal of *mother* changes during therapy for one patient (whom I will name Patricia). I will summarise overall grammatical patterns and then use illustrative extracts to introduce the wealth of evidence a multistratal analysis can provide for psychotherapists.

3 Patricia's story

Patricia is considered by her therapist to be locked in an unsatisfactory relationship with her mother, which is resistant to change (Meares 2005:673). Patricia has face to face and phone contact with her mother on a frequent basis. Thus there is the potential for recounts of interactions with her mother in the deep past and recent present. The data presented here is drawn from four sessions; two near the beginning of therapy and two sessions 7 months later. Within the data Patricia's presentation of the other participants remains constant, but over time she begins to change her self construal and appraisal (Henderson-Brooks 2000).

Patricia's mother appears in three of the four tapes as the most frequent and longest standing participant in Patricia's life, appearing across all time spans, (that is when Patricia was a child and now as an adult). She is a negative Senser of Mental:Affect:Emotion and Mental: Affect:Cognition. She *hates, didn't care, didn't like. She believes, expects, panics* and *worries*. When she is reported as having positive Mental:Affect:Desire the 'desires' negatively impact on Patricia's life. *She wants me to...*

Her mother is reported as speaking to Patricia, including the negative evaluative description *carries on*. She is not reported as speaking to anyone else, showing her role in the therapy story is directly related to Patricia. Patricia's mother, in contrast to Patricia, is a potent Actor on her world. 87.5% of her actions are Goal directed, of which 48% are human Goals, particularly Patricia, whom she *controls, hits, pushes*. The things that Patricia reports her mother did not do were acts of normal parenting. *She never gave, never showed (love), never mothered*.

Patricia's mother is only once defined in a relational identifying clause and that is a circular definition, *she is still my mother*. The majority of relational attributes are intensive, describing the mother in terms of who she is rather than what she possesses. Her mother is presented principally with negative attributes, which when further analysed with Appraisal analysis shows the mother is predominantly portrayed with negative Judgement:Propriety. To put it bluntly, according to Patricia, her mother behaves badly. Yet in the corpus there are places of ambivalence in Patricia's attitude. On one side the mother is *angry* which evokes social sanction and on the other she is *frightened and elderly*, which evokes pity. When her mother does appear to do good in a later session, for Patricia she is acting incongruently, which causes Patricia some confusion as she struggles to accept her mother having two sides.

Thus, although quantitative lexicogrammatical patterns are consistent in Patricia's sessions there are places in the texts that are foregrounded as shifting points of evaluation. I am now going to introduce two extracts which reveal a change in grammatical patterns, where language construes a changing worldview: an increasing complexity of mental life associated with the growth of reflective consciousness.

The first text recalls Patricia's visit to her mother. It represents a rationale for stasis. The second text occurs 7 months later and represents increased meaning potential and a rationale for action.

3.1 Rationale for Stasis

In this recount of a visit to mother all options are usurped by an inevitable chain of facts or conditions, where Patricia can't act for change. *Because I don't want to lose her, so I can't say anything* (line 129) is a justification of her inaction. The causation is here expressed as *because/so*, allied to *if* and *when*. The inexorable "necessity" of this is a consistent motif in the arguments, the grammatical choices, and the words of the patient. The causal connections are underlined in the text below.

- Patricia A: 30/7/99**
- 121 P I'm going to see my mother this afternoon She doesn't have an electric blanket so we're going to take her over an electric blanket because she feels cold
- 122 T How do you feel about...== seeing your mother?
- 123 P == alright
- 124 T It makes you
- 125 P Um good and bad because um Well when I rang her up and told her I was coming over she didn't sound like she really wanted me to come over because she was um having um somebody coming out from the church to give her holy communion and that was at I think four o'clock/mm/ and she was panicking about that if we were going to be there ... and she didn't want us to be there ... and all she was worried bout was were we going to bring afternoon tea, cake or something. And to me I felt like I'm not important she doesn't want to see me she's worried about us going pushing us out and just worried about us what we're going to bring over for afternoon tea/mm/ That how I felt so ... but I don't say anything to her when I go over there.
- 126 T You don't?
- 127 P No because I don't want to upset her and I'm worried about see half the problem is I can't really say anything to her when she does or says things because I did a long time ago, many years ago and she wiped me off she wouldn't have anything to do with me she wouldn't see me and that /mm/ went on for about five or six years.
- 128 T Really
- 129 P Because I told her how I felt so its really hard because I don't want to lose her so I can't say anything ... because I know if I say anything I could lose her
- 130 T Yeh
- 131 P So ... It makes it very hard
- 132 T It does and if you don't say you you're left with it you carry the feeling
- 133 P Yeh
- 134 T It seems like you had to look after her look after her feelings how she feels you've been very careful not to upset her... Its almost like you've been mothering her as it were you
- 135 P I didn't see it like that
- 136 T No
- 137 P yeh like I said if I say anything I don't want um what happened before

Extract1

It is interesting to note in turn 134 that the therapist suggests an interpretation of events. It is immediately negated by the patient, but the marked use of the past tense here, *I didn't see it like that* (line135) suggests there may be a slight potential for that world view to change, although in the immediate session it returns to another negative inexorable tale. Let us now look to a text 7 months later, where the *because/so* entrapment has been loosened.

3.2 Rationale for alternative action

This text occurs at the end of a discussion about organising housing for her mother.

Patricia C 3/3/00		
444	P	Yes it was ... even when I think about it now it makes me A little bit angry
445	T	Mm
446	P	[5 sec] only because what I know now if I was back then and I knew what I know now I most probably would of went whack to her and told her to leave me alone so I can do what I ===== want to do

447	T	=== want to yes
448	P	But Um
449	T	You didn't know
450	P	No I didn't know ... And it makes me a little bit angry too because of the way she is now as though she wants heaps of attention like I said she wants me to be the mother and mother her.
451	T	Mm
452	P	When she
453	T	== she's never been
454	P	=== Never mothered me
455	T	Yeh
456	P	And she wants me to do it to her and she seems to enjoy it and that makes me a bit angry
457	T	Because its like you are still expected to do things for her even now
458	P	Mm ... like with the transfer she filled in she's not going to put that in. She only done that to make a point across.
459	T	Oh really
460	P	I think so I think the point was "nobody comes down and sees me anymore. I live too far away. So I'm going to put in for a transfer" and she brings up the papers to show me and I fill them in and then she keeps them and then she shows that I know now that she is lonely and frightened and all that about being by myself and then I invite her up every second Friday and she's all happy again. Do you see my drift?
461	T	Yeh. I couldn't get it. She's gone through all of this trouble to get you to do that.
462	P	Yeh coz she wants the attention.
463	T	And how do you feel about it?
464	P	Wringing her neck
465	T	Mm very angry mm
466	P	I don't understand her. I can understand she might feel lonely and that but to go to the extremes that she does and this mothering thing that annoys me because she wants me to show her something that she never showed me

Extract 2

In this extract the "because/so" entrapment has been reconstrued from a general 'because she expects this, so I must do it' in Extract 1 to 'Because I realise this so I can feel anger, so I can do what I want to do' in Extract 2.

There is also an increasing complexity in the second extract which is beyond the scope of this paper to detail. There are, for example, developments in reflective function (444, 446); in temporality (446); in the co-ordination of different time-space domains (446); and the capacity to shift perspectives (450, 460).

Turn 450 returns to the topic of mothering. Seven months earlier the therapist's suggestion that *Its almost like you've been mothering her as it were you* (Extract 1 turn 134) was rejected by the patient but here she owns the claim, *like I said she wants me to be the mother and mother her*, (450) showing the therapist's evaluation has been accepted and taken in as part of her own world view. *Like I said* has no cohesion chain in this session. It raises questions of how we track topical development across long time spans of psychotherapy treatment.

3.3 Rationale for changed interactions

Does the increased reflexivity, seen in Extract 2 above impact Patricia's interactions with her mother? Two extracts are now placed side by side. They are both recounts of recent interactions between Patricia and her mother. The first repeats Extract 1 and the second is from a session 7 months later, three weeks after Extract 2.

Patricia A 30/7/99	Patricia D 21/3/00
Um [5secs] that's about it ... I'm going to see my mother this afternoon. She doesn't have an electric blanket	I've got my mum coming up on Friday this week After I see you we're going to pick her up again

so we're going to take her over an electric blanket /mm/ coz she feels cold [7 secs]	
<i>How do you feel about seeing your mother?</i>	<i>How did you go last time?</i>
Um good and bad because um... well when I rang her up and told her I was coming over she didn't sound like she really wanted me to come over because she was um having um somebody coming out from the church to give her holy communion and that was at I think four o'clock and she was panicking about that if we were going to be there ... and she didn't want us to be there ... and all she was worried about was were we going to bring afternoon tea cake or something. and to me I felt like I'm not important she doesn't want to see me she's worried about us going pushing us out and just worried about us what we're going to bring over for afternoon tea./mm/ That how I felt so ... but I don't say anything to her when I go over there.	Good. She wasn't too impressed with me though. One night I rang her up I don't know if you heard about the Herron they want all the tablets All back Well I gave her some Herron Ortheoease for arthritis and I told her she can't take them coz they could be poisoned she's having problems with her back with arthritis and she wasn't too impressed. She said "What can I take?" sort of thing. and I said "well you can't take panadol or paracetamol or any Herron one" so yeh she didn't sound very impressed at all.
<i>You don't?</i>	<i>But you were trying to again you were trying to do your best and trying to warn her. How I mean what how did that feel? When you were trying to do something to help and then she goes and she's not happy?</i>
No coz I don't want to upset her and I'm worried about see half the problem is I can't really say anything to her when she does or says things because I did a long time ago , many years ago and she wiped me off she wouldn't have anything to do with me she wouldn't see me and that went on for about five or six years	Yeh I don't know ... sort of ... I don't know ... I can't remember how I felt at the time or even now how I feel. I just I think I felt confused because I'm trying to tell her not to take them for her own good.
<i>Really</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Because I told her how I felt so its really really hard because I don't want to lose her so I can't say anything... because I know if I say anything I could lose her	But she thinking that "oh well, what am I going to take? I'm in pain." And she said to me she'll have to go back to the doctor's and see the doctor /mm/ umm to get something for the pain. She doesn't know what she can take So
<i>Yeh</i>	<i>It kind of makes you feel helpless sometimes so what do you do?</i>
So... It makes it very hard	What do you mean?

Lack of space precludes me from making more than brief comments here. It is immediately obvious that the recounts have parallel generic structures, indicative of the patient's story telling method. Although the overt lexis suggests that it is just 'more talk about daily life', a closer inspection shows subtle but significant changes in patient's meaning potential with her mother. On side A, Patricia's interaction is *good* and *bad*. She interprets her mother's reaction to her as *she didn't sound like she really wanted me to come over*, which sets in train a set of negative emotions in the patient, which she can not articulate to her mother, *I don't say anything to her*. This lack of speech action is then explained in an

inexorable *because/so* chain. In contrast, on side B, Patricia's interaction is *good* even though her mother *wasn't too impressed with me*. Rather than trigger a chain of negative emotion and inaction, Patricia is able to speak to her mother (a very rare action in her tales) and immediately after the extract shown here the therapist and patient continue to reflect on 'mothering' as a concept. This could be seen as a measure of psychotherapeutic change. Inexorable causation has expanded to increased reflexivity, which we would hope could be applied across multiple topics, as the patient engages in a new way of construing her experience.

4 Conclusion

There is much scope for interacting voices between SFL and psychotherapy. This brief exploration of one topic in psychotherapy raises interesting questions for linguists as to analysis across strata and time. We are also challenged as to how best to present a voice which demonstrates the advantages of analysis that goes beyond easily accessible lexis to reveal patterns of meanings that provide linguistic evidence of psychotherapeutic change.

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Patient Safety: a tri-stratal interpretation of communicative risk in the Emergency Departments of public hospitals

Maria Herke, Christian Matthiessen, Jeannette McGregor, Marie Manidis, Hermine Scheeres, Diana Slade, Jane Stein-Parbury and Rick Iedema

Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia;
maria.herke/christian.matthiessen@ling.mq.edu.au

University of Technology, Sydney, Australia
jeannette.mcgregor/marie.manidis/hermine.scheeres/diana.slade@uts.edu.au

Abstract

This paper draws on a major ARC study which investigates the spoken communication between patients and clinicians in the emergency departments of 5 teaching hospitals in and around Sydney, Australia, over a three-year period. In this paper, we examine the complexities of the communication, focusing particularly on the exchanges we identify as potential risk moments; those communicative moments that pose the greatest potential threat to both patient safety and to the overall quality of the patient journey. These potential risk moments (PRMs) can be located metafunctionally in terms of clinician language choices; textually (e.g. signposting of important information and lexical selections) and interpersonally (e.g. questioning strategies and patient narrative tracking skills). Stratally, these PRMs are analysed lexicogrammatically, semantically and also contextually, in terms of some of the factors specific to teaching hospital Emergency Departments.

1 Introduction

Ensuring patient safety on the journey through a major hospital is a significant challenge, the management of which has become a key and growing concern for health authorities, clinicians, patients and health agencies around the world (New South Wales Department of Health, 2004; UK Department of Health, 2000, 2005; US Institute of Medicine, 2001). In Australia, while many aspects of hospital operations have attracted negative public attention over recent years, it is the Emergency Department (hereafter **ED**) which appears most often to bear the brunt of political, media and community criticism.

Our research provides strong evidence that effective communication is a critical dimension in the management of risk in healthcare. This paper reports on research in progress and focuses on the critical role of communication based on our findings from three of our five research sites. Through in-depth linguistic analysis, we identify a number of **Critical Communicative Stages** (hereafter **CCSs**) in the patient journey. **CCSs** are those stages of the patient journey we have identified as particularly communicatively vulnerable and thus have the greatest potential for adverse consequences. Within these stages we identify **Potential Risk Moments** (hereafter **PRMs**), which are specific points in the interaction in which misalignments or misunderstandings between clinician and patient are most likely to take place. These are moments that potentially jeopardise either safe outcomes or the quality of the patient experience in the ED. Through the lens of systemic functional theory, this paper attempts to identify and describe one category of **PRMs** and the ways in which clinicians and patients respond to these moments within the ED context.

2 Methodology and Data

Our study involves three primary means of data collection all focused within the ED. At the time of writing we had completed more than 94 hours of ethnographic observations from the hospital sites and we had conducted interviews with a cross-section of 64 clinical staff, including patient services attendants, clinical nurse specialists, doctors, ED directors and hospital general managers in order to capture their insights and impressions of the

communication within the ED. Uniquely, we have also been able to track patients throughout their entire ED journey, audio-recording all conversations in which the patient is an interactant, from the time of initial triage until release from the ED.

This paper will focus on aspects of a multi-dimensional linguistic analysis of the 46 audio-recorded patient interactions recorded thus far. Patients were approached in the waiting room or the ambulance bay to participate in the study. We excluded those under the age of 17, or if they were in need of interpreters. Only patients in Categories 3, 4 & 5 in the Australasian Triage Scale (Australasian College of Emergency Medicine, 1993) and not in need of immediate resuscitation were deemed eligible and these were randomly selected. All interactions throughout the patient's ED experience, whether with nurses, doctors, specialists, relatives or other clinicians or administrative staff were recorded, transcribed, then analysed. The analysis and findings will be discussed according to SFL dimensions in the sections below.

2.1 The crucial dimensions of the analysis

Systemic functional theory, a theory of language in context centred around the notion of language function, underpins the analysis of ED communication presented in this paper. This theory is semantics-oriented rather than syntax-oriented, functional rather than formal, and focuses on the text as a system of choices which are viewed as meaning-making resources.

In the systemic interpretation, language is conceptualised as a multi-dimensional space for making and expressing meanings in context (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 1999). It provides the potential for mapping out language choices in communication in general terms. As such it is a particularly rich resource for mapping out the complexity of communication and identifying PRMs with the ED. This space is organized along a number of interrelated dimensions including stratification and metafunction (see Figure 1).

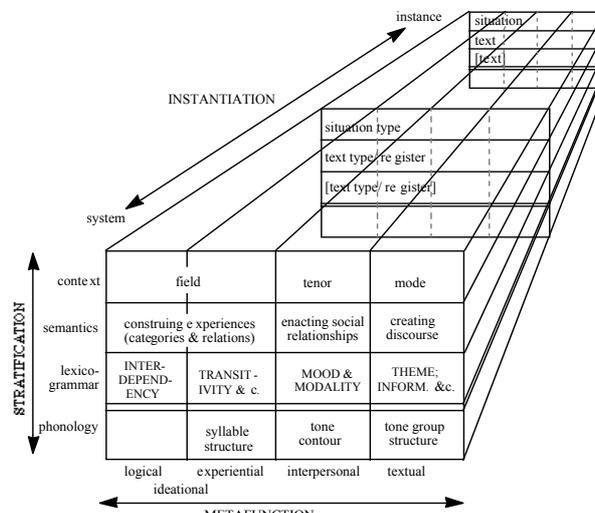


Figure 1 Multidimensional space for making meanings

The dimension of **stratification** orders the space into four strata or levels: context, semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology/ graphology, with the last three concerned with language. These strata are related by means of realization: each higher stratum constitutes the semiotic environment for the immediately lower one, and a lower stratum realizes the immediately higher one.

The dimension of **metafunction** divides the space into three simultaneous but functionally diversified modes of meanings: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The three functions are equally important, each contributing to one strand of meaning. Our findings

will be discussed in terms of these global dimensions of stratification and metafunction.

3 Findings

Since the complexity of hospital operations is crucial to the communications which unfold within it, it is important to tease apart the intricacies of the factors on the contextual stratum in order to understand the impact of and the motivation for the language choices deployed on the strata below.

3.1 Stratification: context

Hospitals are institutions which operate simultaneously on a number of interconnected levels, or orders of systems (cf. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999)). Physically they are large buildings or sets of buildings full of medical equipment, much of which is very sophisticated hardware; biologically, they are complex eco-systems teeming with a wide range of organisms, including harmful ones, and in constant interaction with the world outside; socially, they are complex healthcare institutions, involving organisational models of care, team processes and medical decision-making, operating as part of a network of institutions. These include other healthcare institutions, government bodies, the media, and institutions that patients and clinicians are also members of, such as families and friendships. Finally, communicatively, hospitals are large intricate communication networks involving a myriad of exchanges between clinicians and patients in different combinations and in different roles. The present paper focuses on the level of communicative risk (see Figure 2 below).

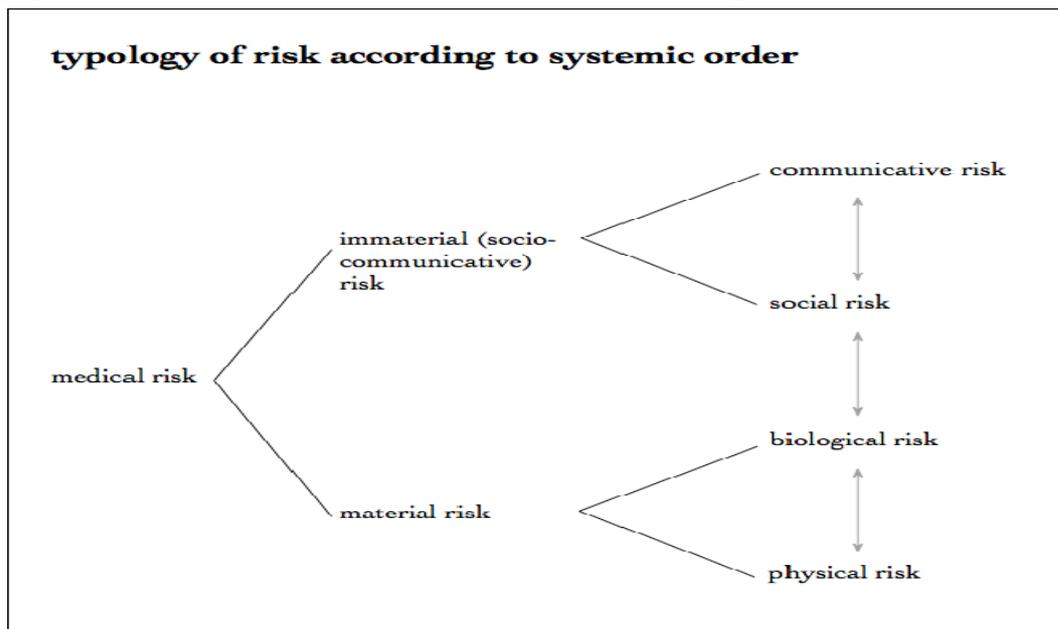


Figure 2: Communicative risk as a primary type of medical risk in a hospital

3.2 Semantic strata; registerial view

Analysis of such a large number of patient interactions has enabled us to build up a registerial view of doctor-patient consultations in the ED and propose a generic structure. The ED consultation in public hospitals in NSW for patients not in need of immediate resuscitation is typically realised by the following stages (Slade, Scheeres, Manidis, Matthiessen, Iedema, Herke *et al.*, in press):

[Greeting]⁴⁶Initial ContactⁿExploration of ConditionⁿHistory TakingⁿPhysical Examination ⁿ
ⁿ[Diagnosis Tests/Procedures]ⁿConsultation with other
 doctorsⁿDiagnosisⁿTreatmentⁿDispositionⁿ[Goodbyes]

Within the overall stages identified above, our analysis has identified the History Taking and Diagnosis/Treatment stages as potentially more communicatively significant than others in terms of patient exposure to risk. These stages are the CCSs. Within each CCS, we have identified a number of PRMs, each of which are realized by the language choices of clinician and patient and which potentially impact the quality of the ensuing outcome for the patient.

3.3 Lexicogrammatical strata; instancial view

From a lexicogrammatical perspective, our analysis has revealed a number of language systems that are important potential risk indicators within the CCSs. The systems include the interpersonal SYSTEM OF INTERROGATIVE TYPE and the textual SYSTEM OF THEME. In this proceedings paper, we will focus only on the impact of particular Theme choices and its function as a signpost for patient understandings.⁴⁷

3.3.1 PRMs and the SYSTEM OF THEME

We demonstrate the impact of signposting choices in the three examples below. Extract 1 below involves a senior doctor and a patient. This example shows clear signposting selections which are underlined and bolded.

QuickTime™ and a
decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

The first thematic signpost above makes very clear for the patient that he is about to hear his diagnosis. The stage is launched with a thematic equative, a strategy that signals exclusivity to the patient (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The second signpost again focuses on the diagnosis, using a reference item to refer back to the news in the previous clause, i.e. muscle strain. That the patient understands the diagnosis, at least to some degree, is signalled by his response in Turn 117.

The doctor continues to explicitly state almost all of his thematic signposts and the patient responds to almost each new response uttered by the doctor (e.g. Turns 117, 119, 121, 123, 127 and 128). The patient's understanding of the diagnosis is signaled by his own responses

⁴⁶ ^ = followed by, ⁿ = recursive, [..]=optional

⁴⁷ For further discussion on the significance of questioning strategies as risk indicators in ED interactions, see for e.g. Slade, Scheeres, Manidis, Matthiessen, Iedema, Herke *et al.*, in press

to the doctor's thematic selections and explicitness. This can be compared to the extract below, between a junior doctor, ESL speaker, and the patient, an elderly Australian male, who presents with severe chest pain:

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In this second example, the thematic signpost has two aspects that differentiate it from the example in Extract 1 above. Firstly, the doctor is actually asking the patient a question, but he has ellipsed the first part of his signpost. By ellipsing the *will* and framing his question as a declarative with rising intonation, this doctor has not made it immediately clear that he is asking the patient a question. Secondly, the first explicit element of the doctor's utterance is {'I'}, focusing on the doctor himself, rather than the patient or his complaint. The patient's lack of understanding is signaled by his seemingly confused response to the question.

At this point, had the clinician chosen to focus his thematic signposts on the patient and the complaint, it might have been possible for him to maximise the potential for achieving alignment in patient understanding of the diagnosis. However, as the continuation of the extract indicates, the delivery of the diagnosis continues to unfold ambiguously:

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

In the example above, the doctor's thematic signposts maintain the pattern of ambiguity, either because they are not focused directly on the patient or his complaint (e.g. Turns 144, 146c and 146g), or because they are left out altogether (e.g. Turns 146a, 146d and 146e). Such clinician language choices can motivate the degree to which a patient interacts in the diagnosis.

The patient's first and only response to the diagnosis is in Turn 147 and it gives no indication as to his understanding of what the doctor has just tried to communicate to him.

4 Conclusion

As Figure 2 above suggests risks to a patient can be because of physical failure such as faulty equipment, because of biological failure such as an outbreak of disease, because of social failure such as an error in a medical procedure, or because of communication failure such as a misunderstanding between patient and clinician in an exchange during a consultation. Failures at these different levels are inter-related and the assessment of risk demands that all levels as well as in the interaction between levels be considered. Ensuring patient safety requires the development of overall approach that minimises risks based on a system that is both robust and fault-tolerant.

Although the present research is focused primarily on the communicative level, the value

of this level should not be underestimated as a critical means for achieving systemic robustness. In EDs today, clinicians are increasingly required to operate in multi-disciplinary teams and to jointly manage and negotiate treatment plans. At the same time, they are treating an increasingly culturally diverse patient group, and are themselves from culturally diverse backgrounds and trained in European, Middle Eastern, African and Asian health care contexts. The potential variations in meaning exchanges across such diverse groups only serve to highlight the complexities and communication challenges that patients and clinicians face. Our close analysis of clinician and patient interactions has provided evidence of the huge and variable communicative demands and how these demands can increase risk to patients. In this paper, we have focused on just one example of this; thematic signposting. If managed carefully by the clinician, choices in thematic signposting can not only make communication clearer and more efficient, but they can also motivate an increase in patient involvement, thus increasing the number of opportunities available to the clinician for checking and assuring alignment of patient understanding. Insights such as those exemplified in this paper suggest that foregrounding awareness of communicative choices may be an effective means of addressing some of the current problems in Australian EDs.

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Using SFL to Understand and Practise Dialogue Interpreting

Helen Tebble

School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics
Monash University, Clayton, Vic., Australia 3800
Email Helen.Tebble@arts.monash.edu.au

Abstract

This paper provides an outline of dialogue interpreting and discusses how genre theory from systemic functional linguistics (SFL) has been used to provide a generic description of interpreted professional consultations. It also proposes that practising and student interpreters understand the interpersonal metafunction to be able to meet the ethical requirements of their profession. The paper draws upon empirical research and classroom practice for evidence.

1 Introduction

Voices from around the world may be heard but what is said may not be understood if there is no interpreter to relay what they say. How can a refugee understand what an immigration official is saying to them and vice versa if they do not speak a language that is common to them? In Australia, the UK, the USA, New Zealand and parts of Canada how can an elderly immigrant lady with limited proficiency in English understand what a neurologist is telling her about her husband after he has had a stroke and the neurologist does not speak her language? How can a police officer conduct an interview/interrogation with a suspect that would be acceptable to the courts if they do not speak the same language? Such language in communication problems can be solved by the use of the services of a qualified and accredited interpreter.

But how does the interpreter solve such language in communication problems? What do they know? What do they do that is any different from what any bilingual person could do? Interpreters and translators in Australia and elsewhere are regarded as professionals who take undergraduate and postgraduate courses in interpreting and /or translation, gain professional accreditation and become members of their professional association. So if they are professionals they must monitor their performance and seek to maintain and improve their standards and quality. Also those who educate interpreters need to explicate what interpreters do so that relevant teaching approaches and guides for professional performance can be designed, implemented and evaluated. All of this requires linguistic research. Translation and interpreting, which are concerned with communicating between different languages, do form one branch of research in applied linguistics. Applied linguistics is the application of insights from linguistics and other relevant disciplines to the solving of language in communication problems. Research into translation has a much longer history than does research into dialogue interpreting (as distinct from conference interpreting). According to Mason (1999: 147) research into dialogue interpreting has its origins in the late 1970s. The application of insights from systemic functional linguistics to dialogue interpreting probably began around 1990 (Tebble, 1991). This paper will outline the use of two branches of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) that provide ways of understanding the structure of interpreted professional consultations and interviews and the semantic discourse features of the interpersonal communication that occurs in such interpreted speech events. That is, it provides an overview of the application of genre theory and approaches to the analysis of the interpersonal metafunction to dialogue interpreting practice and pedagogy.

2 Dialogue Interpreting

Dialogue interpreting is different from conference interpreting. Synonyms for dialogue interpreting include ‘community’, ‘liaison’, ‘public service’ (UK) and ‘*ad hoc*’ interpreting. In Australia it typically involves a qualified and accredited professional interpreter relaying what a professional (speaking in English) and their client (speaking in a community language⁴⁸) say to each other during a consultation, in the other’s language. Again, in Australia, the dialogue interpreter is bound by the code of ethics and code of practice of the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (NAATI, 2000). These codes require the interpreter to be impartial, accurate, unobtrusive, prepare for assignments, explain their role, not to exercise power or influence over their clients, and to maintain confidentiality. The domains in which dialogue interpreters work include, medical, legal, education, welfare, bureaucracies, business, journalism and international relations. Apart from meeting the needs of resident sign language users most of their work is done in those domains used by immigrants and refugees where the ethical standards and codes of practice particularly apply. Dialogue interpreting typically involves interpreting for two people engaged in a consultation or interview when the two participants do not speak the same language sufficiently well enough to adequately conduct the event. It thus requires the physical presence of the interpreter or the presence of the interpreter by telephone or videophone. The interpreter’s role is to convey what is said by the two speakers engaged in dialogue or by more speakers if the consultation is between more participants, for example a family meeting between a physician, patient, attending nurse, and some of the patient’s family. The mode of dialogue interpreting is typically consecutive interpreting with the interpreter taking the turn immediately after each speaker to relay what that speaker said into the other speaker’s language. A dialogue interpreter is a highly competent bilingual and bicultural professional who is familiar with and competent in speaking the register, styles and sociolects of both languages of those domains in which he or she chooses to work.

3 The Genre of the Interpreted Professional Consultation

To understand what the dialogue interpreter does, one needs to understand the type of discourse that the interpreter actually interprets. SFL provides a way of understanding the genre of interpreted professional consultations or interviews. This can be done by showing how the discourse is related to its context. By delineating the three contextual variables of Field (the subject matter); Tenor (the roles and relationships of the participants); and Mode (the role that language plays in constituting the speech event) of an interpreted professional consultation one can show the configuration of the context of the consultation or interview. Figure 1, following Halliday and Hasan (1985), shows what is common to the interpreted professional consultation. Clients and patients consult a professional (or bureaucrat) because they have a problem to be solved or an illness to be diagnosed and treated. The role relationship between the professional and client or patient is hierarchical. The professional has the expertise or authority to solve the problem and the client or patient is in the subordinate role because they seek professional advice and expertise to solve the problem⁴⁹. Although interpersonal respect is shown to the clients there tends to be a hierarchical relationship rather than an equal partnership between professional and client. The professional interpreter keeps professional distance from both the professional and client to maintain independence and impartiality. So the social distance between all parties – client,

⁴⁸ Sign languages are included as one type of community language but reference will be made mainly to spoken languages.

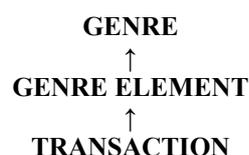
⁴⁹ This does not deny the roles of K1 and K2 (Berry, 1981) in the exchange of information between the professional in the role of K2 who knows less than the client in the role of K1 when providing personal information.

professional and interpreter is distant. The speech event unfolds in two languages as the professional uses the dominant or national language, such as English in Australia, which is interpreted by the interpreter into the language of the client who in turn speaks in their community language which is interpreted into English. This consecutive mode of interpreting enables both the professional and client to engage in a ‘dialogue’ or more precisely in their ‘consultation’ or ‘interview’. As they converse through the interpreter they will use nonverbal communication which each can observe and either or both parties may take notes and /or refer to relevant documents they have brought to the interview such as correspondence, x-rays and reports. The interpreter may occasionally take notes as an *aide memoire* to assist with dates, figures and names. So typically the channels of communication will be phonic, graphic and signed if a sign language is used, as well as visual and tactile in medical examinations.

- FIELD** Presenting with a problem that may need to be defined
and for which a solution is required
- TENOR** *Role Relationship* – Hierarchical
Professional: Superordinate
Client/Patient: Subordinate
Interpreter: Independent
Social Distance – Maximal
- MODE** Constituted by use of 2 languages consecutively for each
speaker’s turn at talk
Process of creating the discourse via:
- spoken medium
 - written medium
 - non-verbal medium
- Channels of communication:
- phonic
 - graphic
 - signed
 - visual
 - tactile

Figure 1. Contextual configuration of professional consultations/interviews incorporating an interpreter (After Tebble, 1996:38-9)

From substantial empirical research of transcriptions of video-recorded, interpreted professional medical consultations which were translated, back translated and glossed (e.g. Tebble 1996,1998, 1999); and analysis of transcribed video-recorded student role plays⁵⁰ of interpreted consultations and interviews in the medical, legal, welfare, educational and bureaucratic domains, a generic description of the interpreted professional consultation has been established. The analysis of the lengthy transcriptions of 30 – 50 minute consultations involved taking both a top down approach following Hasan (e.g.1978,1985) who identified the largest structural component, the genre element; and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who took a bottom up approach and identified the role of the speech act within the discourse structures of the move, exchange and transaction. By combining these two approaches within SFL a full ranked scale of discourse structures of spoken discourse was possible as shown in figure 2.



⁵⁰ These were done by students in the courses for the BA (Interpreting/Translating at Deakin University in the mid-1990s; and the Master of Interpreting and Translation Studies at Monash University 2007, 2008.

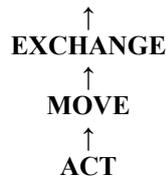


Figure 2. Hierarchy of discourse structures constituting the professional consultation/interview (Tebble, 1991a)

The analysis of the transcriptions of texts from my research into interpreted medical consultations between English speaking consultants or specialist physicians and their limited English proficiency patients; as well as analyses of transcriptions of role plays of medical and other lengthy interpreted consultations in other domains by interpreting students have shown the generic stages of the interpreted professional consultation to be that illustrated in figure 3.

Greetings	= G
Introductions	= IN
(Contract)	= CT
Stating/Eliciting Problem	= EP
Ascertaining Facts	= AF
(Diagnosing Facts)	= DF
Stating Resolution/Exposition	= SR/EX
(Decision by Client)	= CD
Clarifying any Residual Matters	= RM
Conclusion	= C
Farewell	= F

Figure 3. Generic stages of interpreted professional consultations
(After Tebble, 1999:185)

Using these stages after Hasan (1985) a generic structure potential (GSP) of interpreted professional consultations has been possible. This enables both practising and student interpreters to have a clear understanding of the genre in which they are working. They then know when to announce the contract if they need to advise the professional and client of the interpreter's role during the consultation. They appreciate how to pace their use of energy so that they do not experience fatigue or memory loss during the most important stage of the consultation, that of Stating the Resolution (or the Exposition in medical consultations).

This stage serves the purpose of the consultation, that is, when the professional announces his/her solution to the problem that brought about the consultation. The GSP also helps the interpreter, who is constantly switching between two languages, to monitor the progress of the consultation if the stages do not follow the typical generic structure due to digressions or repetitions.

The analysis of exchange structures and speech acts within the different genre elements helps the student interpreter to gain an appreciation of the need to master in both languages how to identify and interpret recounts and short narratives used by the client or patient; and different eliciting and checking strategies used by the professional during the important stages of Eliciting the Problem and Ascertaining the Facts. A full dialogue interpreting curriculum (Tebble, 1996b) has been designed and implemented using the generic structure of the interpreted professional consultation. A different one but also drawing upon the generic model of interpreted medical consultations has been designed and used for the training of physicians in how to work effectively with medical interpreters (Tebble, 1998, 2003).

Halliday and Hasan's (1976) work on cohesion is relevant not only to translation but also to the study of interpreting particularly to the monitoring of what is said at the level of the

exchange. Cocker (1999) examined the cohesion of checking strategies in interpreted medical consultations and not only extended Tebble's (1994) scale of certainty of checking strategies used in professional consultations, but also highlighted the value of interpreters using the categories of cohesion as they interpret.

4 The Interpersonal Metafunction in Interpreted Consultations

For medical consultations to be fully effective and to ensure patient compliance, rapport between the physician and patient must be established. This entails developing respect, trust, understanding and empathy. So the interpreter must not only interpret the content of what is said between patient and physician but also the way they speak to each other, as well as their attitude to what they say. Tebble (1999) and Hirsh (2001) examined the interpersonal metafunction (e.g., Halliday, 1978, Martin, 1992) in interpreted medical consultations revealing the nuances of interpersonal meaning that the interpreter is required to interpret. Willis (2001) used Appraisal Analysis especially following White (16 July 2001) to examine the semantics of the rapport of the English spoken by the physicians in interpreted medical consultations. These findings can be used by interpreters to understand the nuances of rapport expressed by physicians and find suitable equivalents in their other language to extend their glossaries for medical interpreting.

Examining the interpersonal metafunction in the language of depressed patients is also useful for educating student and practising interpreters. A case study of an analysis of the interpersonal metafunction in an interpreted consultation for a depressed Spanish speaking patient was reported in Tebble (2000). In 2007 interpreting students at Monash were shown how to apply appraisal analysis to transcriptions of video recordings of their own and others' use of the interpersonal metafunction. They reported the method to be enlightening and acknowledged their need to attend to this aspect of their interpreting since the ethical requirement to interpret all that is said includes interpreting the interpersonal aspects of what each speaker says.

5 Conclusion

The work of Halliday and Hasan and the numerous scholars who have followed them working in systemic functional linguistics have provided a comprehensive linguistic theory that has direct relevance to the theory and practice of dialogue interpreting. It has been proposed in this paper that the application of SFL can help interpreters as practitioners or students understand what is entailed in the genre of interpreted professional consultations; that cohesion is relevant also to competent interpreting of conversational exchanges; and that Appraisal analysis reveals that the ethic of interpreting all that is said includes interpreting the language of the interpersonal metafunction.

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Agency in Cardiff and IFG: Competition or Collaboration?

Tom Bartlett

Cardiff University
tomasito@btopenworld.com

Abstract

The Cardiff and Sydney ‘dialects’ of SFL take different approaches to the labelling of Participant Roles (PRs), particularly in the area of agency. This paper considers the effects of three key different approaches on discourse analytical uses of transitivity, comparing Halliday’s analysis of *The Silver Text* (Halliday 1994) with a Cardiff-based analysis.

In this paper I will look at different treatments of ‘agency’ in Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) as presented through the Cardiff Grammar (CG; n.b. Fawcett in preparation*) on the one hand and the third edition of *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (IFG; n.b. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) on the other. After summarising the main differences between these two ‘dialects’ of SFG I will present an analysis of *The Silver Text* (Halliday 1994:368-391) from each perspective in turn to highlight the areas of significance which are caught by either of the approaches but not the other. Adding to the examples drawn from this text various other cases that will be brought up in the opening sections I suggest that some of the differences between the two approaches are superficial and go on to outline what advantages may be gained from viewing the two approaches as complementary rather than exclusive in terms of: (i) their utility in the labelling and quantitative comparison of participants as part of a textual or discourse study; (ii) the benefits to a lexicogrammatical description of the language in combining classificatory features of both approaches so as to create a richer array of process types from a relatively small number of elemental features and distinctions. Naturally, the analysis and presentation here is far from exhaustive or conclusive (in particular the repercussions on the systems networks of each approach is too vast an area to delve into) but rather a preliminary exploration of a complex and contested area of the lexicogrammar that is, nonetheless, one of the most regularly used of all areas of the lexicogrammar in providing the analytical basis for textual and especially critical discourse studies.

Before going any further I should point out that I am using the term ‘agency’ here in a theory-neutral sense to mean the participant responsible for the causation of a process. The term therefore covers the Participant Role (PR) Agent in CG and both the Actor and Agent PRs in IFG (and potentially aspects of other PRs such as Sayer, see below). It is the different ways in which these three (principally) PRs carve up the conceptual space of ‘agency’ that is of interest here, on the assumption that each analysis is based on sound principles and therefore has something to contribute to an overall description and the corollary that any differences between the two will need to be accounted for and will potentially lead to angles of analysis not covered in either approach.

One of the fundamental (though perhaps superficial) differences between the two approaches is their point of departure in subdividing the realm of experience through the distinction in the transitivity system within the lexicogrammar. For CG the main distinctions within the transitivity system are defined primarily in terms of the PRs involved and their combination, with the subclassification of process types being a function of these variables. The relationship between PRs and process type is thus that a PR is:

...any experiential role ...'expected' by the Process... The...task is to work out, from the configuration of PRs, what type of Process it is..."

[Fawcett, in preparation: Chapter 2, Section 1.1]

In contrast, the IFG analysis would seem to be based primarily on the process type as token of a 'domain of experience' (p.170), with the potential conjunction of attendant PRS a fall-out of this classification:

The process is the most central element in the configuration. Participants are close to the centre; they are directly involved in the process, bringing about its occurrence or being affected by it in some way. The nature of participants will thus vary according to the type of process.

[Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:176]

Two major consequences of this theoretical distinction, as we shall see later, are that: (i) CG allows certain PRs to play a role in more than one process type; (ii) conversely, some roles in IFG imply roles, or at least features of roles, from the configurations of other process types. This difference can be clearly demonstrated if we compare Fawcett's 're-expression test' for the PR Agent, which cuts across process types, with IFG's description of the Actor role as a central element of material clauses:

If X is the Agent, the clause can be re-expressed as 'What X did was to...'

If X is the Affected, the clause can be re-expressed as 'What happened to X was that...' PLUS failure in the Agent test.

[Fawcett, in preparation: Chapter 2, Section 4.3]

In a 'material' clause there is always one participant – the Actor. This participant brings about the unfolding of the process through time, leading to an outcome that is different from the initial phase of the unfolding. This outcome may be confined to the Actor itself, in which case there is only one participant in the process. Such a 'material' clause represents a **happening** and, using traditional terminology we can call it **intransitive**. Alternatively, the unfolding of the process may extend to another participant, the Goal, impacting it in some way: the outcome is registered on the Goal in the first instance, rather than on the Actor. Such a 'material' clause represents a **doing** and we call it **transitive**.

Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:180

It should be noted that this distinction is a little artificial in that, as PRs and Processes are mutually-defining, it is not possible to identify either PRs or Processes independently of each other or in sequence. As a result, it would appear that the consequences of the difference in emphasis further down the analytical line (for example in the naming of PRs in either absolute or process-dependent terms) are also to some extent superficial. However, there is a significant difference beneath the surface of these two definitions of Agent/Actor as concerns examples such as the following, for which IFG analyses both 'the lion' and 'the ice' as Actors, while in the CG analysis 'the lion' is an Agent but 'the ice' is an Affected. :

1. The lion sprang.
2. The ice melted.

A second major difference between the CG and IFG approaches (though, paradoxically, one that brings them closer together in some ways) is that IFG allows for an alternative analysis of all process types through an ergative rather than a transitive perspective. In this analysis the focus is on the locus rather than the origin of a process, with the central participant, irrespective of process type, labelled the Medium and defined as "the medium through which the process is actualized" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:284-285). This entails another contrast with the transitive perspective in that an optional PR, the Agent, is introduced as an external cause. From the transitive perspective, above, the cause of the

process was seen as the central participant, while any PRs to which the process was extended might or might not be present. The following example reanalyses example 2 from an ergative perspective while example 4 adds the PR Agent:

3. The ice (Medium) melted.
4. The sun (Agent) melted the ice (Medium).

This analysis brings out an interesting comparison with CG in that in both example 3 and example 4 the Medium would correspond to the CG PR Affected (which is one reason why CG does not recognise the need for an ergative analysis). This does not imply, however, that the conflation of Actor and Medium in IFG corresponds exactly to CG's Affected in intransitive clauses as 'the lion' in example 1, while Actor/Medium in IFG, is an Agent in the CG analysis. We shall come back to this later.

The final difference between the two approaches to be covered before looking at the Silver Text is again a fall-out in the preference for type-neutral PRs in CG and type-specific PR in IFG, which becomes manifest in CG's allowance of the PRs Ag and Af across process types, creating distinctive subclassifications according to their combination with other PRs:

*Compound PRs occur in many types of Process... Each compound PR is made up of two PRs that we have met already – so that luckily we do not need to add any new **re-expression tests**...Compound PRs always consist of (1) an Agent or Affected plus (2) another role."*

[Fawcett, in preparation: Chapter 2, Section 5]

This contrasts with the IFG approach of setting up 'borderline cases' to account for the behaviour of PRs that is not in accordance with the canonical Process type-PR schema. In this view, material, relational and mental Processes are:

...the cornerstones of the grammar in its guise as a theory of experience, they present three distinct kinds of structural configuration, and they account for the majority of all clauses in a text... We can then go on to recognize three subsidiary process types, located at each of the boundaries: behavioural at the boundary between material and mental, verbal at the boundary between mental and relational, and existential at the boundary between relational and material.

[Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:248]

As a quick illustration of how these differences pan out (a point to which we shall return), let's look at the following example and note how, as would be expected, the CG approach captures generalisations across process types in terms of their relationship to one another, while the IFG approach emphasises the differing nature of the Agent/Actor's actions in terms of human 'domains of experience':

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------|----------|-----|
| 5. | He knows | my name. | | |
| | Sen:Cog | Phen | | CG |
| | Sen(:Cog) | Phen | | IFG |
| | | | | |
| 6. | I told | him | my name. | |
| | Ag | Af-Cog | Phen | CG |
| | Sayer | Recipient | Verbiage | IFG |

Having examined the chief differences between the CG and IFG approaches to PRs and process types let us see how they differ in their analysis of the Silver Text (Halliday 1994:368) and see what conclusion can be drawn from these analyses in terms of how we can combine elements of the two approaches to create a more powerful classification system. A is a Trainer, B her Trainee:

A: 1 in this job Anne we're working with silver

- 2 now silver needs to have love yeah
 3 you know the people that buy silver love it
 B: 4 yeah I guess they would
 A: 5 well mm well naturally I mean to say
 6 that it's got a lovely gleam about it you know
 7 and if they come in
 8 they're usually people who love beautiful things
 9 so you have to be beautiful with it you know
 10 you sell it with beauty
 B: 11 um
 A: 12 you I'm sure you know how to do that
 13 oh but you must
 14 let's hear let's hear you say
 15 "madam, isn't that beautiful?"
 16 if you suggest it's beautiful
 17 they see it as beautiful

Line	Process Token	CARDIFF			IFG		
		Process Type	Seller	Buyer	Process Type	Seller	Buyer
1	WORK	Action	Ag	-	Material	Actor	-
3	BUY	Relational		Ag-Ca	Material		Actor
3	LOVE	Mental		Em	Mental		Senser
7	COME IN	Relational		Ag-Ca	Material		Actor
8	LOVE	Mental		Em	Mental		Senser
9	BE	Relational	Ag-Ca		Relational	Carrier	
10	SELL	Relational	Ag	(Af-Ca)	Material	Actor	(Recipient)
12	KNOW	Mental	Cog		Mental	Senser	
14	SAY	Mental	Ag	(Af-Perc)	Verbal	Sayer	(Receiver)
16	SUGGEST	Mental	Ag	(Af-Cog)	Verbal	Sayer	(Receiver)
17	SEE	Mental		Perc	Mental		Senser

Table 1. Construal of Participant Roles for Seller and Buyer by the trainer (Sydney Grammar).

Very briefly, we can see that the CG analysis reveals an emphasis on agentivity, of control of our own and others' actions and perceptions. If we look at the trainer's construal of the buyer, we can see that only twice are they construed as agentive, once in the fairly neutral relational process, COME IN and once in the central process in this text, BUY. Of the remaining three explicit mentions of the buyer, two are mental processes of emotion, both LOVE, and the third is a mental process of perception, SEE. However, a close examination of the text will reveal that even in matters of physical perception, the buyer is construed as being led by their emotions via the seller's agentivity. The remaining three construals of the buyer are all implicit in the Participant Roles inherent in the Process types but not verbalised. In all three of these processes the buyer is construed as the Affected Participant. In contrast, the seller is construed as agentive in five of the six processes in which they are involved. In the opening line, the seller is construed as an Agent in the action Process of working with silver, which is almost immediately contrasted with the buyer's relationship with silver as an emotional one, a contrast that sets us up for the denouement of the seller as agentive in the process of the buyer falling in love with the silver and so buying it. What is implicit here, that the seller can agentively manipulate the emotions of the buyer and so get a sale, becomes more explicit as the text progresses. One striking example of the agentivity construed to the seller comes in line 9, where the trainer tells them they 'have to be beautiful'. This implicit command is unusual in that it suggests that the seller has agency over their beauty, an attribute normally seen as inherent or 'in the eye of the beholder'. The following line, 'you sell it with beauty', then sets up the same relationship between seller and buyer as the opening three lines: that the seller's active manipulation of the buyer's emotions (LOVE,

BEAUTY) through the silver will lead to a sale (BUY in l. 3, SELL in l. 10). In the remaining three construals of the seller as Agent (ll. 10, 14 and 16), the buyer is the Affected party, though in all three cases this is implicit. Of particular interest here is SUGGEST (l. 16), a Process in which the seller is construed as having a level of control over the buyer's cognitive processes. As with being BEAUTIFUL, this is an area of Agency that goes beyond the expected. This idea that the seller is manipulating the buyer's senses in order to get a sale is best summed up in the progression from lines 3 and 8 through line 16 to line 17. Following the trainer's progressive construal, we see that the buyer initially has an emotional attachment to silver; then, because of the seller's suggestive skills, the emotional attachment becomes cognitive (l.16), and ultimately perceptual as the buyer's supposedly objective physical senses are led into seeing the silver as beautiful (l.17).

The above analysis demonstrates a definite advantage of the CG analysis in generalising across process types to focus on the agentivity construed to various participants in the text, a core variable in many critical analyses of text, as well as the idea of transfer inherent in both the BUY/SELL duo and SAY and SUGGEST. However, what is lacking in the CG analysis is the distinction made by the IFG analysis between the verbal agency of SAY and SUGGEST and the material agency of COME IN, BUY and SELL. In other words, such complex processes (e.g. those involving transfer) involve two types of process/PR relationship: one around the means of transfer and one around the end result. IFG, with its emphasis on Process types focuses on the former; while CG, with its emphasis on the relationship between PRs, focuses on the latter. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:191), however, make reference to and implicitly accept the alternative analyses offered by CG when they say that verbs of giving, etc.

...are thus the material version of possessive relational clauses...in our representation, they are simply part of a general pattern of agnation between material clauses on the one hand and relational and existential ones on the other.

In a later section (ibid2004:253) they go on to state that:

Saying' has to be interpreted in rather a broad sense; it covers any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning...

This would suggest that the 'exchange of meaning', a process of the giving type, could also be construed as a material version of cognitive mental clauses, in that the reception of meaning is a mental event, as made clear in the IFG glosses:

In a clause of 'mental' processes, there is always one participant who is human; this is the Senser...the one who 'senses' – feels thinks wants or perceives...

[Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:201]

The Receiver is the one to whom the saying is directed...is realized by a nominal group typically denoting a conscious being..."

[Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:255]

In these terms we can reanalyse Sayer and Receiver (and similar roles in agnate constructions) as the conjunct of two different types of properties: (i) Actor (Agent) and Senser (Cogniser) in terms of their relationship to each other; and (ii) participants in a verbal process in terms of the means of realisation of this relationship. The following example show how this information might be combined in an analysis that reproduces the best of both worlds and so increase its utility as a tool in the critical analysis of texts.

7. He told me the news.
Ag:vbl Af-Cog Phen

This analysis could also be extended to capture a distinction lost in CG while maintaining

the relationship of cognitive agency. In the analysis of example 8, ‘he’ as Sayer has been analysed out in two stages: firstly into the constituents Agent and verbal; and secondly with verbal expanded into ‘material:semiotic’ on the basis of IFG’s statement above that ‘saying’ has to be interpreted as covering any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning – here, an exchange realised in the material realm as opposed to the verbal:

8. He showed me how it works.
 Ag:mat:sem Af-Cog Phen

Returning briefly to the question of transitivity, ergativity and Affected intransitives, a similar collaboration between the two approaches reveals distinctions that can only be accounted for by pooling both analyses or that are not adequately accounted for by the two either alone or in conjunction. For instance, in examples 9 and 11, both analyses are needed to give the complete picture, involving both a change or not of state (Af vs Ag) and the source of the process (Actor in both); while even the combination of analyses does not distinguish between the change of state of ‘the ice’ in 12, in contrast with the cause-effect relationship between ‘the lion’ and ‘the tourist’ in 10, which is, however, captured in the intransitive examples 9 and 11:

	Cardiff	IFG
9. The tourist ran away.	Ag	Ac/Medium
10. The lion chased...	Ag	Ac/Ag
...the tourist.	Af	Go/Medium
11. The ice melted.	Af	Ac/Medium
12. The sun melted...	Ag	Ac/Ag
...the ice.	Af	Go/Medium

As a very tentative suggestion as to how we can complete the set and so distinguish the relationships of agency so vital to critical analysis of texts, I put forward the following subtypes with their descriptions and codes and their instantiation in the above examples:

X acted but in isolation.	Ac	Actor	‘tourist’ in 9.
X acted on Y but did not transform Y.	Ag	Agent	‘lion’ in 10
X acted on and transformed Y.	Agf	Affecting Agent	‘sun’ in 11.
Y was acted on but not transformed.	Ad	Acted	‘tourist’ in 10.
Y was acted on and transformed.	Af	Affected	‘ice’ in 12
X/Y transformed through a self-engendered process.	Agf-Af		‘ice’ in 11

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Leech and the Limits of Functionalism

Peter K Wylie

Macquarie University - Australia
Centre for Language in Social Life, Dept. of Linguistics
Macquarie University NSW 2109 Australia
peter.wylie@students.mq.edu.au

Abstract

Leech (1980, 1983) has argued that those areas covered by Halliday's central, ideational metafunction are in fact more amenable to a mainstream, formalistic conventionalism than a functional or pragmatic treatment. As much as Butler (1988: 19) has likewise concluded (with qualifications) "that Leech's criticisms of Halliday's approach are basically justified," I want to argue that Leech has, nonetheless, not made a convincing case for rejecting functionalism. Rather, what I think these challenges highlight are certain tensions arising from the limitations of Halliday's own functionalist stance, which make it, like Leech's, too tentative. Underlying the difficulty in providing a functional account of the ideational metafunction, for Leech and Halliday alike, is the predominance of their broadly structuralist (or systemic) presuppositions. So, for instance, Halliday takes the realization of non-congruent relationships between the form and meaning of expressions (eg. nouns standing for processes) to be instances of grammatical metaphor. This is understood in terms of the structuralist notion of markedness, a measure of linguistic complexity with respect to structure rather than reference. However, since the ideational metafunction is the seat of reference, a functional account of it should hinge on the viability of a functional (pragmatic) theory of reference. Yet the apparent simplicity, to structuralists, of reference leads them to neglect this possibility.

Leech (1980, 1983) has argued that those central areas of grammar covered by Halliday's ideational metafunction, concerned with the representation of experience, do not need to be understood functionally. Instead, they are in fact most appropriately understood in terms of a formalistic conventionalism of rule governed relationships between discrete categories. In this paper, I want argue both that Leech fails to make a convincing case for rejecting functionalism, while Halliday fails to make a convincing case for accepting it. Underlying the difficulty in providing a functional account of the ideational metafunction, for Leech and Halliday alike, is the predominance of their broadly structuralist (or systemic) presuppositions. The purpose of this paper is to attempt to break this deadlock by radicalizing Halliday's functionalism, beginning from an examination of the limitations imposed by the structuralism common to Halliday as well as Leech. In particular, I want to argue that the pervasiveness of Halliday's structuralism undermines his capacity to provide an account of reference, which is central to the ideational metafunction. Since the ideational metafunction is the seat of reference, a functional account of it hinges on the viability of a functional (pragmatic) theory of reference. Yet the apparent simplicity, to structuralists, of reference has lead to neglect this possibility and with it the possibility that this metafunction is, in fact, the most functional or pragmatic.

While Leech is clearly interested in the role of pragmatics within an account of language, he, at the same time, seems unwilling to avoid marginalizing it within such an account. For Leech, the distinction between grammar and pragmatics is that grammar provides a conventional set of rules which can be described in terms of the formal relationships between discrete and determinate categories. Pragmatics, on the other hand, is to be described in terms of the relationships between continuous and indeterminate values which are the product of goal directed behaviour. The former, he claims, is most applicable to what Halliday calls the ideational metafunction, while the later pragmatic approach is most applicable to Halliday's interpersonal and textual metafunctions. (Leech 1983: 47, 70)

What is most striking about Leech's advocacy of this position is just how little justification he provides for the greater applicability of a formal approach in terms of rules and constituency to the heart of grammar, the ideational metafunction. Indeed, the tenuousness of his position is demonstrated by the fact that he expends much more effort attempting to mitigate objections to this stance than making a case for it. Although it must be said that the majority of the objections that he considers presuppose a point of view similar to Leech's anyway, only more qualified, much as he is prepared to concede anyway.

What I want to argue, on the other hand, is that Leech, as orthodox as his view may be, has things completely back to front. That is, that the ideational metafunction is in fact the most pragmatic of the metafunctions rather than the least. This seems quite possible given that he seems to simply presuppose the primacy of a formal approach to syntax while providing no arguments against the primacy of pragmatics.

In a brief response to Leech's proposed stance to Halliday's metafunctions, Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 12) are inclined to dismiss Leech's position. However, neither of the two parts of their response addresses it very conclusively. They (1999: 12) situate their response within a discussion of the scope of pragmatics:

There is no separate component of "pragmatics" within our interpretative frame. Since it emerged as a distinct field of scholarly activity, pragmatics has by and large been associated with two aspects of language. On the one hand, it has dealt with those aspects of the meaning of a text which depend on specific instances — particulars of the situation and of the interactants, and inferences drawn from these. But just as, in grammatics, we do not distinguish between the grammar of the system and the grammar of the instance — a systemic theory is a theory of both, and necessarily (therefore) of the relationship between them — so in semantics we would not want to separate the system from its instantiation in text. In this aspect, pragmatics appears as another name for the semantics of instances.

What is interesting about this understanding of pragmatics is that the participants or language users so central to Morris' classical definition of pragmatics, as concerning the relationship between language and its users, are completely absent. That is, it reflects the contemporary trend in pragmatics towards an increasing preoccupation with the contexts of language use and, in particular, in the case of systemic functional grammar, with the instantiation of systems of grammar in texts. This is indicative of the way in which, for Halliday and Matthiessen, pragmatics is not understood experientially and so does not so much concern the participant's experience of meaning as the organization of texts. In this way, it quickly becomes divorced from consideration of participants and their actions which might otherwise be the central concerns of a classical pragmatics.

Their response continues:

And on the other hand, pragmatics has served as an alternative term for the interpersonal and textual domains of semantics. Hence the distinction that is being labelled is one of metafunction, not of instantiation; but it seems undesirable to obscure the relationship between ideational meaning on the one hand and interpersonal and textual meaning on the other hand by locating them within different disciplines.

I think that Halliday and Matthiessen are right to insist upon the unity of the metafunctions and thereby avoid the incoherence of introducing non-functional metafunctions. Leech's eclectic functionalism simply reinforces the view that pragmatics is a fragmented and therefore marginal, in Bar Hillel's terms, 'wastebasket' discipline. However, Halliday and Matthiessen's response, nonetheless, does little to counter Leech's claim that the ideational metafunction is not essentially pragmatic.

Indeed, Butler (1988: 19) has argued, in a more detailed comparison of the two positions, that Halliday's account may actually be less pragmatic than Leech's, concluding (with qualifications) "that Leech's criticisms of Halliday's approach are basically justified." As

Butler (1988: 18) observes, “Leech’s view is in fact in line with Halliday’s own general view of language as fluid, adaptable and negotiable, so it is rather surprising that Halliday has taken the more rigid position.” Butler traces the rigidity which he attributes to Halliday’s position, to the predominance of “system networks, [which] by their very nature, force us to handle choices in terms of neat oppositions.” Halliday does attempt to address pragmatic phenomena, in which shifted meanings, such as those we find expressed by indirect speech acts, come apart from the literal or superficial meaning of the expression, through the notion of grammatical metaphor. Although Butler (1988: 18) is aware of this, he regards it as both “rather sketchy” and “unduly pessimistic,” instead favouring the approach of conventional speech act theory, which, he argues, allows us to “know about the principles by which such choices can be arrived at, and by which non-congruent choices can be interpreted. This, I suggest, requires the importation of principles such as those discussed by Grice, Leech, and Sperber and Wilson (1986).”

Although I will only be able to address Halliday’s account of grammatical metaphor, to which I shall return shortly, here, what I want to argue is that both of these approaches, each being attempts to develop a structural pragmatics, are too abstract to be entirely successful. Although Halliday’s functionalism is comparatively unconventional, not appealing to abstract principles, it clearly does, nonetheless, take a categorial form, being theoretically articulated through categories, the three metafunctions, which act as very general groupings of grammatical options.

The metafunctions are central to both the organization of Halliday’s grammar and some of his more ambitious claims, such as the non-arbitrariness of linguistic form. Halliday (1979), in particular, attempts to relate the metafunctions to the linguistic forms which realize these options. However, it consists for the most part of broad descriptive correlations between forms of expression and the functions which they realize rather than explanations of what motivates these relationships. So, as much as the account is organized on a functional basis, what it provides is a description of certain correlations between types of meanings and types of linguistic forms rather than advancing an explicitly functional analysis or account of the relationship between meaning and form.

If we turn to a consideration of the ideational metafunction in particular, which is concerned with the semantic encoding of experience, Halliday (1979: 202) argues that the form of organization, which is most appropriate to this are based on notions of constituency. He (1979: 203) argues that “a structure which represents experiential meanings will tend to have this form: it will be a configuration or constellation, of discrete elements, each of which makes its own distinctive contribution to the whole.” The meaning of each of these elements is then understood in terms of a series default mappings, as Leech would call them, between their parts of speech and the default meaning of these, so for instance, between verbs and processes. Again, this pattern of mappings is not itself explained other than as “the way language evolved” (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 237). Moreover, we are not provided with an account of what it means to be a participant or a process, for instance, so the elements that the different parts of speech are mapped onto are taken to be simples, in that there is no further explanation of their character. So, although all three metafunctions are representative of linguistic functions and so values, the relationship to value is not entirely evident since, particularly in the case of the ideational metafunction, they make no explicit reference to value. So there would seem to be little substantive difference from Leech’s account of ideational meaning.

This does, however, all form the basis for a contrast between a certain set of mappings which are unmarked or simple relative to other mappings which are, by comparison, more marked or complex agnates of the same elements. That is, for Halliday, there is no

requirement that expressions necessarily express their default or most congruent meaning. Rather, more marked, incongruent or indirect deployments of grammatical categories are associated with a more metaphorical grammatical meaning, as, for instance, when nouns stand for processes. For Halliday, these variations in markedness, in which the mappings diverge from the unmarked or congruent default meaning, form the basis for his account of grammatical metaphor in which the increased markedness or grammatical complexity of an expression is mirrored by a more complex and metaphorical meaning thereby expressed. However, this account, as an account of the shifting phenomena we find, for instance, in indirect speech acts, is questionable on a number of grounds, one of which I will explore here.⁵¹

Again, we are not provided with a functional account of these variations and, indeed, it would seem possible to argue for quite the opposite position on pragmatic grounds. For markedness tends to be judged at the level of linguistic form and structure and so runs the risk of turning out to be an overly superficial measure of complexity in general. It risks linguistic simplicity itself turning out to be the product of other complex processes which are less superficially manifest. In particular, the relationship of signs to their objects (as opposed to their external relationships to other signs) tends to be simply taken for granted by structuralist theories of language, such that the apparent simplicity of the unmarked is potentially very deceptive. For, although both the linguistic form and use of signs may seem comparatively simple, their relationship to their objects is often assuredly not. That is, there is a complexity intrinsic to the operation of symbolism itself which tends to be overlooked by structuralist theories. In particular, the relationships between the comparatively unmarked signs which predominate in everyday conversation tend to be highly indexical and so variable in meaning. It is this fundamentally dynamic aspect of the relationship between the most ordinary of signs and their objects which escapes the comparatively static structuralist emphasis upon recurrent structures and relationships between signs.

If we now return to the components of the ideational metafunction, the elements or constituents, particularly nominal – that is, referring – expressions, which form the basis of a constituency analysis of its organization, it becomes apparent that they are not so much simples as complexes. That is, nominal expressions can not be taken to paradigmatically refer, in the manner of traditional empiricism, to physical substances, characterized as simple underlying substrates. Once reference is recognized to be essentially indexical, to be essentially dynamic and shifting rather than static, then shifts of meaning are not confined to marked or incongruent constructions. Indeed, if anything, the case for the comparative *fixity* of the meaning of incongruent or marked expressions relative to their unmarked counterparts would seem much the stronger of the two. For, the paradigms of congruent, unmarked constructions and expressions, for instance, the personal pronouns, and to a lesser extent nominal expressions in general are by their nature inherently indexical and so dynamic and variable in their meaning.⁵² Comparatively marked or incongruent expressions are, by comparison, more explicit and so definite in meaning and so are less prone to such indexical shifts. Hence, a pragmatic approach to language has the very real potential to turn Halliday's structuralist functionalism on its head.

Indeed, the notion of reference is comparatively underdeveloped in Halliday, since it is mainly understood in relation to the texture of discourse, arising from the cohesive relations

⁵¹ There are a whole range of issues concerning how Halliday understands markedness and metaphor which I cannot address here, let alone criticisms which arise from them.

⁵² Indeed, Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 230-2) themselves observe that nominalization involves a loss of information and so increased "ambiguity" to use their term. That such expressions will typically, judged relative to a context, have a variable rather than simultaneously multiple meanings suggests that this is, in fact, increased indexicality.

established by the use of anaphoric expressions. Although, again, more descriptive than functional, this account is, nonetheless, suggestive since, as the most relational aspect of Halliday's general account of language, it marks a clear and conscious break with his structuralism. However, he does not pursue the interaction between structural and relational features of language as the basis for an account of the expression of significance and so of reference based upon a pragmatic account of selective attention. (Halliday & Hasan 1976)

A pragmatic account of reference needs to bring together language as both a system of meanings, as a structure of comparatively abstract grammatical categories, with the concrete and definite context in which language use is situated. Clearly this interplay cannot be adequately represented by just one of these two, clearly heterogeneous, interactants – that is, by a further series of categories such as the metafunctions. As representative of only one side of this interplay, they can only provide a comparatively static outline of or space for a developed pragmatics - hence, the comparative opacity of the metafunctions. So, both structural and contextual conceptions of pragmatics are inherently lop-sided. The difficulty with a structural functionalism is that categories (or principles) are high-order and so context independent abstractions, whereas values are not. Values serve to motivate the actions of actors who act within definite contexts, which contributes to their motivations to act in certain ways, but who are, nonetheless, not identical with those contexts. Moreover, both approaches tend to homogenize pragmatics, when the central feature of action is that it is both temporal and situated and so fundamentally heterogeneous. The actions of linguistic agents, temporally sandwiched, in the present, between a definite context of action, their past, and the as yet unrealized potential consequences of the same actions, their future, inherently combine heterogeneous interactants. So what is really required are not further categories but an account of the underlying heterogeneous interaction itself such as would be provided by an explicit account of value.

There is, nonetheless, a fundamental isomorphism between the triadic structure of Halliday's metafunctions and the triadic accounts of value that one finds in, for instance, the classical American tradition in philosophy - a tradition particularly oriented to placing value and action at centre rather than the periphery of philosophy - which I have drawn upon in making these claims. So the metafunctional categories might be thought of as abstractions from an underlying account of value. In which case the broad structural outline of Halliday's functionalism may well remain largely unchanged by the incorporation of such a value theory and so preserve much of the uniqueness of his stance within linguistics. The accounts of pragmatics which have, however, been taken up by linguistics have, on the other hand, typically arisen from philosophical traditions, like the British, which, in general, are far less pragmatic in orientation. They therefore often bring with them structuralist presuppositions which, as I have attempted to argue here, have often served to only undermine and marginalize pragmatics.

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Process and Grammatical Metaphor in Wordsworth's *The Prelude* and Niitsi'powahsin (Blackfoot) Grammar

Andrew Goatly

Dept. of English, Lingnan University, Tuen Mun, N.T. Hong Kong, goatly@Ln.edu.hk

Abstract

In contrast with the congruent grammar of European languages (SAEs), which emphasises the existence of first-order entities independent of process, both Wordsworth's use of grammatical metaphor in *The Prelude* and the grammatical construction of reality in Niitsi'powahsin (Blackfoot) put an emphasis on the processual nature of Things. This aligns grammatical construal better with physicists' views on the nature of 'reality' at the sub-atomic level (Bohm 1980, Peat 1996). The ideational grammatical metaphors for modern science used in Wordsworth's *The Prelude* include activation of tokens, experiences (phenomena) and circumstances; ergativity; and nominalization. All these undermine the canonical event model of cognitive linguistics (Langacker 1991). The grammar of Niitsi'powahsin (Blackfoot) subverts the canonical event more radically through its emphasis on process/verbs by its verbalisation of "nouns", and its "nominalisations" (Franz 1991). The voices of Blackfoot and Wordsworth represent a more or less radical rethinking of our relationship to the environment, an alternative to the exploitative relationship fostered by congruent grammar.

1 Canonical event structure versus modern physics.

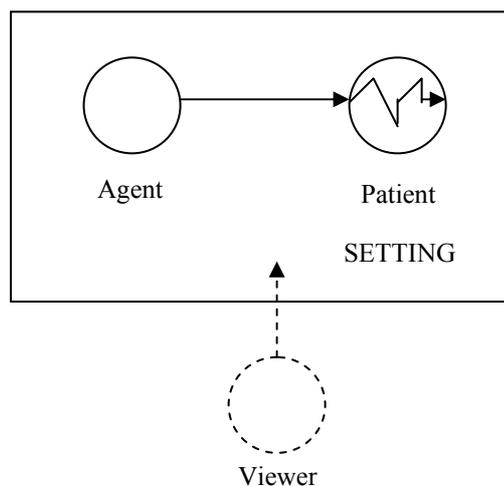


Figure 1: The canonical event model

Commonsense views of prototypical actions, like naïve Newtonian physics, are represented by the canonical event (CE) model (Langacker 1991) (Figure 1). In an event/action one discrete object ('billiard ball'), the head of the action chain or agent transmits energy, by forceful physical contact, to another ('billiard ball'), a patient, resulting in a change of state (the squiggly arrow). This takes place within a setting and a viewer observes it from an external standpoint.

At least 3 important elements of this Newtonian dynamic CE model are challenged by later scientific theory:

(A) The Affected participant in a physical process/CE is passive and controllable: the billiard-ball which is hit. But thermodynamics and the theory of entropy undermine this, allowing for the dissipation of energy:

Thus the "negative" property of dissipation shows that, unlike dynamic objects, thermodynamic objects can only be partially controlled. Occasionally they "break loose" into spontaneous change (Prigogine and Stengers 1985: 120).

The study of fluid dynamics shows a spontaneity Newtonian dynamic systems deny.

(B) The CE model depends upon the absolute distinction between things and energetic interactions, undermined by relativity theory, which necessitated the notion of process or event as primary:

Indeed it is not possible in relativity to obtain a consistent definition of an extended rigid body, ... Actually, relativity implies that neither the point particles nor the quasi-rigid body can be taken as primary concepts. Rather these have to be expressed in terms of events and processes (Bohm 1980:123-124).

(C) The CE model separates setting (environment), participants and their energetic interactions. This is challenged by *Gaia* theory: that the world, including the atmosphere, oceans, biota, rocks and minerals of the crust, functions as one large self-regulating system (Lovelock 1988: 19). *Gaia* emphasises wholeness and interrelated-ness, abolishing the dangerous separation between CE's agents, settings, and patients.

2 SAE grammar and the canonical event (billiard-ball) model

The CE model constructs a 'natural', congruent world partly because it is reflected in the typical material process clause of SAE grammar as exemplified in Table 1.

Table 1: Grammar, expressions and meanings in the clause

<i>Traditionally</i>	<i>fishermen</i>	<i>caught</i>	<i>100,000 tons of fish</i>	<i>a year</i>	<i>in the North Sea</i>
Circumstance (time setting)	Participant (Actor)	Process (Energetic interaction)	Participant (Affected/Patient)	Circumstance (time setting)	Circumstance (place setting)
Adverbial	Nominal Subject	Finite Verb	Nominal Object	Adverbial	Adverbial

4 properties of this semantic clause construal conflict with modern scientific theory.

- 1) A division into agentive participants (fishermen), affected participants (fish) and circumstances (North Sea) on the other, which is not consonant with modern scientific theory, Gaia theory in particular.
- 2) The particular division into (volitional) agent and (passive) affected, which conflicts with the notion of matter being active or with feedback within Gaia. The fish, for instance, are not thought to have any effect on the fisherman, though it is their presence and market value which causes the fishermen to catch them: a false unidirectionality of cause and effect.
- 3) The division into agent/affected participants, on the one hand, and location circumstances on the other, misguidedly suggesting that the environment, the circumstance, is either powerless, or is not affected. For example "The North Sea" is seen as part of the setting, rather than involved in or affected by the process, as inevitably it is from an environmental point of view.

- 4) The categorization of phenomena into processes and things, which is doubtful given the primacy of process in modern physics. The catching is seen as a process, but the fishermen and the tons of fish and the North Sea as relatively permanent things or substances.

To overcome the misrepresentations of the nature of matter and life inherent in the CE model and construed by congruent grammar certain kinds of grammatical metaphor can be employed, more in tune with modern/postmodern physics. I shall call these structures **consonant**. Let's see how some of these are used by Wordsworth.

3 Grammatical metaphors reflecting process in Wordsworth's *The Prelude*

3.1 Activation of Tokens

First, we can metaphorically reconstrue relational processes as material ones, so nature being is seen as more active (contrast 2). *The Prelude* furnishes many examples.

- The beacon crowning the lone eminence
- The garden lay
Upon a slope **surmounted** by a plain
Of a small bowling-green;

Instead of "being at the top of" an eminence or slope or two highways, the plain or beacon "surmounts" or "crowns" them.

3.2 Activation of Experiences (Phenomena)

Experiences in mental process clauses can be reconstructed as Actors in material processes. Again, examples in *The Prelude* are quite common.

- Till the whole cave, so late a senseless mass,
Busies the eye with images and forms
(cf. I saw the many images and forms in the whole cave...)
-Yet, hail to you
Moors, mountains, headlands, and ye hollow vales,
.....Ye that **seize**
The heart with firmer grasp!
(cf. ? My heart adores/loves/worships/the moors, mountains, headlands etc.)

3.3 Activation of Circumstances

A more obvious blurring of the setting/participant distinction 3) occurs when what is congruently a Location Circumstance becomes the subject/Actor.

The flowers are glistening with dew. (cf. Dew is glistening on the flowers.)

The literal circumstance, the flowers, seem to be responding actively to the process, if not controlling it, resisting the tendency of 3) to separate participants from environmental setting, cf. Wordsworth's: "And all the pastures dance with lambs".

3.4 Ergativity

With certain verbs in English the participant designated by the intransitive (or middle) subject is identical to the participant designated by the transitive (or effective) object. This paradigm centres on pairs of clauses like *the boat sailed, John sailed the boat, the rice cooked, Paul cooked the rice* (Halliday 1985: 146). The fundamental difference between the transitive and ergative system is that:

Within the ergative system something is being done to the Medium AS WELL AS the medium itself "doing" the process. [In *John opened the door* (ergative)] Instigator *John* "affects" the door by instigating its opening, but the door co-participates in the process of opening (Davidse 1992: 118).
[my insertions in brackets]

Remember the quote from Prigogine and Stengers about the spontaneous change of

thermodynamic objects, contra 2). In the famous description of ice-skating in *The Prelude* (Book 1), ergative verbs (in bold) give the natural objects an energy, mirrored by the impression of the cliffs continuing to move in arcs even after the boy skater has come to a sudden halt.

.....and oftentimes,
 When we had given our bodies to the wind,
 And **all the shadowy banks** on either side
 Came **sweeping** through the darkness, **spinning** still
 The rapid line of motion, then at once
 Have I reclining back upon my heels,
 Stopped short; yet still the solitary cliffs
Wheeled by me even as if the earth had **rolled**
 With visible motion her diurnal round!
 Behind me did they **stretch** in solemn train,
 Feebler and feebler, and I stood and watched
 Till all was tranquil as a dreamless sleep.

3.5 Nominalization

Nominalisation blurs the distinction between Process and Thing (4). And even more than middle ergative clauses, nominalizations can exclude any reference to an agent or cause external to the process, also suggesting a self-generated process. Although traditionally seen as turning things into processes, nominalisations might alternatively be viewed as emphasising process.

.....; the rod and line,
 True symbol of the foolishness of **hope**,
 Which with its strong enchantment led us on
 By rocks and pools, shut out from every star
 All the green summer, to forlorn **cascades**
 Among the **windings** of the mountain brooks. (Book 1, 485ff.)

In this passage not only do mental processes like 'hope' become an actor, leading on the boys on with 'enchantments', but natural Things are clearly represented in terms of process: the boys do not go among the brooks but among the 'windings of the mountain brooks', suggesting the nominalisation 'cascades' too is primarily a process.

4 A more radical reconstruction in Blackfoot grammar

David Peat in *Blackfoot Physics* (1996) identified Niitsi'powahsin as structuring the world in ways closer to the insights of modern theoretical physics, following David Bohm (1980). Evidently Bohm met several Algonquin speakers before his death and recognised the correspondence between their language/world-view and the findings of modern physics. "What to Bohm had been a major breakthrough in human thought – quantum theory, relativity, his implicate order and rheomode – were part of the everyday life and speech of the Blackfoot..." (pp. 237-238).

Peat presents interesting informant evidence on the nature of Niitsi'powahsin:

Sa'ke'j Henderson has said that he can go for a whole day without ever speaking a noun, just dealing in the rhythms and vibrations of process. Nouns do exist within the language but, like the vortex that forms in a fast flowing river, the nouns are not primary in themselves but are temporary aspects of the everflowing process (p. 237).

4.1 Emphasis on "verbs" in Niitsi'powahsin

Frantz (1991) shows how "verbs" are extremely important in the language. Prefixes and suffixes, and other formal variations of "verb stems" are numerous, reflecting distinctions such as: transitive-intransitive; "animate-inanimate"; independent-conjunctive-subjunctive-imperative-unreal; "singular-plural"; "first-first+second-second-third-fourth person"; "present-future-past tense"; and durative-perfective "aspect", giving well over a hundred

possible inflexions. Moreover “verb stems” are often complex, including “negatives, quantifiers, intensifiers, all kinds of adverbials, and many many others, including numerous morphemes which would be main or auxiliary verbs in other languages” (Frantz 1991: 84).

More specific areas of the grammar make it possible to do without nouns. “Verbalisation” incorporates “nouns” into “verbs” by suffixation. *-yi*, can derive intransitive verbs from “nouns” with a meaning equivalent to the English Relational process plus Value: *inaa* (chief) → *ikitáaksinaayi* “you will be chief”. The suffix *-wa’si* conveys the meaning of “turning into”: *nítohkiáayowa’si* “I bear became” or “I became enraged” (p.108). The suffix *hkaa/-Ihkaa* carries the meaning “acquire” *iimíihkaayaawa* “they acquired fish” “they fished”. However, native speakers, like Ryan Heavy Head (personal communication) dispute Frantz’s analytical categories.

It’s apparent to me that there were never any ‘nouns’ here to begin with. *Ohkiaayo* is not literally a “bear”, nor *mamii* a “fish”- each of these supposed nouns are really just describing characteristics, events, processes, and such.” *Ohkiaayo* is not verbalized with the addition of *-wa’si*, instead, *-wa’si* just describes the state of its manifestation, the early stage of transformation toward *ohkiaayo*-ness (which includes rage, the practice of violently seizing, gestures of intimidation, etc) ... There really are no nouns that I can find in Niitsi’powahsin [Blackfoot] to verbalise.

4.2 “Nominalisations”

What Western languages refer to with nouns Niitsi’powahsin refers to with verbs or clauses, undermining the distinction between verb and noun completely. In conversions we find an “intransitive verb used as a noun stem referring to the subject of the underlying verb” (Frantz 116 ff.) e.g., *omiksi áyo’kaiksi* ‘who sleep/those sleepers’. In associated instrument nominalizations *a’tsiS* is added to “Animate” Intransitive stems, e.g. *Sináákia’tsisi* ‘which makes an image/book’; ‘which cut in strips/scissors’, ‘which covers/lid’. Instrumental “nominalisations” involve the ‘instrument/means’ prefix: *omoht-/iiht-/oht-*, e.g. *iihtáóoyo’pa* ‘that one eats with/fork’; ‘that one speaks with/telephone’, ‘that one buys with/money’, ‘that one sees afar with/telescope’. Locational nominals are formed with the prefix *it-/iit* (‘there’), e.g. *iitáóoyo’pi* ‘where one eats/restaurant’; ‘that one eats on/table’, ‘where one washes clothes/laundry’, ‘where one washes dishes/sink’.

4.3 Niitsi’powahsin (Blackfoot) speakers’ perspectives

In ‘A Conceptual Anatomy of the Blackfoot Word’ (2004), abandoning SAE grammatical categories, Leroy and Ryan distinguish 3 linguistic levels in a ‘sentence’. (1) the smallest meaningful unit is called *áóhtakoistsi*, or “sounding”, rather like the *-ing* of English. Unlike morphemes these units “suggest only a potential to contribute to transitional meaning, to mark a temporary aspect of a view, quality, process or essence associated with an event not yet delineated” (p. 33). (2) *áóhtakoistsi* can be joined together to convey the experience of an event, “marking a perceptible happening that issues from a more all-encompassing dimension of reality as constant flux”. This combination can be called *aanissin* or “the completed saying.” (p.33) Niitsi’powahsin addresses different aspects of an event that English might label with the same noun or its hyponyms.

For instance, an English speaker has, in his vocabulary collection, the generic word *book* and a small group of specific type-terminology like *text*, *novel*, *journal* etc. The Blackfoot speaker, on the other hand, might talk of *sinaakia'tsisi* ('facilitates the generation of images'), *ihtáísinaakio'pi* ('means of generating images'), *okstakia'tsisi* ('facilitates recording'), *áipá'sókinnihpi* ('held wide open and flat'). The Blackfoot *aanissin* is not conceptually organised as an abstract or generic word, nor is it a specific type-term, inferring its taxonomic membership in a wider category. It is, rather, constructed on the basis of the event that is manifesting and being referenced ... thus it is at this transition from *áohtakoistsi* to *aanissin*, that the conceptual divide between the English and Blackfoot language structures becomes most apparent. ... The referent of *aanissin* is not understood as descriptive of either a subject or an object. Nor is the *aanissin* suggestive of a relationship between such agents and those acted upon. Rather *aanissin* is action alone, or the manifestation of form, where anything that might –in another language – be portrayed as actor or recipient is here inseparable from, arising within, or the essence *of* the event. It can therefore be seen that the distinction between noun and verb entirely dissolves in the Blackfoot language, as one cannot exist without the other (p.33).

(3) *áikia'pii* refer to multiple happenings or show one event as dependent on another, e.g. *that boy brought a chair* (Table 2), even though “words” equivalent to *book* already represent a complete idea in Niitsi'powahsin.

Table 2: *The Blackfoot equivalent of “that boy brought a chair”*

iihpommaatooma anna saahkómaapiwa amoyi asóópa'tsisi

iih	pommaat	oom	wa	ann	wa	saahk	oma	a'pii	wa	amo	yi	a's	opii	a'tsisi	yi
by way of	transfer	move	ing	that familiar	ing	youn g	yet	state of	ing	this near	ing	become	sit	facilitate	ing

This is indeed an excellent example of the process emphasis of Niitsi'powahsin grammar and thought, where three manifesting events are interrelated. Leroy and Ryan have certainly illustrated that not all cultures generate a perception of reality as comprised of a fragmented landscape of solids within solids, acting as agents of change in the world, but that some—like Blackfoot culture – produce experiences of fluid event manifestation, arising and returning into a holistic state of constant flux (Peat 1996: 38).

5 Conclusion: ecological crisis and grammar

Besides the fact that Wordsworth to some and Blackfoot to a larger extent use grammar to construe a world of process more in keeping with the insights of modern physics, they also undermine the SAE structures which reinforce unhelpful attitudes to the environment (Goatly 2007, chapter 7). The idea that as volitional Actors on passive Goals we humans can dominate nature in a unidirectional fashion, or that we can separate ourselves off from our environmental settings, Circumstances, has proved and will increasingly prove disastrous.

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The Person Deixis in Bagri and Punjabi

Gopal Ram

Centre for Linguistics, School of Language, Literature & Culture Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi- 110067, India
Vill. 3, BLM, Teh., Srivijayanagar- 335704, Distt., Sriganaganagar, Rajasthan, India
gparihar@gmail.com/ gopal_jnu2005@yahoo.co.in

Abstract

Deixis, a Greek word that means “pointing” or “indicating” is an important field of language study in its own right, often and best described as “verbal pointing”, so to say pointing by means of language. The linguistic forms of this pointing are called deictic expressions, deictic markers or deictic words or indexicals. The paper explores how *Person Deixis* in Bagri and Punjabi localises an entity in relation to the position of the Speaker and/or Hearer. First and second person pronouns typically refer to the speaking and hearing speech-participant(s), whereas third person pronouns designate the non-speech or narrated participant. Many Indian languages including Bagri and Punjabi encode additional information about the referent, as the number of individuals referred to (singular, dual, plural), its classification (male, female, animate, inanimate) or social status (impersonals, honorific, deferential pronouns) etc. Third person pronouns in Bagri and Punjabi are distinguished on the basis of proximity and remoteness which are further divided on the basis of gender, but the gender distinction is perceived only in singular number, in plural and honorific forms, all third person pronouns are perceived alike. The third person pronouns also show distal vs. intimacy depending upon the speech situations. A complete list of unmarked nominative forms of free pronouns (personal) of both Bagri and Punjabi has been displayed

1 Introduction to Bagri and Punjabi

The present work is on *Person Deixis* in Bagri and Punjabi. Bagri is one of the eight dialects of Rajasthani, a member of Indo- Aryan language family which is spoken in northern Rajasthan and its adjacent areas of Haryana and Punjab. It is an SOV language. The name Bagri derived from the word ‘baagar’ which means arid and barren land. But this word has no relevance today, as the area is fully irrigated and fertile. It is spoken about five million speakers in Hanumangarh and Sriganaganagar districts of Rajasthan, Sirsa and Hissar districts of Haryana, Firozpur and Muktsar districts of Punjab of India and Bahawalpur and Bahawalnagar areas of Punjab of Pakistan. The most prominent phonological feature of Bagri is the presence of three lexical tones: high, level, and low. e.g. /pèr/ ‘duration’, /per/ ‘leg’, /pér/ ‘put on’.

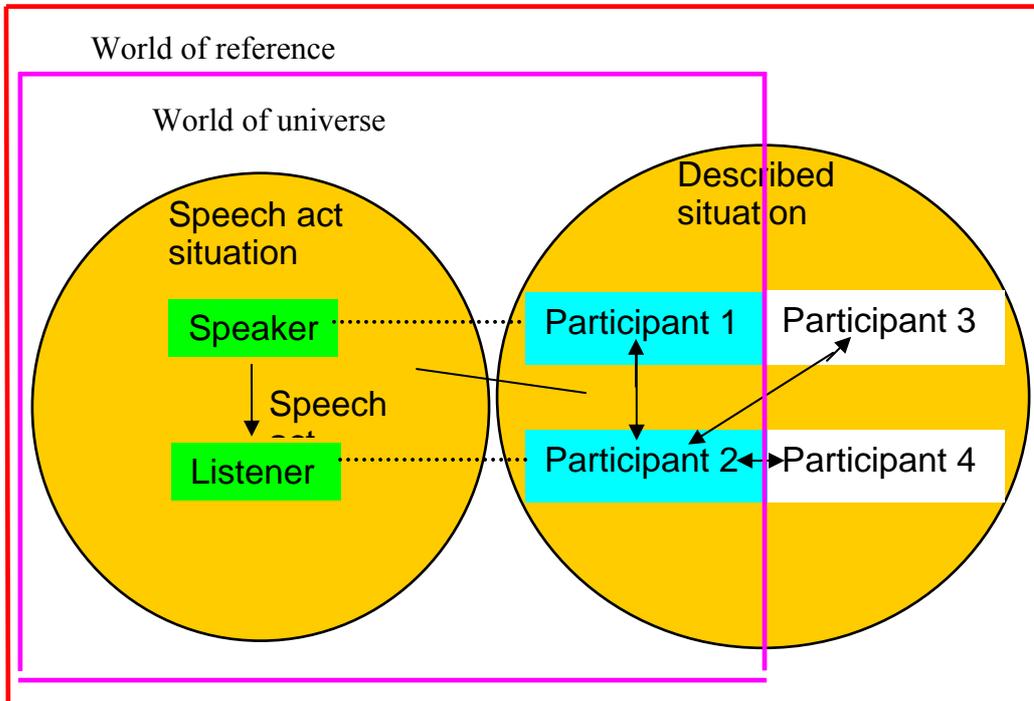
Punjabi designates the language of Indian state of Punjab. It is also a modern Indo-Aryan-language, belongs to the outer Circle of Indo-Aryan Languages (Chatterji, 1926, 1942)⁵³ within the smaller Indo-Iranian subfamily. Unusually for an Indo-European language, Punjabi is tonal; the tones arose as a reinterpretation of different consonant series in terms of pitch. In terms of linguistic typology it is an inflecting language, and word order is SOV. The most interesting feature of Punjabi is that it has a three-way tonal contrast that developed from the lost murmured series of consonants. These are phonetically rising or rising-falling contours which cover one or two syllables, but can be distinguished phonemically as low, mid, and high, e.g. /kòraa/ ‘horse’, /kora/ ‘whip’ and /kóraa/ ‘leper’. This kind of three way of tonal contrast is also found in Bagri that might have caused due being Bagri in contact of Punjabi.

2 The Person Deixis

The *Person Deixis* shows what role the speaker and the hearer play in the speech event in which the utterance is delivered; The speaker is using the first person- the centre of the

⁵³ Cited in Bhatia, T. K., (1993: XXV) *Punjabi- A Cognitive- descriptive grammar* .London & NY: Routledge.

speech act, (I) - s/he is referring to herself/himself (E.g. I don't play cricket); if the speaker is using the second person- addressee, (you) - s/he is referring to one or more addressees (you should pay income tax); the third person - the speaker refers to people or entities which are neither speakers nor addressees of the utterance in question (E.g. She is a good teacher). A three way distinction what we know as the basic grammatical distinctions i.e. categories of first person, second person and third person as discussed by Levinson (1983) is shown here:



Source: Stephen C. Levinson (1983)

2.1 The Person Deixis in Bagri

The following is the list of unmarked nominative forms of free pronouns of Bagri:

Person	Singular		Plural Mas/Fem	Honorific/ Mas/Fem	Deixis
	Masculine	Feminine			
3 rd Person	bo 'he'	ba 'she'	be 'they'	be 'he/she/they'	Remote
	o 'he'	a 'she'	e 'they'	e 'he/she/they'	Proximate
2 nd Person	tu 'you'		the 'you'	the 'you'	----- -
1 st Person	mai 'I'		mhe/aapaa 'we'	-----	-----

From the table we see that the first and second persons do not distinguish gender and proximity/remoteness in Bagri as well. The speaker, the centre of the speech act, is using the first person /mai/ 'I' - s/he is referring to herself/ himself, e.g. (NB: the abbreviations are given at the end of the paper)

(1) mai khelu huu
I play-PRST.I.S is-AUX.I.S 'I play'

The traditional category of plural is not symmetrically applied to first person /mhe/ and /aapaa/ 'we' in the way it is to the third person plural. In addition there are two first person

‘plural’ Bagri pronouns, corresponding to ‘we-inclusive-of-addressee’ and ‘we-exclusive-of-addressee’:

- (2) aapaa ghare chaalaa ?
 we-INC.1.PL home go-SBJT.1.PL ‘Shall we (including the listener) go home?’
 (3) mhe ghare chaalaa ?
 we-EXC.1.PL home go-SBJT.1.PL ‘Shall we (excluding the listener) go home?’

Bagri second person distinguishes honorific vs. non-honorific or higher status vs. lower status and distal vs. intimacy situations of speech acts, e.g.

- (4) tu aachho chhoro hai
 you good boy-M.S is-AUX.2.S ‘You are a good boy’
 (5) the aachha choraa hai
 you-PL good boy-M.PL are-AUX.2.PL ‘You are good boys’
 (6) the aachaa insaan ho
 you-HON good human-M.S are-AUX.2.PL ‘You are a good human being’
 (7) tu achho insaan hai
 you-INT good human-M.S is-AUX.2.S ‘You are a good human being’

The proximity vs. remoteness distinction is found in Bagri third person in addition to all those situations of speech acts which are perceived in the second person. The third person also distinguishes gender in the singular number, e.g.

- (8) ba soNi chhori hai
 she-REM beautiful girl is-AUX.3.S.F ‘She is a beautiful girl’
 (9) o soNo chhoro hai
 he-PROX handsome boy is-AUX.3.S.M ‘he is a handsome boy’
 (10) be soNi chhoriyaa hai
 they-REM beautiful girl-PL are-AUX.3.PL.F ‘They are beautiful girls’
 (11) ei soNi chhoriyaa hai
 they (these)-PROX beautiful girl-PL are-AUX.3.PL.F ‘They are beautiful girls’
 (12) be aachhaa insaan hai
 he-HON.REM good human are-AUX.3.PL.M ‘He is a good human being’

2.2 The Person Deixis in Punjabi

The following is the list of unmarked nominative forms of free pronouns of Punjabi:

Person	Singular		Plural Mas/Fem	Honorific/ Mas/Fem	Deixis
	Masculine	Feminine			
3 rd Person	o ‘he’	o ‘she’	o ‘they’	o ‘he/she/they’	Remote
	e ‘he’	e ‘she’	e ‘they’	e ‘he/she/they’	Proximate
2 nd Person	tu ‘you’		tusi ‘you’	tusi ‘you’	-----
1 st Person	mai ‘I’		Asi/apaa ‘we’	-----	-----

The speaker is using the first person /mai/ ‘I’ – s/he is referring to herself/ himself, e.g.

- (13) mai kheldaa (h)a
 I play-PRST.1.S is-AUX.1.S ‘I play’

There are two first person plurals in Punjabi like Bagri pronouns. In Punjabi the two-way distinction is made to distinguish ‘We-inclusive-of-addressee’ and ‘we-exclusive-of-addressee’. This distinction is introduced by /asi/ ‘we’ vs. /apaa/ ‘we’ (pronouns) as in (14) & (15) and /jauNaa/ ‘to go’ vs. /chalaNa/ ‘to go’ (verbs) as in (16) & (17):

- (14) asi ambiyaa khaaviye?
we mango-PL eat-EXC.SBJT.1.PL ‘Shall we (excluding the listener) eat mangoes?’
- (15) apaa ambiyaa khaaviye?
we mango-PL eat-INC.SBJT.1.PL ‘Shall we (including the listener) eat mangoes?’
- (16) asi ghar jaaviye/*chaliye?
we home go-EXC.SBJT.1.PL ‘Shall we (excluding the listener) go home?’
- (17) asi ghar chaliye/*jaaviye?
we home go-INC.SBJT.1.PL ‘Shall we (including the listener) go home?’

Like Bagri, Punjabi second person also distinguishes honorific vs. non-honorific as in (18) & (20) or higher status vs. lower status as in (18) & (21) and distal vs. intimacy as in (20) & (22) situations of speech acts, e.g.

- (18) tu changaa munDa (h)e
you good-M.S boy-M.S is-AUX.2.S ‘You are a good boy’
- (19) tusi change munDe (h)o
you-PL good-M.PL boy-M.PL are-AUX.2.PL ‘You are good boys’
- (20) tusi change insaan (h)o
you-HON good-HON human-M.S are-AUX.2.PL ‘You are a good man’
- (21) tusi mere maalik (h)o
you-HON my master are-AUX.2.PL ‘You are my master’
- (22) tu changaa insaan (h)
you-INT good-M.S human-M.S is-AUX.2.S ‘You are a good man’

The proximity vs. remoteness distinction is found in Punjabi third person in addition to all those person deictic which we have just discussed in the Punjabi second person. The third person also distinguishes gender in the singular number, e.g.

- (23) o changi kuRi (h)
she-REM beautiful girl is-AUX.3.S.F ‘She is a beautiful girl’ (24) o
changiya kuRiya han
they-REM beautiful-PL girl-PL are-AUX.3.PL.F ‘They are beautiful girls’
- (25) e changiya kuriya han
they-PROX beautiful-PL girl-PL are-AUX.3.PL.F ‘They are beautiful girls’
- (26) o change insaan han
he-HON.REM good human are-AUX.3.PL.M ‘He is a good human being’

Punjabi third person exhibit proximate and remote distinction to the participants in speech acts. This distinction is obligatory and is present in all third person pronouns. The pronoun-initial /e/ signals proximity whereas /o/ marks remoteness.

3 Conclusion

The use of honorific pronouns in Bagri and Punjabi, thus, poignantly evokes a picture of someone in our psyche who belongs to a higher stratum of the social framework, someone who is senior in terms of age, occupation, rank, designation, custom & etc. That is why by using the pronominal nouns /the/ ‘you’, be ‘he/she/they’ in Bagri, and /tusi/ ‘you’ /o/ ‘he/she/they’ in Punjabi, speaker seeks to pay an allegiance to the elders of someone with whom we can attribute power, fame and high social status and such strategic use becomes a part and parcel of the Bagri and Punjabi cultural scenario. In the same way to indicate close relation or intimacy we frequently use the terms /tu/ ‘you’ and /bo/ ‘he’ /ba/ ‘she’ (proximal forms) and /o/ ‘he’, /a/ ‘she’ (distal forms) in terms of person deixis to refer to someone who

is very intimate or someone inferior in terms of occupations, status, age and so on. Thus, T/V distinction, as the notion comes from French /tu/ 'you' (familiar) versus /vous/ 'you' (non-familiar), is also found in Bagri and Punjabi.

Thus, from such linguistic evidences, we have come to the point that the pronominal system of Bagri and Punjabi has some relevance to the analysis of conversations and pragmatics. It is often and best described as "verbal pointing", that is to say pointing by means of language. These linguistic forms of Bagri and Punjabi pronouns which are called deictic expressions, deictic markers or deictic words, also sometimes called indexicals, to a remarkable extent determine the Bagri and Punjabi cultural attitude

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Abbreviations:

The following conventions have been used in this paper:-

- PRST: present tense; 1: first person; 2: second person;
 3: third person; AUX: auxiliary; M: masculine
 PL: plural; HON: honorific; REM: remote;
 PROX: proximate; NEG: negation; INC: inclusive;
 EXC: exclusive; SBJT: subjunctive; PST: past tense;
 ERG: ergativity; INT: intimacy

A Contrastive Study of English and Japanese Transitivity: The Kyoto Grammar Approach

Masa-aki Tatsuki

Doshisha University, Kyoto JAPAN
mtatsuki@mail.doshisha.ac.jp

Abstract

The purpose of this presentation is to establish a clear distinction between the system of Transitivity in English and Japanese. I am concerned with analyzing Modern Japanese in the framework of SFL, especially within the framework of the Kyoto Grammar, a grammar or method for analyzing the Japanese language using a SFL approach, proposed by Tatsuki and others at Doshisha University, Kyoto.

The main difference between English and Japanese is that Japanese has both verbs and adjectives as candidates of Processes in process types, since Japanese adjectives follow the intransitive predication as well as having a tense manifestation. Accordingly, in the Kyoto Grammar approach, the English process types are first reanalyzed from a viewpoint in which verbs and adjectives are amalgamated, and then the features, Dynamic or Static, are proposed as the first choice of a system network of Transitivity in Japanese. Following the first choice, further choices of process types will be considered by making use of the concept of semanticization of the grammatical categories of verbs and adjectives.

1 The Kyoto Grammar, its aim and method of analysis

The Kyoto Grammar is one of the dialects of SFL, since the Kyoto Grammar is designed to analyze the Japanese language in the framework of SFL. The Kyoto Grammar proposes that SFL as a theory should be considered separately from its description, therefore the description of Japanese should be treated differently from the description of English. In other words, in analyzing the language, it is appropriate to consider the theory as a tenet, with the language description varied according to which language is under consideration. This being so, the application of the English description may cause problems for the analysis of languages other than English. For instance, in the framework of SFL, the basic analytical unit is a clause comprising of Subject (S) and Finite (F). This is a powerful device in terms of the English language, since in English both S and F are easily realized in the clause for analysis, and thus the clause boundary is easy to define. In the case of Japanese, however, it is not so easy to define the clause boundary, since at a glance there is sometimes no S, nor is F in the Japanese clause in a text; hence, a pseudo-clause is a solution to this problem.

The Kyoto Grammar suggests the use of a Communicative Unit, instead of a single clause, to analyze a text. The Communicative Unit (CU) can be considered as one semantic unit beginning with a fundamental S or Theme, which is called Supra S or Supra Theme. This Supra S affects or extends its influence over a whole CU. With this concept of CU, if the first clause has both S and F, and the following clauses, or pseudo clauses, do not have either S or F, they can be considered as parts of the CU and the missing Ss or Themes are easily understood. These missing Ss or Themes are called Veiled Subjects or Veiled Themes, in which the original S or T is temporarily veiled but they should not be considered as omitted or deleted, since in the CU, the relation between the Supra S or T can be easily recovered by making use of either a lexical cohesion or a semantic tie. Consequently, the idea of clause should not be discarded in the description of Japanese but the concept of CU is used for the actual analysis. By the same token, with respect to the analysis of transitivity, a new treatment of the Japanese language making use of the semanticization of adjectives should be considered, rather than simply applying the six original English process types. This is because the Japanese adjective has a function of intransitive predication. Accordingly, this paper proposes new Process types for Japanese incorporating both the grammatical categories

of verbs and adjectives in its candidates. In this way, the Kyoto Grammar is a descriptive model for analyzing the Japanese language in the framework of SFL.

2 A candidate for process types: the nature of Japanese adjectives

As is well known, English has six basic process types in a transitivity system. The concept of transitivity is a semanticization of the lexical items which can behave as an action, feeling, saying, and so on, and thus these can be considered as Processes of the participant roles. In English, it is thus the grammatical category of verbs that is relevant to the concept of Process. In some languages, however, it may not only be verbs that are thus relevant, but also some other lexical items or grammatical categories: one of the candidates is adjective.

According to Wetzner (1996:3), comparative studies show that adjectives do not constitute a universal category in language. Focusing on the function of the adjectives, he classifies the adjective into two categories: nouny or (adjectival) noun and verby or (adjectival) verb, rather than the usually accepted tripartite division into Adjectives, (adjectival) Nouns, and (adjectival) Verbs. Moreover, he maintains the status of adjectives as an intermediate lexical category in the Verb-Noun continuum to which he (1996:44) refers as the “continuum hypothesis”. It seems that the grammatical categories are not too easy to define, a grammatical category is naturally changing its status from one to the other, and thus Verbs and Nouns are considered to be continually linked. This means that the grammatical category of the adjective is rather ambiguous from the language typological viewpoint, and this shows that the adjective does not only function as a modifier as attributive in English. Stassen (1997:123), on the other hands, discusses the function of adjectives from the viewpoint of the intransitive predication of the typological study. He (1997:18&124) maintains that four predicate categories (Event, Property, Class, Location) can be encoded by their prototypical strategies, and investigates the possible manifestations of verb, noun, and locatives for each predicative category. The result shows that most of his examined data (133 languages) represent Event for verbs, Property for either verbs or nouns, Class for nouns, and Location for locational. But interestingly, he suggests that the possibility of a TAKE OVER phenomenon obviously occurs in the case of predicate adjectives, which have no prototypical strategy of their own. This take over phenomenon is termed Adjective-switching, and there are no less than eighty-eight languages which exhibit adjectival V-N switching.

Considering the above cited studies of Wetzner, Dixon and Stassen, it appears that adjectives are a rather fuzzy grammatical category, and it appears that Japanese adjectives can be more or less regarded as adjectival V-N switching pattern. And in Japanese, it seems that prototypical strategies may be Event and Property for verbs, and Class for nouns, which eventually take over what were adjectives. From the historical linguistic point of view, Japanese adjectives are classified into the verb group in classical Japanese grammar due to the fact that Japanese adjectives have tense inflection of the lexical items. Accordingly, contrary to English, Japanese adjectives are naturally considered to be a verbal group and this leads to the present idea that it is quite natural to analyze these lexical items as Processes in Japanese process types.

3 Semanticization of Japanese adjectives and verbs

Wetzner (1996:7) also suggests that most comparative studies dealing with adjectives and their equivalents adopt a similarly loose and intuitive semantic definition, presumably for want of an obviously better semantic definition. This being so, the semanticization of the lexical items, i.e. adjectives, being considered here is a very appropriate subject of analysis for the transitivity network within SFL. Regarding this point, Dixon (1982:31) also analyses English adjectives into seven universal “semantic types” as follows: dimension, physical property, color, human propensity, age, value, speed. He describes part-of-speech

membership of the seven types by contrasting 17 languages, including Japanese. According to him, Japanese is the language which employs adjectives for most of the semantic types except property and human propensity, for which some verbs and nouns are employed. This is correct as far as the adjectives are considered to be one of the parts of speech, or a grammatical category, but once those lexical items are analyzed from the semantic viewpoint, they may be reinterpreted as an adjectival V-N switching pattern, so that the semanticization of these items as intransitive predication would be necessary to maintain the establishment of the actual Process types in Japanese.

Accordingly, in constructing an actual Process type network of Japanese, adjectives as well as verbs are considered to be good candidates of Process types. Following the analysis of English Process types, it is quite natural to enter the verbs as several process types in Japanese, but as stated above, in the Kyoto Grammar approach, not only verbs but also adjectives are considered to fulfill the entry conditions, and the amalgamation of verbs and adjectives is the main focus of this paper. It should be noted, however, that the new configuration of the system network of Japanese process types is not based on the grammatical viewpoint, but on the semantic viewpoint. It is thus important to consider that the entry conditions for the system network are not mere verbs and adjectives, but the semanticization of Japanese lexical items of verbs and adjectives. Accordingly, the major difference between English and Japanese process types is the nature of the lexical items for analyzing the system network. In other words, it must be maintained once again that the new process types should be made by amalgamating both verbs and adjectives in a semantic sense rather than a grammatical one.

4 Japanese process types: dynamic vs. static

As opposed to the six different English process types, the Japanese process types have two distinctions as an entry condition to a system network. This is because the main semantic feature of verbs and adjectives are [+dynamic] or [-dynamic], respectively, since the former has a dynamic action feature but the latter has a non-dynamic feature. It is thus necessary to distinguish these two lexical items by setting a different entry condition to the system network. Those lexical items which do not have Action/Event have [dynamic] as an entry condition, and those having Property/Location have [static] as an entry condition. It should be noted that these lexical items have supposedly already been semanticized, so that it is not necessary to distinguish these items depending upon grammatical categories, such as verbs or adjectives. In other words, even verbs not having the semantic feature [dynamic] are allocated the entry condition [static]. Accordingly, some Japanese verbs, such as *iru* (animate be) *aru* (inanimate be) or *moitsu* (have) are categorized as [static] in this network, since these verbs are certainly realized as [stative] rather than [active]. Most adjectives are naturally allocated the first entry condition [static] as a process type, but after this choice is taken, the second entry conditions are four possible Processes: [stative], [possessive], [attributive] and [manner] which are all based on the semantic features they have. As stated above, the choice of process types [stative] and [possessive] are realized as “be” and “have = own”, respectively in the second entry condition. The main entry conditions for process types of adjectives, which are realized as [attributive] are the following six entry conditions as process types: [mental responsive], [qualitative], [quantitative], [personal], [judgment], and [connective]. These entry conditions or process types are not the same semantic features as Dixon describes, but Dixon’s “color, age, speed” can be considered as [qualitative], “human propensity” is [personal], and “value” as [judgment]. Accordingly, the process types based on the semantic features proposed here are the Japanese adjective semantic features for practical reasons. Among these process types, the first five are easy to figure out, since these process types are relatively straight forward, such as *kanashii* (sad) for [mental response], *utukushii* (beautiful) for [qualitative], *ooi* (many) for [quantitative], *kashikoi* (smart) for [personal] or

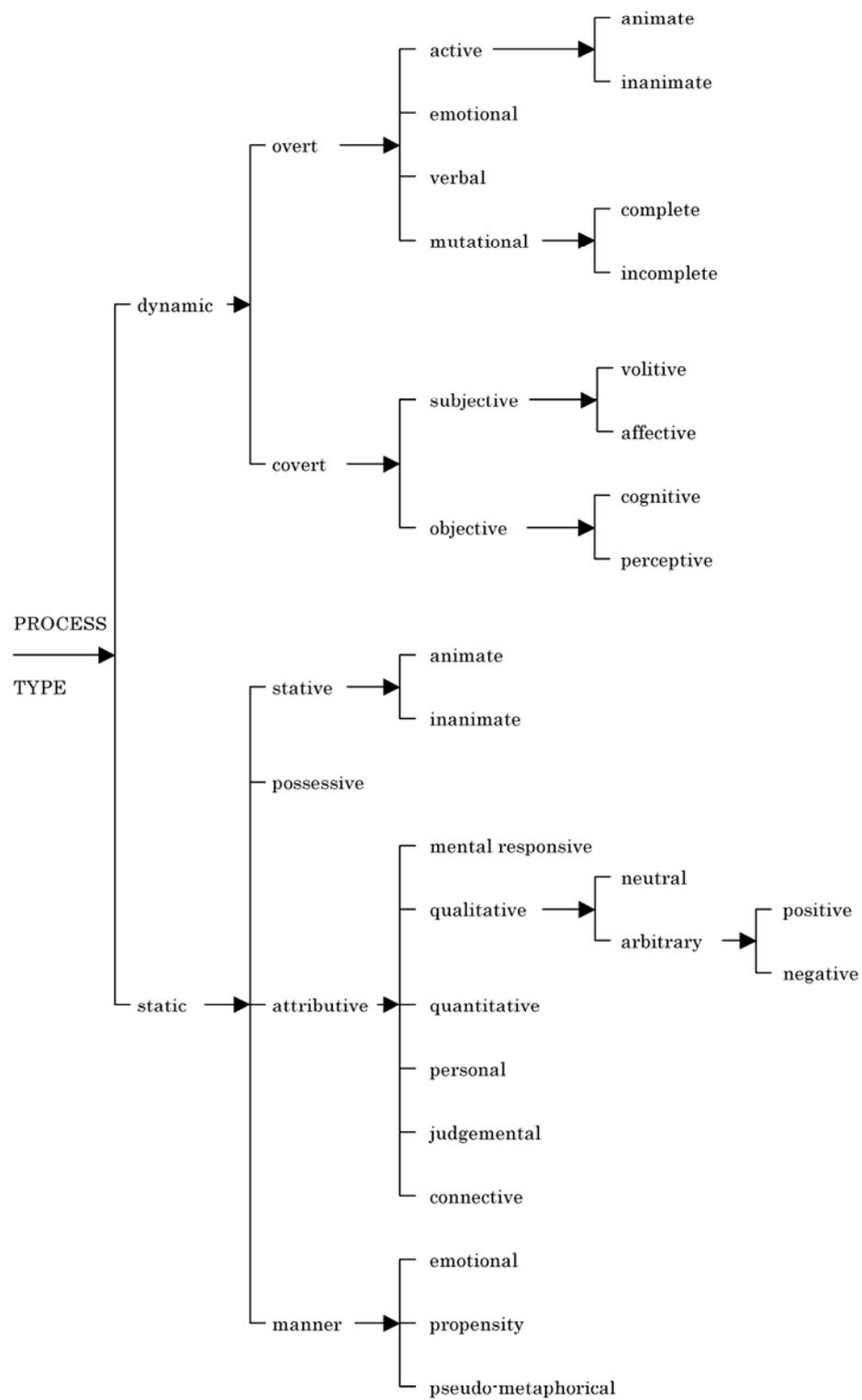
tadashii (right) for [judgement]. The sixth, however, needs further explanation. This Process [connective] realizes *hitoshii* (equal) or *fusawashii* (match), and these can be interpreted as the realization of relationship between A and B. It is thus considered as the connective of participant A and B.

Manner Process includes [emotional], [propensity], and [pseudo metaphorical]. Again, the last Process [pseudo metaphorical] needs to be explained. It realizes *kisekitekida* (miracle) or *sekkyokutekida* (positive) which does not realize the definite evaluation toward an entity, i.e., the absolute evaluation cannot be obtained from these Processes but can be varied dependent upon personal feelings. For instance, *Sono jiken wa kisekitekida* (That incident is a miracle) certainly depends on personal rather than absolute evaluation, since the feeling of a miracle varies with personal feeling and the expression is certainly regarded as a pseudo metaphorical assertion. By the same token *sekkyokutekida* (positive) does not have the absolute evaluation on it, since the degree of positive-ness varies with personal feeling, and the expression including this lexical item or Process can be considered as pseudo-metaphorical. In this way, this Process can be considered as [pseudo metaphorical]

The above examples are just a few in the Japanese process types, but the important point is that the first entry conditions to a system network of Japanese process types are only two, [dynamic] and [static]. Then the second entry conditions are two for [dynamic] and four for [static]. It appears that these entry conditions become more delicate with the further entry conditions. The Japanese process types are illustrated below, but these will be further amended in the future for a more detailed network for the process types of Japanese.

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A Profile of Òkó Voice

Ernest S Akerejola

Department of Linguistics,
Centre for Language in Social Life,
Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW

Grammatical Voice in traditional terms refers to the selection from active, passive and middle options. The variation in voice among these three in most languages depends on the functional roles of elements in the clause namely Participants (or Subjects and Complements) in relation to the Process (verb). This paper will explore the VOICE system in Òkó of the Niger-Congo family, particularly the choice of the “passive form” which perpetuates the Agent as the Beneficiary, as opposed to its customary function as Means. A fundamental question is whether the phenomenon observed can be, indeed, described as the passive voice or whether it needs another functional descriptor.

1 Introduction

Different grammatical voice systems are discussed in the literature. The duo-term voice system: active and passive, for example, is one that features in most reference grammar books (see Downing & Locke, 2006; Sreedhar, 1980; Christie 2005), and most of the discussion usually centers on the lexicogrammatical reorganisation in the verbal group, and the reversal of roles between the Subject and the Object(s) of the clause. However, few studies have explored deeply, the range of meanings that these changes in roles (or voice in general) implicate.

In the Voice system of languages such as English there are two terms: passive and active. However, the number of terms in the system varies from one language to another. A Wikipedia source puts the maximum number at up to twelve voices⁵⁴. For instance, a language such as Mongolian is said to have a grammatical voices with terms as many as five voices: active, passive, causative, reciprocal and cooperative; whereas a language such as Chinese sparingly uses the passive voice, although, Halliday & McDonald (2004) categorise certain thematic processes as indicative of the passive voice. Just as the number of voices varies, the rate of deployment of different voices also varies from one language to another. This paper will probe the deployment of voice in Òkó language.

2 Òkó Voice System

The system of VOICE interlaces with the system of TENSE. As described by Halliday (1994:199), “The expression of voice is an extension ... of tense. The manifestation of the voice phenomenon in Òkó may not be unconnected with the non-realization of tense in the language (see Akerejola, 2005). This is an issue whose work is still in progress, however.

In functional descriptions, voice is described from the perspective of variation in textual organisation of the clause (see Halliday & McDonald, 2004; Steiner and Teich 2004; Teruya 2004).

In textual organisation, Theme/Rheme is a resource for organizing the message and “for assigning textual prominence to elements within the clause” (Matthiessen, 1992: 47; 1995b). Theme is the “point of departure of the message”, while Rheme is “the remainder of the message” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 64). The unmarked case in most languages is for the Actor to be selected as Theme in the clause. By the same token, the secondary participant(s) such as Goal and Beneficiary are usually left for the Rheme position. English examples, which most people would be familiar with, will be used as the basis for the

⁵⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Passive_voice#The_passive_voice_in_English (Viewed 9 January 2007)

discussion in this paper, although using English as a platform is not designed to prescribe what ought to (or not to) be the feature of Òkó grammar. One example of an English clause would be as follows:

1 The pilot flew the plane

Actor	Process	Goal
Theme	Rheme	

This textual configuration in example (1) realizes the active voice by default. The reversal of roles between the Actor and the Goal textually whereby the latter becomes thematised (as in Example 2) is the passive case.

2 The plane was flown by the pilot

	Goal	Process	Actor
	Theme	Rheme	

Another possibility is the middle voice where the Actor (ergative Agent) is left implicit as in example (3).

3 The plane flew

	Actor	Process
	Theme	Rheme

The profile of Òkó Textual grammar would include example akin to Example (1) above as exemplified in Example (4):

4 *Iyosuda* *tana* *amo aye*
 old woman melt oil DET

	Actor	Process	Goal
	Theme	Rheme	

“the old woman melted the oil”

A structural agnate to (English) example (3) is also possible in Òkó grammar (see example 5).

5 *Amo aye tana*
 oil DET melt

	Actor	Process
	Theme	Rheme

“the oil melted”

In Clauses 1,3,4,5, the Theme conflates with the Actor to realize the active voice. In contrast to these cases, the arrangement in Example (2), where the Goal is thematised, is not a feature of Òkó grammar. The issue at risk could be explored further from the experiential perspective - particularly, from the point of view of ergativity, in order to shed more light on the central point of interest in this paper.

In example (1), the Actor, which is the Agent, is thematised, realizing the active voice; whereas in Clauses (2) and (3), the Medium is thematised, but while the former realizes the passive voice, the latter realizes the active option. The interesting thing is that, when the Goal in Òkó clause as in Clause (4) is reversed to the Theme position as in Clause (5), it does not function any longer as the Goal – the Affected – but there is an automatic experiential shift from a material to an attributive clause. It implies that, in terms of voice, a Theme that conflates with the function, Goal in a material clause is not possible; hence it would be anomalous to claim the passive of the ordinary sort in Òkó textual grammar. This is not to say that Goal cannot be given textual prominence as Theme in the Òkó clause. However, the environment for this would not be the context of grammatical VOICE system.

The point above could be explored a bit further through additional examples.

6	<i>Umu</i> Goat	<i>pen</i> break	<i>otele aye</i> pot DET
	Actor/Agent	Process	Goal/Medium
	Theme	Rheme	

“a goat has broken the pot”

Clause (6) involves Agency, and it is effective in voice. On the other hand (7) and (8) involve no agency; and as such have the middle voice (see Halliday 1994:168-169).

7	<i>Otele</i> pot	<i>pen</i> break
	Actor/Medium	Process

“the pot broken the pot”

8.	<i>oco aye</i> metal DET	<i>e-je</i> ASP- corrode
	Actor/Medium	Process

“the metal is corroding”

Experientially, Clause (7) is semantically ambiguous as it could either be material as analyzed above, in which case it is Process-oriented or it could be relational (intensive); in which case, it is ascriptive-oriented with slightly different meanings at risk. Similarly, without the Aspect marker (ASP) clause (8) would definitely be relational-attitudinal and both *pen* and *je* will respectively be analyzed as “verbal attributes/adjectives” (Akerejola 2005: 2.3.8.5).

The active variants of these: *amo aye a-tana* (“the oil is melting”), *oco aye e-je* (“the metal is wearing out”) have a Medium whose nature can undergo certain processes of change (as signaled by the Aspect – ASP- marker *a* and its phonological variant *e*) through an external agent, even though their external agent is not overtly expressed. Therefore they are, in a way, a form of effective middle clauses with agency but with no explicit Agent (Halliday 1994:168-169).

A textual configuration that actually motivated the exploration of the VOICE system in Òkó is the type of clause that thematises Goal/Medium, but semantically ascribes the function of the Actor to the Goal; or perhaps it should be said that it reconstructs the Goal semantically as if it were an Actor. The following is a short text (dialogue) – extract from a longer one - instantiating such textual organisation.

9(i) A: *Oye a-cere? Okun-aye?*
 Oye ASP-split Firewood-DET
Actor Process Goal/Medium
Theme Rheme
 “is Oye splitting the firewood?”

(ii) B: *Okun-aye ama sere ne ya ro*
 Firewood NEG split “for”⁵⁵ him PART
Actor Process Beneficiary (Client)
Theme Rheme
 “the Firewood is not splitting for him/ he is unable to split it.”

In the short dialogue the Goal *okun aye* in 9(i) is reconstructed in the dialogue as if it

55 “For” is in quotes because it is the grammatical value of *ne* which would literally interpret as “give”.

were an Actor in 9(ii), causing the Process *sere* to happen, while the natural Actor *Oye* in 9(i) is demoted to Beneficiary (Client) role (pronominal *ya*) rather than the Means. The natural Goal in this kind of clause is Òkó conceived as the one metaphorically engaged in the activity. It could best be understood as playing a facilitative role, in which its meaning is synonymous to “it proves possible (or impossible, when negative) to do” but this explanation is a semantic and not a structural one. If the example above is particularly not surprising, some more abstract examples such as (10) – (14) may be different.

(10) *Igila ayi je ane idu* (literally: the yam did not eat for Idu) – “he couldn’t eat the yam”

(11) *Ega aye ga a new o wa!* (Literally: How words speak for you!) – “How loquacious you are!”

(12) *Utun eme siye ne ya* (literally: job doesn’t do for him/her) -(s/he couldn’t do any job)

(13) *Ebi aye yin ne ya* (literally: the water fetched for him/her) “s/he could fetch the water”

(14) *oworo eme su ne o* (literally: wife does not marry for you) – “you cannot even marry or maintain a wife”.

The grammatical point being made here can be clarified through contrast using Example (10) above.

15	<i>Idu</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>Igila aye</i>
	Idu	eat	the yam
	Agent/Actor	Process	Goal
	Idu ate the yam		

This is a normal “active”⁵⁶ clause in Òkó. A passive version in English would be Example (16) which has no counterpart in Òkó.

16	The yam	was eaten	by Idu
	Goal/Medium	Process	Agent/Mean
	Theme		Rheme

17	<i>Igila-ayi</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>ne Idu</i>
	yam-DET	ate	“for” Idu
	Medium/Actor	Process	Beneficiary
	The yam ate for idu		

In the case of *igila ayi je a-ne Idu*, the clause is receptive in manner similar to “the car drives easily”. However, unlike the latter where the Agent/Mean has been left implicit, the Benefactive-Agent *Idu* is obligatory in the Òkó example.

An analysis of Clause (11) as another example is:

(18) *Ega aye ga a-ne o wa!*
 Talk DET speak ASP-“for”you PART
Range Process Behavior
Theme Rheme
 “How loquacious you are”

3 Argument for a Single term VOICE system in Òkó.

The Agency is a question of “for”, and not “by” as characteristic of passive clauses in some languages like English. This raises the question if the Òkó type can really be classified as passive case. If the “by”-sense (whether the Agent is included or omitted) is a true determiner of the passive voice, then the passive cannot argue for the VOICE system in Òkó lexicogrammar. The entity modally responsible for the action comes before the action in the thematic-variant in question; and it is not possible to omit the Agent but it must be mentioned

⁵⁶ The quote serves to question the validity of voice as a descriptive term for Òkó clause.

as an “indirect participant” Halliday 1994:169). This leaves one with one conclusion. Òkó may be a one-VOICE system language.

4 Conclusion

In this kind of thematic configuration in Òkó, the Goal becomes vested with properties that seem to make the action successful. In other words, the Goal is not just thematised as a passive participant in the Process, it is made responsible for the success of and modally responsible for the action. The Agent is construed as a Beneficiary. This configuration is often chosen by the speaker as a resource for positive appraisal of the success of the Process or the quality of the thematised Goal; or conversely, as a sarcastic criticism of the Goal for not been in a state to be successfully carried out, but in reality, indirectly blaming the natural Actor for being lazy.

A more metaphorical example is Example (19)

- (19) *ega-aye ga y'iwu ke*
 Speech DET speak itself ASP
 Behaver Process Range

Literally: the word has spoken itself “The matter has resolved itself)

The context of use of this kind of clause is limited, so we will not comment on this any further.

From my knowledge of other languages in the region, the typological variant of grammatical voice explored above features is present in Yoruba and Epira, which are older members of the Niger-Cong language family as well. But how far this phenomenon of Òkó grammatical voice discussed here is typifies the case in the entire family remains to be explored.

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KEY: DET (Determiner); PART (particle); ASP (Aspect); MOD (Modal)

Exploring the experiential meaning of the Chinese nominal group

Jing Fang

Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University
Sydney, Australia

Email: jing.fang@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

In the area of systemic functional linguistics, significant efforts have been done in the description of languages other than English. In the case of Chinese, most of these studies are unfolded at clause level.

In this study, descriptions will instead focus on nominal groups: I will explore the experiential meaning of the Chinese nominal group. By looking at the experiential structure of the nominal group, I will mainly focus on each functional element within the structure, which is significant in terms of experiential meaning. Based on the manual analysis of a small corpus, each functional element will be studied in turn within different systems of the system network of the Chinese nominal group. A systemic description of nominal groups is expected to contribute to other areas, such as translation studies and foreign language teaching.

1 Introduction

In the field of systemic functional linguistics, group/phrase is located right below the rank of clause. As groups and phrases are independent, which serve a function in another grammatical unit, typically in a clause, they hardly receive the same attention as people give to clauses. However, the ignorance of group/phrase in language study would miss some important aspects of meanings involved because, as we shall see, group/phrase not only function as elements in a clause, but also make their own semantic meanings through discourse. As Halliday and Matthiessen point out, “Describing a sentence as a construction of words is rather like describing a house as a construction of bricks, without recognizing the walls and the rooms as intermediate units” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 310).

In this paper, the nominal group of Mandarin Chinese will be investigated. Unlike the case of English where a great deal of work has been devoted to the description of the English nominal group ranging from both traditional and systemic functional accounts, such as Fries (1970), Matthiessen (1995) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), there is no systemic description of the Chinese nominal group. A systemic functional analysis of Chinese nominal groups will enrich our potential for interpreting the linguistic phenomena in Chinese and thus help us better understand translation process. A comprehensive functional analysis of nominal groups will definitely help us better interpret the linguistic features which are either similar to or different from another language, which will provide insights into the understanding of translation process as well as foreign language teaching.

2 Experiential analysis of the Chinese nominal group

At the rank below clause, Chinese nominal groups are also multifunctional: experientially they provide resources for construing participants; interpersonally nominal groups enact choice of PERSON and attitudes; textually they provide resources of COHESION (mainly through reference and ellipsis). However, unlike the case of clause grammar where each component has a more or less complete and separate structure of its own, in the case of nominal groups (as well as other types of groups/phrases), a functional element in a nominal group can have significance in more than one metafunction at the same time.

As mentioned above, from an ideational perspective, nominal groups provide resources for construing participants. However, in this local environment, the logical and experiential are complementary – it is impossible to work out a dichotomy between the two as both

contribute to construing experiences. Therefore, in the following analysis, these two perspectives will be considered together.

2.1 The experiential structure of the Chinese nominal group

We can use an example to illustrate the experiential structure of the Chinese nominal group:

Table 1: the experiential structure of a Chinese nominal group

wǒ mǎi I buy	de	zhe this	yī one	liàng Measure	lǎnsè blue	de	jiào sedan	chē car
Qualifier	de	Deictic	Numerative	Measure	Epithet	de	Classifier	Thing
rank-Shifted clause	SUB	determiner	numeral	measure	adjective	SUB	noun	noun
This blue sedan that I bought								

Thing represents the primary class of experience. It then moves through classifiers and epithets. E.g., car, sedan car, blue sedan, a blue sedan, this blue sedan, and so on. As it moves on, the properties become more instancial, more specific. This is also a move in stability through time, from properties that are stable through time to properties that are more transient (see Figure 1).

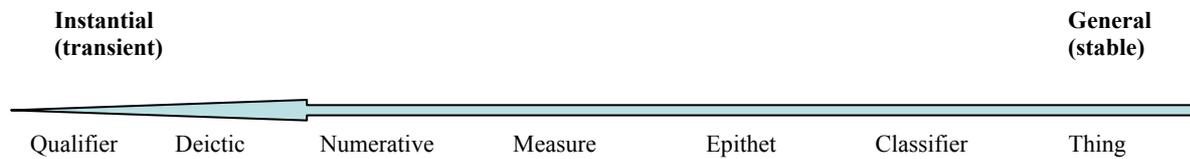


Figure 1: Cline of Instantiation

The organization of the functional elements of a Chinese nominal group also shows the cline of grammar and lexis: as the group develops, it tends to depend more on the grammatical organization of the structure. This also indicates the level of integration of the each functional element with the Thing and *de* is an important marker on this cline (see Figure 2).

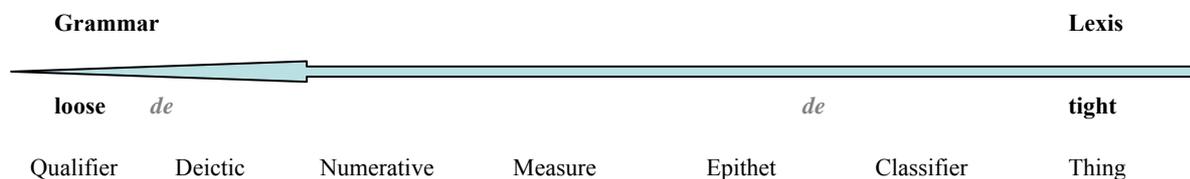


Figure 2: the Grammar-Lexis cline of Chinese nominal groups

To explore the experiential meaning of a nominal group, we need to investigate how these elements are functioning together to construe a participant. However, these elements do not make equal contributions in representing the different aspects of a participant. For example, the Deictic in the experiential structure, which provides resources of cohesion, is more textual in character rather than experiential. Therefore, in this study, we will mainly focus on

four elements, which are relatively more concerned with the construal of an experiential type of a participant: Thing, Classifier, Epithet and Qualifier.

2.1.1 The Thing

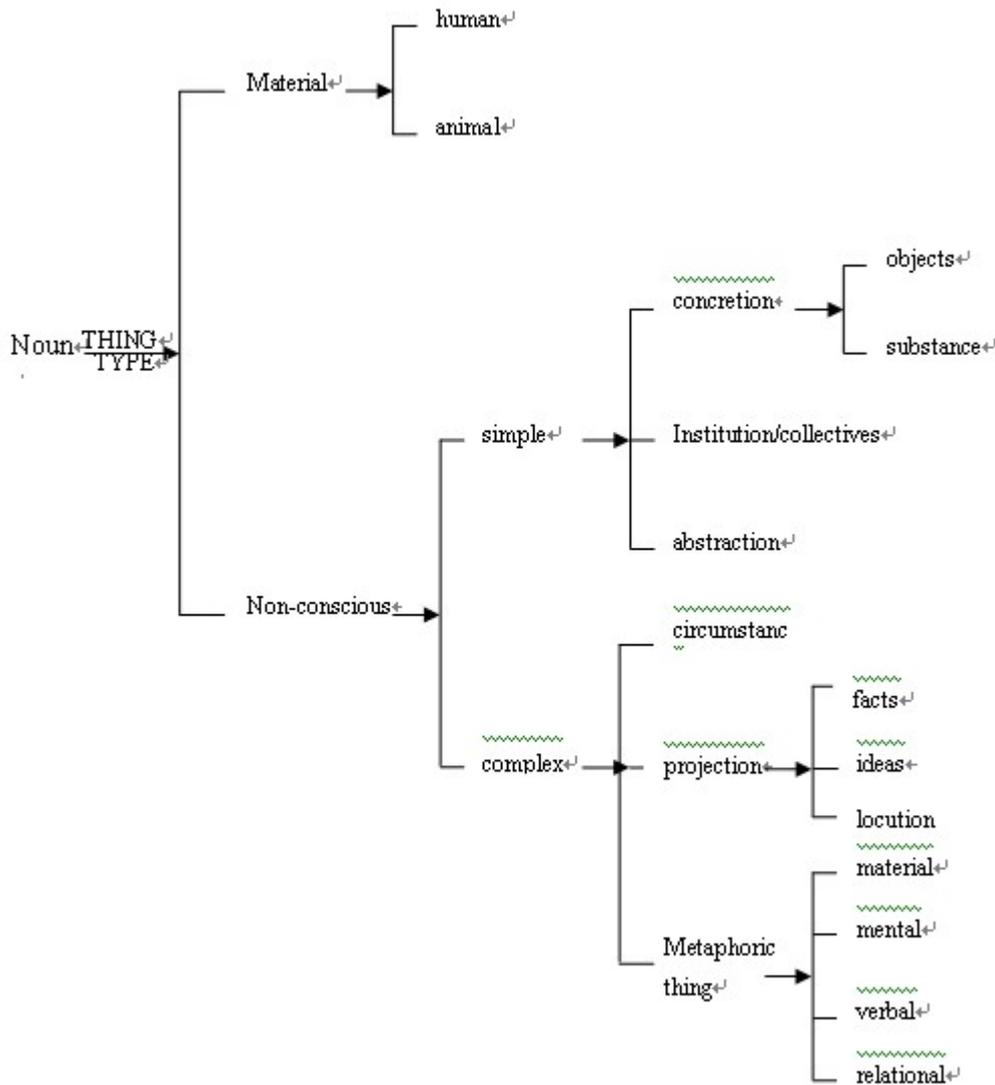


Figure 3: System network for THING TYPE

Experientially speaking, the Thing is the most important element on the experiential structure because it represents the basic type of experience relative to which a participant is construed. Therefore, when we come to develop the system network for Thing type, we need to base on its potential of construing participants in different types of process.

There have been some alternative descriptions of the system network of TRANSITIVITY in Chinese, such as McDonald (1998), Li (2003), Halliday & McDonald (2004). The present study will adopt Halliday and McDonald's (2004) description as a basis to develop a tentative system network for THING TYPE (see Figure 3). Please be noted that this framework is developed with a strong implication for grammar. Four factors, which are important either in terms of the likelihood of nouns to appear as participants in different process types or in terms of their potential for modification, are used in locating the thing type in lexicogrammatical space: animacy (conscious or non-conscious), generality (concrete or abstract), potential for embodying a feature of expansion or projection

(circumstantial things or names of projections), and the metaphoric propensity (i.e., the potential for construing qualities and processes as things).

2.1.2 Classifier

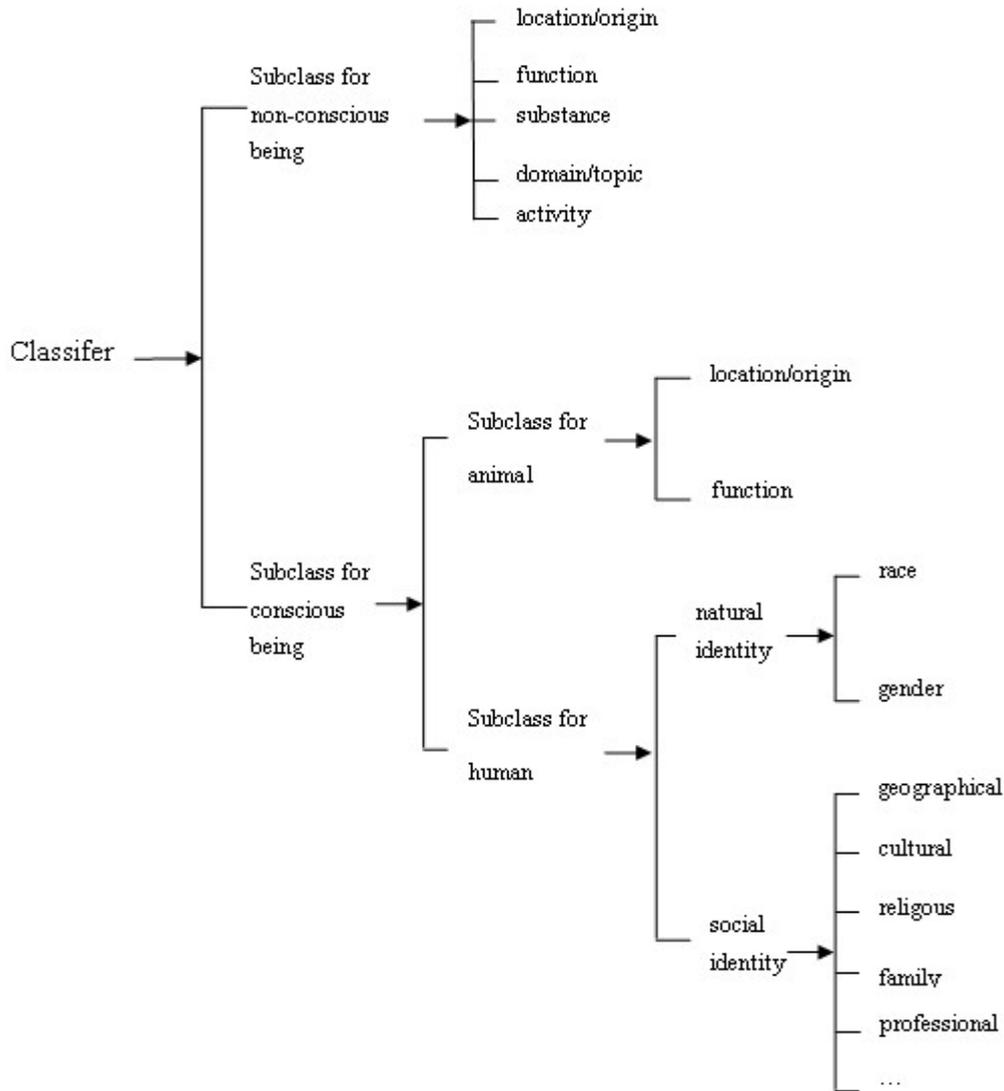


Figure 4: A tentative system network for CLASSIFICATION

In terms of realization, classifiers are typically nouns, which provide resources for specifying more specific classes of a thing. Compared with other modifiers, the classifier is structurally the most close element to the Thing on the experiential structure and semantically it represents the most basic subclass features that people may use to classify a set of things.

Figure 4 shows a tentative system network of CLASSIFICATION. It is worth noting that the Thing type plays an important role in deciding the potential for classification. For example, metaphorical things in Chinese can hardly collocate with classifiers.

2.1.3 Epithet

Epithets provide resources for representing properties of a participant. Tucker (1998) presents a system for epithetic quality, based on which I developed a tentative system for EPITHESES with concerns of both Thing Type and metafunctions (see Figure 5).

The system network in Figure 6 give us two implications: (i) the objective and subjective

quality of the Thing represented by Epithets indicate two metafunctional potential that the epithet has, experiential and interpersonal; (ii) the possibility of particular types of EPITHESIS selections largely depends on the type of Thing selected within the system network of THING TYPE.

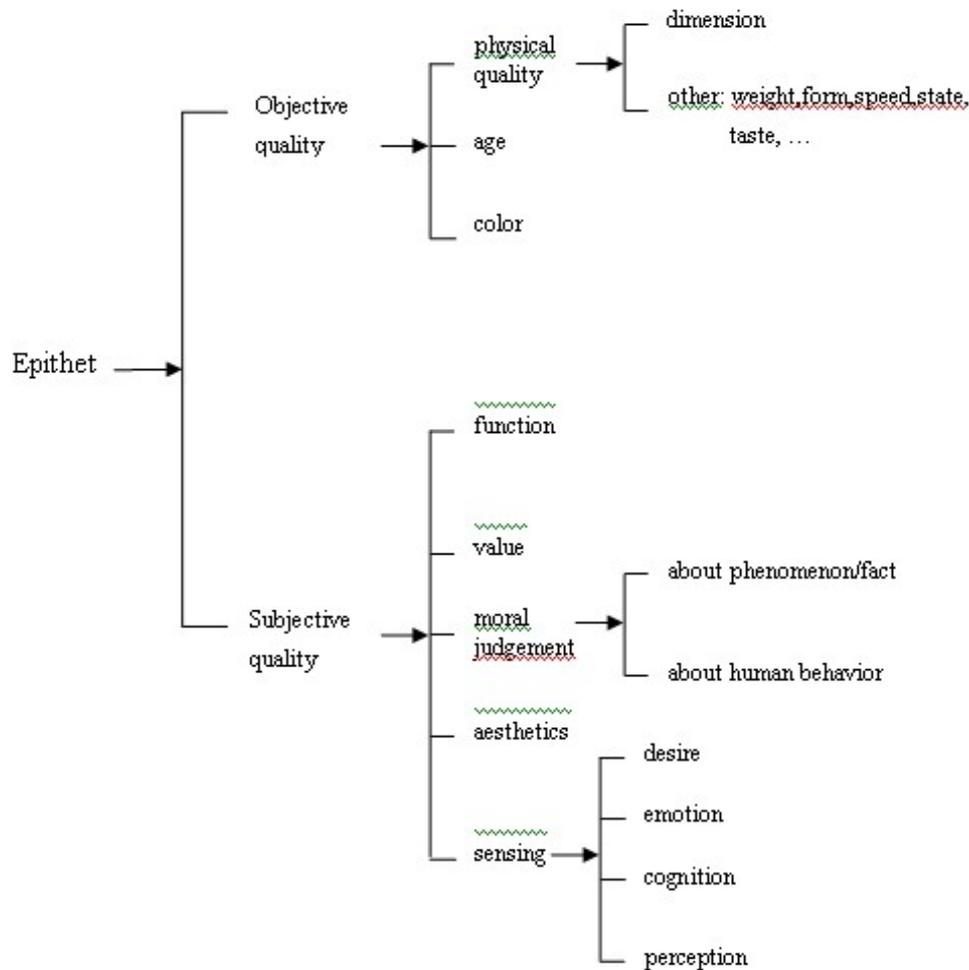


Figure 5: A tentative system network for EPITHESIS

2.1.4 Qualifier

Qualifiers represent qualifications of a certain class of the Thing. In terms of realization, Qualifiers in Chinese, same as English, are rank-shifted grammatical units which function at the group rank, such as embedded clause. However, a significant difference between a qualifier in English and Chinese is that the former comes after the Thing as a post-modifier, whereas the latter comes before the Thing as a pre-modifier. Table 2 shows the logico-semantic relations between qualifiers and the Thing.

Table 2: Examples of Qualifiers

Type	Subtype	Example (with Qualifier in bold)
Elaboration	exemplifying	[[Táng Tàizōng nàjiàn]] de lizi <i>The example [[of Emporor Tang Taizong adopting advices]]</i>
	defining/clarifying	[[piāofú zài běibīngyáng shàng]] de bīngshān <i>the icebergs [[floating on the Arctic Ocean]]</i>

Extension	possessive	[[fùmu shuāngwáng]] de zǐnǚ <i>those children[[whose parents are both dead]]</i>
Enhancement	Location: time	[[yánghuái kāihuā]] de jìjiē <i>the season [[when the locust tree is in blossom]]</i>
	Location: place	[[wǒmen chūci xiāngyù]] de dìfāng <i>the place [[where we first met]]</i>
	Cause: purpose	[[yònglái niàngniú]] de hǎo cáiliào <i>the nice materials [[for making wine]]</i>
	Cause: result	[[wǒmen gòngtóng nǚli]] de jiéguǒ <i>the result [[from our mutual efforts]]</i>
	Cause: reason	[[wǒ zhīchi tā]] de yáunǚn <i>the reason [[that I support him]]</i>
	Manner: means	[[dāngdì rén niàngniú]] de fāngfǎ <i>the way[[for the local people to make wine]]</i>
projection	Matter	[[guāngyú míngzhǔ]] de zhēnglùn <i>the argument [about democracy]</i>

3 Conclusion

In exploring the experiential meaning of Chinese nominal groups, four functional elements on the experiential structure, which are significant in representing different experiential aspects of the participant, are presented: Thing, Classifier, Epithet and Qualifier. Among them, Thing and Classifier are on the stable end of the Instantiation Cline, which represent the most general experiential class and subclasses of the participant, whereas the Epithet and Qualifier are towards the transient end of the Instantiation Cline, which represent instancial properties and qualifications of the participant. As the nucleus of the structure, the types of the Thing play a crucial role in the selection of the other functional elements.

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Ideational and Interpersonal Manifestations of Projection in Spanish

Jorge Arús Hita

Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Departamento de Filología Inglesa
28040 Madrid, Spain
jarus@filol.ucm.es

Abstract

In this paper we will look at the semogenetic potential of projection in Spanish at different metafunctional and rank levels. Based on corpus examples from CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual), we will see that projection, at clause level, may be ideational or interpersonal. Ideationally, projection accounts for the logical resources of quoting and reporting in mental and verbal clause complexes such as (1) and (2) as well as for experiential meanings incorporated to mental and verbal processes such as (3) and (4). Interpersonally, projection allows the expression of evidentiality (5), appraisal (6) or comment (7), among other meanings, including the combination of several meanings.

- (1) *creo que ese mundo es posible* (' I think [that] that world is possible')
- (2) *el presidente de la Nación dijo que había ordenado estudiar esta posibilidad* (' the president of the nation said that he had ordered to study that possibility')
- (3) *Yo simplemente supuse que eran de la compañía de seguros* (' I just assumed they were from the insurance company')
- (4) *Greenpeace alegó que estas grietas pueden "provocar un grave accidente"* (' Greenpeace claimed that these cracks may cause a serious accident')
- (5) *parece que hay una especie de patrón común* (' there seems to be some common pattern')
- (6) *es una pena que no tenga más tiempo* (' it is a pity [that] you don' t have more time')
- (7) *reconozco que me ha impactado* (' I [have to] admit that it has struck me')

1 Introduction

Projection is known to be an important logico-semantic resource for the creation of meaning. Although its fractal nature makes it pervasive throughout the lexicogrammar (see, e.g., the different sections devoted to projection in *IFG3* [Halliday and Matthiessen 2004]), the study of projection in Spanish has been traditionally restricted to the clausal type and undertaken from a syntactic point of view. Projection in Spanish has thus been so far dealt with not as a meaning potential; rather, projected clauses have been looked at as a kind of complement to the main – i.e. the projecting – clause, under a roughly agreed on label which could be translated as 'Direct Complement Clause' (see, for instance, the *complementarias directas* in Gili y Gaya 1969: 288-89, with examples such as (1) and (2), below, or the *sustantiva de objeto directo* in Delbecq and Lamiroy 1999: 1996-2032, illustrated by their examples (3) and (4), below). The systemic-functional approach adopted in these pages will provide a more comprehensive view of the semogenetic potential of projection, not only in the most obvious cases of clause complexing in experiential systems but also within other rank and metafunctional environments.

- (1) *El maestro ha dicho: estad quietos y atended* ('the teacher said: be quiet and pay attention')

- (2) *Les rogaba me digan siempre la verdad* ('I begged them to always tell me the truth')
- (3) *Juan piensa que Eva se equivoca* ('Juan thinks Eva is mistaken')
- (4) *Queremos que nos deje usted solos un momento* ('we would like you to leave us alone for a while')

The paper is structured as follows. The next section presents the general logico-semantic resources available in Spanish for clause complexing, thus comparing projection to expansion. This is followed by a section dealing with the metaphorical exploitation of projection, both ideationally and interpersonally, and by another section which looks at projection further down the rank scale, i.e. at simple clause and group levels. All this is wrapped up in the concluding section, where a tentative system network is provided reflecting the logico-semantic potential of projection in Spanish in the light of the preceding discussion.

2 Logico-Semantic Complexing Resources in Spanish

As Halliday and Matthiessen state, in expansion "the secondary clause expands the primary clause, by (a) elaborating it, (b) extending it or (c) enhancing it", whereas in projection "the secondary clause is projected through the primary clause, which instantiates it as (a) a locution or (b) an idea" (2004: 377). Examples (5-7) illustrate the three different types of expansion in the clause complex. Since projection is the subject of this paper, it is worth delving into its different kinds depending not only on whether the projected clause is a locution or an idea but also on whether the locution or the idea stand in paratactic or hypotactic relation to the projecting verbal or mental process. Thus (8, 9) illustrate a locution and an idea hypotactically projected by their respective verbal and mental processes, whereas in (10, 11) the locution and the idea are paratactically projected.

- (5) *el precio medio era de 4.500 pesetas, lo que me lleva a pensar que...* (' the average price was 4,500 pesetas, which leads me to think that...')
- (6) *¿Vienes o te quedas?* ('are you coming or staying?')
- (7) *la perra es muy mimosa, así que echa mucho de menos* (' the dog is very cuddling, so she misses [us] a lot')
- (8) *entonces dijo: "¿Y vamos a ir otra vez a Francia...?"* (' he then said: are we going to France again...?')
- (9) *"¡Ah -pensó el General-, siempre el Maine y el 98"* (' Ah! – thought the general- always Maine and the 98')
- (10) *el presidente de la Nación dijo que había ordenado estudiar esta posibilidad* (' the president of the nation said that he had ordered to study that possibility')
- (11) *creo que ese mundo es posible* (' I think [that] that world is possible')

The realm of hypotactically projected locutions and ideas is one where something as fine-grained as the subjunctive/indicative distinction can be found. This has already been discussed in detail elsewhere (Arús 2007, forthcoming; Lavid and Arús 2006), so I will only briefly refer to it on this occasion. Examples (12-15) show mental processes, namely intentional, emotive, perceptive and cognitive, respectively. As the examples reflect, intentional and emotive processes project clauses with the verb in subjunctive, whereas perceptive and cognitive processes project indicative-verb clauses. Likewise, turning now to verbal processes and more particularly within imperative locutions, projected offers have the verb in the indicative, typically in conditional tense as in (16) while projected commands are in the subjunctive, as in (17).

- (12) *el pueblo quiere que usted ceda la corona ya* ('The people want you to give up your crown now')
- (13) *no me disgusta que los ingleses reciban una lección* ('it doesn't disgust me that the English get a lesson')
- (14) *ya veo que no estás* ('I can see you're not there')
- (15) *ella creía que yo estaba muerto* ('She thought I was dead')
- (16) *Los magistrados ordenaron que se le separara de su mujer* ('The magistrates ordered that he were taken away from his wife')
- (17) *le dijo que le ayudaría a conocer lo que es el miedo* ('he told him that he would help him to know what fear is')

The examples of projecting mental and verbal processes seen thus far, such as (10) and (11) above, include verbs such as *decir* ('say') and *creer* ('think/believe') whose meanings are basically restricted to the expression of the actual saying or the thinking. However, it is often the case that the verb in mental and verbal processes bears a higher semantic load, as illustrated by (18) and (19). This higher semantic load tends to include nuances having to do with evidentiality, appraisal and/or modality, and can be taken to instantiate a sort of interpersonal metaphor, as will be expounded in the next section.

3 Metaphorical Uses of Projection in Spanish

Metaphorical uses of projection can be of the ideational or the interpersonal type. The latter typically consists in the upgrading of the expression of modal assessment, notably modality, from group level to clause level (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 626) and, due to the intrinsic nature of interpersonal meaning, often enacts an aspect of the speakers' move in dialogue (Matthiessen and Teruya forthcoming). In fact, one of the examples seen in the previous section could be considered to express such metaphor; (11), renumbered here as (20), could be taken to duplicate the expression of probability already expressed in the projected clause (i.e. *es posible* ['is possible']). Example (20) is however somewhat particular due to the fact that the modal meaning of probability is instantiated by means of a participant, i.e. *posible* is the Attribute of a relational process, and this participant must be retained even when resorting to the metaphorical realization, thus accounting for the duplication of the expression of probability. In most cases, however, there is a choice between the group, notably adverbial, and the clause realizations. Examples (21-23) illustrate this point; all metaphorical realizations in a) have a congruent version, illustrated in b), where the modal meaning is expressed through the emboldened adverb (21b, 22b) or Prepositional Phrase (23b).

- (20) *creo que ese mundo es posible* ('I think [that] that world is possible')
- (21a) *creo que sí soy coqueto* ('I think I am coquette')
- (21b) *Probablemente soy coqueto* ('I'm probably coquette')
- (22a) *¿a ti te parece que ser ingeniero produce dinero?* ('Do you think being an engineer brings money?')
- (22b) *¿Ser ingeniero puede producir dinero?* ('is being an engineer likely to bring money?')
- (23a) *te rogaría que me lo explicases* ('I'd beg you to explain it to me')
- (23b) *Por favor, explícamelo* ('please, explain it to me')

Metaphorically expressed modality as seen in these examples corresponds to what Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 615) call 'subjective explicit' expression of modality.

Conversely, other metaphorical ways of expression fall within ‘objective explicit’, in Spanish being typically realized by projecting relational (24, 25), *se*-impersonal (26), third person plural impersonal (27) or other impersonal (28) clauses. As can be observed, (25-28) move beyond sheer modality to the inclusion of meanings of appraisal (25) and evidentiality (26, 27 [see Hidalgo Downing 2004 for a contrastive study of evidentiality in English and Spanish]). As we can also see, then, the expression of modality through interpersonal metaphor involves moving from the implicit – whether subjective, i.e. through modal operators, or explicit, i.e. through adverbial groups – to the explicit type.

(24) *es probable que lo vuelva a hacer* (‘ It’s likely [that] he’ ll do it again’)

(25) *está muy bien que así sea* (‘ it’s very good that it’ s like that’)

(26) *se dice que el doblaje español es uno de los mejores* (‘ It is said that the Spanish dubbing is one of the best’)

(27) *dicen que vive allí* (‘ they say [that] he leaves there’)

(28) *parece que hay una especie de patrón común* (‘ there seems to be some common pattern’)

The metaphorical use of projection is not restricted to the interpersonal metafunction. There are also ideational metaphors brought about by projection. The main difference with interpersonal metaphor is that whereas this involves upgrading, as seen above, ideational metaphor involves downgrading along the rank scale (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 646). Thus, the examples in (29a) and (30a) include, as clause constituents, units which would congruently be realized as clauses in a clause complex, as illustrated by (29b) and (30b). Very much related to the upgrading versus downgrading contrast is a basic distinction existing between subjective explicit interpersonal metaphors and ideational metaphors. As we can see if we compare (21-23) to (29, 30), whereas the projected element in interpersonal metaphors is an idea or locution – therefore not a participant – the same element in ideational metaphors is a Phenomenon proper and fulfils experiential roles such as Range (as in 29a) or Agent (as in 30a). On the other hand, what both kinds of metaphor share is the possibility of including meanings of modal assessment. Thus, (29) expresses appraisal in the projecting clause while (30) expresses comment.

(29a) *no me disgustó lo que imaginaba* (‘ what he imagined didn’ t disgust me’)

(29b) *no me disgustó que imaginara eso* (‘it didn’t disgust me that he would think that’)

(30a) *me sorprendió su respuesta* (‘ her answer surprised me’)

(30b) *me sorprendió que me respondiera eso* (‘I was surprised that she would answer so’)

4 Projection at Group Level

Although projection is typically associated with clausal complexing, the SFL-based approach taken here will allow us now to trace the exploitation of projection resources down the rank scale, namely at group level. The first reflection that can be made here is whether projection involving modal operators really happens at clause level or whether it actually happens at group level, as illustrated by (31), where it could be argued that the projection in (31) exists either at group (31a) or at clause (31b) level. In any case, this is but one more example of the continuum of language, where linguistic categories are better interpreted along a cline rather than as belonging to cell compartments.

(31a) *Quiero que esto sea una conversación* (‘I want this to be a conversation’)

(31b) *Quiero que esto sea una conversación* (‘I want this to be a conversation’)

An arguably clearer case of projection taking place at group level is the one found within nominal Groups, where, as illustrated by (32) below, what would have otherwise been expressed as a verbal process (in this case *exclamar*) and as its projected locution (*que estaba*

cansado) is now expressed as the Head (*exclamación*) and Qualifier (*de cansancio*) of a nominal Group.

(32) *se dejó caer con una sorda exclamación de cansancio* (' he let himself fall with a deaf exclamation of tiredness')

5 Conclusion

The brief account of projection in Spanish presented in these pages will have hopefully served to provide a panoramic view of how the Spanish language exploits this essential linguistic resource. As we have seen, projection is particularly productive at clause level, although it can also be seen operating further down the rank scale. We have seen that projection is typically associated with mental and verbal processes and that it often gets involved in the construal of metaphorical expressions, both interpersonal and ideational. In both cases, projection concerns non-congruent ways of expressing various kinds of modal meaning (modalization, modulation, appraisal, evidentiality, comment, etc.), the difference residing in the direction of the move along the rank scale from the congruent to the metaphorical version: whereas in interpersonal metaphors the expression of modal meaning is promoted from group to clause rank, in ideational metaphors it is demoted from clause to group. A similar demotion of sorts can be said to take place in projections within nominal groups, where, as seen, what would otherwise be projecting and projected clause constituents stand in a relationship of projecting and projected group elements. Incidentally, looking at the group has allowed us to reflect on the inter-rank status of projections involving modal operators, where it is not safe to claim that projection operates at clause rather than at group level or vice versa.

As a wrap-up to the discussion in the previous pages and with a view to facilitate the typological contrast with the other languages described in the project carried out by the Systemic Typology Group, figure 1 shows a tentative system network of projection resources in Spanish which captures the specifications detailed in this paper. Since this network seeks to provide a bird's eye view of the wide range of action of projection rather than an immediate implementation, for instance for computational purposes, the information included in the boxes normally devoted to the specification of realization rules does not follow the typical conventions. The rules in the boxes in figure 1 simply try to capture the characteristics of each choice as presented in the description above.

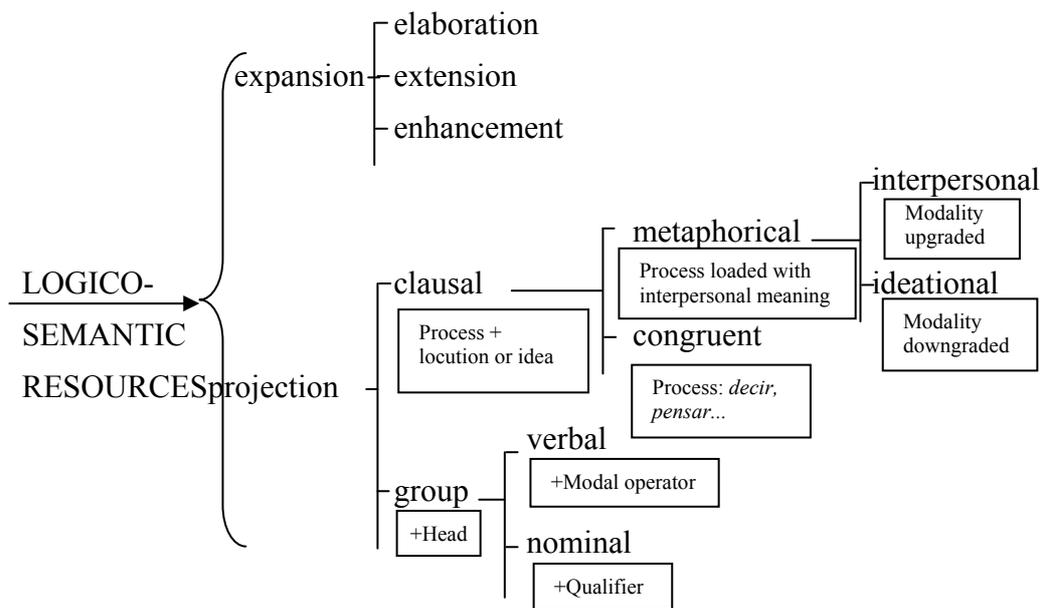


Figure 1. Tentative system network of logico-semantic resources in Spanish**References**

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Corpus resource

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On Honorifics

Abhishek Kumar Kashyap⁵⁷

Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University
North Ryde, NSW 2109, Australia
Abhishek.Kumar@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

Every language adopts some strategy to make the language sound honorific or polite and not offensive. The strategy to achieve this interpersonal strength differs in languages. In most languages, however, the terms ‘politeness’ and ‘honorifics’ are synonymous and thus one can be used for the other. Bajjika make a clear distinction between polite utterances and honorific utterances. This paper deals with the concept of politeness and honorification in Bajjika and discusses how these two interpersonal terms are realised in this language. This paper also reviews the enactment of the politeness in socio-cultural scenario of Bajjika and outlines the directions for future studies on politeness and honorification.

1 Introduction

Languages have some means to make the utterances polite or impolite, or honorific or dishonorific. And the language users use that means as a tool to evaluate whether the speaker’s language is polite or not. Adult speakers comment on the absence of politeness where the speaker is expected to be polite, and on its presence where it could be considered to be unexpected. Thus they evaluate the interpersonal tenor relation of the interactant’s verbal behaviour. Not-competent-enough speakers, non-native speakers, for example, suffer the perennial risk of violating this interpersonal norm. In spite of its obvious practical significance and real-life application, the mainstream linguistics couldn’t offer space for sufficient studies on honorifics. Traditional grammar, for example, which was primarily based on Latin and Panini’s Sanskrit grammar *Astaadhyayii* focused mainly on the syntax, thus giving little space to interpersonal grammar. Despite some useful earlier work (Hodge, 1907; Goffman, 1956; Shils, 1968; Lakoff, 1973), it was not until 1970’s and 1980’s that interpersonal grammar became an integral part of lexicogrammatical studies. In 1985, Halliday brought in his *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, combining interpersonal grammar in the core system of lexicogrammar under the cover term ‘interpersonal metafunction’, which dealt all aspects of interpersonal grammar in a comprehensive way. Halliday & Hasan (1985) further complements this kind of work. Further, Martin’s ‘appraisal’ model deals with interpersonal semantics (see Martin & Rose, 2003). The linguistic concern for politeness and honorification and kept gaining attention 1970s onwards, and, as a result, there were fairly good amount of admirable works also in other models than SFL (for example, Brown & Levinson (1978/1987), Haviland (1979), Hickey & Stewart (2005)).

2 Honorifics and Indian languages

Indian languages (and also the rest of Asian languages), in particular, distinguish themselves from the rest of the world languages in that they are richer in verbalising interpersonal relationship. They adopt a number of strategies for making the speech polite and more lovable. Shibatani (2006: 381) notes, “whereas every language appears to have ways of expressing politeness, only certain languages have well-developed honorifics”. Indian languages are privileged in this respect; most of them seem to make a clear distinction

⁵⁷ I thank Macquarie University for awarding me International Macquarie University Research Scholarship (iMURS). This paper is written during my scholarship candidature.

between polite utterances and honorific utterances (see Kachru, 2003). In the following sections we will explore the manifestation of politeness and honorification in Bajjika, a north Indian language.

3 Honorifics and Bajjika and Hindi

Bajjika is a language spoken in a small community of about 20 million people in the northern state of Bihar in India, where Hindi is a dominant language. Whether Bajjika is a language or a dialect has been debated for decades, and is still a topic of discussion among scholars of Bajjika and Hindi, following the unproductive socio-political scenario in this context. There are a number of regional, cultural, geographical and socio-political similarities in Bajjika and Hindi, which convince the non-Bajjika speakers of Hindi to believe and argue that Bajjika is a dialect of Hindi. At the same time, there are differences in the similar respects, which convince the Bajjika speaker and Bajjika speakers of Hindi that they are two different languages. However, there is a common agreement that both of them are related to the same mother language called Sanskrit, and as can be expected, they share common areal features. Lexicogrammatically, Bajjika and Hindi, though they share a number of areal features, they are far apart. In relation to the honorification and politeness, which is the concern of this paper, Bajjika reflects much richer resources than Hindi. The most easily observable phenomenon in this respect is the pronominal system. Kachru (2003: 41) observes the following (non-)/honorific distinction in the second person pronouns and the corresponding verb-endings in Hindi (see Table (1)):

Table (1): 2nd person pronouns in Hindi and the corresponding verb-endings⁵⁸

	Honorific	Non-honorific	
		Familiar	Intimate
2 nd person pronoun	<i>aap</i> “you”	<i>tum</i> “you”	<i>tuu</i> “you”
Present imperfect ending	<i>-E hai</i> “be”	<i>-E ho</i> “be”	<i>-A hai</i> “be”

There are (non-)/honorific distinctions available in the 3rd person pronominal system of Hindi and its verb-endings of agreements, but the overall pronominal system (and even the specific systems) is very largely different from that of Bajjika pronominal system and their corresponding verb-endings. The pronominal system of Bajjika is highly extensive as compared to Hindi, which we will see this in the following sections.

4 Honorifics of Bajjika and their manifestations

The honorifics of Bajjika are reflected mainly in the following:

- Titles
- Address forms
- Pronominal system
- Verb-endings
- Politeness in facial expression

There are also other resources which manifest honorification and politeness. But a short paper like this doesn't allow space for a detailed discussion of all the resources that Bajjika language employs to achieve this semantic function. In the following sections, we will discuss in short the interpersonal resources of honorification noted above.

⁵⁸ This is adapted from Kachru (2003: 41) with my interlinear translation of Hindi pronouns.

4.1 Honorific Titles and Particles

Honorific titles is part of what Shibatani (2006) calls ‘referent honorifics’; and this is the most easily observable. In Bajjika, as in most other languages like English, Hindi etc., titles are used in conjunction with a name. The English speakers use titles like Mr., Mrs., Miss/Ms., or the (abbreviated) designations like Dr., Prof., Lt., etc before the addressee name. In Bajjika the most common titles are *sri*, *srimati*, *kumaar*, *kumaarii*, which can be translated as Mr., Mrs., Mr. and Miss respectively. But they are different from their English translation in various ways. They cannot have abbreviated forms; and, at the same time, *kumaar* and *kumaarii* are lexically translated as “unmarried” and are used as a last name of a young boy and girl respectively. However, even more popular norms of showing deference are adding honorific particles to a name. The following are the most frequently used honorific particles which are attached to a name as a suffix: *jii*, *baabuu*, *saaheb*, *babunii*, *bauaa*, *bhaai*, *maalik*, *malkiinii*. The first among them, *jii*, is the most common of all; others are used depending on who is speaking to whom. *Babunii*, for example, shows a specific kinship relationship; *saaheb* is an honorific term which shows class hierarchy. Similarly, *bhaai* shows equality and some kind of brotherhood. These particles can be attached to address forms or address forms or common names.

4.2 Address Forms

There are three types of situations, which determine the address forms in Bajjika speech community:

1. Does the addressee belong to the speaker’s in-laws family, e.g., father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law etc.? Here in-laws refer to direct ones like the speaker’s own in-laws or indirect ones, for example, the speaker’s siblings’ in-laws.
2. Does the addressee belong to the speaker’s family, e.g., parents, siblings etc.?
3. Does the addressee belong to outside the family, e.g., neighbours, friends etc.?

If the situation 2 applies, then the question of in-group and out-group arises; that is, does addressee belong to in-group or out-group. Bajjika has a large number of kinship terms involving three sides of families– paternal, maternal and in-laws. This further adds to the complexity of complex concept of in-group and out-group in Bajjika, thus posing a number of interesting questions to the complex phenomenon. But for the present purpose the point is to be made that these phenomena are highly significant for the understanding of the system of honorification in Bajjika. If the situation 3 applies, then the distinction of class and caste hierarchy will determine the level of honorification.

Here again the honorific particles mentioned above are significant resources for the purpose of achieving the norms of deference and common etiquettes.

4.3 Pronominal System

The pronominal system of Bajjika is based on the two basic distinctions– NUMBER and HONORIFICATION. In number, the pronouns are either singular or plural and in honorification, they are either honorific or non-honorific. However, it is the distinction of honorification, which has significant grammatical role in deciding the grammatical subject; the number distinction plays no role in this context (see the following section).

The social organization of Bajjika speech community is hierarchical. The hierarchy is one of elder and younger, senior and junior, superior and inferior, high and low etc. The caste and class system further intensifies the hierarchical order of society. The hierarchy distance also takes into consideration the various types and sub-types of kinship relationships. The speakers of Bajjika choose the specific pronouns depending on who the addressee is.

The first person pronouns are neutral for honorification. That is to say, the first person pronouns don't make any distinction in honorification. They have only one form which is neutral (see Table (2)) below. The second and the third person pronouns have the distinctions of honorific vs. non-honorific.⁵⁹

Table (2): Pronominal system of Bajjika

	– honorification		+ honorification	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1 st person	<i>ham</i> “I”	<i>hamnii, hamsa, hamsab, hamrahin</i> “we” [speaker+addressee, speaker+person(s) being talked about, speaker+addressee+ person(s) being talked about]	--	--
2 nd person	<i>tuu</i> “you”	<i>tohnii, tuusa, tuusab, torahin</i> “you”	<i>rauaa</i> <i>apne</i> “you”	<i>raurahin, apnesa, apnesab</i> “you”
3 rd person	<i>uu</i> (± human) “he/she/that” ” <i>ii</i> (± human) “this/it” <i>ee</i> ⁶⁰ (– human) “this/it”	<i>uusa, uusab</i> (±human) “they/those” <i>iisa, iisab</i> (±human) “these” <i>eesab</i> (– human) “this/it”	<i>huun</i> (+human) “he/she/that” <i>hin</i> (+human) “he/this/that” (+human)	<i>huunkarahin, huunsa, huunsab</i> (+human) “they/those” <i>hinkarahin, hinsa, hinkarahin</i> (+human) “these”

4.4 Verb-endings

The Predicator of Bajjika is the powerhouse of interpersonal semantics. The Predicator has the most crucial role to play in all of the three metafunctions of systemic lexicogrammar. Experientially, the Process, which is congruent with the verbal group at the group rank realises the CAUSATION and TENSE/ASPECT. Interpersonally, the Predicator, which also is congruent with verbal groups, embodies the honorification and the tenor relation (see Kumar, 2003).

In terms of honorification, the verb-endings of the Predicator in a Bajjika clause tells us whether the clause is honorific or non-honorific and indicates who the addressee could be. At the same time, the Predicator also signals to the status of the speaker in terms of social organization of the speech community. Let's have a look at the following examples as an instance:

⁵⁹ The plural counterparts of the singular pronouns have more than one form. They are mutually interchangeable. We will not discuss the intricacy of their use for space constraints.

⁶⁰ *Ee* is used mostly with the locative, as in *ee me koi dikkat na hae, ham eelaa kahai law ki...* Here the use of *ii* or *uu* will be unacceptable: **ii/uu me koi dikkat na hae, *ham iilaa/uulaa kahai law ki*, but the use of dative at this place will be absolutely acceptable: **eekraa me koi dikkat na hae, ham ekraa laa kahai law ki*, but the use of dative will change the meaning.

1.	<i>ham</i>	<i>huun-kaa-ke</i>	<i>rok-lee</i>	
	I	he.+HON-DAT- KE	stop-PAST	
	Subject	Complement	Predicator	
	“I stopped him”			
2.	<i>lekin</i>	<i>huun</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ruk-lan</i>
	but	he.+HON	NEG	stop- PAST.+HON
		Subject	Predicator	
	“but he did not stop.”			

In these examples from Bajjika text, the speaker is talking about a third person whom he needs to give a considerable amount of respect, that's way the use of honorific pronoun *huun* “you”. We can see some significant labour of honorification in terms of grammar. This will discuss below.

4.5 Dis-honorification (of Names)

Bajjika is incredibly rich in honorification and politeness, as we have already seen above and will see further below. There are various locations embodying honorification in the interpersonal grammar of the language. And if so, this is also a signal to the fact that there will be a dis-honorific counterpart of the system of honorification to complement the honorifics. Here is one example of how the Bajjika language has resources to depict dis-honorification:

3.	<i>nokar-baa</i>	<i>kahaan</i>	<i>g-el-au</i>	<i>re</i>
	servant- DISHON	where	go-PAST- – HON	– HON
	Subject	Adjunct	Predicator	Vocative
	“Hey, where did the servant go?”			

The speaker in this example is a master, who is inquiring about his servant. The dis-honorific particle *baa* is attached to the noun *nokar* which refers to the servant. The honorific make up this clause indicates that someone highly superior is enquiring about one at the lower end of the hierarchy.

5 Grammatical Function of Honorifics

The grammatical function of honorifics in Bajjika is recognising the grammatical Subject. Though (pro)nominal groups of Bajjika have the distinction in number– singular vs. plural, as we have already noted earlier, they do not share labour in grammaticalization. The Subject agrees with the Predicator only in ‘honorification’. In the example (2) above *lekin huun na ruklan* “but he did not stop”, for example, the Subject *huun* “he” is honorific and that agrees with the Predicator with an honorific verb-ending. Similarly, in the example (3) *nokarbaa kahaan gelau re* “Hey, where did the servant go?” the dis-honorific nominal group *nokarbaa*, which is the grammatical Subject, agrees with the Predicator with non-honorific verb-ending– *gelau* “went”.

It is important to note that Bajjika has an interesting system of split-honorificity in both ways– semantically and grammatically. But, despite my keen desire to address this issue, I am not able do so for the space constraint. I leave this issue here for the future work.

6 Honorifics and Politeness

Bajjika has unique system of honorification in that the language makes a clear distinction between honorifics and politeness. Whereas the distinction of honorifics is overtly reflected in the pronominal system, referent honorifics like titles, address forms, verbal groups, the politeness is mainly phonologized and context-based. An interaction between father and son reflects politeness, where the honorification in pronouns and verbal groups is usually missing; an interaction between father-in-law and son-in-law reflects the system of honorifics. An honorific utterance of Bajjika is also polite, but a polite utterance may or may not be honorific.

7 Conclusion and Discussion

The discussion in this paper focussed mainly on the manifestations of honorifics in Bajjika. And we saw that the language has rich interpersonal resources of honorifics, which distinguishes Bajjika from Hindi and many other languages, even though Bajjika and Hindi share same speech community.

This paper offers an outline to explore the system of honorifics and politeness in Bajjika. There are a number of issues to be addressed in a detail, and this paper has tried to tinge those issues for further research. The Predicator and the system of split-honorifics, for example, are issues which require an immediate concern.

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Using honorific expressions to ensure addressee compliance with commands: a case study of Japanese texts in the organisational context

Yumiko Mizusawa

University of Wollongong, Australia
mzswymk@yahoo.co.jp

Abstract

This paper attempts to illustrate how Japanese *keigo* (honorific expressions) works in order to demand goods & services in organisational contexts. Japanese society is known to have a hierarchically oriented structure (Befu, 2001; Nakane, 1970). Sugimoto (1991) has pointed out that the hierarchical system is reflected in the Japanese language, especially in honorific expressions. Depending on register, texts which are exchanged express visible and/or invisible hierarchical relations. In SF theory, honorific expressions are lexicogrammatically set out in the system of HONORIFICATION and POLITENESS (Teruya, 2007). This study will explore honorific expressions as they are deployed in factual written Japanese texts in the workplace which express the speech function of command. I will examine how the writers show respect to the readers to ensure their compliance with the commands. This study also uses a Mood analysis in order to identify the selection of particular roles in the speech situation of the writers and the addressees (Halliday, 1973). The result illustrates the kinds of lexicogrammatical choices the writers choose in order to realize the speech function of command.

1 Introduction

Japanese has an intricate honorific system which is called *keigo* (honorific expressions). “One must always be attentive to the social status of the person to whom one talks, noting whether the addressee is higher or lower in the social hierarchy” (Sugimoto, 1991: 8). Major considerations which determine the choice of honorific expressions are age, status, and social distance (Koyama, 1992).

Due to the complexity of the honorific expressions, the cultural counsel (*Bunka shingikai*) produced a guideline for honorifics in 2007. The role of honorific expressions is to show a speaker/writer’s humbleness or respect towards an addressee(s) or an addressee’s side (Ministry of Education, 2007).

The application of SF theory to honorific expressions has been undertaken by a number of researchers. Hori (1995) investigated honorific expressions in terms of the absence of subject in a clause. The honorific expressions are lexicogrammatically set out by Teruya (2004; 2007) from their use in written and spoken texts and by Fukui (in press) who investigated their use in spoken texts. However, they do not address the organizational context because the study of the language use within organisations (Forey, 2004; Harrison & Young, 2004; Iedema, 1995, 1997; Pollach, 2003) is still limited compared with the other fields (Forey, 2004; Hewings, 2002; St John, 1996; Swales, 2000).

This paper attempts to illustrate how honorific expressions are employed in Japanese organisational texts in order to realize the speech function of command.

2 Data resources and method

2.1 Nature of the corpus

55 Japanese written texts from the Japanese organisations were selected in order to explore the honorific expressions associated with demanding goods and service, or command. The texts were collected after being used; that is, the texts are natural and authentic linguistic resources. The organisations are of three types; governmental, private business and educational organisations.

In order to analyze any linguistic differences in the hierarchical relations between the writer and the addressee(s), the corpus includes three types of hierarchical relation:

1. texts sent from a subordinate to a senior(s).
2. texts sent from a senior to a subordinate(s).
3. texts sent between equal statuses.

In order to analyze the general feature of these written Directive texts, the corpus consists of four text forms: memos, emails, letters and facsimiles

2.2 Method

The texts were analyzed by using the system of HONORIFICATION and POLITENESS (Teruya, 2007), the system of MOOD and the system of SPEECH FUNCTION.

2.2.1 Honorification

In order to investigate honorific expressions in the corpus, an analysis using relevant systems was performed. These relevant systems are systems of POLITENESS and HONORIFICATION as shown in Figure 1.

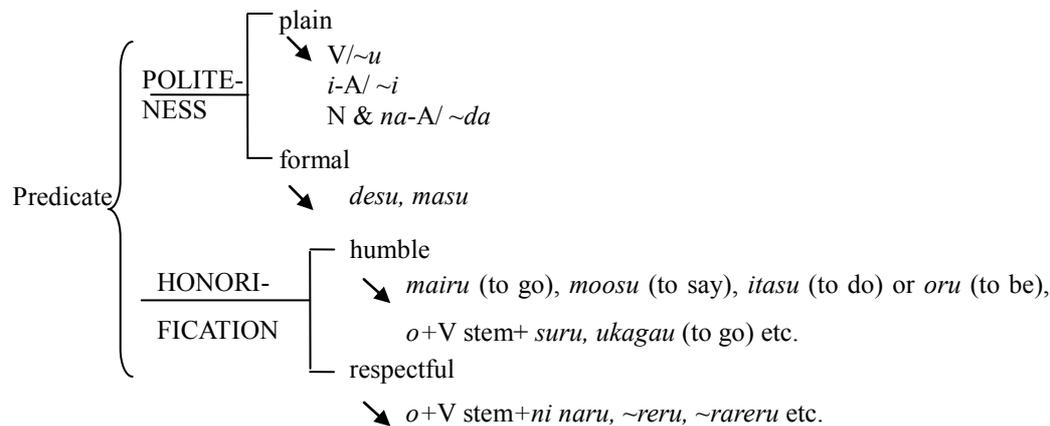


Figure 2: System of POLITENESS and HONORIFICATION

There are two systems related to honorific expressions. One is the system of POLITENESS and the other is the system of HONORIFICATION. Broadly speaking, the system of POLITENESS is related to social distance, and the system of HONORIFICATION is related to social hierarchy. Based on these systems, Table 1 shows a paradigm of the word, *iku* (to go) as an example.

Table 3: Paradigm of HONORIFICATION and POLITENESS for *iku* (go)

		<i>POLITENESS</i>	
		<i>plain</i>	<i>formal</i>
		<i>ik-u</i> go	ik-i-masu go-FORMAL
humble	<i>mairu</i> go-HUMBLE	<i>mairi-masu</i> go-HUMBLE/FORMAL	
respectful	<i>irassiyaru</i> go-RESPECTFUL	<i>irassyai-masu</i> go-RESPECTFUL/FORMAL	
HONORIFICATION			

As Table 1 shows, there are six ways of expressing ‘to go’ depending on the social distance and the social hierarchy.

2.2.2 Mood analysis

While the constituents which are tossed back and forth in English are Subject and Finite Halliday 1994: 72), those in Japanese are Predicate⁶¹ and Negotiator (Fukui, in press; Teruya, 2004, 2007). The Predicate ‘plays a central role in the interpersonal structure of the Mood, in its position towards the end of the clause as exchange’ (Teruya, 2007: 162). The Predicate is realized by a verbal group⁶². The experiential structure of the verbal group consists of an Event which conjugates and inflectional morphemes which function to realize the various modal means such as polarity and/or modality etc.

The other Mood element is a Negotiator which adds various negotiatory values by expressing the writer’s attitudinal stance (Teruya, 2007). The Negotiator is realized by interpersonal particles such as *ne*, *yo* or *ka*. The presence of the Negotiator, *ka* at the end of a clause decides the Mood type. When the Negotiator, *ka* is present, the Mood type is interrogative. The basic system of MOOD in Japanese is given in Figure 2.

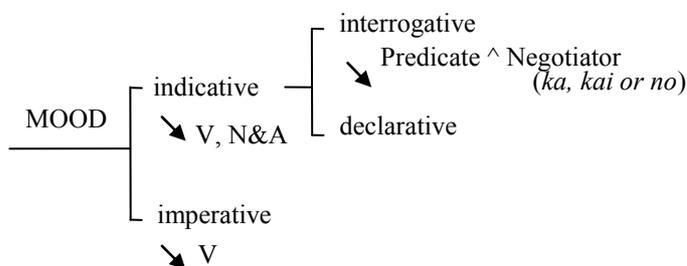


Figure 3: System of Mood in Japanese

As Figure 2 shows, at the general level, the Japanese system of MOOD has two options; indicative or imperative. Further the indicative has two options; interrogative and declarative.

In addition to these lexicogrammatical analyzes, the speech function is also analyzed in order to show any discrepancies between the Mood types and the speech function.

⁶¹Two researchers propose two different terms for the same constituent. Whereas Teruya (2004; 2007) calls it Predicator, Fukui (in press) calls it Predicate. According to Halliday (1994: 79), Predicator in English ‘is realized by a verbal group minus the temporal or modal operator’. On the other hand, that in Japanese functions as Finite + Predicator in English (Fukui, in press; Teruya, 2004, 2007). In order to make a distinction between English Predicator and Japanese one, this paper adopts the Predicate.

⁶² Basically, the verbal group consists of three types. They are a verbal type, an adjectival type or a nominal type + copula ‘*da*’

2.2.3 Speech function

There are four types of the speech function; statement, question, command and offer depending on speech roles. Statement is congruently realized by declarative Mood, question is congruently realized by interrogative Mood, and command is congruently realized by imperative. Offer does not have a corresponding Mood type.

3 Result

There 497 free clauses in the corpus of Japanese texts. Most free clauses end with a formal form in the system of POLITENESS accounting for 327 clauses. A combination of a humble form and a formal form is the second most frequent accounting for 127 clauses. There are 42 free clauses which do not have any honorifics. These choices are affected by the tenor relations. Figure 3 gives frequencies of the choices in the system of POLITENESS and HONORIFICATION according to the hierarchical relations:

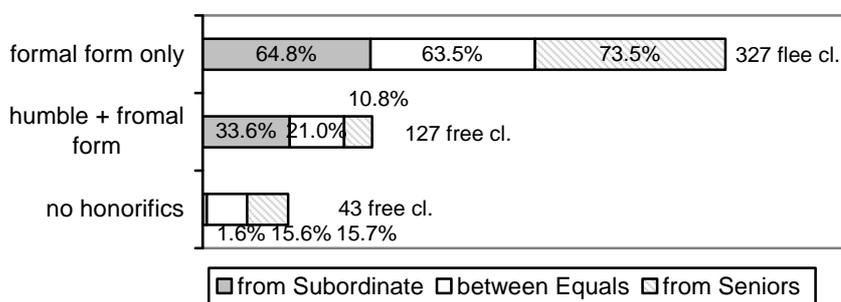


Figure 4: Frequencies of the choice in the system of POLITENESS and HONORIFICATION in the Predicate according to the hierarchical relations

As Figure 3 shows, the choices in the systems of POLITENESS and HONORIFICATION are limited. The formal form, the humble form and plain form are present in a free clause. No respect form in the system of HONORIFICATION is present. Instead, the respectful form is present only in 11 bound clauses. The choices are influenced by the hierarchical relations. The formal form only is most frequently present in the texts by the senior (73.5%). The combination of the humble and formal form is the most frequently present in the texts by the subordinate (33.6%). The frequencies of no honorifics in the texts by the subordinate account for only 1.6%. The percentage is about 1/10 of those of the texts by the equal or the seniors which amounts to 15.6% and 15.7% respectively.

Figure 4 shows the frequencies of Mood types in the corpus. The declarative is the most frequently used Mood form in the texts accounting for 403 clauses. The imperative accounts for 81 clauses, and the interrogative is the lowest accounting for 13 clauses.

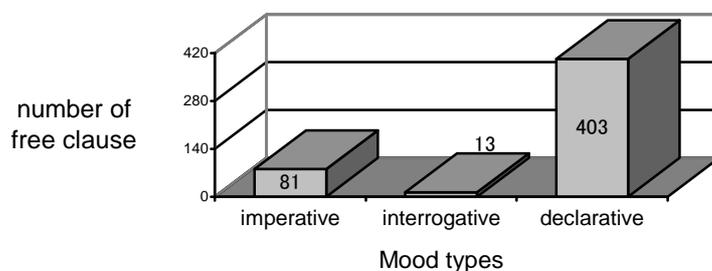


Figure 5: Number of the Mood types in the Directive texts

Whereas Figure 4 shows the frequencies of the Mood type, Figure 5 shows those of the speech function.

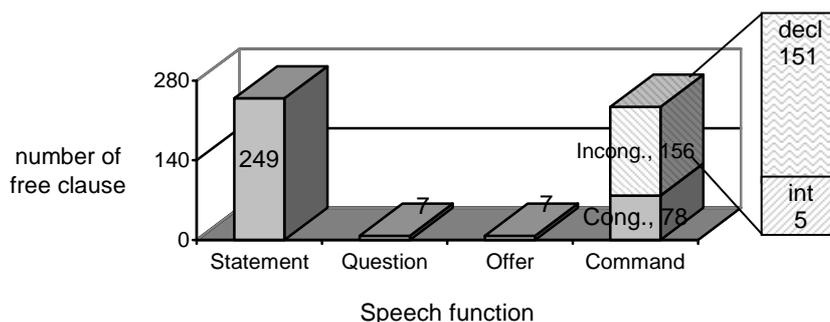


Figure 6: Frequencies of the speech function

As Figure 5 shows, the frequencies of statement and command are almost the same. Likewise, the frequencies of question and offer are the same. The incongruent realisation of command by the indicative surpasses the congruent realisation of command. 151 declarative clauses out of 156 clauses incongruently realize command, while 5 interrogative clauses incongruently realize command.

4 Discussion

These results suggest that a formal form is of central importance in order to realize command. Moreover, the choice in the system of HONORIFICATION is mainly the humble form rather than the respectful form. This may be associated with the channel of the corpus. Since the texts are written, the direction is one way from a writer to an addressee(s). For that reason, the writers of the texts opt to choose the humble form which functions to heighten an addressee(s) by lowering a writer.

The high frequencies of the Mood selection show that the writers are reluctant to select imperatives in order to realize command. Even if the imperative is selected, the writers use the formal form of the imperative. The degree of the honorific expressions in the Predicate differs according to the hierarchical relation. Thus, the lexicogrammar which realize the speech function, command in the organizational context is very delicate in order to enact social roles.

The different frequencies of the Mood choice or the incongruent realization of command, or the different frequencies of the honorific choice shows the writers' strategies in order to get things done by the addressees while avoiding conflict with the addressees.

Furo (2001) referred to the importance of 'ritual harmony' as a cultural background which affects institutional discourse. The ritual harmony of interpersonal relationships in Japanese society manifests in the ritualistic and harmonious communication style of the Japanese people. Since "the hierarchy of the Japanese social system" (Nakane, 1970: 118) is deeply rooted in the Japanese mind, it is difficult for the Japanese people to express their requirements in a straightforward way, even in the organizations.

5 Conclusion

This paper has attempted to show how Japanese writers adopt honorific expressions in order to realize the speech function of command. The writers frequently employ the formal form and the combination of the humble and formal form. These choices are influenced by the hierarchical considerations - a feature of the tenor relation. In addition, the writers also employ the incongruent realisation of command by the declarative. The low frequency of the interrogative which incongruently realizes command may arise from the fact that because the texts are written, the writers cannot get immediate feedback from the addressee(s). Even if the imperative is selected, the writers employ the formal form of the imperative. This feature is present in all hierarchical relations.

The organisation contains visible and invisible power relations. To express a command may threaten the social relationships in the organisation. In order to avoid conflict between interactants, the writers employ linguistic strategies such as the use of the honorific expression or the incongruent realization of command. In other words, these strategies are essential to the maintenance of ritual harmony.

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A systemic functional analysis of Topic NPs in Korean

Gi-Hyun Shin and Mira Kim

University of New South Wales and Macquarie University
Korean Studies, School of Languages and Linguistics, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
UNSW, Sydney, 2052, NSW, Australia and
Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University, 2109, NSW, Australia
g.shin@unsw.edu.au and Mira.Kim@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

This paper offers a systemic functional analysis of noun phrases that are marked by the postposition *un/nun* in Korean, which have been referred to as Topic noun phrases (or Topic NPs) in Korean linguistics circles. Drawing the data from a contemporary Korean TV talk show, this paper addresses the question of how a Topic NP that is identified as a topical Theme obtains the experiential role (which was a question pursued in Shin (1988) under a different theoretical framework) and examines the Topic NP within the framework of systemic functional theory particularly using the system of THEME in Korean proposed in Kim (2007). This paper argues that *un/nun* indicates textual functions while case markers such as *i/ka* (Nominative) and *ul/lul* (Accusative) indicate experiential functions, and that not only *un/nun*-marked NPs but also *i/ka*-marked NPs are realisations of the topical Theme when they are placed at the beginning of the clause. It further postulates that Korean postpositions can be grouped into three in terms of their functional prominence, ie, thematic, ideational, and interpersonal postpositions.

1 The issues

In Korean a noun or a nominal group that is marked by the postposition *un/nun*⁶³ has been referred to as a Topic noun phrase, or a Topic NP, and the postposition as the Topic marker. Traditionally the postposition was seen to be in the paradigmatic distribution with *i/ka*⁶⁴, which was once taken as the Subject marker but is now regarded as the Nominative Case marker⁶⁵. Consider examples (1) and (2).

- (1) *nalssi-ka choh-ta*
weather-NOM⁶⁶ good-DECL
“The weather’s good.”
- (2) *nalssi-nun choh-ta*
weather-TOP good-DECL
“Speaking of the weather, it’s good.”

Both examples are relational clauses where the experiential role of the noun *nalssi* (weather) in each of the examples is the Carrier. In example (1), *nalssi*’s experiential role follows from the semantics of the verb (be good) and the presence of *i/ka*, the Nominative Case marker. By contrast, how the experiential role of the Topic NP in example (2) (which is also the Carrier) gets assigned is not straightforward because *un/nun* is not a case marker.

⁶³ When the noun ends in a consonant, *un* is used. Elsewhere, *nun* is used.

⁶⁴ *I/ka* is also attached to the noun concerned, and when the noun ends in a consonant, *i* is used and *ka* is used elsewhere.

⁶⁵ The avoidance of the term Subject marker appears to have begun after Perlmutter and Postal’s Relational Grammar. Incidentally, the Topic has been assumed to be a syntactic category, separately from the Subject, in Korean. Perhaps the most prominent example for such a view would be Li and Thompson (1976) who characterised Korean as a Subject and Topic prominent language.

⁶⁶ Note that NOM stands for Nominative Case. Other abbreviations used in linguistic examples are DECL (Declarative Mood), TOP (Topic Marker), ACC (Accusative Case), PRES (Present Tense), DAT (Dative Case), REL (Relative Clause), and CONN (Verbal Connective).

In fact, it is not just the NPs marked by *i/ka* that are in the paradigmatic distribution with the Topic NPs, but also the NPs marked by *ul/lul*⁶⁷, the Accusative Case marker. Consider examples (3) and (4).

- (3) *emma-lul ai-ka po-n-ta*
mummy-ACC child-NOM look_at-PRES-DECL
“A child is looking at his mummy.”
- (4) *emma-nun ai-ka po-n-ta*
mummy-TOP child-NOM look_at-PRES-DECL
“Speaking of the mummy, the child is looking at her.”

Now let us compare examples (4) above and (5) below.

- (5) *ai-nun emma-lul po-n-ta*
child-TOP mummy-ACC look_at -PRES-DECL
“Speaking of the child, he’s looking at his mummy.”

The experiential role of the Topic NP in example (4) and that of the Topic NP in example (5) are Phenomenon and Sensor, respectively. The contrast is dramatic. Given that *un/nun* is not a case marker, this may not be surprising but there is an issue here as to how the experiential role is assigned to the relevant Topic NP. As discussed in Shin (1988), the verbal group alone does not tell us what experiential role the Topic NP assumes. It is as if we need to look at the other nominal group(s), if there are any, in the same clause to figure out the experiential role assumed by the Topic NP.

There are other postpositions which are not case markers, such as *to*⁶⁸ (also, as well, too), *iya/ya*⁶⁹ (surely, of course), *man* (only), as well as situations of no occurrence of any postpositions, that are in the paradigmatic distribution with *un/nun*. Consider examples (6) to (8).

- (6) *ai-to emma-lul po-n-ta*
child-also mummy-ACC look_at-PRES-DECL
“(not just the people we’ve talked about) The child too is looking at his mummy.”
- (7) *ai-ya emma-lul po-n-ta*
child-surely mummy-ACC look_at -PRES-DECL
“(I am speaking with full confidence about the child) Surely the child is looking at his mummy.”
- (8) *ai ... emma-lul po-n-ta*
child PAUSE mummy-ACC look_at-PRES-DECL
“The child, he’s looking at her.”

The postposition *to* in example (6) indicates that, at the time of utterance, the speaker wants to ‘add’ the referent of the noun concerned to those mentioned already. The postposition *iya/ya* in example (7) relates to the speaker’s certainty about the referent of the noun concerned in their involvement in the situation represented by the clause. A bare NP (i.e. an NP without any postpositions as in example (8)) tends to occur with an ensuing pause, and does not have the contrastive force such as is carried by *un/nun*. All these postpositions do not bear information as to the preceding NP’s grammatical relation with the verb.

⁶⁷ *ul/lul* is also a postposition, and *ul* is used when the noun ends in a consonant, and *lul* elsewhere.

⁶⁸ The postposition *to* is also attached to the noun concerned.

⁶⁹ The postposition *iya/ya* is also attached to the noun concerned, and *iya* is used when the noun ends in a consonant, and *ya* elsewhere.

Our study is aimed at firstly explaining how the experiential role of a Topic NP that is not marked by a case marker is understood in Korean and secondly examining the Topic NP within the framework of systemic functional theory, particularly using the system of THEME in Korean proposed in Kim (2007).

2 Data

This study used a small scale corpus of spoken discourse drawn from a popular contemporary Korean TV talk show, entitled *Yasimmanman* (literally, ‘tens of thousands of minds at night’). It was a late night talk show, which ran on Seoul Broadcasting System on Mondays from February 2003 to January 2008. The programme was very popular, and the themes selected and participants’ talks given were regarded very relevant. The viewing rates were reported to be over 20% for an extended period time. Each episode ran as follows. The production team first set out two sets of questionnaires on common personal life issues, then put the questionnaires on the Internet, and collected responses from tens of thousands of people in their teens to their forties. All this happened well before the recording of the show. There were two to four main presenters, or MCs, and a panel of four to six guests for each show, and each of the guests was asked to make guesses on the five most popular answers to the given question by bringing in their relevant personal life experiences. The particular episode chosen for this study was the 200th one, broadcast on 19 February 2007. The theme of this particular episode was ‘achievements that my family has made collectively’.

The data analysis method was adopted from Kim (2007). The unit of analysis is clause and the clause complexes are divided into clauses by grouping each Process with whatever is associated with it experientially. Themes were analyzed following the Theme identification method proposed by Kim (for details see Kim 2007: 134-135).

The corpus consists of 502 clauses. As it was a spoken discourse, it naturally includes a number of minor clauses such as exclamations (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 153) and incomplete clauses. This study does not analyse these minor clauses as they seemed less significant for the purpose of the study. However, some of the incomplete clauses show very interesting aspects of Korean Theme, as discussed below. They are ‘repair in conversation’, indicating that the speaker is trying to find the right Theme. The study does not analyse interrogative and imperative clauses either, because the data was not sufficient in showing what the usual choice of Theme is in these types of clauses. The numbers of clauses by different clause types are summarized in Table 1.

Table 4 Numbers of clauses by different clause types

Clause type	Numbers of clauses
Declarative (only used in the study)	394
Interrogative	19
Imperative	18
Minor	53
Incomplete	18
Total	502

3 Findings

There are a number of interesting findings observed in the study that shed light on how Theme works in Korean. However, due to the limitation of space, this paper discusses only a few major findings that directly serve the purpose of the study outlined in Section 1.

In an attempt to address the issues within the framework of systemic functional theory, which have not been satisfactorily explained in Korean linguistics, we first examined what linguistic resources are indicative for the experiential role of the Topic NP marked by *un/nun*. We then re-visited the claim that the postposition *un/nun* is the topic marker in Korean by observing what seems to be the topic of each clause, and how it is realized, and by analyzing spoken and written texts in two corpora: the written text corpus was used for Kim 2007 and the spoken discourse corpus, collected for this study.

3.1 Assignment of experiential role of Topic NP

Korean is a language which has flexible word order but has various postpositions that come with nominal groups, each of which indicates how the nominal group concerned is to be interpreted in its context. In Korean linguistics circles these postpositions are classified into groups: case markers, supplementary markers, emotive postpositions, conjunctive postposition, special postposition, etc. Case markers include postpositions such as *i/ka* (Nominative case marker), *ul/lul* (Accusative case marker) and *ekye* (Dative case marker). Supplementary markers refer to postpositions such as *un/nun* (Topic marker), *to* (also, as well, too), and *man* (only). They are called ‘supplementary’ in the sense that each of them adds some ‘shades of meaning’ to the noun concerned. For instance, using *un/nun* adds that the referent of the noun has been singled out, perhaps to be talked about, while *to* tells that the referent of the noun is to be included in the pool of the things/people that have been talked about. A distinctive feature of supplementary markers is that they can come with any nominal group of the clause either by replacing the case marker or being added to the case marker. A case marker may be replaced by a supplementary marker but cannot be replaced by another. Postpositions such as *ya/iya* (surely, of course) and *na/ina* (or something) are called emotive postpositions as they indicate the speaker’s attitude towards the noun, more precisely to its referent.

When this phenomenon is examined in a systemic functional point of view, it can be argued that case markers and conjunctive postpositions function within the representation structure, indicating experiential and logical functions of the head noun or nominal group, respectively. Some of the supplementary markers, such as *un/nun* and *to*, function within the message structure, indicating textual functions of the noun concerned. Likewise, the majority of the emotive postpositions function within exchange structure, indicating various interpersonal functions.

Therefore, the experiential meaning of the Topic NP is not determined by the semantics of the verb and the postposition *un/nun*, but by the other nominal groups, each marked with a case marker. In *ai-ka* (child-NOM) in example (4) above, *ka* (NOM) indicates that *ai* (child) is the Sensor in the mental clause. When the Sensor is known, the other becomes the Phenomenon automatically. In *ai-nun emma-lul po-n-ta* (child-TOP mummy-ACC look at-PRES-DECL) in example (5), as *lul* indicates something that is seen (Phenomenon), people would know that *ai-nun* (child-TOP) is the Sensor.

3.2 A systemic functional interpretation of Topic NP

The analyses of the two corpora revealed that the postposition *un/nun* does have a textual function that highlights a certain constituent in the clause. However, they did not confirm that any constituent that is marked by *un/nun* is the Topic of the clause because any nominal

group can be marked by *un/nun* but when it comes in the middle of the clause, it does not seem to have the textual function of the Topic. In fact, the analyses showed that what seems to function as a topic or orientation of each clause is realised in a few interesting ways. Firstly, there are a number of clauses in the corpora that do not start with a Topic about which the rest of the clause is concerned, but with something else which points the reader to the unfolding discourse by providing circumstantial information or interpersonal attitude about the Topic. This is the reason why the notion of Theme is preferred to the notion of Topic in systemic functional grammar (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). That is, Theme is not just concerned with the experiential topic of the clause but also includes interpersonal and textual orientation of the speaker. Topical Theme is also classified into marked Theme and unmarked Theme depending on whether it is conflated with the Subject or not. Therefore, the notion of Topic NP refers to the unmarked topical Theme only and is naturally limited in its capacity to explain various elements that lead the reader to the unfolding discourse in authentic text or discourse. Thus from the following discussion, we will use the term Theme rather than Topic to present our findings.

Secondly, the topical Theme is usually implicit when it is obvious from the context of a situation in Korean. As discussed in Kim (2007), it is a significant phenomenon in understanding how Theme works. However, it will not be discussed as it is not the focus of the present study.

Thirdly, when the topical Theme is not obvious from the context of the situation, it comes at the beginning of the clause and is usually marked by *un/nun* or *i/ka*. When the analysis of the written text corpus was compared with that of the spoken discourse corpus, the most striking phenomenon observed was the frequency of topical Themes marked by *un/nun*. This was dramatically lower in the spoken discourse (7.8%) than in the written texts (32%). On the contrary, the frequency of topical Themes marked by *i/ka* was much higher in the spoken text (35%) than in the written texts (12%) as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 5 Comparison of topical Themes marked by *un/nun* and *i/ka*

	Themes marked by <i>un/nun</i>	Themes marked by <i>i/ka</i>
Written texts (Kim 2007)	32% (169/537)	12% (64/537)
Spoken discourse (present study)	8% (31/394)	35% (138/394)

The observation of topical Themes marked by *un/nun* suggests that speakers use topical Themes marked by *un/nun* in the spoken discourse when they start the discourse with a clear indication of a definite topic or view point or when they contrast two topics. Example (9) has two topical Themes marked by *un/nun*: the first one indicates what the clause is about and the second one indicates the view point from which the topic is described.

- (9) *kajok-i-la-nun kes-un na-hante-nun nay-ka manna-n choichoui sawhoe-nde ...*
 family-called thing-TOP me-DAT-TOP I-NOM meet-REL the_first society-CONN
 “As for (the thing called) family, to me, it is the first society that I ever met ...”

However, when the focus of the discourse is placed on “who did what”, the realization of the topical Theme tends to be marked by *i/ka*. This explains why the topical Theme marked by *un/nun* is more prominent in written texts, as these are where particular topics are written about. By contrast, the topical Theme marked with *i/ka* is more frequently observed in spoken discourse. This is where speakers exchange some event or news for which the information of “who did what” becomes more important.

In short, it is not only the nominal group marked by *un/nun* but also the nominal group

marked by *i/ka* that is a realisation of the topical Theme in Korean when it is placed at the beginning of the clause. Considering the prototypical nature of spoken texts, it seems that the most usual clause in Korean is when a nominal group marked by *i/ka* has three functions at the same time, Subject, Participant and Theme, and its textual function highlights newsworthy information. When a nominal group is marked by *un/nun*, it highlights a specific topic given in the context of a situation.

4 Concluding remarks

The findings discussed in this paper suggest that the existing claim that *un/nun* is the Topic marker is very limited in its explanatory power. It cannot explain various other resources employed to point the reader to the unfolding discourse in Korean. It seems to derive from its didactic tendency to assign one function to one postposition without considering multiple functions that one constituent can have in the clause. In conclusion, this paper suggests that it would be informative and useful to examine various existing syntactic claims about Korean from a multiple functional perspective and to re-interpret them in paradigmatic systems. This paper presented major findings from the first step toward the new approach that Shin and Kim started to take collaboratively.

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Thematic Structure and Theme Variation in the Language of Javanese ‘Ludruk’⁷⁰

Susanto

Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Medan – Indonesia

Email: susantonanda@gmail.com

Abstract

The paper aims to present an ongoing research on Javanese, a language of the Island of Java, in Indonesia. It describes systemic functionally how one of Javanese theatrical stories of everyday life, ‘Ludruk’, is variously organized in terms of thematic structure. It builds on the work carried out in Susanto (2005), but further expands the findings (i) by making explicit the dominant Theme choice made in the story and (ii) by identifying contextual motivation that underlies the variations of thematic structures in which the story unfolds. The paper will support the hypothesis that a clause in any language has the character of a message (Halliday, 1994, Matthiessen, 1995; cf. Rose, 2001) by showing how message is expressed in the textual organization of Javanese traditional spoken text, ‘Ludruk’, in which everyday life of the people in Indonesia is illustrated as an allusion to satire.

1 Introduction

Ludruk is a Javanese drama performing the story of Javanese myths and histories associated with daily life using satirical allusions. Susanto (2005) shows that it will be rather difficult to interpret and comprehend the story performed in Ludruk completely unless the viewers understand the language covering the message in which themes of every clause must be structured and organized in such a way that the message can reach them successfully. Further, it will be shown that themes found in the language of Ludruk vary since the language is spoken in context. It is not only language-in-action but also language as reflection; not only in dialogic mode but also in monologic mode. Functional and contextual motivations must promote the variation.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Systemic Functional Grammar

The theoretical framework of the paper refers to Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) proposed by M.A.K. Halliday. SFG views language as a resource for making meaning (Halliday, 1994). In SFG, further, any language in any context is seen as embodying three functions, namely, the ideational function — language used to organize, understand and express the perceptions of the world, the interpersonal function — language used to enable its user to engage in communicative acts and the textual function — language is used to create text and to relate it to its context.

Basically, the way in which language is used for different purposes and in different situations has shaped its structure. SFG, then, attempts to describe language in actual use and to focus on text and its contexts. It is concerned not only with the structures but also with how those structures construct meaning as well. Thus, to understand linguistic meaning, it is required to appreciate the function of each item in a structure.

⁷⁰ Ludruk is originally from East Java. It is a traditional Javanese drama that performs a story with relevant phenomena in the society. In the performance on the stage, the language is spoken spontaneously without any script to recite. The director only gives the outline of the story and appoints roles to the performers. Wherever Javanese community settle including in Tembung village, North Sumatra, Ludruk is commonly performed. Unfortunately, Ludruk, nowadays, is endangered because of less appreciation of it.

2.2 Thematic Structure

Thematic structure refers to how the message in a clause is organized by the thematic constituents, i.e. Theme and Rheme, yielding a wide range of marked and unmarked thematic options in relation to mood. Theme selection occurs in the environment of specific mood types and the unmarked option can be controlled by grammatical and pragmatic factors. For the theme component, Gerot and Wignell (1994) summarize the possible Themes in a clause according to metafunction (see table 1).

Table 1. Theme in relation to metafunction: thematic elements

METAFUNCTION	ELEMENT
Textual	Continuative Structural Conjunctive
Interpersonal	Modal Finite Wh-interrogative
Ideational	Topical (Subject, Complement or Circumstantial Adjunct)

In his account of the ideational theme system, Matthiessen (1995) outlines comprehensively the general system, as reproduced partly in figure 1.

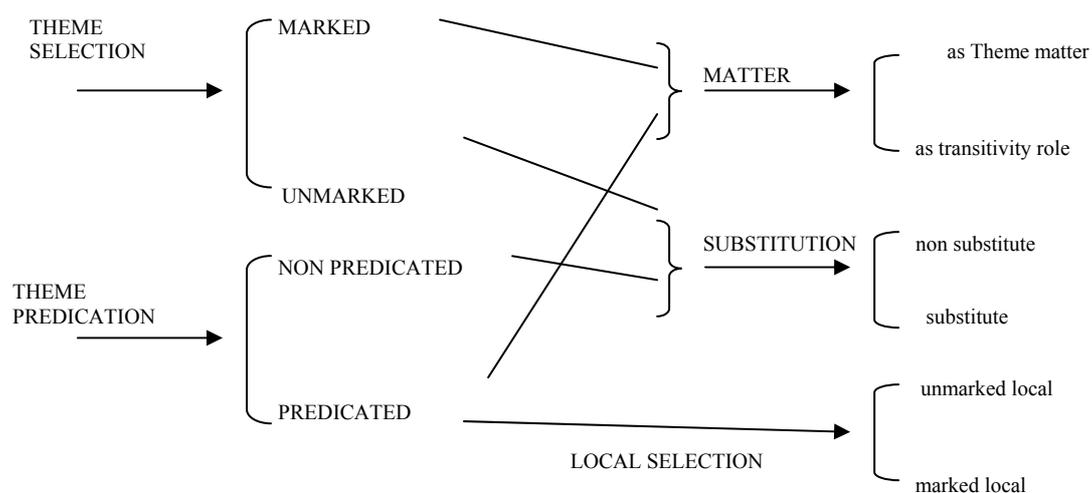


Fig. 1. Ideational Theme System

In relation to thematic structure, in which a clause is structured as Theme and Rheme, Halliday (1994) has hypothesized that all languages organize as their clauses as messages, as configurations of Theme and Rheme, and has suggested that sequence is likely to be a natural strategy for realizing Theme in relation to Rheme.

But in any given language the message is organized as a Theme-Rheme structure. And if this structure is expressed by the sequence in which the elements occur in the clause, it seems natural that the position for the Theme should be at the beginning of the clause rather than at the end or at some other specific point. (Halliday 1994: 38)

2.3 Theme Variation

Rose (2001) suggests that there are two motivations for theme variation, viz. functional and contextual. They are used to find the variation in Themes from the clauses by referring to

discourse functions. Firstly, in functional motivation, each Theme contextualizes its message in three possible dimensions of functions: i.e. (1) discourse explaining how the message is logically related to preceding messages, by means of conjunctions and continuatives (textual Themes); (2) interaction constituting the speakers' relationship, their assessments of the message or the move in the exchange which is being enacted (giving or demanding) by means such as vocatives, modal adjuncts, wh-elements and finite verbs (interpersonal Themes); and (3) field of activity describing the identity and role of key participants (persons or things), the process they are involved in or associated circumstances such as places, times or qualities (topical Themes).

Secondly, in contextual motivation, there are two orientations for general categories. He illustrates the categories as reproduced in Figure 2 in which arrows indicate that mode varies within each category; texts may be more or less field accompanying or field constituting, and more or less dialogic or monologic, spoken or written. It is said that this model of context, further, can be used to illustrate the discourse functions of Theme in the method of development of various types of text in a language.

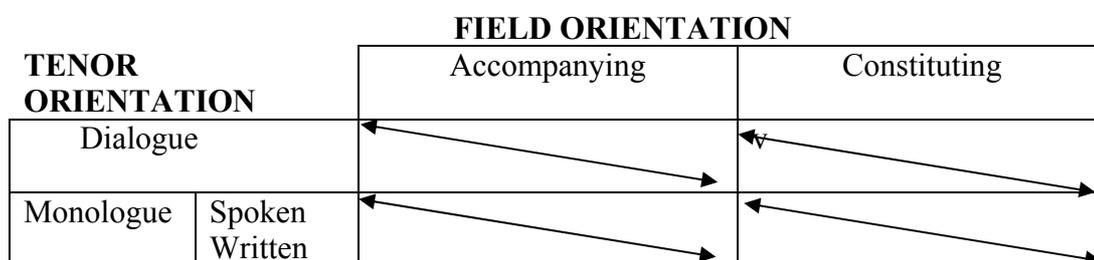


Fig. 2. Metafunctionally Oriented Dimensions of Mode Variation in Context

3 Analysis and Findings

3.1 Thematic Structure in the Language

As part of the investigation of Javanese Ludruk, 98 clauses have been analyzed and it is found that there are three types of Theme; topical Theme, textual Theme and interpersonal Theme. Each type of Theme is also varied based on further distinctions. These are marked and unmarked in topical Theme; continuative, conjunctive and structural in textual Theme; and modal adjunct, vocative, finite and wh-element in interpersonal Theme. Within the total number of themes, 198, there are 97 (49%) topical Themes, 51 (26%) textual Themes and 50 (25%) interpersonal Themes. See Table 1.⁷¹

Table 1. Topical, Textual and Interpersonal Themes

NO	THEMES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	Topical	97	49%
2	Textual	51	26%
3	Interpersonal	50	25%
Total		198	100%

The most dominant theme is topical. This fact says that most clauses in the language foreground some aspect of the perceptions of the world as thematically prominent. It represents the story with the Ludruk performers' perception related to the real phenomena

⁷¹ Tables 1 to 5 presented in the paper are reproduced from Susanto (2005a).

around the society. In this case, since the director of the performance only gives the outline of the whole story, the performers, therefore, must find their own perceptions on the stage. There must be spontaneously contextual collaboration among the performers to enrich the dialogues. Hence, many clauses are representative of the actual event.

Then, among the total number of topical Themes, the number of marked ones is 22 (22%), while the number of unmarked ones is 75 (78%), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Types in the Topical Theme

NO	TYPES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	Marked	22	22%
2	Unmarked	75	78%
Total		97	100%

Marked topical themes are, not surprisingly, less frequent than unmarked ones; most clauses have the expected type of Theme, an unmarked Theme. Consequently, the story will be easy to understand for most audiences. It also indicates that the performers with spontaneous collaboration tend to make every clause spoken so naturally that the message can be absorbed well.

Moreover, complex themes are more common than simple ones, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Simple and Complex Themes

NO	TYPES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	Simple	40	39%
2	Complex	62	61%
Total		102	100%

Thus the performers work hard to contextualize the information presented. There is much outspokenness during the performance. The performers are not content unless they contextualize the information presented with complex Themes. Now, consider other findings as shown in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4. Types of textual Theme

NO	THEMES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	Continuative	26	51%
2	Conjunctive Adjunct	12	23,6%
3	Structural	13	25,4%
Total		51	100%

Since the dominant textual theme is continuative, it can be said that there are many themes signaling that a new move is beginning in the clauses and relating to the context of situation. In other words, the performers have tried hard to show the move of every clauses uttered on the stage so that the audience will not miss how the story flows from the beginning till the end. Continuatives are easy utter by the one who knows the surroundings, with the purpose of stimulating and reminding when he forgets what to say.

Table 5. Types of interpersonal Theme

NO	THEMES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	Modal Adjunct	6	12%
2	Vocative	19	38%
3	Finite	14	28%
4	Wh-element	11	22%
Total		50	100%

Table 5 indicates that, in Ludruk, treating the vocative (a name or nickname used to address someone) as the starting point in the clause is most likely used for engaging in dialogue.

3.2 Theme Variation in the Language

In Javanese Ludruk, multiple Themes unfold as sequences of textual, interpersonal and topical elements. In other words, the ordering of thematic elements in the language is textual - interpersonal - topical Theme. When a major clause has only one Theme, it must include a topical one, while textual and interpersonal are optional.

Text 1 is an excerpt of the story entitled ‘Ajisaka’ reproduced from Siswanto et al. (1997). Themes are underlined, and the type of Theme element is indicated below. Some examples include pairs of clauses to show the environment of the Themes, numbered as 1 and 2. The analysis of the theme is presented in Table 6 (cf. Susanto, 2005b).

Text 1

- (1) Aku matur sembah nuwun marang siswa kabeh
I want pray thanks to student all
TOP. THEME
‘I want to give thanks to all students’
- (2) wis gelem marak ana ing padhukuhan Panjang
already want come in village Panjang
TOP. THEME
‘(who) have come in Panjang village’
- (3) 1 Kajaba ing Panjang sadurunge kuwi aku wis aweh wedar
Out side at Panjang earlier it I already give instruction
TOP. THEME
‘Out of Panjang village, earlier I’ve already given instruction’
- + 2 lan pendidikan ing pulau Majeki
and education in island Majeki
TEXT. TOP. THEME
‘and education in Majeki island’

Table 6. Theme Analysis

Clause	Textual Theme	Interpersonal Theme	Topical Theme
1			Aku
2			Wis gelem

3	lan		Kajaba ing Panjang Pendidikan
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Aku 'I' is the topical Theme in (1). Clause (3) is in paratactic extension in which the circumstance **Kajaba ing Panjang** 'in Panjang village' is treated as the unmarked topical Theme of the dominant clause and the structural conjunction **lan** 'and' is treated as textual Theme and the participant **pendidikan** 'education' as the topical Theme.

The investigation has also shown that Theme selections reflect not only the contrasts between monologue and dialogue but also the contrasts between action and reflection. In some scenes of the story, in relation to the tenor orientation of mode, the move in exchanges is framed by relationship of the roles on the stage and from the field perspective, the spoken text on the stage accompanies the field of action in which the topical Themes refer to the situation. However, in other scenes, most topical Themes refer to places and things in the situation. In this case, the performer is less concerned with enacting a relationship than with directing the other performer's attention to features of the context.

4 Conclusion

In Javanese Ludruk, clauses are structured thematically; the message embodied in any clause is structured as Theme followed by Theme. This fact supports the claim that a clause in any language has the character of a message (Halliday, 1994, Matthiessen, 1995; cf. Rose, 2001).

As in many other languages (but by no means all), the Theme may extend to include elements from all three metafunctions: topical, textual and interpersonal Theme. Each type of Theme has its own characteristics, such as marked and unmarked in topical Theme; continuative, conjunctive and structural in textual Theme; and modal adjunct, vocative, finite and wh-element in interpersonal Theme. The most frequent type of Theme is unmarked showing that there is agreement to a certain social issue such as; giving support, stating balance argumentation and proposing the tenor. Further, there have been four general types of contextual motivation for variation in the choice of Theme variation, between dialogue and monologue on the one hand, and accompanying or constituting a context on the other.

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Projection in Modern Greek

Chrystalla A. Thoma

cthoma@gmx.de

Abstract

In Modern Greek, projection, and in particular the hypotactic and embedded modes of projection, present certain particularities. Propositions are mainly constructed with ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-clauses and ‘*pu*’-clauses (“that”, indicative), and proposals with ‘*na*’-clauses (subjunctive). Cognitive and perceptive/cognitive processes project by means of ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-processes (indicative), although ‘*na*’-clauses (subjunctive) are used when the senser of the main clause, or the direct ‘phenomenon’, and the subject of the relative clause coincide (in English expressed by an embedded participle: “I heard him singing”). Desiderative processes project ideas by means of ‘*na*’-clauses, and emotive processes project *Facts* by means of ‘*pu*’-clauses for propositions, and ‘*na*’-clauses for proposals (reporting implicit requests). Concerning embedding, whereas in English, *Facts*, *Cases*, *Chances*, and *Proofs* project with propositions, and *Needs* with proposals, in Modern Greek, *Facts* and *Proofs* project with indicative (‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-clauses: propositions), whereas *Chances*, *Cases* and *Needs* with subjunctive (‘*na*’-clauses: proposals). Of particular interest is the use of the subjunctive and the indicative in projection according to aspect. A more detailed analysis of such cases will be provided, as well as the underlying reasoning.

1 Introduction

Projection is the option of ‘projecting’ a secondary clause through a primary (nexus) clause stating it as a *locution* or as an *idea* (Halliday 1985: 219). Three systems are involved in the differentiation of different kinds of projection: 1. the level of projection (*idea* vs. *locution*), 2. the mode of projection (*hypotactic*: reporting, *paratactic*: quoting or *embedding*: participle/bare infinitive), and 3. the speech function (projected *proposition* vs. projected *proposal*).

I will concentrate on the mode of projection (hypotactic and embedding), because therein, as well as in the speech function, lie the interesting differences between the English and Modern Greek system of projection. Modern Greek relies a lot on mood to differentiate between different forms of projection, as we shall see further down. First we give a brief overview of phenomena related to projection in English which we then contrast to Modern Greek, discussing the differences.

2 Projection in English

In English, projection distinguishes sensing and saying processes from being and doing processes, which do not project. The relation can be stated as: senser/sayer + proposition/proposal. Three modes of projection are common to both mental and verbal processes:

Quoting (paratactic relation): ‘I thought **“I’ll go and give blood”**’

Reporting (hypotactic relation): ‘I thought **(that) I’d go and give blood**’

Participle/bare infinitive (embedding): ‘I saw a man **give blood**’

2.1 Speech function:

2.1.1 Projection of ideas

While verbal processes project ‘locutions’ (wordings), mental processes project ‘ideas’ (meanings). A ‘proposition’ is information given or demanded (declaratives and requests respectively). When projected, it is a finite clause, e.g. “he said that he had done the laundry”. In contrast, a ‘proposal’ is when goods and services are given or demanded. When

projected, a proposal is an infinitive, e.g. “she told him to do the laundry”. This is one of the points where Greek differs from English, as illustrated below, in ‘Projection in Greek’.

2.1.2 Embedded projection

In English, single phenomena are expressed as *Acts* or ‘to’-infinitives, and metaphephenomena, are expressed as *Facts* (Halliday 1985: 249):

Acts are imperfective non-finite clauses, projected from nexus perception processes (e.g. “She saw the plane taking off”, and not *“I saw that the plane taking off”).

Facts are projected propositions (e.g. “I didn’t realise (the fact) that he had been waiting for me”). In English, *Facts* can act as independent agents and therefore be fronted with a passive form: ‘The fact that he had been waiting for me was not known to me’.

There are subcases to *Facts*: *Cases*, *Chances*, *Proofs* and *Needs* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 470). *Facts*, *Chances*, and *Proofs* are construed with embedded propositions (e.g. “There is a good chance things will go well”), whereas *Needs* are construed with embedded proposals (e.g. “It is necessary for you to come here”).

Now let us look at projection in Modern Greek.

3 Projection in Modern Greek

Greek is an inflected language with flexible word order. Finite ‘*na*’-clauses (subjunctive) have replaced the infinitive. So whereas in English the reported clause is finite for proposition and infinitive for proposal projection, in Modern Greek projection is always finite. The subjunctive, like the indicative, displays aspect (perfective – imperfective) and its use depends on the nexus clause.

3.1 Speech function

3.1.1 Projection of ideas

In Modern Greek the projection of propositions is realised by means of ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’/‘*pu*’ (that)-clauses (indicative), and of proposals by means of ‘*na*’-clauses (subjunctive). Verbal processes project according to this exact pattern (with ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-clauses for propositions). Among different types of mental processes, projection is realised differently.

Affection (emotive) processes project by means of ‘*pu*’-clauses for *Facts* (example 1a), and ‘*na*’-clauses for wishes, implicit requests and the future (example 1b). Therefore, desiderative clauses project ideas by means of ‘*na*’-clauses, typically expressing wish, but so do many emotive clauses, as in the example below.

- 1 a Tu aresi pu hamogelás
 He-PRO-GEN please-3SG-PRESENT *pu*(that) smile-2SG-IND-IMP
 Gloss: He likes the fact that you smile
- b Tu aresi na hamogelás
 He-PRO-GEN please-3SG-PRESENT *na*-MARKER smile-2SG-SUBJ-IMP
 Gloss: He likes it when you smile (or, He’d like you to smile, implicit request)

In English, certain clauses have the structure of a relational but the meaning of a mental affection process, for instance “I am happy that you made it”. In Modern Greek these attributes are more common as predicates: *Fovame* (“I fear”, “I am afraid”), *herome* (“I am happy”), etc, and they project as the other mental processes of affection as described above.

Because of the overlap of mental and relational meanings, ‘*Fact*’-clauses can also be expressed by ‘because’-clauses in the relational process form of the clause in English (Halliday 1985: 122). In an interesting parallelism, in Modern Greek, both examples 2a and 2b are correct, and both mean “it frightens me that you talk like that”, but among the meanings of ‘*pu*’ we find not only ‘that’, but also ‘because’ (example 2b).

- 2 a Fovame na milas etsi
 Fear-1SG-PRESENT *na*-MARKER talk-2SG-SUBJUNCTIVE like this
 Gloss: It frightens me that you talk like that
- b Fovame pu milas etsi
 Fear-1SG-PRESENT *pu*(that) talk-2SG-PRESENT like this
 Gloss: It frightens me that/because you talk like that

Modern Greek affection processes react with certain tense and aspect changes in a very distinct way, compared to the other two types of mental processes. When used with the perfective aspect in the past tense, the mental affection process ceases to be a state and becomes inceptive. This transformation means that it can only project if the projection is a ‘*Fact*’ (example 3a). Additionally, it is often encountered with a definite nominal group as ‘phenomenon’ (example 3b).

- 3 a Tu arese to oti piges
 Him-GEN please-3SG-PAST the-NOM *oti*(that) go-2SG-IND-PAST
 Gloss: He liked the idea that you went
- b Tu arese i idea na pai
 Him-GEN please-3SG-PAST the idea-NOM *na*-MARKER go-3SG-IMP-SUBJ
 Gloss: He loved the idea of going with them

Cognition and perception processes project by means of ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-clauses, which only express *Facts*, although a ‘*na*’-clause can be used when the subject of the main clause and of the projection coincide.

3.1.2 Embedded projection

In Modern Greek, metaphenomena expressed as *Acts* take a dependent ‘*na*’-clause. The nominal phrase or a clitic which functions as direct object is in the accusative:

- 4 a Ton ide na perpata
 Him-ACC see-3SG-PRF-PAST *na*-MARKER walk-3SG-IMP-SUBJ
 Gloss: He/she saw them walk/walking
- b Tus akuse na gelun
 Them-ACC hear-3SG-PRF-PAST *na*-MARKER laugh-3SG-IMP-SUBJ
 Gloss: He/she heard them laugh/laughing
- c Ide to distihima na simveni
 see-3SG-PRF-PAST the accident-ACC *na*-MARKER happen-3SG-IMP-SUBJ
 Gloss: He/she saw the accident happen/happening

There is no distinction between ‘he saw them come’ and ‘he saw them coming’ in Modern Greek, which is a phenomenon particular of the English language that Halliday calls the imperfective and perfective (Halliday 1985: 278). With Greek perception processes, the ‘*na*’-clause of the *Act* is always in the imperfective aspect (not to be confused with the use of the term ‘imperfective’ above – aspect in this paper is used according to Dahl 1985), expressing open-endedness. To express the perception of a concluded action, one needs to use an ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-clause (indicative) in the past.

Facts are usually found with perception and cognition processes and are realised by means of ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-clauses (example 5a).

- 5 a Den katalave (to gegonos) *oti* itan astio
 Not-NEG understand-3SG-PAST (the fact) *oti*(that) be-3SG-PAST joke-NOM
 Gloss: He/she did not realise the fact that it was a bomb
- b (To gegonos) *oti* itan astio den *to* katalave
 (The fact) that be-3SG-PAST joke-NOM not-NEG *it*-ACC understand-3SG-PAST
 Gloss: He/she did not realise the fact that it was a joke

Facts can also be fronted in Modern Greek in the same way as in English, albeit with obligatory clitic repetition, as seen in example 5b above (clitic in italics).

We saw in the section ‘Projection in English’ that *Cases*, *Chances*, and *Proofs* project with embedded propositions, whereas *Needs* with embedded proposals. In Greek things are a little different. For instance, *efkeria* (chance) projects with a ‘*na*’-clause, as do *anangi* (need) and *periptosi* (case). In contrast clauses *apodixi* (proof) projects with ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-clauses, as so does *gegonos* (fact). Here we see again the use of the subjunctive (‘*na*’-clause) at play, this time used with words that signify possibility, probability, a future event, a wish, whereas the second group of words of the nexus clause projects with an ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’-clause because they indicate certainty, and that is reinforced with the use of the indicative in the projection.

4 Conclusions

There are subtle differences between English and Modern Greek in the way projection functions. Reporting (hypotactic mode of projection) in Modern Greek is constructed with ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’/‘*pu*’-clauses and ‘*na*’-clauses, all of which have similar meaning (‘that’-clauses). The two types correspond to indicative and subjunctive clauses respectively. The play with the two grammatical moods and their combination with aspect depends on the nexus clause and its lexicogrammatical construing, and is closely related to the expression of probability and open-endedness (for the subjunctive) or, in the opposite case, certainty (for the indicative) as to the meaning of the projection. Embedded projection of *Acts* is construed by means of ‘*na*’-clauses in the imperfective aspect, while *Facts* and their subclasses project by means of ‘*oti*’/‘*pos*’/‘*pu*’-clauses or ‘*na*’-clauses according to the probability or certainty expressed in the nexus clause.

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Representations of Women in Six Japanese Folk Tales

Elizabeth A. Thomson

University of Wollongong
ethomson@uow.edu.au

Abstract

Folk tales are a valuable means of socializing children into the accepted cultural practices and beliefs in any given society. They are designed to entertain but also “to reflect and disclose our cultural presuppositions and values” (Toolan 1998:164). However, just what these values are depends on the nature and priorities of the culture in which they occur. For example, the purpose of the folk tale in Japanese is to acknowledge the cyclic structure of life (Tosu 1985).

This social purpose of the folk tale is achieved, in part, by how the protagonists in a story are portrayed: the way the characters are evaluated by the author, the events and actions in which they engage and their ‘habitual tenor of existence’ (Hasan 1996:55). Real life cultural values and behaviour are thus reflected in folk tales, including the conceptualization of women.

This study demonstrates the linguistic choices which operate to represent women as both powerless and powerful, depending on the context, in six well known Japanese folk tales. The study uses transitivity and appraisal analyses with the results suggesting that the attitudes of and towards women within the tales reflect and disclose Japanese presuppositions towards women.

1 Background

Within the realm of Western critical discourse analysis, the representations of both men and women are well documented (see for example, Cranny-Francis 1992; Tannen (?)...). Men are construed as active, competitive, rational and heroic, while women as passive, helpless, emotional, nurturing etc. These images reflect a patriarchal discourse of sexuality. The images of masculinity and femininity

have a powerful normative effect, they establish particular ways of behaving as feminine or masculine, so that any individual who attempts to dress, behave or even think differently faces the social sanction of being, by (patriarchal) definition, abnormal. As such they are an important part of understanding both how texts are engendered and how they engender their consumers (Cranny-Francis 1992: 2).

In relation to Japanese society, there is lots of anecdotal evidence to suggest that Japan, too, operates within a cultural framework of patriarchy. The central claim of this study is that women in Japanese folk tales are represented stereotypically within a traditional hegemonic discourse - a discourse which ‘naturalises’ the good woman as self-sacrificing, domestically agentive, powerless without spousal or parental permission, aspirational in marriage and a good hostess, and the bad woman as duplicitous, agentive over men and punishable for crimes and indiscretions. Quantitative and qualitative evidence will be presented to support this claim.

The quantitative analysis involves two methodologies. Firstly, the female roles in the tales are classified according to Petrova’s (2004) classification system, originally developed to investigate male characters in Japanese folk tales. The female roles are classified according to their role in the tale, their physical state of being, their associations, their capacity to transform and their origins. Secondly, a transitivity analysis of the females is conducted, mapping the process types they enter into and the participant roles that they play. This analysis is correlated with an ergative analysis, noting if and when women are agentive and when they are not. Finally, the experiential analyses are then complemented qualitatively by an appraisal analysis. All evaluations of women, are coded, noting who appraises them, how they are appraised, and on what basis they are evaluated.

The content and linguistic analyses set out to discover how women are represented in folk tales, the character roles they play, their habitual tenor of existence and what socialization messages they present to young women in Japan.

The six tales investigated in the study are:

1. *Meshikuwanu Onna* (The woman-who-does-not-eat)
2. *Momotaroo* (The Peach Boy or Peach Taroo),
3. *Tsuru Nyoo boo* (The Crane Wife)
4. *Uguisu no Sato* (The Nightingale's Town),
5. *Urashima Taroo* (Undersea World Taroo)
6. *Urihimeko* (The Melon Princess),

Meshikuwanu Onna (hereafter Not Eating) is about a bachelor who wishes to marry but wants only to marry a woman who doesn't eat. Such a woman visits his house and so they marry. She is a hard worker, doing many chores for him, however, she really is a woman who eats everything (even humans). The husband tries to escape after he sees her eating his friend. She then captures the husband, but just before she eats him, he manages to poison her and she dies.

Momotaroo (hereafter Peach) is about a boy born from a peach who is raised by an old couple. He decides to subjugate the devils who have stolen treasure from the local people. He gathers together a band of animal warriors and together they go to Devil's Island to demand the treasure be returned. *Momotaroo* and his band successfully subdue the devils and return home with the treasure triumphantly.

Tsuru Nyoo boo (hereafter Crane) is about a young man who rescues a crane from a hunter's trap. On the night following the rescue a woman comes to his door asking for a place to stay. Subsequently she asks to marry him. After the wedding, she weaves beautiful cloth which he sells, becoming wealthy. However, to weave the cloth, she has to revert to the crane. Eventually the husband discovers her true identity so she flies away. The husband searches for her, finding her on the Island of Cranes. They eat a meal together and then he returns home alone.

Uguisu no Sato (hereafter Nightingale) is about a young woodcutter who discovers an unusual house in the forest. He is asked by the mistress of the house to mind it while she goes to town. He agrees but is asked NOT to snoop around the house. Despite this, he does and, in the process, breaks three nightingale eggs which he finds in one of the rooms. The mistress is so distraught upon her return that she turns into a nightingale and flies away. The woodcutter is left alone in the woods.

Urashima Taroo (hereafter Turtle) is about a young fisherman whose mother begs him to find a wife. While fishing, he catches a turtle which transforms into a underwater world princess. He is entertained by the princess in her world however, upon returning to his home, he finds his mother long dead. In desperation he opens a box given to him by the princess which transforms him into a crane. The crane and the princess, once again a turtle, dance together in the Dance of the Ise.

Urihimeko (hereafter Melon) is about a girl born from a peach who is raised by an old couple. While her parents are away she is enticed to go out and play with a witch. The witch promptly kills her and returns to the old couple's house impersonating *Urihimeko*. The witch attempts to marry the wealthy landlord but is found out and murdered by the old couple on the way to the marriage ceremony.

2 Classification of female characters

In this corpus of tales, the protagonist, the main character, is typically male except for the protagonist in Melon. Table 1 sets out the classification of the female characters in the tales.

It is in the supporting character roles that women feature. Every story in the corpus has supporting female roles. They are either nuclear, in the sense, that these characters are crucial to the unfolding events on the story, or non-nuclear, in that they are incidental to the events of the story. The typical non-nuclear female character in the stories is the human, mother figure. The other non-nuclear figures are the daughters of the significant female character in the story.

Otherwise, the females are nuclear, supernatural and transformative. The transformations of the female characters are of three kinds: from supernatural to human, from supernatural to animal, and from animal to human, such as the crane wife. For example, there is the devil who transforms into the woman-who-does-not-eat; the dragon princess who transforms into a turtle and the nightingale who transforms into a woman. These supernatural women are both good and evil. The dragon princess, the nightingale woman and the crane wife are all good female characters, while the witch and the woman-who-does-not-eat are evil. These nuclear female characters are all 'other' worldly and out-group. They are either strangers or travelers to the male protagonist or his mother.

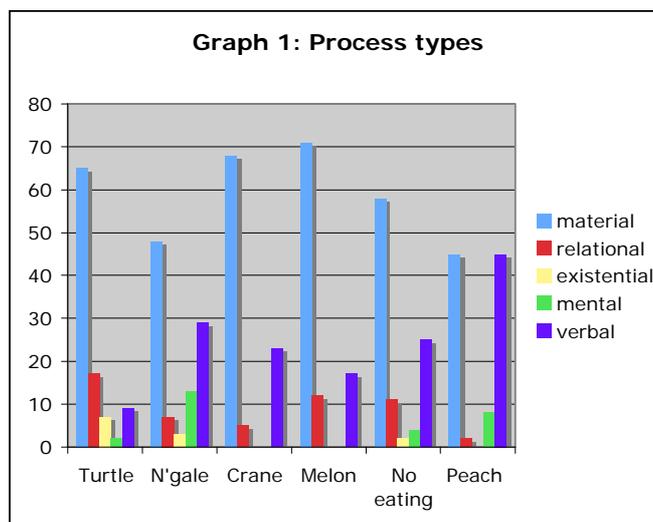
Table 1: Female character classification

Tale	Protagonist	Female Characters	Role	Nature of being	Association	Transformations	World
Turtle	the fisherman	1.Fisherman's mother	Other: non-nuclear	Human	In group: Mother	None	Real world
		2.Dragon princess	Other: Nuclear	Super-natural: water world princess	Out group: Stranger	Turtle to princess	Other: Water
		3.Dragon daughters	Other: non-nuclear	Super-natural: of the dragon palace	Out group: Stranger	None	Other: Water
Not eating	A bachelor	1.A woman	Other: Nuclear	Super-natural: Devil woman	Out group: Traveller	Supernatural to human to supernatural	Other: kingdom of the devil
N'gale	A young woodcutter	1.A Woman	Other: Nuclear	Supernatural: Nightingale	Out group: Stranger	Bird to human to bird	Other: Sky
		2.Her three daughters	Other: non-nuclear	Supernatural Nightingales	Out group: Related to stranger	Bird to human to bird	Other: Sky
Crane	A bachelor called <i>Karuko</i>	1.His mother	Other: non-nuclear	Human	In group: Related to protagonist	None	Real world
		2.A woman	Other: Nuclear	Super-natural: a crane	Out group: Traveller	Bird to human to bird	Other: Sky
Melon	The Melon Princess	1.The Melon Princess	Main character	Human	In group: Adopted daughter of old couple	Born from a fruit (melon)	Real world
		2.The witch	Other: nuclear	Supernatural: Witch	Out group: But known by parents	Witch to princess	Real world

		3.The mother	Other: non-nuclear	Human	In group: Adopted mother	None	Real world
Peach	Peach Boy	1.The mother	Other: non-nuclear	Human	In group: Adopted mother	None	Real world

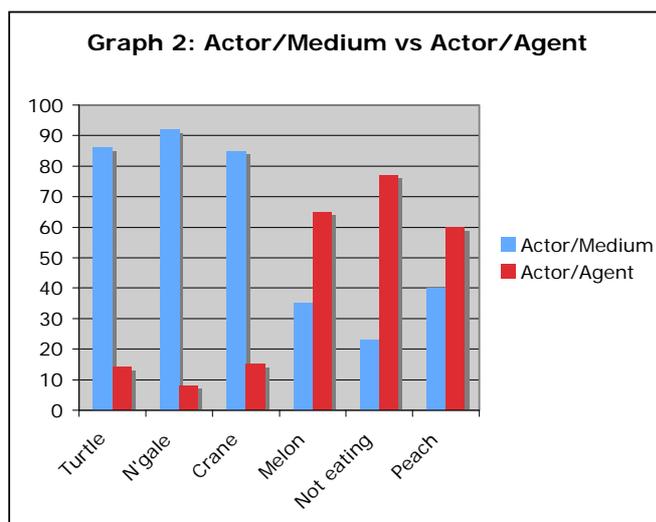
3 Transitivity and Ergativity analyses

Across the corpus, the material process is the most common process type. This is illustrated in Graph 1. The stories are mostly about happenings and doings with some dialogue. The verbal process is interesting in that the verbal projection by a nuclear female role often requests marriage. The woman is not proposed to but, rather, proposes. The relational processes are present to assign qualities to the women, typically in relation to their appearance: their beauty, their age etc., while, the existential process tends to be formulaic, occurring in the opening stages of the stories, as in “there once was an old couple”.



When considering the ergative roles (see Graph 2), women in the stories are Mediums significantly more often than they are Agents. They are the Actor, mostly in middle clauses, involved in happenings, sayings and being. For example, in terms of happenings: the woman ‘comes’, ‘goes’, ‘lies down’, ‘wakes’, ‘runs’ etc. In terms of sayings: she ‘says’, ‘shouts’, ‘begs’, ‘whispers’ etc. and in terms of being: she is ‘beautiful’, ‘skillful’, ‘old’ etc. Typically she does not act on other people or the natural world.

There are occasions when the woman is the Agent. Agency occurs in two contexts: firstly when the woman seeks marriage, for example, when the turtle princess, wanting to be married to the fisherman, tries repeatedly to be caught, ‘grabbing the side of the boat with both flippers’ and secondly, when the woman engages in self-sacrifice. For example, the crane wife ‘pulls out her own feathers to weave the fine cloth’. Further there are two kinds of agency: domestic agency and negative agency against men. Domestic agency impacts on inanimate participants, such as the activities of cooking rice and fish, that is, the typical chores of women in the kitchen. Both ‘good’ and ‘bad’ women have domestic agency in these tales. Negative agency impacts men and is reserved for the ‘bad’ woman. Acts such as ‘catching the man and his friends’, ‘eating the man’, ‘carrying the man like a cat, ‘killing Urihimeko’ occur. The good women are more often Mediums than Agents, including the good supernatural woman, the crane wife. In contrast, the bad supernatural women, the witch and the woman-who-does-not-eat is Agent more often Medium.



4 Appraisal Analysis

The pattern of evaluation is identified by the appraisal analysis as follows. Overall, women are evaluated negatively. This even includes the good women in Turtle, Crane and Melon. Only the women in Nightingale are evaluated positively. However, the Nightingale story is interesting in that the main male character is the one who is bad. It is a reverse of the typical good man/bad woman scenario.

In the other stories, apart from Peach which has no female nuclear supporting role, the 'good' women do things which are evaluated negatively. For example, the crane wife because her husband believes she won't stay; and Urihimeko because she could not resist the witch's persistence etc. The 'bad' women, the man eating wife and the witch are also negatively appraised. The spread and ratio of negative to positive evaluations are detailed in Table 2.

In summary, women are evaluated according to their appearance, circumstances and behaviour. Mothers' ages are indicated and women who are young are typically described as cute or beautiful. In conjunction with their beauty, there is also a reference to some kind of domestic skill, such as weaving or cooking. The pattern of evaluation in the stories usually begins with positive appraisals of the nuclear female characters which are then replaced with negative appraisals as the story complication appears and the sequent events unfold.

Table 2: Female evaluations:

Text	Total clauses	% Appraising clauses	% Appraising female clauses	Ratio Neg vs Pos
Turtle	166	16%	48%	3:1
No eating	168	21%	75%	20:7
Nightingale	112	24%	11%	0:3
Crane	153	18%	46%	8:5
Melon	120	28%	65%	9:2
Peach	335	n/a	n/a	n/a

5 Conclusion

From the linguistic analyses, the habitual tenor of existence of women in Japanese folk tales seems to be that women as Actors/Mediums are engaged in happenings and beings, while as Actor/Agents, they are conscientious domestic workers and agentive in the pursuit of marriage and in the act of self-sacrifice, however, female agency can be used negatively against men. As Goals, women are affected by men and her parents.

Apart from her domestic power, women seem powerless in the real world. They aren't free to act independently and crimes against women go unpunished, yet a woman's crime doesn't. Women appear to be a cost burden to men and have the potential to be capricious and duplicitous. Typically in the tales, they are not protagonists, rather they are responsible for the complications in the stories, either requesting something from the protagonist, or repaying the protagonist for good or bad deeds.

So what does this tell contemporary females, in most cases, the little girls who have these stories read to them by their parents about the socialisation of women in Japanese society? From the evidence of these six stories, I would posit that young women are socialised to aspire to marriage, entrust power to others and ask permission to do things, to anticipate being a domestic worker, to sacrifice themselves for others and to accept that injustices will be done to them.

6 Acknowledgment

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Eight English Noun Phrase Types as Indicators of Genres (News and Novels) in ICE-SIN

Yang Kun

Xiamen University Tan Kah Kee College
English Language Department
Xiamen University Tan Kah Kee College
Xiamen University Zhangzhou Campus
Zhangzhou Development Zone, Fujian, P.R. China.
sharonyangk@yahoo.com

Abstract

In recent years language researchers have become interested in examining types of variation and changes that occur in a particular linguistic system across genres (Horowitz & Samuels eds.1987; Biber 1988; Ghadessy ed. 1988; Biber & Finegan eds. 1994; Hudson 1994, and Biber et al, 1999, to name a few). Noun phrase type is one kind of linguistic feature that has been selected to conduct quantitative and qualitative analyses for establishing distinctions between genres (Aarts 1971; Chafe & Danielewicz 1987:98; Finegan & Biber 1994:322; Biber 1988; Haan 1989; Ni 1999; Hong 2000; Zhou 2001). The present study attempts to investigate in depth the variation of English noun phrases with respect to their grammatical classifications across the genres of news and novels in the Singapore Component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-SIN). Two major statistical tools, General Linear Model (GLM) procedure and the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), have been employed to compare the mean occurrences of different NP types among different text categories. On the basis of quantitative analysis according to structural classification of NPs, the study finds that different NP types are identified as indicators to distinguish news from novels in ICE-SIN. The distribution patterns of different types of noun phrases reflect the underlying linguistic requirements or preferences of different genres with regard to their different generic characteristics and their social and communicative functions.

1 Introduction

There has been a growth of interest in the study of both diachronic and synchronic language variation and the similarities and differences in distribution of linguistic features which mark out one genre from another, across genres and / or registers, based on a variationist approach combined with a corpus-based approach. The main methodological tool is the frequency of a specific feature or multiple features, that is, the number of occurrences of these particular linguistic items, whether phonological, morphological, lexical or syntactic, within a given stretch of text. The aim of the present study is to investigate in depth the variation of English noun phrases (NPs) with respect to their grammatical and semantic classifications across the genres of news and novels.

1.1 The aim of the present study

The aim of the current study is to use a corpus-based approach to investigate the distributions of different types of noun phrases, according to structural classifications in news and novels in ICE-SIN. By the choice of noun phrases as the linguistic feature for examination, the current study reflects the fact that nouns are of pivotal importance in English. It has been observed that along with verbs they are a dominant part of speech, and that the semantic content of sentences is borne mostly by nouns (Algeo 1995: 203). Different genres choose different types of noun phrases reflecting the characteristics and social functions of these different genres.

1.2 Research Questions

The study concerns the description of eight English noun phrase types in three text categories, representing news and novels, selected from the corpus ICE-SIN. It sets out to

seek the answers to the following research questions: 1) What is the relationship among genres (news and novels), the frequencies of occurrence of the eight English NP types, and their distribution patterns? 2) Can these eight NP types be indicators of genres in ICE-SIN? 3) How do we explain the distribution of all the NP types as indicator of genres in ICE-SIN? 4) What discourse explanations may be sought for their distribution?

1.3 Hypothesis

The following possibilities can be proved through careful study. 1) There is co-relationship among genres, the frequencies of occurrence, and distribution patterns of the eight types of English Noun Phrases. 2) The frequencies of occurrence and distribution patterns of the eight NP types can be taken as indicators to distinguish news from novels in ICE-SIN.

2 Overview of Relevant research

Noun phrase type is one kind of linguistic feature that has been selected to conduct quantitative and qualitative analyses for distinguishing between genres. Previous work on variations of syntactic features relating to NPs among genres includes Aarts (1971) who studied the noun phrase types in English clause-structure; Chafe & Danielewicz (1987: 98) and Finegan & Biber (1994: 322) who studied the complexity of noun phrases in terms of the prepositional phrases and attributive adjectives; Biber (1988) who studied the use of pronouns and nominalization; Haan (1989) who studied postmodifying clauses; Ni (1999) who studied noun phrases with different degrees of complexity in the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB); Hong (2000) who studied complexity as well as syntactic roles of noun phrases in ICE-GB; and Zhou (2001) who studied noun phrases with different types of premodifiers in seven text categories in ICE-GB. The current study will investigate eight NP types in news and novels in ICE-SIN. The corpus-based analysis of linguistic features through study of authentic texts can identify widespread language conventions on the basis of substantial evidence, explore language characteristics that were previous unrevealed, and provide researchers with fresh perspectives to exemplify and re-examine traditional structural descriptions.

3 Classification of NPs

In order to uncover the occurrence patterns of different types of premodifiers, postmodifiers, as well as different types of noun phrase head only, the current study provides a more specific sub-classification of noun phrases. The researcher has classified NPs into eight NP types according to the complexity of NPs (Here 0 means that there are no other modifying constituents).

NP1: 0 + Pronoun Head + 0: This kind of NP is pronoun head only, without any determiners, premodifiers and postmodifiers.

NP2: 0 + Common noun Head + 0: This kind of NP is common noun head only, without any determiners, premodifiers and postmodifiers.

NP3: 0 / the + Proper noun Head + 0: This kind of NP is proper noun head with or without determiner "the", without any premodifiers, and postmodifiers.

NP4: Det/Prem + Head + 0: This kind of NP is an NP with Det or /and Premodifier, without any postmodifiers.

NP5: 0 + Head + PP: This kind of NP is an NP with prepositional phrase (PP) as postmodifier, without any determiners or premodifiers.

NP6: 0 + Head + CL: This kind of NP is an NP with Clause (CL) as postmodifier, without any Determiners or premodifiers. Clausal postmodifiers can be either finite postmodifying clauses or non-finite postmodifying clauses.

NP7: 0 + Head + Others: This kind of NP is an NP with other kinds of postmodifiers, such as postposed adjectives, noun phrases in apposition, adverb phrases (time or place).

NP8: (Det)/Prem + Head + Post: This kind of NP is an NP with determiners and/or premodifiers and postmodifiers.

4 Different types of NPs and different genres in ICE-SIN

4.1 Distribution of NP1 across news and novels in ICE-SIN

The result of GLM analysis in Table 1 below shows that distribution differences of NP1 among the genres chosen are statistically significant. ($F=47.70$, $p<0.001$) and no significant “within group” differences are found. Among all the different NP types studied, NP1 is the most salient predictor of generic difference, with the highest r^2 value (62.60%) This value is over 50%, which indicates very strong relationships between the distribution patterns of NP1 and different genres. NP1 is a good predictor of genre difference with the highest r^2 value among all different types of NPs.

Table 1 GLM analysis of distribution of NP1 across news and novels
 $F=47.70$; $p<0.001$; $r^2=62.60\%$

Genre		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
News	Bnews	20	81.30	57.73
	Pnews	20	100.65	31.41
Novels		20	225.70	58.38

4.2 Distribution of NP2 across news and novels in ICE-SIN

NP2, which consists of only common noun heads, is evenly distributed among the three text categories. Bnews and Pnews texts contain a mean of 58.95, 64.95 respectively, and novels one of 50.70, a numerical difference which is negligible. The GLM analysis indicates that there are no significant differences in the distribution of NP2 among the three text categories with $F=3.05$, $p>0.05$. NP2 is the only NP type among the eight which shows $p>0.05$ (beyond the significant level). The r^2 value (9.7%), which is the lowest one among the eight NP types, indicates that there is no relationship between the distribution of NP2 and the genres. NP2 is thus not a significant predictor of genre differences to distinguish news from novels.

Table 2 GLM analysis of distribution of NP2 across news and novels
 $F=3.05$; $p>0.05$; $r^2=9.7\%$

Genre		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
News	Bnews	20	58.95	21.70
	Pnews	20	64.95	16.81
Novels		20	50.70	15.94

4.3 Distribution of NP3 across news and novels in ICE-SIN

Significant differences can be found in the distribution of frequencies of NP3, proper nouns, among genres. These differences are statistically significant ($F=38.63$, $p<0.001$). The GLM analysis indicates that NP3 is a good predictor of genre difference with $r^2=57.50\%$. An r^2 value over 50% shows there is a strong relationship between NP3 and genres. In another words, NP3 can be distinctive predictor for news versus novels. It is interesting to find that within the news genre, Bnews and Pnews also show significant differences in terms of the distribution of this NP3.

Table 3 GLM analysis of distribution of NP3 across news and novels
 $F=38.63$; $p<0.001$; $r^2=57.50\%$

Genre		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
News	Bnews	20	128.25	30.35
	Pnews	20	74.50	28.15
Novels		20	47.50	30.02

4.4 Distribution of NP4 across news and novels in ICE-SIN

NP4 occurs with the highest frequencies in the two genres (its overall mean occurrence is 240.57 per text). The GLM analysis (see Table 4 below) indicates that there are significant differences in the distribution of NP4 among the three text categories with $F=6.14$; $0.001 < p(0.04) < 0.05$. But p shows that there is a slight significant difference. The r^2 value (17.70%) indicates that there is not a strong relationship between the distribution of NP4 and the genres. NP4 can be a predictor of genre difference but not a good one.

Table 4 GLM analysis of distribution of NP4 across news and novels

$F=6.14$; $0.001 < p < 0.05$; $r^2=17.70\%$

Genre		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
News	Bnews	20	264.00	59.77
	Pnews	20	241.10	28.52
Novels		20	216.60	33.29

4.5 Distribution of NP5 across news and novels in ICE-SIN

NP5, noun phrases with only a prepositional phrase (PP) as postmodifiers. The result of GLM analysis in Table 5 below shows that the distribution difference of NP5 across news and novels is statistically significant ($F=13.68$; $p < 0.001$). The r^2 value (32.4%) is over 20%, which indicates there is a noteworthy relationship between the distribution patterns of NP5 and different genres. The distribution difference of NP5 across news and novels is statistically significant. NP5 occurs more commonly in news genres than in novels, and there is a thus noteworthy relationship between the distribution patterns of NP5 and the two genres. Even though it is sparsely distributed in both genres, NP5 can be an indicator to differentiate news from novels.

Table 5 GLM analysis of distribution of NP5 across news and novels

$F=13.68$; $p < 0.001$; $r^2=32.4\%$

Genre		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
News	Bnews	20	20.20	7.61
	Pnews	20	21.00	5.69
Novels		20	11.80	4.85

4.6 Distribution of NP6 across news and novels in ICE-SIN

NP6, noun phrases with only clauses as postmodifiers, occur with the lowest frequencies in news and novels, with an overall mean occurrence of only 7.07 per text. The GLM analysis indicates that there is a significant difference in the distribution of NP6 among news and novels, with $F=7.25$, $0.001 < p < 0.05$. The r^2 value (20.30%) indicates a noteworthy relationship between distribution of NP6 and the genres. NP6 is thus a significant predictor of genre difference. It plays the predictor role of distinguishing Bnews from Pnews, but it does not play the same role of distinguishing news from novels. Pnews is quite different from Bnews in terms of the distribution of NP6, while Pnews shares common characteristics with novels in this regard.

Table 6 GLM analysis of distribution of NP6 across news and novels

$F=7.25$; $0.001 < p < 0.05$; $r^2=20.30\%$

Genre		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
News	Bnews	20	4.60	3.83
	Pnews	20	9.85	5.06
Novels		20	6.75	4.16

4.7 Distribution of NP7 across news and novels in ICE-SIN

NP7 noun phrases consist of postmodifiers apart from PPs and clauses. Quirk (1985) called these types of postmodification by adverb phrases and postposed adjectives “minor types of

postmodification". In the current study, NP7 includes postmodification by adverb phrases, postposed adjectives and appositive noun phrases. NP7 occurs with the second lowest frequencies next to NP6 in news and novels with an overall mean occurrence of only 7.43 per text. The GLM analysis indicates that the distribution of NP7 is a good predictor of genre difference ($r^2=42.60\%$). The difference across news and novels is significant ($p<0.001$) in terms of the distribution of this type of NP. It is interesting to note that all those examples with NP7 are frequently found in news. In novels such examples are extremely rare. Since news tends to use more NP7 than novels, the difference across news and novels is significant in terms of the distribution of NP7, and thus NP7 is a good indicator to distinguish Bnews from novels.

Table 7 GLM analysis of distribution of NP7 across news and novels

$F=21.17; p<0.001; r^2=42.60\%$

Genre		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
News	Bnews	20	11.30	4.07
	Pnews	20	7.10	3.98
Novels		20	3.90	2.55

4.8 Distribution of NP8 across news and novels in ICE-SIN

NP8, noun phrases consisting of determiners and/or premodifiers and postmodifiers, present a wealth of additional propositional information. NP8 is one of the commonest type of noun phrases in news and novels. Compared with novels, news has a higher frequency of this type of NPs than novels. Table 8 below shows the GLM results which indicate that NP8 ($F=10.14$; $p<0.001$) is an indicator to distinguish news from novels. The r^2 value (26.20%) shows that there is a noteworthy relationship between the distribution of NP8 and different genres. Compared with novels, news has a slight greater preference for premodification alone (NP4), as well as premodification together with postmodification (NP8). News can be distinguished from novels in terms of distribution of NP8, and thus NP8 can be used as an indicator of different genres.

Table 8 GLM analysis of distribution of NP8 across news and novels

$F=10.14; p<0.001; r^2=26.20\%$

Genre		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
News	Bnews	20	92.00	21.24
	Pnews	20	73.00	20.30
Novels		20	67.25	11.38

5 Conclusions

In the current study, I have undertaken an analysis of the distributions of eight English noun phrase types across 60 texts, representing news and novels genres in ICE-SIN. The analysis has revealed some differences in the choice of the different NP types in different genres.

The news genre favours NP3, NP4, NP5, NP7, NP8. News makes use of NP3 (proper noun head only) since "who" and "where" are two main aspects of news; News uses NP4 (NP with only premodification), NP5 (NP with only PP as postmodifier), NP7 (NP with postmodifiers apart from PPs and CLs) for the purposes of brevity, one of the obvious requirements of news genres; News also uses NP8 (noun phrase with both pre- and post-modifications) for its capacity to pack more information into the noun phrase while Novels favour NP1 (pronoun head only). Novels frequently make use of NP1 since nouns and noun equivalents are frequently restated on the second mention by pronouns; Personal attitudes and comments are frequently involved in narration in novels. Except for the case of NP2, all the NP types studied are statistically proved to be distinctive indicators of genres in ICE-SIN.

These findings from the data analysis provide evidence to show that there is a co-relationship between genre types and the frequencies of occurrence and patterns of

distribution of different NP types. The validity of this approach, using noun phrases as predictors of different genres, is strengthened by the findings of present study.

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Russian Poems and their English Translations: Is there crime in a rhyme? Is there reason in rhythm? Is metaphor a poem's core?

Ivan Berazhny

English Department, University of Helsinki, Finland
Itämerenkatu 16 F 130
Helsinki 00180 Finland
ivan.berazhny@helsinki.fi

Abstract

This paper will show how both the practitioners (poets and translators) and those philologists who are dealing with challenges in poetry translation can apply systemic functional theory and allow for more concordance between the original poetic texts in Russian and the text of English translation. Despite the differences between these languages, the paper will outline why the task of translating Russian poetry into English should not be perceived as a permissive one. Instead, the paper will argue that the translator's stance towards Russian poetry should be that of a linguist and that of a poet. Rhyming, rhythm, phonetic symbolism, and metaphors in the original poem should not be approached as expendable constraints but rather as the material for linguistic analysis and as guidelines for the translator's own poetic creativity. The presenter's own translation will be used as an example.

1 Introduction

Every act of using language is creative in terms of meaning-making. Such fundamental creativity pertains both to meaning-making within one language and through texts where languages meet in the form of translation. Sometimes translation is seen as a semiotic activity that requires much training without the guarantee that the training will result in quality. At least, this is the conclusion of some practicing translators and even translation teachers. Many established translators, interpreters, and even advisors in my degree programme⁷² in Minsk State Linguistic University, Belarus used to stress that the skills of translation can only be acquired in the course of continuous professional practice, and only if a future translator has a talent. Such statements are hard to refute, especially if it is poetry that needs to be translated; and moreover, if the language of the original and the translation language are as distinct as Russian and English.

And yet, this paper will argue that mystifications about translators and translated texts should not be welcome when studying and translating Russian poetry. Instead, the paper will offer a guidance to disentangle the complex network of factors that determine the process of translation. Firstly, the specificity of Russian poetry needs to be demystified, i.e. understood in its historical and linguistic context. Secondly, translation needs to be rethought of as a part of publishing industry. Thirdly, several aspects of a translator's work need to be exemplified. Throughout this paper I will try to argue that the entrance into the world of complex language use, such as poetry and its translation, can be facilitated by linguistic skills. To do so, I will rely on my own translation experience, competence of other modern authors and translators, and on my recent training in the field of systemic functional linguistics.

2 Poetry and how it became Russian

Probably no definition of poetry can fully embrace a vast group of texts across time and cultures that people generally perceive as poetic art. While poets, publishers, readers and academics seem to agree that poetry has many types, poetry itself is hard to define. When one

⁷² In 1995-2000 I graduated from the Interpreters' Department with research specialization in grammatical challenges of Russian-English-Russian translation.

adopts the systemic functional perspective, poetry becomes seen as a form of language use and as a multisemiotic meaning-making. This section will share such vision of poetry by briefly demonstrating some of Halliday's views on meaning-making.

According to M.A.K. Halliday, language is a stratified system (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The semiotics of poetry, as any other type of language use, keeps its meaning-making engine at the stratum of lexicogrammar. Halliday has also convincingly showed that lexicogrammars of particular languages have emerged as probability systems (Halliday 2005). Not only language users become inherently tuned to probabilities of lexicogrammatical realizations in all of the surrounding texts, these probabilities are constantly adjusted through their language use along the trajectory of their social human development.

As a type of language use, poetry is such a meaning-making that has both natural and design aspects and stretches the horizons of linguistic resources. On the one hand, poetry is a deliberately spontaneous use of less probable realizations of linguistic potential. For example, poetic texts tend to rely on less probable patterning of words than a language user would expect, even if such low probability is kept within the naturally evolved ways of meaning-making of a given language. On the other hand, through poetry, language users initiate dense layerings of meanings, which are not only kept within linguistic systems, but involve further semanticization of material expression resources, thus bringing symbolism of language out to other systems and vice versa, the symbolism of other systems into multisemiotic meaning-making. Thus poetry is a testing laboratory, where 'fresh', less expected realizations are coined, and where complex layering of meaning across strata result in complex heteroglossia. In this regard, Bakhtin used to comment that poetry 'squeezes all the juices out of the language' (Bakhtin 1975: 46). And so, through poetry, people are invited to see the world in a way that their lexicogrammars have not yet made highly probable. Additionally, the density of poetic meaning-making triggers multiple construals of the world, making sense of which in certain contexts can deliver aesthetic pleasure.

Since poetry can be roughly defined as art, it makes sense to note that art (as a way to organize the world and one's experience of it) predates language literacy. In other words, poetry as art may be as old as language itself. In the past, non-linguistic art was more preservable through hand work, while pre-literacy poetic art must have relied on speech interaction of people and on their memory. Thus speech became subject not just to segmentation and linearity of segments in time/space (unfolding meaningful sound clusters), but also to other types of patterning, such as rhythm (tonic patterning of stressed and unstressed syllables), and rhyme (phonic patterning of syllables through sound similarity). While such patterning may not be universal, literary critics distinguish rhythm and rhyme arrangements across all ranks of a poetic text (at least in a Western tradition). For example, a distribution of stress within a group of syllables forms a foot. Feet can be classified according to how stress is arranged. For instance, an unstressed syllable can be followed by a stressed one (iamb). At the same time, a number of sequenced feet form a metrical line. In a poem such a line usually coincides with a graphic line and is referred to as having metrical rhythm. Metrically rhythmic lines are classified according to the number of feet they contain. For example, dimeter has two feet in a line; trimeter – five; tetrameter – four; etc. Fig. 1 below shows a simplified network of rhythmic arrangements.

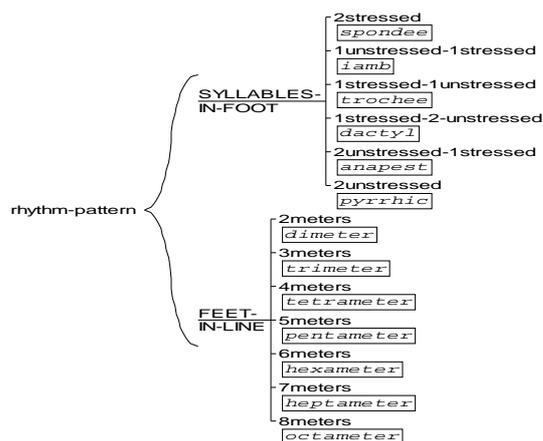


Fig. 1 Rhythmic patterns as feet and lines

The foot and line metrical structures are combined to produce metrical rhythm, such as, say, iambic pentameter, which has five feet, each containing a stressed syllable with a preceding unstressed syllable. It would be interesting to see studies that could unravel semantic potential of metrical rhythm structures. For instance, iambic pentameter may be said to evoke Shakespearian writing, others may allow more comical effect, etc. Additionally the rhythm of a poetic text may extend itself beyond the stress-and-sequence configurations of a line. For instance, rhythm may be found in variations of other speech parameters, such as pitch, accent, etc., observable when a poetic text is recited. Other variations of rhythm may include inversion of stress, pauses, etc. Following such rank-oriented description of a poetic text, lines can be seen as forming a stanza and as concordant by a stanza's rhyming arrangements (through repetitive or similar enough sound clusters at the end of each line). The scope of this paper does not allow systemic description of all the rhythm and rhyme patterns that have been frequent in poetic use of language. However a systemic study of such patterns is important for translators, as each pattern has its own culture and time specific meaning-making affordances, which are essential in the overall meaning of a translated poetic text.

In recent times, these patterns have established themselves as norms, which have prompted contemporary poets to look for other ways to 'squeeze juices out of their languages', as Bakhtin was quoted above to say (cf. Bakhtin above). And today, poets are prone to see artistic value in defying the established rhymes and rhythms to allow other 'fresher' patterns of meaning-making. Such trends, as the paper will show later, may influence the way that poetry is translated from one language to another.

Thus poetry, as a less probabilistic way to mean, has been and will continue to test and stretch meaning-making affordances of languages. As for Russian poetry, such 'stretching' was only possible through contacts with other languages and literary traditions, and surprisingly enough, today's distinction between a poet and a translator of a poem was not the case when Russian literary tradition was shaping into a classical heritage. For example, Russian language - a mix of Slavic, Ugric and other Asian-European oral literary traditions mapped on Byzantine Greek literacy and pan-Slavic paganism and orthodoxy - could not secure the dominance of Russian poetry on the territory of tribal, feudal and even modern Russia. Up to 18th century most of Russia's high-value poetic texts were inspired by Arabic, French, German and other traditions. For instance, Arabic was the source of rhyme, European languages provided some pattern for grammatical metaphors, etc. First prominent Russian poets were people who enjoyed somewhat higher status in society and were bilingual by birth and socialization, speaking French to their parents and teachers and using Russian to interact with servants. As the Russian state was looking for new sovereign identity, based on strong

national language, literary activities in Russian language became encouraged in 18th century and led to a period of intense language contact. Zhukovsky, Lermontov, Pushkin, Krylov and others re-worked an immense body of European texts into Russian language, borrowing and adjusting literary forms. These representatives of Russian Golden Age could not be described more adequately than translator-poets. Even today, many of their translations remain unsurpassed, while their own poetic work has remained unrivalled. (Gumilev 1992, Figes 2003).

The interest of English speakers to Russian poetry is natural. Russian is another language, another strong culture and thus another complexity of meaning-making. Russian poetry is engaging enough to require the work of translators and publishers. Yet unlike the translator-poets of Russian Golden Age, modern translators are mostly poets of their own times and only then become translators. Since translation is seen as a creative use of language, modern translations tend to remind translator's own poetic work. Thus translations are extremely heteroglossic, sometimes to the point where free versed translations of rigidly-versed texts are accepted as a norm. For instance, English may be less prone to rhyming, as English word endings are less regular than in Russian, so the rhyming Russian poetry gets translated in a way where rhythmic and rhyming patterns disappear in the published translations.

There are several labels for such a translation, including translation of meanings, interpretative translation, etc. While such translations allow less responsibility for a translator and speed up the publishing business, the sacrifices are at times too grave. In the following sections the paper will argue that since poetry allows multiple layering of meanings across all ranks, a responsible translator should strive to keep all the meanings in the text of translation. Otherwise, an important part of meanings gets lost, especially the meanings conditioned by Russian cultural and historical development – exactly what readers are inspired to explore.

3 Translations and how they become available

The previous sections have argued that poetry can be seen as a less probabilistic and highly artful semiotic activity that puts high value into rhythmic and rhyming patterning of the resulting texts. Poetry has also been shown as a field of language and cultural contact, for example Russian poetry. At the same time, despite the dense interrelatedness of languages and cultures, poetry is highly undisclosed for foreigners. The only way to access the meanings of poetic text in Russian is to learn the language or to rely on the available translations.

As for translations, the industry of Russian poetry translation has a history. Russian poets were keen to translate own work or the works of their compatriots, either to defy literary challenge, or to earn one's living in exile or even for propaganda reasons (Fet, Blok, Tsvetaeva). Tsvetaeva, for instance, left remarkable translations both from and into Russian language, showing an absolute devotion to the precision of meaning-making in translation. Yet after World War II, Russian and English literary circles became politically polarized. As a result, many English speaking translators were eager to compromise. Not having an insider's sensitivity, many Western translators put the probabilities of their respective literary traditions as the standard for translating texts from Russian. As it was suggested above, rhyming was one of the aspects that appeared to be expendable, since English language does not show such high affordance for rhyming poetry as Russian. Such developments led to the installation of a certain fashion – translation could be narrowed down to poetic interpretation, line by line analysis, etc.

When I first moved to an English-speaking place (Chicago, USA), I tried to find translations of my favourite Russian poets to share them with my American family. To my dismay, the level of adequacy of what was available in book stores and in catalogues was

unacceptable – poor rhyming, little adherence to the original rhythm, etc. I was inspired then to rediscover my own translations of University years and to resume the work even if simply to restore the reputation of the authors. Today, there is little change in book stores. For instance, recently one of Guardian authors published a somewhat not-Russian-enough translation of Marina Tsvetaeva's poetry by an established Western translator Elaine Feinstein, at http://blogs.guardian.co.uk/books/2008/poem_of_the_week_41.html. The blogger praised both Tsvetaeva and Feinstein, yet many readers left chilling comments:

"I can only talk about the translation, knowing no Slavic languages – I'm not keen on this. Although there are some coherent stanzas, the gnomic aspects or others puts me off... Too much is deliberately obscure and – frankly – if not meaningless, then open to any and every interpretation". (by cynicalsteve, June 2, 19:43)

"Like cs, I wonder if there is anyone here with enough Russian to comment on the translation. Have to say I'm not keen on the results, but I'd like to know how it maps to the original". (by BillyMills, June 3, 10:30)

"I'm always leery of translated poetry, no matter how well-intentioned or competent the translator. Even the best translations make me feel as though I'm reading an interpretation, which of course I am". (by artpepper, June 3, 16:30)

"I'd fault any translation that didn't try to reproduce the scissoring effect of that couplet which depends very much on rhyme. S/he may fail in the attempt, but in my view that would be a lesser failure than the failure to even try" (by Antipod7, June 4: 1:49).

Thus, it is not only Russian native speaker's identity that feels discouraged at the sight of free-styled translation. Many English speakers, who are exploring the rich world of Russian poetry are looking ahead to experience the same aesthetic pleasure that Russian admirers of Tsvetaeva have. The world of publishing has not been designed for fast changes. And it will probably take time before the already published translations get replaced by more precise texts. However, this does not mean that the acceptable versions are not available. With the advent of the Internet, many poets and poetry translators stopped relying on publishers in distributing their work. As I was writing this paper, I wondered how many such translator-poets are there on the web, and how critical I would be at the sight of their work. To my delight, there's quite a few. For instance, at <http://home.comcast.net/~kneller/tsvetaeva.html>, A. Kneller has published his remarkable translations of Tsvetaeva, Mayakovsky, Akhmatova and others into English. Even the strictest bilingual critic would be pleased with Kneller's work. Yet sadly enough, there are grounds to believe that translators like Kneller are yet to market themselves, waiting in the line to publishing houses. However a translation of Russian poetry that would 'squeeze all the juices' out of English language is in fact possible and is couple of clicks away. Further below, this paper will show why such translations are different: translators follow rhyme and rhythm and keep the degree of the original metaphoricality.

4 English translations and how to 'squeeze more juice'

In this last section, a translation of a stanza from Tsvetaeva, which I did in 2004, prior to my involvement with systemic functional theory, will exemplify how rhythm and rhyme can survive. As Table 1 shows, the translation follows the rhyming and rhythmic structures of the original and tries to deliver the same level of lexicogrammatical metaphoricality (showing that the original text was far from being congruent).

Table 1 Layers of meaning-making in the process of poetry translation

<p><i>(Original in Russian)</i> Знаю всё, что было, всё, что будет, Знаю всю глухонемую тайну, Что на темном, на косноязычном Языке людском зовется - Жизнь.</p>	<p><i>(Final Translation)</i> Well, I know the past and all the future Well I know the deaf, the mute - the secret That by backward, weak and human language Mutilated was as follows - Life.</p>
<p>(I) know all what has been, all that will be, темном (ignorant, barbaric, evil)</p>	<p>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 A [future]</p>

(I) know all the deaf-mute mystery, that on a dark , on a tongue-tied language of people is called Life (<i>word by word translation</i>)	косноязычном (stumbling talk, inarticulate, physically mutilated)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 B [secret] 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 C [language] 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 D [life] <i>Metrical rhythm and rhyme in English translation</i>
I know all that happened before, and all that will happen, I know even the deaf and mute mystery, Which in a dark tongue-tied human language Got the name of Life (<i>line by line prose translation</i>)		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 A [budet] 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 B [tainu] 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 C [zychnom] 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 D [zhizn'] <i>Metrical rhythm and rhyme in Russian</i>
I know everything: the past and the future. I even know what they call the unexplainable mysteries of the world. People use the word 'life' to refer to what I know. This shows that human language is inadequate, and that people are ignorant and handicapped. (<i>unpacked translation of the stanza, the factual foundation for the translation</i>)		
Well, I know the past and all the future Well I know the deaf, the mute - the secret That by backward, weak and human language Mutilated was as follows - Life. (<i>Final translation</i>)	All that has been; All that will be: the past, the future dark tongue-tied: backward, weak/mutilate deaf-mute mystery: the deaf, the mute - the secret is called life: mutilated was as follows-Life	Знаю всё, что было, всё, что будет, Знаю всю глухонемую тайну, Что на темном, на косноязычном Языке людском зовется - Жизнь. (<i>Original in Russian</i>)

5 Conclusion

The title of this paper realized the paper's message poetically. There is no crime in a rhyme for a translator. A rhyming poem should be translated into a rhyming poem. There is also reason in rhythm. The paper would support those translators who take effort to mark these patterns as linguists and to look for adequate patterns in their translation work as poets. The last question in the title was 'Is metaphor a poem's core?'. Though an adequate answer would require a separate paper, it is safe to write 'yes'. A poet relies on metaphoric potential of language to densely pack numerous representations of reality. The core of a poem is thus accessible to readers only if translators re-code metaphors adequately. It is also remarkable if the degree of metaphoricity stays relatively the same.

Perhaps, my University teachers were right in saying that translation skills are found in the practice of translation. However, to be fair, they should be adding that these skills are much improved by learning what language is and what language does, especially such complex and artful use of language as poetry and poetry translation. This paper has also argued that joining systemic functional theory is a reliable way to do that.

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Promoting Beijing in English: an interpersonal exploration of online tourism texts

Hua Guo

Macquarie University
Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University,
NSW, Australia
hua.guo@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

This paper aims to conduct an interpersonal analysis in comparable texts for the purpose of translation studies. Drawing on systemic functional theory, the paper explores the interpersonal system of MOOD in two comparable corpora: English translated or trans-edited texts collected from the English version of Beijing official tourism websites and the original English texts collected from the Sydney official tourism websites. It is found that the two corpora differ dramatically in their choice of mood to realize various appeals. The findings are further discussed with reference to House's (2001) distinction of the type of translation. It is finally suggested that to achieve target-language oriented rather than source-language oriented interpersonal equivalence necessary interpersonal translation shifts in terms of mood choice could be used as one possible strategy in translating this particular type of texts.

1 Introduction

Halliday's systemic functional modal has been applied to translation studies over the past decades (Munday, 2001). But it is recognized that there is little work on interpersonal analysis of parallel and comparable texts in translation studies (Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu, 2007). The present paper thus aims to conduct such an analysis in tourism-related texts.

As the world's biggest industry in the world, tourism has a discourse of its own. This discourse, with the assistance of modern technology and the trend of globalization, tends to have a multilingual tendency as more and more official tourism authorities start to operate multilingual websites to market their destinations to the world. The 2008 Olympics has made Beijing a key tourist destination of the year. It is interesting to look at what kind of interpersonal strategies the Olympic host city has adopted in its online translated or trans-edited English messages that are delivered to the English speaking audience and, more importantly, how these interpersonal strategies are different from or similar to the comparable original English texts in the English speaking culture.

Through a comparable corpus analysis, this paper compares and contrasts the translated or trans-edited English texts collected at the official Beijing tourism websites to the original English texts collected at Sydney official tourism websites. Focusing on the interpersonal meta-function of language, the paper examines the similarities and differences of the systems of MOOD and discusses the findings with implications for translation studies.

2 Data description

Two representative cities have been selected as the objects for this contrastive analysis: Beijing, the host city of 2008 Olympic Games, and Sydney, "the number one city brand in the world" according to the Anholt City Brands Index.

Both Beijing and Sydney are actively promoting their cities through their official websites. To market the city of Beijing to the world, the official website of Beijing 2008 Olympic Games incorporates a special column "welcome to Beijing" (www.beijing2008.cn/spectators/Beijing/), which is interlinked with the official website of Beijing Tourism Administration Bureau (BTAB) www.visitbeijing.com.cn. Both these official websites are operated with multilingual versions including Chinese, English and French. The

translated or trans-edited English texts collected from the English versions of these websites constitute the primary corpus of the present study, BJ-E. Similarly, to promote the city of Sydney as the world's number one city brand, the tourism authority, Tourism NSW, also operates an official multilingual website, www.visitsydney.com. Original English texts collected from this website constitute the comparable corpus, SYD-E.

2.1 Translated / Trans-edited English data: BJ-E

The translated or trans-edited data in BJ-E includes texts that are collected from 54 web pages, totaling 10298 words. There are 475 clause complexes and 769 clauses in the texts, the average number of clauses per clause complex is 1.5, and the average number of words per clause is 12.9 (see table 1 below).

2.2 Original English data: SYD-E

The original English data in SYD-E includes texts from 39 web pages, totaling 10151 words. There are 438 clause complexes and 619 clauses in the texts, the average number of clauses per clause complex is 1.4, and the average number of words per clause is 16.3 (see table 1 below).

Table 1: Brief comparison of BJ-E & SYD-E

	Web page visited	Clause complex	Clause	Clause per Cl.complex	Words per clause	Words in total
BJ-E	54	475	769	1.5	12.9	10298
SYD-E	39	438	619	1.4	16.3	10151

2.3 Sub-registers of the tourism data

As Dann (1996) points out, the multiplicity of topics in tourism makes the language of tourism a plurality of mixed registers. The following sub-registers are identified in the online promotion of these two cities (see table 2). The registers that are common for both cities include “general introduction”, “lodging”, “dining”, “shopping”, “transportation”, “scenic spots”, “activities & entertainment”, and “tours & itineraries”.

Table 2: Sub-registers in BJ-E & SYD-E

Sub-registers	BJ-E (words)	SYD-E (words)
general introduction	1129	1193
lodging	91	206
dining	2140	2131
shopping	1064	1235
transportation	949	819
visa information	255	150
scenic spots	1677	1520
activities & entertainment	1579	1407
tours & itineraries	1398	1490
Total:	10298	10151

As is shown in table 2, to avoid register-specific interference, both corpus BJ-E and corpus SYD-E contain an approximately equal amount of data in terms of various sub-registers. There are also registers that are unique to the English version of Beijing websites, such as “Religion” and “Communications information”. Since there is no comparable data found in the Sydney website, these sub-registers are not included in the present study.

3 Analyzing the data:

3.1 Tools used for analysis

The analysis of the interpersonal systems of MOOD is carried out with the assistance of SysFan. SysFan is part of a set of computational tools that are designed for doing systemic functional analysis at the lexicogrammar and other linguistic strata (Wu, 2000). The texts are segmented into clause complexes, which are in turn segmented into clauses. Only free clauses finally enter the system of MOOD.

3.2 The system of MOOD

MOOD is “the primary interpersonal system of the clause---the grammaticalization of the semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 113). The most general choice in the system of MOOD is between indicative and imperative clauses. It is found that there is a dramatic difference in the choice of declarative and indicative mood between BJ-E and SYD-E.

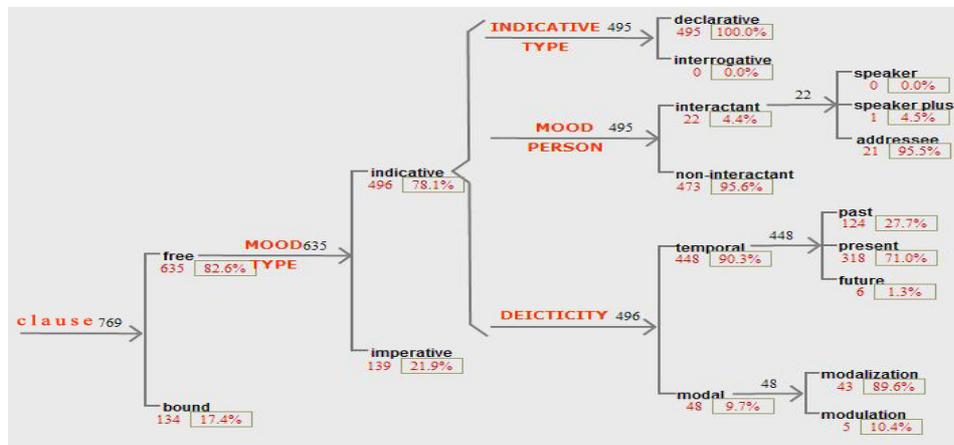


Figure 1: interpersonal analysis of BJ-E

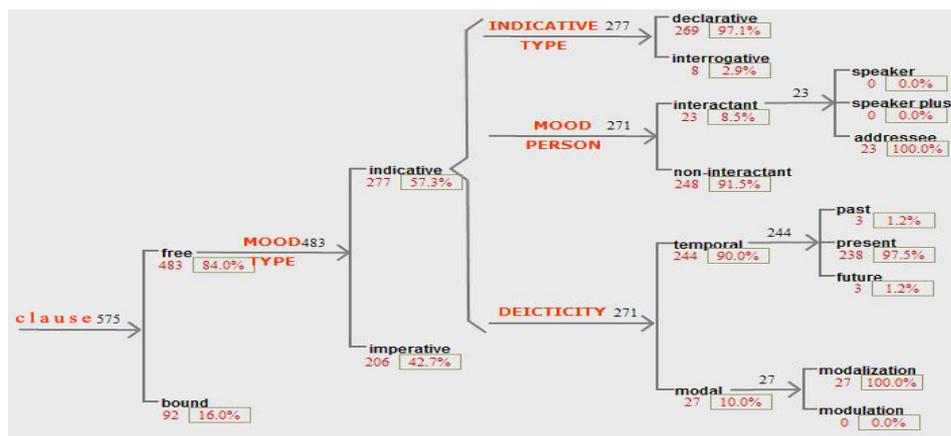


Figure 2: interpersonal analysis of SYD-E

As shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2, nearly half of the free clauses (42.7%) in SYD-E are imperative clauses while less than one-fourth of the free clauses (21.9%) in BJ-E are imperative clauses. When related to sub-registers, we can see the following distribution of imperative clauses.

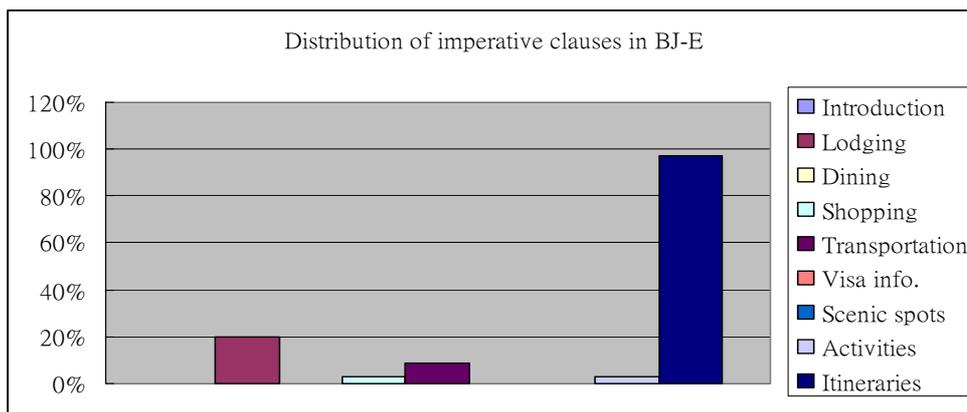


Figure 3: distribution of imperative clauses in BJ-E

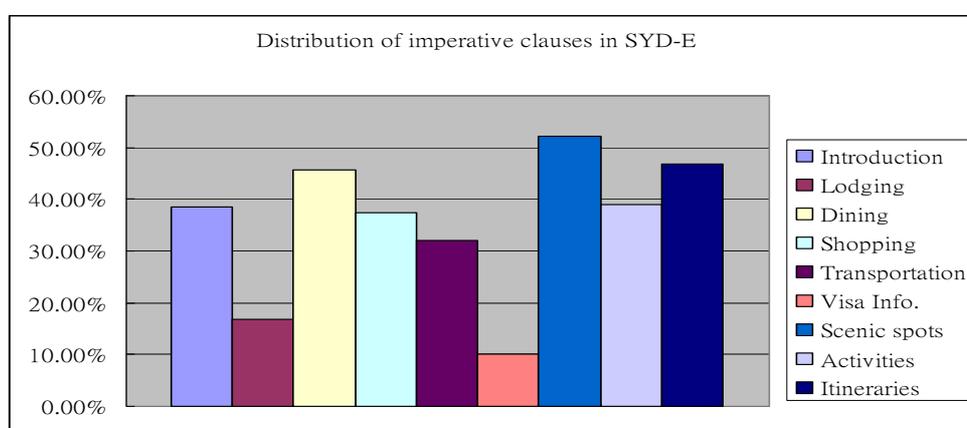


Figure 4: distribution of imperative clauses in SYD-E

As the bar chart in Figure 3 shows, in BJ-E, majority of the imperative clauses (97%) occur in the sub-register of “itineraries”. As expected, these imperative clauses are used as instructional commands in the enabling context to realize instructions for directions. For example,

Get out of the Summer Palace from the east gate and walk 20 meters to the east; take Bus 808 to Ping' anlikoubei and transfer to Bus 810 and take off at Dongguanfang; or take Bus 332 to Baishiqaodong and transfer to Bus 107 and take off at Dongguanfang; walk 400 meters to the east and walk toward north at Shichahai Sports School, then turn west when reach Qianhai North Street; find Liuyin Street and walk along it to the north. Bus Traffic time: about one hour and a half

However, in the SYD-E, the choice of imperative clauses is not restricted to one or two particular sub-registers. Imperative clauses are widely used in the English description of all aspects of the city of Sydney, from general introduction(38.5%), dining(45.6%), shopping(37.3%), sightseeing(52.1%), activities (39%) to itineraries(46.9%). It is found that these imperative clauses are mainly used as “exhortative commands and consultative commands” (Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu, 2007) in recommending context to realize various appeals. For example,

Sydney's distinctly outdoor lifestyle will be on offer during summer. So make sure you enjoy the city's funky beach culture, stylish boutiques and department stores, waterside restaurants and cocktail bars.

Enjoy dining out in one of the most exciting food capitals in the world.

Get inspired by Sydney's hottest events.

Find out what the stars of Sydney's fashion, food, the arts and sports world find inspiring about their city.

It is noted that in the BJ-E such appeals are often left implicit. They are implicitly realized by declarative clauses rather than imperative clauses. The following pairs of examples demonstrate this contrast between SYD-E and BJ-E:

Shoppers are spoilt for choice in Sydney. Looking beyond the city's famous boutiques, shopping precincts and department stores, delve into the colourful market scene where you can find the trinket of your dreams, uncover a fashion creation of tomorrow, or just soak up the carnival atmosphere.

[SYD-E: shopping]

If you have an interest in antiques, you might want to visit Liulichang or Panjiayuan Antique City. If you are looking for export clothing, then you must not miss Xiushui Street and Yaxiu Clothing Wholesale Market. Buying some special local product and souvenir will enhance the joy of traveling too.

[BJ-E: shopping]

You've just arrived in Sydney, so take a deep breathe and savour the moment. For a more relaxing pace, head to one of the city's luxurious day spas or learn about Sydney's rich cultural heritage on an architecture tour. Wander through the historic Rocks area to soak up the atmosphere or head to Darling Harbour, with its great waterfront bars, restaurants, shops and regular free open-air concerts and events.

[SYD-E: activities & entertainment]

Quadrangle courtyard is the main residential architecture of the old Beijing. The narrow alleys formed between the walls of these courtyards buildings are the famous old Beijing Hutong (alleys). The Shishahai Alley tour is a special treat where tourists are transported on tricycles equipped with ding-donging wind-bells, and traveling down the winding alleys and passing by those enchanting courtyards will truly let you experience the charm of old Beijing.

[BJ-E: activities & entertainment]

Interestingly, the finding of mood choice in BJ-E echoes the finding of a previous study of mood in Chinese promotional language. It has been noted that Chinese is fairly uncommon than English to use explicit commands to urge consumers to take actions (Matthiesen, Teruya & Wu, 47). It is obvious that the English translations or trans-editions in the official Beijing tourism website have followed this particular feature of Chinese promotional language rather than that of English language. In other words, the English translations or trans-editions of Beijing tourism texts seem to represent a source-language oriented interpersonal equivalence rather than a target-language oriented interpersonal equivalence in terms of primary mood choice.

House (2001) distinguishes two types of translation: overt translation vs. covert translation. An overt translation, as its name suggests, is overtly a translation, not a "second original". And a covert translation is a translation but could also be treated as an original source text in the target culture. In overt translation, the task of the translation is to "give target culture members access to the original text" and to "put target culture members in a position to observe and/or judge the text from outside" (141). In covert translation, the task of the translator is to "re-create an equivalent speech event" and "reproduce in the target text the function the original has in its frame and discourse world"(141).

In the light of overt vs. covert translation, we can now discuss the task of translation for the particular type of online tourism promotional texts. According to the introduction given by the Deputy director of Beijing Tourism Administration Bureau at a press conference, the official website of BTAB is "a window through which the city of Beijing is promoted and marketed to the world" (BOCOG, 2007, 2). To achieve the purpose of promoting and marketing, the task of the translation or trans-edition certainly involves re-producing

effective appeals. And in order to make the appeals successful in the target language culture, the type of covert translation rather than overt translation might be more effective since target readers in this context are not expected to observe or appreciate the original Chinese texts but to be attracted to take actions in the frame and discourse world of target culture. Therefore, it is suggested that a target-language oriented interpersonal equivalence rather than a source-language oriented interpersonal equivalence might be more effective to realize the speech function of appealing. As long as the experiential meaning and textual meaning are not seriously distorted, necessary interpersonal shifts from the original Chinese in terms of mood choice could be used as a purposeful strategy. With this consideration, we come up with the suggested versions for translating the examples that are given before:

If you have an interest in antiques, visit Liulichang or Panjiayuan Antique City. If you are looking for export clothing, don't miss Xiushui Street and Yaxiu Clothing Wholesale Market. Or buy some special local product and souvenir to enhance your joy of traveling.

Quadrangle courtyard is the main residential architecture of the old Beijing. The narrow alleys formed between the walls of these courtyards buildings are the famous old Beijing Hutong (alleys). Get yourself a special treat in the Shishahai Alley Tour. Sit back on tricycles with wind bells, travel down the winding alleys and walk into an enchanting courtyard. You will truly experience the charm of old Beijing.

4 Conclusion

In this paper, we compare the system of MOOD in the two comparable corpora: the translated or trans-edited English corpus of Beijing online tourism promotional texts and the original English corpus of Sydney online tourism promotional texts. It is found that there is a dramatic difference in the use of imperative clauses to realize different appeals. The translated or trans-edited texts demonstrate a clear tendency to have implicit appeals in the form of declarative clauses, which is a result of source-language influence. It is suggested that translation for this particular text type fall into the category of covert translation and therefore necessary interpersonal shifts in terms of mood choice could be considered as a purposeful strategy to better achieve the function of appealing in the target language culture.

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Translation of the Transcripts of Audio Recordings

Jieun Lee

Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University, Sydney
Email: jieun.lee@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

Police use recordings of private conversations in the process of criminal investigation. Translated transcripts are used in the legal process in cases where the conversation between speakers from non-English backgrounds has been conducted in languages other than English. This paper explores some translation issues related to translated transcripts which may have legal implications. The translator's limited access to the context of the conversation and the conversion of the mode from spoken language into written language in translation may add to the difficulty of the translation task and require extra caution on the part of the translator in maintaining accuracy in translation of transcripts. This paper indicates that translating spoken discourse for legal purposes requires translation expertise, such as discourse awareness.

1 Introduction

In court proceedings as well as in criminal investigations where non-English speakers are involved either as witnesses, complainants or defendants, translators and interpreters are involved in the legal procedure from police investigation to courtroom examinations. When a private conversation between non-English speakers is recorded on a tape to be used for evidence in a legal matter, the translated transcript of the recording is the most efficient way of examining the contents of the conversation. A translator may be asked to provide both transcript in the source language and translation or only translated transcript in the target language (Choi personal communication 2008). In this paper, it is assumed that the translation of a transcript involves two processes, namely transcribing the tape and translating the written transcript.

Transcripts, if accepted as court exhibits, are duplicated and distributed to all interested parties including the jury and referred to throughout the proceedings. In cases where the conversation was conducted in languages other than English, it is generally the case that only translated transcripts are used since the court cannot understand audio recordings in the foreign language. Despite its common use in legal contexts, translation of transcripts has not been subject to scholarly attention in translation studies. This paper aims to highlight translation issues and raise the awareness of professional translators who transcribe and translate audio-recordings for legal purposes and legal professionals who often rely on translated transcripts in their line of work, including the police.

2 Transcription and translation

Transcription is a laborious process and repeated listening is required for the precision of the transcript.⁷³ A transcript to be used for legal purposes should be an exact reproduction of the content of the original recording, including all hesitations and pauses, slang words, swear words and even an indication of unintelligible words (Gonzalez et al. 1991: 440). In other words, translated transcripts should faithfully preserve the style, tone, register, and linguistic non-fluency such as grammatical errors and inaudibility. Every sound, including background noise and overlapping speech, needs to be duly noted in the transcript. Incomplete phrases or sentences should not be completed in the process of transcription and translation, and

⁷³ One minute of recorded sound may require an hour to transcribe, translate and check (Edwards 1995: 135). It all depends on the extent of detailed transcription, sound quality, etc. Shuy (1993) states that certain parts of a tape require the translator to listen up to 50 times, especially when there is overlapping talk, interruptions, etc.

vagueness or ambiguity contained in original utterances should be maintained (Gonzalez et al. 1991). A failure to do so may result in misrepresentation of the evidence (Gonzalez et al. 1991: 442). It is a complex task, but it is not sufficiently recognised as specialist work. Under the current Australian accreditation system for translators and interpreters, any professional translator may provide translation for legal purposes.⁷⁴

In addition to the inherent complexity related to the transfer of meaning across languages, translation of transcripts entails complexity in relation to the conversion of spoken language into written language. Transformation of a dynamic speech event into a written representation is essentially problematic (Cotterill 2002: 156). Representational relevance in transcripts often results in a reduction of utterances to ideational claims, leaving out interpersonal and textual meanings (Slembrouck 1999: 87). In particular, the change in the mode of language—from spoken language to written language—in transcripts often results in the loss of prosodic, non-verbal and paralinguistic features of the original utterances (Walker 1990; Eades 1996; Tiersma 1999; Slembrouck 1999). Transcripts of spoken language after all have the features of written language (Tiersma 1999), which may pose problems for the translator in delivering accurate translation.

Meaning is not communicated by individual words alone. A football fanatic may say “Kill him!” in the middle of a game, but no one would suspect murderous intent upon hearing such an utterance at the soccer field. However, if someone hears or reads a decontextualised utterance, such as “Kill him!”, it may sound vicious. This implies that contextual information is crucial for drawing meaning from utterances which are not separable from a specific context. Because of the limited space of this paper, only two issues concerning accuracy of translation are discussed: 1) challenges arising from the lack of contextual information available in translating transcripts; and 2) preserving interpersonal meaning in translation of spoken language.

2.1 Ambiguity in ideational meaning or polysemy

If mutual expectations are not shared, a person’s ‘gross receipt’ may be heard as ‘grocery seats’ (example from Walker 1986: 209). The translator who has limited access to context has to rely on the immediate linguistic context created by previous utterances and following utterances. Since translators’ ill-founded presuppositions or inferences may be misleading, the translator should be wary of making a false assumption. Given that translators and interpreters tend to disambiguate or explicate texts or utterances in their translation (see Dimitrova 2000; Jacobsen 2003), legal translators, in particular, should refrain from interpreting too much from implicit utterances or ambiguous sound.

Let us take the example of Korean, which is considered to be a discourse/situation-oriented language in that contextually understood elements, whether they are subject, object or any other major sentential element, are often left unexpressed (Sohn 1993: 7-8). Korean interpreters have been found to arbitrarily infer implicit utterances of witnesses even when they should check for clarification (Lee in preparation). For example, ‘*hata*’ is a Korean pro-verb which may cause ambiguity in the ideational meaning. Unlike the substitute verb ‘do’ in English, there is generally no anaphoric reference for the Korean pro-verb, ‘do’ when mutual knowledge is shared between the speaker and the hearer.

Example 1

Korean: ceki Mr. Richka hyukacwungiesski ttaymey cikcep hantako cenhwahayssesssupnita.
Gloss: (filler/ deixis) Mr. Rich was on leave because in person do-particle phoned

⁷⁴ The translator who prepares the translation of tapes for trial is an expert (Edwards 1995: 123). The translator may be called to give evidence as an expert witness and account for any particular aspects of the translation and its accuracy if any question or issue arises in the legal proceedings.

This example allows a few possible translations, such as ‘since Mr. Rich was on leave, he was calling me’, ‘s/he called since Mr. Rich was on leave’, and ‘s/he called to say s/he would do it since Mr. Rich was on leave’. There is ambiguity with the ideational meaning of this utterance for those who do not have access to the context of the phone conversation. However, Korean court interpreters rarely disclosed ambiguity deriving from inexplicit utterances and rendered arbitrary interpretation (Lee in preparation). This may have potentially significant consequences for legal proceedings, and, as such, the translator needs to disclose ambiguity of meaning or polysemy to avoid misunderstanding.

2.2 Preservation of interpersonal meaning in translation

The written transcript cannot possibly present all of the important information that the actual tape provides. In most transcripts prepared by non-specialists, the length of pause is not shown, and interrupted or overlapped speech, stressed words, all of which are vital indicators of the intentions of a speaker, are not represented. Despite such limitations, the translator needs to do his/her best to preserve the tenor of the original speakers in the translation. Two translators may not agree completely on exactly what a tape says or on the translations of each utterance (Edwards 1995: 135). Although such idiosyncrasy in translation style may be an interesting research topic, it is beyond the limited scope of this study.

The following examples (Example 2) are two different versions of transcripts and translations by two translators. The original Korean utterance occurred immediately after the caller identified herself at the beginning of a phone conversation. The male receiver said, “아”, which served as a token of recognition and acknowledgement of the identity of the caller, and after a short pause, he said, “어”, which is similar to a casual ‘yes’, such as ‘yeah’. (See A.)

Example 2

A) *아... 어* (ah, yeah) B) *어, 어!* (Eh, yes!)

The second version, B) reveals differences in terms of the interpersonal meaning of these utterances. The first utterance was rendered as more of a filled pause, while the second utterance was translated into a more enthusiastic utterance than the original, with an exclamation mark. This type of disparity in translated transcripts suggests that information carried by nuances, attitude, feelings and other features may be lost or distorted if translators do not pay attention to interpersonal meanings.

The following example (Example 3) illustrates the complexity of intertextuality in courtroom discourse and the potential issues arising from the limitations of translated transcripts in conveying the interpersonal meaning of utterances. The following extract was taken from a witness examination in which the Crown Prosecutor cross-examined the accused, referring to the court exhibit, namely a translated transcript of the phone conversation the accused had had with the alleged victim. The interpretation by the court interpreter and the Korean utterances are omitted in the following extract. The author’s translation of the witness’s utterances is provided below.

Example 3

Crown: and here you’re saying if the result is negative there’s nothing between you and me.

Witness: what I’d like to say is when these Ko- Korean words are turned into English expressions, they are not this this literal translation- cold expression. what I meant was even if the result were not good uh if there were no result, it would mean that we would not have to worry about it.

Since the accused had stated immediately before this question that he loved the alleged victim, the prosecutor tried to contradict him by quoting his speech from the translated transcript. The prosecutor read excerpts from the translated transcript which suggested he

was not loving and in fact was careless about the predicament she was in after the alleged incident. The utterance of the accused, which had been converted into written language by the translator, was transferred back into spoken language by the prosecutor. It is noteworthy that the accused made a metalinguistic comment about the incomplete or allegedly distorted interpersonal meaning in the translation. Claiming that he was not cold toward her, he stated that the literal translation did not convey the intended meaning. The question of adequate translation was not pursued further perhaps because it was impossible for English speakers to examine the accuracy of this translation in the courtroom. However, this example clearly shows that written translation of spoken discourse which does not convey interpersonal meaning may be easily misinterpreted and challenged by either party in legal proceedings.

3 Conclusions

This short paper has explored issues related to the translation of transcripts, such as the accuracy of conveying the ideational and interpersonal meaning of original utterances contained in audio recordings. This paper suggests that such legal translation requires translation expertise, such as discourse analytical skills. Given that legal translation across different modes of language is rarely taught in translator training or in the industry, further research is needed in order to provide the basis for training to equip translators and legal professionals who work together in the legal sector.

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Clause Boundary Shifts in Interpreting: Chinese-English

Sunny Xiaoying Wang

Macquarie University (Ph.D. Candidate) / Changsha University of Science and Technology (Lecturer)
Email Address: sunnywxy@hotmail.com

Abstract

This paper draws on Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter SFL) to investigate clause boundary shifts arising in the course of consecutive interpreting from Chinese into English. The data are a short extract from a Chinese Minister's speech and six interpretations of it into English interpreted by one professional interpreter and five students. The analysis of the data is based on SFL with a focus on the ideational metafunction. In addition, to explain interpretation difficulties, this study uses Gile's Effort Model as a conceptual framework. Based on data analysis, the study finds that clause boundary shifts occur in two directions in terms of rank: (1) groups /phrases are shifted upwards to clauses; (2) clauses are shifted downwards to groups /phrases. Furthermore, there are two basic reasons for such shifts; they occur: (1) as obligatory consequences of typological difference between Chinese and English in the construal of experience; (2) as a result of the interpreter's discretion in his/her interpreting process. Another finding is that the professional interpreter has adopted three strategies to address difficulties deriving from typological differences between Chinese and English. The findings suggest that to enhance students' awareness of typological variation could be one way to improve interpreting teaching, and this might also be helpful in developing strategies to cope with difficulties in interpreting practice.

1 Introduction

While the number of studies of the translation of written texts has grown significantly, there are still few systematic descriptive studies of interpreting. This study is one contribution towards filling this gap. The aims of the study are to arrive at insights into interpreting, to develop strategies for interpreting practice, and to identify implications for interpreting teaching. It draws on SFL as a theoretical resource to investigate a basic phenomenon in the course of consecutive interpreting from Chinese into English —shifts in clause boundaries from the source text to the target text (Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999; Matthiessen, 1995). Complementing this theoretical framework, Gile's (1995) Effort Model is used as a conceptual framework for explaining interpreting difficulties.

2 Theoretical resources and data

2.1 Methodology and data

With regard to interpreting research, there is a broad division of interests, from the investigation of general human cognitive processes and capacities such as memory, attention, and information processing, to translation studies, pragmatics, text linguistics and contrastive linguistics. In other words, as a multi-faceted phenomenon, interpreting needs to be illuminated from different angles, in terms of the different orders of system that are involved — biologically (neurologically), socially and semiotically.

However, Dodds & Katan (1997:95) offer the following assessment of the state of research into interpreting at the end of the 1990s: "it is striking that practically no systematic descriptive studies have been published, so that we have no data based on systematic observation of what interpreters really do". Thus, this study uses the materials for interpreting and the products of interpreting for analysis; that is, one Chinese source text and six English interpretation texts. The Chinese source text is a short extract from a speech by a Chinese Minister at an international conference and is taken from an interpreting textbook, "Field Interpreting" (Lin, 2004: 170-171). The six English interpretation texts include one by an experienced professional interpreter and five by students enrolled in a conference

interpreting course. The approach to the interpreting data is based on comparison between the texts in the data set.

2.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics and Interpreting

In SFL, language is interpreted as a higher-order semiotic system, which is organized in terms of abstraction into four strata, two content strata and two expression strata: **semantics** and **lexicogrammar** are the content strata and **phonology** (or **graphology**) and **phonetics** (or **graphetics**) are the expression strata. Internally, these strata are organized in terms of constituency into hierarchies of units, rank scales. At the lexicogrammatical stratum, the rank scale is: clause — group/phrase — word — morpheme; and at the semantic stratum the rank scale for the ideational metafunction is: text — episode pattern — sequence — figure — element. A sequence is realized congruently by a clause complex, a figure by a clause, and an element by a group or phrase (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999). Since one objective of this study is to identify implications for interpreting teaching with Chinese and English as a language-pair, the typological differences within the semantic and lexicogrammatical strata of the two languages are chosen as the focus of this study.

In terms of function, language is a metafunctional system where the **ideational** (experiential and logical), **interpersonal** and **textual** metafunctions are complementary and simultaneous modes of meaning. Since in a sense interpreting is reconstruing the human experience expressed by the source language in the target language, the ideational metafunction, which is concerned with the linguistic resources for construing our experience of the world around us and inside us, is the focus of data analysis and discussion.

2.3 Effort Models in consecutive interpreting

As Daniel Gile (1995:161) has said, “Interpretation requires some sort of mental energy that is only available in limited supply; and interpretation takes up almost all of this mental energy, and sometimes requires more than is available, at which times performance deteriorates”. Thus one of the most distinctive characteristics of interpreting is its high mental processing requirements for the interpreter. According to Gile, consecutive interpreting is carried out in two phases: (1) the Listening and Note-taking phase, and (2) the Speech Production phase. The first phase consists of four main efforts, namely a Listening and Analysis Effort, a Note-taking Effort, a Short-term Memory Operations, and a Coordination Effort. The second phase consists of three main efforts, namely a Remembering Effort, a Note-reading Effort and a Production Effort. If an individual processing capacity deficit occurs in any one of these Efforts, problems may arise. However, even when the sum of available capacity is larger than the total requirements, problems may still arise as a result of an improper management of the processing capacity. This study uses Gile’s Effort Model as a conceptual framework to explain interpreting difficulties and to facilitate the development of interpreting strategies.

3 Data analysis and discussion

The study traces clause boundary shifts through the comparison between the source text and its target texts. However, in this paper there is only room for three clause complexes selected as representatives of typical clause boundary shifts in the study.

3.1 Clause complex 1 and sequences

- || 1 Wǒ xiǎng xiān gěi dàjiā jièshào yī xià [[zhōngguó xīnxīhuà fāzhǎn]] de xiànzhuàng
 I AUX first give everyone introduce one time China information industry develop SUB current situation,
 (First, I’d like to introduce to you all the current situation of China’s information industry development.)
 || 2 tántan[[wǒmen miànlín]] de tiǎozhàn, || 3 ránhòu gěi dàjiā jièshào yī xià wǒmen de jìhuà.
 talk we face SUB challenge, then give everyone introduce one time we SUB plan
 (^ I’ll talk about the challenges we face.) (^ I’ll then introduce to you all our plans.)

P: || First, I'd like to talk about the development of informatization in China. || || I'll then talk about the challenges we face and our plans. ||
A: || 1 First, I would like to give a brief introduction about current situation of Chinese telecommunication industry, the challenges facing us, || 2 and also I would like to talk about our own plan. || **B:** || First, I would like to introduce Chinese information industry development. ||
 || We also face several challenges. || || I first briefly talk about our plans. || **C:** || It's my great pleasure to introduce the current situation and challenges in China's automation, || 2 and as well, we would talk about our plans. || **D:** || First of all, please let me introduce you the general situation of the Chinese IT industry, the current situation and challenges and our plans for the industry. || **E:** || Today I would like to introduce you about the current situation and the challenges faced by the information industry of our country and our plan towards the future development. ||

In the Chinese original, clause complex 1 unfolds as three clauses in succession, each realizing a figure of saying, concerning “the world of symbolization” and thus construing the same domain of our experience (Li, 2007: 39). In other words, in terms of process type, the three clauses are all ‘verbal’; and participants are the same, with the only difference being in the content of the participant of Verbiage. In terms of figures of saying, Chinese and English are roughly the same. However, in this example, there are some differences in the construction of the Chinese and English sequences. The first clause and the second clause of Chinese clause complex 1 have been juxtaposed without a marker indicating what the relationship is between them, but there is a paratactic conjunction between the second clause and the third. This might be analysed as a “serial verb construction”, which means “a sentence that contains two or more verb phrases or clauses juxtaposed without any marker indicating what the relationship is between them” (Li & Thompson, 1981: 594). Or we could say it is because in Chinese the unmarked paratactic extending relation is typically not marked by a conjunction.

Thus, it is more difficult to distinguish between verbal group and clause, and between verbal group complex and clause complex in Chinese than in English (Halliday & McDonald, 2004). In other words, “relations between Processes may be expressed through clause complexing and also through verbal group complexing, but the division of labor between the two strategies is not the same for Chinese and English” (Matthiessen, 1995: 179). As a result, clause complexes with such sequences in Chinese can be interpreted into English either through clause complexing or through group/phrase complexing.

It is thus hardly surprising that there are four different ways in which the Chinese sequence has been reconstrued in the six interpretation texts. The professional interpreter (P) has interpreted it as one clause complex which consists of two clauses related by paratactic extension, combining the participant of Verbiage of the second clause with that of the third clause. In other words, he has chosen to interpret the last two Chinese clauses as one clause in English. Students A (A) and C (C) have adopted a similar strategy as the professional interpreter, but have combined the first two clauses into one clause. Student B (B) has interpreted it as three clause complexes, but has somehow interpreted the Verbiage of the second clause as a whole clause complex in the interpretation text, thus in a sense distorting the original meaning. Students D (D) and E (E) have done all the complexing at group/phrase rank, thus compressing the clause complex of the original into a clause with a nominal group complex.

In summary, when Chinese clause complexes realizing sequences of the kind illustrated above are interpreted into English, the sequences of Processes might be interpreted either through “clause complexing” or through “group/phrase complexing”; however, the appropriate strategy to interpret should be the way which requires less processing capacity of the interpreter.

3.2 Clause complex 2 and coverbal phrases

|| 1 [suǐzhe xīnxī jìshù de xùnmǎng fāzhǎn, yǐjī jīngjì quánqiúhuà hé quánqiú xīnxīhuà de tuī-jìn],
 Along with information technology SUB rapid development, and economy globalization and global information industry SUB push forward,
 [[gǎigé kāifàng]] de zhōngguó zhuāzhù fāzhǎn de jīyù,
 reform open up SUB China seize development SUB opportunity,
 (Along with the rapid development of information technology, and economic globalization and also the advancement of global information industry, China that is reforming and opening up has seized the opportunity of development.)
 || 2 shíxiàn le [diànzǐ xīnxī chǎnpǐn zhìzào yè tōngxùn yè hé ruǎnjiàn yè de kuàisù fāzhǎn].

Realize ASP electronic information products manufacture industry telecommunication industry and software industry SUB fast development. (has achieved fast growth in the manufacturing of electronic information products, and in the telecommunication and software industries.)

P: || Information technology is developing rapidly. || Economies are becoming globalized. || The world is moving towards informatization. || 1 As part of our reform and opening up our market, China has seized the opportunity, || 2 and has achieved fast growth in the manufacturing of electronic information products, and in the telecommunication and software industries. || **A:** || α With the development of telecommunication industry and with the deepening of the economic globalization and also the globalization of telecommunication industry, China in reform and opening up has caught such an opportunity, || β and to develop the industry of electrical telecommunication and also the communication and the software industries. || **B:** || Our information industry increased rapidly with the globalization of our world and the development of all the aspects in China. || With opening up and reform, our information manufacturing and telecommunication industry and software industry are increasing rapidly. || **C:** || With the rapid growth of China's economy and growth of globalization and economic automation, we are facing more and more chances after the reform and opening. || In terms of information technology, telecommunication technology and software technology, and these opportunities also improved the development in those industries. || **D:** || Along with the global IT developments, China has enjoyed a rapid growth in terms of information technology, communication and other related production. || **E:** || With the development of Chinese economy and the growth of globalization, the development and opportunities for China's information industry has increased dramatically, including such areas like information telecommunication. ||

The most unique element of Chinese clause complex 2 is its circumstance of Accompaniment, which is a coverbal phrase composed of a coverb and three nominal groups. The term 'coverb' is used rather than 'preposition' descriptions of Chinese because coverb is a class of verb, which means almost all coverbs can also function as the Process of a clauses (Halliday & McDonald, 2004). Interestingly, the professional interpreter has chosen to interpret the three circumstantial elements as three Processes, using three clauses to interpret the Chinese coverbal phrase. In contrast, all five students have chosen to adhere to the original structure, using 'preposition + nominal group' in their interpretation. As a result, the meanings expressed by the long coverbal phrase have been interpreted accurately in the professional's text; however, none of the five students has produced an interpretation of the original coverbal phrase without any errors or omissions of the original meanings.

In terms of Gile's Effort Model, by adopting the strategy of segmenting the long coverbal phrase into three short clauses, the professional interpreter has decreased the Analysis Effort and Production Effort capacity requirements, and thus reduced the risk of making mistakes as a result of too much of a total requirement on his processing capacity. So the clause boundary shift here is not only a natural consequence of the typological difference between Chinese and English, but also one of the professional interpreter's strategies to cope with the difficulty of high information density, which generally increases processing capacity requirements and triggers problems in consecutive interpreting.

Another point worth noting here is the sequence of the Chinese clause complex 2. Since there is no marker indicating what the relationship is between two verbs "zhuāzhù (seize)" and "shíxiàn (realize/achieve)", the sequence of the clause complex 2 could potentially be either paratactic or hypotactic. As a result, the clause nexus has been interpreted as paratactic in the professional's interpretation text, and as hypotactic in student A's text. However, the other four students seemed to have failed to notice this sequence, and as a result there are some omissions of original meanings in their interpretation.

3.3 Clause complex 6 and nominalization

|| yǐjīng xíngchéng le <<zhèngjī yǔ yuánqǐjiàn, kēyán yǔ shēngchǎn xiétiao pèitào>> de chǎnyè tǐxì. ||

already form ASP perf whole machine and component, research and production balanced coordinated SUB industry structure.

(A well balanced industrial system has been established, ranging from whole unit assembling and component manufacturing via development and research to production coordination.)

P: || China is now capable of producing whole machines as well as components. || We have a very well balanced industrial structure with research and development as well as production capabilities. || **A:** || and in this industry, the manufacturing system which combined the science with manufacturing has been established. || **B:** || β Realizing the combination of technology and manufacturing, || α the capacity of the manufacturing is increasing. || **C:** || We have realized the coordination between pack production and parts production as well as the coordination between scientifically research and production. || **D:** || We combined the entire machine and the certain parts. || **E:** || The technologies on the manufacturing of the whole machine or parts have both developed. ||

The meaning of Chinese clause complex 6 is not very clear because it not only contains an ellipsis of the Carrier but it also includes a complex nominal group in which the nominal Head is premodified by an embedded clause, with four nouns, serving as Qualifier. In addition, in Chinese almost all modifiers must precede the Head of a nominal group and the

only structure markers introduced into the premodifier are the subordinating particle *de*, showing hypotaxis, and the conjunction *hé* (and), showing parataxis. In other words, the fact that something is a modifier may not be made explicit until right at the end. As a result, many of the semantic relationships among the various elements of a Process are left implicit in Chinese (Halliday, 1993). In terms of Gile's Effort Model, grammatical metaphor in the form of complex nominalization which engenders syntactic complexity and semantic ambiguity will certainly increase the processing capacity requirements of interpreters, and thus is a challenge for interpreting.

Since nominalization means that Processes that are typically realized by verbs come to be realized as nouns, the way to make semantic relationship among its components more explicit is simply by representing the Processes by verbs. Thus, instead of following the original Chinese lexicogrammatical choices, the professional interpreter has chosen to unpack the complex nominalization by clausalizing it in the form of two clauses. In other words, the clause boundary shift here is one strategy adopted by the professional interpreter to cope with the difficulty caused by complex nominalization. In contrast, the five students have followed the original structure and interpreted it by means of one clause, resulting in omissions or twisted meanings.

4 Conclusion

4.1 Summary of findings

Based on the data analysis, the study has found that clause boundary shifts occur in two directions in terms of ranks: (1) groups /phrases are shifted upwards to clauses; (2) clauses are shifted downwards to groups /phrases. Furthermore, there are two basic reasons for such shifts; they occur: (1) as automatic consequences of typological differences between Chinese and English in the construal of experience; (2) as a result of the interpreter's discretion in his/her interpreting process.

Another finding of the study is that the professional interpreter has adopted three distinct strategies to address difficulties deriving from typological differences between Chinese and English. The first is related to the typological difference in the sequence of Processes between Chinese and English. Because Chinese is interpreted as a language with "serial verb constructions", the strategy adopted by the professional interpreter seems to identify the relations between Processes clearly and then to choose to express them either through "clause complexing" or through "group/phrase complexing". The second is to overcome the problem of the lack of exact equivalence between the Chinese coverbal phrase and the English prepositional phrase. Since the Chinese coverb is a class of verb, the professional interpreter has thus interpreted the coverbal phrase as the Process of a clause in its own right instead of as circumstance in the clause. The third is related to nominalization. Because all modifiers must precede the Head of Chinese nominal groups, the semantic relationship among the components becomes less explicit than in the equivalent English nominal groups. Thus, the interpreting strategy adopted by the professional interpreter is to make semantics more explicit by representing meanings in the form of clauses instead of complex nominal groups.

4.2 Implications of findings

The findings suggest that clause boundary shifts could be a manifestation of typological differences between the source text and the target text. Thus, language typology in SFL could provide an efficient tool for illuminating the different grammatical models for construing human experience between source and target languages. Once the divergences and differences between their resources have been identified and illuminated, students can be more aware of them, and thus will be in a better position to develop strategies to cope with

the difficulties caused by them. Therefore, to enhance students' awareness of typological differences is one way to improve interpreting teaching, and also might be helpful in developing strategies to cope with difficulties in interpreting practice.

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Direct Vs Indirect Preparation for Technical and non-Technical Interpreting

Qiaolian Zhu and Nan Zhang

School of Foreign Languages, Shanghai University
99 Shangda Road, Shanghai 200436 P R China
zhuqiaolian@sina.com

Abstract

There is a general agreement among both professional interpreters and interpretation teachers that advance preparation is essential for the successful outcome of interpretation. However, opinions vary as to the relative effectiveness of preparation methods, i.e., direct preparation (terminology) vs. indirect preparation (background knowledge). This study aims to compare the two preparation methods in interpreting technical and non-technical speeches through an empirical study, which incorporates analysis of students' interpretation recordings and a survey on their retrospection. Our experiments have confirmed the existing hypothesis that direct preparation is more effective for technical interpreting while proving that indirect preparation is more useful for non-technical interpreting. The findings are of practical value to both teachers and professional interpreters.

1 Introduction

Both professional interpreters and interpretation teachers consider advance preparation quite useful and essential. Advanced preparation can be classified into two rough modes, the direct method, which refers to terminological preparation, and the indirect method, which means "thematic" or background knowledge preparation. Bao, G. (2005) believes getting to know the communicating environment, the theme, and the context, i.e. indirect preparation, is important for non-technical interpretation. This is in agreement with the register theory advanced by Halliday (1978) which says informed guesses can often be made based on the context of situation and the schema theory •Carrell & Eisterhold•. Empirical studies made by scholars and researchers such as Wang, L (2001), Liu, J (2001), Yang, X (2007) of some non-technical interpretation all proved the close relationship between background knowledge and interpretation. Liu, H. (2007) reported an experiment that proved preparation of both terminology and background knowledge was more effective than that of terminology alone, though the latter produced better results than no preparation at all. However, their research does not show the relative effectiveness of direct and indirect preparation on interpretation quality, and is focused on non-technical materials.

As to the interpretation of technical materials, Gile, D.(1995) believed terminological preparation is more powerful than indirect preparation in technical interpretation. However, no experimental studies were reported. Anderson, L (MA thesis, in Gile, D.), on the other hand, found through an experimental study that no significant difference in performance for technical texts between interpreters who had either little or much knowledge of the content of the speeches beforehand, and those who had none.

This study aims to find out the relative effectiveness of direct and indirect preparation on interpretation of technical and non-technical speeches through an empirical study.

2 Methodology

2.1 Setting and subjects

The experiment is conducted in Shanghai University, China, in the ninth week of the spring semester. Subjects are 3rd-year English major undergraduate students taking Consecutive Interpretation class. They have already developed some interpreting skills like note taking.

Subjects are divided into two matched groups with five members in each; selection is based on their overall weekly performance so as to ensure balance of the overall competence between the two groups.

2.2 Materials

Two speeches delivered by one person, the CEO of WABCO, were chosen. The first speech, aimed at a general public, is about company strategies and future development. The second one is given to people from the automobile industry, which includes many technical terms. Eight natural segments of speech were chosen from each one.

2.3 Experiment procedures

Preparing

The two groups are seated in either side of the language lab divided by the aisle to avoid interference. Subjects in Group 1 are offered glossary (direct preparation) while subjects in Group 2 are offered background information (indirect preparation). 20 minutes are given for them to study the materials and prepare for the interpretation.

Interpreting

Then they are asked to do consecutive interpretation of the two selected passages, firstly the non-technical one, then the technical one. Their performance is recorded on the tapes for teachers' grading and appraisal, which are later collected.

Answering questionnaire

A questionnaire is handed out to the students after the interpreting tasks to find out their feedbacks towards the task, which they submit after answering all the questions.

2.4 Grading

The teacher will grade the students' performance in terms of content (Ct. 60%; information accuracy and completeness), language (Lg. 20%; choice of words, grammatical correctness and logical cohesion) and delivery (Dl. 20%; fluency and articulation). The total score is 100.

2.5 Results

Experiment Results of Group 1:

No.	Non-technical English-Chinese				Technical English-Chinese			
	Ct. 60%	Lg. 20%	Dl. 20%	Total 100	Ct. 60%	Lg. 20%	Dl. 20%	Total 100
D 1	50	15	13	78	45	13	12	70
D 2	45	12	16	73	45	15	14	74
D 3	41	14	13	68	45	15	10	70
D 4	37	14	14	65	42	14	12	68
D 5	35	12	14	61	36	10	10	56
Mean	41.6	13.4	14	69	42.6	13.4	11.6	67.6

Experiment Results of Group 2:

No.	Non-technical English-Chinese				Technical English-Chinese			
	Ct. 60%	Lg. 20%	Dl. 20%	Total 100	Ct. 60%	Lg. 20%	Dl. 20%	Total 100
Ind 1	50	17	17	84	40	13	13	66
Ind 2	50	16	14	80	35	10	10	55
Ind 3	47	16	15	78	30	10	10	50
Ind 4	43	14	16	73	36	12	12	60
Ind 5	41	14	15	70	43	16	12	71
Mean	46.2	15.4	15.4	77	36.8	12.2	11.4	60.4

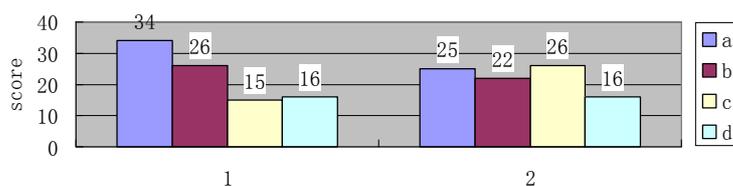
Questionnaire:

Q1: Do you suffer from anxiety when coming across with new or difficult words?

Result: a lot: 1; some: 8; a little: 1; none: 0

Q2: From your experience, for non-technical texts/technical texts in English, the most important thing for interpreting is: a. knowing background knowledge b. note-taking; c. knowing the terminology/difficult words; d. expressing ideas in Chinese. Rate them: (The most important one gets 4, then 3, 2, and the less important one gets 1)

Result (1=non-technical, 2=technical):



Q3. While doing English-Chinese interpretation, which phase do you think is more important? (Please show the percentage)

Result: comprehension: 70%; reformulation: 30%

3 Data Analysis and Discussion**3.1 Inner Group Comparison**

For Group 1, subjects' overall performances of the two speeches are largely the same. In both cases they have managed to faithfully convey 70 per cent of the original information, with the same level of language appropriateness. The two speeches are similar in sentence structure and complexity. The main difficulty in the second speech is terminology, which has already been solved by advance preparation. Understandably, their performances in interpreting the two speeches are about the same. The drop in their delivery in the second speech may be ascribed to the fact that it is effort-consuming to retrieve newly-memorized words, which in turn may lead to pauses, hesitations and backtracking.

In Group 2 it is apparent that the over-all performance of the non-technical speech is far better than that of the technical one. The gap between the performances of the two speeches is to a large extent due to specialist terminology, for the two speeches are similar in sentence structure and complexity. On the one hand, unfamiliarity with terminology leads directly to the loss of information and inaccurate choice of words in interpreting the second speech; on the other, it can also cause anxiety or lack of confidence which will manifest itself in poor

delivery and will exert a bad effect on the over-all performance of the interpretation task. 9 out of the 10 subjects confessed that they suffered from anxiety when coming across new or difficult words (see questionnaire). Only one said a little anxiety was caused and it was later confirmed to be No 5 in Group 2. Then her performance in interpreting the technical speech can be explained. She conquered her anxiety successfully when faced with a large number of technical words. She focused on the logical relationships and translated the terminologies by transcoding, as shown in her tape recording. Considering the over-all performance, without terminology, it is quite difficult to do a good job in interpreting technical speeches despite the given background knowledge.

3.2 Inter-Group Comparison

As to the interpretation of the non-technical speech, subjects with indirect preparation get an average score of 77, 8 points higher than that of subjects with direct preparation. Subjects with indirect preparation tend to do better both in content (mainly information completeness as shown in their tapes), language (mainly choice of words) and delivery (mainly fluency).

The outperformance of Group 2 can be explained by better comprehension gained from background information in their preparation, which means more capacity left for the reformulation phase according to Gile's Effort Model. That is why both the language and the delivery are better in Group 2.

For technical speeches, direct preparation helps more. Performance of Group 1 (67.6) is clearly better than that of Group 2 (60.4), especially in terms of information completeness. In terms of choice of words, Group 1 does a better job, for they know the corresponding Chinese for many technical words. Both groups are found to have broken delivery.

Subjects' answers to question No.2 in the questionnaire also reflect the different roles direct and indirect preparation play in English-Chinese interpretation. For non-technical speeches, they consider knowing background knowledge the most important. Knowing the difficult words or terminology is the least important. For technical speeches, knowing the difficult words or terminology becomes the most important and knowing background knowledge follows behind closely.

3.3 Overall

Group 1's overall performance of two speeches (sum:136.6) is tantamount to that of Group 2 (137.4) in terms of quality.

The best result goes to interpretation of the non-technical speech with indirect preparation (score: 77) while the worst to interpretation of the technical speech with indirect preparation (score: 60.4). It seems knowing the background is least effective in the case of technical interpreting.

Delivery for the non-technical speech is more satisfactory than delivery for the technical one, which is easy to understand. Considering that students are interpreting from English to their mother tongue (Chinese), one might expect they can speak smoothly and clearly. However, their delivery is not as good as expected. This might be traced to a number of factors. First, students believe interpreting an English passage is largely a comprehension issue (see Questionnaire). Second, the interpretation teacher tends to stress fluency in English through training on public speech skills but to overlook fluency issue in their native tongue.

Subjects' overall performance leaves much room for improvement in terms of linguistic knowledge, extralinguistic knowledge, and interpretation skills.

4 Conclusion

4.1 Implications

As to non-technical speeches, indirect preparation is more effective than direct preparation. As to technical speeches, direct preparation is more effective than indirect preparation. Gile's hypothesis has been confirmed. Professional interpreters, who often have to optimize their advance preparation within limited time, can focus more on terminology.

Both direct preparation and indirect preparation should be included in advance preparation, for students feel both preparation methods are important.

More attention should be paid to improving fluency in one's native tongue, which is often neglected in the interpretation class.

4.2 Limitations

The size of subjects is too small. There are only 10 subjects participating in the study. Condition permitting, more experiments should be conducted or more subjects are needed to ensure the accuracy of the results.

Subjects have little exposure to technical texts. This is their first time to do technical interpreting. Given enough practice on coping strategies for difficult words, there might be better results.

The distinction between technical and non-technical speeches is relative. The second speech is not highly technical.

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Intention, obligation, effect: Categories of the Verb in an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea

Alan Jones

Macquarie University

Abstract

This paper opens up the question of how descriptive linguists interpret categories of the verb in non SAE languages. My original accounts of the Mekeo verbal paradigms (1998) are revisited and reviewed here in the light of a) Becker's views on translation (1995), b) the linguistic work of selected anthropologists, and c) some insights by Halliday and McDonald into the grammar of Chinese verbs (2004). My review is undertaken less in a linguistic or ethnographic than a phenomenological spirit, engaging with key conceptual categories of the Mekeo mental universe. I first draw upon categories from social theory and social anthropology to help characterise the general socioeconomic and sociocultural context of small-scale societies in Melanesia, traditionally balanced on the edge of subsistence. I then identify a number of covert grammatical categories: *intention*, *purpose*, and *blame*; *obligation* and the *source of obligation*; and *degrees of object affectedness* that, together, resonate with features of the context. Finally, I focus tenselessness and suggest how English-speakers can gain some insight into the world of semi-tensed/tenseless languages.

... the grammar of a natural language is a model of the universe, in the sense that it functions (among other things) as a theory of human experience; and as language has evolved it has ongoingly reconstrued experience in line with, and as a part of, changes in the human condition.

[Halliday, 1993]

1 Introduction

Halliday (1993) believed that with a better understanding of cryptogrammar we would be able to identify coherent “syndromes” of features, construing different dimensions of experience and different aspects of the human condition, in languages that are initially unfamiliar, i.e. the kinds of languages that linguists typically study. I suggest that social anthropology with its detailed ethnographies can provide linguists with many of the tools needed to uncover such cryptocategories, which are often in fact the fundamental categories of the grammar. And a question I ask here is how – enmeshed as we are in the categories of our own cryptogrammar – we can apprehend those features, or syndromes of features, in ways that approximate the unmediated understandings of native speakers.

It is probably easier to demonstrate strangeness and identify grammatical and even cryptogrammatical differences for languages that have evolved in material, social and cultural environments that contrast dramatically with our own. I will here describe the sociocultural context of one particular small-scale Oceanic society from Papua New Guinea (PNG), where people have traditionally lived near the edge of subsistence, and then give an overview of key conceptual categories that are manifest as categories of the language, social categories and categories of the culture. In particular, I will focus on concepts like *intention*, *purpose*, and *blame*; *obligation* and the *source of obligation*; and the marking of verbal objects for *degrees of affectedness*.

2 A Different World

Firth claimed that the analysis of linguistic meaning "can be described as a serial contextualisation of our facts, context within context" (1957: 32.). Yet few descriptive linguists begin with broadest context of all is debated. I here propose some areal features of Melanesian society, drawing on the work of the anthropologist Theodore Schwartz (1973),

who claimed the general ethos of Melanesian societies was grounded in a profound sense of ontological risk. He characterised this general ethos as *paranoid*:

The paranoid ethos in Melanesia derived from the uncertainty of life, from the high mortality rate and short life span, from the many births and relatively few surviving children. It depended on the uncertainty of the yield of productive activities even though technologies were ingeniously diversified within the limits of an evolutionary level. Perhaps more fundamentally for Melanesia, the paranoid ethos related to the extreme atomism of social and political life, to the constancy and omnidirectionality of war and raiding, to the uncertainty of all alliances, and even to the uncertainty of village and clan cohesion. Uncertainty was experienced as a pervasive threat in terms of the premises of a cosmology of animate and personal causation. (Schwartz 1973: 155-6.)

With this account as a backdrop, we can move on to a specific consideration of Mekeo society and culture.

3 Context of Culture

Three separate anthropologists have contributed to a very “thick” ethnography of Mekeo society and culture: Epeli Hau’ofa (1981), Mark Mosko (1986) and Michelle Stephen (e.g. Stephen, 1995). In Mekeo society there are four types of hereditary office-bearer: Peace Chief, War Chief, Sorcerer and War Magician. Social control is covert and capricious, exercised through the death-dealing supernatural powers of the official sorcerer, at the behest of the Peace Chief. Meanwhile, individuals (especially widowers) specialise in various kinds of magic and sorcery. The most dangerous of the sorcerers (practitioners of *ungaunga*) kill or inflict painful illnesses either for their own purposes or upon payment from third parties. They can also be paid to cure or lift a malignant spell.

Hau’ofa (1981) has emphasised the dyadic asymmetries and direct oppositions of Mekeo society, precariously held in check by complementarities. He writes: “The entire social system in fact, is a striking example of the juxtaposition of opposing and complementary forces” (1981: 291). Chiefs are opposed to lineage heads, elder brothers to younger brothers, and wife-givers to wife-takers. On an epistemological level, evil is opposed to good, and the invisible world to the visible, as strong to weak. The Mekeo individual is imbued with a sense of and a conscious concern with inequality and ambivalence (Hau’ofa, 1981). Meanwhile, the “extreme atomism” referred to by Schwartz is perhaps reflected in the “Mekeo awareness of self as a separate physical entity that must be defended and protected from too close a contact with others” (Stephen, 1995: 50).

Epistemic modality

Secrecy is a way of life for Mekeo men. The concern for secrecy is linked to a competitive pursuit of secret knowledge and magic powers. Lying and deception are not only widespread, but are the expected communicative norm. *Pifonge!* (Lies!) is a common rejoinder, often said with reluctant and even envious approbation/admiration. Communication is by and large strategic, aiming at gaining an advantage over one’s interlocutor. Because of the non-cooperative norm, a speaker’s true intentions can only be inferred, and this lends a hermeneutic cast to much Mekeo communication.

Deontic modality

One commonly hears Mekeo men exclaim: *Mekeo au-’i aina’au au-’i*; i.e. “Mekeo men [are] proud” (*aina’au* is literally “hard of hearing”). Individuals are extremely reluctant take direction, and generally distrust other people’s motives in trying to get them to do things, even when the things in question would be seemingly to their advantage; the automatic assumption is that any request is in reality an attempt at deception, with some ultimate advantage going to the speaker. Except when addressing children or peers, bald imperatives are relatively rare; requests need to be expressed with considerable tact if compliance is to be

obtained. *Tact* amounts to the use of a carefully chosen obligative verb form, and only strategic or ambiguous disclosure of the source of obligation.

Time

For the Mekeo, clock time is a recent innovation. Traditionally, the sun (*kina*) and the moon (*ngawa*) divided up the daily and yearly cycle (as they still do). Time in another sense had genealogical depth; individual male ancestors were remembered for up to twelve generations (Hau'ofa, 1981). Mekeo (oral) history has no dates. Significant events (battles and migrations) live on in the dreamtime of legend. Ancestors, in spirit form still visit the village, or send omens; their names are a key ingredient in spells. The time of the ancestors is not clearly distinct from that of mythic beings (A'aisa and Isapini).

4 (Crypto-)categories of the Mekeo Verb

Mekeo is a heavily papuanised Oceanic language with a complex verb word. Nominals are optional, so a verb word can constitute a complete sentence in itself, although in fact verb words are typically chained together in predictable semantic series. Mekeo is what Capell (1969) called an "event dominated" language, with verb words making up much of the content of everyday discourse. Nominals occur mainly as cataphoric topics, or as predicates in relational clauses of identification and attribution. Below I follow Smith (2006) who in her analysis of Navajo verbal categories uses the pre-theoretical term *mode* to describe morphologically distinct paradigms. Verbal modes that can be distinguished in Mekeo are listed below *in terms of my analyses*:

- A single tense: the future (*ala-*, *alo-*, *ange-*, etc.);
- A "non-future" mode (*la-*, *lo-*, *e-*, etc.);
- An aspectual distinction: imperfective/perfective, indexed by object-markers, that cuts across all the other modes;
- A hypothetical mode (*afa-*, *afo-*, *afe-*, etc.), expressing a 50/50 commitment to the truth value of a statement; glossed as HYP;
- Two obligative moods expressing different degrees of 'oughtness' (*fa-*, *fo-*, *fe-*, etc.; *ma-*, *mo-*, *nga-*, etc.), roughly equivalent to English "should" and "must"; I gloss these as OBLIG 1 and OBLIG 2 respectively;
- One superordinate verb: *-oma* = "say/think/mean/intend/want"; this verb is always clause final and "governs" verbs in the obligative moods, indicating the source of deontic force (*la-oma*, *lo-oma*, *e-oma*, "I want that...", "(do) you want that ...?", "s/he wants that", etc.)

Representations of the "pure" future tense are used for confident predictions and promises. In the Mekeo sociocultural context, such expressions are always going to be challenged or viewed with suspicion. But future tense expressions constitute an important strategic resource. The hypothetical mode allows speakers to avoid the kind of commitment to certainty entailed by the use of the future. Meanwhile, the two obligative paradigms are the preferred modes for representing future events; they represent these as contingent upon the will of the individual – as meant, desired or requested, weakly or strongly. The source of desire, or intention, is frequently made explicit by means of the superordinate verb *-oma*. This focus on agency and intention (whether explicitly in obligative modes) or implicitly (by the future and hypothetical modes) foreground contingency and risk, and the ubiquitous influence of individual agency. The reader will have noted that all of the verbal modes represent an "irrealis" vision of the world.

5 Time, Tense, Aspect, and Effect

In Mekeo, every verb word must carry a subject-indexing prefix is obligatory (*la-*, *lo-*, *e-*, etc.). In fact, the prefix *is* the subject. The verb word incorporates its core arguments, and as mentioned above constitutes an independent clause. Overt object marking is, however, optional. There are, in effect, three ‘conjugations’ of verbs according to whether and how lightly or heavily the object is marked on the verb word:

Cnj	Lightly-marked Object		Heavily-marked Object	
1	e-fiō e-kapā	3SG-catching 3SG-making	e-fio-isa e-kapa-isa	3SG-caught 3SG-made
2	e-au-nga e-ngagu-nga	3SG-hitting 3SG-cooking	e-au-nia e-ngagu-nia	3SG-hit 3SG-cooked
3	e-afi-a e-peni-a	3SG-taking 3SG-giving	e-afi-a e-peni-a	3SG-taken 3SG-given

Light versus heavy marking corresponds to a) different degrees of transitivity and b) imperfective versus perfective aspect. The former distinction cannot be articulated at all by Mekeo speakers. The latter is articulated in terms of tense: lightly-marked verbs forms are perceived as marking events as "present" or ongoing, while heavily marked forms are perceived as marking events as "past."

The question that must now be answered is this: Is "non-future" a viable tense-label or does it simply denote an absence of tense? And: In a case where there is only one tense, can we speak about a "tense system"? I think the answer is clearly not. Although Smith describes Navajo (also a "future/non-future" language) as a "mixed tense" language, she uses the neutral term "mode" in the body of her description to refer to the morphologically distinct paradigms (including future tense). If a verbal paradigm indexes a fixed temporal direction or interval of time distant from but definable in terms of the speaker-now, then it is a tense in the accepted meaning of the word. My claim is that Mekeo (like Navajo) is semi-tensed. Accepting that the non-future mode is not a tense means that Mekeo narrative texts are effectively *tenseless*. So, what sort of semantic focus could be expected in tenseless representations of events. Halliday & McDonald (2004) have described the semantics of Chinese verbs as follows:

“... time in Chinese is grammaticized as aspect rather than as tense; that is, the basic variable is not whether the process is construed as past, present or future relative to the time of speaking or other reference point, but rather whether the process is construed as perfective or imperfective relative to the context.”

The same could have been said of Mekeo. Can an English-speaker ever engage with a language like Chinese or Mekeo *on its own terms*? Alton Becker asked a similar question with regard to Burmese (Becker, 1995). Can an English-speaker *apprehend* tenseless narratives as a native speaker does? Can she or he engage with representations of events whose internal phase structure eclipses concerns with temporal deixis, and affectedness of an incorporated object produces an effect combining transitivity and aspect?

6 Reading Mekeo Texts

In this section I propose "readings" of some short Mekeo texts that remain relatively close to the kinds of interlinear glosses used by linguists as the starting point for freer and (I would say) less accurate translations. The first, taken from spontaneous conversation, illustrates subjunctivity (expressing intention/desire), and verbal chaining, as well as tenselessness:

La-ua, 'ainapi ma-'upe kai, fo'ama fa-ani-a.
 chew, quid OBLIG2.1SG-spit but, food OBLIG1.1SG-eat-3SG
I chew, quid, let me but spit, food, that I might eat it.

The next examples show two uses of *-oma* (first to report a thought, and in the second instance to locate intention). [DEON(-TIC) stands for *deontic source*.]

Lau ango-alongai fa-la-feu la-oma,
I land-inside OBLIG1.NEG-1SG-sleep 1SG- DEON

Me, bush inside it, I would not sleep I would (not).

pau-mo la-mai puo la-mani'i la-oma.
now-just 1SG-come reason 1SG-be.afraid 1SG-DEON

Just now I come, its reason, I feel afraid I feel.

Finally, I illustrate the interplay of future tense with the stronger obligative, along with the use of optional object marking. In the story, Kinokino has climbed a coconut tree and is throwing coconuts down to Ofuala. Note the counterpoint of verbal and material reports (processes) and the deletion of the object marker on the first verb 'throw':

A: "Mo-piu-lai-**sa** ala-fio-**ø**," e-oma. A: *You must throw it, I'll catch, he said.*
OBLIG2.2SG-throw-away-3SG 3SG-say

B: E-pa'ua-lai-**sa** efio-**isa**, engae e-ongae-**isa**. B: *He drops it he catches it, there he puts it.*
3SG-drop-away-3SG 3SG-catch there 3SG-put-3SG it.

Object marking gives a reussive nuance to the verb word, and (here) of rhythmic perfectivity; but we must stop short of translating this into the English past tense.

7 Conclusion

The Mekeo inhabit a universe in which every enterprise is fraught with risk and every person potentially means to do one harm. An ethos of mistrust and non-cooperation is reflected in the number of linguistic means available to qualify directives and attribute them to a specific source. Ambiguity, which is inherent in Mekeo language and discourse, helps diffuse issues of power and potential conflict. However, there is also a general belief that utterances contain often innuendoes, or hidden meanings. As a consequence, daily communication is marked by an ongoing hermeneutic struggle to interpret utterances and signs. In some ways, then, the Mekeo villager resembles a linguistic fieldworker, forever seeking and challenging linguistic meaning.

I have tried to show above that certain categories and uses of the language *resonate with* categories of the culture, reflecting conceptual categories and habits of thought while reproducing them. I have highlighted role of the individual will in the exchange of good and services (domain of deontic modality). I have shown that in the Mekeo language, complex verb words represent discrete bounded events, often with complex internal structures consisting of phases. Verb words holistically represent ordered trajectories that reach from a subject through a process, often to an included object. Event-time is not automatically grounded in the time of the 'speaker-now' – as is event-time in more tense-dominated languages – they take place in a timeless dimension of the mind. Becker remarked that “[t]ranslation, particularly of grammatical figures, is usually a familiarization of a distant text, but here I try to resist that move” (1995). This short paper is my first attempt to de-familiarise a language I have studied for many years.

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Relating Lexis to Culture: First Nations' Loan Words in Early Canadian Texts

Derek Irwin

York University and Lakehead University-Orillia Campus
Heritage Place, 1 Colborne St. West, Orillia, ON, Canada. L3V-7X5.
irwind@yorku.ca; dirwin@lakeheadu.ca

Abstract

This paper presents the results of my exploration of the interactions among linguistic strata through close lexicogrammatical analyses of Canadian First Nations' loan words in the context of early Canadian English texts. Based on an exploration of hundreds of these contextual examples, I am able to argue that the same tension which existed – and still exists – between English-speaking settlers and the Native population is reflected in the appropriation of words from aboriginal languages. Essentially, these words are simultaneously employed for an exoticism that borders on sexual fantasy, while also evoking the fear of the surrounding wilderness so prevalent within early interactions between the inhabitants of Canada. Further, because these words are considered an essential part of the Canadian language and its distinctiveness, such connotational meaning embedded within them provides a valuable insight into not only the words themselves but also the culture which employs them.

1 On First Nations' Loans in Canadian English: Cultural Context

It has long been recognized that whatever historical lexicogrammatical distinctness Canadian English may have is firmly rooted in its debts to First Nations and French loans. For example, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language* lists under the “Unique Features” of Canadian English that

An important characteristic of the vocabulary is the use of many words and phrases originating in Canada itself. These are often borrowings from Native American languages, some of which have entered the variety directly, some through the medium of French. (342)

Such an observation is not unique; a glance through the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* (DCHP) will reveal hundreds of entries with such etymologies, both proper (usually place names) and common (usually nouns). In fact, the lexical basis of the nation itself originates with such a borrowing: the word “Canada” is from the Iroquoian *kanata*, meaning “cluster of dwellings” or “village.” This term was first used by the explorer Jacques Cartier during his second voyage to the New World in 1535. It originally referred only to parts of what is now Quebec, which by 1791 was officially divided into Upper and Lower Canada. This division lasted until 1841, when the two Canadas merged into the Province of Canada. All of these uses occurred well before the word's final metamorphosis into a national term in the British North America Act of 1867, which created the “Dominion of Canada” (for this history, see, for example, “Canada” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*).

Despite the large cultural debt Canadian English owes to these languages, and ultimately, the peoples who spoke them, there is nevertheless a gulf between the reality of cultural contact and the images produced in order to describe such meetings. In fact, the actual human beings are lost in this process. Daniel Francis, in *The Imaginary Indian*, argues that

the Indian began as a White man's mistake, and became a White man's fantasy. Through the prism of White hopes, fears and prejudices, indigenous Americans would be seen to have lost contact with reality and to have become 'Indians'; that is, anything non-Natives wanted them to be. (62)

In *Fear and Temptation*, Terry Goldie takes this trope to its logical conclusion:

The image of the indigene similarly reveals very little about the indigenes or their cultures. It reveals a great deal about the whites and their cultures. One of which is my culture. (12; see also Berkhofer xvi).

Thus the term “Indian” itself, especially when employed outside Native communities, more properly designates a pan-Indian born of the imagination of the European intruders and, as such, could be considered quite a fitting term for continued Euro-American cultural construction of the Other, although not of the peoples themselves.

The Imaginary Indian is constructed in the fictional characters given such identity, and also in the language associated with the image. Different forms of lexis are associated with this construction, which Charles Cutler calls *Indianisms*, or

English words or phrases specifically related to the Indians. (124)

Indianisms can thus be of several different types. Calques (or loan-translations) have the closest proximity to the imagined Indian, although it is often difficult to determine whether such expressions ever actually existed in a given indigenous language prior to ‘translation.’ Indeed, Cutler argues that the common Indian slur for whites – “paleface” – was in all likelihood an invention of whites themselves (132). Other Indianisms include words which are associated with Native cultural objects or traditions. In the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (COD), and the DCHP, “war” and “medicine” collocate with 23 and 24 words respectively in order to carry a connotation of Indian-ness, for example, “war party” and “medicine man.” Irrespective of form, though, Indianisms are intimately tied to the creation of the Imaginary Indian, as they were often placed into the mouths of Indian characters on the page, on the stage and on the screen.

Not so overtly part of this imagined world are words that are definitely of Native etymology. These words have been integrated into the English lexicogrammatical system, and some are now culturally recognized as distinctly Canadian. However, such words were born from certain cultural realities in contact situations, and as such they continue to resonate with the same cultural realities of that contact. I will now turn my discussion to the approach I took in order to gather an overall data set of these terms, before looking at one in particular for a closer look at its use across a number of early English Canadian texts.

2 The Data Set

To ensure that the overall source set for terms was as complete as possible, I examined the etymology of all of the roughly 300,000 entries in the COD. Aside from the large number of place names and other proper nouns, as well as terms which did not have an aboriginal etymology but somehow connoted an “Indian-ness,” this task yielded 156 words from languages which were recognizably of North American First Nations. Added to these were an additional 181 words found in the DCHP. I also included the 165 items from Cutler’s glossary; even though most of these terms are typically considered “Americanisms” descended from languages that were not in contact with early Canadian writers, I wished to ensure that every possible root term from North American aboriginal tongues was included on my master list. These 502 words, including all variant spellings, were then searched for in the *Early Canadiana Online* (ECO) database, which is a collection of historical documents converted to electronic format from microfilm and microfiche sources.

What quickly becomes apparent when studying this set of words is that the majority are listed in the dictionaries as nouns. Albert Marckwardt, in his discussion of American English, makes the following overly-strong point:

All the Amerindian loan words are nouns, indicating in a sense the most superficial type of borrowing, and reflecting a casual rather than intimate mingling of the two cultures...even more

significant for evaluating the total influence of the Indian languages is the fact that most of the borrowed nouns entered readily into compound-word combinations. (37)

Edward Sapir makes the point that borrowing itself is “the simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another” (193), and here we have nouns described as a more “superficial type of borrowing” than that of other syntactical categories. The problem with Marckwardt’s assertion, though, is that all of the loan words are *not* nouns: there are 11 verbs, 12 words that can be considered both nouns and verbs, 3 that are both nouns and adjectives, 3 adjectives, 3 that are both adjectives and adverbs, and 6 interjections. To be fair, this leaves over 92% of non-proper borrowed terms which have sole meaning as common nouns, by far the preponderance. However, the word that I will shortly turn to, “toboggan,” is used both as a noun and as a verb, and it is one of the most common loan words from the 19th-century in my data set and one of the most common today.

Further complicating the idea of ‘noun-dom,’ though, is that Marckwardt is considering the role of these words within the languages from which they were borrowed, not simply of their use in English. This assumption both vastly oversimplifies the aboriginal languages being borrowed from, and it glosses over the comprehension – or more accurately, the lack of it – by those people who were originally borrowing such terms. It is beneficial here to remember that most of the languages encountered in the New World were polysynthetic in nature. In an evocative turn of phrase, Sapir describes the lexis thusly:

single Algonkin words are like tiny imagist poems. (228)

As an example, a very familiar ‘noun’ borrowed from an Algonquian language is “chipmunk,” referring to any member of the different species making up the genus *Tamias* in the *Sciuridae* family of the *Rodentia* order. “Chipmunk,” according to the COD, is from the Ojibwa *acitamón*, which actually refers to the ‘red squirrel’: an animal of the same family, but a different genus. Although the referent in Ojibwa is most certainly the ‘thing’ “red squirrel,” the word *acitamón* is typically given a direct translation as “one who descends trees headfirst” (see, for example, the Online Etymology Dictionary). Given that this ‘noun’ contains all of the elements of an English clause, is it therefore possible to consider the pre-borrowed term a ‘noun’ in the same sense that we have determined a noun exists in English?

My criteria for determining which loans to concentrate my analysis on were simple: the words had to have a recognizable etymology from an aboriginal language of North America, they had to be Canadianisms still in common use, and they had to have entered English in the 19th century. The first criterion is clear enough, and was satisfied by the etymologies provided in the COD. The second criterion is two-fold: a word was considered a Canadianism if it was included in the DCHP, and still in common use if an internet search could find a reasonable number of instantiations of it in a Canadian context. The final criterion was tied to the second, in that words being brought into English during the 19th century were more likely to be part – however peripherally – of the nation-building project taking place at that time, and thus a number of writers would be consciously deploying the words in order to build up the context of culture around Confederation.

There are two terms which stand out as being in massive use as compared with the rest of the list: the fish, “muskellunge” (with 1258 mentions), and the tree, “tamarack” (with 2193 mentions). However, these figures are mildly misleading, in that “tamarack” is actually used even more overwhelmingly than “muskellunge,” as one of the variations of the latter – “maskinonge” – is also the name of a territory, river and lake in Quebec. Finally, “toboggan” has a total of 436 uses in 101 documents, and so these three words – a plant, an animal and an artifact – are those which I have exhaustively examined. Out of the three, I have chosen to concentrate here on “toboggan,” as it most clearly is associated with the tropes described in the cultural context as described above.

3 'Fear and Temptation' in Early Canadian English: the *toboggan*

To the Canadian the toboggan is as familiar as a household word: but for the benefit of the uninitiated, it should be explained that it is a thin strip of wood about two feet wide and six or eight feet long, curled up in front to throw off the snow, the "form" being maintained by thongs of deer sinew. (George Grant, Picturesque Canada 190)

It may seem odd to assert that such an innocuous item as a sled could raise the specter of the 'wild Indian.' Nevertheless, in 19th century Canada there was great excitement and danger to the sport of tobogganing, which led to it becoming a coming-of-age ritual that often crossed over into sexual fantasy. At a more banal level, in its verbal form "toboggan" is invariably a material process, and in today's Canadian jargon, you can "toboggan" on almost anything, even though the actual object of the toboggan is more and more rarely seen. This wide use was not always the case, though; Lady Jephson points out in the 1897 *A Canadian Scrap-book* that

in Canadian idiom you 'slide' with a sleigh, and 'toboggan' with a toboggan. (157)

Somewhat more interesting, perhaps, is when the toboggan is not part of a material clause; proportionally different to a normal data set is the relational clause, which Matthiessen found used 23% of the time, but which in this corpus is actually employed in 31.9% (or 139 of 436) of the clauses. The reason for this discrepancy is the same as in other loan words I have examined: writers utilizing newer loans bear the responsibility of explaining their terms to the reader. An interesting sub-class of relational clauses comes up in this data set and not in others, though, which is – unlike a tamarack or a muskellunge – it is possible to assert ownership over a toboggan, and in 10 cases in the data set something does assert this right. Stranger still, though, is that certain types of phrasing lend themselves to a form of ownership to the loan word or its associated action, such as the following from Oxley's *My Strange Rescue* (75):

<i>Tobogganing</i>	<i>has</i>	<i>its perils</i>
<i>Carrier:possessor</i>	<i>Process:Relational:Attributive</i>	<i>Attribute:possessed</i>

Again, this ownership is more metaphorical than actual, and thus the intersection with the relational clause; however, it is grammatically different than simply asserting that "tobogganing is dangerous" or the like.

Perilous or not, the toboggan was important in early Canada as a means of transportation, but ultimately it was also a means of national entertainment. One of the official expenses mentioned throughout early budget documents was the repair and upkeep of the toboggan slide at Rideau Hall, the home of the Governor General in Canada's capital, Ottawa. Grammatically, this type of use is not particularly interesting, as entries in a ledger represent an incomplete clause at best. Culturally, though, it is fascinating to note that this leisure activity was so important in 19th-century Canada that it was considered a legitimate expense in the national budget. As can be seen in the works in other collections as well, the Rideau Hall slide was one of the most recognizable icons of early Canadian winter pastimes: the Countess of Aberdeen in her 1893 *Through Canada with a Kodak* considered it iconographic enough to include a photograph of it (89), and Charles G.D. Roberts' 1891 work, *The Canadian Guide-Book*, tells us the about the winter scene there

the skating-pond and the long toboggan-slides are thronged with Canada's manliest and fairest; and the visitors from the mother country take very kindly to the exhilarating Canadian pastimes. (51)

In J. Kerr Lawson's dialectal epistolary novel *The Epistles o' Hugh Airlie*, we are given a sexually-charged narrative that focuses on the toboggan hill. The tenuously comic situation

has the protagonist Hugh dressed in what he believes to be a tobogganing outfit, but which is actually a set of his friend's night-clothes. He is first convinced to go out to the toboggan hill when he is essentially promised an orgy there; his friend explains that

Ye just settle comfortably doon on yer hunkers in the toboggan, wi' half a dizzen pretty girls, tuck in, let go, an' swish! down ye shoot like a meteor. (98)

Indeed, if one can decipher the brogue, that is exactly what happens to Hugh when he takes his first ride:

the next thing I kent was a feelin' o' bein' shot oot o' a cannon richt intill a threshin' machine, wi' a clamjamfrey o' skreichin', scramblin', wrigglin' women, slawin' an' clammerin' on tap o' me... (99)

Unfortunately, Hugh is not able to enjoy this sexually decadent activity – in his friend's pyjamas, no less – because of the nagging threat of damnation. He tells the reader that

Ye see, I was greatly disturbit aboot what that Cautholic Bishop said about the immorality o' a tobogganin', that in fack it was just a slidin' scale tae perdition. (99)

It is obvious, then, that I am not the first to make the association between the situation on the toboggan hill and sinful pleasure, as no less than a bishop deemed it fundamentally against the word of God. Hugh, though, instead of simply giving in to lascivious pleasure, instead seeks

tae remove this reproach frae this Canada o' oors...Ye see, I want a' the lasses tae sit on the sole o' the toboggan, an' I'll sit up here on the boo, an' when ye let go we'll a' shoot doon as prim an' decorous as ye like; in fack, Archbishop Lynch himsel' cud occupy sic a position on a toboggan wi' baith pleasure an' profit an' wi'oot his undooted morality sufferin' by the process. (99)

I should point out that “sole” and “boo” are not technical tobogganing terms; however, Hugh apparently means by this that the woman should be in the “driver's seat” as it were – on a toboggan, the steering is done from the rear – and so this strategy likely would not remove all reproach from the activity, and would likely not make it any less fun either.

Lest we are too tempted to accept Hugh's attempts to convince himself that tobogganing is innocently enjoying chaste physical contact with the opposite sex, I will end with the cultural trope of tobogganing and infidelity, for indeed it was not an activity that married folk should engage in. Frances Monck's *My Canadian Leaves* drives home the potential for danger in the tobogganing situation, with the following tale of “Mrs. -----”:

Some one asked her why she never went to tobogganing parties now, and she said she never went without her husband; in fact, she could not go without him. (313-314)

The obvious implication here is that tobogganing parties involve questionable behaviour, at least insofar as a husband is concerned should he not be able to chaperone. And indeed, this woman's son – as children are wont to do with marital infidelities – spoils her secret:

This awful boy emerged from a corner, and said, 'Oh, I like that; why, you've been out nine times with Mr. ----- of the 60th.' (314)

Ultimately, then, the toboggan has worked its way into both the vocabulary and national consciousness of the Canadian to the point where it is used for one of the most common winter activities, and historically implies another. It should really come as no surprise that yet another word borrowed from First Nations' languages is so intimately tied up in what Goldie terms “fear and temptation”; however, it is interesting how thoroughly the concept of the toboggan has been integrated into the national self-image. The thrills of the toboggan are in many ways implicit in the activities we employ it for, but also in its association with those peoples it was borrowed from, both physically and linguistically. It is a shame that we seem to have lost this adolescent mating ritual, the coming-of-age that a paired trip down a toboggan slide once represented, and the connection with the past generations of this

continent – Native and non-Native alike.

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From Chinglish to Chinese English as One of the World Englishes

Eden Li, Han Yang and Percy Wong

The Open University of Hong Kong
30 Good Shepherd Street, Ho Man Tin, Kowloon, Hong Kong SAR

Eden Li: shli@ouhk.edu.hk

Han Yang: yhan@ouhk.edu.hk

Percy Wong: wongpw@graduate.hku.hk

Abstract

The present paper presents the result of a pilot research into the characteristics of language used in the English literary works written by Chinese authors by adopting the Systemic Functional Grammar as its theoretical framework. The previous studies of Chinese English were predominantly interested in the ‘non-standard’ pronunciation, the adoptions of vocabulary in Chinese sources, and the ‘ungrammatical’ or ‘pidgin-like quality’ of syntactic structure (Bolton 2003). These early studies, in general, tended to identify and describe ‘errors’ in the poor English (known as ‘Chinglish’) produced by Chinese. However, a number of Chinese cultural specific terms have entered the English vocabulary and there are an increasing number of English literary works written by Chinese writers in recent years. Their publications suggest that these ‘Chinglish’ works have reached a new level of full acceptability. Will Chinese English become one of the World Englishes, being put on a similar footing as Singapore English and Indian English with its own particular language features? This paper will focus on the thematic selection in an English novel written by a Chinese author. The result will be compared with the thematic pattern of an English novel written by an English writer, thus highlighting the particular features in the Chinese English.

1 Introduction

The previous studies of Chinese English tended to identify and describe ‘errors’ in the ‘poor’ English (known as ‘Chinglish’) produced by Chinese who could not master English properly. However, some of these ‘Chinglish’ phrases are easy enough to understand, quite a number of the Chinese cultural specific vocabulary have been adopted in the English-speaking society and become part of their vocabulary in their dictionaries, and most of all, the last few decades witnessed an increasing number of English literary works written by Chinese speakers. Their publications indicate a changing phenomenon that these ‘Chinglish’ works are no longer only make sense to people who know Chinese but in fact have reached a new level of full acceptability. However, hardly are there any study of Chinese English investigating the linguistic distinctive of the language at the discourse level, not to mention these newly publications. The present paper presents the result of a pilot research into the characteristics of language used in the English literary works written by Chinese authors, which should be taken as an initiation of a comprehensive investigation of the Chinese English by adopting the Systemic Functional Grammar as its theoretical framework. It will focus on the thematic selection in an English novel written by a Chinese author. The result will be compared with the thematic pattern of an English novel, which serves to highlight the distinctive features in the Chinese English.

2 Literature review

The notion ‘Chinese English’ has different denotations and connotations in previous studies. These studies tended to identify grammatical mistakes in the English produced by Chinese. Hence, instead of a new variety of World Englishes, Chinese English is regarded as a collection of non-standard usages mostly transferred from the Chinese language – an interlanguage in the learning process before achieving the native speaker’s level of proficiency. Chinese English in this sense is used interchangeably with ‘Chinglish’ (or ‘Yinglish’ in the case of Hong Kong English) (Pride & Liu 1988). Some linguists in

mainland China, however, suggest that Chinese English has gone through a process of “nativization” and “acculturation”, and they prefer to use the term ‘China English’ (Sinicized English) instead (Pride & Liu 1988; Zhao & Campell 1995 to name just a few). Furthermore, it is noted that Chinese English, just like any other languages, consists of a group of varieties. Some linguists refer Chinese English narrowly as the varieties used in Mainland China, distinguishing it from Hong Kong English, Taiwan English or the so-called ‘China-town English’. In the present paper, Chinese English is intended to be used as a cover term for all these varieties of Chinese English and as one of the World Englishes instead of an ‘interlanguage’.

The focuses, and thus the approaches, of the previous studies of Chinese English are various, including pidgin and creole studies, applied linguistic approaches, critical linguistic approach, and world Englishes approach. In general, there is a shift from the traditional English study and English corpus linguistics to sociolinguistic study (Bolton 2003). The present study has taken the Kachruvian pluricentric model of world English, in which the English using world is divided into three circles – the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle (Kachru 1990; 1991). Chinese English falls within the Expanding Circle where English has a major function as an international language, but is still very restricted in its range and depth as an internal means of communication.

One of the controversies in the previous studies of World Englishes is what constitutes a variety of English. Some suggest that this can be decided on linguistic criteria alone, just like the identification of different dialects of a language. In other word, one has to identify the distinct linguistic features of the ‘variety’ at the major levels of language, i.e. phonology, lexicogrammar, and semantics. Others suggest that distinctive linguistic features are necessary but not sufficient; the wider sociolinguistic context, as well as language attitudes within the community, has to be considered. In this respect, Kachru (1992) identifies five stages of the institutionalization of variety of English and Butler (1997) suggests that there are five defining characteristics of any new variety of English, namely accent, vocabulary, history, literature, and reference works. It is not the aim of this paper to argue whether ‘Chinese English’ has reached the status of a new variety of English.⁷⁵ Nor does this study intend to find out the so-called ‘non-standard’ usage in the Chinese English. The increasing number of publications of literary English works by Chinese writers highlights the fact that a comprehensive investigation at the discourse level, which has not been explored in the previous studies, might be a necessary and essential direction. The present research is our pilot study intending to explore the issues in this direction by adopting the Systemic Functional Framework.

3 Methodology

The present study adopts the SFG as its theoretical framework (Halliday 2004; Matthiessen 1995). Theme of clause is identified by its initial position in the clause. It consists of the first constituent of the clause to the first constituent which carries the function of transitivity. Themes can thus be classified into simple and multiple. Simple Theme consists of the constituent that expresses some kind of representational meaning (known as ideational topical Theme; on the other hand, multiple Theme consists of additional constituent(s) which expresses textual meaning (known as textual Theme) and/or interpersonal meaning (known as interpersonal Theme). Each type of Theme is further divided into sub-categories. The data of this paper comes from two English novels: *A Case of Two Cities* written by a Chinese

⁷⁵ Kirkpatrick & Xu (2002: 270) predict that as the perceived standards of English change and as China grows economically and politically, Chinese speakers of English will inevitably create a variety of Chinese English which will be socially acceptable as the norm within China, just like the case of Singapore.

author *Qiu Xiaolong* and *Murder on the Orient Express* written by native speakers of English *Agatha Christie*.

4 Findings & Discussion

Thematic selection is a linguistic strategy to regulate the flow of information in a text. It is found that the patterns of thematic selection in the two novels are significantly different – the result of the chi square tests indicates that the selection of textual themes is $\chi^2 = 371.22$ (df=4, $p < 0.001$), interpersonal themes $\chi^2 = 501.43$ (df=4, $p < 0.001$) and marked themes $\chi^2 = 501.43$ (df=6, $p < 0.001$). There are significantly less textual themes and interpersonal themes but more marked topical themes in the novel written by the Chinese writer (CE) than the one by the English writer (EE).

Four types of textual element can be thematized in a text, namely continuative, structural conjunction, non-structural conjunctive and wh-relative. Thematizing continuative is a strategy to indicate continuity with previous discourse, particularly in spoken discourse. A significantly less continuative in CE shows that the characters in this novel made comparatively less signals to indicate that they are ready to make their contribution or that they intend to continue their contribution. Conjunctions and conjunctive in a text provide a link back to the previous discourse, or sometimes forward to the following discourse, through indicating the logico-semantic relationship between the connected clauses. A conjunction is structural as it is a syntactically necessary element of a clause complex; a conjunctive, on the other hand, is non-structural as it is an optional element between separate clauses. In Comparing with EE, there are comparatively more conjunctions as theme but less conjunctives in CE, indicating that the logico-semantic relationship between connected clauses in CE is more likely to be explicated through clause complexes than in EE. In contrast, the relation between separate clauses in CE is less likely to be made explicit. Textual wh-relative elements indicate the theme of relative clauses. So syntactically, the above pattern of thematic selection means that the occurrence of coordinating clauses, nominal clauses and adverb clauses are more frequent, whereas relative clauses are less frequent in CE than in EE.

Thematized interpersonal elements include modal Adjunct, vocative, interrogative and polarity. Adjuncts specify the speaker's attitude, i.e. comment and assessment, towards the proposition or proposal expressed in the message. The comparatively less Adjuncts in CE indicate that either the Chinese writer is reluctant to thematize his assessment, or the characters in the novel are reluctant to highlight theirs. There are comparatively less vocative, interrogative and polarity in CE. The findings indicate that the characters in the novel written by the Chinese writer are less likely to identify the addressee in conversation and to make enquiry. They are also less likely to express their agreement or disagreement to the other characters in their conversations. The above observations, to a certain extent, reflect the face-saving culture of the Chinese society.

Marked topical themes include absolute Theme and predicated Theme. They also include the thematization of the elements of circumstance, complement and very rarely process. Among marked topical themes, absolute Theme has long been identified and described as a typical 'ungrammatical' or 'pidgin-like quality' of syntactic structure of Chinese English in the past studies (Bolton 2003). However, in Systemic Function Linguistics, absolute Theme is considered as a strategy to specify the textual 'subject matter' (Matthiessen 1995: 552). In Chinese, there also exists a very similar strategy for specifying or changing the referential context of a clause known as contextual Theme (Li 2007: 180). So, it is interesting to note that the occurrence of absolute Theme is significantly less in CE than in EE. Whether it is a case of 'hyperclection' is yet to be explored.

In English, the typical position of circumstantial adjunct(s) is at the end of a clause. However, thematizing the circumstantial Adjunct is not only possible, but in fact an important strategy of text development. In Chinese, the typical position of circumstantial adjunct(s) is after the Subject (Li 2007), and it can also be thematized. In fact, thematizing circumstantial adjuncts is more frequent in Chinese than in English, and thus weakening the thematic ‘markedness’ of circumstantial Theme in the Chinese texts. In this study, it is found that the occurrence of circumstantial Theme in CE is comparatively higher than in EE. In other words, the Chinese writer resorted to this strategy more than the English writer, a strategy which is more popular in the Chinese language.

In both English and Chinese, the typical position of Complement is after the predicator. Complement, like circumstantial adjunct, can also be thematized. However, the occurrence of thematizing Complement in Chinese text is much higher than in English texts (Li 2007). As a matter of fact, this phenomenon is used as supporting evidence of Chinese to be classified as a ‘topic-comment language (Li & Thompson 1981). In this study, it is found that the occurrence of Complement Theme in CE is comparatively higher than in EE, indicating that the Chinese writer again resorted to a strategy which is more popular in the Chinese language.

Thematic predication provides a strategy to identify a Theme in the clause. There are comparatively more predicated Theme in CE than in EE. Apart from thematic predication, there is another thematization strategy known as identified Theme (or thematic bracketing in Chinese), which provides a structural means to set off a particular portion of clause theme. However, the chi square test indicates that there is no significant difference between the selection of identified Theme and other topical themes in the two novels.

5 Conclusion

Thematic selection is an important resource to guide the unfolding text and to regulate the flow of information in it. As a pilot research, the present study has no intention to generalize the findings and claim the observations as the distinctive of Chinese English. It has yet to examine other language features in the interpersonal metafunction and ideational metafunction, nor has the scale be extended to study the English novels of other Chinese writers. However, it is found that the pattern of thematic selection of the Chinese writer under this study is significantly different from the one of the English writer. His thematic choice, to a certain extent, seems to mirror the Chinese culture and language.

When the concept of “English literature” has gradually been replaced by “literature of English” and the concept of “standard native English” by “world Englishes”, and when the literati point out that the fascination of “new literature of English” lies in the bilingual creativity and the new elements from exotic cultures adding to the English language (Tam 2007: 190), and when the sociolinguists argue about what linguistic distinctive constitutes a new variety of English, we believe that Systemic Functional Linguistics can provide a comprehensive theoretical framework for the analysis as shown in this pilot study.

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World Standard English: Reflections from a Multilingual Perspective

Poonam Sahay

Department of English, Ranchi University, Ranchi
304 - Anjali Apts, North Office Para, Doranda, Ranchi – 834002, Jharkhand, India
Email: poonam.n.sahay@gmail.com

Abstract

In this paper, I seek to address primarily the appropriateness of English as a world standard language and its centrality to multilingual settings all over the world, within the SFL framework particularly, which holds multilingualism to be an important concept since its inception and was also central to Firthian linguistics (Matthiessen, 2007).

Kachru (1986) posed a thoughtful question at the beginning of his learned treatise “The Alchemy of English”: “What is the Appropriateness of the term ‘alchemy’ to the functions of the English language today?” which he soon answers himself:

Competence in English and the use of this language signify a transmutation : an added potential for material and social gain and advantage. One sees this attitude in what the symbol stands for : English is considered a symbol of modernization, a key to expanded functional roles, and an extra arm for success and mobility in culturally linguistically complex and pluralistic societies. As if all this were not enough, it is also believed that English contributes to yet another type of transmutation: It internationalizes one’s outlook. In comparison with other languages of wider communication, knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin’s lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power.

All this can be witnessed in the absolute, phenomenal – in fact, fantastically unprecedented growth and spread of the English language, the world over, in recent times. One may wonder as to why English alone occupies this unique position when compared with Greek, Latin, Chinese, Japanese, Persian or Sanskrit - which are older by far. The reasons are quite significant too. English is the first language of some 400 million people in the USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. It holds a special status in over 70 countries such as Ghana, India, Nigeria and Singapore, thus adding another 400 million roughly to its fold. Yet another billion learn it as a foreign language in other remaining countries, shooting the number of English users to an astounding two billion (Crystal, 1985)! English is also a third language for many countries in Europe, South America, Asia, Africa as well as Japan, China, Canada and Hong Kong (Ulrike Jessner, 2006). Boasting of such a prestigious widespread profile, it holds absolute sway in international arena in politics, science and technology, aviation, diplomacy, communications, tourism, the press, the news agencies, management and what-have-you! Crystal hails it as the world’s first “genuinely global” language (Crystal, 1999) and McCrum proclaims it to be “the language of the planet” (McCrums et al, 2002).

This is nothing new to history. Records bear witness to the supremacy of one language over others as well as the existence of multilingual societies too, before. However, it was not till recently that the concept of the world as a global village materialized. Previously, civilizations developed independently, establishing contact now and then, chiefly for imperialistic ends. But recent breakthroughs in science and technology, particularly in the field of communications, have gripped the world in their deep impact, causing a never-before convergence of ideas, resources and people. Of course, the concept of ‘*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*’ (the world as one family) has for long been in India since the Upanishadic

times.

No country can afford to sever or isolate itself from the sweeping forces of globalization today. And as it happens, it is English which plays the pivotal role – it is here, there and everywhere - as a force that assists, informs, negotiates, neutralizes, socializes, modulates, molds – in as many ways possible; in as many sectors desired! John Galsworthy once opined thus: “Any impartial scrutiny made at this moment of time must place English at the head of languages as the most likely to become in a natural, unforced way, the single intercommunicating tongue.”

The race is won! English has emerged the sole claimant of being the world standard language. It has proved itself worthy of holding the weight of all the experiences, not only ‘together’ but in perfect synchronization and harmony, to each other! Of course, problems will arise but as Halliday (2003) points out: “English has become a world language in both senses of the term, international and global, international as a medium of literary and other forms of cultural life in (mainly) countries of the former British Empire; global, as the co-genitor of the new technological age, the age of information.”

Thus, English has to perform onerous duties and responsibilities as the world standard language of an extremely diverse, complex, multiethnic, multilingual universe. This again, we must remember, is the age of ethnoconvergence and linguistic transculturation as well! The sociopolitical and econocultural forces impact and catalyze the processes of macroacquisition, which require the borrowed tongue in multilingual settings, to serve as a unifying feature. The hitherto “alien” language, imposed on account of colonialism or commercial or educational purposes slowly becomes indispensable. Gradually, as we see it everywhere now, it transforms, developing its own shades, nuances, vocabulary – in effect, rising to the ever new challenges posed continually, expanding on its meaning potential, thus becoming a part of the great systemic process too! Chinua Achebe (1994) voices this quite eloquently:

What I... see is a new voice coming out of Africa, speaking of African experience in a worldwide language... The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use... The African writer should aim to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost... He should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry out his peculiar experience... I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings.

Raja Rao (1978) had much the same in mind when he wrote:

Truth, said a great Indian sage, is not the monopoly of the Sanskrit language. Truth can use any language, and the more universal, the better it is. If metaphysics is India's primary contribution to world civilization, as we believe it is, then must she use the most universal language for her to be universal... And as long as the English language is universal, it will always remain Indian... It would then be correct to say as long as we are Indian – that is, not Nationalists, but truly Indians of the Indian psyche – we shall have the English language with us and amongst us, and not as a guest or friend, but as one of our own, of our caste, our creed, our sect and of our tradition.

In many ways, the future of a standard language largely depends on the economic, political as well as cultural assertiveness of its users. Viewed from this angle too, English has a rosy future before her. Countries like China, Japan, Russia, and Germany are making untiring efforts to imbibe the language to control the international markets for necessary profits and gains. The African and the Gulf do not lag behind either. Asian countries, particularly South Asian countries are already ahead in such expertise. In fact, how miserable can one be without English today can well be illustrated by an incident narrated by Ogle (1999), who quotes an embittered jobless person in South Africa's Limpopo Provincial State: “In this country, if you have no money and cannot speak English, you are not a human

being.”

This brings us to some significant sociolinguistic implications of the situation. A meaningful step would be to sensitize people to important issues related to language planning. There is an urgent need to explore the delicate nature of linguistic balance in pluralistic societies, thereby devising ways and means of maintaining the language equilibrium, while appreciating and preserving the inherent richness of diverse cultures. Interaction between English and other languages also involves implications of various kinds such as the rights of non-natives versus the native speakers, their respective status vis-à-vis the status of the language within their countries, which learned scholars have tried to grapple with from time to time but have been unable to arrive at a unanimous consensus.

Significant and laudable from this point of view are the efforts of the UNESCO. Recognizing the gravity as well as the complexity of the situation worldwide, on the 16th of May, 2007, the 61st General Assembly of the UN proclaimed 2008 to be the International Year of Languages “in effort to promote Unity in Diversity Global Understanding”. (<http://portal.unesco.org/education/>) According to it, “an intercultural dialogue is the best guarantee of peace”. It has also taken intensive and massive measures to encourage the development of regional and national language policies which in turn would ensure a conducive atmosphere for the use and function of various languages.

With the advent of many new englishes on the scenario, discussions abound aplenty regarding the “setting of standards” for them. Given the diverse interpretations of each learned scholar, one feels that each has a valid point to make. Notable among the names suggested are “English as an International Language” (Modiano, 1999a, 1999b), “English as Lingua Franca” (Jenkins, 2000, 2006, Seidhofer, 2001, 2004), “World Standard Spoken English” (Crystal, 2003), “English as an International Auxiliary Language” (Smith, 1983), “Nuclear English” (Quirk, 1982), “General English” (Ahulu, 1997), English as a Family of Languages” (Canagrajah, 2006) and “World Englishes” (Kachru, 1986). These have been hotly debated for and against. However, I feel that the need of the hour lies in a written model for World Standard English. Moreover, the word “standard” itself conveys the most effective and accurate meaning, reminding also of the “king’s standard” that had led to its coinage and further acceptance. In this connection, I fully agree with Halliday (2003) when he uses the triad “Written language, standard language, global language” together. The entire expression resonates with an order, totality and fullness of meaningful associations – indicating the very systemic and semogenic nature embodied within. He writes about medieval England, “where commerce was conducted in English, administration in French and learned discourse in Latin”. At such times, it fell upon English “to unify all the three domains and produce from within itself a uniform variety” to prove its worth as “the standard” then. Interestingly enough, this also leads us to the fact that the language was called upon to create new meanings with respect to the novel challenges faced in the political, economic and cultural contexts. In effect, the global language became a catalyst in the processes of change. Expanding on its “semiotic potential” it brought in almost a new “systemic order” by diverging into new areas of activity in the changed cultural contexts! To quote Halliday (2003) again: “Meanings get reshaped, not by decree but through ongoing interaction in the semiotic contexts of daily life: and these have now become global contexts...”

Hence, it is very much desirable that we must aspire for a written model when we speak of English as a world standard language. We may have one, too, for each of the plural englishes that will continue to exist alongside. In this context, it would be extremely relevant to remember the words of the Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, who while receiving the Nobel Peace Prize of 2001, noted that:

The idea that there is one people in possession of the truth, one answer to the world's ills, or one solution to humanity's needs has done untold harm throughout history.... We understand, as never before, that each of us is fully worthy of the respect and dignity essential to our common humanity. We recognize that we are the products of many cultures, traditions and memories; that mutual respect allows us to study and learn from other cultures; and that we gain strength by combining the foreign with the familiar.

Last, but not the least, I would present before you an excellent poem by Kamala Das (1997), which voices out eloquently all said above:

*"...I am an Indian, very brown, born in
Malabar, I speak three languages, write in
Two, dream in one. Don't write in English, they said, English is,
Not your mother-tongue. Why not leave
Me alone, critics, friends, visiting cousins,
Everyone of you? Why not let me speak in
Any language I like? The language I speak,
Becomes mine, its distortions, its queernesses
All mine, mine alone. It is half English, half
Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest,
It is as human as I am human, don't
You see? It voices my joys, my longings, my
Hopes, and it is useful to me..."*

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Construing an Airline Destination: English Clause in a Network

Ivan Berazhny

English Department, University of Helsinki, Finland
Itämerenkatu 16 F 130
Helsinki 00180 Finland
ivan.berazhny@helsinki.fi

Abstract

Airlines and other stakeholders in Travel and Tourism industry advertise cities on board passenger flights, particularly through in-flight publications. These texts seem to share the kinds of meaning-making they embody and the life-styles that they encourage. The tools of text analysis offered by systemic-functional theory can capture and measure these meanings, i.e. the ways in which linguistic choices of writers and editors contribute to travellers' awareness of advertised destinations. For instance, the analysis of ideational meanings can show how texts set experiential sense of a destination; the analysis of interpersonal meanings can inform about various degrees of assumption that the authors rely on in advertising; and the analysis of textual meanings can show how textual prominence becomes relevant in highlighting certain bits of information. Systemic functional tools also allow seeing systematic preferences in meaning-making choices on a deeper level, where meanings can be modelled into 'voices' – ideological discourses that readers engage with. Some of such voices, as several in-flight publications suggest, can be described as the voices of consumerism and/or sustainability. By exploring how texts construe airline destinations, systemic functional research can make public more aware of the existing ideologies and contribute to making destinations a safer and fairer environment.

1 Introduction

In the years 2003-2005 I actively collaborated with the editorial board of the in-flight magazine 'Horizons', ordered by Belavia Airlines, a growing Eastern European carrier. My tasks of an English editor involved journalistic writing, translations, editing, making decisions about visual design, captions for photography, handling advertising contracts and PR among others. Reading encounters with in-flight editions of other airlines seemed to confirm that airlines are keen to advertise their destinations in a highly engaging way. However, in most post-Soviet editions the stale descriptions of destinations would rather highlight various achievements of national leaders, societies or individuals instead of engaging international tourists to visit places. At the same time, Western editions would intimidate post-Soviet readers by their unmatched mix of glamour, cutting-edge technology and by their particular flowing style of language and photography, which did not only raise awareness about the airline's unsurpassable qualities, but also evoked desire to visit the described destinations and suggested how travellers' money and time could be spent there.

The reactions of my 'Horizons' colleagues were mixed. Even if some would be inspired to implement the style and the publishing strategies of the western editions, many would be disappointed by what they referred to as 'luxury' journalism or pretentious verbosity. Yet at that time, post-Soviet executives already felt that in order to persist one had to become westernized. Very soon one of the tasks of English editors was to introduce that 'western' flavour into journalistic writing and translations.

Today, in 2008, along the re-distribution of world capital, it is the post-Soviet in-flight magazines that try to look intimidating. For instance, 'Aeroflot' in-flight magazine lavishly offers more than 300 pages of most advanced visual graphics, highest quality of print and paper, and tasteful luxury advertising, as well as various types of entertaining writing. Meanwhile, western airlines are trying to embrace socially responsible identities, so that their writing and photography could appeal to lovers of nature as well as to adherents of

sustainable and fair development.

Such informed observations, coupled with linguistic studies of English texts, made me interested in relations between destinations in real space-time continuum and those meanings that Travel and Tourism media engender about them. Having observed how places and lifestyles are linguistically construed as consumable items on the pages of in-flight magazines, I became motivated to explore the role of language in such construal. For some reason, social studies like advertising, urban planning, semiotics, etc. would diminish the instrumental role of language in such complex metamorphosis of social reality or would account for it in rather unsystematic ways. So it was through systemic functional theory that my observations formed into a reliable research project that combined authentic data with the study of meanings.

Having easily collected the initial corpus of linguistic and multisemiotic data from in-flight magazines, I learned however that even if systemic functional theory provides a reliable model of meaning-making, it still requires the expansion of the methodology into new registers and towards new types of theory application. Capturing the advertising phenomenon that was of interest to me - the undisclosed advertising or product placement – demanded exactly such an expansion. I was not looking for a pre-selected area of lexicogrammar to describe. Instead, I had quite specific professionally oriented questions: how can linguistic ‘placement’ of products and ‘productification through language’ be conceptualized? how can advertising texts be measured in terms of what they do explicitly and implicitly? In other words, I was looking for a set of tools to capture and account for product placement both as a semantic taxonomy and as a process of lexicogrammatical realization into wording. Such tools would need to explore two main areas of inquiry. Firstly, the hypothesis is that explicit and implicit advertising can be grounded in grammarian’s terms. Secondly, through the use of linguistic and multisemiotic resources in-flight publications seem to highlight certain products and lifestyles differently than others. Even in the editorial office I always felt that such preferences and their linguistic realisations can be described as an ideological **voice** of an airline. Today I am glad to be joining systemic functional theory, a theory that supports such phrasing of terminology.

Thus the theme of the 35th ISF Congress “Voices Around the World” prompts me to not only outline the stages of how I am constructing the methodology to analyse the texts of in-flight magazines but also to make predictions about some of the ‘voices’ in a heteroglossic repertoire⁷⁶ of several European airlines. In doing so, this paper will largely reflect the published work of M.A.K. Halliday and Christian Matthiessen, as well as the on-going research discussions MUST (Multisemiotic Talks) headed by Eija Ventola at English Department of University of Helsinki and UAM Corpus Tool developed and supported by Michael O’Donnell. At the same time, whenever it can, the paper will exemplify the methodology with texts and networks.

2 Products and Destinations

Theorizing about products and destinations inevitably leads to questions like ‘What is and what is not a product?’ and ‘What is and what is not a destination?’. In today’s world, where semiotic systems are well established to adjust other orderings of reality (physic, biological, and social spaces), everything can be viewed as a product, including non-countable resources, events, communities, etc. In a similar way, everything can be viewed as a destination (i.e. a point in the direction of a real/mental/virtual movement) including lands, shelves in a department store, family, etc. Thus the professional context of Travel and Tourism blends the two perspectives into one: places become products and products become

⁷⁶ In Bakhtinian terms

destinations. Yet for the purpose of text analysis, where one should label the categories of linguistic product placement in Travel and Tourism media, well-adjusted distinctions are important.

A simplified semantic taxonomy of products and destinations can be achieved by exploring lexical cohesion and reference (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 549-578). For example, destinations could be relatively easily classified in terms of meronymy, while the variety of products could be better approached as hyponymy network. Additionally, some of the analysed wordings in a text can be viewed as basic namings of the linguistically placed destinations and products, while other wordings can be approached as types of reference. So, if the analysed in-flight publication is a text explicitly marked as advertising, say, St. Petersburg (see Figure 1), then the systemic networks for product placement taxonomy and identification can be exemplified as in Fig. 2 - a fragment of a larger network exemplified below in Fig. 3 and Fig 4.

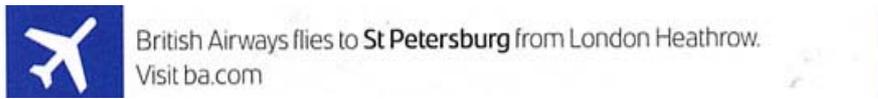


Fig. 1 A disclosed advertising of an airline’s service to a destination

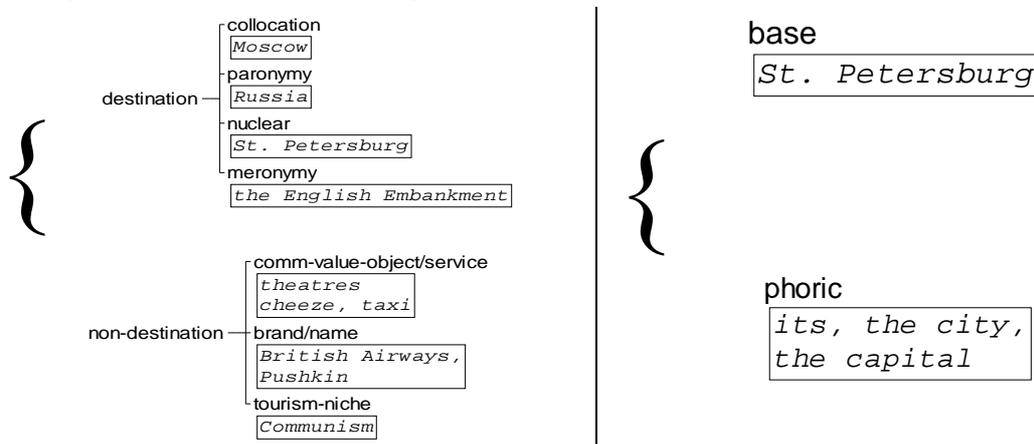


Fig. 2 Taxonomy and identification (simultaneous systems)

Assuming that most passengers exercise a non-expert reading stance, the networks in Fig. 2 make distinction between destinations and non-destinations. According to such model the wording *St. Petersburg* can viewed as a nuclear destination within a text that is marked as advertising the city of St. Petersburg, while the wording *Moscow* is viewed as a collocational one, *Russia* as a paronymical one, and *The English Embankment* (a street in St. Petersburg) as a meronymical destination. The wordings that indicate material objects, services, brand-names, celebrity names, various social phenomena and events as niche-tourism, etc., which are marketable in the context of Travel and Tourism, are grouped together as non-destinations. Additionally, every wording can be viewed as a basic naming of the placed product/destination or a type of reference. Thus, using the tools of systemic networking, the advertising strategy of product placement can be approached in terms of what is advertised. The next stage is to explore how the products are placed linguistically, which requires the analysis of texts in terms of metafunctional and ranked meaning-making.

3 Mapping the Clause

The previous section Products and Destinations suggested how to map advertising interests of stakeholders in Travel and Tourism for a clearer analysis of linguistic data. Such mapping could allow comparing, for instance, what functions a nuclear destination takes in a text versus other products and destinations. To enable such comparative patterning, another type

of map is required, that of lexicogrammatical realisation. For the described research project the clause-oriented approach seemed to be justified for a starting point. Following Hallidayan vision of a clause as a minimal lexicogrammatical unit with the fusion of all metafunctional streams of meaning (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), the clausal systems of meaning-making were limited to Theme for textual metafunction; Mood for interpersonal; and Transitivity for ideational metafunction. Thus products and destinations could be viewed as placed linguistically into an unfolding, acting, and configured clause.

The system of Theme is important for the study as the analysis of the clausal thematic structure can show that functionally placed products and destinations get different degrees of information prominence. The analysis of Mood structure can show that products and destination can take the functions of subject, complement or adjunct in a clause and thus allow for various degrees of arguability of what an author declares or requests about them. And finally, the analysis of clausal Transitivity can reveal the patterns of experiential representation of a clausal situation, where products and destinations can be construed as participants or circumstances in a range of processes.

The challenge of such an approach is that clauses can be different. The highly metaphoric meaning-making potential of English language allows for minor, elliptical, embedded, enclosed clauses as well as complexly interrelated systems of taxis and projection. And in-flight publications are different from rather ‘pacified’ texts of manuals, instructions, children books, recipes, etc. in a very intense way: multiple embeddings in a clausal structure coupled with interpersonal speech function metaphors often incorporate multisemiotic realizations and wordings other than in English, to name a few. While the scope of a postgraduate research, as well as the space of this paper, does not allow addressing exhaustively the overall complexity of such product placement, certain steps towards methodological improvement are possible. For this study, such steps involve the incorporation of rank categories into systemic networks of linguistic product placement.

Such rank-conscious design of a network allows for a different point of departure. As Fig. 3 shows, the starting point of a network is labelled as Product Constituency in a clause, which groups the simultaneous systems of already presented Product Taxonomy and Product Identification as well as the systems labelled Constituent Prominence, Arguability and Configuration.

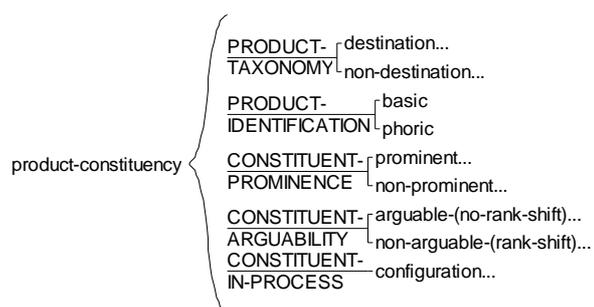


Fig. 3 Products as constituents in clausal systems

The first two systems, Product Taxonomy and Product Identification, have already been discussed. Other systems can be exemplified as follows. A selection in the system Constituent Prominence relates to the function of a placed product in a thematic/rhematic structure of a clause. A selection in the system Constituent Arguability marks the function that the placed product takes in the mood structure of a clause. A selection in the system Constituent in Process shows what transitivity functions the placed product takes in a clausal experiential configuration. In doing so, the networks however stream the selections into the categories of prominent/non-prominent; arguable/non-arguable; implicit/embedded/surface

configurations, as shown in Fig. 4.

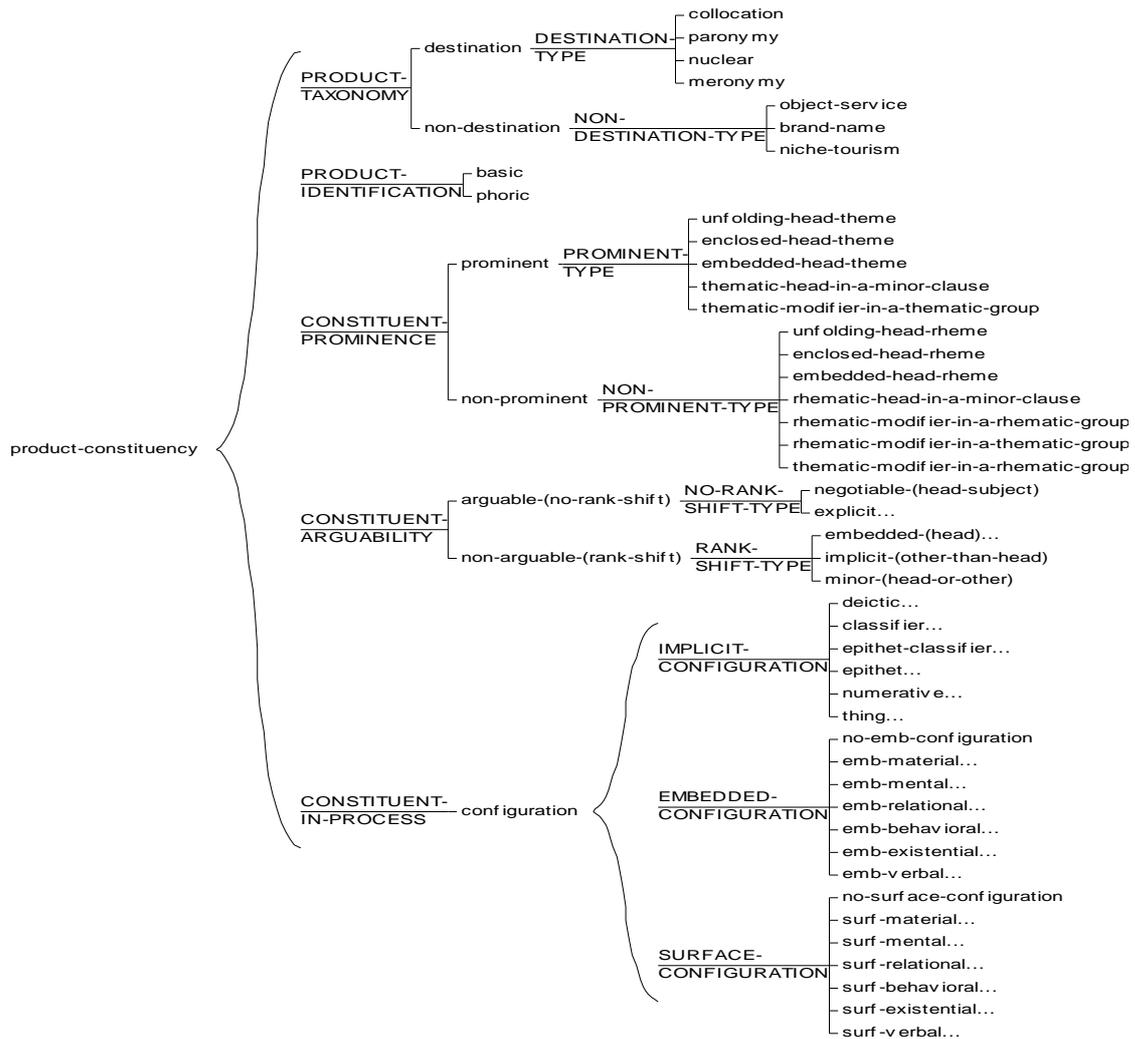


Fig. 4 Metafunctional and ranked realisations of product placement

Such mapping of the functions allows theorising about the author’s meaning-making choices from an advertiser’s perspective. For instance, the maximally explicit advertising strategy would be to place a product wording into a functional slot that combines the functions of a group Head mapped onto the functions of Theme, Subject, and surface (non-embedded) transitivity Participant. Such selections would mean that 1) the product is given the most prominent status and thus visible space in thematic structure, 2) the information about the product can be negotiated, and 3) the product is put on the surface level of the situation represented by the analysed clause.

Implicit advertising strategies would map, for instance, the function of a group Qualifier onto the functions of Rheme, Adjunct, and a Participant/Circumstance in an embedded transitivity configuration. The examples A and B further below show an explicit and an implicit product placement for a nuclear destination of the text *St. Petersburg*, and a meronymy destination of the text *the English Embankment*.

A) *St Petersburg* is a city of mansion blocks, and the exterior and interior common parts continue to deteriorate. (British Airways March 2003, p. 42)

B) In 1992, I was offered a fabulous flat on what was then the Red Fleet Embankment and has now reverted to its pre-Revolutionary name of the English Embankment, always one of the choice spots in town. (British Airways March 2003, p. 42)

The task of capturing which functional slots in a clause relate to explicit or implicit advertising thus can become feasible with the help of a network like the one presented above in Fig. 4. Naturally, the categories of explicit and implicit product placement would form a cline and would need to be flexible to embrace various types of texts. At this stage, the paper only tried to validate that such a task - establishing reliable descriptions of explicit and implicit product placement - can be possible.

4 Conclusion

In a brief way, this paper has exemplified that systemic functional theory offers a set of reliable tools for professional inquiries like mine - about the role of language in raising our awareness of tourist places and other products, in making the published assumptions about such places and products less negotiable, and in guiding the reader's experiential sense-making of a range of situations that are represented by an in-flight publication. Thus the Functional Grammar by M.A.K. Halliday and other SF scholars coupled with Michael O'Donnell's UAM Corpus Tool can give a starting point to map systematically the choices in texts in terms of product placement and to extract the voices that readers sense in the texts.

As for capturing the 'voices', which the theme of the Congress may suggest doing, few generalizations have been made so far. One pilot observation prompts that authors tend to present the advertised destination through its meronymies, and such meronymical wordings tend to be placed into texts rather implicitly. Additionally, the range of advertised non-destinations appears to be skewed in a way that gives more space to luxury products, celebrities, high-profile events, and venues of consumption. However, there are other voices also present, particularly in the texts where authors linguistically highlight the wordings that link with ideas of sustainable and fair development, education and creativity, simple life, etc.

This study is also moving forward as a small corpus project in the field of multisemiotics, mapping product placement both in linguistic texts and in printed photography. By doing so, I hope to ground the complementarities of these resources in systemic functional terms and to explore if in-flight publications can be labelled as a mini-genre of virtual tour, a genre which introduces an airline destination to passengers through the background of ideological voices. Such a research direction requires the assistance of several other theories in systemic functional tradition. For instance, the theories of discourse semantics by James Martin and the studies of multimodal documents by John Bateman are highly relevant in this regard.

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UAM Corpus Tool, available at www.wagsoft.com

Heteroglossic Harmony: Multimodal ENGAGEMENT Resources and Their Gradability in China's EFL Context

Yumin Chen

The University of Sydney, Sun Yat-sen University
Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, The University of Sydney, NSW 2006 Australia
yche4529@mail.usyd.edu.au; yumin720@126.com

Abstract

This paper aims to examine the multimodal meaning-making resources available to an EFL textbook editor in aligning the reader with the proposition or value advanced in a text. The research draws on ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION systems (Martin & White 2005; Hood & Martin 2007) in analyzing the ways these resources contribute to the management of heteroglossic space (Bakhtin 1981). Recent advances on APPRAISAL research have gone beyond language to include other semiotic modes including images (e.g. Economou 2006). Nevertheless, these studies primarily focus on the attitudinal aspect, leaving ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION relatively unexplored. Another impetus to the current research comes from pedagogic context, in which textbook is identified as an essential component in the dialogic process advocated in educational setting (Chen & Ye 2006). Analyses of the instances that exemplify five types of multimodal resources that are recognized as ENGAGEMENT devices (i.e. labelling, dialogue balloon (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006), jointly-constructed text, illustration and highlighting) reveal that they can be deployed to realize the ENGAGEMENT meanings of [disclaim], [proclaim], [entertain] and [attribute]. Focusing on dialogue balloon, this paper shows how three types of dialogue balloon open up different degrees of heteroglossic space to engage character voice.

1 Introduction: Multimodal EFL pedagogic materials in China

Nowadays in China, students in primary and secondary schools are extensively engaged with multimodal modes of communication both within and outside their classrooms, which has become a widely-voiced concern among educationists (Fu 2005). Among other teaching materials, school textbook has always been an important topic in educational reform in China (Wang 2000). Although the role and value of visual images in textbooks have been recognized, most of these studies mainly consider the “How” (e.g. “How to use illustrations in classroom teaching?”) but neglect the “Why” (e.g. “Why the illustration is needed in this context?” “Has the illustration achieved what it is supposed to achieve, and why?”) (Chen 2005). Those studies taking the cognitive and psychological stance tend to exclusively focus on the role of images in reading comprehension, such as the eye movement in reading texts with or without illustrations (e.g. Shen & Tao 2001). However, the functions of images in textbooks mean more than cognitive processes and psychological effects. For instance, dialogic process is advocated throughout classroom teaching and textbook is considered as an essential component in this process (Chen & Ye 2006). Nevertheless, the way in which multimodal resources can be deployed to contribute to the management of heteroglossic setting in textbooks remains generally untouched, for which social semiotic approach (Halliday 1978; Kress & van Leeuwen 2006) may provide a robust analytical tool.

Textbooks for the teaching of English as a foreign language (henceforth EFL) are far less investigated and understood as compared with textbooks for other school subjects, which is recognized as one of the drawbacks in textbook research in China (Zhang 2005). This partially explains the necessity of the present study, whose data is the series of primary and secondary EFL textbooks published between 2002 and 2006 by People's Education Press (henceforth PEP). In addition to the demand arising from pedagogic context, the theoretical landscape in which the current research is situated also calls for further multimodal exploration in the semantic regions of ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION (Martin 1997; Martin & White 2005; Hood & Martin 2007), because the research on APPRAISAL in

multimodal texts has so far primarily focused on the attitudinal aspect (e.g. Economou 2006).

2 Studies on voice and relevant theoretical underpinnings

The current paper adopts the notion of “heteroglossia” (Bakhtin 1981, 1986), i.e. the dialogic and multi-voiced nature of all verbal communication, and draws on the semantic network of ENGAGEMENT for modelling the expansion and contraction of heteroglossic space in a text (Martin & White 2005; White 2003). According to Bakhtin (1981: 281), all spoken and written texts are intrinsically multi-voiced and should be understood “against a backdrop of other concrete utterances on the same theme”. As Bakhtin points out,

Each utterance is filled with echoes and reverberations of other utterances. ... Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies on the others, presupposes them to be known and somehow takes them into account. ... each utterance is filled with various kinds of responsive reactions to other utterances of the given sphere of speech communication. (Bakhtin 1986 : 91)

The notion of heteroglossia was later developed by Kristeva (1986) into “intertextuality”. To avoid too many foci, we mainly outline the contributions that systemicists bring to the studies on voice, which can be summarized as three main trends. At the level of lexicogrammar, systemicists explore the heteroglossic nature of texts by analyzing the linguistic resources of projection, modality (including negation) and concession (Halliday 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin & Rose 2007) that bring in and negotiate with voices other than the author. The second trend views voice in its abstract sense, and models it as the recurrent configuration of evaluative resources in texts. This notion of voice has attracted substantial attention within Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) (e.g. Iedema *et al.* 1994; Coffin 2000; Hood 2004). It is noteworthy that the notion of voice in this abstract sense is distinct from the concept of voice in the study of the heteroglossic nature of texts. The former deals with the sub-potential of evaluative meaning that is characteristic of a specific register (e.g. “Reporter Voice” in media discourse as revealed by Iedema *et al.* 1994), which can be explicated as “key” in the cline of instantiation concerning evaluation (Martin & White 2005: 164); whereas the latter is concerned with the sources of propositions and evaluations that are heteroglossically present in texts (e.g. the “voice” in Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism).

The perspective on voice explored in this paper centres around voice in the sense of source, i.e. whether a given proposition or evaluation is attributed to the author or to another source. Informed by Bakhtin’s notion of heteroglossia, the ENGAGEMENT system sets up networks of options for opening up or closing down heteroglossic space for multiple voices in a text. As Martin and White (2005: 94) articulate, the ENGAGEMENT network includes “all those locutions which provide the means for the authorial voice to position itself with respect to, and hence to ‘engage’ with, the other voices and alternative positions construed as being in play in the current communicative context”. The taxonomy of ENGAGEMENT meanings encompasses [disclaim], [proclaim], [entertain], and [attribute] (Martin & White 2005: 97-98). Downwardly these ENGAGEMENT meanings can be further divided into subcategories (e.g. [disclaim] is subdivided into [deny] and [counter]) to specify the dialogistic positioning; upwardly they can be generalized into two broad categories of “dialogic expansion” (i.e. [entertain] and [attribute]) and “dialogic contraction” (i.e. [disclaim] and [proclaim]) in light of whether they are opening up or closing down heteroglossic space.

Another subsystem of high relevance is GRADUATION (Hood & Martin 2007), which is central to APPRAISAL system and accommodates meaning-making resources for scaling attitudinal meanings and ENGAGEMENT values. Gradability is “generally a feature of the ENGAGEMENT system” because ENGAGEMENT values scale for the degree of the speaker/writer’s investment in a given value position (Martin & White 2005: 135-136). GRADUATION operates along two axes, i.e. FORCE and FOCUS. The former grades meanings

in terms of the intensity or amount of a scalable value, while the latter applies to the usually non-scalable categories, so it grades meanings according to the prototypicality and preciseness by which the categorical boundary is drawn. Detailed discussion of ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION will be provided as analysis unfolds.

3 Multi-voiced EFL textbook discourse

As examined by Chen and Qin (2007), three voices constitute the heteroglossic backdrop of EFL textbook discourse, i.e. editor voice, reader voice, and character voice. Editor voice is frequently observed in the use of imperative clauses as section titles. These imperative clauses either take the unmarked form that has no Mood such as *Write and draw* in Plate 1, or the *let's* form where the understood Subject is “you and I” (Halliday 1994: 87) like *Let's play* in Plate 3. If treated like modulation, imperative opens up the monoglossic setting to include the reader, and hence the editor's role as a participant in the dialogic exchange is recognized. In addition to imperative clauses, section titles can also be nominal groups such as *Pair work*, *Story time* and adjectival groups like *Good to know*. For those nominal groups as section titles, the proposal is treated as an entity and the “must-ness” is concealed. This seems to bear some resemblance to “demodalization” in administrative discourse (Iedema 1994). Through ideationalizing the proposal, the process of control and demand is disguised as a natural and non-negotiable rule or institutional entity, and thus the power of editor is further enhanced. Alongside with section titles, the practice of attaching labels to certain objects in an image, which we term as “labelling”, can equally convey editor voice. Take Plate 1 for instance. The unfinished words *_ce-cream*, *_ish*, *_oose* and *_amburger* are inserted into the image that depicts a chef holding four dishes in a big tray. Labelling is regarded as a kind of ENGAGEMENT device that realizes [proclaim]. By inserting labels in an image, editor voice challenges or rules out alternative positions and limits the range of choices. The reader is thus required to complete the words and drawings with the labels proclaimed by editor voice. Nonetheless, the labelling in Plate 1 is different from labelling in the general sense, in that it contains a missing letter that involves reader's participation in its ultimate completion. This type of intentionally unfinished text is referred to as “jointly-constructed text”, which is essential in engaging the reader in EFL textbook discourse.

One remarkable feature of the EFL textbooks is the extensive use of cartoon characters. Character voice is often conveyed through a speech process (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006), which is visually realized by a dialogue balloon with an oblique line linking the character (e.g. the chef in Plate 1) to the utterance (i.e. *What are they? Do you know?* in Plate 1). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 68) describe this type of structure as “projective”, because the utterance is not represented directly but mediated through a sayer. Dialogue balloon is another ENGAGEMENT device commonly found in EFL textbooks, which introduces character voice into a text, and thus realizes the ENGAGEMENT meaning of [attribute].



Plate 1 Multiple voices in EFL textbook discourse/ Giving directions to reader
[PEP Primary English Students' Book I for Year 4 2003: 9]

The reader of an EFL textbook is not merely passive addressee. Rather, reader voice is explicitly articulated in jointly-constructed text. In Plate 1, the drawings of empty dishes and the blanks in the unfinished words *_ce-cream*, *_ish*, *_oose* and *_amburger* are left for reader's completion. In SFL, language is regarded as a semiotic system of meaning potential,

and language behaviour is interpreted as choice (Halliday 1978: 39). Language is only “one of the semiotic systems that constitute a culture” (Halliday 1978: 2). If this principle of potentiality is extended to include other semiotic modes, it may be argued that in making a choice from a semiotic system to finish a jointly-constructed text, what the reader actually writes or draws (i.e. their actual semiotic choices) gets its meaning by being interpreted against the background of what they could have written or drawn (i.e. their potential semiotic choices). Jointly-constructed text is another ENGAGEMENT resource that encode [attribute], through which the external reader voice is brought in.

4 Multimodal resources as ENGAGEMENT devices

So far three multimodal resources, i.e. labelling, dialogue balloon, and jointly-constructed text, have been identified as ENGAGEMENT devices. Labelling can be viewed as “an interpolation of the authorial presence so as to assert or insist upon the value or warrantability of the proposition” (Martin & White 2005: 128). It functions to contract the heteroglossic space in the text, and help concentrate the reader’s attention on the pronounced vocabulary items, which are part of the language goals that are prescribed to achieve. Within EFL textbook discourse, dialogue balloon performs at least three different functions: giving directions to the reader (e.g. Plate 1), lending support to editor voice (e.g. Plate 2), and explaining rules of games by demonstration (e.g. Plate 3). Dialogue balloon will be discussed in detail in relation to GRADUATION in the following section. Another multimodal ENGAGEMENT resource identified above is jointly-constructed text, which takes a great diversity of forms in primary and secondary EFL textbooks, and the multimodal modes of communication further enrich the ways of engaging reader voice (Chen & Qin 2007).

Two additional resources for managing heteroglossic space are found in multimodal EFL textbooks. Illustration, i.e. image elucidating text in Barthes’ (1977) sense, can associate otherwise unrelated verbal texts in a meaningful way (Chen & Qin 2007). In that case, editor establishes linkage between verbal texts by resorting to character voice, while character voice acknowledges and lends support to the editor voice. Illustration may encode [disclaim]. As observed in our data, when images describe improper behaviours, editor voice in verbiage and character voice in illustrative images may go against each other, thus the meaning of [disclaim] is realized. Still another ENGAGEMENT device found in EFL textbooks is “highlighting”, which deals with the way of prioritizing certain elements via the choices of typeface. Highlighting in visual images may indicate that it is merely one of the possible options against the wider backdrop that consists of alternatives from the multimodal text itself, hence functioning to [entertain] other possibilities grounded within the contingent subjectivity (Chen & Qin 2007).

5 Gradability of ENGAGEMENT values in multimodal discourse

We are now in a better position to discuss how the aforementioned multimodal meaning-making resources up-scale and down-scale ENGAGEMENT values. Considering the fact that the meanings scaled within the ENGAGEMENT system vary from subsystem to subsystem (Martin & White 2005: 135), the discussion here centres around the same type of ENGAGEMENT device that realizes the same ENGAGEMENT meaning. We take dialogue balloon to exemplify gradability in detail, while briefly explain other multimodal ENGAGEMENT resources in relation to this property.



Plate 2 Lending support to editor voice

[PEP Primary English Students' Book II for Year 5 2003: 24] [PEP Primary English Students' Book I for Year 3 2003: 53]



Plate 3 Explaining rules of games by demonstration

Dialogue balloon is identified as realizing [attribute] meaning. Plate 2 illustrates the dialogue balloon that lends support to editor voice (Type①). Its upper part is a verbal text describing seasonal differences between Beijing and Sydney. The image underneath represents a dialogue between *Chen Jie* and *John*. *John* asks *Chen Jie* what season it is in March in Beijing. She says it is spring and asks him what season it is in Sydney. He then says it is fall. The dialogue balloons bring in character voice, associating the proposition advanced by editor voice in the verbal text (i.e. *In Beijing, it's spring from March to May...But, in Sydney, ...Fall is from March to May.*) with the external source of support from the characters who are presumably students from China and Australia. Editor voice is present in the communicative context, and the support from character voice further enhances editor voice, in that it provides evidence for the editor's statement. The editor's "proclamation" is accordingly strengthened. Plate 3 exemplifies the dialogue balloon explaining rules of games by demonstration (Type②). There is no verbal instruction, but the visual demonstration involving a dialogue between the characters *Sarah* and *Wu Yifan* shows the reader how to practice the expressions of commanding and offering by playing a game with pictorial cards. Visual demonstrations with dialogue balloons are frequently observed in task-oriented teaching sections such as *Let's play* and *Group work*, in which at least one way of accomplishing the task is vividly demonstrated by characters. Editor voice is absent from the demonstration, while character voice is responsible for the verbal and visual demonstration. In Plate 1, character voice is solely responsible for exercise instruction (Type③), whereas the editor who should have given directions chooses to hide away from the dialogic setting. The character gazes out at the viewer and thus eye contact is established. The language in the dialogue balloon (i.e. *What are they? Do you know?*) conveys character voice, clarifying what is required from the reader in completing the exercise. Therefore, it can be inferred that within the ENGAGEMENT device of dialogue balloon, GRADUATION operates along the axis of FORCE, i.e. the amount of responsibility that characters undertake in instructing the reader. This can be diagrammatically presented along the gradability cline of [attribute] value (see Figure 1 below).

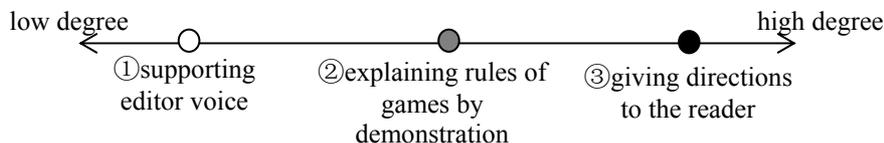


Figure 1 FORCE of three types of dialogue balloon in realizing [attribute] value

As for other ENGAGEMENT devices, the gradable [attribute] values of jointly-constructed text can be approached in light of the degree of completeness or "fulfilment" (Hood & Martin 2007), i.e. its prototypicality (i.e. FOCUS) as a co-construction. The higher degree of completeness a jointly-constructed text possesses, the less heteroglossic space it opens up to reader voice. In terms of illustration, the FORCE of [attribute] meaning can be investigated by looking at the indispensability of the image in linking different parts of a verbal text.

6 Conclusion

The concern of this paper is two-fold. One is to analyze the multimodal resources that realize ENGAGEMENT meanings in the multi-voiced EFL textbook discourse, and the other is to discuss how these multimodal resources scale up or down ENGAGEMENT values. Five types of multimodal resources have been identified as ENGAGEMENT devices. Specifically, labelling enables editor voice to negotiate meanings with character voice by fending off alternative positions, hence insisting upon the prescribed teaching goals and realizing [proclaim]. Dialogue balloon and illustration bring in character voice, and thus the proposition or viewpoint is “attributed” to character(s). Jointly-constructed text opens up space to introduce reader voice. Within certain illustrations editor voice and character voice may go against one another and hence [disclaim] is realized. Highlighting may function to [entertain] other possibilities that are grounded within the contingent subjectivity of the multimodal text itself.

Here we focus on dialogue balloon to illustrate GRADUATION in multimodal texts. Three types of dialogue balloons realize different degrees of [attribute] values based on how much responsibility character voice assumes in construing a heteroglossic setting: those that function to give directions to readers open up more space for character voice than those that explain rules of games by demonstration, which in turn expand more heteroglossic space than those merely lending support to editor voice. It is hoped that the present study will shed new light on systemic functional research on ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION in association with multimodality study on EFL textbook discourse.

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Us vs. Them: A Critical Analysis of Superman - Peace on Earth Comic Book

Francisco Osvanilson Dourado Veloso

Universidade Federal do Acre – UFAC

ndourado@gmail.com

Abstract

This work analyzes excerpts of the comic book *Superman– Peace on Earth*, aiming at undressing ideological views grounded in the representation it makes of reality and how it might contribute to shaping the reality of the reader, also aiming at foregrounding possible relations of power which might be implicit in the text. Concerning visual resources, I draw upon Kress & van Leeuwen’s (1996) visual grammar categories for analysis, whereas the verbal language is analyzed based on the system of transitivity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Ideological perspectives are borrowed from van Dijk (1995, 1998, 2001), who contributes to this research with the in-group vs. out-group proposition, which is used as a means to unveil ideological strategies. In my data, the in-group comprises the United States of America, while the out-group is composed of countries located in Africa, East Europe and South America. The findings of this research show that there is a disposition to emphasize positive aspects regarding the in-group and negative aspects concerning the out-group. Negative properties in respect to the in-group are de-emphasized, while positive characteristics are de-emphasized in the out-group. The text portrays the in-group and the out-group in a relation of inequality and oversimplifies complex social issues.

1 Introduction

Importance has been given to language in the construction of our identity and, as postulated by Meurer; it is in social interaction that people make use of language and consequently “reproduce, challenge or alter social structures” (2000, p. 3)⁷⁷. Furthermore, the author argues that “our knowledge and beliefs, our identity, our social relationship and our own lives are, to a great extent, determined by the texts to which we are exposed and the ones we produce” (2000, p.3). Similarly, Robbins (1993, p.50) postulates that the way we see and interpret the world is “mediated, controlled or filtered through other media”. The role played by language in this process goes far beyond the function of mediation, as it might define as well as guide perceptions we have of reality.

This complex role of language can be found in printed communication such as super-hero comic books. Produced by writers and cartoonists who might not even meet each other during the process of production⁷⁸, comic books are composed of words and images, two semiotic resources which co-exist in the construction of narrative, as visual and verbal language complement each other in order to convey the message to the reader. Compared to other genres, the number of critical studies available that make use of comics as an object of investigation is rather small.

In an attempt to contribute to the critical research on comics this study aims at investigating ideological aspects embedded in the narrative of the comic book *Superman: Peace on Earth* by Alex Ross and Paul Dini (1999). This title has been chosen due to the fact that it portrays Superman acting upon reality, as he visits several different countries around the world, providing a particular point of view regarding poor countries in South America, Africa and East Europe. Also, because it seems to depict rather clearly the model Superman seems to represent: that one of the good North-American citizen who looks after the others.

⁷⁷ My translation.

⁷⁸ Wonder Woman and Elektra, for instance, were drawn by Mike Deodato in João Pessoa, Brazil, and sent to the USA to be merged with narrative (Rodrigo, 1996).

In addition, the motivation for choosing Superman as my focus of study lies in the fact that this character is regarded as a benchmark for the super-hero comic book industry and also one of the foremost icons in popular culture, having directly contributed to the creation of other famous characters such as Batman and Wonder Woman.

The semiotic resources applied in the creation of meaning in a comic book are of two types: visual and verbal. As for the visual semiotic resources, an artist makes use of drawings, to give life to characters, but also how drawings are distributed on a page, including frames, as well as colors. Verbal language is used in two ways: as part of dialogue in speech balloons or caption boxes where narrative might be inserted (Veloso, 2006). In this paper I first carry out the analysis of visual aspects and the move on to the analysis of verbal text, dividing it into two groups: clauses concerning the USA, which will be referred to as in-group, and clauses relating to South American, East Europe and Africa, which will be called out-group, following van Dijk's (2001) notion of 'in-group' and 'out-group'. This separation derives from the fact that the comic book visual resources are the main attraction, insofar as *Superman – Peace on Earth* is not regularly drawn, but painted and, added to it, paper quality as well as the size of the edition gives prominence to visual art and, as a result, the role of verbal language is, if not understated, given a secondary role.

2 The analysis

Figure 1 is a long shot of Superman flying over Rio de Janeiro. The perspective we have of the scene whereby Superman is preparing himself to land in Rio de Janeiro, carrying on his powerful hands a container of food, is not a regular one but the perspective of one of the most famous postcards in the world. Below Superman's feet are the Christ, Guanabara Bay, and the Sugar Loaf, all of them displayed in the same shot.



Figure 1: Superman[©] arrives in Rio de Janeiro with provisions for the poor.

Superman is in the foreground in the picture, with the Christ on his right. Positioned close to the Christ's right hand but above him, it leads to the interpretation that Superman is the one standing at the right hand of our "Heavenly Father", sent from the skies to help the ones in need, similar to what Jesus, the Christ, did.

The picture as a whole has a light green tonality except for the image of Superman, whose red and blue uniform is conspicuous. The shot seems to confer Superman with a position of a savior who comes from above the sky to help hopeless people who live in pain and who need someone with valor to help them. Thus, we are tempted to infer that if people in Rio need

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someone with valor to help them it concomitantly means that those people have no one with valor among them who may stand for their needs, and that external assistance is required to help them deal with their predicaments. The high-angle picture of Superman over Rio de Janeiro also turns the reader into an observer, in an elevated position, as if he/she were looking through a window, in a metaphorical sense. This reader/viewer has access to the facts, and as an observer is invited to take a stand before the problematic situation represented.

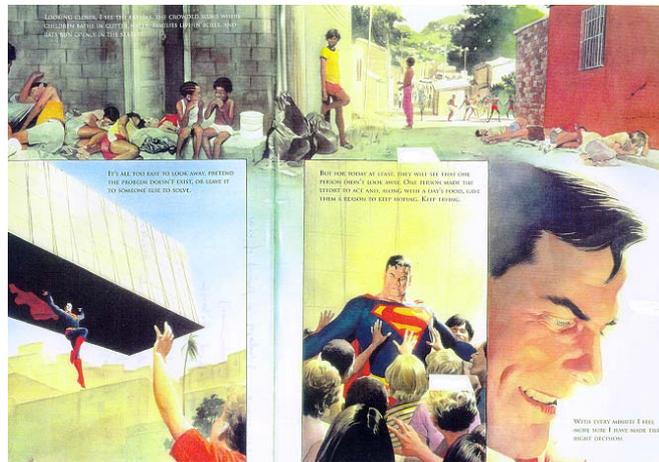


Figure 2: Superman lands in a “favela” in Rio.

On the top part of Figure 2 one can see the final destination of Superman: a slum somewhere in Rio de Janeiro. The angle of the image is at eye level and there are children all around the place, some of them sleeping over garbage plastic bags in the first plan, while others play soccer in the background, a quite common representation of Brazil abroad: everybody plays soccer, despite social problems. Although Superman is arriving in the place at daylight, there are several children sleeping on the floor, others barefoot and shirtless. There are no adults around the place, and most of the children are black.

The figures display a simplistic representation of reality, perhaps based on common sense, which, according to Fairclough, is “substantially ideological” (1989, p. 84) and that it is a “conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in all manifestations of individual and collective life” (Gramsci, 1971 *apud* Fairclough, 1989, p. 84). Rio de Janeiro, apparently reduced to homeless children in the streets, represents Brazil, whereas Superman represents the USA. The pictures analyzed above seem to function as a mechanism through which a position of superiority and supremacy is established with the reader/viewer, pointing Brazilians as the ones who face such social limitations and Americans as the ones who may help them to cope with the social chaos they live in. The pictorial representation of other countries, less specific due to the lack of a symbol such as the Christ that would allow identification, follows similar pattern, positioned them negatively and placing Superman’s actions as possible solution to problems.

As for verbal language, clauses were analyzed according to the system of transitivity (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) and then divided into two main headings: those referring to the in-group and those concerning the out-group. After the analysis of the clauses, they were examined in terms of positive and negative connotation, resulting in the following table:

	in-group		out-group	
Processes	+	-	+	-
Material	93%	7%	31%	69%
Relational	80%	20%	20%	80%

Mental	67%	33%	45%	55%
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Table 1: Percentage of positive/negative connotation in processes between groups

As displayed in Table 1, 93% of the Material processes in the in-group possess a positive connotation, with only 7% left of clauses with a negative meaning. Conversely, the majority of Material processes (69%) in the out-group hold a negative meaning. Similarly, the same relation may be established among Relational processes. A proportion of 80% of the processes regarding the in-group possess a positive connotation, whereas 20% of the Relational processes for the out-group are attributed a negative meaning, which is a proportionally inverse relationship. Mental processes represent a total of 67% of clauses with a positive connotation. For the out-group, the percentage of Mental processes with a positive and negative connotation does not vary so much (45% and 55%, respectively). These numbers were also sorted in general terms, revealing that, overall, most of the processes regarding the in-group hold a positive meaning, as can be seen in Table 1. On the other hand, in the out-group it is the opposite: 69% of the total amount of processes is negative, while only 31% are positive.

The data demonstrates that the difference concerning positive meanings between the two groups is germane. For the in-group, 86% of processes were positive, whereas in the out-group only 31% of processes could be allocated under the same heading. Likewise, the proportion of negative meanings granted to each group is notably meaningful. For the in-group, only 14% of the processes could be identified as possessing a negative meaning, whereas in the out-group a total of 69% of processes had a negative connotation.

3 Conclusion

The analysis reveals that the countries represented in *Superman – Peace on Earth*, allocated in the two separated groups, are depicted in a relation of inequality. Such disparity evokes power issues, as it positions the in-group as the one who possessed the material conditions to help the countries that compose the out-group. Nevertheless, such help includes interfering in these countries. The hero is shown asking for permission to the American Congress in order to distribute the surplus from the crops, but he is not shown requesting such permission to those countries he intends to go to, which heralds a disrespectful assault against the sovereignty of the nations represented in the out-group. It seems to be taken for granted that, just because a certain group is alleged to need some help, a foreign entity (or a person) may enter the country and try to solve problems, interfering in their internal affairs. Had it not been regarded as commonsense, it would not be dealt with in a mass communication medium so overtly. Furthermore, a set of pictures referring to Rio de Janeiro were analyzed, exploring the representation and interaction between represented participants and the viewer reinforces the positive representation regarding the USA and the negative portray of this ‘other’ participant, so that images follow the patterns presented in the verbal narrative.

Critics (Harvey, 1996; Reynolds, 1992; Savage Jr., 1990) claim the Comics Code, which was first created by the comics industry and then more strictly regulated by the North-American Congress, imposed such a duality on comic books. Nevertheless, it is possible to argue that such duality was only latent. It is most likely to be rooted in the social structure not only of the North-American society, but of most Western societies as well.

Establishing a position of power, dominance and superiority goes beyond the economic sphere. It also includes acting upon the social environment, upon the mass communication media consumed by that very society and this is what can be identified in *Superman – Peace on Earth*. There is a dominant ideology operating in a popular culture medium, reinforcing relations of power both at economic and social spheres. The corollary is that the in-group has the means to help and also the self-alleged right to interfere within the out-group.

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Playing with “femininity”: Multi-modal discourse analysis of bilingual children’s picture book *The Ballad of Mulan*

Ping Tian

Department of Linguistics
The University of Sydney N.S.W. 2006
Ping Tian: ptia5141@usyd.edu.au

Abstract

Children’s picture books are rich in meaning making with the co-articulation of visual and linguistic modes. Furthermore, they deal with a wide range of themes and some of them are ideologically laden in relation to gender issues. Sociolinguistic studies (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 1995; Coats 1999; Holmes 1997; Holmes and Schnurr 2006) demonstrate that the language we use or frequently encounter in casual conversations are not as innocent as they appear. Instead, they are active even, stereotypical constructions of gender identities, particularly ‘femininity’. In the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), this paper presents an analysis on images illustrated in a bilingual children’s picture book “*The ballad of Mulan*”, which bases on an ancient ballad for its content and incorporates the traditional Chinese genre paintings skill, *gongbi* to recreate the image of the protagonist. In this study, I investigate interpersonal meaning from the following perspectives: the expressiveness of lines and lines in relation with posture as well as facial expressions in construing *affect* (Martin & White, 2005) and ‘femininity’; finally, the selection of hues and its combination with toning in construing ‘femininity’. This study attempts to answer questions in the direction of how the above mentioned elements “couple” (Martin, 2000, 2007; Zappavigna, forthcoming) and “bond” (Stenglin, 2004; Martin & Stenglin, 2007) in construing “femininity”, and therefore provides another perspective on the investigation of discursive construction of ‘femininity’ in images.

1 Introduction

As the author was resting in a crowded teahouse in Canton China, two women at their late 20s sitting right next to her were engaging in a conversation about their friends’ unsatisfactory married life. One of them signed, “*Nowadays, there is more and more male in this world, but a lot less man*”⁷⁹. Certainly this simple sentence could raise questions like what is considered as “male” and what as “man”. It could also raise heated discussions on gender issues. Instead of gazing at “maleness”, “man” or “masculinity”, this paper turns around and investigates what is considered and constructed as “femaleness” or “femininity” social semiotically.

Casual conversations like the one we overheard in a teahouse about gender are easily found in our everyday life. However simple they appear, they are ideologically laden. Surrounding us there are also images that are less explicit but not less ideological. This paper chooses a bilingual Chinese-English picture book “*The Ballad of Mulan*” as an entry point to examine how “femaleness” or “femininity” is constructed in illustrated images. Femininity is a popular yet, a problematic notion. Scholars and researchers have mapped out its ambiguity, stereotypical association, complexity and sociological connotations (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 1995; Coats 1999; Holmes 1997; Holmes and Schnurr 2006). Works have been carried out under the light that ‘femininity’ as constructed through the use of language or social interaction (Holmes 1997; Holmes and Schnurr 2006) and also ‘femininity’ as performed (Butler, 1990; Coats 1999). Under the inspiration of these studies, the current study focuses on examining how ‘femininity’ is construed through the implementation of drawing techniques, i.e. the use of lines and the selection of colors in representing female and male

⁷⁹ Author’s translation. Cantonese original, “唉, 宜家尼个世界, 男性越来越多, 男人就越来越少”

characters. In particular, I will discuss how Mulan is depicted differently before heading to the battlefield, fighting in the battle and after returning home from the battle.

In order to achieve those aims, this study draws on the theoretical framework of social semiotics developed in Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1985a/1994, 1985b, 1985c, 1993; Halliday & Matthiessen 2007; Martin 1992) as well as multi-modal discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1990, 1996, 2006; O’Toole, 1994;) and examine the following three aspects in illustrated images: facial expressions, posture and coloring. A line that links these three aspects together is the analysis on the expressiveness of lines and color in images and their combinations. Finally, the analysis shows how these factors articulate *affect* (Martin & White, 2005) and therefore construe ‘femininity’ in depicted characters (Mulan in particular) in “*The Ballad of Mulan*”.

1.1 Mulan, Femininity And “*The Ballad Of Mulan*”

The protagonist Mulan in “*The Ballad of Mulan*” is a legendary female warrior in ancient China. Mulan first appears in *yuefu* (Guo, 1965), *Ballad*. Through generations’ interpretation and reinterpretation, the legend has been adapted into various forms of representations within and outside China: novels, opera, TV dramas and Disney movies etc. The selected picture book “*The Ballad of Mulan*” is the translation and retold of ancient Chinese ballad/Chinese folklore. The ballad “*Mulan Ci*” tells of a girl named Mulan who disguises herself as a man, goes to war in her aged father's place, and fights in the battlefield for 12 years before returning home with honor and glory. Many authors recreate Mulan’s story, in particular, her life after returning home. Critiques of these works argue that the Mulan story is the first feminist representation in Chinese history, whereas other researchers show that some recreation of Mulan are patriarchal where female warriors like Mulan, become more ‘female’ than other women who have never been out of the domestic area after they return from the ‘male world’. Therefore, Mulan as a “bond-icon” (Stenglin, 2004) not only enjoys her fame as the symbol of faith, loyalty, and courage but also as representation of individuality, early feminist or the sacrifice of patriarchal system.

1.2 Chinese traditional genre painting and “*The Ballad of Mulan*”

Apart from drawing largely on the ancient Chinese legend and on the ballad for its content, the selected picture book “*The Ballad of Mulan*” also adopts the drawing skills from traditional Chinese genre painting, in particular, composition, vantage point and the use of lines to retell the legend. In this section, I briefly map out the genre paintings one can find in traditional Chinese art, especially Chinese figure paintings, in order to position the selected data as well as gain background knowledge for the further discussions on the expressiveness of lines in representing *affect* and construing ‘femininity’.

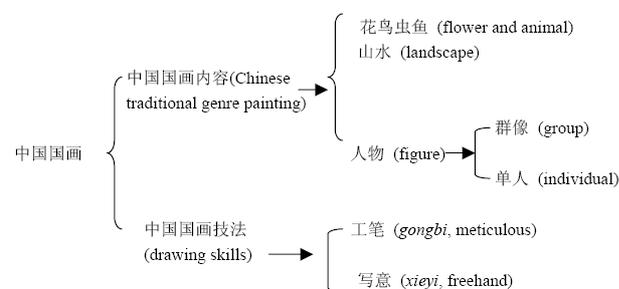


Figure 1: Chinese traditional genre painting and drawing skills

Chinese genre painting enjoys a long history, and there are numerous discussions on stylistic, aesthetic values and drawing techniques. **Figure 1** below briefly illustrates the main contents and skills used in traditional Chinese paintings.

In “*The Ballad of Mulan*”, one finds that it illustrates flowers (flower painting), birds, rabbits (animal painting) to depict the domestic environment and mountains to represent the scenery of the battlefield (landscape painting). Most prominently, it employs the skills in Chinese figure painting to illustrate the story of Mulan and recreates the image of Mulan. The drawing technique used here is “*gongbi* (baimiao)” with coloring. There are other picture books, for example, Lee’s (1983) “*The Song of Mulan*” which adopts the skill of “*xieyi*” (freehand) to recreate the image of Mulan. It is beyond the scope of current discussion but it is interesting to see a comparison on these works.

The current paper focuses on figure painting and its illustration of human beings instead of the composition. Stylistic and aesthetic values behind these skills and paintings have been long under debate and discussion. The major theoretical understanding is the “spirit” or the relationship between (also, harmonious combination of) spirit and form (神形兼备). Zhou (2008) points out the relationship between Buddhism and Taoism and the aesthetic philosophy underpinning the Chinese figure painting, and also the search for freedom. Intercultural comparison between Chinese tradition painting and western one can also be found in the literature, where the former as “spirit” focused and the later “form” concentrated (Chen, 2007; Li, 2007; Zong, 1981; Li, 2008; Mu, 2008; He, 2008). These are semiotic stylistic questions, which are interesting for further researches in this area, however, the current paper chooses to concentrate on the semiotic uses of lines and colors to represent characters, and their combinations in creating interpersonal meanings.

2 Discussion

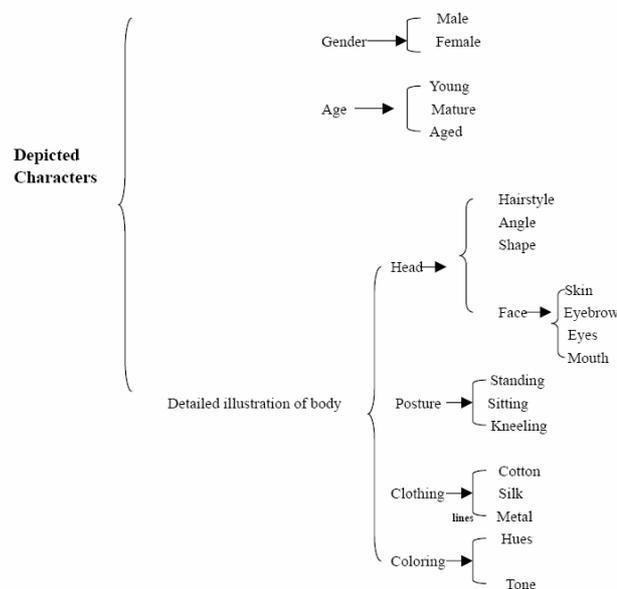


Figure 2: Depicted characters

In investigating images in picture books in SFL perspective, there are many elements attract researchers’ attentions. i.e. *focalization* (Martin, in press); *facial expressions* (Welch, 2005) or *Ambience* (Painter, in press). **Figure 2** below shows the elements and their relationships generated from the analysis of the images in “*The Ballad of Mulan*”. For example, a close

examination of hairstyles could illustrate the change of Mulan through the story. Furthermore, simple as hairstyle, it helps to distinguish gender and age. In this section, I focus on examining the expressiveness of lines, in particular, lines in relation with the folds of clothes and posture. I also investigate facial expressions and the choices of colors in depicting various characters in the picture book.

2.1 The expressiveness of *Lines*

Both works on western and Chinese paintings state that lines have expressive meanings (Adams, 2008; Zhou, 2008). In general, a thick straight line represents “toughness” or “straightforwardness”, whereas, a thin and curved line represents “softness” or furthermore conveys a sense of “flow”. Lines can also be drawn together in a pattern, and repeated patterning normally intensifies the meanings a single line expresses. This section discusses how lines are used differently to depict various characters.

2.1.1 Folds of clothes and posture

In reality, folds of the clothes are determined by the texture of the material used for the clothes as well as the human body underneath. In illustrations, the use of lines represents the material, body movement and the posture the depicted character strikes. The images depicting female characters (i.e. Mulan’s older sister, the dancers and musicians in the banquet) in “*The ballad of Mulan*” use simple curved lines to illustrate female dresses. Whereas, to depict the clothing of male characters, especially the armour for soldiers, the illustrator uses lines that are more condensed, and the patterns are repeated. As a result, the image conveys a sense of power at the mean time control and restriction. Where in the images, fewer lines are used; colour plays an important role in distinguishing female characters from male characters, and this will be discussed later in **section 2.2**.

Among others things, I focus on investigating the different lines used to represent Mulan’s clothing before she heads to the battlefield, in the battle and when she comes home from the battlefield. Therefore, I will illustrate how “femaleness” is created with the different “lines” together with the posture of the depicted character. In **Page 1&2**⁸⁰, Mulan is depicted as weaving in domestic environment. The lines used are thin and light, and thus, creates a sense of flow and the fabric of clothing is represented as silk or silky. Page 25&26 depicts the scene of Mulan in domestic environment after she comes back from the battle. The lines used are similar with that of in **Page 1&2**, which is also light and thin, and the Mulan’s body is also depicted as twisting, and therefore, together with the lines, the image conveys a sense of movement. **Page 7&8** illustrates the scene of Mulan departing from home for the battlefield and **Page 13&14** represents Mulan as fighting in the battlefield. It also illustrates the armour that Mulan wears when she changes her ‘female identity’ and heading to the battlefield. These lines, tough and straight lines are used to represent the material used for armour and the repeated pattern depicted conveys a sense of power, control and restriction. The posture of Mulan wearing the armour is also restricted in the frame, which is showing an upright stance: power, discipline.

2.1.2 Lines and facial expressions

While illustrating human faces, picture book illustrators can choose to represent them in minimum three registers: minimalist, generic and naturalistic (Welch, 2005; Tian, 2007). “*The ballad of Mulan*” chooses to use the generic representation where lines and shapes are used to depict human face instead of minimalist (dots and lines only) and a photographic like naturalistic representation, in which, lines, shapes, shading are used to create a three-

⁸⁰ For copyright reasons, the images in the selected data “*The ballad of Mulan*” cannot be shown here and Page 1&2 refers to pages in the selected picture book.

dimensional effect in illustrating human faces (Tian, in preparation). In **Page 1&2**, domestic environment is illustrated and we can see two women weaving and they are facing each other, and the older one (mother) seems to be looking directly at Mulan’s face. Simple lines used to depict eyes and mouth shape, and those are represented in a flat way. Mulan’s eyes appear to be downcast. This could be an expression of sorrow (sighs) and duty. In this aspect, we need the verbiage and the story to tell what kind of affect is represented. Mother’s face is not shown to the reader in this image, and interesting, in the following images, Mulan’s mother is still mostly hidden from the reader. We might pose a question, “must her emotions be hidden from us?” **Pages 7&8** represent a scene of Mulan departing from home and heading to the battlefield. In this image, Mulan’s mother’s face is again hidden from the reader. Her grief is represented through gesture: holding tightly with that of Mulan’s older sister. Mulan’s face is illustrated with eyes looking down, and a relatively flat mouth shape. In the role of man, Mulan is depicted as resolve, courage, strength, and containment of emotion. In this image, Mulan’s younger brother is represented as “crying” since we can obviously see the drop of tear on his face. Father does not show much feeling either. The gender differentiation shown from the analysis of facial expressions: males hide affect; females and children are permitted to express it, though adult females are permitted in a limited way in public display of affects.

2.2 Color

In this section, I focus on investigating the use of color in relation with gender. In order to fulfill this task, I intend to answer: how are colors used to distinguish men and women? To answer this question, I examine what colors are used for men (eg. skin, clothes); what colors are used for women (eg. skin, clothes); what colors are used for Mulan in the role of a woman and in the role of a man (eg skin, clothes). I also examine whether the choices of color to represent Mulan change during the story. **Table 1** below provides an analysis on the hues and tone used in representing Mulan through the story (references and details see **Appendix**).

Table 1: Coloring Mulan

Time	Image	Color	
		Skin	Clothing
Before battle	Mulan_1&2	P/RP to Vp/RP	B/RP; S/RP; S/R
Departing	Mulan_7&8	Lgr/RP; Lgr/P	Gr/Y; D1/BG; Dk/GY; Gr/YR; S/RP; Dk/RP; V/B; Gr/GY; Dk/BG; D1/YR; Lgr/BG; D1/Y; Dp/P; D/B; L/B; D1/BG; D1/RP
In battlefield	Same 7 &8		
Returning Home	Mulan_15&16	P/YR; Vp/YR	S/YR; Dk/YR; Dk/GY; L/R; Lgr/RP; Dk/G
	Mulan_23&24	Vp/RP;	Vp/R; Vp/YR; B/RP; B/P; L/YR
	Mulan_25&26	Vp/RP;	V/YR; B/RP; Vp/R; Vp/YR; B/P; L/YR

Seen from the analysis, more hues are used to represent Mulan’s clothing when she is departing to also fighting in the battle (playing the male role in the male world). Fewer hues are used while depicting Mulan in domestic area. In these images, the simultaneous use of

many hues (colors) could symbolize complex while fewer symbolize simple. Furthermore cluttered use of colors conveys senses of turmoil (e.g. the used of color in depicting the battlefield) and more organized usage gives away feeling of peace (e.g. the illustration of domestic environment). In the role of a woman, Mulan is illustrated with simple thin lines and colored in organized way, which conveys the sense of peace and simplicity in the domestic area, the same phenomenon can be found in her return home images. On the contrary, condensed, thick and repeated lines together with more cluttered coloring are used to represent the turmoil battle and the male domain.

Table 1 also shows the different choices of hues in representing Mulan through the story. In domestic area, purple and red purple are used. In the role of a man, Mulan's clothing is depicted in yellow, blue and green, and this combination helps to create sense of turmoil and complexity. While the coloring of the clothing changes dramatically through the story, the colors used for skin change slightly in toning (ranging from pale to very pale).

3 Conclusion

This paper investigates interpersonal meaning in illustrated images from three perspectives: the expressiveness of lines; lines in relation with posture as well as facial expressions in construing facial *affect* and “femininity”; finally, it examines the selection of hues, in particular, the combination with toning in construing “femininity”. This study intends to pose questions for further research in the direction of how the above mentioned elements “couple” (Martin, 2000, 2007; Zappavigna, forthcoming) and “bond”(Stenglin, 2004; Martin & Stenglin, 2007) in construing “femininity”, and therefore provides another perspective on the investigation of discursive construction of female identity in visual images.

Appendix:

Hue		Tone	
R	Red	V	Vivid
YR	Yellow Red	S	Strong
Y	Yellow	B	Bright
GY	Green Yellow	P	Pale
G	Green	VP	Very Pale
BG	Blue Green	Lgr	Light Grayish
B	Blue	L	Light
PB	Purple Blue	Gr	Grayish
P	Purple	DI	Dull
RP	Red Purple	Dp	Deep
		Dk	Dark

http://www.iricolor.com/04_colorinfo/colorsystem.html (Last access: 2008/6/26)

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Multisemiotics of Conferencing: Challenges to researching and training presentation skills

Eija Ventola

English Department, University of Helsinki, Finland
PO Box 24 (Unioninkatu 40)
FIN-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland
eija.ventola@helsinki.fi

Abstract

The paper presents *Conferencing* as a fascinating area of linguistic and multisemiotic study for researchers interested in institutional and work-related discourse analysis and multilingual and intercultural communication. The paper first discusses the role of English as *the* language of most international conferences and how it is typically researched. The paper then highlights conferencing as an event that demands multisemiotic mastery of meaning-making systems, and this has repercussions both to analytical description as well as to training issues. The final focus of the paper is on the processes of technologization and globalization of conferencing and the challenges Internet-based videoconferencing systems present when connecting academics around the globe.

1 Introduction

One would have thought that since the publishing of *The Language of Conferencing*, (Ventola et al. 2002), designed to counterbalance the enormous research interest in academic writing, evoked by Swales' (1990), *Genre Analysis*, an abundance of conference language research would have sprouted in the field. This seems not to be the case. Yet, some interesting papers have been published that are directly related to the interests and aims of this paper, i.e. to the discussion of (1) English as a global language used for conferencing, (2) conference situations as multi-semiotic events that demand mastery of these various meaning-making systems in conferencing contexts, and finally (3) technologization and globalization of conferencing and conference training.

2 English as a global conference language

Today in academia, English is needed for studying, for lecturing and research jobs, for international co-operation, but most importantly English has become *the* language for global conferencing. Some of the papers published on English and conferencing since 2002 have the purpose of highlighting those linguistic features that are typical when English is used by native and non-native speakers at conferences. Studies by Webber (2005), Rowley-Jolivet and Carter-Thomas (2005), and Lindemann and Mauranen (2001) function here as examples.

Webber focuses on what she refers to as interactive features used for creating a speaker/listener relationship during conference talks, the use of first and second personal pronouns, discourse markers (such as *now*, *so*, *well*), and imprecise quantifiers. Using corpus analysis tools, she contrasts the conference talk data of 14 talks in English by speakers from various language backgrounds (7 plenaries and 7 section papers) to the written research article corpus (6 research articles and 6 review papers) in the field of medicine. The computer analysis disclosed the use of *I*, particularly in the phrase *I think*, as particularly frequent, and this Webber interprets as a device for expressing hedging or speaker stance. Webber further discusses various textual functions, e.g. of *now*, and how they are used in conference presentations to structure the text or to indicate the steps in argumentation. Her written data seems to lack these interactive features and some other textual features. Her study, thus, clearly indicates the mode (spoken/written) differences between academic speaking and academic writing. Her study is a typical corpus linguistic study that pays attention to the

frequencies of linguistic phenomena and explains their use in a relatively vague, pragmatic fashion. The features are hardly made operative in regards to the discourse event and its unfolding as a whole. Although differences in frequencies are noted, it will be hard to bridge the differences between the modes and to teach these features and their use in apprenticeship contexts. The same also applies to the results of the study by Rowley-Jolivet and Carter-Thomas (2005) where similarly written conference proceedings and spoken conference presentations are compared, but the contrast is made systematically between the performances of native and non-native speakers. The focus here is on information structure in English and the syntactic features (such as passives, clefts, inversion and extraposition) that are used to create appropriate information weighting structures in the two modes by the presenters. Their study shows that whereas native speakers are able to manipulate the syntactic structures to create context- and genre-appropriate information structures, the non-native speakers are less able to do so, and thus the rhetorical appeal of their presentations may not be as effective as the native speakers'. For learning these features of English syntax, the native speaker behaviour is mostly set out as a model. Very frequently these kinds of corpora studies focus merely on single lexical items, e.g. *just* in Lindemann and Mauranen (2001). They show that although in textbook materials the teaching of temporal use of *just* is prominent in the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE), 75% of its use is as a discourse softener or as a comment, rather than its temporal use (8%). When suggestions for training are then made in such corpus studies, the aim is to get the trainee to understand such expressions and how native speakers use them (on discursual/lexicogrammatical/phonological level of language). In this paper, such corpus studies-driven training aims are characterized as 'lexicalised learning aims' and are well illustrated e.g. on the Finnish website (produced by the Language Centre of the University of Jyväskylä in 2005-2006) where corpus tools are introduced as learning tools also for learning presentation skills: <http://kielikeskus.jyu.fi/kookit06/corpus/intro/intro.html>. The focus on learning presentations skills is very much on e.g. conjunctions and connectors as transition devices; further, much of the material focuses on grammatical items traditionally known to be difficult to the Finnish learners, e.g. phrasal verbs, the use of prepositions, etc.

But when we present, are the lexical phrases really ultimately the most important to learn when practicing effective conference skills? So if we take 'a native speaker' as a model, must we assume that all native speakers are good presenters, the question asked in Ventola (2007)? We can indeed take native speakers naturally as models – one such good model can be found in the video archives of Helsinki University, a recognized scholar delivering the opening lecture of the Days of the Sciences (Tieteenpäivät avajaiset) in 2005, Helsinki, during the Einstein-year (the initial part of the video shows the opening of the Days by the chancellor of the university, the lecture follows: <http://video.helsinki.fi/Arkisto/tallenne.php?ID=2758>: click on 'katso video' -real player). But when we compare the 2005 lecturer to the lecturer opening the days in 2007, some of the viewers may feel that this presenter, in spite of her international reputation and status, does not fare quite as well (click on 'avaa' real player: http://video.helsinki.fi/Arkisto/index.php?event=73&search=avajaiset&nimi=on&esitys=on&tarkempi=on&esiintyja=on&paikka=on&laitos=on&id=on&w=like&dtype=%25&sort=f_begin). Partly such impressions may have to do with the theme of the 35th ISF Congress - "Voices around the World" – i.e. if you are a conservation biologist you are much more likely to go along with the message construal of the latter rather than the former presenter, whose interests circle around cosmology and particle physics. Both are, however, fluent in construal of their messages while conferencing – after all they do it in their own languages – a benefit and an advantage that many native speakers do not know to appreciate often enough.

We can now compare these speakers with a third presenter (click on: <http://kraken.it.helsinki.fi/ramgen/Content1/Elokuvaryhma/Gubern.rm>). Now we deal with the other interpretation of the theme ‘voices’, namely ‘multilingualism’. The presenting Spanish scholar is an experienced scholar in his own field, film studies. He is at least bilingual (to a certain degree), if not multilingual, and he also brings this other ‘lingualism’ into his presentations. His English is what is generally known as ‘English as a Lingua Franca’. To what degree his listeners, both native English speakers and other language speakers, have to strain themselves to understand his message construal depends partly on the ‘voice’ he gives to his message, but also to his ‘lingualism’, i.e. whether his listeners are used to listening Spaniards’ English? Most likely the Spaniards themselves are the best listeners of Spaniards’ English - *Spanglish*. Research on ‘English as a Lingua Franca’ is expanding, and it is naturally fruitful that we get a picture of how English is used by different nationalities. Asplund (2007) recently highlighted to the general public the importance of researching and understanding the nature of English as a Lingua Franca on the web pages of a Finnish newspaper Aamulehti, and the article also includes two video clips where four foreigners living in Finland discuss their use of English as a medium for communication in Finland (video 1, video 2; http://www.aamulehti.fi/sunnuntai/teema/asiat_paajutut/5353140.shtml). The point one of the interviewees makes in the article is that the lingua franca users ‘understand each other and communicate’. If only we fully understood how this is best learnt! Using corpus tools for researching lingua franca phenomena and then basing conferencing training largely on discovered lexicalised phrases, justified by frequencies of corpus searches, does not really help us to understand how effective conferencing takes place. It is e.g. highly questionable whether the Spanish scholar would benefit at all from such corpus studies-oriented conference training. A younger Spanish scholar (<http://kraken.it.helsinki.fi:80/ramgen/Content1/Elokuvaryhma/Pedegral.rm>) who attended the same conference event as the older Spaniard might benefit from the kind of presentation course mentioned earlier. (But even in his case, the text in English is largely fine; it is written English, but perhaps ‘poorly’ read and the reader would certainly benefit from some training in phonetics). But largely the problem of the younger scholar is that he is not experienced in conferencing, not socialized into the genre, and does not know how to take the situation as a *contextualized multisemiotic event* that any conference situation deserves to be considered to be.

3 Conferencing as a multisemiotic event

Any conference is a complex multisemiotic event and planning a conference paper and presenting it demands mastery of multiple meaning-making systems. Limiting our interests merely on the study of selected choices of the linguistic systems, as is done in most of the current corpus studies on conferencing and presentations, also limits our possibilities in optimizing the conferencing training. Although we can follow Bienveniste (1985: 239, quoted by Kyong Liong Kim (1996: 85-86)) and see language as “a fundamental process for semiotization” and consider semiology of non-linguistic systems ultimately always using language when being interpreted, we must understand how the multiple meaning-making systems and intersemiosis of modes work in conference events. The work enlightening our understanding of the workings of multisemiotics in conferencing is just beginning. We need to know how previous knowledge, views, ideas, etc. are construed into a presentation *before* the presentation, *during* the presentation and the study of what happens to them *after* the presentation, i.e. what the academic impact of the presentation is and how it helps to accumulate shared global knowledge. This was referred to as the process of *semiotic spanning* in Ventola et al. (2002). Issues in semiotic spanning must be considered as central interests in the study of conferencing, although full studies of semiotic spanning have not yet been carried out and are in fact elaborate to realise well. We still perhaps do not have the

perfect tools for such *semiotic spanning analyses*, but due to the emerging interests on multimodally realised meanings, systemic functional linguists are in a better position than others to carry out such research and to show how language and other semiotics work together, and to develop various tools for such analyses, some already existing.

The study of such spanning complexity still concentrates very much on what happens during the actual conference presentation, rather than *before* and *after*. For example, the visuals, which were the first multisemiotic aspects to be studied (e.g. the study of the use of overhead slides or how other visual visuals relate to the language of presentations), are still studied *during*. The same applies to research that now focuses on the use of computer technologies *during* the presentation, not the design steps before (e.g. Power Point, videoclips, videoconferencing). Yet, the *before* and *after* aspects are important. Perhaps the work of Baldry and Thibault (2005) and Bateman (2008) help us to better understand the construal of visuals to help the steps taken in during conferencing and how the visuals finally appear in the publication of the presentation and in other publications.

Although a study by Hood and Forey (2005: 292) is also *during*-focussed, it is interesting since it studies in detail how a *set-up stage* functions “to situate the talk in the immediate context” and “to provide the point of departure for the presentation proper” and its *sub-stages*. Further, Hood and Forey, unlike the other studies, also study how facial, head and hand gestures function as the conference presenters (plenary speakers) build up their set-up stages. Their linguistic study is of course of interest for conferencing and conference training, and due to relating the linguistic realizations qualitatively directly to the staging in contexts, rather than merely looking at occurrences in the whole presentation, their study is perhaps more valuable for immediate purposes of training than the corpus studies mentioned earlier. Not that corpus studies on conferencing should be abandoned; as Hood and Forey (2005: 301) also suggest, they should be carefully designed, taking into consideration the discourse events as dynamically unfolding stages, not merely as transcriptions of wholes for corpora searches. But what is further interesting in their study is that they for the first time in the linguistically oriented studies on conferencing try to bring the *body* (here the facial, head and hand movements of the body) of the presenter into the analysis of meaning-making, a very necessary aspect for the full understanding of meaning-making at conferencing. Their analysis highlights many interesting interpersonal features, e.g. of the co-articulation language and the body signification. Some of the features they focus upon can also be used to analyze the differences of the body behaviour of the four speakers used as examples in this paper. However, their study is not the first on the relationship of the body meanings and what is being said in this context. Thibault and Baldry have studied lecture presentations (among other things) from a multimodal point of view and have developed ways of making multimodal transcriptions integrating the visually seen bodily action and the language being used (see Baldry and Thibault 2005, 2004, forthcoming). Their system (based on Adobe Professional) allows us to bring together multisemiotically the advances in linguistic and in non-verbal behavioural research. They offer us a coding screen and exemplify its use. What is being filmed is separated into screens and then analyzed screen by screen both for language as well as for other non-verbal meanings realized.

This method of transcription allows us to combine both linguistic and non-linguistic actions and enables us to do a more precise study human behaviour in a much more systemic way than before (cf., for example, methods used in conversational analysis or current corpus studies). But we are *still* using language for semiotizing the meaning-making of the body (cf. Bienveniste above) - using language to analyze what happens non-verbally, rather than developing analytical systems from the perspective of their own meaning-making potentials. Perhaps from the training point of view this linguistic semiotization of the non-verbal semiotics is not that grave, as training always involves verbal explaining of what to do and

how to do it. We learn by watching how others do it and are being taught by trainers who explain to us why we are expected to do and behave in certain ways at conferences. What the multimodal transcription allows us to have is detailed analyses and it gives us explanations on how presentation multisemiotically unfolds screen by screen. Using video recordings we capture everything, and thus our multimodal transcriptions will allow us to analyze examples of conferencing in detail and to turn the data into more successful training packages than known today. Yet conferencing unfolds in real time, and due to such technological developments like videoconferencing systems, the real time conferencing unfolding is transmitted globally – and so are our successes and failures in conferencing.

4 Technologization and globalization of conferencing and conference training

The technologized and globalized academic life sets us constant demands to be good presenters, not just to be able to speak in front of an audience but also to use various technological equipments while presenting, and not just in local conferencing contexts but in international environments, sometimes real sometimes virtual. We as speakers are not only users of technology; we are also objects of technologization. Through technologization we no longer have to travel to be global speakers. Videoconferencing systems take care of transmitting not only what we say across the oceans, but also how we say it in real-time (or it is accessed on demand from various video archives of presentations). This knowledge makes some presenters nervous and it affects their performance. Our educational systems in many countries have taken very little notice of the training needed in this area. Perhaps it is assumed that the younger generation has already mastered it through their play with the Web, and the older generation could not teach it anyhow, since they are not engaged with it. Yet, serious studies on local and global videoconferencing multisemiotic practices are needed. They give us an understanding of the medial influences on our communication patterns, and data from such studies can also be used to socialize the presenters to analyse their own behaviours in on-line conferencing. My global videoconferencing experiments started in 1998 when in Halle I tried to realise a session with some colleagues and students in Mendoza, Argentina. Due to technological problems, I ended up mailing my talk to Mendoza on a VSH-cassette. The next experiments were more successful, one in 1998 between the students of University of Halle-Wittenberg and Kings College, London and another in 2001 in Salzburg with Halle and University of Tampere. My immediate goal with the course was to get the students to use videoconferencing, and they did seem to enjoy practising their own short videoconferencing presentations and watching each other's and lecturers' presentations and discussing issues raised across distances. But I also managed to get them into thinking about the connections of discourse and the medium and analysing some of the problems occurring with technologizing and globalizing conferencing, and what kind of preparatory training might be needed when conferencing in real-time. Our example analyses of problems and our discussions are reflected in some of their learning journals: (1) *“Although I had the handout in front of me (which contained examples of academic discourse only), it was sometimes a bit hard to follow or to concentrate on the speech. Sometimes I missed the eye contact with the speaker, because she was looking much into her notes....”* (2) *“Both students and teachers need some form of more or less instant reaction from their conversation partner to react on their sides, too (body language: seeing ...[the] need for further explanation ...-need for change in presentation; ...). Conversation partners need to be trained in precipitating possible reactions: ... (→ problem of unintentionally interrupting the speaker; a question, for instance, may be asked in a certain context but arrive while the speaker has already swapped to something completely different → conversation partners need to learn to make pauses at certain passages in order to grant the others some instances of time to comment on what has just been said).”* Both entries indicate the need for training; yet, such

training where also analytical skills in discourse analysis are incorporated is still rare in this area.

5 Conclusion

This short paper has discussed the significance of English as a global conference language and the problems it brings to us as analysts, pointing out that mere linguistic study is insufficient; rather we have to research conferencing as multi-semiotic events and also develop our tools for such analyses; lastly the focus has been on how, due to technologization and globalization of conferencing, we all might need to think to what degree we need conference training and what kind. It is essential that the presentation and training issues in global conferencing are taken seriously. Yet today, we still seem to need to ask: are there enough trained teachers? Are the materials, courses linguistically and multisemiotically sophisticated enough? are there proper facilities for such training (computers, videos, video projectors, cameras, power point, videoconferencing equipment, etc...). At universities, humanities-oriented departments frequently seem to get the innovative equipment, etc. last, when technological changes in the society take place. There is however, a very positive aspect to the developments of the past decade or so – Although there still is a long way to go, we are definitely in a better position to identify the key issues and problems of linguistic and multisemiotic research in the field of *conferencing*. So there is also hope for the future.

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Critical Discourse Analysis of a Political Text: Using Appraisal Theory

Shohreh Bolouri

Katholieke University Leuven Faculty of Arts

shbolouri@yahoo.com

Abstract

Politicians' language does not merely convey and describe the message but also strongly shapes the meaning structure, thus creating meaning for the listener in a controlled cognitive environment. Politicians aim at producing a feeling of unity, arousing emotions such as fears, hate, or joy, and leading thoughts in the direction which they desire. In order to understand how this is achieved, the present study carefully examines their arguments, and brings to the fore their linguistic dimensions.

This study presents a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the language used by Tony Blair. Taking a CDA perspective, this study analyses textual data from online press involving Tony Blair's argument. The analysis presented here makes use of a combination of models in CDA primarily Van Dijk's (1993 in M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, et al, 2002) discourse method; Martin and Rose's (2003) appraisal theory, some adjustments of the appraisal model; and van Dijk's (1993) investigation of the hidden power structures. The findings reveal the presence of some major strategies: by employing some rhetorical techniques, Tony Blair aims at imagining highly polite, positive, and powerful to his audience.

1 Political discourse

Politics and language have always been closely related. They form a complex link setting the political reality and its symbolic representation. Political discourse is designed to achieve specific political goals. Therefore, it is sensitive to the content of production. Van Dijk⁸¹ points out that any political discourse is not only confined by context but also by the way the speaker interprets the events talked about, as well as by general social representations shared by group members. Political discourse structures follow the global political strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

2 Critical Discourse Analyses (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis shares many common grounds with critical approaches in their attempts for people's awareness. In other words, critical discourse analysis is the uncovering of implicit ideologies in texts. It pays much attention to power relations and ideology and force the reader or listener to identify reality in a specific, biased way. A text, according to Van Dijk (1997: 9) 'is merely the tip of the iceberg' and it is the responsibility of the discourse analyst to reveal the hidden meaning of the text.

3 Appraisal Theory

Appraisal theory was developed from the 80s and 90s on. It came into existence as an extension of the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics formulated by M.A.K. Halliday which attempts to model language's ability to express and negotiate opinions and attitudes within a text. Appraisal theory is concerned mostly with the language of evaluation, attitude and emotion. The framework of appraisal is conducted by a group of researchers led by James Martin and developed by other researchers in recent years. To be able to compare Martin's appraisal model and the adapted model the summary of both models is presented in two charts. Table 1 is the summary of Martin's model of Appraisal system and Table 2 is the summary of the adapted model.

81 See Paul Chilton and Christian Schäffner, 2002.

Table 1 Appraisal system: an overview (Martin and Rose, 2003 and 2000)

Appraisal	Attitude	affect		direct	emotional state			
					physical expression			
		judgement		implicit	extraordinary behavior			
					metaphor			
		appreciation		direct				
				implied				
				personal	admire			
					criticize			
		moral	praise					
			condemn					
	valuation		reaction		impact			
					quality			
			composition		balance			
					complexity			
	Graduation	force		intensifiers				
				attitudinal lexis				
				metaphors				
				swearing				
				raise				
				lower				
		focus		sharpen				
				soften				
	Engagement	monogloss						
heterogloss		projection		projecting clauses				
				names for 'speech acts'				
		projecting within clauses						
		scare quotes						
modalization		negotiating information		usuality				
				probability				
		negotiating services		obligation				
				inclination				
		ability						
concession		concessive						
		continuatives						

Table 2 An overview: the adapted model of Martin and Rose appraisal system

Attitude	affect	direct	emotional state			
			physical expression			
		implicit	extraordinary behavior			
			metaphor			
	judgement	direct				
		implied				
		personal	admire			
			criticize			
		moral	praise			
			condemn			
	appreciation	reaction	impact			
			quality			
composition		balance				
		complexity				
valuation						
Graduation	force	grammatical items	intensifier			
			quantifier			
			manner degree			
			modality			
		lexical items	lexis			
			metaphor			
	focus	sharpen				
		soften				
Engagement	monogloss	positive polarity				
		non-polarity				
	heterogloss	projection	projecting clause	quoting with speech marks		
				quoting without speech marks		
				quoting the feelings		
			names for 'speech acts'			
			projecting within clauses			
		scare quotes				
		modalization	verbal exponent	performatives		
				non-verbal exponent	negotiating information	usuality
			probability			
			negotiating services		possibility	
	certainty					
	volition		willingness			
			intention			
	obligation					
	necessity					
	ability					
	permission					
	concession		concessive			
			continuatives			
	proportion	comparative				
		superlative				
	condition	modality				
		non-modality				
	negation	polarity				
		modality				
	question	polar	polarity			
modality						
alternative						
non-polar						
compulsion	positive	command				
		request				
		offer				
		warning				
		instruction				
	negative					

4 Analyzing the text at micro and macro level

The analysis of the political text in macro-level investigations of discourse and micro-level analysis of particular identities and events using appraisal system and some adjustments of the appraisal model was considered to be appropriate at identifying the rhetorical techniques used by the politician in the text.

The material used in this study comes from 'The Guardian News'. The starting point of the analysis is selected on the basis of a parliamentary speech held on Sunday 26 February 2006 by the British Prime Minister (PM), Tony Blair. The topic of Tony Blair's speech is; 'I don't destroy liberties, I protect them.' In this text, the prime minister defends his government's record.

The data provided in the present research text is analyzed within the framework proposed by van Dijk, T.A. (1993)⁸², J.R. Martin (2000)⁸³, Martin and Rose (2003), and some adjustments of appraisal system, assuming that quantification of the distribution of appraisal resources could serve as a helpful point of departure for the subsequent exploration of how these resources are used to adopt positions. At the macro-level, contextual, interactional, organizational and global forms of discourse are considered. Also, I concentrate on some features of discourse, for instance, specific lexical items, forms of address, pronoun use, deictic, and so on. I focus on the discourse properties which are used in the text, such as topics, local meanings, rhetoric and style, on the basis of Van Dijk's theoretical explanations of the critical analysis properties (in M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, et al., 2002).

5 Findings and Discussion

A linguistic analysis of political discourse can be most successful when it relates the details of linguistic behavior to political behavior. This can be done from two perspectives: micro and macro level of analysis.

People who use a low-power style may be judged less believable than those who use a high-power style, in spite of the fact that what they say is identical in matter.⁸⁴ In an initial study, Wright and Hosman (1983 in S. Hung and J.J. Baradac, 1993: 30) examined the relationships of hedges, intensifiers, and gender of the communicator and respondent. The results indicate that a high level of using hedging lessens valuations of credibility and attractiveness but does not reduce valuations of blameworthiness. Also, in another study, Baradac and Mulac (1984 in S. Hung and J.J. Baradac, 1993: 30) examined the effect of hedges, hesitations, tag questions, polite forms, deictic phrases, and intensifiers separately. In this study the effect of the powerless messages were compared with the powerful messages. The results indicate that respondents rate the powerful messages as most effective and powerful as expected. Messages with high levels of politeness and intensification rate, as authoritative messages. On the other hand, deictic phrases are appraised as neutral while hedges and tag questions appear to be proportionately ineffective and low in power. Considering the text, Tony Blair does not use any hedges, tag questions, and hesitations which decrease the power of his speech. By using powerful speech, Tony Blair conveys effective messages to his listeners.

According to the Martin and Rose's appraisal system and its adapted model, the analysis of the text shows that the most frequent appraisal elements Tony Blair uses in his speech are engagement elements (49.7%) and the least frequent ones are attitude (24.26%). He uses heteroglossic (88%) more than monoglossic elements (12%) in order to commit his listeners. Among the heteroglossic elements, he uses concession the most (31%) and imperative the least (1.3%). As imperatives reduce the level of politeness and Tony Blair uses them the least, his speech appears to be highly polite. The few times he uses imperative, it is, moreover, of the *offer* type. The high level of politeness corroborates with the powerfulness and the effectiveness of the message.

Tony Blair uses performative elements (25%) the most in his modalization. Using

82 See M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, et al., 2002.

83 See S. Hunston, G. Thompson, 2000.

84 Erikson et al's findings, 1978 in S. Hung and J.J. Baradac, 1993, pp. 24-25.

performative statements, again, corroborates the intention to convey powerful messages. Also, using expressions of ability (16.6%) and obligation (16.6%) more than possibility (8.3%), permission (8.3%), and probability (8.3%), Tony Blair enhances the power dimension in his messages.

Among the attitude elements, Tony Blair uses appreciation the most (90.24%) and does not use any judgement elements in his speech. Positive and negative appreciations are the two main kinds of strategies which are mostly used by politicians. Tony Blair appreciates his government positively and values the left, the right, and the present rules negatively. By means of positive and negative appreciation, he values 'his government' superiority and 'other' inferiority.

Tony Blair uses more force elements (81.8%) than focus ones (18.18%). In his speech, he uses more quantifiers (48.6%) and intensifiers (24.3%) than the other force elements since intensifiers (and in my opinion, quantifiers) increase the power of the speech and make the messages more effective.

Metaphors are tools which evoke particular thoughts and feelings. It seems that politicians can mislead hearers or readers through the use of metaphors or other devious messages. As a politician, Tony Blair uses metaphor the most (80%) in his affect elements.

As mentioned above, a linguistic analysis of political discourse can be most successful when it relates the details of linguistic behavior to political behavior. Therefore, I have attempted to show that there are many cases where using Van Dijk's (1993) CDA framework, and Martin and Rose's (2003) appraisal theory, it is possible to identify features that reveal the political-linguistic techniques which are used in Tony Blair's particular language. Tony Blair uses political-linguistic techniques in his discourse with the purpose of achieving a specific, politically motivated function. He employs metaphors as a persuasive strategy. Tony Blair uses positive lexical items in order to convince his audiences. By means of performative statements, he demonstrates his power. He avoids responses to probing and inconvenient questions. In addition, he utilizes heterogloss to preclude responsibilities. Tony Blair puts himself or New Labour in the first position of a sentence, which reveals the power of his speech. Instead, in some parts of his speech he aims at revealing a sense of unity with the British people. New Labour and the Labour Party are portrayed, unsurprisingly, in a positive light, on the other hand, the left, the right, and the present rules in a negative one.

The findings divulge the presence of some major strategies: by highlighting some rhetorical techniques, Tony Blair aims at signifying his politeness, superiority, authority and his positivity to the audience in one hand. On the other hand, he aims at indicating 'others' inferiority, weakness, and negativity by means of some other rhetorical techniques.

6 Perspectives

CDA is a method in which many main concepts in discourse studies play an important role. This study was limited by only one text. Future work might include testing the applicability of the appraisal system and of the method followed here, in more than one political text or comparing different kinds of texts.

In analyzing the text, several elements of the appraisal system and of the adapted method were considered. However, some elements are lacking in this approach, namely, hesitation, hedging, and so on. They might however, need to be involved in future work in this area.

Some nouns that have important values in the text (such as *liberty*, which is used 13 times in the text) and some other words could not emerge from the analysis. However, they might need to be included in future work in this area.

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Two Characters in Search of an Ending: A Linguistic Approach to an Ancient Egyptian Story

Camilla Di Biase-Dyson

Department of Ancient History
Macquarie University, Building W6A
camilla.dibiasedyson@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper takes as its theme characterisation in the ancient Egyptian tale, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, and argues that discussions about the story and characters are enriched by a linguistic analysis. Research thus far has focused on the story's missing ending, and the resulting proposals have affected the way in which the characters have been understood. In order to assess the characterisation of the two main protagonists: a foreign and an Egyptian ruler, I have used Systemic Functional Grammar to look at patterns of transitivity, mood and modality and the distribution of theme and rheme across the clauses that initiate episodes. I have also noted lexical features, such as the protagonists' titles. This analysis reveals that, at a generic level, the characters defy our expectations: though many examples of the historical *King's Novel* genre have an antagonistic foreign ruler, an active Egyptian king usually counteracts him. The Egyptian king in this narrative, however, is completely inactive. Such features, manifest at the experiential and interpersonal levels, are corroborated by the textual and lexical analyses. By showing that the text is a parody, this method helps us understand the characters as well as test hypotheses about the plot's trajectory.

1 Introduction: The Problem

This paper discusses the portrayal of the characters in the ancient Egyptian tale, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, and argues that a Systemic Functional analysis provides an independent means of testing hypotheses about the story and its characters. Studies of character are rare in Egyptology, and this narrative has rarely been the subject of literary analysis. The overriding interest in the plot has led many scholars to attempt to reconstruct the story's missing ending, which has affected our conception of the characters. The surviving manuscript (which dates to the late New Kingdom, c. 1210 BC) recounts that the Hyksos (Palestinian) king Apophis, who ruled northern Egypt, one day decided to send an offensive message to his Egyptian counterpart Seqenenre in the south, commanding him to remove the hippopotami from the Theban lakes. Though the request is so bizarre that Seqenenre is struck dumb, he acquiesces, but the papyrus breaks here.

The story is 'historical' inasmuch as these two men were indeed ruling Egypt just prior to the New Kingdom, and it establishes 'generic intertextuality'⁸⁵ by reflecting a historical genre, the *King's Novel*, which commonly narrates the valiant deeds of an Egyptian king, in reaction to the antagonism of a foreign ruler.⁸⁶ In this story, the foreigner Apophis' belligerence conforms to the 'foreign ruler behaviour' expected of this genre, which has encouraged many scholars to reconstruct the ending using historical events. This would mean that Apophis' demands led to Seqenenre's fight for northern Egypt.⁸⁷ Other postulated endings involve a 'cosmic clash' between the gods Amun and Seth⁸⁸ and a 'battle of wits' between the two rulers.⁸⁹ However, a Systemic Functional analysis suggests that the text is a parody of a *King's Novel*, which makes none of these 'endings' likely. Our conclusions about the story and its characters are thus affected.

⁸⁵ Moers 1999: 53 and note 59

⁸⁶ Blumenthal 1972: 10-11

⁸⁷ von Beckerath 1964: 188

⁸⁸ Brunner 1975: 353

⁸⁹ Brunner-Traut 1989: 324

2 Methodology

In order to better understand the characterisation of Apophis and Seqenenre, I have analysed the text using Halliday and Matthiessen's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). In particular, I have observed the way in which the characters are portrayed, clause by clause, in terms of **transitivity**, which concerns actions and the actors who perform them¹, and **mood** and **modality**, which focuses on the protagonists' speaking roles and opinions.² I have also considered the distribution of **theme** and **rheme**³, dealing particularly with the character focused upon in the clauses that initiate episodes. **Lexical features**, like the protagonists' names and titles, have also been considered.

This study is the first to systematically apply SFL to an ancient Egyptian text. However, this paradigm is similar to the work of other functional linguists influenced by the Prague School, such as Claude Hagège (1985) and Alain Lemaréchal (1989), whose methods have been used in some semantically oriented studies of the Egyptian language by such scholars as Pascal Vernus (1990) and Jean Winand (1994). Whereas their studies have assessed the argument structure and modality of verb forms, I apply the method to whole texts as part of a literary analysis that seeks to understand methods of characterisation.

Applying English-based SFL to a 'dead' Hamito-Semitic⁴ language like Late Egyptian was fascinating. Though the argument structure of the verbs adapted well to the Transitivity analysis, the mood and modality analysis had to account for Egyptian modal forms like the Prospective-Subjunctive. In the Theme/Rheme analysis, the transitional quality of Late Egyptian verbal structure (which incorporates the synthetic VSO structure of Earlier Egyptian with the analytic SVO structure of Demotic and Coptic) means that both subject-initial and the verb-initial forms are unmarked.⁵ Irrespective of the syntax, then, the 'Predicate' corresponds to the Rheme and the 'Subject' to the Theme, since the Theme must be both the point of departure and the 'given' information of a clause.⁶

3 Findings

3.1 Transitivity

A study of **transitivity** patterns reveals that the foreign ruler Apophis is the central character in the extant part of the tale. He is most often an Actor in a material clause, which conveys doing and happening⁷:

wn.in nsw Ippy a.w.s. Hr hAb n pA wr n.y niw.t rsy.t <Hr> pA smi.w-n-md.t
 exist:DEP-PRET-king Apophis l.p.h.- on-send:INF to-ART-chief-of-city-southern ART-complaint
 then King Apophis, may he l.p.h., sent to the Chief of the Southern City <regarding> the complaint.⁸

On far less frequent occasions, he appears in other grammatical roles. As an Initiator of causative material clauses he causes Seth to be worshipped and his council to be summoned.¹

¹ Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 170

² Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 106

³ Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 64-65

⁴ For a description of which see Loprieno 1995: 1 and 5

⁵ Satzinger 1991: 294

⁶ Junge 1989: 43-44

⁷ Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 179

⁸ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 2, in Gardiner 1932: 87, 3 (henceforth *LES*). The grammatical notes under the transliterations follow Güldemann and von Roncador 2002: 1/2/3= Person, M/S= Gender, S= Singular, P= Plural, ART= Article, COMP= Complementiser, DEM= Demonstrative, DEP= Dependent verb form, FUT= Future, IMP= Imperative, INF= Infinitive, IP= Impersonal, NEG= Negation, PASS= Passive, PRET= Preterite, PRO= Pronoun, REFL= Reflexive, REL= Relative clause, SUBJ= Subjunctive and TOP= Topic. Also, in the transliterations and translations: () = translator's clarifications, [] = additions to lacunae and < > = additions made due to omission. The acronym 'l.p.h.' = "may he live, prosper and be healthy".

summoned.¹ He is rarely a Sayer in a verbal clause: the only example is when the Messenger represents him commanding Seqenenre.²

Seqenenre makes rather fewer appearances than his Hyksos counterpart, at least in what remains of the text, and is presented in a markedly less active manner. One of the few instances in which he is described as an Actor occurs when the Hyksos declare that:

mn hn=f [sw] n nTr nb n.ty m pA [tA r Dr]=f wpw Imn.w-Ra.w
 NEG-submit:PRET-3M.S-REFL to-god-any REL.PRO in-ART-land-to-limit-3S except-Amun-Re
 "He does not submit [himself] to any god which is in the [land in] its [entirety] except Amun-Re".³

This clause complex demonstrates the ruler's *volition*, his *choice* of worship. Though the meaning is inherently positive (that he worships the god Amun-Re), the verb form is not active. He later states his *future* willingness to comply with Apophis' command⁴, which also compromises his status as a 'doer'. As a ruler, he appears as an Initiator of causative material clauses, ensuring that the Hyksos emissary is tended to⁵, or causing his courtiers to come before him.⁶ He is also a Sayer.⁷ When confronted with Apophis' request, he becomes a Behaver⁸: he is "stupefied" (sgA) and "transformed" (xpr), then an Actor:

iw bw rx=f an [smi].w n pA wp.wty n.y nsw Ippy
 COMP-NEG-know-PRET-3M.S return:INF message to-ART-messenger-of-King-Apophis
 he not being able to return [a message] (i.e. reply) to the messenger of king Apophis.⁹

The verb rx, "to know", here means 'having the ability to', and conveys modality¹⁰ by establishing a relationship of *conation*, "trying and succeeding", with the verb an, "to return".¹¹ Thus, the overall feel is *verbal* - Seqenenre cannot respond, so his activity is again *internal* and *unexecuted*. We could consider his silence as humorous, since silence in other Egyptian stories demonstrates a character's power over another¹², whereas here it illustrates a total *lack* of personal power. This could also be seen as a tongue-in-cheek subversion of the Egyptian ideal of the 'silent man' that is portrayed in wisdom texts.¹³ Therefore, both rulers are presented as Actors, Initiators and Sayers, but the type of action and its relative frequency fundamentally affects their characterisation.

3.2 Mood

The **mood** and **modality** analysis also reflects the respective strengths of the two rulers. The only remaining instance of Apophis talking is when his Messenger conveys his communication to Seqenenre. Though the Messenger is talking, he seems to be reporting Apophis' speech *verbatim*, using what I will call *nested direct speech*, whereby Apophis' discourse is nested inside the Messenger's.¹⁴ Apophis' speech begins in the imperative:

imi tw r[wi].tw Hr tA Hn(t) db.w n.ty m pA wbn n.y niw.t pA-wn
 cause:IMP-IP-remove:PASS from-ART-lake-hippopotami REL.PRO in-ART-east-of-city because
 bn st <Hr> di.t iwi.t n=i tA qd m hrw.w m grH

¹ Papyrus Sallier I, 1, 4 and 1, 5, in *LES* 85, 12 and 86, 5

² Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 5, in *LES* 87, 10

³ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 1, in *LES* 87, 1

⁴ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 10, in *LES* 88, 6

⁵ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 9, in *LES* 88, 3

⁶ Papyrus Sallier I, 3, 1, in *LES* 88, 11

⁷ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 4 and 2, 7 and 3, 1, in *LES* 87, 7; 87, 15 and 88, 13

⁸ Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 248

⁹ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 6, in *LES* 87, 13-14

¹⁰ Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 621

¹¹ Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 501-502

¹² Parkinson 2000: 37 shows that in *The Eloquent Peasant*, Rensi demonstrates his power over the Peasant by staying silent and keeping the Peasant talking.

¹³ Assmann 1984: 195-197

¹⁴ Di Biase-Dyson (forthcoming)

NEG-3P cause:INF come:INF to-1M.S-ART-sleep in-day-in-night
 " 'Cause the hippopotami to be removed from the lake which are in the East of the city, because they do not allow sleep to come to me in the day or in the night' ".¹

Apophis' direct request then seems to be followed by the Messenger's explanation:

iw xr.w <m> m[s]Dr niw.t=f
 COMP-noise ear city-3M.S
 "the noise being <in> the ear of his city".²

Seqenenre's greater amount of dialogue is of interest because many of his speaking turns are in the interrogative mood. By using an Emphatic Form, which emphasises the "what" (Hr ix), Seqenenre demonstrates his power over the Messenger.³ He asks him:

[h]Ab=k (Hr) ix r niw.t rsy.t pH=k wi nAy mSa.w Hr ix
 send:PASS-2M.S what to-city-southern reach:SUBJ-2.M.S 1.M.S DEM travels on-what
 "(Because of) what have you been sent to the Southern City, that you might reach me? These travels are for what?"⁴

When Seqenenre acquiesces to Apophis' ridiculous demand, instead of using an imperative like "Say to your lord...", he uses what may be another example of *nested direct speech*, addressed first to Apophis and then to the Messenger:

ir pA n.ty nb iw=k Hr Dd n=f iw=i iri=f kAi=k [n=f]
 TOP ART-REL.PRO-any COMP-2M.S-on-say:INF to-3M.S FUT-1M.S do:INF-3S say:FUT-2M.S to-3M.S
 " 'As for everything that you (Apophis) have said to him (the Messenger), I (Seqenenre) will do it'. (Thus) you (the Messenger) will say [to him (Apophis)]".⁵

The mood and modality analysis therefore corroborates our conclusions from the transitivity analysis: Apophis' discourse portrays someone who makes decisions and issues commands, whereas Seqenenre's characterises him as someone who receives rather than gives commands, and who asks questions rather than makes statements.

3.3 Theme

Apophis' dominant role is corroborated by a **theme/rheme** analysis of the clauses initiating each 'episode' of the extant text. Both rulers are *marked* as themes early in the story by clauses preceded by the topicalising particle *ir*, "as for". However, Seqenenre's clause sets the scene, "As for King Seqenenre, l.p.h., he was ruler, l.p.h., of the Southern City"⁶, whereas Apophis' clause starts the action of the plot, presenting him as the *agent provocateur*: "As for King Apophis, l.p.h., his wish was to [send] an offensive message <to> King Seqenenre".⁷ Almost all subsequent clauses beginning new episodes relate to his activities, and never to Seqenenre's. At least at this stage of the story, the results of the thematic analysis correspond to the transitivity and mood analysis: Apophis is textually dominant as an episode initiator whereas Seqenenre appears as a partaker.

3.4 Lexical features

Although the *names* of the two rulers conjure up images of past heroes, their *titles* evoke the roles manifest in the grammar. Seqenenre is introduced as a *nsw*, "king", but spends the majority of the text as merely a *wr*, "chief", whereas Apophis is introduced as a *wr* then spends the remainder of the story as a *nsw*. This juxtaposition perfectly reflects their

¹ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 5, in *LES* 87, 11-12

² Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 6, in *LES* 87, 13

³ As pointed out by J. Winand (personal communication), the use of this form in a situation of power play occurs also in *The Report of Wenamun*, when the Ruler of Byblos Tjekerbaal interrogates Wenamun. See Papyrus Moscow 120, 2, 3, in *LES* 67, 9.

⁴ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 4, in *LES* 87, 8-9

⁵ Papyrus Sallier I, 2, 10, in *LES* 88, 6-7

⁶ Papyrus Sallier I, 1, 1, in *LES*, 85, 5

⁷ Papyrus Sallier I, 1, 4, in *LES*, 86, 2

behaviour and speech: the illegitimate foreign ruler Apophis acts like a *nsw* and the legitimate Egyptian ruler Seqenenre behaves like a subservient *wr*. The lexicon thus works with the grammar to portray our characters ironically.

4 Conclusions

To conclude, the grammatical and lexical analysis illustrates the benefits of applying a linguistic paradigm like Systemic Functional Linguistics to texts written in 'dead' languages like Egyptian. In this case, the analysis highlighted the text's parodic qualities at the *grammatical* level, which were developed at the generic, or *literary* level. Apophis appears as a 'foreign antagonist' typical of a *King's Novel*, but Seqenenre undermines our expectations of an Egyptian king under pressure by not responding. It is thus necessary to propose a potential ending that would sustain the story's humour. Perhaps Apophis takes an accidental action by Seqenenre to be a legitimate counter-attack, which results in the antagonist's discomfiture and makes our 'anti-hero' Seqenenre the victor of the tale.¹ This analysis therefore provides a means of understanding the portrayal of the characters and estimating their development throughout the plot.

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¹ Brunner-Traut 1989: 323

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Investigating ideological relations in McDonald's *Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) report (2006)*

Joanne Jung-wook Hong

Macquarie University
Department of Linguistics,
NSW, Australia
hongjungwook@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper aims to briefly overview a study being conducted into the ideological relations inherent in McDonald's discourse. The study adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective and sees language use as dynamic interactions woven by dialectical and dialogical relations to social structures and social communities. In this regard, the study considers the social context as well as the language features in discourse. The ideological relations will be intertextually investigated through Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), particularly Martin's 'ideology in crisis' model (1985, 1986), and McAndrew's framework for ideology in discourse (2004). The study will discuss how McDonald's CSR is aligned or opposed to other voices through Martin's model, and discuss how ideologies around Core Participants are constructed through McAndrew's framework.

1 Introduction

McDonald's as a leader in the fastfood industry has been a target of criticisms on some issues in relation to its business practices. The study assumes that, in response to the criticisms of its business practices, McDonald's may (re)construct or (re)create its social identities and relationships through dynamic textual interactions. As a study of intertextuality, the paper aims to investigate and discuss ideological relations around McDonald's business ethics and briefly discuss their intertextual social construction in McDonald's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) report (2006). A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective combined with using Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) as an analysis tool is used as a methodology of analysis.

The study sees a discourse as a coordination of language in acting, interacting, valuing, believing and feeling (Gee, 2004: 37), woven by dialectical and dialogical relations to social structure and social communities. Also as 'ideology' is considered as the critical role in language and meaning construction in social interaction (Threadgold, 1986: 16), it is important to investigate 'ideological relations' between texts from different voice groups through intertextual analysis, in order to find how McDonald's constructs its social identity, images and relationships in dealing with other voices. The primary text for analysis for the study is the McDonald's CSR report published in 2006. The study seeks to put on display aspects of the business ethics of McDonald's focusing on its social construction.

2 Theoretical & Methodological Background

In this critical linguistic study, language is seen as a key instrument in social roles, social context, social situations, and social processes (Fox & Fox, 2004). In CDA, discourse as language use is a practice not only of representing the world, but also of signifying, constituting and constructing the world: social identities, social relations and system of knowledge and beliefs (Fairclough, 1992). That is, discourse figures in the process of social changes as a part of social interaction, representing social practices of not only their own but also others and constituting social identities. In this regard, discourse has a dialectic and dialogic relationship with social practices, which is considered as ideologically invested in the process of social interaction. The view of dynamic social interaction on discourse leads the study to intertextual analysis. Bakhtin's dialogism (1981) provides the term

‘intertextuality’ with the basic concept in which discourse is the interaction and negotiation of multiple authors rather than the product isolated from the culture and society. In this aspect, the study assumes that when McDonald’s produces a text, it carefully considers a variety of voices and opinions from other groups to reflect its own values and beliefs, constantly (re)building or (re)creating its own corporate identity and social relations with agreeing, disagreeing or negotiating to other voices. In business, corporate identity, defined as an articulation of an organization’s values, is seen as an essential strategic management tool applied both internally and externally (Fox & Fox, 2004). Also, belief systems which consist of the social identity of a group can be regarded as ‘ideology’ (van Dijk, 2006). Therefore, the analysis of ideology in intertextual relations is critical in investigating how McDonald’s constructs its social identity and relations through social interaction in its discourse.

With its dialectical view on language and context, Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1984) provides linguistic resources in this CDA study (Fairclough, 1992; O’Regan, 2006). In analyzing the discourse, the study combines the ‘Ideology in crisis’ model (Martin, 1985, 1986) and the ‘framework for analyzing ideology’ (McAndrew, 2001, 2004) from SFL studies. Martin’s model (1985, 1986) helps the study to establish ideological profile from a semiotic point of view by placing social voices into particular groups: ‘(right/left) antagonist or (right/left) protagonist’. This is important and useful, in that it provides the study with the chance to connect ideological and power relations in social context to grammar and semantic analysis, rather than sticking only to lexico and grammar analysis. Hence, the model helps the research to look at the discourse as dynamic social interaction. To investigate the McDonald’s discourse on the discursive and discourse level, McAndrew’s framework is employed. The basic concept of the framework involves analysis of intertextual and heteroglossic relations through SFL analysis. In the framework, the study chooses some key issues of McDonald’s business practice, which are termed as ‘Core Participants’. Core participants are generally the main semantically foregrounded themes of a given text under investigation. In terms of notation, these are noted as being fluid ‘discourse formations’ rather than concrete static ‘words’ through the use of capitalization and square bracketing, for example, [FOOD], [ENVIRONMENT] and [WORKERS]. The meaning construction of each Core Participant is investigated through intratextual analysis. Then its intertextual relations to the same discourse formations (e.g. [FOOD], etc.) in other voice are explained and interpreted based on the social context. In order to do this, the meanings are intertextually and heteroglossically aligned or opposed to the meanings made in the other groups. Within the framework, SFL is used to display the meanings through lexical, grammatical, and semantic analysis. Through the analysis, the study reveals how McDonald’s construes and constructs its social identities and images and constructs its readers/listeners in its discourse to construct its social relations and roles.

The current paper details how the data under investigation fit into Martin’s ideological framework and highlights examples of intertextual alliance and opposition between the discourse formations [FOOD], [ENVIRONMENT] and [WORKERS] in the McDonald’s CSR report and other relevant intertexts.

3 Context: Social Voices on Fastfood Issues

McDonald’s has represented the image of leading a new cultural lifestyle and business practice since it opened its restaurants in 1950s. However, since the 1980s, it has been targeted by groups critical of its practices: for example, ‘*What’s Wrong with McDonald’s?*’ which was first published in 1986, the documentary film ‘*Super Size Me*’ (Spurlock, 2004) and the book ‘*Fast Food Nation*’ (Schlosser, 2001). These criticisms have to a large extent created a negative image, connected with McDonald’s bringing a variety of dysfunctions to

modern lifestyle. For example, through the leaflet *'What's Wrong with McDonald's?'*, London Greenpeace criticized McDonald's business practice focusing on the issues: *'exploiting children with advertising/promotion'*, *'false nutritional claims for food'*, *'low wages to workers'*, *'cruelty to animals'*, *'contribution to poverty in the third worlds'* and *'destroying rainforest and causing pollution'*. This brought 'McLibel' between McDonald's and London Greenpeace, which was the longest-running trial in British legal history to catch the public eye in relation to McDonald's business practice. Through the case, the court agreed with the criticisms in the leaflet related to *'nutrition'* and *'employment'*. There have been two major criticisms following by the case. Eric Schlosser, an American journalist and author, exposed the local and global influence of the unsanitary and indiscriminate fastfood business practices in his bestseller book *'Fast Food Nation'* (2001). Morgan Spurlock, in his documentary film *'Super Size Me'* (2004), revealed how fastfood brings drastic effects on physical and psychological well-being by eating McDonald's himself for three meals every day for thirty days.

The criticisms have contributed to publicizing the issues on fastfood business practices and also to bringing critical changes with the fastfood business environment. The study focuses on three key issues: *'promoting unhealthy products'*, *'destroying environment'* and *'exploiting workers'*, which are the most controversial issues in relation to their social and cultural influences. Here, the study assumes that the stakeholder groups, including government, public health, suppliers, employees, shareholders and NGOs, have different opinions from each other, depending on their point of view or ideologies in relation to McDonald's business practice and context. In this regard, it is important to discuss the ideological profile on the issues among the different social voices. Following Martin's model (1985, 1986), social voices in social context are placed into particular groups, depending on their degree of agreement on the three key issues investigated.

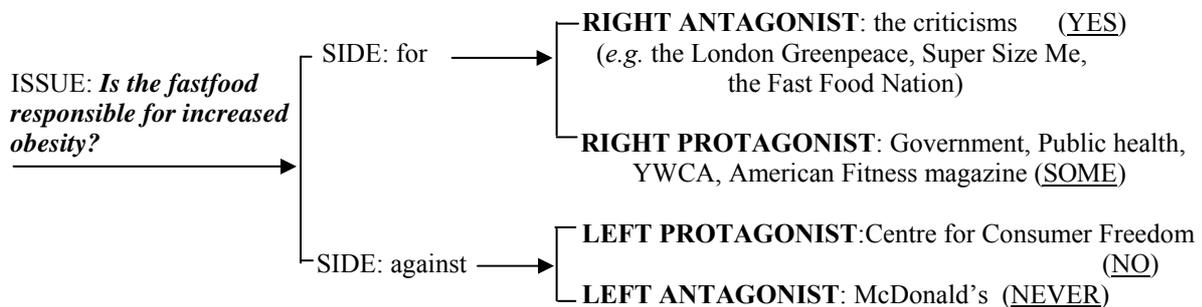


Figure 1. Ideological Profile on the issue of obesity.

First of all, the fastfood diet has been in the centre of the controversy on the issue of obesity. The study approaches the issue through the question *'Is the fastfood responsible for increased obesity?'*. Regarding the issue, the social voices are categorized into four different groups and their responses to the question are glossed in brackets (see Figure 1). The criticism group criticizes fastfood – particularly McDonald's – as the main cause of obesity. Particularly, as already mentioned above, the film *'Super Size Me'* (2004) exemplifies the drastic effects of fastfood diet to physical and psychological health. In this regard, the criticism group can be categorized into the right antagonist group as the 'stirrer' on the issue. However, as the 'resolvers', the right protagonist and the left protagonist groups are placed in between the two antagonist groups. The right protagonist who has power of ideology in social status – e.g. the Government – tries to reduce the rate of obesity through promoting and educating the public on the importance of balance between healthy diet and physical activities. It also exemplifies some other possible causes of obesity as well as intake and outtake of energy: heavy marketing, high intake of soft drinks, adverse socioeconomic

condition, and large portion sizes. Accordingly, the right protagonist agrees with the issue in some degree, in that its focus on the issue is on consumer education rather than criticism on fastfood. On the contrary, the left protagonist to try to gain power in social status – e.g. Center for Consumer Freedom – emphasizes consumer’s responsibilities in relation to physical activity and menu choices, which opposes the issue.

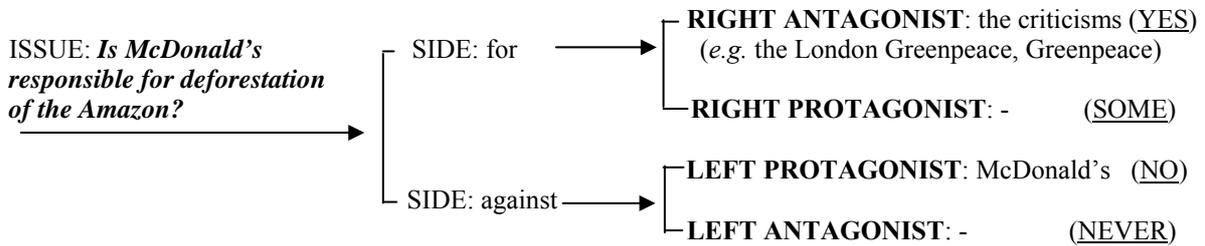


Figure 2. Ideological Profile on the issue of deforestation of the Amazon

Secondly, regarding the environmental issue, the study discuss the issue of ‘*Is the fastfood industry responsible for the deforestation of the Amazon?*’. On the issue, London Greenpeace and Greenpeace International are considered as the stirrers categorized into the group of right antagonist (see Figure 2.). London Greepeace in its leaflet emphasizes that McDonald’s as the world’s largest user of beef has contributed to destruction of the forest and global warming. More recently, Greenpeace International criticized McDonald’s for its driving the destruction of the Amazon rainforest in its reports ‘WE’RE TRASHIN’ IT – HOW McDONALD’S IS EATING UP THE AMAZON’ and ‘EATING UP THE AMAZON’. Through the criticisms, the right antagonist strongly agrees with the issue. In responding to the criticisms, McDonald’s plays as a resolver, rather than a stirrer who strongly disagree with the issue, by its approving to stop buying soya grown in newly deforested areas in the Amazon. However, although McDonald’s promises its cooperation with Greenpeace in developing a zero deforestation plan, it still disagrees with the issue by emphasizing its responsibility in its selecting suppliers only.

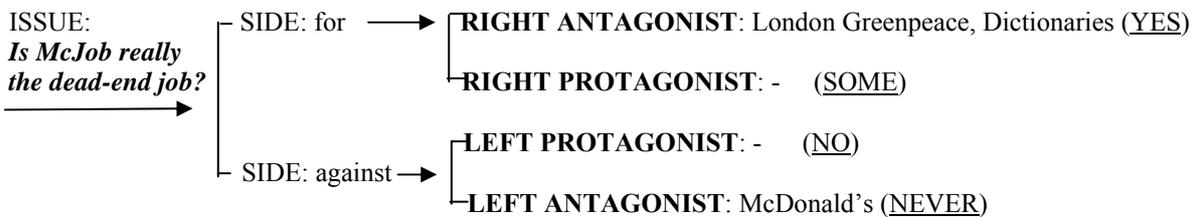


Figure 3. Ideological Profile on the issue of McJob definition

Thirdly, starting with a symbolic prefix ‘Mc’, the ‘McJob’ has been used since 1980s. As the definition of the term which is unstimulating, low paid job without any future was added to two dictionaries: the Oxford English Dictionary and the Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, it has plagued McDonald’s social images. As a reaction against the definition, McDonald’s ran the campaign in London, stating ‘Not bad for a McJob’ in 2006. Also McDonald’s started a public petition to change the definitions from the dictionaries by opening a website (<http://www.changethedefinition.com>) in 2007.

4 Content: Social Construction in McDonald’s CSR report (2006)

Regarding the social issues around fastfood business practice, the report, opening with the Q&A section titled ‘*Roundtable with McDonald’s Management*’, is divided into four main big sections which are titled ‘*PRODUCTS: Balanced Active Lifestyle*’, ‘*PRODUCTS: Responsible Purchasing*’, ‘*PEOPLE: Learning for Life*’ and ‘*PLACE: A Place in the*

Community'. Here, in relation to the key issues – the 'Core Participants' of [FOOD], [ENVIRONMENT] and [WORKERS] – the study has selected the first three sections for analysis. Through the report, in general, each section starts with a question on socially controversial issues about fastfood asked by the Ceres stakeholder group, which is followed by responses from McDonald's. Here, McDonald's seems to be open to the criticisms through answering the questions related to the criticisms. Through this strategic structure, McDonald's may try to establish a truthful and trustful image by directly dealing with the criticisms.

In relation to [FOOD], starting with Ceres's question on the 'obesity' issue, McDonald's emphasizes Balanced Active Lifestyles public awareness built on three priorities: 'menu choice', 'physical activity' and 'accessible nutrition information'. These seem to stress consumer's responsibility more than McDonald's responsibility, in that the word items of 'choice', 'activity' and 'accessible' are nominalized or adjectivized from the items 'choose', 'act' and 'access' which are acted by 'consumers'. The customer's responsibility is particularly emphasized in the following sentence.

"In a growing number of our major markets, customer may mix and match their main course, side, beverage and dessert choices to create Happy Meals tailored especially for their children's individual needs and preferences."

McDonald's puts the customers' role as the decision makers who create their own menu and also the food for their children in the restaurants. Here, McDonald's establishes its identity as a provider of nutritional information and a variety of menu choices by adding salad and fruit menus. Interestingly, from a heteroglossic point of view, the report extra-vocalizes by putting the direct speeches of researchers or professionals in the areas of nutrition and medical who are allied to McDonald's. [FOOD] in relation to the issue of obesity has the intertextual relations with alliance¹ to the left antagonist (see Fig.1) and the right antagonist (see Fig.1) in that it emphasizes the customer's responsibility in energy balance and nutrition, but it opposes to the right antagonist (see Fig.1) by keep focusing on promoting the food with the definition of it as nutritious.

Through the report, [ENVIRONMENT] is discussed mainly in relation to [FOOD], starting with the question on McDonald's purchasing power to influence the upstream supply chain. In responding to the question, the report does not mention about the issue of deforestation of the Amazon, mainly mentioning fisheries, packaging and sustainable forests. However, in a report from McDonald's U.K. press release, McDonald's emphasizes working closely with suppliers to protect the Amazon Biome. Here, in [ENVIRONMENT], McDonald's may seem to establish intertextually allied relations with Greenpeace by placing itself as the left protagonist who is the solver in the issue through cooperating with the right antagonist (e.g. Greenpeace). However, behind this 'smoke screen', it intertextually but indirectly opposes Greenpeace, in that it establishes its role as a leader in protecting the forest by using persuasive voice in which it persuades other organizations to join the cooperative work following after McDonald's.

We hope that the organizations involved will do their utmost to work in partnership with NGOs and support the efforts of the Brazilian Government in this are. (McDonald's U.K. press release, 2006)

Here, interestingly, McDonald's mentions 'NGOs' rather than 'Greenpeace' in the sentence while it puts the title of this press release with 'Greenpeace report'.

Starting with the question on 'McJob' definition from the Ceres group, [WORKERS] in the report emphasizes training, paying compensation and benefits, and employee's satisfaction,

¹ 'Alliance' means that the constructions of [FOOD] in one text/discourse (text A) are semantically similar ('aligned') with those in another text/discourse (text B).

which opposes the definition of McJob. Also, interestingly, a term ‘McProspects’ opposed to the term ‘McJob’ is mentioned as below.

“*McProspects: Over half of our executive team started in our restaurants. Not bad for a McJob.*”

Here, McDonald’s strongly opposes the definition of McJob by emphasizing the opportunity for advancement. Also, the report extra-vocalizes by putting the successful stories from the employees in McDonald’s restaurants around the world to strongly oppose to the McJob definition.

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Making sense of place: Further descriptions of Circumstance of location

Shoshana Drefus and Pauline Jones

University of Wollongong NSW

Abstract

In the year in which the new Australian government has officially apologized to the Stolen Generations for taking them away from their “place” of origin, that is to say, from their families, communities and lands, we think it appropriate to revisit the notion of place as it relates to voice, identity and culture. In systemic functional theory, notions of place are typically accounted for experientially through the subsystem of Circumstance (of spatial location or place) within the system of Transitivity. This paper concerns itself with further classification of the category of spatial location. The work reported on in this paper was driven from data collected on two projects (one a large ARC examining the development of writing during adolescence and one a PhD examining primary school literacy pedagogy), where the category of Circumstance of place was found to be not sufficient nor delicate enough to capture the semantics of what was being classified as a Circumstance of spatial location. We examine texts from the public arena and the classroom to consider the contribution of circumstantial information as cultural life unfolds through them. In the texts examined, the more delicate descriptions of locational circumstances reveal how ‘place’ may be concrete or abstract, and often imbued with psychological, social and cultural significance. This paper shows the tentative categories of Circumstance of spatial location, with a view to extending the metalinguistic tools available to teachers and learners for close encounters with texts and meanings. We suggest the extended categories make richer, more complex readings available to both analysts and learner reader-writers, readings which assist them to participate in changing civic life.

1 Introduction

‘Place’ is generally conceived as being ‘space’ imbued with meaning. Thus, it refers more to the meanings that are invested in a location than to the physicality of locality.

(Vanclay 2008 pxxi)

The notion of ‘place’ is not new in systemic functional descriptions of language. In his descriptions in and of the world, within the clause, Halliday (1994, 2004) accounts for place within the system of Transitivity. Within the system of Transitivity there are three types of constituents: participant, process and circumstance, and it is within the circumstance that we find the kind of information about place, about *where* something happens (the process describing the event and the participant describing the things that take part in the process). However, there has been no further descriptions or analyses of finer categories of place, in terms of the semantic domain and SFL leaves it at this level of generality (see Halliday 1994 p161; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 p280).

In terms of grammatical categories, circumstances can be realized by either adverbial groups or prepositional phrases (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999) but the decision to categorise the types of circumstance is semantically driven (See (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999 p262). There is a discussion of abstract space and some categorization of concrete places as definite/indefinite, absolute/relative, rest and motion on p266 of IFG3. In this discussion Halliday & Matthiessen make the point that it is the “where” probe that distinguishes whether a circumstance is of abstract location rather than some other kind.

In contrast to this, within other fields such as cultural studies, philosophy and human geography, notions of place have been explored in more depth, in an attempt to understand how social, cultural and physical worlds intertwine and how places are “lived, perceived and associated” (Pickford 2005).

In other words, the very essence of who we are is shaped by the places we inhabit.

However, this is a very concrete take on the concept of place; that is to say, in all of the above fields the places we inhabit are confined to the physical places in the material world around us. However, the philosopher/geographer Malpas (1999 p31) raises the question whether there is a “need for a concept of place beyond the notion of simple location”.

A concept of place that extends beyond the notion of simple location seems useful from our work in the study of a variety of texts. It seems evident from these texts that humans occupy a multiplicity of spaces that include but extend beyond the physical. Halliday (1994 p161) acknowledges that the concept of place extends beyond the purely concrete, pointing out that “in the modern elaborated registers of adult speech especially writing, the circumstantial elements are evolved far from their concrete origins – especially the spatial ones.” He continues, “It is beyond our scope here to treat these developments systematically”. We take this as the point of departure for this work, which is based upon written texts from the social sciences within institutional contexts, and the public life; specifically, we will argue that the places that we occupy extend from the concrete to the abstract, from the physical to the psychological, from the personal to the socio-cultural. It is with this in mind that this paper aims to continue the conversation around the category of location:place within the field of sfl.

2 The data

The idea for this expansion has come from data from two sources: the first is a corpus data collected in a large ARC project “Key indicators in adolescent writing” and the second a doctoral study of primary school literacy practices. In the former, the project team collected data from three subject areas, English, history and science, across the school years 7, 10 and 12. It is from the history corpus that the ideas for this paper initially arose, as it became evident that within the history texts there were numerous ‘places’ where the events in history occurred that were not confined to physical spaces. For example:

the elements surrounding the Anzac tradition and spirit have been apparent and constant in Australian society, which is suggestive of a social location;

The sacrifice at Gallipoli guaranteed the tradition a place in the hearts and minds of all generations, suggesting a psychological and emotional space;

On April 25th 1915, the Anzacs took part in war, suggesting a metaphorical place for where humans go to kill each other.

For those of us who are seeking educational interventions for students to be able to construct and interpret such texts, the category of Circumstance: location: place does not capture the semantics of what is occurring. For example, for the clause *The ANZACS took part in war*, a student might well say that war is not a place¹.

From the doctoral study involving classroom use of grammatics with young learners, deeper analysis of circumstances of place became critical in supporting a close reading of one of the texts, which was a biographical account of a young Aboriginal woman from the Stolen Generations. Such examples include:

Missionaries moved my family from our own country to Malak Malak country in the Daly River area.

I come from the Ngangiwumerrri people.

Then as a child I was forcibly taken from my family

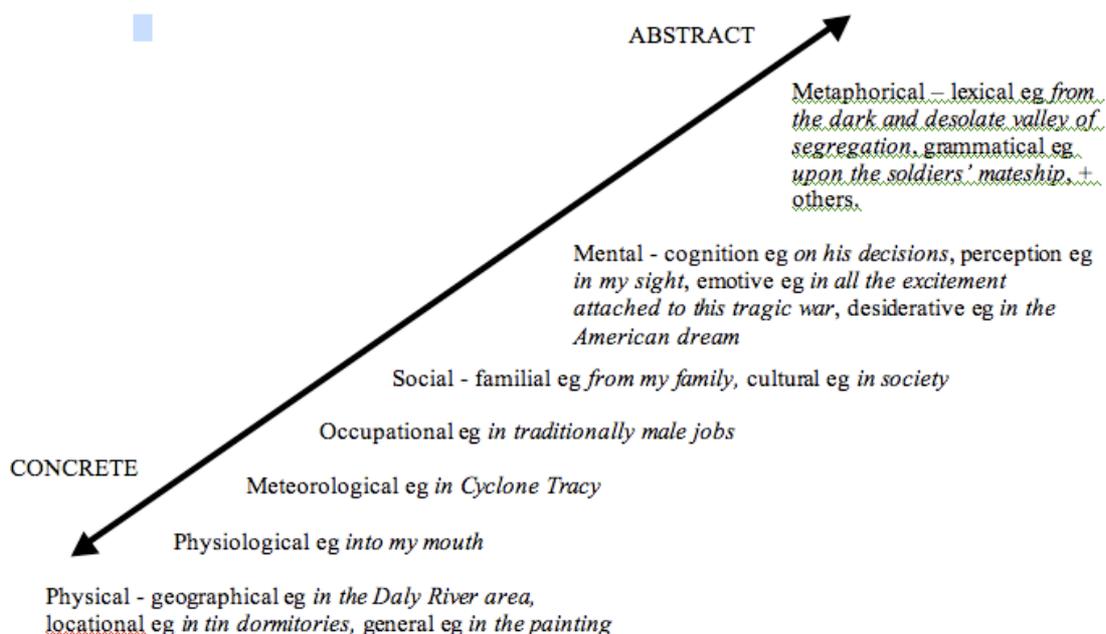
Understanding the complexity of the ramifications of the forced removal of Aboriginal children from their place can be made possible by a further level of delicacy in the circumstance of location: place categories. That is to say, to be removed “from our own

¹ Note that we are focusing on circumstances of place realized grammatically as prepositional phrase and not adverbs.

country” is different from but nevertheless deeply connected to, being removed “from my family”. Coming “from the Malak Malak country in the Daly River area” is a geographical place, again different but connected to coming “from the Ngangiwumerrri people”, which is a sociocultural place. In order to get to the ‘heart of the matter’, one needs to recognize the differences between these physical and social places and understand their interconnections.

To date, this matter has been dealt with sparingly within the field. Within the category of Circumstance location: place, Matthiessen and Canzhong (2007) distinguishes between “place” and “non-place”, however no exemplification is provided to show what might constitute a “non-place” location. Thus, after Halliday’s lead, which identifies the evolution of the category of place from concrete to abstract, we set up the finer categories of circumstance of place on a cline from concrete and abstract. This is to account for the fact that while some circumstances of place are very clearly concrete (eg *on my table*) and others clearly abstract (eg *in our own attitudes* Halliday 1994), the distinction is not always so clear cut, such as *in the teaching profession* or *in my opinion*. This very tentative work plots these on a cline, beginning with concrete, as it is the most easily recognized and the least problematic.

3 A cline of Circumstance: location



We stress here that these preliminary categories are of course, derived from and bounded by the data analysed thus far.

Physical

The most concrete end of the cline begins with physical, which is subdivided into geographical, locational and general. Geographical refers to places that can be located geographically and their location is named and identified eg *in the Daly River area* in the clause listed above, or *at Heliopoli* in *Thutmosis constructed a shrine to Ra at Heliopolis*. Locational refers to places that can be located in a geographical place but their location has not been named, eg *in tin dormitories* in the clause *We lived in tin dormitories* or *in the creek bank* in *[her family] had dug holes in the creek bank*. General describes places that are physical but not tied to location or geographical place eg *in the painting* in the clause *In the painting Ngambu Ngambu there are different living things and around their boots in they even wrapped sandbags around their boots*.

Physiological

Physiological places refer to the somatic, that is, places of the physical body but not the mind. For example *into my mouth in a lot of flies flew into my mouth*.

Meteorological

The category refers to weather events such as in Cyclone Tracy as in *My father was killed in Cyclone Tracy*.

Occupational

This category describes places to do with employment such as in traditionally male jobs in women were needed in traditionally male jobs, and in the building and shipping industries as in women were trained to work in the building and shipping industries.

Social

This category has many facets and is of particular relevance to our texts. Given that social space can encompass immediate family environments and much wider social networks such as community and society and the difference between these is significant, our subcategories reflect these different social spaces but are somewhat underdeveloped as yet. The first subcategory is called familial because it refers to the social space of the family as in *from my family* in the clause above. The second subcategory we have termed cultural because it refers to the wider socio-cultural context as in *from the Ngangiwumerrri people* in the clause listed above. The nominal element in Circumstances in this category can occur as actual humans, such as those in the examples above, or as nominalisations, such as in *Australian society* in the clause *Mateship...is frequently displayed in current Australian society*. The first congruent type does not answer the probe 'from where' but 'from who/m'; the second nominalised type answering the 'from where' probe.

Mental

This category contrasts with the physiological category in that it relates to kinds of experiences captured in mental processes; that is, sensing, thinking, feeling and wanting (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004 p208). It marks an intensification in the drift toward abstraction because the matter we are describing shifts from more concrete places to the realm of ideas, emotions, desires and thoughts. We have divided this category similarly. Cognitive describes categories of place to do with thinking, for example *on his decisions* in the clause *this places heavy emphasis on his decisions*. Perceptive describes categories of the senses, such as *in my sight* in the clause *I have him firmly in my sight*. Emotive describes affective places, such as *in all the excitement attached to this tragic war* in the clause *The ANZACs wanted to get involved in all the excitement attached to this tragic war*. Desiderative refers to emotions of desire, such as *in the American dream* in the clause *It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream* (King, 1963).

Metaphorical

The final and most complex category of circumstance of location place is the metaphorical. In many ways, this category has driven the current exploration. It began with queries about the nature of circumstances of place in the history texts, in particular those about the experience of war. Such examples that stimulated the current discussion include *Soldiers went to war*. This can be contrasted with *Soldiers went to the mess tent*, which clearly identifies a physical concrete location, whereas, as mentioned above, *going to war* is a metaphor which renders a whole series of events around killing into a semiotic representation. We acknowledge this work is not without problems. For example, there is contention about whether being born and dying are material or behavioural processes, and

accordingly, the places *life* and *death*, in clauses such as *At the Nek 375 charged to their deaths*, is problematic.

This category is most problematic because, in a sense, we are trying to classify the multiplicity of abstract places in human consciousness and cognition. As we examined other texts particularly those marking significant points in human struggles such as King's speech and more recently Kevin Rudd's apology to the Stolen Generations, we found a range of metaphorical circumstances.

We think thus far that this category includes lexical metaphors, such as *from the dark and desolate valley of segregation* in the clause *Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation* (King 1963); grammatical metaphors, such as *upon the soldiers' mateship, courage, determination, bravery, loyalty and confidence*, in the clause *The ANZAC legend is based upon the soldiers' mateship, courage, determination, bravery, loyalty and confidence*, and other types of abstractions such as *on our most elemental humanity in the hurt, the humiliation, the degradation and the sheer brutality of the act of physically separating a mother from her children is a deep assault on our senses and on our most elemental humanity* (Rudd 2008). There is much work to be done here.

To conclude, sfl has long gone to work in social life; it has always been concerned with how texts and meanings both construct and reflect the ideas and events of human struggles. The significance of this work to further classify circumstances of location:place is that firstly, it allows us to better understand the array of meanings caught up in this category of place: thinking of the difference of the meanings in being forcibly removed from one's family, as opposed to one's people, as opposed to one's land or one's life. Similarly, such work helps to better understand the complexity of the extraordinary events caught up in the simple but lethal phrase *in war*. Secondly, this work aims to enhance the analytical tools available to teachers and analysts interested in developing fine-grained readings of texts. Such readings, we argue, are important for understanding each other, the events and happenings for which we are responsible and the consequences of our actions in the world.

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Truth and contexts in Brazilian immigration policy

Rachael Anneliese Radhay

University of Brasília
rachael@unb.br

Abstract

The relation between discourse and power in Brazilian immigration is complex. There is the public sphere with the State's immigration officials. There are also migrants in the intricacies of their worlds. In this sense, immigration discourse pertains both to institutional practice as well as to migrants and their life worlds. Thus, there are distinct perceptions regarding immigration. These perceptions presuppose power relations and networks, naturalized and constructed in immigration discourse. In short, discourse and power refer to hierarchies of contexts and relations in which multiple truths are constructed vis à vis immigration. These truths are arguments that empower State hegemony in which the immigrant is constructed either as a threat to national security or to the Brazilian labour market. There is marked discrimination in the representation and evaluation of immigrants. Those with high investments or specialist knowledge are welcome whilst those who are socially underprivileged are valueless – unconcerned about their illegal status in the country. Nevertheless, through interviews and narratives, this ethnography indicates that the State's representations do not always coincide with immigrants' experiences as the latter's discourse hold other truths and power representations.

1 Introduction

In this study immigration is considered in terms of voices that arise from narratives, rhetoric, policy, laws, bureaucracy, economic factors, globalization, control, valued and non-valued lives, exclusion and inclusion. Further, immigration refers to interests and stereotypes – power and control – unequal relations and perceptions between immigration officials and immigrants.

One dimension of this research is the discourse of immigration officials, obtained through interviews with representatives from the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Labour and Employment, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Federal Police and members of the National Immigration Council in Brazil. The other dimension looks at immigrant experiences through interviews and information and experiences exchanged through the site, the National Association for Foreigners and Immigrants in Brazil.

2 Rhetoric and State Representatives

Interviews with state officials bring out such issues as the history of immigration in Brazil, foreign investments, employment for Brazilians, the new immigration bill of law and the Bolivian semi-slave situation in São Paulo, among other issues. In general all the officials interviewed, except for Federal Police representatives, do not have much contact with immigrants. Nonetheless, all accounts serve to cultivate State hegemony. There is a tendency to legitimise the State's position vis à vis immigration, for it is not just a matter of bureaucracy and control, but politics and a positive State image (Chilton, 2004).

State officials share common values that are based upon certain assumptions. For Fairclough (2003: 61), assumptions are ideological. These assumptions direct what is certain for the State (Chilton, *op.cit.*). In short, assumptions or common values that are conveyed through nominalisations and other textual-linguistic elements work towards constituting the Nation-state's voice as truth.

3 The State's ontological discourse

State officials' accounts dealt mainly with investments and employment, the interest being in immigrants who would generate jobs for Brazilians and bring some new expert knowledge. The emphasis is on protecting the Brazilian labour market. Yet, at the same time, officials boast of the country's openness to foreigners. Openness is conditioned to economic factors. See the following figure.

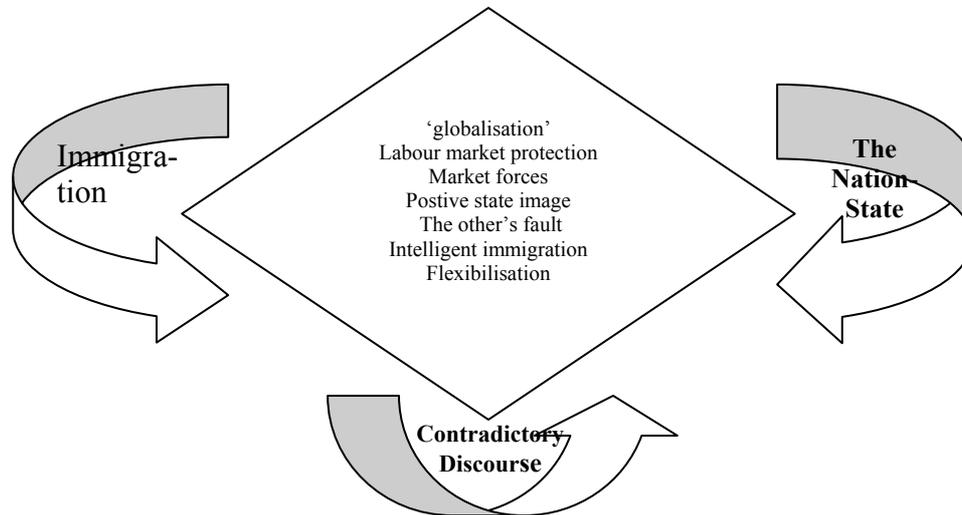


Figure 1: Immigration and the Nation-State

Thus, immigration is selective and economic as can be seen in the choice of material processes: 'viabilizar' – make viable, 'atrair' - attract, 'priorizar' - prioritise, 'ajudar' - help, 'resguardar' - protect, 'regulamentar' - regulate, 'proteger' - protect. These processes suggest two types of assumptions: one is negative, given that the foreigner must be stopped, he/she is a threat to the country. The second assumption is positive: the foreigner brings benefits to the country, this is the State's interest. The choice of these processes therefore is not by chance as they hold a positive value (Miranda): they operate in favour of the State, in other words, the State's image is positive as regards immigration – it is working towards the country, there is no apparent hostility to immigrants.

There is also a marked use of nominalisations: 'interesses de seu povo' – the nation's interests, 'soberania' - sovereignty, 'proteção de seu mercado de trabalho' – labour market protection, 'imigrante capitalizado' - capitalised immigrant, 'imigrante qualificado' - qualified immigrant, 'transferência de tecnologia' – transfer of technology, 'desenvolvimento industrial' – industrial development, 'proteção de mão-de-obra brasileira' – protection of the Brazilian labour market, 'trabalho, emprego e renda', - work, employment and income 'rigor' - rigour, 'uma enxugada' – a reduction or wash out. These establish a dichotomy between the valuing of immigrants perceived as assets and those seen as a threat. There is the metaphor underlying 'wash out', it would seem that some foreigners are seen as plagues to be cleansed or banned from entry.

The following excerpts provide a clear perspective as to the State's view of immigration.

A senior member in the National Immigration Council: investments, employment generation and discrimination

<p>But make it more viable for people who come to open companies with foreign capital, ok, there's absolutely no prejudice, there's no problem ...you see, now, according to the norms, we try to evaluate the company from all angles, that is, for the sum it is investing, the labour it will hire, that it will employ ...today I am sure that one of the government's demands is preserving the Brazilian market, this is why that resolution that welcomes foreign capital, also benefits those who invest a little less but hire, more than those companies that invest more.</p>	<p>Mas viabilizar mais aquelas pessoas que vêm para abrir empresas de capital estrangeiro, tá, não há absolutamente nenhum preconceito, não há nenhum problemasabe, agora, dentro das normas, a gente procura avaliar a empresa em todos os aspectos, quer seja pelo valor que ela vem investir, pela mão-de-obra que ela vai, que ela vai atender ...hoje eu tenho certeza de que uma das críticas do governo é a preservação da mão-de-obra brasileira, tanto que a própria resolução que acolhe o capital estrangeiro, ela beneficia aquele que investe um pouco menos, mas que contrata mais do que aquele que investe bastante.</p>
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Ministry of Labour Representative

<p>Attracting capitalised immigrants, another thing is to attract qualified immigrants so as to help in transferring technology, or in maintenance or in industrial development, etc, etc, etc, in this aspect we also applied policy by making it a priority to protect the national labour market, occupying of vacancies by Brazilians, but we have, as I said, an immigration policy geared towards attracting capitalized foreigners or highly skilled immigrants, so as to generate labour and work in Brazil, labour, employment and income, and at the same time, protecting the national labour market.</p>	<p>Atrair o imigrante capitalizado, capitalizado, outra coisa eh eh atrair imigrante qualificado, né, para ajudar na transferência de tecnologia, ou para manutenção, para desenvolvimento industrial, etc, etc, etc, neste aspecto também inserimos um elemento de política, foi priorizar, né a proteção de mão-de-obra nacional, foi priorizar a ocupação de postos de trabalho por brasileiros, ... mas nós temos, eh feito como eu disse, essa política de imigração voltada para atrair estrangeiros capitalizados, ou qualificados né, eh eh para gerar trabalho e emprego no Brasil, trabalho, emprego e renda, mas ao mesmo tempo que protegemos a mão-de-obra nacional.</p>
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Federal Police Representative

<p>It varies according to the continent. Those from South America (Peru, Bolivia) and Asia (China) come in illegally in search of work. Those from North America, Europe, Oceania are in general immigrants of a good and cultural level.</p>	<p>Varia conforme o continente. Os da América do Sul (Peru, Bolívia) e Ásia (China) vêm de maneira irregular em busca de trabalho. Os da América do Norte, Europa, Oceania, na sua grande parte, são imigrantes de nível social e cultural bom.</p>
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Given the above, the State cultivates a positive image in that it seeks out specific immigrant types for the country's benefit. The State as agent determines how it represents itself and how immigrants are represented through its arguments (Fairclough, 2003). The State uses its power strategically: "power holds an efficacious productivity, a strategic wealth, a positivity (Foucault, 1998: xvi).

In constructing a positive image of itself, the State stands out as 'us' in relation to 'them'. There is no dialogue with immigrants – they are positioned as passive subjects, classified according to 'national interests'. The State plays a convenient game between the distance and authority of the 'Brazilian government' and the patriotic empathy of 'us', the 'Brazilian people', 'we', 'Brazil'. Immigrants are 'them', even if they are 'researchers', 'scientists,' 'highly skilled labour' 'investors' or 'refugees', 'Bolivian tailors' 'cheap labour'. They are a faceless group. How the State sees itself and immigrants is summarised in the following table.

Table 1: State representations of itself and migrants

The State	Migrants
<p>Impersonal representations:</p> <p>The Brazilian government, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Labour and Employment</p>	<p>Positive representations:</p> <p>Highly skilled labour, intelligent immigration, a highly qualified professional, investors, researchers, scientists, professors, everybody</p>
<p>Affective terms</p> <p>The country, we, the Brazilian people, us the people, Brazil, I</p>	<p>Negative representations:</p> <p>an illegal, illegal labour, the Bolivians, political refugees, they/them, those who come, excess labour from other countries</p>

At the same time, immigrants have their own networks, in which they seek out support to overcome State bureaucracy as well as find a space to voice their own feelings. Reality is different here, it implies seeking out solidarity and help from other migrants, not from the State. See the following example in which language is built in affective terms and in which it is presupposed that an immigrant's world is one of struggle. The immigrant accepts his/her difficulties as normal. The language below is one of emotion and solidarity to guarantee survival.

<p>Dear friends from planet earth, I wish to thank those brothers who sacrifice 5 minutes of their time helping other brothers, since I know how hard it is to leave one's mother country in order to support those we have left behind. It is not easy, I have gone through this! I have already helped many friends here in Brazil because I know that a drop of help to someone who is</p>	<p>Queridos amigos del planeta tierra, queria por medio deste pequeno e-mail agradecer a aquellos hermanos q sacrifican 5 minuticos de su vida ayudando otros hermanos pues yo se lo duro q es salir de la madre patria a buscar el sustento de aquellos q dejamos atrás. No es facil eso yo lo pase asi bueno! ya ayude muchos amigos aqui en brasil pues se q una gotita de ayuda a alguien</p>
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<p>without hope is something very precious and I know that these friends have already helped other friends and this is what gives me happiness brothers of the world – helping – this is what we must get from the Bible and put it in practice Bye..... May everything work out for everyone.</p>	<p>q esta sin ilucion es algo muy valioso y se q estos amigos tambiem ya ayudaron otros amigos y es eso q me da alegria hermanos del mundo ayudar eso es lo q tenemos q sacar de la biblia e poner a funcionar chaooo q todo se solucione a todos.</p>
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In short, the State's rhetoric of national interests and intelligent immigration contrasts with migrants and their daily struggles. In one sense, State representatives construct a Brazil of solidarity, open to immigration, a country on the move with globalization. At the same time, however it is a selective immigration, distant from the bureaucratic obstacles and difficulties faced by migrants in their lifeworlds. In essence, an inclusion-exclusion dichotomy underlies immigration discourses in which State hegemony expresses reality and truth in positive but selective terms.

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Evaluative Metaphors: logogenetic development of appraisal in Pacific War discourses¹

Ken Tann

The University of Sydney
NSW 2006, Australia

Abstract

Lexical metaphors have received little attention in SFL research despite the prominent role it plays in all aspects of culture (see for example, Quine 1978). As abstract lexical items possess a large field of meaning from which a substantial range of discourses can be drawn, the resulting ambiguity poses an interesting challenge to Appraisal analysis. Yet, it is precisely this ambiguity that enables the growth of language.

Building on Ohnuki-Tierney's (2002) argument that aesthetics facilitate subtle shifts in meaning, I shall suggest that the aesthetic dimension she identified in her work is realized in texts as appreciation in Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework, and demonstrate that this extension/shift in the lexical items' signification occurs in stages within a single text as it unfolds through a series of evaluative reformulations. The discursive strategy serves to bridge the distinction between judgment and appreciation, thus allowing the discourse to recontextualize human behavior in terms of an aesthetic of social order, which in turn provides an aesthetic motivation to social action and an alternative to the 'logic of binarism' described by Lazar and Lazar (2004).

I shall examine the Japanese ultranationalist text *Kokutai no Hongi*, highly regarded during the Pacific War (Hall 1949:6-7), and explore the use of Appraisal from a logogenetic perspective.

1 Evaluative Reformulation

1.1 Méconnaissance and the aesthetics of war

In her groundbreaking ontogenetic study² on Pacific War discourses, Ohnuki-Tierney (2002) explores the discourses disseminated by the wartime Japanese government, in which the signification of symbols were manipulated to naturalize and obscure nationalistic and militaristic ideologies. She describes the subtle shift in the interpretation of symbols across fields of meanings that remain undetected by the people interpreting them, a process for which she coins the term *méconnaissance*. She argues that such shifts in meaning are achieved through *aesthetization*³, because the power of aesthetics lies in its indeterminate reference that provides an effective common denominator, within which "changes in the meaning of a symbol are made by extending...the already existing grids of meaning" (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002:283).

In this paper, I shall argue that *lexis* – by extension, and especially abstract words – similarly possesses the potential for a field of meaning from which a large range of discourses can be drawn through polysemy, hence allowing for *méconnaissance*. Focusing on *Kokutai no Hongi*⁴ as an exemplary text in this tradition of war discourses, I shall attempt to explore the way this aesthetic dimension is realized in language as appreciation in the framework of

¹ This short paper briefly introduces some concepts that are dealt with more comprehensively in my thesis *Aesthetics and Persuasion in Japanese Discourses* submitted at the University of Sydney in 2005.

² In her study, she examines the writings of soldiers in the war, and relates them to wartime discourses.

³ She defines 'aesthetization' as "the process of making cultural practices and symbols appear visually and conceptually, beautiful."

⁴ Extensively published, reproduced in other publications and used as a textbook and supplementary reader from elementary to university education during the war, this text has been widely recognized for its social and ideological significance. See Hall (1949:6-10) for detailed figures on the scope of its dissemination and use.

Appraisal theory¹ (see Martin and White 2005), to demonstrate the way an extension of meaning occurs in stages within a single text as it unfolds through a series of evaluative reformulations.

1.2 Evaluative Appropriation: the language of *méconnaissance*

Martin and Rose (2003:62-3) propose that judgment can be thought of as “norms about how people should and shouldn’t behave”, and appreciation, as “norms about how products and performances are valued.” Judgments therefore typically entail a sentient appraisee, and appreciation a non-sentient one. It is interesting however, to explore the suggested relationship between the valuation of ‘products’ and ‘performances’ as appreciation. There are numerous instances in *Kokutai no Hongi* in which appreciation is used where human behaviors are evaluated in the following manner:

...即ち私を離れた純粹の心、純粹の行である。²

...*sunawachi shi wo hanareta junsui no kokoro, junsui no gyō dearu*

‘that is to say, it is a pure heart, and a pure deed that is freed of self.’

The appraised items ‘heart’ and ‘deed’ are certainly not concrete entities in our commonsense understanding of objects, and hint at something of a fairly abstract nature. In such cases, prototypically appreciation-type appraisal ‘pure’ has been used to appraise the person and his conduct as an indivisible abstract unit embodied in action, thus essentializing the value of the behavior as the value of the person.³ Behavior, which can only be accessed through an observation of events, has therefore been reified, set up as a single tangible object, and treated as one to the extent that it can be talked about like one. The use of appreciation here is also not the basic evaluation of a product such as a vase; it is a construal of judgment (in the first instance) as an abstract entity that can be evaluated a second time in a different dimension, as discussed in 3.1.

The distinction in the order of abstraction may be clearer when the behavior in question has already been assigned values through inscribed judgment, as in the following example:

忠孝一本の道理がここに美しく輝いてゐる。⁴

chukō ippon no dōri ga koko ni utsukushiku kagayaiteiru

‘The logic of our unity of loyalty and filial piety herein shines forth beautifully.’

In this slightly more complicated case, two layers of appraisal can be seen to be, in a sense, ‘stacked’ on top of one another. On the one hand, the author is judging the behavior of ‘our people’ as loyal and filial, while this judgment is further evaluated aesthetically as beautiful on the other. The secondary evaluation that we observe here is possible only because one of them is on an order of abstraction above the other – the conceptualization of the appreciation ‘beautifully’ in this example has to be accessed through the initial interpretation of the inscribed judgment ‘loyalty’ and ‘filial piety’, in the process of which the judgment ascribed has also been essentialized as an inherent property through nominalization. The conceptualization the behavior can therefore be said to have been effectively ‘appropriated’ into the realm of aesthetics; linguistically, resources of judgment have been similarly appropriated into the system of appreciation.

¹ In this framework, evaluative words associated with concepts of normality (un/lucky), capacity (strong/weak), tenacity (un/reliable), veracity (dis/honest) and propriety (good/evil) are categorized as ‘judgment’, while words associated with reaction (beautiful/ugly), composition (dis/harmonious) and valuation (worthy/less) are categorized as ‘appreciation’.

² Book II, Chapter IV

³ As opposed to say, purity in racial or genetic terms.

⁴ Book I, Chapter III

2 Reification of Social Behavior

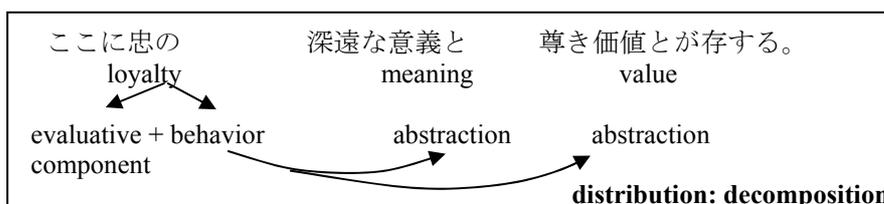
2.1 Distribution: decomposition

Behavior can only be observed as a process unfolding in time, and **reification** renders it linguistically available as an entity relatively consistent over time, assigning it a greater level of ‘temporal stability’ in Givón’s (1979) terms. Behavior is thus expressed as an adjective or noun to serve two functions simultaneously: ideationally, it describes a pattern of behavior enacted by the person spoken about; interpersonally, it declares the speaker’s attitude towards that behavior. Words such as ‘loyal’ or ‘loyalty’ can therefore be regarded as a conflation of the **reification** of behavior on one hand, with an evaluative component on the other. Instead of describing someone’s pattern of behavior as a series of events (behavior as Process) then, we can speak of his quality as a ‘loyal’ person (behavior as Attribute), and talk about his ‘loyalty’ (behavior as Participant). Reification therefore allows the treatment of behavior as entities, subjecting them to discursive manipulation. Let us proceed to examine their **distribution** in the following clause from Book I Chapter III:

ここに忠の深遠な意義と尊き価値とが存する。¹

koko ni chū no shin'en na igi to tattoki kachi to ga sonsuru

‘herein lies the profound meaning and lofty value of (our) loyalty.’



The behavior denoted by ‘loyalty’ undergoes lexical **decomposition** as part of the author’s rhetorical strategy into two distinct, albeit abstract, components ‘meaning’ and ‘value’ that can consequently be assessed individually, and discursive space has thus been opened up (i.e. dialogic expansion). Note that it is the ideational component of the behavior and not the evaluative-interpersonal one here that has been decomposed: the words ‘meaning’ and ‘value’ refer to the meaning and value of the behavior ‘content’ so to speak, and not the meaning and value of the speaker’s subjective assessment.

2.2 Distribution: composition

The opposite occurs when various behavioral components undergo **composition** into a single abstract unit in the following example:

忠孝一本の道理がここに美しく輝いてゐる。²

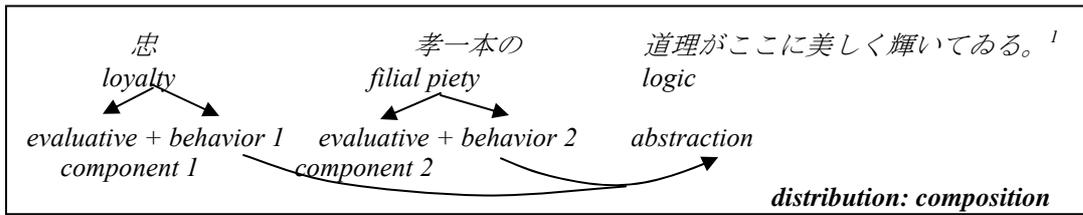
chukō ippon no dōri ga koko ni utsukushiku kagayaiteiru

‘The logic of (our) unity of loyalty and filial piety herein shines forth beautifully.’

Here, the behaviors denoted by ‘loyalty’ and ‘filial piety’ are composed into the single abstract element ‘logic’. **Distribution:composition** therefore functions to group a number of ideas together, such that they can be conceived as a single related concept, and discursive space is consequently narrowed as a result (i.e. dialogic contraction).

¹ Book I, Chapter III

² Book I, Chapter III

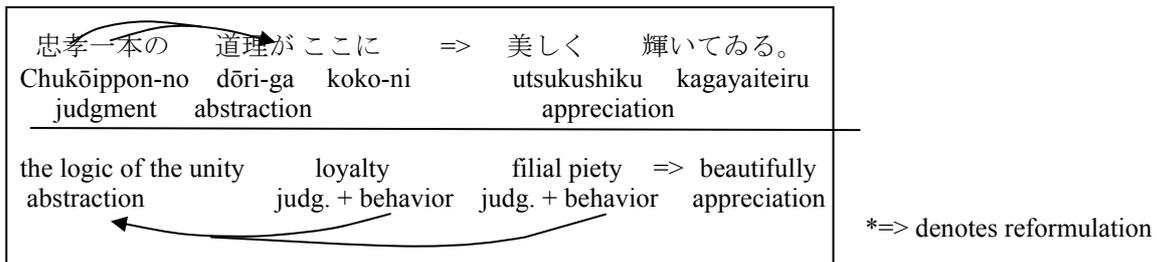


In this case, ‘loyalty’ and ‘filial piety’ are assigned the status of qualifiers to ‘logic’, which becomes the nub of the argument. As I have explained in 1.2, this strategy effectively nominalizes, and hence naturalizes, the first order appraisal (i.e. judgment), to obscure it from argumentability, and the focus of the argument is instead shifted to the valuation of its abstraction ‘logic’.

3 Evaluative Metaphors

3.1 Evaluative Appropriation at the level of the clause (-complex)

As described above, **reification** produces abstract forms that make behavior available for argumentation as discrete items, opening up the potential for re-coding within the system of appraisal. The reader can then be re-aligned on a secondary ideological premise, facilitating the reformulation of judgments into a secondary form of institutionalization. In the example from 2.2 for instance, ‘loyalty’ and ‘filial piety’ are composed into the single abstraction ‘logic’, which is in turn evaluated with appreciation (reaction: quality). In the process, tenacity and propriety are reorganized and reinterpreted as a single positive aesthetic quality.



We can interpret this as the construal of two behavioral traits triggering off a single positive reaction, and they are hence considered to be essentially of a similar aesthetic quality. Such rhetoric is characteristic of a dialogically contractive argument such as the passage from which this example was taken. In this argument, the authors are trying to establish and propound ‘loyalty’ and ‘filial piety’ as a single concept, i.e. duty towards one’s parents entails loyalty to the state.

Conversely, a single behavioral pattern may also be decomposed and taken apart, examined and negotiated separately so that its discursive potential can be expanded. This strategy potentially allows an indefinite extension in the evaluative dimensions (i.e. criterion) of the behavior:

ここに忠の深遠な意義と尊き価値とが存する。

koko ni chū no shin'en na igi to tattoki kachi to ga sonsuru

'herein lies the profound meaning and lofty value of (our) loyalty.'

The behavioral component in ‘loyalty’ is decomposed by the author into the abstractions ‘meaning’ and ‘value’. Once it has been reified as two discrete abstractions, they each possess the potential to be independently evaluated. ‘Meaning’ and ‘value’ are presented as

¹ Book I, Chapter III

two different dimensions of the particular behavior in question, opening up the evaluative potential for each of these ‘components’ to be appraised through attitude and graduation, i.e. ‘profound’ and ‘lofty’.

ここに	忠の =>	深遠な	意義と	+	尊き	価値	とが存する。
<i>Koko-ni</i>	<i>chū-no</i>	<i>shin'en-na</i>	<i>igi to</i>		<i>tattoki</i>	<i>kachi</i>	<i>to ga sonsuru</i>
judgment	appreciation	abstraction	appreciation		abstraction		
<i>profound</i>	<i>meaning</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>lofty</i>	<i>value</i>	<i><=</i>	<i>of loyalty</i>	
<i>appreciation</i>	<i>semiotic</i>		<i>appreciation</i>	<i>semiotic</i>		<i>behavior + judgment</i>	

Just as judgment and appreciation can be interpreted as the institutionalization of affect (Martin and Rose 2003:62-3), evaluative **appropriation** can be accordingly understood as the ‘re-institutionalization of an institutionalization’, or an attempt to scramble the configurations of a former worldview to reassign a new social order by affording an added dimension. It is therefore highly probable that the presence of appropriation as a linguistic feature is sensitive to a register related to a very uncommonsense understanding of the world – one that we might expect in the philosophical and political discussions of *Kokutai no Hongi*. Indeed, it is a process by which this very uncommonsense perspective can be established and naturalized in discourse.

Appropriation, as has been discussed above is not restricted to inscribed appraisal of course. For instance, it is effectively employed in invoked judgment by the authors in this text as part of a complex argumentative strategy to justify Japan’s pro-war position:

戦争は、この意味に於て、決して他を破壊し、圧倒し、征服するためのものではなく...大和即ち平和を現せんがためのものでなければならぬ。¹

War, in this sense, is not by any means intended for the destruction, overpowering, or subjugation of others; and it should be a thing for the bringing about of great harmony, or peace in other words...

The evaluation of ‘war’ is initially suspended as the subject of negotiation in this text, which is then decomposed into ‘destruction’, ‘overpowering’ and ‘subjugation’ to entertain various accusations from political opponents. The attitudes invoked by these words and the entailed positions are then disclaimed though negation in a complex interplay of appropriation and engagement:

‘war’ => not {destruction+ overpowering + subjugation [- propriety]} => harmony [+ composition]
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By employing such a strategy, the authors avoided entering a debate on judgment-oriented (and thus moral) grounds against the opposing voices, and opted instead to appeal to the readers’ sense of aesthetics, aligning them in terms of an appreciation-oriented language.

3.2 Evaluative appropriation beyond the clause (-complex)

Rapport is seldom achieved through the negotiation of a single proposition, and requires the positioning of readers such that they are obliged to follow a chain of subsequent arguments that stem from this position. The position at each stage is crucially predicated on the previous, stretching it a little further, while maintaining the reader’s obligation to stay aligned. This is facilitated by appraisal resources that are reinforced repeatedly and prosodically across the text, in the form of a parallelism that maintains and enhances the

¹ Book I, Chapter IV

rapport. In the following extract where ‘loyalty’ and ‘filial piety’ have been appropriated, there is a perceivable build up of appreciation in the background across clause boundaries:

...一大家族国家として億兆一心聖旨を奉体して、克く忠孝の美德を發揮する。これ、我が国体の精華とするところである。この国体は、我が国永遠不変の大本であり、国史を貫いて炳として輝いてゐる。¹

...all the people, united as one great family nation in heart, together obeying the Imperial Will thus enhance indeed the beautiful virtues of loyalty and filial piety. This is the glory of our national entity. This national entity is the eternal and unchanging basis of our nation and shines resplendent throughout our history. [translation from Gauntlett: 1949: 59]



A new ‘ripple’ of appreciation can be observed to take over where the last one recedes, and the aligning force of each ripple colors the text before and after it in succession, sustaining and propelling the intersubjective alignment forward. Each ripple is thus reminiscent of the last and informs the next, and in this way, **appropriation** plays a role in gradually changing the ‘flavor’ of this extract from one of judgment to one of appreciation as it unfolds, and the resultant discourse such as *Kokutai no Hongi* takes on an overall ‘aesthetic feel’ in place of the judgment-oriented language we would usually associate with militaristic exhortations.

3.3 Rhetorics of appreciation and the semogenetic potential of aesthetics

There are some obvious differences between this text and the pro war rhetoric we find in 11 September and the Iraq war. While the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ rhetoric, as exemplified in George Bush’s war against terrorism, focuses mainly on judgment as an appraisal resource (cf. Achugar 2004), the Japanese Pacific War rhetoric as instantiated in *Kokutai no Hongi*, in contrast, rallies its potential readers by appreciating social order through evaluative metaphors in a fashion befittingly described by Whorf’s (1956) ‘cognitive appropriation’. I have argued in another paper that this difference has to be understood intertextually as an historical development in a discourse community where aesthetic ideals are more effective as a form of motivation than moral sanction (Tann 2006)². It remains however, important to establish how the logogenetic potential of evaluative appropriation provides the material for the phylogenetic development in the discourse.

As I have mentioned previously, the re-institutionalizing function associated with such uncommonsense reasoning opens up discursive space by bridging from established meaning to new meaning. For instance, while much of Japanese notions of courage are intertextually informed by a long history of warrior class literature, the authors have appropriated this ‘commonsense’ notion of courage into appreciation, and utilized this secondary dimension afforded by the appreciation system to differentiate between ‘types’ of courage in the following:

¹ Book I, Chapter I

² See my paper “Beyond historicism and instrumentalism: *Nihonjinron* as trajectories of negotiation” for a phylogenetic account of this discourse.

我が国の道は、決して勇のみを以て足れりとしぬ。勇のみに趨るは所謂匹夫の勇であつて、勇と共に仁を必要とする。而して勇と仁とを実現するためには智がなくてはならない。¹

Our national Way by no means counts it sufficient to have courage alone. To let courage alone run away with oneself means courage of a low quality, so that courage and pity need go together. Hence in order to manifest courage and pity there must needs be knowledge. [translated in Gauntlett 1949: 101]

This allows the author to open up an existing social institution for re-negotiation, that is, opening up a discursive space within which new perspectives and ideologies can be introduced. The dimension of appreciation reevaluates judgment (tenacity) in terms of quality, hence introducing a new criterion to the constitution of desirable conduct, which can then be claimed as legitimate ‘knowledge’. This is then enforced through a command realized in the declarative with the modality ‘must’. The meaning of ‘courage’ has thus been shifted in this trajectory, while ethics is reconstrued as part of a greater aesthetic order, projecting an alternative paradigm from the familiar ‘logic of binarism’ described by Lazar and Lazar (2004). The charm of an appreciation-centered worldview then, lies ultimately in the ideals towards which the common person can aspire through conducts of higher aesthetic value; it is therefore not about how just the cause for war is, but how beautiful the world can be.

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¹ Book I, Chapter IV

Lexical Density in Japanese Texts: classifying text samples in the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ)

Motoki Sano and Takehiko Maruyama

The National Institute for Japanese Language
10-2 Midori-cho, Tachikawa, Tokyo, Japan
toki.sano@kokken.go.jp maruyama@kokken.go.jp

Abstract

This paper demonstrates the applicability of the use of lexical density in characterising text samples in the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (hereafter BCCWJ). BCCWJ is the first Japanese large-scale balanced corpus, and has been under construction since 2006 at the National Institute for Japanese Language and other affiliated institutions. The corpus is composed of about 100 million words, and includes samples of many different genres of writing from many different sources, such as fictional works, academic journals, public magazines, newspapers, Japanese poetry collections, Internet hyperlink texts, and whitepaper. The corpus includes text samples from over 30,000 texts.

Despite the large variety of the text types in the corpus, at this stage, the “genre” of the text samples is categorised only by a subject-matter oriented classification system such as the Nippon Decimal Classification (NDC). Another classification system that is not merely experiential is necessary to capture other generic features of the samples.

In order to explore a classification method that is more than experiential, the present study examines and argues for the applicability of lexical density using Halliday’s (1985) method for calculating lexical complexity in texts.

1 Introduction

Text samples in a large-scale balanced corpus are generally classified according to contextual and linguistic distinctions. For instance, text samples in the British National Corpus (BNC) are categorised not just by bibliographic and authorial information but also by age, sex and level of the audience, as well as by genre and domain (Lee 2001). These categorisations are necessary and fundamental for studies that are both corpus based and driven, as they are crucial in extracting certain lexis, clauses or texts from a large collection of texts.

Following such categorisations, text samples in the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (hereafter BCCWJ) are classified according to “genre” through subject-matter oriented approaches such as the Nippon Decimal Classification (NDC). NDC is a well-known and popular method for classifying books in Japanese libraries; however, it focuses little on contextual and linguistic features such as rhetorical or social purpose, formality or level of linguistic complexity. Hence, in order to capture not just the differing subject matter of the samples but also other generic features, a complementary measure that can capture the variations within a subject-matter based category is necessary.

As one of the measures which can identify the variations, the present study examines the applicability of lexical density to Japanese texts, using text samples in BCCWJ. This paper demonstrates that the concept of lexical density is applicable to Japanese, and suggests that this concept can provide an additional framework of categorising texts in the corpus by distinguishing samples in terms of lexical complexity. Samples within a certain category could then be ranked according to their lexical complexity.

This paper starts with an explanation of the corpus design of BCCWJ, followed by a review of studies on calculating complexity or readability of Japanese texts. It then explores the applicability of lexical density, and calculates the lexical density of text samples in each of the NDC categories. In discussing the applicability of lexical density, the relationship between lexical density, transitivity and nominalisation will be also explored.

2 The Design of BCCWJ

BCCWJ, which will be the first Japanese balanced corpus, is designed to represent modern written Japanese. It is composed of three subcorpora of which population or source materials are different. These subcorpora are i) Publication subcorpus, ii) Library subcorpus and iii) Special-Purpose subcorpus, as shown in Figure 1 (The National Institute for Japanese Language 2008). By extracting samples from various sources, the corpus represents diversities and variations in modern written Japanese.

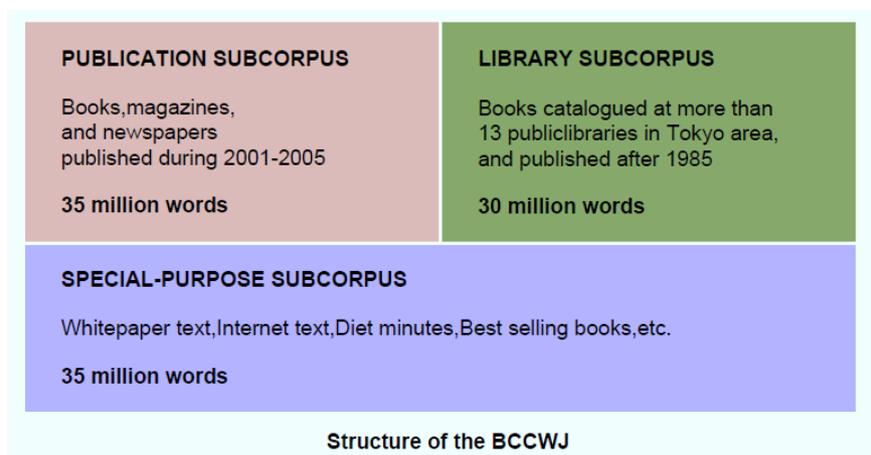


Figure 1 The design of BCCWJ
(from The National Institute for Japanese Language 2008)

As mentioned, in BCCWJ, the “genre” of the text samples is classified based on subject-matter or field-oriented approaches such as NDC. NDC, broadly speaking, classifies the books into ten categories. The categories in the first level classification are listed in Table 1¹. As Kashino et al. (2008) points out, one category can contain various text types with different linguistic features such as expositions, explanations, discussion, recipe and manuals.

Table 1 The categories of NDC

0	General	1	Philosophy	2	History	3	Social Science
4	Natural Science	5	Technology and Engineering	6	Industry and Commerce	7	Arts
8	Language	9	Literature				

3 Studies of Linguistic ‘Complexity’

In distinguishing the samples in the same NDC categories, complexity or readability measures can be a useful indicator, as they can rank the samples. For an English corpus, various method for calculating complexity or readability have been developed and utilised in linguistic and educational fields (cf. Flesch 1948, Collins-Thomson and Callan 2004). However, for Japanese texts, partially due to the absence of a balanced corpus, only a few methods have been proposed (cf. Sato, Matsuyoshi et al. 2008; Shibasaki, Tamaoka et al. 2008; Sano and Maruyama 2008). One of these methods is lexical density.

Lexical density is “a measure of the density of information in any passage of text, according to how tightly the lexical items (content words) have been packed into the grammatical structure” (Halliday 1990:22). The applicability of lexical density on Japanese

¹ In NDC, each category in the first level classification is further categorised into ten categories, then each of these categories is further categorised into ten categories. For instance, 815 is a category for Language(8): Japanese(1): Grammar(5).

texts has been tested partially by Sano and Maruyama (2008). They used the formula proposed by Halliday (1985) described in Formula 1 below and compared the lexical density of 28 fiction and 28 whitepaper text samples (48,119 words), and found that the median of the lexical density of the whitepaper texts is three times higher than that of the fictional texts. Based on this result, they tentatively suggested that the measuring method proposed by Halliday (1985) is applicable to Japanese. However, they also note the necessity of further examination with a larger corpus, as the size of their corpus is small.

Formula 1: Lexical Density = number of lexical items / number of ranking clause in a text

4 Calculating Lexical Density in Japanese

4.1 Testing the Applicability of Lexical Density

Following the work of Sano and Maruyama (2008), the present study further explored the applicability of lexical density to Japanese texts by calculating the lexical density of text samples from fiction and whitepaper text samples in BCCWJ 2007¹. The size of the test corpus is described in Table 2. As Sano and Maruyama (2008) claimed, if the concept of lexical density is applicable to Japanese, the hypothesis described below should be the case, since Halliday (1990:22) suggests that “When the language is more planned and more formal, the lexical density is higher”.

Hypothesis: Lexical density of whitepaper (more formal) > Lexical density of fiction (less formal)

In this study, the number of lexical items is counted using the morphological analyser ‘ChaSen’ with ‘UniDic’ (Ogura 2007), while the number of ranking clauses is measured with the clause boundary annotation programme ‘CBAP’ (Maruyama, Kashioka et al. 2004)².

Table 2 The test corpus for testing the applicability

Fiction	White Paper
1,271 text sample (3,027,923 words)	1,467 samples (3,377,657 words)

4.2 Result of the Calculation

The result of the calculation is shown in Figure 2. The figure indicates that the lexical density of the whitepaper texts is generally higher than that of fiction texts. Although there are some outliers, the lexical density of the fictions is mostly two to four while that of the whitepapers is mostly seven to thirteen. This result confirms the hypothesis that ‘Lexical density of whitepaper > Lexical density of fiction’.

¹ BCCWJ 2007 is a demo version of BCCWJ.

² The outcome of ChaSen with UniDic and CBAP is modified so that it fits SF concepts of ‘lexical item’ and ‘ranking clause’. See Sano and Maruyama (2008).

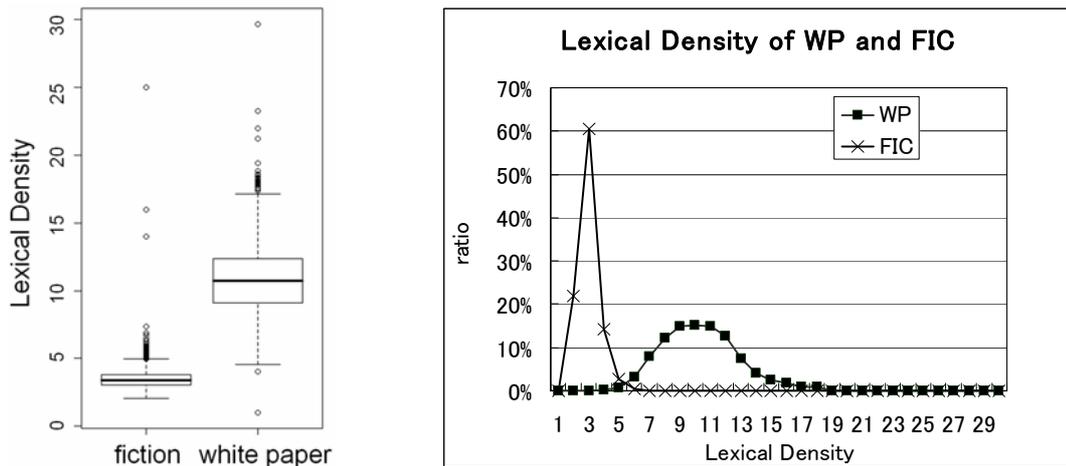


Figure 2 The lexical density of the whitepapers and fictions

4.3 Variations in Text Samples: Transitivity and Nominalisation

In order to explore the applicability of lexical density further, transitivity selections in the whitepaper text samples of which lexical density is in the top or bottom ten (1,613 clauses), excluding outliers, are analysed¹. The whitepaper samples are focused since the total range of lexical density is wider than that of fiction. The result is represented in Figure 3. Set 1 is the top ten, while Set 2 is the bottom ten.

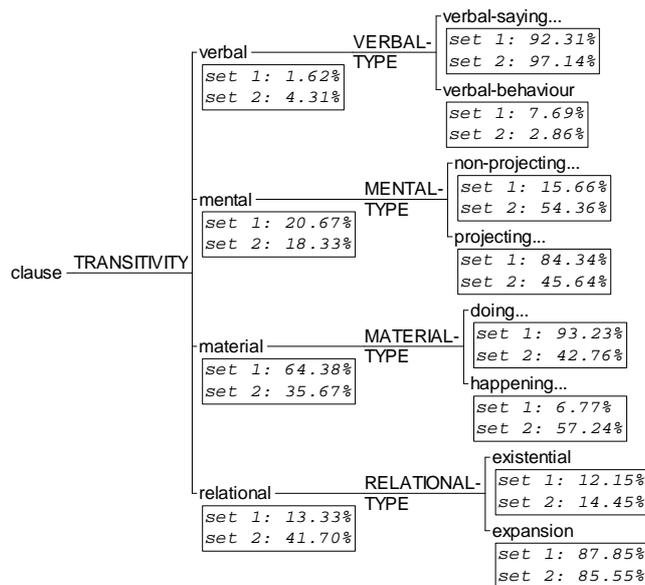


Figure 3 The probability of the top and bottom ten sets

The figure shows that the one of the main differences between the two sets is the probability for the feature: material. The probability for Set 1 (the top ten) is 64% while that of Set 2 (the bottom ten) is 36%.

The cause of this difference stems from the use of ‘light verbs’ such as *okonau* (do/carry out). Although light verbs are used in Set 2 as well, the frequency is much higher in Set 1. For instance, considering the verb ‘*okonau*’, in Set 2, the verb is used in only 2% of the clauses, while, in Set 1, the verb is used in 14% of the clauses.

¹ For transitivity analysis of Japanese. See Teruya (2007) and Sano (2006).

In Set 1, the light verbs are often used as the Process of the material clauses, while other verbs are nominalised as part of the Goal. For example, in the clause described in Table 3, of which the Process is the light verb ‘*okonau*’(do/carry out), verbs such as *kyoodoo/kyooriyoku-suru* (cooperate), *kenkyu-suru* (research), *kansoku-suru* (observe) and *yosoku-suru* (predict) are nominalised, and used as a head or classifier of the Goal. This tendency of using light verbs with nominalisation in the high lexical density samples further confirms that the concept of lexical density is applicable to Japanese texts.

Table 3 An example of a material clause in Set 1 (top ten)

<i>Tokyo daigaku uchuu-sen kenkyuujo/chuugoku kagakuin no kooseinoo butsuri kenkyuujo kan no nicchuu uchuu-sen <u>kyoodoo kansatsu</u>, Tokyo daigaku to chuugoku kagaku gijutsu daigaku tonon aida de koogaku bunya ni okeru <u>kenkyuu kyooriyoku</u>, uchuu kagaku kenkyuujo/chuugoku kagakuin oyobi shanghai tenmon-dai kan no nicchuu dai-kikyuu <u>kyoodoo kansoku</u>, Tokyo daigaku jishin kenkyuujo/chuugokukokka jishinkyoku kan no nicchuu jishin <u>yoichi kyoodoo kansoku</u> nado-ga</i>	<i>Okonawa-reteiru.</i>
<u>Cooperation</u> in cosmic rays <u>observation</u> between Japan and China by Institute for Cosmic Ray Research, University of Tokyo and Institute of High Energy Physics, Chinese Academy of Sciences, <u>cooperative research</u> on engineering field by University of Tokyo, University of Science and Technology of China, <u>cooperation</u> in high-altitude balloon <u>observation</u> between Japan and China, <u>cooperative research</u> on earthquake <u>prediction</u> between Japan and China by Earthquake Research Institute, The University of Tokyo and China Earthquake Administration, and so on	are being carried out.
Goal	Process

4.4 NDC Categories and Lexical Density

Presuming that lexical density is applicable to Japanese texts based on the fact illustrated in 4.2 and 4.3, the lexical density of 2,314 text samples from books in BCCWJ 2007 is calculated. The result is shown in Figure 4. The figure shows that, while NDC9(Literature), of which text type is predominantly fiction, has a short range of lexical density, other categories, of which text types vary within the categories, have wider ranges. This implies that the calculation of lexical density can contribute to identify the variations within the NDC categories.

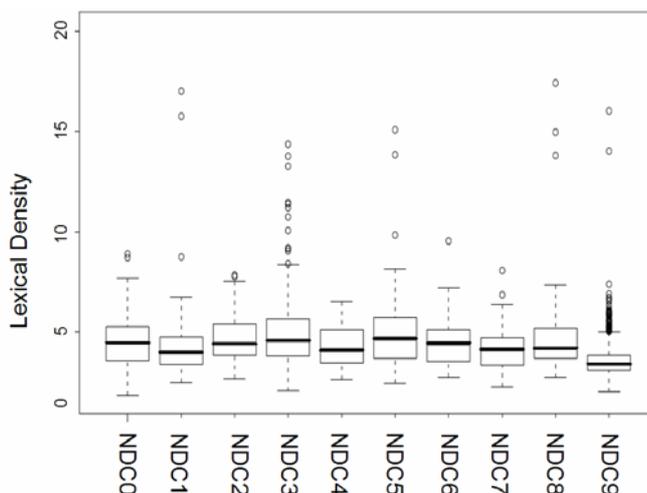


Figure 4The range of lexical density in each NDC category

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we explored the applicability of lexical density to Japanese texts, using the text samples in BCCWJ. The applicability was examined by comparing the lexical density of fiction and whitepaper sample texts, and by comparing and investigating the choices of TRANSITIVITY and the nominalisation. The results indicate that the lexical density of

whitepaper texts is extensively higher than that of fiction texts. Further, it also showed that in Japanese, like in English, the use of nominalisation and light verbs such as ‘*okonau*’ influences the lexical density of a text. These findings confirm that Sano and Maruyama’s (2008) claim that the concept of lexical density is applicable to Japanese texts. Further, this study also calculated the lexical density of text samples in each NDC category. The analysis shows that although the samples from NDC9 have a relatively short range of lexical density, the samples from other categories have a wider range. These results suggest that Halliday’s (1985) method for calculating lexical complexity can be a useful complementary classification system for categorising text samples in a large-scale balanced Japanese corpus.

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A Corpus-based Approach to the Role of Nominalization in Registers

Xinzhang Yang

Xiamen University
College of Foreign Languages and Cultures
Xiamen University, Xiamen 361005, China

Abstract

Nominalization is a kind of lexicogrammatical resource in English and plays an important role in human language activities (cf. Halliday, 2004). It has become one of the most flexible and creative linguistic devices used in the English language. However, its use is not encouraged in the writing course. Although people hold different attitudes to its use, this paper argues, based upon the theory of grammatical metaphor in Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1994), that nominalization is a natural linguistic phenomenon, a grammatical choice made by the language user and that registerial variants are closely related to the distribution of nominalizations. The corpus-based approach can be an ideal method for investigating variations across registers. Biber et al (1999) has used corpora to investigate the distribution of lexicogrammatical patterns in different registers. Written language has its own pattern of lexical density (Halliday, 1985). Based on the assumption that different registers differ in the use of nominalization, this paper is a report on a corpus-based study of the different distributions of nominalization in simplified readings, scientific texts and legal documents. This paper also points out that the more formal a style is, the more nominalizations. As for writing, if functional varieties were ignored, some important messages would be distorted or even left out.

1 Introduction

Nominalization refers to the lexicogrammatical process of converting verbs and adjectives into nouns by adding suffixes or conversion. It is widely used as one of the most flexible and creative linguistic devices in English (LaPalombara, 1976, p202). Nominalization is an important lexicogrammatical choice made by the writer/speaker. As an element in the information structure, nominalization provides different kinds of information to the addressee. Its use can make the text sound abstract and enhance the 'real effect' of abstractness (Martin & Ringham, 2000, p96). It can help the writer/speaker to avoid mentioning the agent. Yet, the use of nominalization is sometimes criticized as "wordy" (Wheeler, 2005).

In truth, no communication between human beings can ever be completely objective. All writing is written to persuade on some level (Jerz, 2006). Different people hold different attitudes toward the use of nominalization. The unmarked English sentence uses the conscious agent as the grammatical subject of the sentence. The verb is used to indicate the action and the object is used to express the goal of the action.

To Jerz (2006), nominalized sentences may be grammatically and factually correct, but vague. Verbs are more vivid than nouns. Some (Jerz, 2006, Unsworth, 2002) think that nominalizations should be avoided for the sake of brevity and precision of expression. Structures with the agent as the subject should be encouraged. However, as we find in daily verbal communication, technical and scientific language uses more nominalized structures, because the language of science involves abstraction and generalization.

Others believe that some nominalizations are useful and some should be avoided. To Kies (2002), nominalization can make the text look formal and contains more information. However, it is difficult for the reader to understand (Salem, 2006). The reader has to deduct the agent of action from the context, when the agent is omitted in the nominalized structure. According to Wilkins (2006), the useless nominalizations include nominalizations following verbs (e.g. The police conducted an investigation into the matter.), nominalizations following

‘there is’ (e.g. There was considerable erosion of the land from the floods.), Nominalizations that are subjects of empty verbs (e.g. Our discussion concerned a tax cut.), consecutive nominalizations (e. g. There was a first a review of the evolution of the dorsal fin.), and linked nominalizations (e.g. Their increase in revenues was a result of their expansion of outlets.). However, the useful nominalizations include those that are the subjects referring to a previous sentence (e.g. This decision can lead to costly consequences.), those that name what would be the object of its verb (e.g. I do not understand either her meaning or his intentions.), those that replace the awkward “The fact that” (e. g. My denial of his accusations impressed the jury.), those that refer to often repeated concepts (e.g. Few issues have so divided Americans as abortion on demand.), those following “there is/are” to introduce a topic that develop in subsequent sentences, and occasions when only nominalizations can be used.

2 Functions of Nominalization

As a lexicogrammatical resource, nominalization plays an important role in daily verbal communication. It is a social fact that no one can neglect. The use of nominalization comes from the need of representing experience. It occurs when people move from common sense knowledge into technical knowledge (Halliday, 2004). The functions of nominalization are various. According to Cummings (2002), nominalization is a choice for the speaker/writer to omit and conceal the participant in the event, e.g.

(1) *The enemy destroyed the city.* → *The destruction of the city*

By using *destruction* instead of *destroy*, the agent of destruction is omitted.

Nominalization can enable the speaker/writer to foreground an event, e.g.

(2) *The destruction of the city led to an extended conflict.*

In Example (2), *destruction* is put in the first position of clause and becomes the theme. In addition, nominalization has the function of reference. It can link a series of events into a logical whole, and enable the speaker/writer to mention the given information, thus providing clues for the reader. When used as the subject in a clause, nominalization often refers back to the previous sentence, e.g.

(3) *Some mornings it was a dull red, then it would be bright red, then a rich purple, and once they found it bright green. These changes naturally amused the family, and they tried to guess what it would be next. (The Canterville Ghost, p12)*

(4) *The enemy bombed the city for weeks. The destruction was devastating.*

In Examples (3) and (4), *changes* and *destruction* are used to refer back to previous sentences and brings the text into a coherent whole.

A series of events can be grammaticalized into head nouns by nominalization and become the participants in the following text. Thus, nominalization is a means to develop narration through the cause-effect relationship. For example,

(5) *Light travels more slowly through glass or water than it does through air. If light hits glass or water at an angle, this slowly-down makes it change direction. The bending of light is called refraction.*

Have you ever looked down at your legs when you are standing in a swimming pool? Refraction makes your leg look shorter than they really are. (Taylor, Babara. 1989. Bouncing and Bending Light. Franklin Watts)

The event “travels more slowly” in the first clause complex is nominalized into “this slowing-down” in the second clause complex. “change direction” in the second clause complex is further nominalized into “the blending of light” and “refraction” in the third clause complex.

Nominalization can refine sentences and make them compact. To Unsworth (2002), realizing events as heads in nominal groups rather than verbs has many advantages. The head

can be modified by more resources and thus contains more information, e.g.

(6) *All over the world wetlands are being threatened by immediate, large-scale drainage and dangerous, ill-conceived, rapid conversion to arable land.*

In some nominal groups, the head is not a thing or a conscious being, but an event, a concept or an abstract thing, as drainage and conversion in Example (6).

3 Nominalization and Register

The use of nominalization is closely linked to register. The tendency to use nominalizations more in written language than in spoken language lies in the fact that written language treats experience as things and thus nouns are used (Halliday, 1985). In spoken language, the speaker is using language to report things that have happened or have been done, and thus representing experience as actions. In this case, verbs are used.

The relation of nominalization to register can also be found in the role nominal groups play in lexical density. A feature of high lexical density is the frequent use of nominal groups that have nominalized structures. Usually, these nominal groups contain many modifiers. English nominal groups are often composed of premodifiers, heads and postmodifiers, e.g.

(7) the largest continuous tract of wilderness and wildlife habitat remaining in the north

premodifier	head	Postmodifier
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In systemic functional grammar, nominalization is a kind of grammatical metaphor and is regarded as a major resource for forming metaphorical forms (Halliday, 1994). In the transitivity system, process (realized by verbs in the congruent form) and attribute (realized by adjectives in the congruent form) become the head of nominal groups. In the following examples, the congruent form 'erode' becomes the head 'erosion' in the metaphorical form.

Congruent:

The floods	considerably	eroded	the lands.
Actor	Circumstance	Material process	Goal

Metaphorical:

There	was	considerable erosion of the land from the floods.
	Existential process	Existent

To Halliday (1994, p353), a metaphorical wording has as it were a metaphorical meaning and a congruent meaning. As a participant in the process, nominalization does not lose its own semantic character as a process, as it is in fact realized as a verb congruently. Grammatical metaphor is a feature of various varieties of adult discourse, but not a major of everyday spoken discourse. Therefore, as there are less grammatical metaphors in spoken discourse, the occurrence rate of nominalization would be lower.

Biber et al (1999, p235-237) conducted a corpus survey and find that the distribution of nouns differs from register to register. The proportional use of nouns in the total nouns and pronouns shows that nouns are many times more common than pronouns in news and academic prose and that that the relative frequency of nouns is much higher in object position and as a complement or object of a preposition than in subject position. Nouns in this corpus-based approach include nouns of different kinds. It tells nothing about the relation of nominalization to registers.

4 Distribution of Nominalizations across Registers

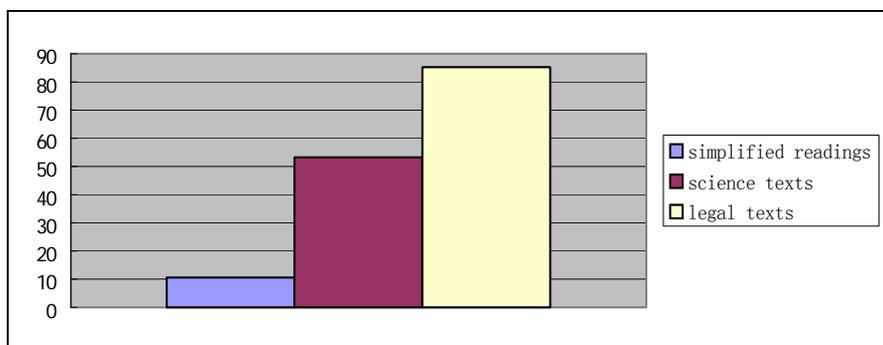
Nominalization makes it possible to construct hierarchies of technical terms and to develop an argument step by step (Halliday, 1994). As scientific language and other formal registers often involve abstract concepts, nominalization becomes one of their prominent linguistic features. For instance, in daily life we may say "In the Midwest, the farmers grew more grain

this year than they did last year.” Yet, an economist may, from the point of view of economics, regard this phenomenon as the increase of grain output and say “In the Midwest, this year’s increase in grain output was greater than last year’s.”

The following is a report on what I (Yang, 2005) have done to investigate the relation of the distribution of nominalization to registers. The small corpus contains three types of registers, i.e., simplified readings, scientific texts and legal texts. We have 50 pages of written materials for each register. The simplified readings chosen are Oscar Wilde’s *The Canterville Ghost and other stories* and H. James’s *The Turn of the Screw*. Academic texts include David A. J. Seargent’s *Plurality and Continuity* and R. L. Timings’s *Engineering Materials*. Legal texts include the *U.S. Gant-St (Depository Institution) Act 1982* and the UK’s *Data Protection Act 1998*. The clause is taken as the basic unit for analysis so that the distribution of nominalization can be distinguished more clearly. The clauses to be analyzed include embedded clause, minor clause, reported clause, non-finite clause, and elliptical clause. The results of counting of nominalizations are shown in the following table.

	Simplified Readings		Science Texts		Legal Texts	
	Number of clauses	Number of nominalizations	Number of clauses	Number of nominalizations	Number of clauses	Number of nominalizations
	1699	180	905	482	564	481
%	10.59%		53.26%		85.28%	

The above table shows that there is the least number of nominalizations in simplified readings while legal texts contain the most nominalizations, as indicated in the following chart.



Simplified readings are intended for school children and beginners of English. This kind of tenor demands clear and simple language. Furthermore, the simplified readings chosen for analysis are simplified versions of novels, in which many concrete actions and states are described. Thus, they share the common features of everyday language. For example,

(8) His fingers were as cold as ice; his lips burned like fire, but Virginia went with him as he led here across the darkening room. At the end of the room, he stopped, and said some words that she could not understand. She saw the wall slowly opening up like a mist, and there was a great black cave mouth in front of her. A bitter cold wind pulled at them, and in a moment the wall had closed behind them, and the Treasure room was empty. (The Canterville Ghost, p.34)

In formal texts, actions are often nominalized and verbs that describe states and long sentences are much used. Technological texts are written for people in the technological and scientific world. They often represent processes as phenomenon when addressing when talking about science and technology. The conscious agents are often omitted and the passive voice is used. A lot of nominalizations can be found in noun phrases for scientific concepts,

such as *annealing, recovery, recrystallisation, reduction, strength, ductility, malleability, deformation* in the following two examples.

(9) *Annealing at low temperatures has little effect as it only promotes recovery of the crystal lattice on the atomic scale and does not result in recrystallisation. In fact, during recovery there may even be a slight reduction in the impact strength. (Engineering Materials, p.305)*

(10) *This is usually regarded as the opposite of ductility and malleability. It is the property of a material that shows little or no plastic deformation before fracture when a force is applied. (Engineering Materials, p.8)*

The legal text belongs to a very formal register in which experience is represented in a formal way. Because of its strictness of articles and the accuracy of concepts and definitions, many nominalized structures are used. This is why nominalizations occur more frequently in legal documents. For example,

(11) *The committee is agreed that subordinated term debt instruments have significant deficiencies as constituents of capital in view of their fixed maturity and inability to absorb losses except in liquidation. These deficiencies justify an additional restriction on the amount of such debt capital which eligible for inclusion within the capital base. (The Basle Agreement 1998, p.175)*

5 Conclusion

Nomination plays an important role in verbal interaction in the society. The report above shows that the use of nominalization is closely related to different registers. Although the corpus used in this study is not big enough, we can see the general tendency, in which nominalizations are distributed differently across registers. The more formal the register is, the more nominalizations are used. This calls our attention to the fact that if we do not take registerial variations into account for the pure sake of a 'good' style, we may distort and even leave out some important information. The knowledge of the distribution of nominalization in different registers can help students understand the registerial features, and the degree of formalness of each registers. It can also be a criterion for teachers of writing to judge and evaluate students' writing.

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Analyzing Philosophical Discourse

Joe Fincham

Marshall University
Department of English
One John Marshall Drive
Huntington, WV 25755
United States of America
fincham5@marshall.edu

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to show how the origin of philosophical problems lies not within the realm of the metaphysical, but rather within the way in which language is used to create philosophical problems. This paper analyzes the language of A.J. Ayer's presentation of the philosophical problem of perception in order to see what role Ayer's language plays in the emergence of the philosophical "problem". His argument begins with a distinction between 1) the "ordinary" understanding of perception and 2) the "philosophical" understanding of perception. Ayer argues that within the ordinary understanding of perception is a level of uncertainty, which presents a philosophical problem; and that further, the philosophical understanding of perception (Idealism) is a remedy to this problem because sense-data, while they may or may not be in accordance with reality, are not doubtful as to being perceived.

This paper hypothesizes that the origin of this philosophical problem stems from the choice of lexico-grammatical features used in discussing the two opposing views. By making the argument for the ordinary conception weaker and more uncertain in comparison to the philosophical view, the grammatical and lexical choices metareound within the social contexts understanding perception (Martin 1997, Lemke 1995).

1 Introduction

Within the Western philosophical tradition, there continue to be competing sense-making frameworks which attempt to understand the relationship between mind and world, especially as it relates to perception, knowledge, and certainty. Among these is a general framework called "Idealism", which argues that material objects are not directly perceived, but rather only "sense-data" are directly perceived.

One proponent of this school of thought was the British philosopher Alfred Jules (A.J.) Ayer. He states that the main goal of his text¹ is "...to resolve the philosophical problems which are commonly brought under the heading of 'our knowledge of the external world'. (vii)" The argument begins with a distinction between 1) the "ordinary man's" understanding of perception and 2) the "philosophical" understanding of perception (Idealism). Ayer argues that within the ordinary understanding of perception is a level of uncertainty, which presents a philosophical problem; and that further, the philosophical understanding of perception is a remedy to this problem because sense-data, while they may or may not be in accordance with the material world, are not doubtful as to being perceived.

This paper analyzes Ayer's presentation of these opposing views² in order to see what role Ayer's own language plays in the emergence of the philosophical "problem" with the ordinary conception of perception, and how that use of language relates to his treatment of the philosophical conception of perception. This paper hypothesizes that the origin of the philosophical problem of perception stems from the choice of lexico-grammatical features, in particular grammatical metaphors, used by Ayer in discussing the two opposing views. By

¹ *The Foundations of Empirical Knowledge* (1955)

² A passage was selected from the beginning of Ayer's text passage which presents the two contrasting conceptions of perception. The presentation of these two conceptions, which appears as consecutive paragraphs in the text, has been divided into Texts 1.1 and 1.2 for the purposes of this paper (see Appendix).

making the argument for the ordinary conception weaker and more uncertain in comparison to the philosophical view, the grammatical and lexical choices metareound within the social contexts understanding perception (Martin 1997, Lemke 1995). In the case of the ordinary perception, these weaker and more uncertain choices reconstrue the ordinary conception of perception as weaker and more uncertain, as opposed to the choices made in presenting the philosophical conception, which reconstrue the philosophical conception (Idealism) as more certain.

2 Polarity

In Texts 1.1 and 1.2, negation is used differently in the presentations of the two conceptions of perception. The use of negation in Text 1.1 (1-3 below) functions to express degrees of modality. For example, the negation in the opening sentence, (1) below, functions to negate the modal expression “normally” or “normally occur”. This use of negation is not saying that “It never occurs to us”, but rather “It is rare that it occurs to us”. In (2), the concessive “but” functions to differentiate between “recognizing” that deception of the senses occurs and this recognition leading him “to suspect” that his senses “cannot in general be trusted”; and again, the latter negations are directed toward modal items, as his use of negation does not mean that his senses are trusted, rather only that he does not “suspect” that they “cannot in general be trusted”. Finally, in (3), the negation is directed toward the relative exceptionality of the attitude being presented. Again, as opposed to a comment on the concrete validity of this attitude, this expression only says that it is not exceptional. The negation of the attitude’s relative rarity does not add much content to the discourse either, since to say this attitude is “not exceptional” is the same as saying that it is “common” or “ordinary”—it only restates that this attitude is the “ordinary” conception of perception.

- (1) It does not normally occur to us that there is any need for us to justify our belief in the existence of material things.
- (2) I recognize indeed that people are sometimes deceived by their senses, but this does not lead me to suspect that my own sense-perceptions cannot in general be trusted, or even that they may be deceiving me now.
- (3) And this is not, I believe, an exceptional attitude.

Whereas in Text 1.1 modal items were negated, in Text 1.2 it is the concreteness of the validity of the ordinary conception which is negated. In (4) below, which contains the only use of negation in Text 1.2, what gets negated is the allowance of the relative validity granted by philosophical perception to the ordinary conception. The first use “But even so”, despite being a concessive rather than an adversative, signals that whatever was granted previously in terms of the validity of the ordinary perception granted by philosophers is now negated. Secondly, the statement that philosophers would agree with the ordinary conception of perception is negated—the philosophers do not concede that material objects are directly perceived.

- (4) It is true that they do, in general, allow that our belief in the existence of material things is well founded; some of them, indeed, would say that there were occasions on which we knew for certain the truth of such propositions as ‘this is a cigarette’ or ‘this is a pen’. But even so they are not, for the most part, prepared to admit that such objects as pens or cigarettes are ever directly perceived.

3 Certainty of Perception

There is also a contrast between Texts 1.1 and 1.2 in the certainty of truth in expressions made by the ordinary and philosophical conceptions in regards to perception. In Text 1.1, these expressions are modalized. However in Text 1.2, the mental process (perception) clause becomes a Thematized comment functioning as the Value of a relational process clause.

3.1 Modality/Interpersonal Metaphor (Text 1.1)

In Text 1.1, claims and expressions of the ordinary perception are modalized through various means. Returning to (1) below, the ordinary conception is brought into doubt by the rank-shifted expression of the ordinary conception's certainty. Whereas a proposition of the certainty of the ordinary conception would be a negation of the rank-shifted Subject ("there is not any need"), thus denying the existence of any need, the rank-shifted expression presents the need for justification as existent, but as one that "does not normally occur to us". This modality moves the need for justification from the negative pole of certainty to a less certain position near the negative pole.

- (1) It does not normally occur to us [[that there is any need for us to justify our belief in the existence of material things]].

In (5) below, a proposition of the ordinary conception ("I really am perceiving the familiar objects...") is modalized by means of the interpersonal metaphor "I have no doubt whatsoever". Whereas the projected clause itself represents a claim to definite perception of material objects, this certainty is undermined by the use of the preceding modalized clause. This leads to the conclusion based upon this statement, "they (the material objects) exist," which is fundamental to the validity of the ordinary conception, also becoming uncertain. This is reflected in the use of the Judgmental lexis ("satisfied") instead of a more factual expression (such as "know").

- (5) ||| At the present moment, for example, I have no doubt whatsoever || that I really am perceiving the familiar objects, the chairs and table, the pictures and books and flowers with which my room is furnished; and I am therefore satisfied [[that they exist]]. |||

3.2 Thematized Comment (Text 1.2)

From the beginning of Text 1.1, it is taken for granted that *some-thing* is perceived. In Text 1.1, it is said that material objects are believed to be perceived, but the certainty of that conception of perception, especially the certainty of identifying the Phenomenon of perception, is cast in doubt not only through modalized means of expressions, but also in the opening clause of Text 1.2:

- (6) When, however, one turns to the writings of those philosophers who have recently concerned themselves with the subject of perception, one may begin to wonder whether this matter is quite so simple.

Up until the last clause complex of Text 1.2 (7 below), the object of perception is still an undefined variable—it is not "known" what this object *is*. In (7) the entire process of perception, including the phenomenon, becomes a Thematized comment. This Thematized comment realizes the position of the Carrier in the relational process clause.

- (7) What, in their opinion, we directly perceive is always an object of a different kind from these; one to which it is now customary to give the name of 'sense-datum'.

As opposed to the uncertain, modalized expressions of perception in Text 1.1, Text 1.2 concludes with an expression of the philosophical conception of perception which is presented as much more concrete. Whereas in (5) the mental process clause (“I really am perceiving...”) is projected by an interpersonal metaphor, thus making it uncertain, in (7) the mental process clause becomes a Thematized comment, thus presenting the mental process (especially the Phenomenon) as more concrete and emphatic.

4 Data Summary

By tracing the discussion of objects of perception, it is seen that they are first presented according to the ordinary conception and in no need of justification (1). This conception is then presented with a weaker argument in support of it, both through modalizations (1, 5) and the use of negation is directed towards modal items, giving the proposition only a low degree of certainty (1, 2, 3).

The ordinary conception is then challenged in terms of its validity in comparison to the philosophical conception (6). The philosophical conception is presented with a stronger argument, as the use of negation is directed towards concessions made to the validity of the ordinary conception (4). Finally, with the ordinary conception of objects of perception now in doubt, the philosophical conception of “sense-datum” is presented as a concrete, even “customary” alternative to the ordinary conception (7).

5 Conclusion

From the analysis of the data, it may be concluded that the origin of the philosophical dilemma is not one that stems from the ordinary conception of perception itself, but rather is one constructed by the author in order to undermine the certainty of the ordinary conception and to replace the ordinary conception with the philosophical.

By interpreting this analysis in terms of J.R. Martin’s model of language as the realization of social context (1997), it can be seen that these uses of language about the two conceptions of perception serve to undermine the ordinary conception and reinforce the philosophical conception. In this way, the uncertainty of the ordinary language can be understood to metareound itself within the entire ordinary conception of perception. The uncertain use of language in presenting the ordinary conception in turn casts the entire ordinary conception of perception into doubt. By replacing the ordinary conception’s use of “material”, “physical”, or “familiar” objects with the philosophical term “sense-datum”, what is granted is not a new term within the ordinary conception; rather, by granting the philosophical language, what is also granted is the entire philosophical conception (or social context). This new conception is reinforced by fewer uses of modality and the use of a Thematized comment in presenting the philosophical conception.

By further analyses of philosophical discourse through a systemic functional approach, I believe that we will not only achieve a better understanding of how philosophical discourse works, but that we will also perform the very task of philosophy. This paper has represented an attempt to describe philosophical discourse. The purpose of this and future analyses of the language of philosophical discourse can be found in the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein’s statement in his book *Philosophical Investigations*:

And this description gets its light, that is to say its purpose, from the philosophical problems. These are, of course, not empirical problems; they are solved, rather, by looking into the workings of our language, and that in such a way as to make us recognize those workings: in despite of an urge to misunderstand them. The problems are solved, not by reporting new experience, but by arranging what we have always known. Philosophy is a battle against the bewitchment of our intelligence by means of our language (2001, § 109) [underlining added].

Appendix

Text 1.1:

It does not normally occur to us that there is any need for us to justify our belief in the existence of material things. At the present moment, for example, I have no doubt whatsoever that I really am perceiving the familiar objects, the chairs and table, the pictures and books and flowers with which my room is furnished; and I am therefore satisfied that they exist. I recognize indeed that people are sometimes deceived by their senses, but this does not lead me to suspect that my own sense-perceptions cannot in general be trusted, or even that they may be deceiving me now. And this is not, I believe, an exceptional attitude. I believe that, in practice, most people agree with John Locke that 'the certainty of things existing in rerum natura, when we have the testimony of our senses for it, is not only as great as our frame can attain to, but as our condition needs. (p. 1)

Text 1.2:

When, however, one turns to the writings of those philosophers who have recently concerned themselves with the subject of perception, one may begin to wonder whether this matter is quite so simple. It is true that they do, in general, allow that our belief in the existence of material things is well founded; some of them, indeed, would say that there were occasions on which we knew for certain the truth of such propositions as 'this is a cigarette' or 'this is a pen'. But even so they are not, for the most part, prepared to admit that such objects as pens or cigarettes are ever directly perceived. What, in their opinion, we directly perceive is always an object of a different kind from these; one to which it is now customary to give the name of 'sense-datum'. (pp. 1-2)

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Theoretical Framework of the Genre of Academic Writing: A Social-Cultural Perspective

Yinghui Sun

School of Foreign Languages and Literatures
Beijing Normal University, China

Abstract

Through a detailed analysis of the generic structure of 100 Chinese MA theses introductions, this study attempts to identify the contextual factors that might influence the formation of the genre of academic writing. It finds that several factors contribute to the genre of academic writing in Chinese context. In addition to the general professional routine of academic writing, factors of the writing task, the research area or the discipline, the writer's education level and the writer's cultural or language background have great influence on the formation of the text. The theoretical framework is thus set up based on these findings.

1 Introduction

Academic writing, as an important genre, has been a matter of considerable discussion and research over the last few decades, the study of which has contributed to our understanding of the genre of academic writing greatly. Most studies have focused on research articles, especially articles written by native speaker scholars. Some studies have tried to explore the features of academic writing in different social-cultural context, however, most of them borrowed a genre model originally set for analysis of other kinds of text or writing for certain professional purposes, while a systematic framework is still lacking for the formation of academic writing,

A review of the related literature of genre theory reveals that genre is a joint product of its social-cultural factors (Halliday,1978, 2000; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Martin,1992, 2001, 2002; Swales,1990; Miller,1994). This study, therefore, aims to explore this issue from a social-cultural perspective. The research questions are: What are the possible factors that might influence the genre of academic writing? What is the theoretical framework of the genre of academic writing like? Taking the social-cultural aspects into consideration, the framework will make the study of academic writing more focused. Hopefully this framework is of help to the understanding of the genre, and of value to analysts who are interested in academic writing.

The corpus for the study consisted of 100 introductions taken from MA theses in the area of Applied Linguistics from 1999 to 2005 in the School of Foreign Languages and Literatures at Beijing Normal University. In order to have a full understanding of the features of the text, the selected discipline was confined to the field of Applied Linguistics. As Henry and Roseberry (2001:154) said, 'the general aim of a genre analysis is to identify the moves and strategies of a genre, the allowable order of the moves, and the key linguistic features', it is generally agreed that Swales' method of move-and-step analysis is a very useful tool for genre analysis. In the present study, Swales CARS model is used as an analytical tool, and the analysis is carried out at two levels: at the macro level, the overall structure of different genres; at the micro level, the way certain grammatical features are used to realize the overall structure in different genres of writing.

2 Findings of the Study and Factors Influencing the Genre of Academic Writing

The study shows that Chinese MA thesis introductions show their own distinctive features in the use of some specific steps as well as in some lexical and grammatical choices. These

distinctive features exhibited in the texts were the result of the influence of contextual factors: the writing task—the MA thesis itself, the specific discipline, the writers' social status and the cultural and educational backgrounds. Now let us see how these particular features were manifested in the corpus.

2.1 The factor of the writing task

MA thesis introductions, as a writing task, exhibit some peculiar characteristics of their own that differ from those of research articles upon which Swales' CARS model was developed. One such characteristic is the length of the text, which makes it possible to include more steps and more move cycles. The fact that there are more steps and more move cycles in a MA thesis is actually due to another characteristic of the lengthy text—the complexity involved in the nature of the genre. Some texts have only one central topic, but quite many are more complex in content, often involving two or more topics, thus resulting in more steps as well as more move cycles in the text. The complexity in the nature of the MA thesis can also be seen in more strategic and varied forms the writer uses to begin the text.

2.2 The factor of discipline

Some specific features revealed by analysis were also the results of the particular discipline within which the students were writing, which can be shown by the presence of some steps and the absence of others.

Since the present corpus was chosen from one discipline only — Applied linguistics—the texts were mainly applications of related linguistic theories to language teaching, mainly empirical studies aiming to test whether a certain linguistic theory or an approach was applicable in a new situation, usually in a Chinese situation, or involving the application of a theory to solve some practical problems in actual teaching. It was therefore quite natural that there were a lot of descriptions of the *Background* or the *Present situation*, or *Existing problems or limitations*, in addition to passages *Indicating gaps* and some detailed *Descriptions of the research*. For the same reason, some steps which are typically present in the CARS model were not available in the specific discipline under study, as can be seen in the absence of the steps *Continuing a tradition* and *Announcing principal findings*.

Very few students used the step *Continuing a tradition* to establish a niche, for the reason that this step is supposed to be used mainly in the further exploration of relevant theories by challenging the prevailing ones. Obviously, this step does not involve the application of theory to real practice.

2.3 The factor of social status

More than half (52%) of the texts arrived at the step *Summarizing or commenting the relevant previous research* after reviewing previous studies, which was not overtly stated as a constituent step in Swales' CARS model (Swales, 1990). For student writers who are still learning to write in the conventionally accepted manner of the Anglo-American academic community, this step should be strongly advocated. Successful theses show that appropriate evaluation plays an important role in leading the writing towards the greater depth. Summarizing or commenting on what has been done before not only shows the writer's own understanding of related work done already, it also provides a transition from 'what has been done already' to 'what will be done', thus providing an opportunity for niche-establishment. Through comments on previous research, some new and possibly unsolved problems are raised. With an indication that the reported research is not complete or has some gaps, a niche is created and preparation is made for the next move — establishing a niche.

As is manifested in Swales' CARS model, native English speaking authors prefer to establish a niche through four methods — *counter-claiming*, *indicating a gap*, *question-*

raising and continuing a tradition; however, not all of these were adopted by Chinese students. Findings revealed that steps *Counter-claiming* and *Continuing a tradition* were not regarded as proper ways of introducing the problem or gap that might have motivated the research. Instead, Chinese students adopted other means, among which *Indicating real world problems/limitation in (Chinese) situation/practice* was very common. Chinese students also favored the method of *asserting necessity* as a reason for carrying out the research, and some tried to establish a niche by giving an account of the writer's personal experience or interest.

There is no doubt that Chinese student writers attached great importance to the move of establishing a niche, which can be shown through both the number of times the move appeared, as well as the number of its constituent steps adopted in the corpus. Through the use of various lexical and grammatical devices to indicate problems to be solved or limitations/gaps in previous research work, the student writers tried to establish their role as a member of a community in the process of communication. We can see that as learners who have yet to enjoy a proper status in the academic community, the students do not view themselves as competent writers, thinking that *Continuing a theoretical tradition* was far too challenging and consequently not appropriate for them. Nor did they envision themselves as part of a very competitive research community, thinking that *Counter-claiming* was quite unnecessary or not very suitable for learners as themselves. Instead, they chose rather more modest means of establishing a niche—referring to their own observations or to others or even their own research interests—techniques which were not forceful enough to create a research space.

Among the new steps identified, one involves detailed description of the research itself, which reveals the students' own status as apprentice researchers. Telling the people concerned how their research was carried out was a strategic device the student writers used to find their own way to enter the world of the research and to be accepted by the 'parent discourse community' (Swales, 1990:58).

2.4 The factor of cultural and educational backgrounds

Educational and cultural differences could be detected, mainly in the students' attitudes towards prevailing theories and leading authorities, as manifested through the choice of some moves and steps, and in their citation practices, especially in their use of reporting verbs and tense patterns.

(1) Attitudes shown in the choice of some rhetorical means

The Chinese students tended to use a variety of rhetorical means to achieve the corresponding communicative purpose shown in moves and steps, while some preferences for one form over another were also detected. The choice of one device instead of another may have reflected differences caused by the students' educational and cultural background. One important aspect of these differences can be seen in their attitudes towards prevailing theories or methods, resulting in some tentativeness in arguing their own points and in identifying flaws in the existing knowledge in the field. Being only students and thus not occupying a respectable position in an academic community controlled by expert writers, the writers of the Chinese MA theses showed a tendency to be cautious and less assertive in asserting the value of the research, providing information about the topic, illustrating the concepts that they were discussing, and even identifying the problems or gaps existing in previous research. From time to time they made appeals to authority to support their statements, by adding additional citations. For these students, this was a secure way for proceeding towards something unknown in the research field.

The influence of culture was also seen in their choice of steps for niche-establishment. Being raised and educated in a culture that respects authority and knowledge, Chinese

students were not assertive enough in counter claiming some existing theories and practices. Instead, they chose to raise questions or point out real world problems in order to generate a discussion about a linguistic theory or practice. Exhibiting a rather modest attitude, some tried to avoid the use of negative language signals for indicating gaps and resorted instead to positive language stating need or necessity as the main reason for carrying out a study.

(2) Attitudes shown in the choice of reporting verbs

The use of a reporting verb to introduce the work of other researchers is an important element of citation features, as well as a manifestation of a writer's stance towards what is cited. Writers can vary their commitment to the message by adopting an explicitly personal stance or by attributing a position to the original author through the choice of reporting verbs. Hyland (1999) identified three groups of reporting verbs: the reported information is represented as true (*e.g., acknowledge, point out, establish*), as false (*e.g., fail, overlook, exaggerate, ignore*) or non-factively, giving no clear signal of the writer's stance. Thomson and Ye (1991) made a detailed study of reporting verbs, classifying them as textual (*e.g., state, write, term*), mental (*e.g., think, believe, consider*) or research-related (*e.g., measure, calculate, find*). The purpose of these different categories is to show 'the ways in which the writer commits herself to or detaches herself from the reported proposition to varying degrees' (p.365).

Considerable differences exist in how writers from different cultural backgrounds use prior texts in their arguments. Of the frequently used reporting verbs in the Chinese MA thesis introductions, most expressed a view that the reported information was true or a positive attitude towards the cited author, and none signaled disagreement with the cited author or characterized the information as false. The choice of reporting verbs undoubtedly reflected the influence of Chinese culture, in which authority is respected and even worshipped.

As Hyland (2000) points out, reporting verbs 'do not simply function to indicate the status of the information reported, but the writer's position in relation to that information. The selection of an appropriate reporting verb allows writers to signal an assessment of the evidential status of the reported proposition and demonstrate their commitment, neutrality or distance from it' (p. 38). The frequent use of positive reporting verbs in the corpus showed that Chinese students tend to overuse the quotation as authoritative support for their own work, with little critical evaluation of previous research. In order to be able to write at the level of the sophisticated research papers written by native speakers, Chinese students should be encouraged to develop a critical eye towards references as another important way of creating their own research space.

(3) Attitudes shown in the choice of tense patterns in citations

The tense patterns used in citations in the Chinese MA thesis introductions varied considerably from the conventional rules of tense usage. Instead of the past tense being the most prominent form, as given in the guidebooks and by other researchers, the Chinese students tended to overuse the simple present. Salager-Myer (1992) mentioned two functions of the present tense. One is to refer to a situation that holds true up to the moment of utterance; the other is to emphasize the relevance of the writer's own study and to enhance its generality. Therefore, the use of the present tense is closely related to a writer's stance towards a citation. Chinese students' frequently use of the present tense showed their lack of knowledge of the use of the conventional use of English tenses. On the one hand, it reflected their attitude that the cited information was always true or the cited researcher was always correct, which was largely due to the influence of the students' culture, which promotes respect for authority.

3 Theoretical framework

We can see that several factors contribute to the genre of academic writing. In addition to the general professional routine of academic writing, factors of the writing task, the research area or the discipline, the writer's social status, and their cultural or language background have great influence the formation of the text. These factors can be presented in the form of levels under which the text is formed, as can be manifested in Figure 1.

In this figure, four levels of contextual factors are shown. They are the professional routine the academic writing generally follows, the level of writing task, the level of discipline, and the level of social, cultural and educational background of the researchers themselves.

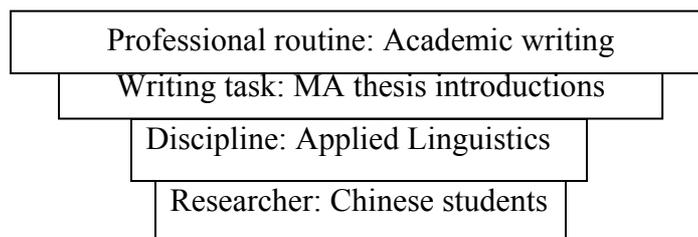


Figure 1 Contextual factors of Chinese MA theses

It is acknowledged that writing is a process of socialization in which people are expected to follow the rules and practices of social groups, a process of 'learning to say what the other fellow expects us to say under the given circumstances' (Firth, 1935, cited in Ventola, 1987:6). Understanding and mastering the routine of academic writing is a symbol of joining and becoming a social member of academic community. For this reason, the requirement of basic rules or practice of academic writing is the first factor that contributes to the formation of a certain genre, including the genre of students' thesis introductions. As was identified, different writing tasks influenced the rhetorical structure and linguistic features, and the writing task is put at the second level in the figure. In this study, the writing task is students' MA thesis introductions.

There is often considerable variation in expectations across fields of study or disciplines, so the level of discipline is put at the third level with the meaning that different disciplines result in considerable variations in terms of what a thesis or dissertation is like. The writing task of MA thesis introductions may involve various research fields, and in order to have a clear view of the features of the student thesis, a specific research field or discipline should be focused. For the present study, the texts are chosen from the discipline of Applied Linguistics. It is revealed that academic writing is much influenced by writers' social, cultural and educational background and it is therefore put at the fourth level as another influencing factor.

These four contextual levels identified in the corpus are shown in four boxes. As is presented in Figure 1, the box of each lower level is smaller in succession, with the meaning that larger boxes recontextualise smaller ones. All these factors have influences on both the language system of the text and the genre of the writing. Based on what we have identified, a proposed framework which puts text in its social contexts has been set up for the present research, as is shown in Figure 2.

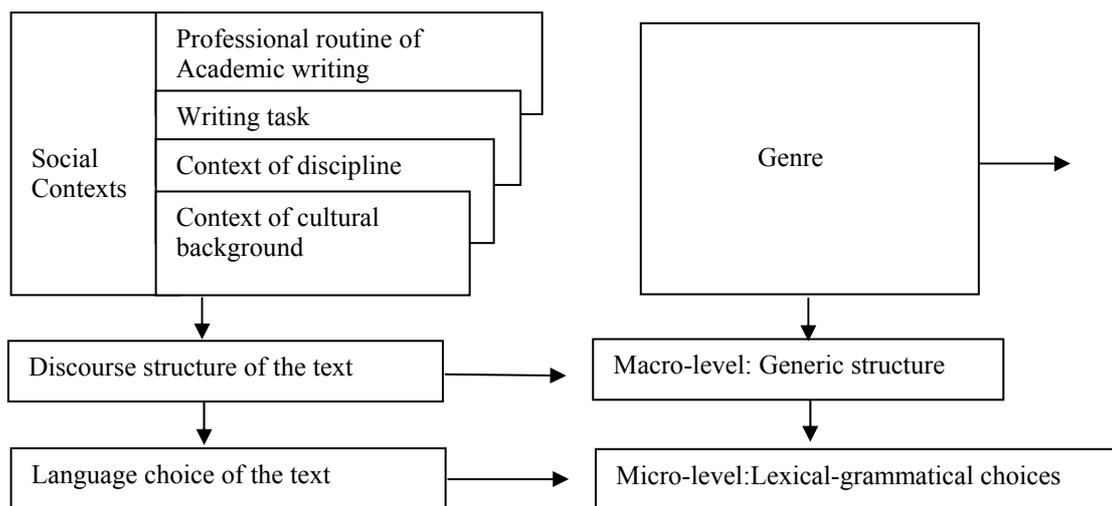


Figure 2 A proposed framework for the genre of Chinese MA theses in the field of Applied Linguistics

This framework is based on the view that genre is a joint product of social contexts. As we can see from the figure, the social context, which is at the top of the left part, influences both the structure and the language choice of the text. The factors identified at the level of the social context, shown in the division of contextual planes, have resulted in the specific genre of academic writing — students' thesis introductions, which in turn have significant influences on, or be reflected in both the macro-level — its generic structure of moves and steps, and micro-level of language manifestation — its lexical and grammatical choices.

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The Stylistic Value of Grammatical Metaphor in English Metalinguistic Texts: A Functional-Cognitive Stylistic Perspective

Liu Chengyu

School of Foreign Languages, Southwest University
2 Tiansheng Road, Beibei, Chongqing 400715, China
liucy@swu.edu.cn

Abstract

This paper aims to investigate the stylistic value of grammatical metaphor from the perspective of functional-cognitive stylistics with an empirical analysis of English metalinguistic texts (EMTs). The results suggest that grammatical metaphor serves as an important style marker to engender the contextual effect of foregrounding. The opposite rank-shifts between ideational and interpersonal metaphors reflects the inherent tension between the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions of language, which has a profound implication on the three time frames of semogenesis and in turn on the development of grammatical metaphor and stylistic variation.

1 Introduction

The notion of *grammatical metaphor* (GM) has long been a hot topic since it was first proposed by Halliday (1985) as one of the core concepts of systemic-functional grammar (e.g. Halliday 1994, 1998; Halliday & Matthiessen 1999, 2004; Halliday & Martin 1993; Steiner 2002; Simon-Vandenberg, Taverniers & Ravelli 2003) and in turn of functional stylistics (e.g. Halliday 1971; Zhang 1999). Recent years have witnessed some tentative efforts to investigate the stylistic value of GM. (e.g. Liu 2003; Larsen 2005) Meanwhile, with the rapid development of cognitive linguistics, cognitive stylistics arises as a new interdisciplinary perspective on language style. (e.g. Gavins & Steen 2003; Semino & Culpeper 2002; Stockwell 2002) Likewise, systemic functional linguistics has undergone a cognitive turn in recent years. (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen 1999, 2004)

So far, however, the sporadic literature on the stylistic value of GM is generally confined to literary texts and some specialized genres, such as advertising, journalistic, forensic, scientific and technical discourses. Little systematic empirical research has ever been conducted to investigate the stylistic value of GM in English metalinguistic texts (EMTs). The opposite rank-shifts in ideational and interpersonal metaphors and the underlying tension between the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions of language have not received due attention to explore its implication on semogenesis and stylistic variation. And this is where the focus of this paper resides.

2 An empirical study of the stylistic value of GM in EMTs

2.1 The objectives of the study

This project seeks to investigate the stylistic value of GM in EMTs from the integrated perspective of functional stylistics and cognitive stylistics, with an aim to address the following questions: (1) In what patterns are various types of GM distributed in EMTs and what stylistic value does it embody? (2) How can the systemic notion of GM and its stylistic value be expounded from an integrated perspective of functional stylistics and cognitive stylistics? (3) How can the opposite rank-shifts in ideational and interpersonal metaphors be interpreted in relation to the inherent tension between the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions of language? And what implications does this tension have on semogenesis and stylistic variation?

2.2 Methodology

In this paper, qualitative and quantitative methods are incorporated to examine the stylistic value of GM, particularly in EMTs. To achieve this goal, a corpus of 10 contemporary English textbooks and monographs on theoretical and applied linguistics are statistically investigated. (see Table 1)

Table 1: The corpus of English metalinguistic texts

Text type Discipline	Introductory EMTs	Academic EMTs
Phonetics & phonology (PP)	<i>An Introduction to Phonetics and Phonology</i> (Clark & Yallo 1995)	<i>Understanding Phonology</i> (Gussenhoven & Jacobs 1998)
Syntax (SY)	<i>Introducing Transformational Grammar</i> (Ouhalla 1999)	<i>Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use</i> (Chomsky 1985)
Semantics (SE)	<i>Linguistic Semantics: An Introduction</i> (Lyons 1995)	<i>Vocabulary, Semantics and Language Education</i> (Hatch & Brown 1995)
Pragmatics (PR)	<i>Pragmatics: An Introduction</i> (Mey 2001)	<i>Understanding Pragmatics</i> (Verschueren 2001)
Applied linguistics (AL)	<i>An Introduction to Foreign Language Learning and Teaching</i> (Johnson 2001)	<i>Principles of Language Learning and Teaching</i> (Brown 1994)

Based on the systemic notion of GM (e.g. Halliday 1985, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen 1999, 2004; Martin 1992; Thompson 1996), the distribution of the following (sub)types of GMs is statistically analyzed:

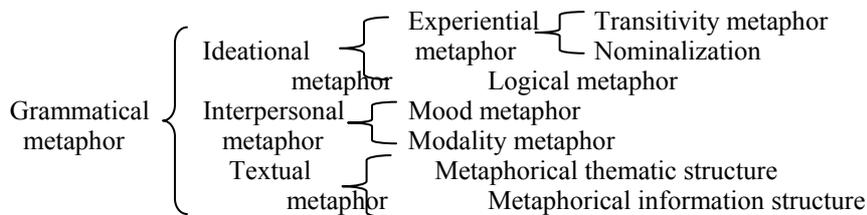


Figure 1: The classification of grammatical metaphor

2.3 Results and analysis

2.3.1 The distribution of ideational metaphor in EMTs

According to Halliday (1985), transitivity metaphor arises when one process is transferred into another. For example,

- (1) a. The past twenty-odd years *have witnessed* an ever-growing interest in pragmatics and pragmatic problems. (S7-1)¹
- b. In the past twenty-odd years, linguists *have been taking more and more interest* in pragmatics and pragmatic problems.

The figure (i.e. event) which is congruently construed in (1b) as a material process is transferred metaphorically into a mental process in (1a). Correspondingly, the participant (i.e. actor) realized by the noun *linguists* in (1b) is shifted to the background so that it has no lexicogrammatical realization in (1a); the temporal prepositional phrase *in the past twenty-odd years* functioning as the circumstance of time in (1b) is transferred into the nominal phrase *the past twenty-odd years* functioning as the participant (i.e. sensor) in (1a).

A related category of ideational metaphor is nominalization, which, as Halliday (1994: 352) observes, is “the single most powerful resource for creating grammatical metaphor.” For example:

¹ In this paper, all the examples cited from the EMT corpus are labeled as, for example, S7-1. Here *S7* stands for the No. 7 sample in the corpus, and the number after the hyphen indicates the page number of the cited example in the original text.

- (2) Adopting the different perspectives suggested above, phonetics can be viewed as a group of phonetic sciences, separated as ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY OF SPEECH, ARTICULATORY PHONETICS (which often tends to deal with the identification and classification of individual sounds), ACOUSTIC PHONETICS (sometimes restricted to instrumental analysis and measurement of sound waves) and AUDITORY or PERCEPTUAL PHONETICS. (S1-1)

In this example, there are 4 nominalized expressions. Now take the nominalized phrase “the *identification* and *classification* of individual sounds for example” for example. This nominalized phrase can be rephrased as “the process in which individual sounds are identified and classified”. Here what is encoded congruently as a relative clause is condensed into the suffixes so that the figure (process) is transferred into two elements (things). In this sense, nominalization is a process of thingness. The lexical density is increased by condensing the associated contextual information into a nominal expression.

The statistic result of the distribution of transitivity metaphors and nominalizations in the EMT corpus is as follows:

Table 2: Transitivity metaphors and nominalizations in the EMT corpus

TEXT TYPE		SENTENCES (N)	TRANSITIVITY METAPHOR		NOMINALIZATION	
DISCIPLINE	NO.		N	%	N	%
PHONETICS & PHONOLOGY	1	292	11	3.78	106	36.30
	2	139	19	13.67	152	109.35
SYNTAX	3	257	20	7.78	196	76.26
	4	143	19	13.29	167	116.78
SEMANTICS	5	239	3	1.26	134	56.07
	6	535	22	4.11	532	99.44
PRAGMATICS	7	191	15	7.85	180	94.24
	8	165	4	2.42	197	119.39
APPLIED LINGUISTICS	9	330	24	7.27	128	38.64
	10	206	8	3.88	214	104.03
INTRODUCTORY EMTS		1,032	73	7.07	744	72.09
ACADEMIC EMTS		1,465	72	4.91	1262	86.14
TOTAL		2,497	145	5.81	2006	80.34

2.3.2 The distribution of interpersonal metaphor in EMTs

According to Halliday (1985), the two major types of interpersonal metaphor are mood metaphors and modality metaphors. The metaphor of mood arises when the mapping between the primary speech functions and the mood systems are re-located to be distinctive from the congruent realizations. Take (3) for example:

- (3) a. *Would this be* something to include in your materials? (S5-10)
 b. *This would be* something to include in your material.

Here, (3a) is in the form of an interrogative sentence which is congruently interpreted as a question, but this sentence can also be understood to function as an implicit, indirect and polite statement which means (3b). The metaphoricality of (3a) is lexicogrammatically indexed by the use of the indefinite pronoun *something*, which is generally associated with the indicative mood.

The second category of ideational metaphor is the metaphor of modality. In systemic functional linguistics, modality refers to the speaker’s judgment of the various intermediate degrees of possibilities (i.e. modalization) and obligations (i.e. modulation) along the scales between the positive and negative poles. The objective probability, for instance, can be either expressed implicitly and thus congruently by the finite modal operators, e.g. *may* (low, denoting possibility), *will* (median, denoting probability) and *must* (high, denoting certainty), as in (4); or explicitly and thus more or less metaphorically by modal adjuncts, e.g. *perhaps*, *probably*, *certainly*, etc., or by a modal clause, e.g. *I think (that)*, *I’m certain (that)*, etc. as in (5):

- (4) ... it is *probably* fair to say ... that many teachers responsible for introducing children to reading and writing in English-speaking countries are insufficiently informed about actual pronunciations (S1-7)
- (5) As these examples may suggest, phoneticians *are likely to* draw on methods and techniques used in the natural sciences- precise measurement (S1-3)

The statistic result of the distribution of mood and modality metaphors in the EMT corpus is as follows:

Table 3: Mood metaphors and modality metaphors in the EMT corpus

TEXT TYPE		SENTENCES (N)	MOOD METAPHORS		MODALITY METAPHORS	
DISCIPLINE	NO.		N	%	N	%
PHONETICS & PHONOLOGY	1	292	6	4.32	24	17.26
	2	139	1	0.39	9	3.08
SYNTAX	3	257	17	6.61	15	5.84
	4	143	7	4.90	7	4.89
SEMANTICS	5	239	24	10.04	7	2.93
	6	535	10	1.86	25	4.67
PRAGMATICS	7	191	19	9.95	1	0.52
	8	165	13	7.88	6	3.64
APPLIED LINGUISTICS	9	330	36	10.91	14	4.24
	10	206	15	7.28	6	2.91
INTRODUCTORY EMTS		1,032	102	9.88	61	5.91
ACADEMIC EMTS		1,465	46	3.14	53	3.62
TOTAL		2,497	158	6.33	114	4.57

2.3.3 The distribution of textual metaphor in the EMT corpus

As Halliday & Hasan (1985: 26) observe, the textual component of language falls into three sub-systems: thematic structure, information structure and cohesion. Compare the following example:

- (6) a. But *if we are aiming for precision and clarity*, English, like other natural languages, cannot be used for metalinguistic purposes without modification. (S6-7)
- b. But English, like other natural languages, cannot be used for metalinguistic purposes without modification *if we are aiming for precision and clarity*.

In this example, (6a) is what is termed in traditional rhetoric as the *periodical sentence*, in which the subordinate *if*-clause is shifted to the initial position and functions as part of the theme of the sentence. This marked positioning makes the *if*-clause more prominent in the sentence than in the more congruent version of the sentence (6b), which is traditionally called the *loose sentence*.

The statistic result of the distribution of metaphorical thematic structures in the EMT corpus is as follows:

Table 4: Metaphorical thematic structures in the EMT corpus

TEXT TYPE		SENTENCE S (N)	MARKED THEMES		THEMATIC EQUATIVES		PREDICATED THMES	
DISCIPLINE	NO.		N	%	N	%	N	%
PHONETICS & PHONOLOGY	1	139	30	21.58	3	2.16	0	0.00
	2	292	56	19.18	0	0.00	2	0.68
SYNTAX	3	257	30	11.67	0	0.00	1	0.39
	4	143	20	13.99	0	0.00	2	1.40
SEMANTICS	5	239	43	17.99	0	0.00	1	0.42
	6	535	38	7.10	1	0.19	3	0.56
PRAGMATICS	7	191	58	30.37	1	0.52	0	0.00
	8	165	36	21.82	0	0.00	0	0.00
APPLIED LINGUISTICS	9	330	34	16.50	0	0.00	0	0.00
	10	206	35	16.99	0	0.00	0	0.00
INTRODUCTORY EMTS		1,032	195	18.90	4	0.38	2	0.19

ACADEMIC EMTS	1,465	185	12.63	0	0.00	7	0.48
TOTAL	2,497	380	15.22	4	0.16	9	0.36

2.4 Discussion

2.4.1 GMs in EMTs and their stylistic value

The empirical study of the use of GM in the EMT corpus (see 2.3) indicates that nominalizations are densely distributed in EMTs, whereas transitivity metaphors, mood metaphors, modality metaphors, metaphorical thematic structures and metaphorical information structures are more or less sparsely distributed in them. This suggests that as a sub-genre of academic discourse, EMTs are stylistically characterized with lexical density, impartiality and objectivity, plain language and syntactic simplicity.

The empirical study also reveals significant differences in the distribution of GM in introductory EMTs and academic EMTs. Generally speaking, nominalizations are less frequently used in introductory EMTs than in academic EMTs, whereas transitivity metaphors, mood metaphors, modality metaphors, metaphorical thematic structures and metaphorical information structures are more frequently distributed in introductory EMTs than in academic EMTs. This reflects the accessibility of the discourse and primarily results from the author's accommodation towards the cognitive environment of the intended readership.

2.4.2 Opposite rank-shifts in ideational and interpersonal metaphors and their semogenic implication on stylistic variation

In systemic functional linguistics, GM is defined as a relocation in the mappings between semantics (i.e. meaning) and lexicogrammar (i.e. wording). In ideational grammar, human experience of the world is encoded in one way or another distinct from the congruent realization so that some metaphorical meaning arises. As Halliday & Matthiessen (1999: 48-49) observe, there are three types of phenomenon: sequence, figure and element. Their congruent lexicogrammatical realizations are respectively clause complex, clause and element of clause structure: group/phrase. In ideational metaphor, however, they are metaphorically realized respectively by clause, element of clause structure: group/phrase, and element of the clause structure: thing. Consequently, as Halliday & Matthiessen (1999: 49, 233) point out, ideational metaphors demonstrate downgraded rank-shifts. As Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 646) put it, "the general tendency for ideational metaphor is to 'downgrade' the domain of grammatical realization of a semantic sequence, figure or element – from clause nexus to clause, from clause to group/phrase, and even from group or phrase to word." In contrast, as is Liu (2005, 2008) points out, interpersonal metaphors generally demonstrate the tendency of 'upgrading' the domain of grammatical realization.

In systemic functional linguistics (e.g. Halliday 1978: 112), a text is understood as the product of three functional components of the semantic system: the ideational (comprising the experiential and the logical), the interpersonal and the textual metafunctions; it is "a polyphonic composition in which different semantic melodies are interwoven, to be realized as integrated lexicogrammatical structures."

Among these three metafunctions, as Halliday (1978: 112) postulates, the ideational metafunction represents the speaker's meaning potential as an observer. This component is obviously speaker-oriented. Considering the complexity of the experience to be construed and the limitation of human cognition, the speaker tends to follow the Principle of Least Effort which decrees that he will work no harder than he has to in order to make himself understood. This form of laziness (called "speaker's economy," see Zipf 1949: 20) results in the general tendency for ideational metaphors to "downgrade" the domain of grammatical

realization of a semantic sequence, figure or element – from clause nexus to clause, from clause to group/phrase, and even from group or phrase to word. This accounts for the downgraded rank-shifts common in ideational metaphors, with nominalization (i.e. thingness) as the ultimate stage of the condensation of human experience.

In contrast, the interpersonal functional component of the semantic system represents the speaker's meaning potential as an intruder. It is the component through which the speaker intrudes himself into the context of situation, both expressing his own attitudes and judgments and seeking to influence the attitudes and behaviors of others. This component is, or at least should be, hearer-oriented. To ensure an effective communication, as Zipf (1949: 21) observes, the speaker has to take into account the "auditor's economy" which decrees that listeners will work no harder than they have to in order to understand. This form of laziness compels the speaker to communicate as explicitly as possible so long as he expects cooperation, and so long as he does not want to repeat himself. This accounts for the general tendency for interpersonal metaphors to "upgrade" the domain of grammatical realization of a semantic element, figure or sequence – from word to group or phrase, from group/phrase to clause, from clause to clause nexus.

As Halliday & Matthiessen (1999: 18) postulate, semohistory consists of at least three semogenic processes – phylogenesis, ontogenesis and logogenesis, whereby "meanings are continually created, transmitted, recreated, extended and changed." These three processes are closely related: Each one provides the environment within which the 'next' takes place; and, conversely, each one provides the material out of which the previous one is constructed.

The tension between the ideational and the interpersonal metafunctions also has profound implications on the development of style. As a corollary to the three semogenic processes, the development of style can be characterized in the three time frames of semogenesis:

A. The ontogenetic style. This refers to the stylistic variations developed by an individual speaker in the ontogenetic process. People have long noticed individual stylistic variations. Count de Buffon (1753) thus defines *style* as human. In light of the theory of semogenesis, this is largely dependent on the creative use of the meaning potential of the language system which individual speakers have developed in the ontogenetic process.

B. The phylogenetic style. This refers to the stylistic variations developed by human beings as a species or by a certain speech community in the phylogenetic process. In light of the theory of semogenesis, such stylistic variations on the one hand result from the creative exploitation of previous literary resources by the champions of these literary schools, and on the other hand reflect their followers' conformity to the highly-hailed and well-established writing conventions of these literary trends. In this sense, the phylogenetic style is the inflation of creativity and intertextuality, of de-familiarization and familiarization, which ultimately reflects the interaction between the speaker-orientation and the hearer-orientation of literature.

C. The logogenetic style. This refers to the stylistic variations developed in the unfolding of a text. Some writers may demonstrate different writing styles in different genres, in different historical periods, and even in different works. In light of semogenesis, this reflects the writer's creative use of language resources he has developed in the ontogenetic process in the context of phylogenesis in the unfolding of individual works (i.e. logogenesis).

3 Conclusion

In this paper, a corpus-based analysis of the stylistic value of GM in EMTs is conducted. In this project, the systemic notion of GM and its stylistic value is justified from an integrated perspective of functional stylistics and cognitive stylistics, thus bridging the gap between the

constructivist and non-constructivist approaches to metaphor. The distribution pattern of various types of GM in the EMT corpus is empirically investigated so that their stylistic value is revealed. By analyzing the opposite rank-shifts in ideational and interpersonal metaphors, this paper illuminates the ideational-interpersonal tension as well as its implications on semogenesis and stylistic variation.

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Systemic Functional Grammar applied in the Stylistic Analysis of D.H Lawrence's *The Prussian Officer*

Zhongshe Lu

Department of Foreign Languages, Tsinghua University, Beijing 10084, PR. China
Email: lvzhs@tsinghua.edu.cn

Abstract

D.H. Lawrence was the first major English novelist who truly came from the working class. Besides novels, he also wrote short stories, poems, plays, literary criticism and travel essays. Many critics believe that his short stories are superior to his novels, since they are more often characterized by a totality of effect and a tighter structure.

The Prussian Officer is a good example, which is a powerful short story showing effects of sexual repression on two men. This paper first reviews the three language functions, namely the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual proposed by Halliday (1994), then tries to apply them in the stylistic analysis of the story with an emphasis on Epithet and transitivity within the ideational function. Two parts will be discussed in detail: military settings which deliver a hint foreshadowing later developments in the story, and the orderly's murdering of the Captain as a result of a very long time tolerance of the Captain's torture caused by the great differences between the two characters. From the analysis it is not difficult to see that Epithet and transitivity in ideational function contribute a lot to Lawrence's achievement in depicting the characters.

1 Introduction

D.H. Lawrence is a highly controversial figure in British literature. He was often bothered by censorship for his graphic presentation of sexual matters and was very critical of society; but because he came truly from the working class, his personal experience together with his wide range of friendships with people of all classes, gave him unusual perceptiveness into the contradictions of English society (Abrams, 1993).

The Prussian Officer is a powerful story showing effects of repression on two men: the Captain and the orderly. This paper applies Epithetic and transitivity of systemic function in the stylistic analysis of the two significant parts of the story--the military setting and the scene of the murdering of the Captain – in order to explore the usefulness of this approach to stylistic analysis. The military setting is chosen to illustrate how Lawrence used natural surroundings realistically and symbolically to express states of experience which elude direct description. The scene of the murdering of the Captain is the highlight of the story, the natural outburst of the orderly's long time tolerance of the Captain's torture caused by the great differences between the two characters. The orderly deserves sympathy, though he murdered the Captain.

2 Employment of Epithetic in the story

2.1 Review of Epithetic

According to Halliday (1994: 179), there are three distinct functional components or metafunctions in systemic theory -- the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual, which are realized throughout the grammar of a language. What this means is that the three structures serve to express three largely independent sets of semantic choice. (1) Transitivity structures express representational meaning: what the clause is about, which is typically some process, with associated participants and circumstances; (2) Mood structures express interactional meaning: what the clause is doing, as a verbal exchange between speaker-writer and audience; (3) Theme structures express the organization of the message: how the clause

relates to the surrounding discourse, and to the context of situation in which it is being produced.

The ideational component can be split into experiential and logical. While experiential structure can be categorized into Deictic, Numerative, Epithet and Classifier according to their functions. The “Interpersonal meanings are embodied (a) in the person system, both as pronoun and as possessive; (b) in the attitudinal type of Epithet; (c) in the connotative meanings of lexical items functioning in the group, and (d) in prosodic features such as swear-words and voice quality” (Halliday, 1994: 191).

2.2 The application of Epithetic in the military settings

Lawrence is always concerned to represent the innermost thoughts and feelings of his characters. In his story he always develops the shifts in feeling and the stream of consciousness of his characters. While probing this deeply into the recesses of his character’s psychology, Lawrence is good at externalizing their relationships with the outside world, particularly the world of nature. In the story *The Prussian Officer*, Lawrence has made good use of military settings. Like what he did in *Odour of Chrysanthemums* (Nash, 1991: 101-122), he has arranged the settings of *The Prussian Officer* in symmetry: the story begins and ends with the military march. Marching is already dull and tiresome, plus soldiers are exposed to the very heat of the sun. In those circumstances it is not difficult for readers to imagine how agitated and dyspeptic soldiers can become.

They had marched more than thirty kilometers since dawn, along the white, hot road where occasional thickets of trees threw a moment of shade, then out into the glare again. On either hand, the valley, wide and shallow, glittered with heat; dark green patches of rye, pale young corn, fallow and meadow and black pine woods spread in a dull, hot diagram under a glistening sky. But right in front, the mountains ranged across, pale blue and very still, snow gleaming gently out of the deep atmosphere. And towards the mountains, on and on, the regiment marched between the rye fields and the meadows, between the scraggy fruit trees set regularly on either side the high road. The burnished, dark green rye threw off a suffocating heat, the mountains drew gradually nearer and more distinct. While the feet of the soldiers grew hotter, sweat ran through their hair under their helmets, and their knapsacks could burn no more in contact with their shoulders, but seemed instead to give off a cold, prickly sensation.

This starting paragraph gives us the particular setting of the story. In this short paragraph of 172 words, twenty one Epithet words are employed which give the reader a very strong sense of repression and frustration, the feeling is so strong that it is almost coming to the breaking point. Through this starting paragraph readers can easily taste death through words like “dark”, “pale”, “fallow and meadow”, “still”, “deep”, “cold”, “scraggy”, and “black”. Halliday (1994: 179) stated that Epithet indicates some quality of the subset, which may be an objective property of the thing itself; or it may be an expression of the speaker’s subjective attitude towards it. What is more, attitudinal Epithets tend to be reinforced by other words such as synonyms, intensifiers, and the like (ibid:184) all contributing to producing similar effects. From the above paragraph, many Epithets are reinforced, for instance: *hot-heat-hotter — burn-suffocating; white-glitter-glare-glistening-snow; dark-black-pale-still--cold* etc.

Those Epithets not only point to the features of the landscape where the soldiers were marching, but also functioned as a good sign for something to burst. The Captain and his soldiers had marched more than thirty kilometers since dawn in a very hot weather, with no trees but mountains around, everyone was exposed to the heat. There were no shadows, no breeze, which made people feel suffocated. Besides, with the connotation of words like “pale”, “dark” “black” “still”, “deep”, readers would naturally reacted to an intuitive response related to death. This setting of military marching plays a significant role, which helps the reader understand the characters’ feeling in such a hot day, with a “suffocating”,

“*breathless*”, and “*deathly*” air around, both the Captain and the orderly were driven crazy by their nerves, and their hatred for each other had reached to the breaking point.

The description of the setting after the murder helps the reader to understand the feeling and consciousness and unconsciousness of the orderly. Immediately after the murder, the orderly felt satisfied and relieved, however, the relief was not only temporary, but also very psychologically heavy. With the death of the Captain, the orderly's life also ended. He felt lonely, isolated and lost. “He had gone out from everyday life into the unknown, and he could not, he even did not want to go back.” He was sick although he had never been ill in his life. Words like “*heavy*”, “*black*”, “*blackness*”, “*weight*”, “*darkened*” give the reader a clue that he was in a despair, even pretty birds “crept like swift, erratic mice”; and lovely squirrels had made him panic.

This short story is the only work that Lawrence has written relating to wars, many military terms and battle background are employed which makes it sound like a war, but in fact it is only about a psychological war between two different men. To Lawrence a physical war is never as important as a psychological war. He reckoned everyone was subconsciously fighting against himself: against his own will, his own thoughts, his own desire and his own emotion.

3 Transitivity

3.1 Review of Transitivity

Halliday (qt in Kennedy, 1991: 85) suggests that transitivity within the ideational function is composed of three elements: a. the process, b. the participants, and c. circumstantial functions. Halliday also classified clauses into three main types, namely those of action, mental process and relation. In clause of action, there are roles like actor, goal or object of result, beneficiary or recipient and instrument of force. In a mental process, there are no actor and goal but processor and phenomenon because verbs are of perception, reaction, cognition and verbalization.

e.g. **John painted the house.**
actor the process the goal/object of the result

He's given John a present.
actor the process beneficiary or recipient

e.g. **He saw his sister** (person)
processor process **the purpose** (abstract)
the Trooping one of the Colour (event)
the jewel (object)

In relational clauses, the process describes or states the relation between the two roles.

He is a musician (attributive type)

Mr. Smith is the secretary (equative type)

Halliday (1994:163) employed the term “Ergative and non-ergative function” to emphasize the cause-& effect aspect of processes within the experiential function:

e.g. The dog frightens me.

Here “me” is the affected participant, the one inherent role associated with action clauses, and which is the goal in a transitive and the actor in an intransitive clause, the “dog” is the causer of the process (qt in Kennedy, 1991: 85).

3.2 Transitivity used in describing the murdering of the Captain

There are 27 verbs referring to the orderly as a participant in the role of actor, seven are mental process verbs describing perception of the orderly's observation and impression rather than his physical action.

1. The orderly *watched* the lid of the mug, and the white hand that clenched the handle...
2. The youth *followed* it with his eyes.
3. And then he (the orderly) *saw* the thin, strong throat of the elder man (the Captain) moving up and down as he drank...
4. And it was pleasant, too, to *have* that chin, that hard jaw already slightly rough with beard
5. He did not *relax* one hair's breath,
6. Then, with a start, he *noticed* the nostrils gradually filled with blood.
7. He had *hated* the face of the Captain.

Of the remaining verbs with the orderly as actor, fourteen are intransitive, that is, they are used without a goal, and are passive in the sense that the processes are not initiated by the orderly, who is the affected participant not the causer. Thus the verbs express processes over which the orderly does not exercise control and in which he plays a submissive role but a real doer of an action.

1. Then the soldier *started*.
2. He *jumped, feeling* as if it were rent in...
3. ...*pressing*, with all his heart behind in a passion of relief...
4. ...he *shoved* at the chin, with all his might.
5. Then he *felt* as if his head *went* to vapour.
6. He could *look into* the nostrils of the other man, the eyes he could scarcely *see*.
7. Slowly, he *got up*.
8. He *stood and looked* at it in silence.
9. But he could not *bear* to see the long, military body lying broken...
10. He *wanted* to hide away.

Only three verbs are transitive, in which the orderly is the actor or the doer of the action.

1. ...the orderly, with serious, earnest young face, and underlip between his teeth, *had got his knee* in the officer's chest and *was pressing* the chin backward over the further edge of the tree-stump.
2. ...he *shoved* back the head of the other man...

Interesting enough, there are eleven verbs or participles in which the orderly is affected either in passive voice or as the recipient, rather than the causer:

1. ...as if he *were fascinated*.
2. Heavy convulsions shook the body of the officer, *frightening and horrifying* the young soldier.
3. Yet it *pleased* him, too, to repress them.
4. It *pleased* him to keep his hands pressing back the chin...
5. It *shocked and distressed* him.
6. It represented more than the thing which had *kicked and bullied* him.
7. He *was afraid* to look at the eyes.
8. In his heart he *was satisfied*

These examples illustrate clearly the passiveness in his role as a murderer.

Compared with 19-century novels, modern novels have a less rigid, plotted and naturalistic form. They concentrate more on the inner world of unique and isolated individuals rather than on a social, public world (Cater, 1994: 49). This is exactly the case to Lawrence, psychological battles among human beings are more crucial than the real physical

wars. In this story, the plot seems too trivial, but the Captain's frustrations in his sexual life and his jealousy of the young orderly and the contrast, conflicted and tormented relationship between the two are foregrounded. As the story develops, the Captain's hostility to his orderly becomes more and more irrepressible. Basically it is the Captain who tortured the orderly for pleasure. In their frequent confrontations, the Captain always has the control.

He (the Captain) kept the young man engaged all the evenings long, and took pleasure in the dark look that came over his face...." "Once he flung a heavy military glove into the young soldier's face. Another time he slung the end of a belt in his servant's face. "The officer raised his foot."

Actually, the orderly performed his duty well enough. He took the officer and his command for granted and served as a matter. Nevertheless, the officer still did not like him, did not like his presence, did not like his manners, did not like anything he did, even a scar on the orderly's left thumb looked ugly and brutal to the officer, because he stirred the innate self of the Prussian. At the beginning, the young soldier behaved in a mute and expressionless way in order to calm down the officer but failed: *He was dulled, as if nine-tenth of the ordinary man in him were inert.... Still, when he thought of the kicks, he went sick, and when he thought of the threat of more kicking, his heart went hot and faint, and he panted... He only wished it would stay night, so that he could lie still, covered up by the darkness. And yet nothing would prevent the day from coming... It was inevitable*". The officer became more irritated and started to bully the orderly for no reason. The Captain's character had been inhumanly twisted in the army. Though born of a noble family, well educated, or cultured, the Captain was neither successful in his career nor in his family life. To some extent he was a sore loser. This kind of personality is one of the key elements which stimulate the development of the conflict. Lawrence was above all concerned to find ways of describing the deepest experiences of his characters. He once wrote that the human personality was like an iceberg with the major part of it under the surface. "His art attempts to capture the submerged parts of the self and to develop forms and techniques in the novel which render those intensive experiences. To this end readers have to abandon conventional understandings of 'plot' and 'character' and immerse themselves in the total pattern of rhythm, episodic structure and poetic symbolism which is the experience of reading his fictional work". (Carter, 1994)

4 Conclusion

The Prussian officer is a story of psychological battle between two different men who are frustrated by the military routine life, one is the Captain; the other is his orderly. By using a variety of Epithetic, such as "white", "snow", "dark", "black", "pale" etc., Lawrence has succeeded in building up an atmosphere which guides the readers' responses to humanity depresses and struggle. Through using transitivity in the stylistic analysis in the murdering scene, it is not difficult to convince the reader to reconsider the orderly's role in murdering the Captain, which is more an uncontrolled breakout of a long time suffering than a planned murder, in which the orderly plays only a submissive role.

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Appraisal Theory: A Functional Analysis of Sarojini Naidu's Poem

K. Ratna Shiela Mani

Department of English
Acharya Nagarjuna University
Guntur – 522 510
Andhra Pradesh, South India
E.mail: ratnashielaamani@rediffmail.com

Abstract

One of the uses of Functional Linguistics is in the interpretation of literary texts. This paper is an attempt to interpret one of Sarojini Naidu's poems applying Appraisal theory. Appraisal is a system of interpersonal meanings. The poem becomes a text with a range of resources for expressing attitudes, amplifying them, and attributing them to sources. From the analysis, we can say that the poem is about the lover's feelings, so it foregrounds affect and appreciation. The negative and positive pattern that has been identified with regard to these categories in the first stanza builds up a paradox which is given explanation in the second stanza. The third stanza is an elaboration of the first stanza involving a restatement of the poet's attitudes in more intense terms.

1 Introduction

One of the uses of Functional Linguistics is in the interpretation of literary texts. Along with unity and rhythm, **prominence** is one of the most important shaping principles of poetic arts. These aspects belong to both content and the linguistic expression of a poem because they are interrelated and the former is 'implied' in the latter and is 'dependent' on it. Halliday interprets prominence as "the phenomenon of linguistic highlighting, whereby some features of the language of the text stand out in some way" (1973: 112-13). The concept of prominence can be properly utilized when we look at language from the functional point of view.

The ideational metafunction is concerned with mapping the 'reality' of the world around us. The interpersonal metafunction is concerned with organizing the social reality of people we interact with. The third metafunction, the textual, is concerned with organizing ideational and interpersonal meanings into texts that are coherent and relevant to their context.

Appraisal theory helps us in deriving greater insight from our analysis of a literary text. Appraisal is a system of interpersonal meanings. The resources of Appraisal are used for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are). Attitudes have to do with evaluating things, people's character and their feelings. Such evaluations can be more or less intense, that is they may be more or less amplified. And the attitude may be the writer's own or it may be attributed to some other source. These are the 3 aspects of appraisal – **attitudes, how they are amplified** and **their sources** – that can be used in the interpretation of poems fruitfully (Martin & Rose 2003).

In simple terms, we see in a text a range of resources for expressing attitudes, amplifying them, and attributing them to sources. Three main types of attitude can be perceived: Technically we'll refer to resources for expressing feelings as **affect**, resources for judging character as **judgement** and resources for valuing the worth of things as **appreciation** (Martin & Rose 2003).

2 Analysis

I have chosen Sarojini Naidu's poem "If you were Dead" for analysis using the Appraisal theory. It is one of the sequence of 24 poems of her work The Temple – A Pilgrimage of Love:

If you were Dead

If you were dead I should not weep!
How sweetly would my sad heart rest
Close gathered in a dreamless sleep
Among the garlands on your breast,
Happy at last and comforted
If you were dead!

For life is like a burning veil
That keeps our yearning souls apart,
Cold Fate a wall no hope may scale,
And pride a severing sword, Sweet heart!
And love a wide and troubled sea
'Twixt you and me.

If you were dead I should not weep—
How sweetly would our hearts unite
In a dim, undivided sleep,
Locked in Death's deep and narrow night,
All anger fled all sorrow past
O Love, at last!

2.1 Attitudes

Let us now look closely at the three kinds of attitude we have identified – affect (people's feelings), judgement (people's character) and appreciation (the value of things).

Expressing our feelings – affect: As we explore how people express their feelings in discourse, they vary in two general ways. Firstly, we can have good feelings or bad feelings – so affect can be positive or negative. Secondly, people can express their feelings directly or we can infer how people are feeling indirectly from their behaviour. So affect can be expressed directly or indirectly.

Judging people's character - judgement: As with affect, judgements of people's character can be positive or negative and they may be judged explicitly or implicitly.

Appreciating things – appreciation: Appreciation of things includes our attitudes about paintings, sculptures, feelings about nature etc. As with affect and judgement, things can be appreciated positively or negatively.

First let us look at positive and negative affect. More perhaps than any other family of genres, stories and poems involve us in people's feelings. In this poem, Sarojini Naidu describes her own emotions and longings to her beloved.

In stanza 1 the following words show positive feelings (affect): not weep, How sweetly, sad heart rest, close-gathered (implicit), Happy at last, comforted, while were dead (2 times) show negative affect. The poet is describing her emotional states directly. The stanza does not have any instance of judging people's character. Turning now to appreciation of things, there are two instances of evaluating relationships positively – dreamless sleep (implicit),

among the garlands.

In this stanza, the clause “If you were dead” which occurs in the first and last lines shows negative affect while the rest of the lines show positive affect and appreciation. This contrast has the effect of arousing expectation (dead = negative) and counter – expectation (happy = positive), playing with reader’s feelings. This sets up a tension and contradiction (paradox) and the poet tells why in stanza 2. In the second stanza the poet’s feelings are negative expressing negative affect: burning veil, yearning souls. Even the poet’s appreciation of the value of things is negative: Cold Fate (implicit), a wall no hope may scale (metaphor), a severing sword, a wide and troubled sea (metaphor). Ironically the one instance of positive attitude is that of positive judgement in the vocative Sweet heart. The overall impression we get from this stanza is of static and negative attitude in consonance with the obstacles in life looming between the poet and her beloved: “Twixt you and me”. This is her explanation for being happy if the lover were to be dead. In this stanza the words burning veil, yearning souls, no hope may scale, make for direct expression of feelings.

The third stanza is a restatement in more intense terms of the poet’s attitude expressed in the first stanza. In regard to affect, were dead and Locked (implicit) indicate negative emotions while not weep, How sweetly, unite, anger fled, sorrow past and at last (implicit feeling) indicate positive affect. If we turn to appreciation, dim, undivided sleep is expressive of positive appreciation. In the line “Locked in Death’s deep and narrow night”, the phrase “Death’s deep and narrow night” indicates negative appreciation, but read in conjunction with “Locked in” (negative affect) carries a positive attitude. As in the second stanza, here too there is only one instance of positive judgement in the vocative O Love. Thus the third stanza serves as an elaboration (or perhaps synthesis) of the poet’s attitude in the first stanza. Here too, as in the first stanza, there is a direct expression of emotions.

2.2 Amplification

Finally, let us briefly see the resources for amplification that the poet uses in this poem. One distinctive feature of attitudes is that they are gradable – this means that we can say how strongly we feel about someone or something. There are two kinds of resources for amplification: words that intensify meanings, such as very/really/extremely, and vocabulary items that include degrees of intensity, such as happy/delighted/ecstatic. This kind of amplifying is referred to as **force**. The second kind involves ‘sharpening’ or ‘softening’ categories of people and things, using words such as about/exactly or real/sort of/kind of. This kind of amplifying is called **focus**.

The poem contains a few words that amplify the **force** of attitudes. Examples of using intensifiers occur in the second lines of stanzas 1 and 2: How sweetly, where How has an intensifying effect. Other areas of meaning that involve grading are quantity, manner and modality. In the last stanza we have grading of quantity using the word all in the line, “All anger fled all sorrow past”. Next, vocabulary items that include degrees of intensity are called **attitudinal lexis** i.e. lexis with attitude’. The poet uses several such lexical items which play a very important role in poetry; For instance, **sad heart**, **close-gathered**, **happy**, **comforted**, **burning veil**, **yearning souls**, **Cold Fate**, **severing sword**, **wide and troubled sea**, **dim**, **undivided sleep**, **deep and narrow night**. As is clear from the above examples, attitudinal lexis also includes metaphors. We have already considered the poet’s metaphors in relation to affect, but we can note here that they also have an amplifying effect. The poem shows no indication of resources being used for sharpening or softening focus.

2.3 Source

The final region of Appraisal is that of **source** of attitudes – who are the evaluations coming from? The poetic persona is the speaker in the poem giving expression to her feelings and

emotions regarding her love and her beloved. So we can say that the poetic persona is the one responsible for all of the evaluation.

3 Conclusion

To conclude, we can say that the poem is about the lover's feelings, so it foregrounds affect and appreciation. The negative and positive pattern that has been identified with regard to these categories in the first stanza builds up a paradox which is given explanation in the second stanza. The third stanza is an elaboration of the first stanza involving a restatement of the poet's attitudes in more intense terms.

The first stanza states the poet's longing for the beloved's death, for that would make her happy and comforted. Her sad heart would find rest, on his breast close – gathered to him, implying that she would not linger even a moment beyond his death. Stanza 2 offers the explanation and justification for the very shocking disclosure of the first stanza – 'For' life and love have kept the lovers apart. The third stanza reiterates the theme of the first stanza – their ultimate sweet union would be possible only in death – past all anger and sorrow.

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Fuzzy grammatics and fuzziness tagging: a temporary approach

Chen Jiansheng^{1,2} and Xu Xunfeng¹

1. The Hong Kong Polytechnic University 2. Guangzhou Sports University)
AG415, Department of English, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong

Abstract

This research aims to work out an effective approach to guiding the semantic tagging of process types in our corpus of tourism English texts. In the literature, there is a heavy discussion concerning fuzziness in language in the fields of logical semantics and applied linguistics. This study will foreground the systemic linguists' viewpoints of fuzziness construed in grammar which grows more and more important in guiding the modern linguistic exploration, especially when the computer science is committed into the exploration of language, like, intelligent computing, and corpus processing etc. This research was provoked by a large number of indeterminate/fuzzy clauses encountered during the semi-auto tagging of the process types in our corpus of tourism texts. By adopting a top-down approach, this research first makes a brief review of how fuzziness in grammar is construed and then examines how the fuzziness in core transitivity has been modeled in terms of systemic functional grammar. At last, an approach is suggested for defuzzifying the indeterminate clauses, or for fuzziness tagging.

1 Introduction

While tagging process types of the clauses, a confronting problem emerges very often: on the one hand, a clear and accurate tag is supposed to be given to the clauses being tagged; on the other hand, there exist many a fuzzy cases, which may mix with properties of different process types. Thus, the problem of how to tag fuzzy clauses comes in order. Essentially, fuzziness tagging is nothing more than a process of defuzzifying the indeterminate grammatical categories. Defuzzifying does not mean forcing categorical decisions; rather, it is a step to locate the fuzzy cases in a particular semantic position. With a careful analysis, a tag is then to be given according to consistent principles. Apparently, accurate tagging will only result from a thorough understanding of how fuzziness is construed in language or grammar. This study mainly serves to review how fuzziness is construed in experiential grammar, specifically, the typology of fuzziness, the models for locating different process types and the approaches for defuzzifying the indeterminate process types.

2 Fuzzy grammar

The tradition has it that a fuzzy grammar concerns the recognition of the existence of the blurred areas in grammatical categories, which is against the classical Aristotelian distinct categorization. In the short history of modern linguistics, many approaches have been developed to model the fuzziness in grammar from different perspectives. As presented in Aarts et al (2004), from a cognitive point of view, Labov sheds doubts on the traditional categorization and points out that "instead of taking the categorical view for granted and concentrating on problematic cases, linguists must go beyond that view, must focus on the process of categorization itself and turn their attention to the nature of the boundaries between categories" (*ibid*: 4). Rosch (1978) proposes the famous 'prototype theory', which has been recognized in a lot of later writings about English grammar (e.g. Langacker 1987, Givon 1993). Fuzziness, in the name of gradience, has also been modeled in Quirk (1985) and Hopper and Thompson (1982). Since Hopper and Thompson's research is directly related to the concern of this research, viz, the fuzziness in transitivity, their approach will be particularly referred to and compared with the systemic functional approach.

3 Systemic functional linguists as ‘fuzzy grammatics’

3.1 Fuzzy grammatics

When Halliday (1995, reprinted in 2005:227) proposes systemic functional linguistics as ‘fuzzy grammatics’, he means two aspects. In the first instance, in that particular context concerning intelligent computing, he means systemic functional linguistics is applicable to model fuzziness in language with computer thanks to its presentation of such distinctive properties of grammars as ‘comprehensive’, ‘extravagant’, ‘telescopic’, ‘non-autonomous’, ‘variable’ and ‘indeterminate’. Whereas, the more fundamental stance concerning ‘fuzziness’ *per se* is the recognition of fuzziness or indeterminacy being inherent in grammar in that its categories are typically fuzzy and each category denotes a fuzzy set; the realizational relation between the two strata -- semantics and grammar -- is blurred; the grammar and lexis form a cline of delicacy; and the system and instance also forms a cline of instantiation. Apparently, fuzziness not only exists in the grammar of language but also in the science of grammar, viz. grammatics. This echoes Labov’s view that the process of categorization is subject to fuzziness.

3.2 Typology of fuzziness in grammar

Halliday and Matthiessen (1999:549-550) identify five basic types of indeterminacy particularly in the ideation base. They consist of ambiguities, blends, overlaps, neutralizations, and complementarities.

- a. *Ambiguities* is instantiated in the clauses where two mutually exclusive meanings can be identified in the same wording. Halliday (*ibid*:226) points out that the distinction in meaning is obscured by identity of form. This is thus distinction between two meanings (as product) in the same form rather than within the meaning (as process). This is the most obvious type of indeterminacy and can be easily defuzzified in the context or co-text of speaking. Taking the rhetorical function into consideration, they more likely appear in humorous discourse, but few cases will occur in such a corpus of tourism texts characteristic of being informative and promotional.
- b. *Blends* are also instantiated as two different meanings encoded in the same wording, but in an opposite manner. They are blended into a single whole, with both meanings being acceptable. A case in point is the blend between certain effective: passive mental processes and attributive relational ones, e.g. *I was hurt by that*.
- c. *Overlaps* are the borderline cases. They have the features from two or more different categories. Typical examples are behavioural processes such as *listen, watch, smile* etc. These borderline features have been modeled in Halliday’s color spectrum model.
- d. *Neutralizations* usually result from grammatical metaphor by which a nominalization, for instance, will neutralize the finite clause into a Thing. In the clause *Failure will make him sad*, the nominalized “failure” may indicate a condition, *if he fails* or a time *when he fails*.
- e. *Complementarities* are typically found in the experiential semantic space in English grammar. A very noticeable complementarity is that between the transitive and ergative construals of experience. In Davidse’s (1999) writing this complementarity has been emphasized and extended.

3.3 Modelling core transitivity

Now let’s turn to the central topic of this research: how do systemicists model the core transitivity or arrange the six process types in the semiotic space? In this respect, three models come into view.

3.3.1 Halliday (1994), Halliday & Matthiessen (2004:172): color spectrum model

The color spectrum model of process types presents the core transitivity in a very neat way. Avoiding the potential of marginalizing or even excluding some process (e.g. the relational: attributive clauses) from the experiential semiotic space in the traditional prototypical-peripheral model, Halliday gives each process type in this chart an equal area or status. As noted by Halliday, there is not a problem for one process type being more important than another. Typologically, some of the process types are located on the borderline of other process types rather than being peripheral. These borderline process types are behaviour (between material and mental), verbal (between mental and relational) and existential (between relational and material). Internally, or within each type of process, the indeterminacy may manifest as a cline or can be measured in terms of markedness.

3.3.2 Martin and Matthiessen (1995), Matthiessen (1995): typological and topological complementarity model

In recognition of the limitation of the typological description of grammatical categories, Martin and Matthiessen (1995) have developed topology as a complementary orientation in dealing with categorization. In their model, the four ‘prototypical’ process types, i.e. *material*, *relational*, *mental* and *verbal* are used to define the semantic space. Between certain processes types, the topological semantic spaces were represented by corresponding topological parameters. For example, between material and verbal, the topological parameter, *behavioural:saying as activity* indicates the process having the property of verbal process, i.e. *saying* and meanwhile the property of material process, i.e. *doing* (cf. Fig 17, presented in Martin & Matthiessen 1995:372). This model very nicely combines the typological and topological perspectives, classification and gradience, prototype and fuzzy sets in a single design. This typological-topological model has been visualized in Matthiessen (1995:1877) (represented in Figure 1 below).

In this model, systemic categorization from typological perspective is kept as a starting point for tidying up the order of the experiential semiotic space. In contrast, in Hopper and Thompson’s (1982) cardinal transitivity model, transitivity as a whole is put on a line of gradience and each clause “competes” for its degree of transitivity based on ten pairs of criteria. Many counterexamples identified against this model (e.g. Tsunado 1985) show that setting up the semiotic space with categories is still of great necessity. In the prototypical-topological model, prototypical processes will manifest all the features characteristic of that category, while the borderline cases manifest features of different process types. They constitute the fuzzy sets around the prototypical category and shade into each other at the same time.

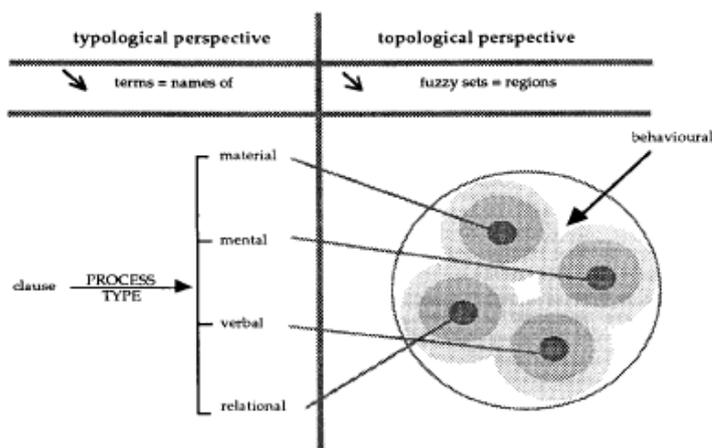


Figure 1. Fuzzy implementation of system networks (Matthiessen 1995:1877)

3.3.3 Davidse (1999): paradigmatic model

Davidse (1999) elaborates the experiential grammar at two levels. At the general or most schematic level, rather than working with the traditional transitive-intransitive model, she works with Halliday's effective-middle model in order to avoid a bias towards 'transitivity'. She frames the experiential space between the effective constellation: Agent · Process · Affected, and the middle constellation: Medium · process. The area in between is not scaled up into 'lowly or highly transitive', as in Hopper and Thompson's cardinal model. Rather, the clause constellations in between are considered to be a scrambling of categories. It is in this in-between space that the 'cryptotypes' inhabit. 'Cryptotype', drawn from Whorf, is a notion used to build up an opposition to 'prototype' in her discussion. Cryptotypes are covert grammatical categories that are difficult to define both in terms of their realization and their value. Thus, Davidse suggests comparing the 'behaviour' of different but related units and structures with regard to specific grammatical choices. This is actually one of the ways in which the covert or fuzzy categories can be clarified. Apparently, there is not a lack of criteria in this respect in the writings of systemic functional grammar.

4 Defuzzifying the indeterminate clauses: two perspectives

Now let's turn to the key problem about how to defuzzify the indeterminate cases. From a broader perspective, Halliday (2005:230-238) proposes three procedures for modeling fuzziness: systemizing; networking; and quantifying. In reverse, these procedures also constitute the general approaches in defuzzifying the indeterminacy in grammar with each procedure corresponding to one approach, viz. systemizing to analysis; networking to the design of scheme used for semi-auto analysis; and quantifying to statistic processing of the data. For systemizing, grammatics models proportionality in grammar in terms of prototypical categories. However, the systemic proportionality of categories is always an idealized categorization in that the boundaries of the system are always indeterminate. Yet, "systemizing' does not mean forcing categorical decisions; it means setting up propotionalities which best reveal the latent meaning potential that is involved." (ibid: 232). The latent meaning potential, in other words, the indeterminate categories, as suggested, should or could be examined from a trinocular vision, viz. meaning or function, form and related systems within the grammar. The principle is that the meaning of the category is a compromise of them all. The Examples *a*, *b*, are taken from our corpus. Looked at 'from above', both clauses seemingly belong to 'mental/verbal activity'. The question is whether there is any difference between them.

- a. future research should **explore** specifically which components in their experience is lacking, be they accommodations, activities, food, transportation, or some combination.
- b. The next section **explains** our method, including descriptions of the instrument, sample and procedures used in this exploratory study.

When looked at from below, i.e. from syntax. Although each clause has two participants, *a* has a rankshifted participant – an embedded clause or a projected fact in that it can be referred to as ‘that’ or ‘it’, but not substituted with ‘so’ (for the difference between ‘reference’ and ‘substitution’, refer to Halliday and Hasan, 1976, and Davidse 1999:378). This rankshifted constituent arguably functions as a phenomenon/range. And the clause constellation could thus be *Senser · Process · Phenomenon*. In contrast, the participant, ‘our method’ in *b* is more likely to be the medium in that, following Davidse (1999), the first participant in *b* mostly functions as a ‘setting’ (this is also close to realization of the experience, i.e. a section of the article coming next) rather than an ‘agent (a senser or a doer)’ and thus *b* has a different constellation *Setting · Process · Medium*.

For networking, grammatics models ‘delicacy’. Since the language system is open-ended and also a highly elastic multidimensional semantic space, to defuzzify the indeterminacy is ultimately to model the internal agnation in the system network. A more delicate system network will surely guarantee more accuracy in the tagging, but as for how delicate the system network (in our research, the scheme of transitivity) should be, it depends on the research purpose. Generally speaking, a grammar-oriented research will involve a more complicate modeling than a discourse-oriented research. Delicate system networks of transitivity can be found in some major works on systemic functional grammar reviewed in this article. An ideally suited scheme should be based on the related proportion of the transitivity system networks in terms of degree of delicacy.

For quantifying, grammatics models probability in grammar. Quantifying is the basic approach to scale up the transitivity properties (e.g. Hopper & Thompson 1982) and also an effective approach to map the grammar resources (e.g. Matthiessen 1999; 2006). Probability in the system or in texts can be instantiated by relative frequency. This also provides us with a way in which the degree of fuzziness can be measured or compared.

Table 1. Material and mental "separated" by behavioural

criteria	material	(behavioural)	mental
	<i>wait</i>	<i>listen</i>	<i>hear</i>
1. TENSE	unmarked present: present-in-present <i>be ... ing</i> <i>I'm waiting</i>	<i>I'm listening</i>	unmarked present: simple <i>I hear</i>
2. PROJECTION	[can't project] <i>*I'm waiting that they're away</i>	[can't project] <i>*I'm listening that they're away</i>	can project <i>I hear that they're away</i>
3. Consciousness	[does not impute consciousness] <i>it (the bus) waited</i>	does impute consciousness <i>it listened = the cat</i>	does impute consciousness <i>it heard = the cat</i>
4. Pro-verb	is probed by <i>do</i> <i>waiting is the best thing to do</i>	is probed by <i>do</i> to some extent <i>listening is the best thing to do</i> but hardly <i>sneezing is the best thing to do</i>	[is not probed by <i>do</i>] <i>*hearing is the best thing to do</i>

From the practical perspective, the more handy and operative approach is to sort out the criteria and set up the fuzzy areas by means of comparison. For each process type, there are some criteria for establishing unmarked cases. Obviously, markedness is another important index of the fuzziness encoded in a process type. Matthiessen's (1995:1876) tabulation of the major criteria used for separating the borderline behavioural process from material and metal shows a good example in case (see Table 1 above).

5 Conclusion

This paper adopts a top-down approach. It has reviewed how the fuzziness in grammar and particularly in the experiential grammar is construed. The typology of fuzziness and the main models in mapping fuzziness in core transitivity are reviewed. Finally, the approaches from two perspectives to defuzzifying the indeterminate clauses are suggested.

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Evolution and the system of AGENCY

Kathryn Tuckwell

Centre for Language in Social Life, Department of Linguistics
Macquarie University, NSW 2109 AUSTRALIA
kathryn.tuckwell@ling.mq.edu.au

Abstract

The current ‘standard’ SFL network for the system of AGENCY – as it is presented in Matthiessen (1995) and Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), for example – provides two options for the analysis of a two-participant material process clause such as “**Bats** developed ‘**send/receive**’ **switching technology** long long ago” (with participants in bold). This clause is taken from Dawkins’s 1986 book *The Blind Watchmaker*, where the analysis of such clauses is crucial to the understanding of evolution as an emergent rather than a teleological process. The two options for analysis of this clause are: (1) effective: operative, with “Bats” being the Agent and “send/receive switching technology” being the Medium; or (2) middle: ranged, with “Bats” as Medium and “send/receive switching technology” as Range. However, neither of these analyses is fully functional with respect to the construal of evolution as non-teleological: the former construes bats as the ‘causer’ of their own evolution, while in the latter, the status of the element that has actually undergone the process – the “send/receive switching technology” – is equivocal with respect to nuclearity. A more functional analysis of this clause is provided by Davidsen’s (1992) network for the transitive/ergative analysis of material process clauses, in which it would be treated as an ergative: pseudo-effective clause. After discussing the discourse significance of such examples, this paper will attempt to integrate this category from Davidsen’s network with the current ‘standard’ SFL networks for the system of AGENCY.

1 Explaining complexity: the discourse problem

The relatively new scientific sub-discipline that is variously known as ‘complexity theory’, ‘systems thinking’, ‘chaos theory’, or ‘deep ecology’ (see e.g. Gleick 1987, Cohen & Stewart 1994, Stewart 1995, Kafka 1996, for overviews of the discipline and discussions of these terms) places new pressures on the resources used to make scientific meanings. One point that is crucial in explaining complex phenomena is the notion that complexity is *emergent* – that is, it arises through the sensitivity of a dynamic, multidimensional system to small changes in initial conditions, rather than being provoked by some kind of external ‘cause’ or ‘purpose’ that is powerful and intelligent enough to create complexity ‘from scratch’. As Whorf points out (e.g. 1956: 246), the resources that are used to construe scientific meanings tend to be drawn from the resources of ‘the western Indo-European type of language’ (which he also refers to as ‘Standard Average European’ or ‘SAE’) and, more than 60 years after Whorf’s observation, English seems fairly clearly established as the global language of science. Focussing on the meaning potential of English, then, in relation to the crucial point about emergence noted above, it can be seen that selections from the lexicogrammatical system of AGENCY are likely to be important in construing complex phenomena, because the primary selections in this system are between whether a process is [effective], i.e. construed as being caused by an external Agent, or [middle], i.e. self-engendered or simply ‘happening’ (see Matthiessen 1995: S4.6, particularly Fig. 4-13b).

This paper focusses on a particular example of emergent complexity – the evolution of species – as it has been explained by the highly regarded biologist and science communicator, Richard Dawkins, in his 1986 book *The Blind Watchmaker*. In this book, Dawkins explicitly states that he aims not just to explain the evolution of species, but also to argue against the ‘teleological argument’ (or the ‘argument from design’) – i.e. against the types of arguments put forward by creationists and proponents of ‘intelligent design’, that claim that the complexity of species, and the fact that they are perfectly suited to their

environments, are evidence that they were designed by a higher being with a purpose in mind. However, this paper begins from the assertion that Dawkins's explanations of evolution are undermined by a 'teleological syndrome' in his language – a syndrome of linguistic features that suggest either that some external agent consciously and purposefully 'causes' the evolution of species, or that animals themselves are agents of their own evolution. These features include various lexicogrammatical construals of consciousness, agency and purpose. This paper focuses on one source of potential ambiguity in explanations of complexity: namely, the verb 'develop', and its collocations, colligations and grammatical reactances. The next section will present some instances of 'develop' from Dawkins (2000[1986]), and outline some of the ambiguities that attend the analysis of grammatical agency in these instances; the final section will propose a possible 'solution' to the analytical dilemma, and briefly raise some questions about the broader significance of the research presented here.

2 Linguistic complexity: the meaning of 'develop'

Table 1 presents 16 instances of 'develop' collected from *The Blind Watchmaker* (Dawkins 2000[1986]), divided into two sets: the instances numbered 1-9 construe development that occurs over many generations of a species-in-progress (i.e., phylogenetic development), while those numbered 10-16 construe development within the lifetime of individual members of a species (i.e. ontogenetic development). This categorisation corresponds with the way these instances were collected from the book: the first nine instances were collected because the clause with 'develop' seemed to be part of the 'teleological syndrome' – they seemed to construe animals as responsible for their own evolutionary development. The second seven examples, however, had been collected from the book incidentally – i.e. they occurred either in an extract which displayed the teleological syndrome, but were not themselves considered problematic, or in a passage that was collected as a 'good' (i.e. non-teleological) explanation of emergent complexity.

Table 1: Examples of clauses with 'develop' from Dawkins (2000[1986]) [Key: 'Agent' is underlined; Medium in italics]

Phylogenetic instances of 'develop'
1. <u>Bats developed</u> 'send/receive' <i>switching technology</i> long long ago, ..
2. <u>The first of our ancestors</u> [[to develop <i>lungs</i>]] almost certainly lived in water.
3. ... <u>these two genera</u> have developed <i>the same technology</i> independently of each other.
4. Within the mammals too, bats are <u>not the only group</u> [[to have independently developed <i>the echolocation technology</i>]].
5. ... <u>two quite different groups of fish</u> ... have developed <i>a somewhat similar navigation system</i> ...
6. <u>Both groups</u> have developed <i>a single long fin</i> ...
7. Instead of [[developing <i>four-legged galloping</i> to the high pitch of perfection that horses (and presumably litopterns) did, ...
8. I don't know whether man-made devices, either sonar or radar, use this subtle trick. But on the principle that <i>most clever ideas in this field</i> seem to have been developed first <u>by bats</u> , I don't mind betting the answer is yes.
9. It follows that <i>the echolocation technology</i> has been independently developed in bats and birds, just as it was independently developed by British, American and German scientists.
Ontogenetic instances of 'develop'
10. Is it [[that the necessary mutations cannot arise, given the way [[<i>Nautilus embryos</i> develop]]]] ?
11. [[What is special]] is [[that these molecules are put together in much more complicated patterns than the molecules of nonliving things, and this putting together is done by following programs, sets of instructions for [[how to develop]], which the organisms carry around inside themselves]].

12. *The female nervous system* **develops** under the influence of her genes, ...
13. Humans, through direct exposure to sunlight, or lack of it, **develop** a skin colour which equips them to better survive ...¹
14. A tribe living near the shore might wonder at this evidence of sorting or arrangement in the world, and **might develop** a myth to account for it ...
15. I said that cladistic taxonomy has the advantage over librarians' types of taxonomy that there is one unique, true hierarchical nesting pattern in nature, waiting to be discovered. [[All we have to do]] is [[**develop** methods of discovering it]].
16. ... just as [*echolocation technology*] **was** independently **developed** by British, American and German scientists.

The assertion of this paper, then, is that the clauses with the process 'develop' in the first nine examples in Table 1 are construing evolution as a teleological phenomenon, with species being an agentive and intentional force in their own evolution. At first glance, it is not entirely clear why the verb 'develop' has the potential to construe evolution in this way: it seems like a fairly straightforward material process, in that, unlike grammatically material but semantically mental processes such as 'invent' or 'design', it seems to carry no particular implications for the consciousness of the 'do-er' of the process. It is also what Davidse (1992: 109-110) refers to as an 'ergative process lexeme' – that is, a verb that can construe events as either [effective] or [middle] (in traditional terms, a verb that is both transitive and intransitive) – and thus has the potential to construe evolutionary change without any implication of external causation.

However, it can be seen that in each of these nine instances, two participants are present or implied in the clause: in each example, the 'do-er' (if present) is underlined, and the 'done to' is italicised. At first glance, then, these examples look like [effective] clauses, where the 'do-er' – the Actor/Agent – is a species or group of animals, and the 'done to' – the Goal/Medium – is a biological feature. The fact that there are both [operative] and [receptive] examples in this set seems to confirm this initial impression, since these are the more delicate options that are made available by the selection of the option [effective]. The fact that Dawkins seems to have selected [effective] rather than [middle] construals of evolutionary change in these examples, with animals themselves being the Agent (the external cause) in most cases, at least partially explains why these clauses seem to construe species as responsible for bringing about their own evolution. The ontogenetic instances of 'develop' in Table 1 provide the basis for further explanation for this impression of teleology, and we will now turn to these examples.

While all of the first nine clauses in Table 1 seem to be [effective] clauses, the seven 'ontogenetic' examples of clauses with 'develop' seem to fall into three categories. Clauses 10-12 are [middle: non-ranged] clauses, in which the single participant (the Actor/Medium) is a biological feature. This seems to be a congruent way of construing emergent complexity, and how we might expect the events in clauses 1-9 to be more congruently construed. Clauses 14-16, on the other hand, like clauses 1-9, appear to be [effective] – in each there are two participants (present or implied), with the Actor/Agent being human (and therefore conscious and capable of intentional and agentive action), and the Goal/Medium being a complex cultural/ semiotic/ technological entity. An investigation of 'develop' in a mixed register corpus of English² indicated that the pattern seen in clauses 14-16 – i.e. human Agent + 'develop' + complex Goal – is a dominant pattern in 'everyday' (as opposed to 'scientific')

¹ Note that the co-text of this clause makes it clear that Dawkins is referring to ontogenetic tanning here, rather than evolutionary change in skin colour over generations.

² The corpus consisted of the Australian arm of the International Corpus of English, the Australian Corpus of English and the Macquarie/UTS Corpus of Spoken Australian English; there is not space to further describe the corpus study here.

English. In addition, the corpus study showed that this pattern colligates quite strongly with other construals of intention and purpose, such as enhancing clauses of purpose or reason. The corpus evidence, then, seems to provide further explanation for why clauses 1-9 seem to construe animals as conscious and intentional as well as agentive: in ‘everyday’ English, when ‘develop’ occurs in an [effective] clause, its colligations and collocations include multiple construals of consciousness and intention, so that this is part of the meaning of ‘develop’ that is not necessarily apparent from its meaning as an isolated lemma in the dictionary.

However, the final clause from Table 1, which has not yet been discussed, clause 13, seems to run counter to the explanation provided by this corpus evidence, and brings to light problems in the analysis of the apparently [effective] clauses in Table 1. This clause and the problems it raises with respect to the system of AGENCY will be discussed in the next (and final) section.

3 The analysis of AGENCY revisited

As noted earlier, clause 13 in Table 1 is one of the set of examples of ‘develop’ that was collected incidentally during the extraction of examples of the ‘teleological syndrome’ in Dawkins’s *The Blind Watchmaker* – in other words, this example does not itself seem teleological. The reason for this is not clear however, since this clause includes features of the other three ‘sets’ of clauses in Table 1. As in clauses 1-9, the ‘do-er’ of the process in clause 13 is a species, and the ‘done to’ is a biological feature of that species; as in clauses 10-12, it construes an ontogenetic rather than a phylogenetic process; and as in clauses 14-16, the ‘do-er’ is human, and therefore potentially conscious, intentional and agentive. However, because this clause does not seem teleological in the way that clauses 1-9 and 14-16 do, it was initially analysed as [middle: ranged] rather than [effective] – on the basis that, if the ‘done to’ (a skin colour) were to be thematised, and the ‘do-er’ (humans) were to be removed from Theme position, the clause would alternate with a [middle: non-ranged] pattern like that seen in clauses 10-12 – i.e. “A skin colour develops in humans” – rather than to with an [effective: receptive] pattern such as that in clauses 8 and 9 – i.e. “A skin colour is developed by humans”.

This analysis of clause 13 as [middle: ranged] is however immediately problematic, as can be seen when the ergative analyses of the alternations (of simplified versions of clause 13) are displayed as follows:

13a	Humans	develop	a skin colour [[that equips them to ...]]
	Medium	Process	Range
13b	A skin colour	develops	in humans
	Medium	Process	Circ: location

The difficulty with this proposed alternation is that the Medium of clause 13a becomes a circumstance in clause 13b, which in fact implies that it is not a Medium in either clause, since the Medium, as Halliday (1994: 164) points out, is ‘never introduced into the clause by means of a preposition’.

This creates a dilemma when attempting to analyse this clause according to the networks for the system of AGENCY provided by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) and Matthiessen (1995), in that neither of the two options available for analysing a two-participant material process – i.e. neither [effective: operative] nor [middle: ranged] – seems to be a ‘functional’ description of clause 13. One possible solution to this dilemma can be found in the network for transitivity and ergativity provided by Davidse (1992: 130-131), where she describes a category that she refers to as [ergative: pseudo-effective]. The remainder of this paper will

outline why this category seems appropriate for not just clause 13 but all of the apparently [effective] clauses in Table 1, and will then attempt to integrate this category into the current standard SFL network for AGENCY.

Two examples of this category taken from Davidse (1992:127-130) are displayed in Table 2. In clauses of this type, there are two apparent participants, one of which is Medium and is a ‘real’ participant, and the other of which is ‘Setting’ and is a pseudo-participant. The category of Medium in Davidse (1992) is essentially the same as that described by Halliday (1994), and carries the same grammatical constraints: it is obligatory and never occurs in oblique case. Davidse (1992:128) takes the name for the category Setting from Langacker, and notes that ‘like Ranges they are pseudo-participants with a functional affinity to circumstances’.

Table 2: Examples of [ergative: pseudo-effective] clauses. Clause 1 & 2 are taken from Davidse (1992); clauses 3-6 are simplified versions of clauses from Table 1
[Key: Setting is underlined; Medium in italics]

	[pseudo-effective] version	[middle: non-ranged] version
1	<i>The cooling system</i> burst <i>a pipe</i>	<i>A pipe</i> burst in the cooling system
2	<i>The truck</i> broke <i>an axle</i>	<i>An axle</i> broke on the truck
3	<i>Bats</i> developed <i>switching technology</i>	<i>Switching technology</i> developed in bats
4	<i>Both groups</i> have developed <i>a single long fin</i>	<i>A single long fin</i> has developed in both groups
5	<i>Humans</i> develop <i>a skin colour</i>	<i>A skin colour</i> develops in humans
6	<i>A tribe</i> might develop a myth <i>[[to explain it]]</i>	<i>A myth</i> <i>[[to explain it]]</i> might develop within the tribe

As can be seen from the inclusion of examples from Dawkins in Table 2, this category is functional not just for describing explanations of the emergence of biological complexity – i.e. explanations of evolutionary change (as in clauses 3 & 4) or physiological development (as in clause 5) – but also for explaining the emergence of semiotic complexity from an SFL perspective: meanings are not ‘caused’ by a single speaker or community of speakers, they arise intersubjectively amongst a community of speakers (see e.g. Halliday 1973; Hasan 1996). This extension of the category to such explanations is, however, a topic for another paper.

We now turn, finally, to an attempt to integrate the category [ergative: pseudo-effective] into the ‘standard’ SFL network for AGENCY as seen in Matthiessen 1995, Figure 13b. The name of this category displays a major difference between Davidse’s (1992) network and the Halliday’s perspective on AGENCY: whereas Halliday (1994: S5.8) asserts that all English clauses can be analysed transitively (i.e. within the system PROCESS TYPE) and ergatively (i.e. within the system AGENCY), Davidse (1992) asserts that clauses can be either transitive or ergative, and thus the primary systems within her network are TRANSITIVE and ERGATIVE. Thus a full integration of Davidse’s system with Halliday’s is well beyond the scope of this paper. However, since, as (Davidse 1992: 128) points out, ‘the [ergative: pseudo-effective] construction is, just like a ranged clause, basically a middle constellation, semantically as well as grammatically’, it seems that it would be possible to include this category in the system of AGENCY, with some adjustments, as shown in Figure 1.

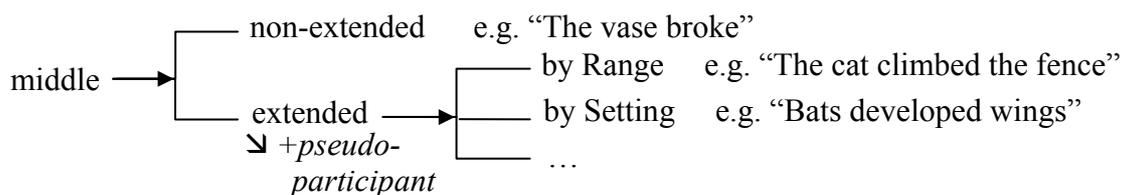


Figure 1: Provisional inclusion of the category [pseudo-effective] in the system AGENCY

As indicated in Figure 1, this network – and the labels within it – are provisional. The suggestion here is, however, that the category of [ranged] needs to be adjusted so that this part of the network incorporates such categories as ‘Setting’ as well as ‘Range’, and possibly further categories of pseudo-participant (as indicated by the open-ended set of options within the category [extended]). This is a very preliminary attempt at a solution to the problem outlined in this paper, indicating a need for further investigation of pseudo-participants, including for example Instruments (e.g. *The key opened the door/He opened the door with the key*) and Locatives (e.g. *They sprayed paint on the wall/They sprayed the wall with paint*) (see Levin 1993 for further examples), and possibly an incorporation of the notion of Participant Role analysis (Fawcett, forthcoming 2009) into standard SFL networks.

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