The business of turning children into consumers:

a diachronic analysis of the symbolic exchange of goods and services in advertisements in a Swedish comic book.

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Abstract

The child as a consumer is not a new concept but a changing one. This paper discusses the development of discourses around Swedish child consumers during the 20th century. The data comprise advertisements from the Swedish comic book *Donald Duck & Co* from the 1940s through the 1980s. The methodology is inspired by the systemic functional linguistic view of basic speech functions; an analysis of how child readers are incorporated in the symbolic exchange of goods and services through the use of commands and offers is presented. One finding is that child readers of early texts are ascribed little power over their own consumption. They are commanded and/or offered a chance to 'compete', to 'win', and to 'mail', but rarely to make direct consumer decisions. In the 1980s, a more competent child consumer can be discerned, commanded to 'buy' and to make independent consumer decisions.

Values and Attitudes in Ancient and Modern History

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Abstract

The demanding literacy levels required of senior secondary students are widely acknowledged, yet the area of literacy in the senior secondary high school remains relatively under researched. In particular, there is a lack of detailed studies which aim to differentiate the literacy expectations of different subject areas. A first step in this process is to differentiate the underlying objectives stated for different subjects. This paper will report on preliminary research into the rationales and values statements contained in the Stage 6 Modern and Ancient History syllabi carried out as part of a larger research project investigating the literacy demands of Stage 6 Humanities Subjects in NSW. An Appraisal analysis of these syllabi shows how these subjects argue quite differently for their importance in terms of relevance to and skill building for students. The analysis will indicate how a complex interplay of judgement and appreciation is constructed in these documents and contribute to understandings of difference within the discipline of history in the senior high school.

Narrative Theory and the Dimensions of Systemic Modelling.

Rosemary Huisman
University of Sydney

Abstract

In general, narrative has been understood to be about story-telling: the organisation of time and the projection of a world (diegesis), but this paper suggests both concepts should be plural. Using the systemic modelling of language as social semiotic I show that three worlds/diegeses can be inferred (physiological, psychological and social worlds). Using the theories of modern physics I show that six natural worlds, with their associated six temporalities, can be described, the last three worlds being comparable to those of systemic description. The paper discusses the analysis of systemic dimensions (structure, system, stratification, instantiation, metafunction) in different media, and concludes with introductory notes on the technical construction of interpersonal meaning for narrative in film.

A comparison of Japanese persuasive writing:
The writings of Japanese as Foreign Language students in the NSW HSC examination and Japanese Native Speaking students in high school in Japan

Yuki Oe
University of Wollongong

Abstract

This study uses a functional model of language to examine the 2005 Japanese HSC examination persuasive essays to investigate the structure and language features of the exposition genre, which students produce during this final high school examination. The examination scripts are compared to the essays which were written by Japanese native speaking (JNS) high school students answering the same question.

This study seeks to answer two questions: "How successful Japanese persuasive essays are constructed in the HSC Japanese Examination?", and "To what extent a successful HSC examination model matches the native speaker equivalent?".

The methodology used in this study is Generic Structure Potential (GSP) (Hasan 1996), which will identify the elements of structure and the language features within each element. GSP will be applied to both the Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) and Japanese Native Speaking (JNS) students' texts to ascertain the extent to which they share commonality in terms of elements of structure.

Based on the analysis, all of the JFL students employed a deductive structure while some of the JNS students used an inductive structure; however, the majority of the JNS students also employed a deductive structure in their essays. This suggests that to answer the essay question in the examination situation, the use of a deductive structure in their persuasive essays is acceptable for both JFL and JNS writers.

The Rhetoric of Rap: A Challenge to Dominant Forces?

David Caldwell
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Abstract

For more than a decade, hip-hop culture and rap music has been of particular interest to scholars in the social sciences. One noteworthy contribution is Potter's (1995) analysis of hip-hop culture which draws on postmodern social theory to argue for rap music's status as a model resistance; a challenge dominant forces. For Potter, the African-American vernacular is a fundamental part of this 'resistance'. Unfortunately, given his orientation towards cultural studies, Potter does not provide any empirical linguistic evidence to support his claims. As a contribution to Potter's research, this paper performs a linguistic analysis of a small corpus of African-American rap songs. From Systemic Functional Linguistics, the Appraisal system of Engagement is used to investigate the ways in which rappers 'engage' with the values expressed in their lyrics. Drawing on Bahktin's dialogics, the Engagement findings are also interpreted as intersubjective devices used by African-American rap artists to align themselves with a particular community, and at the same time, distance themselves from others. In this way, it is expected the findings will help reveal the extent to which rap lyrics do, or do not, 'challenge' dominant forces.

A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS

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Abstract

A great deal of theory and analysis of conversation has concerned itself with miscommunications and misunderstandings, due in part, perhaps, to linguists' excitement about ambiguity in language (see for

example Schegloff, Jefferson et al. 1977; Schegloff 1992; Dascal 1999; Weigand 1999; Weizman 1999; Wong 2000; Hinnenkamp 2003). Apart from the community of Systemic Functional (SF) theorists who have a particular interest in language disorder/difference (for example Armstrong 1991; Togher, Hand et al. 1997a; Togher, Hand et al. 1997b; Ferguson 1998a; Togher 1998a; Ferguson 1998b; Togher 1998b; Ferguson 1998c; Togher, Hand et al. 1999a; Togher 2000; Armstrong 2001; Armstrong 2005), the field of SFL has not had a lot to say about misunderstandings. Reporting on a case study of the nonverbal multimodal communication of a child with a severe intellectual disability, this paper shows how the SF model can be used to explore and classify the misunderstandings that occurred between the child and his communication partners. While the child's communication differences are peculiar to him, it is argued that SF theory, in particular the notions of metafunction and move, can not only illuminate his particular problems but also provide another way of classifying misunderstandings in the wider population.

Japanese Folk Tales: text structure and evaluative expressions

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Abstract

Hasan's approach to text structure is a semantic one. In the 1996 paper, *The nursery tale as genre,* she explains her approach through an analysis of nursery tales. The tale is understood within its contextual configuration using the registerial variables of *field, tenor* and *mode.* But further, it is understood as a genre in which instances of the nursery tale share common generic elements of structure, some of which are obligatory and others, optional. It is the obligatory elements of structure which 'define' the instance as belonging to the genre of nursery tale. Within the elements of structure are semantic attributes. "I suggest that the essential attributes of 'the structurally important units' of any texts will have to be stated in **semantic terms**" (Hasan 1996, p.58).

This paper builds on previous work by Thomson (2001) which adopted Hasan's Generic Structure Potential (GSP) approach and applied it to the Japanese nursery tale. Thomson's 2001 study describes the GSP from the perspective of the textual metafunction. This paper further develops the description of the GSP from the perspective of the interpersonal metafunction, noting that the application of appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005) is particularly useful when describing the interpersonal meanings which serve as crucial semantic attributes of the elements of structure. The semantic attributes are, in part, realised by configurations of particular appraisal choices.

"Just like sort of guilty kind of": The rhetoric of tempered admission in Youth Justice Conferencing

Michele Zappavigna
University of Sydney

Abstract

This paper presents the beginnings of a project on understanding how reconciliation is enacted in NSW Youth Justice Conferencing. These conferences are meetings during which a young person who has committed an offence has the opportunity to reconcile directly with the victim of the crime. The conferences seem agnate to genres such as interrogation, therapy and assessment. Focusing on the language of evaluation using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), we explain tempering, a resource that the young person uses to dissipate invoked prosodies of impropriety about their behaviour. Our examples of tempering are drawn from a conference broadcast by ABC Radio National. This conference was held due to vandalism of a vacant property by two young persons.

Teaching English Literature and Linguistics Using Corpus Stylistic Methods

Monika Bednarek

This paper reports on the teaching of an interdisciplinary undergraduate seminar on English linguistics and literature at the University of Augsburg (Germany). The focus of this seminar was 19th century women's fiction, with three novels discussed from literary and linguistic perspectives: Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. The paper describes the main corpus stylistic methods that were applied in the analysis of these three novels by the students (inspired by Stubbs's 2005 outline of corpus linguistic methodologies in the study of literary texts). It is shown how keyword and collocation analyses (Scott 1999) can provide information on key themes of the novels, the construal of characters and socio-cultural attitudes prevalent in 19th century English society. The seminar is also evaluated in terms of its success, in particular with respect to interdisciplinarity and corpus stylistics.

An approach to the analysis of textual identity through profiles of evaluative disposition

Alexanne Don
University of Adelaide

This paper presents an approach to the analysis and investigation of textual identity or 'persona' using the Appraisal framework, and charts designed to provide profiles of 'evaluative disposition'. The approach is illustrated by the results of a study which uses three sets of texts written by three different identities, and a detailed analysis of the texts focussing on comparative frequencies of Attitude values. The paper also offers a theoretical discussion of how this approach is able to contribute to more finely-grained investigations of identity –as a function of textual style, and as a function of the interactive contexts to which they contribute.

TEXTUAL ENGAGEMENTS OF A DIFFERENT KIND?

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Abstract

Plagiarism, one aspect of the integration of other sources in academic writing, has generated a number of insightful studies. It is a complex and contested issue deserving of research attention. However, there is more to integrating academic reading into writing than the issue of plagiarism. Through the voices of others, writers negotiate their position in their discourse community, align themselves to the epistemological value systems of discipline(s) and adopt appropriate stances. This has to be done in ways that are acceptable to the discipline and calls for appropriate engagement with previous studies and the reader. For international students who have only recently acquired a sense of history of texts in English in their discipline(s), this can be a challenging task. A fine balancing act is expected of a doctoral thesis: the right mix of humility with regard to the existing literature and a confident, expert identity with respect to their own research. APPRAISAL Theory, which enables the analysis of lexical and grammatical choices made for specific rhetorical purposes, is used as a tool to investigate how international students from language backgrounds other than English accomplish this complicated task. I argue that some of our pedagogy with regard to integration of sources may be reductive if it is focused solely on direct and indirect quotations, punitive views on plagiarism and a mechanistic explication of referencing techniques. A more nuanced approach to teaching textual incorporation is needed, if international students are to be effectively supported in their task of writing a doctoral thesis.

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Abstract

The child as a consumer is not a new concept but a changing one. This paper discusses the development of discourses around Swedish child consumers during the 20th century. The data comprise advertisements from the Swedish comic book *Donald Duck & Co* from the 1940s through the 1980s. The methodology is inspired by the systemic functional linguistic view of basic speech functions; an analysis of how child readers are incorporated in the symbolic exchange of goods and services through the use of commands and offers is presented. One finding is that child readers of early texts are ascribed little power over their own consumption. They are commanded and/or offered a chance to 'compete', to 'win', and to 'mail', but rarely to make direct consumer decisions. In the 1980s, a more competent child consumer can be discerned, commanded to 'buy' and to make independent consumer decisions.

1 Introduction

The 20th century involved many changes for young children and for the conception of childhood in the industrial world. One change was that children moved into the public arena of consumption. In fact, children are described as target audiences for many marketing campaigns, and the postmodern consuming child from the 1980s and onwards has received attention from researchers in many academic disciplines. But there are other media images of children from the period before the mid-80s, and those images are the focus of this paper.

In previous research on the history of children's consumer cultures in North America, the 1950s are described as of great importance (cf. Kline 1993). According to, among others, Pecora (1998) the American history of marketing to children is totally dominated by television advertising, leading up to the well-drilled child consumers of the late 20th century. Kline (1993:107) discusses the role of the comic book in relation to television and concludes: "Comic books illustrated the possibility of a mass children's culture; the experimentation with children's films and television programmes made that culture an actuality."

In Sweden, however, the history of commercial television for children is different from that in countries like the United States. Commercial television did not enter private homes until the 1980s. Even today, TV commercials specifically targeted at children are prohibited by the Swedish Radio and Television Act (1996:844, chapter 7, section 4).[1] The absence of TV advertising to children from the 1950s and onwards increased the commercial importance of printed children's media such as comic books. *Kalle Anka & C:o* (*Donald Duck & Co*) in particular can be considered one of the most salient carriers of commercial messages to Swedish children from its first appearance in the late 1940s and onwards. Since its launch in 1948 this publication, featuring Disney characters like Donald Duck, Mickey

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[1] It should be noted that the Radio and Television Act is only applicable if the children's program is broadcast from Sweden, but a number are broadcast from other European Union countries such as Great Britain. In this way a significant number of Swedish children have been exposed to TV advertising through cable and satellite TV since the 1980s until today.

Mouse and Goofy, has been one of the most popular Swedish comic books for young children. It has always contained advertising, which makes it unique in the history of Swedish comic books. The majority of such publications in Sweden have been, and still are, very restrictive when it comes to advertising to their child readers.

The more specific purpose of the paper is to identify diachronic changes in discourses around the Swedish child consumer in the advertisements of *Donald Duck & Co* from the 1940s through the 1980s.[2] The analysis focuses on one of the micro levels of discourse, the *speech act*, which has been described as 'the minimum unit that can realize a unit of discursive practice' (van Leeuwen 1993:195) and the analysis is performed within a systemic functional linguistic framework (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin 1992; Thibault & van Leeuwen 1996). The analysis is restricted to the verbal parts of the ads, but this is a question of focus rather than anything else; all the ads analysed are more or less multimodal, containing images and other visual representations (cf. Björkvall 2003, 2007 for an analysis of the multimodal construction of consumer identities in Swedish advertising).

The relation between speech acts and grammar has been widely discussed (cf. Martin 1992:31-46).[3] Thibault and van Leeuwen (1996) make a distinction between *exporting* and *importing* models of language. The exporting models of language (e.g. Searle 1969; Sperber and Wilson 1986) tend to export a great deal of the analysis of speech acts from grammar to the realm of pragmatics. One of the main reasons for this export is the obvious context dependency of speech acts and the lack of one-to-one relationships between speech acts and their lexicogrammatical realisation. This view is challenged by Thibault and van Leeuwen (1996) highlighting the analytical potential of a systemic functional perspective on the realisation of *speech functions*.[4] In such an importing and *stratified* model of language the relation between context, discourse, semantics, and lexicogrammar is in focus, allowing for a detailed analysis of motivated choices in, and interconnections between, the different strata. Based on such an analysis, van Leeuwen (1993) presents a description of lexicogrammatical choices in the realisation of speech acts, and shows how speech acts such as confession, accusation, delicately boasting, and recommendation can be realised in the lexicogrammar of English.

In the analysis presented in this paper the systemic functional linguistic view of stratification is used to describe changes in the discourses in the ads of *Donald Duck & Co*. The starting point for the analysis is the contextual configurations of *tenor*, i.e. contextual factors tied to the social relations of the participants in an interaction, in this case in the genre of advertising. Whether or not the target group for advertising consists of adults or children, the interaction always involves someone trying to get someone else to consume a product or service. The most direct semantic interpersonal, resources for performing this task are the basic speech functions in the realm of exchanging goods and services: *commands* and *offers* (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:107-108). As mentioned, these speech functions are primarily identified "from above", i.e. from the vantage point of context. A basic assumption within systemic functional linguistics (henceforth SFL) is however that all strata add meaning, and the lexicogrammatical realisation of the speech acts has discursive functions. It will be argued that such realisation patterns (primarily choices of *mood* and *modality*) are relevant to the analysis of discourses around the child consumer.

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[2] The study was financed by a research grant from Ridderstads stiftelse för historisk grafisk forskning [Ridderstad's foundation for historic graphic research].

[3] Hellberg (1990) is a description of the syntax and meanings of commands and other types of directives in Swedish, however not from an systemic functional linguistic perspective.

[4] Speech function is used more or less synonymously with speech act in this paper.

2   Data

The advertising texts included in the present study are from *Donald Duck & Co* issued in 1948, 1959, 1969 and 1984. The number of texts from each year is listed in TABLE 1.

TABLE 1 Texts analysed[5]

Year of publication and issue	Number of texts
1948, 1--4	4
1959, 1--8	14
1969, 1--8	27
1984, 1--8	44
Total	89

The total number of texts is 89. Identical texts that have been published several times are listed as one in TABLE 1. The first 8 issues of each year have been analysed with the exception of 1948; *Donald Duck & Co* was only issued four times during the inaugural year with only 4 published ads, all for subscriptions to *Donald Duck & Co*. Even considering that only 4 issues from 1948 were analysed, the trend shown in TABLE 1 is that the number of ads in *Donald Duck & Co* has increased from 1948 through 1984.

The year 1948 was selected simply because it was the first year of publication. In 1958, *Donald Duck & Co* started to publish externally financed ads for products not directly associated with Disney (Mauthe 1996:20-21). This external advertising increased during 1959, and this year is included in the study. The first 8 issues from 1969 are analysed basically because 10 years have elapsed since 1959. In 1984, the first reliable statistics on children's media habits were published in Sweden (Ungdoms-Orvesto 1984), so for that year we know for a fact that *Donald Duck & Co* was by far the most widely read magazine by 10-14-year-olds (and we can guess that the same is true for even younger children). The fact that children's media habits had for the first time become the object of detailed and commercially driven analysis is a sign of the times, and 1984, possibly at the beginning of the late or postmodern era, is the final year included in the study.

The distinction between what is an advertisement and what is not is far from clear-cut, especially when it comes to texts that deal with Disney products that are for sale or that can be won in contests. All texts that are not part of the narrative comics in the comic books, and where commercial products or services of any kind are presented, are listed in TABLE 1. This selection includes contests where Disney products can be won, but leaves out contests such as crosswords where the children taking part can win cash, but nothing else.

3   Methodology: to analyse speech functions in advertising

As already touched upon, the methodology in this study is inspired by SFL and, in particular, by its view of the semantics and lexicogrammatical realisations of speech functions (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:106-111; Martin 1992:31-35). In SFL, the basic speech roles in discourse are assumed to be *giving* and *demanding*. These combine with the nature of the commodity being exchanged: *goods and services* or *information*. The combinations yield four basic speech functions that are presented in FIGURE 1 (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:107).

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[5]All the issues of *Donald Duck & Co* have been available at the Royal Library in Stockholm. The editions from 1948 and 1959 are reprinted and easily accessible whereas the 1969 and 1984 editions are not. Thus, the original editions from the latter years, that are part of the protected collection of the Royal Library, have been used. The reprinted editions have been thoroughly compared with their originals from 1948 and 1959.

Role in exchange	Commodity exchanged	
	goods and services	information
giving	*offer*	*statement*
demanding	*command*	*question*

FIGURE 1 Basic speech functions

The basic speech functions are *statements* and *questions* for giving and demanding information (grouped together as *propositions*) and offers and commands for giving and demanding goods and services (*proposals*).

The "from above" analysis in this paper requires that the proposals are singled out from the propositions in the ads. Here the distinguishing criterion was simply the commodity exchanged: information gives propositions and goods and services give proposals (cf. FIGURE 1). Further, in order to distinguish the offers from the commands, the giving vs. demanding aspects of speech functions presented in FIGURE 1 were elaborated. It can be argued that speech functions of giving tend to put more responsibility for the exchange on the speaker whereas demanding puts more responsibility on the other person in an interaction, here the reader of the ad. This type of speaker or other orientation was the first criterion used to separate commands from offers. More precisely, commands lack obligations from the speaker to provide goods or services, and the reader is told what to do, as in (1) and (2):

(1) *Läs om Mowgli* (Disney book ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 2, 1969:34.)
    Read about Mowgli

(2) *SÄND IN SVAREN NU!* (Super-8 film camera contest, *D. D. & Co*, No. 3, 1969:34.)
    MAIL IN THE ANSWERS NOW!

Offers, on the other hand, highlight the opportunity for someone, directly or in the future, to gain access to goods or services from the speaker, e.g. to get drawing equipment for free as in (3):

(3) *HÄR FÅR DU RIT-GREJOR GRATIS* (Ad for Åke Skiöld's drawing course, *D. D. & Co*, No. 1, 1969:outer back cover.)
    HERE YOU CAN GET THINGS TO DRAW FOR FREE

The second main criterion for distinguishing commands from offers is preferred response from the point of view of the speaker. For commands, like (1) and (2), the preferred response is some kind of undertaking: 'yes, I will read about Mowgli' and 'yes, I will mail my answers to you'. Offers such as (3) have an acceptance as preferred response: 'okay, thank you' (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:108--111).

In the analysis of lexicogrammatical realisation, the main focus is on mood which is the system most closely connected to the realisation of speech functions. The mood system consists of the subsystems of *imperative* and *indicative* (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:114-115). The imperative is the *congruent*, or most direct mood for the exchange of goods and services (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:138), but much less so for offers than for commands. As a matter of fact, for offers just about any, or no, mood is congruent, cf. 'Here is your glass of milk', 'Do you want a glass of milk?', or 'Please, have a sip of this milk'. The indicative is the grammatical category for the congruent realisation of exchange of information. Within

indicative, the *declarative* is the preferred category used for statements and *interrogative* is the category for questions (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:114).

In addition, an analysis of *modalisation* and *modulation* was carried out in which the continuum between the positive and negative poles of the speech functions were analysed (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:146-148), e.g. 'You must drink this milk' in relation to the positive 'Drink this milk' and the negative 'Don't drink this milk'. Finally, a qualitatively oriented analysis of ideational aspects of the clauses realising proposals was performed: What are the readers of the ads commanded to do or offered? And are there participants other than speakers and readers in the commands and offers?

4   The exchange of goods and services

The number of major clauses realising offers and commands in the texts analysed is presented in TABLE 2.

TABLE 2 Clauses realising commands and offers[6]

Year of publication	Commands		Offers		Total	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
1948	9	75 %	3	25 %	12	100 %
1959	59	84 %	11	16 %	70	100 %
1969	73	69 %	33	31 %	106	100 %
1984	130	71 %	52	29 %	182	100 %
1948--1984	271	73 %	99	27 %	370	100 %

As indicated in TABLE 2, the exchange of goods and services in the ads in *Donald Duck & Co* is primarily performed through commands; out of the 370 commands and offers in all the ads from 1948 through 1984, 271 (73 %) are commands. The comparatively low number of commands and offers in the 1948 publications is, of course, partially explained by the fact that only four ads were published that year. The chronological increase in number of commands and offers can roughly be explained in the same way, i.e. by an increasing number of ads in *Donald Duck & Co*.

From the quantitative analysis of realisation in mood, presented in TABLE 3, it becomes clear that the majority of the commands are congruently realised in the imperative mood.

TABLE 3 Mood choices in clauses realising commands

Year of publication	Imperative		Indicative-declarative		Total	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
1948	8	89 %	1	11 %	9	100 %
1959	53	90 %	6	10 %	59	100 %
1969	69	95 %	4	5 %	73	100 %
1984	111	85 %	19	15 %	130	100 %
1948--1984	241	89 %	30	11 %	271	100 %

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[6] In TABLE 2 and in the following tables, realisations of speech functions from identical ads that have been published several times are listed as one instance. Also, the commands and offers listed in TABLE 2 are from 73 out of the 89 analysed texts. The 16 ads that contained neither commands nor offers (in the way these speech functions are defined here) were short, consisting usually of only one or two statements.

A vast majority of the commands, 241 (89 %) out of 271 from 1948 through 1984, are congruently realised in the imperative. There are no major differences between the years included in the study: between 85 % (in 1984) and 95 % (in 1969) of the commands are realised in the imperative. The commands in these ads are exemplified in (4) and (5):

(4) *Skriv redan idag till "Kalle Anka-pärmen", Hemmets Journal, Malmö 3. Glöm inte att tydligt ange namn och adress!* (Donald Duck collection folder ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 1, 1959:outer back cover.)
Write straight away today to "the Donald Duck folder", Hemmets Journal, Malmö 3. Don't forget to state your name and address clearly!

(5) *Läs den helfestliga historien och ha jätteroligt!* (Disney book ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 7, 1969:34.)
Read the hilarious story and have great fun!

From TABLE 4 it can be seen clearly that the realisation pattern for offers is quite different from that for commands.

TABLE 4 Mood choices in clauses realising offers

Year of publication	Imperative		Indicative-declarative		Indicative-interrogative		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1948	-	-	3	100 %	-	-	3	100 %
1959	1	9 %	10	91 %	-	-	11	100 %
1969	5	15 %	27	82 %	1	3 %	33	100 %
1984	14	27 %	38	73 %	-	-	52	100 %
1948--1984	20	20 %	78	79 %	1	1 %	99	100 %

The indicative-declarative is the preferred mood for realisation of offers, quantitatively speaking. As many as 78 (79 %) out of the 99 offers between 1948 and 1984 are realised in the indicative-declarative. The reader of the ads can, for example, be offered a fantastic reading experience in the quantitatively dominating indicative-declarative mood, as in (6):

(6) *och varje månad kan ni få läsa om hans fantastiska upplevelser i denna nya, färgstrålande tidning för barn och vuxna.* (*Donald Duck & Co* subscription ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 3, 1948:outer back cover.)
and every month you can get to read about his fantastic experiences in this new, colourful magazine for children and grown-ups.

An example of realisation in the imperative mood is presented in (7), where the reader is offered a prize in a contest:

(7) *VINN en "Lyckodag"* (Kolmården zoo contest, *D. D. & Co*, No. 5, 1984:inner back cover.)
WIN a "Lucky Day"

When the offers in the ads are modalised, and 22 of the 99 offers are, they tend to be so at the possibility end of a probability spectrum (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:147):

(8) *Den här kan bli din!* (Ad for oranges, *D. D. & Co*, No. 6, 1969:outer back cover.)
This can become yours!

(9) *Då kan du vinna Stiga ishockeyspel.* (Stiga miniature ice hockey game contest, *D. D. & Co*, No. 5, 1984:34.)
Then you can win a Stiga ice-hockey game.

In examples (8), (9), but also in (6), the modal operator 'can' (*kan*) opens up a possible future benefit to the readers if they visit the shop (8), participate in contests (9) or subscribe to *Donald Duck & Co* (6).

The basic quantitative analysis of commands and offers shows that the child readers, during all the years included in the study, tend to be commanded rather than offered something. The discursive implications of this result are more tied to the non-preferred, or discretionary, responses to commands and offers than to the preferred responses. The non-preferred response to a command would be a *refusal*, e.g. 'I won't' in relation to (4). To an offer the non-preferred response would be a *rejection*, e.g. 'no thanks, I don't need it' in response to (8) and (9) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:108-111). Arguably, because of the responsibility for the exchange placed on the reader, it is harder to withdraw from proposed exchanges of goods or services that are performed through commands than from exchanges that are performed through offers, where most of the responsibility is placed on the speaker. In other words, it is socially less demanding to reject an offer than to refuse to comply with a command. In sum, in the realm of speech functions for the exchange of goods and services, the tendency to prefer commands to offers draws on more authoritarian discourses and allows the reader less social scope for withdrawal from the exchange than would have been the case if the tendency had been to offer rather than to command.

In addition, the commands are usually realised congruently and rather directly in the imperative mood, whereas a metaphorical realisation of commands, in the indicative-declarative, would have allowed for more negotiation between speaker and reader. The congruent realisation of the commands minimises the distance between the semantic stratum of the speech function and the lexicogrammatical stratum, thus also minimising the scope for social negotiation between speaker and the reader (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:632-633). In other words, in the ads analysed it is socially acceptable for the speaker to command the child reader without being very willing to open up for negotiations or for rejections or refusals on behalf of the reader.

Even in the cases where the commands actually are metaphorically realised in the indicative-declarative, thus opening up a little for negotiation, the scope for such negotiation is often reduced by modalisation for obligation, partially outweighing the negotiation potential of the metaphorical realisation:

(10) *Du ska göra en egen liten serie om sport och godis.* (Fazer candy ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 4, 1984:inner front cover.)
      You have to make a little comic strip of your own about sport and candy.

Out of the total of 271 commands, 17 are modulated; 14 of them are modulated for obligation of the required to type (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:147), e.g. through the modal operator 'have to' (*ska*) as in (10).

5   The ever-competing child consumer

If we dig further into how combinations of commands and offers form sequences, or *stages* (van Leeuwen 1993:197-203), in the generic structure of the advertising texts, contests stand out as a stage often consisting of an exclusive combination of offers and commands.[7] Contests are salient during all the years included in the study, with the exception of 1948. These stages typically consist of the following combination of proposals: a) offer(s) and/or command(s) to participate in the contest or offers to win something; b) command(s) to perform a practical task; c) offer(s) to win something, sometimes repeated from a); d)

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[7]Hasan (1979) and Ventola (1987) are studies of text structures in service encounters, a genre where the exchange of goods and services is salient, perhaps even more directly so than in the genre of advertising.

command(s) to mail the result of the task to the company behind the ad. This type of contest stage is exemplified in (11) from a Monark bicycle ad (*D. D. & Co*, No. 6, 1959:inner front cover):

(11)   *a)*   *I så fall - var med och tävla!*
            In that case - join the contest!

        b)   *Du skall bara dra ett streck från varje barn till den cykel du tror han eller hon åker på. Rita sedan en ring runt den cykel du själv drömmer om och tala om varför du vill ha just den. Börja så här! "Jag vill ha den här Monarkcykeln, därför att…"*
            You just have to draw a line from each child to the bike you think he or she rides. Then draw a circle around the bike that you dream of and say why you want that one particularly. Start like this! "I want this Monark bike, because…"

        c)   *Den pojke eller flicka, som skickat in de trevligaste svaren och löst uppgiften rätt får var sin cykel i pris.*
            The boy or girl who has sent in the nicest answers and has given the right answers will each get a bike as a prize.

        d)   *Skicka in lösningen tillsammans med uppgift om namn, adress, och ålder till "Monark - drömcykeln", AB Cykelfabriken Monark, Varberg, senast den 1/8 1959.*
            Send in your solution together with information about your name, address, and age to "Monark - the dream bike", AB Cykelfabriken Monark, Varberg, by 1/8 1959.

Sometimes the contest stages form one of several stages in the ad, which is the case with (11), but the entire advertisement also consists of nothing more than a contest stage.

The play aspect of consumer culture is, to some extent, what makes it so appealing to children: "Children's commercial culture appeals so much to children because it takes children's play, pleasure and desire seriously. Clearly it helps to construct their play, pleasure and desire, but it also seeks to understand and tap into them" (Kenway and Bullen 2001:46). Through the recurrent contests in *Donald Duck & Co*, children are introduced to the companies and their products by performing tasks that they enjoy since they are closely linked to play and entertainment. This is probably one explanation for the persistence of the contests in *Donald Duck & Co*, which has also been noted by Mauthe (1996:32-33).

6   The changing independence of the child consumer

The analysis of offers and commands also reveals changes in the degree of control over consumption that is being ascribed to, and assumed from, the child readers. In the texts from 1948, 1959 and, to a lesser extent, 1969, the children being offered something or commanded tend to have no direct control over their personal spending. It is their mothers that possess the power to consume, and so the children are commanded to influence them:

(12) *Be mamma bjuda på EKSTRÖMS chokladpudding* (Ad for Ekströms chocolate pudding, *D. D. & Co*, No. 2, 1959:inner back cover.)
Ask your mother to serve EKSTRÖM'S chocolate pudding

(13) *Be mamma att hon köper en Jordantandborste och visar hur du ska borsta dina tänder riktigt fina!* (Jordan toothbrush ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 2, 1969:outer back cover.)
Ask your mother to buy a Jordan toothbrush and show you how to brush your teeth to make them really nice!

8

One image of the child consumers in the early years examined in the study is thus that they had no direct control over their personal consumption but could influence the purchases made by their mothers. However, in the vast majority of the ads from 1984 and in some of the ads from 1969, the exchange of goods and services has become an activity that exclusively involves the commercial companies and the child readers of the ads.[8] Their assumed power to consume is often obvious in the semantics of the verbs used in the commands:

(14)   *Köp en påse Baloo.* (Mazetti candy ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 7, 1969:inner back cover.)
        Buy a bag of Baloo.

(15)   *Köp själv* (Panda candy ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 8, 1984:inner front cover.)
        Buy it yourself

(16)   *Sänd inga pengar nu! Betala när inbetalningskortet kommer.* (*Donald Duck & Co* Fun Shop text, *D. D. & Co*, No. 1, 1984:inner back cover.)
        Don't send any money now! Pay when you get the payment voucher.

One of the discursive implications of examples like (14) and (15) is that the child reader can be congruently and directly commanded to 'buy' because he or she has the financial power to do so. Example (16) is a little more complicated. The two commands are part of an advertising text from Disney where Donald Duck products are on sale. The text as a whole is apparently targeted at child consumers, for example requiring the signature of an adult when the products are ordered: *Målsmans underskrift om du är under 18 år* ('Parents' or guardians' signature if you are under the age of 18'). So, in the commands in (16), it is presumably the child who is commanded not to send money right away and to pay later on, even though a signature from the parent is required to complete the transaction.

It should also be mentioned that commands to buy are not totally absent in earlier texts. One such command is repeated in three of the ads from 1948:

(17)   *Köp Kalle Anka & Co. varje månad* (*Donald Duck & Co* subscription ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 2, 3, and 4, 1948:outer back covers.)
        Buy Donald Duck & Co. every month

This command is apparently directed at a child consumer with some control over his or her money. It is, of course, no surprise that children had allowances even in 1948. Kline (1993) has described the emerging child consumer in the immediate post-war period as someone who could afford to buy a comic book with his or her own allowances.

In some cases in 1984, paying or buying is not even explicitly part of the command. The child is just simply commanded to 'get' (*skaffa*) the product, in (18) and (19) a toy:

(18)   *Skaffa det allra senaste, och upptäck nya, helt okända världar.* (LEGOLAND Space ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 6, 1984:outer back cover.)
        Get the absolutely latest, and discover new, totally unknown worlds.

(19)   *Skaffa den alldeles nya MC-shopen och förnya din LEGOLAND Stad samling.* (LEGOLAND City ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 7, 1984:outer back cover.)
        Get the brand new MC-shop and renew your LEGOLAND City collection.

It should be noted in (18) and (19) that the Swedish verb *skaffa* is more active than the English translation 'get'; *skaffa* exclusively realises active material processes whereas 'get' can also realise the less active process 'to receive'.

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[8] Perhaps as a result of this, a number of full length ads in *Donald Duck & Co* from 1984 are explicitly targeted at the parents, e.g. ads for certain exclusive Disney books that the parents can buy for their children.

Finally, 1984 stands out as the first year of the study when the offers and commands are directed at a hedonistic child consumer, as in (20) and (21):

(20) Smaka och njut! (…) GÖR DIN EGEN NEW YORKER MED DEN RÄTTA
AMERIKANSKA SMAKEN! (Kavli dressing ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 1, 2, 3, and 4,
1984:inner front cover, outer back covers respectively.)
Taste and enjoy (…) PREPARE YOUR OWN NEW YORKER WITH THE GENUINE
AMERICAN TASTE!

(21) *Njut Panda-godis (…) och Du får läckra smakfavoriter, som också kan ge Dig verkliga*
storvinster i årets Panda-tävlingar. (Panda candy ad, *D. D. & Co*, No. 8, 1984:inner
front cover.)
Enjoy Panda-candy (…) and You get delicious taste favourites that can also give You
really major prizes in this year's Panda contests.

The *phenomena* in the ideational mental processes of 'tasting' and 'enjoying' in (20) and (21) are food products (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:170-178), which is common in 1984.

7   Discussion

One of the basic results of the speech function approach to the analysis of discourse adopted in this paper was that commands quantitatively dominate over offers in the advertisements from 1948 through 1984. This result has implications for the images of the consuming child in *Donald Duck & Co*. In particular, it can be discussed in terms of a somewhat authoritarian discourse present in the ads. In this paper, it has been argued that an offer, more than a command, orients the obligation of the exchange of goods and services toward the speaker, which gives wider possibilities for the other person in the interaction to withdraw from the proposed exchange of goods or services. In the texts analysed it would have been possible to opt for offers rather than commands, but the domination of reader-oriented commands sets up a more authoritarian relation between the speaker, in this case the person behind the ad, and the other person, in this case the child reader. The former assumes a sort of power position from which the latter can be told what he or she should do.

The mood choices in the lexicogrammatical stratum also contribute to the meanings of the clauses analysed. The quantitative analysis showed that the commands from all the years studied tend to be congruently realised in the imperative mood, even though there is a restricted number of metaphorical realisations in the indicative-declarative. Through the congruent and thus more direct realisations in the imperative, it is potentially more difficult for the person commanded to reject the command. Another discursive implication of this is that the speakers of the ads assume a position from which they do not feel the need to get involved in negotiations with the child reader. In the few cases where commands are incongruently realised in the indicative, thus somewhat opening up the command for negotiation, they tend to be modulated for obligation, outweighing the negotiation potential and enforcing the compliance of the child reader with the commands.

The authoritarian discourse described here is however partially outweighed by the development of a more competent and independent child consumer in the ads from 1969 and above all in those from 1984. This changing image of the child consumer of the 20th century is recognised by Olesen (2004:277-288) who points to the fact that children historically have been quite distanced from the consumer markets and that parents and other adults have acted as a link between children and the market, providing them with the consumer goods they need. Through the commercialisation of childhood in the second half of the 20th century this has

changed and children's subjective consumer preferences have gradually come into focus (cf. Wintersberger 2005:204).

In the symbolic exchanges of goods and services of the early texts the child reader is ascribed little or no power over its own consumption. As mentioned, the child readers of *Donald Duck & Co* are commanded and offered an opportunity to 'compete', to 'win', and to 'send in', but they are rarely commanded to 'buy' something (except subscriptions to Disney publications and issues of *Donald Duck & Co*). Also, the enjoyments they are offered mostly concern the recurrent contests. In this ways, the children of the late 1940s and 1950s seem to be perceived as belonging to a group to whom no major power to consume is attributed. However, through the commands and offers of the contests and other practical activities tied to a certain brand or company, a seed of brand recognition is potentially planted in the children's minds.

Another apparent reason for introducing brands and companies to the children of the earlier years of the study is the influence they can exert on their mothers. The point that consumption has been an activity negotiated between commercial companies, children, and mothers during a large part of the 20th century has been made by Seiter (1993:21) in her discussion of the mother-child relation in consumption: "Children go shopping because mothers go shopping, and mothers have few alternatives but to take them along. Young children could never have been exploited as a market if they were not already visiting stores with their mothers." Especially in 1959, the child readers of *Donald Duck & Co* are explicitly commanded to work on their mothers in order to get them to buy a certain product.

In 1984, and to some extent in 1969, the children no longer need their mothers in consumption matters, at least not as much as before. The children are envisaged consuming as independent individuals who make their own consumer decisions. Hand in hand with the independent child consumers of 1984 come the hedonistic child consumers who are commanded to satisfy their subjective, hedonistic, needs through consumption. Children are, for instance, commanded to 'buy' and 'taste' a number of food products.

The diachronic changes in how child readers are incorporated in the symbolic exchange of goods and services in *Donald Duck & Co* can be related to Qvortrup's (2005) discussion of conceptualisations of childhoods, partly drawing upon Ariès (1962). In pre-modernity, children were not singled out as a separate group in society and they were, for good or ill, included in public life, e.g. they worked. Basically, children were viewed as small adults. In modernity, the role of children in the public sphere was weakened whereas their role in private life, within the family, was strengthened. Children's needs were perceived as special and different from those of adults. In the transition from pre-modernity to modernity the social definition of children moved from human *beings*, i.e. being just like adults, to human *becomings*, in the process of becoming adult human beings (Qvortrup 2005:5).

The human becomings of modernity, with strong positions in the realm of private life but weaker in the public realm, are recognisable in the child readers of *Donald Duck & Co* ads from 1959 and to some extent from 1948, commanded to try to influence the consumption of their mothers. These child readers are not directly commanded themselves to consume, i.e. to become involved directly in the presumably public realm of consuming goods and services. Instead, they could be viewed as *consumer becomings* who are introduced to brand names and commercial products through contests and other activities for future use in the adult world of consumption.

The competent and financially more independent child consumers of 1969, and especially 1984, cannot be described as consumer becomings. One interpretation is that the child readers of those years are no longer confined to the private domain of the family, but have (re)entered the public sphere, at least the public arena of consumption. They could rather

be defined as *consumer beings*, capable of making their own decisions in consumption matters.

     Finally, a few remarks can be made on the results of the "textually oriented discourse analysis" (Fairclough 2003:2-3) presented here in relation to other analyses of similar texts. Images of subordinate children in relation to adults as well as the competent consuming children of the 1980s and 1990s have been discussed in ethnographic research (e.g. Brembeck, Berggren Torell, Falkström and Johansson 2001). However, the analysis of speech functions can provide a fuller picture of how this is actually enacted in specific units of discourse. Such an analysis highlights the interconnection between socio-cultural developments and changes in micro levels of discourse; how we think about children and consumption is reflected in how goods and services are symbolically exchanged in the lexicogrammatical choices used in ads targeting children. The other side of that coin is how changes in the symbolic exchange of goods and services have affected the way children have actually acted as consumers during the 20th century, but that discussion, of course, requires methodologies other than the one presented in this paper.

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Values and Attitudes in Ancient and Modern History

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Abstract

The demanding literacy levels required of senior secondary students are widely acknowledged, yet the area of literacy in the senior secondary high school remains relatively under researched. In particular, there is a lack of detailed studies which aim to differentiate the literacy expectations of different subject areas. A first step in this process is to differentiate the underlying objectives stated for different subjects. This paper will report on preliminary research into the rationales and values statements contained in the Stage 6 Modern and Ancient History syllabi carried out as part of a larger research project investigating the literacy demands of Stage 6 Humanities Subjects in NSW. An Appraisal analysis of these syllabi shows how these subjects argue quite differently for their importance in terms of relevance to and skill building for students. The analysis will indicate how a complex interplay of judgement and appreciation is constructed in these documents and contribute to understandings of difference within the discipline of history in the senior high school.

1   Introduction

1.1   Rationale

There has been widespread acknowledgement within the teaching profession that literacy development is an important issue in schools and 'controversy over literacy has become a permanent fixture of educational debate and policy' (Green, Hodgens & Luke 1997:7). This concern has been matched with important responses from the fields of research in educational and applied linguistics (Coffin 1997; Painter et al. 1986; Rothery & Gerot 1986; Veel 2006; Wignell 1987). However, much of the effort in exploring the literacy demands of curriculum and the needs of students has focused on the contexts of primary school and junior high school, and/or on the needs of students with English as a second language or dialect. The literacy development needs of senior school students, that is students in their final two years of schooling, have received less attention (Cambourne 2001; Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2001). Their needs are somewhat different due to the nature of the HSC and the pressures of external testing and constant school-based assessments bring. In order to do well at this level of school, students need an understanding of how their audience and their communicative purpose will shape the form of their writing, as different types of texts are used to achieve different purposes in different settings, resulting in collections of different text types referred to as *genres* (Coffin 1996). Many teachers feel under-equipped to be able to assist these students to reach the sophisticated level of control over written academic language that is necessary across several different text types if students are going to achieve success in their HSC examinations. Moreover, teachers struggle with limited timeframes in which to teach both subject content (which many teachers still perceive to be their primary, even *only,* focus) and literacy and many are unconfident in the area of literacy and how to go about teaching it, preferring to leave it up to the 'experts'.

Year 11 and 12 provide a transition stage between the junior school and tertiary education. In these two years of study as students are apprenticed into new ways of writing and negotiating meaning which will prepare them for the requirements of writing literature reviews, research reports and theses at various tertiary levels. In subjects such as Modern and Ancient History, high levels of academic literacy are required to meet syllabus demands as students often must integrate multiple sources and the views of acknowledged experts into their writing, oftentimes evaluating the reliability of these while still maintaining the appearance of objectivity. The Senior High School context is therefore a significant research site as there is a significant need to work in the area of literacy pedagogy.

1.2 Background

This research arises out of problems I encountered as the chair of the literacy committee in a senior high school in Sydney's west. On consultation with teachers I found the prevailing attitude was to recognise that students had literacy needs but also discovered either frustration or apathy and cynicism born out of perceived lack of skill in the area of literacy pedagogy and repeated cycles of what was seen to be 'faddish' approaches to literacy. Furthermore, I believe the new HSC syllabi introduced in recent years into NSW schools have incorporated more of a focus on the heteroglossic (multiple-voiced) nature of text and that overall, they require much more sophisticated control of resources for managing interpersonal stance as they almost inevitably require students to do things like 'analyse', 'evaluate' 'synthesise information from a range of sources' and 'assess the significance' (NSW Board of Studies 2004a) of ideas, theories or events.

Surveying the existent literature it seems that although much has been written on the subjects of literacy and junior high school students (e.g. the Write it Right Project for the NSW Department of Education Disadvantaged Schools Program in the 1990s) and literacy and university students (Hood 2004; Hyland 2000; Swales 1990), there is less literature which directly addresses the particular needs of senior high school students studying for their HSC. A previous analysis of the discourse semantics of texts produced as assessment tasks in senior Ancient History suggested that students were indeed expected to construct texts which were on the one hand 'objective' but on the other hand evaluated different sources in terms of reliability and accuracy and to construct an argument integrating multiple viewpoints negotiating the same knowledge space (Matruglio 2004). These requirements necessitated a sophisticated control of the Appraisal System (especially resources of Engagement). I believe that a more detailed study of several humanities syllabi, HSC exam papers and the resultant texts produced for assessment tasks will help elucidate exactly what the requirements for success in the HSC are. Once these requirements are made explicit and accessible to teachers, teachers and literacy experts can work together to produce teaching materials that will aim to improve literacy levels for students across NSW.

2 Literature Review

This paper begins with a social orientation to language and literacy pedagogy in line with recent research emphasizing the importance of a social approach to language teaching (Columbi & Schleppegrell 2002; Gee 2002; Merino & Hammond 2002; Ramanathan 2002) in order to enable students to make 'connections between the "grammar" of a social language and the work of recognizing and enacting socially

situated identities' (Gee 2002). Recognising the importance of a social perspective on language, this study begins from a Systemic Functional Linguistics' (SFL) definition of language as a 'social semiotic'.

2.1   *Literacy in Schools*

Over the last 20 years, there has been much fruitful research conducted in NSW on the subject of literacy in both primary and high schools. Much of this research has been carried out by systemic functional linguists eager to clarify understandings of the language demands of schooling with a view to making the teaching and learning of literacy in schools more productive and improve student levels of success in school. Many of the current facets of systemic functional linguistics as it stands today, such as genre theory and the Appraisal system have arisen out of the research conducted in schools and the attempts by linguists (often working together with teachers) to make the language demands of learning in school more explicit and visible.

Some of the issues confronting students learning to write in the humanities in particular are discussed in the report of the Writing Project conducted by Eggins, Martin and Wignell in Sydney in 1986. This report pointed to the lack of purposeful scaffolding for students learning to write in schools. The researchers found that when students write in class, it is usually to copy notes or use a textbook to answer short answer questions, and writing of any length is usually to be completed at home. In the junior school, such writing is usually made up of 'assignments' or 'projects', generally transitioning towards essays towards year 10 or so. Furthermore, much of class time is spent in discussion, often of answers to questions students have prepared at home. Although most of class time is devoted to discussion, students are nevertheless graded on their written responses, not their oral participation. In other words, students have access to good oral models in class, but few written ones (Wignell 1987). Wignell's conclusion is that students 'are taught a lot of "what" but they aren't taught a great deal of "how"' (Wignell 1987:18).

Studies of literacy in the United States seem to mirror these findings. In his national study of writing in the secondary school, Applebee (1984) found that only 3% of students' school time (including homework) was spent on writing texts of paragraph length or longer, and when students were asked to write at length the writing 'served merely as a vehicle to test knowledge of specific content' (Applebee 1984:2). This is reflected in his analysis of textbooks from across the curriculum which shows that roughly 90% of the tasks in textbooks assume the audience to be the 'teacher as examiner' (Applebee 1984). It seems, therefore, that students' writing is valued only as an assessment tool insofar as it provides an opportunity to communicate 'subject knowledge' and that the *form* of the writing is unimportant as very little time is dedicated to teaching students how to write.

Students themselves report that they do not receive much instruction in writing for their subjects, with much of the instruction they do receive limited to explanations of generic structure or required content. Students report a clear familiarity with the final form of their writing, but what they lack is an understanding of how to go about producing that form and the reasons for such a text structure (Marshall 1984). One explanation for why the literacy demands of some subjects may be unclear to students could be because although the intended curriculum seems obvious from the teacher's point of view, there is too little framing information available to the student (Reid 2001). In other words, what students appear to lack is an understanding of the interpersonal

nature of their writing and the way that structuring a text in a particular way affects the reader by establishing a clear argument and constructing a reading position for the responder of the text. Furthermore, teacher's comments on student writing also tended to concentrate on accuracy of content (Langer 1984), or on form, often at sentence and word level, without an explanation as to how or why a more appropriate structure was to be achieved (Marshall 1984).

Following this research, it has been suggested that there is 'a systematic and pervasive failure in the quality of instructional interaction between teacher and student' when it comes to teaching students how to write (Langer & Applebee 1984:169) with instruction for writing focusing mainly on the presentation of a topic, word length of the expected text, and a due date, with detailed instruction being provided only as feedback after the writing task had been marked, if at all (Langer & Applebee 1984). Anecdotal evidence from discussions with teachers in the senior high school in which this study is based would seem to support this, with many teachers insisting that there is so much subject 'content' to 'get through' that little time remains for teaching students how to write, which is often perceived as being largely the domain of the English subject teachers.

This view, however fails to appreciate the link between disciplinary learning and the literacy skills necessary to display such learning. Learning how to write for a particular subject is part of learning that subject, because language, as a semiotic system, is used differently in different disciplines to reflect the varied ways of thinking about the world represented by these subjects (Columbi & Schleppegrell 2002; Kress 2001). The assertion that 'language teaching cannot be separated from the teaching of content' (Merino & Hammond 2002:242) has been reinforced by many researchers studying literacy development both in Australia and internationally (Columbi & Schleppegrell 2002; Gee 2002; Kress 2001) and there is an ever-increasing assertion that this language teaching must be explicit if students are to achieve the types of 'advanced literacy' that is demanded in secondary and post-secondary schooling today (Columbi & Schleppegrell 2002; Scarcella 2002) . There is a need to develop a plurality of 'curriculum literacies' (Cumming & Wyatt-Smith 2001) to elucidate how literacy interacts with the different subjects studied in the senior high school, because literacy 'is not one thing evenly spread across curriculum areas. It varies with the kinds of disciplinary practices and forms of knowledge that are at issue in a school subject' (Kress 2001:22).

This makes an understanding of how different subjects are presented important for students. If they are to write well for a particular subject, then they must understand what sort of knowledge is valued in this subject, and how that knowledge is expected (by examiners) to be expressed. Therefore, the questions of whether different subjects require students to write in fundamentally different ways and of whether different subjects value different interpersonal standpoints is an important one both for educators and for students who are seeking to excel in the HSC examination. This paper aims to add to the rich understandings of literacy in the school subject of History (Coffin 1996; Coffin 1997; Martin 2002, 2007) by comparing how the syllabus documents present Modern and Ancient History and by investigating which attitudes and values are foregrounded by the syllabus writers of these subjects.

3 Methodology

In order to answer the above questions with relation to the subjects of Modern and Ancient History, an examination of the syllabus documents for these two subjects was carried out with a view to determining the literacy requirements for each subject according to the syllabus outcomes. Each subject has a list of outcomes that students must achieve in order to do well, as well as key competencies which are included in every subject and which often contain statements specifically about language use. Discovering how each subject argues for its own value to students and how it sees itself contributing to their literacy development is an important first step in discovering what literacy strategies students require in order for success. One of the findings from this analysis was that students were expected to 'communicate a knowledge and understanding of historical features and issues, using appropriate and well-structured oral and written forms' (NSW Board of Studies 2004b:11). The word 'appropriate' occurred several times in both the outcomes and the key competencies of both syllabi, however the syllabi did not elaborate exactly what 'appropriate' was. In an effort to try to determine what 'appropriate' would be in the case of both Modern and Ancient History, I focussed my attention more narrowly on the syllabus rationale statements. Unless otherwise indicated, all extracts from the syllabi included in the analysis below are from the syllabus rationale for Ancient History (NSW Board of Studies 2004a:6) and Modern History (NSW Board of Studies 2004b:6) and for ease of reading will be labelled as AH1, AH2, MH1 etc.

3.1 *Syllabus Rationales*

An Appraisal analysis of the syllabus rationale for both modern and Ancient History reveals interesting details about how the subjects are presented in terms of both relevance to students and their perceived value in the curriculum. All Stage 6 syllabi have a rationale occurring at the very beginning of the syllabus after a statement about the purpose of the Higher Certificate program of study in general. Thus, the syllabus rationale sets the tone of the syllabus document and attempts to align the reader of the document into certain ways of thinking about the subject. The values and issues raised in the rationale could therefore be expected to reappear in the syllabus outcomes as important perspectives to be learnt and demonstrated by students. Furthermore, these syllabus rationales are often used by teachers to persuade possible future students and their parents of the importance of their subjects and the benefit that studying their subject will have for students' academic development and future studies and careers. For this reason, knowledge of how each individual subject presents itself and the claims it makes about its own relevance should give an insight into what values students need to reflect in their own writing and therefore what would be deemed 'appropriate' writing by an HSC marker. An example of the first paragraph of the rationale from the Ancient History Syllabus is provided below.

> The study of history is an inquiry into past experience that helps make the present more intelligible. A study of the past is invaluable, for to be unaware of history is to be ignorant of those forces that have shaped our social and physical worlds. Through the study of ancient history, students learn both about the interaction of societies and the impact of individuals and groups on ancient events and ways of life. The study of ancient history gives students an understanding of the possibilities and limitations of

comparing past to present and present to past by exposing them to a variety of perspectives on key events and issues. It also gives them opportunities to develop their own perspectives on the origins and influence of ideas, values and behaviours that are still relevant in the modern world. (NSW Board of Studies 2004a:6)

4   Analysis

One of the first things to note from an Appraisal analysis of the syllabus rationales of these two subjects is that a great deal of the appraisal occurs as *appreciation,* as the valuing of *things*. This is not surprising, given that the function of a syllabus rationale is to state why the study of a particular subject is beneficial and desirable in the context of a Higher School Certificate program of study. A clear example of the positive way in which the syllabus rationales value their subjects comes from the Modern History Syllabus:

MH1:   Modern History Stage 6 is especially **relevant** [+valuation] to the lives of students

It is interesting to note, however, that it is very often not the subject itself that is appreciated, but more abstracted views, events, knowledges or skills that are seen as integral to the study of the subject. This gives us an insight into what is seen as important in each subject and the values and ideals that each subject upholds. The following instances of positive valuation from the Modern History Syllabus illustrate this point:

MH2: the events and issues that form its content are, in many cases, still **current** [+ valuation].

MH3:   The study of Modern History Stage 6 also contributes to the development of skills that are of great **importance** [+ valuation] in today's workforce.

MH4:   The fluent communication of thoughts and ideas gleaned from the critical analysis of primary and secondary sources is a **sought after** [+ valuation] skill.

MH5:   the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes acquired through a study of Modern History Stage 6 are **essential** [+ valuation] ingredients in the promotion of a democratic, harmonious, progressive and tolerant society.

Accordingly, *events and issues*, *skills*, the *fluent communication of thoughts and ideas* and *knowledge, skills, values and attitudes* are all positively valued in the Modern History syllabus, and the fact that the syllabus spends more time positively evaluating these abstractions rather than the subject itself highlights how important these things are seen to be in the wider educational community.

Similarly in Ancient History, positive value is attributed to things such as *events and issues*, *ideas, values and behaviour*, *view of the past*, and *contemporary ethical issues*.

AH1   …perspectives on **key** [+valuation] events and issues.

AH2:   …develop their own perspectives on the origins and **influence** [+ valuation] of ideas, values and behaviours that are still **relevant** [+ valuation] in the modern world.

AH3:   …enabling students to piece together an **informed** [+ valuation] and coherent view of the past.

AH4:   The study of ancient history raises **significant** [+ valuation] contemporary ethical issues…

Thus, the study of both Modern and Ancient History are presented as being worthwhile because of the importance and value of the skills, values, attitudes and ideas necessary to and developed by the study of History.

What is further illustrated by an examination of what exactly is being appraised in these syllabus rationales is the importance given in both subjects to the understanding and evaluation of multiple contexts and points of view. Modern History is presented as 'a **contested** [- composition] dialogue between past and present' and the final statement in the rationale leaves the reader with a strong impression of the heteroglossic orientation of the subject:

MH6:   This **broad** [+quantification, invoking + valuation] understanding encourages students to develop an **appreciation** [+ valuation] of different views and to be **aware** [+ capacity] of how such views contribute to individual and group actions in **various** [quantification] local, national and international contexts.

Ancient History highlights the heteroglossic orientation of the subject using very similar language, stating:

AH5:   This **broad** [+quantification, invoking + valuation] knowledge encourages them to develop an **appreciation** [+valuation] and **understanding** of different views and makes them aware of how these views contribute to individual and group actions.

However, despite the similarities between the two types of history mentioned above, a comparison of the Appraisal analyses of the Modern and Ancient History Syllabi also reveals an interesting difference in the way that these subjects are presented in terms of their value to students. This is clear from the instances of Judgement in each rationale, as Judgement is the system in Appraisal which deals with attitudes towards people's behaviour and character. The Judgement in the Ancient History Syllabus is predominantly from the category of *capacity*, for example:

AH6:   A study of the past is invaluable, for to be **unaware** [- capacity] of history is to be **ignorant** [- capacity] of those forces that have shaped our social and physical worlds

Thus, the study of Ancient History is presented as being important because it prevents students from being *ignorant* and *unaware*, which are negatively judged. Furthermore, the syllabus rationale later adds that

AH7:   it allows students to study and analyse past societies with a **detachment** [+ capacity] conferred by the perspectives of at least two millennia

In other words, not only does the study of Ancient History prevent students from being *incapable* (being ignorant, unaware), it builds on their capabilities to make them more competent overall. *Detachment* is seen as positive, as the skills of writing in an objective and analytical fashion are highly valued in Stage 6 and in the tertiary context beyond school. The value of studying Ancient History in terms of building students' capacity is further reinforced as

AH8:   It equips students to question **critically** [+ capacity] and interpret written and archaeological sources

and

AH9:   It **empowers** [+ capacity] students with knowledge, understanding, skills, values and attitudes that are useful for their lifelong learning.

The study of Ancient History is therefore presented as valuable because of its capacity building properties. Studying Ancient History produces socially capable individuals who will not be *ignorant* but who are able to use their powers of reasoning in a *detached* and *critical* way and who will then be *empowered* to continue their learning beyond the school context.

On the other hand, the Judgement in the Modern History Syllabus is mainly concerned with *propriety*.

MH7:   the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes acquired through a study of Modern History Stage 6 are essential ingredients in the promotion of a **democratic, harmonious, progressive and tolerant** [+ propriety] society.

and

MH8:   Modern History Stage 6 helps empower students to become **responsible** [+ propriety] and active citizens

Thus, in contrast with Ancient History, the study of Modern History is valued because it produces not more capable students, but more *ethical* students. In other words, Ancient History appears to be concerned with issues of *social esteem*, while Modern History appears to be concerned with issues of *social sanction*. This difference is also visible when the sections of the syllabi dealing with values are explored.

The values which are held forth as important and are expected to be learned by students are set out explicitly in the 'objectives and outcomes' section of the syllabus. Page 12 of the Ancient History syllabus states that:

AH10:   Values and attitudes are inherent in the subject matter of Ancient History and the skills that are developed. They result from learning experiences and reflection.

AH11:   Students need to develop values and attitudes that promote an informed and just society.

This statement is followed by a table expanding on the values expected to be developed, and although these objectives are the only ones in the syllabus not to be translated into syllabus outcomes for testing, the prominence given them in the syllabus nevertheless indicates their importance.

Table 1: Values in Ancient History

Objectives A student develops values and attitudes about:	A student:
5 the diversity and complexity of ancient societies	• values the complexity and variety of human experiences as reflected in the history of the ancient world • respects different viewpoints, ways of living, belief systems and languages
6 the influence of the ancient past on the present and the future	• appreciates the ways the past can inform the present and the future • appreciates the impact of the ancient world on current lifestyles, issues, beliefs and institutions • develops tolerant and informed attitudes about the contemporary world • is able to participate in society in an informed way as an individual or as a member of groups
7 the value of Ancient History for personal growth and lifelong learning	• develops an interest in history for lifelong learning • enriches personal experiences in response to travel and leisure activities
8 the conservation of the past	• develops a sense of responsibility to conserve the past

(NSW Board of Studies 2004a, p. 12)

The syllabus for Modern History includes a similar section about values, with the interesting change from 'Students need to develop values and attitudes that promote an informed and just society.' (NSW Board of Studies 2004a:12) to '…promote a **democratic** and just society' (NSW Board of Studies 2004b :12 emphasis mine). The objectives and values expressed therein are sufficiently different to warrant the inclusion of the table from the Modern History Syllabus as well.

Table 2: Values in Modern History

Objectives develops values and attitudes about:	A student:
5 informed and active citizenship	• demonstrates an appreciation of the nature of various democratic institutions • demonstrates an appreciation of the individual rights, freedoms and responsibilities of citizenship and democracy • demonstrates respect for different viewpoints, ways of living, belief systems and languages in the modern world
6 a just society	• articulates concern for the welfare, rights and dignity of all people • displays a readiness to counter disadvantage and change racist, sexist and other discriminatory practices • demonstrates respect for human life
7 the influence of the	• demonstrates an awareness of the ways the past can inform

past on the present and the future	and influence the present and the future • recognises the impact of contemporary national and global developments on countries and regions, lifestyles, issues, beliefs and institutions
8 the contribution of historical studies to lifelong learning	• demonstrates an awareness of the contributions of historical studies to lifelong learning

(NSW Board of Studies 2004b:12)

A comparison of the objectives included in each table above shows that the Ancient History syllabus appears to be mostly concerned with developing values related to learning about and appreciating difference, being informed and valuing lifelong learning. The main focus of the values explicitly stated in this syllabus seems to be on **knowledge** and **understanding** of the past and its impact on and relevance to the present, whereas the Modern History syllabus, in addition to these issues also appears to foreground more values to do with social **behaviour** in the present. This mirrors the differing focus on Ancient History as capacity building compared to Modern History as ethics building found through the Appraisal analysis of the rationale section of the syllabus and discussed above.

Table 3: Values in Modern and Ancient History compared

Modern History		Ancient History	
5 informed and active citizenship	social behaviour in the present	5 the diversity and complexity of ancient societies	knowledge and understanding
6 a just society	social behaviour in the present	6 the influence of the ancient past on the present and the future	knowledge and understanding
7 the influence of the past on the present and the future	knowledge and understanding	7 the value of Ancient History for personal growth and lifelong learning	knowledge and understanding
8 the contribution of historical studies to lifelong learning	knowledge and understanding	8 the conservation of the past	knowledge and understanding + social behaviour in the present

An Appraisal analysis of the values paragraphs proved to be a challenge, because of the multiple levels of evaluation contained within them. One level of evaluation is created when the objectives statements are 'unpacked' in the 'outcomes' column of the table. (Although these objectives are not translated into formal syllabus outcomes for testing, the values statements in the second column of the table are expressed as outcomes. Even though they are not formally labelled as such, for ease of discussion they will be referred to as "outcomes" henceforward). The values statements involve complex relationships between the students, the outcomes they are expected to achieve and the values expressed in these outcomes and much of the evaluative language can be understood from different vantage points. Furthermore, the language of the outcomes is full of abstractions and nominalisations which are then linked to other

abstractions. These abstractions carry attitudinal meaning of their own and also interact with the attitudinal prosody from the initiating objective and from the table as a whole. What the reader is presented with, then, is a series of statements containing a multi-layered meaning equivalent to 'A student is valued as successful because they are capable of valuing certain values which are valuable.' This picture is further complicated by the fact that the same items of vocabulary can be used to mean different things and in turn can therefore carry different attitudinal loading from one statement to the next. Consider the following outcomes linked to the first objective in the table from Modern History

A student:
• **demonstrates an appreciation** [+cap] of the nature of **various** [+quant]
  democratic [+prop] institutions
• **demonstrates an appreciation** [+prop] of the individual **rights** [+cap], **freedoms**
  [+cap] and **responsibilities** [+ten] of **citizenship** [+cap,+ten] and **democracy**
  [+cap,+ten,+prop]

(NSW Board of Studies 2004b:12)

In these two instances, the word *appreciation* is used to mean different things, and therefore also carries different attitudinal meaning. In the first statement, *appreciation* can be glossed as *understanding*, so the statement reads as "A student demonstrates an understanding of the nature of various democratic institutions", while in the second statement *appreciation* can be glossed as *valuing*, so the statement reads "A student demonstrates a valuing of the individual rights, freedoms and responsibilities of citizenship and democracy." The first statement, then, refers to the student's capacity to understand, whereas the second statement refers to the student behaving in an ethical way.

These two outcomes statements also indicate the values which are considered important and which ethical stance students must adopt in order to succeed in this subject. It is significant that the first two values statements are dedicated to setting up an understanding of *democracy* as a vital concept. Students are not only to understand the nature of democratic institutions, they are also required to see democracy itself as valuable. Furthermore, the statement

• **demonstrates an appreciation** [+prop] of the individual **rights** [+cap],
  freedoms [+cap] and **responsibilities** [+ten] of **citizenship** [+cap,+ten] and
  democracy [+cap,+ten,+prop]

indicates how democracy is to be viewed and the sanctioned understanding of what democracy is. Democracy is set up as an institution involving *rights*, *freedoms* and *responsibilities*, in which one participates through *citizenship*, which is the result of the proper exercise of these rights, responsibilities and freedoms. The words 'rights' and 'freedoms' inscribe a value of positive capacity, that is, if one has the right and the freedom to do something, then they are able to do it. 'Responsibility' inscribes a value of positive tenacity, in other words if one has the responsibility to do something, then one should be able to be depended upon to do it. Thus, *citizenship* and *democracy* are set up as highly abstract fusions of capacity and tenacity.

Furthermore, *democracy* has been analysed as being a fusion of three sub-categories of judgement. Aside from the definition of democracy contained in the outcomes statement, the concept of democracy carries with it strong associations of

propriety or ethics. In the context of mainstream western culture democracy is the 'right' way to behave, and countries are quite prepared to go to war to defend or even impose this way of government in other countries. In fact, words defining alternate forms of government such as *dictatorship* or *socialist regime* carry strong negative values of social sanction. These are not the 'right' way to behave. Therefore, the term *democracy* can be understood to fuse both positive values of social esteem and social sanction in the one word, and has therefore been analysed as inscribing positive capacity, tenacity and propriety.

It is clear then, that a lot of work is being carried out in the first two outcomes statements in the values section of the syllabus. Democracy is set up to be an important value, which is to be 'appreciated' by students. If students do appreciate this particular value then they in turn will be valued as successful in their study of Modern History. Therefore, students are valued because they are capable of valuing democracy, which is valuable.

The values outcomes statements therefore also seem to fuse aspects of both judgement and appreciation, further adding to the complexity of undertaking an Appraisal analysis. It is not democracy itself that is being valued per se; it is the student's ability to appreciate the rights, freedoms and responsibilities of democracy. That is the student is being valued because of a particular valuation they have of democracy. This is clear from the way that most of the outcomes begin with a statement of student capacity:

- a student demonstrates an appreciation… (a student is able to show that they appreciate)
- a student demonstrates respect… (a student is able to show that they respect)
- a student articulates concern… (a student can express concern)
- a student displays a readiness… (a student can show that they are ready)
- a student demonstrates an awareness… (a student is able to show that they are aware)
- a student recognises the impact… (a student can understand the impact)
- a student demonstrates an awareness… (a student can show an understanding)

However, the term used to appraise in each case is a nominalisation, which removes the focus away from behaviour to a certain extent, and makes the statements appear somewhat like a case of appreciation of a concept or thing. When viewed without the framing reference to the student or the initial statement of capacity, "…an appreciation of the nature of various democratic institutions" seems like a case of appreciation:reaction:impact, in other words 'the nature of various democratic institutions is engaging'. Similarly 'an appreciation of the individual rights, freedoms and responsibilities of citizenship and democracy' seems right on the border between judgement and appreciation. On the one hand it could be understood to mean 'the individual rights, freedoms and responsibilities of citizenship and democracy are valuable' and thus be an instance of appreciation:valuation. On the other hand, the possession of this attitude in itself conveys a positive judgement of the person holding such an attitude. Thus, the statement taken as a whole appears to be a case of appreciation nested inside a greater context of judgement. Although it is essentially the student who is being valued, the values are also being valued, however they are presented in the context of student behaviours or attitudes which themselves are evaluated.

It is also important to note the interplay of judgement and appreciation which occurs between the objectives and the expansion of these objectives into their corresponding outcomes. This can be most clearly seen from the Ancient History values table below. The attitude present in the objectives is expressed in terms of appreciation (shown below in **bold**), that is, the subject matter of Ancient History is what is being appraised, however the attitude present in the outcomes provided as an explanation of what these objectives mean is expressed mainly as judgement (shown below in *italics*) and it is the student who is being appraised. This interplay of appreciation and judgement and the merging of appraisal directed at the subject matter itself and the student results in a complex and dense expression of values.

Table 4: Appreciation and Judgement in Ancient History

Objectives **A student develops values and attitudes about:**	**A student:**
5 the **diversity** and **complexity** of ancient societies	• *values* the **complexity** and variety of human experiences as reflected in the history of the ancient world • *respects* different viewpoints, ways of living, belief systems and languages
6 the **influence** of the ancient past on the present and the future	• *appreciates* the ways the past can inform the present and the future • *appreciates* the **impact** of the ancient world on current lifestyles, issues, beliefs and institutions • develops *tolerant* and *informed* attitudes about the contemporary world • is *able* to participate in society in an *informed* way as an individual or as a member of groups
7 the **value** of Ancient History for personal growth and **lifelong** learning	• *develops an interest* in history for lifelong learning • *enriches personal experiences* in response to travel and leisure activities
8 the **conservation** of the past	• *develops a sense of responsibility* to conserve the past

(NSW Board of Studies 2004a:12)

Additionally, the values outcomes themselves are highly saturated with vocabulary inscribing attitude of some variety. This is especially the case for Modern History and can be illustrated by the excerpt below:
- **demonstrates an appreciation** [+cap] of the nature of **various** [+quant] **democratic** [+prop] institutions
- **demonstrates an appreciation** [+prop] of the individual **rights** [+cap], **freedoms** [+cap] and **responsibilities** [+ten] of **citizenship** [+cap, +ten]and **democracy** [+cap, +ten, +prop]
- **demonstrates respect** [+prop] for different viewpoints, ways of living, belief systems and languages in the modern world
    (NSW Board of Studies 2004b:12)

In fact, the values in the outcomes section of the Modern History Syllabus contain a much higher concentration of evaluative language than the Ancient History syllabus. The other difference between the two, as already mentioned above, is that the Modern History syllabus is concerned with the development of *ethical* students, while the Ancient History syllabus seems more concerned on the development of *capable students*. This is evident from higher percentages of the use of lexis inscribing propriety in the Modern History syllabus (45% compared with 27% in the Ancient History Syllabus) and the greater percentage of lexis inscribing capacity in the Ancient History Syllabus (64% compared with 45% in the Modern History Syllabus). This is illustrated in the table below:

Table 5: Comparison of the expression of Attitude in the two Histories

		MH	AH
Appreciation		8%	15%
Judgement	total	92%	85%
	tenacity	18%	0
	capacity	45%	64%
	propriety	45%	27%
Appraised	student	55%	92%
	other	45%	8%

The above table also illustrates another difference between the two Histories. In the case of Ancient History, the thing that is most appraised in the values section of the syllabus is the student (92%). In other words, this section of the syllabus is primarily concerned with the evaluation of the student and the development of the correct values in the student. However only 55% of the evaluative language in the Modern History Syllabus is directed at the student or their behaviour, while 45 percent is directed at society or at abstractions such as *citizenship and democracy,* contemporary *national and global developments* or *the past*. It seems from this, that the value of the Ancient History syllabus, then, is constructed almost solely as an argument for the benefit it can have for the student (Ancient History as capacity building), while the Modern History syllabus argues for some kind of intrinsic value in addition to the skills it can develop in a student (Modern History as a study of ethics).

5   Conclusion

Although Modern and Ancient History can be perceived as having much in common, such as the focus in the syllabi on developing skills, values, attitudes and ideas, and the heteroglossic nature of the two subjects, there are also important differences in what sort of knowledges and values are foregrounded in each syllabus. In order for students to be able to write 'appropriately' for each subject, they need to understand how each syllabus presents itself, which values are deemed to be of importance in each subject and what each subject aims to achieve in terms of student development. The difference between a focus on student capacity on the one hand and student ethics on the other, could be expected to be reflected in the way that students write and the types of interpersonal resources which would be more valued by markers in the HSC examinations. Modern History's focus on ethics would seem to allow for students to use more resources of propriety from the Appraisal system, while Ancient History's focus on capacity-

building may allow for more use of the resources of capacity from the Appraisal system. It is hoped that continuing research will combine the results of an analysis of student texts with the results presented in this paper to describe the differing literacy needs of students studying Modern and Ancient History even more clearly. Once the differences in orientation and expectations for these subjects are made clear, teachers and students can work towards the development of 'advanced literacy' skills for all students so they can have the maximum chances for success at the HSC.

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Narrative Theory and the Dimensions of Systemic Modelling.

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Abstract

In general, narrative has been understood to be about story-telling: the organisation of time and the projection of a world (diegesis), but this paper suggests both concepts should be plural. Using the systemic modelling of language as social semiotic I show that three worlds/diegeses can be inferred (physiological, psychological and social worlds). Using the theories of modern physics I show that six natural worlds, with their associated six temporalities, can be described, the last three worlds being comparable to those of systemic description. The paper discusses the analysis of systemic dimensions (structure, system, stratification, instantiation, metafunction) in different media, and concludes with introductory notes on the technical construction of interpersonal meaning for narrative in film.

1   Interdisciplinary studies of narrative

The study of narrative is relevant to many disciplinary purposes. Thus Martin Cortazzi, wanting to help teachers find useful techniques from various studies of narrative, describes the modelling of narrative (through theory and practice) in the disciplines of sociology and socio-linguistics, psychology, literary study and anthropology (Cortazzi:1993). Each discipline has created models according to its own purposes of analysis. This is an important point to remember when looking at the present modelling of narrative in systemics. At the very least, however, all studies of narrative assume it is a study of 'story' or the telling or interpreting of story.

Systemic theory has much to offer the literary, and wider, study of narrative, though one use of the term 'narrative' in systemics as the name of a specific genre or text type has limited this relevance. To quote the authors of one introductory textbook: 'when texts share the same general purpose in the culture, they will often share the same obligatory and optional structural elements and so they belong to the same genre or text type' (*Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks,and Yallop*, 2000:9). In this use, the term 'narrative' for a genre contrasts with terms like recount, procedure, explanation, exposition, each of which is used to label a text with a specific sequence of structural elements. This use of the word 'narrative' derives from the work of William Labov, and his analysis of spontaneous oral narratives spoken by black youths in Harlem, New York (1972:354-396). Cortazzi (1993:45-48) cites Labov's work as an example of the modelling of narrative in socio-linguistics. While it may be useful to teach primary school children a structural sequence of Orientation, Complication, Resolution, Coda, to help them write simple narratives, this is not an adequate conceptual apparatus for studying the complex narratives of literary or filmic discourse, and even effaces the potential application of systemic theory. My approach, in contrast, has been to explore the wider contribution which systemic modelling can make to narrative theory.

2   'Literary' narrative

The study of narrative has been a particularly important focus in literary studies. Literary study of vernacular languages, developing from about 1860 in the

universities out of the earlier study of the classical languages, has included in literature texts which are highly valued in the culture, rather than merely 'texts which are written' (as the name might suggest). The literary study of narrative includes texts which, though written down in manuscript, appear to have arisen out of an oral or primarily oral tradition. This includes, for example, the Classical Greek *Iliad*, the Old English *Beowulf*, the medieval romances in English and French. These early narratives are frequently in what we'd understand as 'poetry', with various patterns of versification, such as the poetic genre known as the epic. However, the development of the new language technology of the printing press, and the many social effects associated with its use, led to prose, rather than poetry, becoming the dominant discourse for literary narrative. Within the discourse of prose fiction, developing from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, the two dominant genres became those of the novel and the short story.

In the twentieth century, the growth of new technologies for language and image has led to new discursive realisations for narrative - film, radio, television, digital media. (I'm taking the word discourse more generally to talk about semiotics, meanings associated with different media, rather than limiting it to talk about semantics, meanings in language - appropriately *discurrere* in Latin meant 'to run in different ways'.) The new awareness of the mass audience for these technologies led to a new awareness of so-called popular culture, with its associated texts. Departments studying such texts may be called Media and Communications, or Cultural Studies or indeed still English. This leads to the question: to what extent (if at all) can the techniques for analysing the narrative of one discursive medium be extended to analysing the narratives of other media? A possible answer is suggested in the concluding section of this paper.

3 Narrative temporalities, narrative diegeses

Two assumptions about narrative run through different disciplinary modelling: that narrative organises time, and that narrative projects a world, a diegesis.

The first assumption is the most universal. Thus, to William Labov, 'a minimal narrative is defined as one containing a single temporal juncture' (1972:361). To the philosopher Paul Ricoeur, 'Time becomes human time to the extent that it is organized after the manner of narrative; narrative in turn is meaningful to the extent that it portrays the features of temporal existence' (1984:3).

The second assumption, that narrative in telling a story projects a world, is particularly taken up in literary and film studies. This projected world is referred to as the diegesis. Events within that world, the world of the characters, are diegetic events. The literary scholar Gérard Genette (1980) developed an intimidating arsenal of structuralist terminology (subsequently much used in literary narrative studies) centred on the term diegesis - for example extradiegetic narrator, one outside the world of the novel.

The two interdisciplinary assumptions, that narrative organises time and that narrative projects a diegesis, are not however sufficient. In both these statements, the word 'time' and the word 'diegesis' are singular. From my work on narrative, I have drawn the conclusion that in each case, the words should be plural - that time is more accurately *temporalities*, and diegesis more accurately *diegeses*. The first conclusion, about time, I initially drew from the modelling of nature in contemporary physics. The second conclusion, about diegesis, I initially drew from the modelling of

language as social semiotic in systemic functional linguistics. These two conclusions, this paper argues, turn out to be complementary .

4   The dimensions of systemic modelling

In the third edition of *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Halliday and Matthiessen describe five dimensions, or forms of order, in language (2004:19-36). These are the dimensions of structure, system, stratification, instantiation and metafunction. The theoretical importance of these dimensions is foregrounded: this five dimensional model is pictured, geometrically drawn on the two dimensional page, as the front cover of the edition. The graphic is repeated in Figure 1.6 (2004:21) in the text, and the information is repeated in tabular form at Table 1(3) (2004:20). I reproduce that table below, here Table 1.

Table 1: The dimensions (forms of order) in language and their ordering principles

	dimension	principle	orders
1	structure (syntagmatic order)	rank	clause - group or phrase - word - morpheme (lexicogrammar)
2	system (paradigmatic order)	delicacy	grammar - lexis (lexicogrammar)
3	stratification	realisation	semantics - lexicogrammar - phonology - phonetics
4	instantiation	instantiation	potential - sub-potential or instance type - instance
5	metafunction	metafunction	ideational (logical - experiential) - interpersonal - textual

We can see that the systemic use of narrative to name a text type, as in the socio-linguistic modelling, places it on the dimension of instantiation - this is the cline or continuum running between the potential and instance that Halliday and Matthiessen illustrate by the now familiar example of climate and weather. Climate refers to the patterns of weather observed on different days. A text-type or genre refers to similar patterns observed in different texts.

However, the particular dimension which I find immediately relevant to the more general study of narration is number 5, that of metafunction. As indicated, there are three orders of metafunction: the interpersonal, the textual and the ideational, the ideational having two sub-orders, the experiential and the logical. It was the experiential metafunction which first struck me as having particular resonance with a consideration of narrative.

Consider the coloured figure on the front cover of the second edition of Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1994). The two-dimensional circle models our experience as it can be interpreted through the grammatical system of transitivity. The same diagram appears in black and white in the body of the text with the caption 'The grammar of experience: types of process in English' (2004:172; also 1994:108). Halliday and Matthiessen write (2004:172):

> [the figure] represents process types as a semiotic space, with different regions representing different types. The regions have core areas and these represent prototypical members of the process types; but the regions are continuous, shading into one another, and these border areas represent the fact that the process types are fuzzy categories.

Notice the reference to 'core areas' and 'prototypical members of the process types' or major process types - these are the three process types of material, relational and mental processes. (A footnote comments that the minor process types appear to vary more across languages than the major types, 2004:171.) These are choices of experiential meaning in the clause, a structural unit of the lexicogrammar. Before we can relate this to the more general study of narrative, we have to move along the dimension of stratification, dimension number 3, for which the principle of relation is that of realisation.

The realisation relations of stratification (sometimes called the 'levels of language') are well-known: context encloses semantics, which encloses lexicogrammar, which encloses phonology and graphology, which encloses phonetics and graphetics (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1994:25). What is particularly pertinent here is the realisation relation between context and semantics. Halliday originally theorised that the clumping of semantic choices around three main metafunctions evolved from the three principal purposes humans had in using language: to talk about happenings, to interact and express attitudes, to speak coherently in the situation. These three functions of language led him to theorise three aspects of the context, each realised in one of the functions - the familiar Field, Tenor and Mode of the context of situation.

Returning to the circle diagram on the cover of the second edition, we note that, representing choices of experiential meaning in the clause, these choices of Transitivity realise the Field aspect of the context of situation. Now consider the dimension of instantiation: on the dimension of instantiation, the context of situation instantiates the context of culture - a Field is one instantiation of the possible Fields of social action in a culture, it is the world of social action in the culture. Accordingly, in the centre of the circle, the Transitivity diagram summarises the prototypical process choices of the culture as those of doing, being and sensing. And these experiential choices are described as realising three prototypical worlds of social action: a physical world of doing, a world of consciousness of sensing. and a world of abstract relations of being. You could gloss these three worlds further as a physical world, a psychological world and a social world, since it is in a particular social context that aspects of experience are brought into semiotic equivalence.

The most complex of semiotic means used by humans, the means of language, structures the experience of reality in this tri-part way - three worlds of doing, being and sensing. We are familiar with the systemic idea of the three metafunctions being realised in overlapping choices within the clause, despite our intuitive folk sense that the clause is a unity. Now we see that our intuitive sense that we humans live in the experience of one world is similarly misleading. Our language potential tells us that we live simultaneously in the possible experience of three overlapping worlds: a physical world, a psychological world, a social world. This is not to say that at times one world or another may not be more dominant in our experience. Both these statements: that we live simultaneously in three overlapping worlds, and that at times one world or another may be more dominant, prove to be illuminating insights when taken into the general study of narrative.

5   Systemic worlds, narrative diegeses

This brings me back, at last, to the earlier statements: that one persistent assumption about narrative is that narrative projects a world, and that in literary and film studies this world is referred to as the diegesis of the novel or film. But from considering the

systemic model of language as social semiotic we can conclude that human semiosis construes three overlapping worlds, three diegeses: the external and material world of physical action and events; the internal and psychological world of individual consciousness; the social world which is construed through human interaction and convention, including social identities and attributes. This more complex understanding of narrative projection actually simplifies, I suggest, the analysis of narrative in different media, since one can focus separately on the realisation of each world. It also enables one more readily to compare narratives of different historical periods and from different social contexts. It has been one of my research findings, for example, that literary narratives in English from different historical periods typically differ in the dominance of one world or another.

6   Narrative worlds and their temporalities

I turn now to the other persistent assumption about narrative - that narrative is about time, probably the most universal assumption in studies of narrative in any discipline. Yet here language itself has misled us - because the word 'time' is a singular noun, we talk as if time is a singular thing. Some writers in the Humanities, such as the philosopher Elizabeth Grosz (2004:155-243, 205:93-130), using the early twentieth century work of French psychologist Henri Bergson, have taken up a dual understanding of time - time as a concept and time as our experience, which Bergson called 'duration' - and medieval talk of theology pondered a duality of human and divine experience (time and eternity), but it is in the discourse of modern physics that the most explicit talk of temporalities takes place. (The following gives a fairly perfunctory account, as I have elaborated on this material elsewhere.[1])

    The physicist J. T. Fraser, founder of the International Society for the Study of Time, has written (Fraser, 1999:26):

> Nature comprises a number of integrative levels which form a hierarchically nested and evolutionarily open system along a scale of increasing complexity.
>
> Processes characteristic of each of these levels function with different types of causation and must be described in different languages.
>
> Each level determines a qualitatively different temporality, and each level adds new, unresolvable conflicts to those of the level or levels below it.

Fraser describes six integrative levels, or worlds, each with its associated type of causation and temporality. The following Table summarises these associations.[2]

Table 2: The 'natural' worlds described in physics

Integrative level	Causation	Temporality
1. world of electromagnetic radiation	Chaos	Atemporal
2. world of particle-waves	Statistical	Prototemporal
3. world of galaxies	Deterministic	Eotemporal
4. world of life	Short-term intentionality	Biotemporal
5. world of the human mind	Long-term intentionality	Nootemporal
6. world of society	Social intentionality	Socio-temporal

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[1] For an account of my modelling of narrative temporalities, see 'Relating SFL to narrative theory - widening the scope of both' in E Swain (ed), *Thresholds and Potentialities of Systemic Functional Linguistics as a Descriptive Theory* (Trieste, forthcoming).

[2] This summary is made from Fraser's writing in *The Genesis and Evolution of Time* (1982:22 & 181) and *Time, Conflict, and Human Values* (1999:21-43).

From the point of view of human existence, all these worlds co-exist, but from the point of view of everyday human experience, only worlds 4, 5 and 6 exist. [3]

If there are (at the present stage of description in physics) six types of world, each with its associated type of temporality, and the characteristic of 'narrative' is that it is organises 'time' and tells a 'story,' then we can talk of six types of story, each with its associated type of temporality.

Table 3: Temporalities and the Worlds of Stories

World of Story	Temporality
1. a world/ story of becoming	Atemporal
2. a world/ story of possibility	Prototemporal
3. a world / story of matter	Eotemporal
4. a world/ story of life	Biotemporal
5. a world / story of human individual life	Nootemporal
6. a world / story of human social life	Socio-temporal

The first world/story could be described as a world of 'Heraclitean flux', where 'everything happens at once'. The second world/story is one where the instant cannot be uniquely identified; you may know, or at least think, that something happened, but you can't make a confident identification. The third world/story has identity and sequence, but it is reversible - what you see depends on where you stand. The fourth world/story is the familiar one of organic life, the organism moving sequentially from past birth to future death, and satisfying its organic needs in its present (the temporality of chronological sequence). The fifth world/story is that of the mental life of the individual human; its principle of sequence is associative, so that its temporality accommodates memory, prediction and fantasy. Finally, the sixth world/story, that of human social life, is one in which social identities, attributes and socially symbolic relations generally are told. Its principle of sequence is equative, relating what is understood to be socially significant, and similar or dissimilar.

It is now clear that students of narrative who talk about 'time' as a singular concept have homed in only on the temporality of world 4, the world of chronological succession, where one physiological action necessarily follows another. Yet we humans live in all these worlds, though we can sensibly experience only the last three.

7   Systemic modelling and 'natural' worlds

It is at this point we see how complementary are the insights given by the modelling of nature in physics and the modelling of language as semiotic in systemic theory. The last three worlds, those of life, human individual life and human social life, correspond to the three overlapping worlds previously inferred from the systemic model.

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[3] World 1 is that described by the Theory of Special Relativity, where particles with zero rest mass are always on the move at the speed of light. World 2 is that of Quantum Theory, where particles of non-zero mass travel at speeds less than that of light. World 3 is the world described by the General Theory of Relativity, also referred to as Space/Time Theory.

Table 4: Complementary modelling of physics and systemic theory:

1. a world/ story of becoming	not linguistically realised
2. a world/ story of possibility	"
3. a world / story of matter	"
4. a world/ story of life	the physical world (doing)
5. a world / story of human individual life	the world of consciousness (sensing)
6. a world / story of human social life	the world of abstract relations (being)

It is not surprising that the semiotic sphere of the Transitivity System only encompasses the last three worlds, since these are the worlds of human experience on this planet, the environment in which human needs emerged, and in which human language evolved. However, from the late nineteenth century, the new epistemologies of worlds beyond sensible human experience have influenced aesthetic experimentation. It has been part of my research to observe how particular worlds are realised at different historical times of literary narrative, from the dominance of the world of abstract relations (world 6) in the Old English narrative poem *Beowulf*, to the tightly coherent interweaving of the last three worlds in the (so-called) classic realist novels of the nineteenth century, as in George Eliot's *Middlemarch*, through the dominance of worlds 5 and 3 in the so-called modernist text, as in the novels of Virginia Woolf, to the postmodern novel's use of worlds 1 and 2, as in Thomas Pynchon's *The Crying of Lot 49*, where events and characters do not necessarily 'make sense,' since these worlds are not sensible, cannot be sensed in direct human experience, and have no transitivity choices in natural language by which they can be meant.[4] In physics, their meanings are realised directly only in the contrived language of mathematics.

In summary, bringing together the concepts of systemic linguistics and contemporary physics considerably enlarges our understanding of what narrative theory can talk about. It shows the flaw in narratology, the still dominant approach to analysing literary narrative, and by extension, film narrative: that it assumes the chronological sequence of biotemporal time as experienced in the physical world *is* the time and the world of the narrative, and constitutes the 'story'. This assumed story is then contrasted with the plot or discourse (variously called), that is the actual sequence of telling in the narrative, so that elaborate theoretical categories have to be devised to describe 'deviations' from the assumed time and world of the 'story'. Instead, whatever the semiotic medium, we can consider the various worlds realised in the narrative, and the different kinds of sequence appropriate for their different temporalities.

8   Conclusion: narrative and the dimensions of systemic modelling

Because of its particular relevance to diegesis in narrative, I've concentrated initially on Field as the instantiation of the culturally possible worlds of doing, being and sensing. However, all parameters of the context of situation are relevant to the re-evaluation of narrative concepts, Tenor as the instantiation of possible social relations, roles and attitudes, Mode as the instantiation of the potential for organizing coherent messages in a given medium. The latter is a particularly important concept for modern technologies of communication, where the technical possibilities for constructing a

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[4]These remarks may also describe the interplay of recent philosophy, literary criticism and cultural studies; for example, the Deleuzian 'lines of flight' used to enable accounts of 'becoming' in postmodern literary and gender theory. See, for example, Grosz, 2005.

message are explicitly taught and manipulated. The general point here is that, whatever the semiotic medium, the systemic concepts of Field, Tenor and Mode, and their related concepts on the dimension of **instantiation**, can be put to use in the analysis of narrative in that particular medium. In addition at this stage of investigation I also assume, though with a certain degree of caution, that the dimension of **metafunction**, as the meaningful realisation of Field, Tenor and Mode, also applies to all semiotic media.

In contrast, the analysis of the other three dimensions of systemic modelling, of **structure**, **system** and **stratification**, must be specific to the semiotic medium. Although analogies may be helpful, simply importing concepts from linguistic study into these three dimensions is counter-productive. To illustrate these assertions, I add here an Appendix with some introductory notes contrasting the study of narrative in language and film, and suggest some systemic choices in filmic discourse.

Appendix: Narrative in Film and the Dimensions of Systemic Modelling

A1   Constructing 'reality' in film
Julian Murphet emphasizes an important difference between story-telling in language and film (Fulton, Huisman, Murphet & Dunn, 2005:75):

> It is important to emphasize … the radical distinction between film as a narrative medium, and any of the language-based forms of narrative. In a novel, a long poem, a fire-side story or a verbal drama, the fact that what is being presented to us comes in the forms of words makes it almost 'natural' that we should posit a human consciousness as an agency behind the narration.

In the verbal narrative, the first order Tenor of giving information is readily realised in the speech function of statement, specifically telling, associated with the speech role of narrator, or teller. The second order Tenor will then be associated with the interaction of the characters in the subject-matter (one of whom may also be the narrator).

However, with film, 'it is the machine [the camera] that tells the story' (Fulton *et al*., 1975:75). This is not our everyday human way of telling a story. In consequence, Murphet explains (Fulton *et al*., 2005:76).:

> We tend not to recognize a narrator in commercial cinema…much of the narrative power of the cinema depends upon the erasure of a subject position from the narrative. Narrative cinema strives to be overpowering in its diegetic realisation; it overwhelms us with 'realistic' visual information, kinetic energy, sound and the rapid pulses of frequent cutting.

To the viewer of the film there typically appears to be only a first order Tenor of giving information realised in the mechanical function of 'showing'. 'Showing' is as if viewers were watching a game of football, as opposed to 'telling', having a conversation later in which the game of football is the subject-matter (Halliday, 1978:144). With 'showing', there is no speech role of 'narrator'.

Of course film can introduce a narratorial presence in various ways - the most obvious is the voice-over, whether external or internal to the characters, but the Hollywood or 'realistic' film narrative need not. Yet this apparently directly apprehended reality is totally constructed. In terms of the five dimensions described by Halliday & Matthiessen, the first question about film must be about the dimension of structure. The second question is how that structure can be construed as coherently meaningful.

A2   The structure (syntagmatic order) of film
The basic unit of structure is the shot. This is a unit at the expression level, the level of technical production. The shot is taken with a continuous placement of the camera. A shot is usually fairly short, but it can be extended; the picture *Russian Ark* is famous for being made entirely with one shot.

The Mode of film is its organisation into a coherent message; this is the purpose of the textual metafunction, or textual meaning. Such meaning is realised in the individual shot and in the sequence of shots; the filmic terms 'mise-en-scène' and 'montage' are traditional terms related to such organisation.

'Mis-en-scène' has been used loosely for everything constructed in the individual shot. The specifically texual meaning of 'mis-en-scène' refers to the framing of the individual shot, the choices which bring one aspect into more or less

prominence. It could be compared to the systems of Theme and Information in language.

'Montage' has been used for the construction, through editing, of the sequence of shots. It could be compared to the choices of cohesion in language.

At the expression level, differentiated by the principle of rank, the structural units of film, resulting from editing, may be compared to the (graphic) structural units of the novel.

rank:	novel/text	chapter	paragraph	sentence	word
rank:	film	act/episode	sequence	scene	shot

The scene, like the sequence, act and film itself, is an edited montage, cut by various conventions designed to encourage the viewer interpreting a coherent story. (For example, the scene is constructed of shots which maintain the same temporal and spatial locations.)

Unlike language, but like other semiotic means of realisation, in the stratification dimension of the medium film there is no lexicogrammatical level between the expression and the semiotic level. The links between units are links of meaning, rather than structure, so that the scene is not a 'shot complex' comparable to the way a sentence is (usually) a punctuated 'clause complex'.

A3   The organisation of units of structure as coherently meaningful

The question about meaning now becomes: how can this film narrative, which is a technical construction from the shots taken by a machine, be constructed so that it appears to derive from human consciousness, as narratives realised in language naturally appear to do? As Murphet puts it:

> this 'becoming machine' of our cinematic spectatorship is repressed and translated into a 'human' perspective by a host of conventions designed to comfort and flatter us… mainstream cinema developed means for encouraging our belief that what we see projected on the screen is a matter of human psychology, human desires and human sense perception. … What specific technical devices have allowed film narratives to project their worlds through the imagined eyes and thoughts of their characters? (Fulton *et al*. 2005:86-7)

We see here the integration of experiential and textual meanings through interpersonal meaning: the coherence (textual meaning) of the worlds of the film (experiential meaning) may be promoted through the subjective positioning of the narrative (interpersonal meaning). The narratological word for this is 'focalisation'. In Murphet's words, 'focalisation is the anchoring of narrative discourse to a specific subject position in the story; the projection of a diegesis through the interested "point of view" of a given character' (Fulton *et al*., 2005:89). Focalisation then is a system of choices of interpersonal meaning.

Considering the metafunction of interpersonal meaning, along the dimension of stratification, takes one further than focalisation. A battery of filmic technical choices (expression level) which are conventionally associated with choices of 'meanings' (semiotic level) can be understood as choices of interpersonal meaning in filmic discourse. The following table suggests possible system names for such choices, systems at the expression, not the non-existent lexicogrammatical, level (comparable to 'Key' in phonology, though Halliday describes all systems as lexicogrammatical, Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 142).

Table 5: Technical Codes of Film Construction and Interpersonal Meaning[5]

	Expression/Technical level	**Semiotic level**	**System name**
Camera angle	High (looking up) Eye-level Low (looking down)	Power, authority Equality Disempowerment	**Status** (social role)
Camera distance	Extreme Close-up Close-up Medium Shot Long shot	Emotion Intimacy Involvement Distance	**Focalisation** (Narrative Subjectivity)
Camera movement	Fixed position Pan (camera rotates on fixed point) Tracking (camera runs on track parallel to action) Tilt (following movement up and down) Crane (high shot moving quickly to or from subject) Handheld Zoom in Zoom out	Static Surroundings Involvement, pace Effect of movement (drama, humour) Entrance to or withdrawal from material diegesis Participation in diegesis Surveillance Relation of subject to context	**Spatial Tense**
Focus Lighting	Sharp focus Soft focus Selective focus High key Low key Back lighting Fill (closest to natural light)	Objective reality Mood (subjective reality) Significance, privileging High modality; positive mood Low modality; uncertainty; negative mood High value Objective reality	**Modality**
Lens Composition Colour	Wide angle Normal Telephoto Symmetrical Asymmetrical Warm Cold	Dramatic emphasis Diegetic normality Voyeurism Calm Disrupted Optimism, passion, agitation Pessimism, calmness, reason	**Affect**

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[5] Material in Table 5 is collated and edited from Fulton *et al*., 2005: 116 & 169, with the addition here of suggested System names.

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A comparison of Japanese persuasive writing:
The writings of Japanese as Foreign Language students in the NSW HSC examination and Japanese Native Speaking students in high school in Japan

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Abstract

This study uses a functional model of language to examine the 2005 Japanese HSC[1] examination persuasive essays to investigate the structure and language features of the exposition genre, which students produce during this final high school examination. The examination scripts are compared to the essays which were written by Japanese native speaking (JNS) high school students answering the same question.

This study seeks to answer two questions: "How successful Japanese persuasive essays are constructed in the HSC Japanese Examination?", and "To what extent a successful HSC examination model matches the native speaker equivalent?".

The methodology used in this study is Generic Structure Potential (GSP) (Hasan 1996), which will identify the elements of structure and the language features within each element. GSP will be applied to both the Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) and Japanese Native Speaking (JNS) students' texts to ascertain the extent to which they share commonality in terms of elements of structure.

Based on the analysis, all of the JFL students employed a deductive structure while some of the JNS students used an inductive structure; however, the majority of the JNS students also employed a deductive structure in their essays. This suggests that to answer the essay question in the examination situation, the use of a deductive structure in their persuasive essays is acceptable for both JFL and JNS writers.

1   Introduction

As a teacher of Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL) in an Australian high school, teaching 'writing' is the most challenging task. It is not surprising because writing in general involves various complex skills, for example, the writers are required to organise their texts appropriately to meet the demands of the context. In addition, the JFL learners are required to exhibit lexicogrammatical control of the Japanese language.

In order to provide an adequate JFL teaching/learning environment in a high school setting, programming the course and syllabus-based lessons are necessary. The Board of Studies NSW syllabi (Japanese K-10 Syllabus 2003; Japanese Continuers Stage 6 syllabus 1999) provide lists of major themes and related topics, text types, grammar points and Japanese character *kana* and *kanji* as guidelines. There are many teaching/learning resources available which focus on developing micro skills, such as clause level grammar and Japanese characters. To learn these micro skills is fundamental but also the students need to learn how to manipulate language in order to produce a whole text which is appropriate to the context. Thus more teaching/learning resources are needed which can link macro and micro levels of language, in other words resources which demonstrate the relation between organisation, semantics and lexicogrammar.

This research uses a functional model of language to investigate the language features of exposition (persuasive) writing in Japanese, which students produce during the Japanese HSC examination. The aim is to identify how the successful exposition in Japanese in the HSC

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[1] HSC refers to the Higher School Certificate, which is a qualification awarded to the students who successfully complete secondary education (years 11 and 12 or equivalent) in New South Wales, Australia. The HSC examination is the final examination in the NSW school curriculum, which is conducted externally and administered by the Board of Studies NSW.

examination is organised and can be used as a model for teaching JFL students how to write a persuasive text. Providing effective and functional descriptions of the organisation of the text and the lexicogrammatical choices will be helpful for the JFL students. The exposition genre was chosen because it is one of the most popular genres that students are asked to write in the HSC examination and it involves more advanced language skills than other popular genres in HSC writing, such as the recount and information report.

This project seeks to answer two questions;

Question 1: "How are successful Japanese persuasive writings constructed in the HSC Japanese Examination?".

Question 2: "To what extent does a successful HSC examination model match up with a native speaker equivalent?"

2   The Corpus

In order to answer the research questions, two groups of texts were collected; JFL (Japanese as a Foreign Language) students' texts and JNS (Japanese Native Speaking) students' texts. The JFL students' texts are written essays which answered the Japanese Continuers 2005 HSC Examination, Question 13, (a):

> The title of your school's Japanese Speech Contest is '*The best place in the world to live is…*'
> Write your speech in which you persuade the audience that the place you have chosen is the best place.

Thirty five original examination scripts were collected and provided by the Office of the Board of Studies NSW for this research. The corpus consists of scripts from the following grading categories;

(1) Five scripts of mark 9.0 / 9.0
(2) Five scripts of mark 8.5 / 9.0
(3) Five scripts of mark 8.0 / 9.0   -   These marks from 8.0 to 9.0 out of 9.0 are in the top band, which is called band 6.
(4) Ten scripts of mark 7.5 / 9.0   -   These are in band 5.
(5) Ten scripts of mark 5.5 / 9.0   -   These are in band 4.

These scripts are from a mixture of gender-balanced examination scripts from government and non-government schools and a mixture of school locations (metropolitan schools or country schools). The JFL students who sat the HSC examination have typically studied Japanese for 400 to 500 hours in school (Japanese Continuers Stage 6 syllabus 1999).

The JNS students' texts were written by Year 12 Japanese students who live in Japan. A Japanese high school agreed to provide forty two expository texts in response to exactly the same question as in the 2005 NSW HSC Examination. The JNS students were asked to write this essay under the same conditions as the JFL students. They were told the recommended length of around 300 *ji* (characters) and allowed about 30 minutes to complete their essays. The JNS students wrote their essays in class and were told that they were doing it for research purposes.

3   Methodology

This paper reports on the investigation of the structural organisation of the essays in the corpus. Firstly within the JFL texts, the question of whether there are different patterns of organisation across bands 4 to 6 is examined. Secondly the structural organisation of the JFL students' band 6 (the top band) texts are compared with the JNS students' texts.

To analyse the corpus, Systemic Functional (SF) Theory is adopted. SF theory is a functionally oriented theory of language that systematises the choice of meanings in language. SF theory emphasises how language is being used to realise meaning in the texts and how the text is influenced by context (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

Considering the genre and the particular structure of the texts, two major approaches have been developed within SF theory: the Genre approach established by Martin (cf. 1984, 1986, 1997) and the Generic Structure Potential (GSP) approach established by Hasan (cf. 1978, 1979, 1984, 1985). The fundamental difference between these two approaches relates to their respective uses. The Genre approach was developed to explore typological and topological differences among genres (Martin 1997). On the other hand the GSP approach highlights the variations in text structure within a particular genre, which occur within a particular culture (Hasan 1985). This study focuses on the genre of 'exposition' within the context of the HSC examination, to identify its defining generic elements. Thus, the GSP approach is employed, as I am looking at variation within one genre.

Before talking about the GSP approach, it is appropriate to explain how SF theory defines 'text' and its 'structure'. Text refers to any instance of language that is functional, which means any instance of the language that makes sense to someone who knows the language (Halliday and Hasan 1985; Halliday and Hasan 1976). Text can be of any length, spoken or written, with a unity of purpose. Butt et al (2000) describe text as "a harmonious collection of meanings appropriate to its context" (p15). For a text to be functional, it needs to 'fit' within the two contexts; context of culture and context of situation.

In a text, meanings are woven together to produce a functional piece of language through two design features 'texture' and 'structure' (Hasan 1985). Texture ties together the meanings of individual clauses into a text as a cohesive whole (Butt et al 2000). Structure refers to the syntagmatic patterns - the particular structural elements and their ordering which achieve the text's purpose (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Butt et al 2000). Texts which achieve the same general social purpose tend to share similar structural patterns; therefore, knowing these text structures is useful for speakers and writers to configure the meanings into a functional text. The GSP analysis can reveal these structural patterns in each genre.

GSP analysis highlights the variant and invariant properties of textual structures within the limit of one genre, and enumerates all 'obligatory' and 'optional' elements. The term 'obligatory' is used in GSP for the element of structure which ***must*** occur for a text to be recognised as an instance of a particular genre. 'Optional' elements ***can*** occur and 'iterative' elements are those that ***can occur more than once*** in the limit of one genre (Hasan 1985).

Hasan (1985) describes the GSP analysis as having three stages;
1. Identification of the actual structures of text.
2. Identification of obligatory, optional or iterative elements.
3. Representation of the potential order of the elements.
Hasan (1996) states that any structured piece of writing involves at least three types of abstractions:
Type 1: an element of a GSP
Type 2: its crucial semantic attribute(s), in other words, the nuclear meanings of each element
Type 3: The lexicogrammatical pattern(s) capable of realizing the nuclear meanings.
The nuclear meanings are semantic attributes that are necessary for the elements of a structure to achieve their purpose; elaborative meanings are also possible but are optional (Hasan 1984). The elements of structure and the semantic attributes are realisationally related to each other, i.e. the structural elements activate the semantic attributes and semantic attributes construe the elements. Lexicogrammar realises the attributes, which in turn, realise the elements or stages (Hasan 1985).

In the next section, the GSP of the expository texts in English and in Japanese are explained before describing the actual GSP results of the corpus.

4   GSP of expository texts in English and in Japanese

According to previous studies, expository texts in English and in Japanese have different elements and orders in their GSP. The GSP for expository texts in English and in Japanese are shown in Figures 1 and 2.

> Expository texts in English [i]
>
> Thesis ^ Argument^n ^ Reinforcement of Thesis
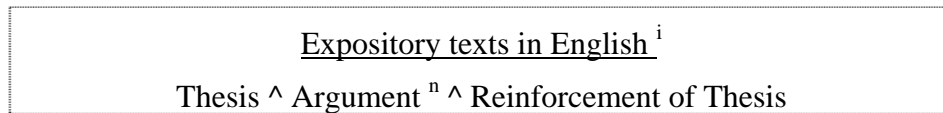
Figure 1: GSP in Expository texts in English (Stated in Disadvantaged School Programme 1994)

[i] The symbol ^{n} refers to any number one or above, thus this is used as Iteration in the DSP formulation of the GSP. In the Figure 1, the element of Argument can be repeated.

> Expository texts in Japanese [ii]
>
> Orientation ^ [Argument * • (Concession)] ^ Thesis
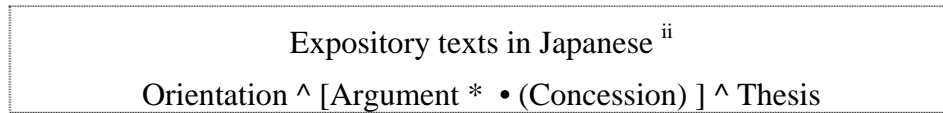
Figure 2: GSP in Expository texts in Japanese (Sano 2003)

[ii] In Sano's (2003) work, an arrow was used to symbolise the Iteration. However, the iterative arrow is unstable in the text, thus, it was replaced as the symbol * in Sano's (2006) work and I am adapting this change in the present study.

The notational conventions used in Figures 1 and 2 are explained in Table 1.

Table 1: Notational conventions used in Figures 1 and 2 (Sano 2006, adapted Hasan 1996)

Key	Notation meaning
^	Ordering, e.g. A ^ B = element A precedes Element B
^{n}	Iteration (in the DSP), ^{n} is any number more than 1, e.g. A^n = element A can occur more than once
*	Iteration, e.g. A* = element A can occur more than once
( )	Optional element, e.g. (A) = element A is optional
•	Choice of order, e.g. A • B = element A can precede or follow element B
[ ]	Limit of the mobility of the elements, e.g. [A • B] = element A and element B are a structural pair
/	Choice of element, e.g. A / B = either element A or element B can appear but not both simultaneously in a structure

Both English and Japanese expository texts share the same obligatory elements of Thesis and Argument; however, the Thesis element is located differently. English expository texts begin with the Thesis where the writer's position is presented clearly and succinctly. On the other hand, Japanese expository texts end with the Thesis element. Thus, the writer presents his/her position at the end of the text.

In English exposition, the Thesis element comes first and in the following Argument element(s) the writer provides some evidence and/or supportive opinions in order to convince the readers to consider that the presented position in the Thesis element makes sense. Moreover, the position is reiterated at the end of the text in the Reinforcement of Thesis element to persuade the readers to agree with or endorse the writer's position.

In contrast, the Japanese expository texts as described by Sano (2003) begin with Orientation, which is an obligatory element. In the Orientation, the writer sets the scene of the text and provides background information for the readers to prepare them for the following elements. In the subsequent Argument element(s), the writer presents the main reasons or premises to support the writer's position which is then presented in the following Thesis element. In the Thesis element, the writer finally expresses his/her position; thus, in the successful Japanese expository text, when the readers reach the Thesis at the end of the text, they have already been persuaded by the arguments prior to the Thesis, in a naturalised manner.

There is an optional element in Japanese exposition, which is called Concession. The concession element can occur before or after the Argument to present concessive or counter

arguments to the main arguments to show the recognition of the existence of oppositions or particular conditions.

From these different structural elements and their ordering, the English expository text can be characterised as 'deductive' and 'writer oriented' and the Japanese expository text as 'inductive' and 'reader oriented'. By deductive, I mean the writers construct their texts deductively. They propose their positions at the beginning of the text, and subsequent supportive arguments are expressed in order to persuade readers that the proposed position is valid. The position is also reinforced at the end of the text to remind readers.

On the other hand, in inductive structures in Japanese expository texts, the writers construct their texts in an opposite manner from the deductive structure. The writer invites readers and introduces a main subject matter at the beginning of the text, and then particular examples or facts follow as supportive arguments to lead the readers to accept the writer's position as a reasonable and natural one. In this inductive structure, the writer's position is expressed at the end of the text. Sano (2006) refers to some studies on inductive and deductive models, such as Hinds (1980) and Spyridaki and Fukuoka's (2000, 2002) studies and concluded that the inductive model is preferred in Japanese exposition texts, but notes; however, that the use of the deductive model has started to appear in more recent Japanese expository writings.

As previously mentioned, in a deductive model, the writer states his/her position first and the valid arguments to back up the position follow. It can be said that this deductive model is a 'writer oriented' structure, suggesting that in English expository texts, the writers assume power and authority and try to convince readers by justifying their position. In other words, if the English expository text is written successfully, the readers will be persuaded to agree with the writer's position.

In contrast, using an inductive model, the writers present evidence before stating a position, which can be considered as a 'reader oriented' structure, because the readers' thoughts are emphasised. By this meant, that the reader is free to formulate their own position while reading the evidence supplied by the reader. In a sense the reader is less constrained by the writer as the writer's position is yet to be declared. In this manner, the reader is guided by the arguments but not by the claim. Thus, the writers try to induce the readers to accept and share their position. It means that the readers are allowed to form their own opinion, which the writer hopes will coincide with his/her position. The position is then a shared one.

It is suggested that these different structures in English and in Japanese reflect their different situations and culture, since the structures are activated by the situation and culture in which they are embedded (Hasan 1985).

The following section will describe the situation types of the corpus.

5   Situation types of the corpus

Situation types, which Hasan (1985) calls 'contextual configuration' is "a specific set of values that realises field, tenor and mode" (Hasan 1985: 56) and the total set of values need to be seen as one configuration.

To define the contextual configuration of the corpus, its field, tenor and mode are described. In the present study, three different contextual configurations need to be considered.

Firstly, there are two different groups of writers involved. One group of writers is the JFL students who produced the corpus in the 2005 HSC examination. The other group of writers is the JNS students who are Year12 high school students in Japan and they were asked to answer the same question from the 2005 HSC examination.

Secondly, the writers are in two different situations. One situation is an 'imaginary situation'. The essay question demands that the students write a speech for their school's Japanese Speech Contest to persuade the audience. The title of the speech is '*The best place in the world to live is…*', which mean that the students need to pretend to respond to the imaginary situation. This imaginary situation occurs for both JFL and JNS students. Moreover, since the JFL students wrote their essays in the HSC examination situation, they also needed to consider the other 'real

situation', i.e. the JFL students were particularly required to write a piece of work for assessment. Consequently, the readers of the essays were the examination markers.

These contextual configurations are explained in the following sections by each aspect of field, tenor and mode.

5.1 Field of the corpus

Field is 'what is happening' in a very general term and characterised by specifying its i) subject matter and ii) social activities (Halliday 1998).

In expository texts, various subject matters are discussed; however, there are common and particular social activities that are carried out. The common social activities in expository texts in English are presenting the writer's position, arguing to support the position and reinforcing the position. In contrast, Sano (2006) proposes the common social activities for Japanese exposition as attracting, relating and sharing. There are other social activities, such as, summarising, anticipating and suggesting which are used in not all but some expository texts.

In the present study, the same subject matter was given to both the JFL writers and the JNS writers. They were asked to answer the question of "*The best place in the world to live is …*" as a school's Japanese Speech Contest to persuade the audience.

The common social activity for both groups of writers is that they need to pretend to give a persuasive speech in writing. However, there is also difference in the social activity. The JFL writers were in the real activity of demonstrating their best competence to produce a persuasive essay in formal examination conditions. On the other hand, the JNS writers were in class and they were asked to write the essays for my research rather than for assessment.

Another difference relates to the kinds of Japanese speakers. The JFL writers have been learning Japanese as a foreign language in Australia and the JNS writers are in Japan and have been learning Japanese as their first language. Therefore, the native speakers are competent writers and are able to employ many more elements of the lexicogrammar. In contrast, the JFL writers have a very limited lexicogrammatical repertoire and have first language interference problems. Thus, both groups of writers used Japanese but their background cultures and linguistic competencies are very different. This difference naturally has affected their texts.

5.2 Tenor of the corpus

Tenor refers to 'who is taking part'; in other words, it is focused on the relationship between the writer and reader. Tenor is identified by analysing its i) social status, ii) social distance, iii) the degree of institutionalisation (degree of control) and iv) the agentive role of the writers and the readers (Hasan 1985).

In expository texts, the social status of the writers and readers differs depending on the context of culture and situation, and writers can have higher, lower or similar social status with their readers. This social status closely relates to the social distance. If social status is different for writer and readers, this difference creates maximum social distance; on the other hand, if the social status of the writer and reader is similar, the social distance is minimal. The degree of institutionalisation (degree of control) is described as hierarchic with readers in a superordinate position, since they are free to choose to agree, disagree or ignore writers' position. The agentive role of the writer may be described as *persuader* and readers as *persuadee* in any expository text.

For the present study, there are two contexts of situation; 'imaginary situation' and 'real situation' which impact on tenor.

Firstly, focusing on the social status, both the JFL writers and the JNS writers have lower to similar social status to their readers in the imaginary situation. According to the imaginary situation, the writers were asked to write a speech for their schools' Japanese Speech Contest; thus they were expected to speak to their audience who are their teachers and peers. This means that the writers have a little lower social status to their teachers and similar social status to their peers. However, when focusing on the JFL writers' real situation, which is that they were writing their essays for

their HSC examination, the writers (the JFL students) have lower social status to their readers who are the HSC examination markers of their texts.

Secondly, as the social distance is created in proportion to the social status, both groups have neutral to maximal social distance in their imaginary situation. In their imaginary situation, where the writers are going to give a speech at a Japanese Speech Contest at their schools, the writers were imagining that they know the audiences who are their teachers and peers; therefore, between the writer and her/his peers, the social distance is neutral and between the writer and her/his teachers the social distance is close to maximal. For the JFL writers' real situation, which is the examination situation, writers and markers clearly have maximum social distance.

Thirdly, for the degree of institutionalisation (degree of control) in the imaginary situation of the speech contest, the speakers (the actual writer of the essay) have control over the listeners. The writers present their speech and try to persuade their audiences. Since it is a speech rather than a discussion, the writers simply present their positions and support it by arguments, and readers have no space to comment or discuss. On the other hand, in the real examination situation of the JFL writers, the readers who are the markers of the examination papers have complete control over the writers. The readers (examination markers) can judge whether the writers persuaded well or not based on the examination criteria.

Finally and as previously mentioned, from the perspective of agentive role, the writers are *persuaders* and readers are *persuadees*.

5.3 *Mode of the corpus*

Mode refers to 'what part the language is playing'. Mode is clarified by investigating its i) channel, ii) process sharing, iii) language role and iv) rhetorical purpose (Hasan 1985).

The channel refers to how the text is received, either orally by spoken form or graphically by written form. The process sharing relates to whether the writer has a chance to receive any feedback from the readers. In terms of the role, language may be constitutive or ancillary. The rhetorical purpose for expository text is persuasion.

For the present study, since the corpus consists of written essays, the channel is graphic. The process sharing of all texts is via the written medium for a spoken imaginary context. The language role of all texts is largely constitutive. The general rhetorical purpose is persuasion, as mentioned, and the JFL writers are demonstrating their Japanese language competencies as they construct their essays in the HSC examination situation.

Based on the above description, the situational features of the corpus are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: The situation type of the corpus texts in the present study

| Field		
Subject matter	Common for both the JFL and the JNS writers	Persuade the audience to answer the question of *"The best place in the world to live is …"* as a school's Japanese Speech Contest
Social activity	Common for both groups of writers	To response to the imaginary situation, the writers pretend to give a persuasive speech in their schools
	Particular for the JFL writers	Real activity of demonstrating their competence to conduct a persuasive essay in the HSC examination situation
	Particular for the JNS writers	Writing persuasive essays which will be used for a research but not as their assessment
Tenor		
Social status	Common for both groups of writers	In the imaginary situation, the writers have a little lower social status to their teachers and similar social status to their peers
	Particular for the JFL writers	The writers have lower status than the marker in the real situation of the HSC examination
Social distance	Common for both groups of writers	In the imaginary situation, the writers have maximum social distance for their teachers and neutral social distance for their peer audiences
	Particular for the JFL writers	In the real situation, between the writers and the markers have maximum social distance
Degree of control	Common for both groups of writers	In the imaginary situation, writers (speech presenter) have definite control over readers (audience)
	Particular for the JFL writers	In the real situation, readers who are the markers have complete control over the writers in the HSC exam
Agentive role	Common for both groups of writers	Writers: *Persuaders*, Readers: *Persuadees*
Mode		
Channel	Common for both groups of writers	Graphic
Process sharing	Common for both groups of writers	Written medium for a spoken imaginary context
Language role	Common for both groups of writers	Largely constitutive
Rhetorical purpose	Common for both groups of writers	Persuasive
	Particular for the JFL writers	Demonstrative of competencies in the HSC examination situation

Situation type is an important factor when identifying GSP. In the following section, the results of the analysis carried out to identify which structure, inductive or deductive, is employed by the JFL writers of the Japanese expository texts will be described and discussed.

6   Results
6.1   *Results of JFL students' texts*

All of the JFL writers chose the deductive structure. The labels of the elements of structure are adapted from Sano's (2003) exposition in Japanese, except for the Question element.

To identify the structure of successful texts, the GSP is described with bands in the following Figure 3. Band 6 is the highest score (marks of 9/9, 8.5/9 and 8/9 in the HSC examination for Question 13).
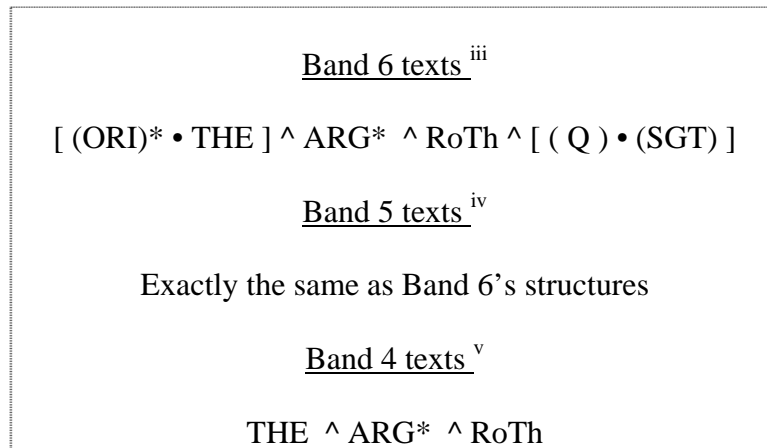
Figure 3: The GSP of written Japanese expository texts by JFL students in the HSC examination

[iii] The majority of writers in this band followed this GSP, however, there is an exception that two writers did not use the Reinforcement of Thesis element.
[iv] The majority of writers in this band followed this GSP, however, there are a few exceptions, i.e. one writer used the Reinforcement of Thesis element three times, and two writers did not use the Reinforcement of Thesis element.
[v] The majority of writers in this band followed this GSP, however, there are a few exceptions, i.e. one writer used Orientation, two writers did not use Reinforcement of Thesis, and one writer used Suggestion.

The abbreviations used in Figures 3 are explained in Table 3.

Table 3: Abbreviation used in Figures 3

Abbreviation	Abbreviated element
ORI	Orientation
THE	Thesis
ARG	Argument
RoTh	Reinforcement of Thesis
Q	Question
SGT	Suggestion

Based on the findings, the GSP structure and its obligatory elements for JFL students' texts are the same regardless of the grade which the writers received in the HSC examination. However, more capable students who received higher marks employed optional elements in their texts.

In the JFL students in HSC examination corpus, the obligatory elements are Thesis, Argument and Reinforcement of Thesis and optional elements are Orientation, Question and Suggestion. The Thesis element appears towards the beginning of the text and always occurs before the Argument element. The Argument element can occur more than once and Reinforcement of Thesis element follows Argument element(s).

Orientation is an optional element; however, many writers employed this element in their texts. It was placed at the beginning of the text, but this element can be used either before or after the Thesis element to invite the readers to think about the topic and/or to preview the text. Question and Suggestion elements are optional elements and are used towards the end of the text, yet, few writers employed these elements in their texts.

For this study, I used the label 'Question' when writers asked questions toward the end of the text, such as 'Everyone, what do you think?' and 'Do you agree with these reasons (which I provided)?'

Some writers employed the 'Suggestion' element which gives recommendations to the readers, such as 'If you have a chance, please go to Australia (which the writer has chosen as the best place to live)' and 'For these reasons, I think Australia (which the writer has chosen as the best place to live and described as a very fortunate country) should help people who are suffering in the world'.

These Question and Suggestion elements can be eliminated without changing any meanings of the text as a whole; however, by including these, the writer can connect with the readers more closely. Especially, in the 2005 HSC examination question, the writers were given the situation that this text is for a speech contest. Therefore, some writers adapted a technique, such as asking some questions or giving suggestions to the audience in order to engage them with the writer (in this case, the speaker in the speech) in the Question and Suggestion elements. In other words, the Question and Suggestion elements are employed to check whether the readers were convinced successfully of the writer's position through their presented arguments.

Comparing the JFL students' HSC examination texts with expository texts in English (Disadvantaged School Programme 1994) and in Japanese (Sano 2003), all of the JFL students' texts employed the deductive structure. In other words, the structural organisation of the JFL students' texts in HSC examination is rather similar to that of expository texts in English, but the capable JFL students employed optional elements of Orientation before the Thesis and Question or Suggestion after the Reinforcement of Thesis.

In the next section, the analysis of the JNS students' texts will be described and compared with the band 6 (the top band) JFL students' texts to identify similarities and differences. This comparison was conducted to find out how successful JFL writers persuasive essays are relevant as Japanese persuasive writing. Are they appropriate in a native Japanese context and understood as native Japanese interlocutions?

If the GSP of both JFL and JNS students' texts are similar, it can be said that the aim of constructing persuasive text for HSC level meets the reality of native Japanese speakers, thus, as an outcome, JFL writers are able to produce culturally acceptable texts.

On the other hand, if the GSP of JFL students and JNS students texts are different, there are two possible reasons. Firstly, the aim of constructing persuasive texts at HSC level is different from the texts constructed by native Japanese speakers in Japan. The HSC examination candidates can be considered to be at an intermediate level of Japanese as a foreign language, and so the HSC examination aims at testing accuracy and the appropriate use of structure and lexicogrammar for that level, but not at the native speaker's level.

Secondly, the different contexts of culture and situation of the two groups affect their texts. It may be that successful JFL writers produced their persuasive essays with correct lexicogrammar, yet, the texts are constructed differently from the native speakers' texts because the two groups have different situation types.

### 6.2   Results of JNS students' texts

The same essay question was asked under very similar conditions (same limited time and length were presented) to the JNS students in Year12 in Japan. As previously mentioned, the difference is that the JFL students' texts were written under the conditions of a formal examination, while the JNS students' texts were written in class for my research purpose but not as their assessment[2].

Forty-two texts were collected as the corpus but five of them were did not answer the essay question; therefore those five texts are excluded from this study. Within the valid thirty seven texts of JNS students' texts, two different types of structures; 'inductive structure' and 'deductive structure' were found.

The GSP of the JNS expository texts are summarised in Figure 4.

---

[2] Refer to the details in the 'Situation types of the corpus' section.

Inductive structure texts
ORI ^ ARG* ^ THE

Deductive structure texts [vi]
THE ^ ARG* ^ [RoTh / CODA]
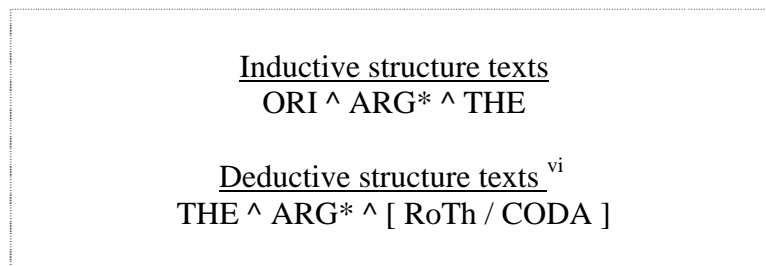
Figure 4: The GSP of the JNS students' texts

[vi)] The majority of writers in the deductive structure followed this GSP, however, there are a few exceptions, i.e. one writer used Orientation, two writers used both Reinforcement of Thesis and Coda, one writer used Suggestion instead of Reinforcement of Thesis or Coda and three writers did not use either Reinforcement of Thesis or Coda.

To reiterate, for the inductive structure, the writers present the Argument element before the Thesis element; thus, stating their opinion at the end of the text. On the other hand, using the deductive structure, the Thesis element precedes the Argument elements.

For the deductive structure, the labels of the elements of structure are adapted from exposition in English (Disadvantaged School Program 1994) except the element of 'Coda'. 'Coda' is the element, which is often used in 'narrative' texts where it is the element in which the narrator of the story expresses his/her personal evaluation toward the end of the text (Butt et al 2000). In this study, some of the JNS writers used this Coda element to express their personal opinions even in their persuasive essays, for example 'I want many more people to know about Japan' and 'I would love to go to Taiwan (which the writer has chosen as the best place to live) and live there'. Most of the writers who used the Coda element chose it instead of the Reinforcement of the Thesis element at the end of their text. Thus it would seem that using Coda is a way of avoiding strong opinion, such as *oshitsuke* (forcing argument) in Sano (2003).

In the present study of JFL students' texts, the deductive structure is the preferred model with thirty-four texts followed this structure. In contrast, only three texts used the inductive structure. The inductive structure of the corpus consists of the obligatory elements of Orientation, Argument and Thesis and there are no optional elements. The Orientation element is used to invite readers' to the main subject matter, and is followed by some Argument elements, which provide some valid information to lead the readers to feel the subsequent Thesis element seems adequate.

The use of the deductive structure in the corpus involved the obligatory elements: Thesis, Argument and Reinforcement of Thesis or Coda (presented at the end of the text). The writers state their position at the beginning of the text in the Thesis element and the following Argument elements support the Thesis element. The Reinforcement of Thesis element was employed at the end of the text to summarise the presented arguments and to reinforce the writer's position. The Coda element is used to present the writers' personal opinion but this opinion is not the same as the one in the Thesis element. The writers use either Reinforcement of Thesis or Coda elements but not both in their texts (except in the two texts in the corpus), however, more writers employed the Reinforcement of Thesis element than Coda element.

6.3   *Comparison of the GSP of the JFL and the JNS students' texts*
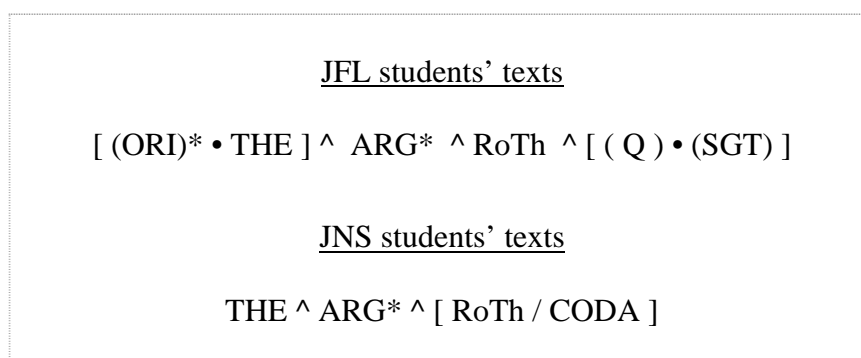
Comparing the GSP of the JFL and the JNS students' texts, the most significant difference is the existence of the inductive structure only in the JNS students' texts. Although many more writers in both groups employed the deductive structure in the corpus, no JFL writers used the inductive structure in their texts. Studies have shown that the inductive structure is a popular structure for Japanese expository texts, especially in newspaper commentary articles (Fukuoka and Spyridakis 1999; Sano 2006; Hinds 1980), thus, the JNS writers are familiar with the use of this structure to persuade readers. However, all the writers in the JFL students' texts and the majority of the writers in the JNS students' texts chose the deductive structure to construct their texts as expository texts.

This result does not reflect Sano's (2003) GSP of expository text in Japanese which employs inductive structure. Possibly, this is a result of their being different styles within the genre of exposition. Sano's (2003) corpus is from an editorial section of a newspaper and books, all written professionally. In contrast, the present study's corpus consists of essays which were written by high school students. This different context of situation (field, tenor and mode) could affect the preference of choosing inductive and deductive structures.

It may also relate to the particular situation that the writers in the present study's corpus were asked to answer a specific question. In the HSC examination, the writers were asked the question "*The best place in the world to live is* …" to answer in their persuasive essay. Using the dots " …'' at the end of the question sentence strongly guides the writer to fill in the dots " …", which means that the writers are invited to use a particular sentence to state their position at the beginning of their essay to answer the question. The typical Thesis sentence the writers used in the corpus is that "I think the best place in the world to live is (chosen place name)".

Another possible reason why the present corpus texts prefer to employ the deductive structure would be the limitation of time and the length of the text, which were allocated for the writers. In the HSC examination, the suggested time for this text is about 30 - 40 minutes (In the examination question paper, it was suggested to do two essays within one hour) and suggested length of texts is about 200-300 *ji* (characters) for this text, which is roughly about 25 clauses in a text. The writers are given quite a short time and a short length of the text (200-300 *ji*) to manage to produce the persuasive text. Using the deductive structure, the writers can present their position at the beginning of the text and the rest of the text can be used to provide the supportive arguments or optional elements. If the time and/or the rest of the allocated text space is getting shorter, the writers are able to decide which of the optional elements not to include. Alternatively, when the writers use the inductive structure, they need to place the Position element at the end of the text; thus, this requires greater organisation and management skills for time as well as length in order to include the Position element in their text. If the writers cannot manage their time well, the Position might not be included in their essay.

The deductive structure is popularly adapted in both JFL writers and JNS writers in the present study. When comparing both types, there is little difference between them in terms of kind of obligatory and optional elements. The GSP of texts from both JFL and JNS writers are summarised in Figure 5

JFL students' texts

[(ORI)* • THE] ^ ARG* ^ RoTh ^ [(Q) • (SGT)]

JNS students' texts

THE ^ ARG* ^ [RoTh / CODA]

Figure 5: GSP of the deductive structure in the JFL and the JNS students' texts

Both of the JFL and JNS students' texts have obligatory elements of Thesis, Argument and Reinforcement of Thesis.

The differences between the JFL and JSL students' texts are existence of Orientation, Question and Suggestion elements as optional elements which occur only in the JFL students' texts and existence of the Coda element only in the JNS students' texts. The JFL students used two types of Orientation elements; 'invitation' and 'preview'. Both invitation and preview are elaborative meanings, which the writer can use one or both. Invitation invites readers and introduces the main subject matter and Preview signals the topic or lists the following arguments. Preview is frequently

used in the JFL students' texts and it seems that through schooling, the JFL students may have been taught that a 'preview' is a useful element when constructing expository texts logically in English.

The Question element is employed only for the JFL students' texts to use the technique of public speech to reduce the distance between the speaker and the listeners. Since the JFL writers which produced HSC examination texts are culturally more familiar with the 'speech contest' situation than Japanese native speakers in Japan, the JFL writers used this Question element in order to fit in the imaginative situation (providing a speech in a speech contest). The Suggestion element is also used only for the JFL students' texts, (except of one native Japanese writer used it in her essay) to provide recommendation to the readers.

On the other hand, only JNS writers used the Coda element instead of a Reinforcement of Thesis element at the end of the text. Possibly this is because when the writers use Reinforcement of Thesis, the Japanese readers can feel a little intruded upon; thus in order to avoid this feelings of *oshitsuke* (forcing argument, cf Sano (2003)) some of the writers employed Coda instead in their essays.

In summary, the deductive structure is the more common and popular structure for both groups of JFL and JNS students when they answer the 2005 HSC examination question. The GSP of both groups are partly different in terms of their obligatory and optional elements. These differences result from the situation types, their context of cultures in general and especially how they have been learning to write persuasive essays through their schoolings.

7   Conclusion

This paper investigated the GSP of JFL and JNS students' written Japanese persuasive texts by specifying its order and those elements of the structure which are obligatory and optional. Within the JFL students' texts, it was found that students who have minimum capability to organise their texts employed only obligatory elements but the better marks were gained if students demonstrated control of the optional elements as well as obligatory elements. Comparing JFL and JNS students' texts, only JNS students adapted an inductive structure but all JFL students and the majority of JNS students employed the deductive structure. In other words, for this particular essay question, using the deductive structure is more popular than the inductive structure; thus, it can be said that using deductive structure for answering this essay question will be acceptable to Japanese native readers. When looking at the elements of structure within the two groups, some optional elements are used only in JFL or JNS students' texts. The Orientation, Question and Suggestion elements are used only by the JFL students. The JFL students used the Orientation element to organise their essay logically. They also may have focused on the 'imaginary situation of the speech contest' and showed their understanding of the technique of using questions and suggestions to reduce the distance between the speaker and the listeners. On the other hand, the other optional element, the Coda element was used only in the JNS students' texts instead of Reinforcement of Thesis. This choice may be affected by the social notion of avoiding *oshitsuke* (forcing argument).

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The Rhetoric of Rap: A Challenge to Dominant Forces?

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Abstract

For more than a decade, hip-hop culture and rap music has been of particular interest to scholars in the social sciences. One noteworthy contribution is Potter's (1995) analysis of hip-hop culture which draws on postmodern social theory to argue for rap music's status as a model resistance; a challenge dominant forces. For Potter, the African-American vernacular is a fundamental part of this 'resistance'. Unfortunately, given his orientation towards cultural studies, Potter does not provide any empirical linguistic evidence to support his claims. As a contribution to Potter's research, this paper performs a linguistic analysis of a small corpus of African-American rap songs. From Systemic Functional Linguistics, the Appraisal system of Engagement is used to investigate the ways in which rappers 'engage' with the values expressed in their lyrics. Drawing on Bahktin's dialogics, the Engagement findings are also interpreted as intersubjective devices used by African-American rap artists to align themselves with a particular community, and at the same time, distance themselves from others. In this way, it is expected the findings will help reveal the extent to which rap lyrics do, or do not, 'challenge' dominant forces.

1   Introduction

Since the emergence of rap music in the late-1970s, scholars have become increasingly interested in not only rap music, but also the hip-hop culture from which it derives (Rose 1994, Walser 1995, Krims 2000, Keyes 2002, Mitchell 2002). Watkins suggests that hip-hop culture and rap music are of particular interest because they lend themselves to a variety of disciplines: "[it] intersects with many aspects of contemporary life–technology, pop culture, linguistics, globalisation, geography, race…" (Watkins 2005: 244). A key contribution to this growing interdisciplinary canon is Potter's (1995) book-length publication *Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism*. Potter draws on cultural studies to investigate the extent to which rap music may model the kinds of processes described in postmodern social theory. Potter basically argues that hip-hop is representative of postmodernism "for its ability at breaking, fragmenting, or 'signifying' on time" (Keyes 1999: 179-180). Potter is particularly interested in the role of language:

> If there is a field in which hip-hop's revolution will be fought, it will be first and foremost that of language, a fact which is underlined by the recurrent metaphoric mixture of rappers' own technologies (microphones, pencils and tongues) with those of armed struggle (guns, hand grenades, artillery)... Can linguistics provide a kind of model for the tactics and effectivity of the kind of cultural resistance staged by hip-hop? (Potter 1995: 64)

In short, Potter argues that the 'hip-hop vernacular' as part of the African-American vernacular, is a tool of resistance; something that can not only subvert, but transform the 'hegemonic utterance' of the dominant forces. Krims summarises Potter's work as follows:

> [Potter] argues persuasively for [rap music's] status as a model resistance by the standards (of among other things) Bahktin's dialogics and de Certeau's heterologies, arguing that African-American vernacular cultures have long been, and continue to be, sites of discursive challenge to dominant forces (Krims 2000: 8).

Given Potter's orientation towards cultural studies, he does not include an empirical linguistic analysis of rap music to substantiate his thesis. This paper hopes to contribute to Potter's research by performing a discourse analysis of a small corpus of North American rap music. Through the application of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Appraisal (Martin and White 2005), this paper aims to describe the interpersonal meanings expressed in rap music. In particular, the Appraisal system of Engagement will be applied to the data so as to investigate the ways in which rap lyrics 'engage' with other speakers and their respective value positions:

> We are interested in whether they [speakers/writers] present themselves as standing with, as standing against, as undecided, or as neutral with respect to these other speakers and their value positions… Thus we are [also] interested in whether the value position is presented as one which can be taken for granted for this particular audience, as one which is some way novel, problematic or contentious, or as one which is likely to be questioned, resisted or rejected. (Martin and White 2005: 93)

Following Bahktin's dialogics, the Engagement findings will be interpreted as intersubjective devices used rhetorically by the African-American rap artists to align themselves with a particular community, and at the same time, distance themselves from others. It is the hypothesis of this paper that rappers will distance themselves from the values of the dominant forces. Moreover, it is expected that the African-American rappers will use Engagements resources to counter, challenge and ultimately 'close down' the perspectives and values of the dominant forces.

2   Data

The data has been sampled from the *All Music Guide to Hip-Hop: The Definitive Guide to Rap and Hip-Hop* (Bogdanov, Woodstra, Erlewine, Bush 2003) which is essentially an encyclopaedia of rap music. It provides reviews of all the noteworthy rap artists and recordings from the late-1970s to the early-2000s, as well as essays, biographies and genealogical maps that trace the history of rap music. The data set sampled for this paper has been extracted from Bodganov et al.'s (2003) list of 'Essential Songs' which is further classified according to various styles or sub-genres of rap music, such as: political rap, gangsta rap, hardcore rap, old-school rap and party rap.

In total, a small corpus of 15 rap songs by African-American artists was sampled from Bodganov et al. (2003). The set was further divided into 3 sub-sets according to the following styles: gangsta rap, hip-hop rap and political rap. The data set is intended to be representative of African-American rap music generally and not a comparative study of styles of North American rap music. Those 3 styles were chosen mainly because they are quite distinct and therefore represent the diverse range of styles that comprise the rap music genre. The following extracts taken from Bogdanov et al. (2003) provide a simple introduction to the themes, music and cultural context that

characterises each of these rap music styles, beginning with gangsta rap, hip-hop rap and then political rap:

> Gangsta Rap developed in the late '80s. Evolving out of hardcore rap, gangsta rap had an edgy, noisy sound. Lyrically, it was just as abrasive, as the rappers spun profane, gritty tales about urban crime...

> In the terminology of rap music, Hip-Hop usually refers to the culture – graffiti spraying, breakdancing, and turntablalism in addition to rapping itself surrounding the music. As a style, however, hip-hop refers to music created with those values in mind...

> Looking to move on from the block-party atmosphere of old school rap and eager to vent their frustrations with the '80s version of the inner-city blues, a select few hip-hop groups merged deft rhymes with political philosophy to create a new style of rap. (Bogdanov et al. 2003: viii-ix)

5 songs were extracted from those respective styles, providing a total of 15 rap songs. Table 1 classifies the 15 rap songs according to style, artist and song title (see Discography for full details):

Table 1: The Data: 15 North American Rap Songs

Artist	Title
Gangsta Rap	
Ice Cube	Steady Mobbin'
Ice T	New Jack Hustler
The Notorious B.I.G.	Ready to Die
NWA	Gangsta Gangsta
Snoop Dogg	Gin and Juice
Hip-Hop Rap	
Beastie Boys[1]	So What'cha Want
Kurtis Blow	The Breaks
Jay-Z	Hard Knock Life
LL Cool J	I Can't Live Without My Radio
Run-D.M.C.	It's Like That
Political Rap	
Arrested Development	Everyday People
The Disposable Heroes...	Television, The Drug of the Nation
Grandmaster Flash...	The Message
Public Enemy a	911 is a Joke
Public Enemy b	Fight the Power

The rap lyrics were accessed from the *Original Hip-Hop Lyrics Archive* <www.ohhla.com>. Those transcriptions were reformatted, checked for errors and then transcribed to the level of the clause. Subordinate clauses were sometimes analysed separately when they expressed both Attitude and Engagement values independent of the main clause. The Appraisal system networks of Attitude and Engagement were applied to the data in line with a basic set of Appraisal conventions (see List of Appraisal Conventions).

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[1] The Beastie Boys are *not* African-American although they are very much part of hip-hop culture.

3   Method of Analysis

Lead by Martin (e.g. Martin 2000, Martin and Rose 2003, Martin and White 2005), Appraisal is an analytical framework designed to identify evaluation in language and comprises three main sub-systems: Attitude, Graduation and Engagement. The basic overview of the Appraisal system network is illustrated in Figure 1:
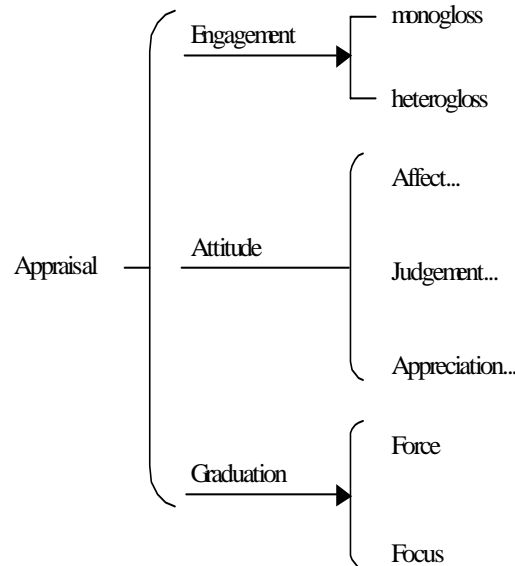
Figure 1: An overview of Appraisal resources (after Martin and White 2005: 38)

Appraisal is a superordinate term that deals with "the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations" (Martin 2000: 145). With respect to the Appraisal systems, Attitude concerns the semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements, and valuations while Graduation and Engagement concern the resources that amplify and engage with Attitude. This paper will focus mainly on the system of Engagement and to a lesser extent Attitude.

3.1   *Attitude*

The Appraisal system of Attitude is classified as expressing either positive or negative feelings and then according to three basic types: Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. The three basic options can be summarised as follows: Affect concerns the semantic resources used to construe emotions; Judgement concerns resources deployed for construing evaluations of behaviour; and Appreciation construes the 'aesthetic' quality of things, for example:

Extract 1: (Run-D.M.C. 1984: clause #26)
      now all the time you're **crying** [-Affect] that you're underpaid

Extract 2: (LL Cool J 1985: 21 & 29)
      i'm a **hip-hop gangster** [+Judgement]
      i'm the **leader** [+Judgement] of the show

Extract 3: (Public Enemy 1990a: 23 & 26)

it all adds up to a **funky** [-Appreciation] situation
nine one one is a **joke** [-Appreciation] in yo' town

Attitude is also simultaneously classified as either inscribed or invoked. Under the inscribed category, a single lexical item contains the positive or negative value and can be further classified according to the three main Attitude types, for example:

Extract 4: (Public Enemy 1990b: 49-50)
'cause i'm **black** [+Judgement]
and i'm **proud** [+Affect]

In contrast, invoked Attitude is realised by 'tokens' of neutral ideational meanings that invoke a positive or negative evaluation. In extract 5, ideational 'tokens' such as the process 'stride' and the rapper's possession of 'gold chains' invokes a positive self-evaluation:

Extract 5: (Ice T 1991: 78)
as i stride my gold chains glide back and forth [+Attitude]

In extract 5, the combination of inscribed Attitude 'jungle' and the tokens 'going under' invoke a negative evaluation of the rap artist's circumstances. These clauses also seem to invoke an expression of negative affect as a mood state ('in' the rapper) such as dissatisfaction or unhappiness.

Extract 6: (Grandmaster Flash 1982: 45-46)
it's like a **jungle** [-Appreciation] sometimes
it makes me wonder how i keep from going under [-Attitude]

Analysing for Attitude, especially invoked Attitude, can be a problematic task (Martin 2003: 172-173). Given that Attitude is not the primary concern of this paper, the method of analysis of Attitude is basic. Inscribed Attitude is coded as Affect, Judgement or Appreciation and will not include the more specific classifications prescribed by Martin and White (2005: 50-57). In order to avoid any multiple coding, this paper will only code invoked Attitude according to positive and negative polarity and not specify the three major types of Attitude.

3.2   Engagement

Engagement resources work alongside Attitude. However, Engagement does more than reflect individual, inner mental states of certainty or commitment to Attitude. The Engagement system developed by White (e.g. White 2000, White 2003, Martin and White 2005) follows Bakhtin's dialogic perspective of language. According to White, Engagement resources are used by speakers to negotiate a space for particular attitudes and points of view within the diversity of value positions operative in any speech community' (White 2000: 71). And similarly:

> Our approach locates us in a tradition in which all utterances are seen as in some way stanced or attitudinal… our approach is informed by Bakhtin's/ Voloshinov's now widely influential notions of dialogism and heteroglossia under which all verbal communication, whether written or spoken, is 'dialogic' in that to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, or to take up in some way, what has been

said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners (Martin and White 2005: 92)

The system of Engagement distinguishes between utterances which do engage with alternate 'voices' or speakers' points of view: heterogloss, and those which do not: monogloss, for example:

Extract 7: (Beastie Boys 1992: 19 & 10)
   i**'ve got** [Monogloss] depth of perception in my text y'all...

   maybe [Heterogloss: Entertain] i'm missing the reason that you're smiling

In extract 7 above, the first proposition of positive Attitude 'I've got depth of perception' is declared absolutely; there is no dialogic 'space' for negotiation of this Attitude. It does not engage with any alternate Attitude. In the following clause of extract 7 however, the rapper leaves 'open' the possibility that he is, or is not 'missing' 'the reason that you're smiling'. In this way, the rapper does engage with alternate points of view.

Heterogloss is further classified into two broad and opposed categories: dialogic contraction and dialogic expansion. Dialogic contraction acts to directly reject or challenge alternate points of view and is categorised as Disclaim and Proclaim which are further classified as Disclaim: Deny, Disclaim: Counter, Proclaim: Concur, Proclaim: Pronounce and Proclaim: Endorse (see Martin and White 2005: 134 for a detailed overview of the Engagement system). The propositions expressed in extract 8 are contracted in that there is little or no dialogic 'space' for contrary Attitude. Or in another way, any challenge to the propositions would put a lot at stake interpersonally given the extent to which the rapper has endorsed their point of view by negating or contracting the dialogic 'space' for any alternative:

Extract 8: (NWA 1988: 77-79)
   fuck wit' me
   i**'ll** [Proclaim: Pronounce] put my foot in your arse
   see [Proclaim: Concur] i do**n't** [Disclaim: Deny] give a fuck

In contrast, dialogic expansion is 'open' to alternate points of view and is categorised as either Entertain or Attribute (although the latter is not a feature of the rap music genre). Extracts 9 and 10 below are considered dialogic expansion because they present their proposition as only one of a number of possibilities. This time, from an intersubjective perspective, an interlocutor is able to challenge the rappers' points of view without the same level of interpersonal threat. In fact, in a slightly different way, it could be said that the speakers are inviting alternate points of view and Attitude, for example:

Extract 9: (Arrested Development 1991: 6)
   maybe [Entertain] she was demonstrating

Extract 10: (Ice Cube 1991: 33)
   and i **might** [Entertain] start slangin' bean pies

4   Findings

The findings begin with a detailed quantitative summary of the Engagement analysis. The most frequent types of Engagement are exemplified with examples from the data set. The paper will not include a detailed statistical Attitude analysis. The Attitude is simply meant to complement and inform the Engagement findings. Accordingly, a brief summary of Attitude values will be outlined for each rap song and then discussed.

4.1   Engagement

Table 2 illustrates the total number of clauses in the entire data set. Those clauses are also classified as either Monogloss or Heterogloss.

Table 2: Total Number of Clauses: Monogloss and Heterogloss

total number of clauses	2084
Monogloss	1650
Heterogloss	434

Table 2 shows that there was a far higher frequency of Monogloss compared with Heterogloss. In fact, the ratio is almost 4:1 in favour of Monogloss clauses. Extract 11 from the Beastie Boys (1992) is a good illustration of the rap artists' preference for Monogloss:

Extract 11: (Run-D.M.C. 1984: 24-30)
　　　　bills **rise** [Monogloss] higher every day
　　　　we **receive** [Monogloss] much lower pay...

　　　　it**'s** [Monogloss] like that
　　　　and that**'s** [Monogloss] the way it **is** [Monogloss]

The rap artists' clearly demonstrate a preference for Monogloss and there are several linguistic features of the rap music genre that may contribute to this choice. First, many of the songs, particularly the hip-hop style, involved a high frequency of 'call-and-response'. A call-and-response is when the rap artist interacts with the crowd through various verbal commands. These commands typically involve the rapper instructing the audience to perform certain dance moves or verbal responses, for example:

Extract 12: (Kurtis Blow 1980: 23-28)
　　　　well these **are** [Monogloss] the breaks
　　　　break it up [Monogloss]
　　　　break it up [Monogloss]
　　　　break it up [Monogloss]
　　　　throw [Monogloss] your hands up in the sky
　　　　and **wave** [Monogloss] 'em 'round from side to side

While the function of these commands is probably better analysed via the Speech Function network (e.g. Eggins and Slade 1997), they are also legitimate Monogloss expressions. The command directed at the audience is a non-negotiable, 'bare assertion' that does not engage with any contrary commands.

　　　　Similarly, the extremely high frequency of Monogloss may also be attributed to the generic structure of rap songs and popular songs more generally. Rap songs typically comprise a periodicity that incudes a chorus section which is subject to

iteration. Moreover, the clauses within those choruses are subject to iteration. Most of the choruses analysed in these rap songs involved Monogloss which were iterated from clause to clause as well as chorus to chorus. In the political rap song *Everyday People* (1991), the chorus is simply the reiteration of the same Monogloss proposition, comprising 12 clauses out of a total of 55 clauses, for example:

Extract 13: (Arrested Development 1991: 50-52)

      i **am** [Monogloss] everyday people
      i **am** [Monogloss] everyday people
      i **am** [Monogloss] everyday people…

Of the 434 examples of Heterogloss Engagement, most were dialogically contracted. Table 3 compares the total frequency of Heterogloss contractions with Heterogloss expansion and includes frequencies from the relevant sub-systems.

Table 3: Heteroglossic Propositions

Contract	323	Expand	111
Disclaim	235	**Entertain**	111
Deny	158	**Attribute**	0
Counter	77		
Proclaim	88		
Concur	34		
Pronounce	54		
Endorse	0		

Table 3 reveals that when rappers did engage with dialogic alternatives, they most frequency disclaimed or 'closed down' those alternate points of view or Attitudes. The following chorus sampled by Jay-Z in *Hard Knock Life* (1998) not only reinforces the rappers' preference for Monogloss, but also shows that when they did engage with alternate points of view, they mostly contracted the 'space' for negotiation:

Extract 14: (Jay-Z 1998: 1-7)

      it**'s** [Monogloss] the hard-knock life for us
      it**'s** [Monogloss] the hard-knock life for us
      insteada [Disclaim: Counter] treated
      we **get tricked** [Monogloss]
      insteada [Disclaim: Counter] kisses
      we **get kicked** [Monogloss]
      it**'s** [Monogloss] the hard-knock life

And similarly, on the few occasions when the rappers did actually engage with alternate points of view and expand or 'leave open' the dialogic 'space' for negotiation, they would often immediately counter those expressions with contracted Heterogloss or Monogloss propositions, for example:

Extract 15: (NWA 1988: 120-124)

      ice cube**'ll go stupid** [Proclaim: Pronounce]
      when i**'m** [Monogloss] full of eight ball
      i **might** [Entertain] stumble
      but [Disclaim: Counter] still wo**n't lose** [Disclaim: Deny]

Of the Heterogloss, the majority were Disclaim: Deny. In extract 16, Grandmaster Flash (1982) uses Denial in a variety of ways to negate or 'close down' any positive evaluations of his circumstances:

Extract 16: (Grandmaster Flash 1982: 5-11)
> broken glass everywhere
> people **pissin'** [Monogloss] on the stairs
> **you know** [Proclaim: Concur] they just **don't** [Disclaim: Deny] care
> i **can't take** [Disclaim: Deny] the smell
> **can't take** [Disclaim: Deny] the noise
> **got no** [Disclaim: Deny] money **to move out** [Monogloss]
> i **guess** [Entertain] i **got no** [Disclaim: Deny] choice

To a lesser extent, some Heterogloss was from the system of Proclaim. In this case, the rappers' propositions are strongly endorsed to the extent that it would be very difficult to negotiate and refute the propositions expressed. In extract 17 for example, LL Cool J's (1985) positive evaluation of his song, as well as claims of authenticity, are examples of Proclaim:

Extract 17: (LL Cool J 1985: 72-76)
> i**'m** [Monogloss] the royal chief rocker ll cool j
> **let** [Monogloss] your big butt bounce from right to left
> 'cos it**'s a actual fact** that this jam **is** [Proclaim: Pronounce] def
> **most definitely created** [Proclaim: Pronounce] by me
> **goin' down** [Monogloss] in radio history

4.2 Attitude

Table 4 illustrates a basic Attitude summary for the data set. Each rap song is summarised according to positive and negative Attitude, the most frequent target of Attitude and most frequent type of Attitude. A second or third target of Attitude is included if its frequency is similar to the most frequent target. Table 4 does not distinguish between the gangsta, hip-hop and political styles.

Table 4: Summary of Attitude

Artist	Attitude Summary
Arrested Development	+self-Judgements -Judgements of 'dominant forces'
Beastie Boys	+self-Judgements -Judgements of 'you'
The Disposable Heroes...	-Judgements of 'dominant forces'
Grandmaster Flash...	-Appreciation of own circumstances
Ice Cube	+self-Judgements
Ice T	+self-Judgements -Judgements of 'you'
Jay-Z	-Appreciation of own circumstances -Judgements of 'dominant forces' +self-Judgements
Kurtis Blow	-Appreciation of own circumstances
LL Cool J	+self-Judgements

The Notorious B.I.G.	+self-Judgements
NWA	+self-Judgements -Judgements of 'dominant forces'
Public Enemy a	-Judgement of 'dominant forces'
Public Enemy b	-Appreciation of own circumstances -Judgements of 'dominant forces' +self-Judgements
Run-D.M.C.	-Appreciation of own circumstances +self-Judgements
Snoop Dogg	+self-Judgements

The Attitude summary illustrated in Table 4 can be further generalised according to three main types of Attitude that were most frequently realised in these rap songs:
1. positive self-Judgements
2. negative Appreciations of own circumstances
3. negative Judgements of 'dominant forces' (e.g. the police, the government, gangs, 'white' people...)

Many rap songs from artists such as Ice Cube (1991), LL Cool J (1985) and Snoop Dogg (1992) frequently realised positive invoked self-Judgements, for example:

Extract 18: (Snoop Dogg 1993: 46-49)

> everything is **fine** [+Appreciation]
> when you listenin' to the d o g [+Attitude]
> i got the **cultivating** [+Appreciation] music [+Attitude]
> that be **captivating** [+Appreciation] [+Attitude]

Other rap artists such as Grandmaster Flash (1982), Kurtis Blow (1980) and Public Enemy (1990a) mainly realised negative evaluations of their own circumstances, either through negative invoked Appreciation or negative Judgements of 'others' who adversely impact on their circumstances. In extract 19 for example, Public Enemy (1990a) are highly critical of the police and the 911 emergency service:

Extract 19: (Public Enemy 1990a: 3-5)

> now i dialled nine one one a long time ago
> don't you see how **late** [-Appreciation] they're reactin' [-Attitude]
> they only come and they come when they wanna [+Affect] [-Attitude]

Many rap artists combined these two 'Attitudes' within the one song. Jay-Z (1999), NWA (1988) and Public Enemy (1990b) all realised positive invoked self-Judgements as well as negative Appreciations and Judgements to do with their circumstances, for example:

Extract 20: (Jay-Z 1999: 18-21 & 25-26)
> it's the **hard-knock** [-Appreciation] life
> from standin' on the corners boppin' [+Attitude]
> to drivin' some of the **hottest** [+Appreciation] cars [+Attitude]...
>
> from nightmares of a **lonely** [-Appreciation] cell my only **hell** [-Appreciation]
> but since when y'all niggas know me to fail [+Attitude]

**5	Discussion: Alignment and the putative consumer**

> First, we are concerned with the role they play in meaning making processes by which the speaker/writer negotiates relationships of alignment/disalignment vis-à-vis the various value positions referenced by the text and hence vis-à-vis the socially-constituted communities of shared attitude and belief associated with those positions… Secondly, we are concerned with this negotiation of alignment/disalignment as it applies to the relationship which the text construes as holding between speaker/writer and the text's putative addressee. (Martin and White 2005: 95)

Following Martin and White (2005), it is imperative to bring together the Engagement and Attitude findings so as to reveal the ways in which the rappers align or disalign with their expressions of Attitude. In terms of the African-American rap songs analysed in this paper, this relationship can be generally summarised as follows:

1.	African-American rappers frequently use Monogloss to strongly align with positive self-evaluations, negative evaluations of their own circumstances and negative evaluations of the 'dominant forces'
2.	African-American rappers occasionally use contracted Heterogloss to disalign with positive evaluations of their own circumstances and positive evaluations of the 'dominant forces'

> By way of brief illustration, the three extracts used to exemplify the Attitude findings have been additionally coded for Monogloss and contracted Heterogloss Engagement (see underline), for example:

Extract 21: (Snoop Dogg 1993: 46-48)

> everything is **fine** [+Appreciation]
> when you listenin' to the d o g [+Attitude]
> i got the cultivating [+Appreciation] music [+Attitude]
> that be captivating [+Appreciation] [+Attitude]

Extract 22: (Public Enemy 1990a: 3-5)

> now i dialled nine one one a long time ago
> don't you see how **late** [-Appreciation] they're reactin' [-Attitude]
> they only come and they come when they wanna [+Affect] [-Attitude]

Extract 23: (Jay-Z 1999: 18-21 & 25-26)

> it's the **hard-knock** [-Appreciation] life
> from standin' on the corners boppin' [+Attitude]
> to drivin' some of the **hottest** [+Appreciation] cars [+Attitude]...
>
> from nightmares of a **lonely** [-Appreciation] cell my only **hell** [-Appreciation]
> but since when y'all niggas know me to fail [+Attitude]

The Attitude expressed in extracts 21, 22 and 23 aligns almost exclusively with Monogloss Engagement. Moreover, those few examples of Heterogloss are dialogistically contracted in the form of rhetorical questions: 'don't you see' and 'since when y'all niggaz know me to fail', further aligning the rappers with their positive self-evaluations.

What then are the kinds of socially-constituted communities that share these attitudes and beliefs? Or in a more specific way, who is the putative hearer or archetypal 'consumer' seeks to align with the general proposition that African-Americans rappers are resilient, 'cool' characters in spite of their unfortunate circumstances? It seems that the rhetoric expressed in these African-American rap songs is intended for those who in some way feel marginalised by a dominant power. Additionally, the extremely high frequency of positive self-evaluations suggests that those same consumers share a sense of self-worth that enables or inspires them to overcome their adverse circumstances.

Most research into the consumer base of rap music reveals that white, middle-class, teenage boys are the largest consumer of rap music. As Krims explains:

> For one thing, the single largest purchasing group of rap music may well be middle-class, white teenagers; The RIAA announcement that in 1998, for the first time, rap was the best selling musical genre in the United States certainly suggests a broad base of consumption. (Krims 2000: 4-5)

On the surface, it seems rather contrary that white, middle-class teenagers would share these same feelings of marginalisation and empowerment as expressed by the African-American artists. Of course, feelings of marginalisation can be shared by anyone. As Lipsitz suggests, a less 'community' oriented society has resulted in an increasing interest in the lives and culture of the 'marginalised':

> "In a world where more and more people feel dislocated and disenfranchised, the culture of people who have historically lived with the contradictions of being outsiders becomes increasingly relevant to everyone." (Lipsitz quoted in Walser 1995: 210)

It appears then, that in a very general way, these rap songs are intended for a 'marginalised' consumer, of any race, who seeks to align with values of misfortune and oppression. At the same time, this 'marginalised' consumer aligns with values of positive self-worth through explicit positive self-affirmations.

The final point of discussion concerns the ways in which the African-American rap artists present their values or Attitudes for the 'marginalised' consumer. As Martin and White explain:

> …we are [also] interested in whether the value position is presented as one which can be taken for granted for this particular audience, as one which is some way novel, problematic or contentious, or as one which is likely to be questioned, resisted or rejected.(Martin and White 2005: 93)

Drawing on the Engagement findings and the high frequency of Monogloss propositions (and the very few 'expanded' Heterogloss), it is clear that the rap artists do *not* present the value positions of resilient, 'cool' characters against self-marginalisation as problematic to their putative consumer. The connection between this finding and Potter's (1995) post-modern cultural analysis will be discussed below.

6   Conclusion

The general thesis of Potter (1995) is that the African-American vernacular, as a major component of the hip-hop culture, is employed by African-Americans as a tool of resistance against the dominant powers. For Potter, a resistance vernacular is when a

language deploys variance in order to deform and reposition the rules of "intelligibility" set up by the dominant language:

> The mode of power of the "minor" [resistant] language, on the other hand, is that of variance, deformation, and appropriation; it is not so much that it refuses or opposes the structural constants sought by the major, as it is that it does not acknowledge the "constant" as a unit of value; on the contrary it values the variant. In doing so, by setting words into a kind of play (such as Signifiyin(g)), the "minor" is a kind of anti-structure; its speakers and writers perform an ongoing deconstruction of the major. (Potter 1995: 68)

As a contribution to this kind of work, the aim of this paper was to apply Appraisal to African-American rap music to investigate the extent to which, and the manner in which, African-American rappers engaged with alternate points of view. It was the initial hypothesis of this paper that the rappers would engage with the values of the dominant forces through Heterogloss. Moreover, it was predicted that the African-American rappers would use dialogically 'contracted' Engagement resources so as to 'close down' the kinds of values associated with the 'dominant forces'.

It was found however that the African-American rappers mainly employed Monogloss Engagement which they aligned with many positive self-evaluations as well as some negative evaluations of their own circumstances and negative judgements of the 'dominant forces'. Significantly, the rappers did not introduce and then explicitly challenge the kinds of values associated with the 'dominant forces'. They were rarely indulged. Values were simply 'declared absolutely', with minimal 'engagement' with any positive perceptions of the dominant forces. Perhaps the rhetorical trope identified in these rap songs is better defined as 'ignoring', rather than 'challenging' the dominant forces.

It is precisely this strategy of 'resistance by ignoring' (for want of a much better term) that Potter (1995) considers fundamental to the hip-hop vernacular and African-American culture more generally. Potter begins by critiquing the whole notion of 'challenging' the dominant forces:

> How can speech that founds itself on a relationship to (if not always or only a reaction *against*) a "dominant" or hegemonic dialect effectively *resist* that dialect? (Potter 1995: 75)

And more, from Gibson:

> Unless one can supplant the dominant language by, for example, taking over the lexicon, assuming control of linguistic utterance (controlling the press and publication), then one in calling for dominance is likely to be merely rhetorical. (Gibson in Potter 1995: 75)

Potter goes on to cite the work of Fanon who argues that those (i.e. the colonized) who dream of overthrowing 'the colonizers' are engaged in a logic of self-defeat:

> ... this mental scenario of engagement is precisely the one that the colonizing powers seek to instill. In its place, he argues for *guerilla* tactics, for a battle of forays and blinds… There is no way to win with a battalion of tanks when they are matched against a tactically scattered guerilla force… because it does not reproduce the very terms (of *dominant*

and *subordinate-wanting-to-dominate*) in which the system thinks. (Potter 1995: 76)

What I want to suggest is that the high frequency of Monogloss propositions in African-American rap music, coupled with the many positive self-evaluations, also works in this way. By rarely engaging with 'the alternative' dominant forces, the rappers avoid reproducing the dominant-subordinate terms by which the colonising system thinks. While Potter (1995) cites linguistic examples such as language sampling, signifyin(g), general linguistic play and satire, I would also like to add, in a slightly different way, the African-American rappers high frequency of Monogloss. When African-American rappers express their values as 'absolute', non-negotiable, without contradiction, their language is *more* than 'resistant'. It is unique.

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List of Appraisal Conventions

[ ]	Appraisal
+	positive Attitude
-	negative Attitude
	invoked Attitude

A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS

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Abstract

A great deal of theory and analysis of conversation has concerned itself with miscommunications and misunderstandings, due in part, perhaps, to linguists' excitement about ambiguity in language (see for example Schegloff, Jefferson et al. 1977; Schegloff 1992; Dascal 1999; Weigand 1999; Weizman 1999; Wong 2000; Hinnenkamp 2003). Apart from the community of Systemic Functional (SF) theorists who have a particular interest in language disorder/difference (for example Armstrong 1991; Togher, Hand et al. 1997a; Togher, Hand et al. 1997b; Ferguson 1998a; Togher 1998a; Ferguson 1998b; Togher 1998b; Ferguson 1998c; Togher, Hand et al. 1999a; Togher 2000; Armstrong 2001; Armstrong 2005), the field of SFL has not had a lot to say about misunderstandings. Reporting on a case study of the nonverbal multimodal communication of a child with a severe intellectual disability, this paper shows how the SF model can be used to explore and classify the misunderstandings that occurred between the child and his communication partners. While the child's communication differences are peculiar to him, it is argued that SF theory, in particular the notions of metafunction and move, can not only illuminate his particular problems but also provide another way of classifying misunderstandings in the wider population.

1   Introduction

I recently borrowed a friend's car and took the opportunity, while driving it, to listen to some of her CDs. When discussing music at some later date, I told her that I had found a particular CD boring, and we had what I thought was quite a rational discussion about what made music interesting to each of us. At another later date, during a discussion with other people, this same friend reported that I had said she had boring taste in music, which I do not recall saying at all. What started out in my mind as a discussion using the Appraisal resource of Appreciation, where both of us were evaluating music, had somehow, in her mind, turned into the evaluation of her, where she perceived me to be negatively appreciating her, and not the music. The possibility of using Systemic Functional theory to explore and classify misunderstandings has great potential. Had it not been for the theoretical framework of Appraisal, it would have been a less than straightforward process explaining the misunderstanding that occurred between us. In this paper, whilst not using the Appraisal system, I nevertheless use other facets of Systemic Functional theory to describe and classify a different range of misunderstandings.

The misunderstandings described in this paper come from the PhD study of a boy (my son) named Bodhi, who has a severe intellectual disability and severe communication impairment. Whilst he is basically nonverbal, he is nevertheless very communicative, using a range of modes of expression other than the verbal to communicate. What became evident during the study was that there is a high incidence of misunderstandings between Bodhi and his communication partners, particularly amongst those who do not know him well, but even among those who do know him well, such as his family. That is to say, it is the communication partners who misunderstand Bodhi, and not the reverse.

In much of the Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC)[1] and misunderstanding literature, misunderstandings come under the category of repair (see for example Schegloff, Jefferson et al. 1977; Paul and Cohen 1984; Brinton, Fujiki et al. 1986; Schegloff 1987a; Schegloff 1987b; Brady, McLean et al. 1995; Levy, Tennebaum et al. 2003). Repairing communicative breakdowns is seen as a critical skill for people with severe intellectual disabilities

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[1] The field of Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) is primarily made up of researchers and clinicians who both study and work with people with communication disorders.

because their communication is often highly ambiguous. This ambiguity can often lead to misunderstandings that can cause frustration and aggressive behaviour on the part of the people with disabilities (Carr and Durand 1985; Brady, McLean et al. 1995). Whilst repairing breakdowns may be critical, studies have also shown that people with intellectual disabilities repair less often than their non-disabled peers (Brinton, Fujiki et al. 1986; Brady, McLean et al. 1995). While both bodies of literature have had misunderstandings within their range of focus, neither provides a kind of classification system that is able to account adequately for the misunderstandings that occur with Bodhi. Classifications of misunderstandings in the literature were according to structural rather than content factors, such as whereabouts in the turn-taking the misunderstanding occurred (see for example Schegloff 1992; Wong 2000). However, there seem to be no classifications of the sorts of misunderstanding that can describe what is actually occurring within the misunderstood move, that is to say, in experiential or interpersonal terms.   In order to assist Bodhi in successful communication, understanding exactly what kinds of misunderstandings were occurring with him, so that we could attempt to prevent their recurrence seemed to be of utmost importance.

In the field of Systemic Functional Linguistics there has been no work to date that systematically classifies misunderstandings from a SF point of view. However, within this study, it became evident that the SF perspective would be useful in the classification of the different kinds of misunderstandings that occurred with Bodhi. The aspects of SFL theory that were used to classify these misunderstandings were metafunction (from Halliday 1984; Halliday 1994; Halliday 1996 and elsewhere) and move, from exchange structure analysis (Coulthard and Brazil 1979; Coulthard and Montgomery 1981; Berry 1981a; Berry 1981b; Berry 1981c; Ventola 1987; Ventola 1988; Martin 1992).

Metafunction is a term coined by Halliday (1984; 1994; 1996 and elsewhere) to describe the three different but simultaneous ways that language makes meaning. Through the ideational metafunction we represent the world around us. Through the interpersonal metafunction we enact social and interactional roles. Through the textual metafunction we organize language into coherent texts. It is within the experiential and interpersonal metafunctions that misunderstandings that occur with Bodhi can be located.

If we examine conversational interactions above the level of the clause, one method of description is in terms of exchanges. Exchanges are constituted by a number of moves (for a full description of moves see Berry 1981a; Ventola 1987; Martin 1992; Dreyfus 2006). Moves correspond with speech function at the rank of clause. In Bodhi's case, each of his communicative turns consisted of only one move. As will be seen below, communication partners misunderstood the type of move Bodhi was making; that is to say, they misunderstood the speech function of the move.

2 Causes of misunderstandings of Bodhi's communication

Misunderstandings occur frequently with Bodhi for a number of reasons. These are outlined briefly and then in more detail below. Firstly, Bodhi's frequent use of the same modes of expression to mean different speech functions causes confusion. In other words, his communication is undifferentiated and therefore ambiguous – while *he* may mean different things, he expresses different meanings in similar ways. In addition to this, he has an idiosyncratic move combining two speech functions that is not recognized by uninformed communication partners. Thirdly, because he is nonverbal, and because he has a severe intellectual disability that prevents him from using more sophisticated communication devices, he has a paucity of ways of expressing his experiential meanings, and generally communicates only one experiential item per move. These will be dealt with in turn, following a brief introduction to the modes of expression that Bodhi does use to communicate.

Bodhi's modes of expression include vocalizations (mostly nonverbal sounds and a few word approximations); gestures (including deictic gestures such as pointing, and signs from Bodhi's own version of sign language); materials (including actual objects, photos and picture symbols);

actions (such as taking someone by the hand and leading them somewhere); and behaviours (such as lying on the floor kicking doors). Figure 1 represents Bodhi's modes of expression systemically:
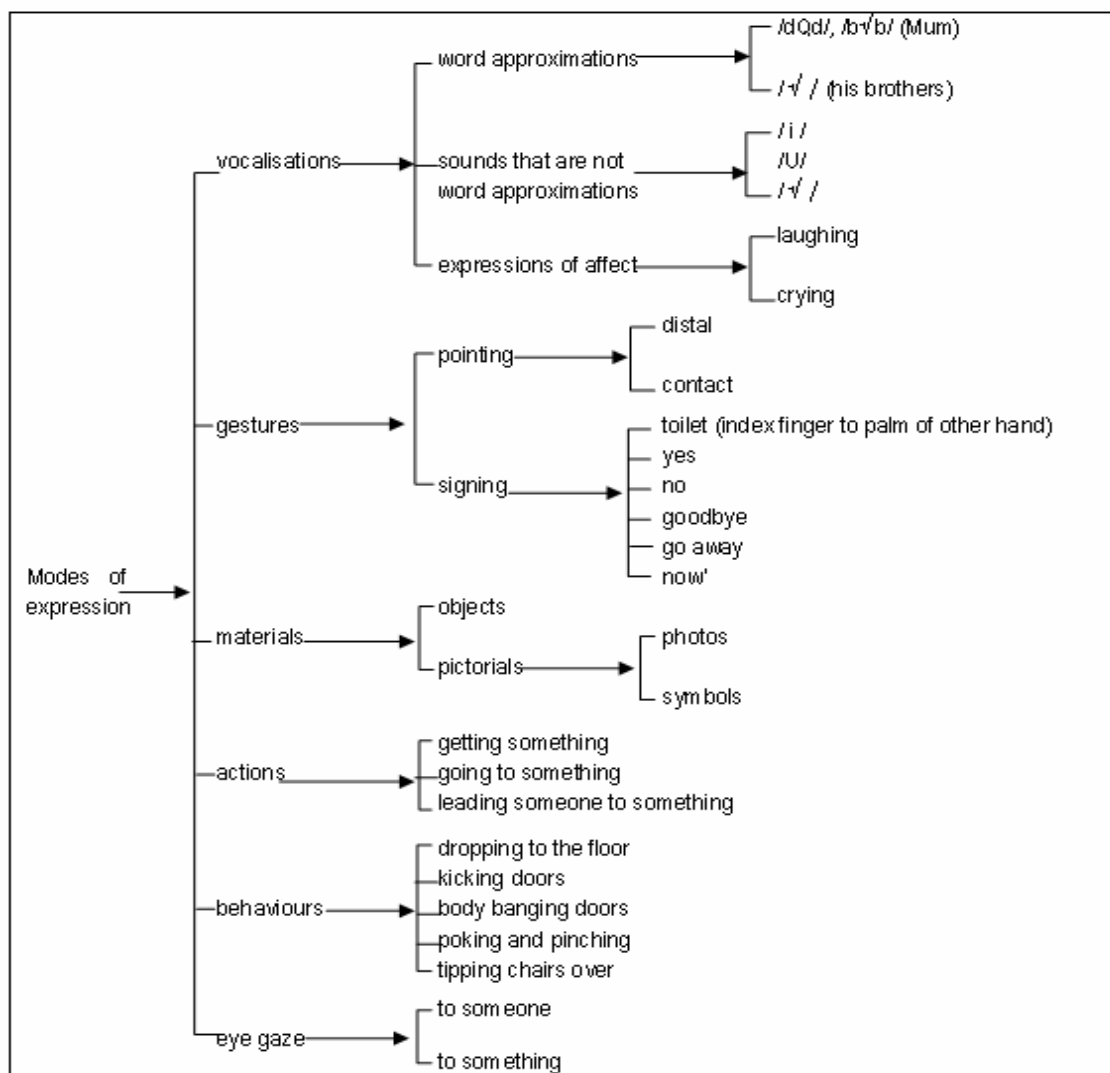
Figure 1: Bodhi's modes of expression

While I have separated the modes of expression in order to understand how Bodhi expresses his meanings, he invariably communicates using more than one mode at a time. This can be seen in the following example where Bodhi is asking his father Mark where they are going when they are in the car:

Example 1
Bodhi: / i / i / (grabs Mark's sleeve)
Mark: We're going to Wollongong, to the chemist shop, to get your medicine

In this example Bodhi uses the mode of vocalisation plus an action of grabbing the driver's sleeve to ask where they are going. The sound /i/ that is used by Bodhi in Example 1 is a sound that he uses much of the time, especially when he initiates an interaction.

In terms of speech function, Bodhi uses the same sound and tone to realise a number of different speech functions. However, before discussing this in detail, it is essential to explore Bodhi's idiosyncratic move which involves his combination of two speech functions. This is a move that causes confusion for communication partners, but it helps explain why Bodhi uses the same sound and tone to express a variety of speech functions.

Bodhi's idiosyncratic move occurs when he initiates an interaction to give information. That is to say, whilst giving information, Bodhi simultaneously demands the communication partner

verbally articulate that information back to him. If the communication partner does not respond in this manner, Bodhi replays the move until they do. This can be seen in the following example where Bodhi is doing a jigsaw puzzle with his grandmother Dodo. In this exchange, Bodhi has picked up a piece of the puzzle and is pointing to the piece whilst saying /i/i/ with a rising tone (tone 2):

Example 2
Bodhi: /2 i /2 i / (holding and contact pointing² the blue truck piece of the puzzle)
Dodo: You show me where that one goes.
Bodhi: /2 i / (continues to hold and point)
Dodo: That's the blue truck
Bodhi: (puts piece in)

At the start of this exchange, Dodo does not understand that verbal articulation of Bodhi's multimodal move is required, and instead she issues a command for him to put the piece of the puzzle in its spot. However, Bodhi replays his move, signaling her misunderstanding. In her second turn, Dodo articulates his multimodal move. He shows his satisfaction with her response by moving on and placing the piece of the puzzle in its spot.

Bodhi's initiating move from Example 2 combines the two speech functions of giving information and demanding a service of articulation of that information. I have called this move the dual move (see Dreyfus 2006). The dual move causes confusion for uninformed communication partners who do not realise that Bodhi wants them to perform a service of articulation of the information he has multimodally given. In particular, it is the demand part of the move that causes the confusion, as every time Bodhi makes a demand move, regardless of whether it is a demand for information, ordinary goods-&-services, or the specialized linguistic service of articulation, he generally uses the same sound and tone - /i/ on a rising tone (either tone 2 or tone 5[3]). For example, to communicate *a desire* go somewhere, or to inform that he is *in the process of* going somewhere, and to ask whether he *can* go somewhere, Bodhi uses the same sound, tone and sign or picture. It is incumbent upon the communication partner to differentiate the kinds of move. As a result, there are misunderstandings of an interpersonal nature in communication with Bodhi. The example that best captures this is when a new carer came to take him out to do his favourite activity of riding up and down escalators. The carer reported that on the way to the escalators Bodhi pointed to the escalator picture numerous times whilst saying /i/i/. The carer interpreted this move as a demand for information or action and responded by telling him that they were going to the escalators. However, when they got there, Bodhi still pointed to the escalator picture. This caused confusion because the carer did not understand why he was still pointing to the picture (and saying /i/i/) when they were already there. The reason, of course, is that he was using the same modes of expression to ask for information (or confirmation) as he uses to give information.

The second reason for frequent misunderstandings with Bodhi is due to his expression of only one experiential item per move, which leaves the communication partner to work out the rest of the experiential meaning from the context. This can be seen in the example below where Bodhi and his father Mark are traveling in the car to the shops when Bodhi signs 'toilet', whilst saying /i/i/. 'Toilet' is the only experiential meaning Bodhi expresses, however being Bodhi's father, Mark is a most informed communication partner who knows Bodhi's likes and dislikes, and also understands that he is asking whether he can *flush* the toilet rather than *use* the toilet in the more conventional sense.

Example 3
Bodhi: /2 i /2 i / (signs toilet)
Mark: Toilet, um yeah, you can play, flush the toilet when you come home, when
               we go home. Not at the chemist shop. There's no toilet at the chemist shop.

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² Contact pointing is pointing to something via touch. Distal pointing is pointing without touch.
³ For a full discussion of the different tones used in spoken English, see Halliday, M. A. K. (1994)

Unlike Mark, however, other communication partners are not so well informed, and other situations are not so straightforward that one can easily work out the rest of the experiential meaning. Consequently, there are often misunderstandings of an experiential nature with Bodhi.

Even though he mostly expresses only one experiential meaning per move, Bodhi is very particular about exactly what the experiential meaning of the whole move is, and replays his move until the communication partner gets the experiential meaning right. This can be seen in the example below, where Bodhi is eating breakfast with his grandmother Dodo when he points to his bowl and says /i/, to tell her something about the bowl.

Example 4

Bodhi:	/5 i/ (contact pointing the bowl)
Dodo:	That's a lovely bowl, isn't it?
Bodhi:	/2 i / (contact pointing the bowl)
Dodo:	That's your bowl, yes.
Bodhi:	/2 i hi-hi /2 i hi-hi /2 i-hi /2 i /(contact pointing bowl)
Dodo:	Yes. D'you like that bowl?
Bodhi:	/√h-h√h/ (giggle)

In this example, Dodo has understood the demand for verbal articulation of Bodhi's multimodal move, however she has not understood exactly what the experiential meaning of that move is. As Bodhi has only communicated the one experiential item of the bowl, via contact pointing, Dodo must guess the rest of the meaning. However, in expressing one experiential meaning, even the exact nature of *that* experiential item is unclear. As Dodo initially guesses, Bodhi could be saying that it is a lovely bowl, making 'bowl' the Attribute in a relational type move; or he could be saying that it is *his* bowl, making 'bowl' the possessed Attribute in a possessive type move. However, as she guesses in her third go, he is telling her he *likes* the bowl, making 'bowl' the Phenomenon in a mental: emotion type move. In all cases, the only thing that is in any way clear is that Bodhi is expressing the ergative element of Range, which is the non-nuclear participant. In other words, Dodo knows he is trying to tell her something about the bowl, but she is unsure what that is.

The two categories of interpersonal and experiential meaning provide the basis for the classification of the misunderstandings in this data set. Each category has finer levels of delicacy which are discussed below, beginning with experiential meaning.

3 Experiential misunderstandings

Misunderstandings with Bodhi of an experiential nature are divided into complete and partial. Complete misunderstanding of experiential meaning is where the communication partner misunderstands all of the experiential content of Bodhi's move. This can be seen in the example below where Bodhi has been eating breakfast with his father, Mark, and brings his unfinished breakfast bowl to me in the kitchen:

Example 5

Bodhi:	(puts bowl with half-eaten breakfast on the kitchen bench and then taps the chickens' bucket of scraps) /i /i /
Shooshi:	(seeing an old piece of cake in the bucket) You can't eat that, it's in the chooks' bucket
Bodhi:	(keeps tapping the chickens' bucket & starts to get upset) /Λh /Λh /(points to his bowl)
Shooshi:	Do you want some more?
Bodhi:	(shakes head and cries) /Λh /Λh /
Mark:	He wants you to put it in the chooks' bucket
Shooshi:	Oh, Bodhi, you want me to put it in the chooks' bucket
Bodhi:	(chest tap = 'yes')
Shooshi:	Ok then (tips it into the chooks bucket)

In Example 5, I have understood the interpersonal component of Bodhi's move, that is, the demand for some kind of service, but I have completely misunderstood what the nature of that service is. In

other words, I have completely misunderstood the experiential meaning, which was to tip his unfinished breakfast into the bucket of scraps for the chickens, which is what his father had been doing in the recent past. This constitutes a complete misunderstanding of the experiential meaning of Bodhi's move.

Partial misunderstandings of Bodhi's moves are of two types: i) those that involve the process or ii) the circumstance. In a misunderstanding of the process, Bodhi has usually expressed one participant, such as in example 2 above (with his grandmother Dodo and his comment about the breakfast bowl). As discussed, in this example, Dodo has understood that Bodhi wants to tell her something about the bowl, but as he has not communicated the process part of the move, she does not know what he wants to say about the bowl. In fact, it is rare for Bodhi to express a process; he typically expresses one participant or a circumstance only. In some cases, due to our general understanding of the world and language, realized by the resources of collocation, one participant provides sufficient information for the communication partner to work out the rest of the move. For example, if Bodhi signs 'toilet', the (informed) communication partner knows that the accompanying process is *flush* and not *eat*. Conversely, if he points to a picture of Weetbix™ (a breakfast cereal), one can guess that the accompanying process is *eat*, and not *flush*. This is, in fact, quite useful and even expedient on Bodhi's part, for were he to express the process, for example by pointing to a picture of *eating*, the communication partner would then have to ask him *what* he wants to eat, and it would take longer to get what he wants. However, for more complex meanings, one participant is too ambiguous to guess the rest of the meaning.

The second type of partial misunderstanding of experiential meaning – that involving some circumstance, can be seen in the following example where Bodhi is having breakfast with his grandmother when he taps his bowl to tell her something about it:

Example 6

Bodhi:	/2nn /2nn /2nn / (contact pointing bowl)
Dodo:	you're eating your porridge, yes
Bodhi:	/2i /2i /2i / (contact pointing the bowl)
Dodo:	in your bowl
Bodhi:	(giggles)

In this example, Bodhi is trying to tell Dodo he is eating porridge in *his* bowl, the same bowl that he expresses liking for in example 2. At this point in the conversation he has his mouth full of porridge and so Dodo presumes he is telling her that he is eating. Thus, she has misunderstood that his meaning refers to the circumstantial component of the move, which is the thing that he is eating out of – the bowl.

It is interesting to note that in the partial misunderstandings of experiential meaning, there is no misunderstanding of participant. This is because, as mentioned above, Bodhi mostly expresses one participant. But what of the other participant? In most cases, the first participant of Bodhi's move is actually Bodhi himself, and this is retrievable from the context. For example, if Bodhi points to a picture of a drink, we can easily and correctly guess that it is he, himself, who is asking for a drink. As Halliday (1994) notes, the item that most commonly occurs as the unmarked Theme (Subject/Theme) in casual conversation is the first person pronoun "I", for much of our conversation concerns ourselves and what we think and feel. As participants in casual conversation, communication partners seem to readily work this out.

The experiential branch of the network of misunderstandings of Bodhi is therefore as follows:
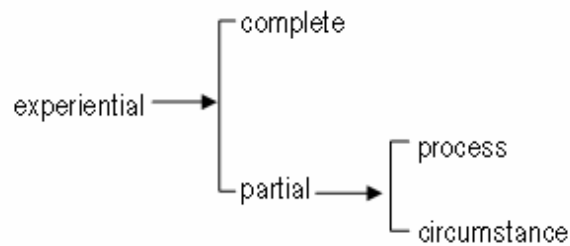
Figure 2: The experiential branch of the network of misunderstandings of Bodhi

4 Interpersonal misunderstandings

Interpersonal misunderstandings occur where Bodhi means a particular speech function, but the communication partner interprets and responds to it as a different one. There are four types of interpersonal misunderstanding with Bodhi and these can be clustered into two pairs. All of these misunderstandings are described in terms of move type.

The first of these misunderstandings is where Bodhi makes the dual move and the communication partner responds as if it were something else. Specifically, Bodhi gives information and simultaneously demands verbal articulation of that information, but the communication partner interprets this move as a demand for action. This can be seen in example 7. In this example, Bodhi and his schoolteacher are walking around the playground when he stops to tell her something about the toilet they are walking past:

Example 7

Bodhi:	(stops walking and signs toilet) /i /i /
Teacher:	All right then. Off you go. Go to the toilet.
Bodhi:	(stamps foot, signs toilet) /i /i /
Teacher:	Well go on. Go to the toilet
Bodhi:	(stamps foot, signs toilet) /i /i /
Teacher:	(pause) Oh, you're telling me you can see there's someone in the toilet
Bodhi:	(smiles and resumes walking)

It eventually becomes clear to the teacher that Bodhi is telling her he can see someone in the toilet and that he wants verbal articulation, but as he has spent most of the year trying to flush every toilet in the school, her initial presumption is that he is asking if he can go and *flush* the toilet. In other words, he is making the dual move - giving the teacher information about the toilet and demanding she articulate it (which she does in her final move), whereas the teacher has misunderstood his move as a demand for action. This is called a misunderstanding of the dual move - type 1, where the communication partner misunderstands Bodhi's dual move, interpreting it as a demand for action.

The second of the interpersonal misunderstandings is also a misunderstanding of the dual move. However in this type, while the communication partner understands the experiential content of Bodhi's move, they do not understand that the move has two speech functions. In other words, while they understand he is giving information, they do not realise they are required to verbally articulate that information. This can be seen in example 8 where Bodhi is telling his grandmother, Dodo, that he is eating his porridge:

Example 8

Bodhi:	/nn´ / (contact pointing the bowl)
Dodo:	Yes
Bodhi:	/i /i / (contact pointing the bowl)
Dodo:	Yes, you eat some more porridge
Bodhi:	(eats his porridge)

Dodo initially provides the kind of response one would give to a speaker's comment. That is to say, if a speaker says "I'm eating", the respondent might reply "Yes" or "Yes, you are". However, this kind of response is not enough for Bodhi, so he replays his move until Dodo tells him, albeit in the

imperative Mood, that he is eating porridge. This kind of misunderstanding is called a misunderstanding of the dual move - type 2, where the communication partner misunderstands the move because they miss the demand for articulation.

The third kind of interpersonal misunderstanding is where Bodhi demands action but the communication partner misinterprets this as the dual move. This can be seen in example 9 where Bodhi and I are driving past the street where some friends live and Bodhi points to the street saying /i/i/.

Example 9

Bodhi:	/i/i / (pointing to a street as we drive past it)
Shooshi:	That's where Rhett and Ruth live
Bodhi:	/i/i / (continues pointing to street)
Shooshi:	Do you want to go and visit them?
Bodhi:	(chest tap = 'yes')
Shooshi:	ok. Let's go and see if they're home

In this example, whilst Bodhi is demanding action - asking to go and visit our friends - I interpret his move as the dual move and verbally articulate the information I think he is giving. However, he replays his move, indicating that I have misunderstood. I then reinterpret his move and respond to it as a demand for action, which he then confirms with his subsequent response. This kind of misunderstanding is called a misunderstanding of Secondary Actor[4] move - type 1: as demand for action.

The fourth kind of interpersonal misunderstanding is where Bodhi demands an action but the communication partner interprets his move as a demand for information. This can be seen in example 10 where Bodhi and I are driving to pick up his brother from a friend's house, when he says /i/i/ and grabs my arm to ask where we are going.

Example 10

Bodhi:	/i /i / (grabs my arm = "where are we going?")
Shooshi:	We're going to pick up Davi at Chris' house
Bodhi:	/i /i / (signs 'toilet')
Shooshi:	Yes, they've got a toilet
Bodhi:	/i /i / (signs 'toilet')
Shooshi:	Yes, you can flush it
Bodhi:	(smiles)

In Bodhi's second turn in Example 10, he has signed 'toilet' whilst saying /i/i/ in order to ask if he can flush the toilet at the friend's house. I, however, have interpreted this move as a demand for information. As Bodhi replays his move, I realise that my interpretation is wrong and respond with an action response. Bodhi's acceptance of this response shows I have got it right. This kind of misunderstanding is called a misunderstanding of the Secondary Actor move - type 2: as Secondary Knower[5].

The full network of misunderstandings with Bodhi is therefore as follows:

[4] Secondary Actor is the role in the exchange where the interactant is demanding goods-&-services.
[5] Secondary Knower is the role in the exchange where the interactant is demanding information.
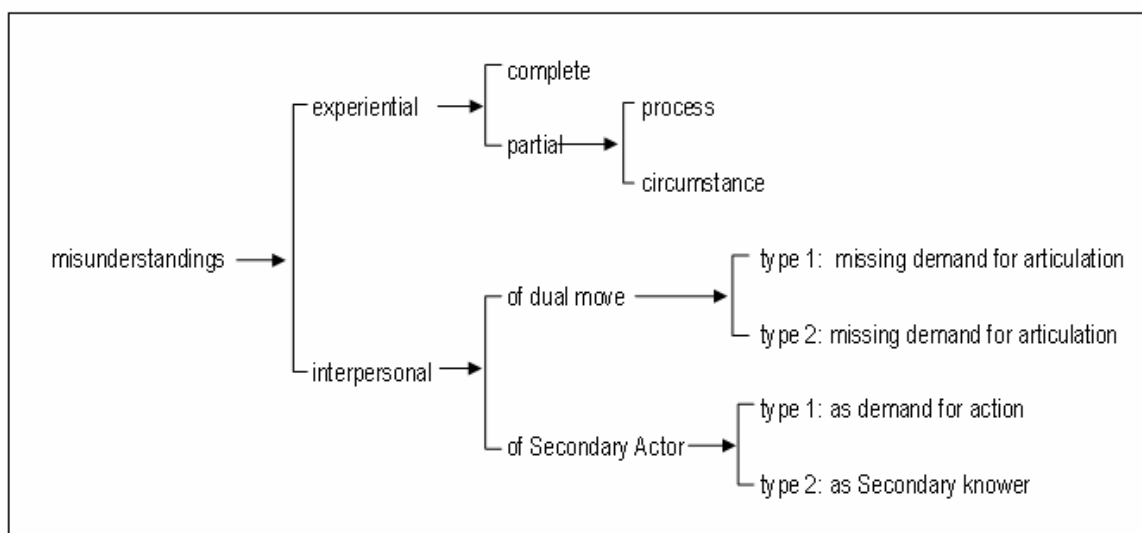
Figure 3: Misunderstandings of Bodhi's communication

5 Discussion

The significance of classifying misunderstandings of Bodhi's communication in this manner goes beyond theoretical concerns. It extends to the application to his life: that is, to how this information might assist communication partners to better understand him, and others like him. As training communication partners has been noted to be beneficial to the successful outcomes of communication with people with Aphasia (Kagan and Gailey 1993), the classification of Bodhi's misunderstandings can be used as a guide for communication partners. Taking into account the fact that Bodhi's communication partners are not linguists, the above network has been rewritten and adapted as shown in Figure 4, for communication partners to use as a preventative measure, or a navigational tool.
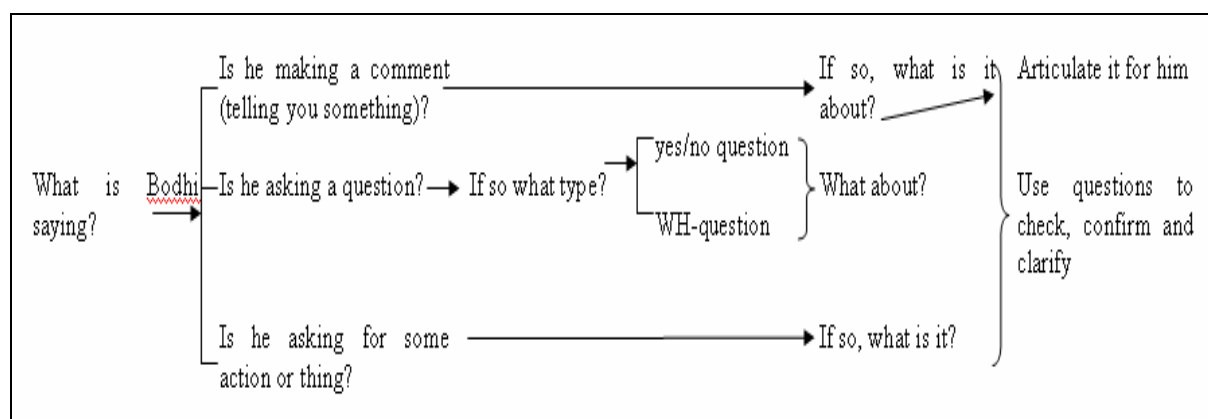
Figure 4: Guide for communication partners (Dreyfus 2006)

This guide helps communication partners prevent misunderstandings with multimodal communicators like Bodhi. It has been used informally with a number of Bodhi's carers, who report that it has greatly helped them to understand the way he communicates. While Bodhi's communication style is possibly or probably specific to him, the usefulness of this model could be investigated more formally with a larger group of people with intellectual disabilities and communication disorders.

The guide takes communication partners through the basics of speech function and experiential meaning. The first column asks them to think about what Bodhi (or someone like him) is saying. The second column encourages them to think about what kind of speech function he is expressing. The third and fourth columns encourage them to distinguish between a WH- and a polar

question, if he is asking a question. The fifth column asks them to think about the experiential meaning of the move, and the sixth and final column encourages them to respond in particular ways – either to verbally articulate the move if it is the dual move, or to use clarification and confirmation questions to check that they have understood correctly.

The use of questions by the communication partner to check whether they have correctly understood the multimodal communicator supports an active role in the communication process for the multimodal communicator. It sees the multimodal communicator as the key to the process of successful communication and encourages the communication partner to jointly negotiate meaning with the multimodal communicator.

The final example (11) shows Bodhi's father, Mark, jointly negotiating meaning with Bodhi by using a question to check whether he has correctly understood Bodhi's move:

Example 11
Bodhi: /5 i/ (grabs Mark's sleeve = 'where are we going?')
Mark: Yes. We're going to the chemist shop and the fish shop…
              Is that what you wanna know?
Bodhi: (taps chest = 'yes')
Mark: Yes. Good. He's saying 'yes'.

6 Conclusion

In this paper I have shown how notions of metafunction and move were used to classify the misunderstandings occurring in communication with a boy with a severe intellectual disability and communication disorder. This work builds on other descriptions of misunderstandings, which, to date, have not been able to describe types of misunderstandings in the manner afforded by Systemic Functional theory. Classifying misunderstandings as either experiential or interpersonal meant that I was able to account for the type of misunderstanding in terms of content as well as speech function. As these are two parameters that are paramount to the success of any meaning-making endeavour, this kind of classification helps to unravel the details of the misunderstandings that occur with Bodhi. It is also possible that using SF theory may be useful in understanding the kinds of misunderstandings that occur in communication with other people with disabilities and communication disorders, and with the wider population.

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Japanese Folk Tales: text structure and evaluative expressions

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Abstract

Hasan's approach to text structure is a semantic one. In the 1996 paper, *The nursery tale as genre,* she explains her approach through an analysis of nursery tales. The tale is understood within its contextual configuration using the registerial variables of *field, tenor* and *mode.* But further, it is understood as a genre in which instances of the nursery tale share common generic elements of structure, some of which are obligatory and others, optional. It is the obligatory elements of structure which 'define' the instance as belonging to the genre of nursery tale. Within the elements of structure are semantic attributes. "I suggest that the essential attributes of 'the structurally important units' of any texts will have to be stated in **semantic terms**" (Hasan 1996, p.58).

This paper builds on previous work by Thomson (2001) which adopted Hasan's Generic Structure Potential (GSP) approach and applied it to the Japanese nursery tale. Thomson's 2001 study describes the GSP from the perspective of the textual metafunction. This paper further develops the description of the GSP from the perspective of the interpersonal metafunction, noting that the application of appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005) is particularly useful when describing the interpersonal meanings which serve as crucial semantic attributes of the elements of structure. The semantic attributes are, in part, realised by configurations of particular appraisal choices.

1.   Research Questions and methodology

As mentioned, Thomson's 2001 study described the GSP of Japanese nursery tales from the point of view of the textual metafunction, demonstrating how particular selections of thematic progression patterns contribute to the realisation of the elements of structure. However, Thomson's description can only be considered a partial description given the fact that only the textual metafunction was addressed. To build a fuller description, the interpersonal and ideational metafunctions also need to be addressed. It is the purpose of this current study to provide, in the first instance, an interpersonal description of the GSP of Japanese nursery tales. Towards that end, the following research questions were posited:

1. What is the GSP of the corpus?
2. Within the elements of structure of the GSP, what interpersonal meanings are being made?
3. How are these interpersonal meanings realised by the lexicogrammar?

The methodologies utilised to answer the research questions are Hasan's (1996) GSP analysis and appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005). Firstly, the corpus is analysed to determine the GSP. The elements of structure are then analysed for *attitude*, coding both inscribed and invoked instances of positive and negative evaluation in order to illustrate to what extent the interpersonal meanings serve to identify the elements of structure within the GSP.

2.   Corpus of the Study

In this study, three folk tales are selected. They are: *Meshikuwanu onna* (The woman who does not eat), *Tsurunyooboo* (The Crane wife) and *Uguisu no sato* (The nightingale house). These stories are from the anthologies collected by Seki Keigo, a scholar in the mid-twentieth century who collected Japanese folk tales from across the country and categorised them into different sub-genres. Seki was interested in "the primary condition for the establishment of folktales in ordinary life; in other words the social customs that are continually repeated in daily life" (Seki 1981, p. 265).   The three stories illustrate some typical characteristics of the Japanese folk tale. According to Kawai (1982), an important characteristic is what he calls, "nothingness" (p. 30). In other words, Japanese folk tales are circular in the sense that the starting point and the end point are not linear, there is no beginning and end. Tales finish the way they start. This circularity was also noted by Tosu (1985). His study, which investigated the staging of seven folk tales, found that the folktale had a cyclical structure: 'lack' followed by 'lack liquidated' followed by 'lack' (Tosu 1985), which culminates in a return to an 'original' state.   The three stories in the corpus of this study have this characteristic of ending where they started. These stories will be referred to in the following discussion as the Witch text, the Crane text and the Nightingale text respectively.

The three tales are similar in the sense that the protagonists of the stories meet women who are actually not human, although the relationship between the protagonists and the women is distinct in each story.

In the Witch text, a man meets a woman who is actually a Japanese witch, called *Yamanba*. The protagonist of this story is a long time bachelor because of his unrealistic marriage criteria. The woman he wants to marry must be a woman who does not eat. As it happens, a woman visits the house of the protagonist, and he lets her stay. To his surprise,

despite the fact that the woman works enthusiastically, the woman does not eat at all. Discovering this fact, he marries her. However, his friends are worried for him and on their advice, he hides and spies on her while she works. He discovers that his wife is actually a witch who eats everything, even humans. He then attempts to escape from her, but she captures him. The wife takes him to the mountain, but during the trip, he manages to escape. The story ends when the man manages to kill his wife by chance. He is once again a bachelor.

Unlike the Witch text, the Crane text is a love story between a man and a woman who transforms from a crane to a human. The protagonist of this story, a man called *Karoku*, saves a crane which was trapped by a hunter. That night, a beautiful woman visits his house, asking him to marry her. The protagonist accepts her offer and they live together. One day, the wife says to him that she is going to weave cloth but asks that he does not watch her while she is weaving. He breaks his promise, and discovers that his wife is, in fact, the crane which he saved. Upon being found out, the wife turns back into the crane and flies away. *Karoku* searches for his wife, finally finding her in the world of cranes. The story ends with them having dinner together in the crane world after which, he returns to the world of human beings without her. He is thus left to continue his old life.

In the third tale, the Nightingale text, the woodcutter protagonist goes to the mountain to cut wood but on this occasion, finds a house that he has never seen before. As he enters the house, he meets a beautiful woman. She asks him whether he would look after the house while she goes to the township. He accepts and, as she requests, promises her that he will not enter the rooms in the house. After she has gone, he breaks the promise and enters the rooms. In one of the rooms, he finds three eggs and now drunk, he drops them. When the woman returns, she finds that the eggs are gone. She blames him for killing her daughters, and turns into a nightingale. The story ends with the protagonist watching the bird fly away and noticing that the house is gone and that he is left alone in the woods as before. The characters of the tales are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1 Characters in the tales

Text title	Protagonist	Woman	Others
Witch	a man	witch	Protagonist's friend
Crane	a man called *Karoku*	crane	Protagonist's mother
Nightingale	Woodcutter	nightingale	Woman's daughters

3.   Structure of the Japanese tales

3.1   Thomson's Study

Thomson (2001), following Hasan's (1984) study of English nursery tales, proposed a Generic Structure Potential (GSP) for folk tales in Japanese. GSP is an approach that describes potential variations of text structure within a given situation type or within a certain contextual configuration (Hasan 1984). The GSP approach represents the potential variations by specifying:

> I. …all those elements of structure whose presence is obligatory, if the text is to be regarded as a complete instance of a given genre by the members of some sub-community;
>
> II. …all those elements whose presence is optional, so that the fact of their presence or absence, while affecting the actual structural shape of a particular text, does not affect that text's generic status;
>
> III. …the obligatory and optional ordering of the elements *vis-à-vis* each other, including the possibility of iteration. (Hasan, 1996: 53)

Following this framework, Thomson studied two classic Japanese folk tales, *Urihimeko* (the Melon Princess) and *Momotaroo* (the Peach Boy), and suggested the following GSP.

(<P>) Initiating Event ^ (<P>) Sequent Event*^ (<P>) Final Event [^ (Finale) · (Moral)]

Thomson (2001) nominated six kinds of elements of structure for the Japanese tales. The first element, the Placement (P), is the element which has the obligatory semantic property of person particularisation (See Hasan 1996: 58-60 for detail on the semantic properties of Placement). In addition, Placement may also include associated semantic properties of impersonalisation and temporal distance. These semantic attributes are realised by particular lexicogrammatical choices. For example, in the clause, *Mukashi mukashi, aru tokoro ni ojiisan to obaasan to ga orimashita,* person particularisation is realised by the indefinite animate Thing, *ojiisan to obaasan to ga* (an old man and woman) and an existential process, *orimashita* (there was). In addition, temporal distance is realised by the circumstance, *mukashi mukashi* (long time ago) and so on. Placement is considered as an optional element as symbolised by rounded "( )" brackets. The element **can** be included within the Initiating Event, Sequent Event or Final Event, indicated by angled '< >' brackets. The GSP also illustrates that, alternatively, the Placement can be present without being included. In such case, the Placement precedes the Initiating Event, Sequent Event or Final Event, represented by "^".

The second type of element of structure, the Initiating Event, typically consists of three parts, which are frame, main act and sequel. The frame provides the background for the main event, which is a one-time happening from which the tale unfolds. The sequel

frustrates the expectation set up by the main act. The Initiating Event element is obligatory, and precedes the Sequent Event(s).

The third type, the Sequent Event, builds and sets up the Final event. The Sequent Event is obligatory and iterative, signalled by "*". It follows either the Initiating Event or the Placement and precedes the Final Event.

The Final Event represents a culmination of the events and the stories. It is obligatory and follows either the Sequent Event or the Placement. The Finale Event can be the last element of the tales' structure. However, the tales may end with other elements such as a Finale or Moral, which are both optional. The Finale is the element of structure in which the protagonists' existence returns to a state of altered rest. This state of altered rest can then serve as a new Placement for a subsequent tale. Finally, the Moral element advocates and teaches socially valued behaviour and cultural values.

3.2 Actual structure of the selected tales

Based on the categorisation of the types of elements of structure by Thomson (2001), the actual structures of each of the three folk tales are described as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2 Actual structure of the three tales

Witch	^ PL ^ IE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ FE
Nightingale	^ PL ^ IE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ FE ^ FIN
Crane	^ PL ^ IE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ SE ^ FE ^ FIN

Key: PL = Placement, IE = Initiating Event, SE = Sequent Event

FE = Final Event, FIN = Finale

Every structure of the tales starts with the Placement and Initiating Event. Following on, a series of the Sequent Events occur. The Witch, Nightingale and Crane text have six, seven and four Sequent Events respectively. Following the Sequent Events, the Final Events are presented. The Witch text ends with a Final Event, while the Nightingale and Crane texts end with a Finale.

Having identified the elements of structure of the three tales, the GSP of the three texts is as follows:

Placement ^ Initiating Event ^ Sequent Events* ^ Final Event ^ (Finale)

According to Hasan (1996:58), each element of structure realises crucial semantic attributes which are, in turn, realised by distinguishing lexicogrammatical patterns. Through an appraisal analysis of ATTITUDE, we can identify interpersonal meanings and their lexicogrammatical realisations. It is the semantic attributes which realise the elements of structure as described above. The following section of the paper looks at the

interpersonal meanings and the evaluative expressions within the tales and considers them in correlation with the GSP of the three tales[1].

4.   Appraisal resources in the Japanese tales

As described earlier, appraisal analysis is used to examine the evaluative expressions in the folk tales. The evaluative expressions are identified according to Martin and White's (2005) classification of the resources for expressing ATTITUDE. Attitude is expressed through gradable resources that explicitly or implicitly indicate positive or negative evaluation (Martin 2000; 2004). The classification is illustrated in Figure 1. Although the classification system was developed for English, the applicability of the system for use in the description of Japanese evaluations has been tested by Sano (2006) and shown to be appropriate.
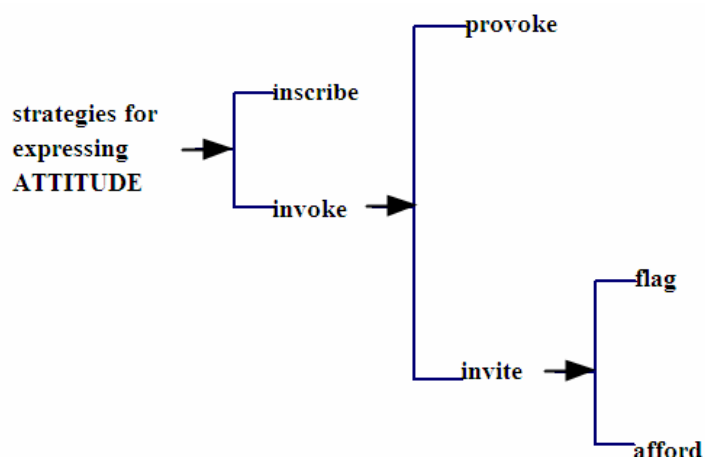
Figure 1 Strategies for expressing ATTITUDE (from Martin and White 2005:67)

The classification, firstly, differentiates values of attitude into i) **inscribe** and ii) **invoke**. The feature 'inscribe' represents the resources that explicitly express how Appraisers, that is, the persons who evaluate, want their readers to feel about an Appraised. The Appraised is the target that is being evaluated. According to White and Martin (2005), an inscribed attitude 'launches and subsequently reinforces a prosody which directs readers in their evaluation of non-attitudinal ideational material under its scope' (p. 64). This strategy is expressed by the presence of attitudinal lexis. For instance, in the selected Japanese folk tales, lexis such as *shinpai shite* (worry)*, shoojiki* (honest)*, kirei-na* (beautiful)*, nangi* (difficult) are used, as illustrated in Examples 1 to 3.

(1)   *Itsu made mo hitori-mono-de iru node, tomodachi-ga <u>shinpai shite</u>…*

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[1] The role of evaluative expressions in the Finale is not described here, as the Finale is not common to all three tales. It occurs only in the Nightingale and Crane texts.

Since he [the protagonist] had been a bachelor for a long time, his friend was <u>worried</u>, and … (Witch text)

(2) *onna-wa kikori no kao-o shigeshige mite ita ga, <u>shoojiki</u>-mono-rashii hitogara-o mite …*

The lady looked at his face very carefully, and (she) regarded (him) as an <u>honest</u> person, and … (Nightingale text)

(3) *aru hi no yuugata, sono otoko no ie-e <u>kirei-na</u> onna-ga kite …*

One night, a <u>beautiful</u> woman came to his house, and … (Crane text)

In Examples 1-3, the attitudinal lexical items '*shinpai shite*' (worried), '*shooshiki*' (honest) and '*kirei-na*' (beautiful), express explicit evaluation.

The strategy '**invoke**', on the other hand, is the strategy that expresses how Appraisers want readers to feel about the Appraised in a more indirect matter. Invoke has two subcategories: i) '**provoke**' and ii) '**invite**'.

Using instances of lexical metaphor, 'provoke' expresses the Appraiser's evaluation indirectly. Lexical metaphors may provoke evaluation by linking or comparing the Appraised with the entity, action or phenomenon that potentially inspires a positive or negative impression on readers. For instance, in Example 4, taken from the Witch text, the lexical metaphor "*kimo-o tsubushite*" (bursting one's kidney) is used, in order to express the protagonist's fear towards his wife (the witch).

(4) *doo suru-ka mite iru to, atama no mannaka no ookina kuchi no naka-ni nigiri-meshi-yara, abutta saba-yara dondon nagekonde, kutte shimaimashita. Otoko-wa kore-o mite, <u>kimo-o tsubushite</u> tenjoo-kara sotto orite …*

As he watched what she was doing, she threw in rice balls and grilled mackerel into a big mouth-like hole in the centre of (her) head and ate them. The man seeing this, <u>burst his kidney [metaphorically means he was terribly surprised]</u>, and (he) fell from the ceiling, and …

In this example, the protagonist's fear is expressed by relating it to the imaginative circumstance in which his kidney bursts. In this manner, the lexical metaphor can be used to invoke one's evaluation.

The other feature of '**invoke**', '**invite**', refers to the strategy that invokes the Appraiser's evaluation without using attitudinal lexis or lexical metaphor. It has two sub-features, i) **flag** and ii) **afford**.

The feature '**flag**' refers to the strategy that invokes the evaluation by signaling it via the lexicogrammatical resources such as i) counter-expectation and ii) intensification (Martin and White, 2005). In the tales, onomatopoeia plays an important role for flagging

evaluation. For instance, in the Witch text, the onomatopoeia "*barabara*" is used to intensify the impact of the act of the woman.

(5) *sorekara tachihiza-o shite, kami no ke-o <u>barabara</u> hodoita.*
　　Then, (she) sat down and (she) untied her hair <u>roughly.</u>

In the example, the sound "*barabara*" colours the act of the woman. It evokes a negative impression of the woman. Apart from "*barabara*", other onomatopoeia such as "*gashigashi*" (sound for enhancing the act of eating) and "*donban*" (sound for running) are used to intensify the acts of the characters.

The other feature, **afford**, refers to the strategy that invokes the Appraisers' evaluation via a particular, deliberate selection of experiential information (Martin and White, 2005). Example 6 is an instance from the Nightingale text. The example is the locution by the woman directed to the protagonist of the tale, uttered after he broke the eggs (the daughter's of the woman).

(6) *anata-wa watashi-to no yakusoku-o yabutte shimaimashita*.
　　You broke the promise with me.

In example 6, there is no attitudinal lexis, lexical metaphor or the resource for intensification or counter-expectation. However, although some readers may recognise this event as 'fact', it can still invoke a negative evaluation towards the protagonist based on the fact that the experiential information of a broken promise invokes a negative judgement of social sanction.

5.　Elements of structure and the role of evaluative expression

All instances of Attitude in the tales were identified and coded according to the classification system described above. Based on the analysis, the kinds of attitudinal meaning which contribute to the realisation of the elements is identified along with the lexical choices which serve to realise these meanings. The lexical choices and the semantic attributes of each element of structure are presented below.

5.1　Placement

According to Hasan (1996:63), the nuclear semantic attributes of Placement are person particularisation, impersonalisation and temporal distance. These three attributes are ideational in nature: person particularisation and impersonalisation introduce the participants, that is, the protagonist of the tale and possibly other nuclear characters whereby the *dramatis personae* is never the narrator or the audience, but rather a third

person (Hasan 1996:60); and temporal distance establishes the circumstances of the tale both in time and space. However, Hasan further points out that an elaborating, non-nuclear semantic attribute of Placement is attribution (Hasan 1996:60). Essentially this is an interpersonal attribute as it assigns certain characteristics to the particularised characters of the tale. The system of ATTITUDE contributes to the characterisation of the main characters in the tales. In the corpus, the nuclear characters, the protagonists and the women, are characterised using evaluative lexicogrammatical choices. The attribution has "the function of foregrounding those characters which are most central to the development of the tale. In filling out the characters, they set up a certain expectation of typical behaviour in a range of circumstances" (Hasan 1996:61). Tellingly, the characterisations of the protagonists and the women are, however, achieved differently.

In Placement, the women are typically characterised by the voice of the author using inscribed attitude. For instance, in the three tales, the characterisation of the women is expressed by using attitudinal lexis such as '*kirei-na'* (beautiful), '*utsukushii'* (good-looking) and '*rippa-na'* (splendid) as in Example 7, 8 and 9 respectively.

(7) *Aru hi no yuugata, sono otoko no ie-e <u>kirei-na</u>* (**Appraiser: author, inscribe**) *onna-ga kite,*

   One night, a <u>beautiful</u> woman came to his house, and … (Witch text)

(8) *Suru to, uchi-kara <u>utsukushii</u>* (**Appraiser: author, inscribe**) *onna-ga dete kite,*

   And then, a <u>beautiful</u> woman came out, and… (Nightingale text)

(9) *Sono ban no yoi no kuchi-ni, me-mo aterarenai-yoona <u>rippa-na</u>* (**Appraiser: author, inscribe**) *onna-ga, karoku no ie-ni yatte kimashita.*

   That night, a <u>splendid</u> woman, who could not be looked at directly [as she was too beautiful], came to *Karoku*'s house. (Crane text)

This pattern of the characterisation indicates that the woman's characteristics are directly and explicitly presented to the reader at the outset of the tale.

In contrast, the characterisation of the male protagonist is rather indirect and subtle. For instance, in the Crane text, the kindness of the protagonist, *Karoku*, is expressed indirectly through the event in which the protagonist saves a crane. In the event, he is blamed by the hunter who trapped the crane. The hunter says:

(10) '*mune-wa dooshite, hito no shita shigoto no <u>jama-o suru n dai'</u>* (**Appraiser: others, inscribe**) *to itte <u>najirimashita</u>.*

   "Why do you interrupt my work?" rebuked (the hunter) (**Appraiser: others, inscribe**). (Crane text)

The hunter's anger is expressed by the attitudinal lexis such as *'jama'* (interrupt) and *'najirimashita'* (rebuked). Based on the fact that he saved the crane, and despite the fact that he ended up being blamed, the readers are indirectly led to evaluating him as a humane and kind character.

In the Witch text, the male protagonist's character is expressed through his own generous offer.

(11) *otoko-wa 'yado-wa kaeshite mo ee-ga, uchi-ni-wa taberu mono-ga nai-yo' to itte,*

The man said "(I) can provide lodging, but there is nothing to eat here", and …
(Witch text)

In this example, the afforded attitude "there is nothing to eat here" may invoke to the readers the protagonists' difficult economic situation. As Hasan (1996) states, "The behaviours…of a character in a story or novel become a means of symbolically articulating its value in the text, and ultimately relate to the entire thematic development of the literary artefact" (p.62)

This strategy implies that, in the Placement in the Japanese tales, the male protagonists' characteristics are not directly represented. Instead, the characteristics are invoked so that the readers can infer the characteristics by themselves.

5.2   Initiating Event

The Initiating Event is the 'one time' happening from which the tale unfolds. This happening sets up an expectation which is then frustrated thereby setting the tale in motion. The Initiating Event in the Witch tale occurs when the woman asks for shelter over night. Despite having no food, the man allows her to stay. It is from this event that the rest of the events of the story unfolds. In the Nightingale text, the Initiating Event occurs when the woodcutter accepts the request to mind the house and makes a promise not to go into any of the rooms. The rest of the story is about what happens when he breaks his promise. And finally in the Crane text, the Initiating Event occurs when the bachelor, *Karuko* rescues the trapped crane, buys it from the hunter and sets it free. Once the bird is freed, the crane woman then comes to his house and the story unfolds.

In the Initiating Event, the system of ATTITUDE establishes the nature of the interpersonal relationship between the characters in the tales. In the corpus, it is mainly used to express the relationship between the male protagonists and the women. For this reason, the Appraiser and the Appraised of the instances are typically either the protagonists or the women. For this purpose, although 'afford' and 'flag' resources are used, it is 'inscribe' which is selected most frequently as in Example 12 and 13.

In Example 12, the feeling of the woman toward the protagonist is expressed by the

inscribed expression '*shojiki-mono rashii'* (honest person). In this example the woman is the Appraiser and the protagonist is the Appraised.

(12) *shoojikimono-rashii hitogara-o mite,*
    (she) found (him) as <u>a honest person</u>, and … (Nightingale text)

In Example 13, the feeling of the protagonist toward the woman is realised by the inscribed expression *"rippa-na"* (splendid). In this case, the Appraiser is the protagonist and the Appraised is the woman.

(13) *watashi-wa, yononaka-de hajimete, anta no-yoo-na rippa-na onna-o mimooshita.*
    I have never seen a splendid woman like you. (Crane text)

These inscriptions set up an initial evaluation of the characters in the story. They establish for the reader attitudes and attributes which will in some way be countered in the Sequent Events as the story unfolds. The reader is thus set up by the evaluations in the Initiating Event to understand the relationship between the nuclear characters in a particular way.

5.3   Sequent Event

While the crucial semantic attribute of the Initiating Event is the one-time happening, the crucial semantic attribute of the Sequent Event is sequential happening(s). From an experiential perspective, these meanings are realised by the introduction of new nuclear participants, changed circumstances and/or changing processes. However, from an interpersonal perspective, the sequential happenings produce an evaluative shift. This shift can occur either between the characters of the story or by the reader themselves. For example, the reader may be positively inclined towards a character at the Initiating Event but then as the Sequent Events unfold, the reader may move towards being negatively inclined. The Sequent Event is thus important interpersonally as this is where you can expect to find attitudinal shifts.

In the Sequent Events in each of the three stories, it is both the male protagonist and the nuclear female character who evaluate, however, it appears that the protagonist is the predominant appraiser. Table 3 below illustrates this predominance.

Table 3 The use of attitude in the Sequent Events

Appraiser	protagonist				woman			
Appraised	man	woman	inanimate	other	man	woman	inanimate	other
Witch		✓		✓		✓		
Nightingale	✓		✓	✓				
Crane		✓						

Appraiser	others				writer			
Appraised	man	woman	inanimate	other	man	woman	inanimate	other
Witch	✓	✓				✓		✓
Nightingale							✓	✓
Crane			✓					

Table 4 illustrates an example of the protagonist's expressions which encode a shift in evaluation. In the Witch text, the protagonist's feeling towards his wife change as the Sequent Events unfold.

Table 4 The shift of the protagonist's feeling towards the woman

	Event	Example	Polarity
SE1	the woman works without eating.	*yononaka-ni konna ee nyooboo-wa nai* There is no underlined better woman than my wife.	positive
SE2	the protagonist's friend convinces him to spy on her; he finds out that his wife eats from a hole in her head.	*otoko-wa kore-o mite kimo-o tsubushite* The man saw this, and burst his kidney (metaphorically means to be "negatively surprised")	negative
SE3	the protagonist goes to his friend's place to ask for help.	*tomodachi no tokoro-e tonde itte* (the man) flew off to his friend's place and…	negative
SE4	the protagonist goes back home and finds that the woman is sick; he asks his friend to help him.	*Kimochi-waroo-te netoru to nekonade-goe de kotaemashita.* I feel sick and will lie down, she answered suspiciously.	negative
SE5	the woman transforms into a witch and eats the friend. The protagonist tries to run away, but the witch catches him and takes him to a mountain.	*tomodachi-o atamakara gashigashi kuihajimashimashita. Otoko-wa hidoku bikkurishite* … (the woman) noisily gobbled up his friend beginning with his head. The man was horribly surprised and..	negative
SE6	The protagonist manages to escape and kill her by chance.	*Sasuga no oni-mo doku-ni kakatte shinde shimoota soo desu.* The evil witch was poisoned and died.	negative

12

The table shows that after the events in Sequent Event 2 take place, the protagonist's feelings toward the woman (the witch) change. In Sequent Event 1, the protagonist appraised his wife very positively, considering her to be the best in the world. His emotion is expressed by "*yoi*" (better). However, once he finds out that his wife is actually a witch who eats everything, his feelings towards her profoundly shift. His change is expressed by the instances of attitude in the Sequent Event 3, 4, 5 and 6 by the phrases such as "*kimo-o tsubusu*" (burst one's kidney), "*tonde itte*" (flew away), "*nekonade-goe*" (suspiciously), "*hidoku bikkuri shite*" (really surprised in a negative way) and *sasuga no oni* (evil witch).

In the Nightingale text, the attitudinal shift occurs in the woman. At the start of the Sequent Event she regards the woodcutter favourably but as the tale unfolds she comes to know that he is untrustworthy as he breaks his promise. In the Crane text, it is the wife who assumes her husband's attitude to her will change once he discovers her true identity when she says, *keredomo kooshite, karada-o mirareta-ue-wa, aisoo-mo tsukita deshoo-kara, watashi-wa moo oitomashimasu* (But now that you have seen me like this, you will probably <u>lose your love</u> for me, so I will leave). This is interesting in that it is her assumption which leads to her departure and transformation back into a crane. It is not the attitude of the protagonist, *wakareta tsuri ni aitakute shoo-ga nai* ([he] <u>truly wanted to meet</u> the crane who had left).

In summary, the Sequent Event is interpersonally marked by a shift in attitude from negative to positive or positive to negative.

5.4 Final Event

In the Final Event element, the system of ATTITUDE is implicated in the culmination of the events of the tale as it expresses the final state of the interpersonal relationship between the characters. For instance, in the Nightingale text, the final state of the relationship between the protagonist and the woman is expressed as follows:

(14) *kikori no kao-o mite <u>urameshi-soo-ni</u>* (**inscribe**) *samezame to nakidashimashita. "ningen-hodo <u>ate-ni naranu</u>* (**inscribe**) *mono-wa nai, <u>anata-wa watashi-to no yakusoku-o yabutte shimaimashita</u>* (**afford**)*. Atana-wa watashi no sannin no musume-o koroshite shimaimashita* (**afford**).

(She) looked at the woodcutter's face, and cried <u>bitterly and reproachfully</u> (**inscribe**).

"Humans are the <u>last to be trusted</u>' (**inscribe**), <u>You broke your promise with me</u> (**afford**). <u>You killed my three daughters</u> (**afford**).

In this example, the nightingale woman's evaluation of the man, which is expressed by inscribed and afforded attitude, signals the end of the relationship between the woodcutter and the woman.

13

In the corpus, the final state of a relationship is expressed by either the male protagonist or the woman. This is illustrated in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5 Attitude in the Final Event

	Appraiser: the protagonist Appraised: the woman			
	inscribe	provoke	flag	afford
Witch			✓	
Nightingale				
Crane	✓		✓	

Table 6 Attitude in the Final Event

	Appraiser: the woman Appraised: the protagonist			
	inscribe	provoke	flag	afford
Witch	✓			
Nightingale	✓			✓
Crane				

In the Witch text, both the protagonist and the woman express their feeling towards each other. In the Nightingale text, only the woman's evaluation of the protagonist is expressed, while in the Crane text, only the protagonist's feelings are given. What is not given is an authorial assessment of the nature and behaviour of the main characters. The reader is not given any explicit guidance by the author concerning how to assess the characters of the tale. This is left to the reader to determine. It is, however, possible that reaching an assessment of the characters of the tale could be part of the post-story dialogue between mother and child during bedtime stories. This would require further work to determine whether or not this occurs, and is beyond the scope of this study.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the study which is reported in this paper was to contribute to the further development of the GSP of Japanese folk tales. This involved the application of appraisal

analysis to three Japanese tales. Within each tale, the semantic attributes which displayed an interpersonal prosody were identified and coded according to the Martin and White's system of ATTITUDE. The results of the analysis showed that each element of structure has interpersonal semantic attributes which serve to identify the elements. In other words it demonstrates how the system of ATTITUDE is utilised in the realisation of the elements. Table 7 summarises the relationship between the elements of structure and the use of the system of ATTITUDE.

Table 7 The role of the system of ATTITUDE in the elements of structure

Element of structure	Interpersonal Semantic attributes	Appraisal choices and lexicogrammar
Placement	Attribution-assigned characteristics of the characters	inscribed attitude of the women by the author; invoked attitude of the protagonists by the author.
Initiating Event	Initial attitudes	inscribed and/or invoked attitude of the main characters by each other.
Sequent Event	Shifting attitudes	shifts from inscribed (and/or invoked) positive attitude to negative attitude (or negative to positive) by the main characters.
Final Event	Final attitudes – a return to 'a state of altered rest'	inscribed and/or invoked attitude of the main characters by each other but no authorial attitude. The reader is left to make their own assessment.

In the Placement, the system of ATTITUDE contributes to the function of the elements of structure by contributing to the characterisation of the main character. For the characterisation of the women, inscribed attitude by the author is typically used. For the male protagonists, invoked attitude by the author is utilised. While the female attributes are expressed directly via the use of the inscribed attitude, those of the protagonists are rather more subtle in comparison using invocations.

In the Initiating Event, the system of ATTITUDE is used to express the initial interpersonal relationship between characters. For this reason, in the corpus, the resources of attitude are limited to inscribed or invoked attitude by the characters alone.

In the Sequent Event, different characters have a variety of different attitudes. However, what it is common is an attitudinal shift or change from the initial attitudes established in the Initiating Event.

In the Finale Event, the system of ATTITUDE is used to express the final state of the interpersonal relationship between the characters. Of note is the fact that the author does not step in here and give a final attitudinal assessment. Rather, it is left to the reader to make their own assessment based on the actions and attitudes of the characters in the tale.

Given the fact that the corpus of the present study consists of only three texts, the findings will need to be tested with a larger corpus. However, it is hoped that the analysis has demonstrated that interpersonal meanings contribute to the semantic attributes by which elements of structure in the GSP are identified and that appraisal theory has been useful in demonstrating this contribution.

Note

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"Just like sort of guilty kind of": The rhetoric of tempered admission in Youth Justice Conferencing

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Abstract

This paper presents the beginnings of a project on understanding how reconciliation is enacted in NSW Youth Justice Conferencing. These conferences are meetings during which a young person who has committed an offence has the opportunity to reconcile directly with the victim of the crime. The conferences seem agnate to genres such as interrogation, therapy and assessment. Focusing on the language of evaluation using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), we explain tempering, a resource that the young person uses to dissipate invoked prosodies of impropriety about their behaviour. Our examples of tempering are drawn from a conference broadcast by ABC Radio National. This conference was held due to vandalism of a vacant property by two young persons.

1   Background: Youth Justice Conferencing in NSW

Youth Justice Conferences in NSW are meetings between young offenders, victims, their supporters and selected community participants held as an alternative to formal proceedings for sentencing in the Childrens' Court. They are part of a larger worldwide 'Restorative Justice' reform movement (Braithwaite, 1989; Van Ness, Maxwell, & Morris, 2001). The Young Offenders Act NSW 1997 establishes a legislative framework for this alternative sentencing pathway for young persons who have committed certain types of offences. A youth justice conference is mediated by a convenor. The role of the convenor is to facilitate a "structured conversation" (Moore and McDonald 2000: 14) during which participants discuss the crime and how it has affected their relationships, with particular reference to the emotional and psychological impact that has been felt. The conference aims to specify an appropriate sentence for the young person, often some form of community service. Theorists define this type of sentencing as manifesting 'reintegrative shaming' (Braithwaite, 1989), that is, punishment that does not label the young person as a criminal but instead condemns their behaviour. It is 'reintegrative' in the sense that the process reconciles not just the young person and the victim, but the young person and their community.

The physical layout of a youth justice conference has different affordances to the formal structuring of a court proceedings. The conference is typically held in a circle formation (Figure 1). This configuration does not privilege any particular position within the space, unlike the magisterial bench of the Children's Court. The flattening of physical hierarchy also lessens the interpersonal distance between speakers. This may increase the likelihood that those participants will speak but also raises the interpersonal stakes. However, it is necessary to acknowledge that both courtrooms and conferences have formal and informal, and restorative and retributive elements (Daly, 2000). The discourse that occurs in Youth Justice Conferencing may be conceptualised along on a cline of 'restorativeness', that is, a continuum of restorative and retributive choices. The discourse is different to courtroom talk and, as an emergent genre, it is unclear the extent to which related genres such as evaluation genres (interviews, exams, assessments) and confessional genres (therapy, church confession, interrogation) contribute to the meaning potential.
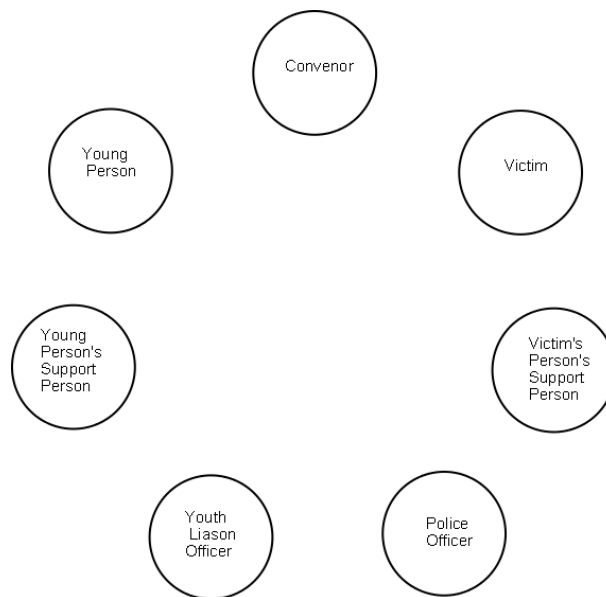
Figure 1 An example of the seating arrangement in a youth justice conference.

The text analysed in this paper is the transcript of a youth justice conference broadcast on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio National's Radio Eye program in a story entitled 'Offending Behaviour'[1]. The conference dealt with the vandalising of a vacant house in a housing estate by two teenage boys, referred to as Young Person A (YPA) and Young Person D (YPD). The boys inflicted $50 000 of damage on the property and after admitting their guilt, took part in a conference during which they were sentenced to 25 hours voluntary work and participation in sport at a Police Citizen's Youth Club (PCYC). This paper focuses on the recount phase of the conference, that is, the phase in which the two young persons give an account of the offence they committed. This phase is reproduced in the Appendix.

2   Tempering the prosody of impropriety

Meanings that minimise, or temper, the apparent severity and intentionality of the Young Person's offence cluster in their talk. This clustering, which we refer to as a *syndrome* involves couplings of different types of appraisal resources (Martin & White, 2005) that contribute to this meaning. Martin (2000), who first introduced the notion of 'coupling' to explain discordant association between appraisal and appraisal targets in conversational humour, defines coupling as the binding of two meanings at any point along the cline of instantiation. A syndrome[2] is a pattern of multiple couplings, a coupling of couples, or a metacouple. A sustained cluster in a text is a syndrome because it characterises a phase of the text in the way that clusters of symptoms characterise a disease.

The resources deployed by the Young Person in the recount phase of the conference are tempering resources: they tone-down or efface attempts to ramp up negative JUDGEMENT. We may think of them as tools for diffusing particular evaluations, beating them out as if they were spot fires. Rather than propagation, these resources are involved in dissipation. Figure 2 is a high-level visualisation of the syndrome found in the discourse of the two young persons. Each circle represents a tendency to instantiate features of that particular node in the relevant system network. While lines connecting the circles are intended to suggest the interrelatedness of the meanings, they might be omitted for visual clarity. The limitation of a static 2D drawing of this kind is that logogenesis cannot be represented and hence we cannot capture information about the phase of a text likely to contain particular couplings. Links that are in bold are intended to represent a co-

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[1] This transcript is publicly available at: http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/radioeye/crime/epis4.htm.
[2] Syndromes are covered in more detail in Zappavigna, Dwyer, & Martin, 2007

instantiation that is more likely to occur. While beyond the scope of this paper, text visualisation techniques employing 3D networks are likely to be useful avenues for exploring how to represent sydnromes.
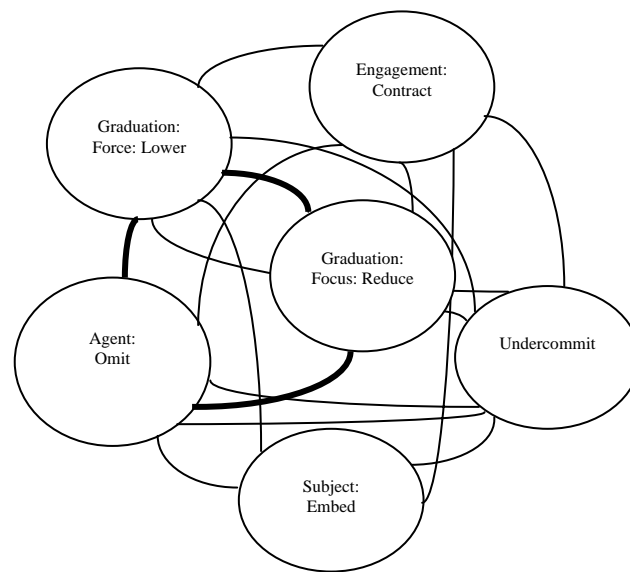
Figure 2 Tempering as an example of a syndrome

As Figure 2 suggests, tempering occurs in each of the metafunctions. The overall meaning is generated by the particular couplings that are instantiated across strata and across the systems within these metafunctions. Tempering in the TEXTUAL metafunction by the young persons often involved embedding a possible target of evaluation in a structure with reduced availability for contestation. For example it might be embedded with a nominal group or an embedded clause. As Halliday & Martin point out "you can argue with a clause but you can't argue with a nominal group" (Halliday & Martin 1993: 39). In this way textual tempering allows the young person to dodge probing questions by generating fewer targets for direct evaluation.

Interpersonal tempering, as instantiated in this Youth Justice Conference, typically deployed resources of GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT. Graduation was used to tone down force and focus, reducing intensity and quantity, and blurring the boundaries of entities and processes. For example, while, in order to access a conference, a young person has admitted to the facts of their case, they may wish to grade the scope of their intentions and actions as minimal, within the constraints that those facts impose. In addition, opposing voices were distanced using engagement. For example, the young persons attempted to close down voices that had the potential to scale up the graduation.

Tempering of ideational meaning by the young persons typically involved an undercommitment about specificities of behaviour and phenomena such as the physical layout of the crime scene. In this form of tempering, agency may be reduced or omitted for a particular semantic group. For example, the young persons minimised the frequency with which they located themselves as the agent responsible for a material or mental process about the offence.

3   Tempering in the young persons' recount of the offence

We now turn to specific examples of tempering, manifest as couplings of APPRAISAL, in the recount phase of the conference. Within this phase tempering afforded various benefits to the young persons: it assisted them in construing themselves as 'small targets' for negative evaluation and shaming, and it enabled them to diffuse the focus of blame in what was a very confronting interpersonal context. Consider, for example, a particular coupling that reoccurs in the talk of Young Person D (YPD) in Extract 1. In this extract the ENGAGEMENT and ATTITUDE systems are coupled, or, more delicately, PROPRIETY is coupled with DENIAL.

Extract 1: An example of ENGAGEMENT: CONTRACT: DISCLAIM: DENY in the discourse of Young Person D (denial in **<u>bold red underline</u>**, propriety in **bold blue**).

> ...it affected my family a lot because it **<u>wasn't</u>** **something that was expected of me to do**, and it **<u>wasn't</u>** **something I expected myself to do** either, it just, it had happened and I **<u>wasn't</u>** thinking **right** at the time and I **<u>don't</u>** know why I done it and like, I look back now and I wish I had **<u>never</u>** done it and it made quite a bit of damage and ...it **<u>wasn't</u>** really a **good** thing that I done.

The coupling of these two systems is visualised in Figure 3.
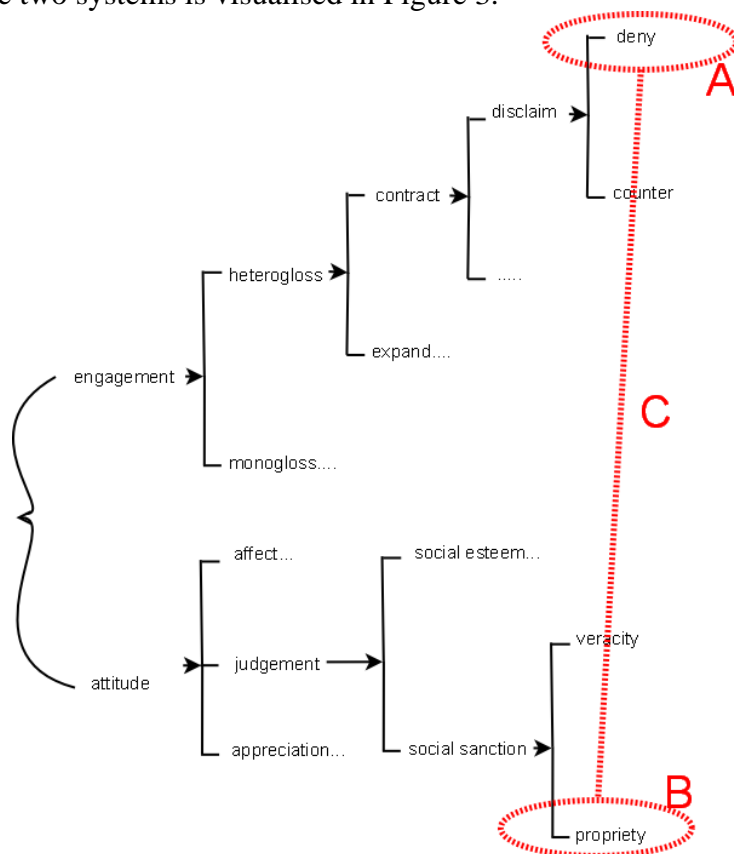
Figure 3 Coupling of DENY and PROPRIETY

This coupling of ENGAGEMENT and ATTITUDE co-occurs with other ways of dissipating impropriety. For example, it is associated with a toning down of FOCUS such as the following example:

> They must think I am **<u>a bit</u>** of an influence on him.

Clause 1 Toned down FOCUS in the discourse of young person D

The coupling of DENY (A) and PROPRIETY (B) is in turn coupled with toned down FOCUS (D). However, the association is not only between D and C but is between A and D, and A and B (Figure 4). These interrelationships form a cluster and may be of varying strength.
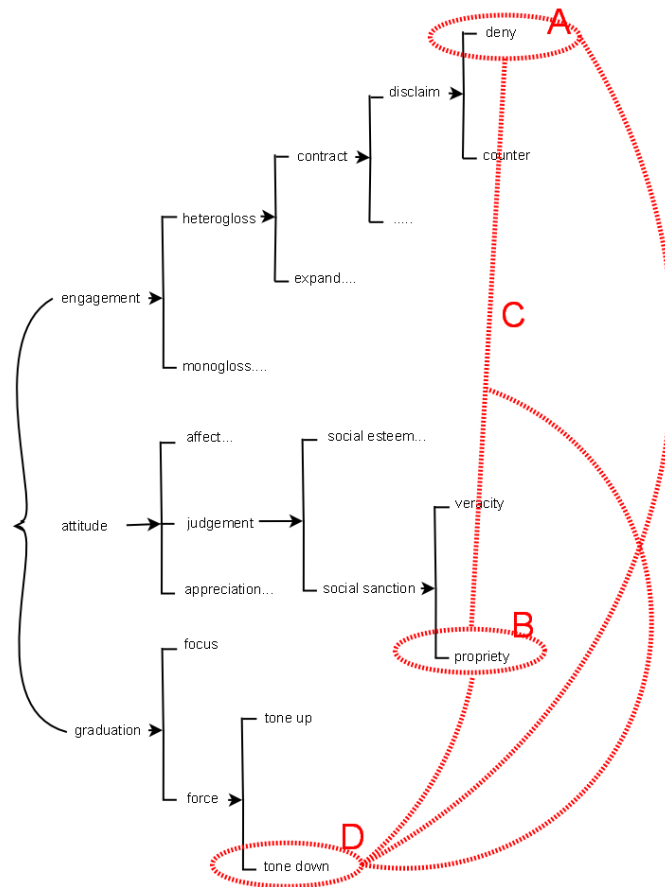
Figure 4 Clustering of DENY, PROPRIETY and TONED DOWN FORCE

If we consider again the different resources that the young persons uses in tempering impropriety, we find a syndrome that might be visualised as the interrelationships in Figure 5. This is indentical to Figure 2 except that examples of instances have been included to aid explanation. If we adopt a computational metaphor, the visualisation might be thought of as a cluster of classes. Each system of tempering exists in relation to every other system because they co-construe a more complex dissipation of the prosody of impropriety. The systems are 'simultaneous' systems in the sense that they are linked by an 'and' relation based on the choices that have been made in the text.
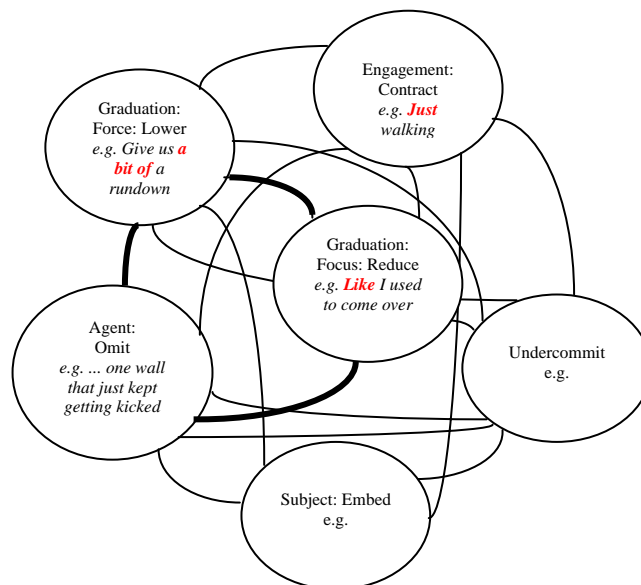
Figure 5 Tempering: an example of a syndrome

4   De-intensification: becoming a small target

The GRADUATION used by the young persons for the tempering function explained above is of reduced FORCE and reduced FOCUS. This countered swarms of intensification and swarms of clarification in the discourse of other participants that might inflate perception of the seriousness of the offence and the deliberateness of it perpetrators. For example, in Clause 1 (*They must think I'm a bit of an influence on him*), 'a bit' functions to grade the negative judgement of Young Person A. It deflates the notion that Young Person A has a frequent and persuasive negative impact on Young Person D. It is deployed by YPA in the context of invoked judgement by the YPD's parents when who evaluate their son's behaviour as uncharacteristic. Other examples of GRADUATION: FORCE: QUANTIFICATION: TONE DOWN are provided in Table 3 in the Appendix of this paper.

     Reduced FOCUS is used in the conference to blur the boundaries of entities and processes. For example, reduced FOCUS: COMPLETION is used by the young persons in mitigating responsibility for the specificities of the offence. Rather than saying, *"We went to the house"*, the young person says, *"We ended up at the house"*. Here, the process is over before it has begun, and questions such as *"Why did you decide to go to the house rather than to school?"* are avoided.

     This reduced GRADUATION works in conjunction with ENGAGEMENT resources to present the criminal actions from a minimalist perspective. For example, during the recount phase YPA lessens the apparent gravity of the offence by distancing voices that might suggest that the offence was premeditated. This is in part achieved through repetition of '*just*' (Extract 2).

Extract 2: Instances of *just* in the recount phase of Young Person A (*just* in **<u>underlined bold red</u>**)**.**

> Convenor: And A, what about you, what happened for you on that day?
>
> Young Person A: Same sort of thing, we were **<u>just</u>** walking around and walked up the path that the house was on and the door was just a bit open, we went in there. It was all dark and the windows were boarded up and so there was a few holes in the walls. We **<u>just</u>** started running around the place, punching and kicking holes in the walls ...there's one wall that **<u>just</u>** kept getting damaged. We **<u>just</u>** seemed to be getting more into it as it went on ...and then before we knew it the police had arrived out the front. We tried to get out but we couldn't.
> …I wish I **<u>just</u>**...went to school.

The specific propositions that these instances are attempting to distance are provided in column 3 of Table 1. Each contributes to the overall stance that the crime was not markedly deliberate – 'markedly' because the young person is not able to deny intention altogether.

Table 1 Instances of *just* in the recount phase and corresponding distanced voices.

Speaker	Talk	Distanced voice
[Young Person D]	**just** walking around	We were looking for trouble.
[Young Person D]	it **just**, it had happened	We intended to do it.
[Young Person A]	**just** walking around	We were looking for trouble.
[Young Person A]	and the door was **just** a bit open	We deliberately opened the door.
[Young Person A]	We **just** started running around the place, punching and kicking holes in the walls	We intentionally punched and kicked holes in the walls.
[Young Person A]	there's one wall that **just** kept getting damaged	We inflicted a lot of damaged on a particular wall.
[Young Person A]	We **just** seemed to be getting more into it as it went on	We intentionally did a lot of damage.
[Young Person A]	I **wish** I just ... went to school	My intention was to commit a crime rather than go to school.

Such heteroglossic distancing is, however, also used for what might be seen as more positive effect. In order to increase the likelihood that participants will talk freely, the convenor uses 'just' to distance the voice that says that answering her questions is difficult or scary:

Extract 3: Use of *just* by the convenor.

> Convenor: O.K. I'd like to **just** ask the families, the support people that have
> come to support you **just** to give their own thoughts and feelings on it, and we
> might **just** start with you, you can tell us what it was like for you.

Table 5 in the Appendix gives further examples of instances of *just* as it was used by all participants in the conference.

5 Tempering interpersonal responsibility

Under the NSW Young Offenders Act, in order to be eligible to attend a Youth Justice Conference the young person must have admitted guilt in relation to the offence. While the young person is by this definition 'guilty', the negotiation of guilt and responsibility does not end here. Within the conference, the Young Person has the challenging task of demonstrating contrition while not emphasising the severity or deliberateness of their actions. They also have to demonstrate this contrition in a manner that will be interpreted as genuine by the other participants. This requires the young person to draw upon a complex range of meaning-making resources that may significantly strain the REPERTOIRE (Martin, 2007) of young persons from disadvantaged backgrounds. A repertoire is the semiotic resources in which an individual has competency through experience or exposure. An individual's repertoire depends upon a RESERVIORE, that is, the entire system of resources that are potentially available. The young person's REPERTOIRE will define the success with which they navigate in the charged interpersonal terrain of the conference as they engage with other participants who have REPERTOIRES of differing scope.

Through a play of interpersonal mitigation and ideational concession the young persons in the conference manifest a syndrome of tempered responsibility. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) define the AGENT in a clause as the participant that causes the process to happen. This is an IDEATIONAL perspective on responsibility, but we might also employ an INTERPERSONAL lens. For example, we might consider what a speaker assigns as the SUBJECT in a clause. Both young persons show a tendency toward ideational 'minimisation', that is, moving themselves as semiotic entities out of the AGENT role and instead foregrounding other phenomena such as the state of the crime scene. For example, consider the following statement by YPA where he describes destroying the interior of the vacant house:

> …there's one wall [[that just kept getting damaged.]]

The AGENT in this clause has been effaced and instead of an ACTOR enacting a MATERIAL PROCESS of inflicting damage, we have an EXISTENTIAL PROCESS about a wall with an embedded passive clause. The crime scene itself is described by the young person as creating conditions that invited the subsequent acts of vandalism:

> [Young Person A] …and the door was just a bit open…

The door is the SUBJECT in the above clause. This is characteristic of a patterning in the young person's discourse whereby targets such as themselves as culpable individuals, their intentions and their awareness of their actions are relegated to parts of the clause that are less available interpersonally for contestation, that is, parts of the clause other than the subject.

While this is a topic somewhat beyond the scope of this paper, the extent to which the young person construes themselves as responsible for their actions is also related to the level of COMMITMENT which they deploy. COMMITMENT is the extent to which the total meaning-making resources to which an individual has access are deployed in a given context (Martin, 2007). Some choices are more 'committed' than others. For example, the term 'Young Person' is less ideationally committed than the term 'Offender' because the former does not infer a process that

7

invokes negative JUDGEMENT (the act of committing an offence). The statement *"I told him it was satisfactory"* is more interpersonally committed than *"I sort of went like yeah, it's kinda ok"* due to the toning down of FOCUS in the latter.

6   Reintegration into community

Braithwaite's theory asserts that the type of shaming that the young persons have attempted to temper, as seen in the analysis in this paper, is 'reintegrative shaming'. This means that, while their behaviour is negatively evaluated, the young person is invited to reclaim membership of a particular social network or community:

> Reintegrative shaming means that expressions of community
> disapproval…are followed by gestures of reacceptance into the
> community of law-abiding citizens. (Braithwaite 1989:55)

If youth justice conferences conform to Braithwaite's theory of reintegrative shaming then the AFFILIATION (Knight, 2007) that occurs in the conferences should centre upon creating evaluative bonds that reflect the attitudes of the community into which the young person is being re-socialised. Often, the victim of the crime is unable or unwilling to attend a conference and the convenor will call on the participants present to act as an invoked, imagined community of disapproval.

While they may attempt to temper prosodies of impropriety, and by so doing seem to reject membership of the evaluative communities manifest in the conference, the young persons construe their family as the a significant network into which they wish to be reintegrated. YPD described the importance of overcoming negative JUDGEMENT from his family and, in turn, evaluated the process of deflating such JUDGEMENT as creating stronger interpersonal bonds (Extract 4).

Extract 4: Reconstrual of the offence as positive bonding by Young Person D (EVALUATION in **underlined bold red**)

> Police 2: The other **good** thing I've heard with yours though was your stepdad said it actually caused him to feel **closer** to you - even though there's friction, there's **good**.

> D: Yeah I feel the same way about that - I think it has brought my stepfather and I together because it's a **serious** issue and it's a **good** thing to sort **serious** things out with family and get over it, and not be hated and disgusted at because of what they've done - it's been forgiven and forgotten and I feel a lot **better** about it, and after it I do feel a lot **closer** to him for it.

The apology that the young persons made near the end of the conference was directed mainly toward their families (Extract 5). It was expressed alongside a co-text of VERBAL and MENTAL PROCESSES involving those families. These occur in clauses speculating about the opinions of the families such as the second turn in Extract 5.

Extract 5: An expression of apology by the two young persons.

> *Young Person D*: I'd like to add that what happened was a huge shock to me and my family and then to come home and discuss it for how many days later we discussed it and I'd like to apologise to the community and apologise and thank the police for their time, and apologise to my family for what I've done and how they've reacted to it and how I've affected them. I can see that I've done bad.

> *Young Person A:* I'd like to say sorry to D's family as well. Like, I used to come over and stay at his house and when you do this they must think I'm a bit of an influence on him so...

Family was construed by the young persons as the GOAL in MATERIAL PROCESSES about the negative impact of the offence. Family was also the RECIPIENT of VERBAL PROCESSES of apologising. In the

material process clauses the AGENT was often the crime via anaphoric reference rather than the young person (Table 2) and this in accord with the tendency to mitigate responsibility discussed in the previous section.

Table 2 Instances of 'family' in the text.

[Young Person D]	it affected my	FAMILY	a lot
[Young Person D]	I felt that it was more of an issue, between	FAMILY	
[Young Person D]	it's a good thing to sort serious things out with	FAMILY	and get over it,
[Young Person D]	what happened was a huge shock to me and my	FAMILY	
[Young Person D]	and apologise to my	FAMILY	for what I've done
[Young Person A]	I'd like to say sorry to D's	FAMILY	as well
[Young Person D]	I 'd affected my	FAMILY	and myself and the community around me and the police
[Young Person D]	what we've done has made an impact on ourselves and our	FAMILY	

7 Conclusion

Within youth justice conferencing tempering is an important resource used by young persons for deflating appraisal prosodies that might augment shaming. These prosodies threaten to expose the young person to either increased questioning or to tone up negative evaluation. Tempering is a syndrome because it involves repeated couplings of particular meanings across the recount phase of the conference. These couplings cluster by contributing to more complex meanings in the phase, that is, meanings that cast the offender as less culpable and the crime as less severe.

To end on a positive note, Youth Justice Conferences, while contexts in which young persons may temper responsibility are also contexts in which feelings of responsibility for helping troubled youth resonate. For example, Police Officer 2 expresses feelings of ongoing responsibility (Extract 6).

Extract 6: Description of feelings of ongoing responsibility by Police Officer 2 (EVALUATION in **bold red;** ENGAGEMENT underlined).

> Police 2: I'd just also want you to know that once the police finish at the job we actually don't forget about it... and I must say that, on the day, and after dealings I've had with both of you, it's very **positive**. So don't think that we think **little** of you, that's all I want you to know.
>
> Convenor: I'd say that's a pretty big **vote of confidence**.

In this extract the police officer reconstrues their bond with the young person as positive. The police officer uses ENGAGEMENT resources to distance voices proposing that they do not care about the young persons once they have completed the process of charging them. This is seen in the repeated use of DENIAL coupled with positive EVALUATION (see underlining in Extract 6).

Systemic functional discourse analysis of the kind presented in this paper might offer researchers in criminology and legal theory a metalanguage for describing how specific phases of youth justice conferences function. The careful specification of generic phases that this kind of analysis affords may also be of use to training convenors. Future work, using video-recorded NSW youth justice conferences, will focus on describing further phases of the conference and considering how paralinguistic systems such as gesture and facial expression contribute to shaming the young person.

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Appendix A

Extract 7: The recount phase of the Radio Eye youth justice conference.

Convenor: And what I'd like to do now is to get you to tell us what happened on that day, what was going through your mind at the time, how you ended up in a vacant property and what you did and how you feel about it now and I might just start with you D, and you can just give us a bit of a rundown...

D: Well A & I, we'd skipped school and we were walking around and doing things, just walking around and we ended up at the house and we walked in there, the doors were open, we walked in and looked around and there was damage done to the place so we thought it was like ready to be demolished and …one thing led to another and we started to kick in the walls and dismantle the place and...at the time I wasn't thinking of what we were doing.

I wasn't thinking of how it would affect the other people and the people who owned the place, but once the police had turned up I was shocked to find that we had been caught and that we had to now go through a lot of hassle to work it out and find out what had to be done and ...it affected my family a lot because it wasn't something that was expected of me to do, and it wasn't something I expected myself to do either, it just, it had happened and I wasn't thinking right at the time and I don't know why I done it and like, I look back now and I wish I had never done it and it made quite a bit of damage and ...it wasn't really a good thing that I done.

Convenor: And A, what about you, what happened for you on that day?

A: Same sort of thing, we were just walking around and walked up the path that the house was on and the door was just it bit open, we went in there. It was all dark and the windows were boarded up and so there was a few holes in the walls. We just started running around the place, punching and kicking holes in the walls ...there's one wall that just kept getting damaged. We just seemed to be getting more into it as it went on ...and then before we knew it the police had arrived out the front. We tried to get out but we couldn't.

Convenor: How did you feel then?

A: Scared, worried...what me dad would think and that.

Convenor: And when you look back on it now, how do you feel about it?

A: I wish I just ... went to school. It's not worth all this trouble.

Convenor: Who do you think has been affected by this?

A: Everyone. Everyone here today. I was living with my dad at the time, now I live with mum because of that. Yeah.

Table 3 Examples of GRADUATION: FORCE: TONE DOWN in the text

[A's Mother]	Like he's been in	A BIT	of trouble at school
[A's Mother]	He's	A BIT	confused
[Convenor]	and you can just give us	A BIT	of a rundown
[Young Person D}	and it made quite	A BIT	of damage
[Young Person A]	the door was	JUST A BIT	open
[Young Person A]	they must think I'm	A BIT	of an influence on him
[Young Person A}	I felt	A BIT	uncomfortable to hear the victim's point of view
[Police Officer 2]	So we need to get	A LITTLE BIT	structured
[A's Mother]	and had	A FEW	hassles with the teachers
[Young Person A}	there was	A FEW	holes in the walls
[Young Person D}	Like me and my father we had	A FEW	arguments about it
[Victim]	There	WASN'T MUCH	left standing of the inside of the house
[Young Person A}	I haven't really given it	MUCH	thought

Table 4 Examples of GRADUATION: FOCUS: TONE DOWN in the text

[A's Mother]	I think he	SORT OF	doesn't know what to think at the moment
[D's Stepfather]	I hope for a cleansing	SORT OF	process where everyone gets the opportunity to download
[Young Person A]	same	SORT OF	thing
[Police Officer 1]	they might get a chance to deal with it in this	SORT OF	forum
[Young Person D]	and that	SORT OF	thing can cause a lot of trouble and problems between family members
[Police Officer 2]	and all that	SORT OF	thing
[Young Person A]	it's given me	A SORT OF	a shake, sort of thing, sort of wake up
[Young Person A]	I just feel sorry,	SORT OF	thing
[Police Officer 2]	if we got	SOME SORT OF	interest going in both of you
[Police Officer 2]	They've got boxing and all that	SORT OF	stuff running down there
[Young Person A]	don't feel threatened	SORT OF	thing
[Young Person A]	I don't mind doing	LIKE	, community service
[Young Person A]	or going and doing something	LIKE	that
[Young Person D]	if it's going to be	LIKE	, a long thing that I have to go through for years
[D's Stepfather]	At the moment they're	LIKE	open wounds
[Young Person D]	it was	LIKE	ready to be demolished
[Young Person D]	and	LIKE	, I look back now
[D's Mother]	it's not in character for him to do something	LIKE	that
[D's Mother]	and doesn't get involved in anything	LIKE	this ever again
[Young Person A]	-	LIKE	, moved homes
[Young Person D]	it's	LIKE	A said
[Convenor]	I'd suggest something	LIKE	20-25 hours
[Young Person D]	or doing some,	LIKE	doing bakery or something like that.
[A's Mother]		LIKE	he's been in a bit of trouble at school
[A's Mother]		LIKE	he doesn't want to upset me
[A's Mother]		LIKE	he's um...he's been a lot more helpful around the house and a lot better within himself, his attitude
[Young Person D]		LIKE	me and my father we had a few arguments about it
[Young Person A]		LIKE	I used to come over and stay at his house
[Young Person D]		LIKE	taking them out on weekends or weekdays and helping them out

Table 5 Instances of 'just' in the text.

[A's Mother]	I	JUST	said 'Why?'
[A's Mother]	I	JUST	couldn't understand why.
[A's Mother]	I	JUST	think it will be good for him.
[Young Person A]	Being in the same room as the people that I've	JUST	caused all that damage for and that
[Convenor]	So we'll	JUST	clear that up first
[Young Person D]	I've	JUST	been worried if it's going to be like, a long thing that
[Young Person D]	I've	JUST	been worried about that fact of it
[Convenor]	I might	JUST	start with you D
[Convenor]	and you can	JUST	give us a bit of a rundown
[Young Person D]		JUST	walking around
[Young Person D]	it	JUST	, it had happened
[Young Person A]		JUST	walking around
[Young Person A]	and the door was	JUST	it bit open
[Young Person A]	We	JUST	started running around the place, punching and kicking holes in the walls
[Young Person A]	there's one wall that	JUST	kept getting damaged
[Young Person A]	We	JUST	seemed to be getting more into it as it went on
[Young Person A]	I wish I	JUST	... went to school
[Convenor]	and	JUST	hear what happened from your point of view
[Convenor]	I'd like to	JUST	ask the families, the support people that have come to support you just to give their own thoughts and feelings on it
[Convenor]	and we might	JUST	start with you
[A's Mother]	I	JUST	wanted to know what really went on
[D's Mother]	And I s'pose it's	JUST	a whole lot of mixed feelings from sorrow and sadness and what went wrong and anger, and a whole mixed bag of feelings there
[D's Mother]	and	JUST	
[Young Person A]		JUST	get it out
[Young Person A]	I	JUST	feel sorry, sort of thing
[Police Officer 2]	The other thing that I	JUST	wanted to bring up was how the others around there were feeling
[Police Officer 2]	I'd	JUST	also want you to know that once the police finish at the job we actually don't forget about it
[Police Officer 2]	With that, I	JUST	want to say to everyone involved that everyone makes mistakes
[A's Mother]	I think it's	JUST	admitting that your children have made a mistake
[Young Person D}	it wasn't	JUST	her that had been affected
[Convenor]	and	JUST	work it off
[Police Officer 2	I'd like	JUST	
[Young Person A]		JUST	wanted to get back out of there and home
[Young Person A]		JUST	can't wait till it's over.

Teaching English Literature and Linguistics Using Corpus Stylistic Methods

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This paper reports on the teaching of an interdisciplinary undergraduate seminar on English linguistics and literature at the University of Augsburg (Germany). The focus of this seminar was 19th century women's fiction, with three novels discussed from literary and linguistic perspectives: Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. The paper describes the main corpus stylistic methods that were applied in the analysis of these three novels by the students (inspired by Stubbs's 2005 outline of corpus linguistic methodologies in the study of literary texts). It is shown how keyword and collocation analyses (Scott 1999) can provide information on key themes of the novels, the construal of characters and socio-cultural attitudes prevalent in 19th century English society. The seminar is also evaluated in terms of its success, in particular with respect to interdisciplinarity and corpus stylistics.

1   Introduction

> *It is a truth universally acknowledged that a speaker in possession of an intelligent audience is in want of an arresting opening.*
> (Monica Ali in *The Guardian Unlimited*, 9 Dec 2004)

This paper describes an interdisciplinary project undertaken at the University of Augsburg (Germany) in the winter term 2005/2006: teaching English literature and linguistics to non-native (i.e. German) students of English. This course was taught by Sibylle Pärsch and the author, and involved about 40 undergraduate university students in their first, second or third year of study (the German *Grundstudium*). Most students studied English language, linguistics and literature. Three 19th century women's novels were discussed in this module: Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. This paper focuses on the linguistic part of the course, in particular the corpus stylistic methods that were applied by the students in their analyses of the chosen texts, though I shall also briefly mention traditional stylistic studies.

The paper begins with some comments on the motivations for teaching this class, and with some background information on the contents of the module before discussing in more detail the corpus stylistic analyses and concluding with an evaluation of the class. The paper also hopes to stimulate teachers in tertiary education to use both interdisciplinary and corpus linguistic methods in teaching non-native students.

2   Motivations

Let me start with some comments on interdisciplinary teaching. Generally speaking, it seems to me that interdisciplinarity is much preached, but much less often practiced, in particular where actual teaching is concerned. Consequently, there are not many guidelines on how to structure and teach such classes successfully. At the same time, there is a natural connection between some disciplines, for example linguistics (as the study of language) and literature (as the study of an art form created through language), and many students at (German) universities study both. Linguistics and literature, then, are much more closely related than, say, physics and literature, and presumably easier to combine. This also means, however, that this type of interdisciplinary teaching is much less 'interdisciplinary' than others.[1] Consequently, teachers of other interdisciplinary combinations (e.g. mathematics and linguistics) might need to come up with more novel and innovative respective teaching techniques than those mentioned in this paper.

Interdisciplinarity thus lends itself to the teaching of linguistics and literature, but what are the motivations for choosing the three 19th century novels? Firstly, from a legal point of view, the copyright for these books has expired, which means that these texts are easily available to download on the internet. This is particularly important when corpus stylistic methods are applied (see below). Secondly, from a feminist point of view, the beginning of the women's movement can be traced back to England in the 19th century, and *Jane Eyre* in particular lends itself to a feminist analysis. Thirdly, from a literary point of view, these three novels are all 'classics' of 19th century (women's) fiction and the novel genre. The choice of these three classics was one the one hand influenced by the idea to present female writers whose works demonstrate the continuity and development of the genre as well as feminist issues. However, the three novels also differ from each other to a great extent, and consequently present a wide variety of issues, for instance, the strive for independence or the quest for more than a 'common' life. From both perspectives, the literary as well as the linguistic, the choice of these novels provided the students with the opportunity to compare and maybe favour one novel over the other. On the other hand, the novels also had a big influence on ensuing literary works as well as on popular culture. The latter is particular apparent with respect to *Frankenstein* (think of the many horror films based on it) and Jane Austen's novels. When googling Jane Austen, we quickly come up with many hits which demonstrate the popular reception of Jane Austen as well as *Pride and Prejudice*, for instance:

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Dating expert gives love lessons based on Austen
Jane Austen letter on display in time for tea
Bath tires of Austen and turns to radicals
Change your life with Jane Austen
Jane Austen laid bare
Jane Austen: the brand
Darcy goes to Bollywood
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[1] In making use of stylistic methods, it might also be said that we combine an already somewhat 'interdisciplinary' linguistic methodology (stylistics) with the study of literature.

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Why do we still fall for Mr Darcy?
Pride and Sikh
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And when googling the first part of the first sentence of *Pride and Prejudice* (*It is a truth universally acknowledged that*), intertextual references also abound on the internet:

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It is a truth universally acknowledged that nothing is more likely to
strike fear and xenophobia into the heart of an English person than a
national treasure being appropriated by an American.
It is a truth universally acknowledged that an old wizard in possession
of a big secret must be in danger of his life.
It is a truth universally acknowledged that the book women feel has most
transformed their lives is the one that has assured them for the past two
centuries that, yes, they will marry the wealthy, handsome man next door
and live happily ever after.
It is a truth universally acknowledged that a theatre company in need of
a decent living must be in want of a classic novel to adapt
It is a truth universally acknowledged that any article about Pride and
Prejudice must start with 'it is a truth universally acknowledged ...'
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Additionally, *Pride and Prejudice* (as well as *Frankenstein*) has been adapted many times to the screen, with the most famous adaptation perhaps the BBC production with Colin Firth and Jennifer Ehle (released on DVD in 2005). But there are also more recent ones in the 'noughties' (e.g. 2004: *Bride and Prejudice*, 2005: *Pride and Prejudice* with Keira Knightley and Matthew Macfadyen). These bear witness to the ongoing popularity of Jane Austen and *Pride and Prejudice*, particularly (but not exclusively) in Anglo-American culture.

3   Background information

Table 1 in the appendix shows all the linguistic and literary topics that were discussed in the course of the module (not all of which will be described in detail in this paper). In a first session, the students were introduced to stylistics (including its historical background), with extracts from the (in)famous Fowler-Bateson debate providing much amusement, such as: 'Would I allow my sister to marry a linguist? It is a good question. And I suppose, if I am honest, I must admit that I would much prefer *not* to have a linguist in the family' (Bateson in Fowler and Bateson 1968:176). The students were also given an introduction to corpus linguistic techniques in the computer lab. This involved essentially questions of how and where to download the three novels (constituting the corpora) and the software, and how to use the software. Since Wordsmith (Scott 1999) was installed in the computer lab at our university, this was the software taught to the students, but other software would be similarly usable (some available for free online). The novels were downloaded from http://www.gutenberg.org/, all information other than the text of the novel (e.g. headers) removed, and the text saved in a Wordsmith-compatible format (e.g. plain text). Each novel

constituted a corpus that could then be analysed by the students with the help of Wordsmith.[2]

4   Topics and projects

In most sessions, one or more important concepts were discussed both from a literary and from a linguistic perspective. Focusing on the linguistic perspective only, some of the projects the students undertook included more 'traditional' stylistic analyses such as:

- Speech/thought representation (e.g. Leech and Short 1981, Semino and Short 2004)
- Metaphor (e.g. Lakoff and Turner 1989, Lakoff and Johnson 1994, Lenk 2002)
- Characterisation (e.g. Culpeper 2001)
- Stylistic characteristics (e.g. Thornborrow and Wareing 1998, Toolan 1998, 2001, Simpson 2004)

Much stylistic research deals with such analyses, and many studies are available for consultation, so no more shall be said about these here. More interesting (and more rarely discussed in research) are corpus stylistic studies (Stubbs 2005), in particular keyword analyses and studies of collocation. Such corpus methods have one clear advantage over traditional methods, namely that they are based on quantitative data. This is important because, as Stubbs has pointed out, 'stylistics has long led an uneasy half-life, never fully accepted, for many related reasons, by either linguists or literary critics' (Stubbs 2005:5) – though, presumably, we have advanced from the days of the fierce debate between linguists and literary critics referenced above. While keyword and corpus analyses were the main corpus linguistic techniques that were applied in this class by the students, and that will be discussed in the following, Hubbard (2002) and Stubbs (2005) give additional suggestions for corpus stylistic research.

4.1   Keywords

In corpus linguistic terms, a *keyword* refers to a word that occurs with unusual frequency in a given text or collection of texts when this is compared with a reference corpus of some kind. Crucially, this means that a keyword can be unusually frequent or infrequent. *Keyness* is thus defined in terms of statistical 'unusuality'. How exactly does this work? We need two corpora: the text (or collection of texts) that we are interested in (Scott and Tribble 2006 call this the *node-text*), and a reference corpus, which provides the standard of comparison. This reference corpus should be larger and an appropriate sample of the language of the node text. This notion of 'appropriate' is of course problematic, and it may at times be helpful to compare keywords that result from the use of different reference corpora. For example, if we compare *Pride and Prejudice* with a reference corpus of *all* of Jane Austen's novels this might point to characteristics of *Pride and Prejudice*. If we use a

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[2] For recent introductions to corpus linguistics see Tognini-Bonelli (2001), Hunston (2002), Meyer (2002), Stubbs (2002) or Sinclair (2004).

reference corpus of 19th century fiction, we might additionally get information on Jane Austen in general, and if a reference corpus of 20th century fiction is used, some additional insight into 19th century fiction should be the result. Thus, Scott and Tribble (2006) compare *Romeo and Juliet* with a reference corpus including a) the tragedies alone, b) the complete works by Shakespeare including poetry, and c) the British National Corpus (100 million words of general British English). They point out that 'while the choice of reference corpus is important, above a certain size, the procedure throw up a robust core of KWs whichever the reference corpus used' (Scott and Tribble 2006:64).[3]

After choosing a reference corpus, we need to produce wordlists of the two corpora (with the help of Wordsmith's *WordList*), i.e. lists of all the words and their frequency in the two corpora. Wordsmith's *KeyWords* software then compares these two word lists, and identifies keywords with the help of tests of statistical significance (log likelihood or chi-square). A list of keywords might look like table 2:

Table 2 Key words in *Romeo and Juliet*
KWs of *Romeo and Juliet* vs. all Shakespeare plays (Scott & Tribble 2006:60):

Ah	death	married	slain
art	early	mercutio	thee
back	friar	montague	thou
banished	Juliet	monument	Thursday
benvolio	juliet's	night	thy
capulet	kinsman	nurse	torch
capulets	lady	o	tybalt
capulet's	lawrence	paris	tybalt's
cell	light	poison	vault
churchyard	lips	romeo	Verona
county	love	romeo's	watch
dead	mantua	she	wilt

Such keywords can tell the students a number of things about the novels they chose to analyse. Firstly, they can tell them about content, allowing for a discussion of the key themes of a novel. Secondly, they can provide information on the stylistic characteristics of a novel (functioning as 'style-markers' (Culpeper 2002:12) or 'vocabulary fingerprint for a writer' (Graves 1999)). Thirdly, keywords reference important cultural, historical and social information on the background of the events depicted in the novel. (It is interesting in this respect to note Stubbs's (2002) research on *cultural keywords*.) Keywords can thus be *content keywords*, *style keywords* or *socio-cultural keywords*, and can even combine these three aspects.

In the interdisciplinary seminar, keyword analyses were predominantly used for introducing and summarising the three novels, clarifying and underlining motives, themes and other important aspects (see appendix for all projects involving keywords). For example, a

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[3] On the problematic issue of the choice of a reference corpus, which, it seems, should be at least five times bigger than the node text see also Scott and Tribble (2006, 63-65).

keyword analysis of *Frankenstein* (with a reference corpus of 19th century fiction compiled by the student herself), throws up keywords such as *I*, *my*, *me*, *myself* (style markers pointing to the importance of first person narration and dialogue), *creature*, *monster*, *fiend*, *wretch*, *daemon* (referencing the gothic elements of the story), *mountain*, *mountains*, *nature*, *earth*, *ice*, *lake*, *sun*, *moon*, *desert* (relating to the importance of nature and the romantic elements of the novel) and *science*, *discovered*, *knowledge*, *journey* (associated with the key theme of scientific responsibility, and Romanticism as a counter movement to Enlightenment). Some keywords are clearly negative, and make reference to the results of Frankenstein's quest, his creation, his leaving behind of the 'monster', and the resulting actions of the latter: *miserable, misery, despair, horror, enemy, death, melancholy, revenge, destroy.* The keywords hence show a number of interesting aspects of the book.

Frankenstein also lends itself to a different keyword analysis. The novel is characterised by its distinct embedding, and narrative framing: the story is told by Walton to his sister in a series of letters. In them, he tells her about meeting Frankenstein, who, in turn, tells him his story of creating a being, including a meeting with this being in the Alps and the being's narration of what happened to him after Frankenstein left. Each of these stories can be turned into a node text and compared with the rest of the novel (figure 1):
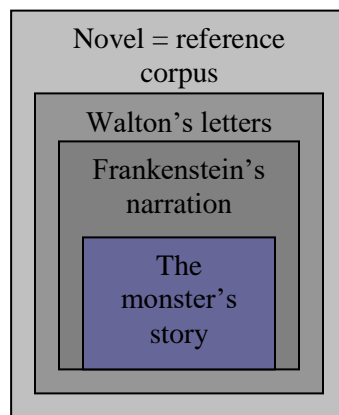
Figure 1 Embedding in *Frankenstein*

The student undertaking this analysis found that Frankenstein's story is characterised by the keywords *Elisabeth*, *our*, *Justine* (references to the females who are important to him), whereas Walton's keywords point to his journey to the north pole (*ice, sledge, north*) on a ship (*vessel, cabin, deck, ship, board*) where he meets Frankenstein (with *traveller, stranger, guest* references to himself and the latter). It is also in Walton's story that we find the conceptualisation of the scientific foray into nature as dangerous *(die, danger, peril).* Finally, the monster's story has keywords referring to his life in and with nature *(fire, wood, trees, roots, fields, sun, berries),* his process of acquiring language *(conversation, sounds, understood, uttered, understand, improved, comprehend, language*), and references

to his suffering as a result of Frankenstein's actions *(sadness, hunger, pain)*. Again, such an analysis proves useful in discussing key aspects of the novel and its structure. Scott and Tribble (2006) – not published at the time of teaching – give further useful suggestions for using keywords in language education, but for now the discussion will move on to collocation.

4.2 Collocation

The importance of collocation is well publicised in research on corpus linguistics and language teaching (e.g. Partington 1998), though there are competing definitions of what exactly a collocation is, and what different types there are (see e.g. Klotz 2000 for an overview). In essence, collocation concerns the syntagmatic association of lexical items (often defined statistically as a probabilistic tendency of words to co-occur). One way of (manually) analysing collocations is by looking at concordances – the output of concordancers such as Wordsmith's *Concord,* which provide lists of words (the node) in their context. Here, for example, are concordances for *pride* in *Pride and Prejudice*:

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1       than pride."    "Can such abominable pride as his have ever done
2          But  his  pride,  his   abominable pride--his shameless avowal
3      not penitent, but haughty.  It was all pride and insolence.
4      other, real  or imaginary.  Vanity and pride are different things,
5      is actions  may be traced to pride; and pride had often been his be
6       designs,  or satisfy  the appetite and pride of one who had ten
7      then she had expected most pleasure and pride in her company, for s
8         of  money, great  connections,  and pride."    "Beyond a doubt,
9      to ridicule. "      "Such  as vanity and pride."    "Yes, vanity is
10     was  also  in  the same  state of angry pride.  Elizabeth had hoped
11     Lucas, "does not offend _me_ so much as pride often does, because t
12         motive.  He  has  also  _brotherly_ pride, which, with _some_
13     "Yes, vanity is a weakness indeed.  But pride--where there is a  re
14      They had nothing to accuse him of but pride;  pride he probably h
15      and remarks; Mrs. Reynolds, either by pride or attachment, had
16     serving daughters.  With what delighted pride she afterwards visite
17     tenants, and  relieve the poor.  Family pride, and _filial_ pride--
18      the poor.  Family  pride, and _filial_ pride--for he is very  prou
20     that he is to the less prosperous.  His pride never deserts him; bu
21      of those very  people against whom his pride had revolted in his o
22      mislead  him, _he_ was the  cause, his pride and caprice were the
23     cousin could refuse him; and though his pride was  hurt, he suffere
24        so  strong  an  affection.  But his pride,  his  abominable prid
25     the _appearance_ of what is right.  His pride, in that direction, m
26     you _never_ to dance  with him."   "His pride," said Miss Lucas, "d
27     shire.  Everybody is disgusted with his pride.  You will not find h
28     "and  I  could  easily  forgive _ his_  pride, if he had not mortif
29     "I love him.  Indeed he has no improper pride.  He is perfectly
30     principles, but left to follow them  in pride and conceit.
31     there is  a  real  superiority of mind, pride will be always under
32     if  he  had not  mortified _mine _."    "Pride," observed Mary, who
33      imputed  the  whole  to  his mistaken pride, and confessed that h
34     Such  a change  in a  man  of so  much pride exciting not only
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35    made him altogether  a mixture  of  pride and obsequiousness, s
36    mother-in-law of Wickham! Every kind of pride must  revolt from the
37    to  be very  bad  indeed, a mixture  of pride and impertinence; she
38    partly  governed  by this worst kind of pride, and partly  by the w
39     on the  subject of  tenderness than of pride.  His sense of her
40    nothing  to  accuse  him of  but pride; pride he probably had, and
41    there  were stronger impulses even than pride."   "Can such abomin
42      manner,  and  the  rest  from  the pride for her nephew, who
43    almost all his actions may be traced to pride; and pride had often
44    person may be proud without being vain. Pride relates more to our
45    how abominable!  I wonder that the very pride of this Mr. Darcy has
46    material weight  with Mr. Darcy, whose  pride, she was convinced, w
47    everybody  says that  he is eat up with pride, and I  dare say he h
48    have  been  overlooked, had  not  your  pride been hurt by my hone
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Collocations can tell the students about meaning, patterns and context (see appendix for all projects involving collocations). For instance, as seen from the above list, some instances of *pride* co-occur in *Pride and Prejudice* with negative adjectives (*abominable, angry, improper, mistaken*), nouns (*vanity, caprice, conceit, obsequiousness, impertinence, insolence*) or verbs *(offend, accuse of, eat up with)*, that is, they have a tendency towards 'negative' collocates. This has been referred to in corpus linguistics as *negative semantic preference* or *prosody* (e.g. Louw 1993, Partington 2004). Another important collocation (*his pride*) refers to the main character (Darcy), but also points to the fact that pride was conceptualised as a male characteristics in Jane Austen's time (in contrast to female vanity). Collocations can reflect key themes, cultural attitudes, or the meaning of words in a novel.

Another example of this is provided by the collocations for words referring to marriage (e.g. *husbands, marry, marriage*) in *Pride and Prejudice*, where a key collocation is *GET husbands*, and where *marry* collocates (or colligates) with modal verbs of obligation (*must, should*) as well as verbs of intention (*wish, intend, want*) – reflecting cultural attitudes at the time and attitudes of characters in the novel (as may be remembered, Elizabeth's mother, Mrs Bennet, desperately wants her daughters to be married, and this makes for many funny scenes in the book).

Perhaps the most striking example for how useful the analysis of collocation can be in the discussion of literature can be seen by looking at negation in *Jane Eyre*. Negation is an important resource of interpersonal meaning, and plays a part both in the discourse semantic APPRAISAL (ENGAGEMENT) system (Martin and White 2005:118-120) and in the lexicogrammatical MOOD system (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:135). As has often been pointed out (Watson 1999, Stubbs 2005, Bednarek 2006:49) it is associated with unexpectedness, and hence also notions such as deviation or difference. In fact, negation in *Jane Eyre* shows us how the female protagonist (Jane Eyre) does not confirm to stereotypes about women in the 19th century (and beyond). Thus, the student analysing negation in her project found the following clusters (visualised in table 3):

Table 3 Clusters with negation in Jane Eyre

N	cluster	Freq.	N	cluster	Freq.
1	I could not	109	22	he would not	10
2	I did not	60	23	she is not	10
3	I am not	48	24	I need not	9
4	you are not	34	25	she could not	9
5	I was not	32	26	she did not	9
6	I have no	28	27	I shall not	8
7	I had no	25	28	you did not	8
8	I do not	24	29	you have not	8
9	I have not	20	30	you would not	8
10	I would not	20	31	he had not	7
11	he did not	19	32	I know not	7
12	I had not	19	33	you do not	7
13	he could not	18	34	I must not	6
14	I should not	17	35	you could not	6
15	I will not	17	36	you need not	6
16	you will not	17	37	you were not	6
17	he is not	12	38	he has no	5
18	he was not	12	39	I am no	5
19	she was not	12	40	I was no	5
20	she would not	11	41	you shall not	5
21	she would not	11			

As becomes apparent, negation often clusters with modal verbs, BE and HAVE, with the modal verbs frequently being deontic (perhaps pointing to the rules, necessities and coercion that are part of Jane's life). Compare the following dialogue between Jane and Helen from chapter 6:

> 'But then it seems disgraceful to be flogged, and to be sent to stand in the middle of a room full of people; and you are such a great girl: I am far younger than you, and **I could not** bear it.'

> 'Yet it would be your duty to bear it, if you could not avoid it: it is weak and silly to say **you CANNOT BEAR** what it is your fate to be required to bear.'

Where Jane exclaims 'I could not bear', passive Helen exclaims 'Yet it would be your duty to bear it'. Jane, in contrast, refuses to do so, is independent, headstrong and resistant. Similarly, *I will not* (indicating non-volition), shows Jane's strong character when referring to Jane's refusal towards St John's wish to marry her, and Rochester's desire for her to be his mistress. She does not take the easy way out, since she neither believes in marriage without love (with St John) nor wants to throw in her lot as Rochester's mistress. Again, Jane is not the passive and unresisting female, who gives in to the wishes of strong male characters. Other occurrences of negation (with HAVE) point to Jane's status as an orphan who has neither money nor friends nor relations, or as someone who is evaluated by others as having no talents, but who evaluates herself as fearless (*I have no fear*) – again refuting

the female stereotype. In this respect, it is also interesting to look at negated evaluations with BE in general, both self-evaluations (Jane pronouncing 'I am/was not/no') and evaluations of Jane by others ('you are/were not/she is not'):

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1  me from?"  "From just below; and I am not at all afraid of being out late when
2  "No, Sam, return to the kitchen: I am not in the least afraid."  Nor was I; bu
3  sealed my  doom, -- and his. But I was not afraid:  not in the least.  I felt
4  d, "Come over and help us!"  But I was no apostle, -- I could not behold the h
5  of a woman in Miss Ingram's. But I was not jealous: or very rarely; -- the nat
6  she.    "I am near nineteen: but I am not married.  No."    I felt a burning g
7  no doubt. But, in my opinion, if I am not formed for love, it follows that I
8  formed for love, it follows that I am not formed for marriage.  Would it not b
9  nce of an even tenor in life."  "I am not ambitious."    He started at the wor
10 them in this blunt sentence -  "I am not deceitful:  if I were, I should say
11 eberg. He is not like you, sir: I am not happy at his side, nor near him, nor
12 aughed at him as he said this. "I am not an angel," I asserted;  "and I will
13 ear -- and lie down a little." "I am not your dear; I cannot lie down:  send
14 aken in supposing me a beggar.  I am no beggar; any  more than yourself or yo
15 n plumage in its desperation." "I am no bird; and no net ensnares me; I am a
16 incapable of taking any  other. I am not brutally selfish, blindly unjust, or
17 ry: there, though somewhat sad, I was not miserable. To speak truth,  I had n
18 f the village of Gateshead: no, I was not heroic enough to purchase liberty
19 mit. I sometimes regretted that I was not handsomer; I sometimes wished to ha

1b uzzled, Miss Eyre; and though you are not pretty any more than I am handsome,
2b lks to us in our own hearts, "you are not beautiful either, and perhaps Mr.
3b h as ever I expected of you: you were no  beauty as a child."  I smiled at B
4b to its nature."   "Miss Eyre, you are not so unsophisticated as Adele:  she de
5b emaciated, pallid wanderer?"  "She is not an uneducated person, I should think
6b I told you not to go near her; she is not worthy of notice; I do not choose th
7b here he is?"    "I cannot."  "You are not a servant at the hall, of course.  Y
8b ditch under some stream?  And you are not a pining outcast amongst strangers?"
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Here again we find references to Jane's fearlessness (1, 2, 3), but also to cultural expectations (6, 7, 8), of which Jane is aware (that 19-year-old women should be married). More interesting, perhaps, are references such as *I am not an angel, I am not your dear, I am no dear*, which refute the 19th century image of the woman as the 'angel in the house'. Furthermore, a number of negations point to the fact that neither Jane nor Rochester confirm to the beauty standards that we might expect from such a novel's protagonists (19, 1b, 2b, 3b), with Jane's intelligence seeming to make up for it (4b, 5b). Summing up, the female protagonist in *Jane Eyre* is construed as neither passive nor fearful, but rather independent, strong-willed, and courageous, a character who wants to create her own destiny. She refutes stereotypes against women, and does not conform to normal beauty standards that we expect of romantic novels. And it does seem as if negation at least partly reflects this construal.

Overall, then, collocation analyses were used mainly to discuss key themes of novels, the construal of characters (and of the reader) as well as the socio-cultural background (in particular, the role and status of women).

5   Conclusion and evaluation

Let me conclude this paper by briefly evaluating the seminar. Concerning the students' projects (which got turned into term papers), it must be said that the best papers were by those students who used corpus stylistic analyses, and who interpreted their results with information from literary research, that is, by those who used a truly interdisciplinary approach. Of the keyword analyses, the best were by those that complemented their analyses with collocation studies, i.e. combined different corpus stylistic methods.

Moving on to the students' evaluation of the seminar, an informal questionnaire was handed out to them at the end of the term, with the students' answers summarised in tables 4 and 5:

Table 4 Evaluation of interdisciplinarity

Evaluation of interdisciplinarity (n = 37)	
Combining a literary and a linguistic approach was useful ('gelungen') 36 students thought this was either true (16) or at least partly true (20).	
I think interdisciplinary seminars make sense ('sind sinnvoll') All 37 students thought this was either true (30) or at least partly true (7).	
I would recommend this seminar to other students 36 students agreed.	
Likes	**Dislikes**
application of linguistics, usefulness of linguistic methods, different methodologies, connections between linguistics and literature become clearer, different aspects, themes, novels, look beyond own interests	not enough depth, too superficial

Table 5 Evaluation of corpus linguistic methods

Evaluation of corpus linguistic methods (n = 10)	
Help for the corpus analyses was sufficient 4 said this is very much true, 6 said this is partly true.	
I was comfortable using the software All ten students agreed.	
I liked using corpus linguistic methods for my own analysis 2 enjoyed it very much, 8 enjoyed it.	
Likes	**Dislikes**
independent and own research, finding facts and results themselves, simple, quick, empirical basis for interpretations	too complex, too much time, difficulties in interpreting

It thus seems as if the interdisciplinary and corpus stylistic approach adopted in this seminar was very successful. In particular, it made the students recognise the usefulness of linguistic methods for a rigorous analysis of texts (see 'likes'). On the other hand, an

interdisciplinary approach means that only half the time is available for talking about one subject (e.g. linguistics) than otherwise, which necessarily results in some superficiality (see 'dislikes').

Concerning the corpus linguistic methods, most students particularly enjoyed that they could undertake their own research and find out things that no one had investigated before, i.e. that they became 'true' researchers. While most seemed to find the corpus linguistic methods simple and quick, some thought that they were too complex and took up too much time. Clearly, it is necessary to provide sufficient help to the students to enable them to do corpus research themselves.

Overall, the interdisciplinary approach seems to have worked very well, in particular to allow the students a glimpse into the potentials of systematic linguistic analysis. The corpus stylistic methods were extremely successful in allowing the students to engage with their own research projects and to come up with innovative findings. The main disadvantage lies in the fact that students need to learn how to use the corpus software, which makes an accompanying tutorial very helpful. All in all, the seminar increased the awareness of the students for the usefulness of linguistics: many students expressed the view that they finally saw how linguistics can be applied to text analysis to yield interesting results.[4] And from the literary approach offered in the seminar they got help in interpreting these results, to move from the descriptive to the interpretative, i.e. to avoid the trap of coming up only with descriptions rather than interpretations and explanations (a danger that seems to be particularly great where corpus linguistic analyses are concerned).

Acknowledgements

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[4] The only previous contact with linguistics that most students had had before taking this class was one introductory lecture to linguistics, covering overviews of key aspects of linguistics (e.g. semantics, pragmatics, syntax, morphology, word formation, structuralism, sociolinguistics).

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http://www.gutenberg.org/

Appendix

Table 1: Course outline

'The madwoman in the attic and other monsters':
linguistic and literary perspectives on 19th century women's fiction

Introduction
- Corpus linguistic techniques (LING)
- Socio-political background, status of women
Jane Austen *Pride and Prejudice*:
- Biography Jane Austen, point of view, dialogue, free indirect speech
- Speech and thought representation (LING)
- The language of Jane Austen (LING)
Jane Austen *Pride and Prejudice*:
- Social and gender roles
- Marriage, husbands and wives (concordances) (LING)
- Lydia in book and film (LING)
Jane Austen *Pride and Prejudice*:
- Character development and emancipation
- *Pride, prejudice, vanity, prepossession* (concordances) (LING)
- Keyword analysis (LING)

Mary Shelley *Frankenstein*: - Biography (Mary Shelley, M. Woolstonecraft, W. Godwin, P.B. Shelley) - History and structure of novel - Changing perspectives in Frankenstein – a corpus linguistic analysis (LING)
Mary Shelley Frankenstein: - Gothic and romantic elements - The modern Prometheus: 'Faustian desire', responsibility - The monster (references) (LING)
Mary Shelley *Frankenstein*: - Interpretative analyses: status of woman, references to contemporary society etc - Keyword analysis of *Frankenstein* (LING)
Film analyses - Austen *Pride and Prejudice* - Shelley *Frankenstein* - Bronte *Jane Eyre*
Charlotte Brontë *Jane Eyre*: - Biography: The Brontës - Introduction: history, narrative strategies - Keyword analysis of *Jane Eyre* (LING) - 'Gentle and romantic reader': construal of the reader (LING)
Charlotte Brontë *Jane Eyre*: - The governess: gender and social roles in early Victorian society - Nature and religion - Metaphor in *Jane Eyre* (LING) - Negation in *Jane Eyre*: difference and deviation (LING)
Charlotte Brontë *Jane Eyre*: - *Jane Eyre* as Entwicklungsroman - Feminist literary theory: *The Madwoman in the Attic*
Summary - Keyword-analysis of all novels (LING) - Stylistic characteristics of realist texts (LING) - Gothic feminism

An approach to the analysis of textual identity through profiles of evaluative disposition

Alexanne Don

Abstract

This paper presents an approach to the analysis and investigation of textual identity or 'persona' using the Appraisal framework, using charts designed to provide profiles of 'evaluative disposition'. The approach is illustrated by the results of a study which uses three sets of texts written by three different identities, and a detailed analysis of the texts focussing on comparative frequencies of Attitude values. The paper also offers a theoretical discussion of how this approach is able to contribute to more finely-grained investigations of identity – both as a function of textual style, and as a function of the interactive contexts to which they contribute.

1 Introduction

Interest in the notion of identity has recently been reflected in a number of studies and publications within sociolinguistics in particular, which focus on discourse 'style' (e.g. Eckert & Rickford 2001, de Fina et el 2006, Coupland 2007, Caldas-Coulthard & Iedema in press). These approaches are concerned with issues of how writers, through their linguistic choices, construct for themselves particular textual identities or personas. Analyses of identity under variationism have been based on surveys of speaking styles, but recent work is moving away from simple surveys of speech variation and concentrating on how contexts of interaction afford the development of textual styles and identities as part of that context. One key aspect of such identity/persona development is the way in which writers use attitudinal language and the ways in which they choose to respond to other communicative partners. At a micro level, surveys of the use of resources of evaluation to perform or position oneself in relation to others can be used to compare one speaker/writer's use of such resources with that of another speaker/writer. At the same time, at a macro-level, the deployment of evaluative resources act to frame the arguments within wider generic resources available to participants, and to re-negotiate those resources in the context of specific social settings.

This paper presents an approach to the analysis of textual identity based on a survey of the ways in which evaluative resources are used by three different participants in a particular context of interaction: an electronic mailing list. It demonstrates how profiles of textual identity may be compiled though reference to "evaluative disposition". *Textual identity* in the sense used here is viewed as a function of the linguistic patterns common to a corpus of texts composed by a set of writers/speakers, while the term *evaluative disposition* refers to a subset of textual identity which relies on data derived from appraisal analysis and the findings made available using a corpus of texts and a database. In particular, evaluative disposition relates to the use a writer makes of attitudinal meanings as they convey positive or negative assessments of their targets of evaluation, and in so doing act to position other Addressees, Auditors, and Overhearers (Goffman 1981) as well. The Appraisal framework (White 1998, Martin & Rose 2003, Martin & White 2005) and the resources of Attitude were used to classify evaluative moves in three sets of texts, and the paper reports on this study in which each of three writers - represented by a selected sample of texts - can be differentiated from each other (and from other interlocutors as well – see Don 2007) by means of comparing the frequencies and types of attitude they use, and the types of targets evaluated. Using this approach, each writer can be shown to sustain a different set of ratios of frequencies of values of Appraisal in a representative sample corpus, and this differentiation can be visually mapped with charts illustrating preferences for types of

Appraisal. Charts are thus able to provide partial profiles of the textual identity of a writer, through the device of comparing evaluative disposition across a range of contexts.

I propose the use of two types of textual identity: 'stylistic', and 'negotiated' respectively. In both these perspectives Appraisal analysis provides one means of 'building up' a picture of textual identities. In the case of 'stylistic' identity, comparative ratios of types of appraisal, lexical keywords, and orientation to response are the means for building up such pictures. By 'orientation to response' I refer to the way responses are made to the contributions each participant makes to the discussion, (and in the case of email-mediated interaction) the way in which posts sent to the list are responded to (or not), whether a person's responses take up the content of the contribution they are responding to, and how they support or contradict these messages (e.g. with respect to email-mediated interaction, ratios of preferred text-type style, and features of interactional orientation[1]). Compilation of stylistic identity profiles involves looking at patterns which are common to individuals and groups as a function of their wider social practices, but is confined to certain elements of those practices which can be isolated for analysis. One means of investigating *stylistic identity* relies on cross-comparisons of sets of contributions by specific writers and compiling profiles of their evaluative disposition through Attitude analysis. For this study, a small corpus of between 20 and 40 posts[2] (see Table 1 below) contributed by each of three writers was collected for the purpose of investigating their *stylistic identity* through evaluative disposition, and several profiles of posting behaviour indicated that each writer could be distinguished on these grounds.

With regard to 'negotiated' identity, the focus is on *targets* of evaluation and the ways in which posters/writers act to evaluate sets of ideas, acts and other persons. Through evaluative acts and strategies writers 'engage' with their readers who they may project as aligning or disaligning with them. Identity in groups such as the one from which the corpus was derived is partly a function of the ways in which positioning of self and other identities is carried out and 'negotiated' over time. I refer to the results of this approach as *negotiated identity*. The investigation of identity which is negotiated over time relies on a micro-analysis of sequences of interaction rather than just patterns across a corpus of texts, and so what is presented here provides only the first step of an approach for the study of this type of negotiated identity. Therefore results reported below will focus only on one aspect of this approach - the identification of *targets* of appraisal, and how profiles of specific identities may be compiled using this aspect of evaluative disposition.

2 Methodology

2.1 Composition of the corpus

Table 1 below summarises a number of statistics associated with the corpus of texts. The column on the left shows the labels for the sets of corpora used in the main study. The examples discussed in the course of this paper are taken from this background study and the data derived from its analyses.

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[1] The corpus was derived from electronic mailing list interaction, and a typology of interactional orientation (or "orientation to response") was also applied to the texts in the study. This typology will not be introduced here, but see Don 2007: 2.3.3, and 6.2.5 for discussion of features of "responsivity" and "addressivity".

[2] Texts in the corpus were originally 'posted' to an email discussion list, hence in their original form they are called 'posts'.

Table 1: Comparison of main subcorpora used in the study[3]

	words	posts	mean words/ post	lexical types	lexical tokens	lexical density/ tokens	ranking clauses	lexical density/ clause
ALL	53,742	162	330	6,943	21,873	40.7%	--	-
SFT	4,610	24	192					
WVN	4,880	23	212					
TVS	25,350	81	313					
SIMON	8,694	25	347	1,889	3,502	40.2%	961	3.64
STAN	10,830	38	285	2,576	4,839	44.6%	1,308	3.69
SALLY	12,895	22	586	2,294	4,766	36.9%	1,561	3.05

The first named corpus, *ALL*, is comprised of the three next subcorpora, each representing three selected threads, or sustained 'written conversations':

- (SFT) **Sig File Thread** from January 1996,
- (WVN) **Wide Versus Narrow thread** from November 1997, and
- (TVS) **Terry Versus Stan thread** from April to June 1999.

In addition, the corpus *ALL* referred to in Table 1 above, also includes extra posts contributed to list conversation by the three writers in the study, so-called "poster" identities *Simon*, *Stan*, and *Sally*. The threads provide one contextual background against which the collection of writer-focussed corpora can be compared. The posts selected for each of these "poster-identity" corpora were intended to represent a range of these writers' participation on the list—rather than be taken from one more concentrated period of time.

Selection of the set of texts was based on several factors. One of the criteria used to select the three sets of texts comprising the three *threads* (*SFT*, *WVN*, and *TVS*) involved choosing those threads which would provide enough useful material for looking at rhetorical strategies within the texts themselves, i.e. argument staging linked to evaluative positioning. For this reason, threads were chosen which involved some form of continued argumentative discussion on a related topic, and which were comprised of 20 - 30 posts of approximately 500 words each. The fact that the written conversations involved sustained argument also means that the texts were attitudinally dense, i.e. featured high frequencies of evaluation.

The poster identities were chosen for their continued presence on the list for at least one year, as well as a textual style that was felt to show a distinct 'identity' without the use of obviously unconventional formatting or lexis. In addition, each identity needed to have contributed at least one post to at least one of the threads. The aim was to discover distinctive patterns in each writer's use of group conventional resources - resources which were limited to ascii in the case of this particular list. By the term 'group-conventional resources' I refer to abstractions based on common features of the *ALL* corpus, and this provided one means of comparing the set of one writer's contributions against those of a variety of other contributors. This paper will restrict its description to data derived from an Appraisal analysis of the three poster-identities only, but with brief reference to the interactive context represented by the threads .

2.2 Analytic tools

The texts were first analysed using an xml[4] editor teamed with an appraisal dtd[5]. This entailed that the tagged texts were converted to a database form, from which occurrences of attitude spans could be

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[3] Clause analysis was only performed on the texts of the three poster identities, so are not shown for all the texts.

[4] Extensible mark-up language

calculated as frequency per 500 words per text. The dtd enables an xml editor such as Emilé, XmlSpy, XmetalPro, and others, to operate by tagging spans of the text into 'valid' elements by 'telling' the editor which labelled spans are permissible within each other element or span of text. Using these tools and this method, a model of all analysed texts, as represented and controlled by the dtd, can be re-constructed as analysis proceeds. When xml tagged texts are operated on by further 'transformation' files using a technology known as "extensible style-sheet language transformation" (xslt), the tagged information may be ordered and displayed in a variety of ways[6]. In this case, it enables the display of the average frequencies of Attitude values and targets of Attitude across subcorpora, so that profiles of *evaluative disposition* can be visually compared.

Throughout the paper I rely on a typology of evaluative attitude based on the Appraisal framework, and it is assumed the reader is familiar with this approach to the analysis of evaluation in texts. An introduction to this framework is available at http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal, and more details can be found in Martin and Rose (2003) and Martin and White (2005).

Briefly, within the Appraisal framework, the system of Attitude is concerned to identify all types of evaluative assessments, either negative or positive, which may appear in texts. The framework recognises three sub-types of Attitude: Judgement (concerned with assessments of human behaviour and social norms), Affect (concerned with assessments based on emotional responses), and Appreciation (concerned with assessments of objects, events and artefacts in terms of aesthetic and social value). The framework also makes a distinction between those Attitudes which are *inscribed* or made explicitly, and those which may be *implied*, or *invoked*, i.e. activated in the text by means other than explicitly evaluative lexis[7]. In addition, each sub-type of Attitude recognises a variety of sub-categorisations. Although these were attended to in the analysis, this paper will only briefly report on some comparisons based on sub-categories of Judgement and Affect. The paper does not offer further details regarding these sub-categories - they are used here as one means of characterising the evaluative dispositions of sets of texts.

3. Evaluative disposition by Attitude values

3.1 Comparisons of Attitude frequencies in sets of texts

An initial overview of the type of profiles made available using this approach can be gained by comparing the types of Attitude values 'preferred' by each of the poster-identities, *Simon*, *Stan* and *Sally*. The frequency of Attitude values per 500 words in the sets of representative texts is shown in Chart 1 below. In this chart, frequencies of Attitude values of Judgement, Affect, and Appreciation may be compared across the poster-identity corpora. This chart separates inscribed Judgement (labelled "IJudge" in the chart below) from tokens of Judgement, and shows that for these writers in this context, *evaluative disposition* often involves a high proportion of unspecified and indirect ways of evaluating their targets – i.e. *invoked* appraisal.

In the case of poster-identity *Stan* for example, we note a difference in average frequency of inscribed versus invoked Judgement values per 500 words per post in the order of 7: 15. Such differences in "preference" for invoked over inscribed Judgement values in general, is maintained for each poster identity. On the other hand, differences between writer dispositions begin to emerge when negative versus positive evaluation is compared. While *Sally* for example, evaluates using both positive and negative Judgement tokens at almost equal frequencies, *Stan* is more likely to negatively judge his targets in the set of texts. The chart also makes clear that poster-identity *Simon* is more likely than the other two writers to use the resources of Appreciation for evaluating his targets.

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[5] The abbreviation "dtd" stands for *document type definition* and a dtd file is a document type definition file within the *Standard Generalized Markup Language* (SGML) of which html and xml are subsets.

[6] I am grateful to Peter White for performing the necessary transformations.

[7] My approach to the problems of categorisation of Attitude, especially with respect to invoked appraisal is discussed in Don (2005b and 2007).
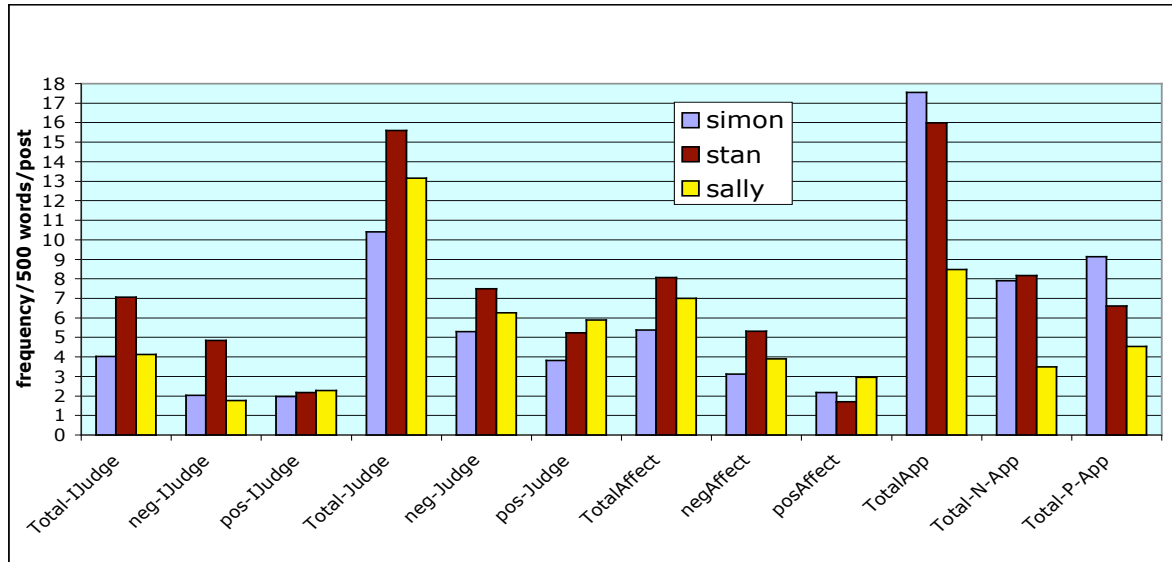
Chart 1: Comparison of attitude values by poster-identity

Further comparisons are made possible by narrowing the focus further and distinguishing between types of Judgement values preferred by each of the poster-identities. In the following Chart (2) for example, each writer's preferences for invoking Judgements of Propriety, Veracity, Tenacity, Capacity and Normality may be compared in this way. Chart 2 shows that these writers have an apparent (relative) preference for evaluating targets under the categories of Propriety and Capacity. Here we can note for example that poster-identity *Sally* evaluates her targets' Propriety and Capacity at an average of 4 times per 500 words per post. In addition, while she is more likely to *negatively* evaluate their activities under **Propriety**, her evaluations of **Capacity** are almost evenly negative and positive – around 2 instances/ 500 words/post, for both negative and positive values of Capacity. This is slightly different to her two colleagues, whose average frequencies for use of negative and positive attitude values differ more obviously – for example the ratio of negative: positive Capacity values in the *Simon* corpus is 2.5 : 0.5. It appears that this identity favours negative assessments of Capacity over positive.

In terms of evaluative disposition, these types of comparison allow the analyst to make descriptions of the type of Attitude favoured by a writer in a particular context. The context used here involves sets of texts that are representative samples of the written contributions of three different members of a discussion group. The thread corpora also provided a context against which such evaluative dispositions could be compared. For example, for each of the threads, *SFT*, *WVN*, and *TVS*, the following frequencies of negative: positive Capacity tokens were observed: 1.8 : 3.1, 3 : 1.2, and 2.6 : 0.9 respectively — or an average of 2.5 : 1.7. We can describe the evaluative disposition of the poster-identity *Simon* as more likely than average to assess his targets using negative rather than positive Capacity. However, *Simon*'s frequency ratio for negative: positive Capacity tokens almost match those of the *TVS* thread (2.6 : 0.9). When the thread *TVS* rather than all-over averages are used as context, it is more likely that the texts of poster-identity *Simon* – rather than *Sally* – match the "norms of the list" in this sense. At the same time, it is possible that *Simon*'s contributions have actually *set* the norms in subsets such as these, and that if for example, *Simon*'s texts were removed from calculation, a much lower ratio of tokens of Capacity would have been found in this contextual sub-set overall. One reason for this too, is that the poster-identity *Sally* was not a contributor to the thread *TVS*.
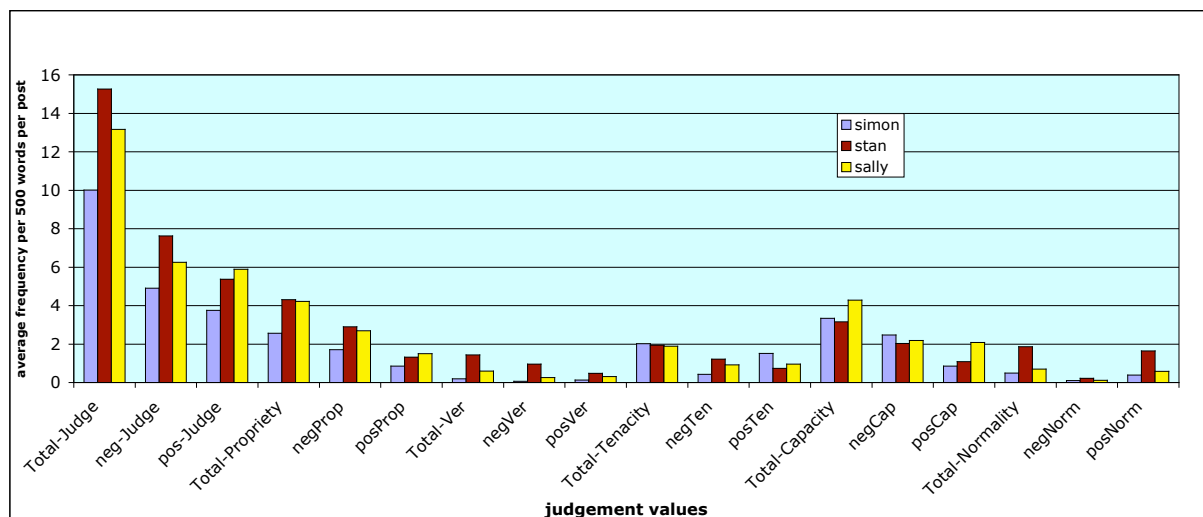
Chart 2: Comparison of Judgement tokens by poster-identity

Comparisons of one writer's evaluative disposition relative to others in the same context is thus the main approach adopted here. So that, in this set of texts for example, the poster-identity *Simon* notably does not use the resources of Judgement to the extent that his colleagues do. However, there are some categories of attitudinal value where *Simon* exceeds the average frequency found in the texts of his two colleagues – in this case, with positive Tenacity, and negative Capacity. Recall that Chart 2 refers to tokens of Judgement, and these typically rely on other node words or trigger words and phrases, as well as intertextual reference in some cases (Don 2007). Instances of invoked Judgement therefore provide avenues for the investigation of textual strategies that writers commonly - or markedly - use in order to evaluate.

In pursuing a description of the evaluative disposition of the writer *Simon* for example, the comparative profiles provided by Chart 2 provide an avenue for investigation of textual identity/persona at the micro level – in contrast to, or rather as complement to the macro level on which this approach is located. At the micro level, the analyst may wish to isolate such instances of tokens of Judgement as a means of focussing on specific "stylistic syndromes" associated with a particular writer. In the case of the poster-identity *Simon*, the following example (1) provides an illustration of one of the strategies he uses in order to evaluate targets by invoking an Attitude of negative Capacity (evaluative node words in *italics*):

Example 1:

**if** my hypothetical PHD in sociology[target] in the same message demonstrates that he or she[target] *cannot format* an email message, *cannot download and configure* a simple computer program, *does not know* what UNIX is, and considers reading a computer manual akin to menial labor, **then** I am *not going to give much weight to* [what the person has to say about the dynamics of the internet [App target].[judge: capacity: negative (irrealis) entailing [appreciation: value: negative]]

Example 1 provides one example of how tokens of Judgement may be invoked by means such as use of other types of Attitude, as well as rhetorical strategies such as matching and logical relations (Hoey 1983). In this case, a relation of hypothetical-real is used to negatively Judge "in advance": its strategy is to make an evaluation of a generic group having particular features, and acts to 'warn' anyone falling into such a group that their esteem is not guaranteed. This is a feature of this writer's evaluative disposition or style, and it avoids directly confronting named individuals (see for example, Don 2007). It also acts to define a type of moral ground on which further Judgements may be made of individuals, doing so through the use of general examples from the material world. In Table 2 (see section 4.1) this evaluative disposition is made clearer through the relative weighting of attitudinal targets in the *Simon* corpus: a relatively large proportion of these targets are classed *generic behaviour*, and relatively few of Simon's targets fall into the category which include specific individuals, apart from the target *self*.

6

In calculating the frequencies of Attitude values in the texts in my study, it was decided that all entailed spans of Attitude of this nature needed to be taken into account so that these types of strategies could then be investigated using the same database. This means that frequencies may appear higher than expected, but it also provides for fine-grained profiles of evaluative disposition.

Similar charts providing visual maps of poster-identity evaluative disposition for *inscribed* Judgement provide further avenues for investigation of differences. Consider Chart 3 below for example. As already noted, and understandably given the above approach to analysis, frequencies are higher for invoked versus inscribed Judgement in these texts. On the other hand, similar patterns are observable with respect to preferences for values of Propriety and Capacity across all three corpora. That is to say, the texts of all three writers investigated favoured the use of Attitudes of Capacity and Propriety over other Judgement values.

Chart 3 also highlights a comparative difference (c.f. Chart 2 above) in *Stan*'s apparent preference for inscribing **negative Propriety**. While the texts of his two colleagues evidence only an average of <1 value of inscribed negative Propriety /500 words /post, *Stan*'s corpus shows an average of 3>2 /500 words /post for frequency of this Attitude. The *Stan* corpus returns a higher than average frequency for this feature against a range of contexts, as shown by a comparison with the average frequency for inscribed negative Propriety for the threads as a whole — 1.14 /500 words /post. This evaluative disposition in the texts of poster-identity *Stan*, in turn contributes to a description of this writer's textual identity or textual persona as one which is more likely than his cohorts to use the resources of negative Judgement to make assessments.
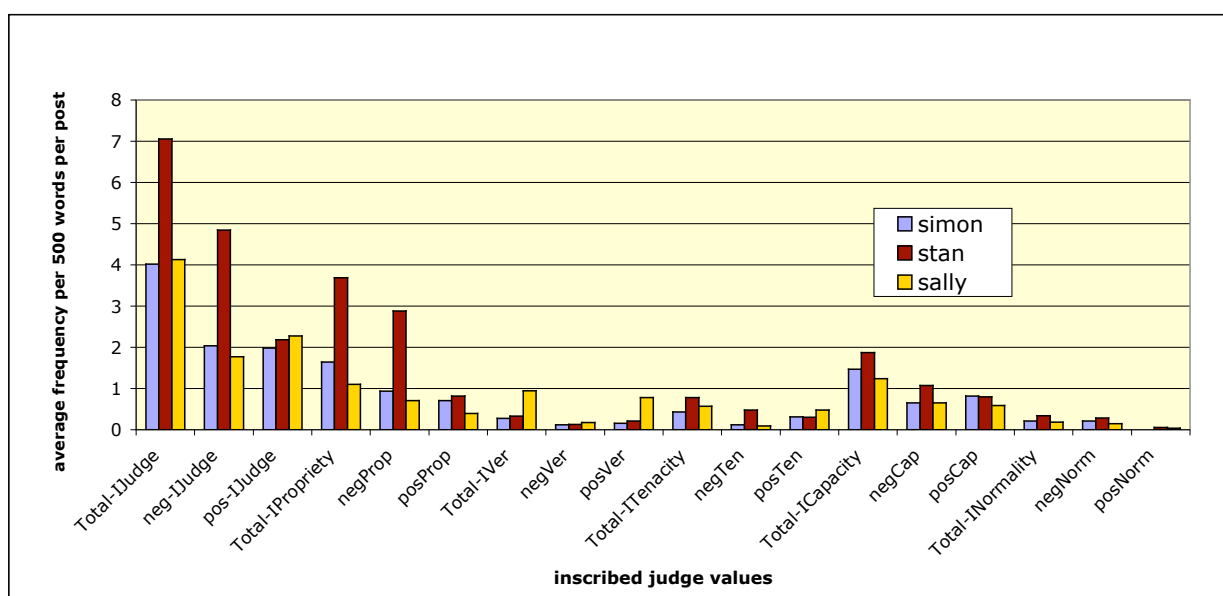
Chart 3: Comparison of inscribed Judgement values by poster-identity

3.2 Writer-specific comparisons of Attitude frequencies

Such charts highlight patterns which can then be investigated in more detail at a micro-level, especially in studies of textual identity. For example, a more detailed picture of use of specific Attitude values across a range of contexts can be provided by producing other forms of comparative chart. The following chart (4) provides an illustration. Since [judgement: propriety] was found to be common in the texts of all three writers, and the identity *Stan* was shown to use the resources of inscribed (negative) Propriety at higher frequencies than the two other writers investigated, in Chart 4 below, poster-identity *Stan*'s use of inscribed Propriety across the range of his posts becomes the focus.

7
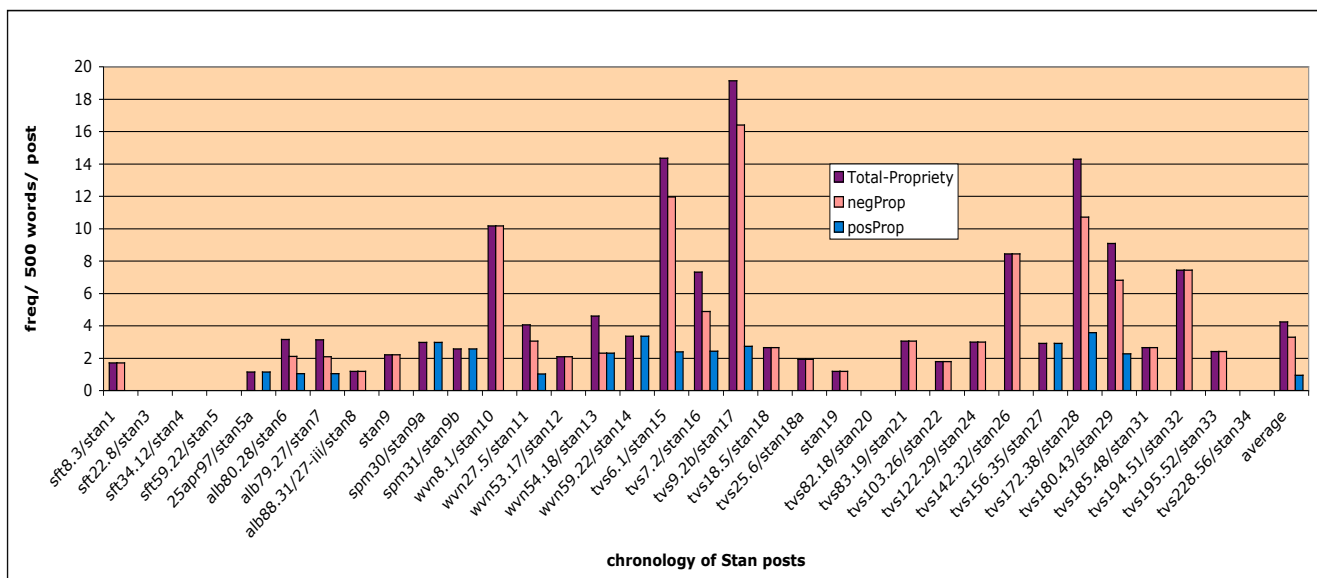
Chart 4: Inscribed Judgement: Propriety in corpus of poster-identity Stan

Chart 4 is able to highlight the posts where 'spikes' in inscribed Propriety occur in this corpus[8]. At the far right of the chart, the overall average per 500 words per post provides a standard against which such spikes can be compared. For this study a tagging system was developed in which labels for posts first reference the thread to which the post was contributed. So that, the first post where an obvious spike of above average Propriety occurs is [wvn8.1/stan11], and this means that the post was the 8th chronological post during the period in which the *Wide Versus Narrow* (WVN) thread occurred, and the first post made to this specific thread. At the same time, the post was the 11th in the chronological collection of *Stan* texts.

Using this chart, other texts where similar spikes in inscribed Propriety occur can be observed, for example [tvs6.1/stan15] and [tvs9.2b/stan17]. These types of observations are useful for the investigation of both aspects of textual identity, *stylistic* and *negotiated*. In terms of stylistic identity, those posts where high Attitudinal densities of specific types occur may be sites for the examination of the grammatical strategies, lexical node words and targets typically used by a specific writer. However, it is more likely that spikes occur as a function of the interaction that is taking place at the time, and that such posts need to be considered as indicators of *marked* behaviour—either in comparison to that normally evidenced in the specific writer-corpus, or against that typical or conventional to the corpus as whole. This means that, at this level, what such charts help to highlight are those junctures where negotiation over "moral order" become the dominant theme of discussion. Fairclough (2003: 41) - citing Giddens view of how moral order is constituted - remarks that "the 'norms' of interaction as a moral order are oriented to and interpreted differently by different social actors, and these differences are negotiated". Thus, those contributions where spikes in frequency of Attitude occur are likely to provide locations for the negotiation of identity as a function of some assumptions regarding moral order, or even where evaluative positioning of self and other functions as a means for negotiating group-based codes of behaviour or 'norms'. The distinction here rests on whether the positioning enacted is in the service of "norm-citing" or "norm-setting"[9] respectively.

As an example, post [tvs9.2b/stan17], as well as showing an above-average frequency of inscribed negative Propriety values for this corpus, is generally high in "attitudinal density" as well, with a frequency of just under 22 /500 words /post for invoked negative Judgement tokens - as against an average per post of 7.6 for invoked negative Judgement in the *Stan* corpus as a whole (c.f. Chart 4

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[8] Note that some of the posts in the Stan corpus do not appear in this chart, e.g. [~/stan23]

[9] I am grateful to Peter R. White for this distinction

above). It suggests that this contribution represents a juncture in negotiation over list norms – and in fact the means by which this post makes its Judgements are multi-layered and indirect.

In the following short excerpt for example, what is defining of the target *'she'* (in SE7), then becomes the target for the appraisal in the following sentence (SE7a):

Example 2:

7) […] she*[target]* [underline]again signed herself Mars[/underline] and [underline]picked up that swagger again.[/underline]*[judge: propriety negative]*] *[target]* 7a) [underline]Odd and telling.[/underline]*[judge: normality: negative + judge: ambiguous]*

These types of evaluative move, and others featuring implicit meanings and contractions - such as SE7a's *Odd and telling* - make the text very dense attitudinally, and one which therefore relies heavily on assumed close *contact* for making its meanings. This type of rhetorical strategy in which members of the audience are assumed to understand intertextual references and are not directly evaluated, contributes to a profile of the stylistic identity of a particular set of texts. In turn, the use of such strategies in particular contexts points to the ways in which identities are being constructed or 'negotiated' through their evaluative positioning as implied targets.

The main argument of the post revolved around an answer to a question on the definition of a specific term ("gator") commonly used in discussions in this group. Moreover, its argument centred on how this particular term was used to negatively evaluate other poster-identities and whether the use of this term was justified in a specific instance (as a label for "Mars", the target of evaluation *she* in the excerpt above). In addition, the argument in this post also managed to suggest that the use of the term was sometimes not warranted, and that those using it should themselves be negatively evaluated. Since the poster-identity asking the question had also used the term in negatively evaluating this former list-member, it appeared that *Stan* was also negatively evaluating his interlocutor in this case. Indeed, the rest of the discussion in this thread involved heated discussion regarding posting behaviour on the part of these two interlocutors, and from a synoptic perspective, this post is thus considered to represent a turning point in the thread.

### 3.2.1 Cross comparisons of frequencies of types of Attitude: Affect

Before turning to focus on *targets* of Attitude in particular, I provide a brief comparison of frequencies of Affect values in the corpus. Those categorised in the analysis were negative and positive values of Security, Happiness, Satisfaction and Inclination. Although Affect may also be invoked through use of expressions of reaction - notably in email though the use of 'emoticons' (e.g. :-), ^_^, :-0), emphasis markers such as CAPITALISATION, and words representing reactions such as 'wow', 'ugh', 'sigh', 'heh', and so on - in compiling the frequencies discussed below, such 'invoked' versus 'inscribed' values of Affect are not distinguished. In the following chart (5) only a general overview of the frequency of types of Affect value appearing in each of the three poster-identity corpora are provided, that is to say, only instances of the appearance of types of Affect have been calculated without distinguishing their sources, invocations or targets.
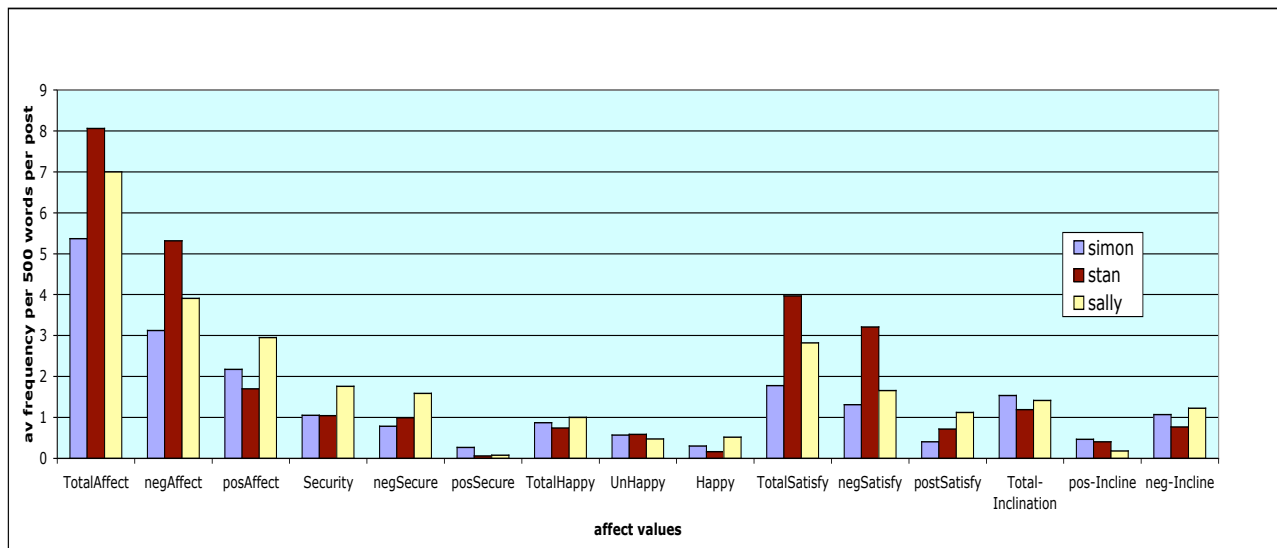
Chart 5: Comparison of Affect values across poster-identities

The first observation that can be made using this chart (5) alone is that the corpus of poster-identity *Stan* evidences a higher proportion of negative **Satisfaction** - both with respect to its other Affect values and with respect to the corpora of his two colleagues. By further comparison, frequencies of use of all inscribed negative Judgement (c.f. Chart 3) in the *Stan* corpus are about equal to that of average negative Affect instances in the same corpus at around 5 /500 words /post. This maintenance of negative Judgement /Affect frequency ratios is not repeated in the corpora of his colleagues, notably in the *Sally* corpus which has a much wider disparity. In this case, while *Sally* uses a lower overall frequency of negative Affect of 3.9 /500 words /post, her corpus shows even fewer instances of inscribed negative Judgement of 1.8 /500 words /post. As noted previously, the corpus of poster-identity *Sally* differs from that of her two colleagues with respect to its distribution of negative versus positive Attitude values. More particularly, whereas the corpora of both *Stan* and *Simon* have higher frequencies of *negative* values of both Judgement and Affect, the *Sally* corpus has a higher frequency of each type of *positive* Attitude values. Such comparisons of frequencies of Attitude types provide a general profile of evaluative disposition on the part of specific writers.

Of course, the relatively high proportion of negative Satisfaction values on the part of one writer also provides an avenue for further investigation, related to questions as to contexts in which these instances occur, and as to what Affectors or *targets* are evaluated. A brief look at how values of [affect: satisfaction] are dispersed across the Stan corpus is provided in Chart 6.
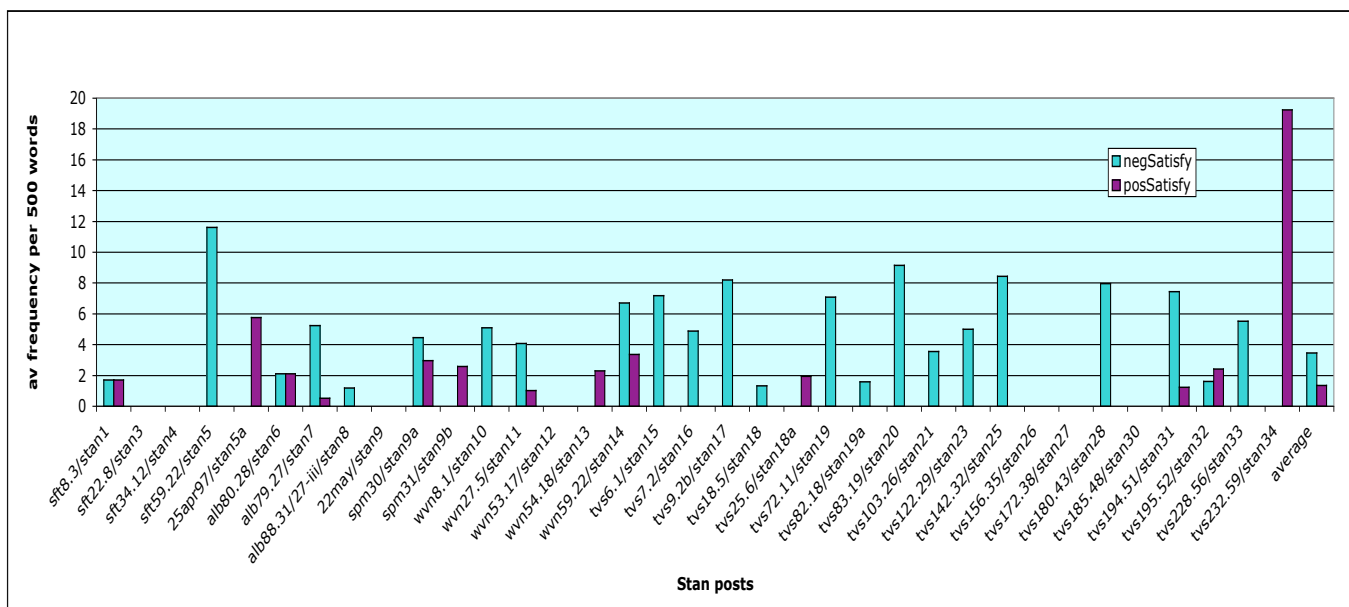
Chart 6: Affect: Satisfaction in the corpus of poster-identity Stan

It is interesting to note that the dispersion of negative Satisfaction is fairly evenly distributed across the corpus while positive Satisfaction is not as common, and indeed the average frequency of positive Satisfaction for the corpus as a whole would be far lower without the influence of the spike apparent in [tvs232.59/stan34]. The chart suggests two features of evaluative disposition as it relates to poster-identity *Stan*. The first observation is that values of [satisfaction: negative] occur regularly across the corpus and that therefore it is a feature of this poster's textual identity, rather than (for example) a function of the heated argument occurring in the final thread (*TVS*). Those posts in which [satisfaction: negative] do not occur are thereby also highlighted for their lack of this Attitude. The second observation is that the spike in the final post of the thread is partly a function of the post's short word-length, but also highlights the highly charged evaluative stance of that contribution – one in which the surface expression of positive Satisfaction contributed to an implication of ambiguous (but likely negative) Attitude and ambiguous target(s), supported by the heavy use of irony. The post is reproduced here as Example 3, with those spans analysed as instances of [satisfaction: positive] underlined:

Example 3:

Date: Mon, 7 Jun 1999 18:28:33 -0400

From: stan@EMAIL.COM

Subject: Re: There goes rhymin Simon...

>What more can I say? Maybe: "Welcome, poet!"

Wow, chicks DO dig it...

>H-, [who's aching jaw is still a problem, but not quite as painful as yesterday, (my god, it was awful!)]

Funny, I didn't even feel my fist connect.

This was the final post in the discussion thread – it marked a juncture in the negotiation over what is appropriate posting to the list, and I interpreted it as signalling frustration on the part of the writer. However, the lack of any overt signals of frustration in the actual text made it difficult to assign this Attitude value, and highlights the fact that it is impossible for an *analyst* to impute Affect on the part of a writer unless it is explicitly signalled in some way, and thus it does not appear in the data. On the other hand, in the role of long time list-member, I have no such qualms in making this interpretation. The post is thus an appropriate illustration of the problems of attitude analysis, and at the same time, also aptly illustrates how this approach to the display of such analyses can highlight areas for further enquiry. This post provides a good example of how writers may be more likely to use strategies of ambiguous evaluation in contexts of high dudgeon.

Targets of Attitude values are the focus of the next section, which changes perspective and looks at the compilation of profiles of evaluative disposition using instead instances of types of *target* favoured in each of the corpora.

4.   Evaluative disposition by targets of Attitude

### 4.1 Relative preferences for target-types in poster-identity corpora

The analysis also tagged **targets** of Attitudes, and these were grouped into categories according to 'target-type' in order to determine what target-types each poster-identity tends to evaluate. The categorisation operated with the following broad classes:

- human individuals or groups: subdivided in turn according to whether the target referred to the writer/self (e.g. *I*; *me*; *Sally*), a specific other person (e.g. *Simon*, *he*, *elfin one*), or a group/institution (e.g. *ND*; *us*; *they*; *this list*; *you* (pl); *these guys*; *the Australian government*; *local telco*). The latter two categories were also more delicately classified according to whether they referred to the listmembers/audience (i.e. Auditors and Overhearers), or alternatively groups/institutions external to the list. Targets were also co-classified so that categorisation could be split along individual - generic lines. For example, the target *addressee(s)* was co-classified according to whether the target was singular or plural (and thus part of the collective target *this-group*).

- targets were further subdivided according to whether they referenced the person/group directly for evaluation, or alternatively referred to an action on their part which was then evaluated. For example, text objects (e.g. *his post*; *your story*; *that book*) were co-classified as "~acts" according to what person or group had been made responsible for them. Other reports of action as the targets of evaluation[10] were also classed in this way.

- There was also a large class of what was called "generic behaviour", instances of which were not attributed to any specific person or group. In terms of their realisation, they were often what was co-classified as "non-finite behave"[11].

Chart 7 shows comparisons of target-types in the corpus of each poster-identity.

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[10] e.g. *[I] wasn't more careful* [sht4/sally4]; *[my] landing on top of Eileen* [sht4/sally4] (self-act); *Ray was assigning roles* [sht4/sally4]; *he was trying to be honest* [sht4/sally4] (3rd-person-act); *being targeted [with suspicion by this group]* [sht4/sally4]; *our discussion of task* [simon6] (this group-act).

[11] e.g. *to be heavy-handed/ confrontational* [sft8.3/stan1]; *to do a day's work for a day's pay* [sft41.16/simon2]
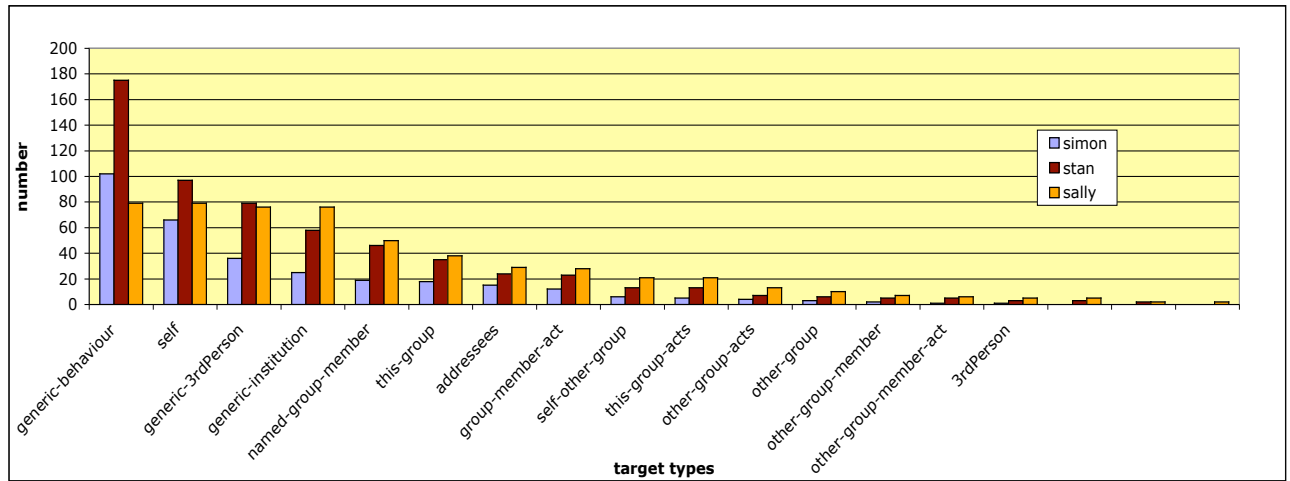
Chart 7: Comparison of target-type instances across poster-identities

For the corpus of each poster-identity, both Chart 7 above and Table 2 below show that the most common target-type overall was that categorised as "generic behaviour". The target-type *generic-behaviour* is commonly realised by nominal groups or by "non-finite behave", e.g. *honesty in communication*, *to be honest*, *giving my real name* [sht4/sally4]; *to be heavy-handed/ confrontational* [sft8.3/stan1]; *to maintain what signposts of reality do exist* [sft9.4/stan2]; *to say well* [sft22.8/stan3], and so on. Notably, however, poster-identity *Sally* targets proportionately fewer of this category, with *Simon* and *Stan* preferring to evaluate this category of target in much greater proportion than they do any of the other types. On the other hand, relative to the other two, *Sally* appears to prefer to evaluate more concrete targets such as her*self* (including "self-act"), *named group members*, and *addressees*.

In order for broader comparisons to be made possible in this way, targets were also further grouped according to a simpler taxonomy. By adding together the percentages for occurrence of related target types, a number of observations may be made.

For example, the target-types *self* and *self-act* are obviously related. The following percentages for each corpus for this target-type-set points to a slight difference in attitudinal orientation and likelihood that the self will be targeted:

- -*Sally*: 17.9%

- -*Simon*: 17.3%

- -*Stan*: 8.1%

In terms of other group members being the target of evaluation, differences turned on whether these group members were evaluated directly, i.e. as *addressees*, or whether they were evaluated in the 3rd person, i.e. as *named-group-member* and *group-member-act*. Further categories were related to group members targeted as members of the audience: *this-group*, and *this-group-acts*. The following table provides a breakdown of these groupings.

Table 2: Proportion as % of targets of Attitude groupings across poster-identities

| Target-type-set	Simon	Stan	Sally
self/self-act	17.34	8.06	17.92
generic behaviour	17.90	17.20	9.10
addressees	2.63	2.26	5.78
named group member/ act	5.43	17.31	12.14

group as collective	4.03	1.97	3.01

Table 2 clearly shows some differences in targeting preferences - so that, relative to *Stan*, poster-identities *Sally* and *Simon* appear more likely to evaluate themselves. On the other hand, unsurprisingly given the confrontational nature of the *TVS* thread from which a large proportion of the *Stan* sample was derived, poster-identity *Stan* is more likely to target 3rd parties in the audience for evaluation. This distinction was important for the negotiation of identity where, in contrast to a direct evaluation of one's interlocutor, evaluating a 3rd person in the audience I consider to have a different meaning. This meaning makes the attitudinal act more "directly" interpersonal in function than the use of evaluative language in general. While the effect of evaluating an audience member in the third person is perhaps not as confrontational as a direct address in the 2nd person, at the same time, it acts to *disconfirm* the status of the named audience member[12] since it positions them as a subject for discussion, as distinct from a participant in that discussion[13].

A further observation related to this interpersonal stance is also provided by the table above. For example, *Sally* appears more likely than the other two to target her *addressees*, and this suggests a more direct or confrontational approach than that used by the other two. *Simon* targets the *group* as a collective in relatively higher proportions than do the others, especially in comparison to *Stan*. Again, this seems to partly reflect his role as list-owner and 'leader' of the group. *Simon* has constructed an identity for this role which is able to assess group activities and products, and who can speak for the group on occasions when 'outsiders' threaten to violate perceived norms.

4.2 Evaluative disposition by target-types and Attitude-type combined

By converting the data in Table 2 above into chart form, it can also be made more visually readable, and easier to cross-compare. The following charts help make clear some differences between the evaluative dispositions of the three poster-identity corpora based on comparisons of preferred target-types. The first below (Chart 8) concentrates on the target-type *self* and *self-act*, showing how these targets were evaluated by each of the poster-identities.
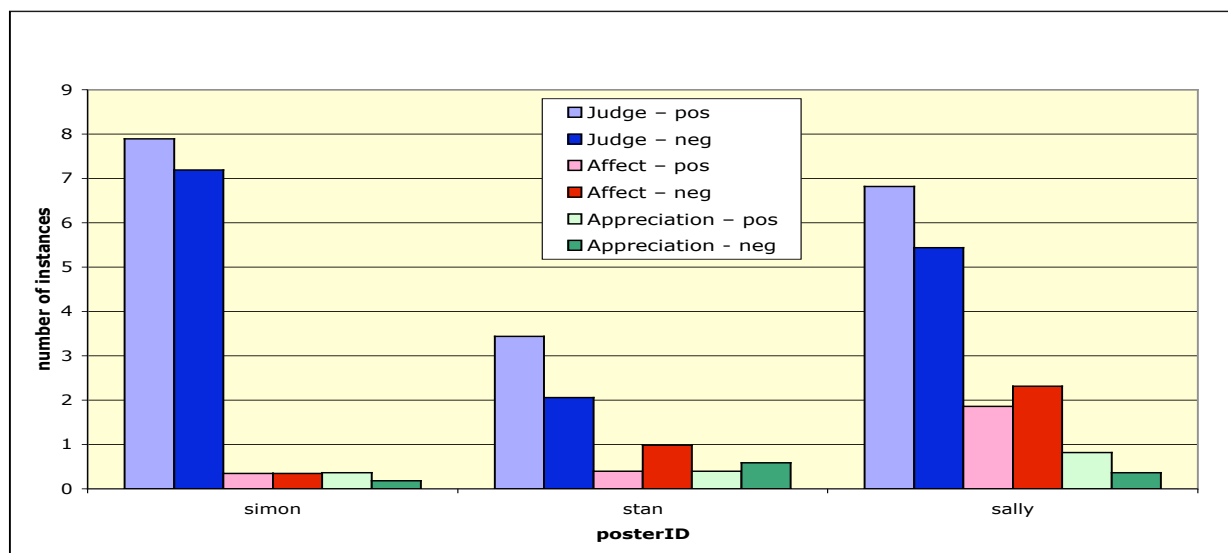
Chart 8: Comparison of target-set self and self-act by poster-identities and Attitude types

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[12] Watzlawick et al (1967) note that "*disconfirmation* … negates the reality of [a person] as the source of … a definition of self" (p. 86, my italics). They go on to note that "[in the case of disconfirmation] *O* does not disagree with *P*, but ignores or misinterprets *P*'s message" and that such "unresolved discrepancies in the punctuation of communicational sequences can lead directly into interactional impasses in which eventually the mutual charges of madness or badness are proffered" (pp.92-94)

[13] The next step in the investigation is to discover whether such features of group interaction do correlate with types of attitude in response.

Chart 8 makes it clear that all the poster-identities are more likely to use positive Judgement values when targeting them*selves*, and that naturally enough, Judgement values are predominant with respect to this target-type set. The corpus of poster-identity *Simon* shows the greatest difference in use of Judgement values compared to values of Affect and Appreciation when evaluating him*self* and his own actions. From this alone we can describe the evaluative disposition of the posterID *Simon* as one in which the self and its acts are the target of a large proportion of the Attitudinal spans in the corpus, and that this identity is disposed to use the resources of Judgement both positive and negative to do so.

In contrast, the poster-identity *Sally*, while also targeting herself to a great extent, uses a greater proportion of the resources of both Affect and Appreciation to evaluate either herself or her acts. With respect to values of Affect, it appears that both *Stan* and *Sally* have tended to negatively rather than positively evaluate themselves. In the case of poster-identity *Sally*, the higher proportion of Affect values suggests an evaluative disposition focussed on the *self* as target, but also one where Affect – evaluations based on subjective and emotion-based criteria - are not eschewed in favour of more socially-referenced bases of evaluation. The slightly higher incidence of negative Affect towards the self, despite the prevalence of positive Judgement values, also points to a negotiated textual identity in which the *self* is portrayed as deserving of positive esteem while yet acknowledging personal negative responses to the self and its actions.

As mentioned previously, many Attitude values of both Affect and Appreciation may simultaneously act as tokens of Judgement, and it should be remembered that the approach used here was not focussed merely on the "outer span" Attitudes – which in some instances encompass whole texts – but was designed to take account of all Attitude strategies in the texts. This was conceived as a way of building a picture of how evaluative acts operate and how each writer manages the resources of evaluation. This may mean, for example, that those Attitudes which evaluate the self using Appreciation may also function as tokens of Judgement for the same target. The approach viewed instances of Attitude as multiplicative rather than summative – the whole evaluative span being more than the sum of its parts so to speak.

Chart 9 now compares instances of the target-set *named group members*, *addressees* and *their acts* for each of the poster-identity corpora, along with the main Attitude values. It was already noted above that the identity *Stan* was more likely (than his two colleagues) to target other members of the group (audience) for evaluation in the texts used, and that this was a function of the type of argumentative conversations chosen for analysis. The chart below provides a visual comparison of the types of Attitude used by each of the identities for this target-set, and furthermore allows a comparison with those Attitude types directed towards the target *self,* as shown above in Chart 8.
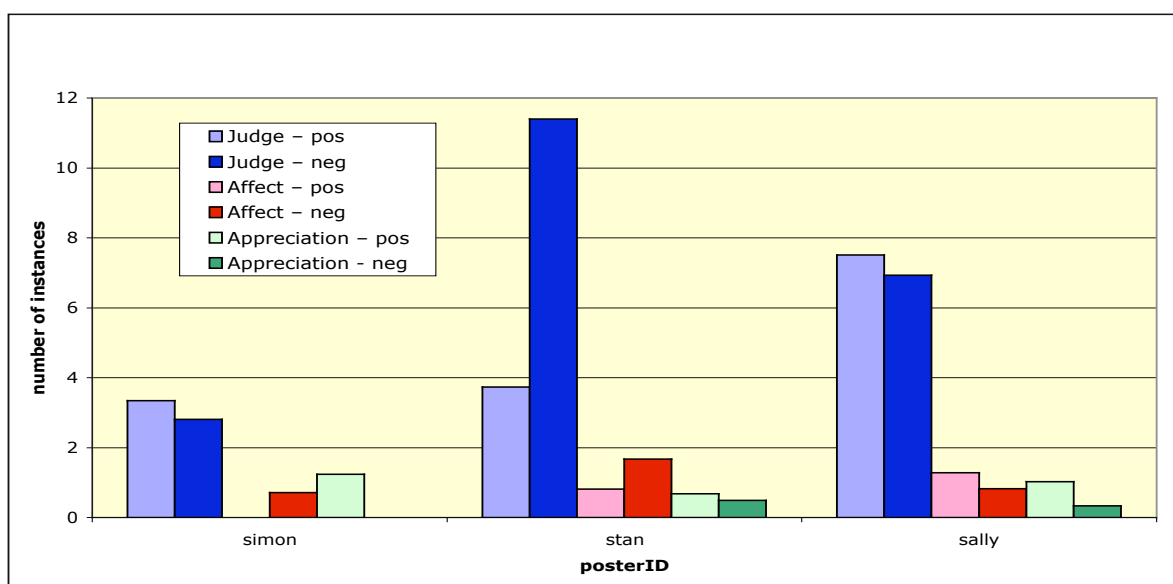
Chart 9: Comparison of target-set named group members, addressees, and their acts by poster-identity and Attitude types

The differences between the corpora are immediately made obvious in the charts. They provide a telling profile of evaluative disposition when relative proportions of instances in the texts are taken into account. We note for example that for this target-set, while Judgement values are similarly 'preferred' over other Attitude values by each of the poster-identities, *Stan* differs from the other two in his higher proportion of negative over positive Judgement values. He also negatively evaluates specific others in his audience using negative Affect – as do his two colleagues. While he and *Sally* offset their negative Affect toward other group members by also expressing positive Affect as well, *Simon* uses no positive Affect for evaluating specific other members of the group. At the same time, *Simon* uses no negative Appreciation of their behaviour either, whereas both *Stan* and *Sally* appear willing to negatively evaluate other list members through this means. Appreciation of behaviour (rather than Judgement values which are normally applied to behaviour) can occur when the behaviour is nominalised and used as a target. As an example, in the excerpt from Example 1 below (reproduced for convenience as Example 4) the target of negative [appreciation: value] (underlined) was classed as an instance of "generic behaviour", and negatively appreciated through the process *[I am] not going to give much weight to*.

Example 4:

…not going to give much weight to [what the person has to say about the dynamics of the internet [App target]. [appreciation: value: negative]

In this case, as in many others, each value was first analysed in its local co-text, in order to concentrate on the strategies employed for realising Attitude. So that, behaviour realised by nominal groups was sometimes interpreted as a strategy for *indirectly* Judging behaviour via its use as a target of Appreciation. Attitude values were often treated as "tokens" invoking perhaps a different Attitude in the wider Attitudinal spans in which they were embedded[14] and this approach was intended to provide a fine-grained means for tracing the ways in which positioning and textual identity are negotiated and contested. Thus there are many instances in the texts of both "double-coding" of Attitude values relating to the same target and span, and of "embedded" Attitudes which are entailed in, or function to invoke Attitude in wider spans.

Chart 9 again also draws attention to poster-identity *Sally*'s Affect profile, by the difference in relative proportion of positive Affect towards her interlocutors compared with a higher proportion of negative Affect towards herself (c.f. Chart 8 above). This contributes to an accumulating profile of her evaluative disposition – at least in contrast to the other two identities investigated. In order to appreciate this, recall from Chart 5 that overall, it is poster-identity *Stan* whose average frequency of Affect values is the highest of the three, yet in comparison to that of her colleagues, *Sally*'s texts show a higher number of Affect values which are directed at her*self*.

4.3 Discussion: what this approach can provide

These chart-based profiles of evaluative disposition should be viewed as aids in the description of the dynamics of identity construction or negotiation. They help answer the question of how textual identity is forged in texts, from the perspective of textual 'interaction'. In fact, these texts were derived from a context in which there was also "real" interaction made possible by their technological mediation – a matter of Mode not fully addressed in this paper[15] . The focus here, rather, is on textual interaction, and how a writer constructs for themselves an audience, along with a *self* who is the addresser of that audience. This stems from the Bakhtinian premise (e.g. 1986) that all text is the result of writer response to what the s/he has already experienced, which at the same time projects a response to come from their imagined audience.

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[14] Chapters 5 and 6 of Don 2007 address the invocation of Attitude further and propose a set of strategies for invoking Attitude evident in the corpus.

[15] See, however, rather lengthy discussions of this in Don 2005a

Attitude values then, need to be seen as a function of the context of interaction, and the nature of the thread (conversation), the development of the topic, as well as the argument being sustained in a text. These are some of the contributing factors to the tenor of the phase of the text in which an evaluative act occurs, and the tenor of the corpus as a whole. Such a 'tenor of the corpus', however, cannot be simply described by reference to a set of statistics based on frequencies of Attitude values and targets of those Attitudes. Tenor, as instantiated in actual discourse, is comprised of the interaction between many elements in the text, through which relationships are enacted, and instances of Attitude can be regarded as part of the resources of interpersonal meaning. At the same time, Attitude is often realised through longer spans of discourse incorporating several phases. At each phase of the unfolding discourse the tenor as part of register may 'shift', and the resources of tenor – similar to what Goffman (1981) refers to as "footing" – may signal such a shift. This means that to speak of the 'tenor of the corpus' is to oversimplify the matter of interpersonal key, stance, and textual identity.

Therefore, rather than talk about the "tenor of a corpus", this approach uses frequencies of Attitude values and their targets to provide a very general profile of poster stylistic identity through talking about "evaluative disposition". Evaluative disposition in turn is an amalgam of the use of (certain) evaluative resources in a representative corpus. The Appraisal framework provides the scaffolding for investigating this area of textual identity, and this paper has provided one means of using such analysis to construct profiles and interpretative descriptions of this area of textual identity.

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TEXTUAL ENGAGEMENTS OF A DIFFERENT KIND?

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Abstract

Plagiarism, a complex and contested issue related to engaging with texts, has deservedly received considerable research attention in recent times. However, there is more to integrating academic reading into writing than the issue of plagiarism. Through the voices of others, writers negotiate their position in their discourse community, align themselves to the epistemological value systems of discipline(s) and adopt appropriate stances. This has to be done in ways that are acceptable to the discipline and calls for appropriate engagement with previous studies and the reader. A fine balancing act is expected of a doctoral thesis: the right mix of humility with regard to the existing literature and a confident, expert identity with respect to their own research. International students, who use English as an Additional (EAL) language, often report difficulties in meaningfully integrating reading into writing. The present paper draws on a study that aimed at exploring their textual experiences through interviews and textual analysis. I argue on the basis of findings from the study that some of our pedagogy with regard to integration of sources may be reductive if it is focused solely on direct and indirect quotations, punitive views on plagiarism and a mechanistic explication of referencing techniques. The APPRAISAL taxonomy, which enables the analysis of lexical and grammatical choices made for specific rhetorical purposes, is used as a tool to investigate student texts. Aspects of the taxonomy could potentially inform pedagogic initiatives for a nuanced approach to teaching textual incorporation.

1 Introduction

The present paper reports on a study conducted as part of a doctoral thesis on the integration of academic reading into writing. The writing challenges of doctoral students are likely to be qualitatively different from those of others because of the cognitive and linguistic demands of the task. Creating an extended text that is an original contribution to the field is an expectation of all PhD students. For international students who use English as an Additional Language (EAL) learning the content and the language of the discipline simultaneously can be challenging. Thompson (2005) eloquently outlines some of the difficulties of the task:

> The writer of a thesis needs to successfully construct a coherent text, and an appropriate persona within the text for the thesis to be judged worthy of an award of a doctorate. The writer has to be able to convey a tone of authority, to persuade the examiners of their expertise and knowledge of the subject, while at the same time showing an appropriate awareness of the conventions and culture of their communities of practice. (Thompson, 2005: 312).

Displaying knowledge of the conventions and culture is significantly tied up with ways in which writers use the words of others. Plagiarism is just one issue related to engagement. Plagiarism, Carroll (2007) hopes, has stopped being seen as an ethical issue and is beginning to be seen as an educational one. Enabling the shift from the

ethical to the educational would entail focusing on other aspects of textual engagement. Engaging with source texts in order to produce an original piece of research in academic writing involves a number of interrelated activities. It is evidently a complex task that calls for cognitive and discursive expertise displayed in writing. Decisions about the integration of source texts tend to relate to the selection of material from the source; the choice of the form of citation; transformation of the material from source texts in the form of quotes (direct/indirect); the critical evaluation of the source and the development of an authorial voice.

Hyland (2000) argues that academic writing is interactive and that knowledge in disciplines is socially constructed. To prevent one's contribution to knowledge being dismissed or overlooked, a writer needs to create 'adequacy conditions' (Hyland 2000:13). These may be understood to refer to the content of the subject. It pertains to the epistemology of the subject in relation to the ideational message as well as the logical and argument related aspects of expressing that knowledge. However, it is not sufficient to just encode the ideational elements of a message. There is a need to create 'acceptability conditions' (Hyland 2000:13). Hyland's notion of 'acceptability conditions' may be interpreted as interpersonal elements that help align the writer to previous knowledge makers and one's readers. In order to persuade readers about the relevance, validity and the credibility of one's argument, writers need to encode the ideational material and simultaneously strive to establish relationships within the discourse community. For writers, this entails framing arguments in ways they establish their authority while acknowledging and developing a stance toward prior knowledge. With regard to writing from source texts, traditional EAP courses emphasise the teaching of the transformation of the ideational element through summarising, paraphrasing and referencing but does not adequately address the crucial interpersonal aspect of the task. For doctoral students who have to give evidence of their originality and expertise but still acknowledge influences and form alliances with the scholarly community, the task is daunting. Often students are left to fend for themselves while engaged in this complex task. The following quotation from a student in Cadman (1997) succinctly presents the difficulty that international students using EAL may have in reading, writing, citing, and developing a voice that represents student identity while engaging in writing from sources.

> When I presented only information and other people's ideas at least people could understand what has been written even though they could not understand what I was going to say about it. It is like swimming with no breaths. I can swim effectively so long as I do not breathe. But once I breathe, my swimming will break down completely. In the same way, my writing broke down as soon as I put my voice in. (Japanese student, in Cadman 1997: 10)

Voice appears to be an intangible aspect of writing that international students using EAL have to grapple with in academic writing. Researchers in the field have commented on its elusiveness. 'Voice', Atkinson (2001:101) maintains is 'a devilishly difficult concept to define' and yet definitions abound. Elbow (1999:336) refers to 'voice' as something that inherently 'foregrounds a dimension of the text that is rhetorically powerful but hard to focus on: the implied and unspoken meanings that are carried in the text but that are different from the clear and overt meaning of the words'. More specifically, as Matsuda (2001:40) suggests, 'Voice is an amalgamative effect of the use of discursive and non-discursive features that language users choose, deliberately or otherwise, from socially available, yet ever changing repertoires'.

Voice has come to be associated with 'authorial identity' (Hirvela & Belcher 2001; Ivanic 1998; Ivanic & Camps 2001; Tang & John 1999) and 'authorial presence' (Hyland 2001).

Textually voice can be enacted in many ways. One of the simplest ways of 'putting' one's voice into a text with regard to other texts is through the choice of citation forms and suitable reporting verbs. Reporting verbs and other language devices used to encapsulate a writer's evaluation of source material can be analysed using the APPRAISAL network. The network/taxonomy/system as it is variedly referred to is an offshoot of SFL, can be used to serve the pedagogic objective of raising awareness about the Interpersonal aspects of using the words of others.

The paper begins with a brief overview of the literature on voice, identity and evaluation in student academic writing. A theoretical framework that invokes the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia will be presented. This will be followed by an overview of the APPRAISAL system, focusing primarily on ENAGEMENT (Labels of categories in the APPRAISAL network are in capitals. Sub-categories are marked in bold). Although there are a number of models that focus on reporting verbs, only one (Hyland 1999) will be offered here. Using the APPRAISAL system as a tool, two brief extracts from student texts are analysed with a view to explore how two writers with different purposes develop their voice through the choice of citations and indicate evaluation through lexico-semantic elements as they engage with other texts. The study suggests that supporting international students at an advanced literacy level entails scaffolding the process of writing so that they are enabled to handle not just the Ideational aspects of knowledge construction but also the Interpersonal dimensions of textual engagement.

2   Voice, Identity and Stance

Integrating academic reading into academic writing involves more than simply a skilful putting together of direct quotes, summaries and paraphrases. It encompasses the writer's attitude variously labelled in the literature of applied linguistics and writing pedagogy as 'voice' (discussed above) 'authorial identity' (Hirvela & Belcher 2001; Ivanic 1998; Ivanic & Camps 2001; Tang & John 1999); 'authorial presence' (Hyland 2001); 'evaluation' and 'appraisal' (Coffin 1997; Mei & Allison 2003; Hood 2004; 2006). A dissenting but persuasive voice in the literature that of Stapleton (2002) points out that the overenthusiastic exploration of voice in academic writing may be happening at the cost of important things such as argumentation skills and ideas. My argument is that voice, even if it is a minimal inflection, encased in the seemingly insignificant lexis or grammar of a text such as reporting verbs or in the mechanics of citation forms contributes to the construction of an argument. A review of some significant studies that have dealt with aspects of voice in student writing follows.

In Ivanic's (1998) notable book-length study on writing of mature-age students in Britain, voice is subsumed within the notion of identity in writing. Using Halliday's (1994) framework she argues that lexico-syntactic choices are made on the basis of the 'context of culture' and 'context of situation' but are ineluctably bound with the writer's identity. The lexico-syntactic resources writers bring to the writing become a toolkit. Ivanic points out that some people's toolkits or their 'array of mediational means to which people have access' are bigger than others and may contain 'more statusful tools'. Participants in the present study spoke about their need to develop and enlarge the linguistic tools they have in their repertoire.

Several scholars have investigated the linguistic tools that students bring to their writing. Some have used the APPRAISAL network to analyse student texts, others have adopted other methods of textual analysis. Hood's (2004) unpublished thesis uses data from introductory sections of undergraduate dissertations written by students who use EAL and a similar section from published research papers to examine the management of the Interpersonal dimension in the writing. In a later study, Hood (2006) uses similar data to explore how Interpersonal meaning is spread across clauses and across longer phases of discourse to create prosodic patterning. On the basis of her studies, Hood suggests that an appreciation of strategies for textual evaluation in academic writing could be built into the teaching of English for Academic Purposes. In both studies, the APPRIASAL taxonomy was used as an analytical tool. A similar study by Mei and Allison (2003) explored evaluative language in student essays at the undergraduate level and concluded that the presence of the Interpersonal dimension influenced, but did not completely determine the success of an argument. On the other hand, Starfield's (2002) investigation of two first year sociology essays at a South African University indicated that a higher grade was awarded to the student who could use his 'textual or intertextual capital' to negotiate for himself a greater degree of authority in his texts. The two thick descriptions that Starfield presents make a powerful point that reading, writing and successful identity projection in student writing are interconnected.

In the studies mentioned above, data on student writing was drawn from the undergraduate level. There is a gap in research on doctoral students using EAL and the toolkit that they have for academic writing in general and engagement with other texts in particular. The present study hopes to make a contribution in this less explored area.

3   APPRAISAL System as an analytical tool

The present paper derives its larger theoretical impetus from Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia or the presence of other voices in texts. Bakhtin's oft-quoted utterance has framed many a discussion on language and identity and is deployed here to draw attention to the concept of intertextuality, that Pennycook (1996) has persuasively argued, is the basis of language/semiotics and language learning

> Language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents. For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete *heteroglot conception* of the world…Each word tastes of a context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions. (Bakhtin 1981: 273-274)

Martin & White (2005) evoke Bakhtin to suggest that language is a social event of verbal interaction that takes place through utterances that are formulated in response to other utterances. The emerging APPRAISAL theory in Martin (2000), White (2003) and in Martin & White (2005) can be used as an analytical tool to understand the interpersonal relationship that texts create. They can be realised in language through three co-articulated categories of ENGAGEMENT, ATTITUDE and GRADUATION. These categories are shown in Figure 1.
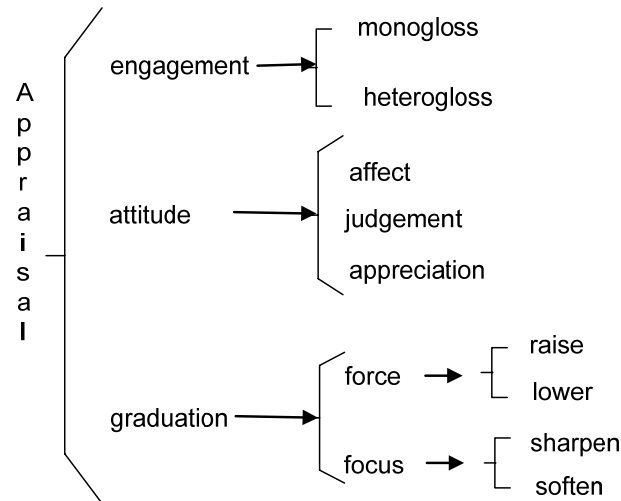
Figure 1: An overview of appraisal resources (Martin & White 2005: 38)

All three elements work in tandem in texts. The figure above presents a very basic overview of the APPRAISAL system. Only a cursory discussion of it is possible in this paper. ENAGEMENT refers to the presence or absence of other voices in a text. A slightly more detailed discussion of this dimension is presented later. ATTITUDE in texts refers to lexico-semantic elements that record, invoke or provoke evaluation of the emotional impact; assessment of behaviour or evaluation of the properties of a thing. Lexico-grammatical resources that encode feelings toward propositions are labelled **Affect** within the category of ATTITUDE. Linguistic resources that report and evaluate behaviour are labelled **Judgement** in the ATTITUDE taxonomy**.** An evaluation of characteristics of things is categorised as **Appreciation** within ATTITUDE. The dimension in language that provides cues to the force or focus of utterances is referred to as the system of GRADUATION**.** The category has numerous sub-categories that are not delineated in this paper. Only the ENGAGEMENT dimension will be analysed, explored and discussed in this paper.

3.1   ENGAGEMENT

Utterances can be classified as **monogloss** or **heterogloss.** Those that deliberately seek to signal the existence of other voices is labelled in the APPRAISAL network as **heterogloss** utterances (White (2003; Martin & White 2005). In contrast to **heterogloss** utterances, **monogloss** utterances do not explicitly refer to other sources and indicate that the writer or speaker is the originator and the source of the assertions. Figure 2 is a diagram from Martin & White (2005) that summarises the ENGAGEMENT system.
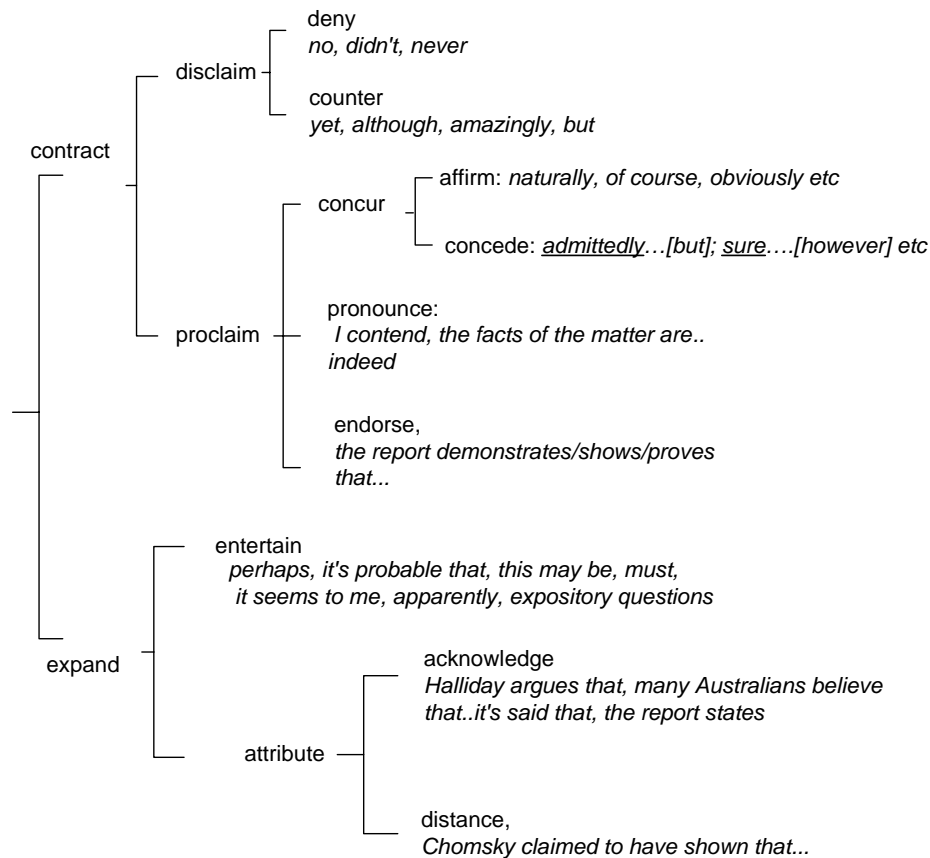
Figure 2: A more detailed engagement system in the APPRAISAL network (Martin & White 2005: 134).

Heterogloss utterances are classified as those that invite the reader to question the proposition put forward by the writer and those that aim to lay open to scrutiny propositions expressed by other voices. The former aims at 'closing down the space for dialogic alternatives' (Martin & White 2005:140) and is classified as **dialogic contraction**. The latter kind of utterance is labelled as '**dialogic expansion** since they 'open up the space for alternative positions' (Martin & White 2005:140). In academic writing both are represented by some form of reported speech. 'Dialogic contraction' is typically signalled by reporting verbs that are non-evaluative such as 'demonstrates', 'shows', 'manifests', 'reveals', whereas **'Dialogic expansion'** is signalled by the use of reporting verbs such as 'claims', 'argues' etc. Despite the easy generalisation, it must be remembered that just the reporting verb itself is not sufficient grounds to categorise an utterance as one or the other. Grammatical and semantic cues in the text could indicate other meanings and need equal attention.

    Dialogic Expansion is further sub-classified into an authorial voice that 'entertains' or 'attributes' (see Figure 2). When an utterance articulates an opinion with regard to the truth-value of a proposition, Martin & White (2005) propose that the speaker/ writer 'entertains' the **heterogloss** utterance. Usually this is realised by modality expressed through modal adjuncts such as *probably, perhaps, certainly etc* and other rhetorical phrases such as '*I doubt', 'I think'*. The **Attribute** sub-category expresses the writer's attitude to propositions presented by other voices and texts. Within this category Martin & White (2005) see two options: **acknowledge** and **distance**. A writer may frame another source in such a way that they appear to merely acknowledge a proposition rather than align themselves to the proposition expressed

by the cited author. This might signal to the reader that the writer has chosen a less resistant stance to the proposition. Evaluative reporting verbs like 'argue' can be used to signal this rhetorical move. On the other hand, a writer may choose to distance himself/herself from the proposition or attitude expressed by the quoted author by using reporting verbs like 'claim'. This results in rhetorical aloofness referred to as 'distance' in the network.

      Dialogic contraction refers to an instance of textual engagement where a speaker or writer can either disclaim a position or proclaim it. Complete denial is articulated as a negative response to a proposition. Another common way of responding to the propositions of others is that of **countering.** Countering a proposition generally involves concession markers such as, 'yet', 'although' and so on. **Dialogic contraction** in utterances that overtly and strongly agree with a proposition from another source represents a relationship referred to in the network as 'proclaim'. Under this category, there are three subcategories: **concur**, **pronounce** and **endorse**. In the act of **concurring,** writers and speakers completely agree with the message or register a partial agreement. In the first case, to indicate concurrence, the speaker/ writer has the option of complete affirmation of the message or may grant only partial agreement. Affirmation is generally signalled by adjuncts such as 'obviously' and 'of course' which avow or strongly assert the truth of the message and hint at shared knowledge. On the other hand, the agreement may be presented as a reluctant acknowledgement. Textually this is indicated by the use of concessives such as, *admittedly, however* etc. which signals a stance that concedes. The sub-category of **proclaim** is further broken down into **pronounce** and **endorse**. Authorial emphases that combine a declaration like 'contend' along with the use of intensifiers such as *really, indeed* etc flag explicit 'intervention' (Martin & White 2005:173) in a text and signal an intertextual stance reflecting pronouncement. Lexico-grammatical cues that suggest that a proposition is valid and correct are referred to as **endorsement** (see Figure 2). **Endorsement** is generally signalled by less evaluative reporting verbs such as 'shows', or 'indicates'.

      Hyland's (1999) model of reporting verbs share some similarities with the ENGAGEMENT dimension of the APPRAISAL network. Hyland too maintains that the nature and quality of reporting verbs signal to the reader the degree of the writer's commitment to the message reported. For example, when a message is reported as true, a denotative reporting verbs such as *acknowledge, point out, establish* is used. Non-factive attitude to report propositions/message is indicated through the use of reporting verbs such as *argue, exaggerate, ignore, claim* etc. Reporting verbs may seem insignificant, but are deployed carefully by academic writers to indicate textual engagement and authorial commitment to the message encoded.

4   The study

The study draws on two types of data: texts collected from consenting students and a series of semi-structured interviews with the writers of those texts. Previous research signalled the need to 'learn from our students the kinds of difficulties they (international students) face in their Western academic institutions' (Currie 1998:14). The present study is a step in that direction to explore the needs of non-native users of English writing a doctoral thesis. In order to do that, the methodology adopted was that of qualitative inquiry. The two participants consented to participate on the condition of anonymity and that only short extracts of their work be used for publication. Therefore, only six sentences are chosen from each extract. Ahmed's

(pseudonym) extract comes from the beginning stages of his literature review. Rowshan's (pseudonym) extract is drawn from an introductory section of his theoretical framework chapter. No changes have been made to the texts. Errors are retained. The references from the two texts are not included in the reference list.

The two texts for analysis were chosen not because they reflect great deficits. They were chosen because they reflect two different kinds of engagement with source texts. Both texts are densely intertextual and represent a significant moment in the argument in the thesis of the two participants. The two texts from the two participants presented here respond to different research questions; draw on different theoretical backgrounds and different textual purposes. Both texts from which the present extract is taken were drafts of a segment of the students' thesis.

4.1   The participants
The participants who volunteered were recruited from a university in Australia. They were both international PhD students who use English as an Additional Language (EAL) and were in the last year of their candidature. Ahmed was close to submitting his thesis and Rowshan was delaying submission because he was still in the process of refining his theoretical framework chapter. He was not satisfied with his present theoretical framework chapter from which his extract is chosen. Both candidates were from the Commerce Faculty and were working in the area of Financial Accounting. Both had adopted a qualitative approach to research design. Both had studied English since middle school. Ahmed had had more years of English language tuitions in Australia than Rowshan. He had accessed every kind of support available on campus to help him deal with the rigours of qualitative research in English. Rowshan was not so fortunate. His was a multidisciplinary study in which he had to draw on readings from subjects (sociology and psychology) that were completely new to him. This took up much of his time. There were also practical limitations imposed by having a big family in Australia on a limited scholarship funding.

4.2   The context of the texts
From the interviews, it emerged that Ahmed's is a complicit reading of the literature in the field. The main argument that he presents in the text is that the accounting systems in developed countries can and should be modified for use in developing countries. In the literature review he argues that accounting systems and their impact on developing countries still need to be researched. On the basis of his literature review, he urges that a lack of a systematic approach to communicating accounting information can negatively affect economic development of a country. He uses his own country as a case study to suggest mechanisms in which models/standards from developed countries could be applied in a different cultural context.

Rowshan's thesis is about trust and factors influencing trust in a business context. His is a resistant view of the theories in his field. He argues that there is no consensus among scholars about the relationship between 'trust' and 'risk' in the literature coming out of western academia. There are major disagreements even at the level of definitions. Given this, models that emerge from these theoretical conflicts may lack coherence even within the western context. Therefore, as models, they are not likely to be viable in other contexts. He also urges that it is necessary to build a theoretical framework that takes into account the realities of specific contexts. For example, in countries where religion is an important factor, trust in business invariably involves serious consideration of religion as a factor influencing trust. Thus, much of his argument is built on refuting the robustness of western models.

4.3   The texts

The following analysis explores only the ENGAGEMENT element of the extracts. For the sake of convenience, the ENGAGEMENT dimension of each text will be analysed separately and then brought together in the discussion section. All ENGAGEMENT features are marked in italics. The labelling of those features is also in italics. ATTITUDE and GRADUATION in the texts are not indicated or analysed given the limited scope of the paper.

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1. *No one can deny* (*Heterogloss: Dialogic Contraction: Concur: Affirm)* that accounting systems have the *potential (Heterogloss: negotiation of information: probability)* to play a very important part in many of the debates and issues affecting economic development (Wallace 1990: p.67).

2. The role of accounting systems in social and economic development has received some attention by accounting researchers since 1960s (Perera 1989). *(Heterogloss: non-integral citation hinting dialogic contraction: endorse)*

3. *Many studies (Heterogloss: Dialogic Contraction: Concur: Affirm)* have shown that accounting has a vital role in all stages of economic and social development in developing countries.

4. This is because the only way for developing countries to improve their situation is to provide relevant information of the right time to decision makers. *(Monogloss)*

5. Successful developmental efforts are dependent, among other things, upon the availability of reliable) economic information for supporting the multitude of decisions that comprise them. *(Monogloss)*

6. Accounting information, as part of an overall information system, could have a significant positive impact on decisions involving planning and programming the economic developments of developing countries. *(Monogloss)*

Figure 3: Ahmed's extract with the ENGAGEMENT elements analysed in italics

Half the propositions made in the text are **heterogloss.** The opening sentence is a strong **heterogloss** one. 'Nobody can deny' is the voice of a surveyor of the literature (perhaps a slightly dramatic one) but a strong endorsement of key studies in the field. 'That is my view' he said when asked about the origin of the strong phrase, 'no one can deny'. By projecting Wallace's pronouncement rather strongly, Ahmed seeks to find endorsement for his own credentials as a researcher who has surveyed the scene and identified key texts to frame his argument through. The combination of the non-integral citation and the very forceful endorsement 'no one can deny' closes all potential dissent. Positioning the instance of forceful concurrence in the Theme position using a projecting clause is a fairly formidable rhetorical move that very effectively contracts dialogic space. The locution acquires an element of being 'epistemically categorical' to use Martin & White's term (2005:171). The net effect is to signal strong allegiance and solidarity. The proposition is perhaps slightly softened by the modality, embedded in the lexis, 'the potential to play'. Without the modality, the proposition would perhaps be overpoweringly categorical.

Sentences 4-6 can be labelled as **monogloss** statements because there are no formal citations that signal the words/propositions as belonging to someone else. **Monongloss** utterances can play complex and opposite roles in a text as suggested by (Martin & White 2005:136). On one hand, they could represent bare assertions or propositions that are taken for granted in the discussion. That is, they could represent agreed upon, uncontested propositions in the discipline. On the other hand, they could form the crux of the discussion, 'presented very much in the spotlight- as very much a

focal point for discussion' (136). Ahmed seems to be attempting to place the **monogloss** utterances against the backdrop of other **heterogloss** ones to create that 'spotlight' effect. Although the sentences 4-6 are not quotations from other sources it does not mean that the utterances are totally free of intertextuality. It is difficult to see the utterance as 'undialogised' or 'dialogistically inert' (Martin & White's terms, 2005:134). It could also be argued that the three **monogloss** sentences are profusely **heterogloss** containing traces of the 'many studies' that have been synthesised in sentence 3.

Another striking feature of Ahmed's text is the dominance of **Dialogic Contraction** in the **heterogloss** locutions. Reporting verbs like 'show' and 'indicate', suggest denotation rather than evaluation (Hunston 2000; Hyland 1999; Thompson & Ye 1991). The rhetorical effect of this is of an endorsement and this impression is further strengthened by the choice of non-integral citation that lends the statements an aura of 'factivity'. Ahmed endorses the external authorial voices in the extract to 'close down the space for dialogic alternatives' (Martin & White 2005:140). There are a number of interesting examples of **Dialogic Contraction** in the extract, for example sentence 3. Here the writer presents, what seems like a synthesis of many studies to introduce a much agreed upon proposition that accounting has a vital role to play in the economic development of developing countries. By grading the studies as 'many studies', not just one or two, the writer attempts to enhance the credibility and the 'factivity' of his claim.

1-2. Noteboom and Six (2003: p.3) *state (Heterogloss: Dialogic expansion: attribute: acknowledge)*

A pervasive notion is that trust is associated with dependence and risk the trustor depends on something or someone (the trustee or object of trust), and *there is a possibility (Heterogloss: negotiation of information: probability*) that expectation or hopes will not be satisfied, and that "things will go wrong". Yet one expects that "things will go all right".

3. Risk is one of the essential factor in trust relationship because it has an interdependent relationship with trust.

4. The literature about trust *shows (Heterogloss: Dialogic Expansion: Proclaim: Endorse)* that *many author have recognised (Heterogloss: Dialogic Contraction: Proclaim: Endorse*) the importance of risk in understanding trust but *there is no agreement (Heterogloss: Dialogic Contraction: Disclaim: Deny realised in the counter expectancy marker 'but'*) on the relationship between trust and risk (eg see Kee and Knox, 1970; Sheppard, Hartwick et al. 1988, Mayer, Davis et al., 1995; Das and Teng, 1998; McKnight, Cummings et al. 1998, McKnight, Choudhary et. al, 2002; Nooteboom and Six, 2003)

5. *Kee & Knox (1970) argue (Heterogloss: Dialogic Expansion: attribute: acknowledge*) that only in risky situations trust is a relevant factor.

6. *Hosmer (1995) and Johnson- George & Swap (1982) argue (Heterogloss: Dialogic expansion: attribute: acknowledge*) that trust essentially) means to take risk and leave oneself vulnerable to the actions of the other party as a trustee

Figure 4: Rowshan's extract with ENGAGEMENT elements analysed in italics

Dividing Rowshan's text into analysable chunks presented a few problems because of the direct quote that does not give itself well to splitting, thus the arrangement in the box. Rowshan invokes prior texts in order to capture the controversy in the field and offer perceptions on the relationship between the key terms: 'trust' and 'risk'. Using a direct quote to introduce the key terms and to indicate the relationship between them

seems like a rhetorically economic way of presenting the main proposition. However, it could even been seen as a way of abdicating responsibility for the proposition. The quote itself is intensely intertextual containing references to 'the literature', and scare quotes, 'things will go wrong' and 'things will go right'. It also contains an example of a **heterogloss** negotiation of information type of **Engagement.** The **heterogloss** statement within the **heterogloss** statement creates an impression of multiple textual engagements. The citing author, Rowshan makes it transparent that the attitude in the message is not his own but can be attributed to the quoted authors, Noteboom and Six. Yet, in using the integral citation in a direct quote form, Rowhsan manages to lay claim to some of the refracted authority of the quoted authors. The quotation establishes the general trajectory of the paragraph and begins to articulate the relationship between trust and risk.

The third sentence is the only **Monogloss** statement in the extract in that it does not manifestly cue other voices in the form of quotation marks The sentence contains only a small trace of authorial intervention in the form of the adjective 'essential' and could be read as the writer's summary of the controversy in the literature relating to trust and risk in a business environment. Rowshan asserts a very non-controversial proposition in a slightly ambiguous way. His statement is completely bereft of any of the textual drama of the direct quote in the previous sentence. It is not clear whether 'essential' is Rowshan's interpretation of the text or a shadow of Noteboom and Six's attitude that filters through.

In the fourth sentence, a synthesis of the different voices in the field is offered. The invocation of multiple authorial voices works as a chorus and the non-integral citation lends support to Rowshan's claim. With the help of non-evaluative reporting verbs 'shows' and 'have recognised', Rowshan lodges the statement as a fact and endorses the message. The lack of consensus becomes the basis for Rowshan's appeal for research into this field of study. From the interview, it appeared that Rowshan was taking a resistant view of the literature. He planned to outline the flaws in relationships set up between 'trust' and 'risk' in the literature he was reading in English. It is on the basis of this flaw that he would propose another model to envisage the relationship between the two key words. In order to do that, he marshals other quotations to support his claim that there is no agreement among the scholars. Each integrated source presents a different facet of 'trust' and its relationship with 'risk'. However, the reader might find that there is little evaluation or interpersonal message on the literature that comes from Rowshan himself.

5   Discussion of Engagement in Ahmed's and Rowshan's texts using APPRAISAL theory

Superficially both texts seem to fulfil the 'adequacy condition' that Hyland (2000:13) argues is fundamental to writing in a discipline. They do this by referring to what seems to be key texts in their fields. However, it is difficult to gauge this without having access to the knowledge in the discipline area. As far as the 'acceptance conditions' go, Ahmed appears to have used the textual voice effectively and created a balance between authority and space for his research slightly better than Rowshan. Ahmed attempts to strategically establish authority and credibility by aligning his personal convictions with those of the scholars in his discipline so as to demonstrate an understanding of the disciplinary conventions. The rhetorical strategies he uses show his willingness to be a link in the chain of the community's knowledge building efforts.

Rowshan's textual project on the other hand is a different one. Creating 'acceptability conditions' (Hyland 2000:13) for him may have been harder considering his line of argument that if there is no consensus about the relationship between trust and risk in the literature, the models proposed in the literature are unlikely to be an appropriate model for any other business and cultural contexts. About his text, one could argue that though the quotations do give a sense of the debates in the field, the debates are perhaps not sufficiently scrutinised. The impression that the excerpt gives is that of a list rather than a full critique. However, the text flags a clear line of argument. More engagement with the quoted material and an infusion of his 'own voice' would have been helpful. Rowshan was aware of this, but struggled to engage sufficiently with the source text. His multi-disciplinary thesis required him to be a competent reader in sociology and psychology. As a student of financial accounting, he found it extremely hard to read in those subject areas.

> I couldn't find the meanings of some words even in dictionaries. I had to read something else on the topic to understand what was written. It took me six months to understand what they are talking about in psychology and sociology. How can I have an opinion? (Interview with Rowshan)

The lack of control over the discourse in the new subjects resulted in a reluctance to introduce his 'own' voice in his writing. Limited flexibility with manipulating the voices in his texts was a consequence of this. In fact, his view of his textual struggle was akin to that of Cadman's (1997) student quoted earlier. He even reported extreme anxiety in summarising texts. The following is an extract from an interview with him,

> M: Can you really avoid summarising? If you take a huge theory or if you get a journal article and you find that you need the main idea and not the details, you might need to summarise, so what do you do in that case?

> R: I put the main idea in direct quotes. Otherwise, I take the main idea and paraphrase. I don't like summarising. No one can understand my summaries. (Interview with Rowshan)

Rowshan's struggle is a common one, as supervisors of theses, EAP teachers and academic literacy instructors would recognise. For many doctoral students who undertake to do multidisciplinary work in EAL, the struggle to learn the language and the discursive practices of two or more disciplines pose a problem. Another issue that emerged from the interview was that of critical analysis. Rowshan was aware that he had to write critically, but was unsure of what was acceptable. That citation forms and reporting verbs could be put into the service of evaluating readings and encoding a response to source texts was new to him. He said that he used citations and reporting words randomly without giving much thought to their rhetorical implications.

Ahmed, however, was a beneficiary of many EAP courses and workshops on academic writing. Ahmed's choice of reporting verbs is quite deliberate. He spoke fairly articulately about it in the interview.

> M: When you choose words like 'reporting' (pointing to the word) is this driven, eh, do you think about these words that you use? Or do you use them unconsciously?

> Ahmed: Actually, depends. Sometimes he (the author) 'adds', sometimes he (hesitation) sometimes he 'claims'. Something like… this (pointing to a word in the text). In this case the writer is reporting this

case from his research so I wrote 'report'. Many people do not disagree with a report finding- 'mention' or something like this. But if you say 'argue', then you say that this material is according to this scholar's beliefs or opinions … because some people disagree with the author. Then you have an argument about it if your reader interprets it differently. (Interview with student)

He was also very aware that even his 'own' opinions were not entirely his own. He acknowledged traces in his words that came from his supervisor, from discussions with friends and academic literacy advisors. He even questioned how words could be considered 'one's own'. His exchange resonates with Bakthin's pronouncement:

Any utterance, when it is studied in greater depth under the concrete conditions of speech communication, reveals to us many half-concealed or completely concealed words of others with varying degrees of foreignness …The utterance proves to be a very complex and multiplanar phenomenon if considered not in isolation and with respect to its author (speaker) only, but as a link in the chain of speech communication … (Bakhtin 1986:93)

No utterance can be perceived as totally monoglossic. The writer may consciously or unconsciously distil various accents and words from a variety of sources that may be identifiable as belonging to a particular set of texts but the exact origins may remain invisible to the writer or reader. Any utterance then is a 'link in the chain' of a community's discursive practice as the quote from Bakhtin seems to suggest. Thus, however one interprets the 'monoglossic' statements discussed here, it is evident that a writer does not simply state his position but invites the reader, to quote Martin & White (2005:128) 'to share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing' against the backdrop of other voices in the discipline. An appreciation of this is easier when one is working in the familiar environment of one's discipline. Ahmed felt fairly secure and could reflect on the 'ownness' and 'otherness' of his words. Rowshan reported that as a barrier. Becoming aware of the disciplinary discourses in multiple fields in a short space of the doctoral candidature can present problems, he suggested.

Thus, what emerged from the study was that the development of voice is difficult when the subject area is unfamiliar. In order to help students respond to unfamiliar texts, heuristics could be developed that will encourage student writers to engage effectively with texts not only as writers but as readers as well. Also, explicit teaching of the Interpersonal aspects of reporting verbs is necessary to encode engagement with other voices. It is possible that it is an overlooked aspect of academic writing and could contribute to the construction of better arguments.

6   Conclusion and teaching implications

The paper sought to present the experiences of two international students using EAL in engaging with other texts in the process of preparing to make original contributions to their discipline. Despite the shortness of the extracts examined, it is evident that doctoral students align themselves in different ways to the texts they read. Ahmed's was a complicit reading of the literature in his field. He tended to strongly merge his voice with those of the scholars in his discipline to make a plea for a space for his research. Rowshan, too, drew on the accumulated wisdom of scholars in the discipline, but his rhetorical project was to point out to the lack of consensus. His is a

more resistant reading of the texts in his discipline. On the basis of his literature review, he argued that there was little consensus about the relationship between the key terms 'trust' and 'risk', therefore, he wanted to initiate a radical rethink in terms of what 'trust' and 'risk' could mean in another cultural contexts and argued for the need of an other model to imagine it.

The paper limited itself to the analysis of ENGAGEMENT. It did not investigate the ATTITUDE or GRADUATION dimensions of the texts. Even on the basis of this limited analysis, it could be suggested that heuristics and pedagogic programs that go beyond urging transparency with regard to a writer's 'owness' and 'otherness' may be useful in training doctoral students in integrating academic reading into academic writing. While some students are likely to be aware of the rhetorical precision and the subtle evaluative nuances of a seemingly insignificant lexico-syntactic resource like reporting verb, others may benefit from explicit teaching of the these little words that carry the potential for interpersonal and evaluative meaning because they contribute towards the building of an argument.

The APPRAISAL taxonomy/system potentially lends itself as a tool to be adapted for analysis of varying degrees of delicacy and depth. The metalanguage of the system can seem daunting but could be modified and harnessed to develop instruments or tools that facilitate a dialogic pedagogy that incorporates the rich complexities of textual engagement and voice.

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The language of the heart and breath: bridging strata, bridging discourses of INFORMATION systems.

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1   Introduction

The systemic functional linguistic (hereafter SFL) tradition may be characterised with respect to two aspects of its approach and intellectual outlook. Firstly, the development of SFL has throughout its history been with a view to integrating the various aspects of the theoretical description, as they have emerged, into a holistic model, identifying the key underlying dimensions by which such a synthesis may be achieved (Halliday 1961; 2003; Matthiessen, 2007)[1]. Secondly (and relatedly), SFL has been since its early formulations - indeed, going back to its origins in Firth's Malinowski-inspired ideas about language (Firth 1968b) - a theory designed such as to be open to input from other theoretical, intellectual and indeed disciplinary traditions (Halliday 1974; 1977): it has always had an inbuilt potentiality for the building of bridges between academic domains. But bridges enable traffic in both directions: SFL has also had of course contributions to make to the academic and intellectual world outside of its own disciplinary and theoretical domain.

These considerations are certainly relevant to the field of intonation research. Studies of intonation over the last few decades have tended to be motivated and constrained by the orientation of the investigation, particularly in terms of stratal location. For example, in one type of approach the focus has been on patterns at the phonetic and phonological strata, developing substantial descriptions of phonetic phenomena and their patterning, but leaving questions of grammar, semantics and context, methodologically, as an optional subsequent and secondary step (cf for example Crystal (1969)[2], and the instrumental and Autosegmental-Metrical (hereafter 'A-M') traditions[3]). This can be contrasted with the approach from 'above' of the theoretical tradition within which Brazil, for example (Brazil 1975; 1981), and Halliday worked, which sees intonation in terms of its use in discourse and grammar but as a consequence can tend to simplify or minimise the description at the 'lower' strata[4]. In this paper I show how the systemic functional linguistic (SFL) model of intonation (Halliday 1963a&b/2005, 1967; El-Menoufy 1969; Halliday and Greaves forthcoming) not only provides a framework for relating the different views of intonation systems and their use but also acts thus as a bridge between the theoretical and analytical discourses of different traditions within this area of

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1 cf Butt (2001: 1818):

> Over his extended debate with all areas of linguistics, Halliday has taken up the major questions of the subject and sought integrating proposals, a unifying theory which equips both linguistics and language consumers for resolving the problems that they experience at their different levels of specialisation.

2 For Crystal (1969: 18), 'All that emphasizing a formal, as opposed to a 'semantic' or 'notional' approach to description implies is that, procedurally, considerations of meaning...do not enter in until a stable basis of formerly defined features has been determined.' In intonation studies the emphasis on 'formal' features (as with the instrumental approach) implicates a stratally 'bottom up' approach, prioritising phonetic description.

3 For a comprehensive discussion of intonation study up until the late 1960s cf Crystal (1969); for an equally impressive survey of work up until the late 1980s, cf Tench (1990); for a review of work within the instrumental and A-M traditions, cf Ladd (1996).

4 but cf Brazil et al (1980: 42--44) and (Halliday and Greaves, forthcoming) for examples of a descriptive focus at the phonetic stratum.

linguistics, enabling one to draw upon the strengths of different approaches while transcending their limitations.

I will do this through a consideration of the intonational systems of the textual metafunction, here called collectively INFORMATION systems[5]: INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION (hereafter ID) and INFORMATION FOCUS[6] (hereafter 'IF'); and as part of a proposal for two new grammatical systems, which I call INFORMATION GROUPING and INFORMATION PROMINENCE. These latter grammatical systems are realised through the phonological systems of RHYTHM (the division into feet) and SALIENCE (the instantiation of an Ictus, or 'beat', 'accent', 'stress'[7]), respectively. I will show the way in which the two sets of systems work together to 'create discourse: text that "hangs together", with itself and with its context of situation' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 87), making successive instantial configurations of interpersonal and ideational meanings relevant both to their prior textual, and situational contexts.

2   INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION and INFORMATION FOCUS

2.1   *INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION*

Throughout the last century or so studies of intonation have consistently recognised the existence of what has been variously referred to as the 'breath group' (Sweet 1877: 86; Jones 1937: 58; Lieberman 1967), 'phonemic phrase' (Lieberman 1967), 'sense group' (Armstrong and Ward 1926; Schubiger 1958: 9; O'Connor and Arnold 1961: 3), 'tone group' (Jassem 1952, Halliday 1963a/2005), or 'rhythm group' (Van Leeuwen 1982, 1992). In most cases the characterisation of this phenomenon is in terms of the phonological description, the tone group being usually seen as the site of a variety of phonological phenomena[8], although as the term 'sense group' implies semantic considerations have been implicated. According to Brazil (1975: 4), 'It is common practice to regard a speaker's option to break up a stretch of language into a greater or smaller number of tone groups as having linguistic significance in itself'; although this tends to be with respect to limited cases, for example in making the distinction between defining/non-defining relative clauses, or in distinguishing clause and group complexes as in the following example taken from (Halliday 1963a/2005: 271)[9]:

```
// he washed // and brushed his hair//
// he washed and brushed his hair //
```

However, for Brazil himself, whose approach was directed towards incorporating intonational phenomena into a description of discourse semantics, the division into tone groups is seen as (1975: 5) 'a simple reflex of successive choices' from choices within the domain of the tone group. He sees Halliday's proposal for the independent system of TONALITY as (1975: 5) 'a consequence of taking a grammatical view of intonation'. Nevertheless, Van Leeuwen (1992: 231) has shown how what he calls the systems of ACCENT and JUNCTURE function as independent, meaning-bearing phonological resources, adding support for Halliday's theory of tonality despite disagreeing with Halliday's interpretation of the phenomenon:

> I will argue that the two most fundamental functions of intonation in English, often
> seen as realized by 'tone of voice', are in fact realized by rhythm: ACCENT, which
> attracts the listener's attention to the salient syllable in a rhythmic foot, and

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5 The term 'INFORMATION' is used here as an abbreviation for all the systems termed 'INFORMATION…'.

6 better known in its syntagmatic form as 'Given-New', a term first used in Halliday (1963b: 274)).

7 There is considerable terminological inconsistency in this area, or as Ladd (1996: 286n.) put it, 'The terminology in the general area of "accent" is really a mess'.

8 Brazil (1975: 3): 'The provision of a formal definition has usually been related, in the literature, to the task of determining its constituents'.

9 Double forward slash represents a tone group boundary.

JUNCTURE, which segments speech into RHYTHM GROUPS…In other words, it is my view that the notion of 'rhythm group' should replace the notion of tone group, and that it is only superimposed on the basic rhythmic structure that other systems, realized by 'tone of voice', can do their work of signaling the 'given' and the 'new'

For Van Leeuwen (1992: 235) 'JUNCTURE segments 'a group of words which belongs together, semantically and pragmatically, a group of words intended as one "move in the speech act" (Halliday 1967: 30)'· and is used for specific social purposes, for example in radio announcing and advertising to increase the level of audience attention.

For Halliday, the system of ID, realised through TONALITY, forms part of the grammatical description of English. This decision to treat tone group division as realising a grammatical system is as much a theoretical one deriving from the general principles of Halliday's systemic functional theory (or 'scale and category grammar', Halliday 1961, as it was originally known) as from a consideration of the phenomenon itself. In the concept which eventually evolved into the stratification dimension as part an explicit account of the principles underlying Halliday's earlier description, one must account for any phenomenon capable of creating meaningful distinctions in discourse at all levels of the theory[10], including grammar[11].

Despite its grammatical status in the theory, Halliday's and the SFL community's treatment and use of ID are fairly cursory compared to that of the assignment of 'Given-New' structure, although the phonological and grammatical descriptions are elaborated (cf 1963b/2005: 268-273). This may be because, as Halliday points out (2005: 248-249):

The three systems, tonality, tonicity and tone, play different roles in English grammar. But in any given utterance they are of course operating in interaction with one another, so that we cannot always give a clear account of the meaning of a particular selection in one system in isolation from the others.

That is, the distribution of clausal information into information units, aside from consideration of the grammatical subsystems described by Halliday, can be at least potentially (Halliday 1963a/2005: 251) 'regarded as the distribution of "information points"'[12], as Brazil points out. Yet it is also the case that (Halliday 1963a/2005: 252) 'the choice of how many tone groups…goes a long way towards determining the choice of how many tonics, and where they are located': that is, either TONALITY and TONICITY (or, rather, ID and IF) can be the dominant determining system. There are certainly interesting avenues for research into the use of ID, in addition to Halliday's early grammatical description.

For example, the 'chunking' of clausal discourse into more than one information unit may ascribe additional interpersonal significance (via the choice KEY, realised through tone choice) to a constituent of a clause, thus acting as a sort of interpersonal 'shorthand', suggesting quasi-'statements' that may not, in terms of MOOD grammar, be considered as such. One way to illustrate the semiotic potential of ID is to interpret an orthographic transcript, without punctuation or other transcription conventions, into the spoken mode. The following is taken from a televised current affairs show[13], an interview between senior journalist Maxine McKew and a member of the public, Christine Rau, whose mentally ill sister Cornelia was mistakenly and illegally detained by the Government's immigration department, DIMIA[14] (this text is hereafter referred to as 'MR'). They are discussing the findings of a

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10 Cf Firth (1968a: 19): 'The linguist must be clearly aware of the levels at which he is making his abstractions and statements…'

11 Cf Halliday's famous claim, that (2005: 238) 'all contrast in meaning can be stated either in grammar or in lexis'.

12 A term taken from Hultzen (1959).

13 From the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's Lateline programme (broadcast 03/06/2005: http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2005/s1384384.htm).

14 Acronym for 'Department of Immigration Australia'.

legal report on the incident produced for Rau by the Newcastle Legal Centre. This is McKew's opening Question-move of the interview interaction:

```
M:     This latest revelation that in fact as far back as
November of last year DIMIA started to think that your sister
was Australian how's this gone down with your family
```

McKew is clearly packaging a lot of background information into this move: the entire utterance is in fact a single clause with preposed Subject - from 'This…Australian' - but having two downranked clauses as part of a paratactic elaboration of the nominal Head 'This latest revelation'. It is a complex construction: so how does McKew manage the flow of clausal information? Below is the tonality analysis, which can be taken to represent the grammatical choices in ID[15]:

```
//1 ^ this / latest reve- / lation that in //1 fact as / far
back as no- */ vember of last //1 year //4 dimia //4 */ started
to / think that in //1+ fact your / sister was au- */ stralian
//5 how's */ this gone down with your / family //
```

It is undeniable both that to some extent at least the selections in ID are, if not a result, then at least motivated by or correlated with the internal composition of the clause; and by the selections in Information Focus - certain items are highlighted by McKew as deserving of special attention, thus necessitating more information units. But one can also see that across the seven information units there is as it were a 'prosody' of intensified Focus: it is as though the speaker has, for a period, increased the 'magnification' of her (and her audience's) attention upon the ideational and interpersonal flow of meaning. They also include, as mentioned above, 'statements in shorthand': ideational elements such as the preposed Subject 'This latest revelation', and the two units construing the paratactic elaboration of the prepositional phrase 'as far back as November of last year' are construed textually as though they are downranked Declarative mood choices, in that they could have been construed as a series of independent negotiable propositions, but weren't[16].

Furthermore, all of these 'ministatements' are critical to the issue at hand in the interview, and relevant to the actual negotiable proposition being made: the Content Question asking how Rau's family reacted to this information. By packaging all this information as part of a single proposition McKew ostensibly removes these crucial ideational meanings away from the arena of the interpersonal negotiation; but through their construal as separate information units, with their own interpersonal KEY selections, they seem to lend to the proposition itself all the force of conviction that these 'downranked statements' represent[17], as a series of background evidences of the questionable behaviour of DIMIA. ID is clearly playing an independent role here in the construal of meaning, packaging the flow of discourse into a complex but powerful first move in the interaction.

2.2   INFORMATION FOCUS

As shown in the above text analyses, each tone group division is also a selection of Tonic; so each selection in ID is also a selection in IF. There is not the space here to go into a discussion of the history of study of the phonological phenomenon known variously as the 'nucleus' (Palmer 1922; Schubiger 1958) 'tonic' (Halliday 1963a/2005: 241), 'accent' (Bolinger 1972b: 21), 'sentence stress' (Schubiger

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15 For a discussion of the relations of the information unit and tone group, as well as for a detailed discussion of the theory and transcription system employed and adapted here cf (Halliday 1967). A double forward slash represents a tone group boundary; a single slash a foot; the caret ^ a silent Ictus; in tone groups of more than one foot, the asterix * that the following foot contains the Tonic; the number represents the tone choice - despite space not permitting a discussion of their use, they are referred to in places.

16 The choice in KEY is criterial here: the two tone 4 choices are choices not from the interpersonal KEY but the logical STATUS system (cf Halliday and Greaves forthc), and therefore fall outside the scope of this observation.

17 Perhaps another form of Graduation: Force of evoked negative Appraisal (Martin 2006)

1958, Ladd 1996), or 'nuclear accent' (Ladd 1996[18]), or its linguistic role. Much of what was said about TONALITY applies here also: for example, according to Crystal (1969: 264) 'the grammatical functions of tonicity are very much in the minority'; but again, he is talking here about 'the number of cases of grammatically conditioned tonicity', suggesting a different idea of grammar from Halliday's[19]. However, the phenomenon has been more widely treated in terms of its role in creating text than ID by scholars within and outside of the SFL tradition, such as Halliday (1976), Chafe (1974), Brown (1983), Fries (1992) and Bowcher (1999; 2004). As Halliday's significant contribution to the understanding of this phenomenon is widely acknowledged[20] and employed[21], in particular the structural description of 'Given-New', I will briefly focus on the grammatical function of the system of TONICITY within the SFL model.

Within an information unit the last content item in an information unit is, in the unmarked case, made Focus/New[22], according to the syntagmatic 'given-new' structure. Discussions of New are usually from the syntagmatic perspective – ie with respect to the structural relations of Given-New: both within the clause; and, in complementarity with Theme progression (Fries 1992), in terms of the global structuring of a text ('Method of Development'), as the progression of New (or, in Fries' terms, in written text, the 'N-Rheme'), realising the semantic system Martin calls 'Point' (cf Martin 1992: 448-460). The syntagmatic view is primarily suited to the study of prototypical (prepared) written monologic text, in terms of the different Theme-Rheme structures available: in a prepared monologue the global text structure can be controlled. However, it is possible to consider the selection of New in paradigmatic terms also[23]. In spontaneous spoken dialogic, the choice of Focus is a resource for the co-creation of text, and thus for negotiation of the direction the discursive interaction takes.

In the analysis of the text in the previous section, it was seen that the division into information units resulted in, or was motivated by, several selections in IF, which draw attention to certain key elements of the clausal information, adding these to be taken into account in answering the actual predication of the Question: 'revelation'; 'November'; 'year'; 'DIMIA'; 'started'; 'Australian'; and 'this' (= 'This latest revelation…Australian'). There are two marked New choices: 'started'; and 'this'. The functional motivation of the choice of marked Focus on the inceptive process 'started' is clear enough: McKew is drawing attention to the inceptive element of the complex mental process of cognition, this textualisation of the temporal phase adding to the marked ID on the two nominal heads of the (marked Theme) Circumstance of Temporal Location which precedes it.

The second use of marked Focus is more complex. In making the anaphoric determiner 'this' the culmination of New, McKew makes all the preceding information, which is the referent for 'this',

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18 Ladd departs from the canonical A-M view in acknowledging the existence of a pitch accent with a (1996: 211) 'special status' within the tone group, corresponding to Halliday's Tonic. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the tone group might otherwise be identified in any principled way within this approach.

19 This common conception of grammar is encapsulated by Bolinger (1972a: 11), writing 'How does intonation relate to grammar?': the relation is clearly not one of realisation.

20 cf for example, Brown and Yule's (1983: 153) assessment of (Halliday 1967b) as an 'extremely influential article' in this area.

21 Although aspects of Halliday's interpretation, particularly with respect to the choice and scope of the terms 'given' and 'new', are strongly and widely contested.

22 The appropriateness of this term to the semantic function of the Tonic has been widely debated (cf Brown 1983 for a discussion). I will not enter into this debate here, except to make reference to Firth's comments 'that in linguistics language is turned back on itself' (Firth 1957: 121), and also to Halliday's observations on the 'ineffability of grammatical categories' (Halliday 1988). One related issue is that the extent of the domain over which the New extends is indeterminate (cf Martin 1992: 450-451). One could therefore propose to refer to New as 'Focus': Focus merely suggests that the lexical element which carries the Tonic has a grammatical function, and that this particular element thus forms the focus of the domain of that grammatical function. However, this terms misses the significance of syntagmatic aspect – the structural relations of Given-New complementary to those of Theme-Rheme. I employ both terms here as being interchangeable, although there is an axial complementarity between the two.

23 Cf Bowcher (1999; 2004).

also a part of this New. However, in a sense the complex nominal Head 'This latest revelation… Australian' is also Theme, if one includes it as part of the single complex clause, being the first experiential item in that clause. If one considers the preposed Subject not to be part of the clause then the Theme is in fact the Wh-interrogative adjunct 'How'. It seems that McKew is having two bites of the Thematic cherry; while also making the (preposed) Theme to be New information. Meanwhile, the post-Focal information – the Material/metaphorically Mental process of emotion plus Senser/Goal 'gone down with your family' (congruently, 'affected your family') – is treated as an assumed context by the speaker (perhaps to suggest solidarity through the assumption of an 'insider's' status). As a strategy for an opening move in the interview, this complex utterance makes the circumstances surrounding DIMIA's treatment of Rau's sister both departure and destination point; while also making her family's reaction both Theme ('How') and (marked) Given. McKew has set the textual parameters of the interactive text and the 'path through the field'[24], to which Rau thereafter adheres closely, thus co-realising a collaborative type of interaction.

In another Lateline interview, this time between interviewer Tony Jones and the (former) Attorney General Phillip Ruddock[25], we can see how the assignment of Focus and the resultant 'navigation' of the textual interaction actually becomes a point of contention, realising an adversarial type of interview (cf Bell and Van Leeuwen 1994). The following text contains the opening exchanges, transcribed for intonation:

```
J:    //4 ^ are / you at all con- / cerned by the / allegations
that a / network of / chinese */ spies has been //1_ operating
in this */ country //

R:    //4_ ^ well I'm / always con-  / cerned about er - about
alle- */ gations but er //1 ^ one / has to es- */ tablish //-3
whether or */ not ah they are //4 real or i- */ magined //1 umm
they / are / just as you have */ asserted at //4 this stage
alle- // gations //
```

Jones makes his first move with a Polar Question clause over two information units, which gives him the opportunity to make two items of information Focus, ('Chinese) spies' and ('this) country'. However, in doing so Jones downranks what would have more congruently been the first point of Focus[26], the Phenomenon 'allegations', to the textual status of Prominent (cf discussion of this term in Section 3 below): it is not the acknowledgement of the status of the claims as allegations (which is a legal requirement for the public broadcaster) that is given the Focus, but what would have been the 'nub' (Subject) of the downranked clause were it ranking, and the Head of the Circumstance locating its downranked event.

Ruddock, however, has different ideas about the 'point' of this interaction: he picks up on the downranked Phenomenon, 'allegations', making this his point of Focus, and thereafter using this textual shift in direction as the basis for a series of information units focussing on the status of the claims as allegations. In one sense this series of Moves are, in Eggins and Slade's (1997) terms, Responses, answering the question asked by Jones; but are in another sense Rejoinders, in that Ruddock focuses on the nature of the claims rather than his own lack or level of concern about these claims; and rather than talking about a 'network of Chinese spies operating in this country', which was the point of Jones' question, he prefers to discuss the nature of this 'assertion' (which is in fact downranked, and thus not an assertion!). Of course, by downranking the clause 'that a network…country' Jones has already moved it away from the realm of interpersonal negotiability: his Polar Question is, ostensibly at least, designed to initiate a debate about Ruddock's attitude towards the

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24 'field' here being used in its technical SFL sense, a parameter of context.
25 Broadcast: 08/06/2005: http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2005/s1387904.htm
26 being the Head of the following postmodifying downranked clause.

claim (which does in fact form the fulcrum of the ensuing debate). The point is that textually, in terms of the system of IF, Jones focuses not on the Phenomenon – the 'allegations' - but on the content of the allegations themselves[27]; and that Ruddock chooses to ignore this assignment of textual Focus and chart his own 'path through the field' of foreign affairs, espionage and immigration, by first addressing the actual proposition (using the tone 4_ Reserved KEY), but then addressing the ideational meaning of the Adjunct rather than that of the Mood block.

　　　　Having accomplished this textual diversion, he then proceeds to instantiate a pathway for the text that is in fact congruent to the initial proposition and Theme, his interest in the matter:

```
R:    //13 ^ the / difficulty for */ me in relation to these */
matters is //1 I can't //4 talk about on- */ going //3 ^ er ac-
*/ tivities in which our se- / curity agencies are in- */
volved in it //4 compromises them //…
```

Thematising himself, Ruddock now moves the text into the field of professional roles and propriety. It is a capitulation of sorts to Jones' initial proposition (cf Bell and Van Leeuwen 1994 on the collaborative aspect of political interviews), but one negotiated on his own terms, via his own textual path (having, in the context of the global interview interaction, made the status of the claims 'macro-Theme' (Martin 1992), rather than his concern about them). Ruddock has successfully changed the textual course of the interview, and thus asserted some degree of autonomy in the interview dialogue. This sort of negotiation is characteristic of this text and its type, the adversarial interview. The MR interview follows a different textual pattern, that of a 'conversation' type of interview (cf Bell and Van Leeuwen 1994): Rau's response is very much coherent to the parameters of and direction through the field set up (textually) by McKew:

```
R:    // well to / us it's / rather ex- */ traordinary be- //4
cause it's / lifted the / level of what we */ previously /
thought was //4 mere in- */ competence //1 up another */ notch
where you //5 think that per- / haps there / has been some sort
of / wilful i- */ nertia be- //4 cause / if there had been a /
reasonable su- / spicion that / she was an au- / stralian /
resident or */ citizen then h - //1_ why on earth did they /
keep her in de- */ tention for //1 ten / whole */ weeks //…
```

Rau's reply addresses the elements of McKew's Question which were made Focii – the details regarding the timeframe of DIMIA's suspicions; but also responds collaboratively to the general tenor of the opening move which, as discussed above, implicitly suggests the negative appraisal which Rau makes explicit in her reply.

　　　　Thus we can see in the choices from the system of IF in a spontaneous spoken dialogue the way in which interactants manage the co-creation of text, collaboratively or adversarily. In a written text a writer 'ties' an information unit to whatever co-/context s/he chooses: the potential is only that of relevance to the context, which is the local context constructed by the writer through the text. In a dialogic interaction this system is a site where the negotiation of the path through the field of discourse is construed. Successive instantiations must remain coherent to the context; but the course may be changed by either participant, dependent upon their skill with the system of IF.

　　　　If Themes are the points of departure, then the News/Focii can be seen as the destination points. A useful metaphor might therefore be that of a journey, or perhaps an extended holiday tour through a region: there are a series of departure points or bases, places/towns/cities (Themes) where the visitor/s will stay for one or several days, and from each of which one or several trips will be made out to various destinations (Focii). In a monologue, one travels alone, planning/choosing one's journey as

---

one pleases. In dialogue, there are travelling companions: the choice of where to go must be negotiated. And a region (field) will change its appearance depending on the (co-constructed) path taken.

3   INFORMATION GROUPING and INFORMATION PROMINENCE

Throughout the spoken texts of the English language there is a pulse that may be likened to that of a heartbeat. This pulse, variously described by most authors studying prosodic phonological phenomena of the English language, as 'stress', 'prominence', 'accent', 'pitch accent' etc, has been described by Halliday (1963a/2005), drawing upon work by Abercrombie (1964), as the Ictus, within and defining the domain of the phonological unit called the foot, and forming the basis of what is uniformly termed 'rhythm'. Although the phonological systems and structure of the foot have been described in the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework, the systems of grammar which they realise have not.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 15) claim that 'the rhythm group, or foot, is largely a timing unit (it has one of two specific functions in the grammar, but its domain of operation is principally phonological)'. Halliday (1963b/2005: 274) suggests one such function:

> 'The grammatical meaning of rhythm requires a separate study; as an instance of it might be cited the contrast between // ^ the / question / which he */ asked is // surely ir- */ relevant // (= 'the question "which did he ask?"') and // ^ the / question which he */ asked is // surely ir- */ relevant // (= 'the question that he asked')'.

However, one can consider this phenomenon in the light of stratal theory: if there is a phonological organisation of sound having a capacity for making distinctions in meaning then surely that in itself justifies a description at all strata within the SFL model[28]. Part of the problem here, as with elsewhere in the theory of the textual metafunction, may be the difficulty of accounting for INFORMATION systems in systemic terms, because of the second-order nature of these semiotic resources (Matthiessen 1992), mapping as they do, potentially, onto any constituent of the clausal discourse.

Other traditions of intonation study have recognised the importance of the assignment of prominence (although of course under the usual variety of names) and the concomitant rhythms which occur in spoken language, and many have troubled to account for these in terms of meaning. For Brazil, looking from a discourse level perspective, (Brazil 1978:55) the system he calls 'Prominence'[29] 'represents the speaker's assessment of the information load carried by the elements of his discourse…a signal that the word must be attended to'. For the Autosegmental-Metrical tradition, working from 'below' in stratal terms, the 'pitch accent', rather than the nucleus of a tone group (which for many in this tradition is not recognised) is the main site of interacting phonological systems, and scholars such as Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg (1990: 286) have attempted detailed descriptions of their significance:

> Pitch accent conveys information about the status of the individual discourse referents, modifiers, predicates and relationships specified by the lexical items with which the accents are associated…Accenting or deaccenting of items in general appears associated with S's desire to indicate the relative salience of accented items in the discourse. The type of accent chosen conveys other sorts of information status.

However, it is to Van Leeuwen that we owe the most detailed and stratally-integrated account of the use of this resource, which he calls ACCENT. Although, as mentioned earlier, Van Leeuwen's description differs in important ways from Halliday's, he works within the broad conceptual framework

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28 Cf again Firth (1968a: 24): 'The abstractions or schematic constructs set up are made at a series of distinct mutually complementary levels'.

29 cf O'Connor and Arnold (1961) for an early and similar use of the term.

of SFL and is thus enabled to relate the phonological description to the higher level strata, in particular semantics and context, and instance to text-type (Van Leeuwen 1992: 233):

> Studying what speakers accent can be a way of 'reading the mind' of the social institutions within which their speech is located. Thus, if several announcers, in reading the same radio commercial, accent a personal pronoun:
>
> > [[if / *you're* looking //] [for a / *top* quality/ *used* / *car* //
>
> we can interpret this 'exception' to the rule that only content words receive an accent as the realization of a strategy of the social institution of advertising – a strategy of placing emphasis on the 'personal' nature of what is in fact one of the most impersonal and distant forms of communication the world has known, a strategy of making the listeners believe that they are personally addressed…

I propose to incorporate these understandings into the current SFL theory of intonational systems, by adding two systems at the rank below ID and IF: INFORMATION GROUPING (hereafter 'IG') and INFORMATION PROMINENCE ('IP'); with the Ictus realising a Prominent, a unit at the rank below Focus. As with ID and IF, it is not easy to show how each of these systems makes an independent contribution to the meaning of texts; as above, actual instances of text provide a view of these systems at work. In the JR text, I showed how the interviewer downranked a lexical item, 'allegations', that should congruently have been Focus, to the status of Prominent. One instance of the reverse, where an element is raised to the status of marked IP, is Rau's assignment of salience on the logical conjunction 'if':

```
/ if there had been a / reasonable su- / spicion…
```

The elevation in rank can be related, as Van Leeuwen has shown, to the social purpose of the speaker: in this case Rau is presenting the findings of a legal report, and her discourse is patterned with the sort of logical argumentation associated with that field; in this instance, the element realising the logical relation itself is raised to the level of textual attention (as is 'because' in the previous information group). There is also as it were a prosody of prominence highlighting the interpersonal elements of Rau's discourse (in the case of 'has' marked Prominence) which betrays her personal involvement in the issue, reminding us that this is as much a personal narrative as quasi-legal text-type:

```
…where you //5 think that per- / haps there / has been some
sort of / wilful i- */ nertia…
```

In a similar fashion to McKew's first move, these selections make each of the interpersonal elements they make Prominent significant in the construal of the proposition, only at the lower rank: they add interpersonal weight, in this case, not via the additional KEY selections enabled by marked ID, but through marked IG and IP on interpersonal elements. Martin has shown how interpersonal meanings tend to be instantiated prosodically across a text (Martin 2006); an importance aspect of these prosodies must surely be the consideration of their textual status. One can see this phenomenon in the assignment of Prominence in Rau's turn to items such as the two premodifiers 'wilful' and 'rather'. Again, one can see these choices partly in terms of the use of IG, partly IF. But in the final of Rau's information units in the text sample it is clearly the IG system which is dominant, enabling her to 'zoom in' on the evoked negative appraisal of the Circumstance of Temporal Extent:

```
…for //1 ten / whole */ weeks //…
```

However, the repeated assignment of Prominence does not necessarily entail marked IG; nor is it in the use of marked Prominence or Grouping only that the analyst may find semiotic phenomena worthy of investigation. As has been discussed above, the paradigmatic potential of INFORMATION systems involves effectively all elements of clausal discourse; thus, each choice is, to some degree, textually meaningful: 'this' clausal element as Prominent or New, rather than 'that'.

As Van Leeuwen shows, one may characterise a text in terms of its membership of a social institution via these systems. Take, for instance, the following from the 'contest' (Bell and Van Leeuwen 1994) type of interview exchange between Jones and Ruddock:

```
R:    //1 ^ we - look / you're asking / me to offer a */ view //
R:    //4 mmm I //5 am in- //5 deed //5_ yes //
```

It is a critical point in the interview: persistent questioning from Jones provokes Ruddock to offer this comment on the nature of the interview itself, in terms of the roles of the two interactants, 'you' and 'me' (and the false start 'we'), assigning each of these personal pronouns Prominence. Bell and Van Leeuwen have shown how in this 'adversarial' type of interview the interactants take up established social roles, with the interviewer as the 'honest broker' relentlessly pursuing politician on behalf of the viewing public. In these choices in IP Ruddock in a sense draws attention to this aspect of the exchange, its membership of the political interview type: the implication is that Jones has asked Ruddock something beyond his capacity to answer, i.e. outside the scope of his social role. Jones pounces on this, responding with irony by drawing additional attention to his affirmation of Ruddock's observation through marked ID, and a prosody of interpersonal commitment through a series of Committed KEY selections on positive polar items. The meaning is clear: Jones asserts that it is indeed his role to seek (one the public's behalf) a view from the public servant. Ruddock's subsequent reply, not shown here, continues his claim that it is not his place to do so. The point is that the exchange both construes and debates social roles in terms of the nature of the type of interaction; and that the course of this debate is crucially managed through the systems of IG and IP, as well as IF and ID: the textual metafunction enables the interpersonal exchange, as earlier I showed it did the negotiation of the orientation to ideational meaning.

4   Conclusion

As with the description of the systems of ID and IF, those of IG and IP are a resource for the linguist, for a variety of tasks. For example, the selections may be tracked across large corpora in terms of their assignment to interpersonal or ideational mapping so that the analyst can build up a picture of what the metafunctional orientation of the text is, or the type of textual form a text takes. This tracking of these textual systems may reveal important shifts within a text: in another text I have analysed, discourse attending a surgical operation, there is a dramatic shift from a textualisation of mostly ideational items relevant to the material action of the operation, to a focus at both ranks of the information unit on interpersonal elements, as the interactants negotiate their respective tenor roles within the context. In the texts I have discussed above, each of the interactants uses these systems to textualise tenor and field settings in the context, according to their own understandings of and construals of that context.

Halliday has discussed how the tasks the linguist brings to the development of the theory will in many ways determine the shape of that theory (Halliday 1964). It is also clear that the nature of the theory and its modelling will both motivate and constrain the type of investigations conducted and their findings (cf also Matthiessen & Nesbitt 1996). From this perspective, the various approaches to intonation phenomena all have valuable contributions to make: as for instance the detailed views from below of the A-M and other instrumental and experimental laboratory traditions of research, and the discourse perspective of Brazil. One important contribution which can be made by those working within the SFL framework, and an area of fertile ground for future research within this tradition, is to consider the findings of research within other traditions from the perspective of the SFL model.

This is perhaps the chief strength of our multidimensional and holistic approach: those working in SFL have always sought to integrate the results of their researches into the overarching framework of strata, metafunction and the other principles of organisation of the model. As a result, SFL is in a good position both to 'poach' ideas from other traditions and relocate them within the multidimensional

framework; as well as to not only identify areas where SFL can make a contribution to other academic domains, but to argue coherently for the value of such contributions. As SFL scholars have found with other translation exercises, the translation from one linguistic metalanguage to another is most effectively managed according to the principles of dimensional cartography. The multistratal approach allows intonation phenomena to be investigated at all levels of description, and so the language and linguistic discourses of the 'breath group' and 'heartbeat' to be related to their use.

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