Telling Media Tales:

the news story as rhetoric

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Abstract

The thesis explores the rhetorical properties of the modern news report. In order to account for the distinctive style of news reporting it extends Systemic Functional Linguistic theories of the interpersonal to develop new analyses of the semantics of attitude, evaluation and inter-subjective positioning. It applies these analyses to identify three distinct interpersonal modes of news reporting style which will be termed journalistic 'voices'. These analyses are used to explicate the rhetorical properties of the voice most typically associated with 'hard news' reporting, to be termed 'reporter voice'.

The thesis also examines the textual structure and genre status of two sub-types of news report, those items grounded in material activity sequences and those in communicative events such as speeches and interviews. Several chapters explore the functional connections between these two media text types and traditional narrative and argument genres. The chapters present the argument that linear, syntagmatic models of text structure of the type developed previously for analysis of, for example, the narrative are unable to account for the functionality of these news reports. An alternative 'orbital' model of textuality is presented by which relationships of specification are seen to operate between a central textual nucleus and dependent satellites.

These various textual features are located in a diachronic context by means of a brief examination of the historical evolution of news reporting. The thesis then concludes by exploring how these various features of voice and text structure combine to produce a text type with a distinct rhetorical potential. It is argued that the modern news report has distinctive textual characteristics which equip it to naturalise ideologically informed judgements about social significance and the moral order.

Preface

This thesis is a record of a journey across registers. It is the outcome of a career change by which, after almost ten years as a journalist, I undertook the study of linguistics. The object of the thesis is the language of the mass media news story, the text type upon which I have relied for an income over more than ten years as reporter, correspondent, columnist and sometime editor. The thesis, thus, provides a linguistic account of a functional variety of language, by a participant observer, as it were, of that variety of language.

While this 'native-speaker' fluency provides some very significant benefits for a work such as this, it may also pose challenges.

Obviously this background supplies me with a knowledge of the daily routines of the newsroom. It provides me with an intimate understanding of the conventions and institutional practices which condition mass media discourse. As reporter, sub-editor and commissioning editor, I have performed the various roles in the multi-authored process that is media text construction. I have had personal experience of the various political, professional and personal pressures which may be applied to the journalist. Through my training and everyday experiences in the newsroom I, too, have been inscribed with the attitudes, expectations and systems of 'common sense' by which journalists operate.

The challenges which this background in journalism provided were twofold. Firstly, it was necessary to avoid extrapolating too widely the general from my own singular experiences when making assumptions about journalistic practices, beliefs and assumptions. Secondly, I needed to stand back from the mindset, the deeply naturalised world view which so thoroughly conditions the way journalists conduct their professional lives and construe the world as news. This mindset is, in fact, a social theory in its own right, though of a practical, pragmatic sort, constituted of rules of thumb and recurrent motifs rather than systematic hypotheses and analytical frameworks. It includes an epistemology by which certain professional practices (the use of eyewitnesses, official spokespersons, multiple sources etc) supply access to the 'facts' and certain 'knowledge'. Its notion of newsworthiness, construed as 'given',

‘objective’ and naturally attached to certain subject matter, is, in fact, multiply an aesthetic, a psychology and a sociology. Firstly, it constitutes a theory of what type and form of story has greatest audience appeal. Secondly, it theorises about what *really* concerns, alarms, outrages, intrigues and moves people, despite what they might say to market researchers. And thirdly, it operates with a model of the social order by which the socially significant is sifted from the insignificant, by which social norms and conventions are identified and by which threats to the equilibrium of that order may be discovered. It also includes a linguistic component by which reporters, and especially sub-editors, regard themselves as experts in good style, as the nemesis of jargon, verbosity and undue abstraction, and as keepers of the flame of grammatical rectitude. The linguistic extends to what amounts to a theory of genre, a precise, finely tuned appreciation of how the news text should be structured and how this structure supposedly serves communicative efficiency, clarity and impact.

Mastery of this system is vital for the journalist’s professional survival. It animates every aspect of their professional practice. Not surprisingly, many internalise that system and come to construe the world in its terms. The potential for a clash with a social theory such as that constituted by functional linguistics is obvious. And herein lies the challenge for the linguistic analyst such as myself who would be his own ‘native speaker informant’. The current project has required that I reference my journalistic beliefs and assumptions yet view them with the critical eye of theory. It has meant I had to straddle two modes of thinking with very different assumptions about the nature of language and the social context in which language is located. The systemic functional framework, with its grounding in language as social practice, provided the resources by which such an analysis could be conducted. It has provided the means to manage this bi-registerial exercise. In the final analysis, I am certain the account is the better for having access to an insider’s knowledge of what it means to make the news.

Acknowledgments

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Finally, I wish to put on record the unrepayable debt I owe to my household, both past and present, and to my parents for the assistance, support and encouragement they have provided throughout.

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I. Introduction

I.1. Background – news stories, truth and false consciousness

The modern mass-media news item is arguably one of the most influential written text types in contemporary society, influencing, as it does, the terms of many political, economic and cultural debates. It is not surprising, therefore, that the textuality of the news report should be well known as a site of contestation between political groupings, ideological positions, media theorists and even text linguistic analyses. News reporting is seen by some as a vital mechanism for the dissemination of information by which an informed and meaningful public discourse may be established and maintained. For others (typically the media itself) it acts to uphold the truth and to defend the rights of the people against the excesses of government and powerful vested interests. Media audiences seem to take a somewhat equivocal position, relying more or less uncritically on the news for much of their understanding of issues and events in the public domain, yet nevertheless viewing journalistic discourse with great suspicion, as often inaccurate, 'commercialised', sensationalist and biased. And media theorists, of course, typically regard the news as a mechanism of social control, a discourse which naturalises the regimes of 'common sense' which sustain social inequalities and support the interests of various economic and political elites.

Within this context, the news item, as text type, is itself the subject of significant disagreement. It is commonplace for the media to represent the news report as the domain of the factual – as providing a value-free, impartial, objective and unmediated reproduction of reality. Thus Husson and Robert, commenting favourably on the manner of English language news reporting, assert that the professional news reporter is 'precise and neutral', eliminates all subjectivity and constructs texts where 'the only things on show are the raw facts' (Husson and Robert 1991: 63, my translation). The

notion that the news item should be 'neutral' and 'factual', at least in principle, is sometimes encountered even in the media studies literature. Thus, in exploring the distinction between the supposed 'neutrality' of what they term 'core vocabulary' and the 'non-neutral expressive' vocabulary which they term 'non-core vocabulary', Carter and Nash contend that, 'After all, newspaper reports should ideally report the facts in as *core* a vocabulary as possible' (1990: 64).

This position has been widely challenged within the media studies literature since at least the 1930s, with, for example, some early influential analyses coming from the Chicago School of urban sociologists and especially the work of Hughes (1940, 1942). Under this perspective, news is seen as exemplifying and animating social and ideological values. It is conditioned by points of view informed variously by the social subjectivity of reporters, editors and media owners, the economic basis of news reporting as a mass market industry, the established conventions of news coverage as a social process and the role of the media in exercising political and cultural influence.[1] Thus Bird & Dardenne, for example, state, 'As narrative, news is orienting, communal and ritualistic. The orderings and creations in narrative are cultural, not natural; news...endows events with artificial boundaries constructing meaningful totalities out of scattered events' (Bird and Dardenne 1988: 70).

Within the media studies literature which is directed at exploring the textual or genre status of journalistic discourse, the news item has also proved problematic. It is a commonplace for the news item to be classified as narrative, and thereby to be linked to one of the primary modes of story-telling operating in the culture. Thus Adam states, 'The elementary structure of the narrative sequence is found not only as the basis of the epic, the fable, most novels, works of classical theatre, but also in reportage, the spot news story, oral narration and everyday anecdotes' (Adam 1992: 12, my translation). In contrast, however, other researchers are careful to distinguish the structure of the news item from that of traditional narratives. Hoey, for example, explicitly classified news items as 'non-narrative', in the context of research into patterns of lexical chaining reported in *Patterns of Lexis in Text* (Hoey 1991). Similarly, van Dijk states, 'News Reports in the press are a member of a family of

[1] The relevant references are far too numerous to mention here. For an overview see Schiller 1981 or McQuail 1987

media types that need their own structural analysis. That is, the general properties of discourse they display and the more specific or characteristic structures that distinguish them from other media texts or similar nonmedia texts, such as stories, must be made clear' (van Dijk 1988: 176).

It is possible these differences emerge from divergent formulations of the nature of the narrative, rather than from different formulations of the nature of the news item. Or perhaps they may point to genre-structure indeterminacy or ambiguity on the part of the news item itself, with the news item displaying certain properties associated with the traditional narrative but lacking others. It is noteworthy in this regard that journalists themselves refer to their texts as 'stories' and even 'yarns' (thereby indicating a connection with the narrative), but also as 'reports' (thereby locating their texts in a 'factual' space outside what is usually the domain of the narrative).

I.2. Objectives

I.2.(a). Overview

The purpose of the thesis is to provide new insights into the distinctive communicative properties of two key sub-types of contemporary news items, those concerned with newsworthy events and those with the pronouncements of newsworthy speakers. It focuses on those two types of text as they operate within the English-language print media, and specifically within what will be termed 'broadsheet' publications (see following discussion). In exploring these communicative qualities, the thesis will offer answers to several of the questions raised in the course of the previous section. It will provide a rather different account from that generally available in the literature of the text organisational principles by which these news items are constituted. In so doing, it will set out systematic terms by which the genre status of these two text types may be determined with respect to related genre types operational in the culture. As well, it will provide a comprehensive description of the interpersonal style of these news items, of the fashion of meaning, so to speak, upon which their characteristic textuality relies. Towards this end, the thesis is concerned with the social evaluations which are typically conveyed through news reporting and the way the text positions both authorial voice and readerships

with respect to these meanings. By this discussion, the thesis will offer new insights into the paradox of the news item as the supposedly value-free, factual text type which is inscribed, nevertheless, with ideological perspectives and culturally contingent themes.

I.2.(b). The rhetorical potential of the news item

The thesis will demonstrate that the contemporary news item is a distinctive text type, both interpersonally and structurally. My purpose is to explore the potential communicative consequences associated with these two dimensions of the news item's textuality. I am concerned with the relationship between certain semantic and text organisational patterns found generally across news items and the resultant potential of such texts to construe particular types of meaning, and to construct particular relationships between writer, reader and the values conveyed by the text. I address how these recurrent, characteristic patterns of text organisation and lexical choice may influence readers, how they may position readers to accept a text's propositions, to accede to its presuppositions or to endorse the particular view of the social order upon which it relies. The concern, therefore, is with what I will term 'rhetorical potential'. Here 'rhetorical' is used in the broad sense to reference not a narrow notion of 'argumentation', but more generally to reference the potential of all texts, whether explicitly argumentative or not, to influence, reinforce or to challenge reader/listener's assumptions, beliefs, emotions, attitudes and so on. I am concerned with the rhetorical potential of the general patterns of textuality operating across news items, rather than with the semantics of individual reports, though, of course, I reference individual texts in the course of the discussion.

I must stress that the interest is in *potential* rhetorical effects. The *actual* communicative effect of any given linguistic value is, of course, variably determined by factors at work in the reading/interpreting process, a point which has been widely canvassed within Reception Theory. (See, for example, Holub 1984. For a discussion of the possible diversity of reader interpretation in the context of media texts see Carter and Nash 1990: 57 and Fairclough 1995: 16.) These factors include the interests of the reader, their social background, their ideological stance, their knowledge of the field, the intertextual context in which they locate the current text

and so on. Accordingly, we must avoid necessarily ascribing a single communicative effect to a given linguistic value or a unitary reading to a given text. This is not, of course, to suggest that any and all readings are equally likely or equally available. Texts are typically structured so as to favour either a single, or at least a certain array of readings while disfavouring or suppressing others. That is, texts work to establish a particular reading position by which the material they present will be understood and evaluated. (The issue of reading position will be considered further in chapter 3. See also Fairclough 1989: 77-108 and Martin 1995a). It is the analyst's task to plausibly identify and explain such preferences. There is always the possibility, however, that an individual reader will ignore or actively resist such a preference and, of course, a given text or a specific linguistic value may have qualities which render it particularly susceptible to multiple, divergent readings. Thus, in describing the rhetorical potential of the news item as a text type, we explore the communicative effects facilitated by its textual organisation and semantic preferences, while always allowing that individual readers may resist or be immune to such effects.

I.2.(c). Describing the distinctive language features of news reporting

There is a great diversity of literature devoted to describing the language of the news report. The literature varies widely with respect to scope, with respect to the linguistic framework in which it is couched and with respect to explanatory objective. There are stylistic studies which attempt to discover certain salient features of lexis or grammatical structure which might act as markers of journalistic language (for example, Crystal and Davy 1969). There are sociolinguistic studies which seek to correlate variation in some syntactic feature, operating across the texts of different media outlets, with social categories such as class (for example, Rydén 1975, Jucker 1992, Bell 1984, Bell 1991). There are studies which more directly explore recurrent patterns of meaning in media texts so as to explain some aspect of what I have termed the rhetorical potential of news reporting. Perhaps most notable in this regard is Fairclough's groundbreaking examination (1992, 1995) of the way that media texts systematically reference and assimilate other texts and other discourses.

These various studies provide useful insights, of greater or lesser scope, into aspects of journalistic language use. However, none of the studies attempts to develop an account of rhetorical potential by means of a close, detailed and, most importantly, comprehensive analysis of recurrent patterns of grammar and lexis. It is my purpose in the thesis to provide such an account through application of the descriptive tools provided by Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). (Halliday 1985/1994, see the next chapter for an overview of the theoretical framework). I will demonstrate that such an analysis provides novel insights into the distinctive features of the news report and, thereby, a new understanding of the rhetorical functionality of news reporting habits of language.

SFL descriptions analyse language as a social process by which three dimensions of meanings are simultaneously mobilised – meanings which locate the interlocutors in a social order (interpersonal), meanings which construe an external reality (ideational) and meanings by which these interpersonal and ideational meanings are organised in the unfolding text (textual). The account of news reporting textuality developed in the thesis references all three dimensions. Within this, several chapters pay special attention to the interpersonal dimension (resources for construing the social roles, relationships and attitudes of interlocutors). This focus follows naturally from the concern with rhetorical potential, since interpersonal stance and positioning are fundamental to the potential of texts to influence readerships and to reinforce or inscribe social values.

Although the textual analysis is grounded in the SFL framework, preparatory research revealed that aspects of SFL theory were not sufficiently elaborated to map certain interpersonal distinctions which proved fundamental to the interpersonal style of contemporary news reporting. It was necessary, therefore, to develop the theory towards this end. I was assisted in this regard by the fact that several other researchers working within the SFL paradigm were also interested at the time in extending the theory's model of the interpersonal. Many of these researchers were involved in literacy-related research for the 'Write It Right' project of the Australian Federal Government's Disadvantaged Schools Program. (For an overview see Iedema, Feez, and White 1994 and Christie and Martin 1997.) The theory of the interpersonal adopted here, therefore, makes use of the 'Write It Right' work, some other recent

SFL work (especially Fuller 1995), as well as subsequent developments. (The provenance of the various theoretical innovations will be specified more precisely in following chapters.)

The theoretical innovation advanced along three broad fronts. Most critically, a need was discovered to map more precisely the attitudinal values by which texts apply social norms to evaluate human behaviour and the constitution and status of objects and entities. Consequently, two new dimensions of interpersonal meaning were proposed, termed JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, which, along with AFFECT, are seen as acting to construe social evaluation. (See Iedema et al. 1994, White 1997 and Martin in press). The three dimensions of evaluation – JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION and AFFECT – were grouped together under the heading of ATTITUDE.

In addition, news reporting was found to be highly strategic in the use it makes of resources for positioning the authorial voice with respect to the various propositions and proposals conveyed by a text. These resources include modality, reported speech, certain modal adjuncts, negation, concessive conjunctions, and so on. A need, therefore, was discovered both to provide a comprehensive account of these resources and to develop an understanding of the valeur relationships between the values – an understanding of the way different choices of values from the system have different consequences for rhetorical potential. Towards this end, I developed a framework informed by Bakhtin's theory of intertextuality (1973, 1981) and by both Lemke (1992) and Fairclough's interpretation (1992) of that theory. By this approach I was able to map the consequences of choices from this system for the way a text engages with the various alternative social positions operating in the culture, and which are put at risk by a text's meanings. The resources are grouped together under the heading of ENGAGEMENT.

Finally, a need was identified to develop descriptions of values by which speakers raise or lower the interpersonal impact, force or volume of their utterances. A number of accounts of these values exist in the literature (for example Labov 1984) but none seemed capable of accounting for the rhetorically strategic way news reporting texts favour certain sub-classes of these intensifiers while avoiding others. Accordingly, a

more elaborated account of the valeur relationships between different modes of intensification has been developed under the heading, GRADUATION.

A key outcome of the research was the discovery that there are three different interpersonal modes or styles which act consistently to determine lexico-grammatical choices and hence meanings in media texts. The modes are revealed through various patterns of preference for key values of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION and by patterns of co-occurrence between these values. The three modes, termed 'voices', were found variously to associate most typically (though not universally) with general reporter news texts, with the analysis pieces of rounds reporters and other expert journalists, and with the commentaries of columnists and other high status writers. It will be shown that the distinctive rhetorical properties of news reporting texts are substantially conditioned by the particular preferences the language of news reporting displays for certain values of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION.

It should be noted at this point that work on interpersonal positioning by Biber (1988) and Biber & Finegan (1989) has some similarities with the research project briefly previewed above. As well, Biber and Finegan applied their model of 'styles of stance' to an analysis of media texts, though their project was not designed specifically to explaining the communicative properties of journalistic discourse. Biber and Finegan's model of the interpersonal, however, was significantly different from that adopted in the current work, and for this and other reasons, their findings are very different from those set out here. These matters will be explored more thoroughly in the course of a review of Biber and Finegan's work in the next chapter.

I.3. Genre description and the news item

The two most widely influential analyses of the text organisational properties of the news item are those provided by the journalistic vocational training literature and van Dijk's account set out in *News and Discourse* (1988) and taken up and developed subsequently by Bell (1991, 1998). I will review both approaches in following chapters.

Both the journalistic training literature and van Dijk and Bell, however, have rather different objectives from that of this thesis. The training textbooks, of course, seek

simply to equip trainees to produce texts of the required format. Van Dijk's primary orientation is a cognitive one – he is concerned with developing a model of the process of interpretation by which texts, including media texts, are understood. His theoretical framework is very different from the one adopted here and as a consequence his findings are different in some important respects from those of the current work.

In contrast, the current work seeks to develop an account of textual organisation by reference to a detailed analysis of linguistic features and thereby to discover the rhetorical purposes which that organisation might serve. As a consequence, the analysis discovers several key patterns of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings which, it will be argued, are fundamental to the overall rhetorical potential of the news item. It will be demonstrated that without reference to these, it is not possible to present a full account of the textual architecture of the modern news item, nor to fully understand its socio-semiotic functionality.

I.4. The object of investigation

Mass media discourse is constituted of a great diversity of text types. Within this, it is always necessary to consider the possibility of variation according to shifts in medium (print, radio, television, the WEB), in media organisation, in journalistic sub-domains (news, sport, finance etc) and, of course, according to shifts in language and other cultural determiners. In order to make the subject matter more manageable, I have, largely confined the study to a specific domain – English-language, print-media news coverage from what I will term 'broadsheet' publications.

The term 'broadsheet', in contradistinction to 'tabloid', is typically used to reference those publications which characterise themselves as 'up-market', as 'the quality press' or as 'journals of record'. In the English-speaking world 'broadsheets' are typically targeted mainly at a middle-class market while the 'tabloids' target more working-class readers. (For an extended discussion of these terms and their association with readership profiles, see Jucker 1992.) One of the findings of the initial research for this project was that the so-called 'tabloids' frequently differed from the so-called 'broadsheets' in terms of the interpersonal mode or voice of their general reporter

news texts. The constraints on interpersonal values operational in the reporter voice of 'broadsheets' such as *The Times*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* or *The New York Times* either do not apply, or are less consistently applied in the tabloids such as *The Sun* (UK) or *The New York Post*. For the sake of the current work, I use the term 'broadsheet' to reference those publications which apply the conventions with respect to journalistic voice and interpersonal style which operate in newspapers such as *The Times* and *The New York Times*. With just a few exceptions, my use of the term matches that of general community usage.

I have chosen to focus primarily on these 'broadsheet' texts for several practical and one theoretically informed reason. The practical reasons include the fact that 'broadsheet' publications are more readily available on the WEB and so data collection is made easier, and because my own professional experience is in 'broadsheets' rather than 'tabloids'. The 'broadsheets' are of interest theoretically in that, unlike the 'tabloids', they aspire to be 'journals of record' for the community in general, to reach as broad a market as possible, even while favouring middle-class over working-class perspectives. The reasons why such an aspiration should be of interest theoretically will be made clear in later discussion.

As indicated above, my primary objects of study are news items which document newsworthy events or the pronouncements of newsworthy sources. In journalistic parlance these types of stories are often known as 'hard news'. The term acts, firstly, to distinguish such reports from what are know as 'human interest' or 'colour stories'. It acts, secondly, to distinguish these reports from the feature articles which, for example, might provide analysis or backgrounding, and from commentary articles which explicitly evaluate and develop arguments. I will adopt this sense of the term for use in the later discussion. Although my primary concern is with these 'hard news' items, it will be necessary at various points to consider aspects of the textuality of other news coverage text types (features and commentary, for example) in order to understand the functionality of the news item within the totality of news coverage as a social practice.

I.5. Synchronic and diachronic perspectives

The discussion in the following chapters will demonstrate various grounds by which modern 'hard news' reports constitute a distinctive, idiosyncratic text type with respect to the network of simultaneous genre types operating synchronically in the culture. The event-based news item, with its grounding in some sequence of actions, appears, as discussed above, to have some significant connection with the broad category of texts which has been termed 'story' or 'narrative'. Yet the structuring of these event-based news items ignores what appears to be a fundamental socio-semiotic convention or principle of story-telling – that there is a communicative imperative to ground story-telling texts in chronological sequence, in the causal and temporal succession of the action with which the text is concerned. That is to say, the structure of modern news items of the type under consideration does not act to provide the clear map of chronological succession which is typical of the narrative text – the items are not organised around the unfolding of the sequence of events in time.

In this, therefore, the modern news item stands apart from related genres operating concurrently in the culture. A study of news reporting from past eras reveals that, in addition, the modern news item also stands apart from its own journalistic precursors. (See, for example, Bell 1991, Schudson 1978, 1982 .) Until around the end of the 19th century, event-based stories were like other story-telling genres in that their structure was designed to directly map chronological and causal sequence. In this respect, at least, they were unproblematically narratives. When the modern news item is thus viewed diachronically, it is discovered to represent a radical transformation in text organisational conventions as they operated previously. Accordingly, its idiosyncratic status with respect to genre is further emphasised.

A further historical study reveals that the modern pronouncement-based news item is likewise the product of a radical transformation in text compositional practices. The reports that we encounter today have developed from a very different mode of

textuality under which the reporter's task was essentially that of stenographer. Reports were comprised essentially of transcripts of debates, speeches, letters and announcement with the reporter providing only the most minimal introduction or framing – sometimes just a few words.

Where appropriate in the course of the following discussion, therefore, the diachronic perspective will be introduced alongside that of the synchronic. The view of the past will necessarily be brief and in some cases relatively informal. I will certainly not offer a comprehensive description of past journalistic modes nor an account of the process by which modern conventions of journalism came into being. In most cases, I have had to base the comparison on just a few carefully chosen texts from late 19th century and early 20th century newspapers. The point of introducing the historical comparison is the better to cast into relief the current characteristic properties of modern news reporting textuality. The historical comparison compels us to question what social conditions or communicative objectives might have provoked such an innovation in the order of journalistic discourse. By demonstrating the degree to which contemporary news reporting genres represent significant departures from past practice, we can more readily demonstrate the arbitrary nature of contemporary modes in the sense that they are not fixed or predetermined, but vary in response to the social changes which accompany the flow of history.

For the sake of convenience, I will use the term 'pre-modern' to reference journalism up until 1910. The choice of the date is relatively arbitrary, except that there is significant agreement among media historians that it was around this time that the conventions of news reporting were undergoing the changes which were to result in the modes of media textuality we know today, or at least that the changes which had been underway for perhaps the previous decade reached critical mass around this time. (See, for example, Schudson 1978, Schiller 1981 or Curran and Seaton 1991.)

I.6. Organisation of the discussion

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

- Chapter 1 (Introduction) – Describing the communicative functionality of the news item

- Chapter 2 – Theoretical foundations
- Chapter 3 – Appraisal, theorising the language of evaluation and inter-subjective positioning
- Chapter 4 – The interpersonal styles of journalism
- Chapter 5 – The event-based news item
- Chapter 6 – The pronouncement-based news item
- Chapter 7 (Conclusion) – Naturalising ideology and the news item as rhetorical device

II. Theoretical Foundations

II.1. Introduction

This thesis explores the communicative functionality of the contemporary news item. It demonstrates that the modern news report is constituted of a textuality which is distinctive with respective to both textual organisation and to the interpersonal style of its authorial voice. The account is developed within the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as formulated by Halliday (1985/1994), Halliday & Hasan (1976) and Matthiessen (1995), and as further developed by Martin in *English Text - System and Structure* (1992). As indicated previously, it also relies substantially on recent work within SFL directed towards developing a genre-focussed model of textual organisation and towards developing a more comprehensive and integrated model of the way texts construe authorial attitude and perspective.

The linguistic issues raised by the textuality of the news item in this context are wide ranging. They traverse a number of more general theoretical domains:

- theories of register and social context,
- the grammar of evaluation and inter-subjective positioning,
- lexical relations and textual cohesion/coherence,
- intertextuality and the social construction of discourse,
- modelling and classifying genre types.

Several issues more specifically related to media language are also raised:

- journalistic style and the linguistic constitution of news reporting as a functional variety of language,
- the textual organisation of the news report and its generic status.

In this chapter, therefore, I locate the thesis both within the context of SFL theory and more generally within the context of related work couched in the terms of other linguistic approaches.

II.2. The SFL model: language as social practice

II.2.(a). Language and social context

SFL is directed towards explaining language as a mode of social action. Its theoretical formulations are organised so as to explain linguistic phenomena by reference to their use. It assumes that both the language and the social context in which language operates are systems of meaning (semiotic systems) and construes the relationship between the two as one of realisation. Language realises social context (termed 'context of situation') but equally acts to construe social context. That is to say, the social context of any communicative exchange is substantially constituted by that communication.

II.2.(b). Semantic diversification

SFL develops a diversified model of meaning, operating at the level of both language and social context. The model postulates three functions or modes of meaning, termed metafunctions – the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. Ideational resources theorise about some external reality – they construe a reality of participants, processes and the types of relationships these enter into. Interpersonal resources act to characterise the participants in the linguistic exchange, the interlocutors, in terms of social roles, relationships and attitudes. Textual resources act to organise the flow of interpersonal and ideational meanings as they unfold in a text. (Text is here understood to apply to both spoken and written, and to both monologic and dialogic communicative exchanges.). Thus any stretch of language acts simultaneously to convey ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. This metafunctional diversification is projected onto the context, which is thereby seen to be informed by the same three functional modes. Accordingly, ideational resources at the level of linguistic content redound with contextual values of field (the nature of the social action enacted), interpersonal resources with values of tenor (the social nature and inter-relationships of the participants), and textual resources with values of mode (the

role played by language in mobilising these meanings). (See, for example, Halliday 1978, Halliday & Hasan 1985 and Martin 1991.)

II.2.(c). Stratification

SFL follows Hjelmslev (1961) in distinguishing between strata or planes of content and expression. The expression plane is concerned with the phonological and graphological realisation of meaning. SFL develops Hjelmslev, however, in dividing the content plane, generally concerned with the construal of meaning, into discourse semantics and lexicogrammar. While both are concerned with meaning, the lexicogrammatical description focuses on wordings at the level of the clause and below, and the discourse semantics operates at a higher level of abstraction to model meanings above the clause, in the context of text. SFL makes no fundamental distinction between grammar and lexis, construing lexis as grammar operating at a more delicate level. (See Hasan 1987).

Social context (which the content plane of language both realises and construes) is also stratified under the theoretical framework adopted in the current work. Systemic functional theorising is currently diversified with respect to models of the social context. Halliday (1985/1994 and 1995), for example, proposes a single strata model of the social context while, Martin (1992, 1996: 4-7, etc) proposes a multi-stratal model. For reasons which will be taken up below, I follow Martin in adopting the multi-stratal model.

II.2.(d). Register and Genre

As Halliday observes in *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a socio-semiotic Perspective*, (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 4) theories of language typically choose from a number of possible lines of inquiry when seeking to explain linguistic phenomena. Some may look for a psychological basis and others may turn to psycho-analysis. SFL seeks to explain language by reference to the social structure in which language operates and which it acts to construe. In this, SFL traces its genealogy through the British linguist Firth (1957) to the anthropological writings of Malinoswki. Firth challenged the Saussurian notion of language as monosystemic, arguing that language behaviour was polysystemic, constituted of a range of different

systems which vary according to social contexts and purposes. Thus for Firth, language was a system of systems. Firth's notion of a social context which determines linguistic phenomena was derived from that of Malinowski, who coined the term 'context of situation' in the process of developing methodologies for effectively translating and interpreting the spoken texts of the peoples of the Trobriand Islands (Malinowski 1923). He found that it was impossible to convey the meaning and functionality of those texts to a European audience without an extended description of the social environment in which they operated and of their social purpose – hence the notion of 'context of situation'.

Halliday's theory of register develops Firth's notion of the polysystemic constitution of language, to provide an account of the localised variation in the linguistic system according to different contexts of situation. It proposes a framework for addressing the sense that speakers have of systematically and predictably changing the way they speak or write as they move through different social contexts and pursue different communicative objectives. According to the theory, as it has been formulated by Halliday (for example, Halliday 1978 and Halliday and Hasan 1985), each such context-dependent variety of language will be constituted of a particular configuration of meanings and, more particularly, meanings from the three dimensions or metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual). Since values at the semantic level redound metafunctionally with values at the social level, the particular configuration of meanings (the register) is associated with a particular configuration of the contextual values of field, tenor and mode.

A register, therefore, can be said to be instantiated by those texts which realise a particular recurrent, conventionalised contextual configuration. Each configuration puts at risk a certain potential array of meanings, of which only a subset will typically be implemented by a given text. Thus a register can be thought of as a semantic potential, as a set of meaning options which texts operating in that register will access. (See, for example Hasan 1985: 101.)

In some cases, a particular register will feature meanings with which it is uniquely associated. Such meanings can be said to be indexical of that register – they act to signal that a particular utterance is located in a given register. (Halliday and Hasan

1985: 39). This notion of registerial indicators has been extended (for example, Nesbitt and Plum 1988 and Halliday 1991) to include the possibility that certain salient semantic preferences may act as indices of a given genre. Thus a register may be signalled, not necessarily by a meaning which is strictly unique to that register, but by the frequent or rhetorically salient use which texts of that register make of a given meaning or set of meanings, relative to the texts of other registers. From this perspective, socially significant shifts in contextual configurations are understood to reweight the probabilities of certain semantic, and hence lexico-grammatical options being take up – a register can be understood as a reweighting of the probabilities in favour of certain meanings and against other meanings.

This perspective will prove vital for the concern of the thesis with characterising the distinctive functionality of the language of 'hard news'. I will argue that the language of the news report is distinguished from that of the media commentary, for example, by just such a set of semantic preferences, by such a reweighting of semantic, and hence lexicogrammatical probabilities.

For Halliday, therefore, register operates at the level of the semantics and the lexicogrammar – a register is a variety of language instantiated through various configurations of meanings. Martin has departed from Halliday in associating register not only with functional variation in language but also with the variation in social values which determines and is determined by this variation. Martin, therefore, uses the term register to refer to the semiotic system constituted by variation in values of field, tenor and mode. (See, for example, Martin 1992: 502, , Martin to appear/a.)

When viewed out of the context of the totality of the theory, such an adjustment may seem relatively trivial. There may not seem to be a great deal at stake in choosing between locating register at the level of context of situation or at the level of the meanings which realise this context. The reasons for the modification of the term, however, emerge from the totality of Martin's theory. The broadening of the term is motivated, at least in part, by what Martin sees as the need to account for what has been termed functional tenor, pragmatic purpose or rhetorical mode – the sense that language use, as it necessarily occurs in text, is conditioned by the communicative objectives of that text. Martin argues that to account for this teleological

determination of language use, it is necessary to propose an additional strata within the social context, that of genre. The social context is thus understood as being constituted of conventionalised goal oriented social processes which are either partly or wholly implemented through language. Although this issue will be taken up in a later section, it is relevant at this point to observe that genre is realised through recurrent patterns of unfolding configurations and re-configurations of variables of field, tenor and mode. Genres are thus implement by particular sequences of stages, which are constituted of particular reconfigurations of, in Martin's terms, register variables.

It is for this reason that Martin represents the social context as constituted of genre, which is realised via recurrent patterns of variation at the level of register (configurations of field, tenor and mode.) Register, in turn, is realised through recurrent patterns of variation at the level of the discourse semantics (configurations of interpersonal, textual and ideational meanings). (For a full account, see Martin 1992: chapter 7.)

In the current context, it is neither possible nor necessary to reach any definitive conclusions over this issue. As Matthiessen has argued at length (1993), the two approaches need not be seen as mutually exclusive explanations but rather as alternative perspectives which serve different purposes within the totality of Halliday and Martin's somewhat different frameworks. As Matthiessen states of the divergent accounts,

> This is one prominent example of the kind of flexibility Halliday (1980) points out characterizes systemic theory; it is a 'flexi-model', where it is possible to play off different dimensions against one another. But the two positions are genuinely alternative ways of modelling register; they are not part of the total picture intended to be combined. However, there is no a priori reason why they can't be interpreted as complementarities. (Matthiessen 1993: 2321993: 232)

I follow Martin's genre model because his multi-stratal model of context and particularly his account of genre have proved effective in dealing with the types of

text organisational issues which arise in the context of modelling the text structural properties of news items. I will explore Martin's model of genre more fully below.

II.3. Modelling the Interpersonal

II.3.(a). The news item and social evaluation

SFL theory, therefore, provides the broad framework in which to explore both the interpersonal style and textual organisation of modern news reporting. However, as indicated in the previous chapter, the current project required that this theory be elaborated on several fronts. In this section, I will turn to the first of those issues – the resources the language provides for construing social evaluation, attitude and authorial position. I will begin by briefly reviewing some of the more influential analyses from the semantics, sociolinguistic, pragmatics and applied linguistic literature, indicating points of connection with the current work. I will then turn more specifically to previous work within SFL, before describing in some detail the more recent developments in SFL upon which I rely.

II.3.(b). Engagement

II.3.(b).1. The semantics of inter-subjective positioning

In the following chapters, I develop an analysis of a set of related interpersonal resources which I will term, ENGAGEMENT. As indicated briefly in the opening chapter, the current work includes within this category those resources by which a text references, invokes and negotiates with the various alternative social positions put at risk by a text's meanings. As indicated, my analysis follows from applying Bakhtinian notions of intertextuality to an understanding of the rhetorical potential of such values as modality, reality phase, reported speech, concession, negation and so on. The lexicogrammatical resources I include within ENGAGEMENT substantially, but not exactly, overlap with those addressed in the literature under the various headings of epistemic modality, evidentiality and hedging. The literature here is extensive and I will therefore endeavour to limit the discussion to manageable proportions by focussing on three of the most influential approaches to this semantic domain. These

are what I will label, for ease of reference, the 'evidential' approach, the 'truth-functional' approach and the 'face' approach.

II.3.(b).2. Evidentiality

Under this approach, various resources are understood to code attitudes adopted by the speaker towards 'knowledge' based on different modalities of evidence. Thus Chafe states, 'What gives coherence to the set under consideration is that everything dealt with under this broad interpretation of evidentiality involves attitudes to knowledge' (Chafe 1986: 262). The various markers of evidentiality are said to qualify 'knowledge' in some way – they constitute modes of knowing or various ways in which knowledge may be acquired. Jacobsen (1986) suggests the concept originated with work of Boas on the American Indian language of Kwakiutl and was further developed by Jakobson in his influential paper, *Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb* (1957). The literature is diverse in the sub-categories of evidentials it identifies and the labelling used. Chafe is relatively typical, however, in identifying the following modes:

- knowledge arrived at through belief – 'I think that a lot of the time I've been misjudging her.'
- knowledge arrived at through induction (based on circumstantial evidence) – 'It must have been a kid.'
- knowledge via sensory evidence – 'It feels like there's something crawling up my leg.'
- knowledge via hearsay – 'It's supposed to be the most expensive place in Europe to live.'
- knowledge via deduction – 'No normal phonological rules could account for the loss of this h.' (See Chafe 1986: 266-269.)

The notion is widespread in the literature that these various 'modes of knowledge' bear upon the reliability of the information conveyed. Chafe states,

> People are aware, though not necessarily consciously aware, that some things they know are surer bets for being truer than others, that not all knowledge is equally reliable. Thus one way in which knowledge may be qualified is with

> an expression indicating the speaker's assessment of its degree of reliability. (1986: 264)

Accordingly, evidentials are understood to classify the informational content of utterances as more or less reliable epistemologically. The analysis is therefore speaker oriented. It construes the speaker entering into a relationship with some proposition – classifying it as more or less reliable – according to the means by which the speaker comes by that proposition.

II.3.(b).3. Truth function

This 'evidential' approach appears to be largely a North American tradition, influenced as it is by research into American Indian languages. There is an alternative tradition derived more from philosophy and theories of modal logic. The general term 'modality' is here preferred to 'evidential', although 'evidential' is sometime used for a sub-category within modality. Modality is typically divided into two broad classes – epistemic and deontic. The epistemic modality encompasses essentially those resources covered previously under 'evidentiality', while the deontic is concerned primarily with obligation, with what Halliday terms exchanges of goods-&-services (Halliday 1994). The truth-functional has much in common with the evidential approach, differing largely only in emphasis. It is perhaps best exemplified by Lyons (1977) and Palmer (1986). The emphasis here is upon the truth value of propositions and the speaker's indicated willingness or unwillingness to commit to this. Here 'modalised' propositions are said to reference the speaker's 'opinion or attitude' towards propositional content (Lyons 1977: 452). The 'subjectivity' of the modal meaning is typically opposed to the 'objectivity' of 'bare assertions'. Thus Lyons described such modalised utterances as 'non-factive' and contrasts these with 'factive' utterances which are 'straightforward statements of fact [which] may be described as "epistemically non-modal" because the speaker commits himself to the truth of what he asserts' (1977: 794).

Palmer divides epistemic modals into two further categories – 'judgements' and 'evidentials'. Judgements include modals of possibility and necessity – eg *may*, *must*. The evidentials provide resources by which 'a speaker may indicate that he is not presenting what he is saying as a fact…' (Palmer 1986: 51). Sub-categories include

the ‘Speculative’, the ‘Deductive’ and the ‘Quotative’ all of which are ‘concerned with the indication by the speaker of his lack of commitment to the truth of the proposition being expressed’ (1986: 51).

There is, therefore, a slight but significant shift in emphasis between ‘evidential’ and ‘truth-functional’ formulations. Under the evidentialist concern with ‘reliablity’, the focus is upon the proposition itself and its epistemological status while, in contrast, under the truth-functional approach, the focus is more upon the speaker and his/her psychological state – the commitment or otherwise to the ‘factuality’ or ‘truth’ of the proposition.

II.3.(b).4. Face

Brown and Levinson’s approach (1987) to this semantic domain has proved highly influential within sociolinguistic, pragmatics and applied linguistics contexts. They locate their explanation of these resources within a theory of ‘politeness’ or ‘face saving’ designed to develop Grice’s theories of conversational maxims (Grice 1975). Grice proposes that all language usage operates with reference to the ‘co-operation principle’, an assumption that acts of communication are, or should be, truthful and/or sincere, efficient (no more or less information is provided than is necessary), relevant, and perspicuous (clear, unambiguous, brief etc). Brown and Levinson explain apparent departures from this Co-operation Principle in terms of their notion of politeness. Amongst such departures are many of the values which are included in the accounts of evidentiality and epistemic modality cited above – for example, expressions of doubt (*perhaps, I guess, I think*), expressions of certainty (*definitely, for sure, must*), expressions of deduction (*it seems to me*), quotatives/hearsay (*it’s said*). They develop a broader category, however, than is typical under either evidentiality or epistemic modality approaches. Most notably they also include values which Lakoff (1972) termed ‘hedges’. These they define as ‘a particle, word or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set; it says of that membership that it is partial, or true only in certain respects, or that it is more true and complete than perhaps might be expected.’ (Brown and Levinson 1987: 145). Such items include, *a swing is a sort of toy, I’m pretty sure, John is a true friend*. They also include values which elsewhere have been termed intensifiers or amplifiers

(see, for example, Labov 1984) – for example, *The food is <u>really</u> good, He <u>really</u> did run that way, He cleaned it <u>completely</u>, He did nothing <u>at all</u>*. They also include counter-expectational particles such as *only, merely, just – It is <u>only</u> my father who kills turkeys*. They then use Lakoff's originally narrower term, 'hedge/hedging', to reference this broad semantic domain, including modals and evidentials as well. This broader usage of the term 'hedge' has subsequently been widely adopted, especially within the applied linguistics literature, though the precise lexicogrammatical scope of the term tends to vary from author to author. (For a review of recent literature, see Markkanen and Schröder 1997.) This broader semantic domain is of particular interest in the current context because, in its scope, it overlaps with most of the resources included within the domain of ENGAGEMENT as formulated in the current work.

The basis of Brown & Levinson's argument is the proposition that certain human wants or desires are fundamental to social interactions – what they term positive and negative face. Positive face is concerned with an individual's self esteem, the sense that they are approved of, that people share and endorse their values, that others 'want what they want'. Negative face is concerned with an individual's desire 'to be unimpeded', 'the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction - i.e. freedom of action and freedom from imposition' (1987: 61)). Certain communications are understood to put either or both of these two dimensions of face at risk – they constitute 'face threatening actions.' In order to minimise the social damage put at risk by such threats, speakers resort to communicative strategies of 'face saving' or redress. It is under this pressure for 'face saving' that Grice's maxims are apparently put at risk. Certain communications thus, on the face of it, are not sincere, or maximally efficient, relevant or perspicuous. These apparent departures – such as hedges – are understood, however, as being motivated by 'politeness'. Thus the hearer understands apparent indirection and redundancy in a request, for example, as acting to signal the speaker's concern for the hearer's negative face, as a way for the speaker to indicate that they want to minimise the imposition entailed by the request.

Brown & Levinson, therefore, construe the semantics of this domain in rather different terms for either the evidential or truth-functional formulations cited above. The former approaches are very much speaker and utterance focussed while Brown &

Levinson's theory of hedging brings the hearer directly into the interactional picture. Such hedges are construed very much as a socially-motivated mode of negotiation, rather than simple reflexes of truth-value or epistemological reliability. While I will indicate below various reservations about the applicability of this 'hedging' analysis to media texts, I will in general terms agree with their insistence upon understanding such meanings as concerned with negotiating relationships between speaker and audience, as socially rather than as truth-functionally motivated.

This is obviously not the place for a detailed analysis of either the Grician framework nor Brown & Levinson's theory of face. I will argue below, however, that, at least without reinterpretation, Brown & Levinson's approach is not easily applicable to analyses of written texts such as news reports. This limitation is, perhaps, to be expected, since their theory is so thoroughly grounded in immediate, direct, spoken interactions between individuals. Additionally, it is directed towards interactional communications (demands, requests, offers etc) rather than informational exchanges, at least in the context of the meanings they term 'hedges'. I will briefly address a couple of specific problems, however, before turning to some broader issues which apply not only to Brown & Levinson but also to the evidential and truth-functional approaches.

Brown & Levinson's analysis asserts that, in some instances, hedging applies in the context of threats to positive face – it provides redress for threats to self esteem and the sense that others share the hearer's values. Here hedging applies in the context of opinions which may put agreement at risk. The argument is that the speaker uses hedging to maintain the sense that values are shared, despite this apparent disagreement (1987: 116). In very broad terms, I will agree that such values may be mobilised so as to negotiate areas of disagreement. Brown & Levinson's explanations of the rhetorical functionality at work here, however, is simplistic. They resort to a notion of 'vagueness'. Such hedges supposedly render the opinion too 'vague' to be a threat to positive face. It is difficult, however, to see how the hedging in 'It seems to me the government is corrupt' renders the opinion in any sense 'vague' or removes the threat the utterance poses to concord with, for example, the government or its supporters.

Brown & Levinson, hold, however, that hedging applies primarily to negative face – to minimising the imposition effected by the face threatening communication (1987: 129). Here they identify values which they construe as either strengthening or weakening the illocutionary force of utterances – that is to say, which render utterance more or less assertive. They explain this manoeuvre by reference to Grice's maxim of Quality (truthfulness). Strengtheners insist upon the speaker's sincerity (and hence that the maxim is being met), while weakeners serve notice that it may not have been met. Their view of weakeners is essentially that found in the truth-functional analyses cited above – they purportedly act to indicate that speakers are not taking full responsibility for the truth of their utterances (1987: 164). The argument as to the impact of these weakeners on interactional exchanges (demands and offers) and hence on negative face is relatively easy to follow. A weakened demand, for example, would clearly be less of an imposition on the hearer, providing a way out and hence the possibility of saving negative face. But the authors provide little by way of explanation of the consequences for informational utterances. They suggest that weakeners might redress criticisms. Presumably the implication here is that criticism is an indirect way of requiring some action by way of repair of the alleged fault or failing – hence criticisms constitute a form of indirect demand. The weakened criticism would therefore be less of an imposition – and hence threat to negative face – than a bald criticism. This explanation, however, provides no advance on that developed under truth-functional accounts since, as indicated above, weakeners are construed in truth-functional terms – they indicate a lessening of commitment to truth. By this path we return once again to the notion that it is some quality of the utterance – its truth – that is at issue. As will be demonstrated at length below, truth is frequently not at issue at all in the context of this semantic.

II.3.(b).5. Alternative perspectives on inter-subjective positioning – an intertextual view

Under these various evidential, truth-functional and hedging formulations, therefore, the semantics at issue is represented as emerging from meaning making in which individual speakers apply a 'subjective' coloration or slant to the propositional content of their utterances so as to hedge the truth value of that content or to indicate

doubts about its reliability. The semantics are construed as turning on whether individual speakers present themselves as willing or unwilling to commit to the truth of what they assert. Frequently the choice is construed as one between objective 'facts' and the subjective uncertainty of the modal or the evidential value. We noted above that Lyons, for example, speaks of modalised utterances as 'non-factive' and contrast these with ' factive' utterances, which are '*straightforward* statements of *fact* [which] may be described as "epistemically non-modal" (Lyons 1977: 794, emphases mine).

The evidential literature in particular is prone to see these resources as necessarily concerned with factuality. (For example, see the various papers in Chafe & Nichols 1986.) This perspective may be the result of the bias of much of the literature towards the ideational over the interpersonal. In the majority of cases, example utterances are of the type, 'It must have been a canoe', 'It smells like dried fish' (Jacobsen 1986: 20-23). That is, the operation of the values is analysed in the context of experiential relationships, rather than in the context of the positioning of other interpersonal values. Examples such as 'Their leader must be corrupt' or 'Perhaps their leader should change his approach.' are significantly rarer.

The central concern, therefore, is seen to be one of truth. There is an implication, therefore, in the various formulations that the overriding purpose of communication is to exchange truth values and that these modal, evidential or hedging values are introduced only in communicatively non-optimal circumstances. Thus the speaker is represented as inserting modal values and hence adopting an interpersonal position when they have failed to achieve an absolute, and hence 'straightforward' (following Lyon's citation above), commitment to the truth of their utterances. These are thus values to be used, so to speak, when facts fail you. The term 'hedge', I believe, reflects this perspective, suggesting as it does some form of evasion or even deceit, some sense of improperly 'having it both ways' .

Such approaches are also informed by a view of communication in which either speaker or speaker and listener are constructed in individualised terms, rather than as social subjects dealing with meanings informed by and reflecting social structures and conditions. Thus the presence of the modal/evidential/hedging value is seen primarily

to reflect the speaker's individual state of mind – speakers insert a modal qualification, for example, as a way of signalling their uncertainty, as a way of coding their individual lack of commitment to some propositional content.

Under the model developed here, however, I adopt an approach to these values which gives a greater role to the audience, or at least to the way texts can be seen to negotiate meanings with actual and potential audiences. As well, I construe meaning making in social rather than individualised terms and will not give priority to ideational content and its associated truth value.

In this I am reflecting general systemic functional assumptions about language and language use. I am, however, more specifically influenced by Bakhtin's notions of 'heteroglossia' and 'intertextuality' (1973, 1981, 1986) and by Lemke's explication of heteroglossia in *Interpersonal Meaning in Discourse* (Lemke 1992). Bakhtin and Lemke argue that all communities operate with multiple, sometimes convergent, sometimes divergent, social realities or world views and this process of convergence/divergence will be reflected textually. As Lemke states,

> There are multiple social semiotic realities because all social communities are heterogeneous: there are multiple practices and systems of interrelated practices that do not agree. According to different semiotic codes of construal, there are always alternative ways to interpret what the "present context" is, and there are different patterns of redundancies between contexts and the actions deemed appropriate or meaningful in those contexts. (Lemke 1992: 83).

Thus texts are what Bakhtin terms 'heteroglossic' — they all directly address or at least implicitly acknowledge a certain array of more or less convergent and divergent socio-semiotic realities. They address those alternative realities as expressed in previous texts and as they are expected to be realised in future texts. As a consequence, every meaning within a text occurs in a social context where a number of alternative or contrary meanings could have been made, and derives its social meaning and significance from the relationships of divergence or convergence into which it enters with those alternative meanings. As Lemke observes,

> A text is dialogical in the sense that the intertextual contextualization of its meaning includes or is likely to include intertexts from divergent social viewpoints. Lexical choices are always made against the background of their history of use in the community, they carry the 'freight' of their associations with them, and a text must often struggle to appropriate another's word to make it its own. (Lemke 1992: 85)

(This notion of heteroglossia is also reflected in Foucault's account of intertextuality. Thus Foucault states, 'there can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualize others' – 1972: 98. Its foundational role in Fairclough's critical discourse analysis – Fairclough 1989, 1992 etc – will be explored where appropriate in following sections.)

When informed by this view of text as heteroglossic, our approach to these semantics will be rather different from the individualistic approach exemplified by Lyons' definition. Rather than seeing these values as necessarily oriented to coding a speaker's individual position or attitude, I will see them as operating to reflect the process of interaction or negotiation within a text between alternative socio-semiotic positions.

Under the individualistic (what Lemke terms 'social interactionist') model, a modal value such as 'maybe' or 'I think that ..' is seen as acting to indicate uncertainty or lack of commitment to, or confidence in the truth values by the individual speaker – it is seen as epistemological, as a reflex of the speaker's current state of knowledge with respect to some propositional content. Under the heteroglossic perspective, rather than necessarily reflecting the speaker's state of knowledge, it can additionally or alternatively be seen as signalling that the meanings at stake are subject to heteroglossic negotiation. It may have no connection at all with doubt or vagueness, being used, instead, to acknowledge the contentiousness of a particular proposition, the willingness of the speaker to negotiate with those who hold a different view, or the deference of the speaker for those alternative views.

The terms of that negotiation will vary according to the context of situation and, in particular, the social relationships between speaker and audience. Thus, within academic discourse, the speaker may use a modal of probability to acknowledge the

contentiousness or novelty of a given meaning, thereby coding a willingness to recognise and negotiate with divergent heteroglossic positions over that meaning. Such functionality is exemplified below by an extract from an article in which the writer seeks to advance the novel, contentious proposition that Marx was a precursor of contemporary anthropological theories of culture. In the course of this opening paragraph, the writer goes from characterising the proposition as extremely improbable, to asserting it forcibly. The movement is not from actual doubt, vagueness or epistemological unreliability to certainty. It is a rhetorical move designed to deal with the novelty and contentiousness of the author's primary proposition. (I have firstly underlined the various wordings which characterise various meanings in these modal terms, and then the final affirmative statement, where the author declares his position without qualification.)

> This consideration of Marx as a precursor, though a largely unacknowledged one, of the modern anthropological theory of culture is situated on somewhat improbable terrain. It lies in a no-man's-land between two rather unlikely propositions: first, that there can be anything much new to be said about Marx; and second, that, having been enthusiastically cited now for a century by those who would entirely conflate human history with natural history and culture, into its occasioning circumstances, Marx had anything at all of value to say to his contemporaries - still less has anything to offer us about culture. Yet such a consideration is neither absurd nor untimely, as Raymond Williams' recent discussion cited above demonstrates. (Kessler 1987: 35)

In other contexts, the same general semantic resources may be used towards rather different rhetorical ends. For example modals of probability may function to enable speakers to avoid indicating a firm preference for one heteroglossic position, not because they entertain genuine epistemological doubt over the issue or because they wish to show deference to alternative positions, but because they choose, for whatever interpersonal reasons, to resist being positioned in this way. The following extract from the stage play, *Educating Rita*, illustrates such a strategy. (The character Rita is a mature age university student from a working class background. Frank is her university tutor. The pair are engaged in a one-to-one tutorial session.)

Rita: That's a nice picture, isn't it Frank?

Frank: Uh yes, I suppose it is.

Rita: It's very erotic.

Frank: Actually I don't think I've looked at this picture in 10 years, but, yes, it is, I suppose so.

Rita: Well, there's no suppose about it.

The extract demonstrates a clash in the interpersonal styles (what we might term codes, following Bernstein 1970) between Rita's monoglossic and Frank's heteroglossic rhetorical strategy. Presumably the audience doesn't interpret Frank's lines as indicating that the character has a great deal invested epistemologically or interpersonally in the painting. Rather, the Frank character here seems to be using values of probability (I suppose, I don't think etc), not out of either doubt, deference or a desire to save Rita's 'face', but as almost a passive aggressive tool for insisting upon his heteroglossic mode and for denying or seeking to suppress the Rita character's monoglossic mode. Rita, of course, is alive to this strategy and confronts it through what amounts to a rejection of heteroglossia in this particular context – 'Well, there's no suppose about it.' (See Martin to appear/c for an extended discussion of interpersonal positioning in *Educating Rita*.)

A crucial feature of these values, therefore, is their context-dependent polysemous functionality. In a sense, this multi-functionality can be seen as analogous to that of the smile as a communicative device. In one context, a smile may act or be read as genuinely signalling a mental state of happiness or pleasure in the person smiling. In other contexts the smile is a politeness marker, exchanged between acquaintances as they pass in the corridor, for example, as an indicator of recognition or acknowledgment, and thus carrying no affectual value at all. Similarly, a modal value of probability may, in one context, signal genuine epistemological doubt in the speaker. Equally, it may have no connection at all with doubt, being used, rather to acknowledge the contentiousness of a particular proposition, the willingness or unwillingness of the speaker to negotiate with those who hold a different view, or the deference the speaker wishes to display for those alternative views.

From this Bakhtinian perspective, therefore, I characterise as too narrowly-based those formulations which would construe such values exclusively in negative terms as 'hedges', as deviations from 'straightforward' factuality, or as points of epistemological unreliability. We should, rather, see them as acting to open up, or to extend the semantic potential available to the text – in some contexts enhancing the possibility of a continued heteroglossic negotiation between divergent positions, and in others acting to forestall or fend off that negotiation.

II.3.(b).6. The scope of ENGAGEMENT: attribution, modality and intertextuality

As indicated previously, the range of values incorporated in ENGAGEMENT as formulated in the current work is a broad one. Attribution or reported speech, for example, is one resource which I include within ENGAGEMENT but which would not typically be included in evidential/modality/hedging systems. Chafe (1986) is one exception in that he includes the citing of references and sources within his category of 'hearsay evidence', though he notes that this is unusual.

The grounds for including these and other resources within a general semiotic category will be explored further in following chapters. Here, I will foreshadow that discussion by reviewing the literature upon which I later rely. In so doing I will present the key theoretical principles by which I justify grouping together the lexicogrammatically diverse resources which constitute ENGAGEMENT

I rely here substantially on Fuller's (1995, 1998) description of the grammar of discourse negotiation. In the previous section I explored the consequences of applying the Bakhtinian notion of intertextuality to an analysis of the meanings typically included with accounts of evidentiality/modality/hedging. Fuller applies the same perspective more fully to describing the resources the language makes available for construing and characterising the various voices, discourses and social positions which make up the complex intertextual surface of a text. She combines this Bakhtinian perspective with some key insights from within SFL into the way the language organises semantic relationships. She develops her grammar of discourse negotiation by means of what is termed the 'topological' approach introduced into SFL by Lemke (1995) and developed more fully by Martin and Matthiessen (1992).

Her approach enables her to demonstrate the common functionality of a diverse range of lexico-grammatical resources, including reported speech, Circumstances of Role and Angle, modal verbs, comment adjuncts, apposition in the nominal group, and so on. She shows that they all act to locate utterances within the text's heteroglossic diversity and to characterise the text's propositional content as multiply sourced.

Topological accounts provide alternative perspectives to typologies. Under typologies, exemplified in SFL by system networks, the description is concerned with points of difference. Topologies, in contrast, explore the various axes along which items may be more or less similar or different. They are concerned, therefore, with graded, fuzzily bounded rather than absolute categories and with degrees of membership in a classification. Since topologies typically compare items along various axes of similarity, items may be closely related along one axis, but a significant distance apart along another. Since they adopt a spatial metaphor, topologies locate items within continuous semantic landscapes, rather than within the absolute discontinuities of classical semantic taxonomies[2].

The topological approach enables us to discover broad patterns of semantic commonality which transcend the narrower differences which would be emphasised by a typological account. This can be demonstrated with reference to Halliday's account (Halliday 1994: 354-367) of interpersonal metaphor, an analysis which is essentially topological in its approach. This account, for example, would argue that all the following wordings share the same broad topological space in the semantics:

- I suspect Mary knows
- I think Mary knows
- In my opinion Mary knows
- I'm certain Mary knows
- Mary may know
- Mary'll know

[2] Lemke defines topology in the following terms, 'A topology, in mathematical terms, is a set of criterial for establishing degrees of nearness or proximity among members of the same category. It turns a 'collection' or set of objects into a space defined by the relations of those objects. Objects which are more alike by the criteria are represented in this space as being closer together, those which are less alike are further apart. There can be multiple criteria, which may be more or less independent on each other, so that two texts, for instance, may be closer together on one dimension ..but further apart on another... [from Lemke 'The topology of genre...'unpublished earlier draft of Lemke 1995]

- Mary must know
- Mary possibly knows
- Mary probably knows
- Mary definitely knows
- It's possible Mary knows
- It's probably Mary knows
- It's certain Mary knows.

Despite the diversity of the items' lexicogrammar (projections, modal verbs, comment adjuncts, relational process), they are all located in the semantic space of probability (Halliday 1994: 358). The key argument here, of course, is that tagged questions target the minor rather than the major clause (*I think Mary knows, doesn't she*; *I'm certain Mary knows the answer, doesn't she*.), indicating that the minor clause supplies the main propositional content, with the major clause acting to indicate probability. The argument, therefore, is that by this process of grammatical metaphor, wordings diversely located in the lexicogrammar are brought together into the same topological space in the discourse semantics. With this broad semantic domain, the words are further organised topologically along various axes of similarity and difference. Thus they are located along a cline between the end point of negative and positive – possibly, probably, certainly. Likewise, they are located along a cline of what Halliday terms subjectivity, with the notion here referencing the degree that the subjecthood underlying the value of probability is foregrounded. The cline, operating from most subjective to least subjective includes the following – I think Mary knows, Mary may know, Possibly Mary knows, It's possible Mary knows. The topological arrangement within this domain of probability is diagrammed in Figure 1 below.

The topological approach thus enables us to discover fundamental discourse semantic similarities operating across lexico-grammatical diversity, or, as Martin and Matthiessen assert, 'agnations between environments that are too far apart within the lexico-grammar for them to be brought together [within a typological analysis]' (Martin and Matthiessen 1992: 358).

Fuller applies a topological perspective to discover the interrelationship between a diverse range of linguistic resources in construing discourse negotiation. Most

significant for our current context, is, firstly, her analysis of the relationships between attribution (reported speech etc) and modal values of probability and, secondly, her account of the semantics of different values of attribution. I will explore these two areas in turn.

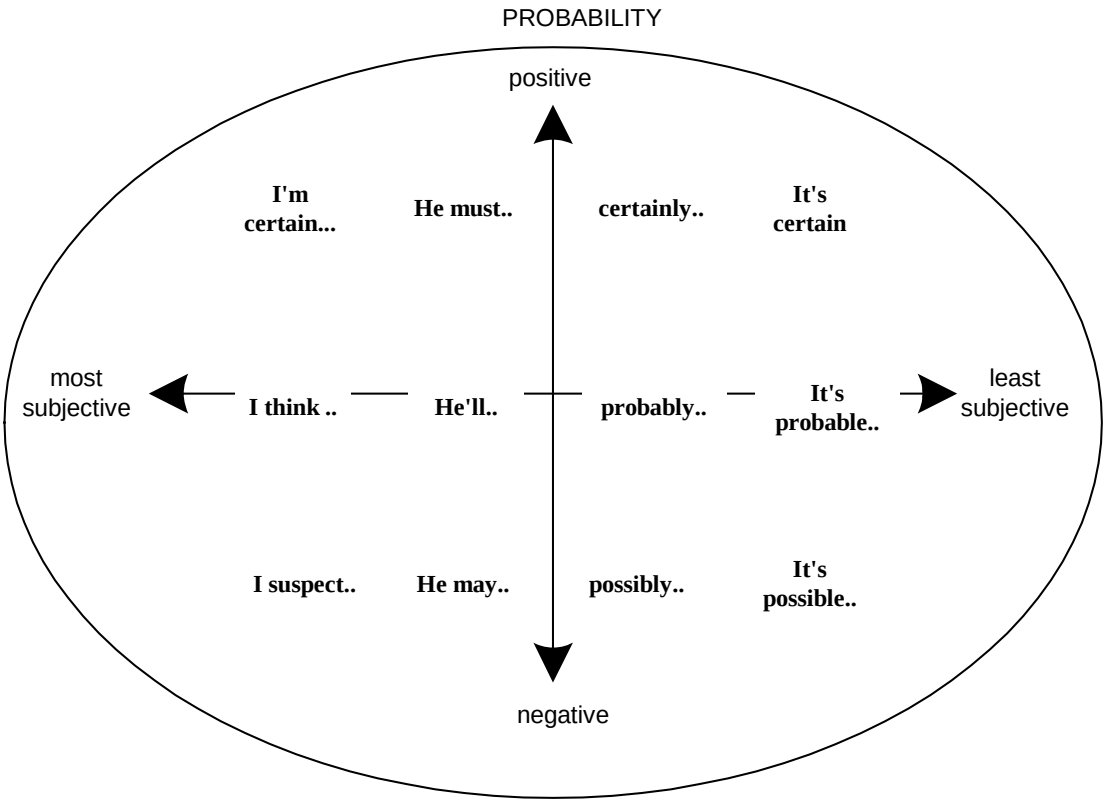


Figure 1: Topological view of probability

Fuller demonstrates that attribution and probability share a common functionality in that they both construct the text as multiply determined intertextually. Here she makes use of Bakhtin's notion of the 'our-own-ness' and the 'other-ness' of a text's multiple voices.

> Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness and varying degrees of 'our-own-ness', varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluation tone, which we assimilate, rework and reaccentuate. (Bakhtin 1986: 89, cited in Fuller 1995: 113)

Both attribution and probability are concerned with the characterisation of the various voices within a text in terms of degrees of 'our-own-ness' and 'other-ness'. Attribution acts to insert 'other voices' into the text. At the extreme end of 'otherness' are the voices introduced through direct speech. – eg, *X said, 'proposition Y'*. Other propositional content not so characterised carries with it a sense of 'our-own-ness' in that, by default, the text's utterances are understood as emanating from the speaker. There is an understood 'I say' which accompanies the text. Values of probability (along with some other meanings) foreground or make explicit the authorial role as a source of one of the intertextual strands which constitute the text. This follows naturally from the subjectivity of modal values. To modalise propositional content is to cast it in terms of inter-subjective position. But as Fuller points out, the authorial role may be even more explicitly represented through interpersonal metaphors of probability exemplified by 'I think/suppose/guess… .' The key point here is that such metaphors operate at two stratal levels – at both the level of the lexicogrammar and the discourse semantics. At the discourse semantic level, the meanings are interpersonal – coding an inter-subjective value of probability, as Halliday's analysis of the tagging behaviour of such structures indicates. (Tags target the Subject of the projected clause, not the projecting clause, indicating that modal responsibility is assigned to the MOOD element of the projected clause, not the projecting Sensor – 'I think <u>he's</u> left already, hasn't <u>he</u>'.) At the lexico-grammatical level, in contrast, such structures exploit the ideational metafunction to make their meanings. The meanings at issue are construed in terms of an experiential mental process which projects the propositional content at issue. By this mechanism, the authorial role is explicitly represented in the text as the Senser who does the projecting. The intertextual role of the authorial voice as source is thereby foregrounded.

Of course, modals of probability and agnate structures not only introduce the authorial voice more explicitly into the text, but also evoke the possibility of alternative, though unspecified, voices. The voice that opines, for example, that 'the government may be corrupt' simultaneously evokes voices who make different statements with respect to the government. The modal locates the proposition at some point in the semantic space between the polar opposites of absolute 'Yes' (the positive) and absolute 'No' (the negative). By so locating the utterance, the modal brings into play all the other

points along the cline between the polar absolutes. Thus, to assert 'I think …' is to bring into play all the other instances of 'I' who would think differently. One of those alternatives is, of course, 'You' – the listener/reader who is invited to interact with the text's proposition through the value of probability. Values of probability thus act to introduce not only author but also audience into the text.

Fuller's account not only enables her to locate both attribution and probability within a semantics of discourse negotiation, but to more precisely map the semantics of individual items. She argues for a topological cline along which values of attribution and probability may be located. That topology is set out below.

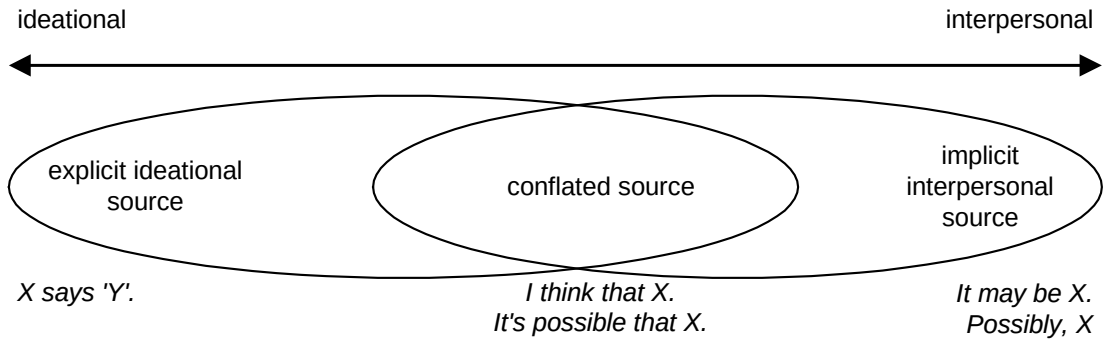


Figure 2: The topological space between ideational and interpersonal sourcing (after Fuller 1995: 188)

Thus we see that both attribution and probability are concerned with the sourcing of a text's heteroglossic voices. They differ, however, in that attribution construes that sourcing in ideational terms while implicit probability construes it in interpersonal terms. Thus, at the ideational extreme (attribution), intertextuality is coded by means of the experiential grammar of verbal processes and projection. At the interpersonal extreme (implicit probability) it is coded through the interpersonal grammar of modal verbs and comment adjuncts. Lying midway between the two are the interpersonal metaphors of probability (*I think that, It's possible that*) which, as discussed above, are both ideational and interpersonal. They are, accordingly, located midway between the two extremes.

This analysis provides for another insight which is of importance for the current context. It provides for a principled explanation of the way that attribution may be felt

to function as a type of modality within, for example, media texts. That is to say, varying degrees of probability will be attached to an attributed proposition according to the social status and epistemic standing of its source. Thus a high degree of probability is likely to attach to the reported statements of, for example, emergency services spokespersons in the context of accident reports, or to the statements of 'world renowned authorities' in the case of science stories. Similarly, substantially lower orders of probability will attach to the statements of criminals, 'maverick' politicians or stigmatised foreign governments. Fuller's account explains this modal quality of attribution by reference to her notion of varying modes of intertextual sourcing.

Fuller also provides a useful account of the semantics of the various values of attribution. These resources, she argues, vary according to the degree to which the intertextual voice remains differentiated from the surrounding text. They are located along a cline within which she identifies the following sub domains or spaces:

- representation – space of explicit differentiation of the intertextual discourse through projection as semiotic content (*He said, 'X', He reported that X, He thought X*)
- assigning – discourse no longer projected as semiotic content but is recontextualised as part of the representing discourse (*He considers X, Y. He sees X as Y*)
- situating – meaning is rendered as deriving from elsewhere but is not projected or assigned (*According to A, X is Y*)
- assimilation – discourse merged into the representing text, negotiated through restatement and reformulation (*A did X, that is to say he did Y*). (Fuller 1995: 182-186)

In this, Fuller supplies a detailed lexicogrammatical account of what Fairclough has termed 'manifest intertextuality' (Fairclough 1992:104). Fairclough has also observed the cline along which the intertextual material may, at one extreme, be clearly signalled as external and, at the other, will be assimilated and merged into the style, key and tone of the surrounding textual context. He observes, for example, that in the case of indirect speech, 'there is always an ambivalence about whether the actual wording is attributable to the person whose speech is represented, or to the author of

the main text.' (1992: 105). He argues that such manifest intertextuality, with indeterminate boundaries between its various internal and external voices, may lead to ambiguity and ambivalence.

> If the surface of a text may be multiply determined by the various other texts which go into its composition, then elements of that textual surface may not be clearly placed in relation to the text's intertextual network, and their meaning may be ambivalent; different meanings may coexist, and it may not be possible to determine 'the' meaning. (1992: 105)

The communicative functionality of reported speech and related structures will be taken up at length in later chapters, and in most detail in chapter 7. There I will argue that the ambivalence and under-determination identified by Fairclough and the modal properties of attribution identified by Fuller will provide vital functionality in a strategy of tactical impersonalisation associated with the interpersonal style of the 'hard news' report.

II.3.(c). Graduation

II.3.(c).1. The semantics of scaling

The theory of interpersonal positioning set out in the thesis proposes a grouping of meanings to be labelled 'GRADUATION'. The category encompasses a semantic of graduation or scaling, either in terms of the preciseness or sharpness of focus with which an item exemplifies a valeur relationship, or in terms of the interpersonal force which the speaker attaches to an utterance. These two dimensions will variously be labelled 'FOCUS' and 'FORCE'. The sub-category of FOCUS is exemplified by items such as *loosely speaking, sort'v, par excellence, true friend,* and FORCE by *slightly, very, really, a bit, again and again, bloody awful, desperate bid, prices skyrocketed* etc.

II.3.(c).2. Focus

FOCUS covers essentially the same domain as Lakoff's category of 'hedges', in the narrower sense of the word as it is used by Lakoff in his 1972 paper. Lakoff discusses 'hedges' in the following terms, 'For me, some of the most interesting questions are raised by the study of words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness – words whose job is to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy. I will refer to such words as

"hedges"' (1973: 471). For Lakoff, these hedges express degrees of category membership. The concept arises from fuzzy-set theory (Zadeh 1963) which is concerned with the way that certain members of a category will have core, or prototype status within that category, while others will have more marginal membership. The idea was developed in Rosch's 'prototype theory'(Rosch 1973). Lakoff describes hedges such as *sort of* as modifying the terms in which predicates are assigned to a category.

Lakoff was interested in hedges (values of FOCUS) in the context of theories of cognition. In the current context, I am concerned with their discourse semantic functionality. Values of FOCUS allow for temporary revaleurisations, for the speaker to blur the boundaries of a valeur relationship or to assert that the item at issue represents a core exemplar of a valeur relationship.

In *Vague Language*, Chanell (1994) explores a set of language phenomena which have some overlap with the values sometimes included within 'hedging' and with the values which I will include under the heading of GRADUATION:FOCUS. Channell is concerned with uses of language which are in someway 'imprecise' or less than 'exact', including approximators of measure (*around 100, five or six articles*), approximations through the use of round numbers (*the city has a population of one million*), non-numerical approximators of measure (*a load of , heaps of, a few* etc), vague references to categories (*sort of, or something*).

Channell's work is still located in a context of individualistic interaction and so may need reinterpretation if its insights were to be understood in the terms of the intertextual, heteroglossic perspective adopted here. Nevertheless her analysis of the various linguistic phenomena which she investigates do provide significant support, in general terms, for the approach adopted in this thesis. One of Channell's key conclusions, in the current context, is that this 'vague language' has an extremely diverse, contextually-determined, communicative functionality – the same wordings may serve very different rhetorical ends in different contexts of situation. Thus vague language may indicate:

- lack of familiarity with subject matter
- lack of familiarity with vocabulary

- the absence of a superordinate category in the language's repertoire of lexical items
- unequal power or social status
- a concern to demonstrate politeness
- a deliberate strategy of withholding information
- a strategy of persuasion
- etc

In this characterisation, there are strong echoes of my claims about the polysemous functionality of values of probability (though Channell is largely concerned with values of what I will term FOCUS – *sort of* etc – and not with modality, which she explicitly excludes from her study.) The key point of commonality is that Channell sees these values as acting to extend the speaker's rhetorical repertoire, as extending semantic potential. In this she has identified a semantic principle which parallels that which I observe under my analysis of the broader category of ENGAGEMENT.

II.3.(c).3. FORCE

FORCE includes resources which elsewhere have been analysed under the headings 'intensifiers', 'emphatics' and 'emphasisers'. (See, for example, Holmes 1984 and Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartivik 1985: 590-97.) Labov (1984) offers a detailed account under the heading of intensity. He describes the semantics at issue as 'at the heart of social and emotional expression' (1984: 43). He stresses that descriptions can not be confined to the set of adverbs which code intensity directly – *very, so, really* etc, – but must include 'linguistic forms which are normatively devoted to logical relations and conceptual categories'. He defines intensity as 'the emotional expression of social orientation toward the linguistic proposition: the commitment of the self to the proposition.' A truth-functional and ideational bias similar to that discussed in the context of evidentiality and epistemic modality is found in some of Labov's formulations. He suggests, for example, that values such as *really*, represent a 'cognitive zero'. Presumably, since such meanings have a clear interpersonal function, he is asserting that there is no cognitive involvement in interpersonal meaning making. In a similar vein, he characterises structures with *really* as establishing a 'surreal mood, the converse of irrealis, in designating a state of

reality greater than normal' (1984: 44). Surely an utterance such as 'I really worked while I was away' represents precisely the same order of reality as 'I worked while I was away.' The difference is one of interpersonal positioning, not of ontology. The problem for Labov seems to arise from attempting to construe interpersonal values in terms of the ideational.

In his description, Labov notes that there is no closed set of markers of intensity, with the value signalled by a large and miscellaneous class of devices. He pays special attention to the hyperbolic use of universal qualifiers.

Labov provides another account of intensity in the course of his discussion of narratives of personal experience in *The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax* (1972). Here intensity functions as part of a broader interpersonal semantic which Labov calls 'evaluation'. For Labov, this evaluation is what provides the 'point of any narrative', 'what the narrative is getting at' (p. 366). Without this evaluation, Labov argues, attempted narratives are dysfunctional and provoke the question, 'So what?'. Perhaps, most notably for the current context, Labov observes that such evaluative devices are spread throughout narratives and that there are 'waves of evaluation' with scope across the text's structure. By this observation, Labov acknowledges the prosodic, dispersed mode of functionality of interpersonal values.

In the next chapter I will propose a new approach to sub-classifying values of FORCE , and thereby interpreting the semantic inter-relationships which structure this semantic space of amplification/intensification.

II.3.(d). Biber and Finegan – styles of stance

The thesis is concerned with methodologies for discovering patterns of preference in texts for interpersonal values from what will be termed the 'APPRAISAL' system. Such patterns relate to the distinctive interpersonal and rhetorical functionality of a given text type. Specifically, the thesis is concerned with the pattern of discourse-semantic preferences which constitute what will be termed 'reporter voice', the interpersonal mode most typically associated with 'hard news' reporting. The approach adopted here has precursors in those studies concerned with discovering the linguistic basis of what are perceived to be styles or fashions of speaking or writing. My general

approach – though not the details of the descriptive framework – has been influenced by that of Biber and Biber & Finegan's analysis of 'styles of stance' (Biber 1988, Biber and Finegan 1989). Biber & Finegan's work is located in a research tradition – originally concerned with systematic differences between speech and writing – which has sought to identify the various patterns of co-occurrence of lexico-grammatical features by which various styles or fashions of meaning are constituted. (See, for example, Hymes 1974, Chafe 1982 or Bernstein 1970.) I share with Biber & Finegan a methodology which observes a network of interpersonally-oriented values operating together to position speakers/authors with respect to their propositions/proposals and their audience.

I differ significantly from Biber and Biber & Finegan in terms of the model of interpersonal semantics that I apply, and in the mode in which I conduct my text analysis. Biber and Finegan's approach is designed to be suitable for an automated, computerised text analysis (though some hand tagging is also involved). Their analyses, therefore, involve the tagging of a set of predetermined lexical items which have been pre-classified as conveying a particular interpersonal value. Although my analysis is computer assisted, it has not been automated – each lexical item in the 22 texts which constituted my textual sample was individually analysed. This meant I was able to include a much greater array of meanings and to take into account the semantic variation conditioned by contextual and co-textual factors. Perhaps more importantly, my mode of analysis was designed to take into account the interaction between the various interpersonal values. As will be demonstrated, some of the key patterns of semantic preference operating in media texts only became apparent when this interaction was taken into account.

Biber and Finegan's analysis assumes two broad functional categories, what they term 'affect' and 'evidentiality'. They divide affect into positive and negative categories and evidentiality into 'certainty' and 'doubt' (Biber and Finegan 1989: 98). Their system is summarised below:

1. AFFECT

- Positive – I feel fortunate, I enjoy, happily
- Negative – I am shocked, I dread, disturbingly

2. EVIDENTIALITY

- Certainty – impossible, obvious, I conclude, assuredly, for sure, really, will, shall
- Doubt – alleged, dubious, I assume, allegedly, might, could, ought, should

Their view of affect is, in broad terms, compatible with that adopted by the current work. All but one of the items they include within 'evidentiality' are included within either ENGAGEMENT or GRADUATION as previewed above. (Biber & Finegan's category of predictive modal has not been included.) Their descriptive framework, however, differs most significantly from that of the current work in that they make no attempt to explore differences in the rhetorical potential of any of the resources which fall under their various headings. They thus make no attempt to take into account the significance for interpersonal positioning which might follow from a systematic favouring of some of these values and a disfavouring of others. Perhaps the most significant difference separating the two approaches follows from the identification, in the current work, of the categories of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, the two dimensions of evaluation by which social norms are applied to assess human behaviour and the form, constitution, impact and presentation of objects and entities. JUDGEMENT is exemplified by values such as *corruptly, lewdly, skilfully, courageously, eccentric* etc and APPRECIATION by *beautiful, graceful, harmonious, striking, significant* etc. JUDGEMENT in particular will be shown to be central to patterns of semantic preference by which the voice of 'hard news' is constituted. Biber & Finegan's analysis takes no account of any values from these two semantic domains.

As a consequence, Biber & Finegan produce rather different findings from that of the current thesis. In particular, they do not discover patterns of semantic preference by which, for example, 'hard news' reporting might be distinctively characterised, or by which news reporting might be separated from, for example, media commentary or editorials. The pattern of preferences they term 'faceless stance' is found, for example, to be widely operational not only in press reportage, but also in press reviews and press editorials, and also in academic prose, general fiction and so on. (Biber and Finegan 1989: 103)

There are, therefore, significant differences in the orientation and research objectives of the two approaches. Biber & Finegan seek to discover relatively broad variations in

interpersonal style across a wide range of texts and their methodology is designed to achieve this. My approach, in contrast, is much more narrowly directed towards discovering detailed differences between different types of journalism, towards discovering what is distinctive about the interpersonal style of news reporting and to understanding the rhetorical potential which flows from this.

II.3.(e). SFL models of the interpersonal

II.3.(e).1. Tenor: power and solidarity

In section II.2 above, I provided an account of the foundational principles which inform SFL theory. In this section I turn more specifically to its modelling of the interpersonal metafunction. I begin by exploring the social dimension with which the interpersonal most directly interacts, that of Tenor, before turning to the realisation of Tenor variables in the discourse semantics and the lexicogrammar.

Tenor is concerned with the constitution of social roles and relationships and the way those role and relationships are negotiated between speakers. It is realised primarily by interpersonal meanings. A model of tenor, developed by Poynton, has been widely influential within SFL in identifying three dimensions by which relationships may be organised – power, contact and affect (1985, 1990). Poynton's model, in turn, relies on Brown and Gilman's classic analysis of the pronouns of address in European languages in which they demonstrate that pronoun choice is determined by relationships of power and solidarity between interlocutors (Brown and Gilman 1960). Poynton splits Brown and Gilman's dimension of solidarity in two, distinguishing between social distance or intimacy, which she terms contact, and an attitudinal dimension concerned with the speaker's attitude and emotion, which she terms affect (Poynton 1985: 76).

The model of tenor relationships adopted here differs from that of Poynton in a couple of points. Following Martin (for example, Christie and Martin 1997, Martin in press) I propose that affect is better understood as operating at the level of the discourse semantics than at the level of context of situation. From this perspective, emotional reaction/disposition is understood in terms of linguistic content rather than context of situation– it is understood as a mode of meaning construed, for example, through

mental Processes. Poynton's own observations with respect to affect are suggestive of this approach. Thus she states:

> The third dimension, affect, differs from the other two in that it may be absent, whereas an interaction can always be located on a cline somewhere between equal and unequal power, and somewhere between greatest and least contact… Whether or not affect is marked will depend on what kind of power and contact choices have been made: in particular, the subordinate in an unequal power relationship is less likely to choose affect than the superior … while in interactions characterised in terms of greatest contact, i.e. intimacy, affect is expected. (Poynton 1985: 78)

This suggests that choices as to affect are not, in fact, made in parallel with choices as to power and contact, but are in some way dependent on values of power and contact. I adopt the position, which will be demonstrated in later chapters, that choices as to affect act to construe power and/or contact. Thus affect is treated as a discourse semantic resource for construing power and contact, not as a simultaneous dimension of the context of situation.

I depart from Poynton, as well, in adopting a less individualised approach to what Poynton terms 'contact'. For Poynton, contact tracks 'the frequency of interaction and the extent of time (of both the relationship itself and also individual communicative episodes)' (1985: 77). Such a formulation is obviously directed towards the relationships between individuals who come into direct social contact. But the 'contact' established between a media text and its audience must obviously be understood in less concrete, interactional and contingent terms. Within such a context, we are concerned, rather, with degrees of compatibility and the possibility of negotiation between the different social positions which operate in any speech community and with which a mass-communicative discourse such as that of the media must seek to negotiate. I use the term 'solidarity' (returning to Brown and Gilman's terminology) rather than 'contact', therefore, to reference this more abstract, less individualised formulation. Solidarity under this formulation is not simply a measure of the extent of the agreement between social subjectivities, but is a more general measure of the degree of empathy, sympathy or openness of one social position to another. It is possible, therefore, for some degree of solidarity to operate between

divergent social positions, according to the degree that they remain open to interaction and negotiation. Thus a media text constructs a sense of its solidarity with various social positions by dint of the degree that it acknowledges those positions or represents itself as open to negotiation with those positions. This approach to solidarity will be explored at various points in following chapters.

II.3.(e).2. Interpersonal grammar: realising Tenor

Tenor theory thus provides an account of the broad dimensions along which the context of situation is organised with respect to social roles and relationships. The mapping of the interface between Tenor and the interpersonal grammar is still relatively undeveloped within SFL. Accordingly, the linguistic resources by which the various Tenor variables are realised continue to provide a focus for research. The next several sections provide an account of recent work within SFL directed at more fully understanding the constitution of interpersonal values and thereby developing a grammar of power and solidarity. As indicated previously, much of that work has focused on resources which construe various modes of social evaluation and inter-subjective positioning, and I will review that work below. I follow Martin in using the term APPRAISAL (1997, in press etc) to reference this dimension. APPRAISAL is constituted of three broad semantic domains, ENGAGEMENT, GRADUATION and ATTITUDE. The first two categories have already been introduced. ATTITUDE covers a semantic space in which the language characterises phenomena in either negative and positive terms. It includes values of emotional response (AFFECT), values by which human behaviour is socially assessed (JUDGEMENT) and values which address the aesthetic qualities of objects and entities (APPRECIATION). In the next several sections, past work on various sub-systems of APPRAISAL will be reviewed.

II.3.(e).3. APPRAISAL: overview of SFL theoretical frameworks

II.3.(e).3.i. AFFECT: emotional response

The account of the interpersonal mode of 'hard news' reporting set out here relies on Martin's work on the discourse semantics of AFFECT (Martin 1992, Martin 1997 Martin in press etc). AFFECT is concerned with emotional response and disposition and is typically realised through mental processes of reaction (*This pleases me*, *I hate chocolate*, etc) and through attributive relationals of AFFECT (*I'm sad*, *I'm happy*, *She's*

proud of her achievements, he's frightened of spiders, etc). Martin's approach is holistic and culture specific, in contrast with the universalistic orientation of writers such as Wierzbicka (1986) who tend to focus on a single emotion and attempt to generalise across languages and cultures in order to discover universal semantic primitives.

Martin identifies several axes along which the semantics of emotion are organised and I briefly review these here. He notes that feelings are typically construed as either positive (enjoyable, to be welcomed) or negative (unwanted, unenjoyable, to be avoided.)

- positive AFFECT – *the boy was happy*
- negative AFFECT – *the boy was sad*

Emotions are also realised either as a surge of feeling (embodied in some paralinguistic or extralinguistic manifestation) or more prosodically as a mental state or predisposition.

- behavioural surge – *the boy laughed*
- mental disposition – *the boy liked the present/he felt happy*

Emotions are also construed as reacting to a specific stimulus or as an ongoing mood.

- reaction to other – *the present pleased the boy*
- undirected mood – *the boy was happy*

Emotions are graded along a cline from lowest to highest intensity.

- low – *the boy liked the present*
- median – *the boy loved the present*
- high – *the boy adored the present*

Martin broadly divides types of emotion along a realis versus irrealis divide. Realis values involve a reaction to a present or past stimulus – *the boy likes the present.* In contrast, irrealis involves intentions with respect to some prospective stimulus – *the boy wants the present*.

The Irrealis values are summarised below.

DIS/INCLINATION

- fear – (low) *wary*, (mid) *fearful*, (high) *terrorised*

- desire – *miss, long for, yearn for*

The Realis values are set out in the following.

UN/HAPPINESS

unhappiness

- misery – (low) *down,* (median) *sad,* (high) *miserable*
- antipathy – *dislike, hate, abhor*

happiness

- cheer – *cheerful, buoyant, jubilant*
- affection – *fond, loving, adoring*

IN/SECURITY

insecurity

- disquiet – *uneasy, anxious, freaked out*
- surprise – *taken aback, surprise, astonished*

security

- confidence – *together, confident, assured*
- trust – comfortable with, confident in, trusting

DIS/SATISFACTION

dissatisfaction

- ennui – *bored, fed up, exasperated*
- displeasure – *cross, angry, furious*

satisfaction

- interest – *curious, absorbed, engrossed*
- admiration – *satisfied, impressed, proud*

(From Martin in press: 8-9)

The consequences of values of affect for audience positioning and particularly for negotiating solidarity will be taken up in the next chapter.

II.3.(e).3.ii. JUDGEMENT: evaluating human behaviour

The attitudinal sub-system of JUDGEMENT encompasses meanings which serve to evaluate human behaviour positively and negatively by reference to a set of institutionalised norms. In this, I rely primarily on the work from the media project of

the Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP) detailed in Iedema, Feez and White 1994. I will review that work below.

The social norms at risk with JUDGEMENT take the form of rules and regulations or of less precisely defined social expectations and systems of value. Thus, under JUDGEMENT we may assess behaviour as moral or immoral, as legal or illegal, as socially acceptable or unacceptable, as normal or abnormal and so on.

The DSP materials propose two broad categories of JUDGEMENT and five narrower sub-types within these two categories. The authors stress, however, that since JUDGEMENT is so highly determined by cultural and ideological values, it should not be assumed the same sub-categorisations will apply in other cultural contexts, especially beyond the Western, English-speaking, essentially middle-class setting of the media analysis upon which the Media Literacy Report was based.

The Report proposes the two broad categories of social sanction and social esteem. JUDGEMENTS of social sanction involve an assertion that some set of rules or regulations, more or less explicitly codified by the culture, are at issue. Those rules may be legal or moral and hence JUDGEMENTS of social sanction turn on questions of legality and morality. From the religious perspective, breaches of social sanction will be seen as sins, and in the Western Christian tradition as 'mortal' sins. From the legal perspective they will be seen as crimes. Thus to breach social sanction is to risk legal or religious punishment, hence the term 'sanction'.

JUDGEMENTS of social esteem involve evaluations under which the person judged will be lowered or raised in the esteem of their community, but which do not have legal or moral implications. Thus negative values of social esteem will be seen as dysfunctional or inappropriate or to be discouraged but they will not be assessed as sins or crimes. (If you breach social sanction you may well need a lawyer or a confessor but if you breach social esteem you may just need to try harder or to practice more or to consult a therapist or possibly a self-help book.)

The DSP report divides social esteem into the following three subcategories: normality or custom (how unusual someone is, how customary their behaviour is),

capacity (how capable someone is) and tenacity (how dependable someone is, how well they are disposed emotionally or in terms of their intentionality).

The full system of JUDGEMENT, as set out in the Media Literacy report is set out below in Figure 3.

The Media Report links this taxonomy to underlying values of modality. The authors suggest that there is an underlying semantics of modulation or obligation, in that JUDGEMENT is concerned with what people should and should not do. In developments of the system subsequent to the Media Report, Martin has accordingly proposed that JUDGEMENT be understood as 'the institutionalization of feeling in the context of proposals' (1997a: 23). The Media Literacy report further argues that, at a more fine-grained level of analysis, the five sub-categories of JUDGEMENT are motivated by the five sub-categories of MODALITY: usuality, ability, inclination, probability and obligation. The following proportions apply:

normality (JUDGEMENT) is to usuality (MODALITY) what

capacity (JUDGEMENT) is to ability (MODALITY) what

tenacity (JUDGEMENT) is to inclination (MODALITY) what

veracity (JUDGEMENT) is to probability (OBLIGATION) what

propriety (JUDGEMENT) is to obligation (MODALITY).

Social Esteem	positive [admire]	negative [criticise]
normality (custom) 'is the person's behaviour unusual, special, customary?'	standard, everyday, average…; lucky, charmed…; fashionable, avant garde…	eccentric, odd, maverick…; unlucky, unfortunate…; dated, unfashionable …
capacity 'is the person competent, capable?'	skilled, clever, insightful…; athletic, strong, powerful…; sane, together…	stupid, slow, simple-minded…; clumsy, weak, uncoordinated…; insane, neurotic…
tenacity (resolve) 'is the person dependable, well disposed?'	plucky, brave, heroic…; reliable, dependable…; indefatigable, resolute, persevering	cowardly, rash, despondent…; unreliable, undependable…; distracted, lazy, unfocussed…

Social Sanction	positive [praise]	negative [condemn]
veracity (truth) 'is the person honest?'	honest, truthful, credible…; authentic, genuine…; frank, direct …;	deceitful, dishonest…; bogus, fake…; deceptive, obfuscatory…
propriety (ethics) 'is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	good, moral, virtuous…; law abiding, fair, just…; caring, sensitive, considerate…	bad, immoral, lascivious…; corrupt, unjust, unfair…; cruel, mean, brutal, oppressive…

Figure 3: JUDGEMENT (after Iedema, Feez, and White 1994)

The insight here is that each of the five sub-categories of JUDGEMENT involves an institutionalised evaluation of one value of MODALITY. Thus all values of capacity, for example, involve as an element of their semantics either ability or disability and that ability or disability acquires negative or positive value according to some institutionalised set of standards. Thus *clever*, *smart*, *insightful*, *powerful* etc involve a positive assessment of ability, while *cunning* involves a negative assessment of ability. Similarly all values of normality involve negative or positive assessments of the MODALITY value of usuality. Thus, *peculiar* and *abnormal* reference behaviours which are assessed negatively on the grounds of unusuality, while the *lucky* person is

one who is assessed positively on the grounds of unusuality (luck is a rare but valued commodity). In contrast, meanings such as *normal* and *everyday* typically acquire (depending of course on reader position), positive evaluations on the grounds of usuality. The same principle applies across the other values of JUDGEMENT.

The authors further distinguish between what they term 'inscribed' JUDGEMENT and 'tokens' of JUDGEMENT. Under the inscribed category, the evaluation is explicitly presented by means of a lexical item carrying the JUDGEMENT value, thus, *skilfully*, *corruptly*, *lazily* etc. It is possible, however, for JUDGEMENT values to be evoked rather than inscribed by what the authors label 'tokens' of JUDGEMENT. Under these tokens, JUDGEMENT values are triggered by superficially neutral, ideational meanings which nevertheless have the capacity in the culture to evoke judgemental responses (depending upon the reader's social/cultural/ideological reader position). Thus a commentator may inscribe a JUDGEMENT value of negative capacity by accusing the government of 'incompetence' or, alternatively, evoke the same value by means of a token such as 'the government has not laid the foundations for long term growth'. There is, of course, nothing explicitly evaluative about such an observation but it nonetheless has the potential to evoke evaluations of incompetence in readers who share a particular view of economics and the role of government. Similarly, a reporter might explicitly evaluate the behaviour of, for example, a Californian suicide cult as 'bizarre' or 'aberrant' or they might evoke such appraisals by means of tokens such as 'They referred to themselves as "angels"' or 'They filled the mansion with computers and cheap plastic furniture.' Such tokens, of course, assume shared social norms. They rely upon conventionalised connections between actions and evaluations. As such, they are highly subject to reader position — each reader will interpret a text's tokens of judgement according to their own cultural and ideological positioning. They are also subject to influence by the co-text, and an important strategy in the establishment of interpersonal positioning in a text is to stage inscribed and evoked evaluation in such a way that the reader shares the writer's interpretations of the text's tokens. (The issue of a text's reading position will be examined in the next chapter.)

II.3.(e).3.iii. APPRECIATION: evaluating products and processes

APPRECIATION is the system by which evaluations are made of products and processes. In this, I rely primarily on the work of Rothery, developed initially during research

into the language of the visual arts for various DSP projects, as well as subsequent analysis by Rothery and Stenglin of the role of evaluation in secondary school English essays (Rothery and Stenglin in press). (For a review see Martin 1997: 24-26). APPRECIATION encompasses values which fall under the general heading of aesthetics, as well as a non-aesthetic category of 'social valuation' which includes meanings such as *significant* and *harmful*. APPRECIATION can be thought of as the system by which human feelings, either positive or negative, towards products, processes and entities are institutionalised as a set of evaluations. Thus, whereas JUDGEMENT evaluates human behaviours, APPRECIATION typically evaluates texts, more abstract constructs such as plans and policies, as well as manufactured and natural objects. Humans may also be evaluated by means of APPRECIATION, rather than JUDGEMENT, when viewed more as entities than as participants who behave — thus, *a beautiful woman, a key figure*.

Rothery and Stenglin (in press) propose three subcategories under which appreciations may be grouped: reaction, composition and valuation. According to Rothery & Stenglin, reaction is 'interpersonally tuned. It describes the emotional impact of the work on the reader/listener/viewer.' Thus, under reaction, the product/process is evaluated in terms of the impact it makes or its quality. For example:

- reaction:impact:positive - *arresting, stunning, dramatic,*
- reaction:impact:negative - *dull, uninviting, monotonous,*
- reaction:quality:positive - *lovely, splendid, attractive,*
- reaction:quality:negative - *ugly, plain.*

Under composition, the product or process is evaluated according to its makeup, according to whether it conforms to various conventions of formal organisation. As Rothery and Stenglin state, 'Composition is textually tuned. It describes the texture of a work in terms of its complexity or detail.' For example:

- composition:balance:positive - *unified, symmetrical, harmonious,*
- composition:balance:negative - *unbalanced, incomplete, discordant,*
- composition:complexity:positive - *simple, intricate, precise,*
- composition:complexity:negative - *convoluted, simplistic.*

Under the subcategory of 'social value', the product or process is evaluated according to various social conventions. This domain is very closely tied to field in that the social valuation of one field will not be applicable or relevant in another. Thus we would expect that the set of social values which have currency in, for example, the visual arts, might not have extensive application in the world of politics. The key values for the media texts under consideration were those of social significance or salience (whether the phenomenon was *important, noteworthy, significant, crucial* etc) and of harm (whether the phenomenon was *damaging, dangerous, unhealthy* etc).

In the next chapter I will explore more fully the functionality of these various modes of evaluation – JUDGEMENT, AFFECT and APPRECIATION– in the context of hard news reporting. I will offer further justification for grouping them together under the heading of ATTITUDE and a detailed account of how values from the three dimensions interact.

II.3.(e).3.iv. AMPLIFICATION/GRADUATION

In a previous section I introduced the semantic system which is to be labelled 'GRADUATION'. The description of this semantic domain builds on previous work by Martin in the semantics of what he has termed 'amplification' (1997). Within AMPLIFICATION Martin distinguishes between explicit intensification and infused intensification. Explicit intensifications are grouped under three headings:

- intensity – scalable lexical items such as adverbs which grade and intensify meanings (*slightly, really, very*)
- enrich – repetition (*again and again*) and a taboo set of meanings (*fuck'n awful*)
- measure – measurements of number and extent both in substance, space and time (*small, large; light, heavy; few, many; near, far; immediately, soon*)

Infused intensification involves implicit values, where the sense of intensity is fused with an experiential value. This category will be discussed at length in the course of the discussion of FORCE in following chapters where I propose a different set of valeur relationships for this semantic domain.

II.3.(e).4. Overview: the interpersonal semantics

The APPRAISAL system thus includes the three sub-systems of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. This APPRAISAL sub-system is one of a set of three broadly-based systems by which recent SFL theory models the totality of interpersonal semantics. The sub-systems which operate at this level, in addition to APPRAISAL, are NEGOTIATION and INVOLVEMENT. I set out Martin's account (1997) of these resources, below.

NEGOTIATION is concerned with speech functions – with whether, on the one hand, the utterance is concerned with information or with influencing/controlling behaviour (goods-&-services in Halliday 1985/1994) and, on the other hand, with whether the utterance involves a demand or an offer. It is also concerned with turn taking, with the interacts by which conversational texts proceed. Obviously only those parts of NEGOTIATION which apply to monologic texts will be relevant to the present discussion. The consequences for interpersonal positioning of the distinction between information and good-&-services will be explored at some length in later chapters. The distinction will be shown to be significant for the constitution of one key interpersonal style operating within journalism, that associated most typically with 'hard news' reporting.

INVOLVEMENT has obvious significance for solidarity. It is concerned with meanings by which interlocutors code social closeness arising either from intimacy or from their shared membership in some distinct, non vernacularly-determined discourse community. Issues of INVOLVEMENT do arise for media texts – certain texts do construe different degrees of intimacy, and knowledge of specialist lexis is assumed, for example, on the sports and the finance pages. An INVOLVEMENT analysis, however, was not required for the purposes of the current project and therefore was not included in the discussion. A comprehensive account of the textuality of journalistic texts would, nevertheless, need to consider the semantics of INVOLVEMENT. Certainly a more comprehensive account of the way that media discourse acts to incorporate and hence to 'mediatise' a range of specialist discourses would need to attend to this semantic space. (For an extended discussion of this issue see Fairclough 1995) .

Together these three systems – NEGOTIATION, APPRAISAL and INVOLVEMENT – provide the discourse semantic resources by which the Tenor variables of power and solidarity are

realised. The system, following Martin, is set out in Table 1 below. Implications for the lexicogrammar and phonology are included.

II.3.(f). Interpersonal styles: voice theory

II.3.(f).1. The DSP Media Literacy report

The thesis sets out a theory of what will be termed 'journalistic voice'. In this it is concerned with various patterns of preference for values from the appraisal system which can be observed across groupings of texts. It pays particular attention to the pattern of discourse-semantic preferences which constitute what will be termed 'reporter voice', the interpersonal mode most typically associated with 'hard news' reporting. The theory of journalistic voice was first set out in the DSP Media Literacy Report, cited above. The current work is firmly grounded in that theory and I will accordingly summarise the DSP materials in the following sections. I will also briefly review several subsequent applications of voice theory to discourses other than the media. While the current work is grounded in the DSP work, it also acts to develop, refine and in some cases revise those initial descriptions. Although the original accounts of voice were based on analyses of a large number of texts, those analyses were relatively informal. The current work, therefore, seeks to lend further empirical support to the original formulations by testing them against a detailed and systematic analysis of a database of 22 media items. Although the current work very largely confirms the original findings, it does also identify points where the original theory needs either adjustment or further elaboration.

register (tenor)	discourse semantics	lexicogrammar	phonology
power solidarity	NEGOTIATION - speech function - exchange	- mood - tagging - polarity	- tone (and 'key')
	APPRAISAL - engagement - graduation - attitude	- modal verbs - modal adjuncts - reality phase - reporting/quoting - negation, - conjunctive relations of concession and consequentiality concession - 'evaluative lexis'	- loudness - pitch movement - voice quality - [formatting]
	INVOLVEMENT - naming - technicality - anti-language - swearing	- vocation/ names - technical lexis - specialised lexis - slang - taboo lexis	- 'accent' - whisper - acronyms - secret scripts

Table 1: Interpersonal resources (across strata) – after Martin 1997a: 21

In the Media Literacy report, Iedema, Feez and White, make a broad distinction between what they term an 'objective' and a 'subjective' journalistic voice. The 'objective' makes use of linguistic resources which signal 'factuality' – which exclude any overt commitment to 'truth value' and which allow for the authorial voice to remain absent from the surface of the text. As well, the 'objective' voice operates so as to assume certainty in its propositions. In contrast, 'subjective' voice texts use language which is explicitly interpretative, which signals doubt or certainty and which foregrounds the authorial voice. The authors note that the 'objective' voice, termed 'reporter voice', is typically associated with 'hard news' reporting. In contrast,

'subjective' voice, termed 'writer voice', typically associates with commentaries, opinion pieces and analytical features.

The current work extensively develops this account by replacing the idea of an 'objective' voice with the notion of a strategy of tactical impersonalisation which will be shown to underlie the distinctive rhetorical properties of 'hard news' reporting.

Iedema, Feez and White develop their characterisation of journalistic voice by reference to patterns of preferences for values of APPRAISAL. They make a three way distinction based on preferences for values from within the system of JUDGEMENT. They note that, in 'reporter-voice' texts ('objective' hard news reporting), there are no authorial values of inscribed JUDGEMENT. Any explicit JUDGEMENTS that occur (as opposed to ideational tokens of JUDGEMENT) are located in the quoted statements of outsides sources. Within the 'subjective' writer-voice texts, in contrast, the authorial voice is able to offer JUDGEMENTS on its own behalf. Within these 'subjective' texts, the authors note a further subdivision. In one grouping, the authorial voice has free access to all types of JUDGEMENT – the author may makes JUDGEMENTS from across the five sub-categories (normality, capacity, tenacity, veracity and propriety). They term this 'commentator voice', since it is the style most typically associated with the commentaries of the opinion pages. In the other grouping, authorial access to inscribed JUDGEMENT is more restricted. Here the authorial voice is restricted to the three values of inscribed social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) and does not have access to the two values of social sanction (veracity and propriety). That is to say, any values of explicit social sanction in the text are confined to the quoted statements of outside sources. They term this 'correspondent voice', since this is the style most often associated with the features and analysis pieces of rounds reporters, bureau chiefs and other 'correspondents'. The system is set out below.

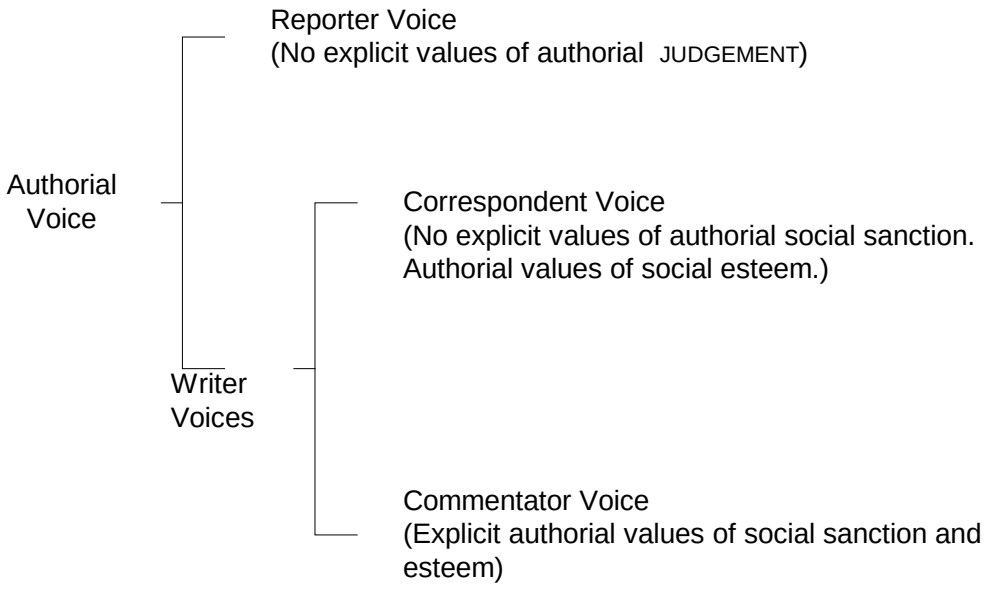


Figure 4: DSP Media Literacy report system of journalistic voice (after Iedema et al. 1994: 212)

The Media Literacy report notes some additional semantic preferences associated with these three voices. The authors observe, for example, that there is a strong association between reporter voice and certain types of amplification. As well, they note that the reporter voice and the two writer voices divide with reference to causality. While the authorial voice in both commentator and correspondent-voice texts has access to resources for construing causality, this value is significantly more restricted within reporter-voice texts. That is, the author in reporter-voice text is significantly less likely to make assessments of cause and effect. They also note an important distinction between voices in terms of modulated commands (modals of obligation and agnate structures.) They observe that it is only the commentator-voice author who can offer such meanings – any such commands in correspondent and reporter-voice texts are confined to the quoted statements of outside sources. The elaborated system is set out below.

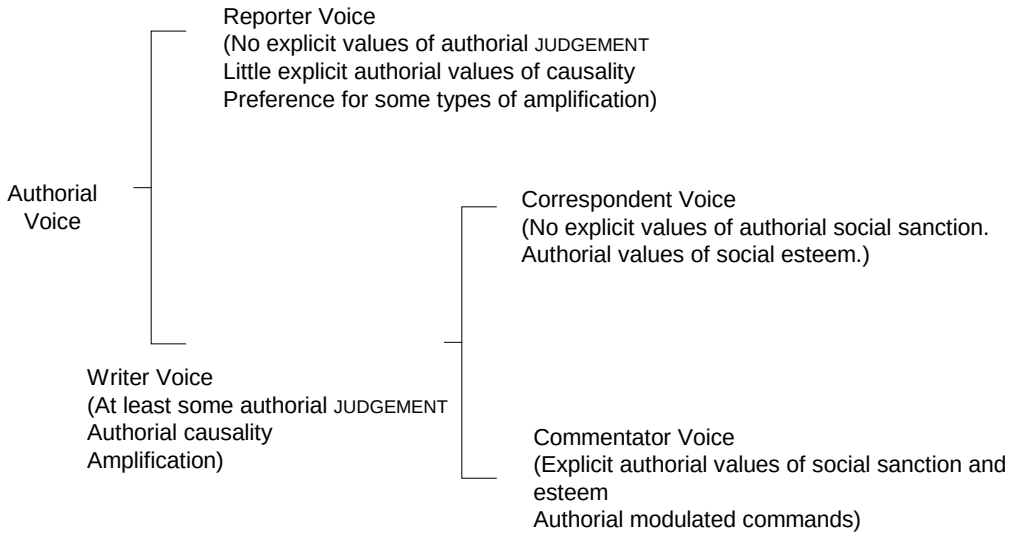


Figure 5: DSP Media Literacy report – elaborated system of journalistic voice (after Iedema et al. 1994: 224)

II.3.(f).2. Voice – beyond media discourse

The DSP Media Literacy report developed a system of voice directed at explaining the rhetorical functionality of different types of media text. The underlying principles of this type of voice analysis, however, have general application for any textual analysis concerned with patterns of social evaluation. In the case of the media, it was values of JUDGEMENT which proved to be important in identifying different rhetorical tendencies among the texts. In other contexts, it is likely that different or additional values will be implicated in such rhetorical tendencies. Several studies subsequent to the Media Literacy report have demonstrated this type of appraisal analysis in action.

Coffin (1997), for example, applies an APPRAISAL analysis to exploring the role of social evaluation and inter-subjective positioning in secondary school history texts. She discovers a consistent pattern of preference for JUDGEMENT values within a common history-curriculum text type, those which are organised around a Record of Events (a narrative account of certain unfolding events) and a concluding Deduction stage in which conclusions are drawn and judgements passed on those events. She finds that it is typical for the Record of Events to establish a clearly different voice from that of the Deduction. In the Record of Events it is common for the author to avoid any explicit (inscribed) JUDGEMENT but, nevertheless, to strategically include

tokens by which JUDGEMENTS are implied (though not explicitly stated by the author). The Record of Events is thus conducted in a voice analogous to that of Reporter Voice in the media. In the Deduction, however, the author shifts to a voice analogous to that of Commentator Voice, offering direct, explicit JUDGEMENTS, of both social sanction (veracity, propriety) and social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity). Tellingly, these explicit judgements in the Deduction echo or pick up the JUDGEMENTS which were implicitly or indirectly indicated in the Record of events by ideationalised tokens of JUDGEMENT. Coffin argues that the shift in voice is strategic. The Record of Events simply presents the 'facts' but in such a way that those 'facts' are coloured with respect to underlying values of JUDGEMENT. When the text shifts voice and the author offers explicit social evaluation, the way has been prepared rhetorically. The author appears to simply enunciate evaluations which are already present. As Coffin states,

> It is this delicate interplay of interpersonal [inscribed JUDGEMENT] and ideational meaning [tokens of JUDGEMENT] at the level of discourse semantics which serves to construct the record of the past which appears objective, factual and logical but which, in fact, constructs a particular and therefor subjective perspective or interpretation. (Coffin 1997: 208)

In *Analysing Casual Conversation*, Eggins & Slade (1997) apply a voice analysis to comparing the conversation modes of various participants in informal conversational exchanges. In the analysis of one conversation, for example, they find a correlation between levels of dominance and expressiveness of speakers, and use of APPRAISAL values. The participants who speak most freely and who most actively direct the flow of the conversation make greater use of APPRAISAL values generally. As well, they find that the different conversational styles of speakers relate to their preferences for APPRAISAL values. Thus they find one speaker favouring AMPLIFICATION and JUDGEMENT, and especially social esteem, and making very few expressions of APPRECIATION and AFFECT. This is constitutive of a voice which is assertively and forthrightly concerned with social norms of behaviour. In contrast, another speaker makes extensive use of AFFECT and APPRECIATION, but little use of JUDGEMENT. He thereby buys out, so to speak, of any normative assessment of others' behaviour, confining himself to the direct

subjectivity of emotional reaction and the more objectified positioning associated with APPRECIATION.

Rothery & Stenglin (in press) apply a voice analysis to discovering which interpersonal styles will score well in secondary school English essay writing exercises. By analysing examples of student writing which received high marks, they establish that teachers prefer texts which make prominent use of both explicit JUDGEMENT and AMPLIFICATION. Of the prominent use of amplification, they state,

> At first sight the extent of these choices is unexpected. The reader is not immediately conscious of the significant role they have in the interpretation in building a strong case for the writer's character APPRAISALs. This finding highlights the value of an SFL analysis because it reveals trends which otherwise may go unnoticed. (Rothery & Stenglin in press: 16)

They also note with interest the very low use of values of APPRECIATION. They suggest that this may be surprising, given that the essay question asked students to evaluate a literary text in aesthetic, literary-critical terms, a task for which values of APPRECIATION might have seemed eminently suited. They conclude that the JUDGEMENT-oriented voice of this type of essay is in keeping with other findings which demonstrate that 'English [in Australia] as a school subject is primarily about apprenticing students into cultural values and a socioculturally determined ethical system of behaviour.' (p.16)

II.4. Textual architectures – principles of textual organisation

II.4.(a). Constituting the text – cohesion and coherence

II.4.(a).1. Overview

In this section I turn from issues associated with the interpersonal styles of news reporting to those associated with its constitution as a unit of text. Here, I am

concerned with two parameters of textuality, what Halliday & Hasan (1976) have termed textual structure and textual cohesion. Under textual structure we are concerned with the constituent parts of a text and how they fit together to form a textual whole, or, as Halliday & Hasan state, we are concerned with how 'the presence of certain elements in a certain order' (p. 327) acts to constitute a distinctive, conventionalised pattern of organisation. Under cohesion, we are concerned with the properties of sentences by which they are felt to cohere into a semantic unit.

Aspects of both textual cohesion and textual structure will be important for my description of the rhetorical properties of modern news reporting. My exploration of the genre status of the news report, for example, will rely in part on an analysis of its cohesive properties, on the nature of the ties by which relationships of inter-dependence are established across a text. The particular pattern of cohesive ties operating in news items will be shown to contribute to the news item's ultimate rhetorical potential. Structural patterns of organisation will be of equal importance. In the next several sections, I review the literature relevant in this context.

II.4.(a).2. Halliday & Hasan: cohesion and the texture of discourse

Halliday & Hasan (1976) and Hasan (1985) develop an account of what they term the 'texture' of discourse. They contend that the sense of cohesion obtaining within a text derives from the operation of ties which bind elements across sentence boundaries. These ties are of a semantic nature. They are relationships of meaning between elements which are thereby mutually determining – the interpretation of one element relies on the interpretation of the other.

In *Cohesion in English*, Halliday and Hasan (1976) organise the ties into three broad semantic categories:

1. continuity of lexicogrammatical meaning – substitution, ellipses, lexical cohesion (lexical repetition, synonyms, superordinates, general terms, collocates),
2. continuity of reference meaning (elements reference the same item in the context of situation),
3. semantic connection with the preceding text through conjunctive relationships (additive, adversative, causal, temporal),

(1976: 322-323).

In *Language, context and text: Aspect of language in a social-semiotic perspective*, Hasan, confines her focus to the first two categories. She develops the following three-way taxonomy:

1. co-referentiality – elements reference the same item in the context of situation,
2. co-classification – the two elements linked by the tie belong to the identical class (eg substitution),
3. co-extension – the two elements belong in some way to the same semantic field (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy etc).

Ties of these various types act, in their minimal functionality, to establish points of connection and hence cohesion between at least two sentences within a text and, in their maximal functionality, to establish extended chains of semantic connection which operate across spans of text. Hasan argues that a particular pattern of chaining is typical of cohesive texts – the chains intersect so that 'at least two members of one chain … stand in the same relation to two members of another chain' (1985: 91).

Of most significance for the current context is the authors' contention that the number of ties and the nature of the ties operating in a text play a part in determining its communicative properties. Thus different genres and different registers will typically demonstrate different 'textures', in Halliday and Hasan's sense, in that they feature different types and patterns of cohesive ties. Certain distinctive properties of the 'texture' of the news report will be demonstrated in chapter 5.

II.4.(a).3. Hoey: lexical chains

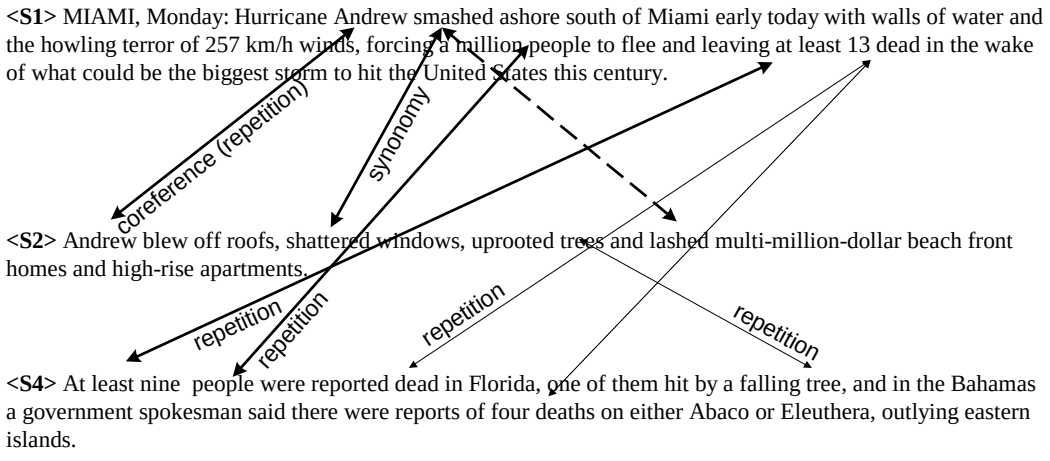
Hoey (1991) has developed cohesion analysis, and specifically lexical chain analysis, to the point where it can be used to identify major transition points in text structure, to identify which sentences are central to a text's informational content and which peripheral, and to show that there can be strong semantic bonds between pairs of sentences, even when those sentences are separated by significant spans of intervening text.

Hoey's work has specific application for the current work in that I have applied its findings and methodologies to a close analysis of the patterns of lexis in news reporting texts. My purposes were both general and specific – generally to discover

the cohesive properties of these texts, specifically to investigate what these patterns might reveal about certain crucial structural properties of the news item. I was particularly interested in exploring what patterns of cohesion might reveal about the relationship between the opening headline plus lead and the body of the text. I therefore set out the key elements of Hoey's approach and methodology in so far as these are relevant for the current context, as well as indicating a couple of points where I have extended the methodology in order to match it to my current purposes.

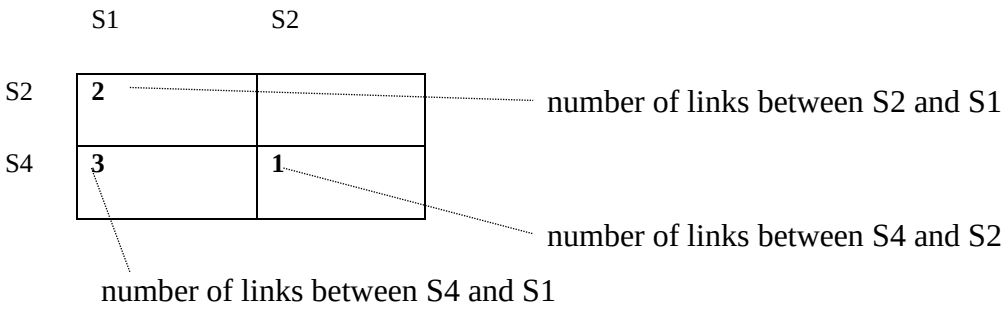
In *Patterns of Lexis in Text*, Hoey is interested in developing a system which can enable automatic, computer-based abridgments of texts. He shows how a relatively mechanical mapping of patterns of lexis can be used to identify certain 'marginal' sentences which can be removed entirely from the text without damaging its overall sense or coherence. This identification of what is 'marginal' to the text versus what is 'central' to the text was to prove vital for my analytical purposes.

Hoey's method involves checking every lexical (as opposed to grammatical) item in every sentence against every other lexical item in the text to ascertain whether items are connected by reference, repetition or synonymy (and some other relations which Hoey includes by means of his category of 'paraphrase'). Each such connection is recorded in a map of lexical and reference links. From this it is possible to calculate, for example, the number of such links any sentence makes with any other sentence or to count the total number of links any one sentence enters into with the rest of the text. An example analysis of three sentences from a news report of a hurricane is set out below.



Sentence 1 and sentence 2, for example, are connected by two links: by co-reference (and repetition) between 'Andrew' and 'Andrew'; synonymy[3] between 'shattered' 'lashed' and 'smashed'. In the second instance, following Hoey's methodology, only one link is recorded, since the two words in sentence 2 - 'shattered', 'lashed' - connect with only one word in sentence 1 – 'smashed'.. (Hoey's point here is that once the semantic connection has been made, the additional word or words on the many side of the one-to-many link confirm the original link but does not create additional, separate links.) Sentences 1 and 4 are connected by three links: 'at least' <-> 'at least'; 'people' <-> people; 'dead' ('deaths')[4] <-> 'dead'. Sentences 2 and 4 are connected by one link: 'trees' <-> 'tree'.

Accordingly the following grid would represent the patterns of linkage.



The key assumptions of Hoey's method, from the perspective of the current work, are:

- when two sentences enter into a significant number of links they must be seen as in some way semantically and functionally integrated, regardless of whether they are adjacent or at some distance from each other in the text. The bonded pair are seen as interacting semantically, with the latter recalling or relying on the former. The more links between the sentences, the more thorough that integration.
- the centrality or marginality of a sentence is determined by the total number of links it enters into.

Perhaps most tellingly for the analysis of news items, Hoey concludes that bonded pairs, separated by whatever distance, enter into the sort of functional relationships

3Synonymy is necessarily determined by textual context. In this context, for example, a range of words - smashed, lashed, shattered, pummelled, hit - are used interchangeably to refer to the violent action of the storm. Thus, in this context they are classed as synonymous.

[4]Forms such as 'dead' and 'death' are analysed by Hoey as 'complex repetition', a category which includes all cases where words have the same root but different morphologies as a result of representing different parts of speech.

previously seen as operating between adjacent clauses or clause complexes. As Hoey states,

> ...we shall have to posit [another] kind of organising relation [for text], that holding between single sentences at distance from each other and not explicable in terms of, or subsumable within, the larger organisation of the text. These relations have all the properties of adjacent clause relations, but cannot be explained straightforwardly in terms of the reader's linear interaction with the text' (Hoey 1991: 126).

Thus, with the mini analysis of the hurricane text, it can be seen that it is the sentences at the greatest distance - S4 and S1 - which are most tightly integrated due to their 3 links. Alternatively, with only one link, S4 and S2 would appear to have only minimal, possibly insignificant integration. As well, S1 is the most central sentence since it is involved with 5 out of a total of 6 links for the mini text. S2, by contrast, is the least central with involvement in only 3 out of the 6 links.

For reasons which he acknowledges are practical rather than theoretical, Hoey confines himself essentially to the relations of repetition, antonymy and synonymy, although his category of 'complex paraphrase' goes beyond what is normally thought of as synonymy to include such pairs as *author* and *writings*, *drug* and *tranquillised* and *teacher* and *instruction*. I have chosen to cast my semantic net somewhat more widely and to include some additional lexical relationships. This follows naturally from the purposes of the current project. Hoey is seeking a system capable of automatically editing and abridging texts, while I am seeking to map the patterns of lexis within news texts as comprehensively as possible. Hoey acknowledges that there are strong lexical links between, for example, *carol* and *Christmas* or *sickness* and *doctor* but decides that it is 'safer' to exclude these at this stage of his research. Obviously, an analysis which seeks a comprehensive mapping of lexical relations will need to deal with these. (These items, of course, are all collocationally linked – they are associated through patterns of collocational proximity.)

As a consequence, in the analysis set out in chapter 5, I have included the relations of meronomy and hyponymy – two widely recognised lexical categories (see, for example, Lyons 1977 and Martin 1992) – as well as some additional relationships

which follow from Mul'cuk's work on semantic networks and set out in his 'explanatory combinatorial dictionary' (Mel'cuk 1988: 41-74), and also from Martin's formulation of the notion of 'nuclear relations' and of 'expectancy relations' set up by activity sequences (Martin 1992: 309-321). In general, I am concerned to identify relationships which would be functional in an extended textual context, and which would operate to integrate sentences even when they were some distance apart. Mel'cuk lists a number of transitivity based relations, relations based on the conventionalised association between certain participants and processes. There is, for example, a demonstrable semantic connection between *to kill* and what Mel'cuk terms the 'standard agents' of killing such as *murderer* and *assassin*. This explains why, for example, 'assassin' can be construed as 'given', as already included in the semantic space in the following,

> The Sri Lankan Opposition leader has been killed in a massive bomb blast at a campaign rally in the nation's capital. The assassin is believed to have been a Tamil Tiger suicide bomber who perished along with more than 50 others when the bomb was detonated just as the rally was coming to a close.

I have included the following transitivity and activity-sequence based relationships in my analysis:

- standard agent: *murderer - to shoot dead*; *conspirator - plot*
- standard medium: *gun - to fire*; *rocket - launch*; *crime - to investigate*
- standard means/instrument: *poison - to murder*; *weapon - to attack*; *weapon - assailant*
- standard location: *the beach - to go surfing; jury - courtroom*
- standard result: *skills - to train*; *fatalities - bombing*; *damage - earthquake*

The findings of the application of Hoey's method cohesion analysis will be set out in detail in chapter 5.

II.4.(b). Genre Analysis: mapping textual structure

II.4.(b).1. Overview

Under the heading of genre, we are concerned with what Halliday & Hasan, cited above, term structure. We are concerned with mapping the way constituent parts fit

together to form a functional unity. In the following, I will briefly review the most influential approaches to modelling these structural principles. I explore the various frameworks for identifying structural constituents and locating the various patterns of structure within taxonomies of genre types.

II.4.(b).2. Approaches to genre

There is a long-standing tradition within the literature by which texts are classified according to some central communicative purpose or function. Thus Adam identifies the five broad genre categories of 'story', 'description', 'argumentation', 'explanation' and 'dialogue' (Adam 1992) and Kinneavy the four categories of 'expressive', 'persuasive', 'literary' and 'referential' (Kinneavy 1971). Within SFL, in contrast, taxonomies are more directly responsive to patterns observed at the level of the discourse semantics. SFL taxonomies thus characterise text types according to the particular context of situation realised through particular configurations of values of ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning. I will explore the SFL approach in more detail below.

The two broad genre types of interest in the current context are those concerned with some manner of story telling, and those cconcerned with argument or persuasion. I will explore the literature associated with both categories in turn.

II.4.(b).3. Story genres

II.4.(b).3.i. The nature of story telling

Providing an entirely adequate definition/description of the story genre has often proved problematic. (See Toolan 1988 for a discussion of the difficulties in defining story telling.) The discussion below and in chapter 5 will provide some suggestions as to how such a definition might proceed. Much of the text linguistic analysis of story telling has focussed on one sub-type, the so-called 'narrative' (not to be confused with the very general use of the term to reference all story telling) which is the story type most typically associated with folk tales and other fictional texts. (See, for example, Todorov 1966, Labov and Waletzky 1967, Propp 1968 and Adam 1992.) As will be demonstrated below, there are a number of sub-types of story telling text, beyond this traditional 'narrative'.

II.4.(b).3.ii. Aristotle

Theories of story telling in the Western tradition have their origins in Aristotle's *Poetics*. Aristotle, of course, established the analytical principles by which a text is broken down into stages and structure is defined by the ordering of those stages. Thus, for Aristotle, a story must be organised as 'beginning', 'middle' and 'end' where the beginning, for example,

> 'is that which does not necessarily follow on something else but after it something else naturally is or happens' and where these parts fit together so that 'if one of them is displaced or removed, the whole will be loosened or dislocated – because if you can remove or suppress something then it can't be part of the whole' (Aristotle 1970: 30).

For Aristotle, this ordering provides for a sense of directionality or teleology in the unfolding text. Thus the movement between stages entails a directed movement from the opening stage to a point of textual completion or closure. Each of the stages builds on what comes immediately before and conditions what follows, as the text moves towards its end point of climax or closure.

II.4.(b).3.iii. Narratology

At its simplest formulation, the story is said to be constituted by the representation of an activity sequence, which is defined as a logically or causally motivated, non-random succession constituting an actional unity. (See Toolan 1988: 7 for an exploration of 'non-randomness' and the activity sequence.) Thus Bremond states,

> All stories consist of a discourse involving a succession of events with a human basis and which are unified as one action. Where there is no succession there is no story... (Bremond 1966: 62, my translation)

Descriptions of story telling have proliferated under the discipline of narratology which, according to Adam (1985: 3) has its origins in an edition of the journal *Communications*, in 1966. Propp's account of the 'morphology' of the Russian fairy tale is foundational to the discipline (1968). Propp demonstrated that it was possible to generalise across the apparent diversity of individual texts by discovering a set of recurrent functions or motifs of plot development which provide the building blocks out of which fairy stories are consistently constructed.

For the European narratological tradition, the essential ingredient of story telling is typically the movement between states of equilibrium and disequilibrium. As Todorov states,

> An ideal narrative begins with a stable situation which some sort of force comes to disrupt. From this results a state of imbalance. Then by the action of another force, directed in the opposition direction, the equilibrium is restored; this second state of stability is similar to the first but the two are never identical. (Todorov 1973: 82, my translation[5]).

Perhaps the most influential model of constituency of story telling texts is that provided by Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov's (1972) account of 'narratives of personal experience'. Labov defines narrative as 'one method of recapitulating past experience by matching the verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events (it is inferred) actually occurred' (p.359). He identifies the following building blocks as constitutive of the narrative:

1. Abstract – encapsulating or summarising the whole story.
2. Orientation – locating events in time and space, introducing main participants.
3. Complicating Action – introduces the threatening, disruptive action.
4. Evaluation – indicates why the story has been told, its point (may be dispersed across the text, see discussion of intensity above).
5. Result/Resolution – the challenge introduced in the Complicating Action is addressed and overcome.
6. Coda – provides general view of the action, returns the account to the here and now.

II.4.(b).3.iv. Hasan: Generic Structure Potential

Hasan provides an account of the textual structure of story telling, in 'The Nursery Tale as Genre' (1996), which relies on her theory of Generic Structure Potential. I will briefly review the theory below.

The crucial assumption underlying Hasan's account is that texture structure is determined by the properties of the context of situation. That is to say, specific

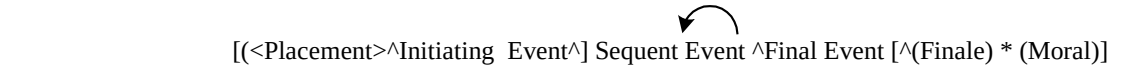
[5]'Un récit idéal commence par une situation stable qu'une force quelconque vient perturber. Il en résulte un état de déséquilibre; par l'action d'une force dirigée en sense inverse, l'équilibre est rétabli; le second équilibre est bien semblable au premier, mais les deux ne sont jamais identiques'

configurations of field, tenor and mode (what Hasan terms Contextual Configurations) determine how the text will be constituted in terms of unfolding stages. More specifically, these Contextual Configurations determine:

- what elements must occur,
- what element may occur,
- what arrangements of elements are obligatory,
- what arrangements of elements optional,
- how often elements may occur.

By observing this range of specifications, it is possible to describe what Hasan terms the Generic Structure Potential of a given Contextual Configuration. A particular Generic Structure Potential specifies the structural possibilities for a particular genre, what elements must occur, what may occur and in what possible orderings. Thus individual texts can be said to be members of a particular genre when their structure is compatible with one of the possibilities specified by the Generic Structure Potential. Individual texts instantiate possibilities specified by the Generic Structure Potential.

Hasan supplies the following Generic Structure Potential for nursery tales.



This indicates that the tale

- necessarily includes an Initiating Event, a Sequent Event and a Final Event, which must occur in that order (specified by the ^)
- optionally includes a Placement, a Finale and a Moral (elements in round brackets are optional) – the Finale and Morale may alternate as to position (indicated by the *)
- may contain a Placement which, if present, must either precede the Initiating Event or be interspersed with it (indicated by square brackets)
- contains a Sequent Event which may be repeated (the arrow)

The model, therefore, is substantially more complex than that of Labov – it provides a principled description of the diversity possible within texts of the same genre. Nevertheless, in the context of the current work, it operates, like Labov and Propp, for example, to decompose the text into individual, distinct chunks which serve specific

functions and which are located sequentially on a semantic pathway towards some point of textual completion.

II.4.(b).3.v. Further SFL perspectives on story telling

A strand of narrative analysis within SFL (sometimes known as the 'Sydney genre school' – Freedman and Medway 1994) has pursued an analytical approach more akin to Labov than to Hasan. It has essentially adopted Labov & Waletzky's model of the narrative of personal experience (though rejecting their notion of Evaluation as a constituent rather than an interpersonal prosody), but has departed from Labov & Waletzky and Lobov in identifying sub-types of genre additional to that of narratives of personal experience.

Plum's work (1988, Martin and Plum 1997), for example, has been highly influential in describing a set of narrative sub-genres which include, by way of example,

- the 'exemplum' – a text type in which an appropriate incident is recounted in order to explicitly make a moral point (exemplified by traditional fables such as 'The Hare and the Tortoise'),
- the 'anecdote' – typically a humorous account designed to trigger a shared emotional reaction from audience members,
- the recount – organised around a relatively direct setting out of some activity sequence.

In this, the Sydney genre school departs from more traditional narratological approaches, where there is a strong tendency to construe all story-telling in terms of the textual dynamic identified in Labov's work on narratives of personal experience. But these additional sub-genres identified by Plum do not necessarily feature the redressive movement from disequilibrium to equilibrium which is so central to the traditional 'narratives' of Western myths and folk tales.

II.4.(b).4. Applied Linguistic perspectives

A large body of genre studies literature has built up around applied linguistic approaches to genre. (For an overview of the literature see Bhatia 1993 or Freedman and Medway 1994. For a widely influential approach to genre within applied linguistic contexts, see Swales 1990.) The literature does not have specific application

to the current context in that it usually does not address itself to media genres, though Bhatia (1993), for example, does explore features of the style and structure of media discourse in the context of applied linguistics applications of media texts. There is, however, one obvious point of connection with the current context. As indicated in chapter 1, a sub-set of the news items under consideration is grounded in the controversial pronouncements of newsworthy sources. This sub-category will be termed 'issues reports'. Through these issues reports, there is an obvious connection with genre studies of argument and persuasion, since the newsworthy pronouncements are typically in some sense argumentative and are often part of longer persuasive texts (eg public addresses, political speeches). Argument or persuasion is, of course, a central concern of the applied linguistics literature with its various interests in student essay writing, academic journal articles, legal discourse, and so on.

The applied linguistic work has been important in emphasising the social context of genre, the fact that texts are constructed and interpreted within particular contexts of culture, what Swales terms 'discourse communities' (1990: 3). The practical orientation of the applied linguistics literature has also led to an emphasis on understanding the functionality of genre, on accounting for properties of genres in terms of the broad rhetorical objectives they serve. (See, for example, Bhatia: 10-12.) The SFL approach adopted for the current work is, of course, entirely compatible with these concerns, based, as it is, on a social theory of language where linguistic phenomena are explained in terms of social context and rhetorical functionality.

The textual analyses on which applied linguistic approaches rely are formulated essentially in the same terms as those applied within the various schools of story-telling analysis. The text is decomposed into a linear sequence of multivariate constituents, each of which is identified by reference to its perceived communicative functionality. Thus Swales (1981) analyses academic article introductions as consisting of the following four moves:

1. Establishing the research field
2. Summarising previous research
3. Preparing for present research
4. Introducing the present research

In some cases, the applied linguistic research is narrowly targeted, seeking to explicate genre staging with reference to the local concerns of the particular discourse in question. In other contexts, descriptions seek to provide somewhat broader, more generalisable accounts of generic staging and functionality. Here Winter's notion (see Hoey 1994) of problem-solution as a text structuring principle has been influential. In a similar vein is Bhatia's (1993: 165) analysis of a structure found commonly in persuasive academic writing:

1. Presenting the case
2. Offering the argument
3. Reaching the verdict
4. Recommending action

It is of interest in the current context that Bhatia suggests this structure of argumentation also operates in media editorials.

Analyses within the so-called Sydney genre school literature have also been directed to discovering more general schemes of functional staging in persuasive texts. The literature here has identified several sub-types of persuasive texts, with differences turning on factors such as the location in the text of the primary thesis or contention, the manner in which conflicting positions are dealt with, and so on. (See, for example, Callaghan and Rothery 1988, Callaghan 1989.) Thus, the argument sub-type which, within the Sydney genre school literature is labelled 'Exposition', will be analysed as constituted of the following ordering:

1. a Thesis, the stage which sets out the primary argument or position of the text,
2. a series of supporting Arguments,
3. textual closure supplied by a Reiteration stage in which the original, central thesis is restated.

(See, for example, Callaghan and Rothery 1988 or Martin to appear .)

Such an analysis is illustrated by the treatment, in Figure 6, below of an upper Primary School 'Exposition' from Callaghan's *A Brief Introduction to Genre* (1989: 21).

In chapter 6, I will explore issues related to argumentation in the context of what I term 'issues reports'. I will suggest that these stories are not explicitly persuasive, in

that they purport to document the arguments of others rather than actively advancing the author's own position. (The degree to which the author's voice is or isn't distanced from that of the attributed material will be taken up at several points in later chapters.) There, these models of argumentation will be of importance in the context of exploring the ways in which the issues report recontextualises and reformulates the arguments of its attributed sources.

II.4.(b).5. Some Recent developments in SFL genre theory

Recently, Martin has developed the SFL-based genre analysis on several fronts. Two aspects are of primary importance to the current context:

- his arguments for an approach which is more responsive to metafunctional diversity
- his elaboration of a methodology for determining points of similarity and difference between different genres – what he terms 'genre agnation'

I will explore these two aspects in turn.

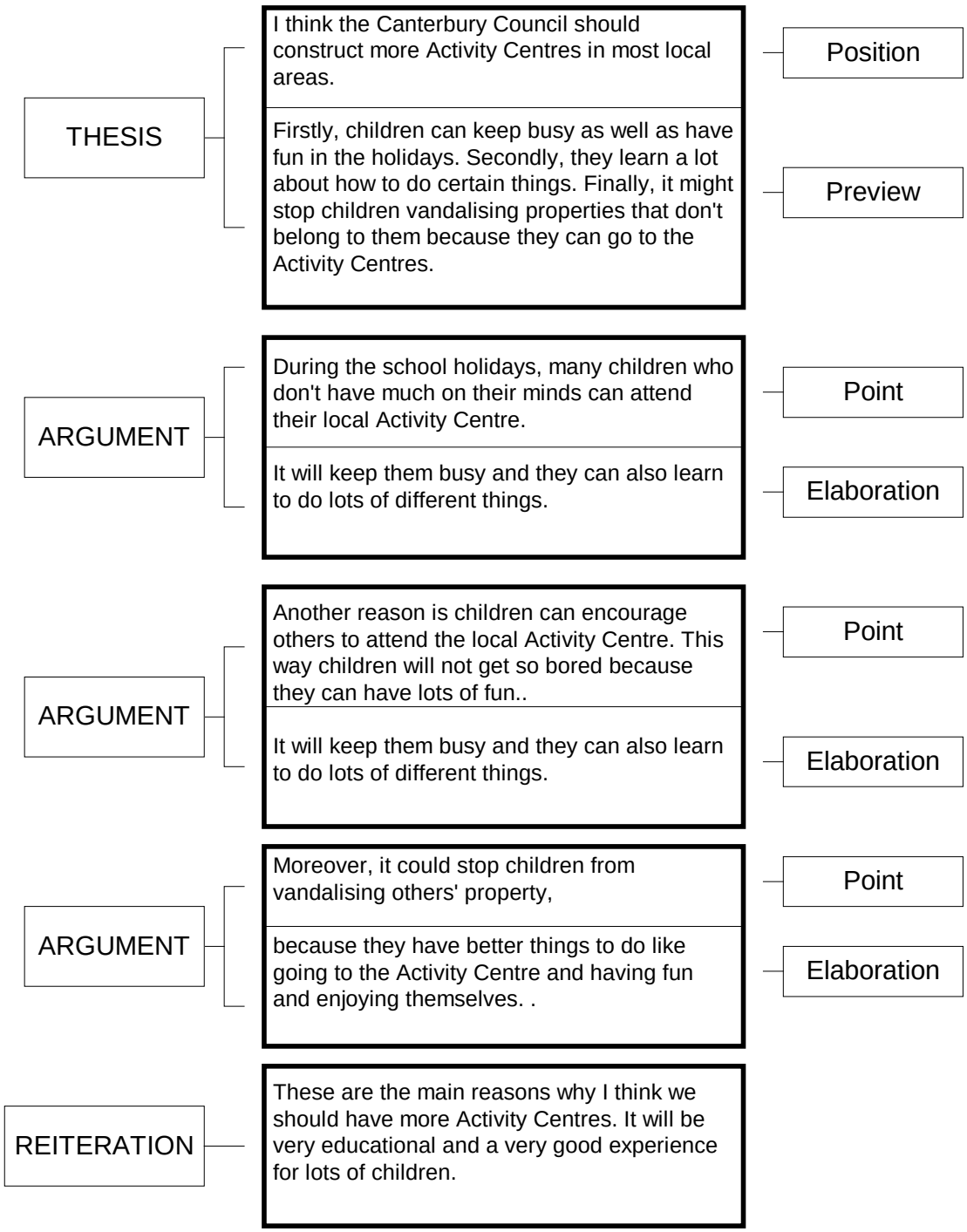


Figure 6: Schematic staging analysis of a primary school argument text

As previewed above, under Martin's model, genre maps the staged, goal-oriented social processes by which social contexts and ultimately the culture are constituted. Genre accounts for the recurrent patterns of unfolding configurations and re-configurations of register variables (shifting co-occurrence patterns of values of field, tenor and mode) by which social ends are pursued and achieved through language.

Genre, thus, accounts for the dynamic reconfiguring of register variables typically associated with the unfolding of texts of a particular genre type (those associated with a particular social process). Those various reconfigurations constitute the phases or stages which are conventionally associated with a given text or genre type. Genre descriptions are sensitive to these various phases, providing an account of which phases are conventionally required and their possible orderings. (See, for example, Martin 1992: chapter 7.)

Martin argues, however, that there are dangers if genre analyses are limited to describing the particulate constituencies formed from these sequences of functional phases or stages. To avoid this, he proposes that genre analyses should be framed so as to be sensitive to modes of meaning making from across the three metafunctions identified by SFL – ideational, interpersonal and textual (1992: 546-560, 1996). He argues that genre theory has tended to inherit from grammarians a bias for the experiential, to the extent that textual analyses have given preference to constituencies which are formulated in ways analogous to the terms in which experiential meanings are modelled at the level of the clause. As Martin observes, following Halliday (1978, 1979, experiential meanings are organised as particles, as distinct, independent entities – for example, Participants, Processes, Adjuncts, Epithets, Classifiers etc. Genre analyses, both within and without SFL, have tended, therefore, to adopt a particulate approach to modelling textual structuring, breaking texts down into discrete chunks, typically organised sequentially along a pathway towards some goal or point of textual completion.

The other metafunctions, however, are not so organised. Interpersonal values operate prosodically, as non discrete realisations which smear across stretches of text, and textual meanings are cumulative or wave-like, providing for peaks of meaning at strategic points in the unfolding of the text. (See, once again Halliday 1978, 1979 and Thibault 1987: 612[6].)

Martin argues that there is value in looking beyond the particulate model of experiential meanings to possible models of textual meaning informed by these alternative modes of meaning. He has demonstrated this in several contexts. Firstly,

[6] Halliday's use of the metaphors of particle, wave and field to model the various modes of meaning relies, in turn, on Pike 1982

for example, in exploring the problems that arise from Labov and Waletzky's particulate approach to modelling interpersonal evaluation in narrative texts, he shows that such evaluation is frequently spread prosodically through the text and is not confined to a discrete stage, as Labov and Waletzky's model suggests (Martin 1992: 553-559). Elsewhere (Martin 1995b) he has demonstrated how cumulative or wave-like patterns may act to provide wide-scale structuring for texts. In particular, he shows how certain strategically located clauses (which he labels macro Themes) act in what he calls 'a hierarchy of periodicity'[7] to predict subsequent choices of Theme across a span of text. Similarly, he shows how other strategically located clauses (labelled Macro New) act to summarise or review the choices of New across a span of prior text. Thus an important organising principle of text is provided by these different layers of textual waves. Theme and New within the clause provide for one smaller scale hierarchy of periodicity and Macro Theme and Macro New provide for a broader scale hierarchy.

This functionally diversified approach to modelling textual structure will be applied to the news story and the discussion will demonstrate the explanatory benefits that such provides in discovering key prosodic and periodic patterns which act to structure news reporting textuality.

As indicated above, one of the primary motives for Martin's stratified model of context is his concern to map the way genre structure involves patterns of co-occurrence of variables from across the various metafunctions. Genres, thus, are patterns of unfolding configurations of ideational, textual and interpersonal meanings. For Martin, therefore, it is natural that taxonomies of genres should be formulated with reference to these meanings – genres will be characterised by reference to the sets of meanings which they activate, from the choices available across the metafunctions.

I will illustrate this approach briefly with reference to a small set of genres:

[7] Martin takes up the phrase, 'hierarchy of periodicity' from Halliday's comments on textual modes of meaning in Thibault 1987

1. personal recount – texts with first person narrator, specific participants organised around sequence in time (typically produced in infant, lower primary school composition exercises, 'My day at the zoo')
2. historical recount – chronicling events over an extended period of time, written in third person with a mixture of specific (named individuals and places) and generic participants (social classes, professional groupings, nationalities etc, 'The history of whaling', 'The industrialisation of Europe')
3. description – in third person, about specific participants, mainly relational processes describing a static scene, a landscape, an object, not sequenced in time (scene setting in a novel, for example)
4. descriptive report – written in the third person about generic participants, relational processes for description and material processes for behaviour, not sequenced in time (scientific encyclopaedic entries, 'What is a rainforest', 'The dolphin', etc).

It is possible to characterise these genres by reference to a set of choices which reference various metafunctionally-determined meanings. The texts can be grouped, for example, by reference to whether they are activity focused or thing focused (whether they describe some chronologically unfolding sequence of events, or some atemporal state of affairs). Such a choice involves ideational meanings and hence is field oriented, since activities and things are phenomena which the language construes as properties of some external reality. The grouping would be as follows:

- activity focussed: personal recounts, historical recounts
- thing focussed: description, descriptive report

Equally, the texts might be grouped with reference to whether their participants are specific/instantial or generic. Such a choice involves textual meanings and hence is mode oriented. This follows on account of the role of the textual metafunction in relating the communication to its social context, in establishing modes of connection between the text and the social world. Thus it is a textual issue as to whether the text references individual participants or generic participants – it thereby establishes different modes of relationship with the social context.

Such an analysis enables us to understand both how register variables determine genre properties and how those variables may be diversely located across the metafunctions. The following table illustrates these metafunctional issues.

	textual issues specific versus generic	
ideational issues thing versus activity	personal recount	historical recount
	description	descriptive report

Figure 7: A typology of genres (after Martin to appear/a)

Such an analysis, clearly, is typological – it is ultimately based on the Saussurian notion of valeur. Choices are opposed categorically and in absolute terms – an item either is or isn't a member of a particular category. The typology establishes relationships of absolute difference. It establishes, for example, precisely the terms on which one of the four categories listed above is different from the other three categories. Thus the historical recount is different from the personal recount textually, different from the descriptive report ideationally, and different from the description both textually and ideationally. (There are, of course, other dimensions of difference not included in this simplified model.)

This type of analysis is thus useful in clearly articulating points of difference. But as Martin argues (to appear/b), in the context of actual textual analysis, such an analysis needs to be accompanied by one which does not require such absolute and categorical boundaries of difference. Martin argues that a 'topological' approach (described previously in the chapter in section II.3.(b).6.) is needed to complement the typological. As we saw above, topologies map degrees of similarity rather than absolute boundaries of difference. Topologies locate items on gradients of similarity along various functional parameters. Such an approach is needed in this context because, in practice, texts are rather more mixed than the typological description allows. In the above account, for example, personal recounts are represented as

activity rather than entity focussed. It is possible, however, that a personal recount of a trip to the zoo, for example, might pause midway to set out an extended description, for example, of one of the animal enclosures. In such a case, it would not be possible to classify the text as absolutely activity focused. The same sort of variability is possible, of course, across the various dimensions of metafunctional difference. A topology is equipped to map precisely this type of variation. It enables us to locate texts variably along various clines of similarity and difference. Such a topology is demonstrated below.

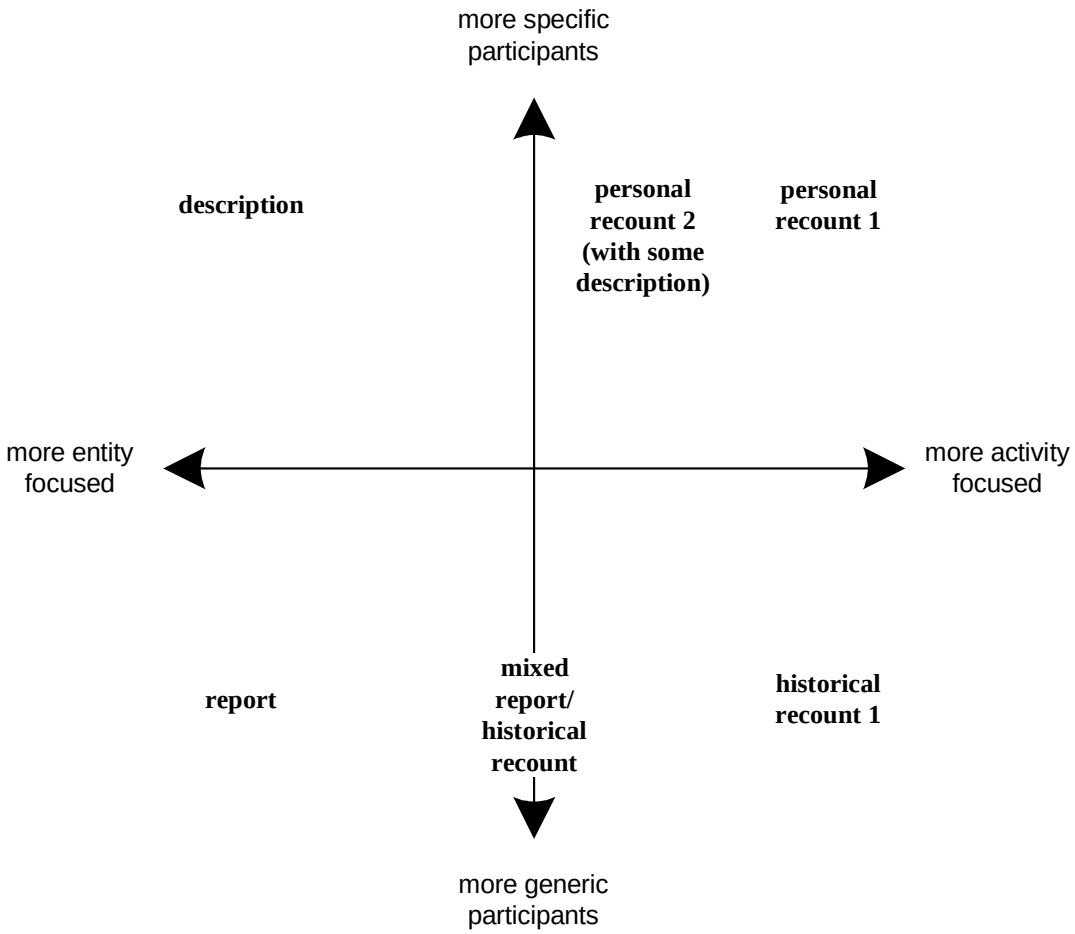


Figure 8: Topology of genres

Accordingly, what was previously construed in terms of opposition is reworked as a set of parameters which define a set of semantic regions. Items can be located within those regions so as to indicate parameters of difference and parameters of similarity.

Such a topological approach to genre agnation will be employed in chapter 5 in the context of exploring the status of the event-based news item as a story-telling genre.

II.5. Intertextuality and the social construction of discourse

II.5.(a). Bakhtin

The influence of Bakhtin (1973, 1981, 1986) upon the approach adopted in the current work has been indicated at several points in the previous discussion (sections II.3.(b).5, II.3.(b).6) . There are two closely related notions that are fundamental to the approach adopted here – intertextuality and dialogism. I have already discussed the notion of intertextuality at some length – the view that any text necessarily, assumes, references, and construes past texts. Under the notion of dialogism, essentially the same principle observed from a different perspective, individual utterances in texts are seen to derive their meaning and acquire ideological coloration by dint of relationships with the set of more or less divergent utterances operational in the culture. By this, Bakhtin stresses that intertextual relationships are not confined to actual, extant texts. Rather, utterances enter into heteroglossic relationships with alternative utterances operational in the culture, not simply because they have been expressed in some other actual text, but because they *might* have been or *might be* expressed. The writer both reviews what has been said elsewhere but reviews what may be said, especially in response to her/his own utterances.

> …all real and integral understanding is actively responsive, and constitutes nothing other than the initial preparatory stage of a response (in whatever form it may be actualized). And the speaker himself is oriented precisely toward such an actively responsive understanding. He does not expect passive understanding that, so to speak, only duplicates his own idea in someone else's mind. Rather, he expects response, agreement, sympathy, objection, execution, and so forth (various speech genres presuppose various integral orientations and speech plans on the part of the speakers or writers).

> The desire to make one's speech understood is only an abstract aspect of the speaker's concrete and total speech plan. Moreover, any speaker is himself a respondent to a greater or lesser degree. He is not, after all, the first speaker, the one who disturbs the eternal silence of the universe. And he presupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of preceding utterances—his own and others'—with which his given utterance enters into one kind of relation or another (builds on them, polemicizes with them, or simply presumes that they are already known to the listener). Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances. (1986: 69)

Accordingly, Bakhtin stresses that listeners, both present and potential, are an essential and active component of the communicative act. He warns against language theories which downgrade the listener to the role of passive observer and which assume that communication can be understood as a relationship between the speaker and their content or message. Thus he warns against theoretical formulations which assume, 'The utterance is adequate to its object (i.e. the content of the uttered thought) and to the person who is pronouncing the utterance'. He warns against those who assume, 'Language essentially needs only a speaker – one speaker – and an object for his speech.' (1986: 67).

I should, however, acknowledge a more general contribution by Bakhtin to the notions of textuality, genre and rhetorical potential adopted here. It is Bakhtin who insists that all linguistic phenomena can ultimately be understood, explained and characterised only in the context of the specific genre in which it operates.

> A clear idea of the nature of the utterance in general and of the peculiarities of the various types of utterances [texts][8] (primary and secondary), that is, of various speech genres, is necessary, we think, for research in any special [linguistic] area. To ignore the nature of the utterance or to fail to consider the peculiarities of generic subcategories of speech in any area of linguistic study leads to perfunctoriness and excessive abstractness, distorts the historicity of the research, and weakens the link between language and life.

[8] Throughout, Bakhtin uses 'utterance' to reference what today is more commonly referred to as 'text'

> After all, language enters life through concrete utterances (which manifest language) and life enters language through concrete utterances as well. The utterance is an exceptionally important node of problems. We shall approach certain areas and problems of the science of language in this context. (1986: 63)

And Bakhtin's view of genre (or speech genre) as determining and being determined by social conditions precisely parallels that developed under Martin's theory of genre and a stratified context of situation. Thus, for Bakhtin, every text reflects the 'specific conditions and goals of [the area of human activity in which it operates], not only through their content (thematic) and linguistic style, that is, the selection of the lexical, phraseological and grammatical resources of the language, but above all through their compositional structure. All three of these aspects – thematic content, style and compositional structure – are inseparably linked to the whole of the of the utterance and are equally determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication. (1986: 60)

I have indicated in the previous chapter that I will locate contemporary journalistic textuality in a historical context in order to cast a stronger light on its distinguishing properties and to demonstrate more forcibly the socially conditioned nature of those properties. I note in this regard that Bakhtin also stresses the value of diachronic perspectives.

> …the process of the historical formation of [genres] shed light on the nature of the utterance [text] (and above all on the complex problem of the interrelations among language, ideology and world view). (1986: 62)

II.5.(b). Fairclough

Fairclough's contribution to the framework adopted here has been signalled in the previous discussion (section II.3.(b).6.). I will discuss his contribution to media analyses more specifically below in connection with the literature which explores the rhetorical potential of news reporting (section II.6.(d).1.) and again at several points through the thesis. It is appropriate, nevertheless, to indicate at this point his contribution to the view of the social constitution of textuality which operates in the

current work. Fairclough is influential in applying and hence foregrounding a key notion within SFL – language/genre/discourse enters into a dialectical relationship with the social context. The language is both shaped by social identities, relationships and systems of belief but also acts to construct these. Accordingly, language is in a position to both reproduce social structure but equally to transform it (for example, Fairclough 1992: 63-73). This notion of a dialectical relationship is crucial. It emphasises that while language constitutes the social, it does so in particular, historical, material, economic and power-relational contexts. These contexts have been institutionalised through various conventionalised, recurrent social processes, through various modes of being and interacting. Thus the potential of language to reconstitute the social is conditioned by a history of the constitutive action of past language events. As Fairclough states, 'Thus the discursive constitution of society does not emanate from a free play of ideas in other people's heads but from a social practice which is firmly rooted in an orientation to the real, material social structures.' (1992: 66).

Fairclough's notion of the ideological functionality of language underlies my formulation of rhetorical potential. My analysis of the recurrent properties of news reporting texts is motivated by a concern to discover the ways in which these might condition such texts, not simply to influence readerships, but to inscribe, either directly or indirectly, assumptions, beliefs and expectations about the social order. And, since the social order is structured via power relations and, specifically, the unequal distribution of power, then I am concerned with how the textual properties of news reporting discourse might position it with respect to the social distribution of power. Here I follow Fairclough in seeing language as 'an ideological practice [which] constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations.' (1992: 67).

II.6. Media language

II.6.(a). Overview

There is a great diversity of literature devoted to exploring aspects of the style of media language. It applies the methodologies of various theoretical frameworks and is

motivated by a diversity of objectives. Below I briefly exemplify the three most significant strands:

1. stylistic analysis which searches for features in the lexicogrammar, punctuation, graphology etc which might serve to distinguish news reporting from other styles of language.
2. sociolinguistic analyses which seek to discover reflexes of various social categories in the lexicogrammar and, in particular, to distinguish between different types of journalism on the basis of such reflexes.
3. rhetorical analyses, with objectives related to that of this thesis, which seek to discover the linguistic basis of various aspects of the communicative functionality of media texts.

II.6.(b). Stylistics

Crystal and Davy (1969) set out to determine whether there is any linguistic basis to the folk belief in 'journalese' as a distinct style of English. Confining themselves to the language of news reporting (as opposed to features, editorials, reviews etc), they conclude that 'the concept of the "language of newspaper reporting" is not as meaningful as is generally assumed' and that '[t]here is not one, but a number of "journaleses" (p.172). In analysing two articles drawn respectively from a tabloid and a broadsheet newspaper, they note various common lexicogrammatical features, of which I supply a sample below.

- The texts make less frequent use of commas than would 'normally be expected'. (The authors don't specify the nature of this 'norm'.) This, Crystal and Davy suggest, is meant to avoid disturbing the tempo of reading more than is necessary.
- Frequent use is made of quotation marks both to indicate attributed material but also to draw attention to individual items. The authors suggest this supplies the articles with verisimilitude and immediacy.
- The authors note a certain preference for alliteration (*depressing downpour, humble human*) which they suggest gives a sense of spoken language.
- Normal Subject position may be reversed in the context of quotations (…, *said Dr Mason*).

- Adverbs are frequently located in a marked position at the front of the sentence. The authors suggest that this is motivated by a concern with varying emphasis within a given sentence. They contend this enables the interest and impetus of the text to be maintained.
- The texts feature much more complex pre- and postmodification in the nominal group than 'we normally hear or write' (p.186). The authors suggest this is done to add detail and colour.

The authors therefore single out certain obvious features which they compare with some unspecified 'norm'. They typically explain the features in relatively informal, largely common-sense terms as, for example, maintaining impetus or adding colour. They do not attempt, however, to characterise the functionality of news discourse nor to discover any deeper socio-semiotic principles which these features might, separately or in combination, serve.

II.6.(c). Sociolinguistic perspectives

Sociolinguistic analyses of news style are concerned to discover lexicogrammatical reflexes of social categories such as class. (See, for example, Rydén 1975, Bell 1984, Bell 1991). I will briefly review Jucker's analysis of variations in noun phrase structure to demonstrate this approach (Jucker 1992).

Jucker is interested in exploring the differences in the style of what he terms down-market, mid-market and up-market newspapers as a reflex of the class-based readership profiles of their target audiences. He explores variation in what he terms 'noun phrase name appositions' – nominal groups which include both a proper name and some descriptive material typically identifying the individual in terms of their vocation or some other social category. The variation which he explores is exemplified by the following,

1. Mr Harry Goodman, the self-made multi-millionaire (postposed descriptive appositive),
2. The self-made multi-millionaire, Mr Harry Goodman (preposed descriptive appositive),

3. Self-made multi-millionaire Harry Goodman (preposed descriptive appositive with zero article).

Jucker discovers that the appositions stratify very clearly according to the three categories of newspaper. The down-markets strongly prefer preposed appositives with zero articles (example 3 above), the up-markets prefer postposed appositives (example 1 above) and the mid-markets follow the down-markets in preferring the preposed form but do so less consistently than the down-markets.

The author offers little by way of analysis of the functionality or rhetorical consequences of such preferences, presumably because his objective is limited to demonstrating linguistic reflexes of social categories. His interest, therefore, is only in the reflexes as markers of sociolinguistic status, and not in those reflexes for their own sake. He offers, only, that the preposed form favoured in the down-markets lends the nominal group a title-like flavour and thus enhances the perceived importance of the people for whom it is used. In this, he is at least hinting at some rhetorical motivation, but explores the issue no further. And as it stands, the notion of 'importance' seems to have only restricted explanatory merit. The preposed structures don't act to suggest importance in instances such as 'Blonde, blue-eyed mother of three Jane Thomas' or 'Convicted murder Edward Brown'. The functionality here would seem, rather, to be that of constructing participants in terms of socio-cultural types and motifs, rather than as individuals.

The lack of any exploration of communicative functionality seems even more notable given the nature of the reflex. We are not dealing here with the actual language of members of a given social grouping, as is usual in sociolinguistic analyses. Rather we are dealing with linguistic choices which, at some level of intentionality within the journalistic compositional process, are directed at accommodating or positioning the text with respect to an intended audience. From this perspective, the rhetorical functionality of these particular choices can not be avoided.

II.6.(d). Functional analyses – the rhetorical potential of media language

As indicated briefly in the previous chapter, there is a diversity of literature which, in contrast to the sociolinguistic work, does set out to explore issues of rhetorical functionality. Much of it is formulated in the terms of SFL theory or is at least influenced by this functional approach. I will briefly review a representative sample below.

II.6.(d).1. Fairclough

Fairclough's contribution has been well attested. His groundbreaking *Media Discourse* (1995) provides a comprehensive account of the social functionality of the media. Here I will briefly review one of his key arguments by way of illustration of his more general approach.

One of Fairclough's primary concerns is with what he terms the 'interdiscursivity' of media texts – the way that media texts incorporate material from a diverse range of social domains. As an 'order of discourse', the media is an 'interdiscursive' mode par excellence. Fairclough is also interested to track how the constitution of the media's 'order of discourse' has changed over time, and to what rhetorical and ultimately ideological end. In this, he notes a tendency over the recent decades for the media to blur the distinction between the public and the private, to recontextualise the linguistic forms of the public in terms of the language of the domestic, private domain. He argues that such a rearrangement of the journalistic order of discourse has significant rhetorical consequences.

> Newsworthy events originate from the contracted set of people who have privileged access to the media, who are treated by journalists as reliable sources, and whose voices are the ones which are most widely represented in media discourse. … When … they are translated into a newspaper's version of popular language … there is a degree of mystification about whose voices and positions are being represented. If the voices of powerful people and groups in politics, industry, etc. are represented in a version of everyday speech (even a simulated and partially unreal one), then social identities,

> relationships and distances are collapsed. Powerful groups are represented as speaking in a language which readers themselves might have used, which makes it so much easier to go along with their meanings. The news media can be regarded as effecting the ideological work of transmitting the voices of power in a disguised and covert form (Fairclough 1992: 110).

II.6.(d).2. Kress

Kress (1986) has examined journalistic textual practices along similar lines. He analyses a blurring of the boundaries between the public and the private in the Australian media, noting that it is significantly more advanced in the tabloids than in the broadsheet press. He analyses coverage of moves by the Australian government to limit the power of one of the nation's most prominent unions – the Builders Labourer's Federation. He notes that the broadsheet coverage treat this in public terms, as a administrative, legal process, as the action of government and the bureaucracy in the public domain. In contrast, the tabloid coverage personalises and domesticates the issue, treating this as a 'personal' matter between the union's well-known leader and the government.

II.6.(d).3. Carter

Carter (1988) explores the ideological functionality of a preference by tabloid newspapers for what he terms 'non-core' lexis. In Carter's system, 'non-core' is contrasted with 'core' lexis, which is defined as the vocabulary which 'is used to describe those elements in the lexical network of a language which are unmarked. That is, they usually constitute the most normal basic and simple words available to the language user' (p. 9). Carter analyses a report by the UK Daily Mail in which the then newly elected Labour leader, Neil Kinnock, is negatively evaluated for his handling of his Party's position on nuclear disarmament. Carter identifies various items of non-core lexis in the report which he categorises as formal, informal or carrying recognisably evaluative associations. Kinnock is described, for example as being 'snubbed' by the Left, as 'Canute Kinnock' and as caught in a 'row' over the 'rising tide' of pacifism. Carter argues that it is through the use of such lexis that the writer adopts a position towards Kinnock, while at the same time purporting to document events rather than explicitly providing a commentary.

II.6.(d).4. Trew

Trew (Trew 1979) provides an account of the way that lexicogrammatical choices act to reflect ideological position in even the most apparently neutral news reports. He is concerned generally to show how the mainstream media handle what he terms 'awkward facts' – happenings which are at odds with the underlying ideological world view by which the media operates. He shows how the unfolding coverage of a particular event over several days is organised so that the event can be reconstrued in ideologically unproblematic terms. In a sense, the essential arguments in Trew's analysis apply to all texts, regardless of discourse type. He demonstrates how the structure of every clause is, in a sense, strategic. It is shaped by an evaluative process by which certain participants are made central and others peripheral, by which some are put in positions of focus, by which causal relations are proposed and so on. He demonstrates, nevertheless, that within the media, such strategies are of particular significance in that they are so frequently mobilised in order to manage potentially 'awkward' facts.

> ..It is in the media that we find the most common and familiar kind of discourse which presents the social in terms of given ideologies and repairs the breaches opening up by the intrusion of what is not supposed to happen, since it is the media which presents information about what is happening, including the very events which give rise to the need for reinterpretation. (p. 97)

I will illustrate Trew's mode of analysis by summarising one detail of his description of British press coverage of a violent incident during the campaign for independence and self-rule in Rhodesia during the 1970s.

In 1975 Rhodesian police fired on a crowd of unarmed protesters and killed five of them. *The Times* began its report,

> RIOTING BLACKS SHOT DEAD BY POLICE AS ANC LEADERS MEET
>
> Eleven Africans were shot dead and 15 wounded when Rhodesian police opened fired on a rioting crowd of about 2,000 in the African Highland township of Salisbury this afternoon.

The incident is ‘awkward’ in that the conservative British media such as the *Times* were, in general, supportive of the then Rhodesian administration and critical of the independence movement. The fact that the agents of this administration – the police – had opening fire on and killed a group of protesters was therefore ideologically problematic. Subsequent coverage of the incident was to act to shift any blame away from the police or the administration and to recast the incident in terms of what the *Times* construed as the inevitable ‘violence and intimidation’ of indigenous African politics.

Trew demonstrates that the lexicogrammatical structure of this opening is strategic in that it prepares the way for this eventual re-interpretation of the event. He points, for example, to the use of the passive voice – 'Eleven Africans were shot dead' – a device by which the agency and hence the responsibility of the police for the killings is backgrounded and thus obscured. The causal link between the action of the police and the killing of the protesters is further weakened by the use of the temporal clause, 'when Rhodesian police opened fire'. The police opening fire is therefore construed as contemporaneous with the killing rather than as its direct cause. In addition, the report construes the protest as 'a rioting crowd of about 2000' thus conjuring up images of large scale violence and a threat to law and order. Accordingly, the grammar is clearly ‘ideological’ in this way and serves a larger rhetorical purpose.

II.7. Media genres: approaches to text structure

II.7.(a). Modelling the news story

Despite the diversity of the research into various aspects of journalistic texts, there is only a limited literature devoted to providing systematic, theoretically-motivated accounts of the generic structure and distinctiveness of the contemporary news item. There are certain established traditions of explanation which recur across the journalistic vocational training literature by which various rules of thumb are supposedly applied to determine ‘correct’ textual organisation. I will review these

briefly below. A key claim of the training materials is that structure is directed by 'importance' – what is most 'important' and 'relevant' must come first, with the story then moving progressively through layers of decreasing 'significance'. I will demonstrate that this is a highly problematic notion from the perspective of rhetorical functionality. It is of interest that the notion is frequently taken up uncritically by the academic literature, with many writers simply taking it as a given.

Within the academic literature, the account by van Dijk (1988) in *News as Discourse* is widely referenced and has been adopted by other researchers. (See for example Bell 1991, 1998.) Van Dijk's model, which I will explore below, is oriented toward modelling the cognitive process associated with reading news stories, rather than with developing an account based on a close analysis of the lexico grammar. He is one of the writers who adopts the training texts' notion of 'importance' as the key organising principle of news report textuality.

In the context of this cognitive approach, I will also briefly review an analysis by Bell (1991), who adopts van Dijk's framework, of the relationships between the structure of the news report and that of the Labovian narrative of personal experience.

I will also review an application by van Leeuwen (1987) of SFL genre theory to the structure of news items. Van Leeuwen's concern is primarily with what journalists would term 'human interest' or 'colour' – usually accounts of private rather than public figures and of actions which exemplify certain culturally significant themes such as rites of passage, triumphs over adversity, dogged determination, hearts of gold, lovable eccentricity and so on. These 'human interest' stories frequently have a very different generic structure from that of the 'hard news' item (see Iedema et al. 1994: 138-149). Van Leeuwen's account is significant in the current context because it demonstrates one of the parameters of that diversity as well as offering a useful methodology for modelling this type of story.

II.7.(b). Journalistic training texts

Journalistic training texts typically give instruction in generic structuring through treatment of individual examples of stories rather than through any more abstract, systematic, theory-based account. Harold Evans' celebrated *Newsman's* (sic) *English*

(Evans 1972) is a classic example of such an instructional approach. It is possible, however, to abstract some more general principles from the advice typically contained in journalistic vocational texts.

Stories are usually divided into an opening comprised of the first sentence (the 'lead' or 'intro') and then a body. This opening 'lead' is said to single out the 'news point' or 'angle' of the story and to summarise its 'essential news elements' (Lloyd 1994). Some training texts advise that the lead should contain the 'five Ws and an H' — 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where' 'why' and 'how'. (For a discussion of this view and a demonstration that it is not, in fact, supported by journalistic practice, see Evans 1972: 85-86).

The training texts are careful to explain that in describing events, the news story does not follow chronological sequence. In this, the news story is sharply contrasted with what are termed 'narratives. Thus MacDougall states,

> The striking difference between traditional news writing in the United States and other forms of written composition, such as the essay, poetry. drama, novel and short story, continues to be this: whereas the authors of these other forms of composition usually begin with minor or incidental details and work to a climax near or at the end of their compositions, the news writer reverses this plan of organization. That is, the climax or end of the story comes first. Given a schedule of facts to arrange in the form of a newspaper article, the writer selects the most important fact or climax of the story and puts it at the beginning. The second most important fact comes second, the third most important fact third and so on.
>
> The traditional form of news writing is called the inverted pyramid form. (MacDougall 1982: 98)

The organising principle of the body of the news item, in the absence of chronological sequence, is, therefore, said to be one of importance. The greater the 'importance' of some element, then the earlier it must occur in the text, regardless of its position in any chronological sequence. This principle is frequently illustrated by means of the metaphorical formulation of a 'pyramid structure'. Friedlander and Lee in *Feature Writing for Newspapers and Magazines* state,

> In the typical inverted pyramid structure used in a news story, the information at the top of the pyramid - the lead - is the most important ... As the reader goes deeper in the story, the value of the information decreases ... (Friedlander and Lee 1988).

Thus, the training texts insist, the news item begins with those elements of the issue at hand which have maximal importance, with additional elements added in an order which directly reflects their relative importance. This will have major implications for those items which present an account of some activity sequence. Since the importance of the various steps which make up the activity sequence will not correlate, in many instances, with their relative position in the chronological sequence – a later action may be assessed as 'more important' than an earlier one – there will result a necessary rearrangement of the original time-line.

An alternative view of the principles which structure the news item will be provided in the course of chapters 5, 6 and 7.

II.7.(c). Van Dijk: the cognitive approach to news story structure

Van Dijk's analysis is located within a cognitive theory of text comprehension. He is primarily concerned with explaining the cognitive mechanism by which readers interpret the messages of texts. As well, his orientation is towards ideational meanings. This is reflected in his approach to the rhetorical functionality of the news report – for van Dijk, analysis of the rhetorical potential of the news report is essentially limited to issues of 'factuality' and with strategies for ensuring that readers will regard this 'factual' information as 'truthful'.

As a consequence, van Dijk's descriptive framework, his mode of argumentation, his objectives and his findings are significantly different from those of the current work. In the following, I briefly outline van Dijk's characterisation of the news item and indicate the key points where it differs from that developed in the following chapters.

Central to van Dijk's analysis of discourse is his concern with modelling the cognitive process by which readers understand the various elements of a text as contributing to

a set of broader topics, or, in van Dijk's terms, 'macropropositions'. He proposes several rules of deduction or summarisation by which these 'macropropositions' are extracted from a text – the deletion of information, generalisation etc (1988: 30). Van Dijk's model of the news item, therefore, is oriented to such issues of comprehension and summarisation, rather than to a close description of lexicogrammatical properties. In this light, he proposes what he terms, 'news schemata' (p.49). In some cases the elements of this schemata reference actual spans of the text, but in others they are categories or constructs of information which are deduced or derived from the text through the process of interpretation.

The first element of the schemata is what van Dijk, in keeping with journalistic practice, terms the Headline and Lead. Here he concurs with the journalistic vocational training literature in seeing this combination as functioning as textual summary. He states,

> Together they [the headline/lead] express the major topics of the text. That is, they function as an initial summary. Hence as in natural stories, we may also introduce the category Summary, dominating Headline and Lead. The semantic constraint is obvious: Headline + Lead summarise the news text ... (van Dijk 1988: 53)

The other elements of his news schemata likewise typically invoke journalistic formulations. For example, included in his list of schemata components are, Main Event, Consequences, Previous Events, Verbal Reactions, Evaluations etc.

The category of Main Event is an example of a category which is cognitive rather than textual. The reader is understood to piece together this Main Event from elements discontinuously presented in the unfolding text. The Main Event is thus not a stage in the text but an informational construct extracted from the text.

A key insight of van Dijk's analysis is that the various elements of the schemata, and especially the Main Event, are provided discontinuously and in instalments as the text unfolds. Thus, all the elements of the Main Event are not necessarily presented in one stage or textual span, but may be provided piecemeal, with interruptions, for example, by descriptions of consequences, previous events and so on. Van Dijk states,

> One of the most conspicuous and typical features of topic realization or elaboration in news discourse is its instalment character. That is, each topic is delivered in parts, not as a whole, as is the case in other discourse types. (p.43)

According to van Dijk, the specific ordering of these instalments is determined by 'the top down principle of relevance organisation in news. This principle says that news discourse is organised so that the most important or relevant information is put in the most prominent position, both in the text as a whole and in the sentences. This means that for each topic, the most important information is present first.'(p. 43)

The account to be set out in the following chapters will, in general, be compatible with van Dijk's claims of story development by instalment. The text structural categories I suggest will have a systematic-linguistic basis as opposed to van Dijk's more informal set of components. They will, nevertheless, be broadly compatible with those he proposes.

My account, however, will differ from that of van Dijk in several matters of detail and with reference to certain more fundamental theoretical issues.

My analysis of the functionality of the opening headline/lead will concur with that of van Dijk to the extent that I see this combination as serving some of the functionality of summarisation. I will argue, however, that the general category of 'summary' may be more diversified functionally than is suggested by van Dijk's discussion. My account will demonstrate that at least two related by different summarising strategies are performed by the headline/lead as opening phase. As well, it is important to recognise that summarisation is necessarily an interpretative and evaluative process in that inter-subjective positioning will determine which particular aspects of some activity sequence are seen as central, fundamental or most prominent and hence as constitutive of the essence or gist of that activity sequence. While van Dijk doesn't suggest that summarisation is in any way automatic or 'objective', he chooses not to explore its interpretative nature, at least not in the context of his discussion of the headline/lead as summary.

Since my description is based in a close study of the discourse semantics and lexicogrammar, I will not propose cognitive categories such as Main Event. I will discuss the activity sequences which underlie one type of news report, with activity sequence in my account the equivalent category to van Dijk's Event. I will not propose, however, that this is a constituent of the text as such. This is an important element of my account. It is my contention that it is crucial to the news report's functionality that it does not provide an explicit, coherent , chronologically organised representation of the activity sequence it references. To postulate Event as such a category is to risk obscuring this crucial property of news reporting textuality.

In his notion of the 'the top-down principle of relevance organization' as determining the structure of the news item, Van Dijk recalls the 'common-sense' formulations of the journalistic training texts. There is once again a danger that the notion of 'importance' will be viewed in uncritical and theoretically unelaborated terms. There is the risk that 'importance' will be seen as some innate property which naturally and atheoretically attaches in greater degree to certain material and in a lesser degree to other material. If we were usefully to operate with a notion of 'importance' it would be necessary to problematise it and to explore it as an ideologically determined construct. As well, I will demonstrate cases where the notion of importance, even if construed in common-sense terms, is incompatible with actual story structure. I will demonstrate that texts from an important sub category of news item are organised to locate rhetorically crucial elements in their final few sentences.

Without a multifunctional theory of language, van Dijk is confined to an essentially informational view of communicative functionality. His model of the news item structure is therefore unable to identify certain key interpersonally and textually-based patterns of textual organisation which my account will demonstrate.

Perhaps the most fundamental difference between my account and that of van Dijk's is in terms of the way I formulate rhetorical potential. For Van Dijk, rhetoric is a matter of the explicit techniques news texts adopt in order, supposedly, to enhance their 'factuality'. He therefore references the use of evidence from eye witnesses, from other 'reliable' sources and the use of signals, such as exact times, places and numbers, to indicate precision.

In this context, I differ from van Dijk in a number of respects. News reporting is as much about opinions (interpersonal values) as it is about 'facts'(experiential values). The various types of sources are introduced into news texts just as surely to pass judgement, speculate, warn, demand and react emotionally as they are to make 'factual' statements about what was done by who to whom. To focus exclusively on 'fact' and 'truth', therefore, is to leave out at least half of the story. As well, van Dijk treats the rhetorical potential of these journalistic devices as unproblematic. He offers no account as to why, for example, attribution might enhance the epistemological status of the news report's meanings. Nor does he consider the possibility that such attribution may not necessarily achieve this rhetorical result. (If attributed material is necessarily more 'convincing' than unattributed material, why is it a general practice for newspaper wire sub-editors to remove much of the attribution from wire-service copy? For a typical wire-service report see Appendix B, item 19.) Most crucially, van Dijk's analysis of rhetoric confines itself to the surface of the text, to the overt gestures it makes with respect to its informational reliability. Without a theory of the interpersonal, he is unable to explore the covert strategies by which a text positions both writer and reader with respect to the evaluative assumptions, expectations and beliefs it conveys.

II.7.(d). Bell and the 'narrative' status of news

Bell (1991: 148-155) provides a relatively detailed analysis of the news item with reference to Labov & Waletzky's (1967) model of the personal narrative. This analysis is of interest in the context of one of the current work's concerns – determining the genre status of the news item with respect to other story telling texts. Bell concludes that news reports and personal narratives are clearly different types of story, but nevertheless finds a number of features the two types share in common. He finds, for example, that both include an Abstract (provides an overview or summary of the story), an Orientation (sets the scene, presents the actors, provides a context) and elements which Evaluate (establish the significance of the story). The two text types differ, however, in that the action of the news report is told in non-chronological order, in that the news story either contains no Resolution or presents this in the opening, not the closing, and so on.

Bell's analysis can be questioned on a couple of points. For example, he seems at least to overstate the case when he claims that 'The lead [of the news story] has precisely the same function in news as the abstract in personal narrative' (1991: 149). While I will demonstrate that the leads of a certain number of news reports contain elements which may serve to summarise and give a general overview of the story, these elements are but one component of the complex rhetorical structure that is the news report's opening sentence. The lead, most tellingly, singles out the crisis point, the point of maximum impact of the material at issue, a function which is not necessarily served by the Abstract of the personal narrative. Therefore, while leads may share some communicative functionality with the narrative Abstract, they clearly do not perform 'precisely the same function'.

The major point of difference between Bell's approach, however, and that adopted by this thesis does not turn on this type of disagreement. In fact, the discussion in subsequent chapters will support in general terms many of Bell's conclusions about the differences between news reports and personal narratives. The major difference is one of theoretical framework and explanatory objectives. Here my differences with Bell are essentially the same which separate me from van Dijk. Bell compares and contrasts the two text types but is not concerned with exploring the rhetorical functionality which might explain why the news story differs so decisively from the personal narrative. He, like Van Dijk, seems to accept the journalistic common-sense view that the structure of the news story can be explained simply by reference to a notion of relative importance. Accordingly, he describes the news story as 'gathering all the main points at the beginning and progressing through decreasingly important information' (Bell 1991: 169).

II.7.(e). Van Leeuwen and generic strategies

Van Leeuwen (1987) provides an analysis by which news items are broken down into what might be termed micro genres. He shows how the stages of news items serve various core or basic generic purposes, such as Narration, Procedure and Exposition. He argues that there is great diversity in the use and ordering of such micro genres within these texts and that it is impossible, therefore, to propose rigid schemata for the structuring of such reports. A key insight of Van Leeuwen's analysis is his

observation that the arrangement of these micro genres is strategic, serving various rhetorical objectives. Of particular importance in the current context is his claim that these strategies may be both overt and covert, that while purporting to present objective, impartial descriptions, media texts are simultaneously concerned with entertainment, social control and ideological legitimation. One of the primary concerns of the thesis is to explore the operation of such covert strategies in news reporting texts.

Van Leeuwen's approach differs from that adopted in the thesis in that, under his micro-genre approach, the text is divided into somewhat larger scale constituents than under the methodology set out below in chapter 5. Such a micro-genre analysis is well suited to 'human interest' items of the type explored in detail by Van Leeuwen. In such items there is sufficient textual development within individual phases to be suggestive of a particular genre purpose. In contrast, the phases of many 'hard news' reports are typically shorter, usually spanning between one to three sentences. In the course of the DSP research and subsequently, it was decided to develop a model for these phases which projected upwards from the relationships which obtain between clause-complexes, rather than a model which can be seen as projected downward from text types (as is the case with van Leeuwen's micro genre approach). The two approaches, however, are in no sense contradictory or at odds, simply reflecting different perspectives on the functionality of textual constituents. Van Leeuwen's highlighting of the diverse functionality of different phases within the text is compatible with, and supportive of the analysis developed in chapters 5 and 6 below. His insistence on the impossibility of proposing rigid schema for the staging of phases within texts is also supported by the findings I set out below. I will show that the internal structure of the news report is such that phases may occur in all manner of orderings, with the actual ordering serving local rhetorical objectives.

II.7.(f). The Disadvantaged School Program Media Literacy Report

The model of news story structure developed here is based on that developed in the DSP Media Literacy report (Iedema et al. 1994), mentioned earlier, and subsequently in White (1997). The thesis, however, develops and adds detail to that model, as well

as providing additional evidence for its primary proposals. In order to avoid duplication, I will withhold presentation of that model until chapter 5, where I set out an elaborated description in full.

II.8. Conclusion

The purpose, therefore, of the thesis is to develop new insights into the distinctive style, structure and textural properties of contemporary, English-language 'broadsheet', hard news reports. The project relies specifically on the insights of SFL, but also draws inspiration more broadly from a range of theoretical approaches.

A central concern of the current project was not only to describe the distinctive style or voice of hard news reporting, but also to understand the communicative functionality of this style. A close study of the interpersonal meanings exploited by news-reporting texts indicated that simplistic notions of 'objectivity' or 'factuality' could not account for what actually goes on in 'hard news' reports. Despite the claims to the contrary, the interpersonal face the hard news report presents is not one of neutral, factual, and anonymous passivity. The 'hard news' report was discovered to make highly strategic use of interpersonal values. In order to identify and explain these strategies it was necessary to draw on theories of the semantics of inter-subjective positioning both from within SFL and without. The accounts of evidentiality, epistemic modality, hedging and vague language provided a sketch of at least some of the items which were likely to be at issue, but did not provide a satisfactory understanding of the rhetorical functionality served by these values in the context of a public discourse such as that of the media. SFL provided a framework for exploring this semantic domain in its theory of Tenor. More recent work within SFL provided the necessary models of some of the semantic sub-systems at stake. More work was needed, however, to develop a sufficiently detailed account of the semantics of social evaluation and of the linguistic resources by which texts position themselves ideologically. In this I relied substantially on Bakhtin's theory of intertextuality and heteroglossia, drawing inspiration from Fairclough, Lemke and Fuller, as set out in sections II.3.(b). and II.5. above. The details of my proposals for modelling this semantic domain are set out in chapters 3 and 4 following.

In parallel with its interest in the voice of news reporting, the thesis is concerned to describe and understand the functionality of the news report's distinctive textual architecture. Here I relied on recent developments in genre theory within SFL and from research conducted for the various DSP projects cited above. Work within narratology and within applied linguistic applications of genre theory has provided a background against which to set my account of the news report as text type. However, the various models available need to be developed or modified in order to accommodate the textual principles which underlie news story structure. My account of the generic structure of the modern news story is set out in chapters 5 and 6.

I have also indicated, in sections II.6 and II.7 above, the contribution of various accounts specifically concerned with details of news reporting style and structure. As I have observed, many of these provide valuable insights into aspects of news story textuality, but none was constituted so as to serve the specific purposes of the thesis, that of understanding the rhetorical potential which follows from the interaction between the voice and the textual organisation of the modern news story.

One strand running throughout the thesis is concerned, therefore, with a detailed, theoretically motivated description of news story textuality. Accompanying this is a concern to contrastively locate that textuality within the context of related discourse types currently operational in the culture, and within the context of past journalistic practice. The comparison is motived by the Saussurian insight that all meaning is relational, that to understand any linguistic phenomenon it is necessary to understand its functionality within the system in which it operates. The comparison with the past, necessarily limited in scope, is introduced for two reasons. While we may have to take a snap shot of current textual practices for the sake of developing an analysis, the diachronic contrast serves to indicate that this is, of course, an abstraction and an idealisation. Modes of journalistic textuality are not static but are in a constant state of modification and reformulation as they respond to changing social conditions. This point is compellingly demonstrated by the sharp contrast with the past journalistic practices, which will be set out at strategic points in the following chapters. Of equal importance is the function the diachronic comparison serves, foreshadowed in chapter 1, of demonstrating that current textual practices are neither natural nor necessary but the artefacts of evolving social conditions and objectives.

In the final chapter, these various strands of analysis are brought together to serve the core objective of the thesis – accounting for the socio-semiotic potential of the news story as a rhetorical device. There I will demonstrate how structure and interpersonal mode combine to equip the news story with a particular communicative functionality, that of naturalising the various ideologically-informed models of the social order which inform mass-media news coverage.

III. Inter-subjective positioning and the grammar of APPRAISAL

III.1. Introduction

III.1.(a). APPRAISAL and the registers of journalism

The next two chapters are concerned with exploring certain systematic patterns of interpersonal meanings which contribute to the distinctive style and communicative potential of the modern news report. The meanings are those by which texts establish, negotiate and naturalise positions of social evaluation – a broad semantic category which, following Martin, I term APPRAISAL. (See, for example, Martin 1997 and Martin, in press). This chapter will describe the network of semantic choices which constitutes this semantic sub-system and set out new theoretical formulations developed in the course of the current research. The next chapter will apply this theory of APPRAISAL to modelling key features of the distinctive style of the modern news report and to explicating its communicative functionality. In particular, the theory of APPRAISAL will be used to demonstrate systematic differences between, firstly, the language of news reporting and other modes of contemporary journalism and, secondly, between the modern news report and its own journalistic precursors, the news reporting of the pre-modern era.

In exploring those linguistic features which characterise and distinguish the modern news report, these two chapters bear on issues relating to what SFL terms 'register' (see section II.2.(d). previously), and more specifically on the registerial status of news reportage. As outlined in the previous chapter, SFL register theory is concerned with the way in which particular contexts of social situation are reflected in, and construed by systematic variation in the language, by particular patterns of choices of interpersonal, ideational and textual meaning. The registerial account provided by these two chapters will be only partial in that it concentrates largely on the

interpersonal. It will, nevertheless, be significant in that its account of the interpersonal orientation of journalistic texts will be extensive, and in that this interpersonal dimension will be shown as central to the constitution of news reportage as a functional variety of language. (See Matthiessen 1993 for a discussion of the issues associated with register description and the practical need for individual analyses to confine themselves to particular perspectives or domains within the grammar.)

The current chapter is concerned with a description of the semantics of APPRAISAL which is generalised, at least to the extent that it is designed to map the network of inter-related semantic choices which obtain across media texts, including not only news reports but features, commentary, editorials and so on. The description is oriented towards the discourse-semantics, rather than directly to the lexico-grammar – although the lexico-grammatical realisations of the various semantic choices are, of course, vital to any such description. Such discourse-semantic orientated descriptions always have the potential to be more specific than general, to be more closely tailored to the communicative concerns of a particular context of situation, or group of related contexts of situation. This follows naturally from the functionality of the discourse-semantics as the content strata which directly realises context of situation. (See, for example, Martin 1992: chapter 7.) As discussed in the previous chapter, the context of situation, as a theoretical construct, can be thought of as consisting of an array of different contexts, or, in Hasan's terms, 'contextual configurations' (1985). A culture will establish and operate with various recurrent types of 'contextual configurations', which will entail greater or lesser degrees of commonality in their values of field, tenor and mode. Thus a radio news report and a print-media news report may vary only in terms of mode, while an academic article and a casual conversation may vary across the full range of metafunctional possibilities. It is possible, therefore, that in exploring the discourse semantics we may discover sub-systems of valeur which apply only to a given situational type or range of closely related situational types. (The system of MOOD choices provided by intonational KEY – Halliday 1967 – is an obvious example of a localised system of valeur, including, as it does, the spoken and excluding the written.) Thus in developing networks to account for the discourse-semantics of the array of related situation types constituted by the media, we must

always bear in mind the possibility that some of our systems may have localised rather than generalised application. It is possible that we will identify networks of related semantic choices which do not operate in different contexts of situation, or that our account will omit valeur sub-systems which are crucial to other contexts of situation. (Obviously, since my concern is with the print rather than the broadcast media, my account typically excludes any valeur systems which rely upon resources specific to spoken language. For a full discussion of these issues see Matthiessen 1993.)

The system of APPRAISAL set out here has, therefore, been designed to model the discourse-semantic relationships which obtain in media contexts. It remains an open question as to the generalisability of these systems to other contexts of situation, although preliminary work by other researchers indicates that they do have application across a range of discourses (see, for example, Coffin 1997, Eggins and Slade 1997 and Rothery and Stenglin in press).

In this chapter I set out APPRAISAL as a system of semantic resources by which texts may act to convey single, or possibly multiple, inter-subjective positions and attitudes with regard to the configurations of participants and processes they represent. The presentation in this chapter explores these resources from the perspective of linguistic potential, from the perspective of 'what can be meant' by the language (Halliday 1973). The next chapter explores the instantiation of this meaning potential by individual media texts and by groups of media texts. (See Matthiessen 1993: 229 for a discussion of linguistic 'potentiality', 'instantiation' and 'instance'). It is from this exploration of instantiation that an account of the registerial status of news reporting emerges. The next chapter demonstrates systematic differences between groupings of media texts in which choices they activate from within the APPRAISAL system, in which choices they favour and which disfavour, and in the co-textual environments which associate with key APPRAISAL values.

It is on the basis of these recurrent variations that the next chapter proposes what will be termed the three 'voices' of contemporary journalism – 'reporter voice', 'correspondent voice' and 'commentator voice'. The precise registerial status of these 'voices' will be explored in the next chapter but it can be stated here, by way of

preview, that the notion of 'voice' refers to the distinctive interpersonal style or orientation of three different groupings of media texts. It will be shown that the distinctive rhetorical potential of the contemporary 'hard news' report derives, in part, from the communicative properties of the 'voice' with which it is most typically associated, that of reporter voice. As well, it will be shown that contemporary broadsheet journalism contrasts with that of the 19th century in the consistency with which its texts are organised according to this three-way registerial distinction.

III.2. APPRAISAL and heteroglossic diversity

III.2.(a). APPRAISAL – an overview

The chapter, therefore, is concerned with APPRAISAL – the array of interpersonal resources variously concerned with authorial attitude, social evaluation and the positioning of both reader and authorial voice. The system, as previewed in chapter 2, is organised along three axes:

- ENGAGEMENT: negotiating heteroglossic diversity (*perhaps, it seems, he says, I declare, however, obviously* etc).
- ATTITUDE – AFFECT (emotional response – *like, fear* etc), JUDGEMENT (evaluation of human behaviour – *corruptly, skilfully* etc), APPRECIATION (evaluation of entities – *beautiful, striking* etc),
- GRADUATION: resources for scaling interpersonal force or for sharpening/blurring the focus of valeur relationships (*very, really; sort'v, somewhat*),

As indicated in chapter 2, I rely on recent work within SFL for my account of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. The formulation of ATTITUDE as a superordinate category encompassing these three systems is novel and I will accordingly discuss this below. The formulations of GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT are novel, at least and some respects, and will therefore be explored in some detail.

As indicated in the previous chapter (sections II.3.(b).5. and II.3.(b).6), my treatment of ENGAGEMENT relies on the Bakhtinian notion of intertextuality or heteroglossia. This perspective is not, however, confined to my view of ENGAGEMENT and informs my

account of APPRAISAL more widely. Before I turn to describing ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION in detail, therefore, I will consider some of these broader implications.

III.2.(b). Heteroglossic perspectives

The heteroglossic perspective has far reaching consequences, as we have seen, for the way that the semantics of speaker commitment/engagement is modelled. It assumes that language is a resource for constructing social realities – a basic precept of functional approaches to language – and that any community will contain multiple, sometimes convergent, sometimes divergent, social realities or world views. Accordingly, all utterances put at risk a particular social position and enter into relationships of greater or lesser convergence/divergence with a range of alternative utterances that represent different social positions. As we saw previously, this perspective leads us to reconstrue the semantics of evidentials/modals/hedges, to analyse them as not necessarily concerned with issues of truth, knowledge or epistemic reliability but with encoding an acknowledgment of alternative social positioning and an openness to include such within the current discourse.

This heteroglossic orientation is useful in the current context because it provides a potent counter to the common-sense notion that certain utterances are interpersonally neutral and hence 'factual' or 'objective' while others are interpersonally charged and hence 'opinionated' or 'attitudinal'. Under systemic functional perspectives, all utterances are analysed as simultaneously ideational and interpersonal – there is no utterance which is without interpersonal value. Nevertheless, the influence of the common-sense notion of the 'fact' is widespread and it may be tempting to see some utterances as more interpersonal than others. Under the heteroglossic orientation, however, we are reminded that even the most 'factual' utterances, those which are structured so as to background interpersonal values, are nevertheless interpersonally charged in that they enter into relationships of tension with a related set of alternative and contradictory utterances. The degree of that tension is socially determined. It is a function of the number and the social status of those alternative socio-semiotic realities under which the utterance at issue would be problematised. Accordingly, the difference between the utterance 'The Premier saw the defamatory documents before they were presented to the Parliament.' And 'In my view, the Premier may have seen

the defamatory documents before they were presented to Parliament' is not one of 'fact' versus 'opinion' but of the degree to which the utterance acknowledges the intertextual or dialogic context (in Bakhtin's sense) in which it operates. The distinction, therefore, can be represented in terms of heteroglossic negotiation – the first utterance backgrounds or down-plays the possibility of heteroglossic diversity by dint of its lexico-grammar while the second actively promotes that possibility. Alternatively, we can say the first denies or ignores the intertextual heterogeneity in which it operates while the second asserts it.

III.2.(c). Heteroglossia and the multiple readerships of written texts

This heteroglossic view alerts us to one feature which often acts to separate the written from the spoken. In the context of many spoken texts, all interactants are present for the act of communication – the speaker addresses an actual individual or group of individuals who are often in a position to respond immediately to what is being said. The speaker/audience relationship, therefore, is a dynamic one which can involve immediate feedback and active renegotiation of speaker positioning in response to that feedback. Written texts of the type found in the media, however, do not involve an actual, precisely defined audience, the responses of which can be monitored as the texts unfolds. Rather, the writer of the media text anticipates a range of different audiences or readerships who are potential or projected rather than actual or present. (Coulthard, in *Advances in Written Text Analysis* explores a similar notion of the 'imagined reader' of written texts. Coulthard 1994: 4) These various projected readerships can be expected to differ in their responses to the text according to differences in their own heteroglossic positioning and the writer may choose to include meanings within the text which anticipate and therefore engage with some or all of those anticipated responses. (Of course, while texts acknowledge the possibility of heteroglossic divergence, they nevertheless typically act to establish one position as given, commonsensical and 'natural', thereby establishing for the text a reading position of interconnected assumptions and social evaluations. This process of naturalising social/ ideological position will be explored below in section III.6.(d).)

We can, by way of example, illustrate the way texts in general may construct multiple prospective readerships by considering the multiple readerships of media texts. We can identify at least three sets of readerships, which can be grouped under the headings of 'co-authorial', 'implicated' and 'general'. The term 'co-authorial' refers to the sub-editors and editors who will be the first readers of any media text, who assess it in terms of 'quality', 'news value' and conformity to various additional 'standards', and who have the potential to enter into the production process to redraft the text before it is finally published. Journalists know that, first and foremost, their texts must be acceptable to these co-authorial readers, that their day-to-day standing within a media organisation and their long-time professional survival depend on this acceptance. Clearly at least one aspect of the negotiatory position they adopt in their texts will be directed towards achieving positive responses from these readers.

Secondly, a journalist's interpersonal positioning must enable their texts to negotiate effectively with the socio-semiotic positions of those individuals and institutions who are directly implicated in those texts. It is in the nature of journalism that its texts will construe some individuals and institutions as victims, others as heroes, others as villains and so on and that accordingly these implicated individuals and institutions will be very interested readers of those texts. They can be expected to respond with vigour, potentially with the full force of the libel laws, when they feel their position has been misunderstood or misrepresented. We can predict, therefore, that journalistic APPRAISAL will operate so as to permit journalistic texts to anticipate and hence to negotiate the responses of these implicated readers.

Finally, of course, there is the 'average' or 'general' reader or listener, the mass media audience member who purchases or partakes of media texts in the role of consumer or subscriber.

Each of these three sets is, of course, diverse within its own boundaries. Sub-editors and editors can be expected to have diverse interests and positions as can the various implicated readers (the individual praised in the text versus the individual criticised, for example) as can the mass media audience, constituted as it is of diverse social groupings. We find similar patterns of divergent readerships in other written domains. The author, for example, of an academic text addresses 'co-authorial readers' in the

book's editors and pre-publication reviewers, 'implicated readers' in those academic colleagues criticised or praised in the book and a general readership of interested academics and students. It is just that in the case of media texts this process of response and feedback is immediate and critical, on a daily basis, for the journalist's continued employment. We can postulate therefore that the strategies to negotiate these various positions will be highly developed in journalistic texts. This makes journalistic texts an ideal site for developing an analysis of APPRAISAL which is not modelled on the one-to-one dialogic exchange of, for example, casual conversation where the speaker directly negotiates, on their own behalf, with a single interlocutor whose responses can be constantly monitored. A study of media texts enables us to explore ways in which specific meanings may be included in the text so as to enable it to anticipate, acknowledge, negotiate with, or challenge the various alternative heteroglossic positions associated with its various projected readerships. By exploring this particular area of meaning we may, in fact, be able to read off from the text the potential readerships it constructs for itself and the degree to which it construes itself as heteroglossically concordant or discordant with those various positions.

III.3. The semantics of ENGAGEMENT – detailed account

III.3.(a). ENGAGEMENT: overview

As discussed above, the ENGAGEMENT system supplies resources by which the author negotiates (engages with) heteroglossic diversity — the various convergent, alternative and counter socio-semiotic realities or positions activated and referenced by every utterance. ENGAGEMENT is lexico-grammatically diversified and includes features which have elsewhere been described under the headings of polarity, modality, reality phase, counter expectation (concession), causality, projection and negation. The heteroglossic/intertextual orientation set out above provides the framework under which it becomes possible to integrate these various features into one interactive, inter-connected system of negotiation. The justification for postulating lexico-grammatically diverse categories of this type was set out previously

in the discussion of interpersonal metaphor and discourse semantic topologies in section II.3.(b).6. above.

III.3.(b). ENGAGEMENT: MOOD distinctions and the heteroglossic perspective

One of the key dichotomies in the interpersonal semantics observed by SFL is that of the MOOD distinction between utterances involving exchanges of information and those involving exchanges of goods-&-services – what Halliday terms the distinction between PROPOSITION (information) and PROPOSAL (goods-&-services). The distinction is, of course, widely observed across much of the linguistic literature, although not always formulated precisely in Halliday's terms. Under the PROPOSITION, the speaker either offers some information (statement) or requests it (question). Under the PROPOSAL, the speaker either offers goods-&-services (offer) or demands it (command). (See Halliday 1994: chapter 4.)

This choice between goods-&-services and information is located within the system of NEGOTIATION, according to the model of the interpersonal semantics adopted here. (The top level interpersonal systems are APPRAISAL, INVOLVEMENT and NEGOTIATION – see section II.3.(e).4. above. NEGOTIATION is concerned with speech acts and conversational interacts). The choice, however, has obvious significance for the semantics of heteroglossic diversity – the terms by which the utterance interacts with the intertextual context are fundamentally altered by the choice between information and goods-&-services. Informational utterances entail theorising about states and events in some represented reality, while utterances of goods-&-services entail attempts by speakers to manipulate those around them, to have others do their bidding or to accept their offers. Accordingly, we see that the informational utterance (PROPOSITION) puts at risk degrees of agreement or disagreement between different socially determined representations of reality, while utterances of goods-&-services (PROPOSAL) put at risk degrees of either compliance with, or acceptance of some attempt at manipulation. Thus the choice between PROPOSITION and PROPOSAL involves different modalities of heteroglossic negotiation – it turns on negotiating agreement versus negotiating compliance.

Accordingly, although the choice between PROPOSITION (informational meaning) and PROPOSAL (interactional meaning) is an option within the system of NEGOTIATION, it nevertheless has implications for ENGAGEMENT (a sub-system of APPRAISAL). The choice between information and interaction acts to set the contextual environment for ENGAGEMENT. It sets the speech act conditions in which values of ENGAGEMENT operate. That is to say, the value of ENGAGEMENT values will vary according to whether they operate in an informational or interactional environment. The choice sets the basic terms – agreement versus compliance – by which the utterance puts at risk its intertextual position. This relationship is illustrated below.

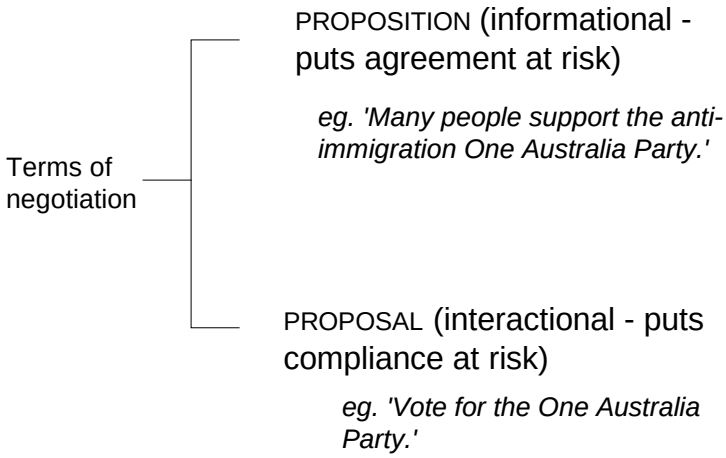


Figure 9: contextual environment for ENGAGEMENT

Strictly speaking, then, the choice between information and interaction is not an option within the ENGAGEMENT system itself, but an environmental variable. For the sake of simplicity of presentation, however, I will sometimes incorporate this environmental variability into my representation of the ENGAGEMENT system network.

One further complication in this context, however, needs to be noted. The analysis is complicated by the semantics of the PROPOSAL (interaction) in those written contexts where there is no actual, or at least no immediate or necessary interaction between speaker and audience, and by the relatively complex lexico-grammatical realisation of the PROPOSAL in such contexts. I will consider this complexity in some detail in the following paragraphs, considering in turn demands for goods-&-services and then offers of goods-&-services.

The most obvious realisation of the demand for goods-&-services is the command, encoded as an imperative. These do occur in media texts, but only rarely. The reason, of course, is the nature of the relationship between the journalistic author and his/ her audience. The obvious context for goods-&-services utterances is one where there is a clear social connection between the speaker and some specifically identified interlocutor who might do the speaker's bidding or accept their offer. No such clear social bond operates for media texts and, accordingly, commands coded as imperatives are rare. Where they do occur, they tend to be more rhetorical than literal. The following extract from a media commentary, for example, does contain an imperative (in bold), but the primary rhetorical purpose of this is not interactional but rather to reinforce the author's informational assertions.

> You may have no more intention of sending your child to a state school than you have of going to prison, but as a taxpayer – and **don't forget**, when it comes to education you paid them twice! – you have a great big say in the choice of social wallpaper. (*The Guardian* 3/4/97 – Appendix A, text 14)

Rather than use the imperative, media texts make use of a range of alternative lexico-grammatical means for developing interactional as opposed to informational meanings. In this, the media is simply availing itself of the resources generally available in the language and I will consider these resources briefly before returning specifically to demands for goods-&-services in media texts.

The communicative nature of the PROPOSAL (goods-&-services) seems to be such that the language develops a range of alternatives through the mechanism of what Halliday term's 'grammatical metaphor'. Such 'metaphors' include the use of interrogatives to realise demands ('Would you reconsider your decision?'), the use of projecting mental processes ('I want you to reconsider your decision.') and the use of modal forms such as ('You must reconsider your decision.'). In Halliday's terms (1994: chapter 10), these are all 'grammatical metaphors', that is 'incongruent' realisations in that they involve a tension or disparity between the lexicogrammatical form and its discourse semantic function. Thus, the interrogative cited above does not operate in the same ways as a 'congruent' or non-metaphorical interrogative. Although the subject addressed has the choice of taking the lexico-grammatical structure seriously and treating the utterance as a congruent question requiring a yes'/'no' answer, this

response is unlikely. The interlocutor is more likely to construe the utterance not as a question but as a demand for a service and thus to respond not with information but through active compliance or resistance. (This phenomenon has, of course, been widely observed in frameworks other than that of SFL, perhaps most notably within the Pragmatics literature under the notion of 'illocutionary' force. See, for example, Levinson 1983.) Modal forms of the type set out above involve a similar tension or ambiguity between the lexico-grammar and the discourse semantics. Thus, 'You should reconsider your decision' can be interpreted as an offer of information – a statement about obligation applying to the person addressed – but it also operates as a demand for action with a similar functionality to that of the imperative 'Reconsider your decision.' Thus the structure operates at two levels – at that of the lexico-grammar it is a PROPOSITION (a statement about obligation putting at risk agreement) and at the level of the discourse semantic a PROPOSAL (a demand for action putting at risk compliance).

In the analysis set out here, therefore, modals of obligation such as 'The people of Australia must rally together in the face of this adversity.' and related grammatical metaphors of obligation such as 'It's necessary that right-minded Australians reject this proposal' are analysed as PROPOSALS (goods-&-services), thereby giving preference to the discourse semantic aspect of the inter-stratal metaphor. Such structures are, in fact, the preferred realisation for interactional meanings in media texts, reflecting, I believe, the distanced, indeterminate nature of the writer/audience relationship by which actual interaction is always only prospective or hypothetical. This proposition/proposal distinction is illustrated below in Figure 10.

We do also need to consider, in this context, structures involving what are termed 'performatives' in Austin's speech act theory (Austin 1970). These entail the use of verbally projecting processes which name the act of demanding goods-&-services – for example 'I invite/call on/urge/order the people of Australia to follow this lead.' Such structures are also analysed as PROPOSALS within the current analysis of environmental contexts of ENGAGEMENT.

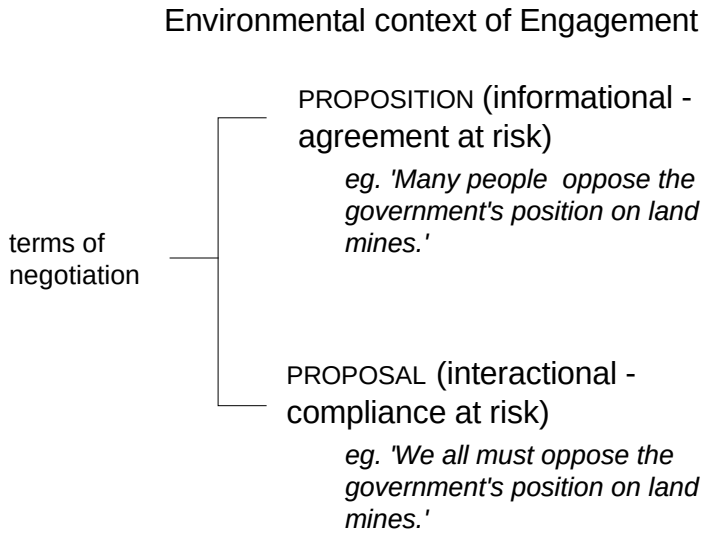


Figure 10: Contextual environment: PROPOSITION (information) versus PROPOSAL (interaction)

I turn now from demands for goods-&-services to offers. Offers of goods-&-services have no specific structural realisations, being represented by means of a range of grammatically 'incongruent' forms such as, 'I'm **keen** to work with the government.', 'I **WILL** help the government' (See Halliday 1994: 354-363), as well as through performatives such as 'I **promise** to help the government' Once again, such 'metaphorical' forms will be analysed as PROPOSAL from the perspective of the environmental contexts of ENGAGEMENT.

It is worth noting that, once again, the heteroglossic perspective provides the means to challenge epistemologically naive notions of the 'fact versus opinion' dichotomy. Under this analysis, the distinction between 'Many people support capital punishment' and 'People ought to support capital punishment' is not to be construed as one of the 'objective' versus the 'subjective'. It is construed, rather, as turning on differences in the terms by which the utterance negotiates heteroglossic diversity – whether in terms of agreement or compliance.

One final issue associated with the PROPOSAL needs to be addressed. In developing the theory of ENGAGEMENT, and more generally of APPRAISAL, as it applies to the three

journalistic voices, I am primarily interested in those values for which the journalistic author takes direct responsibility, those which are presented as his/her own words, so to speak. Nevertheless, account must also be taken of the meanings attributed to outside sources, since these do contribute, if less directly, to the total rhetorical potential of the text. They do have a role in establishing the interpersonal style of the text. Within media texts, demands or offers of goods-&-services are often contained in the reported statements of outside sources, in the attributed comments of social actors such as politicians, lobbyists, community leaders and so on. Clear interpersonal consequences with significance for APPRAISAL follow from this. Such demands/offers are located within a heteroglossic context in that they typically reflect a particular world-view or ideological position. Thus, in the Australian context, for example, it is possible to locate the following attributed PROPOSAL in a very precise ideological context, 'Senator Harradine has called on the Federal government to rethink its family planning aid programs...'. The following attributed offer has a similar heteroglossic functionality within its British context, 'Labour has promised not to raise the basic and top income tax rates for the next five years' (AFP 1/4/97). Attributing such demands/offers to a social actor therefore, acts to locate those actors in terms of the various social/ideological positions current in the public sphere and thus to evaluate them inter-subjectively, to locate them within a nexus of heteroglossic convergence and divergence.

The distinction, therefore, between information and goods-&-services, is thus important with reference to APPRAISAL and more specifically with reference to ENGAGEMENT. Accordingly, the ENGAGEMENT system as set out here is organised so as to treat the MOOD choice between PROPOSITION and PROPOSAL (information versus interaction) as fundamental to the terms in which heteroglossic diversity is negotiated. Any traversal of the system-network by which realisation of ENGAGEMENT is accomplished, must therefore attend to the simultaneous setting of PROPOSITION versus PROPOSAL. The choice is here simultaneous with the choice between what I will term 'monogloss' and 'heterogloss'. The distinction, which will be discussed at length, turns on whether the speaker actively promotes or at least acknowledges the possibility of heteroglossic diversity, or, on the other hand, ignores that diversity or speaks as if all interlocutors share the same, single heteroglossic position.. The

interaction between the two sets of choices – PROPOSITION versus PROPOSAL and MONOGLOSS versus HETEROGLOSS – is represented below in one system network, for the sake of simplicity. As we have seen, the information versus interaction option is, strictly speaking, an environmental variable, rather than an actual choice within the ENGAGEMENT system.

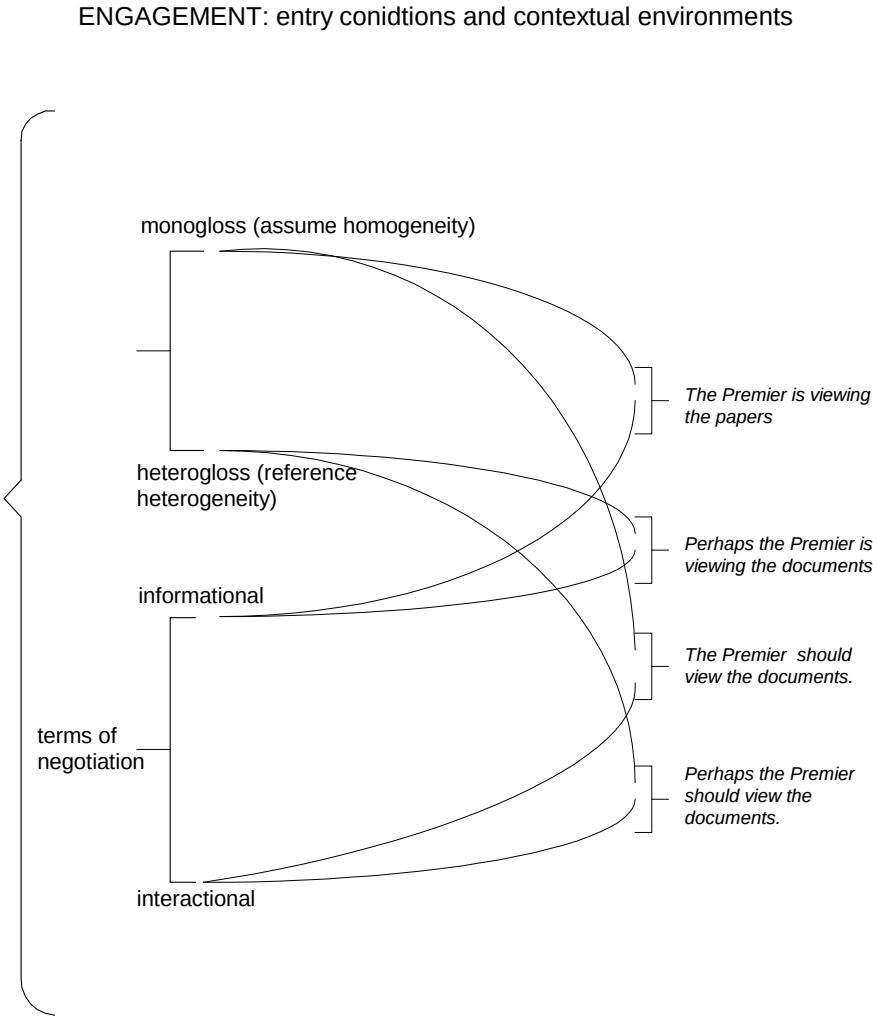


Figure 11: ENGAGEMENT: entry conditions and contextual environments

For the sake of clarity of presentation at this early stage in the discussion, the figure excludes the network of choices which follow from 'heterogloss'. I have simply chosen one of those subsequent choices (here realised through *perhaps*) to illustrate the interaction of the two simultaneous entry conditions. It is noteworthy in this context, that most of the choices subsequent to 'heterogloss' (the choices of greater delicacy within the heteroglossia sub-system) are available to both 'informational'

and 'interactional' environments. This follows as a consequence of the twin MOOD status of modals of obligation as both PROPOSITION and PROPOSAL. Thus there are 'probabilised' values (this and following terms will be explained below) for both 'information' and 'interaction',

(information) *I believe readers see this as a distinct possibility.*

versus

(interaction) *I believe readers should see this as a distinct possibility.*

Similarly they may both be 'evidentialised',

(information) *It seems to me that readers take this as a distinct possibility.*

versus

(interaction) *It seems to me that readers ought to take this as a distinct possibility.*

Or they may both be 'proclaimed',

(information) *I'd say readers see this as a distinct possibility.*

versus

(interaction) *I contend readers should see this as a distinct possibility.*

Though interactional-versus-informational and heterogloss-versus-monogloss are thus simultaneous entry points into the system network of ENGAGEMENT, I will, for the sake of clarity of presentation, explore the interactional and informational choices separately. I will begin by exploring ENGAGEMENT in the context of the PROPOSITION (informational meanings), before turning to ENGAGEMENT in the context of the PROPOSAL (interactional meanings)

III.3.(c). Informational ENGAGEMENT: negotiating heteroglossic diversity.

III.3.(c).1. Monogloss versus heterogloss

Within informational contexts (offers/demands for information) the most fundamental choice is one of whether the writer promotes or demotes the possibility of heteroglossic negotiation. There is, on the one hand, an array of semantic values by which the author can foreground, promote or at least acknowledge the possibility of heteroglossic diversity and, on the other hand, an option by which the speaker

demotes or backgrounds possibility. That is, under this second option, the speaker can be said to ignore the heteroglossic diversity or to speak as if all actual and potential interlocutors share the same social/ideological positioning –the speaker assumes absolute heteroglossic solidarity. The structure which ignores heteroglossic diversity and assumes solidary (assuming homoglossia rather than heteroglossia) is the positive declarative – thus, 'The Prime Minister viewed the documents.'

As foreshadowed above, the notion that the simple positive statement must be seen as entailing some value of ENGAGEMENT and hence as interpersonally charged may, at first, seem problematic at least in the context of common-sense notions of the 'factual' and from the perspective of formal semantic preoccupations with 'truth value'. The simple declarative is typically, in both contexts, seen as 'neutral' or as constituting some semantic base-line. I return here briefly to this point because it is so central to a heteroglossic understanding of the semantics of ENGAGEMENT. The common-sense perspective ignores the fundamental negotiatory and potentially contested nature of all communication when it is understood as a social process. It ignores the way that every utterance enters into an intertextual relationship of convergence or divergence with every related utterance which is current in the culture. The simple, positive statement will be classed as 'neutral' and 'objective' only to the degree to which it avoids tension with any socially significant alternative or contradictory statements. (In the spoken context, of course, the positive declarative is less likely to be seen as neutral or as representing some default lexico-grammatical base-line, since the 'simple' positive declarative is no less marked in terms of intonational contours than any other meaning and thus does not present as a default or a base-line from the perspective of intonation.)

The key insight here is that the positive declarative is not any less interpersonal than the array of alternatives which will be set out below. Rather, in using the positive declarative, the writer adopts a particular rhetorical strategy towards the possibility of heteroglossic diversity, namely of either choosing not to directly acknowledge that possibility, or of assuming a homogeneous rather than a heterogeneous speech community.

The first systematic choice within the system of informational ENGAGEMENT is, thus, that of monogloss versus heterogloss. I will now explore the various semantics by which a heteroglossic perspective can be directly inscribed in the text.

III.3.(c).2. Promoting heteroglossic diversity: extra-vocalisation

Meanings which directly inscribe the possibility of heteroglossic diversity can be divided into what will be termed the 'extra-vocal' and the 'intra-vocal'. Under extra-vocalisation, the text explicitly introduces outside voices or sources into the text via attributed or reported utterances. (Fairclough explores this process of the text referencing other texts through the notion of 'manifest intertextuality' – 1992: 117.) Accordingly, under extra-vocalisation, multiple socio-semiotic realities are inserted into the text.

Extra-vocalisation makes use of a range of lexico-grammatical resources. In chapter 2 (section II.3.(b).6.), I explored Fuller's treatment of the semantics at issue here. As we saw, her account was topological. For the sake of simplicity of presentation, I adopt a typological approach and divide extra-vocalisation resources into two broad categories. Firstly, there are those values which act to 'insert' the outside voice in the sense that the alternative voice and hence heteroglossic position is inserted within the text without modification or recontextualisation. Insertion is realised through directly reported speech. For example,

> 'It is time to rise above the sleaze which has coloured this election campaign so far and get on to the issues of direct concern to the British people. That is what we will do,' said Blair…

In Fuller's system, 'insertion' would lie at the extreme end of a cline between 'representation' and 'assimilation'. Secondly, there are those values by which the external voice is, to varying degrees, assimilated into the texts. Under assimilation there is the potential that the alternative, extra-textual voice will be merged to some degree with that of the text, that it will undergo rewording and recontextualisation to bring it closer in style and orientation to the journalistic voice. Assimilation can be realised both logically (through the projection of indirect speech) or experientially through various Functions within the transitivity system. (For an analysis of

assimilation to a greater level of delicacy see Fuller's account in section II.3.(b).6. or Fuller 1995: 112-173.) Thus assimilation may typically be realised via the following:

- **projection by either mental or verbal processes** (logical) – 'They said a breakthrough was imminent'; 'They believe they have the resources to win.'
- **circumstance of Angle** (experiential) – 'According to backbenchers, the Party is in no condition to contest an election.'
- **attributive relationals** (experiential) – 'The tabloids labelled Labour the Party of the loony left.'
- **circumstances of Matter** (experiential) – 'They spoke of an impending coup against the Secretary of State.'
- **the Participant role of Verbiage** (experiential) – 'They described his breaking into the house after midnight.'

It is necessary to note that although these various lexico-grammatical structures are typically associated with assimilation, this semantic can be over-ridden by the use of direct quotation marks. Thus the following would be interpreted as insertion rather than assimilation:

> They described him 'breaking into the house after midnight'.
> They spoke of 'an impending coup' against the Government.

Under assimilation, therefore, the external voice is to some degree merged with that of the text itself. Its style, through the rewording which is possible under assimilation, may be brought closer to that of journalistic discourse. This process, which has important consequences for the rhetorical potential of the news report, is illustrated by the following extract.

> UNITS SPARK ANGER
> Approval political suicide
> by CATE BAILEY
> A DECISION by Drummoyne Council to allow a new townhouse development at Abbotsford Point is political suicide, residents claim.
>
> Council sparked widespread community anger last month when it approved the Great North Rd. development, despite 400 objections to the proposal.

> Abbotsford Point resident Eva Flegman addressed council on December 17, telling councillors their decision would return to haunt them at the polls.
>
> "This development with eight dwellings on a relatively narrow block is inappropriate to Abbotsford," she said.
>
> "The density of this development is causing a great deal of anguish and distress within our community.
>
> "We are concerned not only about the loss of character but of the deterioration of amenities and services." (*The Glebe and Inner Western Weekly* 8/1/97: 1)

Here it is only in the sentences involving indirect speech (assimilation) that the angry residents are represented as adopting the formulae and cliches of journalistic political reporting. Thus they are reported to have warned of 'political suicide' and of asserting that the decision 'would return to haunt them in the polls.' In contrast, when they are reported directly (insertion) they are observed to adopt much less journalistic turns of phrase, warning, for example, that the proposed development is 'inappropriate' and 'causing a great deal of anguish and distress'. We note a similar process in the following extract,

> Taliban officials in the Afghan capital, Kabul, have accused Russia of fanning the flames of regional tension.
>
> A foreign ministry statement released in Kabul accused Moscow of opposing positive developments and growth of central Asian countries. (Australian Associated Press 7/4/97)

Here it is in the context of indirect speech once again that the quoted source is represented as adopting a journalistic cliché, 'fanning the flames of regional tensions'. It is of course impossible to determine if rewording and recontextualisation have, in fact, occurred in such instances, without access to the original Taliban statement. Nevertheless, my own experience as both a reporter and sub-editor leads me to conclude that there is a general tendency across the media for the 'mediatised' turns of phrase to occur in 'assimilated' rather than 'inserted' contexts. (For an extended discussion of the this process of 'mediatisation' see Fairclough 1995.)

The system of ENGAGEMENT (in the context of informational values) as elaborated to this point is set out below

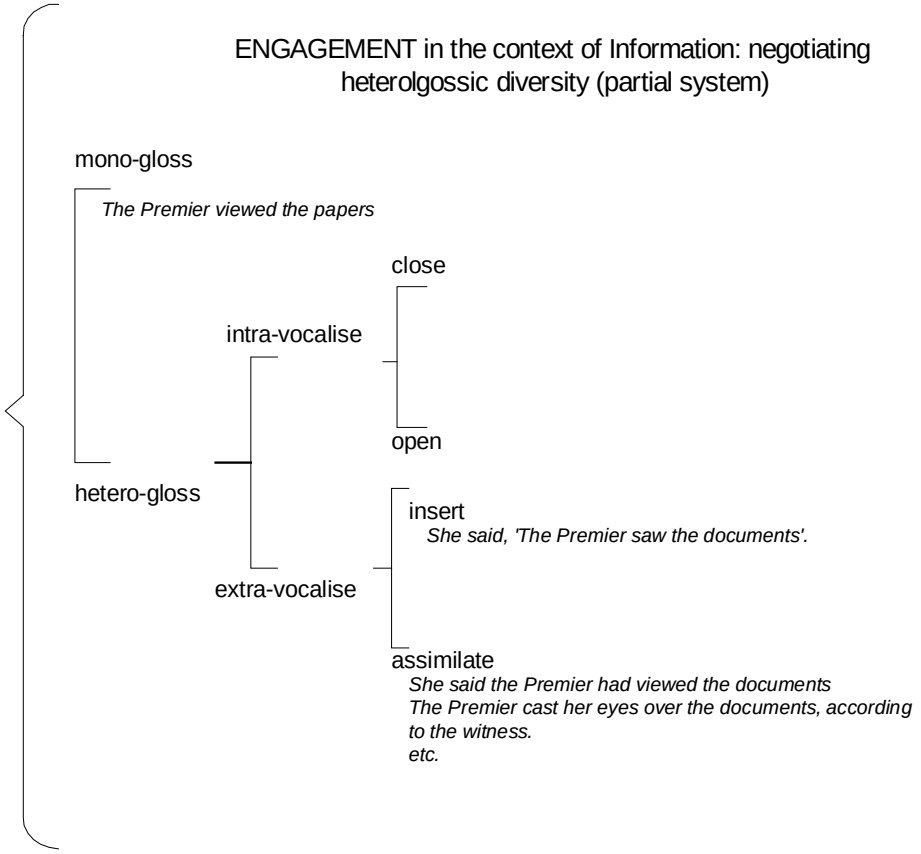


Figure 12: ENGAGEMENT – extra-vocalise, partial system

III.3.(c).3. Promoting heteroglossic diversity: intra-vocalisation

I use the term 'intra-vocalise' to reference those utterances in which the heteroglossic diversity is directly integrated into the text as part of the author's own utterances, rather than as an explicitly external voice or discourse, as was the case with the extra-vocalising values. I use the term 'intra-vocalise' to indicate that the author, from within his/her own utterance, references, invokes, acknowledges or responds to some heteroglossic voice or social position which is alternative to his/her own position. That is to say, alternative heteroglossic voices are brought into play but typically by implication rather than be explicit reference, as opposed to the case in instances of extra-vocalising. (See previous discussion of the intertextual functionality of modals of probability in II.3.(b).6).

III.3.(c).3.i. Open versus Close

Under intra-vocalisation, meanings can be divided according to whether they 'open up' the text to heteroglossically diverse positions or 'close' it down. The system of meanings under 'close' is presented below in Figure 13.

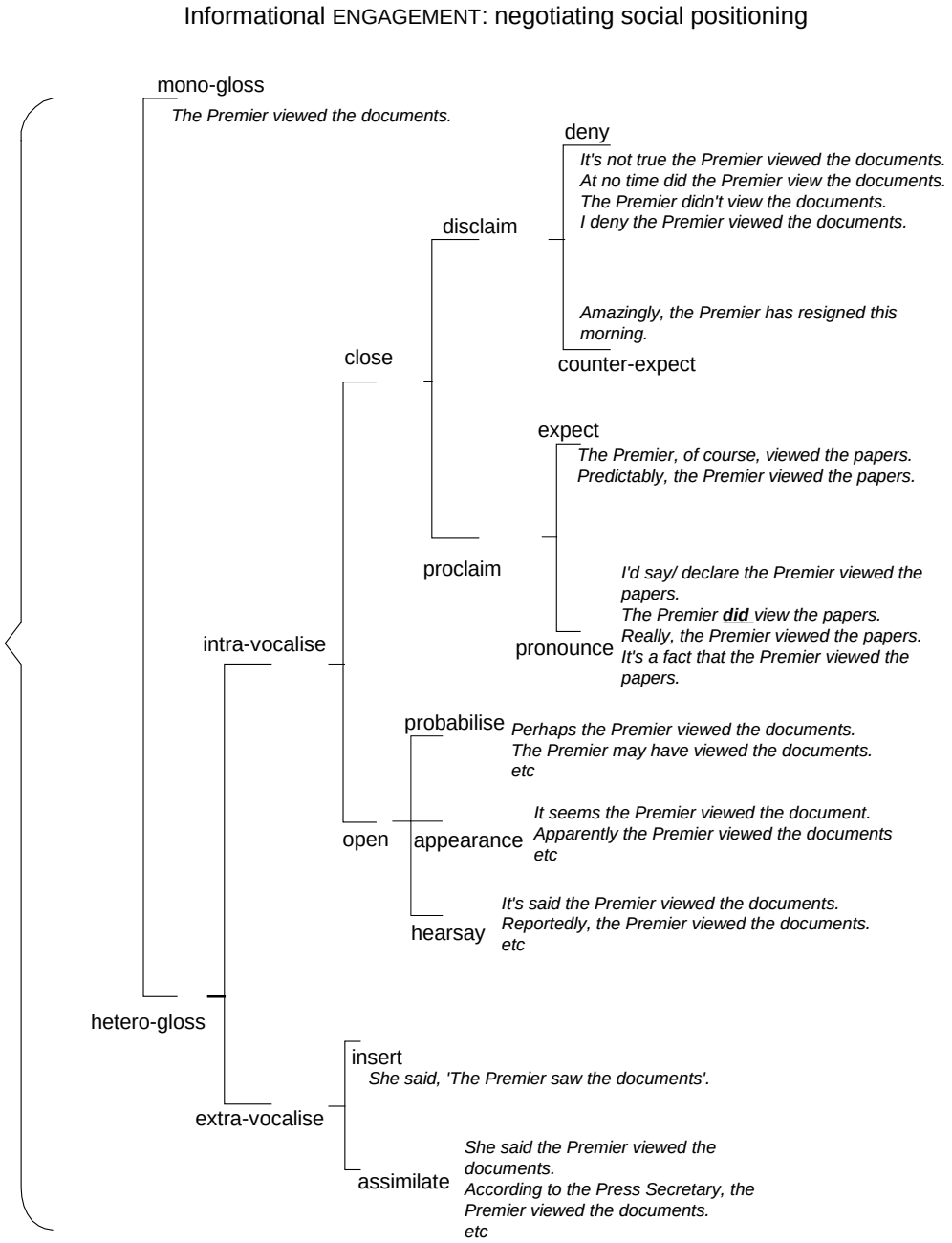


Figure 13: ENGAGEMENT in the context of informational values

Under 'close', an alternative, typically contrary meaning is referenced or at least entertained (and hence the author enters into a heteroglossic dialogue) but is then suppressed, replaced, rejected or challenged in some way, and any heteroglossic

dialogue thereby 'closed down'. There are two broad options within 'close': 'proclaim' versus 'disclaim'. Under 'proclaim', the speaker acts to suppress heteroglossic diversity by explicitly indicating a preference for one utterance over its possible alternatives. Under 'disclaim', the scope of heteroglossic diversity is reduced as alternative or opposing positions associated with an utterance are rejected or cancelled.

III.3.(c).3.ii. Close: proclaim

Under 'proclaim' authors challenge the reader/listener to question/reject/doubt their propositions by increasing the interpersonal cost, in some way, of that proposition being rejected. They do this by adding some additional support or motivation for the proposition.

There are two choices under 'proclaim', two different resources for challenging in advance any heteroglossically diverse response – 'pronounce' and 'expect'. Firstly, under 'pronounce', speakers may interpolate themselves directly into the text as the explicitly responsible source of the utterance. This 'pronouncement' may take the form of an explicit interpolation of the speaker into the text ('I'd say that the Premier saw the documents.'), an intensifying comment adjunct ('Really, the Premier saw the papers'), stress on the auxiliary ('The Premier **did** view the documents'), or through structures such as 'It's a fact that…'. (See Fuller 1995: Chapter 4 for a discussion of 'interpolation'.) The author thereby increases the interpersonal cost of any rejection/doubting of their utterance, rendering such a direct challenge to the author's dialogic position. Of course, through such a strategy, by confronting the possibility of rejection, the author integrates that possibility into the text and thereby acknowledges the heteroglossic diversity of meaning making in socially diverse social contexts.

Under the second option, 'expect', speakers characterise their utterances as heteroglossically uncontentious, as a 'given' by the heteroglossic community, as being in accord with what 'everyone' knows or believes and, therefore, as entirely expected. The semantics are exemplified by *Predictably, the Premier viewed the papers.* and *The Premier, of course, viewed the papers.* The interpersonal cost of any challenge to the utterance is thereby increased since the speaker claims to speak not only on his/her own behalf but with the support of communal belief and common

expectation. Once again, by the very use of such a device, the speaker references the heteroglossic diversity in which the utterance is located, in this instance actively acknowledging and invoking heteroglossically convergent positions for the purpose of resisting possible heteroglossic divergence.

III.3.(c).3.iii. Close: disclaim

The second broad sub-system of resources by which text 'closes down' the degree of heteroglossic diversity is termed 'disclaim' (see Figure 13 previously). We have seen under 'proclaim' – against which 'disclaim' is opposed – how the values operate to challenge alternative heteroglossic positions by increasing the interpersonal cost of any such divergence – by increasing the interpersonal weighting which accompanies the proposition. Those possible divergent positions, however, are not explicitly invoked or cited within the text. Under 'disclaim', in contrast, the speaker references, either directly or by implication, contrary position to their own. There are two options within 'disclaim' – 'deny' and 'counter-expect'.

Under 'denial' (negation) the reference to an alternative heteroglossic position is direct – the opposite proposition is cited but negated (*The Premier didn't view the documents*). This formulation of negation, though perhaps at odds with the common-sense view, is widely acknowledged in the linguistic literature. (See, for example, Pagano 1994 and Fairclough 1992: 121.) It construes the semantics of POLARITY in interpersonal rather than formal logical terms – the positive and the negative are not equal, opposite values. Rather the negative is construed as carrying a greater interpersonal charge than the positive since it carries with it the possibility of the positive, while the positive references only itself. Thus to state 'The Premier didn't view the documents' strongly invokes the possibility or at least the claim that she **did** view the documents. In heteroglossic terms we might say that it implies that someone, somewhere has alleged that the Premier saw the documents. In contrast, the positive, 'The Premier saw the documents', does not explicitly invoke any alternative or opposite.

Under the second option, 'counter-expectation', I include comment adjuncts (Halliday 1994: 82) such as *amazingly*, *surprisingly*, *miraculously*, *unpredictably* as well as related epithets such as surprise/surprising ('The surprise victory by the Labour

Party'). These values act to invoke some alternative or opposing utterance to the one with which they associate, but then act to replace, counter or frustrate that alternative. Thus the function of 'amazingly' in the utterance 'Amazingly, the Prime Minister has announced his resignation' is to invoke the alternative state of affairs – that the Prime Minister would have remained in power – and then to displace or frustrate this expectation. Thus the semantics of the counter-expectational utterance is similar to that of 'denial' (they are both 'disclamation') in that, with both, some opposite or alternative utterance is brought into play. Counter expectation differs from denial in that the rejection of disclaimed utterance is invoked and understood rather than directly addressed. (The relationship between such comment adjuncts and concessive conjunctions such as *although*, *however* and *but* will be explored in a later section.)

The same semantics of counter-expectation is also involved, perhaps less transparently, in lexical items such as *only*, *just*, *even*, *already*, *still* in utterances exemplified by, 'The Premier only/just/merely/even/already glanced over the documents.' (For a more extended discussion of the counter-expectational semantics of these items, see Martin 1995: 230-234.) With items such as *still* and *already*, counter-expectation may have an aspectual quality. Thus an utterance such as 'The Premier is still reading the documents' invokes and then rejects the alternative proposition that the Premier had finished reading the documents. With items such as *just, merely*, *only* and *even*, the counter-expectation involves the rejection of a proposition with either broader or narrower scope. Thus the utterance, 'The Premier merely glanced over at the documents', invokes and then rejects the more expansive proposition that the Premier spent some time in studying the documents. The utterance, 'Even the Premier read the documents' invokes and then disclaims the narrower proposition that the Premier was not amongst those who read the document.

To summarise, then, the relationships between the resources made available under 'close' (repeated below as Figure 14):

- As a general category, 'close' provides resources by which the speaker closes down the scope of the heteroglossic diversity with which their text engages.
- Under 'disclaim' some alternative or divergent proposition is invoked and then rejected.

- The two options within ‘disclaim’ (deny versus counter-expect) vary according to whether the rejected alternative is directly addressed or invoked by implication.
- Under ‘proclaim’, speakers act to narrow the range of the heteroglossic diversity by increasing their interpersonal stake in one utterance over its possible alternatives.
- Within ‘proclaim’, the speaker may use ‘pronouncement’ to explicitly indicate their commitment to the utterance, or ‘expect’ to mark the utterance as ‘commonsensical’, as already a ‘given’.
- ‘Disclaim’ and ‘proclaim’ vary in that the former rejects alternatives while the latter elevates one proposition over its alternatives. The contrast is reflected in the rhetorical functionality of ‘expect’ (proclaim) versus ‘counter-expect’ (disclaim). Both entail the semantics of expectation, but under the ‘proclaim’ value, expectation acts to endorse one utterance over its alternatives. Under the ‘disclaim’ value, expectation supplies the alternative which is to be suppressed.

III.3.(c).3.iv. Opening heteroglossic diversity

The discussion to this point has examined those resources by which the text closes down ENGAGEMENT with heteroglossic diversity. These resources are opposed to a second primary sub-system within ‘intra-vocalisation’ – those resources which act to ‘open up’ the heteroglossic dialogue, to extend the text’s potential for construing heteroglossic diversity. There are three closely interrelated options by which the potential for construing heteroglossic diversity can be extended – under ‘probability’ (MODALITY), under ‘appearance’ (reality phase Halliday 1994: 279-83)) and under hearsay (see Figure 15 following).

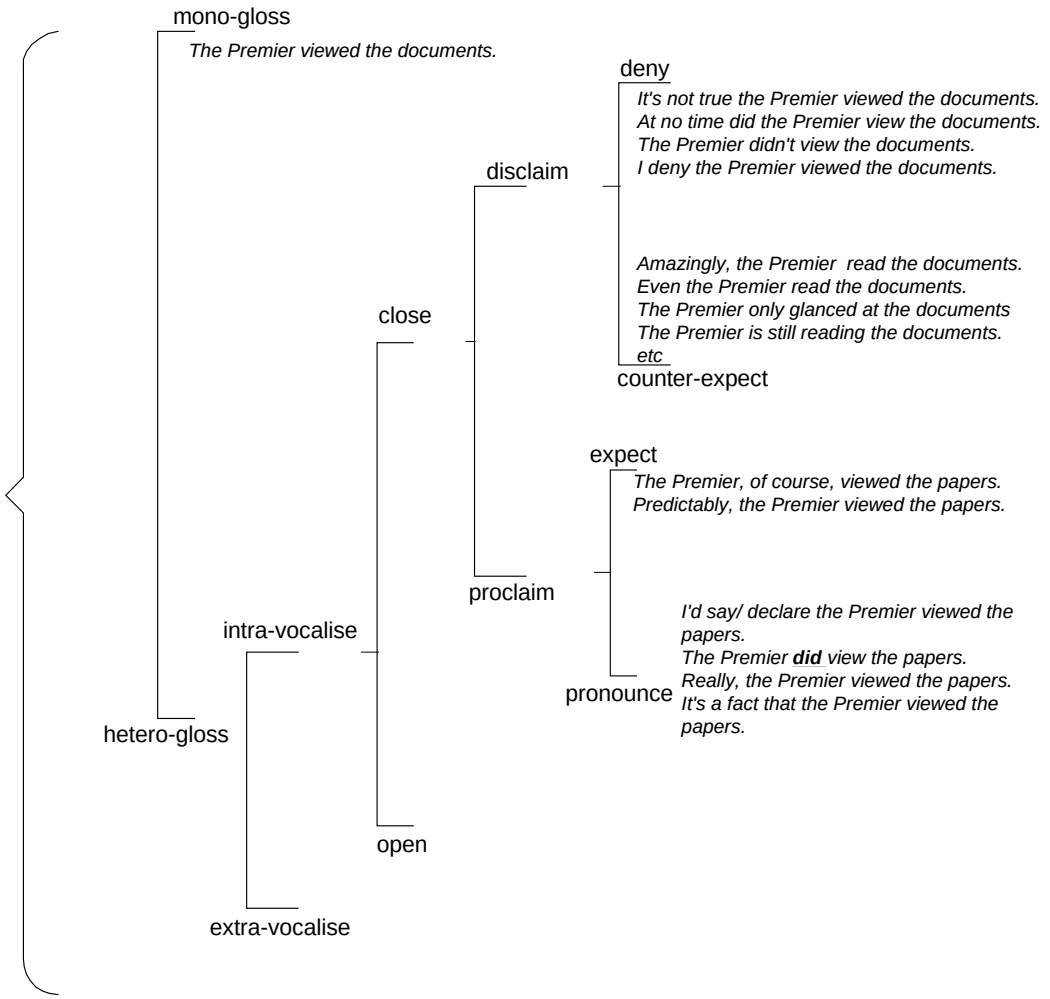


Figure 14: the 'open' sub-system

The semantics of probability and appearance (reality phase) are widely referenced in the literature. As discussed at length in sections II.3.(b).5. and II.3.(b).6. previously, under the heteroglossic perspective, meanings such as ‘I think …’, ‘probably’, ‘It seems…’, ‘Apparently …’ etc are not construed as evasions of truth values but rather as resources by which the speaker ‘opens up’ their potential for interacting with the heteroglossic diversity.

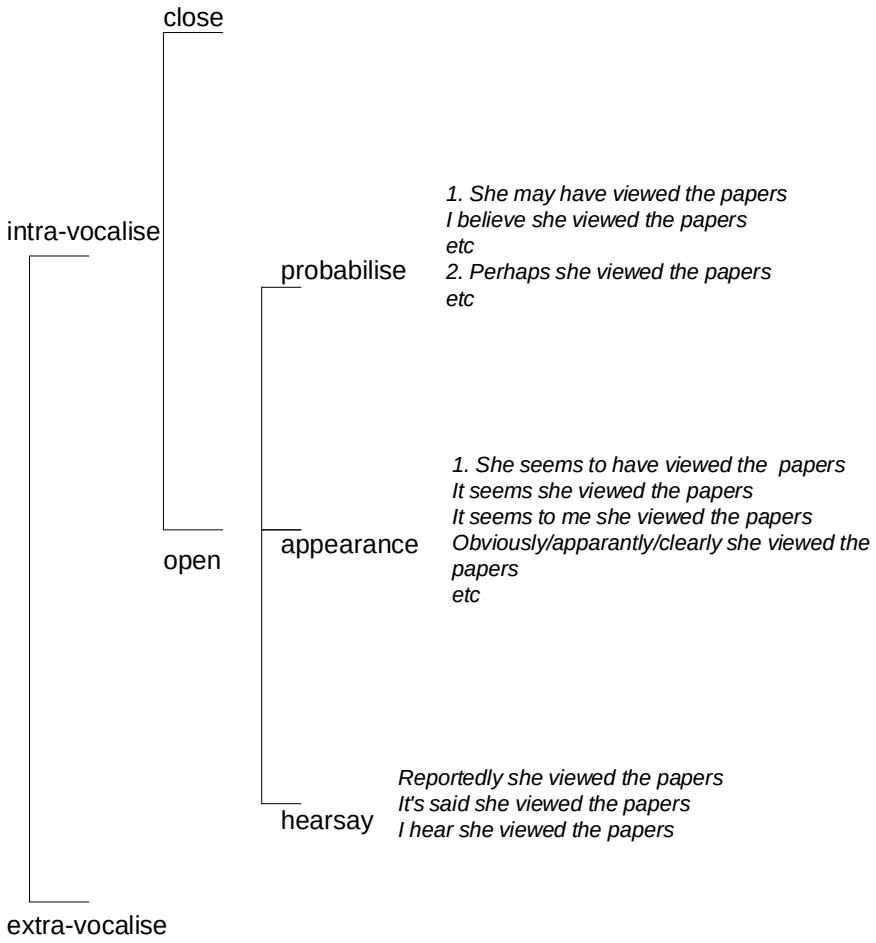


Figure 15: ENGAGEMENT – the 'open' sub system

The second option under ‘open’, ‘appearance’, serves a similar rhetorical function to probabilise. It ‘opens up’ the potential for negotiating the heteroglossic diversity by reference not to probability but by foregrounding and making explicit the evidential process upon which all propositions rely.

The final option under ‘open’ – ‘hearsay’ – entertains heteroglossic diversity in a similar way, although its semantics perhaps require some additional explication. Under ‘hearsay’ the possibility of heteroglossic alternation remains open because the utterance is marked as based on what some unspecified person said. In many languages, of course, hearsay is coded grammatically rather than lexically — hearsay is an integral part of the MODALITY system. Within English and similar languages, hearsay is coded by means of wordings which derive from the grammar of verbal projection but in which the projecting sayer is absent or cannot be specified — thus, ‘Reportedly, she viewed the papers’, ‘Her alleged viewing of the documents.’, ‘It’s

said she viewed the papers.', 'I hear she viewed the documents.'. The semantic consequence of such structures is not to introduce an alternative voice into the text and hence 'hearsay' is included within 'intra-vocalise' and not within 'extra-vocalise'. Rather, it functions to indicate that the meanings qualified by the hearsay are negotiable in heteroglossic terms.

There are a number of grammatical grounds for, firstly, identifying 'hearsay' as a distinct discourse semantic category separate from the extra-vocalisation categories which it superficially resembles and, secondly, for aligning it in the semantics with 'probability' and 'appearance'.

'Hearsay' is like 'probability' and 'appearance' in that it too may be realised via comment adjunct – *possibly* (probability), *seemingly* (appearance), *reportedly* (hearsay). This indicates that 'hearsay' is an interpersonal coloration which may be applied prosodically to the clause in its entirety. As well, under the lexico-grammatical diversification discussed previously, both 'probability' and 'appearance' may be realised by a range of lexico-grammatical structures – by adverbs (comment adjuncts) such as *possibly* and *apparently*, by relationals such as *it's certain that ..*, *it's apparent that* and by verbal forms such as *I think he ...*, *he may ...*, *it seems that..* and *he seems to ...* . 'Hearsay' is realisable through a similar range of choices – thus the adverbial *reportedly*, the adjectival *his reported decision to resign*, and the verbal, *it's said he..* It is also noteworthy that this verbal form, *it's said that*, shares key grammatical features with *I think that*. Halliday has demonstrated what he terms the grammatical metaphorical status of *I think ...* structures (Halliday 1994 chapter 10). (These metaphors have been discussed previously in section II.3.(b).6. I briefly review those arguments here for the sake of ease of reference.) He argues for the metaphorical status of *I think...* on the grounds of the way such structures respond to tagging. 'I think the Premier saw the documents' typically tags for the Subject of the dependent projected clause ('I think the Premier saw the documents, didn't she?') rather than for the ostensive subject of the clause complex (?? 'I think the Premier saw the documents, don't I?'). Thus Halliday concludes that the projecting *I think* is not, in fact, the source of the clause-complex's modal responsibility, acting, instead, in the manner of a modal adjunct such as *perhaps* or *possibly* to probabilise the utterance. The hearsay structure, *I hear...,* displays similar though not identical grammatical

anomalies which provide a basis for viewing it as similarly 'metaphorical'. Most notably, with the hearsay value, the present tense is used for a past event (the act of hearsay occurred in the past) – thus 'I hear she decided to leave' versus 'I heard that she decided to leave.' Additionally, 'I hear' structures do not tag for the ostensive Subject – ?? 'I hear that she decided to leave, don't I?'

The following patterns of lexico-grammatical diversification (modelled on Halliday's system for interpersonal metaphor, Halliday 1994: 358) can be observed to operate across five of the sub-systems of hetero-gloss:intra-vocalise.

[Intra-Vocalise]

	Objective: Explicit	**Objective: Implicit**	**Subjective: Implicit**	**Subjective: Explicit**
close disclaim:deny	It's not true the Premier viewed the papers.	At no time did the Premier view the papers.	The Premier didn't view the papers.	I deny the Premier viewed the documents.
close proclaim	It's a fact that the Premier saw the documents.	Really, the Premier saw the papers. The Premier genuinely saw the papers.	The Premier **did** view the papers.	I'd say the Premier viewed the papers. I contend …
open probabilise	It's certain that the Premier viewed the documents.	Probably the Premier viewed the documents.	The Premier may have seen the documents.	I think the Premier viewed the documents.
open appearance	It's apparent that the Premier saw the documents.	Apparently, the Premier saw the documents.	The Premier seems to have seen the documents.	It seems to me that the Premier saw the documents. I see that the Premier has…
open hearsay	It's said that the Premier saw the documents.	Reportedly the Premier saw the documents.		I hear the Premier saw the documents.

III.3.(d). Inter-textual ENGAGEMENT versus intra-textual ENGAGEMENT

One final complication needs to be addressed – an additional distinction within informational ENGAGEMENT which has to this point been excluded from the analysis. Within the 'close' sub-system, it is possible to distinguish between values which operate inter-textually and those which operate intra-textually. The discussion to this point has been concerned with inter-textual ENGAGEMENT in the sense that the heteroglossic dialogue or negotiation which is implied or referenced by these values operates between the text and an implied or understood array of alternative texts. In contrast, under intra-textual ENGAGEMENT, the text sets up an internal dialogue (in the Bakhtinian sense) amongst its own utterances, with one utterance acting either to replace or to motivate another. That is to say, the distinction turns on whether the heteroglossic negotiation operates between utterances which are actually present in the text (intra), rather than between an utterance in the text and invoked/implied/understood utterances from alternative texts (thus the term inter-textual engagement). We find that there are intra-textual correlates to three of the inter-textual values already discussed – there is both intra and inter-textual 'deny', 'counter-expect' and 'expect'.

Under the previously discussed inter-textual 'denial', the text negates an opposing proposition which, by implication, operates in some external, alternative text. Under intra-textual 'denial', the text includes both the positive proposition and its replacement directly in the text, thereby setting up an explicit text-internal dialogue – 'Rather than skimming the documents, the Premier read them thoroughly.'

Under intra-textual 'counter-expect', I am concerned with values which are most usually interpreted as a logico-semantic or conjunctive relationship operating between clauses, at least within the SFL paradigm. It is thus most typically identified in the context of the cohesive relationship established between clauses and clause-complexes by means of conjunctions and connectives such as *although*, *yet*, *but*, *nevertheless*, and *however*. (See, for example Halliday and Hasan 1976 : 250-6 and Halliday 1994: 232-9.) Martin has argued, however, that such connectives entail, as part of their semantics, the modal and hence interpersonal value of obligation (Martin

1992:193-202). He argues that such connectives operate when there is an expected relationship of cause-&-effect which has been frustrated. Thus in 'Ben didn't improve his time although he trained hard' there is an expected cause-&-effect relationship between Ben's training and his improving his time, which is not met. This relationship of cause-&-effect, Martin argues, is one of logical obligation or necessity which can thus be seen as 'modal'. The failure of the Effect to follow the Cause, in such concessive structures, therefore, is likewise a modal one, or more specifically an 'anti-modal' one, a semantics of frustrated logical obligation.

Martin's discussion reflects the somewhat problematic semantics of these items. They clearly are involved in setting up relationships between clauses and hence may be seen as logical or cohesive, rather than interpersonal. And yet, as the previous discussion suggests, the values also clearly entail a subjective assessment by the writer/speaker, firstly that some prior event establishes an expectation and secondly that a subsequent event frustrates that expectation. Thus, when Halliday and Hasan assert that the meaning of the concessive relation is 'contrary to expectation' they seem unproblematically to be describing an interpersonal value (1976: 250). Tellingly, Longacre uses the term 'frustration' in connection with such values, once again pointing to their interpersonal value. (1976: 149-158).

I follow Martin and Longacre, therefore, in seeing these values as functioning both logically and interpersonally. It is, of course, with the interpersonal aspect that I am concerned here. Specifically, I am concerned with the way such structures both set up an expectation and then frustrate it. It is on this account that I analyse them as intra-textual 'counter-expect'. The text itself supplies the material which establishes some expectation, and then rejects it. Once again the text sets up a Bakhtinian dialogue with itself. In this they differ from inter-textual 'counter-expectation' where the expectation provoking material is not directly referenced but is understood as operating in the inter-textual environment of the current context of culture.

Both intra-textual 'deny' and intra-textual 'counter-expect' are options under close/ disclaim. They are contrasted with intra-textual 'expect' which is the intra-textual value of 'proclaim'. The system network is provided below.

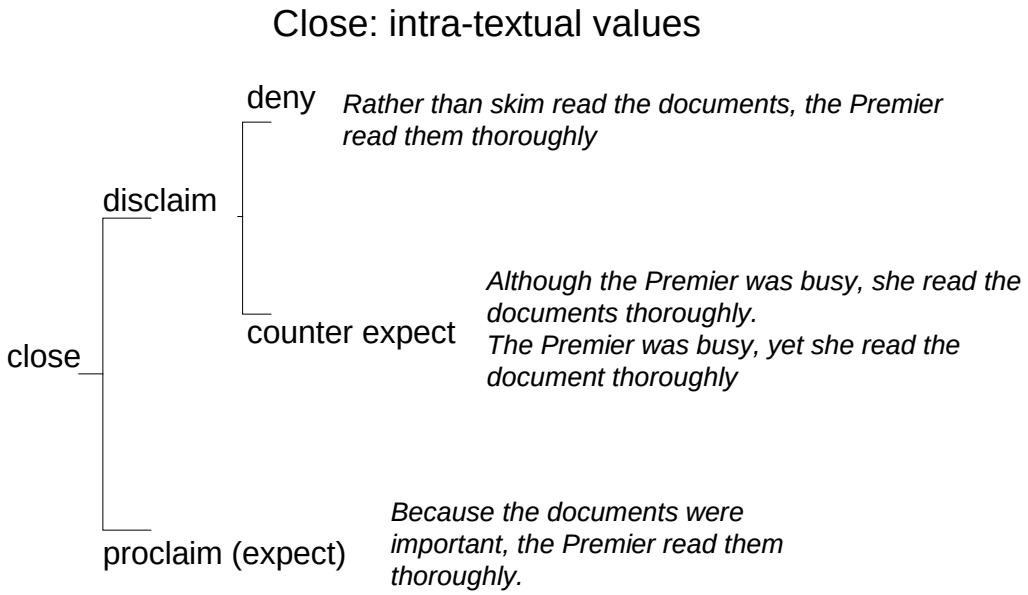


Figure 16: intra-textual engagement

Under intra-textual 'expect' we are concerned with consequentiality, most typically realised, once again, through conjunctives. For example,

> The Premier viewed the documents because she wanted to be well briefed.
>
> The Premier wanted to be well briefed and so she viewed the documents.

Such structures are intra-textual, from the perspective of the heteroglossic diversity, in that the heteroglossic positioning at issue results from a text internal interaction between propositions. They are classed as acting to 'proclaim' and as entailing 'expectation' for reasons which I set out in below.

Essentially the same issues are raised here as were raised by the semantics of the concessive conjunctives. Once again, the inclusion of such relations within an interpersonal domain such as ENGAGEMENT may, at first glance, appear contentious or problematic since, like the concessives, they too have typically been seen as logico-semantic and hence as ideational. However, the consequentials are like the concessives in entailing a semantics of 'obligation'. As Martin states,

> ...consequential relations are oriented to the activity sequences constituting fields; but the connections between events are "modulated" in such a way that one event is seen as *enabling* or *determining* the other rather than simply preceding it... With [...] consequential relations the connection between

> events is modulated through "obligation": *we won **because** we trained hard* means that the Cause determined the Effect. This is the "natural logic" of the distinction between sufficient and necessary conditions. (Martin 1992: 193)

Under this view of consequentiality, therefore, the Effect proposition (typically a main clause) is motivated by an interpersonal logic of obligation – the Effect realises an expectation set up by the Cause (typically a minor clause). Thus , 'The Premier was very busy', sets up an expectation which is fulfilled in 'therefore she skimmed the documents'. It is as a result of this relationship of expectation and fulfilment of expectation that such structures operate, from the perspective of heteroglossic negotiation, to 'proclaim' (as the semantic was outlined above). We saw previously how inter-textual values of 'expect' (The Premier, <u>of course</u>, viewed the documents) act to strengthen the heteroglossic status of the utterance by representing the utterance as a given, as in some way predicted. Under intra-textual 'expect' a similar strengthening of heteroglossic status occurs. The Effect proposition is presented as motivated, as supported by logic, as interpersonally 'obligated'. In this case, the motivation or interpersonal support from the proposition in questions comes not from fulfilling an expectation derived from the inter-textual environment but from the text itself.

We note in this regard that the main clause in consequential clause complexes is no longer accessible to negation. Thus the negation of

> *The Prime Minister viewed the documents because she wanted to be well briefed.*

in

> *The Prime Minister didn't view the documents because she wanted to be well briefed.*

doesn't negate the proposition that

> *The Prime Minister viewed the documents.*

(In the terms of the Pragmatics literature, such main clauses are 'presuppositions' of the clause complex and as such are not denied via negation. See, for example, Levinson 1983: 167-225) As a consequence, such structures restrict the heteroglossic negotiability of their main clauses and thus close down the degree to which alternative

heteroglossic positions may be entertained. Such structures are thus highly strategic in terms of the nature of the heteroglossic 'dialogue' the text develops.

To summarise – the inter and intra-textual values of the 'close' system network enter into the following proportionalities.

intra-textual 'deny' [*rather than*] is to inter-textual 'deny' [*not*]

what

intra-textual 'expect' [*therefore*] is to inter-textual 'expect' [*of course*]

what

intra-textual 'counter-expect' [*however*] is to inter-textual 'counter-expect' [*amazingly*]

The two related systems are set out below in Figure 17 for purposes of comparison.

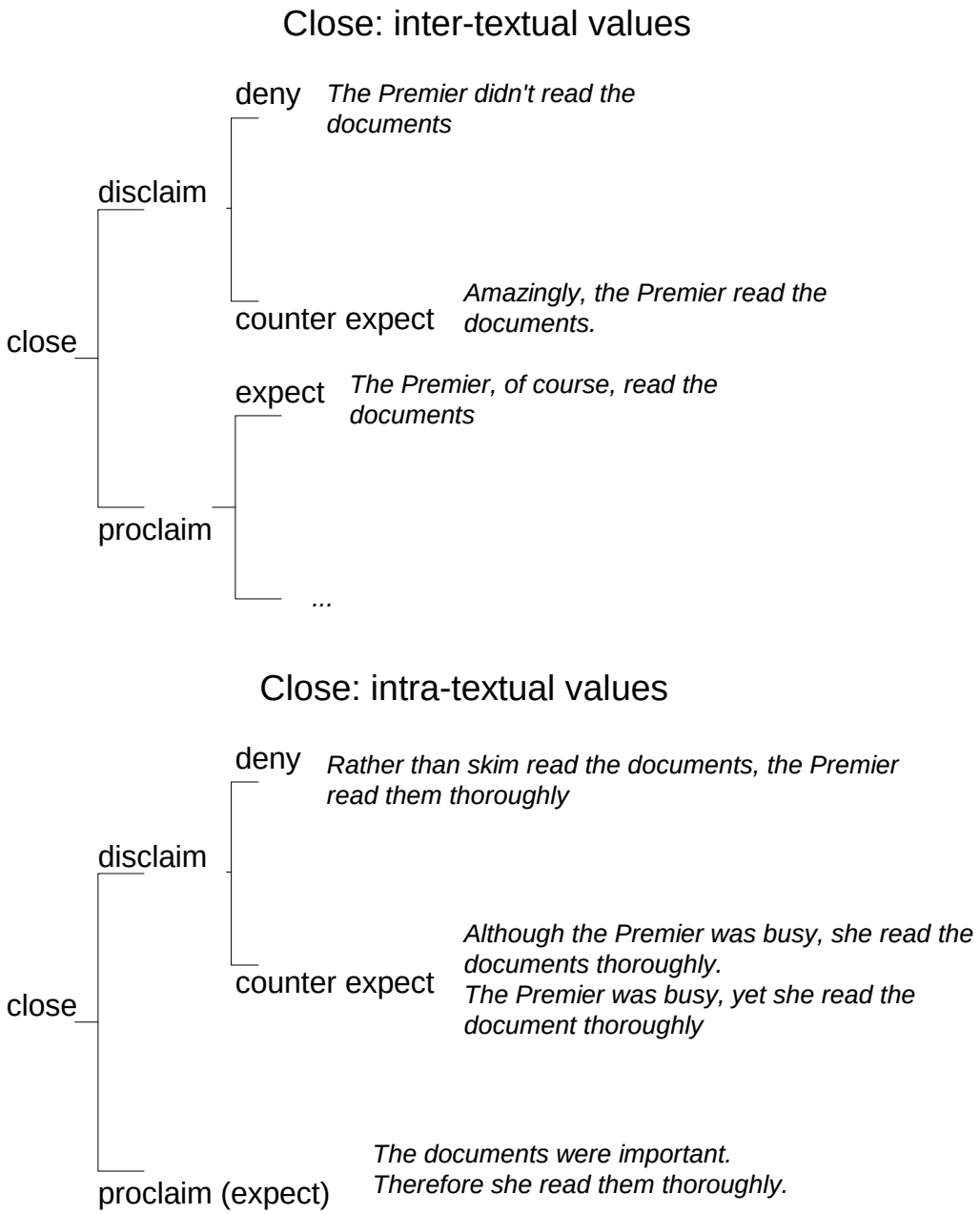


Figure 17: inter and intra values of 'close' compared

III.3.(e). ENGAGEMENT in the context of interactional values (PROPOSAL): heteroglossic diversity and demands for goods-&-services

In a previous section I outlined why the model of APPRAISAL set out here makes a broad division between informational (PROPOSITION) and interactional values (PROPOSAL). Essentially the same set of options apply within ENGAGEMENT in interactional contexts as in informational contexts. I will set these out briefly below.

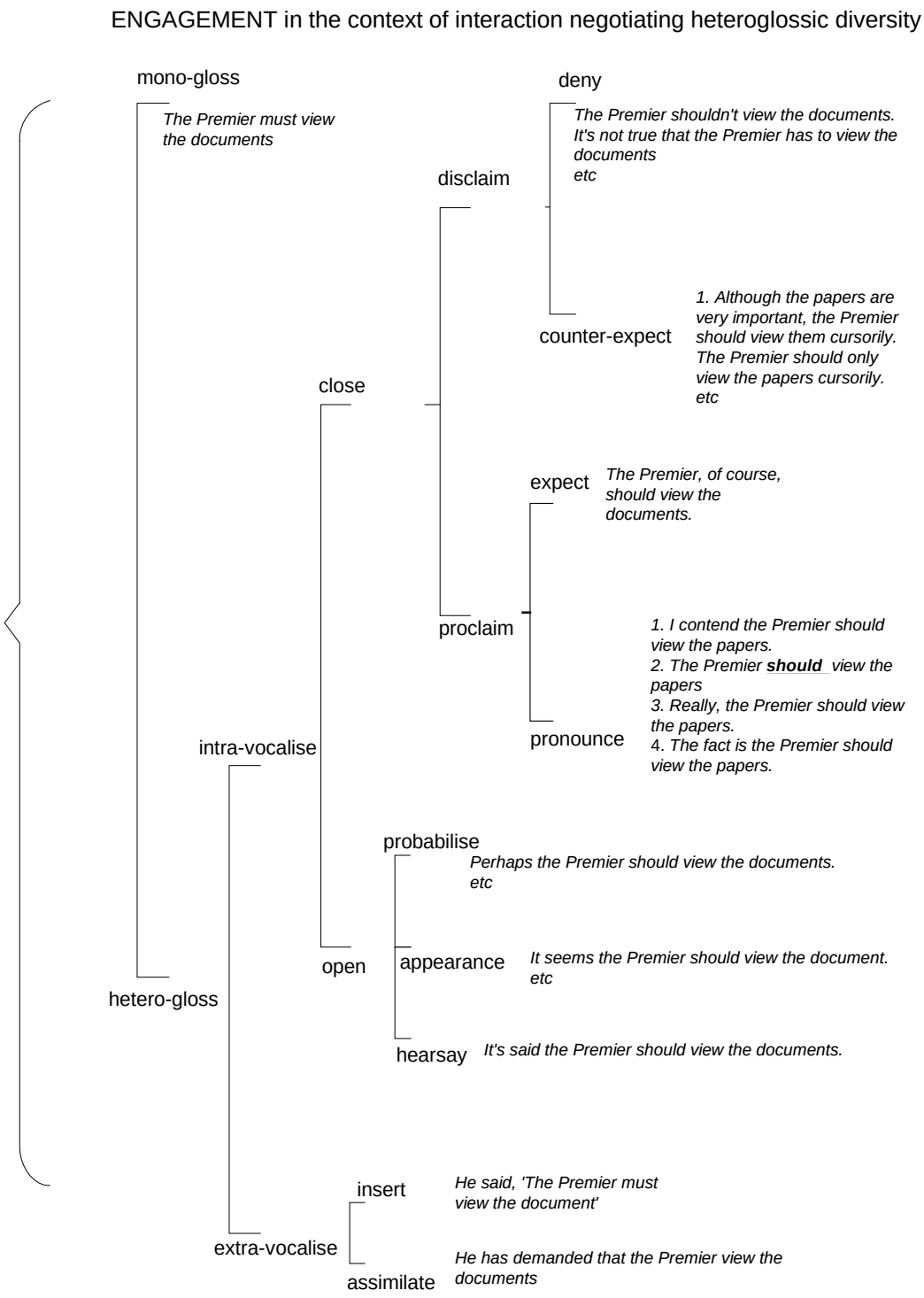


Figure 18: Interactional ENGAGEMENT

III.4. ATTITUDE – affectual Evaluation

In this section I turn to the second of the three dimensions of APPRAISAL – ATTITUDE. As indicated previously (section II.3.9e).3.), the systems within ATTITUDE provide the resources for social evaluation. ATTITUDE, in its turn, is constituted of three dimensions:

1. AFFECT – emotional responses (*like, fear, anxious*)
2. JUDGEMENT – normative assessments of human behaviour (*corruptly, skilfully*)
3. APPRECIATION –assessments of the form, presentation, social standing of entities (*beautiful, striking, significant*)

The accounts I rely upon have been set out previously in section II.3.(e).3. In the following sections I explore several matters which arise specifically in the context of my current application of ATTITUDE to media texts.

III.4.(a). AFFECT: the heteroglossic perspective

Perhaps one of the most obvious ways that an author can adopt a stance towards some phenomenon is to indicate how that phenomenon affected them emotionally, to appraise that phenomenon in affectual terms. The semantics of AFFECT are illustrated by the following extract from a newspaper feature article in which the author describes her own experiences as the adoptive mother of an Australian Aboriginal baby. (AFFECT values are in underline/bold).

> As an adoptive family we have had **pain and trauma**, **tears and anger**, and sometimes **despair**. There has also been **love** and **laughter** and support from friends and extended family. My children have added richness to my life and taught me much about myself. (*Sydney Morning Herald* 4/6/97.)

Such evaluations or responses are, of course, heteroglossically charged. They provide a means by which an author operating from one socio-semiotic position may negotiate with, may establish a point of commonality despite ideological/cultural differences with a reader/listener operating from a different social position. By appraising events in affectual terms the speaker/writer invites their audience to share that emotional response, or at least to see that response as appropriate and well motivated, or at least

as understandable. Such a sharing of emotional positioning has obvious rhetorical consequences — the reader who sympathises emotionally with the writer is more likely to concur with or at least to consider as legitimate other aspects of the author's evaluative position.

We can see this strategy at work in the extract above. The article appeared at a time when Australian Aborigines were calling for a public apology and financial compensation for the Australian government's previous policy of forcibly removing aboriginal children from their families and placing them with adoptive white parents. The policy had been described as a form of cultural genocide. A position generally supportive of the Aboriginal perspective had been widely adopted by the media and the political left and centre. The world view of the author of the extract was obviously at odds with this position, at least to the extent that for her the experience of raising two Aboriginal children had nothing to do with genocide and had not been grounds for shame and guilt. Her inclusion of AFFECT values of the type cited above can be seen as part of a strategy by which she was at least able to negotiate some heteroglossic space for her alternative, divergent social perspective. Her construing the issue in terms of basic human emotional responses could be expected to establish, at least in some readers, a sense of sympathy, a sense of common experiences and hence to enhance the possibility that her overall position in the article might be seen by readers as legitimate and well motivated.

Of course there are rhetorical risks associated with such a strategy. There is always the possibility the author's emotional response will be rejected by resistant readers/listeners, by an audience operating from a heteroglossically divergent position. Such emotional divergence may render the reader less sympathetic to other aspects of the author's evaluative positioning.

The functionality of the author's own emotional responses in the construction of an interpersonal position is therefore relatively unproblematic. The formulation of APPRAISAL adopted here, however, takes into account not only authorial AFFECT but also emotional responses attributed to other social actors. The analysis relies on an observation of the way emotional reactions generally attract social evaluation as appropriate or inappropriate, as natural or unnatural and the way that description of

emotions can be expected to trigger sympathetic or unsympathetic responses in the reader/listener. As well, under the heteroglossic perspective we see the human participants introduced into a text not as isolated individuals but, potentially, as more generalised social types who will be seen to associate with a given socio-semiotic position according to their social characteristics. The emotional responses, therefore, of these socio types will have obvious ramifications for a text's heteroglossic negotiations. A reader who sympathises with the emotional response of a given socio type is thus predisposed to legitimate the social position that socio type represents. We can see this dynamic at work in the following extract, taken from a letter to the editor of the *Australian* newspaper by an Australian of Vietnamese background. She was writing at a time when racism had become a hot media topic following the recent rise of an anti-Asian, anti-immigration and covertly racist political movement under the leadership of the independent parliamentarian, Pauline Hanson.

> LAST week, Pauline Hanson attacked Footscray, labelling it an ethnic enclave that makes her feel like a foreigner in her own country.
> Has Pauline Hanson been to Footscray? Is she aware of its **proud** tradition of struggle and hard work? Does she know about the waves of immigrants who have worked in its quarries, factories, workshops and businesses?
> Immigrants who have been part of the backbone of Australia's labour force and **thankful** for the opportunity to work and start a new life in this country.
> (*The Australian*, 4/6/97)

Here the writer is obviously concerned to negotiate heteroglossic space for a social position sympathetic to the interests of immigrant Australians, in contradistinction to that advanced by Pauline Hanson and her followers. Accordingly the immigrants of one of Australia's most multicultural areas, the Melbourne municipality of Footscray, are evaluated positively through emotional responses attributed to them. Thus, they are declared to be 'proud' of their hard work and struggle and to be ' thankful' for their opportunities in their new home. The writer establishes a stance towards a particular socio-semiotic reality via the affectual values she attributes to representatives of that reality.

III.4.(b). Extending the scope of AFFECT

In keeping with the approach adopted throughout my formulation of the APPRAISAL, I interpret this category broadly to include the logico-semantic relationship of purpose (*She studied hard in order to succeed.*) and the value of connation typically realised through verbal complexes with *try, attempt* etc – (*She tried to please her mother.*) In both instances the semantics of inclination/desire is but one component of the total meaning entailed. I justify my grouping such structures with, for example, verbal processes of desire/inclination on heteroglossic grounds. For an author to claim that some human subject 'wants to succeed' has very similar rhetorical consequences as the claim that the subject 'is trying to succeed'. In both instances the author claims to have a knowledge or insight into the human subject's mental disposition, namely their desires or intentions, and through that claim suggests an evaluation of the human subject following from whether the 'inclination' is socially assessed as positive or negative, as appropriate or inappropriate. To report, in these various ways, other's desires/inclinations is to invite a shared response by the reader and hence to put reader solidarity at risk.

A key feature of the semantics of AFFECT needs to be restated here because it will be central to the formulation of the semantics of FORCE. The values of AFFECT are like other APPRAISAL values such as the modals of probability or obligation in that they are scalable, that is to say they operate on a sliding scale from low, through median to high intensity. Thus, for example, the three terms, *dislike*, *hate*, *abhor* share a common sense of 'antipathy', and *uneasy*, *anxious* and *freaked out* all share a common sense of 'disquiet'. They differ, however, in reflecting degrees of intensity of those core values. Thus *dislike* (antipathy: low), *hate* (antipathy: median) and *abhor* (antipathy: high). (For a more extended discussion see Martin in press.)

III.4.(c). JUDGEMENT: evaluating human behaviour

As we saw previously, JUDGEMENT encompasses meanings which serve to evaluate human behaviour positively and negatively by reference to a set of institutionalised norms. The table of values is repeated here for ease of reference.

Social Esteem	positive [admire]	negative [criticise]
normality (custom) 'is the person's behaviour unusual, special, customary?'	standard, everyday, average…; lucky, charmed…; fashionable, avant garde…	eccentric, odd, maverick…; unlucky, unfortunate…; dated, unfashionable …
capacity 'is the person competent, capable?'	skilled, clever, insightful…; athletic, strong, powerful…; sane together…	stupid, slow, simple-minded…; clumsy, weak, uncoordinated…; insane, neurotic…
tenacity (resolve) 'is the person dependable, well disposed?'	plucky, brave, heroic…; reliable, dependable…; indefatigable, resolute, persevering	cowardly, rash, despondent…; unreliable, undependable…; distracted, lazy, unfocussed…

Social Sanction	positive [praise]	negative [condemn]
veracity (truth) 'is the person honest?'	honest, truthful, credible…; authentic, genuine…; frank, direct …;	deceitful, dishonest…; bogus, fake…; deceptive, obfuscatory…
propriety (ethics) 'is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	good, moral, virtuous…; law abiding, fair, just…; caring, sensitive, considerate…	bad, immoral, lascivious…; corrupt, unjust, unfair…; cruel, mean, brutal, oppressive…

Figure 19: JUDGEMENT (after Iedema et al. 1994)

JUDGEMENT is obviously a system which is very much culturally and ideologically determined and particular judgements of behaviour will depend on socio-semiotic position, on the set of social values to which the evaluator subscribes. JUDGEMENT provides one of the most explicit means by which writer/speakers can inscribe their heteroglossic position in a text. By judging behaviours as 'corrupt' or 'virtuous', as 'skilful' or 'incompetent' as 'eccentric' or 'standard' the writer makes manifest their social positioning with respect to those behaviours. They thereby confront those who would ascribe a different set of judgements to those behaviours.

It is important to stress that actual JUDGEMENT of a lexical item may be determined by the term's co-text as well as by reader position. That is, the polysemous scope of a dictionary entry may extend across a range of JUDGEMENT categories. For example, in many contexts the term *mean* is related semantically to *cruel* or *unkind* and would thus be classed as a negative value of propriety . Thus, we might say to a child, 'Don't be mean to your little sister - let her play with the train set.' However, listening to one of those post-match post-mortems so favoured by television sports programs, I heard one of the panel of sports experts using the term in a clearly positive sense. He said, 'You know, what I like so much about Abblett [a star Australian rules football player] is that he's a really **mean** forward - he doesn't give anything away, his opponents don't get any easy kicks.' Here *mean* was not only positive rather than negative, it was also no longer associated with propriety and hence with social sanction, but with social esteem and, I believe, some value of tenacity. The commentator's use of *mean* (derived from *mean* in the sense of *stingy* or *parsimonious*) indicated a positive assessment of the player's dependability, of his resolve to play in what the commentator saw as a laudably aggressive manner.

In order to explicate the semantics of JUDGEMENT, it is useful to observe the way in which it involves the intersection of several general semantic principles. From one perspective it can be seen as motivated by AFFECT — all the subcategories involve a feeling, some emotional response to behaviour. That is, all the behaviours are in some sense either liked or disliked, either welcomed or feared. This motivation is reflected in the glosses which were applied variously to the sub-categories of social sanction and social esteem in their positive and negative aspects (See Figure 19 above). Thus positive social esteem is glossed as involving the affectual value of 'admiration' and negative esteem as involving adverse 'criticism' (and more narrowly pity or contempt). Equally, negative social sanction is associated with an affectual response of 'condemnation' and positive social sanction with 'praise'.

The discussion in chapter 2 (section II.3.(e).3.ii) outlined two modes of JUDGEMENT:

1. inscription – explicitly evaluative terminology
2. tokens – implicit judgement, relies on understood norms by which the evaluation is attached, by the reader, to some ideational content.

It is necessary to add one further category of realisation, wordings which, though not explicitly coding values of judgement, necessarily are loaded with JUDGEMENTAL connotations. Such values can be said to 'provoke' JUDGEMENT. Such 'provocation' of JUDGEMENT is typically associated with the use of other APPRAISAL values, most notably those from the AFFECT sub-system. As discussed, previously, social evaluations readily attach to values of AFFECT – emotional responses are frequently viewed as 'good' or 'bad', as 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate. Thus to state, 'He hates the weak and the vulnerable' is to provoke a judgement of (im)propriety, since the culture strongly associates such a moral evaluation with such an AFFECTUAL stance. To state, 'He adores his children' is likely to provoke a positive *judgement* for the same reasons. Such provoked JUDGEMENT lies somewhere between evoked and inscribed JUDGEMENT. Provoked JUDGEMENT does not involve explicit, direct judgemental evaluation. The writer describes an affectual state, rather than passing a judgement and accordingly our analyses need to attend to this distinction. Nevertheless, such provocations are clearly more overtly or explicitly subjective than experiential tokens of JUDGEMENT. Accordingly, our analyses need also to attend to this distinction. The set of three options is diagrammed below.

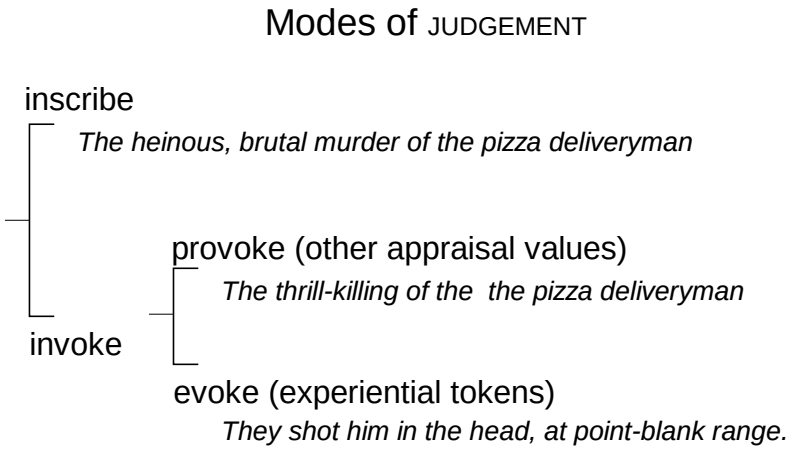


Figure 20: modes of judgement

An analysis of JUDGEMENT values is exemplified in connection with the following text extract. It is taken from an opinion piece by one of the *Sydney Morning Herald's* leading commentators. The author criticises the Australian government for its failure to apologise to Aborigines for a previous government policy of taking aboriginal children from their parents and placing them with adoptive white parents. The

controversy had been sparked by a recent inquiry into the policy, which had continued up until the early 1970s but which had only achieved the status of major public issue with the release of the report in mid 1997. (Inscribed JUDGEMENT is marked as bold/underline; tokens of judgement as italics/underline.)

> *Howard heightens the hurt* [token: negative social-sanction/propriety 'it's wrong to hurt others']
>
> By Geof Kitney (Opinion pages)
>
> The refusal of the Howard government to apologise to the Aborigines this week shows the PM's **leadership wanting** [inscribed: negative social-esteem/capacity] and his instincts **awry** [inscribed: negative social-esteem/normality]
>
> IT WASN'T until Wednesday evening, after *days of argument without enlightenment*, [token: negative social-esteem/capacity – 'it's incompetent to spend days arguing without producing a result'] that the true reason was revealed for the Government's refusal to do the **decent** [inscribed: social-sanction/propriety] thing and move a parliamentary resolution of regret and apology to Aboriginal Australians *for the systematic separation of Aboriginal children from their family and cultural roots*. [token: negative social-sanction/propriety]
>
> It wasn't until after the **moral bankruptcy** [inscribed: negative social-sanction/propriety] of the Federal Government's position was exposed by a motion of apology passed by *the most anti-Aboriginal State Parliament in Australia*, [inscribed: negative social-sanction/propriety – to be anti-Aboriginal is wrong, according to my reading position] the West Australian Parliament - the Parliament which sent to Canberra **from somewhere in the Dark Ages** [inscribed: negative social-esteem/normality – 'the Senator is out of step with his time, his

behaviour is not customary']Senator Ross Lightfoot - that John Herron revealed *the Government would only initiate a similar gesture in the Federal Parliament if the nation supported it*. [token: negative social-esteem/tenacity – 'the government is showing cowardice, a lack of nerve']

(*Sydney Morning Herald* 30/5/97)

III.4.(d). AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION: semantic interactions

It is important to note that AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION constitute an interconnected and interactive system of evaluation and for this reason I have grouped them together under the general heading of ATTITUDE. Most tellingly, they are all motivated at some level by affectual response, with JUDGEMENT institutionalising affectual positioning with respect to human behaviour and APPRECIATION institutionalising affectual positioning with respect to products and processes. It is not surprising, therefore, that wordings which explicitly reference meanings from one system may entail or evoke meanings for another system. This is frequently the case with appreciations of the products of human activity such as texts or art objects. Thus to describe a text as 'compelling' or 'interesting' is to explicitly classify it in terms of APPRECIATION but also, simultaneously to indirectly evaluate the competence of the behaviour from which it derived. Thus such explicit appreciations may simultaneously be seen as tokens of the JUDGEMENT value of capacity. This interactivity can be demonstrated by means of the mental process of *to bore*. The term can be used as AFFECT in 'The Prime Minister's speech bored me', as JUDGEMENT (negative capacity) in 'He's a boring speaker' or as APPRECIATION in 'It was a boring speech.'. This interactivity is illustrated in Figure 21 below.

Since JUDGEMENT is concerned with evaluation behaviour, and APPRECIATION with, in some instances, evaluating the products of behaviour, the boundary between JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION may be a fuzzy one. This is particularly the case when the wording at issue involves nominalisation – that is to say, a process realised as an entity. Thus we might say that, 'she danced skilfully' is unproblematically JUDGEMENT and 'an elegant ballet' is APPRECIATION. The precise location within the system,

however, of ‘It was skilful dancing’ is less certain. If we attend to the lexico-grammar we might class this as APPRECIATION since the evaluation applies to what is here realised as a nominal (and hence as a product). If we attend to the underlying semantics, however, we might class it as JUDGEMENT since the underlying target of the evaluation (once the grammatical metaphor is unpacked) is a process.

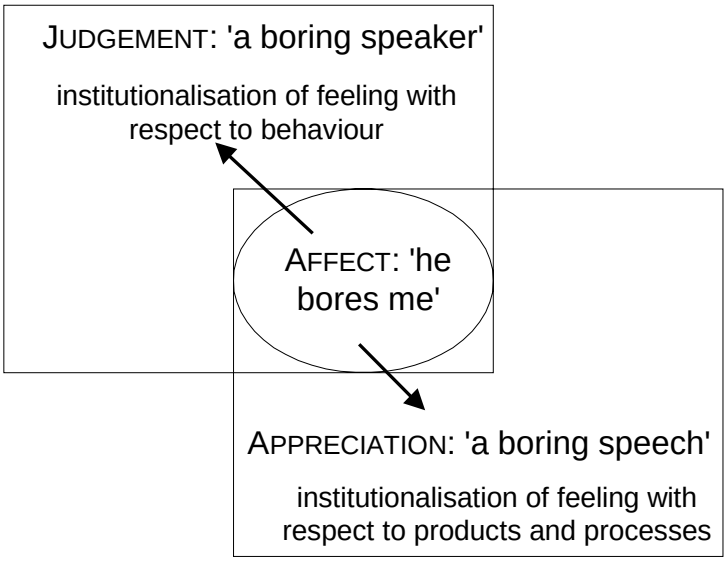


Figure 21: The affectual basis of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION

III.5. GRADUATION

III.5.(a). The semantics of scaling

The third dimension within APPRAISAL is that of GRADUATION. The semantics were briefly described previously in section II.3.(c). and I now provide a more extended discussion. Within this semantic space, we are concerned with values which scale other meanings along two possible parameters – either locating them on a scale from low to high intensity, or from core to marginal membership of a category.

This semantics of those which scale according to intensity is most transparently exemplified by the set of adverbials which have typically been explored in the literature under headings such as ‘intensifiers’, ‘amplifiers’ and ‘emphatics. The set includes *slightly, a bit, somewhat, quite, rather, really, very,* and *extremely*. (See section II.3.(c).3. previously.) Via these values, the speaker raises or lowers the

intensity of a wide range of semantic categories – thus 'very' in 'a very smart fellow' acts to heightens the intensity of the JUDGEMENT value (capacity) of 'smart'. and 'a bit' in 'I'm a bit troubled' acts to lower the intensity of the affectual value of 'worried'. Under the system set out here, this dimension of scaling with respect to intensity will be labelled FORCE.

The values of FORCE contrast with those that are labelled FOCUS. Here the scaling operates in terms of the sharpness or softness of the valeur relationship represented by the item. Values at the 'sharp' end of the focus scale are exemplified by *true friend, pure evil, a clean break, a genuine mistake, a complete disaster, par excellence*. Here FOCUS values operate to indicate that the valeur represented has core or prototype status – that the valeur relationship is sharply focussed. Values at the 'soft' end of the focus scale are exemplified typically by examples of what Lakoff (see section II.3.(c).2. previously) termed 'hedges' – '*all day, it was kind'v nerve-wracking*', '*a whale is fish, sort'v*', '*he as good as killed his brother*' etc. Here the value operates to indicate that the item in question has marginal status in the category or that the valeur relationships are blurred or have imprecise boundaries.

Before turning to these two dimensions in more detail, I will address some general features of the semantics of scaling. It should firstly be noted that scaling is not confined to cases where the value is explicitly carried by some independent, isolating lexical item such as *very* or *somewhat*. We need, additionally, to consider implicit scaling. Once we allow for an implicit semantic, we discover that scaling, in terms of the raising or lowering of intensity, operates across the APPRAISAL system and is not confined within a specific sub-domain. We discover that most values of APPRAISAL are scaled for intensity, in the sense that are located somewhere on a cline between high and low degrees. This feature has already been demonstrated in the context of AFFECT. For example, in dealing with the general affectual value of 'antipathy', the speaker must choose either a low value, (*dislike*, for example), a median value (*hate*) or a high value (*abhor*). Accordingly, some scale of intensity (from low to high) is an integral part of this semantic and to deal with such meanings is necessarily to down-tone or intensify. The operation of this implicit scaling for intensity across the gradable values of APPRAISAL is exemplified by the following,

- probabilisation – *possibly/may* (low value), *probably/will* (median value), *definitely/must* (high value)
- obligation (interactional values) – *allowed/may* (low), *supposed/will* (median), *required/must* (high)
- extra-vocalise – *he suggests that…* (low), *he says that..* (median), *he insists that…* (high)
- appearance – *it seems* (low), *it's obvious* (high)
- proclaim – *I'd say* …(low), *I declare* …(high)
- affect – *like*, (low), *love* (median), *adore* (high)
- judgement – *She performed satisfactorily* (low), *she performed well* (median), *she performed brilliantly* (high)
- appreciation – *attractive* (low), *beautiful* (median), *exquisite* (high); *minor problem* (low), *major problem* (high)

In this sense, scaling can be seen as an interpersonal coloration or tonality across the APPRAISAL system.

III.5.(b). Focus

This notion of scaling as a semantic orientation which may operate implicitly across semantic domains leads us to understand more precisely the relationships between values of FORCE (raising and lowering of intensity) and values of FOCUS (sharpening and softening the focus of the valeur relationship). As we have seen, under FORCE, scaling operates unproblematically in the context of gradable categories – values which admit of different degrees of some core meaning. In contrast, under focus, scaling operates in contexts which are not gradable in this sense, or where the communicative objective is not to grade in this way. For example, the state of having made a 'break' with someone or something indicated in 'a clean break' is not typically construed as gradable. A similar case applies in 'a true friend' and 'pure folly'. Nevertheless, there is a strong sense that such values have been 'scaled up' by the application of the value of FOCUS – there is a sense even of intensification. We find the inverse – a down scaling – operating in the context of values which soften the FOCUS. Thus 'kind'v', in 'it was kind'v nerve-wracking', lowers the scaling of intensity. From this perspective, FOCUS can be seen as the domain of the application of scales of intensity to ungraded

categories. Thus under FOCUS, the scaling, and hence the lowering and raising of intensity, is realised through the semantics of category membership, through a process of narrowing or broadening the terms by which category memberships is determined, through the sharpening or softening of semantic focus.

The system of GRADUATION so far set out is illustrated below.

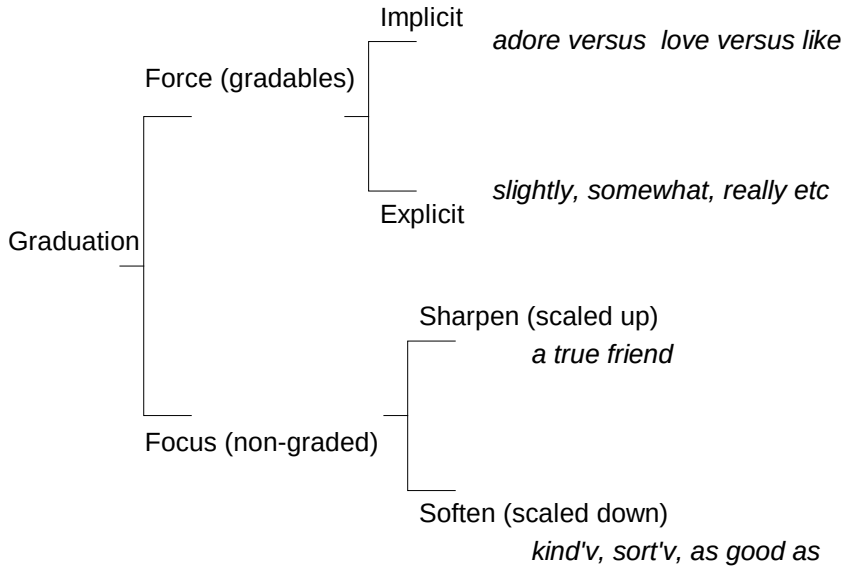


Figure 22: GRADUATION – Force versus Focus

III.5.(c). Force

III.5.(c).1. Scaling intensity

I have already explored the implicit scaling for intensity which operates typically across APPRAISAL categories. In this section I turn to the explicit coding of scales of intensity. Explicit values of FORCE can be divided along various axes of semantic difference which I will explore in turn.

III.5.(c).2. Grading versus amplification

Firstly, they divide into what I will term 'graders' and 'amplifiers'. Graders are lexical items which form sets of terms by which degrees of intensity, from low to high, may be specified. In contrast, Amplifiers operate in sets which only act to indicate high or maximal values of intensity. That is, the set does not include values which indicate a low degrees of intensity.

The graders include the adverbials discussed previously as well as certain adjectivals which apply to gradable nominals:

- adverbials – *slightly, a bit, somewhat, quite, rather, really, very, completely*
- adjectivals – *slight, severe* (applies, for example, to 'headache'); *slight, steep* (applies to 'incline')

Since these items are the most obvious category of graders, they will be labelled 'Grade' - following Martin (1997).

Additionally, the graders include Measure, the resource for grading with respect to extent or number. Under Measure, the semantics typically lexicalises either three grades from low to high – *small, medium, large* – or just a high and a low value (*narrow, wide; light, heavy* etc). Measure can be understood as the application of scales of intensity to various modes of counting, and hence as its interpersonalisation – to assess some quantity as large or small is to relativise the utterance and therefore to foreground the role of the speaker's subjectivity. Counting, in contrast, can be thought of as an experiential Function, since it is typically realised as a Numerative within the nominal group – numbers have an objective status as non-contingent elements of the external reality. Through the application of the interpersonal function of scaling, that counting is interpersonalised as Measure. Thus the experiential, 'A thousand people' is interpersonalised as 'a large group of people' and , 'a six-inch drop' is interpersonalised as 'a small drop'.

The amplifiers, which allow only for the maximal end of the scale, are set out in the following list. The semantics of individual sets will be explored at greater length in terms of two additional axes of difference – isolating versus infused, and experientialised versus interpersonalised.

- colour: *a bloody awful day*
- repetition: *he laughed and laughed; it was horrible, horrible*
- metaphor: *prices skyrocketed; they thrashed out a compromise; staff have been axed; mired in controversy; civil war has erupted amongst Scottish Tories; rain bucketed the state*
- quality: *the car veered off the road, prices plunged, they ousted the president, he gulped the drink, the film star was whisked away.*

- evaluatory: *desperate bid, damning indictment, key figure, formidable opponent*
- universalise, *The talks went on endlessly, Everyone wants to be rich and famous, The Opposition is always complaining, He thinks of food all day long.*
- Measure plus: *minuscule, tiny, huge, gargantuan*

III.5.(c).3. Isolating versus infused

The distinction between isolating and infused turns on whether the scaling is realised by an individual item with the sole function of raising or lowering intensity or whether the sense of scaling is fused with, or implicated by a meaning which, additionally, serves some other semantic function separate from that of intensification.

The isolating values are:

- grade (grader): *slightly, very* etc
- colour (amplifier): *a bloody awful day*
- repetition (amplifier): *he laughed and laughed; it was horrible, horrible*

The semantics of scaling by fusing or entailment requires some further explication. Here there is a single lexical item or a wording which serves multiple functions, specifying some degree of intensity while coding a separate semantic value. I will demonstrate this in the context of the various sub-categories.

Metaphor (amplifier) (eg. *prices skyrocketed*) Here the value of intensification is fused with, or entailed by an experiential value, typically a Material Process. Thus to say 'prices skyrocketed' is both to indicate a form of motion but also to intensify that description of motion. The semantic mechanism, of course, is one of comparison – the prices rose in the manner of a skyrocket, with the metaphor relying on the conventionalised association between a skyrocket and rapid movement. Thereby the sense of 'very' is fused with that of upwards movement – to skyrocket = to rise very rapidly.

Quality (amplifier) (eg. *the car veered*) Here once again there is a fusing of an experiential value, typically a Material process, with a sense of intensification. To say that 'the car veered' is to entail that it moved to one side and did so very abruptly or precipitously.

Evaluatory (amplifier) (*desperate attempt, dramatic bid, damning indictment, formidable challenge, serious threat, key figure)* At first glance these values may appear simply to be values of ATTITUDE – they all act to evaluate nominalised actions or entities in some way. Thus to describe a bid as 'dramatic' is to evaluate its aesthetic impact, and to describe a figure as 'key' is to evaluate him/her in terms of social salience. To suggest that an indictment is 'damning' is to evoke JUDGEMENT values of social sanction. We might happily remain with such an analysis but for one vital factor. Within journalistic discourse, such collocations are so formulaic, the combinations so predictable that the epithet can no longer be seen as functioning as an entirely independent lexical item.[9] If 'bids' are automatically 'dramatic', or at least have a significantly enhanced likelihood of being construed as 'dramatic', then the semantic value of the epithet as an individual lexical item is reduced — as a less than freely chosen item, it contributes less to the total semantics of the utterance. Sinclair alerts us to this outcome of regular collocational patterning when he talks of 'delexicalisation'. Thus he states,

> The meaning of words chosen together is different from their independent meanings. They are at least partly delexicalized. This is the necessary correlate of co-selection. If you know that selections are not independent, and that one selection depends on another, then there must be a result and effect on the meaning which in each individual choice is a delexicalization of one kind or another. It will not have its independent meaning in full if it is only part of a choice involving one or more words. (Sinclair 1994: 23)

It is noteworthy that APPRAISAL epithets which contribute to these formulaic collocations within journalism overwhelmingly involve a sense of heightened vigour, they involve values at the high end of a graded scale. Thus, these collocations, for example, involve 'dramatic' rather than 'unremarkable' bids, 'desperate' rather than 'half-hearted' or 'uncommitted' attempts, 'serious' rather than 'inconsequential' or 'predictable' threats and 'leading' or 'prominent' rather than 'minor' or 'mid-ranking' experts. (Hence, of course, their classification as amplifiers rather than graders.) Consequently, I see their major contribution to the semantics to be via this repeated

[9] It is precisely these types of collocations which are criticised in journalistic training texts as formulaic, as 'journalistic jargon' or 'journalese' and therefore to be avoided. They continue to occur regularly, regardless.

sense of amplification, rather than the individual, appraisal semantics of each term. Some value of evaluation may remain, but the function of these epithets is now almost exclusively to entail a sense of amplification.

Universalise (amplifier): amplification by means of universal qualifiers when the context indicates that the universal is not meant to be taken literally, but rather as an marker of a high value of INTENSITY:FORCE – *He thinks of food all day long*; *Everyone wants to be rich and famous*; *the talks went on endlessly*; *the Opposition is always complaining.* (See Labov 1984 for an extended discussion of this semantic.) Here the sense of heightened intensity may be entailed by fused with a value of Measure – 'everyone' for example is part of the Measure sequence of *a few*, *several*, *many*, *everyone*. Alternatively, it may be fused with a value of Usuality – thus 'always' is part of the sequence, *sometimes*, *often*, *always*. Here, of course, the value of Measure or Usuality is maximised to the point where it can no longer be interpreted literally. Thus to say, *They were engaged in a long round of talks* features the MEASURE value *long*, an assessment of the extent in time of the talks. Such a MEASUREMENT value can be amplified by 'Grade' values such as *very* or *really* – *The talks went on for a very long time*. Or they can be amplified by universalising 'exaggeration' – *The talks went on endlessly.* The reader does not, of course, interpret this term, *endlessly*, literally. The talks could not be such that they will be 'without end', that is, of maximally 'long' duration. Thus a sense of intensification is entailed by the rhetorical, rather than literal, functioning of the universal quantifier. The maximal end of the scale is used not to signal actual universality but heightened authorial FORCE .

Measure (grader): (*small, medium large* etc) Measure is included under the category of 'infuse' for reasons already set out in the previous discussion of the . It involves the fusion of counting with interpersonal scaling for intensity.

Measure Plus (amplifier): (*huge, gargantuan, minuscule).* Such values might simply have been included under Measure. We need, however, to acknowledge that such values entail an additional or recursive application of scaling for intensity. This is reflected by the fact that we readily say, 'very large' and 'very small' but not 'very gargantuan' nor 'very minuscule'. This indicates that *gargantuan* and *minuscule* entail a sense of 'very' which is not entailed by their Measure equivalents, *large* and

small. Consequently Measure-Plus values are amplifiers rather than graders. They may involve fusion with a Measure value of either low or high intensity, but the resultant semantic can only supply a high value. Thus there is no down-toning equivalent of 'minuscule', no fused wording which indicates 'slightly small'. Neither is there a down-toning version of 'huge', indicating 'slightly large'. Consequently we do need to see such values as separate from Measure, although, of course, they do entail a value of Measure as part of their semantic. Such values can be thought of as double intensity – firstly via a grading value and secondly via an amplifying value.

III.5.(c).4. Experientialise versus Interpersonalise

The infused values can further be divided according to whether the value which entails the intensification is experiential or interpersonal.

Experientialise:

- metaphor - *prices skyrocketed* (typically material process)
- quality - *the car plunged* (typically material process)
- measure - *small, medium, large* (intensification of the experiential Function of counting

Interpersonalise:

- evaluatory - *desperate bid* (intensity entailed by appraisal value)
- universalise - *endless talks* (intensity entailed by Measure or Usuality)
- measure-plus - *gargantuan* (intensity fused with Measure)

The system of GRADUATION:FORCE is networked below

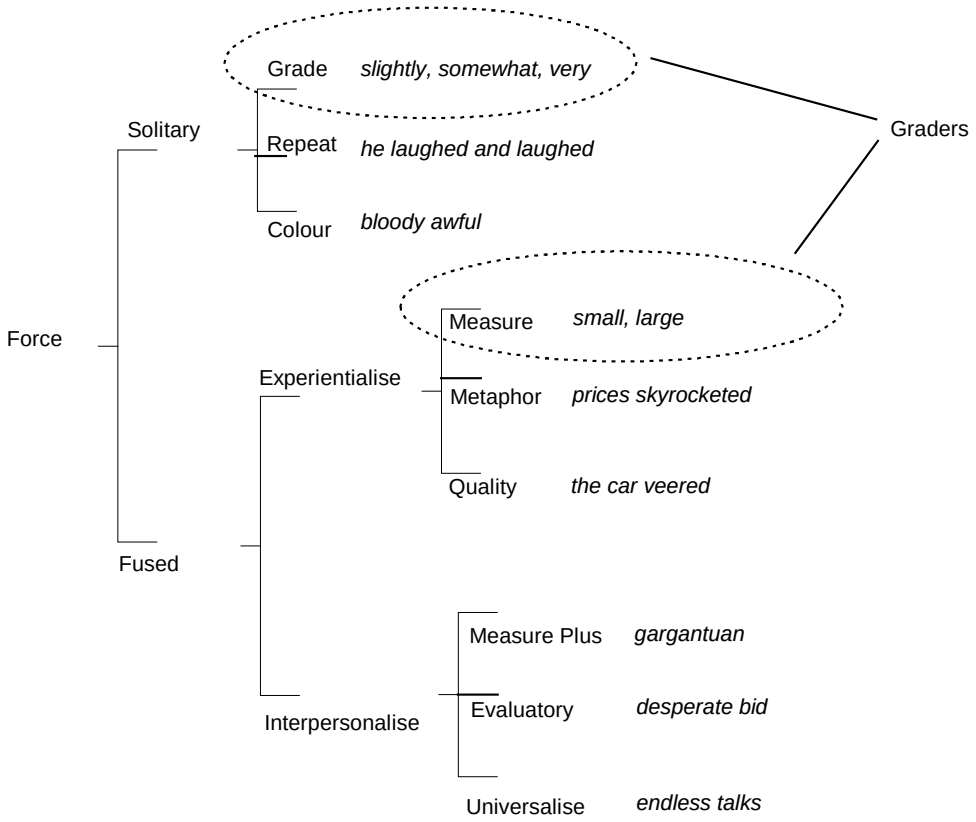


Figure 23: FORCE

III.5.(c).5. High and low values of intensity

By way of conclusion to this section setting out the APPRAISAL system, it is worth reviewing the way that scaling for intensity provides for a broad semantic which operates trans-systemically. In particular, we note the way the distinction between high and low values can provide for two broad, opposed groupings of values – that is to say, sets of values which, though from different sub-systems, nevertheless are alike in realising either high or low intensity. The two trans-systemic groupings are exemplified below in Table 2.

	Low INTENSITY	**High INTENSITY**
Probability	Perhaps he's a post-modernist	**He's definitely a post-modernist**
Appearance	He seems to be a post-modernist	**It's obvious he's a post-modernist**
Proclaim	I'd say he's a post-modernist	**I declare he's a post-modernist**
Extra-vocalise	She say's he's a post-modernist	**She insists he's a post modernist**
Affect	He likes post-modernists	**He adores post-modernists**
Judgement	He's a satisfactory post-modernist	**He's a brilliant post-modernist**
Appreciation	An attractive post-modernist work. A minor post-modern work	**An exquisite post-modernist work.** **A major post-modern work**
Focus	It's a post-modern work, kind'v	**It's genuinely post-modern**

Table 2: Intensification

III.6. From Potential to Instantiation – some approaches to appraisal analysis.

III.6.(a). Overview

The next chapter will explore in detail the way that values of APPRAISAL are instantiated in texts and in particular certain pattens of preference for APPRAISAL values by which we identify the sub-registers of journalism. Before shifting, however, entirely from potential to instantiation, it is useful to set out certain more general textual phenomenon associated with instantiation.

III.6.(b). Appraisal values and interpersonal key

The media research, and subsequent work (Coffin 1997, Eggins and Slade 1997, Rothery and Stenglin in press) has revealed a tendency for groups of texts within a particular discourse to share a preference for a particular APPRAISAL value. By 'preference', I mean that the texts all make rhetorically prominent use of that value to the point that it dominates the text interpersonally. It then becomes possible to see the repeated and prominent use of such a value as characteristic of that textual grouping. I use the term 'key', derived by analogy from music, to reference the establishment of such an interpersonal tonality across a group of texts. In the next chapter, I will demonstrate the operation of various interpersonal 'keys' within the media. By way of preview, however, I can indicate that one important 'key' within 'hard news' reporting is that associated with what I will term the syndrome of intensification – the consistent and prominent use of various values of high intensity

III.6.(c). Mapping authorial position and the targets of APPRAISAL.

The three core affectual values, AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION , all typically involve an evaluator and an evaluated. In certain text analytical contexts, it will be of interest to identify patterns in the choices of evaluators and evaluated, in which participants get to do the evaluating and which are targeted for evaluation. By observing which participants are evaluated, for example, in public texts such as media reports it becomes possible to develop at least a partial map of the potential readerships such texts construct for themselves.

The key notion here is that the human participants directly referenced in public texts such as media reports are, in some sense, inscribed in the text as potential readers and, more significantly, as potential heteroglossic respondents, at least when those participants are currently present in the context of culture. Thus by tracking the broad social type of the human participants, the manner of their identification in the text and the nature of the evaluations and positionings applied to those participants, it becomes possible to develop a profile of the readerships that text constructs for itself and the nature of the relationship it seeks to establish with those readerships.

Such an analysis may be interested in the specific social characteristic of those targeted (gender, age, status etc). Alternatively it may be interested more generally in the manner of identification of those targeted, whether the evaluations are directed at,

- named individuals or groupings ('Sir Michael's **hypocrisy**..'),
- non-specified groupings ('Some lobby groups, out of **malice** or **ignorance**, will **pretend** to believe such accusations…'),
- a large scale, non-specified grouping which can be expected to encompass a significant proportion of the text's general readership ('parents', 'teachers', 'Labour voters', 'tax payers')
- the community and hence the readership in its entirety ('Australians', the community)
- directly addressed readers ('You', 'we')
- the author ('I' , 'we')
- non-directed evaluations, where no actual human participant is implicated in the evaluation, typically occurring under nominalisation — 'To mix a gay relationship with marriage is no less a **betrayal** than a heterosexual **dalliance**.'

The manner of identification of targeted participants can be seen as entailing the following consequences for readership construction:

- targeting of specified/named human participants — constructs specific individuals as 'implicated readership' and hence as likely participants in heteroglossic negotiation,
- targeting of non specified smaller scale groupings — constructs imprecisely referenced individuals as 'implicated readership'
- targeting of larger scale non-specified groupings ('parents', 'tax payers') — directly constructs at least part of the general readership as implicated in the text and hence as implicated in the heteroglossic negotiation ,
- targeting of directly addressed reader/community-wide groups — directly constructs the general readership as implicated in the text,
- non-directed positioning — ambiguous as to who is implicated by the evaluation in the text.

In this context we will be interested to note whether there are any preferences for a particular manner of identification of evaluated participants in a text. We might explore, for example, the degree that the general readership is implicated in the text's appraisals by means of evaluations aimed directly at the invoked reader ('you'), by evaluations implicating both reader and author ('we') or evaluations implicated by some very general grouping ('Australians', 'parents'). Alternatively we might explore the degree to which the text directs its evaluations at either specific individuals or unidentified individuals. We might predict significant rhetorical differences between, for example, a text which choses largely to target specific individuals and one which targets broad groupings, the community as a whole or the general readership. We might similarly predict rhetorical consequences for a text which favours evaluations which include both reader and author.

Here we are not simply concerned with whether particular types of participants are targeted for evaluation but with the ENGAGEMENT status of those evaluations. Thus we would be interested to track not only the manner of identification of evaluated participants but the degree to which such evaluations are heteroglossically negotiated. Does the author typically promote or demote the possibility of heteroglossic negotiation in the context of his/her evaluations of, for example, specified individuals or, alternatively, in the context of evaluations of larger groupings more likely to include the general reader? By such observations we can map the nature of the relationship the text constructs for itself with these potential readerships or heteroglossic interactants, or more specifically the degree of solidarity or divergence it constructs for itself. Such a detailed analysis can thus provide us with a find-grained grammar of solidarity.

III.6.(d). APPRAISAL and reading position

An appraisal analysis provides tools well suited to exploring issues relating to reading position. Under reading position, we are concerned not so much with the views which are explicitly expressed by the authorial voice, but with the underlying beliefs, systems of knowledge and expectations which the text assumes and relies upon in the constructing of a message. (See Fairclough 1989: 77-108 and Martin 1995 for a discussion.) We are concerned with, what Fairclough (1989: 78) terms the

'conception' of the world, including normative values, which the text presupposes and which it relies upon for its coherence – with the 'fit' between the text and the world. We are concerned therefore, with the text's underlying ideological position and with the way that it naturalises this. That is to say, in investigating a text's reading position we direct our attention to the way the text presents certain philosophies or theories about the social order as commonsensical, necessary, natural and taken for granted.

Reading position can be expected to inform textuality at all levels. From the perspective of a lexicogrammatical analysis, it will inform values of all three metafunctions. Trew's analysis of grammatical structures in the newspaper report of the killing of the protesters in Rhodesia (section II.6.(d).4.) demonstrated how ideational choices reflect ideological position. There we saw how choices as to Participant role and Voice reflected the newspaper's right-wing world view. Similarly, choices as to Theme and New (the textual metafunctional) will also establish and reflect a particular reading position. The author's judgements about, for example, which information to construe as New will reflect their individual conception of the social order.

An APPRAISAL analysis, within the interpersonal metafunction, is particularly well equipped to explore these matters. Coffin's analysis (see II.3.(f).2. above) of how texts are staged so as to 'objectify' a particular normative stance demonstrates one such analysis. Generally, an analysis of the interaction between tokens of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, and inscriptions of these two semantic domains will be very revealing of the reading position with which a text operates. An analysis of ENGAGEMENT will be equally revealing, indicating, as it does, which meanings (both experiential and interpersonal) are construed as contentious or problematic, and which are assumed to be unproblematic and taken for granted. ENGAGEMENT analyses at greater levels of delicacy can reveal further details of reading position by identifying the terms in which the text constructs itself intertextually.

III.7. Conclusion

This chapter has set out a description of the discourse semantic resources by which a text develops social evaluations and positions the text with respect to the

heterogeneous intertextual environment in which it operates. In the next chapter I explore the application of this account to an analysis of contemporary English-language journalism.

IV. Appraisal and the interpersonal voices of contemporary journalism

IV.1. Introduction

The previous chapter described the semantics of APPRAISAL, the linguistic resources by which heteroglossic positions of social evaluation are established, negotiated and naturalised. The description was oriented towards potentiality, towards exploring what meanings the linguistic system in general makes available. In this chapter, I turn to instantiation, to exploring what use is made of those APPRAISAL resources by individual media texts and by groupings of media texts realising particular contexts of situation. More particularly, I explore recurrent patterns of variation in the use of those resources by different groupings of media texts.

The chapter will show that it is possible to group contemporary broadsheet media texts into three categories according to those patterns of variation. The categories vary according to certain systematic favouring and disfavouring of values from within the APPRAISAL system. The categories have, accordingly, been labelled 'voices', following Iedema et al. 1994 (see section II.3.(f).1 above), to reflect the differences in interpersonal style or inter-subjective positioning which result from each category's specific set of semantic preferences. As indicated in chapter 2, the three categories have been termed 'reporter', 'correspondent' and 'commentator' voice. The constitution of the voices and the reasoning for their individual labels will be set out in the course of the following discussion. Particular attention will be paid to the communicative properties of the preferences which constitute reporter voice, since it

is this voice which most typically and most strongly associates with news reporting texts, the primary focus of the thesis.

Later sections of the chapter will explore this reporter voice in its historical context, demonstrating that the association between news reporting and reporter voice is a modern innovation in journalistic textuality. It will be shown that, while some pre-modern news items may display the semantic preferences which constitute reporter voice, the association between news reporting and reporter voice was too weak and intermittent to be reckoned a distinguishing feature of pre-modern journalism. While there may have been some link between reporter voice and news reporting in the pre-modern era, it had not yet been conventionalised to the point that it was distinctive of news reporting as a text type.

Later sections will also explore the implications of voice, as a text-linguistic category, for systemic-functional register theory.

IV.2. Methology

IV.2.(a). Mapping semantic interaction

The formulation of journalistic voice set out here is based on a close analysis of some 22 media texts, all of which fall under the heading of news or current affairs. (I have excluded from my analysis any texts from, for example, the leisure/life-style pages or the arts pages.) A crucial feature of the analysis is that it not only records the occurrence in a text of the APPRAISAL values outlined in the previous chapter but also their interaction. Thus the computer software by which the analysis is conducted records not only the presence of, for example, a JUDGEMENT value, but its context of ENGAGEMENT or FORCE. That is, it records whether that value falls within the scope, for example, of a modal of probability, a concessive of counter-expectation, a negative, an extra-vocalising projection, an intensifier and so on.[10] This mapping of the scope of values of ENGAGEMENT and intensification is sensitive to the potentially recursive

[10] Scope here is treated conservatively. Thus for a value to fall within the scope of an extra-vocalisation it would, for example, be located in the projected clause or within the Verbiage of some verbal or mental process. Similarly, a value is treated as probabilised when it is located in the clause over which, for example, a modal of probability or a modal adjunct of probability operates.

nature of both ENGAGEMENT and intensification – an ENGAGEMENT value can, in turn, fall within the scope of another ENGAGEMENT value. A value of intensity can, in turn, fall within the scope of another intensifier, and so on. Thus, given the following text extract, 'I think she said the Prime Minister was corrupt', the analysis would,

- record the occurrence of the JUDGEMENT value represented by *corrupt*,
- record that this value was extra-vocalised (falls within the scope of the projecting 'she said'),
- record that this ENGAGEMENT value was, in turn, probabilised through the modal semantics of 'I think' and that, accordingly the JUDGEMENT value can be seen as doubly implicated in ENGAGEMENT.

IV.2.(b). Sample size, sample selection and statistical reliability

My concern in this chapter is with discovering general semantic tendencies which operate systematically across a particular discourse domain or functional variety of language, namely that of broadsheet, English-language news coverage. Such studies necessarily raise questions about the number of individual texts required to support reliable or plausible generalisations. Although Biber and Finegan were not concerned specifically with news reporting, but more generally with 'styles of stance' across the language, they nevertheless reached conclusions about news reporting based on a database of 44 news texts. (Their database also included 27 press editorials and 17 media reviews.) The current study is based on a very close analysis of 22 texts (see Appendix A for a listing and Appendix B for the texts), supported by a less formal analysis of many hundreds more news items. Those 22 texts have been subjected to a close statistical study – every APPRAISAL value and every interaction between APPRAISAL values has been logged in a database and then subjected to various statistical analyses. (See appendices B and C for the analyses.) Clearly a greater sample size would be required for statistically definitive conclusions. I believe, however, that the sample is sufficient to be strongly indicative of certain statistical trends in the data, given that it is supported by the more informal analysis of many hundreds of additional texts. The findings, nevertheless must still seen as preliminary and in need of further statistical support.

The texts analysed are not the result of an entirely random selection, for the following reasons. As indicated previously, informal analysis conducted at an early stage in the research suggested that patterns of preference for JUDGEMENT values might provide one important parameter of systematic variation across journalistic discourse. JUDGEMENT, as outlined previously, turns on the normative evaluation of human behaviour – it provides the lexis by which we laud or derogate human volitional action. Clearly, newsworthy events, depending on their social constitution, may vary in the degree to which they put at risk such values. We might expect, for example, a report of a torrential downpour to be significantly less likely to put JUDGEMENT at risk than a report of accusations of political corruption. Thus it is simply not enough to note whether or not a report contains values of JUDGEMENT. We also need to pay some attention to the extent that JUDGEMENT values are put at risk by the social context in which the report operates. Accordingly, the database of texts was assembled so as to allow for, and to take note of the degree to which JUDGEMENT was put at risk by the social context. Specifically, I collected texts so a to ensure the sample included those which turned primarily on human volitional action (and hence potentially put JUDGEMENT at risk) and those which did not. Reports which do not necessary turn on human volitional action were drawn from the domain of what journalists term 'police rounds' and are exemplified in the sample by accounts of accidents. The majority of news reports do, of course, turn on human volitional action and in order to assemble a manageable sample I have concentrated on the core domain of politics.

In assembling the text sample, I also bore in mind that journalism operates with a range of its own conventional or commonsense textual categories. (See, for example, Bell 1991 or Tiffen 1989.) Some of the better known are those which distinguish between 'hard news' and 'human interest', between 'news reports/stories', 'features' and 'opinion/editorial', and between 'news', 'analysis' and 'comment'. I believe that it is methodologically unwise to work with a sample of texts which takes no note of these distinctions, which simply ignores the commonsense categorisations. This is not to assume, of course, that the journalistic categorisations necessarily relate to systematic registerial variation, but rather to allow for that possibility. One obvious danger arises under statistical analyses which develop average frequencies across texts. Different patterns of semantic preference which might distinguish, for example,

the news report from news analysis (if such a categorisation should prove to have a discourse-semantic and lexico-grammatical basis) might be lost in any averaging analysis which simply assumes that all news page items constitute a single category. My sample, therefore, has been assembled in a non-random manner in order to allow for, and be sensitive to variation which may be associated with some of these journalistic commonsense categorisations. It has been assembled to include stories from the broad subject areas of misadventure, crime and politics. Within those categories, it has been assembled to include reports which feature,

- either no byline, or a plain byline, indicating the report was prepared by a 'general' or non-specialist reporter,
- bylines or other devices which indicate some degree of expertise or authority on the part of the author by means of a label such as 'correspondent', 'rounds reporter', or 'editor',
- bylines or other devices which explicitly label the item as 'analysis' or 'comment' and thereby classify it as something other than 'normal' news reporting.

The sample is comprised of items drawn from the news and opinion pages of *The Guardian* (UK), *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the *New York Times*. It also includes items from three international wire services, Agence France Press (AFP), Reuters and The Associated Press (AP).

I have included the news agency texts because wire service copy is used so widely by media organisations either directly or as the basis for their own reports. As a consequence such items act as a sort of textual common currency for the media around the world and clearly have the potential to establish conventions and 'standards' for journalistic textuality. In the past, wire-service texts were not usually available to the general public but now, with the growth the World Wide Web, wire service reporting is readily available to all with access to the internet. (AFP stories are published online through the service's own WEB site and Reuters reports are available through the popular search site, yahoo.com.)

My sample is weighted towards political reporting for the following reasons. Political coverage comprises, overwhelmingly, the largest component of daily press journalism. The following breakdown (Figure 124) of the contents of the first five

pages of news coverage from one edition (1/4/98) of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, illustrates this.

	Politics	Misadventure	Crime	Other
page 1	1. Debate over Federal Government bill to change law on Aboriginal land rights 2. Federal Government appoints new Chief Justice 3. State MPs linked to crime figure			1. Australian Cricket Team captain critical of Cricket Board policy on captaincy
page 3	4. Federal Gov inquiry into hospital deaths 5. Debate over Federal Government bill to change law on Aboriginal land rights. 6. Prime Minister denies breaching code of conduct		1. Morgue workers who steal from corpses to be investigated and charged. 2.Insurance 'scams' costing millions	2. Human hormone recipients to receive compensation. 3. Australian Ballet production saluting World War I diggers to debut.
page 2	7. Premier boosts police power on knives. 8. Crime commission investigates MP connection with crime figures. 9. State Opposition rejects proposed parliamentary code of conduct.			
page 5	10. Prime Minister refuses to rule out timed telephone charges for business. 11. University staff protest Federal Government cuts to funding. 12. Planned floral festival for Olympics 2000 threatened by lack of government funding.	1. Major blaze in national park		4. Celebrity agent insists on right to practice chequebook journalism
page 7	13. Foreshore reserve saved from State Government plan for housing development. 14. Police minister releases report on murdered school girl. 15 Federal Gov plans for new airport challenged by new environmental-risk study.			5. Australian exporters resist pressure from Asian economic crisis. 6. Head of major advertising agency resigns.
	Politics:	Misadventure:	Crime:	Other:

63 percent	4 percent	8 percent	25 percent

Figure 24: News coverage by subject category

Such a weighting in favour of politics – here political reporting represents towards two thirds of total news coverage (62.5 percent) – is typical of English language broadsheets around the world. As well, preliminary research revealed a high degree of consistency in the 'voice' of misadventure and crime reporting. Items from these two subject areas are extremely unlikely to deviate from the patterns of semantic preference which constitute reporter voice – almost all items fall unproblematically into the reporter-voice category. In contrast, political reporting revealed itself from an early stage to be much more variable with respect to voice – political news reports can vary across the range from reporter voice through to commentator voice. Political reporting was therefore revealed as a rather more fruitful site for the exploration of voice and the database was consequently weighted in its favour.

The sample included in the database for detailed analysis is comprised of the following:

1. Police rounds reporting

- 2 wire service, 2 newspaper items. (total of 4)

2. Political reporting

- 5 wire-service reports. (5)
- coverage of the 1997 elections in the UK – 3 items from the 'news' section of the online edition of *The Guardian*; 3 items from the 'analysis' section of the online edition of *The Guardian* 'analysis'; 3 items from the 'comment' section online edition of *The Guardian.* (9)
- 2 additional 'correspondent' pieces, one each from *The New York Times* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*. (2)
- 2 additional 'comment' pieces, one each from *The New York Times* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*. (2)

IV.3. The journalistic voices and patterns of semantic preference.

IV.3.(a). The voice system – overview

The system of voice to be set out in the following sections reflects patterns of discourse-semantic preferences which involve a wide range of APPRAISAL values drawn variously from the sub-systems of ATTITUDE, GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT. All details of this patterning will be explored in subsequent sections. However, the patterns of semantic preference upon which the system of voice relies operate with greater and lesser degrees of consistency and statistical reliability. The patterns implicating JUDGEMENT, GRADUATION, and the MOOD choice between interactional and informational meanings operate with the greatest consistency, in some cases providing for absolute, binary categorisations of voice types. Accordingly, I will begin by examining these values and their patternings in some detail before turning to the values and patterns which operate with a lower order of statistical consistency.

IV.3.(b). JUDGEMENT and voice

Three clear groupings of texts emerge from an observation of patterns of choice and preference associated with the APPRAISAL sub-system of JUDGEMENT. In this the current study confirms the proposals set out in the DSP Media Literacy Report. (See section II.3.(f).1. above.) I will restate those proposals below, with some modification and in somewhat different terms, referencing the theory of APPRAISAL set out in the previous chapter. The theory was not available at the time of the DSP project.

Firstly, a two-way distinction can be made between,

1. those texts where inscribed values of JUDGEMENT occur only in attributed (extra-vocalised) contexts and
2. those texts where at least some values of inscribed JUDGEMENT do occur in unattributed contexts.

In the first category, those values of JUDGEMENT which occur are always attributed to outside sources. In the second category, the authorial voice may directly express at least some types of inscribed JUDGEMENT. (There are no co-textual constraints in any of the voices on tokens, as opposed to inscriptions, of JUDGEMENT.) In terms of the APPRAISAL theory set out previously, we can say that where inscribed values of JUDGEMENT occur in category 1 texts, they are confined to a specific co-textual environment, namely that within the scope of the ENGAGEMENT value of EXTRA-VOCALISATION. In terms of a reweighting of the probabilities associated with the various APPRAISAL choices, we can say that in this category there is a conditional association of co-occurrence between EXTRA-VOCALISATION and inscribed JUDGEMENT – if inscribed JUDGEMENT, then EXTRA-VOCALISATION. In category 2 texts, at least some sub-types of inscribed JUDGEMENT may occur without the ENGAGEMENT value of EXTRA-VOCALISATION. To state this in more commonsense terms – in category 2, writers make value judgements, in category 1 they can only quote the judgements of others.

The absolute co-textual constraint on inscribed JUDGEMENT is found most typically in wire-service or plainly bylined police rounds reports. Following the DSP Media Literacy Report, the term 'reporter voice' has been coined to reference the interpersonal stance or style which follows from this constraint. As discussed, the label was motivated by the strong association between this voice and the journalistic role of 'general reporter' – the journalistic function most typically associated with 'hard news' coverage and the style of reporting which goes with it.

The second category, where at least some values of JUDGEMENT may occur in unattributed contexts, has been termed 'writer voice', with the labelling motivated by the common-sense distinction between the more constrained, more formulaic 'reporting' of 'hard news' coverage and the less constrained, more individualistic 'writing' associated with media 'analysis', 'commentary' and 'human interest'. This first, two-way cut between reporter and writer voice is diagrammed below in Figure 25.

Writer voice texts are further subdivided into,

1. those texts where the JUDGEMENT values of social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) occur freely in unattributed contexts, but where any JUDGEMENT values of social sanction (veracity, propriety) occur only in attributed contexts.
2. those texts where there are no constraints on any values of JUDGEMENT – whatever the values (social esteem or social sanction), they may occur in unattributed contexts.

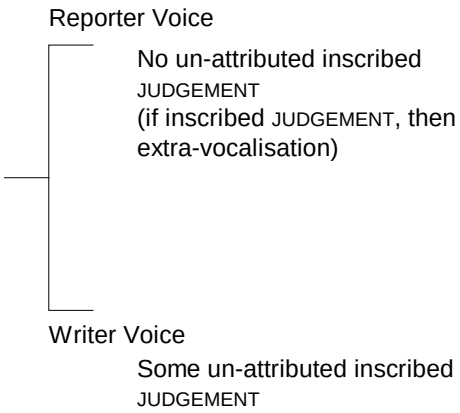


Figure 25: Journalistic voices - first cut.

This first sub-category of writer voice was found to associate most typically with news page analysis and backgrounders by rounds writers and correspondents and has consequently been labelled 'correspondent voice'. In terms of the reweighting of the probabilities associated with APPRAISAL values, it may be defined in terms of the following contingency – if inscribed values of social sanction, then EXTRA-VOCALISATION.

In the second sub-category, authors freely offer any of the full range of JUDGEMENT values, but most particularly values of social sanction (veracity and propriety). It is most typically associated with features and columns from the opinion pages and has, accordingly, been labelled 'commentator voice'. The system is illustrated in Figure 26 below.

IV.3.(c). Patterns of JUDGEMENT across media texts

IV.3.(c).1. Exemplifying the patterns of judgement

As indicated above, these JUDGEMENT-based patterns are fundamental to the formulation of the theory of journalistic voice. I will demonstrate these patterns in two ways:

- analyses of typical textual examples
- a statistical account summarising tendencies across groupings of representative texts

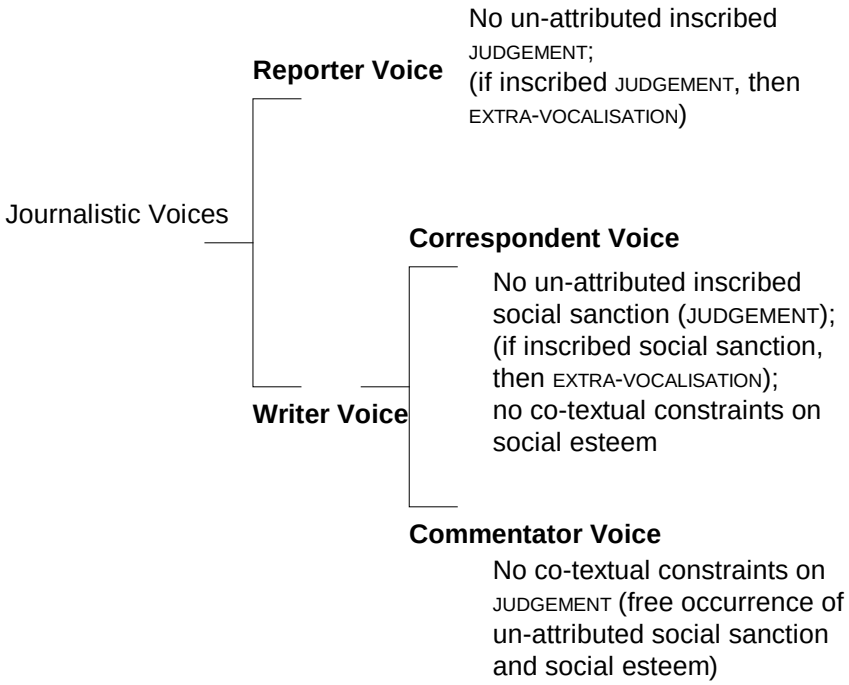


Figure 26: elaborated system of journalistic voices

The demonstration will attend to the potential influence of variations in subject-matter and the journalistic role/function of the writer. One primary concern in the analysis will be to observe any variation according to whether or not values of JUDGEMENT are put at risk in the text. As indicated above, some items (accident reports, for example) may not put JUDGEMENT at risk – they contain few or no values of either implicit (tokens) or explicit (inscribed) JUDGEMENT. Others, of course, do deal extensively with JUDGEMENT (politics, for example). I will therefore be concerned to observe the degree

to which the co-textual constraints on JUDGEMENT set out above (no authorial inscriptions) are observed in contexts where JUDGEMENT figures prominently.

Patterns of JUDGEMENT in the context of the following textual groupings will be observed.

- Reporter voice texts from 'news' section coverage of accidents where no or little JUDGEMENT was put at risk.
- Reporter voice texts from 'news' section coverage of accidents or crime where JUDGEMENT was substantially put at risk.
- Reporter voice texts from 'news' section political coverage.
- Correspondent voice texts from 'analysis' section political reporting (writers typically labelled as 'correspondent', 'political editor' etc and/or the section/article labelled, 'analysis').
- Commentator voice texts from 'comment/opinion' section political reporting (the writer's 'columnist' status indicated either by page/section heading or some other signal).

These groupings reflect the general correlations identified above – reporter voice with 'news page' coverage, correspondent voice with 'analysis' and 'backgrounders', and commentator voice with columns and the opinion pages. It must be stressed, however, that the correlation is by no means universally consistent. News page political reporting in the newspapers (as opposed to the wire services) frequently demonstrates correspondent-voice patterns of JUDGEMENT, rather than reporter-voice. In the papers, in fact, reporter-voice political items are in the minority. Likewise, articles labelled 'analysis' sometimes display correspondent-voice and sometimes commentator-voice patterns of JUDGEMENT. This point will be taken up in more detail below.

IV.3.(c).2. Reporter voice (1), news-page accident report -- JUDGEMENT not at risk

The following report (text 1 below) of a fatal train crash from *The Times* exemplifies misadventure reports where human volitional action is not necessarily implicated in the causality and where, accordingly, values of JUDGEMENT are not put at risk, or at least are only marginal to the text's central purpose. The report features no explicit

(inscribed) values of JUDGEMENT, either by the author or by attributed sources. The only value of JUDGEMENT is introduced through the indirect, reader-position dependent semantics of a token of JUDGEMENT which is itself distanced from the author by EXTRA-VOCALISATION. The authorities are reported as suggesting that the train 'might have been going too fast'. Of course, while this may be read as implying either incompetence or criminal negligence on the part of the driver (hence JUDGEMENT: capacity or JUDGEMENT: propriety), it may also be read as indicating some inadvertent mechanical failure which is not susceptible to normative evaluation. (Discovering potential blame and hence bringing JUDGEMENT into play is, of course, central to the social process of news coverage and news value assessment.)

This solitary value of JUDGEMENT (token) is marked below in purple, italics and underlining. (The system for presenting appraisal analyses, to be applied extensively in following sections, uses the following display devices:

- underlining indicates an attributed (extra-vocalised context);
- *italics* indicate tokens of APPRAISAL;
- colours are used to indicate different sub-categories, thus blue for judgement/social-esteem, purple for judgement/social-sanction, red for high values of INTENSITY and so on.

[Text 1: Spanish Train Crash – judgement analysis**]**

22 killed, 87 hurt in Spain's worst rail crash

FROM TUNKU VARADARAJAN IN MADRID

(*The Times* 1/4/97)

AT LEAST 22 passengers were killed after an inter-city train full of Easter holidaymakers, many of whom were returning home from Barcelona, careered off the rails last night in the northern Spanish province of Navarre. Eighty-seven travellers were injured, 18 seriously.

Rescuers worked under searchlights as the sun set to free people, some of whom were children, trapped in the wreckage. It was feared the toll would rise. Ambulances took the injured to hospitals at Pamplona, 20 miles away, and Vitoria. Rescuers pulled out bodies, laying them in a row on the tracks and covering them with blankets.

Renfe, the Spanish railway company, ordered an immediate investigation. National radio said that it was the worst accident in Spanish rail history. In September 1980, 26 people died when a train collided with a bus.

"It all happened in a second," an unidentified woman survivor said. "The suitcases tumbled down, people were thrown into the aisles. Everything was crushed together and the people inside were screaming. It was horrible. Horrible."

The Guardia Civil said that *the train, with 248 passengers, might have been going too fast* [*possible token of* JUDGEMENT*: competence or propriety*] when it crashed. It was to have gone through Huarte Araquil without stopping. Authorities were also checking the track switching system.

Jose Manuel Velasco, a Renfe spokesman, said it was too early to tell what caused the accident, which happened at about 5.30 local time. It added to a heavy weekend death toll in Spain as 132 people died in road accidents.

Last night King Juan Carlos expressed his condolences to the families of the dead.

It is noteworthy that this token of JUDGEMENT is characterised as a potential site for heteroglossic negotiation not only through the semantics of EXTRA-VOCALISATION ('The Guarda Civil said ...'). but also through the semantics of PROBABILISATION ('*might* have been going too fast'). We saw in the previous chapter how such ENGAGEMENT resources operate to mark utterances as points of possible heteroglossic contestation and, in the case of both EXTRA-VOCALISATION and PROBALISATION, to open up the potential for inter-subjective positioning with respect to that point of contestation.

(It is also just possible that King Carlos expressing his condolences may be read as a token of JUDGEMENT/propriety – a sympathetic act by a powerful figure expressing concern for ordinary people. Equally, it may be read as a routine, essentially meaningless gesture and hence as attracting no specific social evaluation. This instance does, nevertheless, serve to illustrate the variable, reading-position dependent nature of tokenised APPRAISAL)

IV.3.(c).3. Reporter voice (2), news-page accident item coverage -- JUDGEMENT at risk

The attribution of blame (negative values of JUDGEMENT) is a key issue for the news reporting process and consequently news items which put some form of JUDGEMENT at risk far outweigh those that do not. The following analysis explores the JUDGEMENT values in a wire-service report of the reaction to an incident in which a US military plane severed a key lift cable in the Italian Alps in February 1998, killing 20 people. Notably, while the report is rich in values of JUDGEMENT, both inscribed and tokenised, all of these values are confined to extra-vocalised contexts. Thus, in the report, all JUDGEMENT values are marked as potential sites for heteroglossic divergence.

Key for analysis

- underlining indicates an attributed (extra-vocalised context);
- *italics* indicate tokens of APPRAISAL;
- colours are used to indicate different sub-categories, thus blue for judgement/social-esteem, purple for judgement/social-sanction, red for high values of FORCE and so on.

[Text 2: Italian Ski Lift Disaster - judgement analysis]

Italian PM: Plane Was *Far Too Low* [token propriety (criminal negligence), or capacity]

By VANIA GRANDI – Associated Press Writer (4/2/98)

CAVALESE, Italy (AP) -- The U.S. Marine jet that severed a ski lift cable, plunging 20 people to their deaths, violated Italian air safety regulations [inscribed impropriety] with its "earth-shaving flight" across a snowy hillside, the prime minister of this angry nation said Wednesday.

The defense minister said the American pilot should be prosecuted, several influential lawmakers said U.S. bases in Italy should be closed, and Italian and American investigators started looking into the accident near Trento, about 90 miles east of Milan.

"This is not about a low-level flight, but a terrible act, a nearly earth-shaving flight, beyond any limit allowed by the rules and laws," [inscribed impropriety] Premier Romano Prodi told reporters.

Witnesses said the Marine EA-6B Prowler swooped through the valley just above the treetops on Tuesday. Its tail severed two, fist-sized, steel cables, sending a gondola full of European skiers and the operator to their deaths. Startled by an unusually loud boom, 66-year-old Carla Naia looked up and saw the jet "coming at me at an incredible speed."

"I've seen lots of planes and I've often cursed them," the Cavalese resident said. *"But this one seemed completely out of control, far lower and faster than the others."* [token impropriety (criminal negligence), or capacity]

Residents of this valley have long complained about low-flying jets out of Aviano Air Base at the foot of the Italian Alps.

"We are fed up," said Mauro Gilmozi, the mayor of this picturesque town of 3,600. "This 'Top Gun' stuff [inscribed negative tenacity (= over-enthusiastic, blazé, macho, or possibly propriety (criminally careless)] has got to stop."

An EA-6B pilot who flew missions in the area last year said it is standard procedure [propriety = legally endorsed] for pilots based at Aviano to fly low-level training routes in the Dolomite Mountains, but for safety reasons they are not supposed to be at altitudes below 1,000 feet.

Anger continued to build in Italy, an important U.S. ally and home to seven major U.S. military installations. U.S. flights over Italy have increased dramatically since the international intervention in Bosnia, one of Aviano's most important jobs. The U.S. planes provide support for the international peacekeeping mission in Bosnia.

Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini deplored the accident but said that it would not "distort our alliances and our collective security structures." Defense Minister Beniamino Andreatta took a harsher line, demanding that the pilot be prosecuted.

"We are not asking for revenge, but that the law on criminal responsibility [propriety] be applied to the commander of the airplane," he was quoted as saying by the ANSA news agency.

The prosecutors' office in Trento said that its investigators have questioned the pilot and the three other crew members, but no charges have been filed.

The defense committees of both houses of parliament planned to meet in joint session on Thursday and Valdo Spini, head of the lower house's defense committee, said they planned to investigate the incident from "360 degrees."

The cable car was on its way down Cermis mountain when it plunged to the valley floor, crushing everyone inside. It was just minutes away from reaching the base lodge when it fell.

All that remains is a mangled heap of yellow metal on the bloodstained snow.

President Clinton issued a statement Tuesday saying he was "deeply saddened" by the accident. Pope John Paul II also extended his condolences to the families of the victims, expressing his "pain and preoccupation," the Vatican said.

IV.3.(c).4. Reporter voice (3), news-page crime report -- JUDGEMENT necessarily at risk

The following *New York Times* report of a murder in New Jersey features a high concentration of JUDGEMENT values, both inscribed, provoked and tokenised.

Before setting out the analysis, it is necessary to consider several issues which arise in connection with police-rounds/crime reporting of this type. Violent crimes of the type described in the report almost inevitably put at risk highly negative values of social sanction – social evaluations of the severest type with strong moral and legal associations. In such contexts, there may only be the finest semantic dividing line between tokenised and inscribed judgement. That is to say, the moral evaluation associated with the action in question is so firmly established in the culture as to be virtually automatic. To describe, for example, the action of two men 'shooting dead the pizza deliveryman' is thus to evoke, almost automatically, the highly negative moral judgement which society attaches to such actions. Nevertheless, it is still

necessary to distinguish between token and inscription in these contexts. The writer always has the choice between the token, the description couched essentially in experiential terms ('They shot the man in the head at point-blank range') and a description couched in the explicitly interpersonal terms of inscribed JUDGEMENT ('They murdered him, heinously, callously and in cold-blood.') Since the choice is always available it remains meaningful and significant and should not be overlooked in the analysis, however 'automatic' the connection between token and inscribed JUDGEMENT may have become. (Of course, the degree to which the connection between experiential token and interpersonal evaluation has become automatic in a given context of culture may be an important part of the analysis.)

Additionally, we need to recognise what, in the previous chapter, I termed 'provoked' JUDGEMENT – values triggered by the use of some other APPRAISAL value, typically a value of AFFECT. This functionality of values of AFFECT follows from the way emotional responses and dispositions are frequently evaluated in the culture as 'good' or 'bad', as 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate'. Here the triggering wording – the value of AFFECT – is in no sense 'neutral', or confined to experiential values. Nevertheless, though overtly subjective in this way, the provoking items still do not classify as 'inscriptions' of JUDGEMENT. We still need to distinguish between direct values of JUDGEMENT and this provoking of JUDGEMENT. Such a value is found in the headline from the following text – 'Youths Held in Thrill-Killings of Pizza Deliveryman'. Here we see the affectual value, 'thrill', in 'thrill-killings' acting to provoke the JUDGEMENT value of (im)propriety. It is, of course, wrong to kill, but it is, in a sense, even more morally reprehensible to take pleasure in killing. Here the text combines a token of JUDGEMENT, 'killing', with a provoking affectual value ,'thrill', to render the JUDGEMENT of moral reprehensibility virtually unavoidable.

One final point remains to be addressed. Police rounds reports of this type make frequent reference, as is to be expected, to various crimes. As a matter of customary practice, they will typically surround such terms in what amounts to an automated EXTRA-VOCALISATION device – they will be characterised as 'alleged'. In certain circumstances, however, the 'alleged' will be dispensed with, most typically when the underlying assertion of illegality (and hence a negative value of JUDGEMENT) has been, what might be termed, objectified or institutionalised. Such institutionalisation occurs,

for example, when a trial has been held and a guilty verdict reached. Subsequently, reports may invoke this decision and characterise some participant as a 'criminal' or a 'murderer'. Such usage raises interesting questions for the theory of voice and APPRAISAL being developed here. When speakers assert on their own behalf that an individual is a 'criminal' or a 'murderer' they clearly implicate themselves directly in the JUDGEMENT value of (im)propriety. In contrast when they attach such labels to participants, not on their own behalf, but on the basis of the public, communally-endorsed legal process, then their implication in the process of social evaluation is less certain. Strictly, the judgemental label has been attached, not by the speaker but by the institutionalised legal process. In a real sense, therefore, such instances of JUDGEMENT have been extra-vocalised by the context of culture, by the common and communal knowledge operating in the culture which understands such labels to emanate not from the speaker but from past legal procedure. A couple of similar instances occur in the following text. For example, the reporter states that it is 'shoplifting' rather than murder which normally concerns the police in this area of New Jersey. This instance clearly does not entail a value of JUDGEMENT on the part of the reporter directed at the behaviour of some identified participant. It references, rather past legal proceedings and past legal verdicts, now projected through the criminal record. Such instances will, accordingly, be analysed as entailing an underlying, understood semantic of EXTRA-VOCALISATION.

Key for analysis

- underlining indicates an attributed (extra-vocalised context);
- *italics* indicate tokens of APPRAISAL;
- colours are used to indicate different sub-categories, thus blue for judgement/social-esteem, purple for judgement/social-sanction, red for high values of FORCE and so on.

(Please note, the analysis includes brief explanations/commentaries where the JUDGEMENT values at stake are, perhaps, ambiguous or where some justification of the analysis chosen seems necessary. For example, 'The Sussex County prosecutor, Dennis O'Leary, called the murders chilling and *unlike anything in his experience*. [token normality = *bizarre, abnormal, freaky*]')

[Text 3: 'thrill killing' report]

Youths Held in *Thrill-Killings* [provoke propriety] of Pizza Deliverymen

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

New York Times 22/04/97

NEW YORK -- Two small-town New Jersey teenagers were arrested on Monday and charged with what officials called the brutal, senseless and elaborately plotted murders [propriety] of two pizza deliverymen, who were lured [veracity = 'acted by deceit'] to an abandoned house in a remote area of Sussex County on Saturday night and *shot to death* [token propriety] when they drew up in a car.

The victims appeared to have been chosen randomly, their wallets and cash untouched. Officials said the slayers' [propriety – to call someone a 'slayer' is to assert wrongful killing] motive -- if there was one -- may have been *the thrill of killing*. [provoke propriety]

"*They just wanted to see what it would be like to kill somebody*," [provoke propriety] said one law-enforcement official.

Sussex County investigators said the killers had called four pizza parlors before finding one willing to deliver to an isolated spot in Franklin, a hamlet in the northwest corner of New Jersey where domestic trouble and shoplifting [propriety, extra-textualised by the established criminal record – see discussion above] are the usual police-blotter items. The gunmen were waiting in the dark when the deliverymen arrived at the ramshackle house sometime after 10:30 p.m.

Reconstructing what happened from shell casings, bullet holes, shattered glass and other evidence at the scene, investigators said that the passenger-side window of the car was apparently rolled down so two cheese pizzas could be handed over, and the assailants [propriety – to call someone an 'assailant' is to assert wrongful violence] *opened fire with .45- and .22-caliber pistols.*[token propriety]

The victims were both shot repeatedly in the head and upper body. [token propriety] Their car then rolled 30 yards down the road and veered into the edge of a marsh. There, officials said, the victims were both pulled from the blood-spattered car, laid face down on the ground and *each shot again in the back of the head*. [token propriety]

The pizzas were not eaten, officials said. Parts of them were found on the car's floor, and the rest in the bog near the victims.

The Sussex County prosecutor, Dennis O'Leary, called the murders chilling and *unlike anything in his experience*. [token normality = *bizarre, abnormal, freaky*] "Any homicides I've been involved with, even as senseless as they appear, were rooted in some motive you could place some logic behind," he said. "This appears to be a particularly senseless act. [propriety] There's nothing to indicate they cared much who the deliverymen were."

The final shots were like an execution, [propriety] said William Geffken, the chief of detectives for the prosecutor's office, even though the victims may already have been dead. An hour after the shootings, a motorist saw the car nosed into the bog with its headlights on and called the police, who found the bodies of Georgio Gallara, 24, of Augusta, N.J., and Jeremy Giordano, 22, of Hardyston.

Investigators later traced calls made Saturday night to Tony's Pizza and Pasta Restaurant -- Gallara was the owner and Giordano his employee -- on Route 94 in Hamburg, just north of Franklin Borough, and to four other pizza shops in the area. All had come from a pay phone at a Dunkin' Donuts shop in Franklin. People who had been there Saturday night identified two youths who made a series of calls from the pay phone.

At 2:30 a.m. on Monday, the police arrested Thomas Koskovich, 18, at his home in Franklin, and three hours later a 17-year-old was picked up at his home in nearby Vernon Township. His name was withheld by officials because he is a juvenile, but neighbors and acquaintances identified him as

Jay Vreeland. Both were charged in the murders [propriety] and *with possession of .45- and .22-caliber handguns* [token propriety] stolen in a recent burglary [propriety, extra-vocalised by the past criminal record (see discussion above)] and found at Koskovich's home.

Koskovich was arraigned before Judge Lorraine Parker in Superior Court in Newton and ordered held at the Sussex County Jail in $1-million bail. His lawyer, David Nufrio, a public defender, entered a plea of not guilty [propriety] but did not contest the bail. The 17-year-old appeared in a closed proceeding and was ordered held at a jail for juveniles.

Both suspects were described by acquaintances and the authorities as troubled youths: Koskovich, who *brought guns to his vocational school* [token propriety = 'it's wrong to carry guns to school'] before he dropped out two weeks ago and has lived with grandparents since his parents divorced; Vreeland, who has a record of *arrests, including one for shooting pellet guns at people* [token propriety] recently, who broke up with a girlfriend not long ago and, though still in vocational school, seemed to be leading an aimless existence.

The murders and arrests stunned residents of Franklin, Hamburg, Vernon and other small communities in the rolling hills of largely rural Sussex County, where unemployment is high, opportunity limited and poverty present but largely hidden among the natural beauty of forests and lakes in northwest New Jersey.

In sharp contrast to the profiles of the suspects, friends and relatives of Giordano and Gallara said that the victims were both unmarried, hard-working, [tenacity] friendly [tenacity] young men whose lives could not be measured by money, academic achievement or business accomplishments, [competence] but were made meaningful by *countless little things that they did every day for their neighbors*. [token propriety = *unselfish, caring*]

"Jeremy was *always volunteering to help me*, *shoveling snow or chopping ice outside my store in winter*," [token propriety = *unselfish, caring*] said

Donna Rockafellow, the owner of Donna's Boutique, a few doors down from Tony's Pizza in a small strip mall called the Hardyston Mercantile on Route 94. She said she went into Tony's every day for lunch. She said of Gallara: "He walked with a bounce. He was a sweet man. *He was always giving us extra treats, powdered pastries, appetizers, and never charged for them*."

[token propriety = *generous and kindly*]

Just across the highway, Giordano lived with his father, Joseph, mother, Loretta, and two sisters. He graduated from Walkill High School in 1994, and on the living room mantle was a plaque for wrestling. "He didn't do that well, but *he tried like hell*," [token tenacity = *determined, committed*] said his father, eyes brimming with tears. "Somehow this whole thing has to impart a meaning, a lesson for people."

John Veltri, a wrecking company owner, said Gallara opened the pizzeria several years ago and, trying hard to build business, *had been willing to deliver anytime, anywhere*.[token tenacity = *determined, resolute, indefatigable*] That, apparently, was a factor in his death.

...

After the arrests on Monday, [law-enforcement officials] described the suspects as friends, but said it was not known how long they had known each other. They also said that Vreeland may have known Giordano, but he said that was nothing more than a coincidence in a small community where most people know one another, and he said it had nothing to do with the shootings.

Buddy Duziak, 17, a junior at the vocational school, said Koskovich had quit school only two weeks ago, after a rough year during which he had brought a sawed-off shotgun to school. *"He would bring shotguns in all the time,"* [token propriety = 'it's wrong to carry guns to school'] Duziak said. "We all thought *he was trying to be tough*." [token (in)competence = ?? socially inept, 'tough' inscription of competence]

We note that, once again, that strong relationship between attribution (EXTRA-VOCALISATION) and inscribed JUDGEMENT is maintained, even when the context of situation puts highly charged values of social sanction at risk.

IV.3.(c).5. Reporter voice (4), news-page political report -- JUDGEMENT at risk

Political reporting most typically puts values of propriety (social sanction) and capacity (social esteem) at risk. A typical capacity-oriented report is provided by the following AFP account of electioneering from the United Kingdom general election of 1997. The wire-service political reports typically adopt the reporter-voice patterns exemplified below while newspaper political reports are more likely to adopt correspondent-voice patterns of JUDGEMENT.

> [Text 4: Labour launches election campaign – judgement analysis]
>
> **Labour pulls economy on to election bandwagon**
>
> The opposition Labour Party, hot favorites to win May 1 elections, pulled the national economy on to its campaign bandwagon on Tuesday, as electioneering for national polls entered the final month.
>
> Economy spokesman Gordon Brown assured voters that "the economic argument works for Labour."[capacity]
>
> His words were designed to counter tactics used by the Conservative government which has sought to arouse fears among the electorate over Labour's inexperience [capacity] in handling the economy.
>
> Brown chided the government for failing to lay the foundations for long-term growth [capacity] of the British economy.
>
> "We haven't invested properly [capacity] in the future," Brown said, pointing specifically to the areas of "education and skills, the modern information economy" where a Labour government would target spending.
>
> He told the BBC that "in the last 18 years, we have slipped as a country to 18th place [capacity] in the world economic league."

He said that "we slipped not only behind France and Germany but behind Italy ... Sweden, Hong Kong and Singapore." [capacity]

Brown said that the Conservatives had made 22 tax increases since winning power in 1979 and had *doubled the national debt* [token CAPACITY] which, he predicted, would amount to 19 billion pounds (30 billion dollars) next year. And one in five British households were now without a wage-earner.

The chancellor-in-waiting said that his proposed windfall tax on the "excessive profits" [value of APPRECIATION (evaluation of product rather than behaviour itself) acting as token of JUDGEMENT: propriety – 'it's wrong to make excessive profits'] of the privatised utilities would raise funds to invest in training programmes for the unemployed.

The policy would "*move people from welfare to work*," [token propriety – it's right and proper for a policy to do this'] he said.

Labour has committed itself to operating within spending ceilings drafted by the government for the next two years, in a bid to ditch its former *tax-and-spend* image [token (in)CAPACITY – only, of course, from the economic rationalist position naturalised by the text]

The party is also expected to adopt the Conservative Party's inflation target of 2.5 percent.

Labour has promised not to raise the basic and top income tax rates for the next five years.

Labour *lost the last general election in 1992* [token capacity] after saying that it would raise taxes to finance public spending.

Despite Labour's pledge not to raise top income tax rates, leaked extracts of the party's election manifesto, which will be published on Thursday, in the Financial Times newspaper *said that Labour would "review the corporate and capital gains tax regimes to see how the tax system can promote greater*

long-term investment." [token (im)propriety – 'it's wrong to break your pledges'] (Agence France Press 1/4/97)

The item is noteworthy in that it contains one value of authorial (unattributed) inscribed JUDGEMENT.

> His words were designed to counter tactics used by the Conservative government which has sought to arouse fears among the electorate over Labour's inexperience [capacity] in handling the economy.

As will be demonstrated in the following discussion, political reporting is significantly more subject to variation in voice than police rounds or crime reporting. Thus, as a general principle, it is within political reporting that we may readily observe alternation between reporter voice and writer voice. (As discussed previously, the distinction, in this context, turns on the probability of unattributed JUDGEMENT). This point will be taken up in detail below, where I will demonstrate that a significant proportion of political reporting in the newspapers is conducted in correspondent voice, while that of the wire services is primarily in reporter voice.

In the current context, it is useful to look more closely at the one instance of unattributed JUDGEMENT found in the above wire-service report. Although I analysed it as unattributed, its precise status with respect to EXTRA-VOCALISATION is somewhat more ambiguous or under-determining than this analysis suggests. I will explore the case in some detail, not so much for its own sake, but because it provides a useful illustration of the ambiguities and indeterminacies which frequently associate with APPRAISAL values.

Projecting cognitive processes such as *to fear* can represent the object of cognition either as projection ('They fear that the Labour party will be inexperienced') or as a participant (Phenomenon) in the verbal process ('They fear the Labour Party's inexperience.'). In the second instance, the relational process of 'Labour being inexperienced' is presupposed and nominalised, and hence the structure is not treated as entailing EXTRA-VOCALISATION. Yet there is still some sense of the inclusion of an outside voice by means of such structures – that 'Labour is inexperienced' is

represented via the mental processes of some outside source. Accordingly, it could be argued that there is at least some measure of EXTRA-VOCALISATION which associates with such structures. When the projecting cognitive process is nominalised, as is the case in the above text, the ENGAGEMENT semantics may be seen as even more under-determined. Under nominalisation, the object of cognition may be realised as a Post-Modifier – 'fear over Labour's inexperience.' The precise extra-vocalised status of the Post-Modifier – presupposed or attributed – is arguably even more ambiguous. In the case in question, the ENGAGEMENT status of the contention that 'Labour is inexperienced' is even further complicated by its location in what can be analysed as projection generated by 'the government has sought …'. It is possible to interpret this sentence as indicating that the government is seeking to portray Labour as 'inexperienced' or to cause people to see Labour as 'inexperienced', rather than indicating such an evaluation on the part of the author.

The point at issue here is that while the instance may appear to breach the conventions of reporter voice, the lexico-grammatical and discourse-semantic circumstances clearly act to lessen the communicative effects of such a breach. The interpersonal style or stance associated with reporter voice would be largely undamaged by such an instance of apparently unattributed JUDGEMENT.

IV.3.(c).6. Correspondent voice, political reports, typically 'analysis' sections but also newspaper news sections – JUDGEMENT at risk

As set out previously, correspondent voice is constituted by the semantic preference under which JUDGEMENT values of social esteem (normality, capacity and tenacity) may occur in unattributed contexts, but JUDGEMENT values of social sanction (veracity and propriety) occur only in attributed contexts.

Correspondent-voice reporting is exemplified by the following coverage of the UK general elections of 1997 from *The Guardian*. The report came from the section labelled 'analysis'.

> [Text 5: Tory split report]
>
> Tories *split* [token capacity = 'not able to operate effectively']
>
> over isolating Hamilton

Major forced to fudge [capacity or tenacity = 'act ineffectively', 'act indecisively'] intervention.

MP defies whip's orders to stand down.

Central office hamstrung [capacity] by *rifts* [token capacity] and *confusion* [token capacity]

Deep *divisions* [token capacity] have opened up in the heart of the Tory election machine over how to scotch the Neil Hamilton cash-for-questions affair [propriety – extra-vocalised by context of situation, references past allegations against Hamilton]

During the weekend Tory right-wingers blocked a plan by John Major and Brian Mawhinney, the Conservative chairman, to deal decisively [tenacity] with Mr Hamilton.

Mr Major had to settle for a fudge, [capacity/tenacity – see previous] sending out a letter last night telling Tory constituency associations they were taking a risk if they continued to back the MPs *under suspicion*. [token propriety]

He said that Mr Hamilton and other Tory MPs would lose the whip if criticised in Sir Gordon Downey's report on *cash-for-questions*. [token propriety]

But he was careful neither to back nor disown Mr Hamilton and the other MPs.

Reflecting the panic [affect as token of (in)capacity] at Conservative Central Office over its campaign being overshadowed by the allegations, Mr Major said: "Unsubstantiated allegations, still under consideration against a handful of individuals, should not cheat [propriety] the electorate of the debate about which party is best suited [capacity] to form the government for the next five years."

The *in-fighting* [token of either propriety or capacity – it's wrong/ineffective party members to fight amongst themselves'] at Central Office invoked memories of the 1987 campaign wobble [capacity] in which Lord Tebbit and Lord Young were at odds over strategy.

Mr Mawhinney and Mr Major, according to a Tory source, had planned a press conference to make a clean break with Mr Hamilton.

But this was dropped after protests from the No Turning Back group, the 20-strong clutch of MPs fiercely loyal to Baroness Thatcher, which includes Mr Hamilton.

The group also includes Alan Duncan, who is in the Tory campaign team, and ministers such as Michael Portillo, the Defence Secretary.

Government whips, according to a Tory source, met Mr Hamilton last week but he refused to stand down.

They have since been collecting damaging material to prise Mr Hamilton from his candidacy in the Tatton constituency.

The internal battle has been reflected in the muddled [capacity] response of Central Office over the past three days.

On Saturday, Central Office briefed journalists that Mr Major wanted Mr Hamilton out.

On Sunday this remained the line, but, following the intervention of the rightwing, yesterday morning the message was that the party was backing off Mr Hamilton.

At least one MP expressed "bewilderment" at the sudden changes.

There will have been even more bewilderment last night when Mr Major came up with another version, aimed at bringing an end to the controversy.

In a letter sent to all Conservative constituency chairmen, Mr Major denied accusations that he had deliberately prorogued Parliament early to *avoid publication of the Downey report.* [token propriety – 'it's wrong to suppress information']

He also rejected the charge that he had been indecisive [tenacity] in failing to force [capacity] the Tatton constituency party to drop Mr Hamilton.

"It has been suggested that I disband constituency associations and impose new candidates.

But under our Conservative Party constitution, the selection of a candidate is the responsibility of the association, the decision to contest the seat is for the candidate."

He added that the Downey report after the general election "may exonerate [propriety] members from all, or most, serious criticisms.

If so, well and good."

But if it is "unfavourable, *the Conservative Party will put the interest of Parliament and its reputation above all other matters*". [token propriety]

Mr Major is almost certain to face questioning on sleaze [propriety] this morning at the official launch of the Conservative campaign.

Any hopes he harbours that the row can be quickly brought to an end will be dashed if, as expected, the Liberal Democrats stand down in Tatton and join Labour in support of an anti-corruption candidate, who could be announced before the end of the week. (*The Guardian*, 1/4/97)

The primary concern of the item, with respect to JUDGEMENT, is one of tenacity and capacity – with the effectiveness or reliability of Mr Major and his Party. This is reflected in the types of JUDGEMENT put at risk by the article – 9 values of inscribed social esteem (capacity or tenacity); 3 values of inscribed propriety. The status of the text as correspondent voice is reflected in the co-textual environments of these inscribed judgements:

- 6 values of inscribed social esteem (tenacity and capacity) are unattributed,
- 3 values of inscribed social esteem (tenacity and capacity) are attributed,
- all values (3) of inscribed social sanction (propriety) are attributed.

IV.3.(c).7. Commentator voice, political reports, typically 'opinion/comment' sections but also newspaper 'analysis' – JUDGEMENT at risk

The commentator-voice texts all fall outside the strict scope of the current research, in the sense that the thesis is concerned with news reporting (items which purport to document newsworthy events and issues) and the commentator-voice texts are all persuasive or expository (they present arguments about, or explanations of events, issues etc by columnists and other authorities). It is necessary, however, to include some analysis of commentator-voice texts in order to provide a complete picture of the set of registerial choices available within news media discourse and thereby to locate the registers which apply to news reporting within this network of choices. It is also necessary to provide at least some exposition of commentator voice because, as will be shown below, the news reporting of the pre-modern era (up until the first decade of the 20th century) did not display the same strong association between, on the one hand, news reporting and reporter voice and, on the other hand, commentator voice and commentary/opinion. Pre-modern news reporting will, in fact, be shown to have displayed some of the semantic preferences which today are constitutive of commentator voice and the persuasive texts with which it typically associates.

In commentator-voice texts, the authorial voice is free to deal with all inscribed JUDGEMENT values, regardless of whether from social sanction or social esteem. In this sense, commentator is the voice in which the potential for social evaluation is maximised. All values of JUDGEMENT occur in both attributed and unattributed contexts. Commentator voice is exemplified by the following opinion piece from *The Guardian* of April 2, 1997.

> [Text 6 – Torn apart by cowardice]
>
> Torn apart by cowardice [tenacity] and hatred [affect provoking *propriety* – 'it's wrong to hate']
>
> By Arnold Kemp
>
> [Comment Section]

It is not often you can say that a great [capacity] political party stinks in the public nostrils, [propriety] meaning that it has acquired almost universal contempt [affect as provocation of *propriety*] even among its own supporters. Yet that would be true, this morning, of the Scottish Conservative Party. It is being torn apart not by its traditional foes in the other parties or by its many critics in the Scottish press. It is being devoured from within, by a parasite compounded of cowardice, [tenacity] distrust [affect provoking *propriety*] and mutual hatred [affect provoking *propriety*] rather than ideological division.

That is what makes this crisis so extreme. This is what makes a Tory wipeout in Scotland at the election a real possibility rather than a nationalist pipedream. And if that happens can independence - and not just home rule - be far behind?

The resignation of Sir Michael Hirst as party chairman is not an edifying tale. Its circumstances break every rule in the Tory book. [normality = *abnormal, aberrant*] It is not just that Sir Michael, kirk elder and paterfamilias, admitted a "past indiscretion" [ambiguous value of judgement, either capacity (indiscretion = unwise behaviour) or propriety (indiscretion = immoral behaviour)] in his personal life, involving a gay liaison. It is not the hypocrisy [veracity] which in retrospect can be seen to have underlain the right [propriety] he claimed to rebuke the Church for political interference, [propriety] or his habit at party functions of paying graceful tribute to his wife Naomi and their three children.

It is not even about the "gay clique" said to exercise undue influence [propriety] in the party. That such a group, centred on former councillor Paul Martin, has existed is not in doubt. It is a group noted for its impudence [tenacity] and its promiscuity. [propriety] But it is an embarrassment,

[affect as provocation of *capacity*] a pimple on the party rather than a cancerous growth. [propriety] It is not an offence [propriety] to be gay, though to mix a gay relationship with marriage is no less a betrayal [propriety] than a heterosexual dalliance.

Let us allow, even, that at a time of heightened sensitivity to sleaze, [propriety] Sir Michael's attempt to secure the blue-chip Eastwood candidacy left vacant by the resignation of Allan Stewart was ill-judged.[capacity] It would have given a hostage to fortune. It could have caused further embarrassment, [affect as provocation of *capacity*]as the election approached. It might have caused even more if he had been elected and in the absence of other senior Scottish Tories defeated in marginal seats, had attained frontbench office.

It should be acknowledged, also, that a genuine grassroots front to "stop Micky" - as candidate, though, not as chairman - emerged in the west of Scotland. First of all, there was genuine anger in the Eastwood constituency association that he had been presumptuous [tenacity] in putting his name forward, even making it a condition of his candidacy that he should be unopposed.

The anger surfaced with the explicit statement by his old enemy Anna McCurley - one of 11 Tory MPs, including Sir Michael himself, defeated in the 1987 election - that she would rather see Donald Duck as candidate than Micky [capacity] . But those who rang round the tabloids, reminding them of Sir Michael's gay affiliations, swam in deeper pools. The thought that Sir Michael might walk off with the safest seat in Scotland, while Malcolm Rifkind, Ian Lang and Scottish Secretary Michael Forsyth teetered in their marginals, was too much for many to bear.

It is, of course, not the first time *civil war has rent the party* [token propriety] but its grubbiness [propriety] is unparalleled. Bitter *infighting* [token propriety] broke out after the party's disastrous [capacity]

performance in the 1987 election. Lady Thatcher lost complete confidence in the then Scottish Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, and the traditionalist old guard.

She put in the right-wing radical Michael Forsyth as chairman to cleanse the stable. [propriety] He brought in fresh young talent, [capacity] some of which happened to be gay. Heads rolled. The grassroots were appalled, and among those who formed an alliance with grandees like William Whitelaw to get rid of Mr Forsyth was the young Michael Hirst.

Such things are not forgotten. Sir Michael would not have looked for support from Mr Forsyth when he was bounced out of office by party brass on Friday. As he himself recalls, the chairmanship is in the gift of the Prime Minister.

And there's the rub. What sticks in the craw is the complete breakdown of that trumpeted Tory virtue - loyalty and trust. [propriety] If it hadn't been for Mr Major's moral McCarthyism [propriety] - which offers natural justice [propriety] to Neil Hamilton but would punish if it could the first whiff of sexual scandal [propriety] with instant resignation - Sir Michael would still have a political career of sorts. By attempting to excise the cancer of sexual peccadillo, [propriety] Mr Major has perversely [here not (im)propriety but (in)capacity = ineffective/misguided behaviour] magnified its malignance.[propriety]

Had it not been for the dictum that sinners [propriety] should not stand upon the order of their going, the party bosses in Edinburgh would not have been thrown into blind panic [affect provoking *capacity*] when a resourceful [capacity] tabloid reporter bushwhacked them into thinking she had the goods on Micky. She hadn't.

It was Sir Michael's statement itself that gave the papers the peg to run allegations about his past that had been kicking around for months and even years.

> There is still just time for a recovery. I have always thought that the natural support for the Tory party, amounting to around 24 per cent of the vote, would re-emerge. And there is a thrawness [tenacity] in the Scottish nature which may make voters go against the media tide. Yet there has surely been too much cowardice, [tenacity] too much betrayal, [propriety] too much incompetence, [capacity] too much hypocrisy [propriety] even for the most pig-headed [tenacity] Tory loyalist.

Note that the full resources of the JUDGEMENT system are available to authorial inscription – all five values of JUDGEMENT occur in unattributed contexts. However, the orientation is, nevertheless, toward social sanction – 18 inscribed authorial values of social sanction versus 13 social esteem.

IV.3.(c).8. Patterns of JUDGEMENT across texts – statistical tendencies

The 22 texts in the database are set out, with a detailed JUDGEMENT analysis, in Appendix B. There we observe consistent tendencies with respect to the patterns of JUDGEMENT set out in previous sections.

In one grouping of texts (the 4 police rounds reports, 4 wire-service political reports, 1 Guardian political report), all values of explicit (inscribed) JUDGEMENT are confined to extra-vocalised contexts – that is, there are no instances of explicit authorial JUDGEMENT. (Tokens of JUDGEMENT occur freely, of course, in unattributed contexts. The author has free access to such implicit triggers of JUDGEMENT.) There is one additional text which contains just the one value of authorial JUDGEMENT. This was the AFP political report, **'Labour pulls economy on to election bandwagon'** discussed above**.** The apparently exceptional occurrence of the unattributed value of social esteem was discussed in section IV.3.(c).5. We saw there that the text was ambiguous as to whether authorial or external voice asserted Labour's 'inexperience'. The analysis, therefore, strongly suggests that an absolute constraint on explicit (inscribed) authorial JUDGEMENT is operational in one mode of contemporary 'hard news' reporting. Accordingly, the category of 'reporter voice' is postulated.

In another grouping of texts (2 *Guardian* news section political reports, 2 *Guardian*, analysis section political reports, 1 *Sydney Morning Herald* political 'correspondent' report, 1 *The New York Times* news page political report), the authorial voice consistently makes direct reference to JUDGEMENT values of social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) but no reference to values of social sanction (propriety, veracity). All values of explicit social sanction are confined to extra-vocalised contexts. This grouping of 6 texts include one text which does feature one value of social sanction – Appendix B, text number 9. 'Labour hits back over job plans'.

> <#L20S17:1/19> Labour is relying on this flow through the system over a year to retain the credibility of its round-figure promise of a mixture of jobs and training.

We note, however, that there is just the one value of social sanction (veracity) and, most tellingly, once again the context is in some ways ambiguous with respect to sourcing. The value occurs in the context of 'Labour relying on ..', suggesting that the question of 'credibility' may have been raised by Labour itself, rather than by the author.

The analysis, therefore, does provide strong support for the postulation of 'correspondent voice' as a mode of journalistic textuality. The exception cited above suggests more work is needed to determine the consistency of the constraint on explicit authorial social sanction and the degree to which texts may vary from the prototypal case in which the authorial voice confines itself exclusively to social esteem.

The final grouping is unproblematic. Here the authorial voice has free access to explicit instances of all values of JUDGEMENT and is thereby contrasted with both the correspondent-voice and reporter-voice groupings (3 Guardian comment section texts, 1 Guardian analysis section text, the two *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The New York Times* opinion pieces.) The category of 'commentator voice' is therefore postulated.

The groupings of texts as they occurred in the database are summarised below.

Reporter voice: All police rounds reports (both wire service and newspaper) ; all wire-service political reports; 1 *Guardian* 'news section' political report. (10)

Correspondent voice: 2 *Guardian* 'news page' political reports, 2 *Guardian* 'analysis' section political reports, 1 *Sydney Morning Herald* 'correspondent' piece, 1 *New York Times* news report. (6)

Commentator voice: 1 Guardian 'analysis' section report, all Guardian 'comment section' reports, both 'opinion' pieces from the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The New York Times* respectively. (6)

IV.3.(d). Patterns of MOOD choice across media texts: interaction versus information

IV.3.(d).1. Interactional values and journalistic voice

In chapter 3, I demonstrated the implications for ENGAGEMENT of the choice between interactional and informational meanings, arguing that the choice entails a shift in the terms of heteroglossic negotiation. In particular, I argued that interactional meanings (demands and offers of goods-&-services) put at risk compliance while informational meanings put at risk agreement. In that chapter, I set out grounds for analysing not only imperatives but also modals of obligation as realising demands for goods-&-services, and hence as interactional.

There was an absolutely consistent pattern with respect to unattributed interactional values (PROPOSALS) across the database of texts. Within the 22 texts, unattributed interactional meanings occur in only one grouping of texts – in those which feature unattributed values of social sanction. That is to say, there is an absolute, universally consistent association between unattributed interactional values and commentator voice across the sample. In contrast, attributed (extra-vocalised) interactional values occur across all voice types. Thus we can say that it is only in commentator voice texts that authors make demands for goods-&-services on their own behalf. In both reporter and correspondent-voice texts, authors are confined to providing the interactional demands of outside sources. It suggests that the authority to deal directly with values of social sanction is in some way associated in the culture with the authority to put at risk heteroglossic compliance.

In terms of the 22 texts which comprise the database, it is possible to express this pattern as a reweighting of conditional probabilities of co-occurrence:

> If unattributed interactional meanings, then unattributed values of JUDGEMENT/social-sanction,
>
> and
>
> if no unattributed social sanction, then no unattributed interactional values.

It needs to be stressed that many commentator voice texts contain no values of authorial interactional meanings (demands or offers made directly by the author). Accordingly, interactional values are a possibility and not a requirement of commentator voice.

The system of journalistic voice can now be extended as follows,

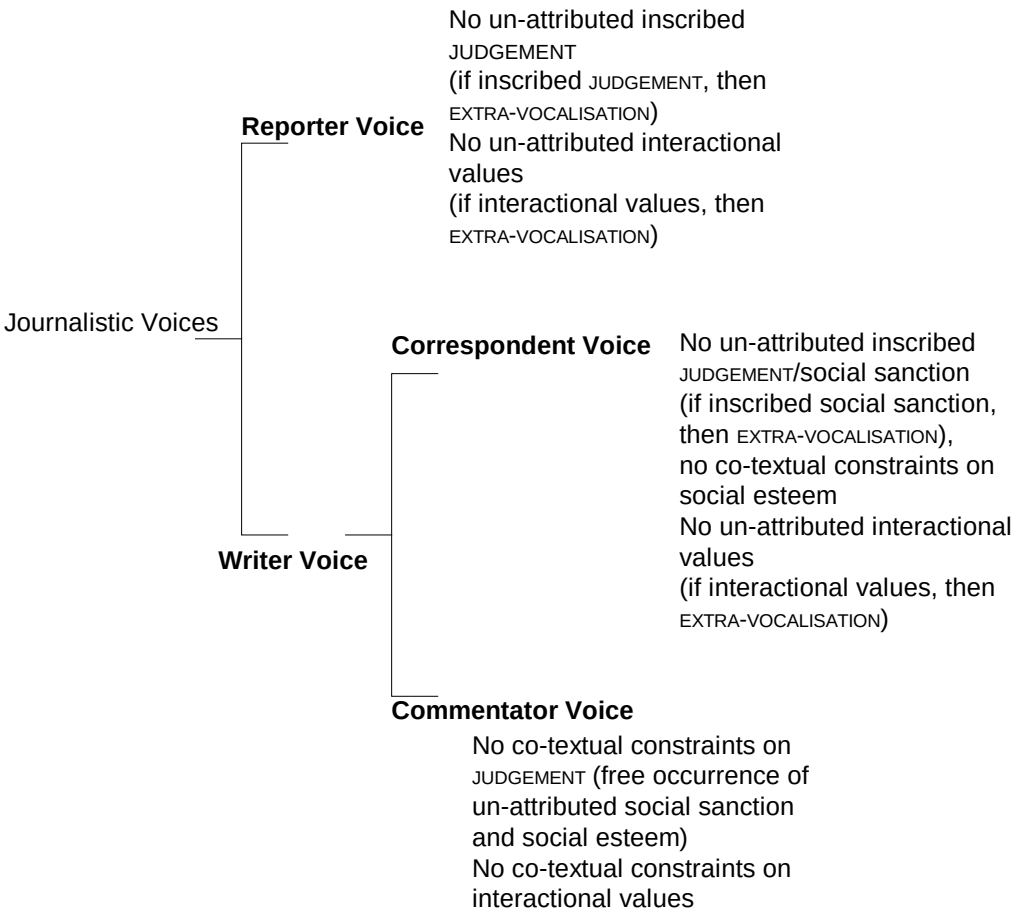


Figure 27: Journalistic voice system – including patterns of interactional meaning

The lexico-grammatical patternings with respect to interaction-versus-information provide, of course, for an alternative perspective on the voices under which reporter and correspondent would be grouped, rather than correspondent and commentator. This alternative or cross classification is illustrated below.

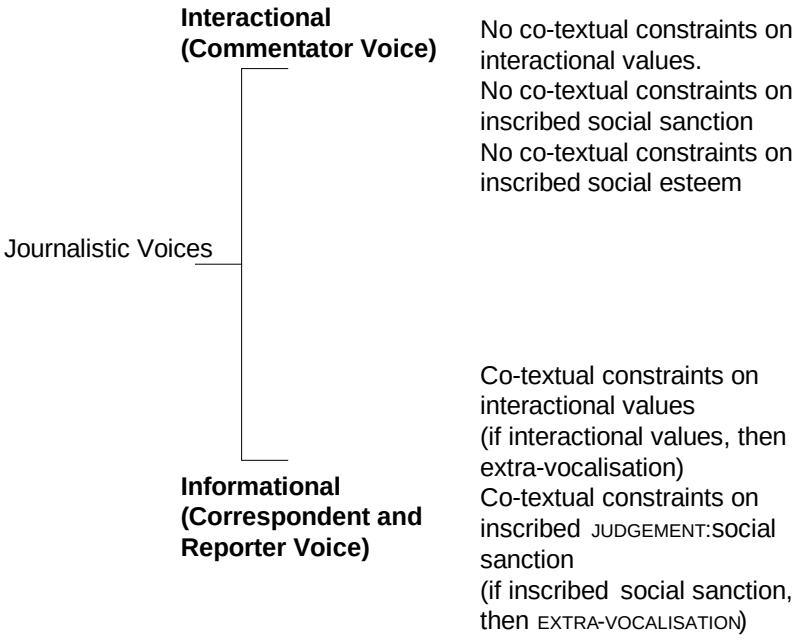


Figure 28: Journalistic voices from the perspective of MOOD choice

IV.3.(d).2. Exemplification: interactional values and journalistic voice

The following extracts from the Italian Ski Lift Disaster report (cited above as text 2) illustrate interactional values in reporter and correspondent-voice texts. Demands/offers for goods-&-services are marked in bold. Extra-vocalisation is indicated by underlining.

> The defense minister **said <u>the American pilot should be prosecuted</u>**, several influential lawmakers **said <u>U.S. bases in Italy should be closed</u>**, and Italian and American investigators started looking into the accident near Trento, about 90 miles east of Milan.
>
> …
>
> Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini deplored the accident but said that <u>it would not "distort our alliances and our collective security structures.</u>" Defense

Minister Beniamino Andreatta took a harsher line, **demanding** that **the pilot be prosecuted**.

"We are not **asking** for revenge, but **that the law on criminal responsibility [propriety] be applied to the commander of the airplane**," he was **quoted** as **saying** by the ANSA news agency.

We note, as predicted, that in all cases the interactional values are extra-vocalised.

Within commentator-voice texts, authorial (unattributed) interactional values are found most typically in editorials. A typical use of such values is demonstrated by the following *New York Times* editorial.

[In the analysis I have marked in bold those utterances which carry an interactional demand. I have also marked authorial judgements of social sanction (the other indicator of commentator voice) in purple, with the purple regular font indicating inscription, *purple italics* indicating token.]

(*New York Times* editorial 29/1/98)

A recent ruling by Federal District Judge Stanley Sporkin against the State Department sheds light on offensive, racially biased visa policies used in the American consulate in São Paulo, Brazil, and other consular offices around the world. Instead of defending these policies, **the State Department should be working to eliminate them**.

The case involved a Foreign Service officer, Robert Olsen, who was dismissed because he refused to follow "profiles" used in the São Paulo office in rejecting non-immigrant visa applications. When there is evidence of a fraud ring operating among specific groups, a profile or checklist of characteristics can help alert consular officers to shady applicants. But it is another thing entirely to enforce a standing policy that *denies tourist and business visas to people based on their race, ethnic background or style of dress*.

That apparently was what happened in São Paulo. The consulate manual included codes such as "LP" for "looks poor," "TP" for "talks poor" and "LR" for "looks rough" to justify visa denials. *All Koreans, Chinese and*

Arabs were treated as fraud suspects. *People born in some regions of Brazil, particularly areas with large black populations, were also instantly tagged as fraud suspects and subjected to more rigorous application review*. Even the dubious physical-appearance test, which ostensibly dealt with economic status, functioned as a racial discriminator since a disproportionate percentage of blacks in Brazil are poor, and many applicants who "looked poor" were black.

The Government argues that these generalized stereotypes are used to increase scrutiny, and do not necessarily lead to the denial of a visa. But even that difference places a heavy, unjust burden on some applicants that other applicants of non-suspect races do not face. Judge Sporkin ruled that these profiles were illegal under Federal immigration law, and that the termination of Mr. Olsen for refusing to use these profiles was improper. The case has been remanded to the Foreign Service Grievance Board, **which should reinstate Mr. Olsen to his job**.

Consulates need discretion in determining who gets a visa, but those decisions should be based on objective and fair criteria. The need for busy Foreign Service officers to rely on shorthand lists is understandable, but does not justify the reprehensible use of factors like ethnic background. Foreigners have no legal recourse if they are unfairly denied a visa, but it offends the spirit of fairness to carry out a discriminatory policy in consular offices that Americans would not tolerate at home.

We note that this text has an obvious and single hortatory purpose, supported by a relatively simple textual architecture. It acts to demand that US immigration procedures be made free of racist and other social biases. But interactional values are also found in commentator-voice texts which are more discursive and less centrally organised around such an hortatory proposal. The following extract is taken from a comment piece from the opinion pages of *The Guardian*, published during the UK general election of 1997. The columnist provides a wide-ranging critique of the then UK Opposition Labour Party's policy on education. In the extract, the author challenges the Party's announced plan to continue government support to the private school system. In the course of the critique, she insists that support for the private

school system must be ended. (See Appendix B, text number 14 for complete text.) Interactional values are marked in **Bold**.

> (From 'Private education is the election issue that dare not speak its name - except at a dinner party near you' - Rachel Cusk 3/4/97)
>
> …
>
> Furthermore, teaching, a career already regarded by graduates as the penultimate resort, demands in addition a missionary selflessness to go the full mile to the last resort of the state sector, a career decision on a par with voluntary martyrdom.
>
> Mr Blair's talk of the many and the few - as in, we intend to give to the many what in the past was available only to the few - merely relocates the arguments on the other side of the chasm.
>
> It does nothing to bridge it, **and indeed it ought not to be bridged.**
>
> **It ought to be filled in, or left to fend for itself,** an interesting social colony where the purchase of superiority provides a breeding ground for endlessly reproducing heirarchies.

IV.3.(e). Patterns of intensification across media texts

IV.3.(e).1.i. General patterns

A common feature of journalistic texts, across the various voices, is their preference for values of intensity or, more particularly, for values of high intensity. By 'preference' I mean that they make sufficiently frequent and consistent use of these values that they are rhetorically salient. (We recall that intensity may be realised trans-systemically and involves both explicit and implicated realisations.) All 22 texts in the sample featured some intensification. When all possible values of intensification were taken into account, the commentator-voice texts were found to feature the highest frequency of such values, with correspondent and reporter-voice texts featuring similar frequencies.

An example of an intensification analysis is provided below – intensification marked in red.

> [Text 7]

Labour pulls economy on to election bandwagon [metaphor of intensification = introduced the subject of the economy forcefully/with impact]

The opposition Labour Party, hot favorites [metaphor = 'very likely to win'] to win May 1 elections, pulled the national economy on to its campaign bandwagon on Tuesday, as electioneering for national polls entered the final month.

Economy spokesman Gordon Brown assured [ranking: high value of EXTRA-VOCALISATION – 'suggested/hinted that' = low; 'says' = 'median'; 'assured that' = high]

voters that "the economic argument works for Labour."

His words were designed to counter tactics used by the Conservative government which has sought to arouse fears [ranking: high value of affect – 'concerns' = low; 'anxiety' = median; 'fear' = high] among the electorate over Labour's inexperience in handling the economy.

Brown chided [ranking: high value of EXTRA-VOCALISATION – criticised = low; chided = high] the government for failing to lay the foundations for long-term growth of the British economy.

"We haven't invested properly in the future," Brown said, pointing specifically to the areas of "education and skills, the modern information economy" where a Labour government would target spending.

He told the BBC that "in the last 18 years, we have slipped as a country to 18th place in the world economic league."

He said that "we slipped not only behind France and Germany but behind

Brown said that the Conservatives had made 22 tax increase since winning power in 1979 and had doubled the national debt which, he predicted, would amount to 19 billion pounds (30 billion dollars) next year. And one in five British households were now without a wage-earner.

The chancellor-in-waiting said that his proposed windfall tax on the "excessive profits" of the privatised utilities would raise funds to invest in training programmes for the unemployed.

The policy would "move people from welfare to work," he said.

Labour has **committed itself to operating within spending ceilings drafted by the government for the next two years**, in a bid to ditch [force/quality = definitively, decisively get rid of] its former tax-and-spend image.

The party is also expected to adopt the Conservative Party's inflation target of 2.5 percent.

Labour has **promised** not **to raise the basic and top income tax rates for the next five years.**

Labour lost the last general election in 1992 after saying that it would raise taxes to finance public spending.

Despite Labour's **pledge** not **to raise top income tax rates**, leaked extracts of the party's election manifesto, which will be published on Thursday, in the Financial Times newspaper said that Labour would "review the corporate and capital gains tax regimes to see how the tax system can promote greater long-term investment." (Agence France Press, 1/4/97)

Somewhat clearer patterns emerge, however, when the focus is turned exclusively on those values which occur in unattributed contexts (only the intensifications for which the authorial voice takes explicit responsibility) and when we take into account the different sub-types of intensification set out in the previous chapter. (The approach is similar to that adopted for JUDGEMENT.) In the previous chapter, I first explored intensification through the GRADUATION system, which was divided into FORCE and FOCUS subcategories. Further, I proposed dividing values of FORCE into the categories of implicit versus explicit. Within explicit FORCE, I distinguished between isolating and infused values, and within fused values I distinguished between interpersonalised and experientialised values. The system of explicit FORCE is repeated below (Figure 29) for ease of reference.

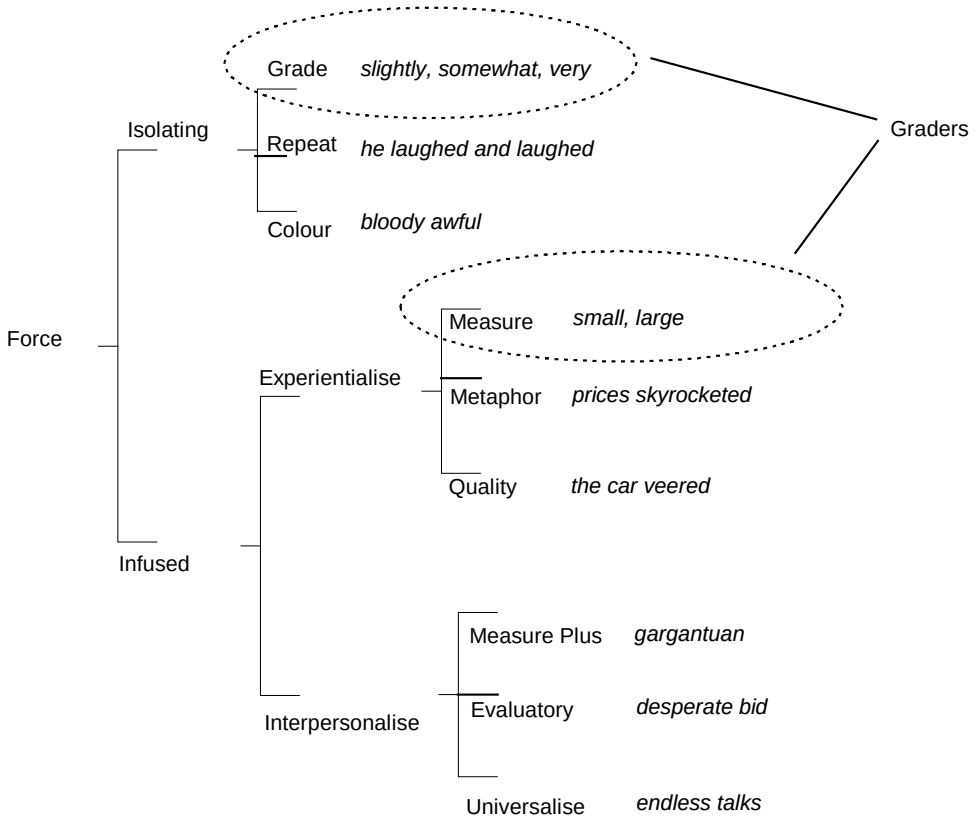


Figure 29: INTENSITY – EXPLICIT FORCE

The more clearly marked patterning is revealed through an analysis which is sensitive to these various sub-categorisations, and in particular when we focus the analysis upon explicit rather than implicated values.

IV.3.(e).1.ii. Patterns of isolating, explicit FORCE across media texts (non extra-vocalised utterances)

The statistical analysis of the sample texts (see Appendix C, results A, B and C) indicates a distinction between reporter voice and writer voice (correspondent and commentator) in terms of explicit, isolating values of FORCE. The writer-voice texts (those which allow at least some authorial inscribed JUDGEMENT) have a significantly stronger preference for this mode of intensification. Thus writer-voice texts make relatively frequent use of values such as *very*, *really*, *somewhat*, for example, while they have an extremely low frequency in the reporter-voice texts.

This pattern is diagrammed below in Figure 30.

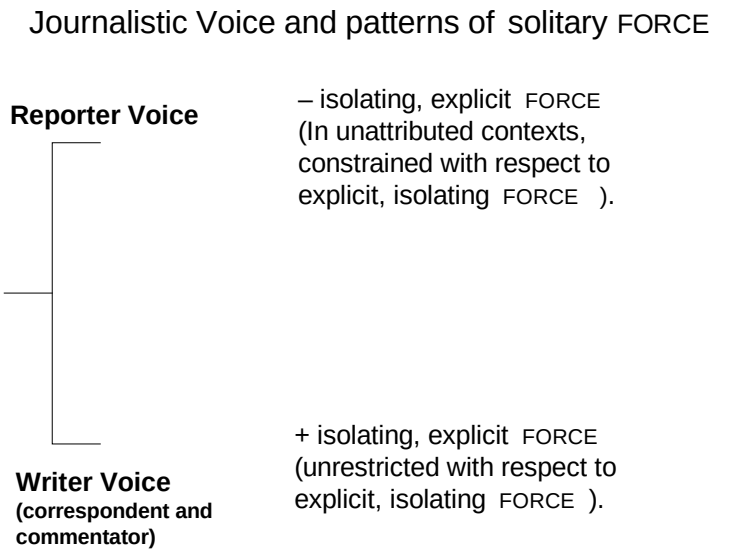


Figure 30: Explicit, isolating force and journalistic voice

IV.3.(e).1.iii. Patterns of infused interpersonalised FORCE across media texts (non extra-vocalised utterances)

Patterns for interpersonalising values of FORCE (*desperate bid; endless talks, minuscule etc*) closely match those for the isolating values (*very, really, again and again*). They are considerably more restricted in reporter voice texts than in the two writer voice groupings. (See Appendix C, results D). This preference is diagrammed below

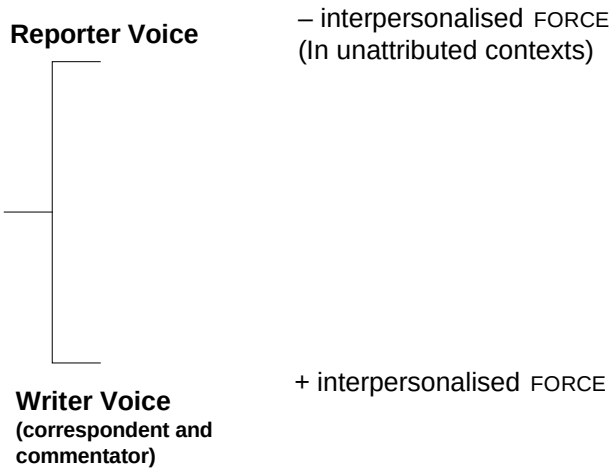


Figure 31: Infused, interpersonalised FORCE

IV.3.(e).1.iv. Patterns of infused, experientialised force across media texts (non extra-vocalised utterances)

The data analysis indicates values of experientialised FORCE pattern rather differently from the other sub-categories – all voices would seem to have unrestricted access to authorial experientialised FORCE (See Appendix C, Results E, F and G). We note, as well, the strong association between reporter voice and FORCE:metaphor values (*prices skyrocketed* etc). Though all voices make use of these values, they occur in the highest ratio in reporter voice. It is possible, therefore, that FORCE :metaphor in reporter voice may have sufficient salience so as to act as a characterising feature of this sub-register.

The overall patterning of explicit FORCE with respect to journalistic voice is diagrammed below.

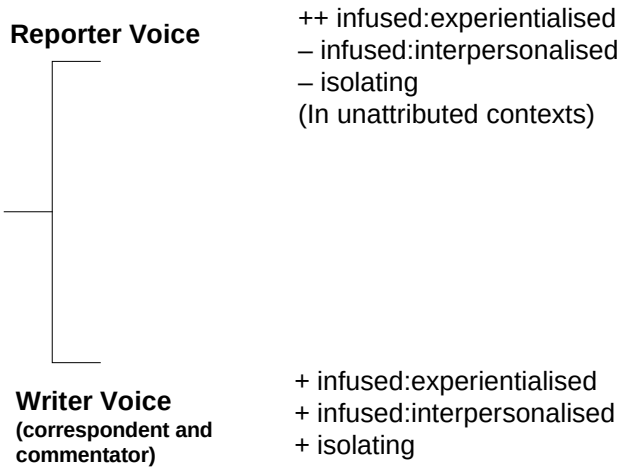


Figure 32: explicit force across journalistic voices

IV.3.(e).1.v. Implications for the system of voice

These findings suggest that we may, at least tentatively, extend the system of journalistic voice to reflect these various preferences. Specifically we can say that reporter voice stands apart from the two writer voices in discriminating between different modes of realising FORCE – it favours forms in which the sense of intensification is entailed by, or fused with an experiential value, while it disfavours realisations which are more overtly interpersonal. The interpersonal style of reporter

voice is one which constrains JUDGEMENT and interactional values while promoting and foregrounding experientialised intensification.

IV.3.(f). Patterns of APPRECIATION across media texts

The discussion to this point has demonstrated the highly consistent operation of the constraints that reporter voice imposes on JUDGEMENT, PROPOSAL and some sub-types of intensification. In the following sections, I will explore the patternings of additional APPRAISAL values which, though less consistent, are nevertheless significant and clearly act in consort with the previous patternings to establish the interpersonal styles of the three voices. I will turn, firstly, to values of APPRECIATION.

Under APPRECIATION:reaction, products and natural entities are characterised in terms of AFFECT, in terms of the emotional responses they are construed as necessarily entailing. Thus under reaction:impact, the speaker asserts the evaluated entity's potential to spark interest and attention – *arresting, engaging, striking, fascinating, moving; boring, dull, staid, uninviting* etc. Under reaction:quality the speaker asserts the evaluated entity's potential to please – *lovely, splendid, enchanting, appealing; ugly, repulsive, plain, revolting* etc.

Under APPRECIATION:composition, products and natural entities are evaluated aesthetically in terms of their form or architecture. Evaluation in terms of APPRECIATION:composition reflects on the capacity of the behaviour by which the evaluated entity was formed or derived. (Appreciations of composition may act as tokens or provocations of JUDGEMENT:capacity.) Under composition:balance the entity is evaluated in terms of how well its component parts hold together – *balanced, harmonious, unified; discordant, contorted, unbalanced*, etc. Under composition:complexity the entity is evaluated in terms of an aesthetics of form, in terms of how directly or clearly it presents to the perceptions – *simple, rich, precise, intricate; simplistic, convoluted, extravagant* etc.

The categories of APPRECIATION: social valuation are not 'aesthetic'. They are not concerned with pleasure associated with form and appearance but with the application of various normative principles to products and entities. As set out in chapter 2 (section II.3.(e).3.iii) social valuations are closely tied to the particular discourse or

social setting in which they operate. Within the media, social valuations are primarily concerned with either social salience (how important or noticeable the entity is) or with harm/benefit (the degree to which the entity is seen as beneficial to society).

Authorial instances of APPRECIATION (those in unattributed contexts) occur across the journalistic voices. Certain preferences emerge, however, once we distinguish between the sub-types, and especially when we distinguish between the 'aesthetic' categories and those of social valuation. Analysis of the texts in the database shows that the subcategory of APPRECIATION:social valuation (*key, significant, prominent, harmful, healthy, beneficial* etc) is preferred across all three voices – it occurs with the highest frequency and in the largest number of texts. (See Appendix C, Results J). In contrast, the two 'aesthetic' categories, APPRECIATION: reaction and APPRECIATION: composition occurred less often and with significantly lower frequencies (See Appendix C, Results H, I).

IV.3.(g). Patterns of AFFECT across media texts

There did not appear to be any voice sensitive-patterns with respect to AFFECT across the sample texts. Unattributed values of AFFECT occurred regularly across the three voices.

IV.3.(h). Patterns of ENGAGEMENT across media texts

Under ENGAGEMENT, as discussed in the previous chapter, the speaker shifts the terms in which they negotiate with the heteroglossic diversity. We saw previously that, in broad terms, distinctions in modes of ENGAGEMENT turned on whether the diversity was extra-vocalised or intra-vocalised, and on whether the text acts to diversify (open) or narrow (close) the terms of that negotiation.

Patterns associated with values of ENGAGEMENT, while not for the most part categorical, are nevertheless significant and, once again, contribute to the various interpersonal styles of the voices. I will discuss these in turn.

IV.3.(h).1. Patterns of ENGAGEMENT:EXTRA-VOCALISATION

Extra-vocalisation is, of course, found broadly across all three voices. This follows from the way the media functions to mediate a wide range of non-journalistic

discourses. Thus, what Fairclough terms 'manifest intertextuality' is fundamental to journalism as a social process (1992). We find, nevertheless, that the frequency of extra-vocalisation varies systematically across the voice types – reporter voice associates with the highest frequency of extra-vocalisation and commentator voice with the lowest.

IV.3.(h).2. Patterns for ENGAGEMENT:INTRA-VOCALISE:open

Under the intra-vocalising ENGAGEMENT category of 'open', the speaker actively evokes or acknowledges the possibility of heteroglossic diversity through meanings which act to keep various more or less divergent positions in play communicatively. Values of probability (*may*, *perhaps*) and appearance (*it seems*) occur across all voices, but once again a pattern is observable by which the values are significantly more constrained in reporter-voice texts. (Appendix C, Results K)

Thus we can see that the probability that a text will contain any values of Probability/Appear increases as we move from reporter, through correspondent to commentator-voice texts.

Interestingly, the other value of intra-vocalise:open, hearsay, patterns rather differently. Hearsay occurs freely across all voices – values occurred in the majority of texts in all three types; frequencies were at about the same level in the three types.

From this perspective, we can say that, in relative terms, reporter-voice texts are less 'open' to the heteroglossic diversity than either correspondent or commentator-voice, except in the context of hearsay.

IV.3.(h).3. Patterns for ENGAGEMENT:INTRA-VOCALISE:close

In the previous chapter (section III.3.(c).3), I argued that, under the ENGAGEMENT value of intra-vocalise:close, the text acts to restrict or manage the heteroglossic diversity by suppressing or actively challenging alternative positions. Values which suppress or reject alternatives were grouped under 'disclamation' and those which challenge alternatives were grouped under 'proclaim'.

IV.3.(h).3.i. Proclaim

Under the sub-system of proclaim, patterns can be identified which, once again, provide for a categorical distinction between voices. Proclaim divides into the two sub-categories of 'pronounce' and 'expect' (see section III.3.(c).3.ii). Across the sample of 22 texts, authorial pronouncements (eg. 'It's a fact that …', 'Really, …', 'I declare that'; etc) were confined to commentator-voice texts. There was a similar constraint on 'inter-textual expect' (*of course, predictably* etc). While the patterning for 'intra-textual expect' (causatives – *because* etc) was not so categorical, there was, nevertheless, a strong favouring of 'intra-textual expect' in commentator-voice texts and a contrasting disfavouring in reporter-voice texts. (Appendix C, Results M, N)

In general terms, therefore, we can conclude that the probability of 'proclaim' values is lowest for reporter-voice texts and highest for commentator voice. Thus reporter voice can be seen as disfavouring the rhetorical strategies associated with proclamation, that is with strengthening and motivating utterances so as to actively challenge heteroglossic alternation. This orientation is diagrammed below.

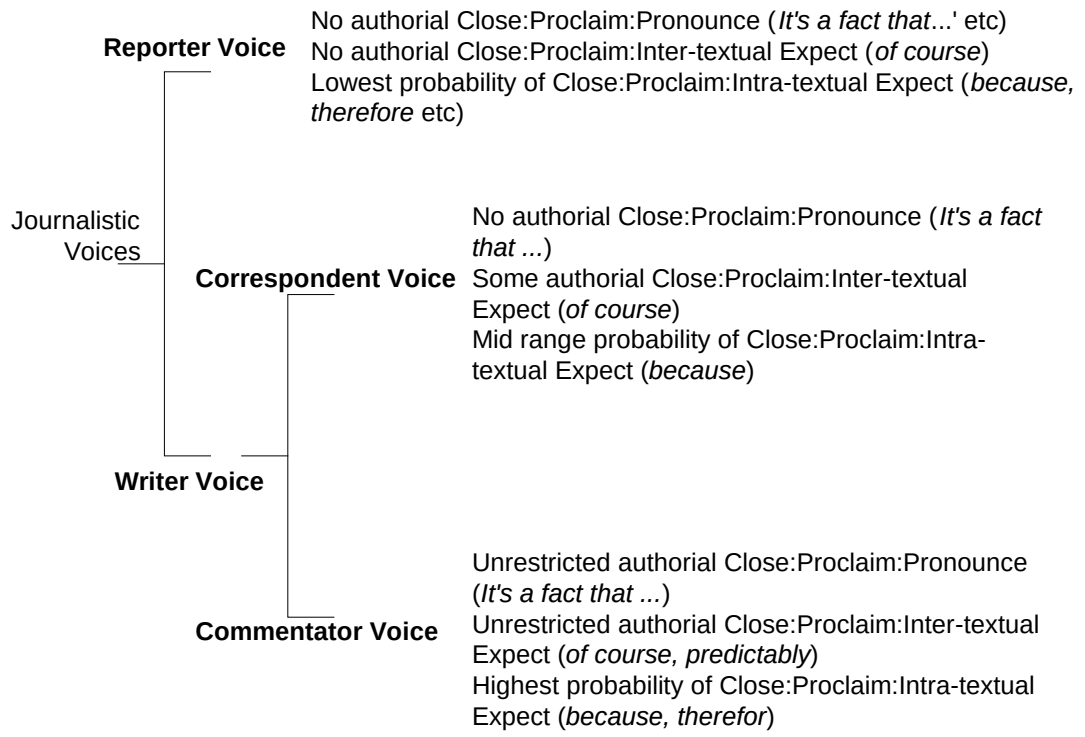


Figure 33: journalistic voices and orientation to ENGAGEMENT:close:proclaim

IV.3.(h).3.ii. Disclaim

The two sub-categories of ENGAGEMENT:intra-vocalise:close:disclaim – deny (*no, not*) and intra-textual counter-expect (*although, however* - see sections III.3.(c).3.iii. and III.3.(d).) – are also most severely constrained under reporter voice. Tellingly, denial is significantly less frequent in reporter voice than in the two writer voices. The contrast with commentator voice is particularly striking (See Appendix C, Results O). Reporter voice utterances (unattributed authorial statements) are therefore significantly less likely to invoke directly oppositional social positions than commentator-voice texts.

A similar pattern obtained with inter-textual counter-expectational values (*amazingly, only, even* - III.3.(c).3.iii. and III.3.(d).). Only one value occurred in all 10 reporter-voice texts, while such values were frequent in commentator-voice texts. (Appendix C, Results P). These patterns are represented diagrammatically below.

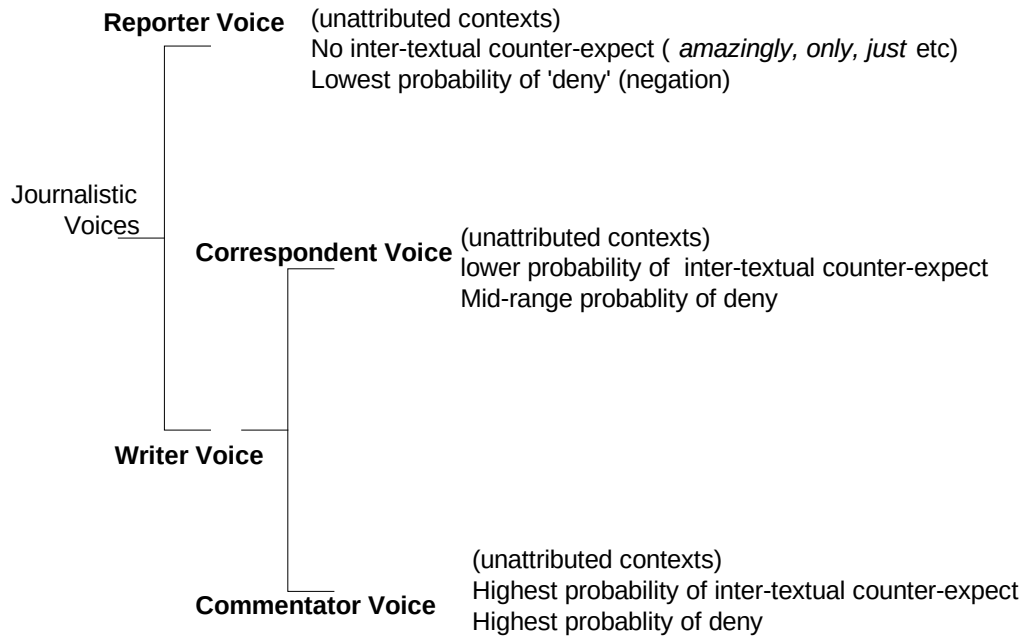


Figure 34: journalistic voice and ENGAGEMENT:close:disclaim

IV.3.(i). Patterns of APPRAISAL values and reporter voice

The discussion to this point has explored patterns of semantic preference as they operate to distinguish the three voices. By way of summary, I will narrow the focus to the semantic preferences of reporter voice, since this is the primary concern of the thesis. I will consider variously the values which are entirely excluded from the author's voice (excluded from unattributed contexts), those which are disfavoured relative to the other journalistic voices in unattributed contexts, and finally those which are either favoured or which display similar probabilities across the voices.

The notion of 'disfavouring' I use here is not strictly statistically determined. It is determined not so much by the simple numbers but my concern to capture differences which have significance for the communicative character and potential of texts. That is to say, I would not, for example find it significant if a particular value occurred in 60 percent of the texts of one voice grouping and in 70 percent of another, although, of course, the first group could be said to disfavour that value in strictly relative terms. Such issues arise, of course, because there is no predetermined, necessary statistical measure of what is significant communicatively – there are real dangers in assuming that the simple counting of occurrences will reveal genuine functional differences. Thus, the standard determiners of 'significance' under statistical science are not applicable here, or do not, at least, have a simple application. In many instances it may be necessary to consider the individual semantics of the value in question, the textual context of occurrences, the degree of difference in the frequency of other values etc, if we are to speak with any certainty about communicative significance.

The purpose of the current section is to give an overview of the communicative character of reporter voice. The notion of 'disfavouring' which I develop will be tailored toward that objective, bearing in mind all the problems outlined above. I will sometimes, therefore, distinguish between significant differences in probabilities of occurrence and less significant differences, without seeking to find a fixed statistical criteria for the two categories, though, of course, the actual figures which underlie the distinction will always be available (Appendix C). The analysis will be sensitive both

to whether texts contain any instances of the value in question and the relative frequency of values in those texts which do contain values.

IV.3.(i).1. Values excluded from unattributed utterances (only occur in material attributed to outside sources):

- inscribed JUDGEMENT (ATTITUDE) – *corruptly; skilfully* etc
- FORCE :isolating: repeat (INTENSITY) – *again and again*
- FORCE :isolating: colour (INTENSITY) – *bloody awful*
- FORCE :interpersonalise: universalise (INTENSITY) – *she never stops talking*
- interactional utterances (ENGAGEMENT) – *the government must …*
- proclaim: pronounce (ENGAGEMENT) – *The Premier <u>really</u> did…, I contend that,*
- proclaim: inter-textual expect (ENGAGEMENT) – *The Premier, of course, …*

IV.3.(i).2. Lower probability that reporter-voice texts will contain any values and/or low frequency in texts which do contain values (in unattributed contexts):

- APPRECIATION: reaction (ATTITUDE, *captivating, boring, striking, ominous* etc) – significantly lower probability of any occurrence (only one of the reporter-voice texts contained a value, this text contained only one value)
- APPRECIATION: composition (ATTITUDE) – *balanced, harmonious, discordant* etc
- FORCE:isolating:grade (INTENSITY, *slightly, very, completely*) – significantly lower probability of values
- FORCE:interpersonalise: evaluatory (INTENSITY) – *damning indictment*
- OPEN: probability and appearance (ENGAGEMENT, *maybe, it seems* etc)
- CLOSE:proclaim:intra-textual expect (ENGAGEMENT, *because, therefore* etc)
- disclaim: inter-textual counter-expect (ENGAGEMENT) – *amazingly; she <u>only</u> glanced at it* etc
- CLOSE:disclaim:deny (ENGAGEMENT, *not, neither, failed to* etc)

IV.3.(i).3. Values operating across voices – relatively few constraints on direct authorial expression):

- APPRECIATION: valuation (ATTITUDE, *an unhealthy climate, prominent backbencher, positive campaign, historic development*)
- affect (ATTITUDE)
- FORCE:experientialise:quality (intensity, *the car veered*)
- FORCE:experientialise:measure (intensity, *small, large*)
- OPEN:hearsay (ENGAGEMENT, *it's said, the alleged*)
- CLOSE:disclaim:intra-textual counter expect (ENGAGEMENT, *although, however, but*)

IV.3.(i).4. Values preferred by reporter voice (in unattributed contexts)

- FORCE:experientialised: metaphor (intensity, *prices skyrocketed, rains bucketed the state* etc)
- EXTRA-VOCALISATION (ENGAGEMENT) – values occur across all voice types, higher maximum frequency in reporter voice

IV.3.(i).5. Summary

In summary, therefore, we can say that the conventions of reporter voice position the writer to engage with the heteroglossic diversity and, in particular with social evaluation through the semantics of EXTRA-VOCALISATION and HEARSAY. The same co-occurrence constraints do not, however, apply across all the modes of ATTITUDE. While all values of JUDGEMENT are construed in heteroglossic terms, values of AFFECT and some values of APPRECIATION need not be. We note in particular that the non-aesthetic values of APPRECIATION which apply norms of significance and benefit, for example, are regularly construed in monoglossic terms (presented as 'bare' statements). We note as well that, in general, reporter voice disfavours values which construe the heteroglossic diversity in intra-vocal terms (values by which the possibility of heteroglossic diversity is conveyed by the writer's own voice) rather than in extra-vocal terms (heteroglossic diversity represented through 'manifest intertextuality'). This preference is reflected in a range of sub-systems including, perhaps surprisingly, the relatively low frequency of negatives (close:dislaim:deny) and causatives (close:proclaim:intra-textual expect). The role of various values of APPRAISAL in

reporter-voice texts means that the view of news reporting as a 'faceless' style cannot be sustained (see Biber and Finegan 1989). The presence of values of both AFFECT and APPRECIATION in unattributed contexts would mitigate against this. But perhaps even more compelling is the frequent use of intensification in reporter-voice texts. While reporter voice disfavours isolating and interpersonalised values, it has a strong preference for experientialised values which clearly act to increase the interpersonal volume and impact of the text.

IV.4. Reporter voice in contemporary journalism, phylogenesis and the evolution of register.

IV.4.(a). Locating conventions of journalistic voice in a diachronic context

The primary focus of this thesis is upon the textuality of contemporary broadsheet news reporting. It is also my concern, however, to place that textuality in a historical context, or, more particularly, to locate current modes of journalistic textuality within the context of their historical evolution. As discussed in the introduction, the point is not to describe the journalistic past for its own sake (though that is, of course, a subject of linguistic interest in its own right), nor is it to provide a detailed account of the process by which modern conventions of journalism came into being. The point, rather, is to cast a light upon contemporary journalistic conventions by demonstrating the degree to which they represent significant departures from past practice. By so doing, we can more readily demonstrate the arbitrary nature of contemporary modes in the sense that they are not fixed or predetermined, but vary in response to the social changes which accompany the flow of history.

The account I provide of past conventions of journalistic voice will, of necessity, be brief. The differences between current journalistic styles and those of the late 19th

century are, however, so marked that a discussion of just a few items will serve to demonstrate the wide gap between the journalism of the past and the present.

Contemporary broadsheet journalism is marked by its three-way division into reporter, correspondent and commentator voice, with each voice representing a particular set of interpersonal preferences and constraints on lexico-grammatical co-occurrence. We saw how commentator voice is associated primarily with opinion page and columnist argumentation, while correspondent and reporter are the voices of news page coverage. Reporter voice associates most directly with misadventure and crime reporting, while political coverage may be conducted in either reporter or correspondent voice. The three way distinction turns most fundamentally, as I have demonstrated at length, on the terms in which the text negotiates values of JUDGMENT and the interactional-versus-informational distinction – on whether inscribed values necessarily occur under the ENGAGEMENT value of EXTRA-VOCALISATION.

From the perspective of journalistic evolution, therefore, we are concerned with whether or not this three-way division holds. We are concerned, at least in the first instance, with the following questions:

- Are interactional values and values of inscribed JUDGEMENT consistently extra-vocalised in misadventure and crime reports?
- Is it possible to identify a sub-grouping of political reports where all JUDGEMENTS and interactional values are confined to extra-vocalised contexts (reporter-voice political coverage)?
- Is it possible to identify a grouping of texts which consistently features authorial JUDGEMENTS of social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) but where JUDGEMENTS of social sanction (veracity, propriety) are confined to extra-vocalised contexts?
- Is it possible to identify some patterning of semantic preferences by which we might distinguish separate voices of political reporting and political commentary?

IV.4.(b). Appraisal and news reporting in the 19th century

IV.4.(b).1. The emergence of contemporary conventions of journalistic voice

A survey of US, UK and Australian broadsheet newspapers from the late decades of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century reveals that the conventions of journalistic textuality outlined above did not emerge until the 20th century. Much more research would be required, however, to map the emergence of those conventions and to determine more precisely the point in history when they became widely operational in newsrooms around the English-speaking world. My interest here, however, is not to trace that evolutionary process but rather to demonstrate difference between the past and the present. I have therefore chosen to compare contemporary practice with a period when that difference was unproblematically apparent. I have chosen, therefore, to consider conventions of journalistic style as they operated until the 1890s in the US, the UK and Australia, although I do not believe the modern three-way division of journalistic voice was definitively conventionalised until significantly later than that.

IV.4.(b).2. Modes of textuality in 19th century journalism

Before considering the nature of journalistic voice in the 19th century, it is necessary to provide a very brief sketch of the terms in which that textuality operates. There were, as is to be expected, some significant differences in journalistic practices separating, for example, *The New-York Times* and *The Times*. For example, *The Times* filled its first few pages with advertisements while *The New-York Times* was like modern publications in providing news coverage on the front page. The newspapers, however, were similar in the general terms I will set out here.

News coverage in the 19th century featured more thorough and more diverse 'manifest inter-textuality' (in Fairclough's terms) than today. A primary mode of news coverage was to provide complete verbatim accounts of the statements, speeches etc of participants in various newsworthy events. This applied generally to what today would be called 'police rounds', to war reporting, to the 'courts' rounds and to political reporting. (See Schudson 1978.). Thus the news pages included:

- complete letters or reports from, for example, members of the military staff involved in foreign military operations (a frequent occurrence at the time due to Britain's imperial activities),
- long, verbatim transcripts of parliamentary debates and proceedings,
- transcripts of proceedings before the law courts,
- transcripts of complete speeches or at least major sections of speeches delivered at public gatherings.

While such texts typically involved a certain degree of abbreviation and summarisation, they were, in comparison with modern texts, significantly less mediated by journalistic textuality. Thus the explicit journalistic role might be simply to provide a minimal frame for the quoted text. For example,

> We have received the following from the India Office :–
>
> "From Viceroy, July 3, 1880.
>
> "Abdurrahman left Khanabad for Cabul direction 128th. Residar Afzul Khan, sent from Cabul to Abdurrahman, has returned. Hassim Kahn left Cabul and jointed Ghilzais, but has written friendly letter to Griffin at Cabul. Ayooh Khan reached Fara 24th. His advance cavalry have arrived Bakwa. Some excitement caused in Candahar. The Wali is at Girishk with main body of forces, having detached a brigade to Washin under his nephew Roshandil Khan.
>
> "A British brigade advances towards Helmand for Candahar."
>
> (*The Times*, 5/7/1880)

Text 8: transcript-oriented reporting, 'Viceroy' report

Here the journalistic framing is at its most minimal. In other instances it may be more extensive, typically providing scene setting and some summarisation. For example:

> CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
>
> Washington City, Jan. 8, 1861.
>
> Mr. Seward, of New-York, (Rep.,) presented the memorial of the New-York Chamber of Commerce, asking the establishment of steam postal service

between San Francisco and China. Referred to the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads.

Mr. Seward also presented a memorial, signed by the most prominent citizens of New-York City, concerning the present state and future happiness of the Union.

Mr. Seward got the floor to express his views on the President's message.

[Extended transcript of Mr Steward's speech then follows]

(*The New-York Times*, 9/1/1861)

Text 9: reports of parliamentary proceedings

Alternatively, the framing can be more extended and involve more thoroughgoing APPRAISAL on the part of the journalistic text. Such a framing is exemplified below.

In this and following texts, appraisal values which will be of relevance to the later discussion have been analysed and marked. The following system of mark-up will be used throughout.

- Purple = JUDGEMENT:social-sanction
- Blue = JUDGEMENT:social esteem
- Green = APPRECIATION
- Magenta = affect
- Red = intensity
- Extra-vocalisations (where analysed) will be underlined
- Other engagement values (where analysed) in **bold**

THE HEROES [capacity] OF JULY

A Solemn [reaction] And Imposing [reaction] Event

Dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg

IMMENSE [measure+] NUMBER OF VISTORS

Oration by Hon. Edward Everett – Speeches of President Lincoln, Mr Seward and Governor Seymour.

The PROGRAMME SUCCESSFULLY [capacity] CARRIED OUT

The ceremonies attending the dedication of the National Cemetery commenced this morning by a grand military and civic display under command of Maj.-Gen. COUCH. The line of march was taken up at 10 o'clock…

[additional details of people present and the disposition of the soldiers etc]

After performance of a funeral dirge, by BIRGFIELD, by the band, an eloquent [capacity] prayer was delivered by Rev. Mr. STOCKTON, as follows..

[transcript of prayer]

Mr Everett then commenced the delivery of his oration, which was listened to with marked [grade] interest throughout.

(The oration of Mr Everett will be found on our second page.)

Although a heavy fog clouded the heavens in the morning during the procession, the sun broke out in all its brilliancy during the Rev. Mr Stockton's prayer and shone upon the magnificent [reaction] spectacle. The assemblage was of great [grade] magnitude, and was gathered within a circle of great extent around the stand, which was located on the highest point of ground on which the battle was fought. A long line of military surrounded the position taken by the immense multitude of people.

The Marshal took up a position on the left of the stand. Numerous flags and banners, suitably draped. The entire scene was one of grandeur [reaction] due to the importance [valuation] of the occasion.

…

President Lincoln's Address

The President then delivered the following dedicatory speech:

Fourscore and seven years ago our Fathers brought forth upon the Continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. (Applause) [etc]

[transcripts of additional speeches follow]

(*The New-York Times* 20/11/1863)

Text 10: Gettysburgh report

Alongside and in contrast to such transcript-oriented news coverage, we find reports where the journalistic voice holds sway. While the transcript report typically includes more extra-vocalisation than today's news reports, this second type typically includes significantly less. The style is exemplified below by two misadventure reports, one from the Adelaide *Advertiser* (South Australia) of 1874 and the other from *The Times* of 1879.

Text 11: Railway fatality report

FIRST RAILWAY FATALITY

ACCIDENT ON THE NORTHERN RAILWAY

A very serious [grade] accident happened to the down train on Wednesday evening near Roseworthy. About two miles north of this station is a siding, where occasionally shunting is done, in case of trucks being added to the train, or when it is thought necessary or desirable to take the load up in two lots, on account of the steep gradient.

Here there are, **of course**, [close:proclaim: expect] points, and a man is employed to look after them. About half-past 6 the train left Roseworthy all right and on approaching the siding it was noticed the points were wrong. This could not be seen, however, till too late to prevent a catastrophe [quality].

The engine was at once reversed, and the breaks were put on as hard as possible, but the engine, in spite of every [universalise] effort, dashed [quality] over a bank, and shot [quality] ahead a great [measure] distance. Next was a van, and attached to that a third class carriage. The shock was tremendous [measure+], and the carriage was forced partly under the van, the two vehicles remaining in that position.

The foremost second-class carriage stopped about six inches from the edge of the bank, so that no second-class passengers received the least hurt [measure], and no damage whatever [reduplicate] was done in or behind this carriage. Below the bank, however, it was very [grade] different. Nine

or ten persons received injuries and several of the cases were of a very [grade] dangerous character.

The only wonder is that [close:disclaim:counter-expect = 'amazingly'] an accident of such a character could have occurred without producing worse consequences. We regret [affect] that the misfortune is considered to be the work of some one who **purposely** and **maliciously** [(im)propriety] shifted the points, as a very few [grade/measure] minutes before the train came up the pointsman looked at them and saw that they were all right. If such an **atrocious act** [(im)propriety] has been committed, it is to be hoped [authorial affect] the **scoundrel** [(im)propriety]who perpetrated it will be discovered, and meet with his **just deserts**. [propriety]

(*The Advertister* - Adelaide, South Australia - March 13, 1874)

Text 12 – Tay bridge report

THE TAY- BRIDGE DISASTER

The rumour of the disaster quickly spread last night, but owing to the tempestuous weather, comparatively [grade] few persons were out at the hour when the intelligence reached the town, and it was not until this morning's newspapers were issued that the calamity became generally known. Then thousands of persons, anxious to learn all they could, proceeded in the early dawn to the esplanade, eagerly scanning the side of the wall, in search of washed-up bodies. The news was first conveyed to the town last night by mister J. B. Lawson, of Windsor-place, who left his own house with a friend a few minutes after 7. **Naturally enough** [close:proclaim:expect] their conversation turned on the fury of the gale, which was blowing from the south west. They began to question whether on such a night the Edinburgh train would venture on the bridge. To satisfy their curiosity they went to the black telegraph signal box at the north end of the

bridge, where they found a number of men also anxious for information. Some of these asserted that about a quarter past 7 they had seen the lights of the Edinburgh train enter on the bridge. They followed the lights across the lower spans and into the high girders and then saw a sudden shower of fire. This shower with the lights of the train, seemed to descend to the river and then there was nothing but darkness. In consequence of this **alarming** [appreciation:reaction] statement, loud appeals were made from the Esplanade to the signal man, who in reply said that the Edinburgh train was signalled to him from the south end of he bridge at 9 minutes past 7, and entered the bridge according to signal, at 14 minutes past. He had looked out from his box for it, but had seen nothing. Until then (7.30) he had been unable to learn anything of the train. Finding that the train was not in sight, he endeavoured to telegraph to the signal man at the south side of the bridge, and then discovered that between 7.14 and 7.17 the means of communication had been interrupted. The very serious [grade] intelligence was at once conveyed by Mr Lawson to Mr James Smith, master of the Tay-bridge station.

…

These crowds had been forming from the time when the rumour of the descent of the train began to spread and **it is needless to say** [close:proclaim: pronounce] that the public excitement which had at first been suppressed - partly by the **judicious** [judgement:social-esteem:capacity] silence of the officials - and partly by what seemed to be the improbability of the rumour - rose very quickly after the receipt of the **sad** [appreciation:reaction] intelligence brought by Mr Smith and Mr Roberts.

…

The officials at the North Bridge station were not sparing in their efforts to obtain evidence of the calamity and if anything had been needed to increase their activity it would have been supplied by the spectacle of the desolate

people, waiting in vain on the platform for their friends. They were, upon the whole, calmly **dignified** [appreciation:reaction] in their great [grade] sorrow: and when the news was borne home to them the certainty that none of the passengers in that **hapless** train [(meronymous reference to the people on the train) JUDGEMENT:normality = 'unlucky'] could have escaped, there were few such scenes of woe as those which oftentimes follow a mining accident.

…

The **weird** aspect [appreciation:reaction] which the remains of the bridge presented in the moonlight deepened the impression that to the passengers the end must have come with **terrible** [combines appreciation:reaction:impact with intensification:grade] swiftness. It would be the work of a moment: a sudden crash, and the train and girders would fall to the bottom of the storm-tossed estuary in a common ruin. When it was seen that nothing could be done, she steamed across, reaching the Craig-pier about 12 o'clock. It was impossible to do more than was done, and Provost Brownlee, Captain Methven, Captain Robertson, and all who exerted themselves to ascertain the extent of the calamity are worthy of all praise.[unspecified social esteem, perhaps tenacity, intensified = really/very praiseworthy]

(*The Times*, 30/12/1879)

In addition to the transcript-oriented reports of the type exemplified above, political coverage takes the form either of correspondent reports, typically when the politics involves foreign affairs, and extended editorial discursions. The two modes are exemplified below. (Once again, relevant APPRAISAL values have been marked for later discussion.)

Text 13 – foreign correspondent report

THE SETTLEMENT OF AFGHANISTAN

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

Cabul, June 2

The change of Government both in England and India has come at an **unfortunate** [puts harm – appreciation:social-valuation – at risk] time. **Important** [appreciation: social-valuation] communications have been opened with Sirdir Abdurrahman Khan, who, as I think **wisely** , [capacity] has been selected by the Government from other competitors as the one most likely to be able to make with us a **satisfactory** [appreciation: social-valuation] settlement of Afghanistan - not that any unbiased looker-on can be very sanguine even about him. We still know **very** [grade] little of him, and, granting him to possess **considerable** [grade] personal **ability**, [capacity] it is still uncertain whether he will be able to command general acceptance with the Afghans, and, equally important, how far he will be able and disposed to shake himself free of Russian influences and entanglements.

…

If Abdurraham is **fairly** [grade] acceptable to the Afghans and disposed to act **straightforwardly** [veracity] with us, he is more likely, **it may be fairly argued**, [open:proclaim:pronounce] to consolidate his rule, if he does not incur the odium of active English support. It is impossible, however, to contemplate the future of Afghanistan when the British army shall have withdrawn without misgivings, in which all Afghans whose opinion I have sought concur.

…

I trust those months or years will be spent by the Indian Government in perfecting its military system, [grammatical metaphor, interactional value = the Indian government must …] and that we shall commence a third campaign, if it is forced upon us, with a **renovated and improved**

[capacity] native army, and with very different arrangements for transport and supply.

…

But still one **good** [appreciation:social-valuation] has come out of all this **indecision**. [tenacity] It has brought Sirdar Abdurrahman into **prominence**, [appreciation:valuation:social-salience] and it is far [grade] better that he should appear upon the scene while the army is still at Cabul than after it has retired. He is at least a man of **superior stamp** [capacity] to the **feeble creatures** [capacity] who have surrounded General Roberts for **so** [grade] long; but surely **the Government should have decided beforehand what they intended to do when the right man was found,** [engagement:interactional] and this is what I am afraid they have not done.

(*The Times* 5/7/1880)

Text 14: editorial discursion

The debate on Mr. Gladstone's resolution with respect to the Parliamentaary oath ended this morning in a division which showed a majority of 54 in favour of the proposal of the Government. The result, though not without some drawbacks and inconveniences, will be generally welcomed with a sense of relief. It is satisfactory that at the outset the Speaker decided that Mr. Gorst's point of order could not be sustained. The member for Chatham appealed to the rule of the House which prohibits the discussion and decision of any question more than once during a single session. This technical objection, if it had been found applicable, would have merely kept open **a wasting and irritating sore** [lexical metaphor, disease = JUDGEMENT:(in)capacity], to the detriment of public business and to the **discredit** [propriety] of Parliament. **We do not say** [CLOSE:proclaim:pronounce - interpolates the speaker] that

Parliament has even now finally escaped from the difficulty, but it has not, at least, attempted to **shirk** [tenacity – to 'shirk is to be lazy, to show insufficient dedication or resolve] it.

…

The whole burden of the contention which was pressed against Mr.Gladstone's resolution was that the House of Commons would show a want of due regard for its dignity and "consistency" in receding from the position taken up by a majority of the House, not exclusively composed of the opponents of the Government, last week. We have never denied that this is a weighty consideration; but **we have been forced to admit** [close:proclaim:pronounce – authorial interpolation] that **the House must find a way out of its embarrassments** [engagement:interactional] even at some cost of self-esteem. The House of Commons, the Ministry, and the leaders of the Opposition have **floundered from error to error**, [capacity] with **beneficial** [appreciation:social valuation] results to Mr.Bradlaugh only.

…

It is, however, **absolutely** [grade] certain that either by Mr. Gladstone's resolution or by a change in the law the opinions which Mr. Smyth and Mr. Sullivan denounce will cease to be disqualifications for service in Parliament, if constituent bodies choose to elect those who entertain them. It is , therefore, an **exuberance** [grade] of **rhetorical absurdity** [veracity = 'untrue/misleading'] to denounce the resolution as an isolated and inexcusable outrage upon the faith of Parliament and the nation.

…

The Conservatives, as a party, are not **by any means** [reduplicate] inclined to assert the **dangerous** [puts harm (appreciation:social-valuation) at risk) principle by the application of which alone Mr.Bradlaugh and

> similarly **objectionable persons** [imprecise social sanction] can be effectually excluded from Parliament. They are not willing to use the forces of **intolerance**, [propriety] which are still strong, though not the strongest, in this country, and they are **wise**, [capacity] in showing that they shrink from such an alliance. Criticism on Mr. Gladstone's resolution was **legitimate** [propriety] enough, and it could not fail to hit the mark in an assembly which felt itself inextricably entangled in the **wrong** and was eager to find a scapegoat.

It should be noted that these extended editorials need not confine themselves to politics. These pieces, which may run to many thousands of words, often range across a diversity of topics including, in addition to politics, major misadventures, cases before the courts, religious or scientific debates, and so on.

It should also be noted that there is no compartmentalising of different modes of journalistic textuality, in contrast with contemporary journalism. All the various modes set out above typically occur on the same page. There are no headings, labels or other pointers to indicate that the different modes were viewed as representing different categories of journalism. This contrasts with today's explicit division of journalism into news, analysis and opinion and the common practice of devoting a separate section of the paper to commentator-voice opinion and argumentation.

IV.4.(b).3. The interpersonal styles of 19th century journalism

As I have said, the reporter voice of contemporary journalism can be thought of as emerging from a reweighting of the probabilities of occurrence of an array of APPRAISAL values. Two preferences, however, are most definitive – the exclusion of authorial values of inscribed JUDGEMENT and interactional values. We might begin, then, with investigating JUDGEMENT and/or interaction as a first step in exploring whether the journalistic textuality of another cultural context (such as that of the 19th century) is conditioned by the three-way division of voice which operates in contemporary English-language broadsheet journalism.

Authorial JUDGEMENTS of social esteem and, even more significantly, of social sanction occur with sufficient frequency in 19th century misadventure and crime reporting to indicate that there was no strongly conventionalised restriction on such values. This is not to suggest, of course, that most or even a large minority of 19th century misadventure and crime reports feature such authorial JUDGEMENTS. The point is that stories which contain such JUDGEMENTS do occur with some regularity, and stories featuring such values in no way stand apart from other reports. This suggests that inscribed JUDGEMENT was available as a resource to 19th century reporters when the right circumstances prevailed.

The report of the 'disaster on the northern line' cited above illustrates this point. The free use of values of JUDGEMENT:social-sanction by the author in the concluding section is, to my modern eyes, one of the item's most rhetorically salient features. (I repeat the paragraph below for ease of reference.)

> **The only wonder is that** [close:disclaim:counter-expect = 'amazingly'] an accident of such a character could have occurred without producing worse consequences. We regret [NB authorial affect] that the misfortune is considered to be the work of some one who **purposely** and **maliciously** [(im)propriety] shifted the points, as a very few [grade/measure] minutes before the train came up the pointsman looked at them and saw that they were all right. If such an **atrocious act** [(im)propriety] has been committed, it is to be hoped [NB authorial affect] the **scoundrel** [(im)propriety]who perpetrated it will be discovered, and meet with his **just deserts**. [propriety]
>
> (*The Advertister* - Adelaide, South Australia - March 13, 1874)

I am perhaps most alert to this feature as a consequence of my own deeply ingrained sense, developed through years of exposure to sub-editorial censure, of the journalistic 'impropriety' of the 'hard news' reporter passing such ethically based judgements. Such authorial JUDGEMENT is exemplified again by the following extract

from a crime report from the *New-York Times* of 1879. (JUDGEMENTs of social sanction once again in purple.)

> A BRACE OF MURDERERS LYNCHED
>
> THE HISTORY OF A **DASTARDLY** CRIME IN COLORADO – THE TWO PERPETRATORS HANGED SUNDAY MORNING
>
> Denver, Col Dec 18. – "Sam"Woodruff and "Joe" Seminola, the latter a half-breed Indian, who murdered R.B. Hayward, a farmer of Jefferson County, on Sept 10, were taken from the jail at Golden and lynched at 1 o'clock this morning by 150 masked men.
>
> The murder for which the men were lynched was a **cold-blooded and cowardly** one. [etc …]
>
> (*The New-York Times*, 29/12/1879)

Thus, inscribed JUDGEMENT in general, and in particular JUDGEMENTS of social sanction, appeared to be available to the authorial voice in reports of this type – reports where it was the authorial rather than the external voice which predominated. Perhaps we should look, therefore, for constraints on JUDGEMENT elsewhere – in the transcript-oriented items which supply so many column inches of 19th century newspapers. It is certainly possible to find many examples of reports where the writer, in framing the transcript, offers little or nothing by way of explicit social evaluation, and certainly no explicit values of JUDGEMENT. The congressional proceedings report cited above and the item featuring the Viceroy of India's report exemplify such texts. It might perhaps be postulated that modern reporter voice had its origin in such reports in that, in general, they do not feature unattributed instances of any of the attitudinal values – JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION and AFFECT. Further analysis, however, of such transcript-oriented items indicates that, under the right circumstances, the writer was free to evaluate. Thus the authorial framing of the transcripts in the Gettysburgh item includes values of inscribed authorial judgement – 'heroes of July', 'an eloquent prayer'– and makes prominent use of values of APPRECIATION:reaction – 'a **solemn** and **imposing** event', 'a **magnificent** spectacle', '**grandeur** of the occasion'. I note that while unattributed APPRECIATION:reaction did occur in the database of contemporary reporter-voice texts used for analysis, it had only a low probability of occurrence and a low frequency within those few texts in which it was found. This contrasts with the

Gettysburgh item, where APPRECIATION:reaction is rhetorically salient, at least within the context of the journalistic framing of the various external texts.

Thus, while it is possible to locate many items of 19th century journalism which did not feature explicit authorial JUDGEMENT, it is nevertheless clear that there was no conventionalised constraints by which the journalist author was, in all circumstances, excluded from passing such judgements. Thus we can say there was no obligatory co-occurrence condition of the form, if inscribed JUDGEMENT, then extra-vocalisation. The absence of such a constraint has been demonstrated both in the context of misadventure or 'police rounds' reporting, an essentially modern categorisation, and in the context of transcript-oriented items, an essentially pre-modern categorisation. These findings suggest that there was no strongly conventionalised association between what today would be called 'hard news' – misadventure, crime, war reporting etc – and consistent constraints on the use of values of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION. Thus we can not speak of a reporter voice, in the modern sense, conditioning the textuality of 'hard news' reporting.

When we turn our focus to political reporting we find, once again, no subdivision of texts into reporter, correspondent and commentator voice, as applies today. Coverage is conducted by means of either transcript-oriented pieces in which the authorial voice has only the most minimal framing role or by what today would be called 'analysis' or 'commentary' pieces. That is, by texts in which the full range of APPRAISAL values are available to the authorial voice.

The broad access to APPRAISAL values in political coverage is demonstrated by the two political texts cited above – the foreign correspondent report of affairs in Afghanistan (Text 13, page 233 above) and the extended editorialising on parliamentary proceedings (Text 14, page 235 above). In the analysis set out with those texts I focussed on those values which characterise commentator voice in contemporary texts which act to distinguish it either from correspondent or reporter voice. Thus we observe in both pieces the following:

- inscribed authorial JUDGEMENT:social-esteem (versus reporter voice)
- inscribed authorial JUDGEMENT:social-sanction (versus reporter and correspondent voice)

- APPRECIATION: reaction (in all voices but very low frequency in reporter)
- ENGAGEMENT:proclamation:pronounce (versus reporter and correspondent)
- ENGAGEMENT:interaction (versus reporter and correspondent)
- GRADUATION:force:grade (very low frequency in reporter)

In general, then, political coverage varies between such fully appraising texts and the transcripts of parliamentary proceedings and speeches, where the report, in simply framing the transcript, typically supplies little by way of evaluatory meanings. We might have, consequently, proposed two voices for 19th political coverage – perhaps reporter and commentator – but for the fact that evaluatory meanings are, in fact, available to transcript-framing texts, when the occasion demands. This was demonstrated by the Gettysburgh report cited previously.

The analysis leads, therefore, to the conclusion that there were no contexts in which journalistic convention constrained various appraisal values in the way that they are constrained today by the system of voice. We find APPRAISAL values, which today typically only occur on the op-ed pages, across the spectrum of news reporting, from 'police rounds', through crime, foreign affairs and politics. Of course, there would always have been occasions when non-journalistic factors might limit the occurrence of the full range of APPRAISAL values – the laws of libel, legal privilege or simply the fact that the subject matter did not put values of social sanction or social esteem, for example, at risk. But the evidence strongly suggests that the constraints were external rather than journalistic. From the perspective of contemporary practices of journalistic textuality, it would seem that in the 19th century the voice of all journalistic modes was, in principle, that of the commentator.

The discussion to this point has focussed primarily on values of JUDGEMENT, since they have proved so foundational in the constitution of the modern journalistic voices. It is worth noting, however, by way of footnote to this section, that the commentator-like quality of so much of 19th century journalism is also revealed by the occurrence patterns of other appraisal values. The report of the Tay-bridge disaster illustrates this point (Text 12, page 233 above). The subject matter was such that there were no values of authorial social sanction and no authorial PROPOSALS (interactional values).

Nevertheless, the text's kinship with what we would today term commentator voice was demonstrated by a range of other appraisal values. It featured, for example,

- a number of values of explicit authorial social esteem, thereby aligning it with writer rather than reporter voice – ('judicious', 'hapless', 'worthy of all praise')
- extensive intensification via 'grade', thereby aligning it with writer rather than reporter voice (GRADUATION:force:grade is disfavoured in modern reporter voice)
- a preference for appreciation:reaction, thereby aligning it with writer rather than reporter voice – (alarming statement, sad intelligence, dignified sorrow, terrible swiftness, weird aspect)
- values of ENGAGEMENT:close:proclaim:pronouncement, thereby aligning it with commentator voice ('**it is needless to say that**..)
- values of ENGAGEMENT:close:proclaim:expect, thereby aligning it with commentator voice ('**naturally enough**')

IV.4.(c). The diachronic contrast – conclusions

This comparison between current and past journalistic styles has, of necessity, been brief. It does, nevertheless, point to a fundamental reorganisation in the way media discourse has come to construct its voice interpersonally. The point of the discussion has been to forcefully demonstrate the contingent, socially-determined nature of the contemporary three-way division of journalistic voices and, in particular the association of 'hard news' documentation (as opposed to analysis and argument) with a more interpersonally constrained mode of textuality. The so-called 'objective' voice of the modern news item is therefore demonstrated to be very much a modern invention.

IV.5. Implications for register theory

Within systemic functional linguistics, register theory is concerned with the way variations in the context of situation are reflected in and construed by systematic variation in the way that the discourse semantic potential is instantiated. The discussion to this point has, I believe, set out highly systematic variations in semantic instantiation and, as a consequence, compellingly demonstrates the principle of register variation. The three journalistic voices demonstrate how a more fine-grained

register analysis can operate, discovering points not only of difference but of similarity and overlap. Thus all three journalistic voices – or sub-registers – feature a preference for intensification, while reporter and correspondent voice stand together and apart from commentator in disfavouring interactional values. Likewise correspondent and commentator stand together and apart from reporter in their instantiations of JUDGEMENT. Thus the analysis provides several axes for sub-registerial difference and similarity.

Of course such an analysis, with its emphasis on the interpersonal, can provide only a partial register account. But as Matthiessen suggests (1993), since full registerial descriptions require very extensive research resources, it is often necessary to focus on one area of the grammar – on what Matthiessen terms 'one slice' of the register. Such an approach, he contends, will be particularly fruitful if that slice should single out those meanings which are highly salient, which act to characterise the register in question. I believe this is the case with the sub-registers of journalism and the interpersonal meanings explored here. There are, of course, additional areas of the lexico-grammar which would need to be explored for a truly comprehensive account. We might, for example, explore systematic variation in the structure of the nominal group as Jucker has done (Jucker 1992), and we certainly would want to look further into patterns of textual meaning.

By placing the contemporary voices of journalism in a comparative historical context, I have also indicated how research into the evolution and development of registers might be pursued. Here I have been able to show how the detailed appraisal analysis developed in the current work can be applied to arguing systematically about differences and similarities between registers from culturally separate contexts. I applied the tools to comparing different registerial regimes, but they are equally useful, I believe, for tracking registerial changes over time. It remains an intriguing and open research question as to precisely how and why a largely single registerial regime in 19th century journalism should have developed the three-way distinction of today. (I will, however, tentatively propose some explanations in the final chapter.)

Under registerial analysis, we are concerned with how systematic variation in the discourse semantics, and hence in the lexico grammar, reflects and construes variation

in the context of situation. But what is the situational variation reflected in the variation which constitutes the three modern voices? We might simplistically link it to variation in the relative status of journalistic roles – reporter voice is most typically associated with the lowest status position of 'general reporter', correspondent voice with the higher status position of 'rounds reporter' or 'correspondent', and commentator voice with the highest status position of 'columnist'. Equally we might also associate it with variation in field – police rounds, for example, most readily associates with reporter voice, and politics with correspondent voice. But such an analysis, I believe, misses the point. The usual association is, in a sense, accidental. Journalists of all levels of experience and status within an organisation may adopt, in the right circumstances, any of the voices, depending on the task they are performing. As well, journalists will often refer to 'reporter-voice' writing as 'true journalism' and disparage correspondent and commentator voice as in some ways inferior or at least as less archetypal. This suggests that the variation is not, in reality, driven by variation in status but by some other functionality. I believe the APPRAISAL analysis provides insights into what this might be. It indicates that the different voices constitute different modes of positioning the text and its meanings (both experiential and interpersonal) with respect to the heteroglossic diversity. Through such an analysis, the various preferences which constitute the journalistic voices are seen to establish different regimes of dialogism (in Bakhtin's sense), different modalities for interacting with the intertextual heterogeneity which constitutes the social context in which all texts operate.

These issues will be taken up at greater length in the final chapter, with special reference to reporter voice. There I will explore the rhetorical consequences which flow from the way reporter voice negotiates solidarity. In particular, I will explore how the semantic syndrome which constitutes reporter voice interacts with the textual architectures which are to be the subject of the following two chapters.

V. News and story telling: generic structure

V.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the textual structure and genre status of one key type of contemporary mass-media news report – those news reporting texts which act to represent material events or activity sequences. Such reports, at least in the modern era, are typically associated with the key journalistic domains of crime, misadventure and warfare, the subjects of so-called 'hard news' reporting. The purpose of the chapter is a multiple one: to provide a detailed account of the textual organisation which constitutes the generic structure of such reports and to explore where such structures should locate the modern event-based news report within established taxonomies of genre types, particularly those which are also grounded in activity sequences. The conclusions reached in this chapter will provide the basis for arguments about the ultimate communicative or rhetorical potential of such reports, to be advanced in the final chapter. (In chapter 6, following, I will explore the structure and genre status of another key sub-type of news item, those items grounded in communicative events such as speeches, interviews and press releases and which act primarily to represent, not activity sequences, but the points of view of various external sources.)

As well, the chapter will locate the modern event-based report in a historical context, demonstrating that it represents a significant transformation in text compositional conventions when compared with event-based reports from the pre-modern era. In particular, the chapter will demonstrate that the modern event-based report represents a shift in the textuality of what can broadly be termed 'story telling' in that it abandons the principle by which chronological sequence determines the textual organisation of such texts.

Though the modern news report has been frequently analysed in terms of its content, its ideological role, its alleged 'bias' and in terms of certain aspects of its style, there have been relatively few attempts to provide a comprehensive, linguistically informed description of the contemporary news item as genre type, although there are numerous unsystematic and 'commonsensical' descriptions within the journalistic training literature. (See, for example, Evans 1972, MacDougall 1982, Granato 1991, Lloyd 1994). It has certainly received considerably less attention than that other highly influential text type, the so-called 'narrative' typically associated with the fairy story, the Hollywood blockbuster and other fictional texts. Van Dijk's highly-influential description of the news item in *News as Discourse* (1988) , discussed at some length in chapter 2 (section II.7.(c).), remains probably the only widely referenced analysis of this type. The DSP Media Literacy Report (Iedema et al. 1994) was one recent attempt to fill this gap.

The chapter demonstrates the ways in which the modern event-based news report is structurally or generically atypical with respect to other activity-sequence oriented text types and explores the consequences of this for a more general theory of narrative or story telling. It will show why the news item's distinctive textual organisation leads us to look for alternatives to the linear models of textual organisation of the type most typically used to analyse story telling texts. It will demonstrate that, as well as the now traditional model of linearly sequenced functional stages, we need a framework which acknowledges the simultaneous operation of an 'orbital' principle of textual organisation in which a central, textually dominant nucleus enters into a distanced relationship of dependence with a set of textual sub-components.

Additionally, the chapter will demonstrate that to account adequately for the communicative functionality of the modern event-based news item, it is necessary to identify certain patterns of accumulation and periodicity in not only ideational but also in textual and interpersonal meanings as the text unfolds. I will demonstrate, for example, that certain interpersonal meanings tend to be accumulated or concentrated in rhetorical peaks at the beginnings and ends of news items, that the opening combination of headline plus first sentence acts as a global Theme for the remainder of the text and that many news items set up a pulse-like pattern of development, as the text periodically repeats key experiential and interpersonal meanings.

V.2. Preliminary classification: the event-based news item

The journalism vocational training literature sometimes distinguishes between two sub-types of news item. In *Newsman's English*, for example, one of the more influential training texts within Australian and British journalism, Harold Evans, distinguishes between what he terms 'action stories' and 'statement-opinion stories' (1972: 110-117). Although Evans offers nothing by way of a systematic account of the two sub-categories, such a formulation does provide at least a useful starting point for a systematic taxonomy of news reporting text types. Through his term 'action story,' Evans references a distinct sub group of news reports which are grounded in what Martin has called the 'activity sequence' and what Barthes previously termed simply 'the sequence', a set of causally and temporally interlinked material processes which can be viewed as representing an actional unity (Barthes 1977: 101, Martin 1992: 321-325, 537-539). Within the domain of news, the activity sequence to be reconstructed may be that of a traffic accident, a storm, an assault, a rescue, a street protest, a battle and so on. Such event-based items have been exemplified by the police rounds reports cited in the course of the voice analysis in chapter 4. I report a typical example here for ease of reference.

22 killed, 87 hurt in Spain's worst rail crash

AT LEAST 22 passengers were killed after an inter-city train full of Easter holidaymakers, many of whom were returning home from Barcelona, careered off the rails last night in the northern Spanish province of Navarre. Eighty-seven travellers were injured, 18 seriously.

Rescuers worked under searchlights as the sun set to free people, some of whom were children, trapped in the wreckage. It was feared the toll would rise. Ambulances took the injured to hospitals at Pamplona, 20 miles away, and Vitoria. Rescuers pulled out bodies, laying them in a row on the tracks and covering them with blankets.

Renfe, the Spanish railway company, ordered an immediate investigation. National radio said that it was the worst accident in Spanish rail history. In September 1980, 26 people died when a train collided with a bus.

"It all happened in a second," an unidentified woman survivor said. "The suitcases tumbled down, people were thrown into the aisles. Everything was crushed together and the people inside were screaming. It was horrible. Horrible."

The Guardia Civil said that the train, with 248 passengers, might have been going too fast when it crashed. It was to have gone through Huarte Araquil without stopping. Authorities were also checking the track switching system.

Jose Manuel Velasco, a Renfe spokesman, said it was too early to tell what caused the accident, which happened at about 5.30 local time. It added to a heavy weekend death toll in Spain as 132 people died in road accidents.

Last night King Juan Carlos expressed his condolences to the families of the dead. (*The Times* 1/4/97)

The orientation to activity sequence is reflected lexico-grammatically through a preference for material and behavioural processes. (Contrasts in lexico-grammatical preferences between different sub-types of news item will be explored in the next chapter. There it will be shown that not all news items share this preference for material/behavioural processes.) The preference is demonstrated through the analysis set out in Table 3 below .

material/ behavioural	**relational**	**mental**	**verbal**
killed			
hurt			
returning			
careered			
injured			
worked			
free			
	were		
trapped			
material/ behavioural	**relational**	**mental**	**verbal**

		feared	
rise			
took			
pulled			
laying			
covering			
			ordered
			said
	was		
died			
collided			
happened			
			said
tumbled			
thrown			
crushed			
screaming			
	was		
			said
going			
crashed			
gone			
stopping			
checking			
			said
		tell	
happened			
added			
died			
			expressed condolences
72 % of total	**8 % of total**	**5 % of total**	**15 % of total**

Table 3: Train crash story – process types (event-based)

We notice here the strong preference of the item for material/behavioural process – 72 percent of total processes. In the interests of ease of reference I will term this sub-type of news item, the 'media event story'.

V.3. The generic status of the news story

V.3.(a). Story telling

The issue of the narrative or story-telling status of the contemporary event-based news item has been raised at various point previously in chapters 1 and 2. We saw how the academic literature is divided over the question (section I.1) of how journalists typically regard their texts as having a non-narrative status (section II.7.(b).) and how Bell developed an account by which the modern news item was clearly distinguished from one sub-type of story telling text – the type Labov and Waletzky term 'narratives of personal experience' (section II.7.(d).).

We also noted that, at its simplest formulation, the story is said to be constituted by the representation of an activity sequence, which is defined as a logically or causally motivated, non-random succession constituting an actional unity.

Martin has extended the description/definition by locating it in a broader genre taxonomy. He notes that with the story, the activity sequence is individual or specific, thereby distinguishing the story from text types with generalised activity sequences such as recipes. He notes, additionally, that stories are oriented to documentation rather than explanation, thereby distinguishing the story from causal explanations of the type found in science (Martin 1992: 563, to appear/a). He offers the following scheme for locating the story as genre type:

	specific (non generalised)	*generalised*		
	document		*explain*	
not activity structured	description	report	exposition	discussion
activity structured	**story genres**	procedure	explanation	exploration

Table 4: Locating the story genres in a genre cross-classification (following Martin to appear/a)

Although there are additional features to be considered in any characterisation of the story as text type, we can, at least by way of preliminary classification, observe that the type of news report introduced above shares the feature of a grounding in an individualised activity sequence and an orientation to documentation rather than explanation. We might, therefore, tentatively class such items as 'stories' or 'narratives' in the broad sense of the term. (This is not, of course, to label them 'narrative' in the narrow sense of the word as it applies, for example, within Labov & Waletzky 1967 or in the narratology literature as exemplified by Adam 1992.)

V.3.(b). The event story and text to time-line iconicity

I will return in a later section to the question of the precise status of the contemporary event-based news item as story/narrative. At this point, however, I wish to focus more specifically on the activity sequence and its representation in news items, since this is so central to the story as a genre category.

The activity sequences associated with the typical 'hard news' report have one important distinctive feature. They are all aberrant or counter-expectational in that they all involve some disruption of the 'normal' or 'expected' succession. That is to say the activity sequence associated with, for example, train travel only becomes a suitable subject for a news event story (and hence 'newsworthy') if there is some interruption or transformation of the 'normal' succession by means of, for example, a

collision, derailment or hold-up. I rely here on Barthes' notion that activity sequences entail expectancy and risk, that the recognition of an activity sequence involves the expectation that a particular succession of events will occur but also the simultaneous knowledge that this unfolding through time is not fixed or necessary. Thus the succession can be interrupted at any point and the expectation defeated.

> However minimal its importance, a sequence, since it is made up of a small number of nuclei...always involves moments of risk... It might seem futile to constitute into a sequence the logical succession of trifling acts which go to make up the offer of a cigarette (offering, accepting, smoking, lighting), but precisely, at every one of these points, an alternative – and hence a freedom of meaning – is possible... A sequence is thus, one can say, a *threatened logical unit*. (1977: 102)

For the media event story, of course, there must be more than simply the possibility of the unexpected. Rather, the risk must have been actualised, the counter expectation realised in a way that is seen as socially significant, typically because it involves some serious material or psychological damage, a major social transformation or some breach of the moral order. Thus bank robberies disrupt the expected successions associated with banking, road accidents disrupt the expected succession associated with everyday travel and large falls in share prices disrupt the expected succession associated with stockmarket trading. They all represent, accordingly, 'newsworthy' sequences of events. (It must be stressed here that the quality of unexpectedness is not innately or inherently possessed by certain events. Judgements about counter-expectation rely, of course, on social perspective and hence reflect ideological and cultural positioning.)

Barthes has also observed that many activity sequences have names, a reflection of their particular social salience, stability and functionality. Thus a particular sequence will be known in the culture as, for example, a *greeting* or *having a drink*. Predictably, counter-expectational successions of the type reported in the news frequently carry names which attend to the point at which the expected sequence was ruptured, hence labels such as *robbery*, *road fatality*, *stock market crash*, *riot*, *invasion* and so on.

The media event story, therefore, is grounded in counter-expectational (and hence 'newsworthy') activity sequences. This is a quality it shares with many narratives. The contemporary media event story, however, is noteworthy in the way in which it reconstructs or represents the sequence upon which it is grounded. The pattern of textual organisation found most widely in activity-sequence oriented genres is one of relatively direct text to time-line iconicity. That is to say, the ordering of the events in the unfolding of the text follows chronological order. Incidents, or in Barthes terms, the 'nuclei', which logically must have come first are presented first in the text, 'nuclei' which must have followed these initial incidents come next, and so on, through the sequence until the final nuclei is reached. Modern event stories, in contrast, are non-iconic with respect to temporal succession. They are organised so as to rearrange or fracture chronology, a feature which has been widely observed in the media studies literature (see, for example, van Dijk 1988 and Bell 1991) and in the journalistic vocational training literature (see section II.7.(b).). This characteristic is illustrated by the following analysis of the time-line organisation of a typical road accident report, set out in Figure 35, below.

The analysis maps the location in time of the events described – their relative position in the activity sequence – against their position in the unfolding text. Incidents are assigned to one of five positions on an earliest-to-latest time line represented by relative position across the page. The text's starting point – the incident selected for the opening sentence, typically because it represents the point at which expected succession is seen as disrupted – is assigned a central position and given a value on the time line of 0. Incidents subsequently described as the text unfolds are then mapped relative to this central position. Those which occurred immediately before or immediately after the crisis point are given a value of -1 or +1 respectively and those occurring some time before or some time after are assigned to positions -2 or + 2 respectively. (There is no attempt to map the relative times more precisely because the analysis thus produced makes for easier identification of general patterns and for easier comparisons between texts. In any event, the information required to reconstruct the sequence with any greater precision is frequently missing from such items.)

Such an orientation to chronology is an extremely common feature of contemporary event stories. Most noteworthy is the way that text structure zig-zags back and forwards in time with only minimal reference to the chronological, causal sequence which structured the event in real time. We notice that typically no more than two of the successive steps of the original action are presented in sequence within text structure. This results, not only because the text frequently moves backwards in time but also because, when it moves forward, it often leaps ahead, omitting intermediary steps. Thus, after setting out the impact point of counter-expectation in the opening sentence, the text leaps ahead to current time, or more precisely the time of the report's writing, and the condition of the injured then in hospital. As will be discussed in detail below, the orientation to time-line is not a random one. It is very much organised around periodic returns to the impact point of counter-expectation, in this case the car crashing into the tree and killing the driver. We see in Figure 35 below, for example, that the report makes four returns to the impact point as the discourse unfolds. For the moment, however, we are concerned only with the absence of text to time-line iconicity since, as will be demonstrated below, it has major implications for our final determination of the genre status of the media event story and our understanding of its communicative potential.

This most salient feature of textual organisation is of central importance to any final determination of the genre status of the media event story since, for at least some analysts, it is incompatible with story or narrative. For some, the notion of story is synonymous with high degrees of text to time-line iconicity. We notice, for example, that Hoey explicitly classified news stories of the type analysed here as 'non-narrative', in the context of research into patterns of lexical chaining reported in *Patterns of Lexis in Text* (1991). While Hoey in this work is only concerned tangentially with the genre status of the media event story, nevertheless it is noteworthy that he assumes such texts can unproblematically be classed as non-narrative. The methodologies for analysing degrees of linkage between sentences that he demonstrates in the context of a standard media event story are not, he states, applicable for 'narrative' texts. Although he doesn't offer a definition of 'narrative', his discussion suggests that by 'narrative' he means a text where structure is closely mapped on to chronological sequence.

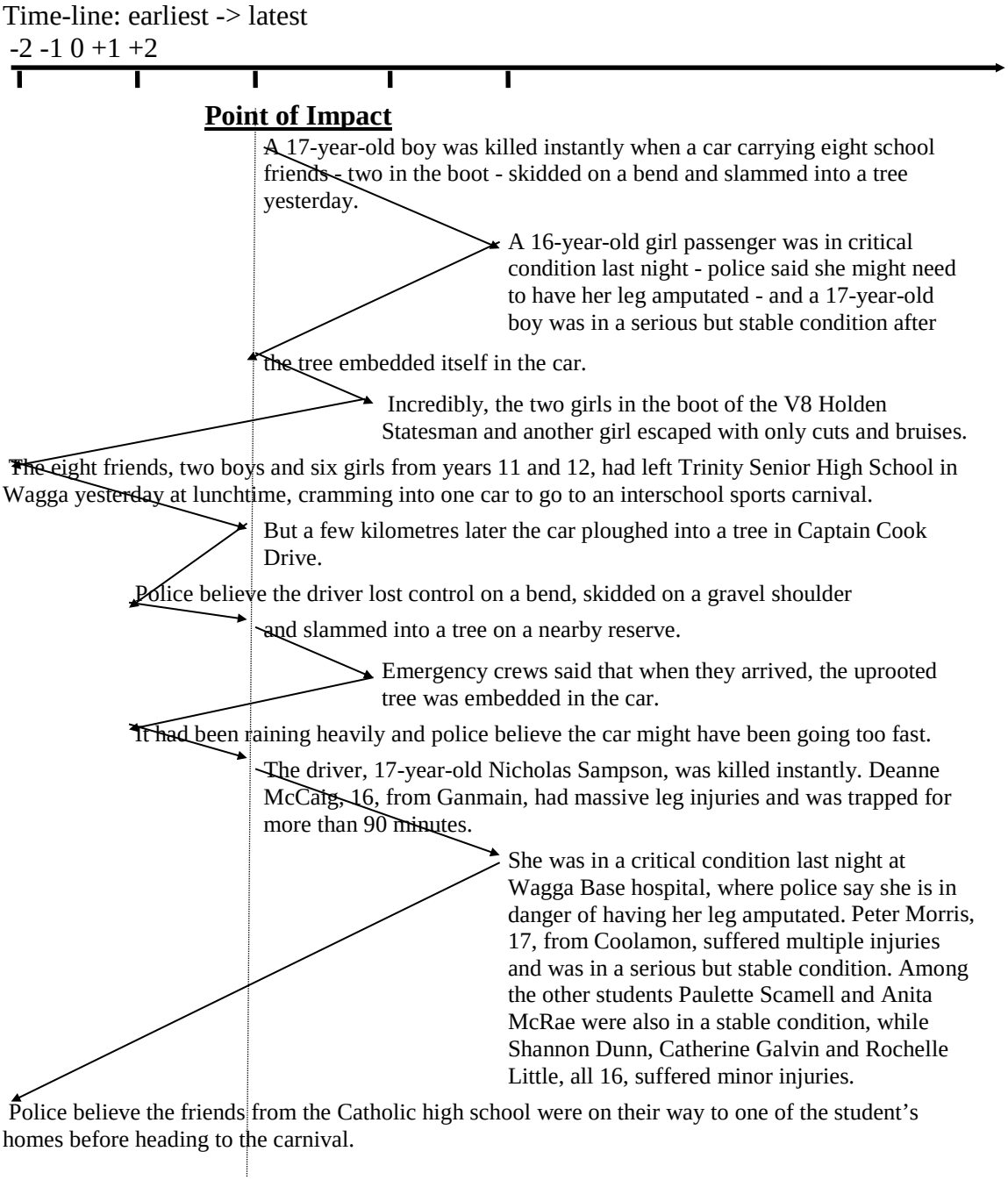


Figure 35: Car crash report, time-line analysis (*Sydney Morning Herald* 14/9/92)

As we have seen, the equation of the notion of narrative with strict text to time-line iconicity is also a commonplace in the journalistic training literature. Thus Lloyd explicitly defines 'narrative' as 'chronology' and explicitly distinguishes the news story from narrative on these grounds.

> **Chronology obsession**. As we have seen, chronology is fundamental to narrative writing. It is not fundamental to news writing and particularly not to the hard news intro and news lead. (Lloyd 1994: 57)

At issue here is the distinction between what can be termed the story-line and the discourse, between the actual succession of events, organised chronologically, and the manner in which that sequence is represented by the actual text. (See Toolan 1988: 9 for a discussion of the origins of this dichotomy in the early work of the Russian formalists and its later development by the French structuralists.) Those who exclude the media event story from the story/narrative category would appear to be giving primacy to 'discourse', to the actual representation of the action by the text, and to be regarding as criterial the lack of text to time-line iconicity. Those who would class the event story as story/narrative are, perhaps, more oriented to story-line, requiring only that the story-line be retrievable from the text, rather than iconically represented there.

There is one additional feature of the event story's textuality, arising from its distinctive orientation to temporal sequence, which is relevant to the question of genre classification and the event story's ultimate rhetorical potential. It is frequently postulated that stories/narratives are not only organised around temporal succession but that they are structured so as to set up a trajectory for the reader towards some final point of completion or textual closure. Thus Bremond states,

> The narrator who wishes to order the chronological succession of the events that he relates, to give them a meaning, must link them together into the unity of a movement oriented towards an end-point (Bremond 1966: 75, my translation).

As discussed previously, this notion of a trajectory or teleological momentum has its origins in Aristotle's account of staging and particularly in his formulation of 'beginnings', 'middles' and 'ends'. Under such formulations, the stages of the text build on what comes immediately before and conditions what follows, as the text moves towards a clear end point of climax or closure. Chronologically organised structures provide for such a movement. The sequence provides a natural beginning and a natural end point, and the material to establish a movement, as the text unfolds, towards that point of completion. However, once the activity sequence is abandoned

as organising principle, as is the case with the event-based news item, then some alternative principle of textual organisation will be needed to give the text a sense of coherent staging and progression towards textual closure.

It is arguable that event stories of the type exemplified above by the car crash report do not establish a trajectory towards textual closure and do not display Aristotelian patterns of syntagmatic progression from 'beginning' to 'end'. This can be seen as one consequence of the lack of text to time-line iconicity. Their status as story then, at least from the Aristotelian perspective, must again be at issue. This un-Aristotelian textuality can be illustrated by reference to what I will term the radical editability of many event stories. Journalists often assert that sentences can be arbitrarily cut from the bottom of news reporting text without damage to the text's integrity or intelligibility. (This supposedly reflects both the need for last minute cuts to be made to stories as they are laid out and the desire to make stories intelligible to skim reading – the reader should be able to get the gist and essential details without needing to read the entire article. I will return to these issues below – see section V.5.(e) and following.) Thus MacDougall cites the following report and approvingly declares that it 'could be cut at the end of almost any paragraph and there still would be a rhetorically complete account' (1982: 103).

> By Associated Press
> Mighty rivers on a late winter rampage surged through south central sections of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi Wednesday, leaving wide trails of muddy ruin amounting to millions.
>
> Except around Jackson, Miss., the highest levels of the flooding rivers were spread largely across rural areas as they continued toward their common draining point, the Gulf of Mexico.
>
> However, more flood menace lies ahead for downstate residents, and even in ravaged mid-state sections where the worst is over, it will be days before the rampant rivers fall within their banks.
>
> ALABAMA AT CREST
>
> At Selma in central Alabama,for example, the Alabama River reached its crest of 58.3 feet Tuesday night, but the muddy waters are not expected to creep back to the 45-foot flood level until March 9.

In hard-hit Selma and Montgomery and Demopolis, Ala., as well as Jackson, Miss., and West Point and Columbus, Gal, thousands in evacuation centers looked to more days of waiting for water to seep out of their homes.

To relieve the tension of Montgomery refugees, many facing their fifth night in shelters, the Red Cross put on recreation programs.

Damage to Alabama's public facilities has already topped $10 million in preliminary estimates. That includes only roads and bridges and county and municipal places-not homes, businesses, farmland and livestock.

CATTLE DROWNED

In central Alabama's Montgomery and Elmore Counties alone, a livestock broker estimates that about 2,500 head of cattle worth $500,000 have drowned during the current flood.

As the swollen Pearl River swirled around the Jackson, Miss., area Tuesday night and Wednesday, cutting a three-mile swath in some places, about 850 residents left their low-lying home and most flocked to refuge centres [Tampa, *Tribune*]

But the radical editability of this type of news story extends beyond the possibility of cutting from the bottom. We find also that the textual sub-components which make up the body of the report can frequently be reordered or removed without damaging the functionality or coherence of the text. This feature is demonstrated in relation to a report by Sydney's *Telegraph Mirror* of the violent reaction to the French government exploding a nuclear bomb in the South Pacific in 1995. In the first column of Figure 36 below, the report is presented in its original, published form, with 'radically' edited versions in subsequent columns. In column 2, the sequence of adjacent sub-components has been reversed with what was originally element (2) becoming element (1) and element (5) becoming element (4). Column 3 represents an even more radical rearrangement. After the addition of a short phrase (in square brackets) to smooth the transition, the text-body elements (1) through (4) have been reversed. The final element (5) has been left in place for reasons which will be explained in full below. The position of elements in the original report is shown in curved brackets.

The point at stake here is that, despite the radical editing, both new versions function effectively as news reports. The rearrangement of the report's internal structure has

not rendered the text communicatively dysfunctional or aberrant, nor has it produced some new sub-genre of news report.

This feature is demonstrated further when the *Telegraph Mirror* 'Tahiti Riot' story is compared with reports of the same event from other newspapers. The variable ordering of elements, achieved above by editing, is apparent when the internal structures of the alternative reports are examined. This is demonstrated by the comparison (set out in Figure 37 following) of the *Telegraph Mirror* report and one from *The Age* of Melbourne. The same elements are found in both reports but in a significantly different order.

[Original, unedited version] BOMB RAGE Riots sweep Tahiti RIOTERS carved a blazing trail of destruction through the paradise island of Tahiti yesterday in a wave of fury sparked by French nuclear bomb tests.	**[Edited version 1]** BOMB RAGE Riots sweep Tahiti RIOTERS carved a blazing trail of destruction through the paradise island of Tahiti yesterday in a wave of fury sparked by French nuclear bomb tests.	**[Edited version 2]** BOMB RAGE Riots sweep Tahiti RIOTERS carved a blazing trail of destruction through the paradise island of Tahiti yesterday in a wave of fury sparked by French nuclear bomb tests.
(1) Tahiti airport was left a smouldering wreck after more than 1000 protesters attacked riot police, drove a mechanical digger through the terminal and set the building alight.	France sent in tough Foreign Legion troops as riots spread to the capital, Papeete (2)	[But the outrage was not confined to Tahiti as] Opposition to nuclear testing swept around the globe just a day after France exploded the first of up to eight bombs at Mururoa atoll, also in French controlled Polynesia. Demonstrations included one by more than 10,000 people in Chile (4)
(2) France sent in tough Foreign Legion troops as riots spread to the nearby capital, Papeete	Tahiti airport was left a smouldering wreck after more than 1000 protesters attacked riot police, drove a mechanical digger through the terminal and set the building alight. (1)	Protesters looted shops, set a perfume store on fire and stoned an office building and the Territorial Assembly building. (3)
(3) Protesters looted shops, set a perfume store on fire and stoned an office building and the Territorial Assembly building.	Protesters looted shops, set a perfume store on fire and stoned an office building and the Territorial Assembly building (3)	France sent in tough Foreign Legion troops as riots spread to the capital, Papeete. (2)
(4) Opposition to nuclear testing swept around the globe just a day after France exploded the first of up to eight bombs at Mururoa atoll, also in French controlled Polynesia. Demonstrations included one by more than 10,000 people in Chile.	Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday: 'France has really reaped what it has sown.' (5)	Tahiti airport was left a smouldering wreck after more than 1000 protesters attacked riot police, drove a mechanical digger through the terminal and set the building alight. (1)
(5) Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday: 'France has really reaped what it has sown.' **[*Telegraph Mirror* 8/9/95]**	Opposition to nuclear testing swept around the globe just a day after France exploded the first of up to eight bombs at Mururoa atoll, also in French controlled Polynesia. Demonstrations included one by more than 10,000 people in Chile (4)	Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said: 'France has really reaped what it has sown.' (5)

Figure 36: Three versions of the 'Tahiti Riot' report demonstrating 'radical editability'.

[*Telegraph Mirror* 8/9/95] BOMB RAGE Riots sweep Tahiti RIOTERS carved a blazing trail of destruction through the paradise island of Tahiti yesterday in a wave of fury sparked by French nuclear bomb tests.		**[*The Age* 8/9/95]** Fallout - Tahiti burns. French fly in the Legion Billowing clouds of thick black smoke clung in the humid air over Papeete last night, after a day in which Tahitian anger over the French nuclear blast at Mururoa Atoll erupted into violent protests, arson and clashes with security forces.
[Airport ablaze after attack] (1) Tahiti airport was left a smouldering wreck after more than 1000 protesters attacked riot police, drove a mechanical digger through the terminal and set the building alight.		*[France sends in reinforcements]* France sent Foreign legion reinforcements to Tahiti to quell the worst civil violence ever seen there..
[France sends in reinforcements] (2) France sent in tough Foreign Legion troops as riots spread to the nearby capital, Papeete		*[Protests staged around the world]* But it was not isolated violence, as opposition to the nuclear test continued to sweep the globe A massive anti-nuclear demonstration was staged by more than 10,000 people in Santiago, Chile, today. Protests were also held in other capitals, while Japanese newspapers took up calls for a boycott of French goods in response to Tuesday's nuclear blast at Mururoa Atoll.
[Details of Rioting in Papeete] (3) Protesters looted shops, set a perfume store on fire and stoned an office building and the Territorial Assembly building.		*[Airport ablaze after attack]* At Tahiti-Faaa airport outside Papeete, capital of French Polynesia, riot police fought a daylong battle with more than 1000 demonstrators who invaded the runway and blocked three jets, including one just about to take off for Los Angeles and Paris. ... [sentences elaborating on the destruction at the airport omitted]
[Protests staged around the world] (4) Opposition to nuclear testing swept around the globe just a day after France exploded the first of up to eight bombs at Mururoa atoll, also in French controlled Polynesia. Demonstrations included one by more than 10,000 people in Chile.		*[Australian government reaction]* The Australian Government yesterday appealed for calm in the Tahitian capital, but blamed France and its nuclear testing for the riots. The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, said the violence was a measure of the depth of feeling aroused by the French test and reflected 'the frustration felt by many people--not just in Papeete but throughout the world--at the French Government's disdain for the views of the peoples of the South Pacific'.
[Australian government reaction] (5) Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday: 'France has really reaped what it has sown.'		But France rebuffed the tide of global protests against the first of its tests... [sentences omitted covering French reaction]
		[Details of Rioting in Papeete] As darkness fell on Tahiti, the rioters abandoned the airport and turned their attention to Papeete. A burning garbage bin was hurled through the window of the High Commissioner's residence, and burning bottles were directed at the French-controlled Territorial Assembly building. The protesters also set fire to nearby shops and cars before being forced out of the central Tarahoi square by security forces... [story continues]

Figure 37: Two Tahiti riot reports compared.

This is not, of course, to suggest that the relative ordering of information within the body of news stories is without meaning, that it is possible to freely reorder this information without changing the text's overall meaning or that there are no constraints at all on the reordering of the sub-components. But the point here is not that order is irrelevant or meaningless but that radical editing of the sort demonstrated in Figure 36 is possible without rendering the text incoherent or generically aberrant.

Thus it can be argued that Aristotle's stipulation that the parts of a story must occupy a fixed place lest 'the whole will be loosened or dislocated' do not appear to apply to this type of media report, nor do requirements that stories/narratives provide a distinct sense of completion or textual closure. Once again we have grounds for questioning the status of such reports as story and for postulating that their textuality and consequent rhetorical potential separates them, at least to some degree, from what is generally understood by the term story or narrative.

V.4. Modelling the generic organisation of the media event story – theoretical orientation

The point of the discussion to this point has been to identify a particular media text sub-type, what I term the media event story, and to establish the terms in which we might finally make a judgement as to its genre status or, more specifically, as to its membership in the text-type category of narrative/story. I have demonstrated an obvious connection with core members of the story category through grounding in activity sequence but have introduced the problems which follow from its lack of text to time-line iconicity and the related feature of radical editability. I turn now to a detailed description of its structure and functionality. This will provide the material for a more definitive statement as to genre membership and rhetorical functionality in the chapter's final sections. I will begin, however, by first addressing more general theoretical issues relating to the models which should apply when seeking to describe and explicate modes of textual organisation.

The discussion in chapter 2 (section II.4.(b).) set out the established methodology in genre studies under which texts are broken down into a sequenced set of stages. We saw how stages are usually defined by their role of organising the text as a linear unfolding of meanings or by reference to the informational and/or interpersonal values they characteristically express. Thus under Labov and Waletzky's analysis of 'narratives of personal experience' (1967) the 'orientation' is identified as the stage, 'usually at the beginning', which 'gives orientating information on four types of data: the time, the place, the participants in the action and their general behaviour before or at the time of the first action.' (Labov 1981: 226). We saw also how Martin has suggested going beyond this particulate model, with its metaphorical basis in the categories which structure experiential meaning. (See Martin 1996 and section II.4.(b).5. above). As Martin indicates, this staging approach is informed by analyses under which linguistic units are divided into multivariate constituents or particles. That is to say, the unit or entity under examination is sub-divided into a set of distinct, autonomous constituents which are 'multivariate' in that that each has its own distinct identity and function within the totality of constituents. Martin has argued that we may overlook vital aspects of a text's structural organisation if the particulate is the only lens through which generic organisation is observed. Crucially, such models can give an absolute priority to the action of the textual metafunction in linearising the presentation of, typically, experiential meanings. As a consequence prosodic, periodic and other more global and dynamic patterns of meaning making may be overlooked or downplayed.

This is a key point and I will therefore expand here on Martin's argument in some detail. Under SFL, the textual is the enabling metafunction. It provides the means by which a text's various ideational and interpersonal values are arranged in the dynamic, linear unfolding of meanings which constitute texts. It is this process of linearisation to which the models of text structure outlined above attend. Thus under the now standardised analysis of the traditional narrative (following Labov and Waletzky), the first three stages of the text will be given as 'orientation', then 'complicating action' (or complication) and then 'evaluation'. This modelling attends to a regular pattern of linearisation of meanings in such texts which, in lexico-grammatical terms, involves the following movement or reconfiguration of lexico-

grammatical preferences. The text begins with clause complexes in which relational and existential processes are foregrounded (often predominating statistically) as settings are described, identities and relationships established and qualities attributed. The experiential semantics then undergoes a relatively abrupt shift as the text moves to foreground material processes, as active participants enter to disrupt or challenge the social equilibrium set out in the opening. Then, interpersonal values, typically APPRAISAL values (see chapter 3), are foregrounded as the text introduces evaluations and commentary of the action to that point. It is on the basis of such linear shifts in lexico-grammatical preferences or focus that the functional staging analysis listed above is postulated. The analysis groups particular adjacent sets of clause complexes into rhetorical units on the basis of shared lexico-grammatical orientation or preference[11] and then maps the way these units are arranged as a sequence.

Such linear patterns are of obvious importance for a genre analysis but there are dangers if we assume that, by identifying such, we have exhaustively described the genre organisation of the text type under consideration or if we assume that we have thereby discovered all the principles by which it achieves a distinctive textuality and rhetorical potential. In particular we need to go beyond genre staging models, with their emphasis on textual linearisation and the multivariate, particulate constituency of the type typically found with experiential meanings, and to consider more multi-functional and more global text organisational possibilities. That is to say, we should look across all the modes of meaning that SFL identifies – textual, interpersonal and ideational – and allow that the different patternings of meaning found at the clause level may also be observed at the level of textual and generic organisation. In particular, we should

- allow for univariate particulate structures where the relationship is one of dependency between some core element and one or more modifying, subsidiary elements (a principle of lexico-grammatical organisation which can be observed, for example, in the relationship between principle and dependent clauses in clause complex structures),

[11] Problems may emerge for such analyses when it becomes difficult to establish at which precise point in the text the shift in preference should be located. The various staging categories may thus appear to operate with indeterminate boundaries, to operate with boundaries which would separate the clauses of a clause complex, for example.

- allow for prosodic modes of meaning realisation of the type typically associated with interpersonal meaning (Halliday 1994: 35-36),
- allow for periodic or wave-like modes of meaning making of the type typically associated with the textual values of Theme and New.

In the following sections I will demonstrate how several of these modes of textual modelling have clear and productive application to the media event story.

I will demonstrate that a univariate particulate model, in which a textual nucleus enters into an orbital relationship of dependency with a set of satellites, is vital to an adequate description of the textuality of the media event story. As well, I will show how the opening of the news item acts as global or 'macro' Theme for the text as a whole, and the importance for the news item's distinctive textuality of the operation of periodic or wave-like patternings of meaning.

The univariate, orbital principle of textual organisation will be shown to operate between the event story's opening phase, constituted of the headline and opening sentence (or 'lead'), and sub-components which constitute the body of the report. In order to demonstrate the action of the orbital principle, I will firstly describe the functionality of this opening nucleus of headline/lead, before turning to demonstrate its orbital relationships with the remainder of the text.

V.5. Orbital textuality and the structure of the media event story

V.5.(a). The opening phase

V.5.(a).1. Modes of textual inception

Obviously all text types must begin with an opening phase, a stage which signals textual inception in some way, which, in the terms of Aristotle's *Poetics* 'is that which does not necessarily follow on something else but after it something else naturally is or happens' (1970: 30). Textual inception can, of course, be achieved in ways which may vary between texts of the same sub-genre and between texts of different genres.

Rothery (1990, Rothery and Stenglin 1997) has developed the following taxonomy for textual stages which serve introductory or text inceptive functions, typically within story-telling texts but also within other genre domains.

> Orientation - an opening stage which sets the scene; introduces the principle participants, themes, issues or locations; places the principle participants in a social, political, historical, geographical etc context. For example *'Once upon a time there were three bears who lived in a house in the wood.'*[12]
>
> Abstract - an opening, summarising stage providing a generalised, evaluative overview of the text's contents. For example, *'It was to be one of the strangest yet ultimately most rewarding nights of my life.'*
>
> Synopsis - an opening, summarising stage listing the key elements, issues or actions and events of the forthcoming text. For example, *'This is the story of how one man left the small Welsh mining village in which he was born, overcame poverty and near fatal illness, made his way from copyboy to editor and finally founded one of Britain's largest publishing houses.'*

V.5.(a).2. The opening phase of the news item: preliminary description.

The opening phase of the English-language event story is most typically constituted by the combination of its headline and its opening sentence. (The first sentence is known to journalists as either the 'lead' or 'intro'.[13]). For reasons which will be explored below, the opening phase sometimes, but in fact only rarely, includes an additional sentence following the first.[14] The headline and opening sentence (or sentences) can be seen as representing a single unit or phase because, in the

[12] The use of the term 'orientation' is used widely in the literature to reference this mode of textual inception - see for example Labov and Waletzky 1967. Hasan 1996 uses 'Placement' to reference the same textual functionality.

[13] The term 'lead' is used by Australian and, I believe, north American journalists while, if Harold Evans' highly influential (but unfortunately titled) training text *Newsman's English* is a reliable guide, UK journalists use, or at least used to use 'intro' to refer to this opening sentence.

[14] The theoretical grounds by which the opening nucleus is distinguished from the body of the news item will be set out in a following section. It will be seen that it is, in fact, theoretically possible for the opening sentence not only to extend beyond the first sentence to the second, but even further to include additional sentences. No such instance of a triple sentence lead has, however, been found in the course of this research.

overwhelming majority of cases, the headline exactly repeats a sub-set of the informational content of the lead, serving simply to sign-post key meanings which will be presented more fully in the following sentence. The interdependence between headline and lead is illustrated by the following examples, an event-story report of a hurricane which struck the United States in 1992. (Points of interdependence have been underlined and indexed with superscript numerals.)

> **Million[1] flee[2] as hurricane[3] pounds[4] Florida[5]**
>
> MIAMI[5], Monday: Hurricane[3] Andrew smashed[4] ashore south of Miami[5] early today with walls of water and the howling terror of 257 km/h winds, forcing a million[1] people to flee[2] and leaving 13 dead in the wake of what could be the biggest storm[3] to hit the United States this century. (*Sydney Morning Herald* 25/8/92)

This interdependence can be seen as an artefact of the news production process, since headlines are written not by the reporter but, at a later stage, by a subeditor who typically seeks a headline which sums up the lead.[15]

V.5.(a).3. The headline/lead as summary: the view from the literature

As indicated in chapter 2 (sections II.7.(b)., II.7.(c).), it is a commonplace in both the journalistic training literature and the media studies literature to characterise the headline/lead as providing a summary. Thus van Dijk states,

> Together they [the headline/lead] express the major topics of the text. That is, they function as an initial summary. (van Dijk 1988: 53)

Although my analysis does see the headline/lead as performing a summarising role, I will demonstrate that its functionality is rather more complex than this.

V.5.(a).4. Headline/lead as selective synopsis

The prototypal event story is unlike other activity-sequence based text types (such as the traditional 'narrative' as defined above) in that it never provides a distinct orientation stage. That is, it never begins with a separate, textually inceptive stage in

[15]This style of headline is typical in British and Australian newspapers while more extended headlines which go beyond the content of the lead are found within the north American journalistic tradition.

which the primary participants and settings are introduced before the primary action begins. In contrast, the opening headline/lead phase of the typical event story sets out a selective synopsis of the activity sequence at issue. That is, it describes a sub-set of the incidents which constitute the activity sequence.

As already discussed above, the activity sequences upon which event stories are grounded are, typically, counter-expectational. They are sequences in which the normal, expected succession of events has been interrupted by the intervention of some destructive, disruptive or transformative agency. In many instances, the culture will supply a name for the activity sequence which singles out the point at which expectation is countered - thus, *crash, murder, riot, invasion* etc. Predictably, then, in almost all cases of 'hard news' reporting (as opposed to human interest where there is greater flexibility) the point which is seen as counter-expectational is selected for the headline/lead. (The role of inter-subjective perspective in judgements about whether sequences are, in fact, counter expectational and/or at which point they are counter expectational will be explored in the final chapter – see section VI.6.) It is predictable in the sense that the activity sequence only presents itself to the ideational view of the reporter by way of its counter-expectational quality. It follows, therefore, that the element which makes the activity sequence visible to the journalist's system of newsworthiness should be singled out and given prominence in the opening phase.

While some headline/leads may, however, confine themselves to a single point of counter expectation, many go beyond this to select additional elements, chosen, apparently, by reference to a theory of social salience or significance.

This process is illustrated by the headline/lead of the car crash report already cited above.

> **SCHOOL JAUNT ENDS IN DEATH CRASH**
>
> A 17-year-old boy was killed instantly when a car carrying eight school friends - two in the boot - skidded on a bend and slammed into a tree yesterday.
>
> (*Sydney Morning Herald* 14/8/92)

Here the synopsis is constituted of the sub-set of incidents relating to death and injury, clearly those counter-expectational actions which rendered the activity sequence of a car journey socially significant and hence 'newsworthy'. Tellingly, the lead includes additional elements – the reference to the two young people in the boot. The selection of such reflects a process by which subsidiary elements may also be construed as counter-expectational or as carrying some special social value or significance and will hence be included in the headline/lead. The presence of passengers in the boot is, of course, aberrant and transgressive and is likely to be interpreted as indexical of misbehaviour or youthful excess by the young people involved.

The relationship between the selective synopsis and the activity sequence from which it is drawn is illustrated in the following analysis. Firstly, the underlying time-line of the activity sequence is presented by means of a close analysis of the original story. This is followed by a diagrammatic representation of the relationships between the elements presented in the headline/lead and the location in the temporal sequence of the activity sequence (Figure 39). In Figure 39, the stages of the activity sequence are set out in the large horizontal box at the bottom, positioned from left to right according to position in the underlying activity sequence. Elements of the headline/lead are set out in small vertical boxes, each positioned on the page according to the location of the events they describe within that activity sequence.

V.5.(a).5. Headline/lead as abstract

The synopsis operates at the same level of abstraction or generalisation as the activity sequence it acts to preview and summarise. That is, the incidents it describes are represented just as they would be if the activity sequence were being described in full and in chronological sequence. In the synopsis, the original activity sequence can be said to have been reduced to its 'key' elements by a process of elimination — the synopsis is a cut-down, possibly re-ordered version of the original activity sequence.

In contrast, the abstract construes the activity sequence in more general terms. The description of individual, concrete processes is replaced with a representation which formulates those processes according to a more general and larger-scale system of classification. The following headline/lead phase illustrates an opening which is formulated primarily as abstract, rather than synopsis:

BOMB RAGE

Riots sweep Tahiti

Rioters carved a blazing trail of destruction through the paradise island of Tahiti yesterday in a wave of fury sparked by French nuclear tests. (*Herald Sun* [Melbourne, Australia] 8/9/95)

Underlying time-line of the activity sequence
(1) School friends leave school at lunchtime
(2) cram into the car, including two in the boot
(3) set out for friend's home on way to sport carnival
(3) It's raining
(4) Driver loses control on bend,
(5) skids on gravel,
(6) veers off road
(7) crashes into tree.
(8) driver killed
(9) passengers injured
(10) passengers trapped for 90 minutes, emergency crews arrive
(11) find tree embedded in car
(12) injured taken to hospital
(13) injured in serious condition, undergoing treatment
(14) one of the injured to have her leg amputated

Figure 38: time-line of the 'school jaunt' event story

Here a sequence of events — fighting between police and protesters, the fire bombing of Tahiti airport, the stoning of shops in the capital Papeete, for example — has been construed at a more general level as, variously, a 'bomb rage', a 'riot' and a 'blazing trail of destruction'. A more synoptic opening might have offered something along the lines of,

French nuclear tests spark attack on Tahiti airport

Shops ransacked

Anti-French protesters yesterday attacked police, fire bombed Tahiti airport and stoned shops in the capital Papeete in response to the first French nuclear test in the South Pacific.

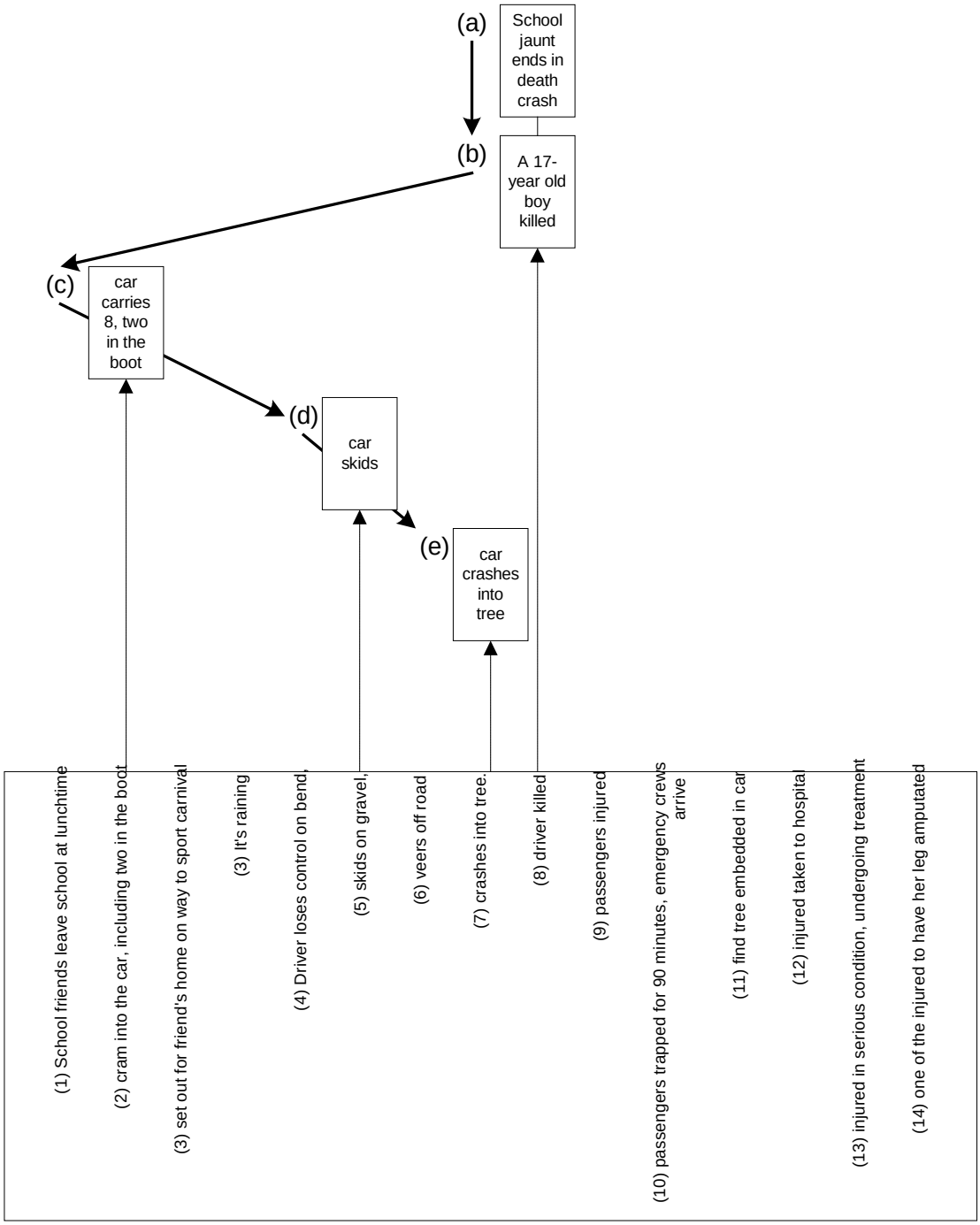


Figure 39: 'School jaunt' report – mapping of headline/lead on to the time-line

This shift in level of generality is in accordance with a general principle, already discussed in connection with Barthes' analysis of the activity sequence, by which those sequences which are relatively stable and salient will acquire a name, a fixed entry in the language's system of valeur (Barthes 1977:101). Thus the term 'greeting'

generalises the sequence of *hand held out, hand shaken, hand released* etc. Accordingly, an opening which deals in 'generalisation' rather than 'synopsis' supplies this type of label rather than more concrete details of the action. In some cases, that generalising label will be one supplied by the culture. In the above example, a particular sequence of violent actions was interpreted as a 'riot', an established value in the lexicon. Alternatively, writers may invent their own, on-the-spot generalising labels. Thus the same set of violent actions is also more generally interpreted as a 'bomb rage' and 'a wave of fury'.

V.5.(a).6. Combining synopsis and generalisation.

Many event-story openings combine features of the 'synopsis' and the generalising semantics of the 'abstract'. The following opening to a hurricane report, for example, both singles out the 'key' elements of the activity sequence constituted by the succession of meteorological events, as well as interpreting that sequence in the more general terms of a 'hurricane'.

> **Million flee as hurricane pounds Florida..**
>
> MIAMI, Monday: Hurricane Andrew smashed ashore south of Miami early today with walls of water and the howling terror of 257 km/h winds, forcing a million people to flee and leaving 13 dead in the wake of what could be the biggest storm to hit the United States this century. (*Sydney Morning Herald* 25/8/92)

We notice, as well, that the activity sequence is interpreted as ' the biggest storm to hit the United States this century'. Thus the generalisation goes beyond the simple naming of the sequence, as outlined above, to an assessment of the sequence's MEASURE, an interpersonal sub-system within GRADUATION (see chapter 3, section III.5.(c).) by which the author subjectively grades both ideational and interpersonal meanings. This process by which the generalisation not only names the sequence but grades its severity, significance, salience, impact etc is a common feature of the headline/lead phase and will be analysed in more detail below. We find similar evaluative generalisations in the following event-story headline/lead phases. (Evaluative elements have been underlined.)

> **Quake devastates Japan**

More than 2,000 feared dead, 48,000 homeless

Fires still raging

TOKYO, Tuesday: As fires raged out of control through Kobe and after-shocks shook the rubble, the death toll from Japan's most devastating earthquake in nearly half a century climbed towards 2,000.

British PM fights to save the pound

BRITAIN was in turmoil today as the pound plummeted, interest rates rose and Prime Minister John Major faced his greatest crisis. (*Telegraph Mirror*, 17/09/92

Top Bureaucrats Axed in Treasury Shake-Up

One third of the 100 senior civil servants at the Treasury, some of Whitewall's most powerful policy makers, have been axed by Mr Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, in one of the greatest shake-ups of a Government department. (*Weekly Telegraph* [Daily Telegraph, London], 24/10/94)

V.5.(a).7. Headline/lead: interpersonal role

The headline/lead phase of the event story thus acts to extract or to generalise some subset of elements from the event upon which the news item is grounded and to promote these to a position of prominence or centrality.

The headline/lead phase also frequently acts to focus interpersonal meanings. Within the event story, the headline/lead phase is most typically the primary site for meanings which have been intensified through values of FORCE (see section III.5.(b). above), and more specifically for those values associated with what was termed the 'key' or 'syndrome' of intensification (see section III.6.(c).). That is to say, the headline/lead features values which set the interpersonal volume at a high rather than a low level. We saw in the previous discussion (III.5.(b).) that it was possible to distinguish an array of sub-categories of amplification. A close analysis of many texts reveals that event story headline/leads feature a preference for the following modes of intensification.

- intensificatory values of 'quality' (*veered, gulped, ousted, slammed, bucketed)*

- intensificatory values of 'metaphor' (*prices have skyrocketed, mired in controversy, cut a swathe, axed, civil war has erupted in the Tory Party* etc)
- high or maximal values of MEASURE (*large, largest, most severe, greatest shake-up, damage of biblical proportions etc)*

While such intensifications may be found at any point in the text, they typically occur in the highest concentration and with the greatest rhetorical effect in the headline and lead. This concentration can be illustrated by reference to the 'Tahiti protest' report. In the analysis set out in Figure 40 below, the points of intensification have been presented in red then their number totalled in the leftmost column, as a guide to rhetorical impact. There are nine points in the headline/lead, no more than two points in any of the subsequent sentences and no points in the final three sentences.

9	BOMB RAGE Riots sweep Tahiti RIOTERS carved a blazing trail of destruction through the paradise island of Tahiti yesterday in a wave of fury sparked by French nuclear bomb tests.
1	Tahiti airport was left a smouldering wreck after more than 1000 protesters attacked riot police, drove a mechanical digger through the terminal and set the building alight.
1	France sent in tough Foreign Legion troops as riots spread to the nearby capital, Papeete.
2	Protesters looted shops, set a perfume store on fire and stoned an office building and the Territorial Assembly building.
1	Opposition to nuclear testing swept around the globe just a day after France exploded the first of up to eight bombs at Mururoa atoll, also in French controlled Polynesia.
0	Demonstrations included one by more than 10,000 people in Chile.
0	The riots in Tahiti are believed to have involved independence activists and trade unions.
0	Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday: 'France has really reaped what it has sown.'

Figure 40: Intensification analysis — distribution of points of intensification in 'Tahiti Riot' report (points totalled in left column).

Such intensification is by no means confined to the headline/lead phases of reports covering activity sequences which might be seen as naturally likely to attract amplificatory description — reports of natural disasters, accidents and other violently catastrophic events. They are found across the spectrum of event stories. We find, for example, prominent intensification in the following sport and political items. (Intensification in red)

> Adelaide 36ERS National Basketball League club is like a power-keg ready to explode following the sensational release of American point guard Robert Rose yesterday. (*The Australian*, 12/10/95)
>
> One third of the 100 senior civil servants at the Treasury, some of Whitewall's most powerful policy makers, have been axed by Mr Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, in one of the greatest shake-ups of a Government department. (*Weekly Telegraph* [*Daily Telegraph*, London], 24/10/94)

In summary, then, we see that the headline/lead acts to provide a selective synopsis and/or abstract of the event at issue, to single out points of social salience or significance from the activity and, frequently, to associate that focal point with values of intensification.

V.5.(b). The headline/lead and the body of the story: the orbital principle in action

It is in the context of the relationship between the opening headline/lead and the remainder of the text that the orbital principle of text organisation emerges. The second phase of the modern 'hard news' event story — the body which follows the headline/lead nucleus — acts to specify the meanings presented in the opening headline/lead nucleus through elaboration, contextualisation, explanation and appraisal. That is to say, the primary role of the second phase is not to develop new meanings nor to introduce entirely new information but, rather, to refer back to the headline/lead through a series of specifications.

This body or second phase can be further broken down into sub-components according to the nature of the relationship or relationships of specification which the sub-component enters into with the headline/lead nucleus.

Analysis of a large number of media event stories has revealed the following four broad modes or relationships of specification:

- Elaboration: One sentence or a group of sentences provides more detailed description or exemplification of information presented in the headline/lead, or acts to restate it or describe the material in the headline/lead in different terms.

- Cause-and-Effect: One or more sentences describe the causes, the reasons for, the consequences or the purpose of the 'crisis point' presented in the headline/lead.
- Contextualisation: One or more sentences place the events or statements of the headline/lead in a temporal, spatial or social context. The geographical setting will be described in some detail or the 'crisis point' will be located in the context of preceding, simultaneous or subsequent events. Prior events of a similar nature may be described for the purpose of comparison.
- Appraisal: Elements of the headline/lead nucleus are appraised, typically by some expert external source, in terms of their emotional impact or by reference to some system of value judgement.

The operation of the second-phase sub-components, in specifying the headline/lead nucleus via these relationships, is illustrated in the analyses of the 'Tahiti Riot' report set out in Figure 41 below.

[Nucleus - headline/lead] BOMB RAGE Riots sweep Tahiti RIOTERS carved a blazing trail of destruction through the paradise island of Tahiti yesterday in a wave of fury sparked by French nuclear bomb tests.
[Specification 1: <u>Cause-and-effect</u> + <u>Elaboration</u> - *consequences of the riot + details of 'trail of destruction'*] Tahiti airport was left a smouldering wreck after more than 1000 protesters attacked riot police, drove a mechanical digger through the terminal and set the building alight.
[Specification 2: <u>Cause-and-effect</u> - *consequence of riot*] France sent in tough Foreign Legion troops as riots spread to the nearby capital, Papeete.
[Specification 3: <u>Elaboration</u> - *details of 'trail of destruction'*] Protesters looted shops, set a perfume store on fire and stoned an office building and the Territorial Assembly building.
[Specification 4: <u>Contextualisation</u> - *protests simultaneous with riot*] Opposition to nuclear testing swept around the globe just a day after France exploded the first of up to eight bombs at Mururoa atoll, also in French controlled Polynesia. Demonstrations included one by more than 10,000 people in Chile.
[Specification 5: <u>Elaboration</u> - *specifies 'rioters'*] The riots in Tahiti are believed to have involved independence activists and trade unions.
[Specification 6: <u>Appraisal</u> - *riots appraised by Evans as France's 'just deserts', thereby implying some moral breach on the part of France*] Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday: 'France has really reaped what it has sown.'

Figure 41: Tahiti Riot (event story): specification of headline/lead analysis

As discussed in chapter 2 (section II.7.(c).), van Dijk (1988) has proposed a set of constitutive categories by which he analyses the structure of the news story – for example, 'Summary', 'Main Event', 'Episode', 'Consequences', 'Verbal Reactions' and 'Comment' (1988: 52-56). At first glance my categories may appear to repeat or overlap those of van Dijk. Recalling the discussion in chapter 2, it is necessary, however, to note that van Dijk's approach and objectives are significantly different from my own and his categories, upon closer analysis, reflect this difference. Van Dijk's orientation is a cognitive one and he seeks, therefore, to develop a cognitive model of how the reader extracts information from and comes to understand the news item. Accordingly his category of 'Episode', for example, is more cognitive than lexico-grammatical or discourse semantic. The 'Episode' is made up of the 'main events' plus any 'context' and any 'background'. In many instances, therefore, the category 'Episode' will not correspond to any unit of text.

In contrast to van Dijk, my text linguistic orientation means that my analysis is more firmly based in the specific lexico-grammar and discourse semantics of the stories under consideration. Accordingly, the categories I propose are discourse semantic rather than cognitive, and necessarily reference actual units of text. My constitutive categories of elaboration, cause-and-effect and contextualisation are informed by the semantics of the logical relationships which SFL sees as operating between clauses or clause complexes. Thus, for example, my satellite type of 'cause-and-effect' is modelled on the causative relationship typically realised between clauses by conjunctions such as 'because' or 'and so'. The final category, that of appraisal is based on interpersonal semantics. I am proposing here that the same type of semantics which obtain, for example, between a noun and an attitudinal epithet may obtain between an appraisal satellite and the headline/lead nucleus it specifies. I am, of course, proposing constituent categories based on relatively broad rhetorical units (typically units comprised of clause complexes or even multiple clause complexes) while the lexico-grammar upon which I rely typically operates either at this level

(with relationships between clause complex) or at a lower rank scale, with relationships between clauses, groups or words.

The merits of an orbital model of particulate structure becomes clear in the context of the pattern of unfolding specification revealed by my analysis above. It is here that we see the need to find an alternative to a model which postulates only a set of linear, syntagmatically organised stages. Crucial here is the fact that the key organising principle is one of univariate dependency rather than a linear progression of multivariate elements. That is to say, the sub-components of the news story body do not link together to build a linear semantic pathway by which meaning is accumulated sequentially, as the text moves through some predetermined sequences of distinct stages. Rather, textual structure is formed as individual sub-components enter into the dependency relationship of specification, not with immediately preceding or following textual elements, but with the headline/lead, which thereby acts as the textual centre of gravity, or nucleus. The relationship is one which, as already outlined, holds between main and dependent clauses in clause complexes or, alternatively, which can be observed operating between the nucleus and peripheral elements under what Halliday terms an 'ergative' analysis of processes, participants and circumstances. (See Halliday 1994: 161-174.) Thus the nucleus – the Medium and the Process – enters into a univariate relationship of dependence with various peripheral elements which serve to modify that nucleus. The relationship is illustrated diagrammatically in see Figure 42 following.

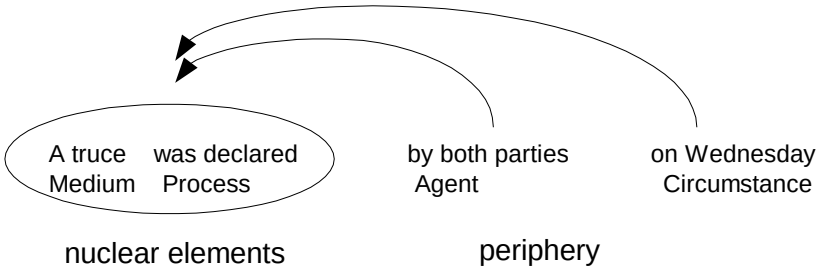


Figure 42: Ergativity as orbital dependency

This pattern of dependency between textual sub-components is termed 'orbital', following terminology developed during the DSP media research project discussed previously (Iedema et al. 1994). The term is used to reflect the way this solar-system-

like pattern of organisation involves a nucleus — the head-line/lead — and a set of dependent ‘satellites’. This orbital pattern of textual organisation is illustrated, firstly in general terms (Figure 43 below) as it operates as a model for all event news stories of this type, and then specifically (Figure 10) with respect to the Tahiti riot report.

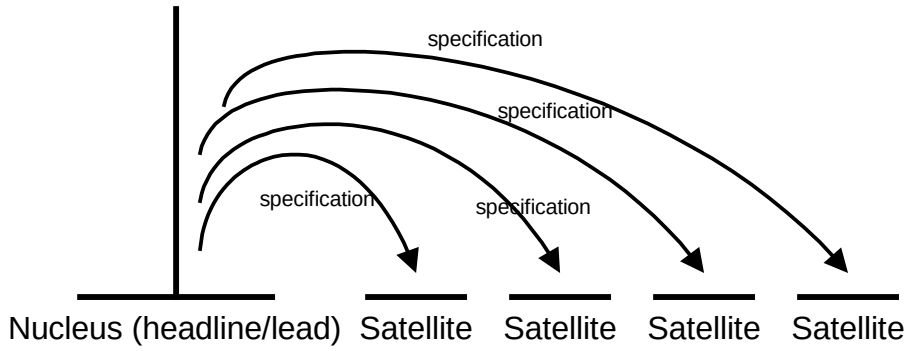


Figure 43: orbital structure illustrated

V.5.(c). Setting the nucleus satellite boundary

By observing this pattern of movement from an opening phase, which sets out some focal point of counter-expectation, to satellites which specify this focal point, we are provided with a diagnostic for distinguishing the headline/lead, as a functional stage, from the body of the news story. The boundary will be set at the point where the text moves from setting out the focal point to specifying it through elaboration, contextualisation, explanation or appraisal. In the overwhelming majority of cases this movement occurs between the first and the second sentence of the news item. The items cited above all followed this pattern. For example,

1.

[*Focal point of counter-expectation and social significance*]

SCHOOL JAUNT ENDS IN DEATH CRASH

A 17-year-old boy was killed instantly when a car carrying eight school friends - two in the boot - skidded on a bend and slammed into a tree yesterday.

[*Cause-and-effect: the events which followed as a consequence of the car carrying eight school friends crashing into a tree*]

A 16-year-old girl passenger was in a critical condition last night - police said she might need to have her leg amputated - and a 17-year-old boy was in a serious but stable condition after the tree embedded itself in the car.

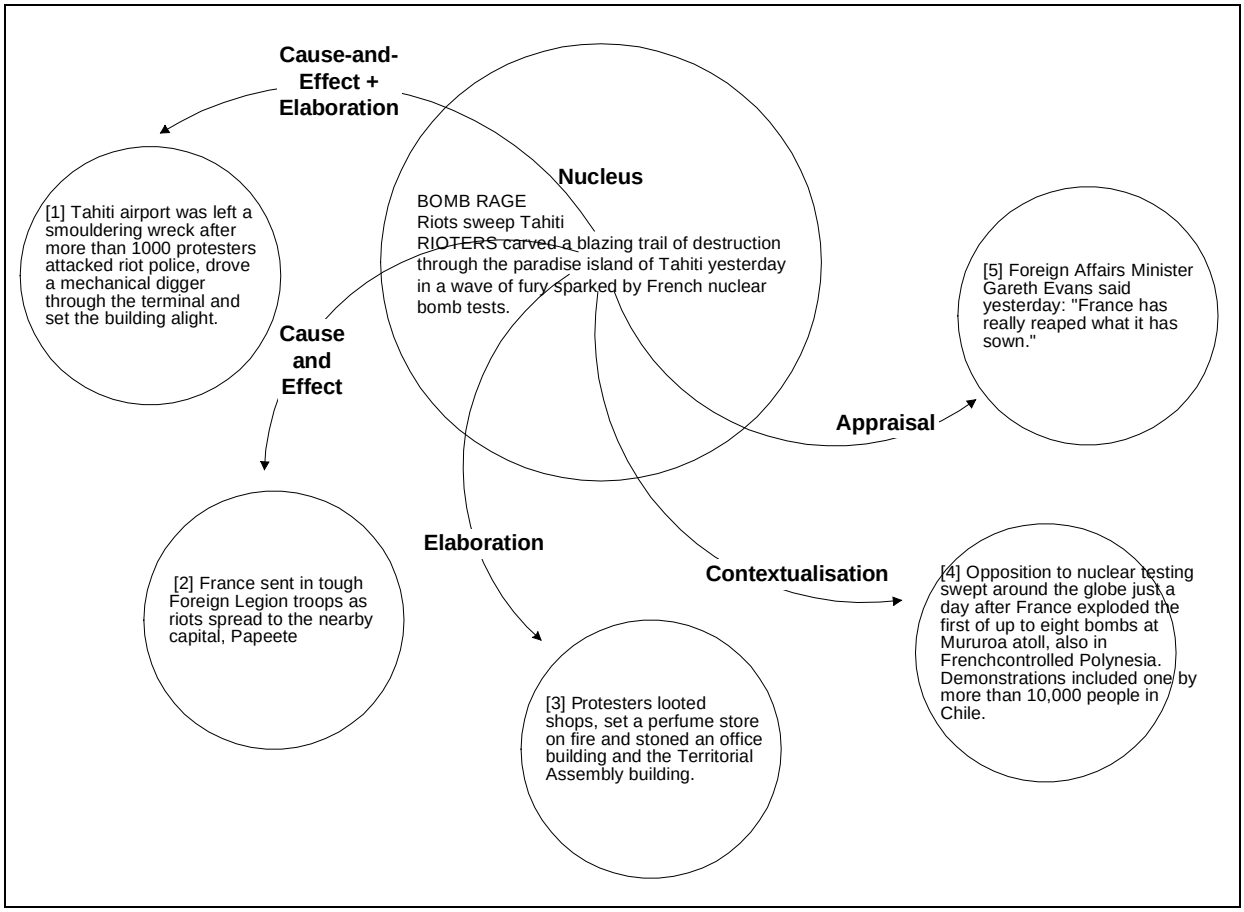


Figure 44: orbital structure of the 'Tahiti Riot' report

This strong tendency for the presentation of the focal point of social significance to be completed by the end of the first sentence explains why the journalistic notion of 'lead' is typically held to apply to just the one opening sentence. As was observed in the previous section on journalistic training texts, journalists typically describe the lead as providing the 'essence' of the news report, of providing its 'angle' or 'news point', essentially a commonsense description of the headline/lead role in establishing some focal point of counter-expectation and social significance. Occasionally, however, the second sentence of the body of the news item text may act to extend, or add to information from the headline and first sentence, rather than specifying it. For example,

[headline]

CHILD CARE ON TRIAL

Child-care standards a scandal, say experts

1.

Many child-care centres are flagrantly breaching regulations and are operating with impunity because it is almost impossible to close them, say child-care specialists.

2.

And new national child-care standards to be introduced next year are unlikely to improve the worsening situation.

3.

In a damning indictment, child-care experts say some centres ignore State Government regulations on staff numbers, health and safety issues, knowing they will not even be fined.

(*Sydney Morning Herald*, 11/2/95)

Here we notice that sentence 2 acts to extend the information in the headline and sentence 1, adding information about standards due to be introduced next year. The movement to specification then occurs in the third sentence, which acts to elaborate the headline and opening sentence by providing detail of how 'child care centres are flagrantly breaching regulations'. Accordingly, the subdivision between opening phase and body would be made after sentence 2, since this is where the movement to specification occurs, and sentence 2 would be included with sentence 1 in the headline/lead phase. The notion of 'lead' is thereby extended so that it can potentially cover more than one sentence, encompassing all those initial sentences which describe the elements of the focal point of social significance which is to be subsequently specified in the body of the text.

We note that, tellingly, the connection between this second sentence and sentence 1 is explicitly indicated, in this instance, by the lexico-grammar – sentence 2 is linked to sentence 1 with the conjunction 'And'.

V.5.(d). The news story as nucleus + satellites: textual consequences of an orbital textuality.

My proposition, then, is that the primary organising principle within the media event story is an orbital one, with a central textual nucleus (the headline/lead) dominating a set of textual satellites which act to specify that nucleus in various ways. This is not, of course, to assert that the event story is entirely without patterning associated with textual linearisation. Clearly the headline/lead, as the opening phase, must come first and then must be followed by the satellites, as a textual grouping. Thus, in all event stories, we observe the progression from initial presentation of the point of counter-expectation in the headline/lead to specification of that point in the body. The key point here, however, is that it is the orbital which predominates throughout the majority of the event story's textuality. Linearisation determines the mode of the opening and then the immediate shift to specification. But once within the body – the majority of all but the briefest news items – it is the orbital which prevails to determine how textuality is built up as the report unfolds. Once within the body, it is the distanced relationship of specification between nucleus and dependent satellite which determines the text's development and not any linear, syntagmatic relationship between what comes immediately before or immediately after.

This predominance of the orbital over the linear is reflected through a number of distinctive textual characteristics. These features are of interest, not only because they are evidence of the predominance of the orbital as a text organising principle but because they are associated with the event story's distinctive communicative style and its ultimate rhetorical potential. These various characteristics will be presented in turn.

V.5.(d).1. Features of an orbital textuality 1: radical editability

The feature of radical editability has already been examined in some detail in a previous section. Here we saw how sub-components (the satellites) of the body of the event story could in many instances be rearranged and in some cases omitted without damage to the text's functionality. We are now in a position to see this radical editability as a characteristic or a sign of a text in which the orbital principle predominates. The headline/lead cannot be moved, of course, because its position is

determined by linear principles of text organisation. Within the body, in contrast, where the orbital principle prevails, a high degree of movement can occur under editing.

This freedom of movement is possible because, as a predominantly orbitally organised text, the key logical and lexical interactions in the event story are not between adjacent sub-components in the body of the text but between each individual sub-component and the headline/lead nucleus. Accordingly, relationships of elaboration, causality, contextuality etc – which in other contexts are generally seen as linking adjacent clauses or clause complexes – operate between the headline/lead nucleus and its satellites in the body regardless of the intervening textual distances. It is possible to move a satellite within the body because its action in specifying the nucleus is unaffected by its relative position in the unfolding text.

V.5.(d).2. Features of an orbital textuality 2: headline/lead as hyper theme.

The orbitality of the news story and the nuclearity of the headline/lead is also reflected in thematic structure. Martin has coined the term 'Hyper Theme' to describe those strategically placed elements of text structure which serve to predict or foreshadow patterns of Theme development in subsequent text. The hyper Theme sets out those elements which will feature heavily as Themes in subsequent clauses (Martin 1992: 434-46). There is a strong tendency in event news stories for the headline/lead to foreshadow Theme choices in the manner of this hyper Theme. We notice, for example, that with only one exception, every Theme of the Tahiti riot report was either directly introduced in the headline/lead or is in some way sourced there. This is illustrated in Figure 45 below. The sourcing of Theme is indicated by arrows, with the only new Theme marked in red. (The analysis considers not only the head of the nominal group but pre and post modification).

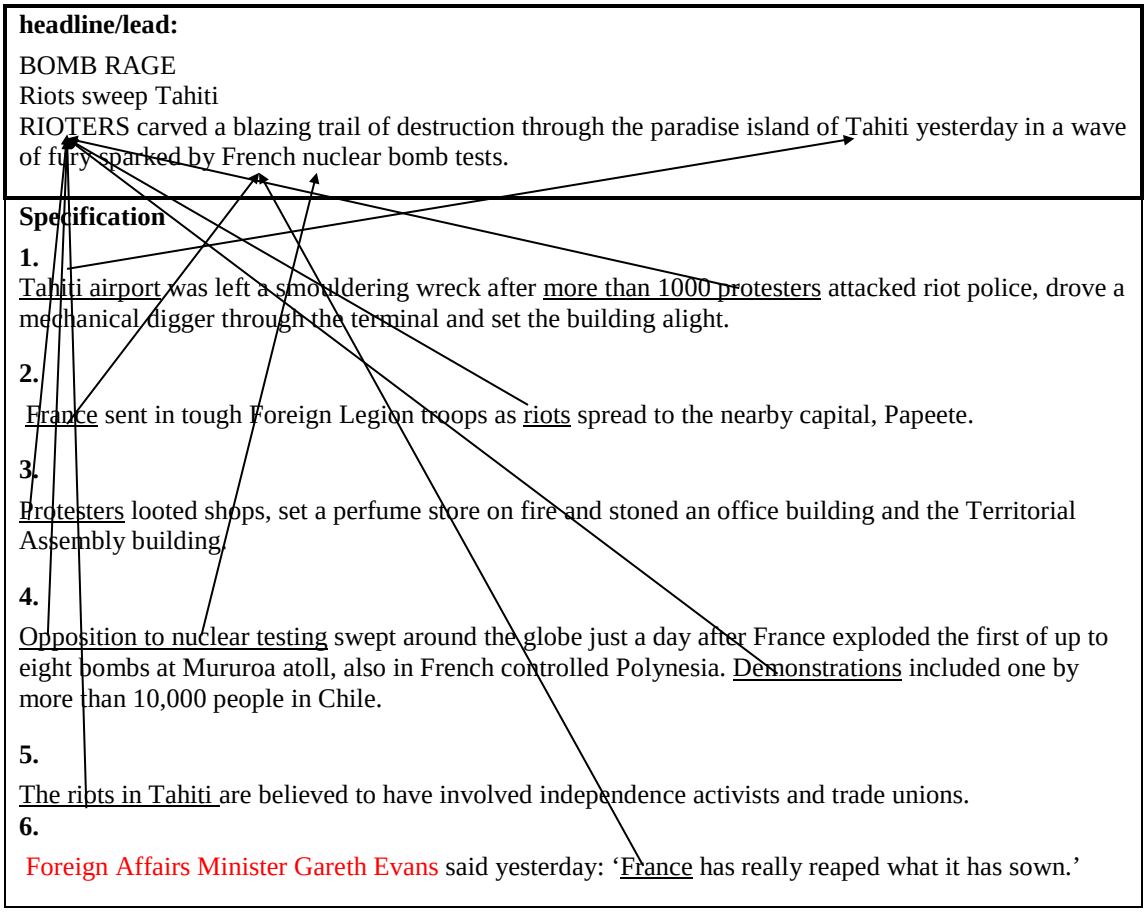


Figure 45: Theme source analysis – 'Tahiti Riot' report

In SFL terms, the Theme is the textual element which functions to provide the subject matter, the starting point, the point of reference for the message carried by the clause (See Halliday 1994). By analysing Theme choices across a text it is possible to identify that text's method of development. Elements which occur repeatedly in Theme position will constitute its subject matter — the participants, processes and circumstances with which it is centrally concerned. Themes are typically 'given', that is, already present in the preceding co-text or represented as inherent, implied or 'given' by the context of situation or context of culture in which the text operates or which it acts to construe. When new information is introduced into a text it is typically located upon first mention in the Rheme, whereupon it can be referenced by subsequent Themes as 'given' information. When 'new' information is referenced by the Theme – the statistically 'marked' case – it frequently indicates a juncture point within the text, a point where some new subject matter, some new point of central concern is being introduced. Tellingly, the Theme analysis of the 'Tahiti Riot' report

indicates that it is overwhelmingly the headline/lead which establishes the text's method of development, that is, those elements which will be construed as 'given' for the remainder of the text. Thus the headline/lead presents all the material for the news story's method of development, at least for a relatively short item such as the 'Tahiti Riot' report. Thus, in this item there is not one instance, outside of the headline/lead, of new information being presented in the Rheme to be taken up as 'given' in a subsequent Theme.

This Theme analysis provides another indication of the nuclear role of the headline/lead and the dependent, orbital status of subsequent elements of the body. We see not only that it is the headline/lead alone which establishes the points of central concern for the entire text but also that virtually no new information is introduced anywhere in the text which does not relate back to an element of the headline/lead's focal point of social significance.[16] The one apparent exception – the Australian Foreign Minister introduced in the final sentence - proves upon closer examination to fit easily into this pattern of headline/lead centrality and body-text dependency. He is in fact only introduced to provide the source for the appraisal of the headline/lead's primary point of social significance, to imply that the riot constitutes France's 'just deserts'. As well, it is clear that the foreign minister was unambiguously 'given' by the cultural context established by the headline/lead, in the light of the diplomatic row which had been sparked when France had some months earlier announced it planned to resume the testing.

V.5.(d).3. Features of an orbital textuality 3: patterns of lexis

Underlying this orbital analysis, therefore, is the claim that the key relationships by which such texts are organised do not hold between adjacent clause complexes or other textual sub-components, but between individual rhetorical units and the headline/lead nucleus.

Compelling evidence for this orbital analysis is provided by an exploration of the patterns of lexical linkage within such media texts. The details of this lexical linkage

[16] The analysis requires that protest and riot, and protesters, demonstrators and rioters be viewed as co-referential or at least as closely associated. The text explicitly supports this analysis by referring to those involved in the action in Tahiti as both 'rioters' and 'protesters'.

analysis, and the light it can cast on the structure of news items will be explored below.

Much recent research in text and genre linguistics has been concerned with the patterns of lexis found in text and the relationship between these patterns and such issues as cohesion, coherence and genre staging. The interest here is with the way that reference and lexical relations such as repetition, synonymy and hyponymy set up chains of semantic connectedness across the text. In some early work, Hasan, for example, demonstrated a relationship between a text's coherence and the presence of a certain number of interconnected lexical chains (Halliday and Hasan 1985). (See also Martin 1992: chapter 5.)

As discussed in chapter 2 (section II.4.(a).3.), Hoey has more recently developed lexical chain analysis to the point where it can be used to identify major transition points in text structure, to identify which sentences are central to a text's informational content and which peripheral, and to show that there can be strong semantic bonds between pairs of sentences even when those sentences are separated by significant spans of intervening text (Hoey 1991). (For a full account of Hoey's methodology and my application of it, see section II.4.(a).3. previously.) The points of primary significance to emerge from Hoey's research, for the current context, were that,

- when two sentences enter into a significant number of links they must be seen as in some way semantically and functionally integrated, regardless of whether they are adjacent or at some distance from each other in the text.
- the centrality or marginality of a sentence is determined by the total number of links it enters into.

Additionally, as noted in chapter 2, Hoey concludes that bonded pairs, separated by whatever distance, enter into the sort of functional relationships previously seen as operating between adjacent clauses or clause complexes. Accordingly he posits '[another] kind of organising relation [for text], that holding between single sentences at distance from each other and not explicable in terms of, or subsumable within, the larger organisation of the text. These relations have all the properties of adjacent

clause relations, but cannot be explained straightforwardly in terms of the reader's linear interaction with the text' (Hoey 1991: 126).

When Hoey's methodology was applied to the analysis of a range of news items the following patterns emerged. In the overwhelming majority of cases the opening sentence of the news item, the lead, is lexically/semantically the most 'central' or dominant.[17] It enters into significantly more links than any other sentence in the text. On those few occasions when the lead is not the most central, it is the second sentence which enters into the most links with the rest of the text. In all such instances, there is only a minimal difference between the number of links entered into by the lead and the number for the second sentence. The two sentences thus dominate the text together. The textual centrality or dominance of the lead, its nuclearity, is thus reflected in global patterns of lexical linkage.

These findings are illustrated in the following figures. The graphs map the lexical centrality of the leads of three news items: a report of a hurricane which struck the US in 1992, the 'car crash' text cited earlier and a report of a terrorist bombing attack (Texts are provided in Appendix D. For an example of the lexical chain analyses upon which the following findings and discussion are based, see Appendix E.) In each instance, a grand total of the number of times words enter into lexical links is calculated for the entire text. Then the number of times words in each sentence enter into links is calculated. This value is then converted into a percentage of the grand total so that comparisons between texts can be made. We find, for example, that the lead of the hurricane text accounts for around 19 percent of the grand total of times words enter into links in that text. The sentence with the second high percentage of links, sentence 11, enters into only seven percent.

[17]As discussed earlier, the opening nucleus includes the headline as well as the first sentence. The headline was excluded from the analysis in the interest of convenience. Because so many headlines exactly repeat a subset of the informational content of the first sentence, adding the headline to the analysis will not change the outcome of the analysis – the opening sentence enters into exactly the same number and type of lexical links with the text as would a combination of headline and lead.

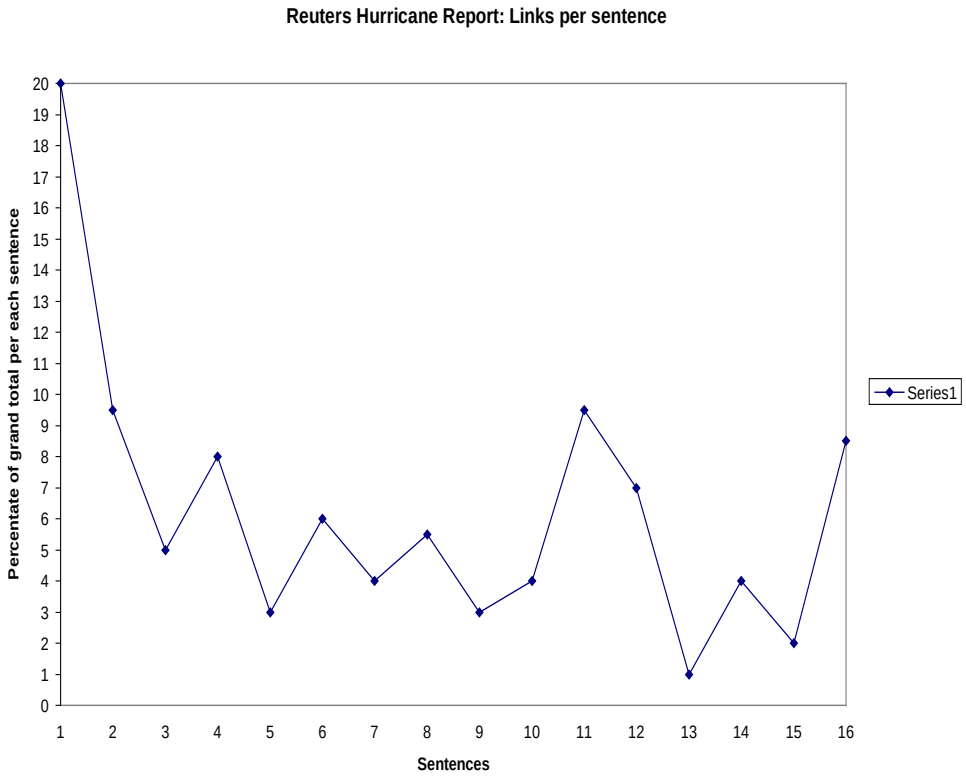


Figure 46: Lexical centrality of sentences in 'Hurricane Report' event story (see Appendix D for text)

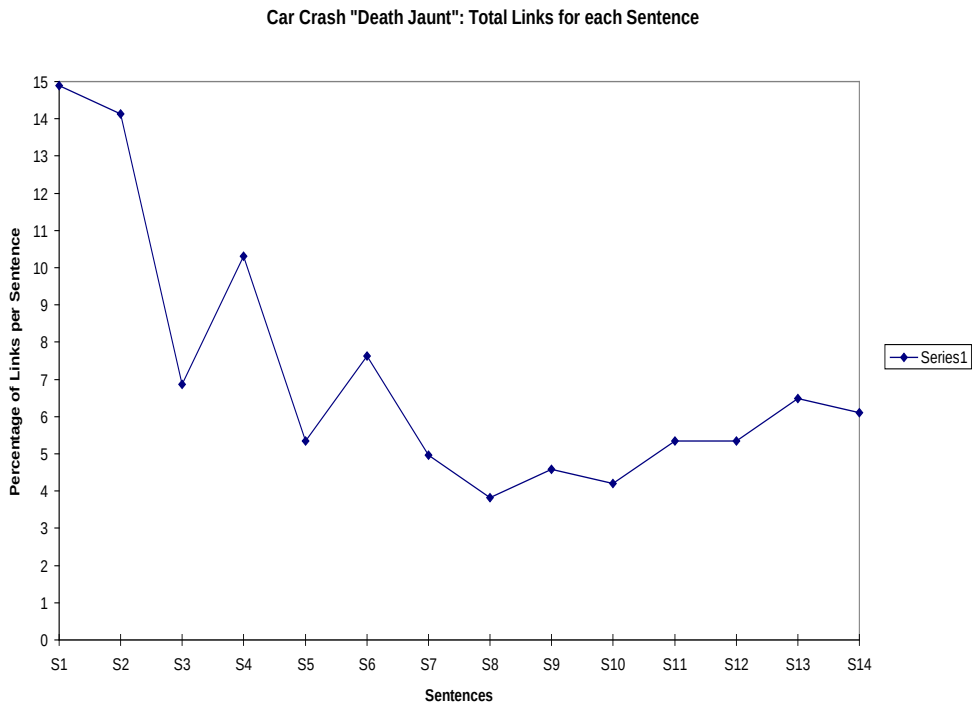


Figure 47: Lexical centrality of 'Car crash' event story (see Appendix D for text).

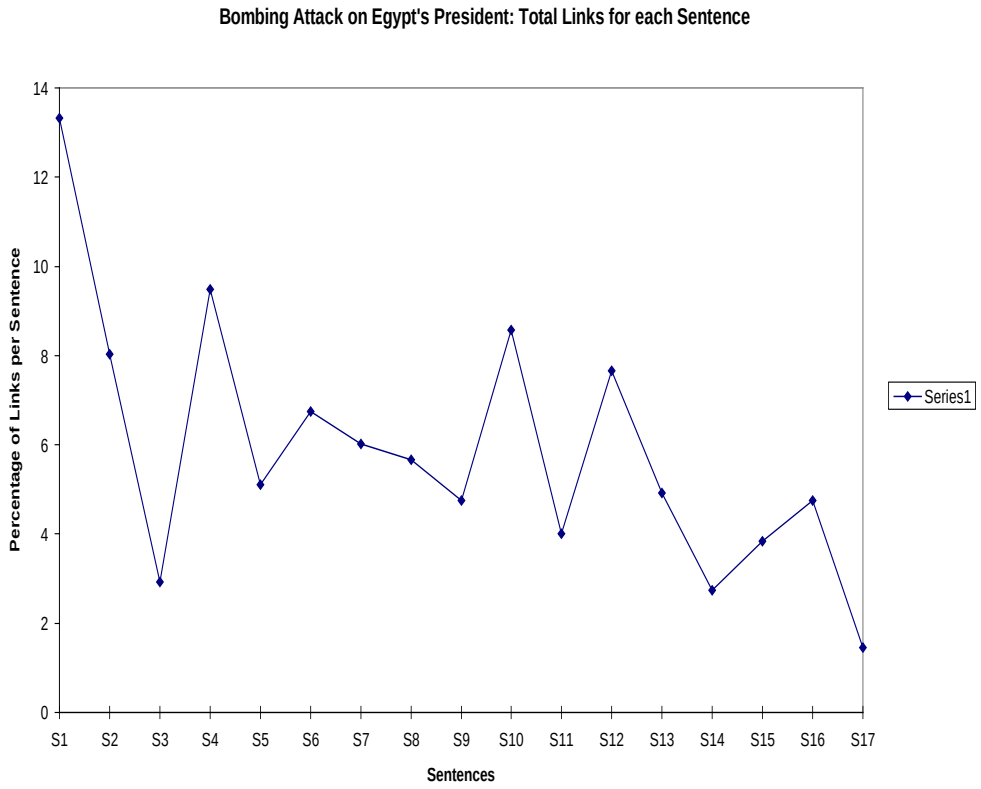


Figure 48: lexical centrality of 'Terrorist bombing' event story (see Appendix D for text)

The analysis was also used to discover where the strongest bonds between sentences occurred. That is, each sentence was examined to discover with which sentence it entered into the most bonds. A clear pattern emerged in which sentences bonded more strongly with the lead than with any other sentence. Perhaps most tellingly, sentences typically enter into more links with the lead, regardless of where they occur in the text, than they do with the sentence which immediately precedes them — there is only a small minority of sentences which enter into less links with the lead than with the preceding sentence.

The patterns of lexical bonding for the three texts analysed above are set out in the following graphs. They map the number of links each sentence enters into with the text's lead, against the number it enters into with the sentence which immediately

precedes it. We notice, for example, that in the hurricane text, 8 of the text's 16 sentences enter into 3 or more links with the opening sentence and that there is essentially no falling away in levels of bonding with the opening sentence as the text unfolds. S16, for example, is as integrated with the first sentence as is S2 - both sentences enter into 5 links. Similarly, S4 and S11 share equal integration with S1, with 4 links each. Also, there are no more than 2 links between any of the sentences and their preceding sentence (shown by the points on the dotted line). In all instances, sentences enter into more links with the lead than with their preceding sentence. Sentence 11, for example, enters into only 1 link with its preceding sentence but into 4 with the opening sentence.

The findings thus provide more evidence in support of the nuclearity of the lead and for the orbital analysis which postulates that the text is structured by the distanced relationship of dependency between satellites and headline/lead nucleus, rather than by textual relations between adjacent elements within the body of the text.

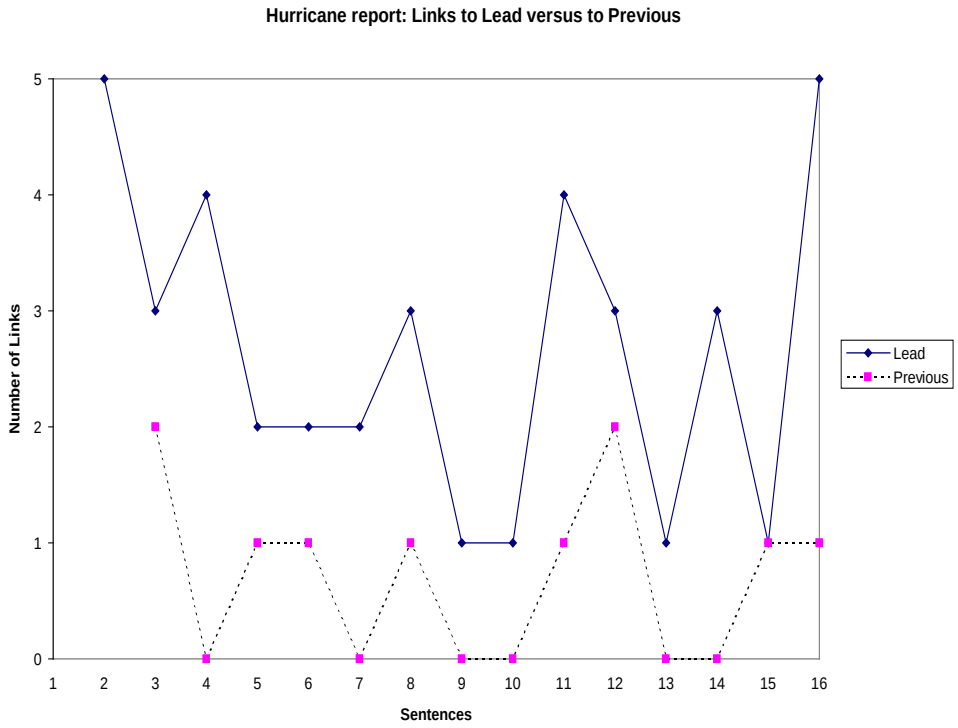


Figure 49: Lexical bonding: solid line indicates links between each sentence and lead; dotted line indicates links with preceding sentence.

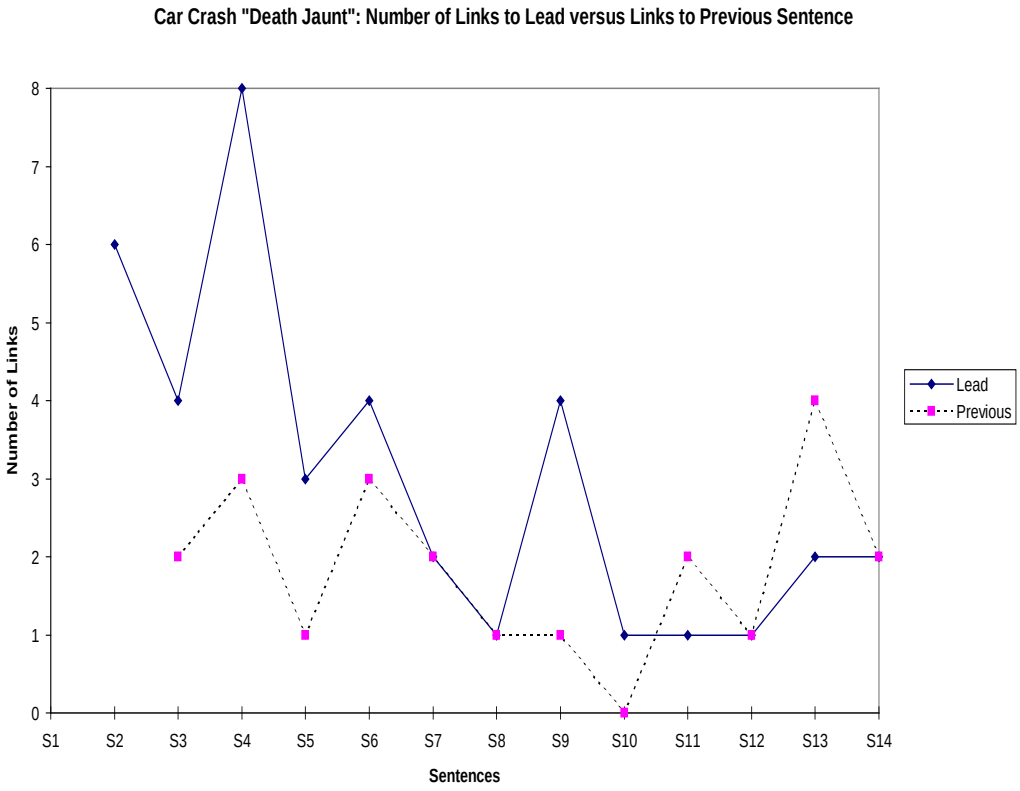


Figure 50: Lexical bonding: lead versus preceding sentence

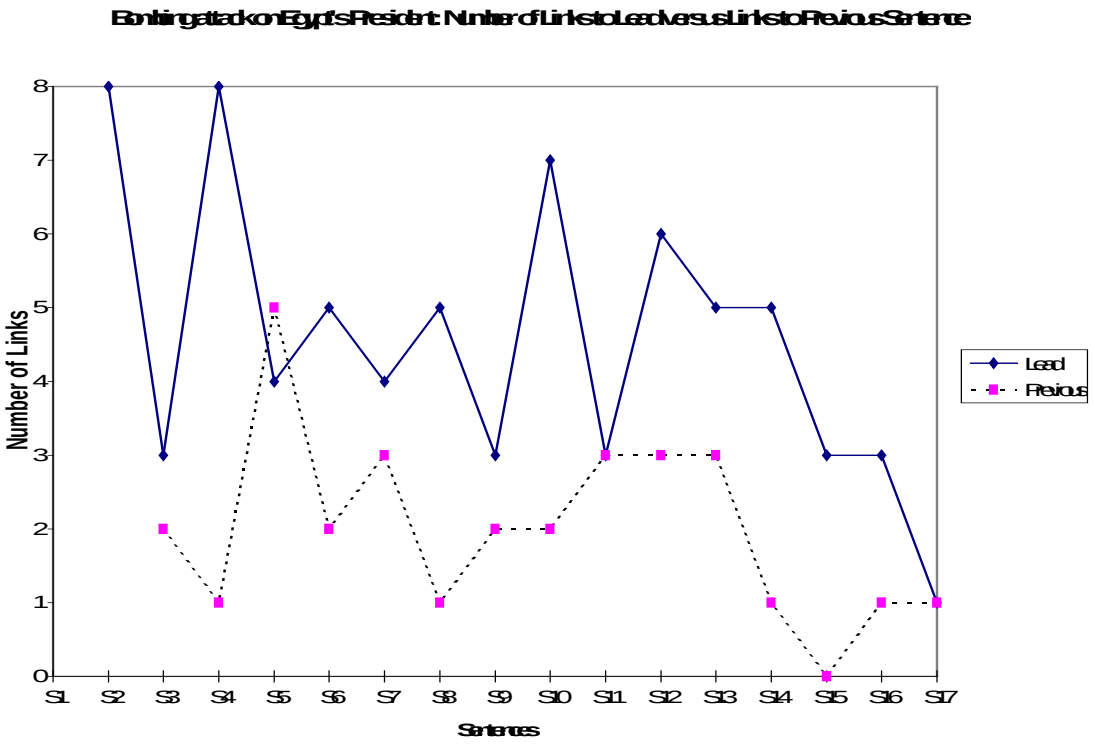


Figure 51: Lexical bonding

V.5.(e). The event story and linear staging revisited: the wrap-up

The discussion to this point has demonstrated the predominance of the orbital principle in the textuality of the media event story. We must, however, keep in mind the point presented earlier, that, though relatively minimal, there are certain patterns of organisation associated with linearisation by the textual metafunction. In this context we need to take account of a sub-group of event stories where there is a stronger sense of the operation of linear sequencing. I noted above that event stories typically have no 'end' in the Aristotelian sense, no phase which 'naturally follows on something else, either necessarily or for the most part, but nothing else after it' (1970: 30), no stage which explicitly signals completion and textual closure – hence the ease of 'cutting from the bottom'. There is, however, a sub-group of event stories which clearly do indicate textual completion, which do have an Aristotelian 'ending' and which therefore require that we acknowledge a patterning derived from textual linearisation.

With these stories, the final satellite has features which set it apart from those satellites which precede it, and which act to signal closure or resolution, even though the satellite, nevertheless, still enters into a dependency relationship of specification with the headline/lead and thus is still 'orbitally' related to that opening nucleus.

Various semantic resources may be utilised to achieve textual closure or completion. In some instances, the sense of conclusion is ideationally determined in that it is associated with the field-based activity sequence and the sense that the ending of the text coincides with the 'natural' end point of the activity sequence in question. In some event stories, such a sense of completion is achieved by the holding back until the final sentences of the description of such an ideationally-determined end-point. For example,

> A would-be robber was pinned to the ceiling for 15 minutes in a bungled hold-up attempt on a bank in Leichhardt this morning.
> The man was trapped when staff in the Commonwealth bank activated a security screen which rose up, trapping him by the ankle as he attempted to leap across the counter.
> He had entered the bank wearing a motorbike helmet and demanded that tellers fill a bag with money.
> One of the tellers was rushed to hospital in a state of shock after police arrived and took the would-be robber into custody.
> Ambulance officers say the woman, who had been involved in three previous hold-ups while working as a teller, was two months pregnant and although unhurt was extremely upset.
> A man was later charged with demanding money with menaces.
> (Australian Associated Press)

The information provided by the final sentence — that police have made an arrest — clearly provides for a sense of resolution, as the 'natural' end point of the sequence. The criminal has been apprehended and the threat to the social and legal order thus resisted. The key point here is that the structure of the event story is such that this information could have been provided at any point in the text's unfolding. The story,

for example, could just as easily have begun as ended with information about the arrest. Thus the lead could have provided something along the lines of,

> Police have charged a man with demanding money with menaces after a bungled hold-up attempt this morning on the Commonwealth bank in Leichhardt.

But in this instance the reporter has chosen to hold back information which is of high social significance until the very end. Interestingly, such reports establish a different text to chronology relationship from that which obtains in other event stories. Such texts are more iconic with respect to the time-line in that they end with an incident or episode which would have been seen as the natural end-point to the activity sequence in which the report is grounded.

Alternatively, a sense of completion may be provided by a shift from the documenting of the newsworthy event to its social evaluation or interpretation. Such shifts most typically involve values of appraisal and provide a sense of resolution by retrospectively placing the events previously described in a wider social context or evaluating them in aesthetic or ethical terms. For example,

[*Opening: focal point of social significance and counter-expectation*]

Sharks defeat ocean paddlers

TWO brothers, who tried to paddle from Europe to America in a 6.5m canoe, are recovering in a Jamaican hospital after being blown off course and attacked by sharks.

[*Specification*]

Stuart Newman, of Scarborough, and his brother Chris of Middlesbrough travelled 4500 nautical miles before being forced to give up the adventure and limp into Port Antonia where they are recovering from exhaustion.

The pair, both oil riggers, were 1000 nautical miles off course when they decided to abandon their attempt because of unfavourable winds.

Their Canadian canoe was then attacked by sharks attracted by the carcass of a dolphin strapped to its side for food.

Stuart, 30, who is married, and Chris, 32, were thrown into the water when the boat capsized under the onslaught, but neither was bitten.

They managed to right the canoe and, despite losing a paddle, travel for five days to land in Port Antonia.

The brothers had set out from Lisbon, Portugal on November 3 to attempt the crossing to Cape Canaveral. They had twice before crossed the Atlantic together, once in a homemade catamaran and again in a large inflatable vessel.

[*Wrap-up*]

Ada Newman, 55, the pair's mother, said she and Stuart's wife would be putting their feet down when they got home.

(*Telegraph Mirror* 14/01/93)

Here the final sentence provides an abrupt shift of focus in which the rather unusual activity sequence — a failed attempt to cross the Atlantic Ocean in a canoe — is reconstrued in much more domestic, everyday terms — the implication here is that this is yet another example of male excess and indulgence which the down-to-earth women must speak and act against. The staging is marked objectively by the introduction into the text of a novel Theme, 'Ada Newman' and by the abrupt shift from a material process transitivity to that of verbal projection as the attributed comments of the women are introduced in the text's first and only verbal process.

A similar pattern of linear staging can be identified in the 'Tahiti protest' report already cited above.

[*Opening: focal point of social significance*]

BOMB RAGE

Riots sweep Tahiti

RIOTERS carved a blazing trail of destruction through the paradise island of Tahiti yesterday in a wave of fury sparked by French nuclear bomb tests.

[*Specification*]

Tahiti airport was left a smouldering wreck after more than 1000 protesters attacked riot police, drove a mechanical digger through the terminal and set the building alight.

France sent in tough Foreign Legion troops as riots spread to the nearby capital, Papeete.

Protesters looted shops, set a perfume store on fire and stoned an office building and the Territorial Assembly building.

Opposition to nuclear testing swept around the globe just a day after France exploded the first of up to eight bombs at Mururoa atoll, also in French controlled Polynesia.

Demonstrations included one by more than 10,000 people in Chile.

The riots in Tahiti are believed to have involved independence activists and trade unions.

[W*rap-up*]

Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday: 'France has really reaped what it has sown.'

Here again there is an abrupt shift from the material process transitivity of the body to the verbal process transitivity of the wrap-up. Again this final sentence acts to retrospectively interpret or evaluate the activity sequence as a whole, this time with reference to a moral judgement. The foreign minister's comments imply that France was in the wrong and that the riots were 'its just deserts'. We notice also that the shift to wrap-up is marked by the introduction of the text's only novel Theme outside of the headline/lead, a point already discussed above. In this instance, of course, the wrap-up leads to a radical reinterpretation of the activity sequence at issue. Such violent incident are almost universally characterised in morally negative terms by the mainstream media. Here, however, through the mediation of the wrap-up, these actions take on some of the qualities of 'just anger', of some mode of 'righteous' reaction to wrong doing. The wrap-up, therefore, is vital to the rhetorical functionality of the text as a whole and is arguably at least as 'important' as any other component of the item. Such 'wrap-up' stories pose clear problems for theories which propose that news items are organised simply in terms of descending levels of 'importance'.

It is necessary to observe that the movement from a material to a verbal transitivity by no means necessarily implies the presence of a wrap-up. In many instances, the verbally projected elements provide no clear sense of resolution or textual closure. It is also noteworthy that sometimes a comment or observation by some quoted source will be located in the body of text, but which might have provided a sense of closure, if located in the final sentence. Thus, in the following report of a subway attack, the

police officer's observation that the stabbing involved 'a lover's triangle' could have provided a conclusion by acting to generalise and locate the incident in a specific cultural context. The quotation carrying the observation, however, occurs in the body rather than at the conclusion. This is, of course, entirely in keeping with the principle of 'radical editability' outlined above and with the freedom of movement of individual satellites within an orbital arrangement.

> **New York Subway Stabbing Leaves Teen Dead**
>
> NEW YORK (Reuter) - A 17-year-old boy was stabbed to death and his girlfriend was seriously injured in an attack at a New York subway station, police said Saturday.
>
> The victims were attacked at about 8 p.m. EST Friday as they were about to board a Manhattan-bound train from their home in the borough of Queens, police said.
>
> Hang Chen, 17, was pronounced dead at the scene, and his 16-year-old girlfriend was in serious condition at a local hospital. Police did not release her name.
>
> Two suspects were caught as they attempted to flee the station, and one of them had a knife which they believe was used in the attack, police said.
>
> Police have charged Jian Ting Gao, 18, and Sheng Liang Lin, 16, with second-degree murder and attempted murder.
>
> According to police, Chen had a previous argument with the suspects earlier in the day. **"We believe the argument involved a lover's triangle," a police spokeswoman said.**
>
> Police said that the two suspects confronted Chen on the subway platform and stabbed him repeatedly.
>
> "During the confrontation, Chen's girlfriend went to his aide and was stabbed," the spokeswoman said.
>
> (Reuters 1/12/96)

With such stories, therefore, there is a relatively clear textual patterning associated with linearisation. In the Aristotelian sense, we have a staged movement from a 'beginning' (the headline/lead) to a middle (body specifications) and finally an ending or point of textual closure (the wrap-up). In such cases we might observe at least a

potential constraint on radical editability and 'cutting from the bottom', since to remove or relocate such wrap-ups would clearly rob the report of the rhetorical benefits which follow from the sense of completion or closure. (This is the reason why I was reluctant to move the final paragraph in my second radical editing (column 3) of the 'Tahiti Riot' report in Figure 36 above.) The fact, however, that many event stories do not contain wrap-ups (the car crash report and the New York subway stabbing report cited above exemplify this type) indicates that the wrap-up is not highly conventionalised, that such a patterning is not seen as fundamental to the structuring of the media event story.

V.6. Global patterns: trans-particulate modes of textual organisations

V.6.(a). The interpersonal and patterns of textuality

In a previous section I referred to Martin's proposal that genre modelling needs to resist a too narrow focus on the textual linearisation of multivariate constituents and to allow for processes of textual organisation which might operate more globally across the text and which might reflect patterns of meaning making found within any of the metafunctions. In the preceding section I explored patterns of univariate dependency modelled on the relationships found, for example, within what Halliday has termed the logical dimension of the lexico-grammar or, alternatively within an 'ergative' analysis of transitivity. Under this analysis, the text is seen to be globally organised around a central nucleus and a set of dependent elements. In this and following sections, I explore additional global principles of textual organisation which operate within the news item.

Previously, I described the functionality of the opening headline/lead phase and the concluding wrap-up. Of most importance in the current context, I noted that both are typically highly charged interpersonally, both act to concentrate interpersonal meanings, to provide a burst or peak of APPRAISAL values. In the case of the opening headline/lead, it is intensification which is foregrounded, with the highest

concentrations of intensifying lexis located in the opening. In the wrap-up, the pulse of interpersonal semantics involves, typically, values of JUDGEMENT and/or AFFECT. We saw above how the wrap-act acts to interpret or critique the action at issue, resulting in a pulse of APPRAISAL as outside sources are introduced to evaluate that action in typically emotional, ethical and occasionally aesthetic terms. This process was exemplified in both the 'Atlantic crossing' report and the 'Tahiti Riot' report cited above. This introduction of attitudinal and affectual values into the closing stages of event stories follows as a result of a structuring principle in which the text begins with direct description of the activity sequence at issue and then turns, in the latter stages, to the attributed comments of experts, interested parties, victims, eye-witnesses etc.

This global, wave-like patterning of interpersonal values is illustrated in Figure 52 below.

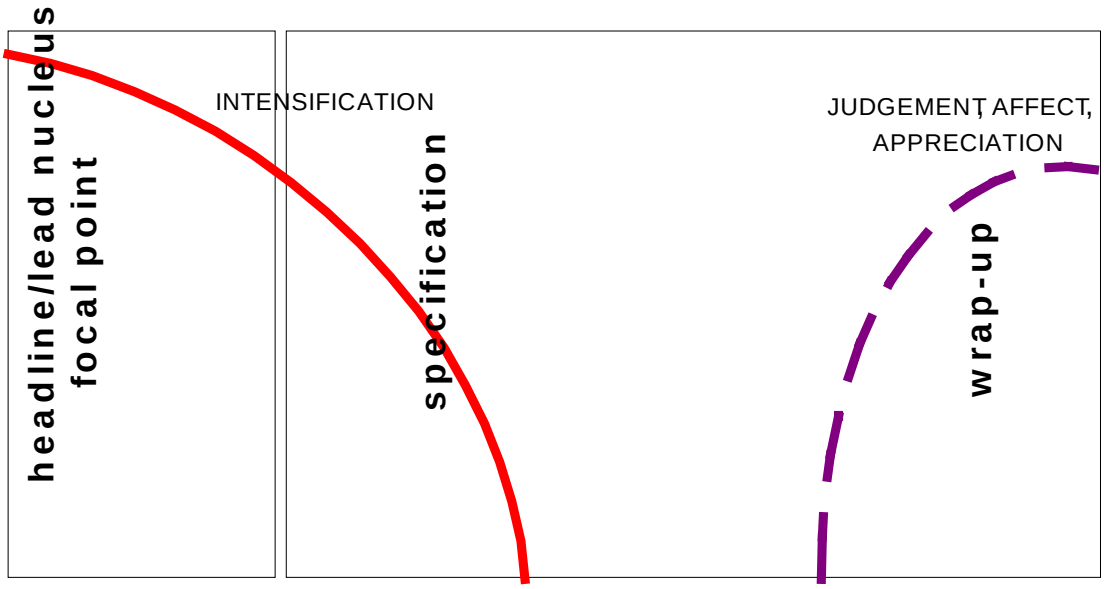


Figure 52: Interpersonal organisation of a sub-set of event stories: red (continuous) indicates intensification; purple (broken) values of judgement, affect and appreciation.

This relatively simple pattern is usually found only in shorter items. Longer texts more usually feature a periodic movement between description of the elements of the activity sequence and then the projected evaluation of that sequence, a movement

which can occur repeatedly as the text unfolds. Nevertheless, the general pattern of movement from description of the activity sequence (typically intensified at initial presentation in the headline/lead) to attributed evaluation of that sequence is fundamental to the event story.

This patterning, therefore, is of a rather different order from that identified in traditional staging analyses. It identifies a rhythm set up by pulses or peaks of interpersonal meanings which occur strategically at the text's opening and closing. The global perspective enables us to identify, therefore, a broad pattern or rhythm, the site of which is the text as an unfolding totality. It enables us to see how, at this level, the headline/lead and wrap-up share text functional properties in that they are both the location of a surge or pulse of interpersonal values.

V.6.(b). Periodicity and a pulse of social salience

One further feature of the textual organisation of the news item emerges from a global, cross particulate perspective. Although not found in all event stories it occurs, nevertheless, with sufficient frequency to indicate it is a systematic feature serving some functional objective. It derives directly from a feature which has already been discussed above, in a different context. We saw earlier how what was termed the 'story-line' (the original temporal structure of the activity sequence) is typically reorganised by the textual structure of the event story, to the point that little text to time-line iconicity remains. We saw how the text is organised so there is a periodic return to the impact point of counter-expectation and maximal social significance, originally set out in the headline/lead, as the story unfolds. In Figure 35, for example, we saw how the car crash report returned repeatedly, in a pulse like rhythm to the crisis point of the activity sequence as the text unfolded. This pattern is presented more explicitly by the analysis set out below. Here repeated elements are underlined and labelled to indicate the terms of the repetition.

> SCHOOL JAUNT ENDS IN <u>DEATH CRASH</u> [*boy killed*]
> <u>A 1 7-year-old boy was killed</u> [*boy killed*] instantly when <u>a car</u> carrying eight school friends - two in the boot - <u>skidded on a bend and slammed into a tree</u> yesterday. [*car crashes into tree*]

A 16-year-old girl passenger was in a critical condition last night — police said she might need to have her leg amputated — and a 17-year-old boy was in a serious but stable condition after the tree embedded itself in the car. [*car crashes into tree*]

Incredibly, the two girls in the boot of the V8 Holden Statesman and another girl escaped with only cuts and bruises.

The eight friends, two boys and six girls from years 11 and 12, had left Trinity Senior High School in Wagga yesterday at lunchtime, cramming into one car to go to an interschool sports carnival.

But a few kilometres later the car ploughed into a tree in Captain Cook Drive. [*car crashes into tree*]

Police believe the driver lost control on a bend, skidded on a gravel shoulder and slammed into a tree on a nearby reserve. [*car crashes into tree*]

Emergency crews said that when they arrived, the uprooted tree was embedded in the car.

It had been raining heavily and police believe the car might have been going too fast.

The driver, 17-year-old Nicholas Sampson, was killed instantly. [*boy killed*]

Deanne McCaig, 16, from Ganmain, had massive leg injuries and was trapped for more than 90 minutes. She was in a critical condition last night at Wagga Base hospital, where police say she is in danger of having her leg amputated. Peter Morris, 17, from Coolamon, suffered multiple injuries and was in a serious but stable condition. Among the other students Paulette Scamell and Anita McRae were also in a stable condition, while Shannon Dunn, Catherine Galvin and Rochelle Little, all 16, suffered minor injuries.

Police believe the friends from the Catholic high school were on their way to one of the student's homes before heading to the carnival.

(*Sydney Morning Herald*, 14/8/92)

In Chapter 3 (section III.3.(c).3.iii), I presented grounds for viewing the semantic value of concession or counter-expectation as an interpersonal value within the system of APPRAISAL, and more specifically within ENGAGEMENT. As discussed previously, this analysis would seem relatively unproblematic when the value is realised through

comment adjuncts such as *amazingly* or *surprisingly*. It is perhaps more debatable when the value is realised through a conjunction or connective such as *although*, *however* or *but*. Nevertheless, the argument I presented previously (following Martin 1992) was that a similar underlying inter-subjective assessment is entailed by both,

Mary had studied day and night all year, yet she failed the exam.

and

Mary had studied day and night all year – amazingly she failed the exam.

In both instances the writer/speaker makes a judgement about expected consequences entailed by the first clause and then explicitly counters them. In both cases there is, in the heteroglossic terms of chapters 3 and 4, a redirection of the reader/listener with respect to some alternative utterance based on the expectation the first clause is understood to have provoked.

By following the same line of argumentation we can view in similar interpersonal terms the crisis point of the event story's activity sequence. As discussed above, the essential feature of this crisis is that it is 'aberrant', it defeats the expectation of normal sequence associated with the activity sequence at issue. Thus the crisis point which renders the activity sequence newsworthy and hence is singled out for primary focus in the headline/lead is, in the terms introduced above, 'concessive'. It involves some judgement about counter- expectation, in the same way as values such as *amazingly* and *however*.

I postulate, therefore, that the central point of impact of the event story carries this interpersonal value of concession or counter- expectation. Thus the headline/lead should be seen as foregrounding the interpersonal not simply through its concentration of values of intensification but also through its singling out of a point of social counter- expectation. The exaggerated presence of intensification in and around the headline/lead can then, in fact, be seen as a predictable part of a syndrome of interpersonalisation in the event story's opening. We have seen how intensification is typically involved in increasing the volume of other APPRAISAL values of, for example, maximising values of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT or APPRECIATION. In the context of the headline/lead it acts to amplify the volume of the underlying assessment of counter-expectation. Thus by describing hurricanes as 'cutting swathes through', cars as

‘slamming into a tree’ and employers as ‘axing’ staff, the journalistic author acts to intensify the sense of aberration, of social counter- expectation.

From this perspective, we can now observe that the pulse set up by the rhythmic return to the point of impact as the text unfolds should be seen in interpersonal terms. It is thus a pulse which carries an interpersonal value of counter-expectation. We note, as well, that the counter-expectation is typically associated with intensification as it occurs throughout the text and that the pulse thus can be seen as one of counter-expectation plus intensification. Accordingly, the counter-expectational point of the car striking the tree in the story cited above is variously construed as the car ‘embedding’ itself in the tree (a noteworthy choice of words), as ‘ploughing’ into the tree and as ‘slamming’ into the tree. Of interest here is the fact that while the text almost exactly repeats the experiential message (the car has run into a tree), the author seems compelled to vary the tokens of intensification – thus ‘slammed’, to ‘embedded’, to ‘ploughed’ and then finally back to ‘slammed’.

Such an analysis has important consequences for our understanding of the temporal orientation of the event story. While, as discussed previously, the event story does not display text to time-line iconicity, it, nonetheless, displays an orientation to the temporal, or at least to the underlying activity sequence, that is not random or indiscriminate. The text is organised by a focus upon the activity sequence’s point of counter- expectation rather than upon its temporal succession. The repeated return to this point of counter- expectation serves to keep it, consequently, in the foreground as the text zig zags back and forwards around this point of intensified, interpersonal significance. It is the activity sequence’s interpersonal, concessive value, rather than its succession in time, that is afforded primary importance by textual structure.

V.7. The genre status of the modern event-based news item revisited

I return now to the original question of the genre status of the modern event story. I have discussed at some length the way that the modern event story is story-like while still, perhaps, not fitting comfortably into all definitions of the story/narrative genre.

We noted its atypical orientation to temporal sequence, its lack of Aristotelian staging and of a clear trajectory toward some explicit point of completion or textual closure.

In the course of the discussion we have observed some significant variation with reference to staging, trajectory and completion. We have seen that at least a sub-set of event stories, those with wrap-ups, conform rather more closely to the Aristotelian model. Such would, therefore, be less likely to fail to qualify as story on Aristotelian grounds.

It is also necessary to take note of variability in terms of text to time-line iconicity. I have so far only presented those stories which maximally reorganise the story-line, those in which there is very little trace of the original temporal sequence reflected in text organisation. It must be noted, however, that there is significant variation to be observed among event stories along a cline between no temporal iconicity and high temporal iconicity.

The following report of a murder and suicide, taken from the international edition of the *Daily Express*, exemplifies those stories where there is considerably more mapping of chronological sequence by text structure. It has been analysed so as to illustrate both satellite structure and text to time-line iconicity.

[*Headline/lead: points of counter expectation and social salience - Christmas celebrations interrupted by murder; flight in car interrupted by fatal crash*]

Enter the savage New Year

Midnight massacre as suicide maniac kills wife, three men

1. A CRAZED husband hacked his wife to death at a family party then killed three young men in a suicide car crash at midnight on New Year's Eve.

[*Specification: elaboration of point of counter expectation, the attack on family members*]

2. Taxi driver Vernon Reynolds stabbed his estranged wife Denise and wounded her parents and sisters as they celebrated at her seaside hotel.

[*Specification: elaboration - details of participants*]

3. Sixteen people, including seven children, were at the party.

[*Specification: elaboration of the attack on family members*]

4. They screamed and tried to hide as he burst in and slashed at them with a knife.

[*Specification: elaboration of second point of counter expectation - the fatal car crash*]

5. Reynolds drove off and ploughed into a Mini carrying three friends, killing them and himself.

[*Specification: cause-and-effect - reasons for the car crash*]

6. Police were considering the possibility that 44 year-old Reynolds deliberately *[affect]* crashed his car into the other vehicle to end his life.

[*Specification: cause-and-effect - reasons for the murder*]

7. Friends said the father of three was distressed *[affect]* because his wife threw him out two weeks ago and had a boyfriend.

[*Specification in the form of extended chronological recount, organised around temporal sequence*]

[*Step 1*]

8. The massacre began when Reynolds arrived at his wife's family celebration in Llandudno, North Wales.

[*Step 2*]

9. The children three of them his, watched in terror as he pulled out a knife and began stabbing their mother and others in the room.

[*Step 3*]

10. Mrs Reynolds, 39, tried to escape by staggering to the doorstep of a nearby house where she was knifed again.

[*Later step - out of sequence*]

11. Her last words whispered to an ambulanceman were: "Do you think I am going to die?"

[*Step 4*]

12. Neighbour Miss Lisa Rayner, 22, said: "The children all came out of the hotel screaming and running down the road.

[*Step 5*]

13. "A woman asked me to phone the police. Blood was pouring from her."

[*Interruption of activity sequence*]

[*Specification: elaboration - details of human participants*]

14. The five injured were Mrs Reynolds sister and brother-in-law Michelle and Kenneth Owen, both 32, of Colindale, London.

15. Her father Victor Fryer, 60, and mother Ada, 59 also of Colindale. And her other sister Mrs Pauline Nash of Dunstable, Bedfordshire.

[*Specification: cause-and-effect: consequence of the attack*]

16. Mrs Nash was critical after emergency surgery at Gwynedd Hospltal Bangor. Mr Fryer was "serious" in another hospital.

[*Resumption of activity sequence*]

[*Step 6*]

17.Reynolds fled in his Marina and drove 10 miles out of the town along a country road in the Conwy Valley.

[*Step 7*]

18. Coming in the other direction were three young friends in a Mini. Reynolds crashed head-on into them at Taly-Cafn, Gwynedd.

[*Step 8*]

19. All four men died instantly.

[*End of activity sequence*]

[*Specification: elaboration - details of participants*]

20. The three in the Mini were: Robert Jones, 24, of Park Road, Deganwy; Arwyn Roberts, 21, of Victoria Crescent, Llandudno Junction, and 18-year-old Brynley Roberts -- no relation -- of Penrhynside.

[*Specification: appraisa*l]

21. An ambulanceman said: "They were innocent lads going home from a party."

[*Specification: elaboration - details of participants*]

22. Reynolds and Denise ran the Clovelly House Hotel in Llandudno for six years.

[*Specification: contextualisation or cause-and-effect*]

23. They parted two weeks ago.

[*Specification/Wrap-up: appraisal*]

24. A fellow taxi driver said: "He was a fairly quiet character. His wife had gone off with someone else and made it clear Vernon wasn’t welcome in his own

home, I would never have thought he would do anything like this. But it had hit him terribly hard. " [*International Express* 9/1/92: 6]

We notice that in its headline/lead and through sentences 1 to 6, the report follows the orbital pattern of development outlined earlier. The headline/lead established a focal point of maximal social salience, the point of counter-expectation (or more correctly two points of counter expectation) and then for six sentences specifies this focal point through satellites of elaboration and consequentiality. At this juncture, however, the writer then sets up a chronological recount in which the text iconically maps the unfolding of the activity sequence through five successive steps. Chronological succession is then interrupted for several satellites of orbital specification before, once again, the writer sets out a chronological recount as the text iconically maps the second activity sequence – the car crash – through three temporal successions. The text, therefore, is one in which the orbital principle still predominates, but within this the greater degree of text to time-line iconicity must be acknowledged.

It is interesting in this regard to note that journalism educators often explicitly allow for the presence of chronological recounts within news reporting. MacDougall, for example, states, 'A widely used method for organizing material after the lead is chronological, at least for a number of paragraphs, after which new facts can be added in block paragraph style' (MacDougall 1982: 105). Evans makes a similar point when he provides the following outline of standard event story structure,

1. Intro and/or news lead: the most dramatic incident(s), the human result(s) of the activity.
2. Development in chronological narrative.
3. Background and assessment if any.

(Evans 1972: 113)

Event stories, therefore, may display considerable variation in the degree of their text to time-line iconicity. Presumably those items with higher iconicity will pose fewer classificatory problems, will seem more 'story-like' for those who closely associate the story with this temporal orientation. Presumably, from this perspective, the greater the iconicity, the more story-like the text.

It makes sense, then, in this regard to set up a topological classification[18] of story/narrative in addition to, or in parallel with a typology. As discussed in chapter 2, under a typology we seek absolute, clearly bounded categories determined by necessary and sufficient criteria. Under a topology we explore the various axes along which items may be more or less similar or different.

Following a topological approach, I therefore propose that one axis of membership in the category of story/narrative measures the degree of text to time-line iconicity. Traditional 'narratives' (as defined earlier), as well as the other story types that Plum (1988), for example, identifies would all typically demonstrate high degrees of iconicity and, at least on this axis, would be core members of the category. Media event stories, in contrast, would have variable membership according to their individual degree of iconicity. An item such as the car crash report would have, at best, only marginal membership of the category while the murder/suicide item would have somewhat less peripheral membership. Temporal iconicity, of course, is not the only factor determining notions of the story and, accordingly, the media event story might be excluded from the category on other grounds. In this context, the lack of an end point and textual closure – another potential axis of differentiation – might be deemed fatal for the narrative status of media event stories.

A topology for texts which document activity sequences is set out below in Figure 53.

Texts of the type which have been the primary focus of the discussion would be located towards corner 'C', in that they have low text to time-line iconicity and provide for textual closure or completion. A significant proportion of modern event stories, however, would be located towards corner 'D' in that they provide nothing by which textual closure or completion is signalled (and which conform, therefore, to the journalist's prescription that all 'good' news reports can be 'cut from the bottom'). Stories such as the taxi driver massacre/suicide report cited above would, in contrast, be located towards the upper half of the topology in that they feature greater degrees of text to time-line iconicity than is found in 'typical' modern broadsheet news reporting. Of course, the greater the degree of text to time-line iconicity, the closer the story would be located to the A–B edge of the topology.

[18] See sections II.3.(b).6 and II.4.(b).5 for a discussion of topological approaches.

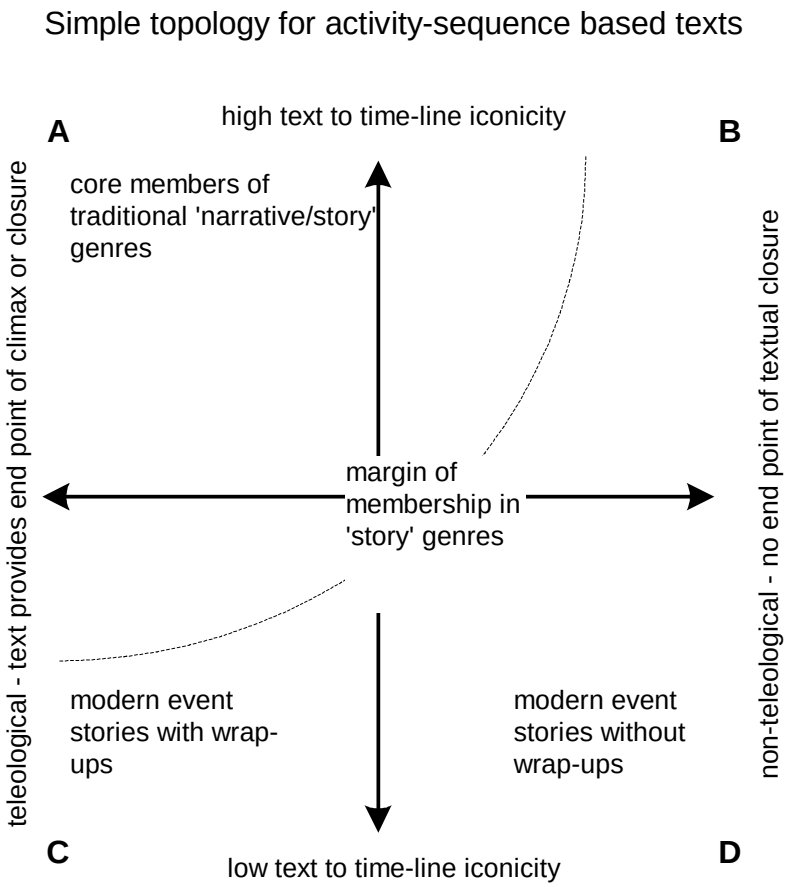


Figure 53: Topology for activity-sequence based texts

It was beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt any statistical determination of the degree of the preference of modern broadsheet journalism for texts with low versus high text to time-line iconicity, although those with low iconicity represented the overwhelming majority of the many hundreds of items examined in the course of the research. A preliminary, informal analysis of event stories from ‘tabloid’ publications and from the broadsheet journalism of other languages and cultures suggests, interestingly, that the low iconicity news item may not be as predominant in these other contexts. Although such variation in preference across cultural context provides an obvious area for future research, it was also beyond the scope of the current work.

It is noteworthy in this context that journalists themselves refer to these items as both ‘stories’ and ‘reports’ – they talk of both ‘news reports’ and ‘news stories’. Since

‘report’ and ‘story’ are not synonymous in most other contexts, it is possible, perhaps, to see here some reflection of a tension over the precise genre status of these items. Perhaps the usage of the two labels reflects the ambiguity of these items for journalistic commonsense notions of story and narrative.

There is one additional characteristic frequently ascribed to the narrative which needs to be considered. Stories/Narratives are frequently characterised as, not simply ‘documenting’ some activity sequence, but as shaping that description in such a way that the entities, relationships, actions and orderings contained therein reflect cultural themes and values, rather than ‘natural’ entities and arrangements. (See, for example, Barthes 1966, Bremond 1964, Todorov 1966, Bakhtin 1973, Adam 1992, Bird and Dardenne 1988, Mumby 1993). This notion underlies Toolan’s observation that, stories display ‘a degree of artificial fabrication or constructedness’ and ‘A degree of *pre*fabrication. In other words, narratives often seem to have bits we have seen or heard or think we have seen or heard before (recurrent chunks far larger than the recurrent chunks we call words)’ (1988: 4).

Martin, in a similar vein, argues that all stories act to associate the activity sequence they document with a social, interpersonal evaluation or point: a moral judgement, a shared emotional reaction, a feeling of solidarity or a communal sense of satisfaction in the triumph of some heroic individual over adversity and so on. (Martin to appear/a)

Thus, story is associated with some sense of an activity sequence being presented, not simply for its own sake, but because it carries some broader social message, because it rehearses or revisits certain cultural themes, because it is fabricated so as to convey a cultural resonance. It may be possible, therefore, to distinguish between those activity-sequence grounded texts which are fabricated so as to carry some cultural resonance (stories) and those which are not (non-stories). This seems to be the prospect that van Dijk raises when he states, ‘although each story is a type of action discourse, not each action discourse is a story.’ (1988: 50)

Certainly Aristotle suggests such a distinction in the *Poetics* when he distinguishes between history and literature:

> The difference between the historian and the poet is not in their utterance being in verse or prose... the difference lies in the fact that the historian speaks what has happened, the poet the kind of thing that *can* happen. Hence also poetry is a more philosophical and serious business than history; poetry speaks more of universals, history of particulars. (Aristotle 1970: 33)

The distinction is found today in text classifications which separate what is sometimes termed the 'chronicle' — a supposedly 'objective' genre which simply recounts a sequences of events as it happened — from the 'narrativising' genres where the shaping and social evaluation of events outlined above can be observed. Thus, in 'Myth, Chronicle and Story', Bird and Dardenne set up an opposition between 'objective' news reports and those that involve genuine 'story telling'. They state,

> [Journalists] face a paradox; the more 'objective' they are, the more unreadable they become; while the better storytellers they are, the more readers will respond, and the more they fear they are betraying their ideals [of objective reporting]. So journalists do some chronicling, some story-telling and a lot that is something of both. (Bird and Dardenne 1988: 78).

I pass no judgement here on whether or not it is possible to 'chronicle' without rehearsing cultural themes or constructing broader cultural messages and evaluations. All that needs be said here is that media event stories clearly do rehearse cultural themes and clearly are constructed to convey social meanings and evaluations. While this point will be taken up in greater detail in the final chapter, it is a commonplace in the media studies literature to observe how the news deals with a relatively limited set of socio-types (vicious criminals, heroic emergency workers, obstinate unionists, heartless bankers, extremist conservationists, cynical politicians, drug crazed pop stars and so on) and with a limited set of cultural themes (political conflict, catastrophic violence and moral transgression, for example). As well, the previous discussion has demonstrated how individual event stories act to evaluate the activity sequences they present, both through the semantics of intensification and through the appraisals of the outside sources typically introduced to pass judgement on or make sense out of the events at issue. At the very least, event stories are constructed to represent the activity sequences they describe as highly charged and carrying maximal social significance. In terms, therefore, of Toolan's notions of 'constructedness' and 'prefabrication' and

Martin's notions of 'social evaluation', the event story unproblematically classifies as narrative.

V.8. The modern event story and textual innovation – the evolution of genre

The discussion to this point, therefore, has explored at some length the distinctiveness of modern news reporting in its orientation to time-line – in the low text to time-line iconicity of many instances of event reporting. In this, the typical modern broadsheet event story stands apart from most other activity-sequence based text types operating in the culture, where the principle that textual structure should closely reflect chronological sequence remains fundamental. In the following section I will demonstrate that this modern mode of 'non-narrative' story telling is a relatively recent innovation which not only distinguishes the modern event story from other story-telling text types but also from its own journalistic precursors. In the final chapter I will argue that, in this, the modern event story represents a significant addition to the repertoire of genre types available to the culture and thereby expands the communicative resources available to the culture. I will also explore the rhetorical potential of those additional resources.

Up until the early 20th century, event-based news reports could, in the general sense of the term outlined above, be classed as narratives or stories. Once again, it must be stressed that I am not using 'narrative/story' in the narrow sense as it applies, for example, in Labov &Waletzky (1967) and the European narratological literature (for example Propp 1968, Todorov 1966). Pre-modern event stories are 'narratives' in that they clearly act to document specific, individual actions or sequences of events and are structured so as to iconically represent the chronological and causal sequence of these activity sequences through textual structure – they display high text to time-line iconicity.

These 'narrative' qualities of the pre-modern news item are exemplified by the following police-rounds report from the *New York Times* of 1907. (Values of

intensification have also been analysed and marked in red, to be discussed subsequently.)

AGED WOMAN'S BACK BROKEN.

Struck by an Auto While Returning from Father Mayer's Funeral.

Mrs. Amelia Greenblatt of 115 East Eighth Street attended the funeral yesterday of her late paster, the Rev. John B. Mayer, in the St Nicholas Roman Catholic Church in Second Street. The service ended at noon and Mrs Greenblatt started from the church to go to her home.

She crossed the sidewalk and stepped into Second Avenue almost in front of an automobile driven by Rudolph Plain of 379 Gates Avenue, Brooklyn. Plain, who was driving from the Williamsburg Bridge toward Bond Street, sounded his horn loudly as he came down the avenue into which throngs were flocking from the church.

The loud blast of the horn startled Mrs. Greenblatt, who is 54 years old, and she stood still, apparently stupefied by her danger. Plain put on his brakes and tried to swing the machine to one side. Before he could stop the car, however, it had struck the woman and flung her to one side against the curbstone.

Women in the crowd screamed in horror. Policeman Burke of the Fifth Street Station lifted the woman in his arms and put her in the back of the auto which Plain had succeeded in stopping. Then he ordered the chauffeur to drive up Avenue A to Bellevue Hospital at top speed.

The trip to the hospital of more than a mile was made in less than three minutes. Physicians who examined Mrs Greenblatt said that her spine was broken.

The Rev. Father Mayer, whose funeral Mrs. Greenblatt had attended died on Monday at the age of 56. He was born in Germany, came here 30 years ago and was ordained a priest and assigned to the St Nicholas Church seven years later. His long pastorate there endeared him to the German population of the parish over which he presided and hundreds visited the church yesterday. (*New York Times* - 18/10/1907)

The report begins typically with what I have previously termed the 'crisis point', the point at which some normal sequence of events runs counter-expectationally and catastrophically astray – the injury to the old woman. It is always open, of course, to the narrative to begin at the heart of the action in this way – *in media res*. But once the point of newsworthiness has been established, the report sets about mapping chronological and causal sequence through the length of the text's development. It is only after the sequence has been fully described that the text steps back in time to rehearse a brief biography of the clergyman whose funeral the unfortunate woman was attending. This strong text to time-line iconicity is represented diagrammatically in Figure 54 below, which maps text structure to the chronological sequence of the documented event. (As in previous diagrams of chronological orientation, the descriptions of individual incidents are located from left to right on the page according to their position in the actual chronological sequence and from top to bottom according to their position in unfolding text structure. The dashed vertical line indicates the relative location of the crisis point – the newsworthy point at which normal sequence is disrupted.)

A similar analysis of the modern 'school jaunt' car crash report is repeated following – Figure 55 (in abbreviated form) for the sake of comparison.

It is noteworthy, that, even though the pre-modern text begins with the point of newsworthy counter-expectation (the car striking the woman and breaking her back), this preliminary representation is not accompanied by the high concentration of intensification which is frequently found in modern event stories. While, the modern car crash report begins by describing the car trip as a 'jaunt' and the car as 'veering' off the road and 'smashing' into the tree, the pre-modern version states, somewhat sedately, that the woman's back was 'broken' after she was 'struck' by the auto. The pre-modern report does, of course, contain extensive intensification (see the analysis in red in the text citation above) but it is distributed relatively diffusely around the 'crisis point' as it is re-presented in its 'natural' position in the chronological sequence.

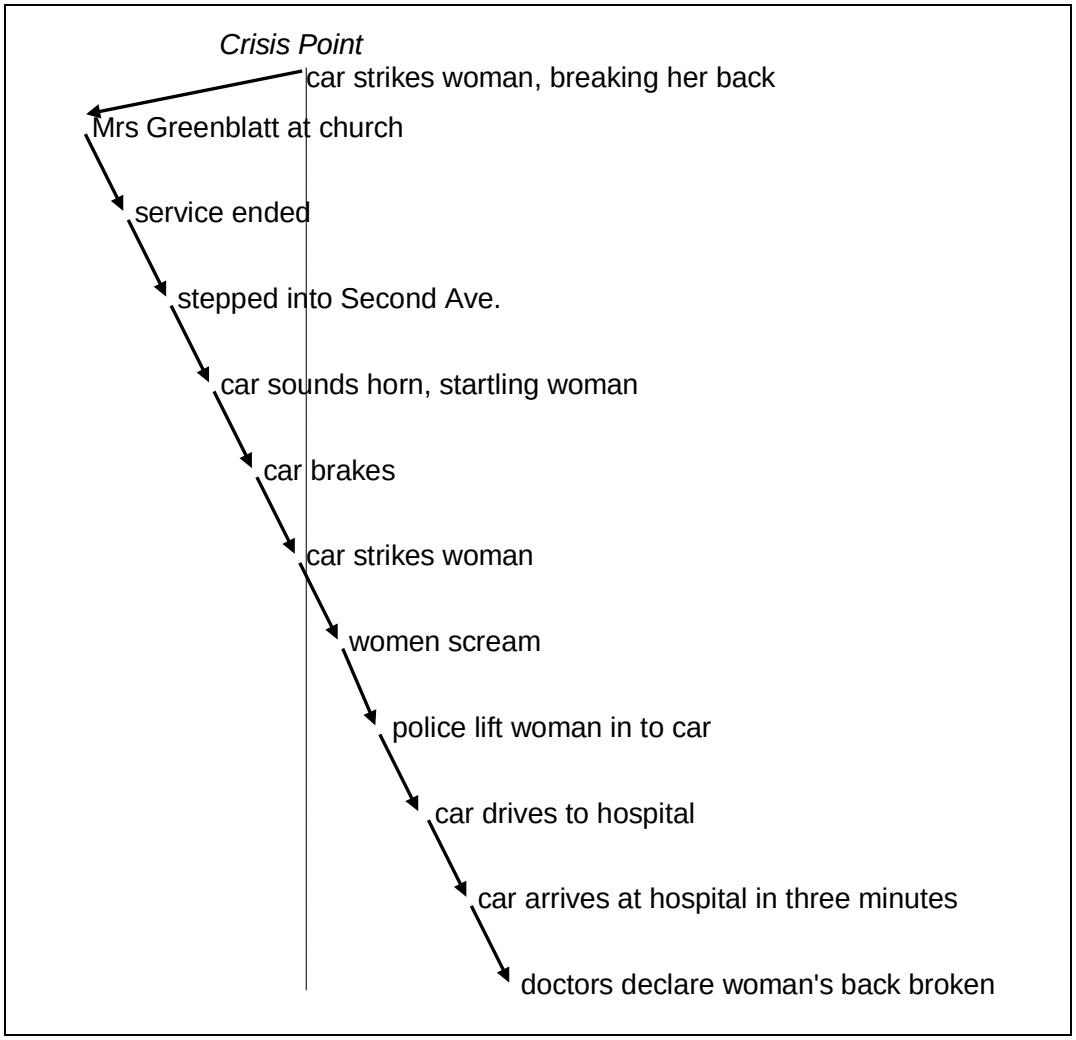


Figure 54: The pre-modern event-based news report and text to time-line iconicity

There is some variation in the degree of text to time-line iconicity in pre-modern (up until 1910[19]) journalistic textuality. It is not, however, of the same order of the variation which obtains in contemporary journalistic practice. At one end of the

[19] It was beyond the scope of this thesis to offer a thoroughgoing account of the stages by which the modern event story evolved. However, preliminary, informal investigation indicates that the textual structures and patterns of meaning associated with modern textuality were largely established by the late 1930s in the US and the UK, though more research is required. As discussed in chapter 1, these findings are supported by Schudson's account of the evolution of news story (see section I.5. above and Schudson 1978). The choice of 1910 as a boundary between the pre-modern and the modern largely, discussed in section I.5., was supported by a relatively extensive survey of items from *The Times* (of London) and *The New York Times*. That survey indicated that up until that date, the principle of high text to time-line iconicity remained predominant. It was only after this date that the shift to low text to time-line iconicity can be observed with any regularity, a period, which was associated with the rise of the so-called 'media barons' and the evolution of the institutions and economic structures known today as the 'mass media'. This point will be taken up in the final chapter.

spectrum are items such as the 'woman breaks back report' with very close text to time-line iconicity. In such texts, the crisis point is presented in the opening, out of its chronological context, but this presentation is relatively minimal, typically confined to a short headline and possibly a relatively short opening sentence. In pre-modern news reporting practice, such texts vary with those where the initial, out-of-context presentation of the crisis point is more extensive and carries greater rhetorical weight.

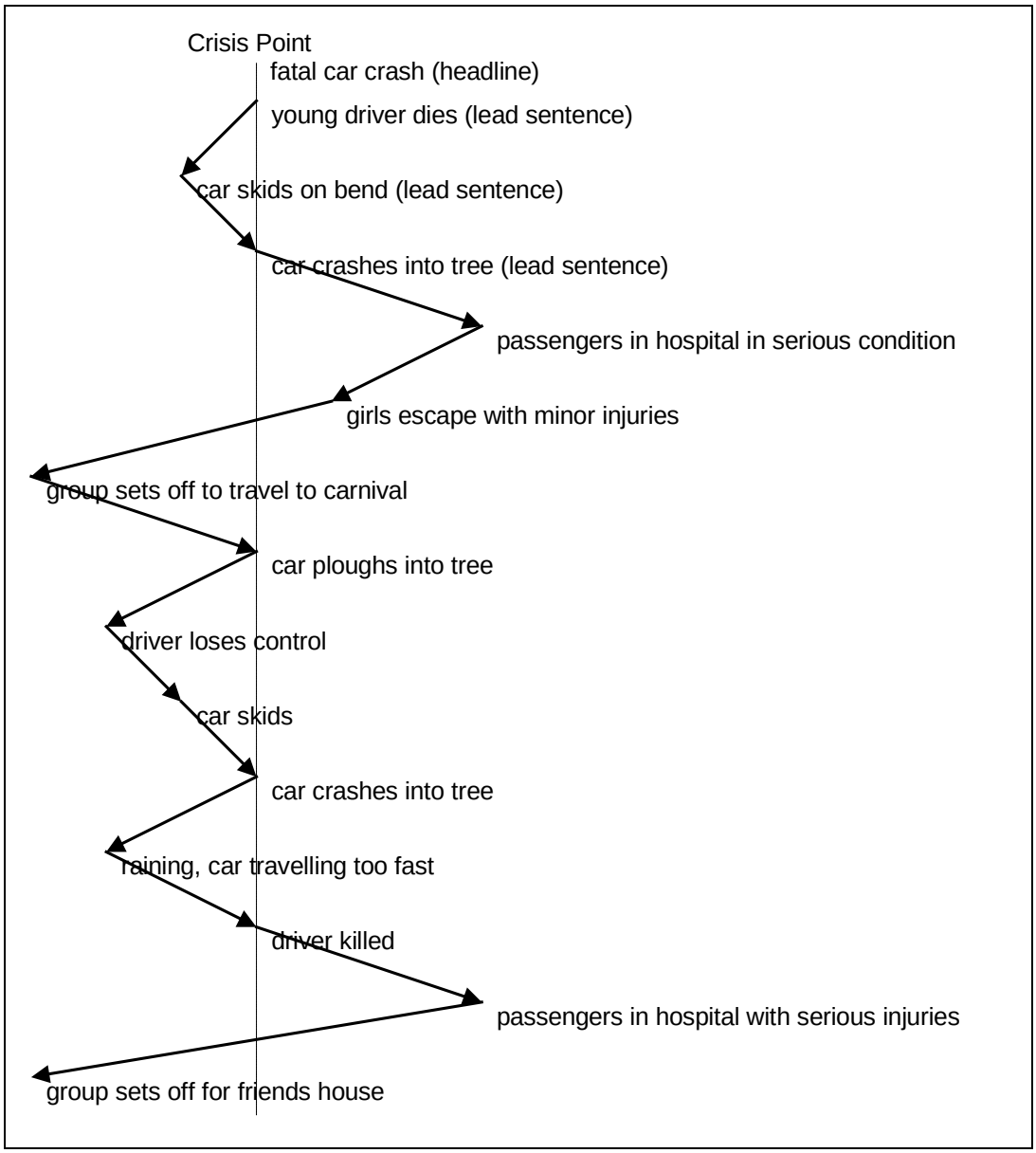


Figure 55: Time-line orientation of the modern event-based news report

Such texts are exemplified by the following police rounds report from the *New York Times* of 1901. (A brief analysis of the relationship of text structure to chronological sequence is inserted into the text.)

[*Multiple headlines: non-chronological summary of selected elements of activity sequence, foregrounding crisis point*]

SHOT AT POLICEMAN WHO CAPTURED HIM

Fierce Struggle Followed Big Crowd's Chase After Thief.

Prisoner One of Four Men Who Robbed the Store of a Dealer in Antiques on Madison Avenue.

[*Lead: abbreviated, chronologically organised, partial summary of activity sequence, focus on crisis point*]

An exciting chase by a big crowd up Madison Avenue last night ended in the capture of a well-dressed young man after a fierce struggle, during which he tried to kill Patrolman Patrick Conroy of the East Sixty-seventh Street Station, who made him prisoner.

[*Body: chronologically organised, extended recount of activity sequence*.]

Edwin Winthrop Dayton, dealer in antiques in Sixtieth Street and Madison Avenue, charged that the man had, with three others, robbed his store. Dayton was in the store about 6 o'clock with his clerk, when four men came in. Two of them talked to him about purchases they thought of making and another engaged the attention of the clerk. The fourth man roamed about the place, looking at various articles.

Presently, Mr. Dayton says, he saw this man put something in his pocket, and he at once darted from behind the counter after him. All four men dashed out of the shop, and ran in different directions. Dayton followed the man he says took his antiques. Dayton attracted attention by yelling "Stop thief!" and in a few minutes about 300 people joined in the chase.

Patrolman Conroy was going to duty at the fire ruins and was riding southward on a Madison Avenue car. He saw the excited crowd, heard Dayton shrieking, and jumped off the car. He had a good start and caught the young man at Sixty-third Street. The man fought desperately to escape, and

when he saw he was being beaten drew a revolver. He fired at Conroy's head, but the policeman knocked up the hand that held the weapon and the bullet missed.

Conroy then, with a heavy blow, sent the man rolling in the snow. The prisoner left off fighting and took to feigning illness. He got the police to send him to the Presbyterian Hospital, but the doctors there said he was shamming and sent him back.

The prisoner refused to give his name, and he was put down as John Doe. He is nineteen years old. He had upon him five antique rings, a scarfpin , a dainty miniature painting Mr. Dayton said was designed for the Paris Exposition , and some pawn-tickets in the name of Smith, for jewellery. Dayton said the antiques were his. The prisoner was locked up on charges of grand larceny and attempted felonious assault. No trace of his accomplices could be found. (*New York Times* 5/2/1901)

The relationship of text time to event time is diagrammed below in Figure 56.

The report is noteworthy in that it presents three accounts of the events at issue, with each subsequent account covering the same material presented previously, but extending and adding more detail to the description. Tellingly, the first account provided by the item's multiple headlines is un-chronological, in fact reversing the order of events as they were located in the temporal sequence (see Figure 56 below). These headlines single out the event's crisis point – the life-threatening confrontation between the police officer and the alleged thief – and provide, by way of context, key elements of the activity sequence which preceded. The second account is provided by the opening sentence which sets out an abbreviated description of the activity sequence, but this time in somewhat more detail. This second account is essentially in chronological sequence, with just one deviation from event time with the leap forward to the capture of the thief. The final account, occupying the body of the text, sets out a detailed account of the activity sequence in strict chronological order.

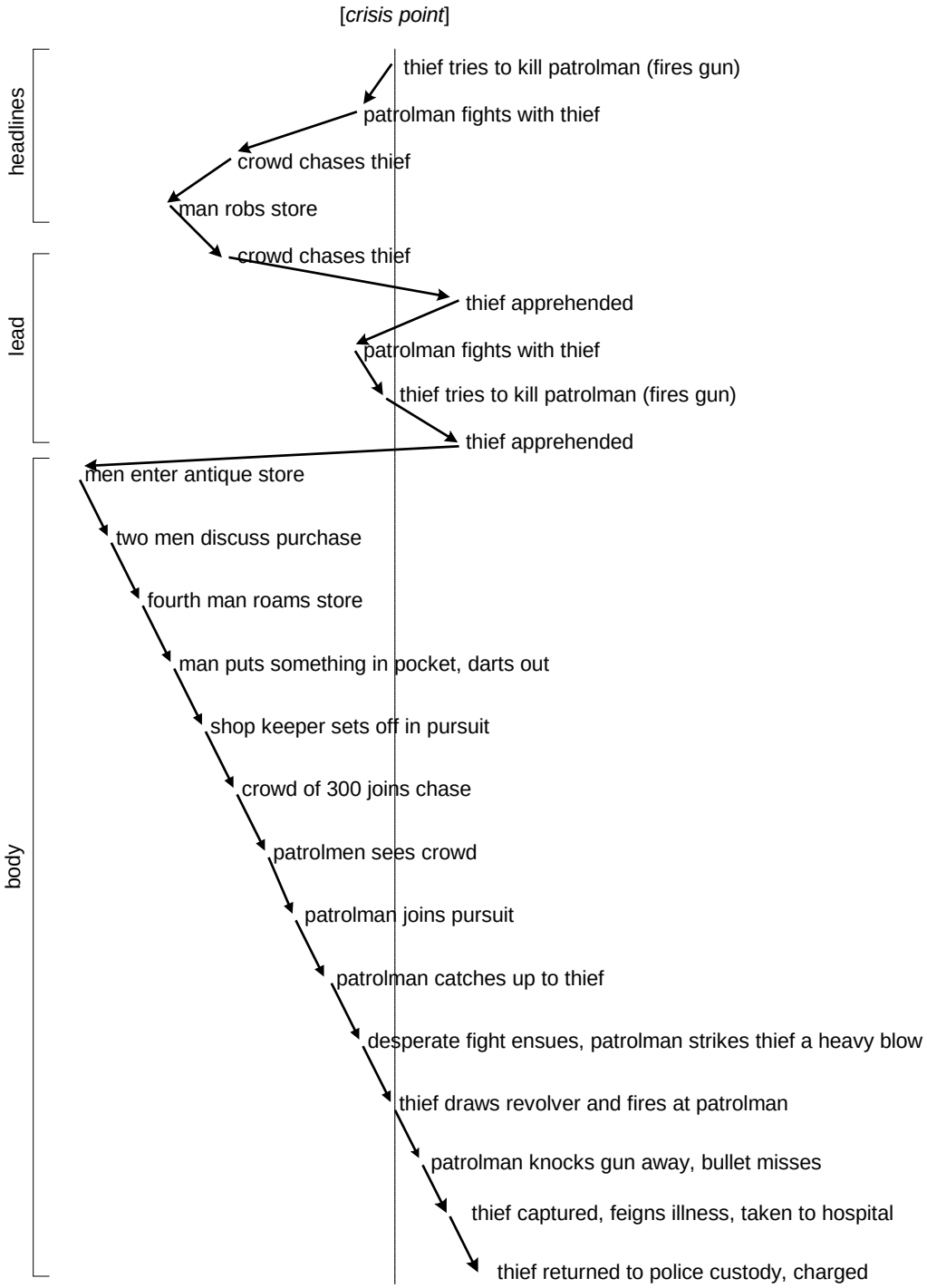


Figure 56: Thief Pursuit report – time-line analysis

While such a report is clearly still informed by the principle that story telling texts should act to provide a clear mapping of chronological/causal sequence, it is nevertheless possible to see here the seeds of the shift in textuality which underlies the modern event story. In particular, we notice the movement to disrupt temporal

sequence in the interests of highlighting and foregrounding the crisis point of counter-expectation, here reflected in the organisation of the multiple headlines. We also notice that the possibility of a repetitious return to that crisis point is introduced by the practice of providing multiple (in this case, three) accounts of the activity sequence. It is also noteworthy that the opening is highly intensified ('Fierce Struggle', 'Big Crowd', **'**exciting chase', 'big crowd', 'fierce struggle'), but not significantly more so than other sections of the text, most notably those sections which describe the crisis point in subsequent accounts.

V.9. Conclusion

From this diachronic perspective, therefore, the modern mass media event story is revealed as textually innovative, as representing a clear departure from key socio-semiotic principles associated with event-based textuality in most other contexts. In the final chapter, I will explore more precisely the nature of that transformation in terms of general principles of textuality and phylogenetic evolution. I will also explore the new rhetorical properties which follow from the transformation and how, in association with the parallel changes in interpersonal voice outlined in chapter 4, these properties equip modern news item to play a particular ideological role in contemporary society.

In the next chapter, I turn to a second type of 'hard news' item, that grounded in the pronouncements of newsworthy sources.

VI. News and argumentation: the issues report

VI.1. Introduction

VI.1.(a). Overview

This chapter is concerned with the textual structure, genre status and rhetorical potential of a sub-type of news reporting text which will be termed the 'issues report'. This text type is grounded, not in the activity sequence, but in communicative events such as speeches, debates, interviews, press releases and research findings. These communicative events characteristically act to convey some point or points of controversy, debate, contention, alarm or counter-expectation. That is, they are concerned with points of potential heteroglossic tension and hence can be seen in the general sense of the term to be 'argumentative' or 'argument-based'. I have labelled such items 'issues reports' to reflect their connection with this process of public-sphere contestation and debate.

Issues reports are at least as important to the overall process of news coverage as the event story. An analysis of the local news coverage of one week (March 7-15, 1997) of the on-line edition of the *Sydney Morning Herald* found that 61 percent of local news items could be classified as communicatively based rather than event based. (The foreign news pages, however, contained a higher proportion of event stories.)

Interestingly, there has been little analysis of the specific textual structure or communicative functionality of such items within the journalistic vocational training literature, the media studies literature or the text linguistic literature. In *Newsman's English* (1972), Evans does acknowledge an activity-sequence versus communicative-event distinction in dividing news texts into 'action' and 'statement/opinion' stories, but this categorisation is seldom adopted within the training literature. Tellingly, it is

the event story which is almost invariably the focus of attention in the academic literature. (See for example van Dijk 1988 and Bell 1991.) Iedema et al. (1994), however, devote one section to this type of news report and White (1997) explores it at some length. Certainly those who see the news item as unproblematically falling within the category of 'narrative' (see chapter 5) would appear to be considering only the event story, and ignoring the issues report since, as will be demonstrated below, issues reports clearly lack features which are fundamental to narrative or story.

Just as in the previous chapter I explored the generic structure of the event story, in this chapter I provide a detailed account of the textuality of this second sub-type of contemporary news reporting text. The conclusions reached here will, as in the previous chapter, provide the basis for the arguments about the ultimate rhetorical potential of news reporting texts to be developed in the final chapter. As well, the chapter will demonstrate that the modern issues report, like the modern event story, represents a significant departure from previous journalistic text compositional practices. The analysis of the issues story will once again demonstrate the need to look for alternatives to the linear models of textual organisation of the type discussed previously in association with narrative/story and which have been applied to argumentation-based texts. It will demonstrate that the 'orbital' principle of textual organisation observed in association with the event story is equally applicable to the issues report.

VI.1.(b). Preliminary classification: argumentation-based news items

The issues report which forms the subject of this chapter can be further divided into those which are grounded in a single argument and those which provide for the reporting of multiple, often opposed, perspectives. The two types are exemplified below.

[single argumentation]

Euro 96 headlines were in 'bad taste'

JINGOISTIC headlines about the German football team during Euro 96 were "offensive and in bad taste" the Press Complaints Commission has said.

The commission, which received 300 complaints from the public, said that headlines such as "Achtung Surrender - For You Fritz Ze European Championship Is Over" in the Daily Mirror, "Let's Blitz Fritz" in The Sun and "Herr We Go - Bring On The Krauts" in the Daily Star had "significantly ... misjudged the public mood". It said, however, that the headlines were "clearly not intended to incite prejudice directed at specific individuals on the ground of their race".

Members of the commission agreed that there was no breach of its code on discrimination, but said they wanted to "place on record" their concern that editors had departed from a "proud tradition" of combining support for Britain's sportsmen and women with tolerance and fair play towards others. (*The Times*: 31/10/96)

[multiple argumentation]

Lawyer alleges bias in picking 'correct' judges

By BERNARD LAGAN

A bias towards more women judges or those chosen because of their ethnic backgrounds had the potential to weaken the NSW judiciary, a senior Government law officer claimed yesterday.

A senior counsel in the Public Defender's Office, Mr John Nicholson, said there were judges sitting on the District Court Bench because of a political favour or because they were seen as politically correct, but who had virtually no experience in criminal law when appointed.

He said the judiciary had contributed to the flourishing of police corruption because it turned "a blind eye" to unlawful police conduct.

In a paper distributed at a legal seminar, Mr Nicholson said more than three-quarters of the court's work concerned criminal matters. Yet judges in the District Court who lacked criminal law experience also were unfamiliar with illegal police conduct towards suspects, such as fabricating evidence.

Mr Nicholson's paper said there had been a trend in NSW to make politically correct appointments to the Bench based upon ethnicity, gender or sexual preference.

But he said such judges had a real potential to be weak appointments because the critical criteria for judges - integrity, skill and learning - did not receive as much importance.

Judges, he argued, had rewarded corrupt police "by telling them that their arrests were not unlawful ... as to require action by the courts, that the confessions produced by the police were not forced or fabricated, no matter what the accused said".

Mr Nicholson said police witnesses at the police royal commission "have now confirmed what everyone has known for some time, that fabricated evidence was common at criminal trials".

The Government last night distanced itself from Mr Nicholson's views. The Attorney General, Mr Shaw, said people appointed as judges and magistrates must be candidates of merit. To appoint people "not up to the job" would be unfair to the appointees and to the judicial system.

"But within this constraint we must redress the unacceptable gender and racial distortion of the composition of the Bench.

"Obviously the Government in NSW would be astute to consider as candidates for judicial appointment qualified women and people of Aboriginal or ethnic background."

The Opposition's spokesman on legal issues, Mr Andrew Tink, said he hoped there would be more women on the Bench, reflecting the increased numbers of women at law schools.

Mr Nicholson's paper was prepared for a seminar organised by Justice Action, a lobby group pushing for an independent body to be established to review criminal cases in which police might have fabricated evidence.

(*Sydney Morning Herald* 11/24/1995)

In the previous chapter, I set out the grounds for identifying the journalistic sub-category of event story. There we saw how this sub-type is grounded in the material activity sequence and how this orientation is reflected in a lexico-grammatical preference for material and behavioural processes. The grounding of the issues report in some argumentative, communicative event is similarly reflected by its lexico-grammatical preferences. This can best be demonstrated by comparative transitivity

and APPRAISAL analyses of the two sub-types. These analyses are set out below in the following sets of tables. The first two tables compare the transitivity preferences of the Spanish train disaster report (event story) presented previously with the transitivity preferences of the 'Euro 96 headlines' report cited above (issues report).

material/behavioural	relational	mental	verbal
killed			
hurt			
returning			
careered			
injured			
worked			
free			
	were		
trapped			
		feared	
rise			
took			
pulled			
laying			
covering			
			ordered
			said
	was		
died			
collided			
happened			
			said
tumbled			
thrown			
crushed			
screaming			
	was		
			said
going			
crashed			
gone			
stopping			
checking			
			said
		tell	
happened			
added			
died			
			expressed condolences
72 % of total	8 % of total	5 % of total	15 % of total
material/behavioural	relational	mental	verbal

Table 1(a): Train crash story – process types (event story)

material/behavioural	relational	mental	verbal
	were		
	were		
			said
received			
			said
		misjudged	
			said
		intended	
incite			
			agreed
	was		
			said
		wanted	
place			
departed			
combining			
31 % of total	19 % of total	19 % of total	31 % of total
material/behavioural	relational	mental	verbal

Table 1(b): 'Euro 96 headlines' report – process types (issues report)

The event story, with its grounding the material activity sequence, features the strong preference for material processes already examined in chapter 5. In contrast, the alternative experiential orientation of the issues report is reflected in a much more even distribution of process types and the lack of any clear preference for material processes. We note a significantly greater frequency of relational, mental and verbal processes in comparison with the event story.

The interpersonal contrast between the two sub-types is reflected in the following analysis of values from the attitudinal sub-grouping (AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION) and values of intensification, from the APPRAISAL system. (See chapter 3). The following two tables compare the occurrence of values of ATTITUDE and intensification in the two news items. (Extra-textualised/attributed values are in the **bold/underlined** typeface and authorial values are in the normal typeface.)

Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Intensification
		worst	(worst)
			full
			careered
			seriously
feared			
		'worst'	(worst)

			collided
			'all happened in a second'
			'tumbled'
			'screaming'
'horrible'			**'horrible'** (reduplication)
	'going too fast' (possible token of propriety or incompetence - also possibly accidental and hence no judgement)		
			heavy
'condolences'			

Table 2(a): 'Spanish Train Crash' event story – ATTITUDE and intensification

Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Amplification
		'bad taste'	
		jingoistic	
		'offensive'	
		'bad taste'	
			'significantly'
	'misjudged' (competence)		
	'incite prejudice' (propriety)		
	'breach of code' (propriety)		
	'discrimination' (propriety)		
'wanted'			
'concern'			
	'had departed from a proud tradition' (resolve ? propriety)		
'proud'			
	'tolerance'		
	'fair play'		
Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Amplification

Table 2(b): 'Euro 96 headlines' issues report – ATTITUDE and intensification

The event story is clearly oriented interpersonally to intensification with no inscribed JUDGEMENT (the only value is a token of JUDGEMENT) and only two values of APPRECIATION. In contrast, the issues report is strongly oriented towards the three attitudinal values, but particularly towards JUDGEMENT.

Such a marked pattern of preference can be observed widely in contemporary 'hard news' reporting. For example, the police rounds items included in the database of texts for the voice analysis can all be unproblematically classified as event stories in that they have a preference of 50 percent or greater for material/behavioural processes and, in most cases, display a strong preference for intensification. Similarly, the political items included in the database class as issues reports in that material/behavioural processes comprise a significantly lower proportion of process types, and they make much more consistent user of values of ATTITUDE.

It must be noted, however, that the distinction operates as a cline along two axes. Items vary in the degree to which they favour material/behavioural processes and, alternatively, in the degree to which they are oriented towards the attitudinal values. It is theoretically possible, therefore, to find items which both favour material processes and which are oriented towards ATTITUDE. Such items would therefore, be seen as lying midway between the event story and issues report prototypes.

VI.1.(c). Organisation of the chapter

In the following sections I will firstly provide a detailed account of the textuality of the modern issues report, demonstrating that the principle of 'orbitality' informs its structural organisation and that trans-textual patternings of interpersonal meaning similar to those discovered in the event story may also be identified. I will then explore issues relating to the relationship of the modern issues report to established taxonomies of genre types. The chapter concludes by exploring in detail the characteristic textuality of the modern issues report in relation to its pre-modern journalistic precursors – it examines the nature of the shift in text compositional practices by which the modern mode of textuality was constituted. I will show that the modern issues report differs from its precursors in the degree to which journalistic rhetorical objectives outweigh the objectives of the originating text upon which the issues reports is based, that the modern issues report is distinctive in the vigour with which it recontextualises and reconstrues the verbal materials it purports to document.

In the next section I explore the semantics of the opening phase of the issues report, once again the combination of the headline plus lead, before describing the global structure of the issues report.

VI.2. The structure of the issues report – opening phase

VI.2.(a). The headline/lead

Issues reports purport to recount the stated views, arguments, explanations, predictions, promises etc of authorised sources such as politicians, lobbyists, community leaders, professional experts, celebrities and so on. The opening headline/lead presents a statement or statements, drawn from the utterances of these sources, which conveys some point of potential heteroglossic tension, typically revealed through the presence of APPRAISAL, and more particularly of values of ATTITUDE. These attributed assertions, given prominence through their location in rhetorically prominent openings, may be either PROPOSALS or PROPOSITIONS, as this MOOD distinction was formulated previously in chapter 3 (section III.3.(b)).

VI.2.(b). Headline/lead as appraised PROPOSITION

In the case of PROPOSITIONS, the claim most typically entails some APPRAISAL value of JUDGEMENT, some claim by the quoted source that there has been a breach of 'propriety', 'veracity', 'resolve', 'competence' or 'custom'. Such headline/leads are exemplified by the following four examples, where various public institutions and groupings are targeted for negative JUDGEMENT with respect to 'competence' (examples 1 & 4) and with respect to 'propriety' (examples 2, 3 & 4). (Values of JUDGEMENT are marked with colour – blue for esteem (tenacity, competence, custom), purple for sanction (propriety, veracity). Inscribed values are underlined and in **bold**, while tokens of judgement are in the normal font.)

(issues example 1)

Panel Details How Canada Failed [*competence*] Indian Tribes

OTTAWA -- A commission that spent five years and $43.5 million studying the condition of Canada's Indians and Eskimos concluded on Thursday that government policies for the last 150 years had been a **shameful failure**.

[note, shameful + failure provokes a sense of *impropriety*](*The New York Times*, 22/11/96)

(issues example 2)

CHILD CARE ON TRIAL [*propriety*]

Child-care standards a scandal, [*propriety*] **say experts**

Many child-care centres are **flagrantly breaching regulations** [*propriety*] and are operating with **impunity** [*propriety*] because it is almost impossible to close them, say child-care specialists. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 11/2/95)

(issues example 3)

Lawyer alleges bias [*propriety*] **in picking 'correct' judges**

A **bias** [*propriety*] towards more women judges or those chosen because of their ethnic backgrounds [*token: propriety*] had the potential to weaken the NSW judiciary [*token: propriety*], a senior Government law officer claimed yesterday. (*Sydney Morning Herald* 11/24/95)

(issues example 4)

French behaviour "colonial" [*propriety*]**, says Keating**

The war of words over France's nuclear testing intensified yesterday with the French leader, President Chirac, describing Australian protests as **"irrational"** [*competence*] and the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, retaliating that Paris was **guilty of "colonial" behaviour** [*propriety*]. (*Sydney Morning Herald* 29/6/95)

As discussed in chapter 3, since such values of JUDGEMENT target groups and individuals for approval or disapproval, they are highly likely to be the locus of heteroglossic diversity and contestation – they put at risk solidarity. Different heteroglossic positions are highly likely to attach different values of JUDGEMENT to certain social actors and socially significant events. Thus, for example, a widespread Australian heteroglossic position will contest the French leader's assessment of the Australian anti-nuclear protest as 'irrational', just as a widespread French heteroglossic position will contest the assessment of those tests as 'colonial'.

In the above example, most instances of JUDGEMENT involve inscription rather than tokens of JUDGEMENT, and this is typical of issues reports generally. It is, however, possible that the opening/lead relies entirely on tokens of judgement. For example,

> **Deaths in custody**
> More than $65 million of the $400 million set aside to prevent black deaths in custody was spent by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission on land acquisition and rural management. (*The Australian,* 30/12/96)

Here there is no explicit assertion of wrongdoing, no evaluative language alleging (im)propriety (in)competence, merely a description of actions which will, nonetheless, typically be interpreted by readers as evidence of impropriety – in this case, evidence of the misuse of funds and possibly fraud.

While the primary interpersonal focus of the majority of issues reports is upon values of JUDGEMENT, a smaller proportion are concerned with values of counter-expectation. (See chapter 3, section III.3.(c).iii and chapter 5, section V.5.(a).7. for a discussion of the interpersonal value of counter-expectation.) In such instances, the report foregrounds a proposition which challenges accepted knowledge or understandings and hence carries with it some 'amazement value'. For example,

> (issues example 5)
> **Rock May Bear Signs of Ancient Life on Mars**
> In what some scientists say may turn out to be one of the most spectacular scientific discoveries since humans first gazed skyward at other planets in our solar system, NASA and Stanford University scientists say they have found evidence that life may have existed on ancient Mars. (*Los Angeles Times,* 8/8/96)

It is noteworthy that the highly-charged heteroglossic status of such a proposition is heavily marked in terms of ENGAGEMENT – it is twice extra-textualised (the proposition is twice attributed) and once probabilised (by the modal 'may have existed').

VI.2.(c). Headline/lead as PROPOSAL

Alternatively, the headline/lead may be grounded in PROPOSAL, rather than PROPOSITION. In chapter 3, I explored the heteroglossic consequences of demands and offers of goods-&-services, observing that PROPOSALS inscribe in the text the possibility of heteroglossic negotiation by requiring compliance/acceptance, and through the way that demands or offers are typically located within a particular nexus of heteroglossic concord or discord. Such PROPOSAL-based headline/leads are exemplified by the following,

> (issues example 6)
> Tasmanian independent, Senator Harradine, has **called on the Federal government to rethink** its family planning aid programs, claiming they are threatening the human rights of Third World women. (Australian Associated Press 6/6/94)

> (issues example 7)
> Aid Agency CARE Australia **has urged urgent action on the part of the international community to prevent** the situation in Liberia turning into another Rwanda. (Australian Associated Press, 14/4/96)

In example 6, we observe that heteroglossic tension (the newsworthy point of social significance) results from the demand by the Senator for some action by the government within the ideologically contentious context of 'family planning'. We notice, as well, that the demand by the Senator is supported by another trigger of heteroglossic tension, the JUDGEMENT assessment (negative 'propriety') that human rights are at risk. In example 7, the heteroglossic tension results from the demand for action by the international community, in conjunction with the prediction (heteroglossically charged in that it involves theorising about consequentiality) that such is needed to prevent a major disaster.

As demonstrated in chapter 3, offers of goods-&-services (as opposed to demands) are similarly implicated heteroglossically. They put at risk degrees of acceptance/rejection of the offer by those addressed and are similarly located within a particular heteroglossic context. Issues reports with headline/leads based upon offers

are most typically found within the domain of political reporting, particularly in the context of electioneering. Such reports are exemplified by the following,

> (issues example 8)
>
> **Dole Vows Brighter Economy, Stresses Values**
>
> **Nominee Blasts Clinton as Leader Of `Elite' Corps**
>
> SAN DIEGO, Aug. 15 -- Robert J. Dole claimed the Republican presidential nomination tonight promising a brighter economic future, a smaller government and the restoration of old-fashioned values. (*Washington Post* 16/8/96)

VI.2.(d). Headline/lead as summary

A subset of issues reports open with a headline/lead phase which acts to identify the topic or general subject matter of the verbal event at issue rather than presenting actual PROPOSITIONS or PROPOSALS drawn from that event. For example,

> The role of the expatriate social critic was filled yesterday by the art critic and essayist, Robert Hughes, who strongly criticised the Prime Minister, Mr Howard, for his stance on the republic and immigration. (*The Australian* 27/11/96)

Here the original verbal event – an interview – has been summarised to the extent that specific argumentative propositions by the art critic Robert Hughes are generalised as 'critic[ism]' of the Prime Minister 'for his stance on the republic and immigration'. No actual PROPOSITION or PROPOSAL, however, is presented in the opening. It is only in the body of the story that the basis for the generalisation is revealed — claims, for example, that the Prime Minister is 'uncaring on race and immigration…because he figures he has something to lose by censuring [the Queensland Independent MP] Pauline Hanson.'

Similar functionality is found in the following,

> **Black MP attacks jobs 'for blue-eyed Finns'**
>
> DIANE ABBOTT, the Labour MP, has launched an attack on "blonde, blue-eyed Finnish girls" who work in her local hospital. (*The Times*, 28/11/96)

Here the set of contentious propositions upon which the report is based has been generalised as 'an attack on blonde, blue-eyed Finnish girls'. It is only later in the text that the actual proposition is provided, that 'Finnish nurses [are] unfit to work at Homerton Hospital in Hackney because they are white and foreign and may never have met a black person before, let alone touched one'.

VI.2.(e). Issues/event hybrids: headline/lead opening

As outlined in an earlier section, a sub-set of news items can be seen as equally grounded in a material activity sequence and in appraisal oriented verbal events. This twin focus is typically reflected in the structure of the headline/lead opening of these items. The opening points to both elements, simultaneously presenting the focal point of activity-sequence counter-expectation (see the previous chapter) and the point of heteroglossic tension that the counter-expectational event has triggered. For example,

> **Wall of water kills miners** [focal point of activity sequence counter-expectation]
>
> **'Unsafe culture' attacked** [APPRAISAL: JUDGEMENT] **after four die in cave-in** [counter-expectancy]
>
> An 'unsafe culture' **[**APPRAISAL**:** JUDGEMENT**]** exists in the mining industry, the Minister for Minerals and Energy, Mr Martin, said yesterday after four men died [counter-expectation] in the worst mining accident in NSW for nearly two decades (*Sydney Morning Herald* , 15/11/96)

Such hybrids are frequent in the domain of political reporting. For example,

> **Tory majority wiped out by MP's protest**
>
> JOHN MAJOR'S fragile Commons majority was wiped out last night after a Tory MP withdrew his support from the party [counter expectancy], accusing ministers of "distorting promises" **[**APPRAISAL**:** JUDGEMENT**]** over hospital care. (*The Times*, 7/12/96)

VI.2.(f). Headline/lead and intensification.

This foregrounding of a range of appraisal values in the opening headline/lead clearly sets the issues report apart from the event story where, as demonstrated previously, the primary interpersonal semantic of the opening is one of intensification. It should

also be noted that, while the intensification of the event story opening is typically authorial (words the reporter puts forward as his/her own), the APPRAISAL values of the issues report headline/lead are, in the terms of the engagement theory set out previously, 'extra-textualised'. This is in conformity with the patterns of semantic preference associated with reporter voice – values of JUDGEMENT do occur in reporter voice texts but typically only in extra-textualised contexts.

The degree to which values of JUDGEMENT, counter-expectation etc are concentrated in the headline/lead of the issues report will be explored below. It should be noted, however, that despite the prominence of these values, intensification of the type found in the event story headline/lead is also encountered in the opening of the issues report. Perhaps predicably, given the central role of the grammar of attribution ('extra-textualisation') within the issues reports, the intensifying impulse often informs the way the underlying verbal communication is reported. Thus politicians 'slam' their opponents rather than criticising or disagreeing with them, political parties find themselves 'plunged into a heated row' rather than engaging in debate, and adverse findings are formulaically described as 'damning indictments'. Such intensification of projection is typically located in the headline/lead phase of the issues report. For example,

> **MP attacks jobs 'for blue-eyed Finns'**
> DIANE ABBOTT, the Labour MP, has launched an attack on "blonde, blue-eyed Finnish girls" who work in her local hospital. (*The Times* 28/11/96)

VI.3. Global patterns of textual organisation

VI.3.(a). The issues story and orbital textuality

The body of the issues report acts in essentially the same manner as the body of the event story to specify the meanings presented in the opening nucleus. The body provides elaboration, contextualisation, explanation and appraisal of the headline/lead. It is necessary, however, to identify two additional logical relations in

the context of the issues report, or at least to specify two further modes under the broad heading of ‘explanation’. One common function for satellites in the issues report is to provide the reasoning or evidence for the point of contention presented in the opening. (The structure of argumentation of the issues report will be explored in greater detail in section VI.4, below.) That is to say, the specifying satellite provides supporting argumentation for the central contention of the headline/lead, with a logical relationship which might be glossed as ‘therefore’ or ‘accordingly’. I have, accordingly, labelled this relationship ‘Justification’. Additionally, satellites may provide some concessive or counter-expectational specification of the primary contention of the headline/lead, indicating where some expected corollary does not apply. The relationship is often explicitly coded by conjunctions such as ‘however’ or ‘but’. (See, for example, the ‘Euro 96 headlines’ report cited previously).

Both relations can be included under the broad heading of Cause-&-Effect. Justification is ‘causal’ in the sense that it reveals the motivation or rationale for the point of contention presented in the headline/lead. As discussed previously, concession can be construed as a consequential relation, dealing as it does with the frustration of logical or expected sequence.

The logical relations which apply for the issues report thus include,

- Elaboration: One sentence or a group of sentences provides more detailed description or exemplification of information presented in the headline/lead, or acts to restate it or describe the material in the headline/lead in different terms. The relationship could be explicitly coded through phrases such as 'that is to say', 'in other words', 'for example', 'by way of illustration', 'specifically', 'to be precise'.
- Cause-&-Effect – Consequence : One or more sentences describe the causes, the reasons for, the consequences or the purpose of elements presented in the headline/lead.
- Cause-&-Effect – Justification: One or more sentences provide the evidence or reasoning which supports the point of contention presented in the headline/lead

nucleus. This 'justification' could be seen as a text internal 'cause-and-effect' in that it explains why a particular claim has been made.[20]

- Cause-&-Effect – Concession: One or more sentences acts to indicate a point at which expected consequence or conclusion is frustrated.
- Contextualisation: One or more sentences place the events or statements of the headline/lead in a temporal, spatial or social context. The geographical setting will be described in some detail or the action or actions described will be located in the context of preceding, simultaneous or subsequent events. Prior events of a similar nature may be described for the purpose of comparison. In the case of issues reports, the time or place of verbal event, or its relationship with some unfolding debate of controversy, will be set out.
- Appraisal: Elements of the headline/lead are appraised, typically by some expert external source, in terms of their significance, their emotional impact, or by reference to some system of value judgement. Within the issues report, such 'appraisal' is frequently directed by an additional source at the arguments with which the report is centrally concerned.

The application of this model of orbital specification is illustrated through the following treatment of an issues report covering arguments by a Sydney Magistrate that police powers should be increased to counter a rise in juvenile crime.

[20] Matthiessen and Thompson 1988 argue for a textual relation of 'Justification' in their theory of Rhetorical Structure, though it is not identical with that proposed here.

[Nucleus: *proposition that knives should be confiscated because violent juvenile crime is increasing* - note that the Justification for the central proposal is included in the opening nucleus] Ban teens' knives Juvenile violence 'rising sharply' POLICE should have the power to confiscate knives from teenagers after an increase in violent offences, the State's most senior children's magistrate told a parliamentary inquiry yesterday.
[Satellite 1: Elaboration - *restates, exemplifies 'an increase in violent offences' among teenagers*] Rod Blackmore, senior children's magistrate for 17 years said violent offences had risen while others, such as car stealing and general theft, had fallen. Mr Blackmore said violent matters accounted for 41 per cent of offences listed before him at Bidura Children's Court, Glebe, for the next two months. They included malicious wounding, armed robbery, assault with bodily harm, assault on police, personal violence and assault with intent to rob.
[Satellite 2: Justification - *reason why confiscation of knives is proposed*] Offences involving knives made up 30 per cent of all violent matters before him. Mr Blackmore said knives had become the most popular weapon used by young criminals.
[Satellite 3: Elaboration - *restatement of primary thesis as presented in headline/lead, restates 'police should have the power to confiscate knives...'*] He said police should be given the power to confiscate pocket knives, butterfly and flick knives.
[Satellite 4: Contextualisation - *the prior situation*] Mr Blackmore told the all party Standing Committee on Social Issues inquiry into youth violence that five years ago car theft was the big problem. It made up more than half of his workload but a clampdown on car theft had reduced the number, Mr Blackmore said, to less than 20 per cent.
[Satellite 5: Elaboration - *specifies, exemplifies 'an increase in violent offences' among teenagers* He said there were about 17 youths charged with murder going through the court system.
[Satellite 6: Justification - *reason why knives must be confiscated*] 'The real worry is the carrying of knives by juveniles which is very frequent in the community and schools,' he said. Outside the inquiry, Mr Blackmore said he felt the proportion of violent offences involving knives had increased six-fold over the past five years. 'The use of knives, certainly in robberies, is a fairly frequent feature.'
[Satellite 7: Contextualisation - *legal context in which the call for confiscation is made*] Mr Blackmore said the law says a person is not entitled to carry a weapon for personal protection.
[Satellite 8: Cause-and-Effect - *states purpose/consequence of primary proposal*] Allowing police to confiscate a knife would mean teenagers could be cautioned, rather than charged for the offence. It may be possible children could get their knife back from police if they proved they had a proper use for the weapon or their parents knew of it, Mr Blackmore said.
[Satellite 8: Cause-and-Effect - *reasons for increase in violent crime*] Mr Blackmore also raised the possibility the anti-car stealing push may have led to the increase in violent crime. 'If people are doing things for kicks, do they now go out and wander round streets at night looking for someone to mug rather than taking someone's car?' he said.

Figure 57: 'Knives ban' issues report: orbital analysis (*Daily Telegraph*, Sydney)

VI.3.(b). The issues report and radical editability

The orbital status of issues report textuality is reflected in the same set of linguistic features explored in the discussion of the event story. For example, we find a similar potential for the radical re-ordering of satellites. Thus in the following radical edit of the 'Ban teen knives' report, the text remains coherent although I have reversed the order of the satellites. (The changes do, of course, have semantic consequences. The point however, as discussed previously, is that the text retains its functionality.)

Edited version (original order of satellites shown by numbering.)

[Nucleus: ***proposition that knives should be confiscated because violent juvenile crime is increasing*** **- note that the Justification for the central proposal is included in the opening nucleus]** Ban teens' knives Juvenile violence 'rising sharply' POLICE should have the power to confiscate knives from teenagers after an increase in violent offences, the State's most senior children's magistrate told a parliamentary inquiry yesterday.
[Satellite 1a: Elaboration - ***restates, exemplifies 'an increase in violent offences' among teenagers*****]** Rod Blackmore, senior children's magistrate for 17 years, told [the all party Standing Committee on Social Issues inquiry into youth violence] that violent offences [among juveniles] had risen while others, such as car stealing and general theft, had fallen.
[Satellite 8: Cause-and-Effect - ***states purpose/consequence of primary proposal*****]** Allowing police to confiscate a knife would mean teenagers could be cautioned, rather than charged for the offence. It may be possible children could get their knife back from police if they proved they had a proper use for the weapon or their parents knew of it, Mr Blackmore said.
[Satellite 7: Contextualisation - ***legal context in which the call for confiscation is made*****]** Mr Blackmore said the law says a person is not entitled to carry a weapon for personal protection.
[Satellite 6: Justification - ***reason why knives must be confiscated*****]** 'The real worry is the carrying of knives by juveniles which is very frequent in the community and schools,' he said. Outside the inquiry, Mr Blackmore said he felt the proportion of violent offences involving knives had increased six-fold over the past five years. 'The use of knives, certainly in robberies, is a fairly frequent feature.'
[Satellite 5: Elaboration - ***specifies, exemplifies 'an increase in violent offences' among teenagers*** He said there were about 17 youths charged with murder going through the court system.
[Satellite 4: Contextualisation - ***the prior situation*****]** Mr Blackmore said that five years ago car theft was the big problem. It made up more than half of his workload but a clampdown on car theft had reduced the number to less than 20 per cent.
[Satellite 3: Elaboration - ***restatement of primary thesis as presented in headline/lead, restates 'police should have the power to confiscate knives...'*****]** He said police should be given the power to confiscate pocket knives, butterfly and flick knives.
[Satellite 1b] Mr Blackmore said violent matters accounted for 41 per cent of offences listed before him at Bidura Children's Court, Glebe, for the next two months. They included malicious wounding, armed robbery, assault with bodily harm, assault on police, personal violence and assault with intent to rob.
[Satellite 2: Justification - ***reason why confiscation of knives is proposed*****]** Offences involving knives made up 30 per cent of all violent matters before him. Mr Blackmore said knives had become the most popular weapon used by young criminals.
[Satellite 9 : Cause-and-Effect - ***reasons for increase in violent crime*****]**

Mr Blackmore also raised the possibility the anti-car stealing push may have led to the increase in violent crime. ‘If people are doing things for kicks, do they now go out and wander round streets at night looking for someone to mug rather than taking someone's car?’ he said.

Figure 58: 'Knives ban' issues report: radical edit

VI.3.(c). Orbital structure and the headline/lead as hyper (textual) Theme

The textual centrality of the headline/lead nucleus is again reflected in the way the opening foreshadows Theme choices throughout the text. The following analysis (Figure 59 below) tracks Theme sourcing across the text. Themes which map onto textually novel elements are marked in red while arrows are used to indicate the source of either the entire topical theme or some element of the topical theme. (The analysis considers not only the head of the nominal group but pre and post modification).

Once again we observe that it is the headline/lead nucleus which establishes the subject matter of the text, with virtually no new information introduced anywhere in the text which does not relate back to an element of the headline/lead. We note in the analysis that there are only three exceptions out of 32 instances to the rule that Themes reference elements already presented in the headline/lead. And once again these Themes prove to be more apparent than actual departures from the pattern of headline/lead centrality and body-text dependency. In the unit marked as '5', the marked topical theme, 'five years ago', serves merely to provide the temporal context for the discussion of the crimes committed by juveniles, the central concern of the text's headline/lead. In the same unit, 'It' references 'car theft' which, although not specifically present in the headline/lead, is closely linked by association (car theft is the primary offence committed by juveniles) or by hyponymy (car theft is co-hyponymic with 'violent offences' as one of the types of crime committed by juveniles). In unit 7, 'the real worry' is of course a 'given' provided through an expectancy relationship with the focal point of the headline/lead. News that there is an increase in violent crime by juveniles naturally results in 'worry'. Notably, 'worry' here has definite deixis and hence is explicitly construed as 'given', even though it has not previously occurred in the text. The Theme of the projected clause in unit 7, 'a person'

has generic reference, having a similar meaning to the generic 'you' or 'one' and hence can be construed as 'given' by the context of situation. It might also be interpreted as referring to the 'juveniles' carrying knives who might be apprehended by police and hence is directly referenced by the headline/lead.

Headline/lead

Ban teens' knives
Juvenile violence 'rising sharply'
POLICE should have the power to confiscate knives from teenagers after an increase in violent offences, the State's most senior children's magistrate told a parliamentary inquiry yesterday.

Specification

1.

Rod Blackmore, senior children's magistrate for 17 years, said violent offences had risen while others, such as car stealing and general theft, had fallen.

2.

Mr Blackmore said violent matters accounted for 41 per cent of offences listed before him at Bidura Children's Court Glebe, for the next two months. They included malicious wounding, armed robbery, assault with bodily harm, assault on police, personal violence and assault with intent to rob.

3.

Offences involving knives made up 30 per cent of all violent matters before him.
Mr Blackmore said knives had become the most popular weapon used by young criminals.

4.

He said police should be given the power to confiscate pocket knives, butterfly and flick knives.

5.

Mr Blackmore told the all party Standing Committee on Social Issues inquiry into youth violence that five years ago, car theft was the big problem.
It made up more than half of his workload but a clampdown on car theft had reduced the number, Mr Blackmore said, to less than 20 per cent.

6.

He said there were about 17 youths charged with murder going through the court system.

7.

'The real worry is the carrying of knives by juveniles which is very frequent in the community and schools,' he said.

8.

Outside the inquiry, Mr Blackmore said he felt the proportion of violent offences involving knives had increased six-fold over the past five years.
'The use of knives, certainly in robberies, is a fairly frequent feature.'

9.

Mr Blackmore said the law says a person is not entitled to carry a weapon for personal protection.

10.

Allowing police to confiscate a knife would mean teenagers could be cautioned, rather than charged for the offence.
It may be possible children could get their knife back from police if they proved they had a proper use for the weapon or their parents knew of it, Mr Blackmore said.

11.

Mr Blackmore also raised the possibility the anti-car stealing push may have led to the increase in violent crime.
'If people are doing things for kicks, do they now go out and wander round streets at night looking for someone to mug rather than taking someone's car?' he said.

Figure 59: Theme source analysis – 'knife ban' report

VI.3.(d). Periodicity and the interpersonal pulse

In the previous chapter, I described the interpersonal periodicity which results in the event story from the rhythmic return, as the text unfolds, to the crisis point of activity sequence counter-expectation. Within many issues reports, a similar interpersonal pulse can be observed in that the item makes repeated reference to the initial point of heteroglossic tension as the text unfolds. Thus there will be a repeating of the accusation, criticism, warning, demand etc as the text unfolds. Such a pattern is revealed in the following analysis of the 'Knives ban' report. Here the contentious proposal that 'POLICE should have the power to confiscate knives from teenagers' and the alarming proposition that there has been an increase in violent offences recur throughout the text's development. (The two points have been underlined, marked in bold and labelled as they are repeated.)

Ban Teens' Knives [*confiscate knives*]
Juvenile violence 'rising sharply' [*knife related violence rising*]

POLICE should have **the power to confiscate knives** [*confiscate knives*] from teenagers after **an increase in violent offences**, [*knife related violence rising*] the State's most senior children's magistrate told a parliamentary inquiry yesterday.

Rod Blackmore, senior children's magistrate for 17 years said **violent offences had risen** [*knife related violence rising*] while others, such as car stealing and general theft, had fallen.

Mr Blackmore said violent matters accounted for 41 per cent of offences listed before him at Bidura Children's Court, Glebe, for the next two months They included malicious wounding, armed robbery, assault with bodily harm, assault on police, personal violence and assault with intent to rob.

Offences involving knives made up 30 per cent of all violent matters before him.

Mr Blackmore said **knives had become the most popular weapon used by young criminals**. [*knife related violence rising*]

He said **police should be given the power to confiscate pocket knives, butterfly and flick knives.** [*confiscate knives*]

Mr Blackmore told the all party Standing Committee on Social Issues inquiry into youth violence that five years ago car theft was the big problem.
It made up more than half of his workload but a clampdown on car theft had reduced the number, Mr Blackmore said, to less than 20 per cent.
He said there were about 17 youths charged with murder going through the court system.
'The real worry is **the carrying of knives by juveniles which is very frequent in the community and schools,**' he said. [*knife related violence rising*]
Outside the inquiry, Mr Blackmore said he felt the proportion of violent offences involving knives had increased six-fold over the past five years.
'The use of knives, certainly in robberies, is a fairly frequent feature.' [*knife related violence rising*]
Mr Blackmore said the law says a person is not entitled to carry a weapon for personal protection.
Allowing police to confiscate a knife [*confiscate knives*] would mean teenagers could be cautioned, rather than charged for the offence.
It may be possible children could get their knife back from police if they proved they had a proper use for the weapon or their parents knew of it, Mr Blackmore said.
Mr Blackmore also raised the possibility the anti-car stealing push may have led **to the increase in violent crime** [*knife related violence rising*]. 'If people are doing things for kicks, do they now go out and wander round streets at night looking for someone to mug rather than taking someone's car?' he said.

VI.3.(e). Textual patterning and peaks of the interpersonal

The issues report is less transparently organised to provide for the peaks of interpersonal values which were observed within the structure of the event story. This follows naturally from the grounding of the issues report in values of ATTITUDE – in communicative events which naturally may be concerned at numerous points with contentious, heteroglossically charged proposals or propositions. Accordingly, issues

reports are more likely to smear, so to speak, interpersonal values prosodically across the unfolding text. Nevertheless, even though the pattern of interpersonal peaking is less marked, it is possible, within a sub-set of issues reports, to observe concentrations of interpersonal values with the text's opening and closing stages.

Such patterns emerge through an analysis of what, in chapter 3 (section III.6.(b).), I termed 'interpersonal key'. Under 'interpersonal key' we observe the way that either entire texts or stages within texts give preference to a particular interpersonal semantic – for example, a sub-type of JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION or intensification. Texts themselves may also feature internal shifts in 'interpersonal key', a shift by which different values of APPRAISAL, for example, will foregrounded as the text unfolds. Such a 'key change' is exemplified by the movement I demonstrated in the event story from intensification in the opening to values of ATTITUDE in the wrap-up.

When we apply an APPRAISAL analysis at this level of delicacy to issues reports, we do discover certain text-wide patterns of interpersonality. The following analysis of a report of alleged shortcomings in New South Wales child care services exemplifies such an approach.

[Key to analysis]

- Intensification in red: launched an attack [intensification]. Where a lexical item entails multiple appraisal values - thus both judgement and intensification, that item will be repeated and marked accordingly. Thus, 'CHILD CARE **ON TRIAL** [propriety] ON TRIAL [amplification: metaphor]' .
- Inscribed values of various appraisal values will be marked in bold, coloured, underlined fonts.
- Judgement: social-sanction (includes propriety and veracity) in purple, bold, underline- '**a scandal'**, [propriety].
- Judgement: social-esteem (includes tenacity, competence and custom) in blue, bold, underline - 'It shows complete **ignorance'** [esteem]
- Tokens, as opposed to inscriptions, of judgement are underlined, but the lexical items at issue are not coloured. The analysis, however, inserted in square brackets, is coloured – 10 babies being minded by one carer [*token = propriety*]
- Affect in magenta – 'to express how **angry** [affect] I am.'
- Appreciation in green the **worsening** [appreciation] situation

[headline/lead]

CHILD CARE **ON TRIAL** [propriety] ON TRIAL [amplification: metaphor]

Child-care standards **a scandal**, [propriety] a scandal, [intensification] say experts

Many child-care centres are flagrantly [intensification] **breaching regulations** [propriety] and are operating with **impunity** [propriety] because it is almost impossible to close them, say child-care specialists. And new national child-care standards to be introduced next year are unlikely to improve [token = competence] the **worsening** [appreciation] situation.

[body]

In a damning **indictment**, [propriety] child-care experts say some centres **ignore State Government regulations** [propriety] on staff numbers, health and safety issues, knowing they will not even be fined.

Ms Fay Pettit, a former senior lecturer in child development at Macquarie University, said that too few carers were looking after too many babies [*token = propriety*] and infants, with implications for health, safety and child development.

The State regulations on staff ratios were a major cause of **poor quality care**, [appreciation] she said, and the new national child-care standards would perpetuate the problem. The official State ratio of one carer to five children under two years meant staff could not give infants the attention they needed. [*token = propriety*]

"I have seen so many **terrible things**, [appreciation - *token = propriety*]" she said. "The private centres are definitely **worse** [appreciation] but I have seen **terrible things** [appreciation - *token = propriety*] in community centres, too.

"I have reported centres to the Department of Community Services and nothing happens [*token = propriety*]. Children services officers cannot get centres closed. [*token = competence*] It is very **political**. [propriety - to be 'political' in such a context is 'wrong'] " She said she once walked into a room where 15 toddlers were unattended. [*token = propriety*] The lack of hygiene [*token = propriety*] she had seen in some centres **"made my hair curl"**. [affect]

Originally a proponent of child care, she left the university to mind her granddaughter, now 20 months old, because she did not want her to go into child care.

Another child-care specialist who makes surprise visits to many centres in the course of her work, told the Herald she had seen 10 babies being minded by one carer [*token = propriety*] . "It's **shocking**. [affect] And it is very difficult to do anything about it." Ms June Wangmann, head of the Institute of Early Childhood at Macquarie University, said it was hard to calculate how many **sub-standard child-care services** [appreciation] were operating.

The new national standard of one carer to five children under three "compromised our children". [*token = propriety*] A decade's research showed that one carer could comfortably mind only three, or at most, four infants.

The national standard, hammered out by State and Federal community welfare ministers, will begin to be implemented next year.

However, Ms Lyn Connolly, vice-president of the Childcare Centres Association of NSW, which represents 400 private operators, said the 1:5 ratio worked quite **well** [competence] "if you have enough equipment like hammocks and bouncies".
The new national standard also set a ratio for the two- to three-year-old group which was **unrealistic** [veracity] and would lead to increased fees, which would encourage people to withdraw toddlers from centres and engage **untrained backyard minders**. [competence - *token = propriety*]
In the past two years, the Department of Community Services has prosecuted four long-day-care centres, all private, for **breaches of child-care regulations**.[propriety] Licences were either revoked or conditions placed [*token = propriety*] on them.
Ms Quentin Bryce, head of the National Childcare Accreditation Council, said the new Quality Improvement and Accreditation System "would take child care into a new era".
(*Sydney Morning Herald* 2/11/95)

By means of such an analysis we observe that while, APPRAISAL values occur generally across the text, more precise patterns emerge when we explore those values in more detail.

Firstly, it is noteworthy that the opening sentences still carry the highest concentration of intensifying values. Thus child care centres are described as *flagrantly* breaching regulations, and experts as offering *damning indictments* of some centres. Further, the description of the child care centres being 'on trial', while carrying an obvious value of JUDGEMENT, also operates as intensification through the mechanism of intensification via metaphor.

We also discover a further interpersonal peak associated with the opening when we consider both the sub-types of the APPRAISAL (its 'interpersonal key') and the manner in which the values are realised. In terms of APPRAISAL, the text is primarily concerned with a negative assessment of the JUDGEMENT value of impropriety. The report opens and closes with assertions of impropriety and these continue through successive clause complexes within the body of the text. Numerically, values of impropriety significantly outweigh all other interpersonal meanings. From this perspective we see that the headline/lead phase dominates in terms of the text's primary interpersonal concern, its 'interpersonal key' of impropriety. The headline and the first sentence carry four items which explicitly assert impropriety, a greater concentration than is found anywhere else in the text. As well, these values are amplified through the agency of the accompanying intensification which likewise operates to provide a burst of evaluation.

In terms of 'key changes' we note two associated patterns. Firstly, the text moves from a preference for direct, inscribed values of JUDGEMENT in the opening, through a preference for tokens of JUDGEMENT in the body of the text, before returning to inscribed values in the concluding sentences. Associated with this is a movement from preference for JUDGEMENT, in the opening and closing, to an emphasis on the alternative attitudinal values of AFFECT and especially APPRECIATION, in the intervening body of the text. The text thus operates to establish an initial, primary 'interpersonal key' of JUDGEMENT, modulates to a second 'key', primarily of APPRECIATION in the body and then, in what amounts to a recapitulation, returns in the conclusion to the original, primary 'key'. Through such an analysis we observe a pattern which parallels that observed in the event story. Both opening and closing phases feature peaks or bursts of interpersonal semantic in that they both stand out from the rest of the text in their preference for the text's primary key of inscribed JUDGEMENT.

VI.4. Genre models and the issues report

VI.4.(a). The issues report as argumentation

As the discussion has demonstrated at length, modern issues reports are noteworthy from the perspective of ENGAGEMENT – a very high proportion of their proposals and propositions are extra-textualised, that is to say, attributed to outside sources. As discussed in chapter 3, this has obvious consequences for the text's rhetorical potential. Extra-textualisation, by definition, introduces voices additional to the voice of the author directly into the text. Each voice, potentially, may be associated with a different reading position and with strategies for naturalising that position. It also adds complications as to the heteroglossic relationship between the author's voice and the extra-textualised voice or voices. The degree to which the text, as a whole, will be read as convergent or divergent with those extra-textualised voices will depend, of course, on the specific features of individual texts. In texts such as reporter-voice issue reports, where the authorial voice offers little by way of APPRAISAL on its own behalf, the degree of convergence/divergence may be read as ambiguous or under determined. (This is not, of course, the commonsense journalistic view, which allows for no such ambiguity. In asserting the 'objectivity' of such issues reports, the

journalistic view relies on the notion that the authorial voice is entirely unimplicated in any of the evaluations conveyed by the attributed utterances. This question will be explored in greater detail in the final chapter, section VII.3.(c).)

This potential ambiguity or tension between the reading position advanced by the text as a whole and that of the attributed material has consequences for genre classification. Many systems of genre categorisation rely on identifying a text's overriding communicative function or objective. Does the text 'document', 'explain', 'direct', 'argue' and so on? (See for example Adam 1992 and Callaghan 1989). But establishing purpose in the case of 'multi-vocalised' texts such as issues reports is complicated by the possibility of different voices serving different communicative purposes. Through the extra-textualised voice, issues reports typically present some contentious assertion and then, as exemplified in those issues reports cited above, supply material which in some way supports or justifies this assertion. Thus, from the perspective of the attributed material, issues reports may be seen as argumentative in purpose and hence as connected taxonomically with the types of arguing genres which have been identified in established genre classifications. This was the approach adopted in Iedema et al. 1994, in their analysis of what they termed the 'Media Discussion', a sub-type of issues report. In the following sections I will also follow this approach to the extent that I will analyse the textual organisation of the argumentation provided by the attributed materials within typical issues reports. It needs to be borne in mind, however, that such argumentation is always framed by extra-textualisation. If the authorial voice is given preference, rather than the attributed voice, and if the authorial reading position is interpreted as divergent from that of the attributed voice, then, perhaps, alternative communicative purposes emerge. Journalistic claims of 'objectivity' certainly adopt such an interpretation, viewing the issues report not as argumentation but as a form of 'factual' reporting – a text type the purpose of which is simply to 'document'.

VI.4.(b). Modes of argumentation.

Various modes of analysis for the structure of argumentative texts were set out in chapter 2 (section II.4.(b).4.). There we saw how texts are decomposed into a linear sequence of multivariate constituents, through methodologies similar to those used in

traditional narrative/story analyses. We saw, for example how Winter's problem-solution schema can be applied to certain genres of argumentation and how the Sydney genre school literature identifies genres such as 'Exposition' and 'Discussion' according to the location of stages such as 'Thesis', 'Statement of Issue', 'Recapitulation' and so on (see, for example Callaghan and Rothery 1988).

VI.4.(c). The issues report: the structural organisation of attributed argument

Issues reports typically take the argumentative texts of diverse sources and then recontextualise them and rework them to conform to the journalistic conventions of news reporting. In this issues reports display a high degree of consistency in the manner in which they present this recontextualised argumentation. As we have seen, they usually single out some heteroglossically contentious statement and set this up in the manner of a primary thesis, in the opening headline/lead. Issues reports then provide some form of additional argumentation in support of this primary thesis – an arrangement which was to some degree demonstrated by the previous analysis of the orbital structure of the 'Knives Ban' report. This arrangement is demonstrated in the following analysis of the 'Knives Ban' report – the analysis focuses specifically on the persuasive qualities of the attributed material and the nature of the argumentation thereby constructed.

Attributed Argumentation Analysis

[primary thesis: that police should be given the power to confiscate knives from young people]

Ban teens' knives

[supporting argument 1: because there's been a sharp increase in violent crimes committed by young people (presumably involving the use of knives).]

Juvenile violence 'rising sharply'

[primary thesis (repeat, with elaboration)]

POLICE should have the power to confiscate knives from teenagers

[supporting argument 1 (repeat, with elaboration)]

after an increase in violent offences, the State's most senior children's magistrate told a parliamentary inquiry yesterday.

[supporting argument 1 (elaboration)]

Rod Blackmore, senior children's magistrate for 17 years said violent offences had risen while others, such as car stealing and general theft, had fallen.
Mr Blackmore said violent matters accounted for 41 per cent of offences listed before him at Bidura Children's Court Glebe, for the next two months. They included malicious wounding, armed robbery, assault with bodily harm, assault on police, personal violence and assault with intent to rob.

[supporting argument 1 (elaboration)]
Offences involving knives made up 30 per cent of all violent matters before him.
Mr Blackmore said knives had become the most popular weapon used by young criminals.

[primary thesis (repeat)]
He said police should be given the power to confiscate pocket knives, butterfly and flick knives.

[background information]
Mr Blackmore told the all party Standing Committee on Social Issues inquiry into youth violence that five years ago car theft was the big problem.
It made up more than half of his workload but a clampdown on car theft had reduced the number, Mr Blackmore said, to less than 20 per cent.
He said there were about 17 youths charged with murder going through the court system.

[supporting argument 1 (elaboration)]
'The real worry is the carrying of knives by juveniles which is very frequent in the community and schools,' he said.
Outside the inquiry, Mr Blackmore said he felt the proportion of violent offences involving knives had increased six-fold over the past five years.
'The use of knives, certainly in robberies, is a fairly frequent feature.'

[background information]
Mr Blackmore said the law says a person is not entitled to carry a weapon for personal protection.

[primary thesis (repeat)]
Allowing police to confiscate a knife

[argument 2: because this would give police greater flexibility]
would mean teenagers could be cautioned, rather than charged for the offence.
It may be possible children could get their knife back from police if they proved they had a proper use for the weapon or their parents knew of it, Mr Blackmore said.

[background information - reasons for increase in violent crime]

> Mr Blackmore also raised the possibility the anti-car stealing push may have led to the increase in violent crime. 'If people are doing things for kicks, do they now go out and wander round streets at night looking for someone to mug rather than taking someone's car?' he said.

Such an analysis demonstrates the relatively under-developed persuasive potential of the material provided in support of the central argumentative proposition. Such an under development is typical of the issues report. In this instance, the report's entire argumentative content amounts to the call for increased police powers and just the two points of argumentative support – police should be given the power to confiscate knives because (a) there has been an increase in violent crimes involving knives and (b) because this will give police greater flexibility. It is noteworthy that the presentation of the second supporting argument is so minimal that it is left to the reader to interpret the material in argumentative terms. Police in Australia do already have the power to confiscate knives in certain circumstances. Presumably the magistrate is arguing that enabling the police simply to caution young people, as opposed to arresting them, and to take their knives will in someway enable police to intervene in more cases and thereby to cut down on the number of crimes committed.

This orientation to argumentative support reflects the issues report's underlying communicative objective. As the 'Knives Ban' analysis demonstrates, such texts are concerned to identify some maximally salient point of heteroglossic contention and then to repeatedly rehearse this point so as to give it maximal interpersonal prominence. The emphasis is thus upon stressing this point, rather than providing anything in the way of elaborated and persuasive argumentation in its support.

It is noteworthy, in this context, that the issues reports feature nothing which parallels the 'reiteration' stage of the Exposition as it was exemplified in the discussion of Sydney genre school models of argumentative texts (see section II.4.(b).4) In the Exposition, the reiteration, of course, acts to provide closure, to give the genre what Martin terms 'goal-orientation' – the sense that the text 'moves progressively towards a culmination and ... feels incomplete if that culmination is not reached' (Martin to appear/b). There seems to be little provided in most issues reports which can be read as achieving such 'culmination'. The 'Knife Ban' example above ends with the magistrate speculating about the reasons for the increase in violent crime, background material which could have been included at numerous points earlier in the text and

which is not directly related to arguing the case for the increase in police powers. As we have seen, rather than repeating the primary thesis at the beginning and end of the text, as is the case with the Exposition, the issues report repeats it rhythmically throughout the entirety of the text. That is to say, there are even fewer requirements as to textual linearisation applying to the issues report than apply to event stories. In this, issues reports appear to conform more strictly to the commonsense journalistic view that news items are designed to be cut from the bottom.

VI.5. The structure of the issues report, phylogenesis and genre innovation

VI.5.(a). Modes of recontextualisation

The modern issues report purports to provide an account of some point of primary contentiousness, along with a certain, usually limited, amount of argumentative support and justification. As discussed, this argumentation is not generated by the journalistic writer him/herself, but by the outside, attributed source. Issues reports, thus, are overtly and by definition derived or secondary – they explicitly take the texts of non-journalistic voices and rework these for the journalistic context.[21] In this section I explore some key features of this recontextualisation and will show that the modern issues report represents a marked departure from past journalistic practice in the way it represents this recontextualisation to the reader. (See Fairclough 1995 for a more general discussion of recontextualisation in media texts.)

[21] The overwhelming majority of all news reporting, whether issues report or event story, is secondary or derivative in this way. Very few event stories are, in fact, derived from the writer's own direct observation but through the recontextualisation of the accounts of various witnesses, interested parties, emergency workers and so on. The event story differs from the issues report in the extent to which this process of recontextualisation is revealed by the text. While the issues report foregrounds this process of recontextualisaion, the event story suppresses it by not acknowledging the sourcing of much of its material.

VI.5.(b). Recontextualisation and pre-modern issues reporting

Analysis of issues reporting in the pre-modern era is complicated by the fact that journalistic practice was not demarcated by the modern distinction between documentation (the 'hard news' reporting typically associated with reporter voice texts) and commentary (opinion pages, editorials etc typically associated with commentator voice). Thus front page coverage of parliamentary proceedings (a key source of issues reporting) was frequently constituted as highly evaluative commentary of the type which today would be confined to the opinion pages. It is possible, nevertheless, to distinguish between texts which acted primarily to develop authorial argument and those which purported, rather, to document, to provide a relatively direct account of some noteworthy public pronouncement. I confine my analysis, therefore, to this second category in order to compare the modern text with the journalistic precursor with which it has most in common communicatively.

One means by which the media may give its readership access to noteworthy pronouncements is to provide, as near as possible, an exact copy of those pronouncements. In the case of a written document, newspapers can simply republish the text. In the case of spoken texts, they can provide a verbatim transcript. Such republication or transcription does involve a recontextualisation of the originating material, but only to the extent that the originating text is taken from one social context – a parliamentary debate, a public address, a private letter between friends etc– and relocated in the rather different social context of the media. In the case of transcription of spoken texts, the recontextualisation also involves, of course, the shift from spoken to written modality. The verbatim record was one of the favoured modes of reporting controversial and contentious pronouncements in the pre-modern era. (See Schudson 1982, for example, for a discussion of the 19th century journalist as 'stenographer'.) Thus, in Britain during the 19th century, press coverage of the political process was largely made up of reports which sought to provide, as close as possible, a complete transcript of parliamentary proceedings, a function which today in the UK and Australia, for example, has been taken over by the official Hansard

record of parliament. (See, for example, Stephens 1988 and Lloyd 1988)[22] Outside of the parliamentary chamber, the transcript approach also applied, with not only major political speeches but also addresses at public rallies and sermons by prominent clergy frequently documented in this way. (See, for example, the New-*York Times* 20/11/1863 for transcripts of addresses delivered at the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, one of which, by President Lincoln, was to become known as the 'Gettysburg Address'). An extract of a transcript of parliamentary proceeding from *The New-York Times* on the day before the outbreak of the American Civil War is provided below by way of exemplification. (Numbers have been added for the purposes of reference.)

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

Washington City, Jan. 8, 1861.

(1) Mr. Seward, of New-York, (Rep.,) presented the memorial of the New-York Chamber of Commerce, asking the establishment of steam postal service between San Francisco and China. Referred to the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads.

Mr. Seward also presented a memorial, signed by the most prominent citizens of New-York City, concerning the present state and future happiness of the Union.

Mr. Seward got the floor to express his views on the President's message. [...]

(2) Mr. Slidell, of Louisiana (Dem.,) presented a resolution of inquiry - that the President inform the Senate whether John B. Floyd at present fills the office of Secretary of War? If not, who fills the office? and if the appointment of Acting or Provisional Secretary has been made? and when, and by what authority it was made? and why the fact of such appointment was not communicated to the Senate? Laid over.

[...]

Mr.Seward called for the reading of the President's Message, and it was read.

[22] In the early years of print journalism it is noteworthy that the British government sought to suppress such verbatim transcripts.

Mr.Davis, of Mississippi, (Dem.,) called for the reading of the accompanying papers. [The correspondence with the South Carolina Commissioners, already published.]

(3) Mr.Davis of Mississippi, (Dem.,) said: At this time, when the whole country was looking anxiously to South Carolina, and especially to the port of Charleston, the excitement was intensified by the arrival of Commissioners here from South Carolina and the United States. The high character of these Commissioners, which was well known,- especially one of them was known to those who have served in this Senate for many years, for his urbanity and Christianity in all relations of life- gave assurances that this negotiation might be peaceable and have reason to hope they might be successful. They were, however, suddenly terminated, and the rumor went forth that notwithstanding the high character of these gentlemen, they had violated all the amenities of life, and had insulted the President, and the fact was known everywhere that the Commissioners had retired from Washington, and the negotiations were abruptly terminated. [speech continues ...]

(4) Mr. King, of New-York, (Rep.), said the Senator talks of the high character of the Commissioners. Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr once also had high characters.

Mr. Davis, interrupting - The Senator from New-York once occupied a higher position than he does now. I call the Senator to order.

Mr. King - These men were here with a treasonable purpose.

Mr.Davis - I call the Senator to order. I sent a paper to be read, Sir.

Mr. King - I call the Senator to order. I object to the reading of the paper.

Mr. Davis - If the Senator has the meaness to object, let it come back.

Mr. King said he objected to the reading. He did not want the papers read.

A long discussion ensued on a point of order, and the Yeas and Nays were called on the decision of the chair that the paper was understood to be part of the Senate papers.

[etc ...]

The following textual features are noteworthy in the current context. Textual structure is precisely determined by the actual sequencing of the various reported statements as they were uttered in real time, in the course of the parliamentary proceedings. This is, of course, an obvious point, given that the text purports to be a transcript. I state the obvious here, however, so as to be able, at a later stage, to make clear the contrast between the textualities of pre-modern and modern issues reporting. Thus the words of each speaker must do their own work rhetorically. Apart from the fact that the newspaper has chosen this set of utterances, over others, to include in the day's 'news', readers are provided with nothing outside the originating text itself to guide or influence their readings. We notice that certain utterances are highly charged in terms of APPRAISAL values. Thus, in section (4) above, Mr King likens the delegates from the southern states to the notorious betrayer, Benedict Arnold, and then accuses them of a 'treasonable purpose.' The conventions of verbatim transcript mean, of course, that such an obvious point of heteroglossic tension cannot be moved, for example, to a position of rhetorical prominence in the text's opening or closing, nor can its contentious status be highlighted through authorial comment or through intensification.

Such transcripts do, of course, require greater or lesser amounts of intervention by the transcriber cum editor/author as a consequence of the process of recontextualisation. They involve choices on the part of the transcriber/editor as to whether, for example, some or all interjections are included, whether false starts or other 'errors' of expression are included and so on. Space limitations will also typically prevent the transcript from attempting to record every word and accordingly certain elements will be left out entirely or will be summarised or abbreviated. We notice above such artefacts of the recontextualisation process – in section (1) the transcriber interprets the gist of the speaker's utterances, rather than recording them word for word. Nevertheless, it can still be said of the transcript, as means of issues reporting, that the text purports to provide not just the message or the meanings of some newsworthy pronouncement but the exact words and textual organisation by which those messages were formulated.

The journalism of the 19th and early 20th centuries featured another issues report form which, though similar to the transcript, entailed rather more authorial intervention.

Here, as in the case of the verbatim transcript, the report is comprised largely of directly quoted extracts from some originating text, with those extracts provided in the order in which they were originally spoken or written. Such reports differ, however, from the verbatim transcript in that the reporter provides introductory material which may comment on the originating text or on the context of its presentation. Additionally, these reports make more extensive use of abbreviation and summary. They more freely edit out extracts, though they typically indicate to the reader where such edits have occurred. Such reports are exemplified by the following coverage of a political address from the *New York Times* of 1880.

> GOV GARCELON GROWS PATHETIC,
> HIS ADDRESS AT A MEETING IN WATERVILLE
> WATERVILLE, MSE., Jan. 3 – The Town Hall was filled to its utmost capacity at a law and order meeting held tonight, Gov. Garcelon and Councillors Brown and Moody being present. Speeches were made by Counsellor Brown and Gov. Garcelon. The following is an abstract of the Governor's remarks:
>
> "FELLOW-CITIZENS: After the exhaustive statements which have been made regarding the matter which is brought before you this evening, I will only call your attention to a few points. I presume you are all loyal men, and propose to abide by the law and constitution; that when you have elected men to office, you expect them to obey, and if, in the course of events, there are difference [sic] of opinion should we not stand by the constitution and laws sanctioned by the Supreme Court and all our able men? I stand before you the most abused man in the United States. I am not here to apologize or ask you pardon, but simply to call your attention to the Constitution and law and if in any respect I, or my Council have violated the law, you have your remedy. You say that majority rule is the central principle of our governmental system, but should not the majority be expressed in a legal and Constitutional manner? You are all aware that at the late election every effort was made on both sides to secure a majority, and that the fusion party had a majority of 2,000 votes. I challenge any man, I do not care how ardent a Republican or rabid a Democrat, to take the returns, and if there is any

> instance where we have not applied the same rule to friend or foe, then you can condemn us. I find the tabulated returns where 64 town have been rejected; 52 were Republicans; 30 Democrat; and 2 tie. Does this look like a conspiracy? Does it look as if the rule had not been applied properly?" Referring to the City of Lewiston, the Governor said no one doubted the voice of the people; he knew his own city was largely Republican; but it was a question of law with them. "It does seem an outrage that those who appear to be elected were rejected; but there is a law and a Constitution, on the other hand, which must be respected. But you my friends condemn us because we do not think it right to go behind the returns. I ask you to consider what would become of our Republican form of Government if the men you choose to office should violate the laws and the Constitution to suit their partisan feelings. So great has been the excitement I have called up on the Supreme Court to decide questions which have been decided for 15 years, and when the decision is rendered I hope the people will be satisfied."
>
> The Governor closed by advising his hearers to examine the facts, and look a the case calmly, and that they would find that the Governor and Council were no such terribly bad men after all. Resolutions were then read ratifying and sanctioning the course of the Governor and Council. The meeting then adjourned. (*The New York Times*, 4/01/1880)

It is noteworthy that the report here explicitly offers what it terms an 'abstract' of the speech in question. This 'abstract' is organised so as to appear to remain true to the overall structure and intention of the originating text. Parts of the speech have been excluded but the report nevertheless indicates to readers that they are being given the speakers words in the order they were presented.

VI.5.(c). Recontextualisation and modern issues reporting

In the following sections I explore two questions related to recontextualisation and the modern issues report. Firstly, I examine the way that the typical issues report represents the process of the recontextualisation to the reader. We saw above how the pre-modern text explicitly represented its recontextualisation as transcription or as 'abstract' – as the result of a process by which either the text as a whole is recreated in

the pages of the newspaper or at least large portions are recreated, complete with supporting information about the text's overall organisation and communicative objectives. In the following I explore what textual clues are provided for the modern reader as to the relationship between the issues report's attributed argumentation and the originating text from which this is derived. This issue relates directly to questions of the naturalisation of reading position by the text as a whole and the potential interplay between the authorial voice and that of the attributed argumentation. It relates to the text's ultimate rhetorical potential in that readers' responses may vary according to their understanding of the amount of authorial reworking, interpretation and evaluation entailed by the recontextualisation of the originating text.

Secondly, I explore the actual relationship that typically obtains between the presentation of the argumentation in the issues report and its presentation in the originating text. In this I depart somewhat from the main thrust of the thesis which has been to explore the rhetorical potential of the modern news item. In order to explore this relationship between the final report and its originating text, it is necessary to compare issues reports with the actual texts from which they are derived. Such a comparison is not generally available to the average newspaper reader, although the advent of the World Wide Web and the direct dissemination to the public of speeches, reports, parliamentary proceedings, transcripts of interviews etc means that henceforth such comparison may be more generally available. Nevertheless, the point here is that most readers have only the information contained in the issues report itself as to the relationship with the originating textual material. The actual relationship between media text and originating text – as opposed to that relationship as represented by the issues report – is hidden and therefore not part of the text's actual rhetorical potential.

I do explore the relationship, however, for the following reason. In the final chapter I am concerned to offer some explanation for the transformation in conventions of textuality by which the modern news item has been constituted. Such an explanation is likely to look either for some shift in communicative objectives as motivation for the transformation, or for a change in text compositional practices, or for both. I will in fact, in the final chapter, argue that the actual shift in the relationship between the issues report and the originating text it purports to document is reflective of changes in both compositional practices and communicative objectives. I will argue that the

change is indicative of a general shift in communicative strategy and of the development of what I will term a 'strategy of impersonalisation'.

VI.5.(c).1. Representations of recontextualisation

The modern issues can be seen as ambiguous or under-determined with respect to its explicit representation of the relationships between attributed argumentation and originating text, at least in comparison with pre-modern issues reporting. This relative under-determination is reflected in a number of features, all of which are exemplified by the modern issues reports cited earlier in the chapter. Compared with its precursors, the modern report makes much more use of indirect speech (previously termed 'assimilation' within the ENGAGEMENT sub-system of extra-textualisation). As discussed in chapter 3, such 'assimilation' blurs the relationship between text and the attributed extra-text, providing the resources by which wordings and therefore meanings can be reworked and hence, in Fairclough's terms, 'mediatised'. (1995) As well, the modern report provides little by which the reader might locate the attributed argumentation within the context of the originating text, nor does it provide the reader with any sense of the nature, extent or organisation of the originating text. In none of the texts cited above, for example, does the text indicate whether the argumentation presented to the reader was the primary point of contention of the originating text, a subsidiary point or one of a number of issues raised. This follows from the lack of any representation of the texture or extent of the originating material. It is possible that readers may assume that the selected material must have been the primary or central concern of the originating text, otherwise the journalistic text would not have singled it out for primary focus. This expectation may contribute to the issues report's rhetorical potential. But the journalistic text never makes explicit claim to such a connection and, as will be demonstrated below, the reader would be wrong to assume that such a relationship between media text and originating material necessarily obtains.

VI.5.(c).2. The nature of the recontextualisation

A comparison between individual issues reports and the verbal materials upon which they are based reveals what I will term radical recontextualisation. The point singled out for maximal prominence in the issues report headline/lead need not be the primary

thesis or point of contention of the originating text and may, in fact, have been only an aside or a footnote. Large parts, sometimes the majority, of the originating text may go undocumented if they do not relate to the point of contention singled out by the reporter for this primary focus. Thus the media recontextualisation need not reflect the emphases or core communicative objectives of the originating text. These points will be demonstrated below by analyses of several modern issues reports.

The diagram in Figure 60 below compares a modern wire service report with the press release from which it was derived. The originating texts are shown in the left column and the wire service report in the right. The box and arrow in the right hand column indicates the sourcing in the originating text of the argumentation of the news item's lead.

Here we see a key feature of radical recontextualisation. The purpose of the World Vision press release is to foreground the efforts of its workers and the courageous resolve of the Bosnian refugees. The issues report, however, ignores this objective. It almost exactly reverses the ordering of the originating press release, beginning with what ended the original text, thereby giving maximal rhetorical prominence to material which was originally little more than a footnote. The central concern of the press release is World Vision's efforts and the courage of the Bosnian people. The central concern of the issues report is with the exercise of political power – with NATO and the attack upon the Bosnian Serbs.

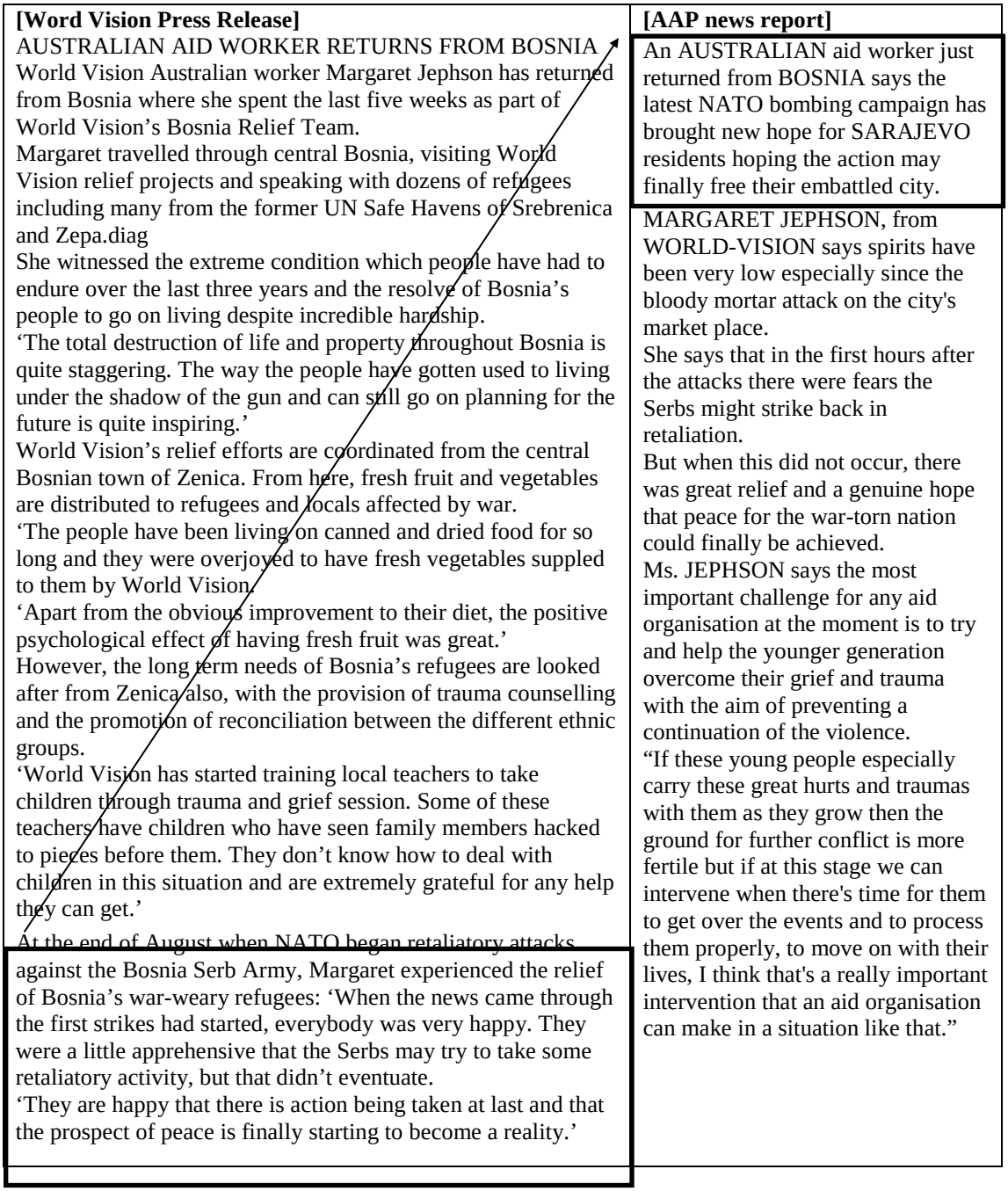


Figure 60: Conventions of recontextualisation in the modern pronouncement-based news report

Radical recontextualisation is more fully demonstrated through the 'Lawyer alleges bias' report, cited in the introduction to the chapter. I repeat here the relevant part of the report for ease of reference. This is then followed by an abbreviated version of the originating text, a speech by the New South Wales government law officer, John

Nicholson. (Abridgments have been made in the interests of saving space - edits are indicated in square brackets.)

> Lawyer alleges bias in picking 'correct' judges
>
> By BERNARD LAGAN <
>
> (*Sydney Morning Herald* 11/24/1995)
>
> A bias towards more women judges or those chosen because of their ethnic backgrounds had the potential to weaken the NSW judiciary, a senior Government law officer claimed yesterday.
>
> A senior counsel in the Public Defender's Office, Mr John Nicholson, said there were judges sitting on the District Court Bench because of a political favour or because they were seen as politically correct, but who had virtually no experience in criminal law when appointed.
>
> He said the judiciary had contributed to the flourishing of police corruption because it turned "a blind eye" to unlawful police conduct.
>
> In a paper distributed at a legal seminar, Mr Nicholson said more than three-quarters of the court's work concerned criminal matters. Yet judges in the District Court who lacked criminal law experience also were unfamiliar with illegal police conduct towards suspects, such as fabricating evidence.
>
> Mr Nicholson's paper said there had been a trend in NSW to make politically correct appointments to the Bench based upon ethnicity, gender or sexual preference.
>
> But he said such judges had a real potential to be weak appointments because the critical criteria for judges - integrity, skill and learning - did not receive as much importance.
>
> Judges, he argued, had rewarded corrupt police "by telling them that their arrests were not unlawful ... as to require action by the courts, that the confessions produced by the police were not forced or fabricated, no matter what the accused said".
>
> Mr Nicholson said police witnesses at the police royal commission "have now confirmed what everyone has known for some time, that fabricated evidence was common at criminal trials".
>
> [continues with response from government]

Originating Text

Fabricated Evidence — Any Judicial Responsibility?

John Nicholson S.C. Public Defender

Two Faces of Corruption

The Wood Royal Commission[23] has revealed widespread and systemic corruption within the police service. Most of the corruption appears focused upon dealing with suspected persons. The police can adopt one of two corrupt approaches to suspected persons. One way is, for corrupt payment or favor, to turn a blind eye to the suspected person's illegal activities or mislay vital evidence. While the injustice so instanced is offensive, it has flourished in circumstances where the opportunity for the judiciary to impact upon it is minimal or non-existent. However, mechanisms must be put in place to confront and minimise such corrupt blindness of law enforcement officers.

The other aspect of corruption - opposite in its purpose - is the fabrication of evidence against suspected persons for the purpose of obtaining convictions. Use of the words 'suspected persons' is generous to the police, because, on occasions the fabrications have been against persons known to be innocent. The opportunity for the judiciary to impact upon this type of corruption has been far from minimal- yet verbals and other forms of fabricated evidence have flourished in this state's courts through the 70's and 80's into the 1990's.

Blind Justices

Why this is so centres in part upon the role that judges and magistrates have carved out for themselves in the 180 year judicial history of this state […]

Too many of the State's judicial officers in the 1970's and 1980's little understood the concept of judicial independence. For some it was a synonym of security of tenure. For others it was setting and having management over their own budget allocations. For others it was having a salary above $120,000 per annum and a solid judicial pension.

[Too few judges and magistrates] understood the court's role as a buffer between the executive government and the people when the government was suing the citizen [and especially] when the government was prosecuting the citizen with an offence. Throughout the 1970's and 1980's the criminal courts were awash with litigants complaining about police behaviour, yet our State courts did little […]

In so doing too many judges supported the quest of the executive arm of government to bring to book those suspected of committing crime at the cost of ignoring the rights of the individual (probably because he or she was regarded as being guilty)… Too many judges and magistrates saw it as their duty to secure the convictions of those arrested by police, or

[23] The Wood Royal Commission was set up to investigate corruption in the New South Wales police force in the mid 1990s. It uncovered widespread involvement of police in drug dealing, prostitution, bribery and evidence tampering.

charged by the Crown regardless of how the police had behaved or acquired evidence. In so identifying with the aims of the police or crown prosecutors, judges lost their judicial independence and the direction of their governing.

Corruption flourished in the N.S.W. police force during the 1970's and 1980's. It flourished, in part, because in turning a blind eye to unlawful police conduct on a case by case basis…the judiciary was in fact rewarding corrupt police by telling them that their arrests were not unlawful or so unlawful as to require action by the courts, that the confessions produced by the police were not forced or fabricated, no matter what the accused said….

High Court Cases

To its shame the N.S.W. judicial arm of government during those two decades of the 70's and 80's took little part in dealing with the unlawful conduct in the police force in N.S.W…

Judicial Independence

[Explains reasons for lack of independence:

- magistrates appointed from the executive arm of government (the public service) and hence continue to identify with government
- large number of members of the bar made judges due to political affiliations hence, no commitment to independence
- many judges appointed from ranks of Crown prosecutors - tend to identify with the prosecution]

That is not to say that closeness to politics or politicians should be a bar to appointments to judicial office. No one suggests that competent qualified lawyers with personal political links to the government should not become judges. What is argued though is that the basis of the appointment should be the qualifications of the candidate rather than the nature of his or her links to the donor of the office. Where a judge feels a sense of personal debt to the politician responsible for his/her appointment, judicial independence is more difficult to exercise in those cases which the judge perceives the politician may regard as "sensitive".

In more recent times there has been a trend to make 'politically correct" appointments based on ethnicity, sexual preference or gender. Such appointments have a real potential of being weak appointments because the secondary issues of ethnicity, sexuality, or gender are being given more importance than the critical criteria of judicial integrity, skill and learning. The District Court bench currently hosts a number of judges, [either because their appointment was a political favour or based upon a perception of "politically correct"] who upon their appointment had no or virtually no experience in criminal law or criminal litigation when appointed, yet more than 75% of that Court's work is in crime

Fundamentals

Judges lacking such experience of necessity are barren of experience of police fabrication and other unlawful conduct towards suspects. Such judges almost invariably look to the Crown Prosecutor or Police prosecutor for assistance on legal issues because the prosecutors

are perceived as more untrustworthy and with less at risk than an accused. But of course , such an approach undermines the very cornerstone of the judicial system.

Men and women with meagre resources look to the judges for fair treatment against the powerful and wealthy. When the powerful and wealthy is the executive arm of the State the community is entitled to judges who can resists any pressure save the pressure of sound argument […]

While the jury system may provide some safeguard, in that the ultimate decision is taken out of the hands of the judge and left with the jury, it must rely for its guidance upon the directions - and frequently the disposition - of the judge.

Reform

[...] in respect of dealing with fabricated evidence the judicial system at state level has appeared reluctant to enter into the policy or politics of it at all, leaving the policy decisions to the High Court. Consequently for many accused persons who had to contend with fabricated police confessions, the trial system has failed to deliver… There is a need for judicial education to highlight continually the fundamental cornerstones of our judicial system. There is also a need to focus more carefully, when selecting judicial officers on the question of whether the candidate has the necessary skill, integrity, courage and insight into the concept of judicial independence. Finally, consideration should be given to a constitutional Bill Of Rights, at State level, to protect citizens against unlawful conduct by police.

Conclusion

[...] It is of critical importance to establish mechanisms that guarantee to each accused person the integrity of the investigation, arrest and interrogation procedures and a trial that ensures a fair and balanced account of that process will be given in evidence at his or her trial. That past history of the judiciary shows that the judiciary's attitude to unlawfully obtained evidence reaches beyond the courtroom wall into the whole fabric of the criminal justice system. It is important that we remind ourselves frequently of the importance of the cornerstones and fundamentals that are at the foundation of the criminal trial., in particular judicial independence and appreciation that the trial system is as much about respecting the accused's rights as it is about determining his guilt.

Even a cursory reading of the two texts should reveal the significant extent to which the news report has reworked the original material. Without the need for any detailed textual analysis, it is possible to see that the news report has an entirely different emphasis from that of the original speech. To demonstrate this process of recontextualisation somewhat more systematically I will explore the relationship between the issues report's 'angle' (the heteroglossically contentious point chosen for

primary emphasis in the headline/lead) and the emphases and communicative objectives of the originating verbal event.

The original speech operates as a problem solving text in which a problematic phenomenon is identified, its causes outlined and then, in conclusion, solutions provided by way of a set of recommendations. (It must be noted that it was only possible for the speaker to treat the problematic phenomenon – continued police fabrication of evidence – as an uncontentious 'fact' due to the truly remarkable and historic work at the time of the Woods Royal Commission, which the speaker here relies on. Perhaps for the first time in Australian history, widespread police corruption had been proved beyond any reasonable doubt, due to the use of hidden cameras to record corrupt police dealings. This video evidence had been shown repeatedly on television news and current affairs programs and numerous police officers, confronted with this evidence, had come before the Commission to publicly admit their involvement in all manner of corruption including verballing of suspects and tampering with evidence.) As a consequence the speaker does not present an argument that police are corrupt – this is taken as a given – but rather structures his text to provide an account of how and why this corruption came about an then to provide measures to prevent it.

The generic organisation of the speech as problem solving is demonstrated in the following staging analysis.

[Outline with Generic Staging]

Problematic Phenomenon

Corrupt Police have been fabricating evidence to gain convictions and the judiciary has failed to act against this to protect the rights of the accused.

> The opportunity for the judiciary to impact upon this type of corruption has been far from minimal - yet verbals and other forms of fabricated evidence have flourished in this state's courts through the 70s and 80s into the 1990s.

Explanation of Phenomenon

Primary Reason

Too few magistrates and judges understand the principle of judicial independence and so align themselves with the police and the prosecution.

> [Too few judges and magistrates] understood the court's role as a buffer between the executive government and the people when the government was suing the citizen [and especially] when the government was prosecuting the citizen with an offence. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the criminal courts were awash with litigants complaining about police behaviour, yet our State courts did little… In so doing too many judges supported the quest of the executive arm of government to bring to book those suspected of committing crime at the cost of ignoring the rights of the individual (probably because he or she was regarded as being guilty)…

Reason for lack of judicial independence

Appointments to the bench were made from the public service, from Crown prosecutors or from lawyers with strong political affiliations and allegiances. Such appointees would tend to align themselves with government interests and hence with the prosecution.

> During the 70s and 80s Local Court appointees came almost entirely from the public service - the executive arm of the government. Too many continued to identify with the executive arm of the government after their appointment. Judicial appointees to the superior courts during that time appear to have come from four main sources: members of the bar without obvious courage or talent; practitioners who had political affiliations and Crown prosecutors. While (with the exception of the first two) there may be some overlapping of the various groups, it can readily be seen the likelihood of appointees from the last three groups appreciating and exercising judicial independence is less than those appointed because of obvious talent and courageous disposition.

Reason for lack of judicial independence

Some appointments made on the basis of 'political correctness'

> In more recent times there has been a trend to make 'politically correct' appointments based on ethnicity, sexual preference or gender. Such appointments have a real potential of being weak appointments because the secondary issues of ethnicity, sexuality, or gender are being given more importance than the critical criteria of judicial integrity, skill and learning.

Recommendation/Conclusion

Steps must be taken to ensure the independence of the judiciary

> There is a need for judicial education to highlight continually the fundamental cornerstones of our judicial system. There is also a need to focus more carefully, when selecting judicial officers on the question of whether the candidate has the necessary skill, integrity, courage and insight into the concept of judicial independence. Finally, consideration should be given to a constitutional Bill Of Rights, at State level, to protect citizens against unlawful conduct by police…

> It is important that we remind ourselves frequently of the importance of the cornerstones and fundamentals that are at the foundation of the criminal trial., in particular judicial independence and appreciation that the trial system is as much about respecting the accused's rights as it is about determining his guilt.

Under journalistic recontextualisation, however, what was problem solving is reworked into single-thesis exposition, a text organised, not to address some continuing problem from the past, but to provide a warning as to the future – namely the prediction that the appointment of women and people of ethnic background as judges has the potential to weaken the judiciary. The relationship between the informational orientation of the news coverage and that of the originating verbal event is illustrated diagrammatically below in Figure 61.

Thus we see that the originating text is one in which the primary point of argumentation is located in the conclusion, in the set of proposals for ensuring the judicial independence which will ensure that judges refuse to admit fabricated evidence. In contrast, the issue report locates the primary point of argumentation in the opening, in the thesis about the potential harm associated with appointing women and people of ethnic background. Thus there is a shift from textually conclusive argumentation to textually inceptive argumentation. Of course, in the process, what was a relatively minor point in the original text, and certainly not the central point of the speech, has been given maximal prominence as the issues report's 'angle'. Thus, what began as a subsidiary contention has been extracted from its context in the textual logic of the original text and construed by the issues report as the verbal event's primary point of argumentation, as its central point of potential heteroglossic tension.

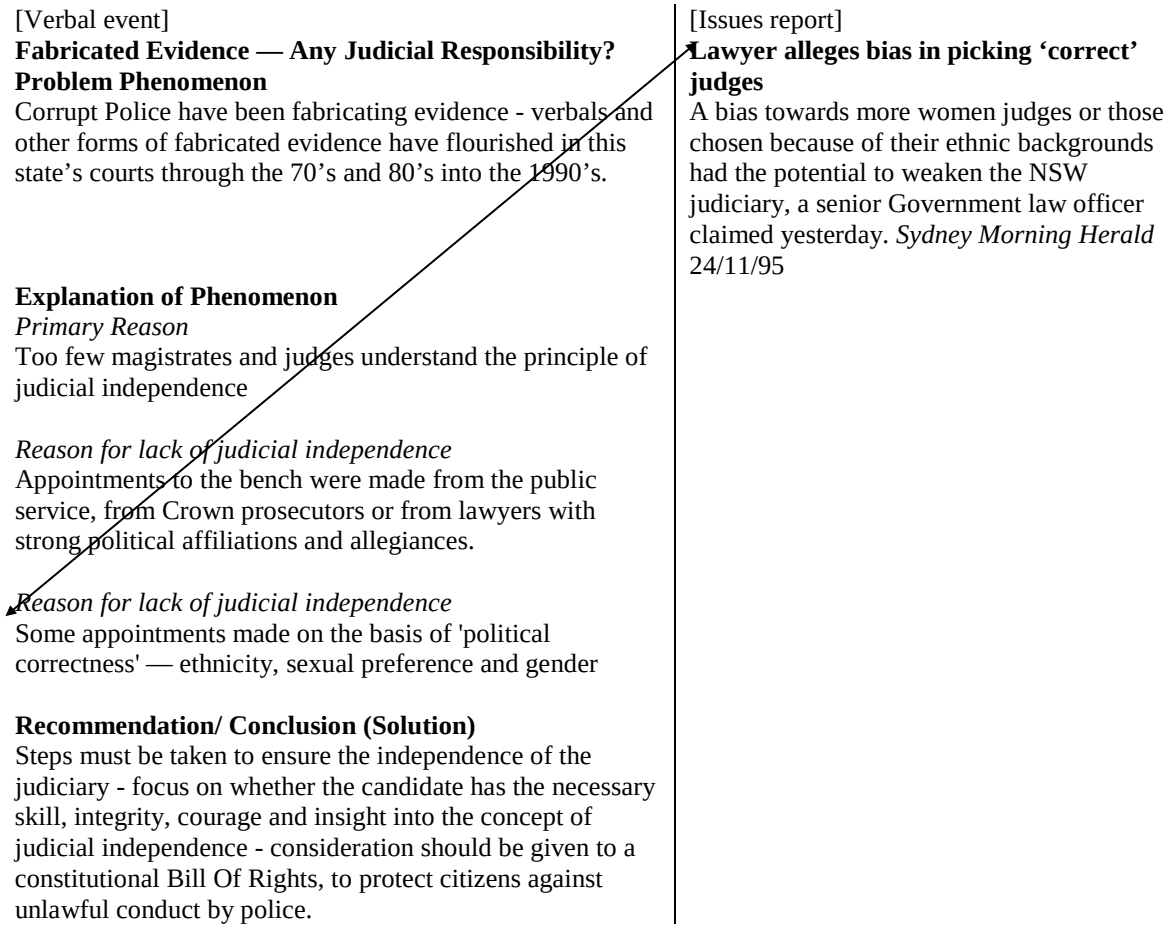


Figure 61: The issues report and journalistic recontextualisation

This is not to assert that all modern issues reporting necessarily entails such thoroughgoing reworking of source materials. From my own experience as both a reporter and sub-editor I am aware that, occasionally, the organisation, content and emphases of the originating text may be such that these are retained through the recontextualisation. My own experience also tells me, however, that such instances are in the minority. The principle that the reporter is free to selectively extract and to shift emphases is fundamental to modern conventions of news coverage. The radical recontextualisation is, in a sense, a product of what might be termed genre-structure determinism. Contemporary journalistic text compositional conventions dictate that the issues report be organised around a single, prominent point of heteroglossic contention, with this interpersonal crisis point being supported and elaborated by the remainder of the text. Thus any originating text which is organised along different genre structural lines will necessarily be radically transformed in the reporting process, at least to the extent that its own, original pattern of textual organisation, with

its associated information and rhetorical emphases, will be lost in the recontextualisation. Likewise, the reporting of any originating text which contains multiple points of contention will necessarily entail the exclusion of some of these points from the final report, except in those rare instances where the status of the speaker/writer is so great that extended coverage is deemed appropriate. Such coverage is usually confined to the key pronouncements of only the highest status political figures.

In the application of this principle of radical recontextualisation, the modern issues report thus stands decisively apart from its pre-modern precursors. In its transcripts and 'abstracts', pre modern issues reporting acted to preserve key elements of the textuality of the originating material, retaining a majority of the actual wording of the originating text, its generic structure, its emphases and its key communicative objectives. As we have seen, very few of these elements need be retained under modern conventions of issues reporting.

In this chapter I have described the shift in conventions of textuality by which the modern issues report was constituted. In the next chapter I will explore the significance of these changes in greater detail and link them to the shift in textuality by which the modern event story was constituted.

VII. Conclusion: the rhetorical potential of the news story

VII.1. Introduction

The discussion to this point has described the interpersonal style and textual organisation of both event-based and issues-based news stories. It has demonstrated the distinctive registerial qualities of the journalistic voices associated with news reporting and the characteristic 'orbital', lead-dominated structure of the news item. It has also demonstrated that in both these aspects of its textuality, the contemporary English-language broadsheet news report represents a distinctive transformation of past journalistic practices.

In this final chapter I bring together the two strands – text structure and interpersonal style – in order to explore the rhetorical potential of modern news reporting. I will argue that, in combination, the structure and interpersonal qualities of the news story provide for a thoroughgoing naturalisation of the ideological values which news reporting conveys. That is, the contemporary news item is a potent rhetorical device for backgrounding and construing as natural and commonsensical the ideologically determined world view which informs each news item. I will suggest that the historical transformations in news reporting textuality can, at least in part, be explained in terms of this potential for naturalisation – the evolution of the news report is understandable as a transformation in the terms by which the news item naturalises its reading position. (See chapter 3 for an explication of the notion of reading position and common sense ideologies.)

Towards this end of explicating rhetorical potential, the chapter develops further some of the key points introduced in earlier sections. In particular, it explores the consequences for interpersonal positioning which flow from the conventionalised association between 'hard news' and reporter voice. In this context, I consider what

an appraisal analysis such as this can contribute to discussions of so-called media 'objectivity'. As well, I consider the broader metafunctional implications of the shift to the modern orbital mode of textual organisation from the chronologically-determined narrative recount, on the part of the event story, and from the transcript-oriented record, on the part of the issues report. In conclusion, I will offer some speculation on possible social and economic factors which may have influenced the transformation in journalistic textual practices by which the modern news item was constituted.

Before turning to these issues, however, I need briefly to consider the one metafunctional dimension which to this point has received only minimal attention, that of field. I will thus begin by offering a brief discussion of the subject matter of news – of what news can in general terms be said to be about. I am here motivated by one of the fundamental precepts of SFL theory: the conviction that to understand and explain communication it is necessary to consider the interaction between all three simultaneous modes of meaning, the textual, the interpersonal and the ideational.

VII.2. What news is about – a brief overview of news value

News journalism is, of course, an inter-discoursal domain par excellence. It ranges across the greatest diversity of discourses, including not only those of politics, the law and the emergency services, but those of economics, the bureaucracy, medicine, religion, the social and physical sciences, the humanities, education and so on. The media, however, is not interested in these subject areas in the terms that they typically interest practitioners from within those fields. It is interested in these subject areas only to the extent that they supply material by which the media can continue to develop what amounts to a theory or model of the social and ethical order – though, of course, the theory is typically never acknowledged as such. This theorising informs, and is given expression through the journalistic professional practices for determining news value – through the process by which particular events and issues (or at least particular representations of events and issues) are deemed worthy of coverage, and

others are not. To be deemed ‘newsworthy’, the subject matter typically needs to be assessed as actually or potentially damaging, aberrant or transformative of social roles and power relations (and hence often involves conflict) in ways that are significant to society as a whole – hence the primary focus of news on politics (power-relational transformation) crime (aberration and/or damage) and misadventure (damage, aberration in cases of human negligence). (For discussion of the social constitution of news value see, for example, Galtung and Ruge 1965, Park 1967, McQuail 1987: 199-204 and White 1997: 104-106.) These themes are operational in a modelling of the social order in that they locate its boundaries, the points at which it is deemed to be at risk or undergoing transformation. Thus news coverage doesn’t model by describing the everyday operation of social roles, relationships and practices but by identifying the points at which those roles, relationships and practices are seen to be at risk.

(This point is generally well recognised in the media studies literature. For a discussion, for example, of the role of crime reporting in establishing the boundaries of moral behaviour see Chibnall 1977 or Ericson and Baranek 1991.)

It should be noted that the model at issue here is not, of course, an explicit, necessarily consistent, static or monolithic social construct. The term ‘model’ is a metaphor for the assemblage of assumptions, beliefs, and expectations about the way the social world is constituted and should be constituted, which mass media power brokers — and presumably some proportion of their audience — hold more or less in common. As such, the model is always subject to change and contestation by the various groups which exercise sufficient power to negotiate the parameters of what constitutes social normalcy, acceptability and desirability.

The subject matter, therefore, of news, when viewed in these broadly ideological terms can be seen to operate at an implicit and an explicit level. At the explicit level, it is concerned with material which is construed as challenging, damaging or transforming the social, power-relational and moral status quo. At the implicit level it is concerned with rehearsing, reinforcing or redrafting the presumed norms with reference to which events, developments, decisions, proposals etc acquire the status of actual or potential ‘aberration’, ‘transgression’, ‘damage’, or ‘transformation’.

VII.3. The functionality of reporter voice – 'hard news' reporting and interpersonal positioning

VII.3.(a). The rhetorical mode of reporter voice

I have argued that a key purpose of mass-media news reporting is to develop a particular ideologically-informed theory of the social order by identifying the points at which this order is put at risk. The mass-media has, however, a more general objective. In the interest of economic gain it seeks to speak as broadly as possible to the community. As well, in order to achieve cultural, ideological and political influence, it seeks to have its messages accepted as widely as possible in the community. The two objectives – developing a theory of the social order and achieving the broadest possible reach in the community – do not appear entirely compatible. As I have said, the media models the social order by identifying points which it construes as putting that order at risk. But such assessments are, of course, likely sites of heteroglossic contestation. Differing social positions will operate with different models of the social order and hence with differing assessments of the conditions under which that order may be put at risk. Given that contemporary society is the scene of considerable heteroglossic diversity, we might expect resistance and opposition to the assessments of status quo disequilibrium by which the media develops its model of the social order. It would seem that one likely consequence of such resistance would be the limitation of potential audience reach to those whose social position is compatible with that informing the media's theory of 'newsworthiness', or who maintain an interest in observing the workings of an ideological perspective at odds with their own. In such conditions, therefore, it might seem unlikely that a community-wide mass media would be able to operate.

To the extent that today's media is, or remains a genuinely 'mass' institution, I would argue that reporter voice is one crucial element of a rhetorical strategy for resolving the conflict between the two objectives. It is a strategy which enables the media to

achieve significant reach across a heteroglossically diverse community, while at the same time developing a model of the social order through the ideologically-informed identification of sites of status quo disequilibrium. This rhetorical strategy has two primary components or axes,

- a regime for selectively acknowledging heteroglossic contestability and hence for selectively acknowledging sites at which solidarity is put at risk,
- a tactic of strategic impersonalisation by which the inter-subjective role of the author is backgrounded, obscured or suppressed.

I will consider each of these axes in turn.

VII.3.(b). Reporter voice as regime of solidarity

The challenge for the media, therefore, is to position its audience to accept its interpretation of which events put the status quo at risk, and on what terms they put the status quo at risk, when elements of that audience will not share the social position which informs that interpretation.

The first arm of the media's strategy is what I will term a regime of selective hetero-glossia. At issue here is the way the conventions of reporter voice construct for writer and prospective readers a particular set of solidarity relationships. Solidarity, as set out in chapter 2 (section II.3.(e).1), is one of the dimensions of the registerial domain of Tenor. Variation in the terms of solidarity, therefore, has implications for Tenor and hence for variation in the context of situation. In contexts such as those established by media texts, solidarity must, of course, be understood not in terms of a one-to-one relationship between a speaker and an interlocutor. It must be understood in the more general and more social terms that have been established by the Bakhtinian theory of heteroglossic diversity. Here we are interested in the way the text represents itself as in relationships of convergence (solidarity) or divergence (solidarity at risk) with the various ideological positions operational in the social context and brought into play by the text's arguments and social evaluations. In the current context, we are interested in the broad conditions that reporter voice imposes on the way the text may negotiate with the heteroglossic diversity and hence assume a positive solidarity relationship or, alternatively, represent it as being, to a greater or lesser degree, at risk. Thus we are interested in generalised patterns of discourse

semantic preferences which point to generalised patterns in the way texts represent their solidarity relationships with the heteroglossic diversity operational in the current context of situation. By exploring such systemic variation in the use of resources for negotiating with the heteroglossic diversity, we can develop what might be termed a grammar of solidarity.

In the current context of exploring the rhetorical strategy constituted by reporter voice, we are interested in just one pattern of semantic preference – that by which texts construe their utterances either in monoglossic or heteroglossic terms, as set out in chapter 3. That is, we are interested in whether the utterance actively acknowledges the possibility of heteroglossic divergence and hence brings into play one of the resources of ENGAGEMENT, or whether it suppresses or ignores that possibility through use of the 'bare' proposition. Reporter-voice texts are noteworthy for the way they develop a clear pattern of choice between monoglossic versus heteroglossic realisations in the context of certain broad functional categories. The categories at issue are the following:

1. demands for action or for changes in behaviour (interactional values discussed previously) – 'The government must end at once its grants of aid to family planning projects in the Third World.'
2. social evaluations variously of JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION and AFFECT, – 'This decision indicates callous disregard for the underprivileged by a government without a heart and with out a sense of moral duty.'
3. 'versions of events' – 'Scientists have discovered evidence of life on Mars'; 'Rebel Serb forces fired the rocket into the marketplace, killing 90.'

By this category of 'versions of events' I mean propositions which assert a particular set of experiential categories and relationships – who did or said what to whom etc. – but which do not contain explicit social evaluations.

The discussion of journalistic voice in chapter 4 supplied an indication of how reporter-voice texts are orientated towards these three categories with respect to choices between monoglossic and heteroglossic realisations. Under reporter voice, 'versions of events' are variably monoglossic and heteroglossic while evaluations of JUDGEMENT and demands for action (PROPOSALS) are almost exclusively heteroglossic. As we saw in chapter 4, however, there was some variation within social evaluation –

values of AFFECT and APPRECIATION were less consistently confined to extra-vocalised, and hence heteroglossic contexts. I therefore repeat this part of the reporter voice analysis below so as to enable me to explore more thoroughly the implications for the negotiation of solidarity. The discussion enables me to supply a small part of a much more general grammar of solidarity.

Firstly, I will briefly review the rhetorical consequence of the choice between monoglossic and heteroglossic representations. Under monoglossia, the speaker either assumes, or chooses to assert that the utterance operates without significant heteroglossic contestation or opposition. This is, of course, the basis of the notion of the 'fact'. The meanings the utterances make are represented as 'given', as 'natural', as 'commonsense' or at least as uncontested – eg, 'He cheats at cards.' Heteroglossic representation, in contrast, recognises the possibility of heteroglossic opposition, explicitly placing the utterance in a context of social heterogeneity – 'It's said/alleged/reported he cheats at cards.' The implications for negotiations of solidarity are as follows. The heteroglossic representation, in what may at first appear a paradox, leaves room for negotiation between different social positions by actively acknowledging those differences, even while that representation itself adopts a position or at least indicates a possible position. Thus the heteroglossic representation enables the speaker to deal with contentious, novel or unexpected meanings without necessarily fatally destroying some connection with and hence solidarity with those who hold different views. Solidarity is not, as discussed in chapter 2, simply a matter of agreement – solidarity can be maintained between interlocutors who hold different views. It is a measure, rather, of the degree of sympathy or empathy between speakers, of the degree to which they remain willing to maintain the process of communication. Thus, by acknowledging that solidarity may be at risk, such values act to maintain it. In contrast, the monoglossic representation makes no such concessions to possible alternation. In so doing, it puts more at stake rhetorically and interpersonally, in contexts of possible disagreement. In simply ignoring or denying possible alternative positions it closes down any avenues by which room can be made for those alternative positions. Thus a reader confronted by a set of monoglossic propositions with which they disagree will, to greater or lesser degrees, reject the text which carries those propositions as misguided, mistaken, irrelevant, prejudiced or

untruthful. Thus such propositions are significantly more likely to do fatal damage to solidarity between speaker and audience, when they operate with significantly divergent social positions. By ignoring the possibility of negative solidarity, such propositions risk a complete solidarity breakdown. The text carrying those meanings is thus significantly less likely to position resistant or uncommitted readers to accept its explicit propositions and underlying assumptions. The choice of heteroglossic representation, therefore, is highly strategic – a functional choice in the context of meanings which have a chance of being questioned, challenged or opposed, which have a chance of putting solidarity at risk. Thus, the media, with its objective of reaching and influencing as broad a market of readers as possible, has good reason to make strategic use of the resources of ENGAGEMENT.

As was demonstrated in the voice analysis in chapter 4, under reporter voice, versions of events (as defined above), and the attitudinal evaluations of AFFECT and APPRECIATION:valuation are in principle available for monoglossic contexts, at least in some contexts. For example, the AFP reporter-voice account of a meeting by the French far-right party, the National Front, observes monoglossically that,

> French far-right leader Jean-Marie Le Pen wrapped up a **controversial** party congress Monday. (AFP 31/03/97)

Here 'controversial' ascribes a social value to the congress but does so directly, in the author's own voice and without any value of ENGAGEMENT. Similarly, we find instances of monoglossic AFFECT in reporter voice texts,

> Up to 100,000 people took to the streets at the weekend to protest the policies of Le Pen's anti-immigrant party, which is riding a wave of popular **anger** at France's economic and social **woes**.' (AFP 31/03/97).

Here, values of AFFECT (anger, woe) are represented without recourse to the negotiatory semantics of ENGAGEMENT. Thus both AFFECT and APPRECIATION: valuation may be represented in terms which do not explicitly acknowledge the heteroglossic diversity. They presume or assert, thereby, a generalised agreement with the various ideological positions operational in the current context of situation. This is a feature of reporter voice which it shares, of course, with the other journalistic voices and other registers generally across the language.

Reporter voice differs, however, from the other journalistic voices (and other registers beyond journalism) in the constraints that it places on the APPRECIATION values of reaction (*striking, boring, beautiful*) and composition (*harmonious, misshapen*) , on JUDGEMENT (*corruptly, cruelly*) and on interactional demands (typically modals of obligation – *The government must* ….). As was demonstrated in chapter 4, under reporter voice, these values are always, or in the large majority of cases, confined to heteroglossic realisations. Thus the conventions compel the writer to acknowledge the heteroglossic diversity in the context of such values and thereby to actively open up a space for negotiations over solidarity . Thus the grammar of solidarity as it operates for reporter voice acts to class broad semantic categories as only possibly requiring a negotiation of solidarity (versions of events, AFFECT, APPRECIATION:valuation), as probably requiring a negotiation of solidarity (APPRECIATION: reaction and composition) and necessarily requiring a negotiation of solidarity (JUDGEMENT and interaction).

This then describes in general terms, the way reporter voice reweights the probabilities with respect to values of ENGAGEMENT and, in particular, with respect to heteroglossia versus monoglossia. It is, as I have demonstrated, a pattern of reweighting with consequence for negotiations of solidarity. But what might be the communicative motivation for such a reweighting and what might be its rhetorical consequences? As I have suggested above, the answer lies in the need for the mass-media to reconcile its two objectives – maximising audience reach while developing an ideologically contentious model of the social order. The reasons for the selective use of heteroglossic representation become clear when we consider the individual semantics of the various categories involved in the reweighting.

All the categories involved – versions of events, social evaluations, demands for changes in behaviour – are implicated in the media's primary concern with depicting events and issues which it seeks to construe as putting the social order at risk. Versions of events are implicated when they provide tokens of judgement and hence point to potential fault lines in the social order. As well, they occasionally present an experiential reality at odds with that entailed by the journalistic model of the social order. Reports which circulated in 1997, for example, that scientists claimed to have found evidence of life on Mars, would fit this category. ATTITUDINAL values, with their concern for social norms and systems of value apply naturally here. Interactional

values also have a central role since they involve demands for changes in behaviour by individuals or institutions on the grounds that they are in breach of social norms, expectations, desires or needs.

All categories, therefore point to sites of potential social disequilibrium and, as such, all have the potential, for reasons set out above, to become the focus of heteroglossic contestation and thus to put solidarity at risk. It is possible, however, to find a rationale for their differential treatment by reporter voice by reference to what appears to be a tactic of strategic impersonalisation – a rhetorical mode which acts to background and obscure the role of authorial inter-subjectivity in making judgements about social order disequilibrium. By thus backgrounding the authorial role, the text is able to reduce the likelihood of resistance to its meanings by representing these as more generally or communally based, as somehow given by the community as a whole, rather than as being based in an individual and hence potentially isolated subjectivity. Accordingly it is able to lessen the likelihood that its meanings will put solidarity at risk. In this context, I will explore in turn the various categories with which the reweighting of the probabilities of heteroglossia occur.

As I have said, the news report makes extensive use of monoglossic versions of events which act as tokens of JUDGEMENT – 'The striking unionist placed their own children in the front row of the picket line. One child was struck when a truck driver sought to pass through into the factory car park.' Such a usage is compatible with a strategy of impersonalisation since, as tokens, they rely on the reader to supply the intended JUDGEMENT values, to interpret the experiential description in terms of social sanction or social esteem. Authorial subjectivity is, of course, involved at various points in the presentation of such versions of events. It will determine grammatical issues such as which participants are construed as Actors (and hence as active and agentive) and which as Goals (and hence as the acted-upon). (For a full discussion of the role of inter-subjective position in determining grammatical choices see Trew 1979.) It will determine which versions of events are chosen in the first place, how they are arranged in the text and how they are supported by explicit appraisal values elsewhere in the text. But in all these cases, inter-subjective position is implicit rather than explicit. It is not available on the surface of the text, so to speak, for immediate challenge. They are therefore less likely to provoke heteroglossic resistance and so

there is less need for the journalistic author to acknowledge the potential risk that such values pose for solidarity. (It must be noted that resistance is available, of course, to those readers who are not susceptible to this particular rhetorical ploy. This qualification applies in all the cases of impersonalisation set out in the following.)

Reporter-voice texts make regular use of values of AFFECT in monoglossic contexts. In terms of our current concern for a strategy of impersonalisation, this follows predictably from the lexico-grammar. AFFECT is frequently realised as Mental Process, and hence as an experiential category, as part of the view of external reality provided by the language. In describing affectual states, therefore, the authorial voice presents itself as simply reflecting reality, as was the case with the versions of events mentioned above. Thus when the text describes the 'mounting anger' over France's economic woes, it purports simply to be presenting an experiential state of affairs. In fact, descriptions of affectual responses and states can be seen as versions of events, in their own right, since they simply present relationships between experiential categories. Affectual descriptions differ, however, from other versions of events in that, as we have seen, there is a strong tendency for them to provoke rather than simply to evoke JUDGEMENT values. Such a provocation was compellingly demonstrated in the police rounds report cited in chapter 4 in which a murder was described with reference to the perpetrators affectual state as 'a thrill killing'. Dealing with affectual processes, therefore, may be felt to make more apparent the underlying inter-subjectivity of the authorial voice. Readers may be directed to the text's inter-subjectivity through their sense of being provoked to make JUDGEMENTS. This would appear to be a risk that reporter-voice texts are prepared to run. In this regard, reporter-voice texts are impersonalised only to the extent that such provocations background rather than foreground authorial inter-subjectivity. Thus they avoid the need to negotiate solidarity only to the extent that such provocations are read as impersonal rather than personal.

We should also note one important complication in this regard. AFFECT strongly foregrounds authorial inter-subjectivity when it is the author's own emotional responses which are being presented. For authors to describe their own anger, fear, sadness, boredom etc is clearly to inject their own subjectivity into the text. To do so, of course, makes them potential targets for JUDGEMENT to the extent that the emotions

they present provoke such evaluations. Authorial AFFECT, therefore, would be a likely site of heteroglossic contestation and hence a value where we might expect an acknowledgment that solidarity is being put at risk. Reporter voice use of values of authorial affect is entirely consistent with its strategy of strategic impersonalisation – it entirely excludes them. There were no cases of such authorial emotional response in the database of reporter-voice texts. (It is noteworthy that correspondent-voice texts shared this feature while, in contrast, the commentator-voice texts make ready use of authorial AFFECT.)

As we have seen, reporter voice is less consistent in constraining values of APPRECIATION to heteroglossic contexts than it is with JUDGEMENT values. Further, appreciation values divide into, on the one hand, the valuation and, on the other hand, into reaction and composition. Valuation is construed by the conventions of reporter voice as only possibly putting solidarity at risk, while reaction and composition probably put it at risk. That is to say, in reporter voice text we find a reasonably high frequency of monoglossic values of APPRECIATION:value (*controversial, leading, key, positive* etc) but a much lower frequency of appreciation:reaction (*striking, boring, stormy*) and APPRECIATION:composition (*harmonious, balanced*) How do these two patternings fit into a strategy of impersonalisation? As was the case with both versions of events and AFFECT, the patterning of the various categories of APPRECIATION within reporter voice is predictable from their individual semantics. I will demonstrate this, firstly, for APPRECIATION in general and then for the sub categories.

The question then is, why does reporter voice distinguish between JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, in these terms. Both are obvious sites of heteroglossic contestation and as such both would appear to foreground authorial inter-subjectivity. The difference can be explained by reference to the terms of the social evaluation associated with the two categories. JUDGEMENT, as explained in chapter 3, is the institutionalisation of AFFECT in the context of proposal – its semantics is that of obligation determined or informed by emotional preference. It can be thought of as implying a demand, ultimately based on emotional preference, upon behaviour. APPRECIATION, in contrast, is the institutionalisation of AFFECT in the context of proposition – its semantics is that of emotional preference reconstrued as statement. On these grounds we can see why JUDGEMENT might be construed as putting more at stake interpersonally than

APPRECIATION. The same broad functional difference which operates to divide informational from interactional meanings is at work here. Previously we saw how informational values put at risk agreement, while interaction values put at risk compliance. The same agreement versus compliance distinction can thus be seen to underlie the APPRECIATION (agreement) versus JUDGEMENT (compliance) distinction, with compliance putting more at stake interpersonally than agreement.

This distinction is reflected in the lexico-grammar of the two categories. Since JUDGEMENT involves evaluation of human behaviour, it acts to evaluate configurations which entail a human agent and some process. It can be said to be most congruently realised through Circumstances of Manner ('He ruled the nation corruptly for a decade'), though of course, under grammatical metaphor, it may variously be realised as epithet ('His corrupt rule') and as nominal ('The corruption which existed under this ruler'). In contrast, APPRECIATION involves evaluation of entities, not behaviour, and as such its grammar is more thoroughly that of the nominal, with the APPRECIATION most typically realised as a pre-modifying epithet of the Thing that is evaluated. All instances of APPRECIATION contained in the database were realised in this way. In many instances the Thing so evaluated is what Halliday terms a 'virtual entity' (1998) – it is a Thing under grammatical metaphor and references phenomena which the semantics would represent as Processes (for example, 'boring speech' unpacks as 'he spoke in a boring manner'). Such grammatical metaphors are associated with a semantics of reification by which what is transient and instantaneous (the Process) is construed as fixed and persistent (the Thing). At the same time, it becomes possible to remove reference to any human agency which might be involved and hence to suppress issues of responsibility. I would argue that the evaluation of Things (whether actual or virtual) involves a less forceful foregrounding of the inter-subjective role of the evaluator than does the evaluation of human behaviour that occurs under JUDGEMENT. There is less at stake interpersonally in appreciations of Things in that it is an object which is at issue, not a human agent. Thus no human need be directly implicated. The challenge that such an evaluation poses to solidarity, therefore, does not necessarily put at issue human behaviour or make demands on human behaviour but is, rather, directed at the constitution of some object which has its own independent existence as a persistent entity. Thus the inclusion of monoglossic APPRECIATION in reporter-voice

texts clearly diminishes their impersonality, but less so than would the inclusion of monoglossic JUDGEMENT. Nevertheless, these are clearly still sites of potential heteroglossic contestation which reporter voice nevertheless sometimes represents in monoglossic terms, thus declining to acknowledge the risk to solidarity. It would appear that the rhetorical benefits of having direct access to such values outweighs the threat they pose to the strategy of impersonalisation.

The grounds for distinguishing, within APPRECIATION, between valuation, on the one hand, and reaction and composition, on the other, are less obvious. The distinction would seem to turn on the degree that the evaluation is felt to be institutionalised or socialised – that is, grounded generally in social institutions rather than in an individualised subjectivity. Thus we can see that reaction values such as *captivating, moving, splendid, enchanting* are characterised as if grounded in an individuated aesthetic sensibility. In contrast, non-aesthetic evaluations such as *prominent, key, historical, conservative* may be seen as qualities which society in general ascribes, rather than the individual evaluator. Thus to describe an individual as 'a prominent conservationist' is not to make an individual assessment but rather to reference an already extant classification established more broadly within society. The evaluator here may be able to represent themselves as unimplicated in the evaluation, as simply applying the predetermined label provided by the current context of situation rather than engaging their own inter-subjectivity. Accordingly, the aesthetic APPRECIATIONS put more at stake interpersonally, they have a greater potential to put solidarity at risk since they turn, ultimately, on individual responses, rather than on some established social ascription. It is thus possible for reporter voice to maintain its guise of impersonalisation even while making reasonably frequent use of monoglossic APPRECIATION:valuation. They are thus held on some occasions not to require acknowledgment of the threat to solidarity.

As we have seen, inscribed JUDGEMENT and interactional demands are the values which reporter voice most thoroughly confines to heteroglossic contexts. It thereby cast these values as the most consistently contentious, as the values which most consistently require that the threat to solidarity be acknowledged. The discussion to this point has already indicated why this should be so. Both values directly target the behaviour of individuals or groupings, with JUDGEMENT evaluating it and interaction

seeking to change or influence it. Both share a semantics of obligation, with interactional values directly asserting it and JUDGEMENT values implying it. Thus these two values put more at stake socially and inter-personally than other modes of evaluation. Accordingly, these values have the greatest potential to put solidarity at risk. They therefore occur most consistently in contexts (heteroglossic representations) whereby that risk is acknowledged.

VII.3.(c). Reporter voice, impersonalisation and extra-vocalisation

The discussion to this point has accounted for the variable patterns of preference for heteroglossic representation in reporter-voice texts. It has explained why certain meanings which might provoke heteroglossic resistance, are nonetheless realised in monoglossic terms. It has explained those patterns by reference to the notion of a rhetoric of impersonalisation.

I turn now to the second arm of that strategy, the preference of reporter for extra-vocalisation over intra-vocalisation (see sections III.3.(c).2. and III.3.(c).3.) as its favoured mode of heteroglossic representation – that is to say, why it so consistently chooses attribution rather than, for example, modal values of probability, reality phase or hearsay. From the perspective of simply acknowledging possible risks to solidarity, values of extra-vocalisation and intra-vocalisation have an equal status. They both act to open up the communicative space to the possibility of heteroglossic diversity. Extra-vocalisation, however, differs from intra-vocalisation in a way that is crucial to the strategy of impersonalisation – unlike intra-vocalisation, extra-vocalisation systematically under-determines or leaves ambiguous or unstated the alignment between the authorial and external voice. The under-determination enables the text to introduce interpersonally and heteroglossically charged values such as inscribed JUDGEMENT and demands for interaction and yet to obscure the inter-subjective role of the authorial voice in introducing these values into the text. This feature of extra-vocalisation is therefore fundamental to the media's objective of reaching the widest audience while developing its contentious model of the social order. I will therefore explore the semantics of extra-vocalisation at some length.

As a system of resources, extra-vocalisation displays a considerable degree of variation as to the degree of alignment that is indicated between authorial and external voice. This point has been taken up at length in the context of my discussion of Fuller's theory of a grammar of discourse (see section II.3.(b).6. and Fuller 1995, 1998) and in the course of my treatment of extra-vocalisation in chapter 3 (section III.3.(c).2.). There I discussed the different semantic consequences of extra-vocalic insertion versus extra-vocalic assimilation. In particular I noted the potential for assimilation to merge the two voices, to allow for a thoroughgoing 'mediatisation' of the extra-vocalised material. We need also to note that the system does provide resources by which alignment between the authorial and external voice can be explicitly asserted or, alternatively, by which the authorial voice can distance itself from the external. Accordingly, in wordings such as 'He demonstrated that the Premier had viewed the documents', alignment is indicated, while the authorial voice distances itself in wordings such as 'He is claiming that the Premier had viewed the documents'. Additionally, we need to take into account co-textual factors. Thus the degree to which the authorial is aligned with the external may depend on whether the particular extra-vocalised position is read as consonant with and supported by positions adopted elsewhere in the text, either by the authorial voice or by other external voices, whether the external voice is read as possessing high authority, expertise or status, and so on.

Many media texts do display a high degree of alignment between the authorial and the external. Such alignment is illustrated by the following example. (To demonstrate alignment I have analysed the text for attitudinal appraisal (JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION and AFFECT) and indicated where extra-vocalisation is in play)

Key.
Underlining = extra-vocalisation
Italics = tokens of attitude
Purple = social sanction
Blue = social esteem
Green = appreciation
Magenta = affect

Text 15: Traffic congestion report

Gridlock, eight hours a day

By ROBERT WAINWRIGHT and DAMIEN MURPHY

Peak hours in Sydney have expanded from six to eight hours a day, forcing motorists on freeways and highways *to crawl at 10 km/h* [token: incapacity] - *slower than the average jogger* [token: incapacity] - a new study of the city's transport crisis has revealed.

The congestion now eats up one-third of every weekday, and even extends into weekends.

An Australian Bureau of Statistics study published this month shows that commuter use of public transport across Sydney has fallen by more than 13 per cent since 1991 while car use has jumped by 10 per cent.

Roads and Traffic Authority (RTA) forecasts conclude that on present trends, travel times on city roads will become *six times slower* [token: incapacity] by 2016.

This bleak [reaction] picture has emerged from a special [valuation] two-part Herald investigation - which continues tomorrow - just weeks after the State Minister for Transport, Mr Scully, confirmed that the *Government's long-awaited integrated public transport strategy had once again been delayed*, [token: incapacity] this time to the end of the year.

The latest plan will become the 13th published blueprint of how to fix the city's transport woes [affect] . *None has been fully implemented*. [token: incapacity]

The Government now faces the prospect of an election fought on urban environmental issues, including traffic chaos and air quality.

Labor Party sources acknowledge that in marginal western Sydney seats such as Badgerys Creek, Penrith and the Blue Mountains, the Government's response to public transport problems might hold the key to its re-election strategy.

"It is three years now and there is simply no excuse,[judgement: impropriety] " a senior ALP figure conceded. "We need a transport strategy that goes beyond just roads and some pretty big and brave [tenacity] decisions are needed, and now."

Transport engineers, strategists and planners say Sydney's transport crisis can be blamed [non specified negative social esteem] directly on decades of ad hoc [capacity] traffic planning and the focus of consecutive governments on the funding of new roads over public transport systems.

NRMA studies show that peak hours on main thoroughfares such as Military and Parramatta roads have increased by 30 per cent over the past decade.

…

Although the Government has set targets to reduce car use, groups such as the Total Environment Centre (TEC) and western Sydney councils say they are yet to be convinced that there are serious plans behind the political rhetoric [veracity].

…

The Government has pledged answers by November but a recent Department of Transport (DoT) advertisement for interest in mass-transit studies concedes that "in-principle availability" of resources for "large and complex studies" will happen only over the next year. The advertisement, which calls for submissions by tomorrow, wants the studies to include strategic planning, technology, travel demand analysis and financial evaluation.

But community lobby groups, councils and transport experts say there is already enough information to justify full-scale plans, and they continue to appeal for money to be spent on rail and bus services in new suburbs.

Mr Les Macdonald, who recently resigned as chairman of the Public Transport Advisory Council, said he was cynical about the Government's intentions. "The Government's goals are a breakthrough but there is a distinct danger that this will be yet another very expensive public relations exercise.[veracity]

"Until you pool all the government funding for transport and put it under an independent body that makes sound [capacity] decisions about public transport and roads then these goals will just be used as pork barrel exercise [impropriety] for election time."

Professor John Black, of the University of NSW School of Civil and Environmental Engineering, agreed: "At present there are too many fingers in the pie. [incapacity] The lack of co-ordination [incapacity[that has existed historically continues, and if government is serious about transport reform, control of transportation modes, roads, planning and urban affairs should be vested in one single entity."

The criticism is that not only have governments failed to keep pace with urban sprawl [incapacity] by providing basic transport corridors, but that there has been little or no attention given to a flexible transport system to cater for social changes, such as women in the workforce.

Environment Protection Authority surveys show nearly 10 per cent of Sydney residents believe public transport is one of the two most important [valuation] issues for the Government, compared with 5 per cent in 1994. Over the same period, the percentage of people driving to work leapt from 62 per cent to nearly 80 per cent.

The foundation chairman of traffic engineering at the University of NSW, Professor Ross Blunden, who worked on Singapore's urban renewal project that saw the CBD closed to ordinary traffic, believes Sydney will be forced to take similar action.

"It is really getting pressurised at the moment and the coming Olympic Games makes the point that you've got to control the motor car as the land use density goes up," he said.

Mr Hans Westerman, a consultant engineer and planner to Austroads, said the Government could not solve transport problems with money alone. Overseas experiments such as combining trains and taxis should be tried.

[*Sydney Morning Herald Monday*, 23/3/1998]

We note that the text conforms to reporter-voice conventions – it extra-vocalises all inscribed values of JUDGEMENT. Yet I certainly read the text as acting, as a whole, to develop a criticism against the government, to blame the government for its incompetence (JUDGEMENT: capacity) with respect to traffic management. The authorial voice seems as much implicated in this exercise as any of the external voices, and possibly more so in that it clearly acts to assemble the various critics and to target their complaints against the government. In a sense those external voices can be read as surrogates for the authorial voice. The explicit evaluations which the authorial voice does allow itself ('bleak picture', 'city's transport woes') clearly support this interpretation. So what is at work rhetorically here? What are the advantages which accompany the writer's choosing reporter voice, rather than correspondent or commentator, and therefore levelling the charges at the government on their own behalf?

The answer is to be found, of course, in the rhetorical advantages of a strategy by which the role of the author in developing this contentious position is backgrounded and obscured, and hence rendered less open to resistance and opposition. This rhetorical stratagem relies on the under-determination of alignment between authorial and external voice. The under-determination provides the manoeuvring space in which the authorial voice foregrounds the external voices, thereby deflecting attention from its own role. From another perspective, of course, it enables the authorial voice to construe the position adopted by the text as one which has significant support among appropriately authoritative experts in the field, and thus to assemble a group of allies in its contestation with the government. The success of the strategy is, of course, dependent on the degree that the extra-vocalisation is read as distancing authorial from external voice. Resistant readings will, of course, insist upon the author's implication in the line being developed by the report.

Debate about the degree to which the authorial voice is implicated in this way – a debate made possible by the distinctive semantics of extra-vocalisation – is, of course, a constant in the contestation between the media and its various critics and rivals for social and political influence. We should note in this regard, that for its own polemical ends, the media typically adopts an extreme view, insisting that the authorial voice is never implicated in, or responsible for any of the subjectivities it imports into its texts

through extra-vocalisation. Its claim that its texts are neutral, impartial and value-free, despite containing so much explicit social evaluation in attributed statements, relies on this proposition. Texts such as the traffic congestion report cited above supply powerful counter evidence. They indicate that the media overstates its case, that it misrepresents ambiguity or under-determination of alignment between authorial and external voice as an absolute state of disassociation and independence.

I note with interest in this regard that the laws of defamation in Australian and the UK do not support the journalistic commonsense view of extra-vocalisation. Under these laws, it is held to be unimportant whether the reporter him/herself produces the defamation or simply reports the defamatory statements of some attributed source. The reporter is held to be just as liable and may be sued for the defamations contained in the words of the quoted source. Thus, for the law, reporters are held to be responsible for, and implicated in the social evaluations of the sources they quote.

There are, of course, instances where contentious meanings are present in the text under extra-vocalisation where there are no strong indicators as to authorial position, either within the co-text or in the specific grammar of the current extra-vocalising value. The report of the Italian Ski slopes disaster cited in chapter 4 (see page 183) is a typical example of such a text. But whether or not the authorial voice overtly demonstrates a point of view is ultimately unimportant for the media's purpose in identifying points at which the social order is put at risk. The function of extra-vocalisation is to introduce the JUDGEMENTs or the demands for action by which these fault lines are identified. Extra-vocalisation means, as I have said, that these can be marked as potentially putting solidarity at risk, thereby managing that solidarity. Simultaneously, through the under-determination of authorial alignment, authorial position can be left unstated, thereby increasing the room for rhetorical manoeuvring. The strategy here is for the text to, thereby, background the inter-subjective role of the author in selecting the particular contentious utterance for coverage, placing it in a position of prominence in the text and so giving it functionality within the media discourse of social-order disequilibrium.

VII.3.(d). Intensification and impersonalisation

The final ingredient of the rhetorical strategy constituted by reporter voice is provided by intensification. By this value, news-reporting texts characterise the social-order fault lines they identify as highly charged interpersonally, as of maximal force and impact and as thereby compelling themselves upon both writer and reader's attention. The choice of mode of intensification is crucial here. As we have seen, reporter voice avoids the explicit, isolating forms (*very, really, again and again* etc) and those infused forms which involve an explicitly interpersonal value. They favour, instead, forms where the intensification is fused with an experiential form ('The car veered', 'Prices skyrocketed' etc.) Such a preference is clearly consonant with a strategy of impersonalisation. Such forms have the obvious advantage, for such a tactic, of backgrounding the inter-subjectivity of intensification, of casting the intensification as a quality attached innately to various experiential categories. Thus the reader's attention is deflected from the interpersonal semantics by the foregrounding that such values provide for the experiential.

To conclude this section on reporter voice as rhetorical mode, we can see that it involves the complex interplay between a strategic reweighting of the probabilities of heteroglossic representation, exploitation of the under-determination by extra-vocalisation of the alignment between authorial and external voice, and a strategic use of the more 'experiential' realisations of intensification. I contend that these factors act in combination to address the tension between the media's twin objectives of maximising its audience reach and its influence, while simultaneously developing a contentious theory of the social order which, if it were presented overtly as such, would risk being more widely resisted and on different terms from those which are usual today. That strategy acts to manage the resources of social evaluation so that the risk of fatal breaches of solidarity is reduced, though not, of course, by any means eliminated.

VII.4. Reporter voice and media objectivity

The notion that news reporting somehow equates with what is termed 'objectivity' is a commonplace in everyday discussions of the media. As foreshadowed in the

introduction to chapter 1, it is certainly a key element of the media's claim that its texts provide a form of knowledge and that newspapers, for example, constitute 'journals of record'. The precise meaning of 'objectivity' is often contested and is seldom explicitly defined when used in debates about media performance. I will here briefly address the question of so-called media objectivity since, as suggested in the thesis opening, it is ever-present in discussions of media performance, and because I believe the account of reporter voice as rhetorical strategy set out above provides some definitive insights.

There are, at least, two related but nevertheless distinct usages of the term 'objectivity' within discussions of the media. The first usage has its basis in observations of the historical development of newspapers in the early to mid 19th century, by which key publications moved, at least in Britain and the US, from being arms of political parties to being 'independent' operations funded, not by party funds, but through advertisements and a cover price. (See, for example Schudson 1978, Schiller 1981, Stephens 1988 or Curran and Seaton 1991.) Here the term 'objective' is used to indicate the apparent freedom of the newspapers to cover news and develop analyses and arguments independently of the interests of some political party. Thus 'objective' did not necessarily imply 'neutrality' or any absence of value judgement, but simply independence from the influence and control of one political institution. Supposedly, these newly 'commercial' media organisations were able to evaluate potential news issues 'on their merits' rather than at the dictate of a particular party line. Thus 'objective' in this context does not imply any necessary changes in the modes of textuality of such publications – there is no necessary implication that they were any less opinionated, subjective or argumentative under these changes. Nevertheless, as will be shown below, the change did have ultimate significance for our current concerns because it was an important stage in a trend over the next century by which the media was to position itself as a genuinely 'mass' organ of knowledge and cultural influence.

The idea of 'objectivity' in the context of the media, however, has come to be associated with beliefs that news coverage recounts, or at least should recount events without the intrusion of value judgement, interpretation or point of view. As Schiller states, commonsense notions of objectivity involve the belief that news should

provide a ‘map, a veridical representation, a report on reality, and hence not really a story at all, but merely the facts.’ (1981: 2). There is, of course, widespread agreement within the relevant academic disciplines (eg philosophy, linguistics, sociology, cultural studies) that this belief is unsustainable. It is acknowledged that texts cannot neutrally and impersonally map some fixed and absolute external reality. As Habermas has stated, the commonsense notion ‘deludes the sciences with the image of a self subsistent world of facts structured in a lawlike manner, it thus conceals the priori constitution of these facts’ (Habermas 1971: 69).

Much effort in the media studies literature has been expended on establishing when this belief became operational in the media – that is when media organisations began proclaiming that they were ‘objective’ in these terms and when media audiences began to believe this was what they could expect of news coverage, at least in ideal circumstances. The media historians typically indicate it began sometime in the late 19th century and was fully entrenched by the 1930s. Thus Siebert et al assert that this ‘theory of objectivity’ originated in the late 19th century and was ‘widely acclaimed’ during the first quarter of the 20th century (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm 1963:60; for a full discussion, see Schiller 1981.)

The voice analysis set out above can provide, I believe, some indicators as to how the distinctive interpersonal style of news reporting in the 20th century might support the operation of this belief . As I have shown, reporter voice can be understood as a rhetorical strategy for backgrounding the ideologically determined nature of the conventions of news coverage and the necessary subjectivity of the authorial voice in implementing these conventions. In general, the strategy operates to present the various assumptions and evaluations conveyed by a news report as in some way given, impersonal, unavoidable or communally rather than individually based. They operate so that it takes more work for the reader to discover at what point and in what terms the social position informing the text may be questioned or resisted. They operate, thus, to maintain solidarity despite and across the heteroglossic diversity encompassed by the mass media’s targeted audience.

I should make explicit here a point which I have hitherto taken as given. When I talk of a strategy, I do not mean to say that this is a mode of operation which journalists

employ consciously so as to achieve the communicative ends I have suggested above. In my own professional experience, journalists vary greatly in the degree to which they seek to analyse and deconstruct their professional practices. Some would operate with a 'naïve' commonsense view of 'objectivity' while others would support the type of critical analysis I have set out here. My own personal history has been one of a movement from a relatively commonsense view to the critical stance I adopt today. I was like many of my journalistic colleagues in my surprise when first told that I could be held responsible for the defamations of my quoted sources. I too was convinced by reporter voice's strategy of impersonalisation that the authorial voice was entirely immune from, and independent of any of the subjectivities of my extra-vocalised sources, though I would not, of course, have put it in those terms. When I speak of a 'strategy', therefore, I am pointing to a rhetorical potentiality which emerges from the aspects of the text compositional conventions of modern news reporting outlined above. Journalists, therefore, are just as subject to the rhetorical influence of those conventions as their audience, perhaps even more so since their continued professional employment relies on them enacting the conventions successfully day after day. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that many journalists are at least as committed to the notion of 'objectivity' as are members of their audience.

From this perspective we can see that the assumed 'objectivity' of a media text will be a measure of the effectiveness with which it implements this strategy. That is, assumed 'objectivity' is a measure of the success of media discourse in using the techniques set out above to maintain some degree of solidarity while, nevertheless, developing a value-laden, ideologically-determined and hence solidarity-threatening theory of the social order. It is a success, therefore, only to the extent that news reporting is, in fact, seen as 'objective' or at least to the extent that a significant proportion of the media audience maintains a belief that news coverage *should* be 'objective'. I believe the media has been successful in this regard, though I pass no judgement on the degree of that success.

This perspective can also provide a useful way of accounting for the transformation in journalistic voice, documented in chapter 4, between the 19th century and the current day. Nineteenth century journalism clearly did not adopt the same rhetorical strategy of impersonalisation that we find today. If it did adopt any such strategy, it was one

involving an abrupt contrast between transcript-oriented reports, where the authorial role was kept to a bare minimum, and the remainder of news reporting where a personalised, interpersonally unimpeded authorial voice operated across all subject areas. But the transcript-oriented reports are a special case in that the journalist author typically provides only one or two sentences of their own by way of framing. As well, as I demonstrated in chapter 4, the full resources of appraisal appear to be available to the authorial voice in cases where that framing goes beyond just a few words. Thus the strategic reweighting of the probabilities with respect to hetero-glossia found today were not operational in the 19th century newspapers examined for this study, nor was the preference for extra-vocalisation, nor the preference for 'experientialised' intensification. This suggests that for whatever reason – and I will explore possible reasons in a later section – there was not the communicative imperative to manage the negotiation of solidarity which operates today. Thus the journalistic voice freely offered monoglossically realised values of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION and made interactional demands, with all the risks thereby posed for solidarity. It suggests either that the journalistic discourse assumed a much greater degree of heteroglossic convergence in its readership than is assumed today, or else, for whatever reason, it was unconcerned with rhetorical impact of its social evaluations and any damage they might pose for solidarity. These findings further suggest that, if 19th century journalism operated with a notion of 'objectivity', then it was rather different from that of today or, alternatively, that journalistic style did not play the same role in sustaining that belief.

VII.5. The evolution of news and the 'orbital' mode of textuality

I have explored, therefore, the rhetorical consequences of reporter voice. But to account for the rhetorical potential of the news item in its totality, we need, of course, to consider not just voice, but the way it interacts with textual organisation. I will set out such an analysis below. Firstly, however, I need to make some observations about textual organisation which generalise across both the issues report and the event story, since they were analysed separately in previous chapters.

The discussion in chapter 5 and 6 demonstrated that both event story and issues report are organised according to the principle of orbital textuality by which a textually dominant nucleus consisting of a headline plus lead is specified and elaborated by a set of dependent satellites. As well, the discussion demonstrated that many instances of the two text types feature a repeated or rhythmic return, as the text unfolds, to the crisis point of primary impact set out in the headline/lead.

It is perhaps remarkable, given their divergent grounding in activity sequence and argumentative utterance respectively, that both text types should feature this identical pattern of textual development. In this regard we should note that this commonality was not to be found in earlier periods of journalism. As was demonstrated in earlier chapters, activity based reports were previously represented through chronological recounts while speeches and debates, the typical basis of issues reports, were most frequently covered through transcript-oriented reports. Here the original generic structure and informational emphases of the originating material remained generally intact, with the journalistic task largely confined to framing the transcript. In terms of generic structure, therefore, the historical evolution of news reporting in the 20th century has involved a convergence between different modes of textuality, to the point where the one pattern of organisation does service across the board for both event-based and argument-based reporting.

For issues-based reporting, this has meant a much greater uniformity in genre. Previously it fell to the author of the originating material to determine the mode of argumentation. Thus, the news pages of *The Times* and *The New York Times* of the 19th century featured an array of different persuasive sub-genres. Today, in contrast, the one mode operates by which some, usually single, point of contention is singled out for maximum emphasis in the opening, with the text body acting to specify and lend support to this. Accordingly, the historical evolution of the issues report involves a process by which the native journalistic mode of textuality, with its distinctive emphases and communicative outcomes, has come to hold sway over and to supplant all other text organisational modes. All originating material must be recut and reconfigured to conform to this journalistic framework. In the context of the issues report, there can be no rhetorical mode but that of journalism's own making.

The evolution of the event story has involved a similar process, to the extent that the native journalistic mode of textuality has come to supplant a prior mode of textual organisation. While the end point was the same – a lead-dominated orbital text structure – the transformation involved different socio-semiotic issues. The pre-modern mode of event-based reporting, like other narratives, is strongly conditioned by what SFL terms ideational meanings, by those meanings by which the language constructs a representation of external reality. (See, for example, Halliday 1994.) In these narratives, it is the activity sequence, an essentially ideational construct, which dictates the terms of the story telling. The text organises the flow of ideational meanings, as well as the associated interpersonal values, to mimic the flow of chronological and causal sequence in experiential time.

Under the transformation, however, by which the contemporary event-based report was constituted, the ideational is no longer so determinant. The modern event story is organised rhetorically rather than ideationally. That is to say, it makes full use of the potential of the textual metafunction to strategically arrange ideational and interpersonal values to achieve some communicative objective. Thus the textual is freed to develop emphases, to background and to foreground, to juxtapose and separate without reference to any ideational framework. Under this rhetorical impulse, chronological sequence is dismantled and individual events arranged in the text, not to map experiential relationships, but so as to achieve a particular rhetorical outcome. And that outcome, as suggested in chapter 5, is to give maximum rhetorical prominence to the material, both ideational and interpersonal, which has been selected for the opening headline/lead – the text's rhetorical centre of gravity.

VII.6. The news story as rhetorical device

As I have stated previously, the modern news story acts to identify what it construes as fault lines in the social order, points of social, power-relational and moral disequilibrium. By its focus on what it construes as actual or potential aberration, damage or transformation, it acts to develop a particular, ideologically-determined model of the social order. In a sense, therefore, each 'angle' selected for the headline/lead amounts to an argument in favour of a particular theory of the social

order. I have touched on this point at various places within the thesis but will now demonstrate it more fully.

The choice of what journalists term the 'angle' for the news item is crucial in this regard – the crisis point of maximum impact discussed at length in chapter 5. A process of interpretation and theorising, which I set out in the following, underlies the construction of such 'angles'. Firstly, certain events and issues (or representations of events and issues) are adjudged worthy of coverage by the application of ideologically-informed conventions of newsworthiness. As I have argued, mass-media news values are directed at identifying points of social order disequilibrium. Once items have been chosen for coverage in this way, certain elements from within the event or issue are adjudged to be maximally newsworthy in that they are seen to represent the point of greatest actual or potential threat to the status quo. These elements – the angle in journalistic parlance – are therefore selected for maximal rhetorical prominence in the headline lead. This 'angle' of maximal social order disruption typically puts at risk values of social evaluation, most usually values of JUDGEMENT. Thus, in many instances, it is by the application of social evaluation that the social significance of the story's angle is demonstrated – some event, action, decision or pronouncement is construed as putting at risk social esteem or as likely to attract social sanction. (The only consistent exception within 'hard news' reporting is provided by those natural disaster reports where there is no possibility of human involvement and hence guilt in the catastrophic disruption of the material order.)

The choice of crisis point, of 'angle', is therefore highly interpretive. The choice is always thoroughly informed by ideological position and hence is always potentially subject to challenge on ideological grounds. It amounts, ultimately, as I have said, to an argument in favour of a particular model of the social order. I will demonstrate this point with several examples.

In mid 1997, Australia's largest company, Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd. (BHP), announced that it would close a number of its plants around the country, a move which would result in the loss of around 3000 jobs. The *Daily Telegraph*, a working class orientated tabloid interpreted the event as a threat to the social order in that one of Australia's wealthiest companies was thus to threaten not simply the material well-

being of thousands of ‘ordinary’ Australia, but also their ‘future’. It chose, therefore, the following for its ‘angle’ of maximum impact.

(The Australian tabloids are much closer in their conventions of reporter voice to the broadsheets than either the British or the US tabloids. It is interesting to note that though this extract is highly charged interpersonally, it nevertheless conforms to broadsheet reporter-voice conventions in confining all inscribed JUDGEMENT to extra-vocalised contexts. The interpersonal charge which the extract carries is, in fact, derived essentially from the use of negation, tokens of JUDGEMENT and values of AFFECT.)

> **NO FUTURE**
>
> **How the Big Australian dumped a little Australian**
>
> Steelworker Wayne Hunter — the proud "face of the future" on BHP billboards — became the forlorn face of a steel city with no future yesterday. As BHP announced it would shut down steel making in Newcastle and other plants, directly costing 2500 jobs, Mr Hunter represented what Premier Bob Carr called a 'boardroom betrayal of working class Australia.'(30/4/97)

In contrast, the middle-class oriented broadsheet, *The Australian*, interpreted the issue in very different terms. For *The Australian,* the event represented a positive rather than a negative impact on the social order. It offered, accordingly,

> **BHP sackings a $1bn bonus**
>
> Investors applauded the decision by BHP to close its steel mills in Sydney, Geelong and Newcastle, driving up its share price by 48c yesterday to add to almost $1 billion to the market value of the Big Australian.

The influence of ideological perspective in determining ‘angle’ is here so obvious that it requires no further discussion.

The coverage by the *New York Times* of the attack by the US on Baghdad in 1993 provides further exemplification. There are obviously numerous ways to interpret the threat posed to the social order by an unannounced missile attack, in peace time, by one nation upon another, in which several civilians are killed. A particular

ideologically-determined view of the power-relational and moral order obviously underlies the ‘angle’ chosen by the Times. Thus,

> **Raid on Baghdad**
>
> **US. FIRES MISSILES AT BAGHDAD, CITING APRIL PLOT TO KILL BUSH**
>
> The United States launched a missile attack against Iraq tonight in retaliation for what President Clinton described as a "loathsome and cowardly" attempt to assassinate former President George Bush during a visit to Kuwait in April. (*New York Times* 27/6/93)

For the *New York Times*, therefore, the raid was construed almost as a crusade, a blow against the ‘loathsome and cowardly’ criminality of another nation in allegedly plotting the death of an American political leader. The report, however, might equally have begun with:

> **Six Civilians Killed in US Missile Attack**
>
> Leaders around the Arab world have condemned the US missile attack on Baghdad which left six civilians dead and many wounded.

In some instances, the theory of the social order is reflected not so much in what is chosen for maximum prominence in the report's opening, but in what is ignored or down-played. Consider, for example,

> **Terror chief blown up by mobile phone**
>
> Israel's most wanted terrorist has been killed as he plotted to murder PLO leader Yassar Arafat. Yihye Ayyash — a master bomber nicknamed the Engineer — was himself blown up when he picked up his booby-trapped mobile phone.
>
> The Palestinian extremist group blamed the Israeli secret service for his death and vowed to retaliate for 'this cowardly act'. Ayyash, 30, was found lying next to the body of a women, believed to be his wife, in a village near Gaza City. His phone had been packed with more than two ounces of explosive (*International Express*)

This choice of ‘angle’ is informed by an ideological position by which the killing of the 'woman, believed to be his wife' is not construed as maximally involved in the threat to the moral order. Leaving aside problematic issues associated with the killing of the alleged terrorist, we note that the killing of the woman goes virtually unremarked, even though there is no suggestion that she was anything other than an innocent bystander. Thus the selection of ‘angle’ constructs a model of the social order in which the lives of a certain category of ‘ordinary’ people are inconsequential in the context of the playing out of political conflicts.

These examples all involve material which might be thought of as highly charged ideologically. The same principle, however, can be demonstrated in the selection of ‘angles’ in much more routine material. Consider for example:

> Nine people died in and around the Greek capital as torrential rains lashed the region at the weekend, causing damage of ‘biblical’ proportions and bringing a nation-wide halt to rail traffic. (Agence France Press, 24/10/94)

This is a typical natural disaster opening. As is often the case with such material, the threat to the status quo is construed essentially in material terms, in terms of an intensified estimation of damage. But contained in international wire copy available at the time was information that large scale and poorly regulated land developments in and around Athens were believed responsible for much of the damage and possibly even some of the deaths. The new construction had been allowed to proceed without adequate drainage or floodwater controls. Thus, rather than giving primary focus to the ‘nine dead’ and the ‘nation-wide halt to rail traffic’, the report might just as easily have begun with, ‘Rapid and unregulated land development in the Athens region is believed responsible for large scale flooding and millions of dollars of damage following torrential rains in the area.’ Such an opening would have constructed a model of the social order in which the harmful pursuit of capital gain represents a greater threat to the social order than a ‘national-wide halt to rail traffic’.

A final demonstration is provided by the another example involving more ‘routine’ material. At first glance, the following report of a proposed increase in water rates in New South Wales in 1993 may seem free of ideological influence.

> Households in NSW will pay more for water under plans announced by the Water Board. The Board has proposed a flat rate of 65-cents-a-kilolitre for all water.
>
> Under the proposal the average household would pay an extra 39 cents a week - about 20 dollars a year.
>
> The board has also proposed the abolition of the 80-dollar a year environment levy as well as cuts in charges to business and safety measures for pensioners and low income families (SBS Central Newsroom)

But the action of a set of ideologically-informed value judgements is revealed by a closer examination of the text's structure and in particular of the way the lead gives priority to certain information. It would have been possible to provide a rather different ideological interpretation of the event by developing an 'angle' with material taken from what was the report's final sentence. Thus we would begin,

> The Water Board wants to increase the amount ordinary households pay for water while cutting water rate charges to business.
>
> Proposals currently before the government would see the average household pay $20 more a year. (etc)

An even more marked shift can be achieved by a reworking which sees the abolishing of the environmental levy (a charge to fund an urgently required up-grading of the New South Wales water system) as representing a significant threat to the social and moral order and hence worthy of being made part of the lead's 'point of maximum impact'.

> The Water Board wants to scrap the environmental levy, a charge introduced to help the government tackle the continued degradation of the State's waterways, while at the same time lowering the cost of water to big business. (etc)

Clearly ideological perspective is reflected in these alternative judgements about the terms in which the incident represents a disruption of the status quo. The original version construes the proposed changes as representing just a minor inconvenience — as a largely uncontroversial, routine part of the bureaucratic process and hence as providing only a minor disruption of the status quo. In contrast, both alternative

versions suggest that the proposed increase is not entirely routine, not so obviously a normal part of the administrative process and construe it in moral terms.

This development of an ‘angle’, this singling out of points of maximal risk to the social order is, as we saw in chapters 5 and 6, fundamental to the modern news item. But as the discussion above has demonstrated, these angles are potential sites of heteroglossic contestation and resistance, representing, as they do, ideologically determined theorising about the social order. To accept such ‘angles’ on their own terms – that is, as maximally significant because they reveal where and under what conditions the social order is at risk – is surely to be willing to accept the values by which such judgements are made.

In reality of course, such ‘angles’ are not seen as value-laden, subjective or ideological, at least to the extent that the media’s claims of ‘objectivity’ are successful. Certainly they do not damage solidarity between the media and its audience often enough or severely enough to fatally impede the media’s pursuit of a wide market reach.

It is my contention that this outcome can be explained by reference to the rhetorical potential constituted by the combination of reporter voice and the news item’s orbital textuality. These two, in combination, provides a potent rhetorical device by which the value laden process of ‘angle’ development can be naturalised and portrayed as commonsensical. Textual structure and voice interact so that the ideological nature of the news story is obscured and the image it presents of the social order is more likely to be read as unmediated, anonymous and mechanically determined.

The rhetorical mechanism is as follows. The organisation of the headline/lead provides the textual platform by which the socially significant element – the one construed as the point of maximal status quo disruption – can be extracted from its context in a temporal or verbal sequence. This act of extraction of itself constructs the incident or statement as notable, as possessed of informational features which warrant its removal from its original context. But the incident or claim is not just extracted. It is also presented at the very beginning of the story, at the story's inception point. In this way the element chosen for this lead is cast into sharp textual relief. It is represented as not just informationally noteworthy but as so noteworthy that it

requires that the introductory, orienting steps normally associated with so many other text types be abandoned. Thus the lead's abruptness, its offering of only the most limited and reduced textual gearing up or preamble turns out to have rhetorical functionality.

Frequently the presentation of the ‘angle’ is accompanied by intensification which serves to reinforce the sense that there is something innately remarkable about the events or statements therein described. Strategically, that intensification is ‘experientialised’, a mode of intensification by which the subjective role of the author is backgrounded and obscured. Thus the material singled out for the opening ‘angle’ is construed as innately dramatic, heightened and full of impact. Accordingly, the intensification acts to support the process by which some element was extracted from its temporal or verbal context and given maximal rhetorical prominence.

Additionally, the opening frequently contains one or more instances of social evaluation by which, typically, some implication for the moral order is asserted. This assertion of a threat to the moral order may, of itself, constitute the story’s ‘angle’. As we have seen, the interpersonal style of the news story (reporter voice) is so constituted that the risk these evaluations pose to solidarity is minimised. The role of authorial subjectivity is typically backgrounded and the social evaluation represented, as far as possible, as communal or diversified.

Thus the text represents the incident or statement selected as ‘angle’ as inherently newsworthy, as having compelled itself upon the reporter as obvious subject matter for a report and an unavoidably appropriate starting point. Thus the functionality of this ‘angle’ as a building block in a subjective, ideologically determined theory of the social order is hidden from view.

The orbital structure of the body of the news story supports this representation of the reporter’s selections as natural and inevitable. The orientation set up by the pulse-like return to the headline/lead’s ‘crisis point’ serves to keep that point in focus, to construct the ‘crisis point’ as pivotal and a natural point of informational prominence. Similarly, the way the satellites of the unfolding text reach back to interact lexically and logically with the lead serves to construct the lead as constantly in focus, as textually and informationally pre-eminent. Thus the text throughout its length remains

about the 'angle', as each satellite, regardless of distance, elaborates, contextualises, explains, justifies or appraises some element of that opening burst of informational and interpersonal impact. Thus the structure of the body acts to represent that initial judgement about a threat to the social order as commonsensical, consensual and unavoidable.

This strategy is supported, throughout, by the constitution of reporter voice. With its strategic use of monoglossic or heteroglossic realisations, it mobilises evaluative meanings to position the reader while simultaneously deploying its tactic of impersonalisation so as to minimise the risk of heteroglossic resistance.

VII.7. The invention of objectivity – the phylogenesis of media discourse.

By way of conclusion, I will offer some speculative suggestions as to the social factors which may have contributed to the transformation by which modern news discourse was constituted. We have seen that in the 20th century various generic precursors were replaced with the lead-dominated, orbital structure of modern news. This change was accompanied by a registerial shift by which the three-way division between reporter, correspondent and commenter voice became operational. As well, reporter voice, with its strategy for managing the negotiation of solidarity, was established as the 'archetypal' mode of 'hard news' reporting. Together these features provide for a rhetorical device with considerable potential to naturalise the social theorising constituted by the news reporting process. Are there any social conditions which might account for this transformation?

It is noteworthy that these changes took place over the early decades of the 20th century, a period when the media, as a cultural and economic institution, was developing the forms which characterise it today. Certainly, the move to a commercialist base and to greater freedom from direct political control had begun almost a century earlier. (See Curran and Seaton 1991 or Schiller 1981.) There had been a general, though not always steady trend throughout the 19th century towards fewer publications and a resultant increase in the market reach of those that remained.

But it was not until the late 19th century and especially the early 20th century, under the era of the so-called 'press barons', that a genuinely 'mass' media developed in the form we know it today. It can also be said that media audiences in the 19th century were much more diversified and in many instances more class based than in the modern era. In the UK, for example, a radical working class press operated successfully at various periods during the 19th century. Curran and Seaton, for example, credit it with deepening and extending radical consciousness and providing a strong alternative to the journals of the political establishment and the mercantile classes. (Curran and Seaton 1991: 19.) By the end of the first quarter of the 20th century, however, the radical press had largely collapsed and had been replaced by a media that was concentrated in the hands of a few conglomerates. It is this concentration which I believe may account for the development of a new mode of journalistic textuality.

Under the more diverse, more class-based media context of the 19th century, publications could assume a much greater degree of heteroglossic convergence with their smaller, more narrowly targeted readerships. They could be overtly ideological – and this was certainly the mode of the radical press – and run much less risk of fatal damage to solidarity. They could assume a greater degree of shared values due to the common social background of their audience. With the development of a genuinely mass media, however, no such assumptions could be made. To achieve that mass market, the media would need to transcend class and other social barriers, with the resultant increase in heteroglossic diversity that this would entail. In the pursuit of such a market, the media would therefore need a mode of textuality which could somehow accommodate this diversity, which could somehow negotiate the threat to solidarity that might be provoked by the ideological differences separating members of its audience and, in particular, separating the media as an institution of power from sections of its audience. As I have argued above, the new reporter-voice, orbital news story provided for such a textuality. It provided a textuality by which it was possible to theorise about the social order and hence to exercise cultural and political influence, and yet to pass that theorising off as 'objective' and 'factual', as the 'truth of the matter'. By thus inventing this particular mode of objectivity, the media was

able to manage solidarity, extend its market reach and thereby establish itself as the powerful social institution it remains today.

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