機能言語学研究

第8巻　2015年6月

論文

日本機能言語学会

Foreword

Two years have passed since the previous issue, Vol. 7 was published. This journal appears every other year, so two years seemed far ahead when we published Vol. 7. Over the past two years, due to drastic advances in the information and communication technology (ICT) and SNS, multimodal perspective analysis and research have been one of the focuses among functional linguistics and other relevant fields. Our latest issue reflects this trend in linguistic exploration.

I am proud to publish Vol. 8 of *The Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics* that represents a new era of Systemic Functional Linguistics in Japan. This volume covers a wide range of topics with a contribution from Prof. Matthiessen, which is based on his special speech held on the 20th Anniversary Conference of JASFL. Other contributions cover the current research fields such an interdisciplinary analysis of pedagogical discourse from multimodal viewpoints, comparative analysis of textbooks with multimodal focuses, analysis of multimodal analysis of the interpersonal meaning in a picture book, exploration of multimodal relations in picture books, discourse analysis in the classroom and clinical text analysis from therapeutic viewpoints. Though there is no particular order to the articles themselves, they have been grouped into multimodal analysis and applications. All these articles will interest readers of this journal, and their insights will impact on the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics.

I hope that this journal will be of interest to those who study Systemic Functional Linguistics not only in Japan but also globally, since SFL has now spread and is studied all over the world.

President of JASFL
Masa-aki Tatsuki, Ph.D.

機能言語学研究

Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics

第 8 巻　　2015 年 6 月　　目次

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics

The Language of Space: Semiotic Resources for Construing Our Experience of Space

Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen
Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Abstract

This paper deals with the construal in language and certain other semiotic systems of our experience of space — one of the most central features of our experience of the world we inhabit. The construal takes the form of a semantic model: our experience of space is construed as patterns of meaning; and this semantic model links and integrates all our other modes of experiencing and engaging with space — our sensory experience of space and our motor schemata for moving around space. After introducing the general area of research, noting important possible applications, I will provide an overview of the construal of human experience of space (Section 2). Against this background, I will report on research relating to a number of key topics — the description of the resources for construing space in language, with English as the representative language (Section 3), the varied deployment of these resources in different registers where space is prominent (Section 4), the variation in the resources for construing space across languages (Section 5), and then finally the extension of the model of concrete space to abstract realms of experience. In this will, I will cover a number of the areas we have been working on in a long-term research programme concerned with the language of space — or, more generally, the semiotics of space.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I am concerned with the development of a systemic functional account of the construal of human experience of space in languages, but also in other semiotic systems. The construal of human experience of space in languages involves a ranges of ideational systems, systems that are "put to work" in texts belonging to different registers; for example:

[Topographic procedure:]
Walk straight on past a Chinese shopping centre on your right towards the canal (Kali Besar). At the bridge, turn sharp left to walk south beside the neglected and dirty waterway. Street vendors abound, smoke rises from food stalls, and the building façades are a mix of dilapidated early 20th century stucco and the occasional modern glitz.

[Topographic report:]
The geography of Mexico features two large mountain chains running roughly parallel in a northwest to southeast pattern. To the west lies the Sierra Madre Occidental, and to the east lies the Sierra Madre Oriental. In southern Mexico, bordered by Guatemala, is the Sierra Madre del Sur.

> [Historical recount:]
> The going was hard and progress slow. For mile after mile they hacked their way through thick, almost impenetrable brush, often running into dead ends, having to backtrack and start all over again. On bad days they covered less than two miles before collapsing exhausted for a few hours uneasy sleep. After more than a week of this backbreaking, frustrating work they came across a mound of stones possibly left some years earlier by George Bass.
>   For nearly three weeks they pushed westwards, slashing a path for the horses; sometimes having to unload the provisions when the ground became too steep for the animals to stay on their feet.

The ideational systems involved include those of TAXIS and LOGICO-SEMANTIC TYPE in clause complexing (e.g. [α:] *At the bridge, turn sharp left* [×β:] *to walk south beside the neglected and dirty waterway.*) and the TRANSITIVITY systems of the clause, viz. the systems of PROCESS TYPE ('material' clauses of motion, e.g. [Duration:] *for nearly three weeks* [Actor:] *they* [Process:] *pushed* [Place:] *westwards*, and 'relational' clauses of rest, e.g. [Attribute:] *in southern Mexico …* [Process:] *is* [Carrier:] *the Sierra Madre del Sur*) and of SPATIAL CIRCUMSTANTIATION (including circumstances of Place, e.g. *at the bridge*, *westward*).

Like other aspects of our experience — whether it is our experience of the concrete world accessible to us through our perceptual systems or it is our experience of the world of abstractions, our experience of space is construed in language, in the first instance, as one domain within the overall **semantic model of human experience** — what we have called the **ideation base** within the overall **meaning base** of a language: see Halliday and Matthiessen (1999). In work within computational linguistics and natural language processing, such semantic models of different domains of experience have come to be called "ontologies". Thus drawing on Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) and related work (e.g. Bateman et al., 1990), Bateman et al. (2010) present a language-based "ontology of space" — one informed by systemic functional linguistics. Their development of this **spatial ontology** is an important achievement that can form the foundation of future research.

There are many good reasons for conducting research into the construal of our experience of space in language — and in other semiotic systems. Semantic models of space are, of course, of inherent interest in their own right: space is central to the human condition, and our experience of space is very rich and varied, so the question of how it is modelled semantically is both important and fascinating. However, in addition, there are a number of ways in which we can use semantic models of space in contexts of research and application, including:

- semantic models of space can be used to understand how other domains of experience are made sense of in terms of spatial models — for example, our experience of time and our experience of perception, but also of more abstract realms such as emotion and interpersonal relations.
- semantic models of space can be used in robotic systems to interface with the sensory and navigational models of space that robots need in order to

move around space; with semantic models, they can be equipped with the ability to report on what they perceive and to follow directions (cf. Bateman et al., 2010).

- semantic models of space can be used in the context of geoinformatics in various applications such as navigation systems, e.g. to provide verbal directions (route directions), to direct vehicles verbally, to interpret and describe satellite images.

- semantic models of space can be used to coordinate and even integrate the engagement with space in different semiotic systems, and to interpret the social organization of space in social institutions ranging from private social-interactive use of space among a group of friends or family members to use of space in public venues.

Here I will report on ongoing research by a group of us in the Faculty of Humanities, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

In Section 2, "Construing human experience of space", I will locate the phenomenon of space as a property of 1st-order systems, or physical systems, in an ordered typology of systems operating in different phenomenal realms, and suggest that the language of space is part of the construal of the human experience of space within 4th-order systems, or semiotic systems: this experience is construed — is transformed into meaning — within the ideation base of a language, and of other semiotic systems. In other words, the model of space is a semantic model.

In Section 3, "Resources for construing space in English", I focus on the resources for construing space in English — the English model of rest in space (static location) and motion through it (changing location). After noting what the scope and properties of the semantic model of space must be, I outline the lexicogrammatical resources for representing space, pointing out the significance of the complementarity of the two modes of construal within the ideational metafunction — the logical mode and the experiential mode.

In Section 4, "Registerial variation in the construal of space", using the sketch of the lexicogrammatical resources for construing space outlined in the previous section, I will show how the deployment of these resources varies from one register (or functional variety of language) to another — how different spatial meanings are at risk depending on the nature of the situation type in which language operates.

In Section 5, "Construal of space in different languages", I will explore variation across languages in terms of the construal of human experience of space, suggesting — against the background of extensive typological work — that variation in the division of labour between the logical mode and the experiential mode of construal is one central feature of typological variation.

In Section 6, "Abstract space", I will round off the discussion of our research into the construal of space by illustrating the deployment of the linguistic model of space in the construal of non-spatial, more abstract realms of experience.

2. Construing human experience of space

Let me begin by locating the construal of human experience of space in language within the broader framework of systemic functional linguistics. All languages

provide their speakers with the resources for ***construing their experience of the world around and inside them as meaning*** (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999). They model their experience of different phenomenal realms in terms of networks of configurations of meaning — as **semantic models**, more specifically as the **ideation base** of the meaning base of a language (op cit.); and they do this prototypically in dialogic interaction, beginning in life with the onset of construing experience in the life of young children (see Painter, 1999) and constantly aligning with each other in the course of exchanging meanings in unfolding dialogue (see e.g. Watson, Pickering and Branigan, 2009). The construal of experience is thus **intersubjective** rather than simply subjective (cf. the work on intersubjectivity by Trevarthen, e.g. 1987). In this way, language has made it possible for humans to operate with a "collective brain" (see e.g. Christian, 2004) — a resource among other things for construing our **collective experience** of space, calibrated in the course of innumerable dialogic encounters.

In construing semantic models of different **phenomenal realms**, speakers draw on the ideational resources of language, but obviously they also deploy (1) the resources of other semiotic systems such as gesture, drawing, cartography and mathematics, the particular mix of resources depending on the context of construal and the nature of the experience being construed, and (2) on the bio-semiotic system of perception and motor programmes, using these systems very actively to construe models of the world accessible to the senses and available to motor programmes for movement (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999).

In terms of phenomenal realms, **space** is, in the first instance, a feature of physical systems, i.e. systems of the first order of complexity in a **typology of systems ordered in complexity** (see e.g. Halliday, 1996, 2005; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999: Ch. 13; Matthiessen, 2007), but it is, at the same time, "manifested" within all systemic orders in the ordered typology of systems (see Figure 1), ranging from 1st order to 4th order systems:

(i) In **physical** terms, space is the "boundless, three-dimensional extent in which objects and events occur and have relative position and direction"[1].

(ii) In **biological** systems, space is part of the physical world in which life unfolds: organisms "model" space neurologically, using the bio-semiotic systems of perception to develop neural models of space that they can use to navigate around space — sensorimotor schemata.

(iii) In **social** systems, space is given value within the social order of a community; it is constructed socially in terms of the territory of a community, personal and public space, and so on (cf. Hall, 1966, and more recently work on the "sociology of space") and the organism's engagement with space — position in and movement through space — is also constructed socially: the biological organism is constructed as a person operating within social space.

(iv) In terms of **semiotic** systems, our experience of space is construed semantically by us as meaners, as part of our ideation base in interaction with others (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999), where it has been modelled as a **spatial ontology** (see Bateman et al., 2010).

The placement of the semantic model of space within 4th-order systems — within semiotic systems — means that this model *inherits* properties from the lower orders of system:

- like the biological sensorimotor modelling of space, the semantic model of space is **embodied** (see e.g. Varela, Thompson and Rosch, 1991; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999; Bergen, 2012) — it is construed in terms of, and in reference to, human bodily experience of, and engagement with, space;
- like the social engagement with and organization of space, it is **collective and interactive**; semantic models are always the result of the "collective human brain" (cf. Christian, 2004) and they are constantly being negotiated and calibrated.

The semantic model of space construed in a language is also the most *holistic model of space* in human engagement with space. This follows from the general principle that language is the one human system that serves to bring together and to **integrate** various other human systems that can be located neurologically in different parts of the brain. This point has been developed and emphasized in the last couple of decades by scholars coming from different disciplines and different traditions (e.g. Bickerton, 1995; Deacon, 1997; Edelman, 1992; Halliday, 1995; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999), and it relates to the notion of embodiment mentioned above; Michio Sugeno — who is celebrated for among other things his work on the control through voice commands of the movement of unmanned helicopters through space — has made the point that language is the only human system into which we can "translate" other human semiotic systems.

The semantic model of space can be thought of as an extensive network of meanings relating to different aspects of the representation of space. For example, our experience of 'somebody turning' is modelled as a configuration involving the process of turning, a participant (Actor) and two circumstances of Place, a direction and a landmark: see Figure 2[2]. This configuration is part of an extensive network of other spatial meanings. Thus 'turning' is related to other processes of inherent direction such as 'following', 'crossing' and 'entering'. But at the same time, it is also linked to nodes in extra-linguistic networks, as illustrated in Figure 2. It is linked to other semiotic representations of turning such as depictions of an entity turning and path representations on maps. Beyond the realm of meaning, it is related to our bodily sensorimotor experience of turning — to the visual schema needed to recognize acts of turning that we can see, and to the motor schema deployed in executing a wide variety of acts of turning — turning on foot, on horseback, by car and so on.

As shown in Figure 1, the relationship between the biological level and the semantic level is mediated by the social level. For example, it is well-documented

that patterns of moving are socially conditioned and differentiated. However, I have left out this additional complexity in Figure 2. The key insight illustrated by this simple schematic diagram is that ***meanings construed in language integrate other facets of our experience*** — both semiotic and biological (i.e. both socio-semiotic and bio-semiotic ones). An important aspect of the meaning of *turn* in English is that speakers have a link to the motor schema for turning. If A says to B *at the intersection, turn left*, B will now what motor schema to activate, which will of course depend on whether B is walking or driving! It is part of the embodied understanding of turning; and speakers of English can simulate their sensorimotor experience of turning when they process *turn* (cf. Bergen, 2012, on simulation). The same applies to the world of robotics — the application targeted by Bateman et al. (2010). This is one reason why developments of semantic models of space ("spatial ontologies") are of such fundamental theoretical significance. They provide a way of taking into account both *valeur* within the semantic system and signification in external systems (cf. Hasan, 1985, on the powerful combination of Saussure's and Malinowski's insights).
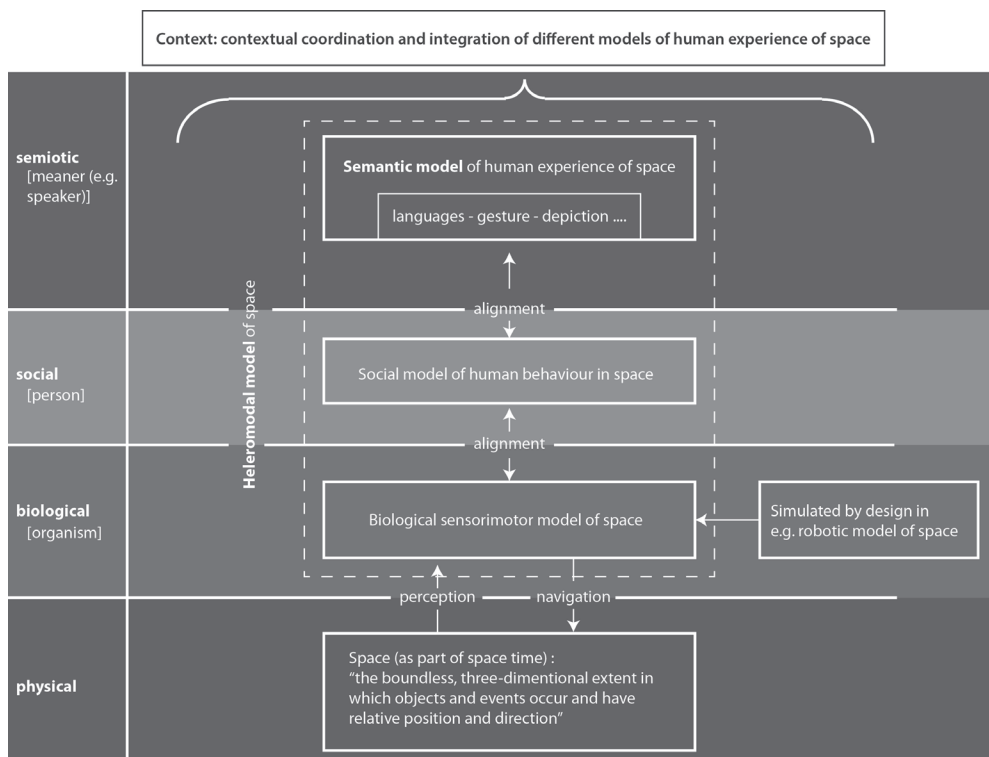

Figure 1: Space manifested within different orders of phenomenal realms

semiotic [+ meaning] *space given meaning — construed as a* *phenomenon and enacted as relationship*		**immaterial systems**

| **social [+ value]**

space given social value — constructed as
social space by a social group |

| **biological [+ life]**

space perceived (as sensible phenomenon)
and navigated by an organism | **material systems** |

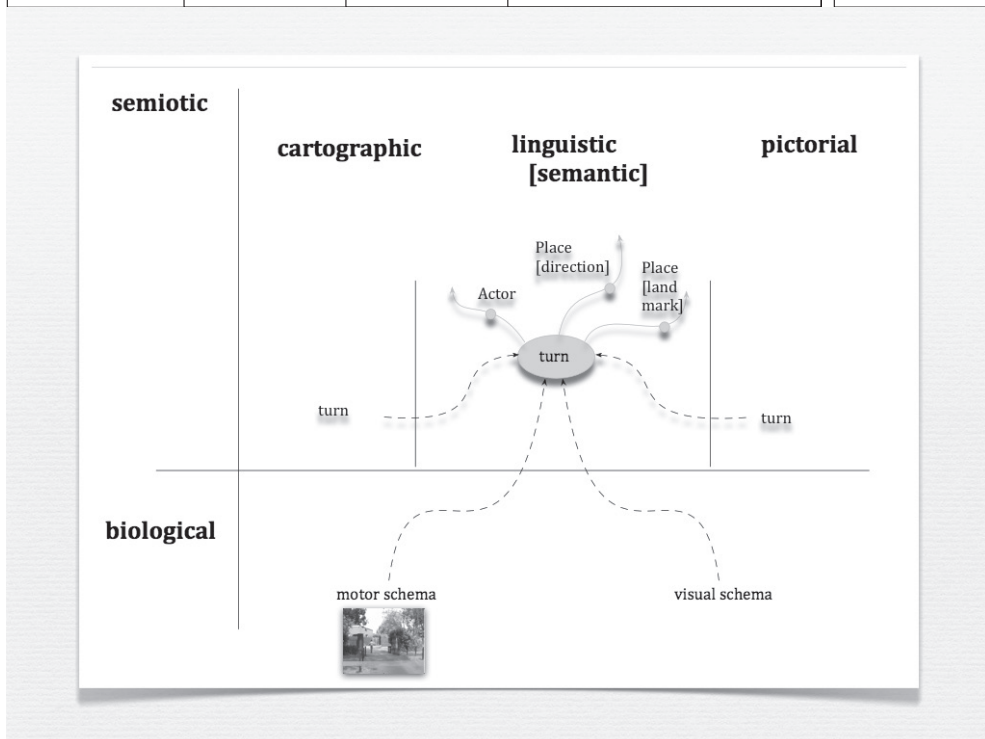| **physical**

space (as part of spacetime):
"the boundless, three-dimensional extent in which objects and events occur and have relative position and direction" |

Figure 2: Semantic model of the movement of turning linked to
other semiotic and to biological representations of space

The illustration in Figure 2 is, of course, just a simplified fragment designed to make the point about extra-semantic connections. In terms of the organization of the semantic system itself — the network of spatial meanings, the paradigmatic principle is of fundamental importance. The process configuration of turning is one

option in a network of contrasting options for construing directed motion, and these options, in turn, contrast with options where the manner of motion is the most salient aspect of motion. The general point is that the semantic model of space in English (and of course in any other language) provides a rich range of related but different "schemata" for any given movement that we experience. Levinson and Wilkins (2006) emphasize this fundamental point by referring to "competing constructions" (though without explicitly relating their point to the paradigmatic organization of language). For example, they make their point in their discussion of how static relations in space between a "figure" and a "ground" are construed (op cit.: location 6373)[3]:

> … the BLC [basic locative construction] occupies a slot in a grammatical as well as a semantic space, and in that grammatical space there are competing constructions. These are thus not only semantic gradations away from good locative scenes, but positive attractors towards other constructions. One specially relevant class of competing constructions are stative resultative constructions, which express the result of action.

The notion of **competing constructions** is, of course, fundamentally a *systemic* one[4]: speakers are faced with the problem of how to construe their sensory experience of space, and language provides them with a solution space (with "space" in an abstract sense!) — with a **systemic range of options**. This is very familiar to learners of English as a foreign language: they have to learn to distinguish between *in* and *on*, for example, in relation to e.g. grass and islands — do you *sit on the grass* or *in the grass*? The language provides many possibilities. Bateman et al. (2010: 1027) emphasize "the extreme flexibility of spatial language use".

At the same time, there is no sharp boundary in the overall ideation base of language between the resources for modelling space and the resources for modelling other domains of experience where space is still part of the picture but other features are foregrounded. For example, static location shades into containment (as in *The ornate interior houses numerous altars devoted to gods of justice, travel, marriage and wealth*) and caused motion shades into placement (as in *After tasting it, he put it carefully aside*). There may be fine distinctions suggesting where the borderline can be drawn. For example, caused motion is represented by the grammar of English as Agent/ Initiator + Process + Medium/ Actor, whereas placement is represented as Agent/ Actor + Process + Medium/ Goal[5] (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, 2013: Section 5.7.4).

(a) placement

he	put	it		carefully	aside
Agent/ Actor	Process	Medium/ Goal		Manner	Place

I	threw	a piece of pumice-stone	at him
Agent/ Actor	Process	Medium/ Goal	Place

(b) caused motion

for two or three hours	not a breath of air	moved	the murky atmosphere
Duration	Agent/ Initiator	Process	Medium/ Actor

A single movement of my body	caused	him	to slide	from his place
Agent/ Initiator	Pro-	Medium/ Actor	-cess	Place

Figure 3: Contrast in transitivity between (a) placement and (b) caused motion

In the next section, I will sketch the outlines of this solution space for construing space in English, and later I will briefly discuss research concerned with similarities and differences across languages.

3. Resources for construing space in English

What is the English "solution space" for solving the problem of construing our experience of space like? What are the options that have evolved in English for construing static locations in space and dynamic movements through space?

3.1 Semantic models of space — spatial ontologies

The most fundamental answer would come from an account of the **semantic model of space** in English (cf. Figure 2 above): this is what Bateman et al. (2010) explore in terms of their **spatial ontology**. This semantic model of space is, as already noted, part of the **ideation base** of a language, in this case of English: in the ideation base, our experience of space is modelled as part of the totality of our experience. This means that the model of space is based on the same principles as the model of experience in general (cf. Beavers, Levin & Tham, 2010). Thus, very broadly, the model of the spatial domain within the overall ideation base:

- is embodied in the sense discussed above — it transforms our embodied experience of space into meaning;
- is interactively constructed and negotiated;
- integrates the two complementary modes of construing experience as meaning, the logical mode and the experiential mode.

At the same time, since the semantic model of space is based on the same general principles as the ideation base in general, it can in turn serve as a resource for construing other non-spatial domains of experience on the model of space (see Section 6).

The semantic model of space is required to cover not only single locative processes of rest (static location) in, or movement through, space but also sequences of such processes, like a walking tour represented by a topographic procedure in a guidebook (cf. Matthiessen, 1998). In fact, since the basic unit of semantics is **text in context** (see e.g. Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Martin, 1992), text is also the basic unit for construing our experience of space.

How space is modelled in texts depends on the registers that these texts belong to, and thus on the nature of the situations that they operate in (see Matthiessen and Kashyap, 2014); but one general principle is that texts have the capacity to construe larger chunks or quanta of spatial experience than simple locative relations or acts of motion: texts can construe regions of space in the form of verbal maps and of trajectories through space in the form of episodes; and these instantiate spatial schemata in the semantic system.

Episodes concerned with extended motion through space can be thought of as journeys: in his work on the representation of motion in narratives in different languages, Slobin (1996) has introduced the notion of **journey** as a representation of motional sequence:

> However, in narrative discourse the movements of a protagonist from place to place are *situated* in a physical setting and temporal flow of events. Narrators need not limit path description to a single verb and its adjuncts. Linguistic analyses typically deal in terms of a *path* or *trajectory* lying between *source* and *goal* ('ground', 'landmark'). In describing real-world or fictional events, however, a narrator may present a series of linked paths or a path with way-stations. I will call a complex path a *journey* — that is, an extended path that includes *milestones* or *subgoals*. In addition, a path can be situated in a *medium* (*along a road*, *through water*, etc.).

Journeys are often included in narratives as episodes concerned with motion, as illustrated by Text 1. Processes of motion in 'material' clauses are shown in bold, and circumstances of Place are underlined. Some of the motion is implied in this narrative rather than being represented explicitly: once we have been told that the narrator, the highway patrolman, has received the call from the roadhouse, we can infer that he drives to the place where there's trouble, *at a roadhouse, out on the Michigan line*; this inference would be supported by the situation type or "script" invoked by the text. When he arrives, a girl tells him that the person who instigated the trouble was Frankie, his problem brother, a Vietnam veteran. Then the explicit representation of a "journey" starts: the narrator begins to chase his brother's car. This journey is chunked into sequences of movement, beginning with *I ran out and I jumped in my car*. These are related to one another temporally; journeys are changes in space-time — prototypically translocations unfolding in time.

Text 1: Narrative episode involving motion, extracted from Johnny Cash's *Highway Patrolman*[6]

> The night was like any other, I got a call 'bout a quarter-to-nine.
> There was trouble at a roadhouse, out on the Michigan line.
> There was a kid on the floor lookin' bad, bleedin' hard from his head.
> There was a girl cryin' at a table: "It was Frankie," she said.

> I **ran out** and I **jumped** <u>in my car</u> and I hit the lights.
> I **musta done** about a hundred and ten, <u>through Michigan county</u> that night.
> It was <u>down by the crossroads, out by Willow Bank</u>.
> Seen a Buick with Ohio plates; behind the wheel was Frank.
>
> Well I **chased** him <u>through them county roads</u>.
> 'Til a sign said "Canadian border five miles from here".
> **Pulled over** <u>to the side of the highway</u>,
> Watched the tail-lights **disappear**.

Slobin introduces the notion of a journey in reference to narratives. But we can generalize it to other types of register concerned with motion through space such as topographic recounts and topographic procedures, and also to registers concerned with static location in space as in the verbal maps constructed in topographic surveys (cf. Matthiessen and Kashyap, 2014). Text 2 provides an illustration from a topographic procedure, a "monastic hike" to the Trappist Monastery on Lantau Island in Hong Kong. As this extract shows, the semantic model of a hike may involve both representations of the hiker moving through space and of the trail extended in space, e.g. *walk past the bus station ...* and *the trail leads southwards ....* The semantic model must thus support the inference based spatial information about the trail that this is the direction in which the hiker should move, e.g. *follow the trail southwards!*, *walk southwards!*.

Text 2: Procedure involving motion[7]

> *Take* the ferry <u>from Pier 3 in Central to Discovery Bay</u>. **Turn** <u>left</u> upon arrival and **walk** <u>past the bus station, over the slight hill and down to the sandy bay of Nim Shue Wan</u>. This seaside village existed long before Discovery Bay was conceived; and now many of its houses are home to domestic helpers who work in the new development.
>
> The trail *leads* <u>southwards along the coast</u>, *passing* <u>an ancient and very stationary Land Rover</u> which was apparently once used by the Trappist monks to transport fresh milk. The path *opens out* <u>onto a wilder track</u>. The fourth Station of the Cross is marked on a tree opposite. **Turn** <u>right</u> and **walk** <u>uphill</u> **to reach** <u>the monastery buildings</u> — a signpost which originally pointed in this direction has been largely consumed by white ants.
>
> If in a spiritual frame of mind, you **could choose to turn** <u>left</u> <u>here</u> instead, and **descend** <u>a short distance</u> <u>to the monks' jetty</u> — <u>from where</u> you **can backtrack** and **follow** all 14 stages of Christ's suffering <u>uphill</u>, <u>from the seashore to the monastery</u>. […]

The description of the semantic model is of fundamental theoretical and descriptive interest, and it is needed for many applications such as robotics (cf. Bateman et al., 2010) and navigation systems. However, in what follows, I will focus on the stratum within the content plane below semantics — i.e. on lexicogrammar. This stratum is related to semantics through realization: configurations of meaning representing space within the semantic stratum are realized as patterns of wording representing space within the lexicogrammatical stratum. Lexicogrammatical representations of

space are, as it were, at one remove from our extra-linguistic experience of space; semantics comes in-between as an interlevel mediating between lexicogrammar and our extra-linguistic experience of space (cf. Halliday, 1973, on semantics as an interlevel).

3.2 The lexicogrammar of space

When we examine the lexicogrammar of English (or indeed of any other language), we find there are many complementary resources for construing space spread throughout the lexicogrammatical system, as shown for topographic procedures in Matthiessen (1998) (cf. also Levinson & Wilkins, 2006, for this point). The domains in which these resources operate extend from clause to morpheme, and they include simple units, complexes of units and cohesively related units: see Table 1.

Table 1: Lexicogrammatical resources in English involved in the construal of space

rank	class	complex [logical]	simplex [experiential]
"above" clause: non-structural — cohesive		**[textual]** COHESION CONJUNCTION expansion: enhancing: spatial/ temporal — (*… then ascend Moore Stairs (1868) on the right to Macquarie Street. Cross Macquarie Street to enter the park opposite …*)	
clause	major	TAXIS expansion: enhancing: spatial/ temporal — (*I ran out and I jumped in my car*)	TRANSITIVITY — PROCESS TYPE material: enhancing: motion ("kinesis") — (*I ran out*) relational: circumstantial: locative ("rest", or "stasis") — (*The trail leads southwards along the coast*), existential — (*there was a kid on the floor*) — AGENCY middle [ranged/ non-ranged] / effective — CIRCUMSTANTIATION location in space — place ([*I jumped*] *in my car* extent in space — distance ([*I drove*] *five miles*) manner of motion ([*I walked*] *slowly*]
phrase	prepositional	TAXIS [prepositional phrase/ adverbial group complexes] expansion: elaborating: path (*from Dover to Calais*), enhancing: narrowing (*north*	MINOR TRANSITIVITY relational: circumstantial: locative (*in/ into/ out of/ away from/ over/ around Dover*)

rank	class	complex [logical]	simplex [experiential]
		towards York)	
group	adverbial	TAXIS [see above]	TYPE OF CIRCUMSTANCE relational: circumstantial: locative (*in*, *out*, *away*, *around*; *home*, *abroad*)
	verbal	TAXIS elaboration: PHASE: time-phase (*continue walking*)	EVENT TYPE manner ± phase ± direction ("phrasal verb") (*walk*, *continue*, *climb*; *walk on up*)
	nominal		FACET partitives: facets of an entity (*the front of the building*, *the top of the building*) THING TYPE names of places (*path*, *hill*, *meadow*); names of entities with extension in space (*building*)
word		DERIVATION relational: circumstantial: locative (*de-plane*, *embed*; cf. also *ascend* / *descend*)	

Features of space are construed in terms of the logical or experiential modes of construal of the ideational metafunction within various domains of the lexicogrammar (see further below), the most extensive one being that of the clause complex. However, beyond the clause complex, the grammar also provides some "clues" about the semantic modelling of space in text. It provides clues through the resources of COHESION (see Halliday and Hasan, 1976): spatio-temporal conjunctions can be used to indicate connectivity between representations of a "journey"; e.g.

> Follow the path and climb some steps which soon divide. Keep left. **Then**, where the steps start to rise away from the shoreline, diverge left again on to a small foot pad.

(The textual metafunction also provides structural resources that enable speakers and writers to guide their addressees in following journeys construed ideationally: they can give circumstances of Place the status of Theme to orient their listeners or readers, as in: *From Bundeena jetty, walk straight south up Brighton Street past a few shops and at the top of the rise turn left (east) up Scarborough Street which is the second street on the left from the jetty*.) But cohesion also contributes through locative reference items, *here*, *there*, and reference items with locative nouns, e.g. *the track* in *the track can then be followed on ...*; and through lexical cohesion involving lexical items denoting features of space, e.g. *follow — path — climb — steps* … in the example set out above.

The lexicogrammar of English — and probably of all languages — provides two complementary ideational modes for construing experience in general, and our

experience of space in particular, the **logical mode** and the **experiential mode**: our experience of space can be construed logically as series of locations or movements, and experientially as configurations of elements of locations and movements. I will discuss these two modes of construal in turn, and provide an example of how they work together, complementing each other, in Figure 4.
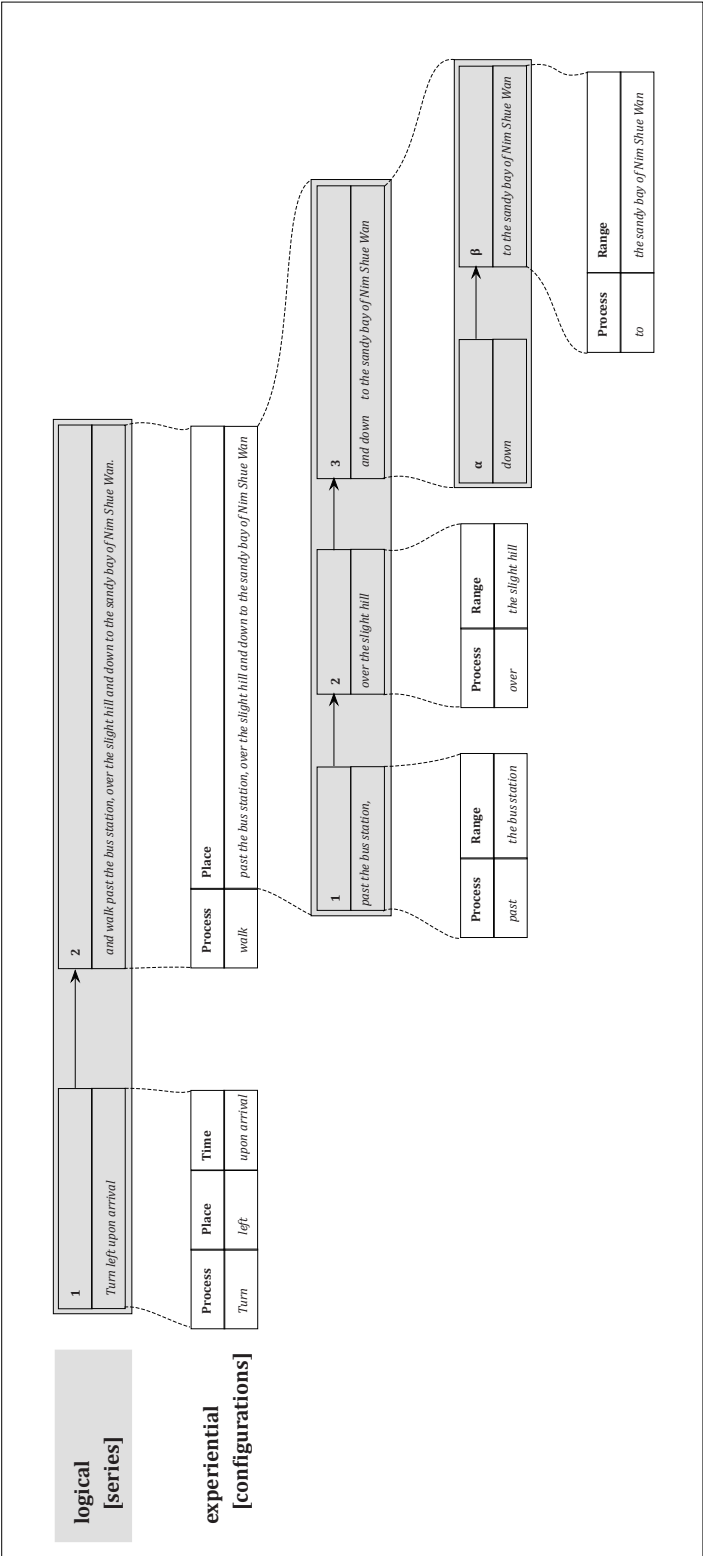
Figure 4: The complementarity of the logical and experiential modes of construing the experience of movement through space

3.3 The logical mode of construing space

In the logical mode, features of space are construed as **series** — as chains of spatial representations. Spatial features may, as it were, be serialized at different ranks, starting with clause complexing at clause rank and then moving down the rank scale to group/ phrase rank and (in principle) word rank.

3.3.1 Clause complexing

In a clause complex, clauses are linked to one another by a logico-semantic relation such as time (e.g. 'then'), either (i) paratactically or (ii) hypotactically.

(i) In the clause complex, a sequence of movements can be represented as a **paratactic series**, e.g.

> **Turn** left upon arrival and **walk** past the bus station, over the slight hill and down to the sandy bay of Nim Shue Wan. (From Text 2 above.)

> **Go** under the Santa Monica Freeway, **turn** left, west, and **follow** the signs to the west-bound onramp; **proceed** west to the San Diego Freeway.

> **Continue** south along Ocean Avenue, 1 mile to California Street; **turn** sharply right down the face of the bluff, and **turn** very sharply left, south at the base onto Pacific Coast Highway, Route t, and **get** in the right lane fairly soon.

> I **ran out** and I **jumped** in my car and I hit the lights. (From Text 1 above.)

> We **crossed** the Channel and **drove** red-eyed through France into the following day, **pausing** for pleasant interludes in roadside restaurants.

Here 'material' clauses of motion (see further below) are linked together to represent sequences of movements. There is an analogue with 'relational' clauses of rest, e.g.

> The trail *forks* at L025: the path straight ahead *descends* steeply down spurs towards Shek Pik Reservoir.

Here the paratactic complex construes the extension of a static object (referred to as *the trail*) in space[8].

(ii) Movements that are tightly connected, often temporally with a sense of simultaneity ('as'), may be represented as **hypotactic series**, with the dependent clause either as Theme or as Rheme within its nexus, e.g.

(a) thematic dependent clause

> **Leaving** the cemetery, **take** the lane which leads down to St. Stephen's Beach

> **Quitting** the wall, I **resolved to cross** the area of the enclosure.

> **Arriving** on Cheung Chau, **turn** right and **make** your way along the praya, past the bunting of outdoor restaurants.

Keeping <u>to the left of the bus terminus</u>, **skirt** <u>the frontage of Star House</u> …

(b) rhematic dependent clause

Turn left here on to Lombok's second main road and **continue** <u>to Praya</u>, **passing** <u>through agricultural land which uses sophisticated irrigation systems and the occasional brick-making village</u>.

I **followed** <u>it</u> <u>up</u>; **stepping** with all the careful distrust with which certain antique narratives had inspired me.

Together we **rushed** <u>into the tunnel carrying the stream</u>, **clambering** <u>over boulders, down a small cascade</u>, **turning** <u>sideways</u> **to edge** <u>past places where the passage narrowed</u>.

As illustrated by the examples above, thematic dependent clauses can serve as a way of linking to the previous passage of movement, providing an orientation to the next step (cf. Longacre, 1985). In contrast, rhematic dependent clauses of motion expand on the dominant motion clause. Thus in the last example, the process of rushing represented in the dominant clause (*together we rushed into the tunnel carrying the stream*) is fleshed out in more detail in the series of dependent clauses that follow.

Parataxis and hypotaxis often work together in the construal of sequences of movement; e.g.:

Follow <u>the underpass</u> **to emerge** <u>beside the YMCA</u>, and **turn** <u>left</u>, **crossing** <u>Middle Road and Peking Road</u> **to follow** <u>Ashley Road</u> <u>north</u>.

Let me illustrate the deployment of clause complexing with mixed taxis as a navigational resource in topographic procedure using the complex *Cross Macquarie Street to enter the park opposite and taking the centre path through the gates (open 8:00 am to sunset) outside Government House […], turn left and follow the road that skirts the grounds of Government House before entering the Royal Botanic Gardens*, taken from Text 3[9].

Text 3: Extract from a topographic procedure[10]

FRIDAY
TODAY'S ITINERARY INCLUDES A GUIDED TOUR OF THE OPERA HOUSE AND A STROLL THROUGH THE HISTORIC ROCKS AREA OF SYDNEY.
<u>From Circular Quay</u>, **follow** <u>the paved walkway</u> <u>around the cove to Circular Quay East</u>. If the passers-by are looking at the ground it's not because they're gloomy or have lost two bob, but because they're looking at the quotes by Australian and overseas authors on the brass plaques of the 'Writers Walk'. Take two minute so glance at some of them as the aboriginal buskers play the didgeridoo. [Quotes from the brass plaques.] **Continue** <u>north along Circular Quay East</u> <u>for a short distance</u>, then **ascend** <u>Moore Stairs (1868) on the right</u> <u>to Macquarie Street</u>. **Cross** <u>Macquarie Street</u> **to enter** <u>the park opposite</u> and **taking** <u>the centre path</u> **go** <u>through the gates (open 8:00 am to sunset) outside Government House</u> […], **turn** <u>left</u> and **follow** <u>the road that skirts the grounds of Government House</u> before **entering** <u>the Royal Botanic Gardens</u>. The grassy slope just

here is a good location to take photos of the Opera House. **Walk** <u>down the path, through the entrance gate to the Botanic Gardens and across the forecourt to the Opera House</u>.

As this text illustrates, the movement of the tourist is choreographed by the writer by means of 'material' clauses of motion. Some of them are simplexes, some of them are complexes. These 'material' clauses tend to involve complexing at one rank below that of the clause — i.e. at group/phrase rank (see further Section 3.3.2 below). For example, the last clause of the extract is a simplex consisting of only Process (*walk*) + Place (*down the path, through the entrance gate to the Botanic Gardens and across the forecourt to the Opera House*), but the circumstance of Place is realized by a phrase complex consisting of a series of five prepositional phrases.

Each 'material' clause of motion construes a "quantum" of movement in the tour represented in Text 3, and complexes of such clauses of motion construe a more tightly integrated series of movements, as in the case of the clause complex in focus. This complex represents a "journey" from Macquarie Street to the Royal Botanical Gardens, and the representation of this journey is brought out by the analysis in Figure 5. The global organization of the representation of the journey is paratactic — a temporal sequence of four 'material' clauses in the 'imperative' mood: 1 (*cross*) ×2 (*go*) ×3 (*turn*) ×4 (*follow*); locally, three out of these four clauses are enhanced hypotactically by dependent clauses: 1α (*cross*) 1×β (*to enter*), 2×β (*taking the centre path*) 2α (*go*), 4α (*follow*) 4×β (*entering*). It is possible to imagine a version of the clause complex where these dependent clauses are instead represented by prepositional phrases serving as circumstances within the dominant clauses, e.g.:

> Cross Macquarie Street into the Park opposite, by way the centre path go through the gates … outside Government House, turn left, and follow the road the skirts the grounds of Government House until the Royal Botanic Gardens.
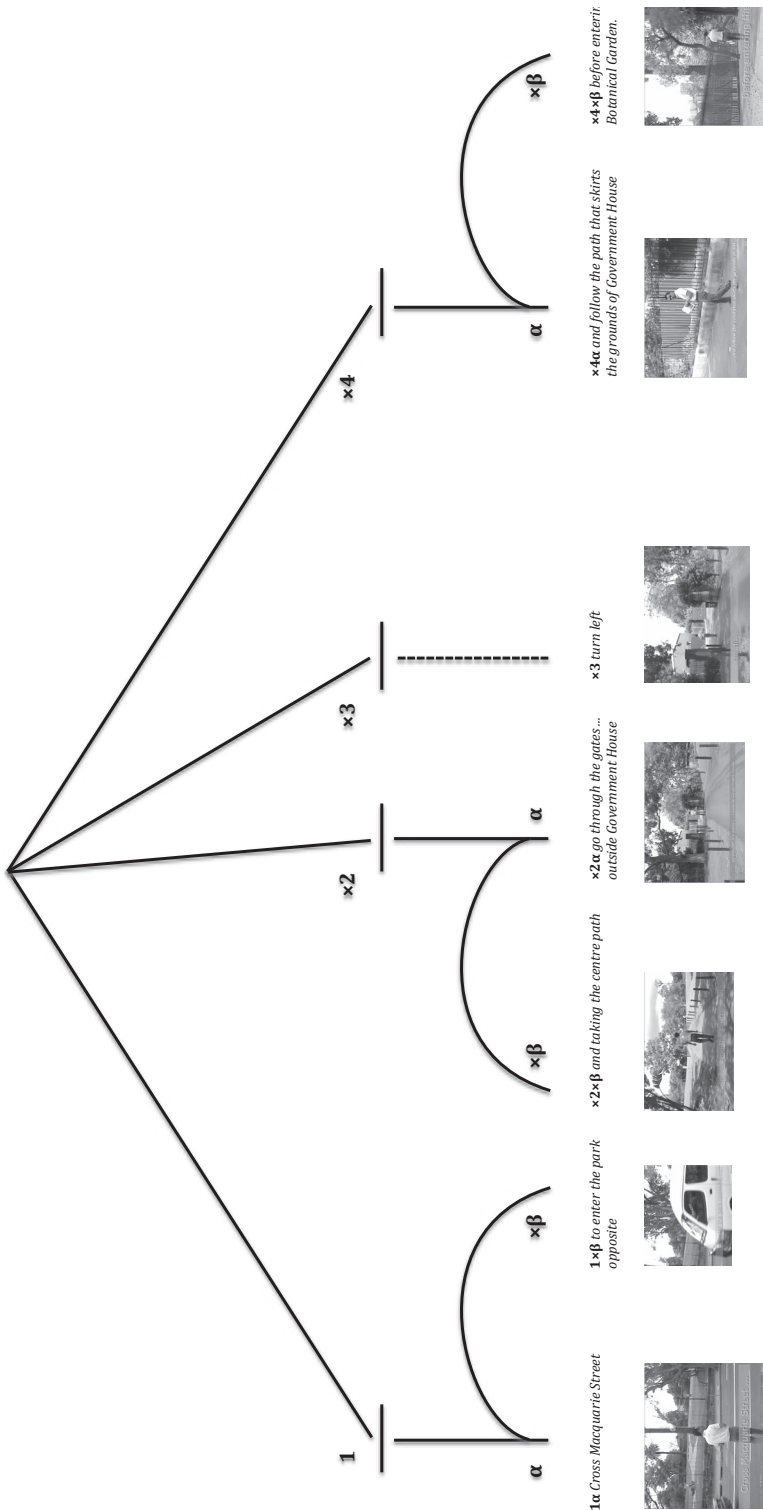
Figure 5: Logical analysis of a clause complex in a topographic procedure based on the diagrammatic conventions of RST

1α *Cross Macquarie Street*

1×β *to enter the park opposite*

×2×β *and taking the centre path*

×2α *go through the gates... outside Government House*

×3 *turn left*

×4α *and follow the path that skirts the grounds of Government House*

×4×β *before enterin Botanical Garden.*

As already noted, the clause complex is a navigational resources: reading the clause complex set out in Figure 5, tourists can navigate their way from Macquarie Street to the Royal Botanic Gardens; the topographic procedure choreographs their movements by construing them as movers in a sequence of movements. This is like the **virtual tour** strategy identified by Linde and Labov (1975) in their study of how people describe their apartments (in topographic recounts). The alternative strategy is what they call the **bird's-eye-view**, which is a kind of verbal map. In guide books, this view is represented by various kinds of map, more or less schematic in nature. There is no map accompanying the topographic procedure in Text 3, but it is quite illuminating to link the clauses in our clause complex to points or regions on a map: see Figure 6. In the case of this example, each 'material' clause of motion represents a quantum of movement by the tourist. However, the quanta of movements differ considerably in terms of the distance covered, the shortest being *go through the gates outside Government House* and *turn left* and the longest being *follow the path that skirts the grounds of Government House*. The differences are well-motivated: the guidebook writer is attuned to changes in movement that the tourist will experience, so those parts of the walking tour where the tourist will experience shorter intervals of change are chunked into more clauses of motion, but those parts where the tourist continue along the same track are chunked into fewer clauses of motion: moving along the path that skirts the grounds of Government House is quite an extended uninterrupted walk.

These differences are clear from the map in Figure 6, but we have also tested it out. One member of our research team, Kazuhiro Teruya, followed the instructions in the guide book, executing them step by step as it were; and I followed him with a video camera; the photographs in Figure 6 are frames from the video recording[11]. This "experiment" brought out the important principle that the instructions are intended to be used in a **situated** way: the information provided by the text is complemented by what readers are likely to experience materially along the walk (cf. Hasan's notion of "material situational setting" in Halliday and Hasan, 1985). For example, we might wonder why the writer, David Messent, produced the hypotactic clause nexus α *cross Macquarie Street* ×β ('so as') *to enter the park opposite* instead of e.g. the paratactic clause nexus 1 *cross Macquarie Street* ×2 ('then') *enter the park opposite*. Well, it turns out that Macquarie Street is very busy with lots of fast-moving cars, so if tourists are to survive the crossing of the street, they must have a very clear idea of what they should head for! Thus if a tourist is reading *cross Macquarie Street* as he or she is on the walking tour, s/he will actually be oriented in a certain way, viz. with Moore Stairs behind him/ her and facing Macquarie Street, with the opposite side of the street in view: this is an instance of the embodiment of our experience of space in language.
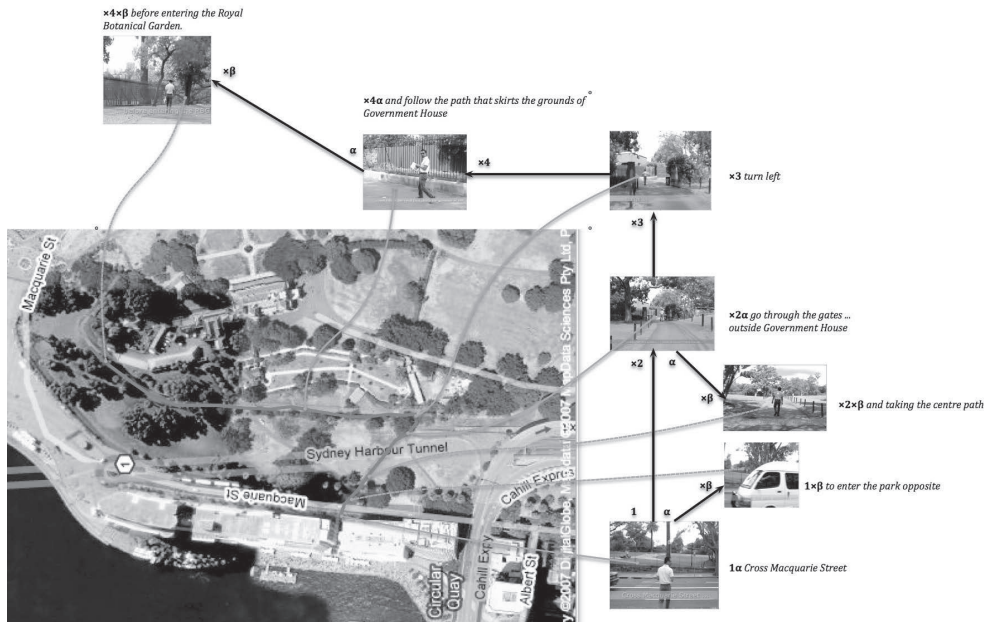
Figure 6: Choreography of a leg of a journey in a topographic procedure by means of a clause complex compared with the bird's-eye-view provided by a (Google) map

In the clause complex analysed in Figure 5, all the clauses that enter into paratactic or hypotactic nexuses are 'material' clauses of motions. However, this is of course not necessarily the case; processes of motion may combine with other kinds of process. Thus, clauses representing movement through space or location in space are of course also combined with clauses representing other types of process; here the relation is often one of time, but it may also be one of manner, condition, purpose, reason and so on, e.g.:

||| I **proceeded** for many paces, || but still all was blackness and vacancy. |||

||| An experience bushman was added to the party || and, on 11 May 1813 they **set off** from Blaxland's farm || with their pack horses laden with provisions || and accompanied by five hunting dogs. |||

||| And now, as I still **continued to step** cautiously onward, || there came thronging upon my recollection a thousand vague rumours of the horrors of Toledo. |||

||| Shaking in every limb, ||| I **groped** my way back to the wall |||

||| As he **came** to a thicket, ||| he heard the faint rustling of leaves. |||

As we have seen, clause complexes in which locative clauses are linked by temporal relations can be used to construe sequences of movements within a **journey** (in Slobin's, 1996, particular sense, referred to above).

As I noted in reference to Text 3 above, complexes at the rank below clause rank also play an important role in construing aspects of space, so I will now briefly discuss such complexes.

3.3.2 Group/ phrase complexing

Complexes of locative adverbial groups and/ or prepositional phrases construe the **path** of a process of movement. Thanks to the logical mode of construal, such paths can be fairly extended; e.g.

> Turn left upon arrival and walk <u>past the bus station, over the slight hill and down to the sandy bay of Nim Shue Wan</u>. (From Text 2 above.)

> **Walk** <u>down the path, through the entrance gate to the Botanic Gardens and across the forecourt to the Opera House</u>. (From Text 3 above.)

In the first example, *past the bus station, over the slight hill and down to the sandy bay of Nim Shue Wan* is a prepositional phrase complex consisting of three phrases each representing part of the path of walking; and in the second example, there are (as already noted) five prepositional phrases combined in the complex.

Alternatively, paths may be construed by a combination of locative participant + locative circumstance, viz. Scope + Place, as in:

> Cross <u>Neil Road</u> <u>to the renovated Tanjong Pagar Conservation Area, a gentrified stretch of shops and restaurants</u>, before ending at Tanjong Pagar MRT.

Here the circumstantial relation 'across' is incorporated within the verb of motion *cross* ('move across'); compare a related version with a verb such as *walk*: *walk across Neil Road to the renovated Tanjong Pagar Conservation Area …*, where there is one circumstance of Place realized by a prepositional phrase complex.

Complexes of adverbial groups/ prepositional phrases may alternatively represent one location but one which is specified with increasing narrowing of focus, as in:

> proceed <u>west to the San Diego Freeway</u>

Here *west* and *to the San Diego Freeway* are not, as it were, different locations but rather steps in narrowing down the direction of the movement.

Complexes of verbal groups can be used to construe temporal phases of movement through space, e.g.

> And now, as I still **continued to step** cautiously onward …

Phasal verbs such as *continue*, *keep on*, *stop* can serve as Event in simple verbal groups functioning as Process in material clauses of motion[12], as in

> **Continue** towards Sengkol

where *continue* can be interpreted as 'continue driving' since this example comes from a driving tour; but the general meaning is simply 'continue moving in the same manner'.

Before leaving the logical model of construing aspects of space, let me just note a minor motif that we find in the system of derivation in the form of spatial affixes, e.g.

> The passengers of a US Airways flight **were deplaned** on Tuesday evening (IST) after a suspicious baggage was found on-board.

where *deplane* means 'disembark from an aircraft', with *de-* in the sense of 'off, from'. (Talmy, 1985, gives *deplane* as a rare example of a motion verb in English where the 'ground' is lexicalized as a feature of the motion.)

3.4 The experiential mode of construing space

The logical mode of construing experience is, as we have just seen, deployed to construe sequences of movements, and, within a single movement, sequences of locations forming a path. In the experiential mode of construing experience, space is construed configurationally rather than serially as **configurations** of a **process** of static location or of movement plus one or two **participants**, and (very often, in the case of movement) also **circumstances**[13]. For example:

> [Medium/ Actor:] Leaders of the Opposition were arrested at midnight and thousand others [Process:] **were marched** [Place:] off to prison. [KOLH_G]

> [Medium/ Actor:] I [Process:] **got off** there, [Process:] **crossed** [Range/ Scope:] the street, [Process:] **walked** [Place:] ahead with [Medium/ Carrier:] St. Sophia [Range/ Attribute:] on my left, [Medium/ Carrier:] the Blue Mosque [Range/ Attribute:] on my right, and in a moment [Process:] **came** [Place:] to the entrance of St. Sophia. [Brown1_E]

> The streets once flanked with green were torn and crevassed, and [Process:] **walked** [Medium/ Actor:] by people who emerged lamely from the rank buildings when the rains stopped. [ACE_M]

> [Medium/ Actor:] Raymond Christopher and Alice Rumsbody [Process:] **walked** [Manner:] hesitantly [Place:] into the street. [ACE_N]

> [Agent/ Initiator:] The junkman **walked** [Medium/ Actor:] his horse [Manner:] slowly [Place:] down Gold Dust Way. [ACE_P]

The last example is represented diagrammatically in Figure 7.

(a) As box diagram

The junkman	*walked*	*his horse*	*slowly*	*down Gold Dust Way.*
Agent/ Initiator	Process	Medium/ Actor	Manner	Place
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	adverbial group	prepositional phrase

(b) As circle diagram

The junkman **walked** his horse slowly <u>down Gold Dust Way</u>. [ACE_P]

Figure 7: Analysis of an 'effective' 'material' clause of motion (caused motion)

As illustrated by Figure 7 (b), motion is construed as a Process that is actualized through one participant, the Medium, which is the element construed as moving (or as being located). The combination of Process + Medium may be represented as being caused by another participant, the Agent. Other features of motion are construed circumstantially, in particular, Manner (quality, means) and Place; but there is a complementarity of process + circumstance: features of motion may be construed processually or circumstantially.

As shown in Table 2, locative configurations can be found in clauses, prepositional phrases and adverbial groups — the latter being the limiting case of a single element such as *in*, *away*, *abroad*, *left*, *north*[14]. If we focus on clauses and prepositional phrases, we can say that the simplest model is provided by phrases. This model is like a **miniature clause**; it is a configuration of just two elements, a "locator" and "landmark" (or "ground"): (minor) Process + (minor) Range (cf. Figure 7 (b)), as in *in the house*, *into the house*, *around the park*, *down Gold Dust Way*, *opposite the wall*, *in front of the castle*. Being miniature clauses, they cannot

function on their own; they can only serve as circumstances augmenting the (extended) nucleus of a clause (cf. again Figure 7 (b)), or, rankshifted, as Qualifiers within a nominal group. As circumstances, they are as it were compressed version of enhancing dependent clauses within a clause nexus: see Figure 8.

clause nexus	α		×β		
	Medium/ Actor	Process	Medium/ Actor	Process	Range
	he	*walked*	*[∅: he]*	*entering*	*the hall*
clause simplex	*he*	*walked*		*into*	*the hall*
				(minor) Process	(minor) Range
	Medium/ Actor	Process		Place	

Figure 8: Comparison of an enhancing dependent clause in a hypotactic clause nexus with a circumstance of Place augmented the clause nucleus of a simple clause

Table 2: Experiential construal of space exemplified by configurations in clause, prepositional phrase, adverbial group (English)

unit	type	'causer'	'process'	'figure'	'process'	'ground'		'manner'
						'path'		
clause	material	**Initiator**	**Process: motion**	**Actor**	**Process: motion**	**Scope**	**Place**	**Manner**
				he	*came / went*			
				he	*climbed*			
				he	*walked on*			
				he	*continued to walk*			
				he	*walked*		*up*	
				he	*walked*		*into the house*	
		she	*walked* 'caused'	*him*	'to walk'		*into the house*	
				he	*proceeded*		*into the house*	*(on foot)*
				he	*entered*	*the house*		*(on foot)*
		she	*brought* 'caused'	*him*	'to come'		*into the house*	*(on foot)*
		she	*paddled*	*him*			*ashore*	
	relational: attributive			**Carrier**	**Process: rest**	**Attribute**	**Place**	**Manner**
				he	*was*	*in the house*		
				he	*inhabited*	*the house*		
				it	*stood*	*opposite the house*		

unit	type	'causer'	'process'	'figure'	'process'	'ground'		'manner'
						'path'		
				it	*was*	<u>*opposite the house*</u>		
				it	<u>*faced*</u>	*the house*		
	existential				**Process: rest**	**Existent**		
					[there] stood	*a bench*	*opposite the house*	
prep. phrase	(relational: attributive)				**(minor) Process: rest**	**(minor) Range**		
					<u>*in*</u>	*the house*		
					<u>*into*</u>	*the house*		
adverbial group					<u>*in*</u>			

Prepositional phrases cannot be expanded; they consist only of (minor) Process + (minor) Range, although either of these may, of course, be realized by a complex (e.g. *in or outside the house*; *in her house or mine*). They are similar to circumstantial attributive relational clauses in that they construe "rest" in space (i.e. static location), and prepositions cover the same systemic range as locative verbs, *around ~ surround*, *across ~ span*, *in front of ~ face*.

However, **relational clauses** are full-fledged rather than miniature clauses, so they have the full potential of clauses and can be expanded beyond Process + Range. Most importantly, such clauses can always specify the thing being located, represented as the Carrier of the locative relation; but they may also be augmented by circumstances of Place, as in the following example from a topographic procedure (taken from a "verbal map" in a guide book):

[Place:] In the north-central part of the section [Carrier:] low mountains [Process:] cut [Attribute:] the central valley from forest areas to the south of them

This clause still represents rest or stasis: even though verbs such as *cut* (in this example), *run*, *climb*, *follow* that have 'material' senses (often as motion verbs) are pressed into service in circumstantial relational clauses, there is no sense of motion, or translocation over time. Thus in an example such as *from here the main road veers southeast though corn and paddy-fields punctuated by coconut palms and huge clumps of bamboo*, the road is not construed as moving. We would probably not expect the following exchange (although it's perfectly possible) *oh what's happening now? — the road's veering southeast*; but we should expect to hear *oh what are you doing now? — I'm veering southeast*.

Like locative circumstantial relational clauses, **material clauses** of motion construe features of space; and there are parallels, for example in the choice of where the locative feature is construed:

(relational [rest]:)

the fence is around the property : the fence surrounds the property ::

(material [motion]:)

the posse rode around the property : the posse surrounded the property

However, material clauses are concerned not with rest or static location in space but rather with motion through space — with translocation. Motion is experientially more complex than rest since it involves change over time; and the lexicogrammar of movement provides a more expanded potential for construing space than does the lexicogrammar of rest: features unique to movement through space can be represented grammatically (e.g. manner of movement, phase of movement) and lexical differentiations are much more extended in delicacy. Not surprisingly, there is now an extended body of work on the lexicalization patterns of motion (going back to Talmy, 1985; see Beavers, Levin & Tham, 2010, for a recent review) although it would be more helpful to explore these as instances of general **lexicogrammaticalization patterns** (see further below).

In material clauses of motion, we find additional options for construing space — options related to change of location in space over time. These options include the **phase** of the change of location[15], the **manner** of movement, the **direction** or path of the movement, and the **distance** of movement; for example

(phase of movement:)

And now, as I still **continued to step** cautiously onward …

Climbing up, William **continued** on above the ledge while John began the ascent of the main pitch.

Continue towards Sengkol

In terror they **stumbled on**

(manner [quality] of movement:)

the van mounted the verge and **ploughed** into the ditch […] I **had been hurled** forwards and lay upside-down on the front seat with blood pouring from my nose.

They **scrambled** on to the low parapet of the bridge.

Far from violating the laws of motion, animals exploit them to their advantage as they **walk**, **run**, **dodge** and **jink**, **leap** and **fly**, *pounce on* prey or **spring** to safety.
(manner [means] of movement:)

At noon a pilot came aboard, bearing a letter from the owner's agent; and at about eleven o'clock the following night we hove up both anchors, and, with a fine breeze, **sailed** up the river.

As Andy huddled under the tarpaulin the mist **blew** in
The sea is vast, and the storm **blew** us all miles off course.

(direction [or path] of movement:)

Turn left upon arrival and **walk** past the bus station, over the slight hill and down to the sandy bay of Nim Shue Wan. (From Text 2 above.)

ON the 28th of April our caravan **crossed** the River Desaguadero

We left him as soon as possible, and pushed on to the River Las Vacas, which we soon reached, and **crossed** in a boat.

(distance of movement:)

each day we visited parts of the underground network to emerge after dark, **jogging four miles** down the hill to the pub and slogging tipsy back to bed through snow that sparkled with starlight.

Phase, manner and path may be construed either processually or circumstantially, as illustrated Figure 7 above and further exemplified in Table 3 below. (1) The phase of a process of movement may be construed as a sequence of two events in a verbal group complex (e.g. *continue to walk*) or as a single event in a simple verbal group, analytically in the form of a phrasal verb (e.g. *walk on*). As noted and illustrated above, the phase may come to stand for phase + movement (as in *continue towards Sengkol*). (2) The manner of a process of movement may be construed lexically by the eventive verb in the verbal group realizing the Process — this being one aspect of the fairly elaborated system of processes of motion in English (see e.g. Levin's, 1993: 264-267, class of "manner of motion" verbs)[16]. Alternatively, the manner of motion may be construed circumstantially by a circumstance of Manner. (3) The path, or direction, of a process of movement may be construed by the lexical verb of the verbal group serving as Process, either "analytically" by a phrasal verb such as *go across* or "synthetically" by a non-phrasal verb such as *cross*. Alternatively, the path may be construed by a circumstance of Place, which may be realized by an adverbial group/ prepositional phrase complex representing an extended trajectory of movement.

Table 3: Examples of processual and circumstantial construal of three features of motion — phase, manner and path

		Process			Place	Manner
		verbal group complex	verbal group simplex		adverbial group/ prep. phrase	adverbial group/ prep. phrase
			phrasal verb	non-phrasal verb		
phase		*continue to walk*	*walk on*	*(continue, proceed)*		
manner	quality			*walk*		*on foot*
				crawl		*on all fours*
				scramble		*hurriedly/ clumsily*
	means			*sail*		*by boat*
				drive		*by motor vehicle*
				blow		*by wind, breath*
path			*move up*	*ascend*		
				cross	*across the road*	
				enter	*into the hall*	

In English, the experiential mode of construing motion processes has engendered fairly "deep" taxonomies — that is, fairly highly elaborated systems extending in delicacy from grammar into lexis through a significant number of steps (cf. Hasan, 1987; Matthiessen, 1991). The taxonomy of motion processes is located within the overall system of material process clauses (for a description of this classification, see Matthiessen, 2014): Figure 9. They are grouped together with other processes as material clauses with an 'enhancing' outcome: the performance of the process is construed as affecting one participant (the Medium) with respect to some circumstantial feature — prototypically location. The boundary between material clauses of motion and material clauses with other circumstantial outcomes is very fuzzy, and in characterizing processes of motion, linguists have drawn this boundary in different places. For example, Dixon's (2005) class of "motion and rest" verbs seems to cover types of motion not included in Levin's (1993) class of "verbs of motion".
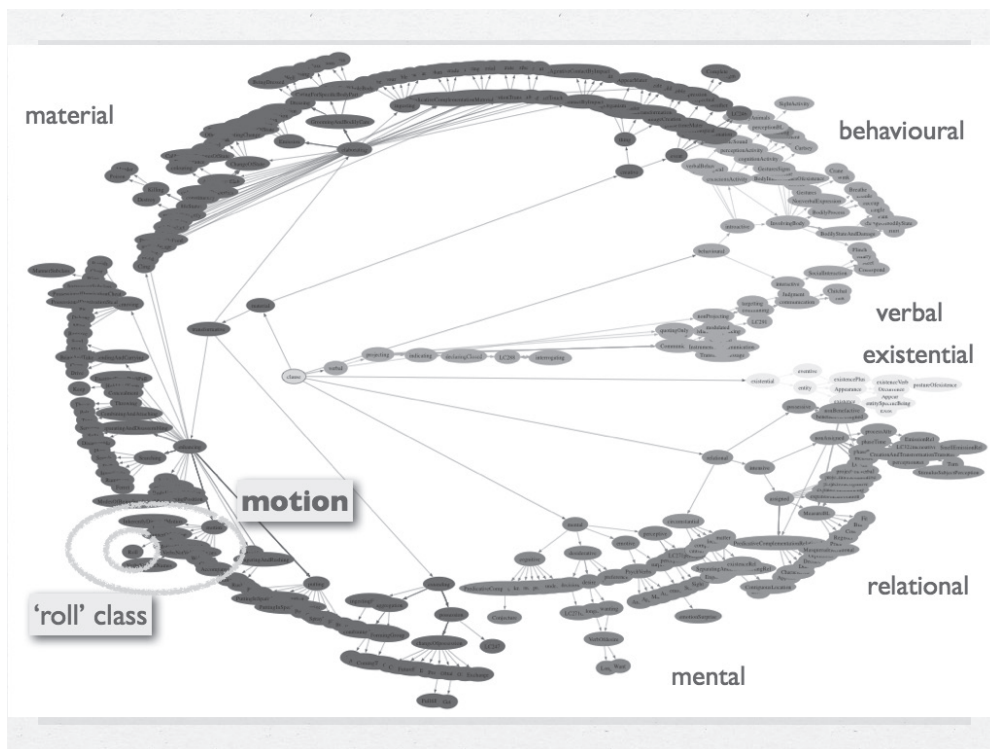
Figure 9: The location of processes of motion within the system of PROCESS TYPE in English

To explore what properties of motion are lexicalized, we can examine Levin's (1993) class of "verbs of motion" (her § 51, pp. 263-270) a little further. Within this primary class, she differentiates secondary classes and some tertiary ones: see Table 4. This classification is, of course, only a preliminary sorting based on a number of grammatical properties such as (in systemic functional terms) the availability of the contrast in AGENCY between 'middle' and 'effective' (see e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen, 2013: Section 5.7) — Levin's "induced action alternation", as in *the soldiers marched* : *the sergeant marched the soldiers* (illustrated in Figure 7 above), the possibility of 'ranging' with a locative Scope — "locative preposition drop alternation", as in *he climbed the fence* : *he climbed laboriously over the fence*.

Table 4: Levin's (1993) class of "verbs of motion"

primary class	secondary class	tertiary class	examples of verbs
"verbs of motion" (§ 51)	"verbs of inherently direct motion" (§ 51.1)		advance, arrive, ascend, come, depart, descend, enter, exit, fall …
	"*leave* verbs" (§ 51.2)		abandon, desert, leave
	"manner of motion verbs" (§ 51.3)	"*roll* verbs" (§ 51.3.1)	bounce, drift, float, glide, move, roll, slide, swing
			[motion around an axis:] coil, revolve, rotate, spin, turn, twirl, twist, whirl, wind
		"*run* verbs" (§ 51.3.2)	[large set of 124 members, e.g.:] amble, bolt, canter, flit, frolic, gallop, limp, lope, mince, parade, roam, run, rush, saunter, scamper, scramble, slide, stride, stroll, stumble, totter, trek, trudge, waddle, walk, wander
	"verbs of motion using a vehicle" (§ 51.4)	"verbs that are vehicle names" (§ 51.4.1)	bike, canoe, cycle, jet, motor, parachute, raft, skate, ski, …
		"verbs that are not vehicle names" (§ 51.4.1)	cruise, drive, fly, oar, paddle, pedal, ride, row, sail, tack
	"*waltz* verbs" (§ 51.5)		boogie, cancan, dance, pirouette, rumba, samba, tango, waltz …
	"*chase* verbs" (§ 51.6)		chase, follow, pursue, shadow, tail, track, trail
	"*accompany* verbs" (§ 51.7)		accompany, conduct, escort, guide, lead, shepherd

The classes of "verbs of motion" identified by Levin (1993) are a bit mixed, and need further descriptive work, if we are to turn the description into a systemic one (along the lines of Hasan, 1987). However, it is clear that the lexicogrammar of English construes a major distinction between direction and manner in processes of motion, as shown in Figure 10 below:

- processes may be construed in terms of direction of motion only, without a lexical specification of manner of motion within the Process: "verbs of inherently direct motion" (§ 51.1), but also *leave* verbs" (§ 51.2) with the directional sense of 'away from';

- processes may be construed in terms of manner of motion, with direction as a further specification in cases where there is a phrasal verb variant with a particle indicating direction (e.g. *walk away*) or with phase as a further specification in cases where there is a phrasal verb variant with a particle indicating direction (e.g. *walk on*). Manner is either quality or means:
  - quality of motion: "manner of motion verbs" (§ 51.3), with the subtypes "*roll* verbs" (§ 51.3.1), "*run* verbs" (§ 51.3.2) and "*waltz* verbs" (§ 51.5)
  - means of motion: "verbs of motion using a vehicle" (§ 51.4), with the subtypes "verbs that are vehicle names" (§ 51.4.1) and "verbs that are not vehicle names" (§ 51.4.1)

This reclassification leaves out two of Levin's secondary classes, "*chase* verbs" (§ 51.6), an example of which occurs in Text 1 above, and "*accompany* verbs" (§ 51.7). One property they have in common — in contrast with all the other types — is that they involve a configuration of two participants construed as moving.

In this section, I have referred to the classification of verbs of motion by Levin (1993) and, in passing, to that by Dixon (2005), and it would of course make sense to take account of other classificatory schemes. However, such "system-oriented" accounts need to be grounded in evidence from naturally occurring texts: we need to see how the resources for construing motion are deployed in texts belonging to different registers operating in different contexts (cf. Matthiessen and Kashyap, 2014) — because it is in such contextualized deployment that the resources evolve in the first place. I will use topographic procedures as an illustration.
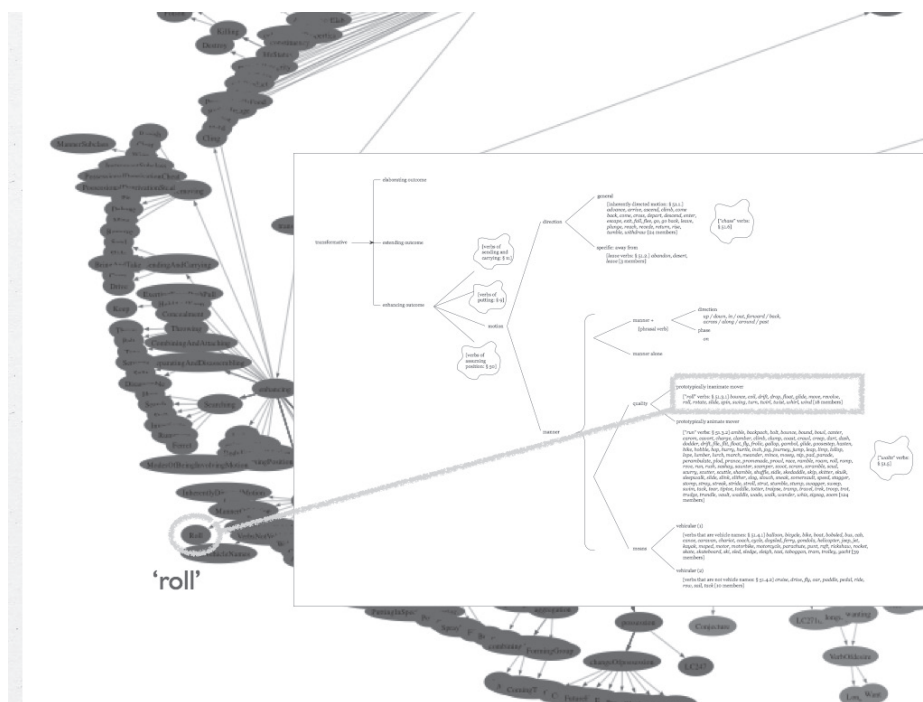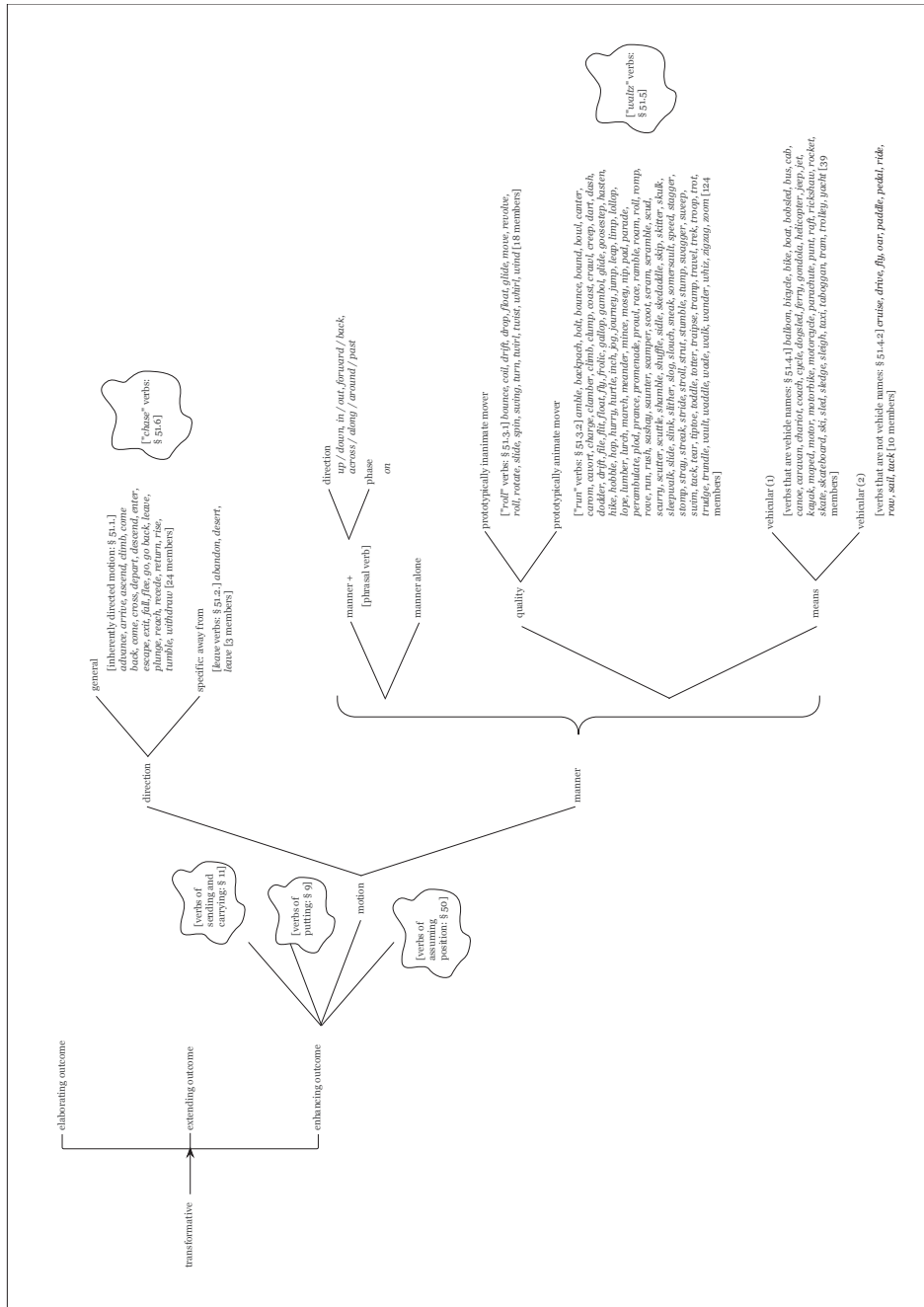
Figure 10: Extension in delicacy of 'material' clauses with an enhancing (circumstantial) outcome based on Levin's (1993) verb classes

3.5 Deployment of transitivity systems in the construal of space in topographic procedures

So let me round off this very sketchy overview of the lexicogrammatical resources that English provides for construing our experience of space according to the complementary models of the logical and experiential modes of the ideational metafunction by showing a summary of the deployment of the system of transitivity in the representation of space in a small corpus of topographic procedures[17], illustrated above by the extract in Text 2: see Figure 11. As can be expected, the two transitivity models of space are the 'material' model representing motion through space and the 'relational' model representing (static) location in space.
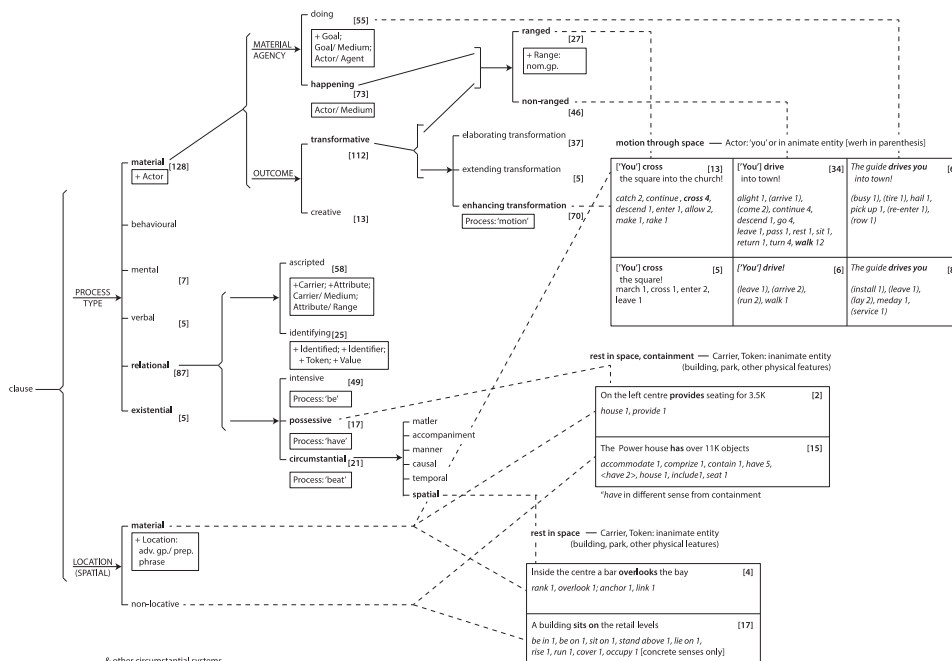
Figure 11: The deployment of the resources of transitivity in the construal of location in and motion through space in topographic procedures

Figure 11 shows the models deployed in topographic procedures for construing "motion through" space by means of 'material' clauses and "rest in space" by means of 'relational' clauses. The complementarity of these two models can be illustrated by reference to Text 4. The 'material' clauses are used to construe the steps in the tour — the operations in the procedure, while the 'relational' clause is used to construe the location of a place of interest, potentially with a postural verb such as *sit*, *lie* or *hang* as the Process. The function of construing the location of a place of interest may also be performed by 'existential' clauses. However, as illustrated in Text 2 above, 'material' clauses of motion and 'relational' clauses of rest may also alternate in construing the tour, representing either the movement of the person

touring or the shape of the path. The uses of 'material', 'relational' and 'existential' clauses are illustrated in Table 5.

Table 5: Construal of motion through space and rest in space by 'material', 'relational' and 'existential' clauses in topographic procedures

	'material' — motion	'relational' — rest	'existential' — rest
path to be followed	**walk** <u>past the bus station, over the slight hill and down to the sandy bay of Nim Shue Wan</u> [Text 2]	The trail *leads* <u>southwards along the coast</u> [Text 2]; the path *follows* a stream alongside the foundations of old squatter villages	
place of interest		<u>to your right</u> *lies* the recently opened Heart Sutra Garden [Text 4]	<u>On your left hand</u> *hangs* a Union Jack

'Material' clauses of motion are largely 'middle' rather than 'effective': the tourist is construed as the voluntary mover in the role of Medium/ Actor (unlike the horse in the 'effective' 'material' clause of cause motion analysed in Figure 7 above). The favourite 'material' clause of motion in topographic procedures is one of 'direction' with a verb of "inherently directed motion" such as *ascend, descend, pass, follow, cross, turn, continue* ('move in the same direction') as Process, mostly likely construed with a Range/ Scope in a 'ranged' clause (*descend the steps on the other side of the road from the cannons*) or a circumstance of Place in a 'non-ranged' one (*turn left up Argyle Street*), or both (*then cross Hyde Park and the Domain to the Art Gallery of N.S.W.*).

Clauses with a verb specifying 'manner' rather than 'direction' occur, but the range of verbs is more or less limited to *walk, wander* and *drive* as Process, as in *walk underneath Pyrmont Bridge to the new National Maritime Museum, tonight, wander to The Rocks*; they are likely to be configured with a circumstance of Place. They may be extended by a directional particle in a phrasal verb construction, e.g. *walk back to Harbourside*.

Sometimes 'material' clauses of motion are 'effective' rather than 'middle' (cf. again Figure 7 above):

Direct access on the M4 motorway along the Thames Valley **brings** you quickly <u>from London into rural England at its best</u>.

One variant has an act of movement as Agent, either a congruent act clause or a nominal group with a nominalized verb of motion (e.g. *walk, drive*) as Head; the latter can be used to "preview" a tour, e.g.:

[[Turning left at the first lane]] **brings** you <u>onto Fu Shin Street: a classic example of an old market street</u>.

This short walk around the southern part of Kota **takes** you <u>through lively Glodok, Jakarta's Chinatown</u>.

This drive **takes** you <u>on a circuit around southern Lombok</u>

After crossing the bridge, a cab ride **takes** you <u>via North Sydney to an old gun battery at Bradley's Head</u>.

Text 4: Extract from a topographic procedure

location [relational: circumstantial]	motion [material: enhancing]
	Take any bus from Mui Wo or Tung Chung up to Po Lin, site of the Big Buddha,
	and **follow** the signs to the tea gardens. [...*]
	After you **pass** the somewhat dilapidated teahouses,
	make a right turn over a metal bridge.
	This **puts** you on the track for Lantau Park.
1	Very soon, you'**ll reach** an open area with map boards and an ornamental gateway
2	To your right **lies** the recently opened Heart Sutra garden.

4. Registerial variation in the construal of space

In the last subsection, I outlined the transitivity model of space in topographic procedures, highlighting the favoured options in texts belonging to this register. The profile of this register in terms of the representation of space needs to be seen against the background not only of the general system but also of other registerial ways of deploying this system to represent space: we are undertaking research to bring out the variation in the foregrounding of features of the general resources for construing space in particular registers, including centrally those shown in Table 6 (for the description of the typology of socio-semiotic process within the field parameter of context, see e.g. Matthiessen, 2006; Teruya, 2007; Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam, 2010; Matthiessen, in press; Matthiessen and Teruya, 2015).

Table 6: Registers/ text types in which the construal of space is particularly significant identified in terms of the field of activity of the context within which they operate

field of activity (socio-semiotic process)		register / text type
primary delicacy	**secondary delicacy**	
expounding	explaining	explanation of motion (e.g. acceleration)
	categorizing	——
reporting	inventorying	——
	surveying	topographic reports
	chronicling	weather forecasts (e.g. typhoon tracks)
		travel recounts
recreating	**narrating**	stories of journeys
	dramatizing	——
sharing		——
doing	**directing**	direction giving (real-time)
	collaborating	movement coordination
		——
enabling	**instructing**	topographic procedures
		direction giving (route description)
	regulating	——
recommending	advising	——
	promoting	travel advertisements
exploring		——

The examples of representations of motion I have given above have been taken in particular from travel recounts, stories of journeys and topographic procedures. In Matthiessen and Kashyap (2014), we explore the patterns in texts sampled from the registers identified in Table 6, showing how different aspects of the overall potential for construing space are deployed according to the demands of different types of context. By way of illustrating this type of registerial variation, let me just compare and contrast the choice of verbs in topographic procedures, in narratives involving journeys and in physics texts dealing with mechanics: see Table 7.

Table 7: Comparison of verbs of motion used in topographic procedures, narratives of journey and physics texts dealing with mechanics (verbs shown in bold are used in the samples of topographic procedure, narrative of journey and mechanics in physics)

type of motion process		field of activity		
		enabling: topographic procedure	recreating: narrative of journey	expounding: mechanics in physics
direction	general	[24] advance, arrive, ascend, **climb**, come back, come, **cross**, depart, descend, **enter**, escape, exit, fall, flee, **follow**, **go**, go back, **leave**, **pass**, plunge, **reach**, recede, **return**, rise, tumble, **turn**, withdraw	[24] advance, arrive, ascend, **climb (up)**, come back, **come (in, on)**, **cross**, depart, descend, enter, **escape**, exit, **fall**, **flee**, **follow**, **go (away, on)**, go back, **leave**, **pass**, **plunge (down)**, **reach**, recede, **return**, rise, tumble, **turn (back)**, withdraw	[24] advance, arrive, ascend, climb (up), come back, come (in, on), cross, depart, descend, enter, escape, exit, **fall**, flee, follow, go (away, on), go back, leave, pass, plunge (down), **reach**, recede, return, rise, tumble, turn (back), withdraw
	specific: away	abandon, desert, leave	abandon, desert, leave	abandon, desert, leave
manner [quality]	prototypically inanimate	[18] accelerate, bounce, coil, drift, drop, float, flow, glide, move, revolve, roll, rotate, slide, spin, swing, tumble, turn, twirl, twist, whirl, wind	[18] accelerate, bounce, coil, drift, **drop**, float, flow, glide, move, revolve, roll, rotate, slide, spin, swing, tumble, turn, twirl, twist, whirl, wind	[18] **accelerate**, **bounce**, coil, drift, drop, float, **flow**, glide, **move**, revolve, roll, **rotate**, **slide**, **spin**, swing, **tumble**, turn, twirl, twist, whirl, wind
	prototypically animate	[124] amble, backpack, bolt, bounce, bound, bowl, canter, carom, cavort, charge, clamber, climb, clump, coast, crawl, creep, dart, dash, dodder, drift, file, flit, float, fly, frolic, gallop, gambol, glide, goosestep, hasten, hike, hobble, hop, hurry, hurtle, inch, jog, journey, jump, leap, limp, lollop, lope, lumber, lurch, march, meander, mince, mosey, nip, pad, parade, perambulate, plod, prance, promenade, prowl, race, ramble, roam, roll, romp, rove, run, rush,	[124] amble, backpack, bolt, bounce, bound, bowl, canter, carom, cavort, charge, **clamber**, **climb**, clump, coast, **crawl (back)**, **creep (out)**, dart, **dash**, dodder, drift, file, **flit**, float, fly, frolic, gallop, gambol, glide, goosestep, hasten, hike, hobble, hop, hurry, hurtle, inch, jog, journey, **jump**, **leap (down)**, **limp**, lollop, **lope**, lumber, **lurch**, **march**, meander, mince, mosey, nip, pad, **paddle**, parade, perambulate, **plod (along, on)**, prance, promenade, prowl, race, ramble, roam,	[124] amble, backpack, bolt, bounce, bound, bowl, canter, carom, cavort, charge, clamber, climb, clump, coast, crawl, creep, dart, dash, dodder, drift, file, flit, float, fly, frolic, gallop, gambol, glide, goosestep, hasten, hike, hobble, hop, hurry, hurtle, inch, jog, journey, jump, leap, limp, lollop, lope, lumber, lurch, march, meander, mince, mosey, nip, pad, parade, perambulate, plod, prance, promenade, prowl, race, ramble, roam, roll, romp, rove, run, rush, sashay, saunter,

type of motion process		field of activity		
		enabling: **topographic procedure**	recreating: **narrative of journey**	expounding: **mechanics in physics**
		sashay, saunter, scamper, scoot, scram, scramble, scud, scurry, scutter, scuttle, shamble, shuffle, sidle, skedaddle, skip, skitter, skulk, sleepwalk, slide, slink, slither, slog, slouch, sneak, somersault, speed, stagger, stomp, stray, streak, stride, stroll, strut, stumble, stump, swagger, sweep, swim, tack, tear, tiptoe, toddle, totter, traipse, tramp, travel, trek, troop, trot, trudge, trundle, vault, waddle, wade, **walk**, wander, whiz, zigzag, zoom	roll, romp, rove, **run (off, on, up)**, rush, sashay, saunter, scamper, scoot, scram, **scramble**, scud, scurry, scutter, scuttle, shamble, **shuffle (back)**, sidle, skedaddle, skip, skitter, skulk, sleepwalk, slide, **slink**, slither, slog, slouch, sneak, somersault, **speed**, stagger, stomp, stray, streak, stride, stroll, strut, **stumble (on)**, stump, swagger, **sweep**, swim, tack, tear, tiptoe, toddle, totter, traipse, tramp, travel, trek, troop, trot, **trudge**, trundle, vault, waddle, wade, walk, **wander (about)**, whiz, zigzag, zoom	scamper, scoot, scram, scramble, scud, scurry, scutter, scuttle, shamble, shuffle, sidle, skedaddle, skip, skitter, skulk, sleepwalk, slide, slink, slither, slog, slouch, sneak, somersault, speed, stagger, stomp, stray, streak, stride, stroll, strut, stumble, stump, swagger, sweep, swim, tack, tear, tiptoe, toddle, totter, traipse, tramp, travel, trek, troop, trot, trudge, trundle, vault, waddle, wade, walk, wander, whiz, zigzag, zoom
assuming position		[19] bend, bow, crouch, flop, hang, kneel, lean, lie, perch, plop, rise, sit, slouch, slump, sprawl, squat, stand, stoop, straddle	[19] **bend**, bow, crouch, flop, **get up**, hang, kneel, lean, lie, **lie down**, perch, plop, rise, sit, **sit down**, slouch, slump, sprawl, squat, **stand (up)**, **stoop**, straddle	[19] bend, bow, crouch, flop, hang, kneel, lean, lie, perch, plop, rise, sit, slouch, slump, sprawl, squat, stand, stoop, straddle

As we have already seen, the sample of topographic procedures (one chapter from *Seven Days in Sydney*) is dominated by verbs of 'direction': such texts foreground the "navigational" aspects of the lexicogrammar of motion. There are few instances of verbs of 'manner' of the subtype 'prototypically animate' — in this sample, the only verb is *walk*, but in a larger sample we would also find e.g. *drive* and *wander*; and there are no instances at all of 'manner' of the subtype 'prototypically inanimate'. There are no examples of postural movement ("assuming position") such as *crouch* or *sit down*.

In contrast, the narrative of a journey, which is represented by one chapter from J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, deploys both verbs of 'direction' and verbs of 'manner'. Tolkien uses verbs of 'manner' to evoke the nature of the journey — in this sample, Sam and Frodo's arduous journey towards the final destination, Mount Doom. For example:

In terror they **stumbled on**. Soon the road bent sharply eastward again and exposed them for a dreadful moment to view from the Tower. As they **flitted** <u>across</u> they glanced back and saw the great black shape upon the battlement; then they **plunged down** <u>between high rock-walls in a cutting that fell steeply</u> **to join** <u>the Morgul-road</u>.

Within the 'manner' type, Tolkien uses phrasal verbs to add a feature of 'direction' or 'phase' (cf. Table 3 above), as with *stumble on* and *flit across*; and he also uses phrasal verbs to further specify the direction of verbs of 'direction': *plunge down*, *turn back*. Unlike guide books writers, Tolkien is concerned with change in posture, e.g. *bend*, *get up*, *lie down*.

Physics texts on mechanics operate in 'expounding' contexts and are different from both topographic procedures and narratives of journeys. In terms of verbs of motion, they use the most general verb of motion *move* as Process, and a set of verbs denoting manner: quality of motion characteristic of prototypically inanimate movers like balls, cars and planets like *bounce*, *flow*, *rotate*, *spin*, with occasional technicalized verbs such as *retrograde* in astronomy.

Another important feature of texts in this register of expounding motion is that they construe objects moving by means of grammatical metaphors such as *motion*, *rotation*, *acceleration* and other nominalizations of verbs of motion; for example:

As seen from the north ecliptic pole, the major planets **move** counterclockwise around the Sun. Such ***motion*** is called ***direct or prograde motion***. A body **moving** clockwise (such as some comets) **is said to be moving** retrograde.

This metaphorical construal is a central part of the development of a theory of motion (cf. Halliday, 1988).

The study of variation in the construal of space across registers gives us important insights into how space is modelled in language — and in other semiotic systems; the visual representations that accompany topographic procedures (e.g. maps with routes), narratives of journeys (e.g. images of views along the journey), and mechanics texts (e.g. highly schematic drawings of objects affecting by forces) are very distinct and different. If we investigate topographic surveys, we will find that space is construed through the lexicogrammar of 'relational' clauses of rest rather than 'material' clauses of motion. Here I have thus only given a glimpse of the kinds of finding we can expect from research concerned with registerial variation in the construal of space — both location in space and motion through space (for further discussion, again see Matthiessen and Kashyap, 2014).

5. Construal of space in different languages

In the preceding sections, I have given some indication of our research on the "language of space" with a focus on English; but we are also concerned with other languages both individually, and collectively within the field of what we call **multilingual studies** (see Matthiessen, Teruya and Wu, 2008): within this field, we link studies of original and translated texts, comparison and typology — and also contrastive analysis in the service of second and foreign language education. In the typological literature, there have been many contributions since the mid 1980s; here I will interpret key contributions in systemic functional terms as background to our

own research and also as a possible foundation on which future systemic functional studies can be developed.

Not surprisingly, languages vary considerably in how they construe human experience of space, although broad generalizations are no doubt possible and have certainly been explored in productive ways. Thus languages vary in how they construe both static location (rest) in space and dynamic motion through space (see e.g. Levinson and Wilkins, 2006, cf. also Lemmens, 2005), and in how these two different "phases" of location in space complement one another in the construal of motion through space — see Slobin (2004a: Sections 2.6.2, 4.1). Slobin (2004a) also points out that languages may have different "narrative styles", some tending to represent spatial information throughout a motion sequence, others tending to represent some of this information first in a descriptive passage.

In the study of the construal of motion through space, linguists have tended to use the following terms to compare and contrast the representation of motion in different languages (cf. Talmy, 1985; for a critical review, see Zlatev, Blomberg and David, 2010):

- the motion event itself — a translocation from one location to another over a period of time,
- the figure involved in this motion — the voluntary or involuntary mover,
- the causer of the motion — the force causing the motion,
- the ground relative to which the figure moves,
- the direction or path of the motion in terms of the ground,
- the manner of motion,
- and co-events — an event or events accompanying the motion event.

These are illustrated for English by the constructed example in Figure 13, where I have provided a systemic functional structural analysis. In English, 'direction' (or 'path') and 'ground' may be construed by a combination of Process + Scope/ Range, either in a clause — as in *enter the house*; or in a miniature clause, i.e. a phrase — as in *into the house*: see Figure 12 (and cf. Figure 8 above). In a clause, the Process is realized by a lexical verb that combines 'direction' with 'motion'; in a phrase, the feature of 'direction' is on its own, realized by a preposition. In other words, verbs have greater capacity for lexicalizing features of motion than prepositions (and the same applies to adverbs [or intransitive prepositions] such as *in* in *he walked in*).

rank	clause	*he*	*entered*		*the house*
			'move'	'into'	
	phrase (prepositional)	—	—	*into*	*the house*
configuration		Medium	Process		Range
		'figure'	'move'	'direction' ('path')	'ground'

Figure 12: Construal of 'path' and 'ground' in English clause and phrase

One focus in typological studies has been on **lexicalization patterns**, following Talmy (1985). In English, the lexical verb may denote only motion itself, as with

move (cf. the quasi-system network in Figure 10 above); but other properties of motion may be lexicalized, e.g. manner (quality or means) — *walk*, *run*, *limp*; *bounce*, *rotate*; *ride*, *sail*; direction — *enter* ('move into'), *exit* ('move out of'); cause (agency) — *blow* ('move through wind'); phase — *start*, *continue*, *stop*; and ground — *deplane* (to use Talmy's, 1985, example). But here there is considerable variation across languages.

Muriel	*walked*	*her friends*	*leisurely*	*from the church over the bridge into the square,*	*commenting*	*on the places of interest along the way*
'causer'	'motion' + 'manner'	'figure'	'manner'	'path' (incorporating 'ground')	'co-event'	
Agent/ Initiator	Process	Medium/ Actor	Manner: quality	Place	Process	Matter
α [clause of motion event]					β [clause of co-event]	

Figure 13: Labels commonly used in typological work on motion illustrated and analysed systemic-functionally for English

Building on the work by Talmy (1985) and later developments by him (Talmy, 2000, 2007), Slobin (e.g. 1996, 2004a, 2004b) and related researchers, linguists have explored a distinction between "verb-framed" languages such as Spanish, French, Turkish and Japanese and "satellite-framed" ones such as English, German and Russian. Interpreted in systemic functional terms, the basic question here is how languages model the different properties of our experience of motion through space, and what the division of labour is between the process and circumstances in the model. The focus has been in particular on the ***manner*** of motion and on the ***direction*** of motion (or "path").

    In a "verb-framed" language, the direction of motion, or "path", may be construed as part of the process of motion with lexical verbs such as *entrar* 'move into' and *salir* 'move out of' in Spanish serving as Process, and can be configured with a circumstance of Place. Manner of motion can be construed separately, within a dependent clause, as illustrated by Figure 14 (a) — process: motion + direction and process: motion + manner thus being combined within a hypotactic clause nexus[18]. However, if the Process is realized by a verb denoting manner of motion, it cannot in general be configured with a representation of the path. In contrast, in a "satellite-framed" language such as English, this is possible, as illustrated by Figure 14 (b).

(a)

	La botella	*entró*	*a la cueva*	*(flotando)*
	the bottle	moved-in	to the case	(floating)
clause	Actor/ Medium	Process	Place	Process
clause nexus	α			β
	'figure'	'motion' + 'path'	'ground'	'motion' + 'manner'

(b)

	The bottle	*floated*	*into the cave*
clause	Actor/ Medium	Process	Place
clause nexus	α		
	'figure'	'motion' + 'manner'	'path'

Figure 14: Examples of construals of motion through space in Spanish, a "verb-framed" language, and English, a "satellite-framed" language, taken from Talmy (2007: 89) and analysed functionally here

Based on the research couched in Talmy's terms, Slobin (2004a) added a third type, "equipollently-framed" languages, to accommodate languages such as Chinese and Thai, which have been interpreted using constructions such "serial verb constructions" to represent different aspects of motion, as is illustrated by the example from Cantonese in Figure 15, taken from Matthews and Yip (1994: 147) and analysed here in functional terms. In this example manner and direction of motion are construed within a verbal group complex serving as the Process.

Dī	*sailouhjái*	*jáu-jó*	*yahp*	*heui*
CLASSIFIER	children	run-ASP: perfective	enter	go
Actor		Process		
		α	β	γ
		'manner'	'direction'	'direction: deictic'

Figure 15: Construal of motion in Cantonese with Process realized by verbal group complex combining verbs denoting manner of motion, direction of motion and deixis of motion

Reviewing the rich body of work exploring these different "frames" for construing human experience of motion, Beavers, Levin and Tham (2010) suggest that these types are better interpreted as **tendencies in coding**, noting that a given language is likely to use more than one model (as is indeed the case for English, which is said to be predominantly "satellite-framed"; cf. "satellite-framed" *move across the street* and "verb-framed" *cross the street*). They also make the important point that the way that languages represent motion through space lexicogrammatically simply follows from their general typological characteristics — a point that is very resonant with the systemic functional approach to "construing experience" (see e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999).

In my interpretation, one central aspect of variation across languages in how they construe motion through space (or indeed location in space) that seems not to have been discussed is the nature of the ideational mode of construing experience. As I noted above in reference to English (Section 3), the ideational metafunction has two modes of construing experience, (i) the **logical mode** and (ii) the **experiential mode** (see e.g. Halliday, 1979; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2013; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999), and these two modes complement one another; but the nature of the complementarity varies across languages (Matthiessen, 2004), and even within a particular language, like English, since the division of labour between the logical mode and the experiential mode is different in prototypically spoken language from prototypically written language (cf. Halliday, 1985, 1987; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999: Ch. 6). The logical and experiential modes of construal apply to all areas of experience, and as we move across languages we find that the division of labour between them in the construal of all areas of experience varies from one language to another; but I will focus on how our experience of motion through space may be construed logically and/ or experientially in different languages.

(i) In the **logical mode**, our experience of the world is construed **serially** as potentially infinite chains of phenomena related by a small number of logico-semantic relations such as time, cause and condition (see Section 3.3 above). For example, our experience of the flow of motion events may be construed into sequences of related events in the form of clause complexes. I have already given examples of how the resources of clause complexing are used in English to construe legs of journeys, as illustrated in Figure 6 above.

Complexes may also be formed at lower ranks; in terms of the construal of motion, we need to focus in particular on complexing of units at group/ phrase rank serving as Process, as Place or as Scope, and in the case of verbs at word rank.

Complexing of groups/ phrases serving as circumstances of Place is familiar from English, as illustrated in Section 3.3.2 above (e.g. the construal of a path by means of a complex of three prepositional phrases in *past the bus station, over the slight hill and down to the sandy bay of Nim Shue Wan*), and also by other languages that have been characterized as "satellite-framed".

Complexing of verbal groups serving as Process has been called "serial verb construction", and complexing of verbs within one verbal group has been called "verb compounding". I will start with serial verb constructions (for a general typological characterization, see Aikhenvald, 2005) — which is the deployment of verbal group complexes serving as Process within a simple clause (see Matthiessen, 2004). I have already given one example, taken from Cantonese: see Figure 15 above. Here different aspects of motion are serialized: manner → direction → direction: deictic. We find similar series in many languages; for example, in Thai, *he then climbed up on a big rock* would be construed as *he then climb → ascend → go on rock big* (cf. Patpong, 2005; for the typological context, see Beavers, Levin and Tham, 2010: 352). As we have seen in examples from English, the path may be construed logically by a complex of phrases and/ or adverbial groups serving as a circumstance of Place (cf. Figure 4 above); but in languages with "serial verb constructions", it may be construed by a verbal group complex serving as Process.

Let me give an illustration from a language I have worked on, Akan (a Kwa language within the Niger-Congo family, spoken primarily in Ghana): see Figure 16.

Kofí	*fi*	*Kumáse*	*kɔ́*	*Ǹkran*
Kofi	leaves	Kumase	go:to	Accra
Actor	Process$_1$	Scope$_1$	Process$_2$	Scope$_2$
	α		β	

Figure 16: Construal of process of motion with path in Akan

Here the process of motion is construed into a series of two movements, one relating to the source (Kumase) and the other to the destination (Accra). Each is configured with a circumstance-like participant, a Range/ Scope. But more extended paths are construed by extended verbal group complexes, as illustrated in Figure 17 by an example I have taken from Christaller (1875: § 109). Each verbal group consists of one lexical verb, a verb of motion. The first in the complex is marked for subject person and past tense (α: *ɔfii*). One of the verbs lexicalizes manner of motion (β: *guare*), but the others all specify direction (γ: *twaa* and δ: *baa*).

ɔfii	*Dodi*	*guare*	*twaa*	*Firaw*	*baa*	*Awurahai*
he:leave-PAST	Dodi	swim	cross	Volta	reach	Awurahai
Process$_1$	Scope$_1$	Process$_2$	Process$_3$	Scope$_2$	Process$_4$	Scope$_3$
α		β	γ		δ	
"From Dodi he swam across the Volta to Awurahai."						

Figure 17: Construal of process of motion with extended path
in Akan by means of a verbal group complex serving as Process

Verbal complexing also occurs one rank below group rank at word rank; this type has been called "verb compounding" or "root serialization". (The line between complexing at group rank and at word rank is, naturally, fuzzy; for some discussion, see Aikhenvald, 2005: 37-39. From a systemic functional point of view, "serialization" and "compounding" are simply manifestations of the same principle of logical organization, viz. complexing.) For example, both Japanese and Korean have been described as using verb compounding to represent processes of motion as a series of motion verbs, as illustrated by the Korean example in Figure 18. This example is very similar to the Cantonese one given in Figure 15 above: manner — direction — direction: deictic.

John-i	*pang-ey*	*ttwui-e*	*tul-e*	*o-ass-ta*
John-SUBJ	room-LOC	run-CONNECTION	enter-CONNECTION	come-PAST-DECL
Actor	Place	Process		
		γ	β	α
"John came into the room running." That is: "John ran into the room."				

Figure 18: Construal of process of motion in Korean by means of
verb compounding (example taken from Choi and Bowerman, 1991)

(ii) In the **experiential mode**, our experience of the world is construed **configurationally** as organic wholes composed of a small number of parts related to one another in distinct roles (as illustrated in Figure 7 above; see Section 3). Thus, our experience of the flow of events is construed into quanta of change modelled as configurations of process + participants or process + participants + circumstances in the form of clauses. Here languages vary with respect to how they divide the semiotic labour of construing features of our experience of space; for example:

- direction of motion may be construed within processes or within circumstances;
- direction of motion may also construed within participants, implied by facets of the entities serving as participants;
- manner of motion may be construed within processes or within circumstances.

As just noted, the direction of motion may be construed with the help of a specification of what part of a participant is "targeted" by means of a facet noun, as illustrated for Akan in Figure 19. This noun serves to localize the participant relative to the process of motion (cf. Halliday and McDonald, 2004, on "postnouns" in Chinese).

Ananse	*kɔɔ*	*onyankopɔn*	*hɔ*
Ananse	go:to-PAST	God	side
Medium/ Actor	Process	Range/ Scope	
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	
		Thing	Facet
"Ananse went to God."			

**Figure 19: Example of a 'material' clause of motion in Akan
with a 'faceted' nominal group as Range/ Scope**

In the experiential mode, the phenomena of our experience are construed into taxonomies, which distil or synthesize extensive domains of experience. These taxonomies can be quite complex, involving simultaneous classificatory principles; they are typically multi-dimensional (as illustrated by Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, for items of clothing). Languages vary considerably with respect to the taxonomic elaboration of different domains of experience, and this is true also of our experience of motion through space. While taxonomies of motion are usually thought of as lexical taxonomies of verbs of motion involving hyponymy, they are actually lexicogrammatical in nature, involving grammar as well as lexis and covering not only hyponymy but also meronymy. In many languages, such taxonomies involve not on the Process but also the Medium, as illustrated by the difference in the properties of *bounce + ball* and *stroll + boy*, i.e. between process: manner + medium: characteristically inanimate and process: manner + medium characteristically animate. But other elements of the clause are also relevant, in particular Range/ Scope and Place. Thus the combination of the Process with either

of these elements enable speakers to adjust the delicacy of focus, ranging from a whole journey to a detailed act of movement:

> **Walk** around Glodok […] **Walk** straight on past a Chinese shopping centre on your right towards the canal (Kali Besar)

> **Take** a *walk* down the Royal Mile for a choice of woollens, tartans, cashmere and kiltmakers, to see bagpipes and chanters in the making, to discover an enclave of fashion at the corner of Jeffrey Street.

> Then **take** a guided *tour* of a 1995s side-wind trawler, the Ross Tiger.

> go on some of the amazing *walks* around the hills

Nominalizations such as *walk*, *drive*, *flight*, *journey*, *tour* can represent extended episodes involving movement through space, and they often serve as a Range/ Scope element configured with a Process realized by a very general verb such as *take*.

   All languages probably construe human experience of motion through space by means of a mixture of the logical and experiential modes. As in the construal of other domains of experience, these two modes complement one another. However, languages vary considerably in how the two modes of construal complement each other. This variation is manifested in a number of different ways:

- Experiential — monoclausal vs. logical — multiclausal: in construing the same flow of movement, languages may represent by means of a simple clause or by means of a complex of clauses;
- Experiential depth — low systemic elaboration vs. high systemic elaboration of processes of motion: in construing experiential distinctions among processes of motion, languages range from construing very general distinctions by means of a small number of verbs to construing very delicate distinctions by means of a large number of verbs;
- Location of logical expansion — processual complexing vs. circumstantial complexing: in construing different aspects of motion, languages may engender complexing within the process or within locative circumstances.

These different areas of variation are, not surprisingly, related. Let me illustrate this point in reference to **experiential depth** — the degree of systemic elaboration of processes of motion — and logical expansion of processes — complexing of verbal groups, using English and Kalam as examples.

   In English, the domain of motion is highly elaborated within the experiential lexicogrammar. This is reflected in the systemic elaboration of material processes of motion, sketched in Figure 10 above. The taxonomy set out in Figure 10 only involves in few steps in delicacy, but each taxonomic node represents a set of anything from a handful of verbs to well over one hundred (see the sample in Table 7 above). When we begin to differentiate the senses of all these verbs of motion, we will have to extend the account considerably in delicacy, setting up simultaneous systems representing intersecting dimensions (cf. Hasan's, 1987, description of

another area within the lexicogrammar of material clauses). For example, English has a number of verbs with the general sense of 'walk in a relaxed manner', including: *amble*, *mosey*, *saunter*, *stroll*. And verbs that are not originally verbs of motion can be pressed into service, in particular to specify the manner of motion, as in:

> I **groped** *my way* <u>towards my usual chair in the corner</u> while Nannie went to the sideboard and brought out a decanter of sherry and some wine-glasses.

> The old woman pointed upwards interrogatively and, on my aunt's nodding, **proceeded to toil** <u>up the narrow staircase</u> <u>before us</u>, her bowed head being scarcely above the level of the bannister-rail.

Wordings with *way* as the Head/ Thing of a nominal group serving as Range/ Scope make it possible to expand the resources for specifying manner of motion, even "incorporating" co-events:

> He shrieked and screamed and rolled around, **Laughed** *his way* <u>right out of town</u>.

> Maurice **laughed** *her way* <u>back to the car</u>.

In contrast, some languages may have very small stocks of verbs of motion, all of which are very general rather than very specific. One such language is Kalam, illuminated by Pawley's (e.g. 1987, 2005) descriptions. Kalam has around 130 verb roots (with around 400 senses; see Pawley, 2005: fn 7), only some of which are "verbs of locomotion". Instead of construing elaborate experiential taxonomies of processes, Kalam construes the flow of events analytically in the logical mode, creating extended complexes both at clause rank — clause complexes ("clause chaining"), and at group rank — verbal group complexes ("serial verb constructions"). Pawley (1987: 353-354) gives an example from Kalam involving complexing, shown in Figure 20; the English translation he provides is the simple clause *the man threw a stick over the fence into the garden*, which is analysed in Figure 21. Referring to the English version, Pawley (1987: 353-354) characterizes the Kalam way of construing the flow of events as follows:

> In Kalam such an 'event' must be encoded as an episode, a sequence of four conceptual events: (1) the man takes hold of the stick, (2) the stick is thrown, (3) it flies over the fence, (4) it falls into the garden. These may be compacted into three surface clauses, as in [Figure 20, CMIMM].

The process of throwing in English is, arguably, on the periphery of processes of motion — being interpretable as a process of placement (cf. Figure 3 above). However, in the logical mode of analytical construal of experience deployed by Kalam, motion is clearly part of the complex picture, with *am* 'it-went' and *yowp* 'it-fell'.

B	mon-day	**d**	**yokek**	waty	at	**amb**	wog-mgan	**yowp**
man	stick	**hold**	he-**displaced**-DIFFERENT SUBJECT	fence	above	it-**went**	garden-inside	it-**fell**
		β	α					
γ				β		α		
"The man threw the stick over the fence into the garden."								

Figure 20: Kalam complex of three clauses corresponding to an English simple clause with an experientially specific verb as Process (*throw*) and a prepositional phrase complex as Place (verbs in bold)

the man	*threw*	*a stick*	*over the fence*	*into the garden*
Agent/ Actor	Process	Medium/ Goal	Place	
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	prepositional phrase (complex)	
			α	β

Figure 21: Experiential transitivity analysis of Pawley's (1987: 353) suggested English translation equivalent of the Kalam clause complex in Figure 20

English and Kalam thus illustrate the contrast between the experiential construal of process taxonomies of considerable degree of delicacy and the logical construal of analytic sequences of processes and/ or events[19]. This contrast is related to another important difference between the experiential and logical modes of construing experience. Pawley (2005) contrasts Kalam with English with respect to what I above called the **delicacy of focus** in construing the flow of events:

> To report certain kinds of routine episodes, English speakers commonly use a metonymic strategy, in that one or two component acts stand for the whole episode, with the remaining acts taken as understood, e.g. *What did you do this morning? — I went to the supermarket* or *I went to the doctor …* or *I gathered firewood* (where *gathering* is understood as implying a normal routine, in which the gatherer went out, found, picked up, brought back and stored the firewood).
>
> By contrast, Kalam favors a more explicitly analytic strategy, in which several component acts are mentioned. It is possible, and indeed common, to represent such routine event sequences by a series of verbs packed into a single clause-like construction. In example (1) [adapted here as Figure 22, CMIMM] such a construction containing seven verb roots describes a routine sequence associated with making a camp for the night. (In all example texts, **verb roots** and their **glosses** both appear in **bold face**. […])
>
> A fairly literal English translation of (1) would occupy several clauses: 'They went and gathered firewood and brought it, made a fire and slept.' However, a free translation might simply say, 'They gathered firewood for the night', where the act of gathering can, in context, be understood as implying the associated acts.

Kik	am	mon	pu-wk	d	ap	agi	kn-ya-k.
they	go	wood	hit-smash	get	come	ignite	sleep-3PL-PAST

Figure 22: Clause in Kalam with verbal complexing

The contrast between English and Kalam illustrates one manifestation of the variation in the complementarity of the logical and experiential modes of constructing human experience of motion (and of other domains as well): English relies more on the experiential mode, whereas Kalam relies more on the logical mode.

As indicated by the discussion above, we can make a contribution to typological studies of how languages construe motion both by drawing on detailed systemic functional descriptions of particular languages and by interpreting and re-interpreting findings from the typological literature in systemic functional terms. We have been working on both fronts. In addition, we have been attending to the construal of space within a different area within multilingual studies (cf. Matthiessen, Teruya and Wu, 2008) — viz. within translation studies. Focussing initially on narratives of journeys, we have been investigating how an original text in English is translated into a number of different languages, choosing these to obtain some degree of typological spread. Here I will only illustrate the findings of this research. I will use our investigation of translations of J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*.

One of the findings is, not surprisingly, that translations from the English original differ in how they represent combinations of 'manner' and 'direction' of motion. Let me take the clause *slowly and painfully they clambered down* as an example. Here manner is construed both processually (*clambered*) and circumstantially (*slowly and painfully*) and direction is construed processually by means of the adverbial particle *down* that forms part of the phrasal verb *clamber down*: see Figure 23 (a). As can be seen in the same figure, the translations into other languages all differ from the original in interesting ways — (b) into Spanish, (c) into Japanese and (d) into Chinese[20]:

- In the Spanish translation, the English clause is chunked into two clauses linked to one another in a hypotactic clause nexus (see Figure 24); that is, the manner and direction components of motion are distributed over two clauses.
- In the Japanese translation, the English clause is translated as one clause, but the Process is realized by a sequence of two motion events; both are concerned with direction, but the second includes a deictic feature.
- In the Chinese translation, the English clause is similarly translated as one clause with a sequence of motion events as the Process; the Chinese sequence consists of three verbs — one of manner and two of direction, the last one of which is deictic.

(a) English original

Slowly and painfully	*they*	*clambered*		*down*
Manner	Medium/ Actor	Process		
adverbial group	nominal group	verbal group		
		Finite/	Event [manner]	Event-extension [direction]

(b) Spanish translation

	Lenta y penosamente	∅	*bajaron*	*gateando*	*en las sombras,*	*a tientas*
	slowly and painfully		lower-PAST-'they'	crawl-PRES. PART.	in the shadows	gropingly (idiom)
clause nexus	α			β		
clause	Manner	Medium/ Actor	Process	Process	Place	Manner
	adv. group	nominal group	verbal group	verbal group	prep. phrase	prep. phrase
			Event [direction]	Event [manner]		
	"slowly and painfully they descended"			"crawling gropingly in the shadows"		

(c) Japanese translation

Hutari wa	*hau yoo ni*	*shita ni*	*orite*	*ikimashita.*
both WA	like crawling	down NI	descend-TE	go-POLITE-PAST
Medium/ Actor	Manner	Place	Process	
			verbal group	
			α	β
			Event [direction]	Event [direction: deictic]
"they descended as if crawling"				

(d) Chinese translation

他們	緩慢、	艱辛	地	爬	下	去,
tamen	*huan man*	*jian xin*	*de*	*pa*	*xia*	*qu*
they	slowly	difficult	MANNER	climb	descend	go
Medium/ Actor	Manner			Process		
nominal group	adverbial group			verbal group (complex)		
				α	β	γ
				Event [manner]	Event [direction]	Event [direction: deictic]
"they climbed slowly and with difficulty"						

Figure 23: Translation of (a) material clause of motion in English (from *The Lord of the Rings*) into (b) enhancing clause nexus of two material clauses of motion in Spanish, (c) material clause with verb complex in Japanese, and (d) material clause with verbal group complex in Chinese (Mandarin)
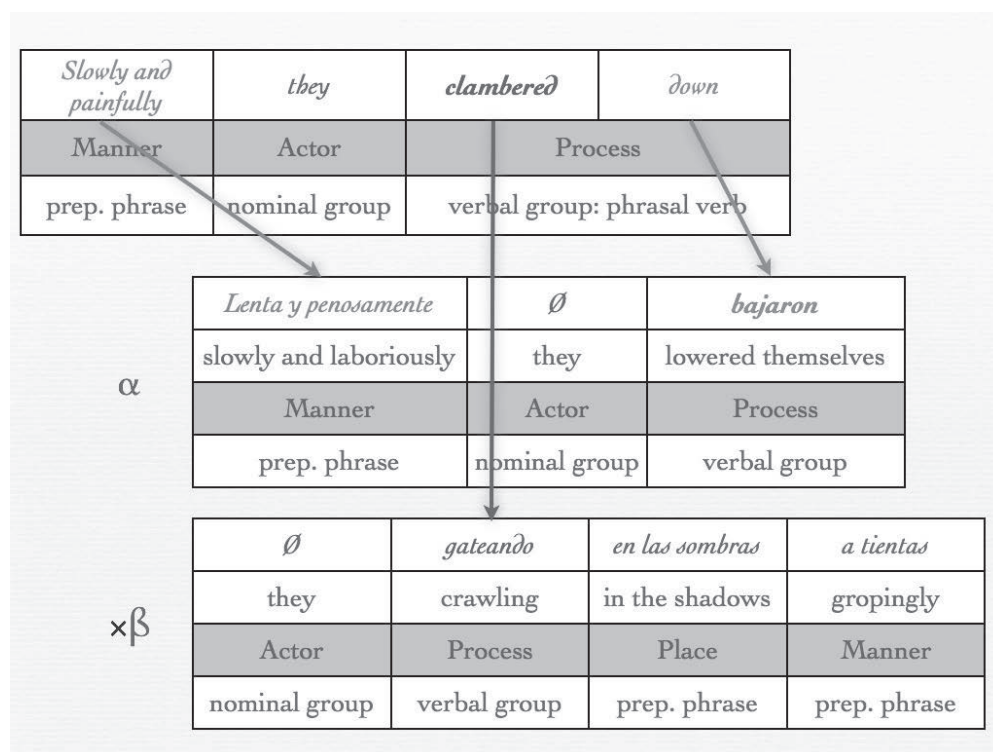
Figure 24: Spanish translation of *slowly and painfully they clambered down*

The example in Figure 23 is of course only illustrative; but the differences among the original and the translations do reflect systemic differences among the languages. These systemic differences relate to general tendencies in the lexicogrammars of English, Spanish, Japanese and Chinese in their ways of construing human experience of the flow of events. The analysis of translations into different languages is thus a good way of complementing system-based comparison and typology — as has also been shown by Slobin and his colleagues e.g. in their investigations of translations of J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Hobbit*.

6. Abstract space

Before I conclude this overview of our systemic functional research into the language of space, let me also briefly mention our research into **abstract space**. The premise is this: space is a richly structured phenomenal domain, and our human experience of it is similarly richly structured; the linguistic model we construe of our experience of space is a powerful resource that allows us both to make sense of our perception of space and to navigate around space. Precisely because it is a powerful resource, it can serve as a ***model for construing other domains of experience*** — our experience of time is an obvious example, but it turns out that the model extends far beyond our experience of space-time in physical systems. It can serve to construe the outcome of change in general (cf. *up* and *out* in *use up*, *run out*); but it can also be a resource for construing abstract realms of experience (as Whorf, 1956, pointed out many years ago). This amounts to what scholars outside linguistics may think as "spatial cognition in non-spatial domains".

In an important contribution based on and extending the systemic functional description of circumstances of location in space (e.g. Halliday, 1994: Ch. 5; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999; 2004: Ch. 5), Dreyfus & Jones (2008) propose a cline from concrete space to abstract space: physical [geographical (e.g. *in the Daly River area*), locational (e.g. *in in dormitories*), general (e.g. *in the painting*)] — physiological (e.g. *into my mouth*) — meteorological (e.g. *in Cyclone Tracy*) — occupational (e.g. *in traditionally male jobs*) — social [familial (e.g. *from my family*), cultural (e.g. *in society*)] — mental [cognition (e.g. *on his decisions*), perception (e.g. *in my sight*), emotion (e.g. *in all the excitement attached to this tragic war*), desideration (e.g. *in the American dream*)] — metaphorical [lexical (e.g. *from the dark and desolate valley of segregation*), grammatical (e.g. *upon the soldiers' mateship*)]. In terms of phenomenal realms, we can see that this cline extends from the two realms of matter to the two realms of meaning (cf. Halliday, 2005) — from physical systems to semiotic ones, via biological and social ones.

One interesting issue is, of course, how far the category of "place" — of location in space — is extended in the grammar. One criterion comes from the grammar itself: it is still a circumstance of Place if it can be probed by *where* or referred to by *there / here*. On this criterion, *into the hall* is a circumstance of Place in *she looked into the hall* since we would say *where she looked was into the hall*; and similarly: *toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience* in *powerful forces will take us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience* since we would say *where powerful forces will take us is toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience*. By the same token, various circumstances realized by

prepositional phrases involving prepositions that were originally spatial are non-locative, e.g. *on all fours* in *he moved on all fours* since we would say *how he moved was on all fours* rather than *where he moved was on all fours*.

In systemic functional linguistics, a group of us started exploring the language of "abstract space" over two decades ago (Ruqaiya Hasan, Michael Halliday, Carmel Cloran, Jim Martin, David Butt and myself); and, in 2009, another group of us picked this up at PolyU within the PolySystemic Research Group as part of our investigation of the language of space and since then we have extended the research group (Michael Halliday, Xu Xunfeng, Abhishek Kumar Kashyap, Joe Chen, Kazuhiro Teruya, and myself). Central research questions include: what are the features that "trigger" an abstract interpretation of a representation of space (e.g. an abstract entity as Medium, as in *stocks fell*)? what representational resources of the concrete model of space are carried over to the construal of abstract realms of experience?

The construal of abstract realms of experience in terms the linguistic model of our experience of concrete space is part of a more general semogenic strategy: languages construe abstract phenomenal realms based on models that have originally evolved for construing our experience of the material realm — the realm that is accessible to our sensory systems. For example, alongside *demolish* as Process configured with a Medium realized by a nominal group denoting a concrete entity, as in

> It will be necessary to **demolish** *sections of this historic building* and to fell almost 300 trees in the adjacent Schlossgarten, many of which are very old. [COCA]

> Although bankrupt in the late 1990s, Khan had enough money by 2007 to **demolish** *his red-brick rambler in a working-class neighborhood in Alexandria*, erect a 3,765-square foot house on the same lot, and fill its stone-covered driveway with luxury cars, prosecutors and court filings say. [COCA]

we find it configured with a Medium realized by a nominal group denoting some kind of abstraction, e.g.:

> In 1755, when an earthquake and tsunami killed tens of thousands in Lisbon, the tragedy had a lasting impact on Western thought: It helped **demolish** *the complacent optimism of the day*. [COCA]
> But before I could, I had to **demolish** *five of the myths that hold skinny guys back*. [COCA]

Thus the extension of the material model of space to abstract realms is part of a general semogenic strategy. It is quite pervasive in the lexicogrammar of English and in those of other languages. It includes "live metaphors" based on the spatial model, as in:

> Occasionally he **fell into** a waking, gritty-eyed stupor; but he never slept. [Brown 1]

> Then we saw a change in his personality - he **came out of** his shell. [ACE_A]

but it also includes many cases where spatial expressions have become part of the resources for marking non-spatial categories, as in the case of various types of circumstance such as manner, cause and matter; e.g.:

[cause: reason:]

Out of gratitude we offer ourselves to bear the Cross, receive the blows, suffer in order that the oppressed may be set free, and we witness to Jesus Christ. [ACE_D]

[manner: means:]

The machine quack makes his Rube Goldberg devices out of odds and ends of metals, wires, and radio parts. [Brown 1]

The pervasiveness of the spatial model in the construal of more abstract realms of experience has been brought out by the research into (mainly lexical) metaphor in the last three decades or so. One of the various interesting areas is the extension of paths to paths of vision, investigated by Slobin (2008) in different languages (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen, 2013: 302).

As we have found in our research, some registers depend centrally on the strategy of extending the model of concrete space to more abstract realms of experience. Financial discourse is full of representations of abstract space, as illustrated by the extract in Text 5.

Text 5: Extract from financial report deploying material model of motion through space in construal of changes in financial indicators

Dow **Surges** 172.54; Builders, Retail Rally

By PETER A. MCKAY and GEOFFREY ROGOW

Housing and consumer stocks led a broad rally amid good news for home builders and retailers.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average **rebounded** from four days of losses to finish up 172.54 points, or 2.1%, *at* 8472.40, its biggest gain since June 1. Of its 30 components, all but one **rose**, led by American Express, *up* 6.6%. Bank of America was unchanged.

Investors shrugged off a Labor Department report that the number of workers filing initial claims for unemployment benefits **rose** in the week ended June 20 and the number of continuing claims **climbed**.

Stocks **fell** at the open but the recovery was swift as investors focused on Bed Bath & Beyond's earnings report after Wednesday's close, which topped analysts' expectations, and home builder Lennar's report of a ***jump*** in orders.

The Standard & Poor's 500-stock index **rose** 2.1% *to* 920.26, **putting** it back in positive territory for the year, *up* 1.9%. Every sector posted gains.

> The consumer-discretionary sector, which includes home builders, **rose** 3.5%. Lennar posted a wider quarterly loss but reported a 63% increase in orders. Its shares **jumped** more than 17%. […]

This kind of discourse depends centrally on construing economic measures in terms of vertical locations in an abstract space and changes in terms of movements in this space (cf. Whorf, 1956; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999: 276-278).

Vertical locations and movements between them are also important in the construal of other abstract realms of experience, including realms invoked in various kinds of religious discourse, as illustrated by the extract in Text 6.

Text 6: Extract from *The Astral Plane*

> It will save the student much trouble if he learns at once to regard these auras not as mere emanations, but as the actual manifestation of the Ego on their respective PLANES —if he understands that it is the auric egg which is the real man, not the physical body which on this PLANE crystallizes in the MIDDLE of it. So long as the reincarnating Ego *remains **upon*** the PLANE which is his true home in the arupa LEVELS of Devachan, the body which he *inhabits* is the Karana Sharira, but when he **descends *into*** the rupa LEVELS he must, in order to be able to function ***upon*** them, clothe himself in their matter; and the matter that he thus attracts to himself furnishes his devachanic or mind-body. Similarly, **descending *into*** the astral PLANE he forms his astral or karmic body out of its matter, though of course still retaining all the other bodies, and on his still further **descent *to*** this lowest PLANE of all the physical body is formed in the MIDST of the auric egg, which thus *contains* the entire man. Fuller accounts of these auras will be found in Transaction No. 18 of the London Lodge, and in a recent article of mine in The Theosophist, but enough has been said here to show that as they all occupy the same SPACE (which by the way they share also with the physical health-aura), […]

But we do not have to wander into religious or philosophical discourse to find examples of spatial models of abstract realms of experience used extensively; we find such models in all sorts of discourse[21], including speeches operating in the 'elaborating' sector designed to shape public opinion, as illustrated by the extract in Text 7 of Lyndon Johnson's famous *Great Society* speech given to students at the University of Michigan on the 22nd of May 1964. In this speech, Johnson talks about the Great Society in terms of construction and space: it is, as it were, a place to be built above us. He draws on various aspects of the model of abstract space: people's plans are construed as destinations they move towards, moving forward is positive, and moving upward is even better. His speech thus also illustrates the connection between abstract space and dimensions of evaluation. At the same time, he draws on the connection between concrete space and abstract space — a connection made possible precisely because abstract realms of experience are construed in terms of the model of concrete space, e.g. in a passage following the extract in Text 7:

> Today the FRONTIER of imagination and innovation is <u>inside those cities</u> and not <u>beyond their borders</u>.

The *frontier of imagination and innovation* in the abstract realm echoes the concrete frontier of the expansion of the U.S. in the 19th century.

Text 7: Extract from Lyndon Johnson's *Great Society* speech[22]

[…] The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and **elevate** our national life, and **to advance** the quality of our American civilization.

Your imagination and your initiative and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions ***are buried*** under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity **to move** not only toward the right society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

The Great Society *rests on* abundance and liberty for all. It demands and end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning.

The Great Society is a PLACE where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. […]

Within your lifetime powerful forces, already loosed, will **take** us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience, almost beyond the bounds of our imagination.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I have been concerned with "the language of space"; more specifically, I have reported on a long-term informal systemic functional research programme where a number of us have been engaged in illuminating the construal of human experience of space in language — and in different languages, also taking account at certain points of semiotic systems other than language.

The research programme consists of a number of complementary components, including:

- the theoretical conception of our semiotic construal of our experience of space as a property of physical systems;
- the investigation of the interaction between the semiotic construal of our experience of space with the social construction of space and the biological engagement with space;
- the description of the linguistic models of space inherent in different languages and, based on such descriptions, linguistic comparison and typology (including comparison based on original and translated texts);
- the analysis of the representation of space in texts belonging to different registers where space is a prominent feature (e.g. topographic reports, topographic procedures, narratives of journeys);
- the study of the complementary representation of space in language and other semiotic systems (e.g. language and maps, language and gesture).

There are many theoretical and applied reasons for conducting research into the language of space. To me, a key theoretical reason is this. Taking the systemic functional insight (e.g. Halliday, 1973) that semantics is an "interlevel" very seriously, we can strive to develop semantic models of space that can be calibrated — and tested — against models of space that lie outside language, like the models needed for the successful operation of robots: see Bateman et al. (2010).

The language of space is an area that has attracted a great deal of research interest outside SFL, and it might be argued that for that very reason we should leave to work to be continued along the lines of the very productive and insightful scholarship that has already been established. However, I think SFL can make very central and unique contributions to our understanding of the language of space; and my overview has been designed to indicate ways in which this can happen. These include (i) the holistic view of language and other semiotic systems in an ordered typology of systems, (ii) the orientation towards the systemic organization of language as a resource for making meaning, (iii) the conception of semantics as an interlevel, and (iv) the account of the logical and experiential modes as complementary ways of construing our experience.

Notes

[1] Characterization from the Wikipedia entry on "space".

[2] This is a simplified version of the kind of representation used in frame-based inheritance network: see Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) for the use of such network in the representation of systemic functional descriptions of meaning, and for the relationship between such networks and system networks.

[3] What Levinson and Wilkins (2006) call "basic locative constructions" are typically rendered in English as locative circumstantial attributive relational clauses such as *On the left of the park lies the Exhibition Centre which covers a massive 25,000 square metres of column-free space under the one roof.*. Here the Process is a "postural" verb (*lie*, other common ones being *sit*, *stand*, *hang*) — a more specific version of the verb *be* (for the difference between locative attributive clauses and existential ones, see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 241).

[4] That is, while "construction" is a feature of the syntagmatic axis of language, "competing" is — in contrast — a property of the paradigmatic axis; it relates to the range of options provided by the system of language (cf. Halliday, 1969).

[5] But a number of verbs such as *lead* that would appear to serve in clauses of cause motion pattern like *put* and *throw* rather than like *move*. While we can say both *the nanny walked the children into the nursery* and *the children walked into the nursery*, we can only say *the nanny led the children into the nursery* but not *the children led into the nursery*.

[6] Source: http://www.lyricstime.com/johnny-cash-highway-patrolman-lyrics.

[7] Source: Spurrier, Pete. 2008. *The leisurely hiker's guide to Hong Kong.* Hong Kong: FormAsia Books.

[8] Compare examples of hypotactic complexes: The path *follows* a stream alongside the foundations of old squatter villages, finally *passing* under two curtains of aerial banyan roots *to emerge* beside a ramshackle Tin Hau temple.

[9] This complex is actually a combination of two complexes, interrupted by a description of Government House; but I have combined these to complexes into one for the purpose of illustration.

[10] From David Messent (2003), *Seven Days in Sydney.* Sydney: David Messent Photography. pp. 90-93.

[11] This line of investigation is in a sense the reverse of a common methodology in the study of the construal of motion in different languages — a methodology we might call the "frog story approach" (see e.g. Slobin, 2004a). In this approach, people are shown a series of drawings or photographs or a video representing one or more characters moving through space, and they are asked to report on the movements either in real-time or afterwards. In other words, the direction is from perception to language. In our complementary approach, the direction is from language to execution: we investigate how instructions are executed, taking note of the affordances of the material setting.

[12] Interestingly, we do not find hypotactic verbal group complexes in English with series of verbs of motion of the kind that is common in languages with "serial verb constructions" such as Chinese (cf. the Cantonese clause analysed in Figure 15), Thai and other languages in South-East Asia and Akan (cf. the Akan clause analysed in Figure 16) and other languages in West Africa. Instead we find some expansion of lexical verbs in the form of phrasal verbs (e.g. manner + path: *climb up / down*), and complexing of adverbial groups/ prepositional phrases.

[13] Circumstances of space are, naturally enough, often configured the processes representing movement through or rest in space; but they may, of course, also occur in clauses of other process types. One interesting type is that of 'perception', in either 'mental' or 'behavioural' clauses, where the direction of vision may be construed circumstantially: *look across the courtyard into the building opposite ...*

[14] Some of them can be thought of as "intransitive" prepositional phrases; see Halliday and Matthiessen (2013) and references therein.

[15] In my presentation, I have not included metaphorical variants; but we may note a reasonably common metaphor involving phasal verb as Process plus nominalized verb of motion as Scope, as with *begin + ascent* in: *while John* [Process:] *began* [Scope:] *the ascent of the main pitch ~ while John began to ascend the main pitch*.

[16] There is also some potential for specification of manner through derivational expansion of the verb, as with *frog-march* in **Frog-marched** *off the airplane* at *1:48 p.m., the Beardens were held in bail of $100,000 each on charges of kidnapping and transporting a stolen plane across state lines* (Brown_1).

[17] One chapter in *7 Days in Sydney*, comprising 2,887 words.

[18] But this option would appear to be less likely to be taken up. In his study of translation from English into Spanish and other "verb-framed" languages, Slobin (2004b) found that specifications of manner in the English original were often left out in the translated version.

[19] The English version also involves the logical mode, but in a much more restricted way: this is the complexing of prepositional phrases to construe the path of the motion of the stick (see Halliday and Matthiessen, 2013: Section 8.4): *over the fence into the garden*.

[20]In contrast with the translations into Spanish, Japanese and Chinese, the translation into Swedish — another Germanic language, is much closer to the original: *långsamt och med smärta klättrade de nedåt*, literally: "slowly and with pain climbed they down" (J.R.R. Tolkien, *Sagan om konungens återkomst*, translated by Åke Ohlmarks, Gebers, 1961, p. 226).

[21]Including of course linguistic discourse about language; see e.g. Matthiessen (1992) on spatial modelling of the textual metafunction.

[22] Source: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/lbjthegreatsociety.htm

References

Aikhenvald, A.Y. (2005) 'Serial verb constructions in typological perspective'. In R.M.W. Dixon, and A.Y. Aikhenvald (eds), *Serial Verb Constructions: a cross-linguistic typology.* 1-68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bateman, J.A., Hois, J., Ross, R. and Tenbrink, T. (2010) A linguistic ontology of space for natural language processing. *Artificial Intelligence* 174: 1027–1071.

Bateman, J.A., Kasper, R., Moore, J. and Whitney, R. (1990) *A General Organization of Knowledge for Natural Language Processing: the Penman Upper Model.* Information Sciences Institute, University of Southern California.

Beavers, J., Levin, B. and Shiao Wei Tham. (2010) The typology of motion expressions revisited. *Journal Linguistics* 46: 331–377.

Bergen, B.K. (2012) *Louder than Words: The New Science of How Minds Make Meaning.* New York: Basic Books.

Bickerton, D. (1995) *Language and Human Behaviour.* London: University College London Press.

Choi, S. and Bowerman, M. (1991) 'Learning to express motion events in English and Korean: the influence of language-specific lexicalization patterns'. In B. Levin, and S. Pinker (eds), *Lexical & Conceptual Semantics.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Christaller, J.G. (1875) *A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language called Tshi [Chwee, Twi]: based on the Akuapem dialect.* Reprinted in 2007 by Kessinger Publishing.

Christian, D. (2004) *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History.* Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.

Deacon, T. (1997) *The Symbolic Species: The Co-evolution of Language and the Human Brain.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Dixon, R.M.W. (2005) *A Semantic Approach to English Grammar.* Second edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dreyfus, S. and Jones, P. (2008) Making sense of place: further descriptions of circumstance of location.
[From:http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1183&context=artspapers ix/09]

Hall, E.T. (1966) *The Hidden Dimension.* Anchor Books.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1969) Options and functions in the English clause. *Brno Studies in English* 8: 81-8. Reprinted in M.A.K. Halliday, (2005) *Studies in English Language.* Volume 7 in the Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday, edited by J.J. Webster. London & New York: Continuum. Chapter 4: 154-163.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1973) *Explorations in the Functions of Language.* London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1979) 'Modes of meaning and modes of expression: types of grammatical structure and their determination by different semantic functions'. In D. J.Allerton, E. Carney and D. Holdcroft (eds), *Function and Context in Linguistic Analysis: A Festschrift for William Haas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 57-79. Reprinted in M.A.K. Halliday, (2002) *On Grammar*. Volume 1 of Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday. Edited by J.J. Webster, London & New York: Continuum. Chapter 8: 196-218.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1985) *Spoken and Written Language*. Geelong, Vic.: Deakin University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1987) 'Language and the order of nature'. In A. Durant , D. Attridge, N. Fabb and C. MacCabe (eds), *The Linguistics of Writing*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 135-154. Reprinted in M.A.K. Halliday 2003. *On Language and Linguistics*. Volume 3 of Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday. Edited by J. J. Webster, London & New York: Continuum. Chapter 5: 116-138.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1988) 'On the language of physical science'. In M. Ghadessy, (ed.), *Registers of Written English: Situational Factors and Linguistic Features*. London & New York: Pinter Publishers. 162-178.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1995) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 2nd edition. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1995) 'On language in relation to the evolution of human consciousness'. In S. Allén, (ed.), *Of Thoughts and Words: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 92 "The Relation between Language and Mind", Stockholm, 8-12 August 1994*. Singapore, River Edge N.J. & London: Imperial College Press. 45-84.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1996) 'On grammar and grammatics'. In R. Hasan, C. Cloran, and D. Butt (eds), *Functional Descriptions: Theory into Practice*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 1-38. Reprinted in Halliday, M.A.K. (2002) *On Grammar*. Volume 1 of Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday. Edited by J.J. Webster, London & New York: Continuum. Chapter 15: 384-417.

Halliday, M.A.K. (2005) On matter and meaning: the two realms of human experience. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences* 1.1: 59-82.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1976) *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1985) *Language, Context and Text: A Social Semiotic Perspective*. Geelong, Vic.: Deakin University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (1999) *Construing Experience through Meaning: A Language-based Approach to Cognition*. London: Cassell. Republished in 2006. London & New York: Continuum.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2013) *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Hasan, R. (1985) 'Meaning, context and text: fifty years after Malinowski.' In D. James, J.D Benson, and W.S Greaves (eds), *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex. 16-50.

Hasan, R. (1987) 'The grammarian's dream: lexis as most delicate grammar'. In M.A.K. Halliday and R.P. Fawcett, (eds), *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics: Theory and Description*. London: Pinter. 184-211.

Lemmens, M. (2005) 'Motion and location: toward a cognitive typology'. In G. Girard-Gillet (ed.), *Parcours linguistique. Domaine anglais.* [Travaux 122 du Cierec] Publication de l'Université St Etienne. 223-244.

Levin, B. (1993) *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Levinson, S.C. and Wilkins, D.P. (eds) (2006) *Grammars of Space: Explorations in Cognitive Diversity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Linde, C. and Labov, W. (1975) Spatial networks as a site for the study of language and thought. *Language* 51(4): 924–939.

Longacre, R.E. (1985) 'Sentences as combinations of clauses'. In T. Shopen (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Descriptions: III Complex constructions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 235-287.

McNeill, D.(ed.) (2000) *Language and Gesture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McNeill, D. (2005) *Gesture and Thought.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (1991) 'Lexico(grammatical) choice in text-generation'. In C.Paris, W.Swartout, and W.C. Mann, (eds) *Natural Language Generation in Artificial Intelligence and Computational Linguistics.* Boston: Kluwer. 249-292.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (1992) 'Interpreting the textual metafunction'. In M. Davies and L. Ravelli (eds) *Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice.* London: Pinter. 37-82.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (1998) "The TRANSITIVITY of space in topographic procedures." MS.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2006) 'Educating for advanced foreign language capacities: Exploring the meaning-making resources of languages systemic-functionally'. In H. Byrnes (ed.) *Advanced Instructed Language Learning: The Complementary Contribution of Halliday and Vygotsky.* London & New York: Continuum. 31-57.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. in press. "Register in the round: registerial cartography." *Functional Linguistics.*

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. 2014. Extending the description of process type in delicacy: verb classes. *Functions of Language* 21(2): 139-175.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. and Kashyap, A.K. (2014) The construal of space in different registers: an exploratory study. Submitted to *Language Sciences* 45: 1-27.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. and Teruya, K. (2015) 'Registerial hybridity: indeterminacy among fields of activity'. In D. Miller, and P. Bayley (eds) *Permeable Contexts and Hybrid Discourses.* London: Equinox.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., Teruya, K. and Lam, M. (2010) *Key Terms in Systemic Functional Linguistics.* London & New York: Continuum.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., Teruya, K. and Canzhong, W. (2008) 'Multilingual studies as a multi-dimensional space of interconnected language studies'. In J.J. Webster (ed.), *Meaning in Context.* London & New York: Continuum. 146-221.

Painter, C. (1999) *Learning through Language in Early Childhood.* London: Cassell.

Patpong, P. (2005) *A Systemic Functional Interpretation of Thai Grammar: An Exploration of Thai Narrative Discourse.* Macquarie University: Ph.D. thesis.

Pawley, A. (1987) 'Encoding events in Kalam and English: different logics for reporting experience'. In R.S. Tomlin, (ed.) *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. 329-61.

Pawley, A. (2005) 'Event representation in serial verb constructions'. In J. Bohnemeyer, and E. Pederson, (eds) *Event Representation in Language and Cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

Slobin, D.I. (1996) 'Two ways to travel: verbs of motion in English and Spanish'. In M. Shibatani and S.A. Thompson (eds) *Grammatical Constructions: Their Form and Meaning.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 195-219.

Slobin, D.I. (2004a) 'The many ways to search for a frog: linguistic typology and the expression of motion events'. In S. Strömqvist and L.Verhoeven, (eds) *Relating Events in Narrative: Vol. 2. Typological and Contextual Perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 219-257.

Slobin, D.I. (2004b) 'Relating narrative events in translation'. In D.Ravid and H.B. Shyldkrot (eds) *Perspectives on Language and Language Development: Essays in Honor of Ruth A. Berman*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Slobin, D.I. (2008) 'Relations between Paths of Motion and Paths of Vision: A Crosslinguistic and Developmental Exploration'. In V.C.M. Gathercole (ed.) (2008) *Routes to Language: Studies in Honor of Melissa Bowerman*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 197-221.

Talmy, L. (1985) 'Lexicalisation Patterns'. In T. Shopen, (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Volume III. Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 57-149.

Talmy, L. (1991) Path to realization: a typology of event conflation. *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 17: 480-519.

Talmy, L. (2000) *Towards a Cognitive Semantics.* Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Talmy, L. (2007) 'Lexical typologies'. In T. Shopen, (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Volume III: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 66-168.

Teruya, K. (2007) *A Systemic Functional Grammar of Japanese.* 2 volumes. London & New York: Continuum.

Trevarthen, C. (1987) 'Sharing making sense: intersubjectivity and the making of an infant's meaning'. In R. Steele, and T. Threadgold (eds) *Language Topics: Essays in Honour of Michael Halliday.* Volume 1. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 177-99.

Varela, F.J., Thompson, E. and Rosch, E. (1991) *The Embodied Mind: Cognitive Science and Human Experience.* Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Watson, M.E., Pickering, M.J. and Branigan, H.P. (2009) 'Why dialogue methods are important for investigating spatial language'. In K.R. Coventry, T. Tenbrink, and J.A. Bateman (eds) *Spatial Language and Dialogue (Explorations in language and space).* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2.

Whorf, B.L. (1956) *Language Thought and Reality: Selected Writing of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, Carroll, J.B. (ed.) Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Zlatev, J., Blomberg, J. and David, C. (2010) 'Translocation, language and the categorization of experience'. In V. Evans, and P. Chilton (eds), *Language,*

Cognition and Space: The State of the Art and New Directions. London: Equinox. 389-418.

Framing Success Stories:
Framing and Multimodality in Learning Histories

Patrick Kiernan
Meiji University

Abstract

This paper outlines an approach to exploring the narratives of successful learners of English in Japan. Rather than focus on distilling what the learners say about their learning experiences (Block, 2007, Kamada, 2010; Kanno, 2003; Norton, 2000) the aim here was to explore *how* the stories were told in order to provide insights that might inform an SFL description suitable for language teaching. The paper draws on a corpus of narratives collected as an out of class project among advanced freshman learners at a Japanese university. The task was to interview one of their classmates in English for an hour about their language learning history and record it on video. The study was envisioned as (1) an educational project for the classroom; (2) an opportunity to explore the learning histories of successful learners of English; (3) a chance to explore narrative and Multimodality within student generated oral texts. In order to analyze the narratives, this paper focuses on three complimentary perspectives: a frame analysis based on Goffman (1975); an exploration of gesture in performed narratives drawing on a systemic functional approach to describing multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001); and a description of turn-taking as an interpersonal resource.

1. Introduction

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) offers a model of language well suited to the communicative needs of foreign language learners (Unsworth, 2006) that is based on close observation of language development (Halliday, 1977). Most prominently it has been used as a source for language description in the teaching of first or second language literacy (Rose and Martin, 2012; Schleppegrell, 2004), though this research and application of systemic theory has also gone hand-in-hand with analysis of the classroom (Christie, 2006) and the theorisation of educational institutions and the role of pedagogy in society (Christie and Martin, 2001) in conjunction with Halliday's insights into the relation between language and society (Halliday, 2009). Because it is a comprehensive description of language, SFL also makes it potentially possible to explore questions about language learning that have otherwise only been addressed in a rather segmented fashion. For example, the question 'What is it that makes a successful learner of English as a foreign language?' has been explored from the perspective of what good learners do (Griffiths, 2008) but, as Bade admits in her paper on 'Grammar and good language learners' (2008), studies outside SFL have tended to focus on narrow features of learning rather than attempting to take on board a comprehensive model of language such as the one described by Halliday (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2013). Indeed, perhaps one of the reasons SFL has been

effective as an 'appliable linguistics' (Halliday, 2013) for literacy development is that it has highlighted the connections between language, use and context. Moreover, the growing body of research into multimodality within an SFL framework offers a way into analysing other semiotic resources besides those narrowly defined as language that may also be useful for learners to be aware of.

Many teachers of English in Japanese schools and universities will be familiar with the problems of getting low level learners to produce fluent speech in such a way that the speaker is fully physically engaged in the act of communication, or indeed, that is neither being slowed down by translation from Japanese at the moment of speaking on the one hand or being read or repeated from memory on the other. The cognitive effort of spontaneous translation, reading aloud or reciting from memory often appear to paralyze speakers so that they are unable to engage their whole body in the act of communication. Intonation may be noticeably flat, and physical engagement with the listener through gesture and eye contact may also be absent. This problem is exasperated by an overall focus on preparation for tests which target reading, translation skills and adherence to the rules of sentence level grammar and complicated by the fact that Japanese paralinguistic communication is recognised as being quite different from what Kachru has identified as the "center" English language speaking countries of Britain, the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Stereotypically, this involves things like bowing rather than shaking hands but embraces a range of paralinguistic features that have tended to be explored within cultural anthropology or intercultural communication. The popularity of English speech and presentation contests at schools and universities in Japan are often used as opportunities to address these inadequacies through intensive training in both paralanguage and prosodic features. However, public speaking of this kind, particularly where the models may be remote from Japanese learners such as Barak Obama or the speakers featured on TED Talks, may not be the best models. A better example both as models of speech and as guides for how to become successful learners would be successful English learners in Japan.

In this paper, I consider how 24 successful learners of English in Japan construed their identities through narratives about their learning histories. This approach allows for the consideration of both the learners' facility in using English and the resources they use to represent and negotiate their identities within interviews about their learning histories. The paper outlines three complimentary perspectives to analysing the narratives: framing, paralinguistic, and co-construction. Framing is an approach associated with the textual metafunction as it highlights how a text is organized. In this case, I draw on Goffman's (1975) approach to framing and focus on the ways in which boundaries are indicated between talk that is on and off-task, underlining the performed nature of narratives produced as a recorded out of class assignment. In terms of paralinguistic features, I look specifically at the use of gesture as a resource to shape the ideational content. I highlight an example in which gesture was used to recreate the physical landscape depicted in the story, though this physical space also represents the emotional space of a relationship depicted in the narrative and serves as space for interpersonal interaction between narrator and listener. Finally, I consider the ways in which turn-taking, which could also be seen as a structural feature of texts, is used as an interpersonal resource for

signalling interdependence or independence of the other conversational participant(s). As the examples discussed will show, although the implications for language learners are far from straightforward, these three perspectives on the narratives do help to highlight some important features of the ways successful learners are able to communicate effectively. In particular, I will suggest that a well-developed use of interpersonal resources ties in closely with the reported importance placed on relationships in these learners' language learning experiences throughout these interviews.

2. A narrative task for advanced learners

From an educational perspective, the project was envisioned as a task-based project. An approach which Kramsch has pointed out is particularly compatible with SFL due to its focus on acquiring meanings associated with a particular situation (1993, p. 10). Tasks are typically activities where a communicative opportunity is created but also scaffolded by providing supporting language and context such as recounting a narrative from pictures or a video or retelling a prepared personal narrative (Bygate, Skehan, and Swain, 2001). From this perspective, these life history interviews represent a challenging task suitable for advanced learners. Moreover the interview, as Gubrium and Holstein (2003) have argued, represents and important genre in contemporary society and autobiographical narrative is a particularly meaningful one (see Martin and Rose, 2008).

The students who participated in this project were an intact class of 24 freshman majoring in International Business at a private university in Tokyo who attained the top scores in the placement test. Most had spent periods of their childhood overseas. The class stood out for me as successful due to the standard of their English papers and presentations but also for their remarkable solidarity and camaraderie as a class. In order to learn more about them, I obtained permission from the university to carry out this research and all students signed consent forms agreeing that the data collected could be used for research purposes. As they also chose to have their real names rather than pseudo names used I have referred to participants using their given names.

When students participate in a research project organized by their teacher potential educational benefits are often an afterthought at best, but in this case, my aim was to create a task that would provide both a linguistic challenge and an opportunity for reflection within a content based English course called Educational Issues which was taught twice a week over a fourteen-week (second) semester and based around reading, discussion, presentation and writing tasks.

The project described here consisted of an out of class task whereby each student interviewed a partner about his/her language learning history for one hour and wrote summaries based on the interviews. The interviews were video recorded by the students and the use of the cameras and transposition of them onto discs for the students and myself was undertaken by the university's Media Center. In an ongoing, more detailed analysis, I have coded the video recordings within NVivo, though here I only have space to refer to three short extracts.

Interview length made this a demanding task. The shortest interview, which wrapped up in 35 minutes was by two fluent speakers (see Extract 1) who very

quickly exhausted their content and protested that they knew each other too well. However, almost all others completed the 60 minutes and, in contrast, Moto, one of the least confident speakers, seemed encouraged after a time check when she realized that she was approaching the end proclaiming "It's easy! It's easy!" As shown in Extract 2 (discussed below) the considerable support she received from her interviewer doubtless contributed to her success.

3. A window into learner identity and an opportunity for self-reflection

In addition to serving as a potentially challenging speaking task for learners, life history interviews can provide opportunities for self-reflection for both interviewer and interviewee. As can be seen form the extract in the following section, close friends often appeared to be familiar with the general circumstances of narrative anecdotes though not necessarily the story itself. Since many of their stories concern the hardships they faced in making friends and the value they placed on the friendships they were able to make overseas, it seemed to me that one of the reasons they bonded well was the shared experience of having lived overseas and finding troubles both fitting in abroad and on returning to Japan, as well as sharing a recognition of the importance of English for their futures. For this reason, this project potentially built on a process of sharing experiences that was already underway.

A number of studies have focused on Japanese students who spent part of their childhood overseas (Kanno, 2003) referred to as *returnees* or *kikokushijo,* which Kamada (2003) paraphrases as 'the sons and daughters of Japanese businessmen who were transferred abroad'. This definition suggests that these overseas encounters are in a sense unavoidable experiences resulting from the fact that globalization and its effects have required that certain key individuals are sent overseas, bringing their families with them. In this sense, while there may subsequently be ways that these experiences can be turned to their advantage by building on cultural and linguistic skills acquired through the upbringing, the children are viewed as victims of circumstance. For this reason, Kanno's (2003) account of her former students' negotiation of their bilingual and bicultural identities is effectively a problem that each of them wrestles with, only finally attaining a balanced perspective as they mature in adulthood. However, one way in which my students seemed to depart from this representation was that many of them had a much greater say in their education. Though the students did generally have their first experiences overseas as the result of moving (or even being born) overseas, the students later chose to study overseas again. Moreover, whether studying in Japan or overseas these students were clearly attending expensive private schools reflecting a privileged background where acquisition of English overseas was an educational choice.

4. Framing the interview

This section focuses on the first of three perspectives towards analysing the interviews. It is concerned with the way interviews were framed by the participants. This perspective helps to counterbalance the temptation to see learner narratives as transparent texts suitable for providing direct insight into the experience of learning

by highlighting an element of performance and self-conscious textual organization by participants.

To a certain extent, the structure of the interview was determined by the task. The participants were asked to explore their partner's language learning history from their earliest experiences to the present and also provided with a detailed list of sample questions. As a result with some exceptions, interviews begin with a greeting, followed by the first question, which led to a brief overview of the interviewee's learning history then on to early experiences gradually moving towards the present and finishing with some thoughts about the future.

The interviews were also structured in terms of four levels of 'frame' of the kind identified by Goffman (1975). At the outermost level was the pre-interview talk between the two students not yet in the role of interviewer and interviewee, typically in Japanese. Several of the interviewees began by greeting me through the camera (a second 'on-camera' frame) but also returned to it for time checks and to complain that the interview was too long. Next, they began the interview proper taking on the roles of interviewer and interviewee (frame three), finally within this interviewees sometimes stepped into a fourth role dimension in recounting narrative experiences, a dimension of performativity associated with the past narrative events where participants showed a high degree of involvement through the use of gesture and varied tones of voice to bring alive the narrative. These three dimensions were signalled, moved between, or collapsed in variety of ways by the students.

Two particularly confident female speakers restarted their interview after an initial greeting at the suggestion of the interviewee to act out the opening as though it was a talk show. The interviewer began by introducing her guest to the camera before welcoming her into the camera frame and having her sit down. Both physically (in the way they sat) and verbally these participants stayed in role throughout the interview, something they were able to do because of their confidence in English.

In contrast, two of the male students sat in a deliberately relaxed way seemingly ignoring the camera, with the interviewer eating (and later the interviewee sharing) a packet of biscuits, which was entirely consumed over the course of the interview. Questions were read and responded to with minimal signals of emotional engagement. Nevertheless, because the interviewee was considerably less fluent than the interviewer the interviewee occasionally requested rephrasing or even Japanese translations or examples of how to answer the questions in a quieter voice before returning to the interview proper. The shared biscuit eating although only once signalled verbally when the interviewee helped himself to a biscuit with the Japanese word '*chodai*' meaning 'Give me one!' nevertheless played out to viewers of the video as a sub-narrative in a separate dimension from the interview proper. As soon as he had asked the first question, he began eating the biscuits without ever offering them to his friend. However, after struggling to think of a suitable answer to one question, he helped himself to the biscuits without any request. Their relationship appeared to be one untroubled by the elaborate rituals of offer and acceptance usually so carefully adhered to in Japan. The implications from such observations for learners are not straightforward because whereas one might argue that the kind of role play employed by the two female students represents a

recognizable generic type of narrative interview, the interaction between the male students appears to be truer to communication between peers. Despite this, the shifts into off stage modes are a reminder that neither version is fully authentic. This kind of frame analysis may also be a helpful perspective to include when considering narrative within a genre-based approach (Martin & Rose, 2008) as well as in multimodal approaches to narrative (Doloughan, 2011) and it is to multimodal features of narrative to which I turn next.

5. Performed narrative as multimodal text

The previous section showed how framing in narrative interviews led to the consideration of semiotic communication beyond the words spoken. The way the speakers sat and moved in relation to each other—whether the nonchalant slouches of the male students or acting out the arrival and greeting of the guest like a TV talk show—constituted an important part of the context. Within SFL such nonverbal communication is recognised as a semiotic resource that interacts with language either replicating it or by providing other meanings that may not easily be translated into language. Kress, for example, points out that gesture is a powerful resource for bringing together 'the logics of time and space' (2010, p. 81) even where it has not been systematized into a language as is the case with sign language.

   In this section, I consider a segment of the data where gestures were used to signify the space being described in an anecdote by one interviewee about one of her childhood friends in the US who was also a close neighbour. It turns out that her friend lived across a small valley from her in a house, which was nevertheless close enough that they could communicate by shouting. It was also close enough to walk around the valley in three minutes so that they could play together so she narrates doing just this. Following the abstract, I suggest how these spontaneous gestures can be described as an emerging resource for ideational meanings as well as creating a new kind of interpersonal space.

Extract 1 *Numbers in square brackets [ ] follow points where salient gestures were made.*

Eri: So tell me about your American life. Um, did you have a best friend?
Nanami: Yeah. Um,
Eri: I heard her name was Kyle or something?
Nanami: Um, yeah, but before Kyle, the girl who
Eri: Mm, hm.
Nanami: translated everything for me, she, her name was Momoko. And she was a really good friend to me and we. So, this [1]really interesting thing.
My house[2], garden, right[3].
Eri: Mm-hm.
Nanami: My house has a garden and it, um, my house is up on a [4] hill, right.
Eri: Mm-hm.
Nanami: So there's my house right here[5]. A valley[6].
Eri: Mm-hm.
Nanami: There's a house right here[7]. And across the valley[8], up on

another hill[9], there's Momoko's
Eri: Mm-hm
Nanami: house[10]. So we would[11], we would talk[12],
from garden to like …
Eri: Did you really?
Nanami: Um, yeah. An we would say…
Eri: I mean, could you really?
Nanami: Yeah, yeah, yeah[13]. Uh, yeah and this hill[14], our hill was like,
Eri: How close is?[15]
Nanami: Right here[16], right, right here, and there's, this is a whole hill[17], so it's up on one hill[18].
Eri: Mm-hm.
Nanami: So, to go to her house, I would go out the front door. And go[19]… like that.
Eri: So, it's pretty close.
Nanami: Yeah. It's really close and…
Eri: Can you walk up there?[20]
Nanami. Yeah, yeah, yeah[21]. Like, three minutes.
Eri: Oh!
Nanami: And then our garden is facing each other[22].
Eri: Uh-huh.
Nanami: But, there's a valley[23] right here, and there's another house[24] so we can't go across[25].
Eri: Mm,mm,mm,mm.
Nanami: But we could talk from here[26]. And then we would say: 'Can you hang out today?'[27]
Eri: (laughs)
Nanami: And she would say: 'Yeah![28] Can I go over to your house?' 'Yeah!' And then I would go.[29]
Eri: 'OK, I'll go in three minutes.'[30]
Eri and Nanami: (Laugh together)
Nanami: Yeah. So she was my best friend until she went.
Well she is still my good friend but she, like we were best[31] friends until she went back to Japan. And, everyone, everybody, every Japanese, I was hanging out with a lot of Japanese girls but everyone went back to Japan,[32]

In order to create the space of the valley, Nanami uses a small repertoire of repeated gestures that seem to be custom made for this conversational episode. She made a moving shape with her hands cupped up-side-down to represent a house (2, 4, 5, 7, 24), another movement with her palms flat to the ground to represent 'garden' (3), formed her hands in an open arc to represent 'hill' (9, 14, 18) and dynamically swept her hands down to indicate the 'valley' (6, 23). Importantly, she was not only consistent with the movements she made to represent the landscape but also consistent about where the objects were located in the physical space in front of her as if conjuring up her childhood home in miniature before her. Also importantly, her listener, the interviewer, shared in this gestural space when she asked 'Can you walk

up there?' pointing to the top part of the valley (20) and, once she had grasped the situation, shared in the story itself as she plays the part of the friend saying 'I'll be there in three minutes!' introducing her own gesture of three fingers to indicate the minutes (30). So the repertoire used in this segment consisted of five key nominal gestures: 'house', 'garden', 'hill', 'valley' and 'a whole hill'/ 'up on the hill'. In addition, there was a prepositional 'across the valley' and a deontic 'here' used to indicate the position of the house within her gestural space, gestures for 'talk' and 'go'. Besides these gestures, which signalled ideational content the interviewee also used a finger double quotation mark on the word 'best' (friend) (31) and began her story with an upward movement of her hand and the words 'this really interesting thing …' (1) and finishes with a similar gesture as she ends explaining that her friend eventually 'went back to Japan' (32). Such gestures appeared to work as textual references.

The segment is prominent even within this interview for its use of gesture and similar to other segments in other interviews where gesture was prominent in that it accompanied what has been called a performed narrative (Wolfson, 1978). In these interviews, such narratives were not only accompanied by gesture but also changes in voice to mimic the characters in the story and a heightened sense of involvement and enjoyment of the narrative among the speakers. The shouting across the valley is represented by elongated words in 'Can you hang out today?' with her bottom jaw coming forward, rather than any increase in volume.

The story between two female friends discussed here is one of how physical proximity comes to represent emotional proximity between the speaker and her childhood friend but it also becomes an opportunity for interpersonal intimacy with her current best friend. The theme of sharing experience through narrative has been explored by such researchers as Ochs and Capps (2001) and is a good example of where Halliday's notion of the Interpersonal comes to the fore. Indeed, the theme of relationships and shared experience is one that permeated the interviews and these speakers like others drew attention to the sense of community they felt as a class.

6. Co-construction and monologue

So far I have considered framing and the semiotic resources of gesture as two analytical perspectives on narrative. This section introduces a third dimension concerned with the patterns of interaction involved in turn-taking which, besides pauses or overlaps in speech are also signalled though other multimodal resources. More specifically though, I consider how co-construction and monologue are used by these learners to signal both their status as language learners and relationship with each other. Traditionally, interviews have been depicted as events where the interviewer asks questions designed as prompts and the interviewee is able to develop responses in detail. The experience and thoughts of the interviewer are only relevant in so far as they can serve to elicit more from the interviewee. Some interview researchers sensitive to the influence of the interviewer have tried to find ways to reduce the role of the interviewer to an absolute minimum (Cukor-Avila, 2000). In contrast, others working within a Post-Modern interview paradigm have stressed the importance of openness on the part of the interviewer resulting in an emphasis on co-construction during the interview itself (Fontana, 2001; Gubrium

and Holstein, 2003). However, in these interviews, what I found was varying degrees of co-construction, which reflected both the relationship between the speakers but also the perceived difficulty of the task.

Takahiro, for example, who was a very confident speaker of English, deliberately gave long and detailed answers to the questions as if to underline his fluency. The following answer to one of the first questions in the interview interestingly shows this performance of fluency at work, while also giving an account of the rather complex process by which he had become a fluent speaker of both English and Japanese. The complete narrative is over 800 words long with almost no pause or interruptions from the interviewer.

Extract 2 Koji: Tell me about your background.
Takahiro: I started learning English when I was zero years old, because I was born in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. And so, I guess my first language was English by then because I went to a kindergarten, in Kuala Lumpur and I stayed there until I was two years old. And I didn't speak Japanese at all to my family because they only spoke English.
Koji: Oh.
Takahiro:…[733 words of monologue ommitted] And after I came back, I have just been talking to a lot of foreign people and I have been travelling. And I went back to the United States this summer, so that's how I study now.

Although I have no space here to either reproduce or discuss Takahiro's narrative, it provides instructive insight into the complexities of acquiring a balanced bilingualism in Japanese and English.

In contrast to this, the interview between Shiori and Moto was marked by much more frequent turn-taking and Shiori, at times, taking it on herself to share her own experiences both to help the interviewee frame her experiences and to show that the struggles she faced with learning English were not unique. Moto was one of the few students who had not lived overseas, a point that had concerned her from the very beginning, because as she put it in the interview, she 'thought the other students would make fun' of her English. In fact, the opposite was true: her friends were supportive in and out of class and in the extract below Shiori effectively validates Moto's two week experience in New Zealand as an experience of overseas study by drawing parallels with her experience living in the US. She also implies that giving up on communication (as Moto briefly admits to doing) is not an option, encouraging her to persevere.

Extract 3 Moto: Yeah, so, I really wanted to join. Because, I'm a girl.
(both laugh)
Moto: Girl.
Shiori: Girl, who loves talking.
Moto: Yes. (excitement) But, I didn't. I, I, gave up. I gave up, so.
…(16 lines ommitted)
Shiori: Yeah, I had the same.
Moto: Really?

> Shiori: situation. Yeah.
> Moto: In, in …US.
> Shiori: In the US. When I was in the United States for
> Moto: Uh-huh.
> Shiori: A year, as an exchange student.
> Moto: Uh-huh.
> Shiori: I couldn't understand at all.
> Moto: (laughs)
> Shiori: Um, but if I stop, um,
> Moto: trying
> Shiori: trying, I, if I stop trying, it's the end right?
> Moto: Yes!

This example of reverse interviewing serves as an opportunity to suppport and authenticate the experiences described by the interviewee. Her narrative is a well chosen parallel story that positions the interviewer more as a guide or therapist than researcher or chat show host.

7. Conclusion

I have proposed here that one approach to exploring successful language learning is through looking into the narratives of learners interviewing each other about their learning histories, paying attention to particular episodes and attempting to describe some of the features of their communication. I have drawn attention to the way the learners framed the interviews to illustrate how they were able to shift from one generic speech mode to another. I also considered how spontaneous gestures could begin to be described as a dynamic repetoir albeit one perhaps unique to these circumstances. Finally, I described how turn-taking interaction was used as a resource for signalling cooperation but also, as in Takahiro's monologue, to convey confidence and dominance as a speaker. Skill in handling genre as well as the ability to switch in and out of of genres, using gesture as an effective resource for communication would seem to be two important features that learners need to develop. In addition this study has highlighted the importance that interpersonal resources hold for these language learners, reflecting the high value that they placed on human relationships. Further exploration of such data could build a fuller picture of what successful learners need to be able to do with language in this challenging but important genre of life history narratives. In future research it would also be desirable to explore these dimensions in narrative interview tasks with learners at different levels with a view to charting a develomental trajectory that could be enhanced through practice with such tasks.

References

Bade, M. (2008) 'Grammar and good language learners'. In C. Griffiths (ed.), *Lessons from good language learners* (pp. 174-184). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Block, D. (2007) *Second Language Identities.* London. Continuum.

Bygate, M., Skehan, P., and Swain, M. (2001) *Researching Pedagogic Tasks: Second Language Learning Teaching and Testing*. Harlow: Longman.

Christie, F. (2006) 'The language of classroom interaction and learning'. In L. Unsworth (Ed.), *Researching Language in Schools and Communities* (pp. 184-203). London: Continuum.

Christie, F., and Martin, J. R. (eds) (2000) *Genre and Institutions: Social Workplaces in the Workplace and School.* London: Continuum.

Cukor-Avila, P. (2000) Revisiting the observer's paradox. *American Speech, 75*(3), 253-254.

Doloughan, F. J., (2011) *Contemporary Narrative Textual Production, Multimodality and Multiliteracies.* London. Continuum.

Fontana, A. (2001) Postmodern trends in interviewing. In J. F. Gubrium and J. A. Holstein (eds.), *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and method* (pp. 161-175). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Goffman, E. (1975) *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Griffiths, C. (ed.). (2008) *Lessons from Good Language Learners*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gubrium, J. F., and Holstein, J. A. (eds.). (2003). *Postmodern Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1977) *Learning How to Mean: Exploration in the Development of Language*: Elsevier.

Halliday, M. A. K. (2004) *The Language of Early Childhood: Volume 4 in the Collected works of M. A. K. Halliday*. London: Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. (2009) *Language and Society: Volume 10 in the collected works of M. A. K. Halliday* (Paperback ed.). London: Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. (2013) *Halliday in the 21st Century* (Vol. 11). London: Bloomsbury.

Halliday, M. A. K., and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2013) *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Fourth Edition ed.). London: Routledge.

Kamada, L. D. (2010) *Hybrid Identites and Adolescent Girls: Being 'Half' in Japan.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Kanno, Y. (2003) *Negotiating Bilingual and Bicultural Identities: Japanese Returnees Betwixt Two Worlds*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kramsch, C. (1993) *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kress, G. (2010) *Multimodality: A Social Semiotic Appraoch to Contemporary Communication.* London: Routledge.

Kress, G., and van Leeuwen, T. (2001) *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*: Bloomsbury.

Martin, J. R., and Rose, D. (2008) *Genre Relations: Mapping Culture*. London: Equinox.

Norton, B. (2000) *Identity and Language Learning: Gender Ethnicity and Educational Change.* Harlow. Pearson Education.

Ochs, E., and Capps, L. (2001) *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Rose, D. and Martin, J. R. (2012) *Learning to Write/Reading to Learn*. Sheffield: Equinox.

Schleppegrell, M. J. (2004) *The Language of Schooling: A Functional Linguistics Perspective*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Unsworth, L. (ed.). (2006) *Researching Language in Schools and Communities: Functional Linguistic Perspectives*. London: Continuum.

Wolfson, N. (1978) A feature of performed narrative: the conversational historical present. *Language in Society, 1*(7), 215-237.

Multimodal Cooperation:
Verbal-visual Relations in Introductory Textbooks
in Humanities and Science in English

Masamichi Washitake
Aichi Gakuin University

Abstract

This paper is an attempt to describe relations between language and visual representations in academic introductory textbooks written in English. Based on concepts from Systemic Functional Linguistics, it proposes a tentative system network for describing relations between verbal and visual resources in textbooks. It consists of four simultaneous options: linkage, dependency, logico-semantic relations and recursion. Utilizing a system network, I explore verbal-visual relations in introductory textbooks in humanities and science, and make clear the following distinctive features: 1) in linkage, typical type is **implicit** in humanities and **explicit** in science; 2) in dependency, **verbal-oriented** is dominant in humanities, while **interactive** is dominant in science text; 3) in logico-semantic relations, **elaborating: exemplify** tend to be used in humanities, while **elaborating: restate**, **summarize and specify** are used in scientific text; 4) components in both textbooks create a series of chains but their effects are different; and 5) these features are reflected in 'the reading path' (O'Halloran, 1999). These results suggest that visual representations are not a fundamental constituent in textbooks in humanities. This paper concludes that the nature of multimodality is different in humanities and science, and thus multimodal reading methods for scientific text do not apply to textbooks in humanities.

1. Introduction

In universities, students start their academic life through the main gate, that is, through introductory courses. Although transitions to e-books, on-demand videos and other electronic and multimodal materials have been proceeding, printed books are still the main resource for starting specialties and for learning a wide variety of liberal arts. Written by specialists with the expectation of providing a smooth voyage out to the academic world, textbooks bring a specific style of perspective and experience of knowledge to students. At the same time, however, they can cause some problems in learning: they are often too hard to read. This is partly because textbooks in universities are a register (Halliday, 1978: 25-26; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 29) that many of the first year students have not dealt with: as beginners, they are unfamiliar with the resonance of the technicality of the academic domains, the specialist-university student role and the role of language that specifies the register. Hence describing the nature of the register is an important scaffold for facilitating this learning shift since it can assist academics and students to understand the semiotic demands to which the students must accommodate —

demands to which textbook writers themselves adapted decades before.

Textbooks serve as a source of students' knowledge. The reader can construct knowledge when s/he succeeds in understanding and reconstructing the information that the text presents. However, the knowledge structure varies between humanities and science (e.g. Bernstein, 1999; Martin, 2007), and how much language and visual representations contribute to constructing knowledge also appears to vary between them. Therefore, it seems significant to explore and compere discourses of humanities and science as multimodal text.

Researchers in Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) have described the language in science (e.g. Halliday and Martin, 1993; Martin and Veel, 1998), and multimodal discourse analysts have attempted to reveal how visual resources work in relation to language in scientific text. Lemke (1998), for example, suggests that the concepts of science are essentially semiotic hybrids: non-verbal elements, such as graphs, equations, and tables play an absolutely central role in scientific text. Guo (2004) explores multimodality in a biology textbook for biology major students in detail. It shows 'the reading path' that its supposed reader may create, and makes clear that 'the visual images in the biology text are not redundant with language in meaning making; they extend and complement it' (Guo, 2004: 214). Both of the multimodal researchers argue that language and visual representations are interactive and complementary in scientific text: written language cannot be fully understood without visual representations and visual representations do not make sense without verbal interpretation (at least in English).

My research investigates whether or not multimodal features in science apply to textbooks in humanities in similar or in distinctive ways. In his corpus-based multimodal analysis across disciplines, Parodi (2010) demonstrates that few non-verbal artifacts are used in history and literature, and that they are predominantly verbal. Martin (1993) explores the pedagogic discourses of science and history to illustrates their ways of meaning are different. These researchers indicate that humanities have their own multimodal deployment, and therefore a different multimodal literacy is required.

This paper proposes a tentative system network for multimodal analysis from the perspectives of SFL (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014; Martin and Rose, 2008) and SFL informed approaches to multimodality (Kress and van Leuween, 1996; O'Halloran, 1999; O'Halloran, 2003) in order to illustrate the distinctive features of verbal-visual relations in textbooks in humanities written in English as multimodal text in comparison with those of science, and by doing so, to provide a resource to support students understand the semiotic demand that they need acquire in the first year of their academic life. What I draw on in this analysis is 'the reading path' since '[w]ith multisemiotic texts, the most important stage is a step-by-step analysis of the text through the reading path determined by the choices within different semiotic codes' (O'Halloran, 1999: 322). O'Halloran (1999: 322-324) follows:

Significantly, the use of multiple semiotic systems means that the potential exists for the construction of unique reading paths. Selections function within each system so that interactions between semiotics become the focal point at different stages. Underlying this method of analysis is the assumption that all forms of semiosis are read

syntagmatically.

This implies that although in multimodal textbooks the reading path is 'less strictly coded' and 'can be read more than one way' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 204-208), readers of different registers tend to draw unique reading paths according to their relations between language and visual representations in the text.

Researchers in SFL and those informed by SFL work in multimodality have already proposed various system networks of verbal-visual relations. For example, Martinec and Salway (2005) presents a generalized system network for visual-verbal relations combining the two simultaneous options of the relative 'status of image and text' and 'logico-semantic relations' between them; Martin and Rose (2007: 326-330) introduces general relations between visual representations and language with three simultaneous options of 'logicosemantic relation', 'image-text boundary' and 'identification'; and Painter et al. (2013) discusses intermodal integration in picture books whose system network has the two basic options of 'integrated' and 'complementary'. Although I follow and adopt parts of these research proposals, this paper proposes a different system network, as it focuses on the distinction between humanities and science in relation to multimodal text. It consists of, as I will discuss later, four simultaneous options of 'linkage', 'dependency', 'logico-semantic relations' and 'recursion'.

I apply the system network to the analysis of multimodal organization in introductory textbooks for 'freshmen'. The central focus is on how visual representations collaborate with language in textbooks in humanities. The textbooks surveyed are the core textbooks in introductory courses for freshmen such as archeology, history and law (the courses in Session 1, 2014 in Macquarie University, Australia). Due to my research question, pages from the following textbooks are extracted to illustrate the analyses: *Egypt: The World of the Pharaohs* (the core textbook in the introductory course, Egyptian Archaeology: An Introduction) and *Inquiry into Life* (Twelfth Edition) — the core textbook in the introductory biology course for freshmen, Human Biology. The biology textbook reflects the semiotic demands of science, and it appears to make a reliable contrast with those of humanities.

As the humanities refers to extensive areas of study, it is difficult to define exactly what the humanities is: psychology seems on the border between humanities and science, more and more scientific techniques are introduced in the study areas such as linguistics and archeology, and new multidisciplinary studies have been arising. However, as *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2nd edition) defines humanities as 'learning concerned with human culture, especially literature, history, art, music, and philosophy', and *Merriam-Webster's Advanced Leaner's English Dictionary* as 'areas of study (such as history, language, and literature) that relate to human life and ideas', it appears to be an appropriate dichotomy that archeology and history are included in humanities, not (natural) science.

2. Data
As mentioned above, the data is the extracts from academic introductory textbooks according to the following criteria: the core textbooks of introductory courses for

freshmen since the system network is proposed to support inexperienced students; the textbooks that include visual representations since not every textbook exploits visual resources (for example, a textbook of philosophy has no visual representation); and the first 100 pages since the problem is how to introduce beginners into the academic fields.

The extracted pages are pages 12 and 13 from *Egypt: The World of the Pharaohs* (Figure 1) and page 52 from *Inquiry into Life* (Twelfth Edition) (Figure 2) both of which show distinctive features of each domain. The first extract overviews the cultures of Upper Egypt around 4,000 BC. in the context of cultural development of Egypt. It includes the body text, black-and-white and full colored photographs (the one lower right is full colored) and titles and captions attached to them. The second extract illustrates the anatomy of the nucleus of the cell. It includes the body of text, Figure 3.6 and a table. Figure 3.6 is 'a visual complex': it consists of the title with caption, full colored drawings and black-and-white electron micrographs of the nucleus and its parts, arrows, lines and labels. The arrows are used to enlarge parts of the nucleus and lines are used to connect each part of the cell and label.

Excerpts from "Egypt: the World of Pharaohs" (2010) by Regine Schulz and Matthias Seidel. Courtesy (c) h.f.ullmann publishing GmbH.
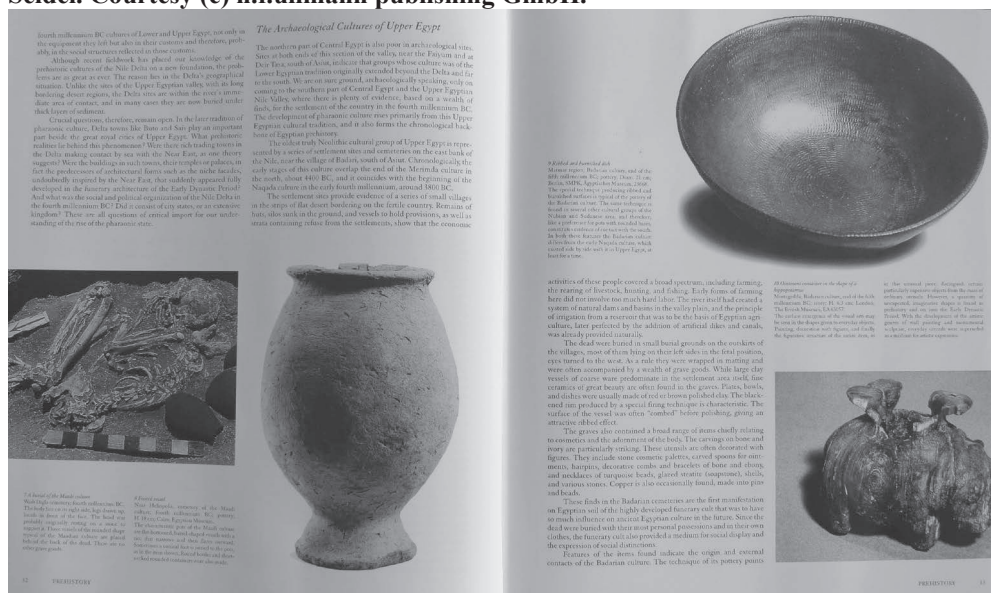
Figure 1: An example of textbooks in humanities (*Egypt* p. 12-13)

An excerpt from "Inquiry into Life" (Twelfth ed.) (2008) by Sylvia Mader. Courtesy McGraw-Hill Education.

Figure 3.6 Anatomy of the nucleus.
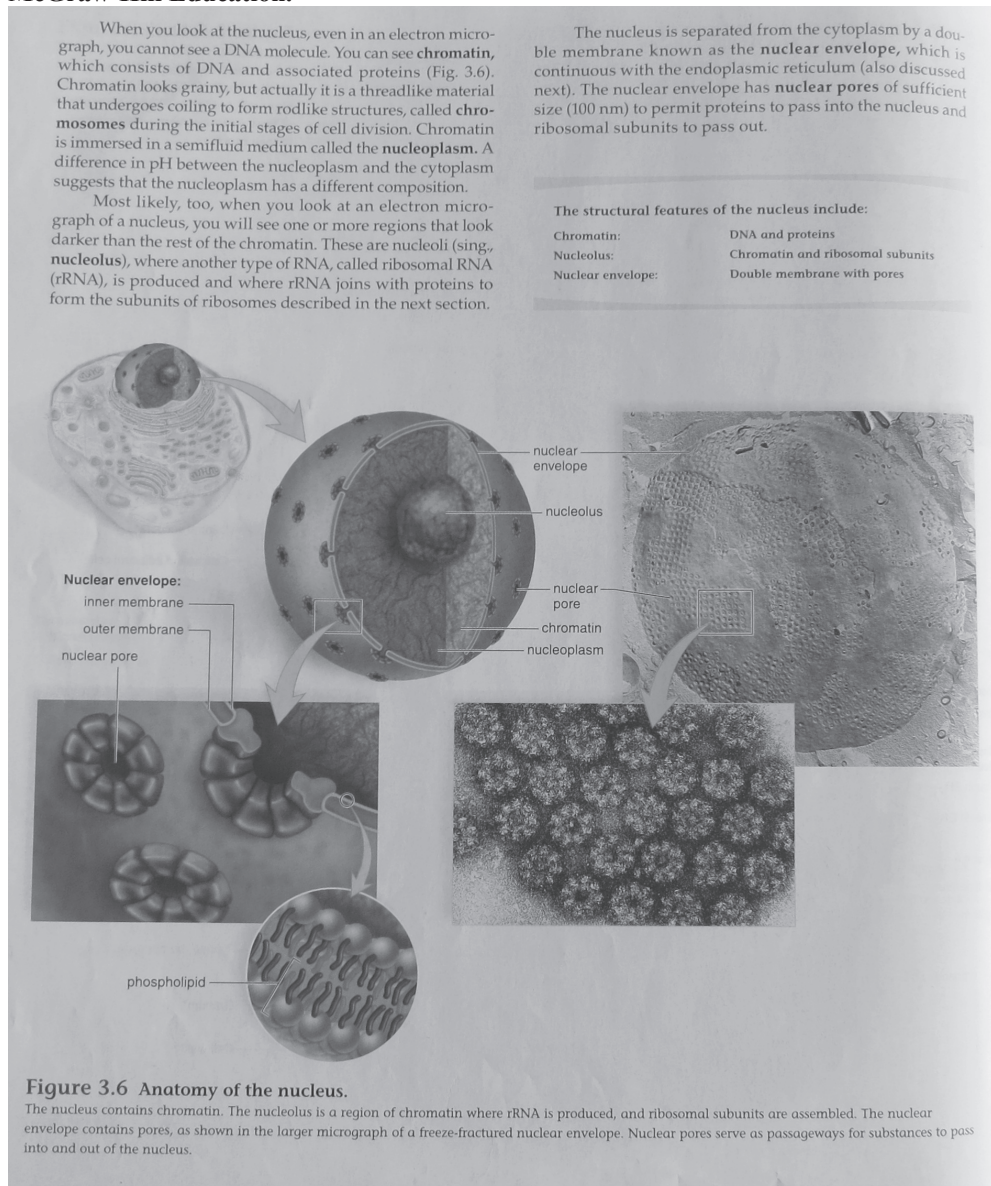
Figure 2: An example of textbooks in science (*Inquiry into Life* p. 52)

3. Multimodal components in textbooks and their relations

This section discusses the potential of multimodal components in textbooks (in both humanities and science) and their relations. Through the discussion of how language and visual representations are related, it proposes a tentative system network of verbal-visual relations in textbooks.

The main part of textbooks consists of written language and visual

representations. Written language is the constituent of the main body, titles, captions and labels (section and chapter titles are included in the main body, and 'titles' means titles of visual representations in this research). Titles and captions are optionally attached to visual representations: titles are brief explanations of the visual representations and serve to connect the main body and visual representations; and captions provide some information about the visual representations. Labels are optionally included in visual complex to indicate the name and/ or give some information to parts of visual representations. Visual representations include photographs, drawings, maps, diagrams, tables, graphs and symbols. In addition to these, chemical symbols and equations play an important role in science textbooks. Visual representations are composed of one and/ or more visual or verbal components. For example, Figure 3.6 in Figure 2, as already described, consists of a number of visual components and language.

I explored a number of relevant textbooks (as mentioned above) and found that the following simultaneous options appear to clarify plausible differences between humanities and science: a) LINKAGE, b) DEPENDENCY, c) LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS and d) RECURSION. The motivation here is the emphasis on distinctive features of textbooks in humanities and science as multimodal text, which are exposed by their unique reading path.

a) LINKAGE

When visual representations are related to verbal text, their relations may be **explicit** by their titles (e.g. *Figure 1.1*, *4 Diagram: the eastern Sahara*) and/or directions in the main body (e.g. *see the following table:*, *Table 1.1 shows…*). Explicit link is helpful for the readers since it leads their eyes directly to the visual representation in question: it serves as a 'guideline' of their reading path.

Otherwise, their relations are **implicit**. Even if so, experienced readers can find the hidden linkage because of their physical closeness and intersemiotic cohesion. However, inexperienced readers may 'lose their ways' and may not appreciate the significance of visual representations or may not grasp the relationship between the body and visual representations, resulting in drawing an inefficient reading path.

b) DEPENDENCY

When language and a visual representation are linked, their status may not equal: either language or visual representation is dominant in that the component can be stand-alone and thus can construe the knowledge by itself; while the other is ancillary in that the component depends on the dominant one and thus hardly makes sense by itself. If language is dominant and a visual representation plays an auxiliary role, the relation is called **verbal-oriented**; on the other hand, if the visual representation stand-alone makes sense and skipping language is acceptable, it is called **visual-oriented**.
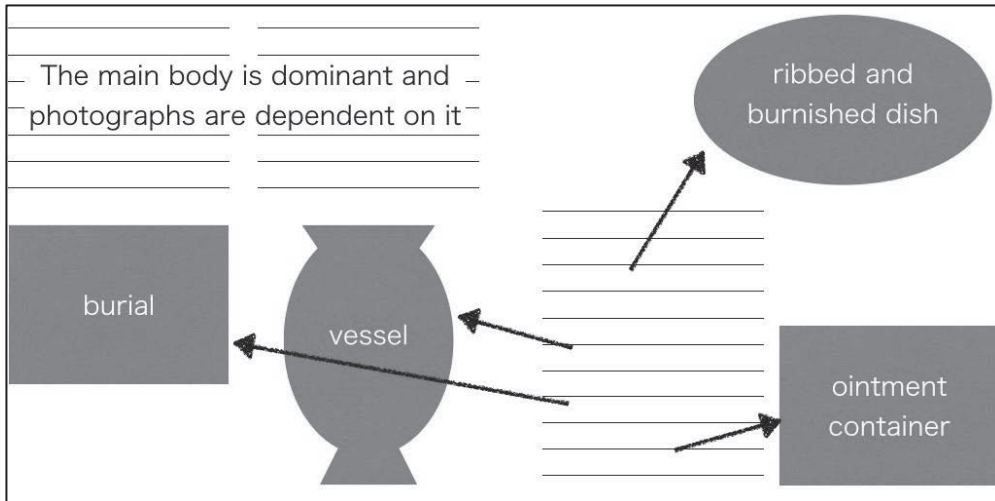
Figure 3: Examples of verbal-oriented relations
between the main body and visual representations
Schematic representation of *Egypt*, pp. 12-13 (Arrows and texts by the author)

Figure 3, schematically reproduced from *Egypt*, pp. 12-13 (Figure 1), summarizes the examples of **verbal-oriented** relations between the main body and the photographs. The photographs of a buried body and three potteries are examples of what the main body describes (graves and burial items of Upper Egypt around 4,000 BC). The photographs cooperate with the main body to describe how the dead were buried and what their burial items were like at that time. However, the cooperative relation is 'one sided': as the main body dominantly construes the knowledge, understanding (naturally not sufficient) without these photographs is possible; while the photographs without descriptions by the main body contribute little to construing the knowledge.

For example, while reading the subsection titled as *The Archeological Cultures of Upper Egypt*, the reader finds the statement:

> While large clay vessels of coarse ware predominate in the settlement area itself, fine ceramics of great beauty are often found in the graves. Plates, bowls, and dishes were usually made of red or brown polished clay. The blackened rim produced by a special firing technique is characteristic. The surface of the vessel was often "combed" before polishing, giving an attractive ribbed effect.
>
> (*The Egypt*, p.13)

As the word, *large clay vessels* serves as an implicit link to the photograph, the reader's eyes are likely to move to the second left photograph. The vessel in the photograph gives an example of *large clay vessels* in the main body, but it has little 'contribution' to the main body: the part of the main body *large clay vessels of coarse ware predominate in the settlement area itself* dominantly constructs the knowledge about the vessel (in the sense that the main body is the main source of the reader's understanding of the vessel), and the photograph of the vessel gives an example depending on the description. Therefore, it is extremely hard to understand

the message of the photograph without the main body. The photograph can be understood with the help of the main body. Similarly, the photograph of the dish at the upper right depends on the main body: the descriptions in the main body such as *fine ceramics of great beauty are often found in the graves*, *[p]lates, bowls, and dishes were usually made of red or brown polished clay*, and *[t]he surface of the vessel was often "combed" before polishing, giving an attractive ribbed effect* dominantly construct the knowledge about the ribbed dish and the photograph just shows an example (The other two photographs are analyzed in the same way).

It is plausible in this type of relation that the reader glances at the photographs at the first view of the pages because of their salience (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 201-203), and then starts reading the main body, drawing linear reading path — 'from left to right and from top to bottom, line by line' (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 204) until s/he finds the link to the photograph. When s/he meets the link, the reader is likely to look at the photograph only once and restarts reading the main body, or in extreme case, especially in combination with **implicit** link, skips the photograph, keeping the linear reading path. Thus, the reading path between the body and the photographs tend to be quite simple (It may be more complex since each photograph is attached by title and caption, as I will discuss in 4.1.).

While the relation between the main body and photographs in Figure 1 is **verbal-oriented**, the relation between the photographs and titles & captions are **visual-oriented**. For example, the following is the title and caption of the vessel:

8 Footed vessel
Near Heliopolis, cemetery of the Maadi culture; fourth millennium BC; pottery; H. 18 cm; Cairo, Egyptian Museum.
The characteristic pots of the Maadi culture are flat-bottomed, barrel-shaped vessels with a rim that narrows and then flares outward. Sometimes a conical foot joined to the pots, as in the item shown. Round bottles and short-necked rounded containers were also made.

<div align="right">(The Egypt, p.13)</div>

The first paragraph shows the accompanying information of the vessel, including its burial site, age and size. The second paragraph describes the features of the vessel and the vessels in the same culture. The extract cannot be stand-alone because these statements depend on the photograph of the vessel: it can make sense only as an ancillary part of the photograph.

The relationship between verbal and visual components may be **interactive**: both language and visual representations can be stand-alone and they work complementarily. This type of relation is generally seen in scientific text. In the extract from *Inquiry into Life*, p. 52 (Figure 2), the main body introduces and defines the components of the nucleus and explains how they are organized. Meanwhile, the visual complex of drawings, electron micrographs, lines and arrows depicts relative size, shape and structures of the nucleus. In addition, the labels display the names of the components.

For example, 'chromatin' is introduced in the main body as follows and visualized in the drawing of the nucleus:

> Chromatin looks grainy, but actually it is a threadlike material that undergoes coiling to form rodlike structures, called **chromosomes** during the initial stage of cell division. Chromatin is immersed in a semifluid medium called the **nucleoplasm**.
>
> (*Inquiry into Life*, p.52)

This statement describes the shape of the chromatin using metaphors and similes of grain, thread coil and rod, and where its place in the nucleus. It is re/introduced in the drawing of the nucleus with labels. This phenomenon of semantic shift in different modes is called semiotic metaphor (O'Halloran, 1999: 319).

Another example is an introduction and description of 'nucleolus'. It is introduced into the main body as follows:

> Most likely, too, when you look at an electron micrograph of a nucleus, you will see one or more regions that look darker than the rest of the chromatin. These are nucleoli (sing., **nucleolus**), where another type of RNA called ribosomal RNA (rRNA), is produced and where rRNA joins with proteins to from the subunits of ribosomes described in the next section.
>
> (*Inquiry into Life*, p.52)

While nucleolus is introduced and its function is described in this extract, it is re/introduced in the drawing of the nucleus with its appearance and place.

A third example, 'nuclear pores' are introduced in the main body as follows:

> The nuclear envelope has nuclear pores of sufficient size (100nm) to permit proteins to pass into the nucleus and ribosomal subunits to pass out.
>
> (*Inquiry into Life*, p.52)

The place, numerical size, and function of the nuclear pores are described in this extract. The nuclear pores are re/introduced in the visual complex as part of drawings and electron micrographs. On the other hand, the visual complex describes the relative size, shape and place of them, which are complements to the verbal description.

In these examples, both the main body and the visual complex complementarily provide essential information to construct the knowledge about chromatin, nucleolus and nuclear pores (their appearance, size, places and functions), and they do this as if they took turns in conversation. Figure 4 summarizes the interactive relations in Figure 2.
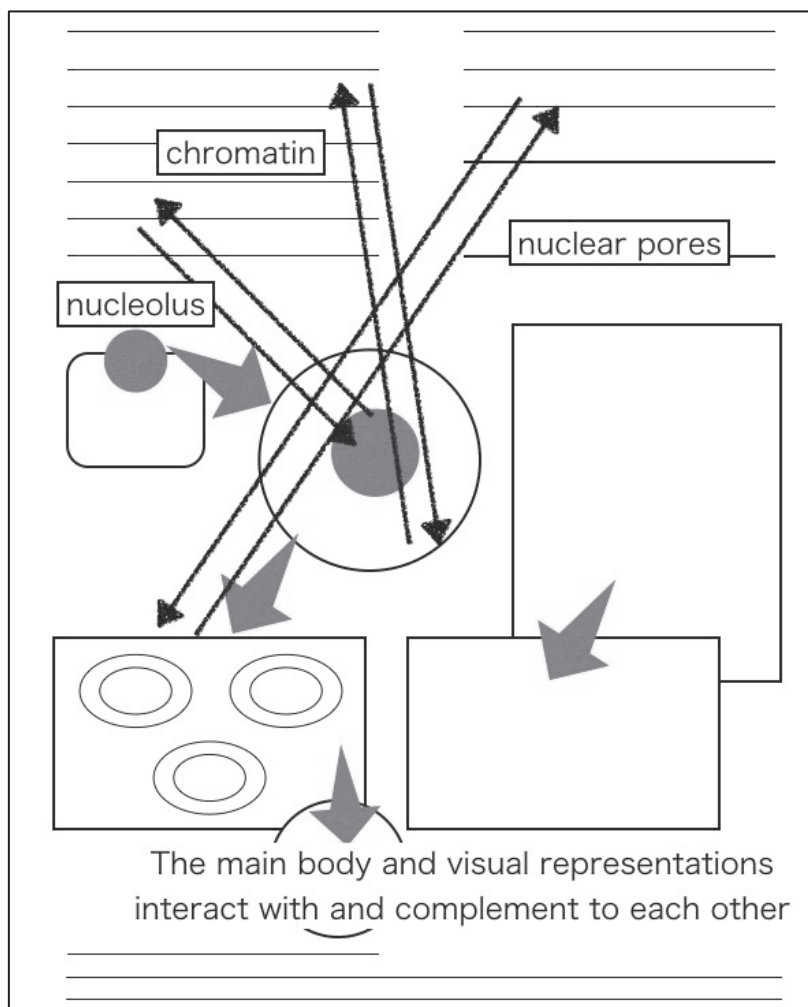
**Figure 4: An example of interactive relations
between the main body and visual representations
Schematic representation of *Inquiry into Life* (Twelfth ed.) p.52
(Arrows and texts by the author)**

In order to understand the information properly, the reader needs to reconstruct the message from both of them, stage by stage. By their complementary relation, the main body and visual complex dialogically construe the academic field of the nucleus: the visual complex does not make sense without the descriptions — the definition and function of each composition of the nucleus — by the main body, while the verbal descriptions without the visual images is far from adequate understanding. In addition to this interactive relation, the table at the upper right is subordinately related to the main body, and the title and caption are attached to the visual complex (I will discuss these components in the next section). As a result, the readers need to come and go among the main body, the title, the caption, the visual complex and the table more than once, 'following a back-and-forth type reading path'

(Guo, 2004: 204).

I would like to note that these dependency types are the matter of degree: they form a cline rather than fall into a certain type by clear criteria.

c) LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATIONS

The relationships between language and visual representations include logico-semantic relations. This has been proposed and explored by SFL-informed researches (Martin and Rose, 2007: 327-330; Martin and Rose, 2008:176-179; Martinec and Salway, 2005). Here, I briefly introduce how the logico-semantic relations are applied to multimodal analysis, and later locate the system in my system network of verbal-visual relations in textbooks.

Logico-semantic relations are grouped into expansion and projection. By expansion, language and visual representations are related to each other in the three patterns: one text restates, specifies in greater detail, comments or exemplify the other (**elaborating**); one adds some new element, gives an exception or offers an alternative to the other (**extending**); one qualifies the other with circumstantial feature of time, place, cause or condition to the other (**enhancing**) (adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 443-444). Visual and verbal texts are also related to each other by projection. By projection, one text projects the other text as a locution or an idea. This is typically used in cartoons to express characters' speech and thought. In the register of textbooks, projections are rarely used.

In the extract from *Inquiry into Life*, p. 52 (Figure 2), for example, language and visual representations are related to each other as follows:

(1) Part of the first paragraph is restated by the drawing of the nucleus and the labels located in the center of the visual complex: The statement *[c]hromatin is immersed in a semifluid medium called the nucleoplasm* is restated in the drawing of the nucleus (**elaborating: restate**).

(2) Parts of the second paragraph are restated by the electron micrographs and the drawing of the nucleus with the labels (**elaborating: restate**):

… when you look at an electron micrograph of a nucleus, you will see one or more regions that look darker than the rest of the chromatin. These are nucleoli (sing., nucleolus), …'

(3) Parts of the third paragraph are restated by the enlarged drawings of the nuclear envelope at the lower left: the parts of the main body '*[t]he nucleus is separated from the cytoplasm by a double membrane known as the nuclear envelope*' and '*[t]he nuclear envelop has nuclear pores…*' are restated by the drawings with labels (**elaborating: restate**).

(4) The structural features of the nucleus described in the main body are summarized by the table at upper right (**elaborating: summarize**):

i) …which [chromatin] consists of DNA and associated proteins

[in the first paragraph]

ii) …you will see one more regions that look darker than the rest of the chromatin. These are nucleoli (sing., nucleolus) where another type of RNA, called ribosomal RNA (rRNA), is produced and where rRNA joins with proteins to form the subunits of ribosomes…

[in the second paragraph]

iii) [t]he nucleus is separated from the cytoplasm by a double membrane known as the nuclear envelope … The nuclear envelop has nuclear pores…

[in the third paragraph]

Table 1 is the reproduction of the table.

Table 1: The reproduction of the table in Figure 2

The structural features of the nucleus include:	
Chromatin:	DNA and proteins
Nucleolus:	Chromatin and ribosomal subunits
Nuclear envelope:	Double membrane with pores

(5) The title summarizes the visual complex: the title of the visual complex *Figure 3.6 Anatomy of the nucleus* summarize the visual complex (**elaborating: summarize**).

(6) The caption summarizes the main body: the caption shown below summarizes the composition of the nucleus and the functions of its parts described in the main body (**elaborating: summarize**):

The nucleus contains chromatin. The nucleus is a region of chromatin where rRNA is produced, and ribosomal subunits are assembled. The nuclear envelope contains pores, as shown in the larger micrograph of a freeze-fractured nuclear envelope. Nuclear pores serve as passageways for substances to pass into and out of the nucleus.

(7) The caption gives detailed information to the visual complex: the caption describes the functions of the nuclear and its parts (**elaborating: specify**).

To sum up, verbal and visual components in Figure 2 are all related to each other by **elaborating** (**restate**, **summarize** and **specify**). Figure 5 summarizes the analysis of logico-semantic relations.
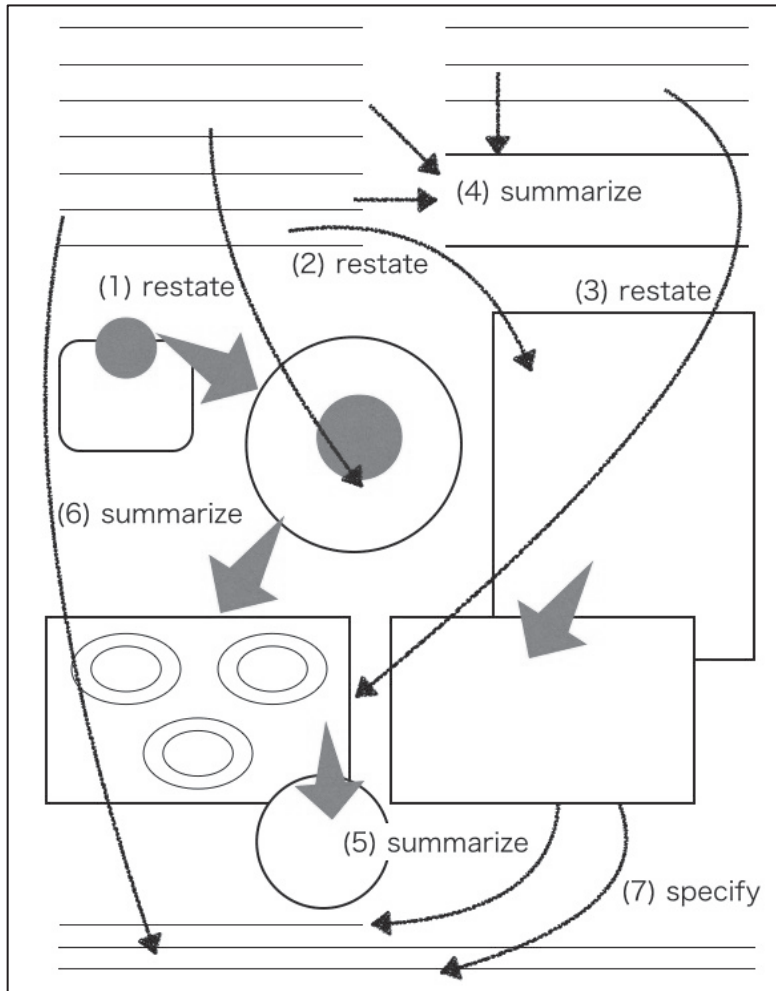
Figure 5: Examples of logico-semantic relations among verbal and visual components
Schematic representation of *Inquiry into Life* (Twelfth ed.) p.52
(Arrows and texts by the author)

d) RECURSION

As the logico-semantic relation between language and visual representations is **univariate** rather than **multivariate** (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 451), it forms iterative structures: like the clause complex in the grammar of English, visual and verbal components can relate one after another.

Reviewing the analysis summarized in Figure 5, four series of 'chains' are found. The first two consist of two chains (partly overlapped): parts of the visual complex elaborate the main body by restating it (arrows (1), (2) and (3) in Figure 5); at the same time, the visual complex is summarized by the title (arrow (5)) and parts of it are specified by the caption (arrow (7)). The others are not repetitive: the table elaborates part of the main body by summarizing it (arrow (4)), and the caption elaborates the main body by summarizing it (arrow (6)). The Table 2 summarizes the

iterative relations in Figure 5 (The bracketed numbers indicate the relations illustrated in Figure 5).

Table 2: Examples of iterative relations among verbal and visual components

the main body	→	visual complex	→	title
	elaborating: *restate* (1) (2) (3)		*elaborating:* *summarize* (5)	
			→	caption
			elaborating: *specify* (7)	

the main body	→	table
	elaborating: *summarize* (4)	

the main body	→	caption
	elaborating: *summarize* (6)	

The visual-verbal relations discussed here are shown as a system network (Figure 6).
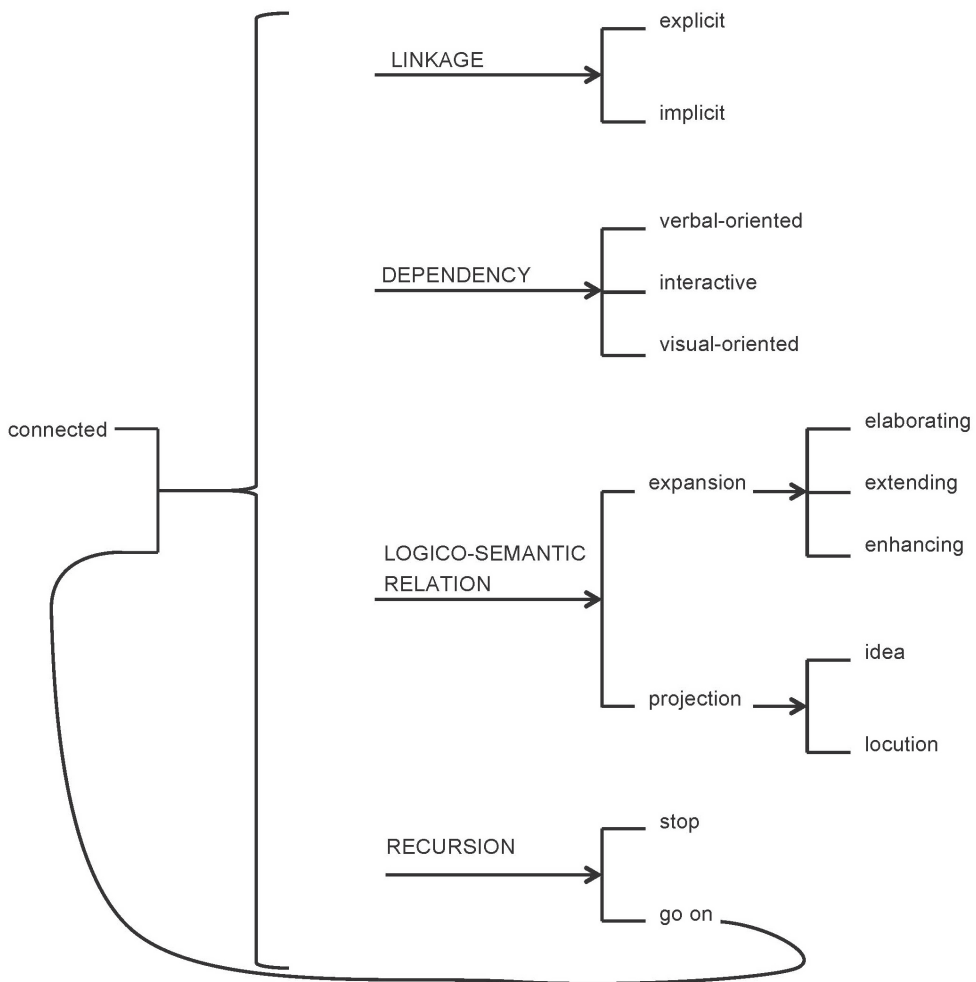
Figure 6: A tentative system network of verbal-visual relations in textbooks

4. Multimodal analysis of textbooks

Drawing on the discussion of visual-verbal relations above, this section addresses multimodal analysis of textbooks in humanities and science.

4.1 Multimodal analysis 1: An extract from *Egypt*

Among various visual representations, photographs are most commonly used as visual resource in textbooks in humanities. For example, the extract from *Egypt* (Figure 1) exploits four photographs (the lower right one is full-colored and the others are black and white). They are titled as *7 A burial of the Maadi culture*, *8 Footed vessel*, *9 Ribbed and burnished dish* and *10 Ointment container in the shape of a hippopotamus* (from left to right) respectively. Captions are attached, in which their findspots, estimated age, materials, size, museums maintaining them and reference numbers, as well as some explanations about them are included.

As there is no direct link to the photographs in the main body, their linkages are **implicit**. They are all related to the main body in **verbal-oriented** type, and **elaborate** the main body. More precisely, as described in section 3, they elaborate the main body by giving examples of what the main body describes (graves and burial items of Upper Egypt around 4,000 BC). The photographs are further related to their titles and captions in **visual-oriented**. Thus the photographs have two succeeding relations to other components (the main body – the photographs – the captions).

For example, as already discussed in section 3, the photograph of the dish on upper right, titled as *9 Ribbed and burnished dish* exemplifies the following statements in the main body:

> Plates, bowls and dishes were usually made of red ore brown polished clay. The blackened rim produced by a special firing technique is characteristic. The surface of the vessel was often "combed" before polishing, giving an attractive ribbed effect.
>
> (*The Egypt*, p.13)

Although the title restates the photograph and functions as 'a connector' to the main body, it is hard to find out the implicit link between the main body and the photograph: the reader has to find the link from the common words and clauses such as *dishes*, *ribbed* and *The surface of the vessel was often "combed"* in the main body on one hand, and the surface of the dish in a photograph on the other hand. The dependency relation is **verbal-oriented** because the main body can be stand-alone and the photograph makes sense in the context of the statement in the main body.

The relations in dependency between the photograph and title & caption are **visual-oriented**: both of the title and capture cannot be stand-alone and they work as subordinates of the photograph. The following extract is the caption of the photograph *9*:

> Matmar region; Badarian culture, end of the fifth millennium BC; pottery; Diam. 21 cm; Berlin, SMPK, Ägyptisches Museum, 23668.
> The special technique producing ribbed and burnished surfaces is typical of the pottery of the Badarian culture. The same technique is found in several other cultural groups of the Nubian and Sudanese area, and therefore, like a preference for pots with rounded bases, constitutes evidence of contact with the south. In both these features the Badarian culture differs from the early Naqada culture, which existed side by side which it in Upper Egypt, at least for a time.
>
> (*The Egypt*, p.13)

The first paragraph shows its findspots, estimated age, material, size, museums maintaining it and reference numbers. The latter describes 'the special technique' used in producing the dish in detail. Thus its logico-semantic relation to the photograph is **elaborating: specify**.

The combination of **verbal-oriented** and **elaborating: exemplify** between the main body and visual representations is more commonly used in textbooks in humanities. In that case, as the main body is usually dominant, its relation to visual representations is less dialogic. This does not mean that visual representations are

redundant and that they do not make cooperative contributions to reader's understanding: dependency type is the matter of correlation between language and visual representations, and their significance in text is another matter.

While the main body is dominant over the visual representations, titles and captions are dependent on visual text. The titles describe the subjects in the photographs (**elaborating: restate**). This type of title-visual relation tends to support claims (cited above) about what may be typical across introductory texts in the humanities. The captions expand the photographs in different ways: *7* elaborates the photograph by restating how the body was buried in the grave, *8* and *9* elaborate the photographs by specifying the shapes of and patterns on the vessels, and *10* enhances the photographs of the ointment container by explaining why such figurative items were developed. To sum up, the main body is exemplified by the photographs, which are restated by the titles, and expanded by the captions in various ways (Table 3).

**Table 3: Iterative relations among verbal and visual components
in textbooks in humanities**

the main body	→	photograph	→	title
	elaborating: exemplify			*elaborating: restate*
			→	caption
				elaborating: restate/ specify enhancing: qualifying with cause

4.2 Multimodal analysis 2: An extract from *Inquiry into Life*

The previous subsection explored the relations between language and visual representations in textbooks in humanities. In comparison, this subsection explores the verbal-visual relations in a sample textbook in science, *Inquiry into Life*, reviewing the analysis of the extract summarized in Figure 4 and 5.

In *Inquiry into Life*, a wide variety of visual representations such as photographs, diagrams, tables, drawings, graphs and chemical formula are utilized, and they are **explicitly linked** to the main body. For example, the first paragraph of the main body in Figure 2 starts as follows:

> When you look at the nucleus, even in an electron micrograph, you cannot see a DNA molecule. You can see **chromatin**, which consists of DNA and associated proteins (Fig. 3.6).

> (*Inquiry into Life*, p. 52)

The description *(Fig. 3.6)* in the main body is clearly liked to the title of the visual complex at the bottom (*Figure 3.6 Anatomy of the nucleus*) and leads the reader directly to it. Following the 'instruction', the reader is likely to look over the visual

complex and finds the key term *chromatin* and other related parts, and then may return to the main body.

The frequently-used dependency type in both the body-visual relations and visual-caption relation is **interactive**. As analyzed in section 3, the main body, the visual complex and the caption can be stand-alone and dialogically construct the knowledge about the organization of the nucleus and the function of its components. In the same way, the caption can be stand-alone and dialogically construe the academic field of the nucleus.

Like textbooks in humanities, visual representations and titles are related in **visual-oriented** and **elaborating**. However, while in humanities visual representations elaborate language by **restating**, in science visual representations elaborate language by **summarizing**. This is partly because the visual representations in humanities tend to be composed of a single element, like a photograph and drawing (see Figure 1), those in science tend to be visually complex including one or more participants and processes (see Figure 2).

The logico-semantic type frequently used in the body-visual relation are **elaborating: restate** and **elaborating: summarize**, and in the visual-caption relations, it is **elaborating: specify** as summarized in Figure 5. Language and visual representations dialogically **restate**, **summarize** and **specify** each other in textbooks in science. This result endorses the discussion that language and visual representations are complementary modes of meanings in scientific text. Science is essentially multimodal: the main difference between humanities and science as multimodal text lies here.

4.3 Comparison and summary

With respect to these two sample texts analyzed and discussed above, methodical comparison with the textbook in science does tend to support the distinctive features of humanities discussed above.

In humanities, the distinctive linkage type between the main body and the visual representations is **implicit**, while in science, it is **explicit**. The difference is significant in drawing the reading path. As the reading path is roughly indicated by **explicit** links in science text, it is easier for inexperienced readers to assume and draw the plausible reading path, especially when they have to come and go constantly between them — they have to because in science text the body-visual relations are **interactive** and **elaborating: restate** and **summarize**. On the other hand, humanities text whose typical linkage is **implicit** tends to have less restricted reading path, and therefore it is harder to find the link between the main body and the visual representations. In addition to this, due to the **verbal-oriented** and **exemplifying** relations between them, the reader may skip the visual representations, not recognizing the link in the main body. In visual-title relations of dependency, **visual-oriented** is common in both humanities and science. However, the frequently-used logico-semantic relation is different due to the components of the visual representations: in humanities text, titles **restate** photographs composed of a single component; while in science, they **summarize** visual complexes. In addition, while the distinctive relation between visual representations and captions is **interactive** and **elaborating: specify** in science, it is **visual-oriented** (and various

types of expansion) in humanities. These results mean that language and visual representations are less dialogic in textbooks in humanities, and suggest that they are not essentially multimodal in the sense that visual representations are not a fundamental constituent. This does not mean that multimodality in science is more complex and difficult than that of humanities. The body-visual relations in textbooks in humanities tend to be **implicit** and they are **verbal-oriented**. This fact, as discussed earlier, puzzles inexperienced readers: different multimodal literacies are required in different disciplines.

Recursive relations are found in both humanities and science, but the effects on the reading path are not the same. In textbooks in humanities, typical dependency type is **verbal-oriented** (in the body-visual relations) and **visual-oriented** (in visual-caption and visual-title relations). Thus, the reader is likely to return where s/he was after reading/ viewing the subordinate component, drawing 'U-turn' reading path. For example, the plausible reading path between the main body and photograph *9* is 'the body ^ photograph *9* ^ the body', or if it is extended to the caption, it is 'the body ^ photograph *9* ^ caption ^ photograph *9* ^ the body'. In textbooks in science, however, the typical dependency type is **interactive**, and so language and visual representations complimentarily construct the knowledge. This indicates that the reading path is more complex when multiple chains occur. When the components relate with more than one component like the visual complex in Table 2 and they relate in **interactive**, the plausible reading path is difficult for inexperienced learner to draw: after the reader views the visual complex, for example, s/he can come back to the main body or go to the title or the caption, and if s/he chooses the caption, s/he can choose to return to either the visual complex or the main body. Less restricted choice between components does not necessarily lead better reading. Therefore, the training to choose best component at each point to draw efficient reading path is required in literacy in science.

The synoptic overview of general tendency between language and visual representations in textbooks are shown as Table 4.

**Table 4: Synoptic overview of verbal-visual relations in textbooks
in humanities and science**

RELATIONS		HUMANITIES	SCIENCE
body & visual:	LINKAGE	implicit	explicit
	DEPENDENCY	verbal-oriented	interactive
	L-S RELATION	elaborating: exemplify	elaborating: restate
			elaborating: summarize
visual & title:	DEPENDENCY	visual-oriented	visual-oriented
	L-S RELATION	elaborating: restate	elaborating: summarize
visual & caption:	DEPENDENCY	visual-oriented	interactive
	L-S RELATION	various types	elaborating: specify
	RECURSION	body – photo – title & caption	body – visual – title & caption
			body – table
			body – caption

5. Conclusion

This paper has proposed a system network of verbal-visual relations in academic textbooks written in English and has attempted to apply it to the analysis of introductory textbooks. By this analysis and comparison with a science textbook, the two distinctive relations between the main body and visual representations in textbooks in humanities have been clarified: **verbal-oriented** in dependency type and **elaborating: exemplify** in logico-semantic type.

While **interactive** is distinctive dependency type in the relation between the main body and visual representations in science textbooks, **verbal-oriented** is distinctive in humanities. This difference means that visual representations play different roles in humanities and science. In science, visual representations and language dialogically cooperate to construct the whole text: science textbooks are inherently multimodal. In humanities, visual representations extend and faithfully assist the main body, but are less dialogic: visual representations are cooperative but not essential to textbooks in humanities, at least in the cases discussed above. These are reflected in the difference of the reading path. These findings characterize tendencies in the traditional styles, but presumably do not apply to disciplines that sit between humanities and natural sciences (as mentioned above with respect to psychology and linguistics). It is important to emphasize also, in a period of change, that subjects like archeology and anthropology increasingly depend on experimental technologies. There is a strong 'drift' towards scientific styles — for example, David Christian, the writer of *Big History*, is a historian who uses dramatic scientific imagery in his TED talk — http://www.ted.com/talks/david_christian_big_history.

The difference in logico-semantic type, between **exemplify** of **elaborating** (in humanities) and **summarize**, **specify**, **restate** (in science) endorses the discussion that humanities and science construe specialized knowledge in different ways: as Martin (1993) points out, humanities construe generalized recount with generic participants, while science construes taxonomy with defined terms. In the extract

from *Egypt*, photographs are utilized to exemplify generalized people, things and events in the edited timescale. Unlike scientific text, these visual representations do support language but do not construct dialogic relations with language as far as I investigated.

This paper has clarified that textbooks in humanities are not inherently or 'of necessity' multimodal in the sense that visual representations are not a fundamental constituent. At the same time, however, the fact is that '[t]exts are becoming increasingly multimodal in their incorporation of images with written language' (Unsworth, 2001: 9). Therefore, neither multimodal reading methods for scientific text nor conventional unimodal reading skills can be omitted in reading humanities text. Further research has to be done to grasp the nature of the register of introductory textbooks as multimodal text, and to develop more targeted teaching methods and materials for inexperienced students. This paper is a preliminary survey of multimodality to bridge the gap between everyday knowledge and specialized knowledge in humanities.

Acknowledgements

References

Bernstein, B. (1999) Vertical and horizontal discourse: An essay, *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20 (2): 157-173.

Christian, D. (2014) *Big History: between nothing and everything*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Guo, L. (2004) Multimodality in a biology textbook. In K. L. O'Halloran (ed.), *Multimodal Discourse Analysis: Systemic Functional Perspectives* 196-219. London & New York: Continuum.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1978) *Language as a social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Martin, J.R. (eds) (1993) *Writing Science: Literacy and Discourse Power*. London: Falmer Press.

Halliday, M.A.K and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2014) *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar* (4th ed.). London & New York: Routledge.

Kress, G. and van Leuween, T. (2006) *Reading Images: The grammar of visual design* (Second ed.). London: Loutledge.

Lemke, J. (1998) Multiplying meaning: Visual and verbal semiotics in scientific text. In J.R. Martin and R. Veel (eds), *Reading Science: Critical and Functional Perspectives on Discourse of Science* 87-113. London & New York: Routledge.

Martin, J.R. (1993) Life as a Noun: Arresting the Universe in Science and Humanities. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds) *Writing Science: Literacy and Discourse Power* 221-267. London: Falmer Press.

Martin, J.R. (2007) Construing knowledge: a functional linguistic perspective. In F. Christie and J.R. Martin (eds), *Language, Knowledge and Pedagogy: Functional Linguistic and Sociological Perspectives* 34-64. London & New York: Continuum.

Martin, J.R. and Rose, D. (2007) *Working with Discourse* (Second ed.) London & New York: Continuum.

Martin, J.R. and Rose, D. (2008) *Genre Relations: Mapping culture*. London: Equinox.

Martin, J.R. and Veel, R. (eds) (1998) *Reading Science: Critical and Functional Perspectives on Discourse of Science*. London & New York: Routledge.

Martinec, R. and Salway, A. (2005) A system for image–text relations in new (and old) media, *Visual Communication* 4 (3) 337-371.

O'Halloran, K. (1999) Interdependence, Interaction and Metaphor in Multisemiotic Texts, *Social Semiotics* 9 (3) 317-354.

O'Halloran, K. (2003) Intersemiosis in mathematics and science: Grammatical metaphor and semiotic metaphor. A.M. In Vandenbergen and M. Taverniers and L. Ravelli (eds), *Grammatical metaphor: views from systemic functional linguistics* 337-366. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Painter, C., Martin, J.R. and Unsworth, L. (2013) *Reading Visual Narratives: Image Analysis of Children's Picture Books*. Sheffield and Bristol, CT: Equinox.

Parodi, G. (2010) 'Academic genres across disciplines: Insights, findings and challenges in multimodal texts analysis of the PUCV-2010 Corpus of Spanish'. Plenary speech presented at 37th International Systemic Functional Congress, Vancouver.

Unsworth, L. (2001) *Teaching Multiliteracies Across the Curriculum: Changing contexts of text and image in classroom practice*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

"humanity". *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2nd ed. revised). (2005) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"humanity". *Merriam-Webster's Advanced Learners' English Dictionary*. (2008) Springfield, Massachusetts : Merriam Webster.

Textbooks

Mader, S.S. (2008) *Inquiry into Life* (12th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Schulz, R. and Seidel, M. (eds) (2010) *Egypt: The world of the Pharaos*. Potsdam, Germany: h.f.ullmann.

絵本における登場人物と読み手が織りなす
三者関係による対人的な意味の様相
Enactment of Interpersonal Meaning
with Characters and Readers in a Picture Book

奥泉　香
Kaori Okuizumi
日本体育大学
Nippon Sport Science University

水澤祐美子
Yumko Mizusawa
慶應義塾大学非常勤講師
Keio University (Part-time Lecturer)

Abstract

Research on picture books has a long history and it shows that they mediate between society and children in their socialisation process. The Systemic Functional approach to picture books, however, is relatively new (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Painter et al., 2013). This study attempts to analyse a picture book as a bimodal text from a Systemic Functional perspective. It specifically explores the images, the verbiage, and their interplay in the picture book, *The Other Side* (Woodson and Lewis, 2001), by applying the frameworks for picture books (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Painter et al, 2013) and the Appraisal theory (White, 2001; Martin & White, 2005) for the verbiage. In this picture book, a protagonist African American girl becomes a close friend of a Caucasian girl while she lives in a town segregated by a wooden fence. The focus is especially on the enactment of interpersonal relationships between the characters in the story, including the two girls, and those between a reader and the characters. The analyses reveal the dynamic interplay of the images with verbiage, the interpersonal relationships between the characters, and their connections with a reader.

1. はじめに

　何をもって絵本の誕生とするのかには諸説あるが、現在私たちが手にしているような「現代絵本」は、19 世紀半ばすぎにイギリスで誕生したとされている(吉田, 1999)。そして絵本研究は、この時期以降今日まで長い歴史を持つことになる。しかし絵本が、児童文学から独立した研究領域として研究されるようになるのは 20 世紀半ば以降であり(三宅, 1994)、その後も研究の中心は、作品研究や絵本論であった。例えば *The Art of Art for Children's Books* (Klemin,1966)や *Art and Design in Children's Picture Books* (Lacy, 1986)は、20 世

紀を代表する重要な絵本研究であるが、これらは絵本のデザインやそこに用いられている技法について分析した研究となっている。

　これに対し、20 世紀末以降 Sipe (1998)や Arizpe and Styles (2003)等、絵本とその読み手との関係に焦点を当てた研究も行われるようになる。日本でも佐々木(2000)において、絵本とその読み手の心理に関する研究が行われている。佐々木は、絵本で扱われる主題の膨大なリストを作成し、そこから絵本を読んでいる際の読み手の体験の質や、読み手の内にどういった対話が起きるのかを分析するという形で研究を行っている。つまり、絵本研究は、テクストとしてどういった技法が使われ、どういったデザインが施されているのかといった解明や検討から、さらにテクストと読み手との関係性の研究へと拡張されてきていると見ることができる。

　そこで本稿では、このテクストと読み手との関係を分析する枠組みとして、選択体系機能理論を援用する。選択体系機能理論では、①観念構成的メタ機能、②対人的メタ機能、③テクスト形成的メタ機能という三つのメタ機能の観点から、テクストの意味構築を検討する枠組みを備えている。そしてこの三つのメタ機能から絵本を研究する手法は、Painter et al. (2013)に代表されるように、昨今の絵本研究に取り入れられ、それ以前の絵本研究を大きく発展させる基盤となっている。中でも、上記三つのメタ機能のうち対人的メタ機能からの意味構築については、これまでの絵本研究を躍進させる枠組みが多数開発されてきている。例えば Painter et al. (2013)では、絵本における対人的メタ機能を検討する枠組みとして、次項以降で詳述する同調の度合い(PATHOS)や強弱(GRADUATION)といったシステムや、それに関連させて次の 2 種類の対人的意味を検討する必要性を提起している。その 2 種類とは、絵本における「登場人物同士の関係」と、「登場人物と読み手との関係」である。これに関しては、Nikolajeva and Scott (2006)でも『ママときかんぼうや』を例に「ママ」と「ぼうや」という登場人物同士の関係や、『ひとまねこざるときいろいぼうし』を例に、読み手と語り手との関係の分析を行っていることから、絵本研究における対人的意味を検討する際には、留意すべき点であると見ることができる。

　しかしこれらの研究においても、登場人物相互と読み手という三者関係に着目して対人的な意味やその構築の様相を分析した研究は、管見の限りでは殆ど無い。ここでいう三者関係とは、例えば次項以降で分析する絵本で述べるならば、二人の登場人物である少女と読み手との関係のことである。これらの三者関係を、絵とことばという異なるモード間で往還的に分析した研究はさらに少ない。そこで、本稿では絵本における上述の三者関係が、絵とことばとの関係においてどのように構築できるのかといった諸相を、選択体系機能理論を基盤として開発されてきたメタ機能のうち、対人的メタ機能の枠組みを援用する形で検討する。

2. 方法

　本研究では、上述した三者関係における対人的な意味を検討するため、以

下の方法や枠組みを用いる。具体的には、絵本の絵の部分(image)については、Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)が対人的な関わりを分析するために開発した枠組みを基盤に、それらを改良した Painter et al. (2013)の枠組みを用いて検討する。この枠組みについては、以下の 2.2 で詳述する。

　また、ことばの部分(verbiage)においては、主にアプレイザル分析(Martin and Rose, 2007; Martin and White, 2005; White, 2001)に基づき分析を行う。そしてこれら 2 種類の分析を基に、絵本の見開き内における絵の部分とことばの部分との相補的な意味構築の様相を検討する。

2.1 絵の部分(image)の分析

　絵本における絵の部分を、対人的な意味の観点から分析するため、上述したように Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)や、それを基に改良を加えた Painter et al. (2013)の枠組みを援用する。絵や写真における読み手と対象との関係について、Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)は社会的距離(SOCIAL DISTANCE)や、関与(INVOLVEMENT)、力関係(POWER)といった枠組みを提示している。これらを基に、Painter et al. (2013)は絵本における絵を分析するために、次の 3 種類の改良を加えている。一つめは、社会的距離(SOCIAL DISTANCE)の枠組みを登場人物と読み手との関係に使用し、登場人物相互の距離は近接性(PROXIMITY)という登場人物間の距離によって検討するよう、枠組みを 2 種類に整理するという改良である。Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)では、社会的距離(SOCIAL DISTANCE)は、写真のフレーム内や絵本の見開き内に占める登場人物の大きさにより具現されると説明されている。このため、Painter et al. (2013)は、絵本の登場人物が隣り合わせで描かれているのか、互いに遠く離れて描かれているのかといった距離によって具現される近接性(PROXIMITY)の枠組みを加えて、これらの関係をより詳細に分析できるように改良した。

　また二つめの改良は、Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)が登場人物と読み手との関与(INVOLVEMENT)の度合いや力関係(POWER)を、登場人物と読み手や登場人物相互の視覚的角度によって、具現されると考える枠組みについてのものである。この枠組みについても Painter et al. (2013)は、さらに登場人物同士の身体の向きという対峙関係(ORIENTATION)の枠組みを加えている。読み手から見て登場人物が正面に向いていると、関与(INVOLVEMENT)の度合いは高まり、斜めに描かれていると、関与の度合いは低くなる。そして見上げる・見下ろすといった仰角によって、力関係(POWER)は具現されると Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)では説明されている。これによれば、見上げる場合は力や権力を示し、見下ろす場合は、脆弱さや見る側の優位性という意味を構築することができる。さらに Painter et al. (2013)によって加えられた対峙関係(ORIENTATION)の枠組みによって、登場人物同士が向かい合う構図、あるいは背中合わせの構図によっても、双方の親疎関係を捉えることができるようになる。

　三つめの改良は、Kress and van Leeuwen (2006)で提示されている接点

(CONTACT)とモダリティ(MODALITY)という枠組みを、以下の5種類の枠組みに整理し直したものである。Painter et al. (2013)では、この二つのシステムを以下のように再整理している。焦点化(FOCALIZATION)、感情(AFFECT)、同調の度合い(PATHOS)、色等による雰囲気(AMBIENCE)と強弱(GRADUATION)である。焦点化(FOCALIZATION)は、誰の視点から描かれているのかを捉える枠組みであり、同調の度合い(PATHOS)は、絵の描かれ方や筆致によって、読み手が絵にどの程度同調しやすくなるかという枠組みである。具体的には、最小限の筆致(minimalistic)、一般的な筆致(generic)、写実的な筆致(naturalistic)という3種類の描かれ方の分類が提示されている。この描かれ方と関連して、感情(AFFECT)は登場人物の感情の表出のし方を捉える枠組み、雰囲気(AMBIENCE)は絵本に使用される色の効果を捉える枠組みとして整理されている。最後に強弱(GRADUATION)は、絵の占める面積や描かれ方によって、その対象の意味を強めたり弱めたりする程度として捉える枠組みが整理されている。本稿では、以上のシステムを用い、次項で詳述する絵本 *The Other Side* の分析を行う。

2.2 ことばの部分(verbiage)の分析

　絵本におけることばの部分に関しては、アプレイザル分析を適用した。アプレイザル分析とは、語彙文法層において、対人的意味を明らかにするテクスト分析のツールであり、語彙やテクストにおける書き手のスタンスを明らかにすることを可能とする分析方法である。

　アプレイザル分析では、上述の書き手のスタンスを、Engagement、Attitude、Graduation という三つの下位項目によって分類することができる。Engagement は他者の意見を、どの程度の距離を置きながらテクストに取り入れるかということを計り、Attitude は価値基準を示すための語彙やテクストを分類することができる。Graduation は語彙やテクストの意味を強めたり弱めたりする語彙やテクストを分類することができる枠組みである。本稿では、分析対象の絵本の展開に伴って、語り手である主人公クローバーの価値基準がどのように変化していくのかを考察したい為、上記の枠組みの内 Attitude に焦点を当て分析を行う。

　Attitude は価値基準の種類により、さらに Affect、Judgment、Appreciation の三つに分類することが可能となる。Affect は人の感情表現を分類することができ、Judgment は社会規範を、Appreciation は物事に対する評価を分類することができる。次の図1に、使用したアプレイザルのシステムを記す。
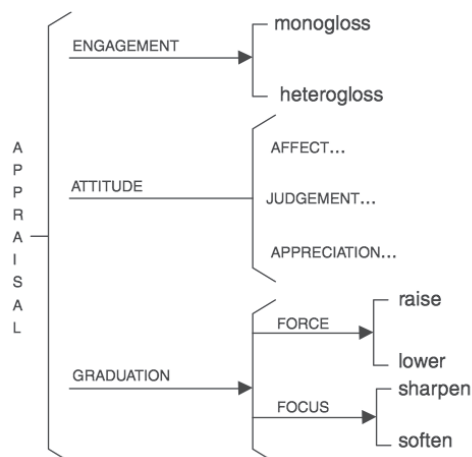
(Martin and White, 2005, p. 38)

図 1: アプレイザルのシステム

　例えば、上図に示した枠組みを用いて、本稿で分析対象とする絵本 *The Other Side* のことばの部分を分析すると、Affect が使用されている例としては、"She had a pretty smile"の"pretty" [Affect(+)]や"smile" [Affect(+)]を挙げることができる。また、Judgment の例としては、"It's not polite." の"not polite" [Judgment(−)]を挙げることができる。さらに、Appreciation の例としては、"this old fence"の"old" [Appreciation(−)]を例として挙げることができる。Graduation の例としては、"the fence …seemed bigger"の比較級"bigger"を、 "fence"の大きさをより強めている例として挙げることができる。これらの分析例については、後の 4 以降の分析の中で詳しく述べる。

3. データ

　本稿では、分析対象として *The Other Side* (Woodson and Lewis, 2001) という絵本を使用した。*The Other Side* は、"2001 Time of Wonder Award"の受賞をはじめ、数々の賞を受賞した絵本である。Jacqueline Woodson が文を書き、Earl Bradley Lewis がイラストを描いている。Woodson がアフリカ系アメリカ人ということもあり、彼女の作品のテーマはアフリカ系アメリカ人を扱ったものが多い。

　この絵本は、アフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子クローバーと、白人の女の子アニーとの間の友情の確立過程を描いた物語である。クローバーとアニーの住む地域は、彼女たちの背の高さより高い木の柵で仕切られ、居住地域が、アフリカ系アメリカ人と白人で異なっている。絵本では、柵のこちら側にはアフリカ系アメリカ人が、柵の向こう側には白人が居住しており、文章は柵の手前に住んでいる主人公クローバーの語りの形式をとっている。

4. 分析と結果

　上記の絵本から、以下に述べる四つの場面を取り上げ、絵の部分とことばの部分との相補関係に着目しながら、各場面毎の分析とそれらを通した分析を行った。取り上げた場面は、この物語が少女たちにおける友情の確立過程を描いた物語であることから、(1)二人の出会いの場面、(2)街で親と同伴で出会った場面、(3)仲良くなる契機の場面、(4)友情が確立する場面という各過程を代表する場面を選んだ。また、その分析には、上の 2 で示した分析方法や分析枠組みを用いた。その分析から得られた結果を、以下に述べる。以下の分析において想定した読み手は、この絵本に登場する少女と同じ小学校中学年とした。ただし、授業場面で教師が一緒に読むことも考慮し、教材研究の観点も含め分析を行った。

4.1 二人の出会いの場面における対人的意味と三者関係の様相

　まず初めてこの二人の少女が出会う場面について分析する。
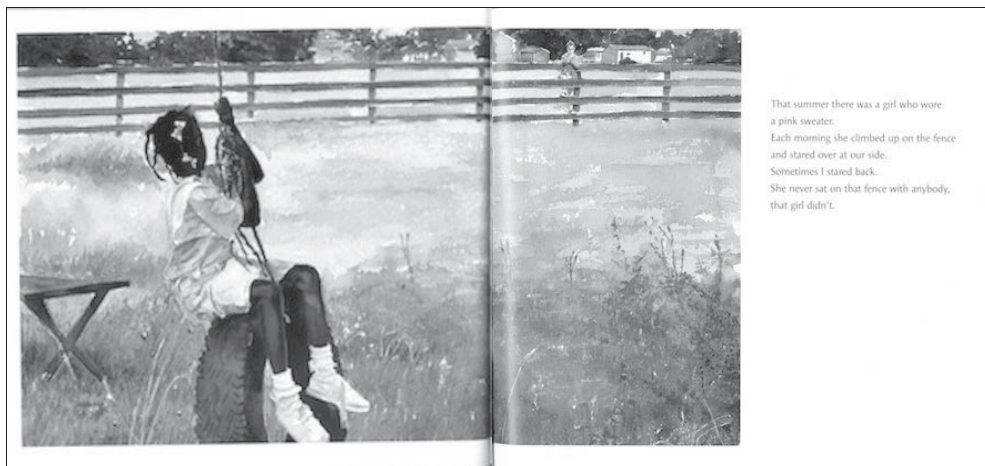
図 2: *The Other Side* における二人の出会いの場面

　最初に、この場面の絵の分析から始め、その後ことばの部分との関係を検討する。この場面では、木の柵が見開きの端から端まで横一面に描かれており、アフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子のいる手前の居住区と、柵の奥の居住区とを隔てていることがわかる。奥の白人の女の子は柵に手をかけているが、手前の女の子は、柵から遠く離れている。上述した近接性(PROXIMITY)という登場人物間の距離によって検討すると、このアフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子から、柵や柵の所にいる白人の女の子との物理的距離は、同時に二人の間の親疎関係の距離をも表象しているという意味構築ができる。また、この二人の登場人物と読み手という三者関係を分析してみると、読み手からの社会的距離(SOCIAL DISNTACE)は、手前のアフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子の方が近く、右奥に小さく描かれた白人の女の子は、読み手にとっても遠い存在と

して描かれている。さらに焦点化(FOCALIZATION)の枠組みを用いると、読み手は、この手前に描かれているアフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子の背後から、この女の子に近い視点でこの光景を眺めるよう描かれていることも分析できる。

　それでは、この場面のことばの部分にはどのようなことが書かれているのだろうか。以下に同場面のことばの部分を示す。

　表1：二人の出会いの場面におけることばの部分

ことばの部分（改行は、原文の通り）
That summer there was a girl who wore a pink sweater. Each morning she climbed up on the fence and stared over at our side. Sometimes I stared back. She never sat on that fence with anybody, that girl didn't.

　文中の"a girl"や"that girl"からもわかるように、手前のアフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子にとって、柵の向こうに見える少女は、まだ個人としては特定されていない心理的距離も遠い女の子であることがうかがえる。また、"our side"ということばの選択からもわかるように、手前のアフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子にとって、この出会いの場面では、柵で分断された「こちら側」といった意識があることもうかがえる。

　つまり、これらことばの部分と先に分析した絵の部分とを関連付けて検討してみると、この二人の出会いの場面では、手前のアフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子にとって、白人の少女は遠い不特定多数の存在であるということが、絵からもことばの部分からも意味構築できることがわかる。また、ことばの部分は、先述のようにアフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子による語りの形をとっているので、絵、ことば共に、読み手はこのアフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子に近い位置からこの光景を見ることになる。つまり三者関係に焦点化するならば、この二人の少女を同位置から客観的に眺めているのではなく、アフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子の側から眺めているという関係性になる。

4.2 街で親と同伴で出会った場面における対人的意味と三者関係の様相

　次に取り上げる場面は、自宅から離れた街でクローバーとアニー（この場面からは、お互いを明確に意識し合う関係へと変化するため、アフリカ系アメリカ人の女の子と白人の女の子のことを、クローバーとアニーと固有名詞で称す）が、双方の母親と一緒に出会う場面である。

図 3: 街で親と同伴で出会った場面

　　まず、この場面の絵について、登場人物相互における対人的な意味を検討する。上述した登場人物同士の身体の向きを分析する対峙関係(ORIENTATION)の枠組みを用いると、この場面の絵は、下に示すような母親同士と子ども同士という 2 種類の対峙関係(ORIENTATION)の入れ籠構造になっていることがわかる。母親たちによる外側の対峙関係(ORIENTATION)は、双方の身体が異なる方向を向き、歩いて遠ざかろうとしている。それに対し、内側に描かれているクローバーとアニーは、それぞれの母親に手を引かれながら、母親たちと同様に身体は互いに正反対の方向を向いているが、しかし互いに顔は向き合って視線が交わっている。そのことは、図 4 右に描きこんだ矢印(vector)によっても確認することができる。そしてこれらの対峙関係(ORIENTATION)の枠組みから、親の世代と子どもの世代における関係性の違いを見て取ることができる。

図 4: 母親と子ども相互による対峙関係(ORIENTATION)の違い

　　それは、大人同士の関係がアフリカ系アメリカ人と白人という既存の社会的関係や社会規範という意味を構築しているのに対し、子ども同士は、彼女らにとっては旧態であるその関係に引きずられながらも、新しい方向を志向し、新たな関係に向かっているという暗示的な意味を構築していると見るこ

とができる。

　また、この場面では二人の少女の顔は、上の矢印(vector)の箇所でも言及したように、向き合い互いに凝視し合っている(gaze)。この視線を交わすという描写は、互いを認め合うことや、共感・感情移入の表象と見ることができる(Painter et al., 2013, p.20)。このことからも、この少女たちは、人種の違いによる既存の社会体制の中で、その象徴の一つである居住地区の分断を受け入れながらも、双方に積極的な意味での関心を抱いているという意味を構築することができる。それでは、この場面におけることばの部分も検討してみよう。

表 2 : 街で親と同伴で出会った場面のことばの部分

ことばの部分（改行は、原文の通り）
That summer everyone and everything on the other side of that fence seemed far away. When I asked my mama why, she said, "Because that's the way things have always been." Sometimes when me and Mama went into town, I saw that girl with her mama. "Don't stare," my mama said. "It's not polite."

　この見開きページのことばの部分における冒頭部も、"That summer everyone and everything on the other side of that fence seemed far away"という文で始まっている。この文には、"the other side of that fence"という柵で仕切られた他のグループを表す表現や、"seemed far away"というその他のグループに向けての手前からの距離感を感じさせるような表現が入っている。このことから、この冒頭部はクローバーの語りで始まっていることがわかる。したがって、この冒頭部はクローバーが柵の向こう側にある居住区の存在を、心理的な距離の隔たりを持って初めて認識した社会への気づきの場面と捉えることができる。

　また、こういった気づきを持ったクローバーが母親に柵の存在の理由を尋ねると、母親は"Because that's the way things have always been."と返答している。このことから、少女にとって身近な大人である母親は、当時の社会規範を、そのまま受け入れていると捉えることができる。加えて、クローバーの母親は、既存の社会規範から白人の女の子を凝視するクローバーに、" "Don't stare." my mama said. "It's not polite." "と注意もしている。この"not polite"という句は、アプレイザル分析の Judgment の negative に分類される。そのため、この句は絵の部分で表象された社会規範に、さらに焦点を当てる効果があると見ることができる。

　それでは、この場面における読み手と登場人物との三者関係は、どのように構築することができるのだろうか。この場面では、中心部が広い空間となっていることもあり、登場人物 4 人の内の誰かと読み手が強い繋がり(engagement)を持つ関係は見られない。読み手との社会的距離(SOCIAL DISNTACE)は、母親たちよりは子どもたちに少し近いが、読み手からは、上

述した母親同士と子ども同士という 2 種類の入れ籠構造を、ほぼ中間的な位置から見ることができるようになっている。つまり、読み手はこの三者関係によって、この親世代の社会的関係と子ども世代の新たに構築されようとしている社会的関係という 2 種類の関係が織りなす複雑な構造を、眺め考える立場に位置づけられているということができる。

4.3　仲良くなる契機の場面における対人的意味と三者関係の様相

　次は、クローバーとアニーが初めて会話を交わし、名前を訊き合う場面について検討する。この場面についても、まず絵の部分から検討する。図 5、6 からもわかるように、柵と女の子との距離は近づき、二人の近接性(PROXIMITY)も高まっている。

図 5: 初めて会話を交わす場面　　　　**図 6: 初めて手をつなぐ場面**

　また図 5 では、この二人の視線(gaze)は向き合い交わっており、対峙関係(ORIENTATION)もやや斜めながらも向き合っている。

　そして、この場面ではことばの部分でも、お互いに名前を訊き合い、ファーストネームを教え合っていることが書かれている。Painter et al. (2013)の提示している枠組みでは、ことばの部分における命名(naming)によっても近接性が変化することが述べられている。したがって、この場面では、絵における二人の距離や視線、近接性も高まっており、ことばの部分においても近接性が高まっていると見ることができる。

　しかしこの図 5 は、三者関係の対人的意味である読み手との関係を重ねて分析することによって、さらに立体的な意味を構築することができる。この光景を見ている読み手にとっては、ショットサイズに具現される社会的距離(SOCIAL DISNTACE)が変わることによって、この二人を近づいて見ている位置に置かれることになる。このことによって、読み手は登場人物の表情を近くから見ることができるようになり、登場人物の感情の表出を捉える枠組みAffect を用いることによって、クローバーとアニーが笑顔で向い合っている関係の意味を構築することができるようになる。読み手はどちらかの少女に近づくことはなく、第三者の視点からこの光景を傍観するように位置づけられていることもわかる。そしてそのことによって、見開きいっぱいに描かれている柵が、この近づいた二人の登場人物を、なおも隔てていることが読み手には意識されやすくなっている。この見開きいっぱいに、しかも二人の少女の背丈よりも高い柵の描かれ方は、上述の Graduation の枠組みを用いると、

近接性の高まった二人の間に、依然として既存社会における二つの地区の「分断」が存在していることを、表していると捉えることができる。そして図 2 同様、柵に手をかけているのは白人アニーで、手前のクローバーは手を触れていないこともわかる。

　さらに、このようにこの柵に着目して、この絵本のページを対人的機能に焦点化させながら追っていくと、最初に描かれている柵と、図 6 の柵では、その役割の様相が質的に変化していることも分析できる。柵は、ことばの部分においては、一貫して「柵(fence)」とだけ記され続けている。そしてこの柵は、二つの居住地区の「分断」のインスタンスとして描かれている。しかし、絵の部分を対人的機能に焦点化しながら、この柵をめぐる登場人物との関係で分析すると、この柵が、「分断」する役割から「交流の場」としての役割に質的に変化する様相を捉えることもできる。

　図 6 では、白人のアニーがついに柵を乗り越え、手前のクローバーに手を差し伸べている。この二人の手が示す矢印(vector)が、この 2 者の接触(contact)を、しかも柵を越えて示している。そして、次項に示す図 7 のページでは、全員の子どもが、人種に関係なくこの柵に身体を接触させている。つまり、柵の役割は質的に変化しているのである。

4.4 友情が確立する場面における対人的意味と三者関係の様相

　最後に、友情が確立する場面における対人的意味の検討を行う。まずこの場面の絵から検討する。この場面では、子どもたちは、「分断」の象徴として存在していた「柵」に登ったり、柵の横にもたれかかったり、腰をかけたりと、何らかの方法で柵に触れている。このことによって、この少女たちや少女たちとこの柵との近接性(PROXIMITY)は、高まっているという意味が構築できる。柵は依然として存在するものの、居住地区を分断するという柵本来の役割は、子どもたちの間ではもう見られない。その代わりに、柵はクローバーやアニーを始めとする子どもたちの交流の場となっている。
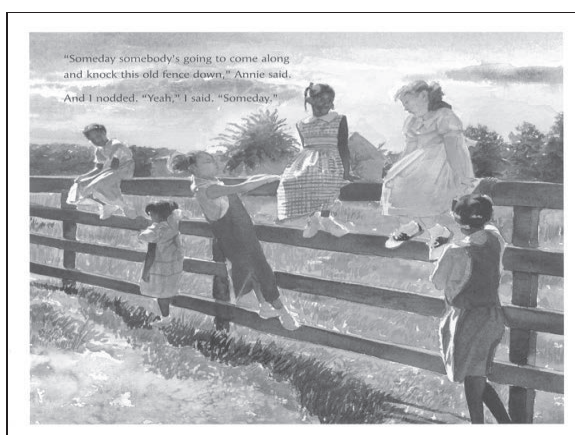
図 7: 友情が確立する場面

　この絵に表象される柵の役割は、ことばの部分においても同様に見て取ることができる。以下の表3に、同ページのことばの部分を記す。

表3：友情が確立する場面におけることばの部分

ことばの部分（改行は原文のとおり）
"Someday somebody's going to come along and <u>knock</u> this <u>old fence down</u>," Annie said. And I nodded. "Yeah," I said. "Someday."

　絵と同様に、この場面でも "fence"という単語が再び繰り返される。だが、今回の"fence"が、これまでの"fence"と違うところは、"fence"を修飾する形容詞"old"が付加されていることである。これは、アプレイザル分析の観点から"fence"が Judgment の negative に分類されると考えられるが、"old"も Appreciation の negative として、"fence"をさらに強調する役割があると考えられる。それを、白人のアニーが、"knock this old fence down"と口にし、クローバーが頷くことで、「分断」の終焉を、子どもたちの希望として捉えることが可能となる。

　また、アニーとクローバーが希望する「分断」の終焉は、絵の部分でも表現されている。「分断」の終焉を象徴するかのように、絵の部分における空は、夕焼けのオレンジ色の明るさが際立っている。絵本における色は、雰囲気(AMBIENCE)という枠組みで捉えられ、夕焼けのこの明るさが将来に対する希望を、そしてその色が朝焼けではなく、一日の終わりに見られる夕焼けの色として描かれていることから、既存の社会規範の終焉を暗示していると捉えることができる。交流の場となった柵と、夕焼けのオレンジ色の明るさとその時間帯、そしてことばの部分における次の表現"knock this old fence down"とが、既存の社会規範の終焉への希望という同種のインスタンスとして描かれていると見ることができる。

　この絵本の終盤に向けた既存の社会規範の終焉や希望は、作品を通したことばの部分のアプレイザル分析からも見てとることができる。下の表4は、作品を通したことばの部分をアプレイザル分析した集計結果である。

表4: 作品を通したことばの部分のアプレイザル分析による結果

Attitude	Affect		Judgement		Appreciation	
肯定/否定 ＼ 場面	肯定	否定	肯定	否定	肯定	否定
二人の出会いの場面	0	0	0	2	0	0
街での出会いの場面	0	1	0	4	0	0
仲良くなる契機の場面	3	0	0	2	0	0
友情が確立する場面	0	0	1	1	0	1
合計	3	1	1	9	0	1

この表からもわかるように、positive な表現は「仲良くなる契機の場面」以降出てくるようになっている。また反対に、negative な表現は「仲良くなる契機の場面」以降、少なくなっている。こういった通時的なことばの部分の分析から見ても、上で言及した絵における雰囲気(AMBIENCE)の枠組みで見ても、将来に向けた希望や明るさが、作品の終盤に向けて意味構築されている。

　また、この図 7「友情が確立する場面」における読み手を含む三者関係は、上述の登場人物同士の関係を、読み手が少し離れた所から傍観している関係として見ることができる。このことは、焦点化(FOCALIZATION)の枠組みを用いることによって、明らかにすることができる。この見開き中のどの登場人物の視線(gaze)も、他の登場人物との間で交わっており、読み手の視線とは交わっていない。また登場人物と読み手との社会的距離(SOCIAL DISNTACE)を見ることによっても、少し離れた立場から眺めている「傍観」という関係を分析することができる。そしてこのことによって、読み手には、登場人物である少女たちを巡って、柵の役割が質的に変化してきた様相を、眺め捉えることができる。

5. 考察

　以上述べてきたように、本稿ではこれまでの絵本研究において明示的には分析されてこなかった、登場人物相互と読み手という三者関係に着目して、対人的な意味や、その構築の様相を分析してきた。そしてそのことによって、こういった三者関係に着目することによって見えてくる、次のような 2 種類の分析を行うことができた。一つは、街でクローバーとアニーが出会った場面における母親同士の既存の社会的関係と、少女同士の新たな関係という入れ籠構造を傍観する視点といった対人的な意味の構築である。

　そしてもう一つは、登場人物や描かれた対象との関係性を変えながら、三者関係によって各場面における柵の役割を、通時的に見ていくことによる、柵の質的な変化における意味の構築である。この物語では、上述したように冒頭の場面から、2 種類の居住地区を隔てる柵が描かれていた。そしてその後のページにも、全 32 ページ中 8 ページ(4 見開き)を除いて、この柵の絵は登場し続けた。ことばの分析においても、同じ語彙が頻繁に繰り返して使用された場合には、アプレイザル分析における強弱(GRADUATION)の枠組みを用いて、その語彙が強調されていると分析することができる。そして Painter et al. (2013)では、絵の部分にある要素が繰り返し使用される場合にも、その要素が強調されている目安となるという枠組みを提示していた。特にこの絵本の場合には、その枠組みを使うことによって、その強調の連鎖の中で柵の質的な役割の変化という意味の構築を行うことができた。

6. まとめと今後の課題

　本稿では、絵本に特有の 2 種類の対人的な意味の関係に着目して、選択体系機能理論における対人的メタ機能の枠組みを援用することにより、登場人物と読み手という三者関係の分析を行った。そして、その分析は、絵本のよ

うな絵とことばというモードの異なる 2 種類の記号間を往還する形で分析することによって可能になった。このことによって、クローバーの側からの語りをことばで読み、同時にそのクローバーやクローバーたち少女を違った角度や立場から眺めるといった異なる記号過程を往還する意味構築を行うことができた。

　そしてこういった意味構築は、選択体系機能理論を基盤として開発された絵とことばという異なる記号間を往還することのできる枠組みを、援用することによって可能になった。本稿では、選択体系機能理論における三つのメタ機能の内、対人的メタ機能に焦点化させて枠組みの使用や分析を行ったが、今後は他の二つのメタ機能についてもさらに検討を重ね、これまでの絵本研究にさらなる貢献ができる部分を拡げ提示していきたい。

参考文献

Gill, T. (2002) *Visual and Verbal Playmates: An Exploration of Visual and Verbal Modalities in Children's Picture Books.* Honours thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of Sydney.

Halliday, M. A. K. (1978) *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning.* London: Arnold.

Klemin, D. (1966) *The Art of Art for Children's Books.* New York: Clarkson N. Potter.

Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2006) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design.* 2nd Ed. London: Routledge.

Lacy, L. E. (1986) *Art and Design in Children's Picture Books. An Analysis of Caldecott Award-Winning Illustrations.* Chicago: American Library Association.

Lindgren, B. and Erikson, E. (1980) *The Wild Baby*. New York. Greenwillow Books.（リンドグレン B.・エリクソン E. 小野寺百合子(訳) (1998) 『ママときかんぼぼうや』佑学社）

Martin, J. R. and Rose, D. (2007) *Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the Clause*. London and Oakville, CT: Continuum.

Martin, J.R. and White, P.R.R. (2005) *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Palgrave MacMillan: New York.

Martinec, R. and Salway, A. (2005) *A System for Image-Text Relations in New (and Old) Media: Visual communication* 4(3): 337-371.

三宅興子(1994)「英語圏指導文学研究文献解題」『児童文学研究』30: 23-31.

Nicolajeba, M. and Scott, C. (2001) *How Picturebooks Work.* Routledge: London.

Painter, C. and Martin, J. R. (2011) Intermodal complementarity: modelling affordances across image and verbiage in children's picture books. *Studies in Systemic Functional Linguistics and Discourse Analysis (III)*, 132-58. Beijing,

China: Higher Education Press.

Painter, C. Martin, J.R. and Unsworth, L. (2013) *Reading Visual Narratives: Image Analysis of Children's Picture Books*. Equinox: Sheffield.

ピーター・ハント(編)(2001)『子どもの本の歴史：写真とイラストでたどる』東京：柏書房

Rey, H.A. (1973) *Curious George*. Boston: HMH Books for Young Readers. (レイ H.A. 光吉夏弥 (訳) (1998)『ひとまねこざるときいろいぼうし』岩波書店)

佐々木宏子(2000)『絵本の心理学：子どもの心を理解するために』東京：新曜社

Sipe, L. R. (1998) How Picturebooks Work: A Semiotically Framed Theory of Text-Picture Relationship. *Children's Literature in Education* 29(2): 97-108.

Unsworth, L. (2013) *Interfacing Comprehension of Image-Language Interfacing in State-Wide Reading Texts and Semiotic Accounts of Image-Language Relations*. In C. Gouveia and M. Alexandre (eds), *Languages, Meta Languages, Modalities, Cultures :Functional and Socio-Discursive Perspectives* (pp. 177–198). Lisbon: Books on Demand/Instituto de Linguística Teórica e Computacional (ILTEC).

Watson, V. and Styles, M. (eds) (1996) *Talking Pictures: Pictorial Texts and Young Readers*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

White, P. R. R. (2001) *An Introductory Tour through Appraisal Theory*. Retrieved 25, June, 2014, from http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/index.html

Woodson, J. and Lewis, E. B. (2001) *The Other Side*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

吉田新一(1999)『絵本/物語るイラストレーション』東京：日本エディタースクール出版部

絵本の文と絵の関係性システム
The System of Relationships between Words and Pictures in Picturebooks

早川 知江

Chie Hayakawa

名古屋芸術大学

Nagoya University of Arts

Abstract

This paper is a part of the multimodal study which focuses on a typical bimodal text, picturebooks. The focus of this analysis is the semiotic relationships between words (verbal text) and pictures (visual text). The pictures in picturebooks do not merely repeat the same meaning as the words, but create some kind of 'contradictions' from the verbal text. In other words, pictures work complementally with words by intentionally adding meanings, communicating the opposite meanings, or creating distinctive meanings which cannot be attained through the verbal system.

In order to demonstrate the rich potential of meaning making in picturebooks, this paper examines the *Olivia* series by Ian Falconer as an example, and investigates the relations found between the words and pictures to come up with the new system RELATION BETWEEN VERBAL AND VISUAL TEXT IN PICTUREBOOKS. I utilize the four-partite system proposed by Nikolajeva and Scott (2001) as the least delicate system and expand it referring to several other systems such as LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION, MODALITY, and GRADUATION.

1. 絵本のおもしろさ：文と絵の関係性

　本稿は、「絵本のおもしろさとは何か」を言語理論の枠組みで追求しようとする試みの一環である。「おもしろい絵本」にはもちろん、ストーリー（または文）がおもしろい、絵が美しいといった要素が含まれる。しかし、単におもしろいストーリーならば、絵のない小説でも表現可能であるし、美しい絵ならば美術館や画集でいくらでも見ることができる。その意味で、「おもしろい絵本」とはおそらく、文(verbal text)と絵(visual text)が組み合わさった、bimodal text ならではの意味のしかたを工夫したものだといえるだろう（注：本稿では、言語によるものも画像によるものも含め、意味生産の産物をすべて text と表現する。絵本の文は、言語による text という意味で verbal text、絵は視覚表現による text という意味で visual text と表現した。Text のこうした広義の用法は、Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)、Painter, et al. (2011)、Painter, et at. (2013)を参考にした）。つまり、文が意味を生み出し、絵も意味を生み出し、その二つがさまざまな関係性をもって相補的にはたらくことで、さらに別の意味を生み出す、それが絵本の醍醐味だと考える。

　福音館書店で長年、絵本編集者として活躍し、自身も児童文学家である松

居直も、その著書『絵本とは何か』(1973)の中でくり返し、こうした「絵本でなければ表現できないもの」について言及している。以下に 3 か所引用する：

> すぐれた絵本というものは、まさに絵本でなければ表現できないものを表現する独自の芸術（アート）なのです。(p84)

> さし絵は単にテキストを説明する、テキストを単純に絵におきかえるものではありません。[中略] [物語の]ある部分は文字表現にはなりえない。ある部分はわざと文字化しないで省略します。さし絵画家は、テキストを読んで、このかくされた部分を掘りおこさねばなりません。 (p143)

> 今の本は、絵本でなくても表現できるものを、わざわざ絵本にしているものもあります。[中略] しかしそうではなくて、絵本でなければ表現できない、絵本という形をとらなければ表現できないものがあるわけで、そういう世界をこそ私達は探し出して、そしてそれを絵本にしてゆくという、そこのところ、具体的な一例をあげますと、レオ・レオーニの描きました『あおくんときいろちゃん』という絵本、ああいったもの、あれは絵本でなければできない。あれは絵本の中の絵本です。(p276)

　松居が「絵本でなければ表現できない」と語った意味のしかたは多岐にわたる。そのうちの一つに間違いなく当てはまるのが、文と絵の意味の間に「ずれ」または「くいちがい」がある場合だろう。すなわち、文で表されていないものを絵で表したり、文で表される意味を絵がより発展させたり、あるいはいっそ、文で表されるのとは逆の意味を絵が表すといった場合である。このような「ずれ」のある文と絵を意図的に並置させることで、物語をより豊かにし、ユーモアや皮肉、驚き、意外性など、片方のモードだけでは伝えられない意味が生み出せるのである。
　だが実際に、文と絵の「ずれ」にはどのような種類があるのか。文と絵に「ずれ」がない場合とある場合、そしてある場合にはどのような「ずれ」がありうるのか。本稿は、絵本の意味の可能性の一端を明らかにするため、こうした「絵本の文と絵の関係性」に焦点を当て、選択システムの形にまとめることを試みた。
　その際用いるのが、選択体系機能言語学 (Systemic Functional Linguistics；以下 SFL) の枠組みである。SFL は、言語システムだけでなく、画像をはじめとしたさまざまな意味システムを同じ枠組みの中で扱えるという利点をもっている。そのため、multimodal（複数の異なる意味伝達手段によって生み出される）テクストの分析が、SFL の重要なトピックとなっている（例として、Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998; Unsworth, 2001; Painter et al., 2013 などを参考のこと）。
　早川(2014)では、絵本の文と絵の間にみられるさまざまな関係を選択シス

テムの形にまとめることを試み、「絵本の文と絵の関係性システム案」を提案した（なお、本稿で「文」というのは、「文-群-語-形態素」という、SFL の語彙文法ユニットの「文」ではなく、一般的に、「絵本の文と絵」という場合の「文」、すなわち文章を指す。分析の単位としては、絵本 1 ページに示されている文章の意味内容と、絵の表す意味内容の関係性を扱った）。そのシステムを構築する際には、絵本の絵と文の関係を詳細に論じた研究として非常に画期的な Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)を参考とした。すなわち、Nikolajeva and Scott の提案した、絵本の文と絵の関係性 4 タイプ(symmetrical, complementary, amplification, counterpointing)を delicacy の低い選択肢として利用し、さらにその 4 タイプのうち、complementary の下位の delicacy の高い選択システムとして、Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)の提案した、言語断片どうしの意味関係を捉えるシステム LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION を組み合わせた（詳しくは第 2 節参照）。

　しかしこのシステムには、まだいくつか問題点がある。本稿は、その問題点を改良し、早川(2014)の内容を発展させたものと位置付けられる。今回の検討事項は主に以下の 2 点である：

　　　検討事項 1:　　早川(2014)で実例が見つからなかった選択肢に実例がないか再調査する。
　　　検討事項 2:　　Complementary 以外の選択肢(symmetrical, amplification, counterpointing)に対しても下位システムを構築する。

　これらの検討事項に則り、以下、第 2 節ではまず、早川(2014)の提案したシステムを概観する。第 3 節では、検討事項 1 に従い、前回実例が見つからなかった選択肢に対し、新たに見つかった実例を紹介する。第 4 節では、検討事項2 に従い、symmetrical, amplification, counterpointing 各選択肢に対して、より delicacy の高い下位システムを構築する。第 5 節では、第 4 節までに提案した下位システムをまとめて一つの「絵本の文と絵の関係性システム」を完成させ、各選択肢の実例の多少や、更なる細分化の必要性について触れる。

2.　早川(2014)の概要

　絵本の中の文と絵の関係を明らかにするため、早川(2014)は、Ian Falconer による絵本 *Olivia* シリーズの最初の 4 冊(*Olivia*; *Olivia Saves the Circus*; *Olivia...and the Missing Toy*; *Olivia Forms a Band*)を用い、そこに見られる文と絵の関係を分析し、分類した。この絵本シリーズを分析対象として選んだ理由は、シリーズの第 1 作 *Olivia* を大学の初級英語の講読テキストとして利用した際、数ある絵本の中でも特に、文と絵の間に有意味な「くちがい」が多く、しかもそのくいちがいを巧みに利用してユーモラスな効果を生み出していることに気付かされたためである。

　早川(2014)では、Nikolajeva and Scott (2001: 12)が用いた、絵本の文と絵の関係性を表す 4 つの用語をシステムの選択肢として利用した：

i) Symmetrical（対称的）: two mutually redundant narratives（文と絵の内容が重複する）

ii) Complementary（相補的）: words and pictures filling each other's gaps（文と絵が互いに欠けている部分を補う）→早川(2014)においては特に、文の与える情報の「隙間」を絵が埋めている場合を指した

iii) Expanding（敷衍）もしくは enhancing（増強）: visual narratives supports verbal narrative, verbal narrative depends on visual narrative（絵が文を強調したり詳しく述べたりして支え、文が絵に依存する）→絵が文の内容を大げさにする

iv) Counterpointing（対立的）: two mutually dependent narratives（絵と文がそれぞれに異なっていて、解釈上互いに依存する）→文と絵の内容が相反する

このうち、iii)の expanding（敷衍）や enhancing（増強）という用語は、SFLにおいては、言語断片どうしの論理-意味的関係をまとめた LOGICO-SEMANTIC system の feature 名として用いられる。その際、expanding は「前述の内容に新情報を付け加える」(Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 405)、enhancing は「前述の内容をより詳しく述べる」(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 410)という選択肢を表す。しかし、絵本の文と絵の関係性システムでこの選択肢が指すのは、「文の内容を絵が大げさにする」場合であり、その意味でも expanding や enhancing という feature 名はふさわしくない。そのため早川(2014)では、APPRAISAL system（評価のシステム）の用語で「強調する」場合を指す amplification (Martin and David Rose, 2003: 23, 25)という用語を利用し、expanding、enhancing の項目を amplification と名を変えて呼んだ。なお、expanding や enhancing のほうは、complementary の下位 feature とし、「文の内容に絵が新情報を付け加える」「文の内容をより詳しく述べる」という選択肢の名称として用いた。

　また、i)の symmetrical と ii) complementary を明確に区別するため、「文と絵の表す意味の間に、ストーリー理解や読者に及ぼす効果の上で有意味な差があるときのみ complementary と扱う」という方針も立てた。というのも、symmetrical は定義上、文と絵の内容が一致している場合を指すが、本稿第 4.1 節でも述べるとおり、実際には文と絵は違う mode なため、完全に「同じ」内容にはならない。厳密には、絵は常に文にはない内容を含んでいるという点で、文の意味を絵が補う complementary と区別が曖昧なのである。例えば、文ではわざわざ書かれていなくても、絵では必然的に、登場人物の服装や背景、互いの位置関係などが示される。しかし、登場人物の服装や背景、位置関係などの情報は通常、その後のストーリー展開に直接的には関わらない。この場合、文と絵の表す意味の間に「有意味な」差があるとは考えない。一方、complementary とは、文には欠けていて絵のみが与えている情報が、その後のストーリー展開に直接的に関わってくる場合として区別した。

　早川(2014)は、この 4 分割モデルに従って、*Olivia* シリーズ 4 冊に含まれるすべてのページを分類した。その結果、complementary の選択肢はさらに拡充が必要であるという結論に至った。というのも、complementary の定義である「文の「隙間」を絵が埋める」というのには、実際には無数のパターンがあり、有意味な分析を行うには、より delicacy の高い下位分類が必要だったからである。早川(2014)では、その下位分類の基準として、文の「隙間」」がなんであるか、つまり、欠けている情報の種類によって分類するという方針を立てた。分析の結果、*Olivia* シリーズの絵は、文の意味を以下のようなパターーンで補っていた：

- ・　文の具体例を挙げる
- ・　文の（一部の）内容を明示化する
- ・　文のストーリーのサブストーリーを表す
- ・　文のできごとに対する、周囲の反応を表す
- ・　文のできごとの前後のできごとを表す
- ・　文のできごと中に登場人物が言っている・考えていることを表す
- ・　文が「問い」で絵が「答え・ヒント」となる

　これらの意味関係は結果的に、Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)の提案した、言語断片どうしの意味関係を捉えるシステム LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION の選択肢とほぼ同じであった。例えば、「文の具体例を挙げる」は、LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION に当てはめると、elaborating: exemplification の関係にあたり、「文の（一部の）内容を明示化する」は、elaborating: clarification の関係にあたる。同様にほかのパターンにも LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION の用語を当てはめてみると、以下のようになる：

- ・　文の具体例を挙げる　→elaborating: exemplification
- ・　文の(一部の)内容を明示化する　→elaborating: clarification
- ・　文のストーリーのサブストーリーを表す　→extending: addition
- ・　文のできごとに対する、周囲の反応を表す →enhancing: cause-conditional: result
- ・　文のできごとの前後のできごとを表す　→enhancing: temporal
- ・　文のできごと中に登場人物が言っている・考えていることを表す →projection: idea/locution
- ・　文が「問い」で絵が「答え・ヒント」となる　→elaborating: clarification

　このため早川(2014)では、絵本の文と絵の関係性を捉える選択システムとして、Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)の提案した 4 タイプを改良したもの(symmetrical, complementary, amplification, counterpointing)を delicacy の低い選択肢とし、Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)の LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION を complementary の下位の delicacy の高い選択システムとして組み合わせたもの

を、暫定的に提案した。ここに図 1 として、そのシステムを再録する。
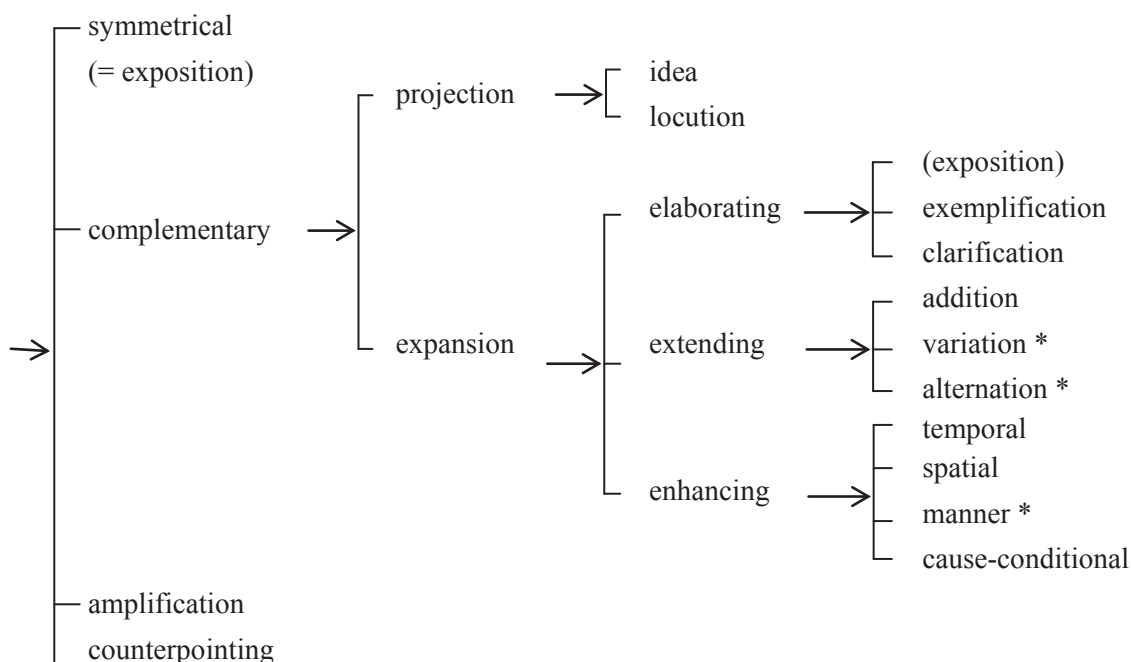
図 **1:** 絵本の文と絵の関係性システム（案）

　図 1 中で、symmetrical の下に「(=exposition)」としたのは、LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION における exposition の選択肢は、一つの言語断片の意味を他の言語断片が言い換えるという関係であり、すなわち絵本の文と絵の関係でいえば、文と絵がほぼ同じ内容を表す symmetrical の選択肢に相当するからである。
　また、アステリスク (*) がついている選択肢は、LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION には存在しても、早川(2014)の分析では見つからなかった選択肢、つまり、言語単位どうしの意味の関係としては確認されているが、文と絵という異なるモードの表す意味の間には（その時点では）見つからなかった関係性である。
　本稿は、より正確で汎用性のある分析を目指して、このシステムをさらに拡充・改良することを目的とする。そのため次節では、まず、図 1 中でアステリスクのついていた選択肢に対し、新たに実例を探すことで、システムの穴を埋めていきたい。

3. 新たに見つかった実例
　本稿では、早川(2014)で分析した *Olivia* シリーズ最初の 4 作に付け加え、新たに 5 作目(*Olivia Helps with Christmas*)、6 作目(*Olivia and the Fairy Princesses*)を分析対象とする。また、既に分析した 4 作についても、新たに分析をし直した。以下に、本稿が分析に用いた絵本を改めてまとめる:

分析テクスト（すべて Ian Falconer 文・絵）
・ *Olivia.* (2000) New York: Atheneum.
・ *Olivia Saves the Circus.* (2001) New York: Atheneum.
・ *Olivia…and the Missing Toy.* (2003) New York: Atheneum.
・ *Olivia Forms a Band.* (2006) London: Simon and Schuster.
・ *Olivia Helps with Christmas.* (2007) London: Simon and Schuster.
・ *Olivia and the Fairy Princesses.* (2012) New York: Atheneum.

　分析の結果、新たに実例が見つかった選択肢は、complementary: expansion の下位 feature である extending: variation、extending: alternation、enhancing: manner の 3 つである。以下、選択肢の実例と、その選択が果たす機能について順に見ていきたい。

3.1 Complementary: expansion: extending: variation
　Complementary: expansion: extending: variation の関係とは、節(clause)どうしの意味関係でいえば、"one clause is presented as being in total or partial replacement of another (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 407) "（一つの節が、他の節の全体、あるいは一部の代替として提示される関係）と説明される。この関係を具現する接続詞としては、instead や except が挙げられる。
　文と絵の関係にこれを当てはめると、*Olivia* シリーズからの場面 1 が実例にあたるだろう。なお、著作権の都合上、本稿では絵本の絵は掲載せず、代わりに、絵の構図やそこに描かれているものを、できる限り詳細に記述する。

・場面 1：*Olivia Saves the Circus* の冒頭部
　Olivia が学校へ行く前に着替える場面である。文では、After a nice breakfast, it's time to get dressed. Olivia has to wear this really boring uniform.（おいしい朝ごはんの後は、着替えの時間です。オリビアは、このとってもダサい制服を着なければいけません）とある。絵では、Olivia が実際に this really boring uniform と思われる、白いブラウスとグレーのチェック柄のスカートを手にしている姿が描かれている。しかし、絵で描かれているのはそれだけではない。Olivia の部屋の中には、赤色（Olivia の好きな色）の衣類が無数に散らかっている。赤いセーターや T シャツ、マフラー、靴下などが床に散らばり、ベッドの上には赤や赤白ボーダー柄のタイツが広げられ、ドアノブや壁のフックからも服がぶら下がっている。つまり、文だけ読むと、Olivia には制服以外に着る物の選択肢があるのか分からないが、絵では明確に、「こんなに素敵な赤色のお洋服がたくさんあるのに」という意味が生み出されている。そうした選択肢(variation)があるのに、その代わり(instead)に制服を着なければならないという意味関係を生み出すことで、Olivia の不満を強調するはたらきをしている。こうした例が、文に対し絵が variation を示す関係にあたるだろう。

3.2 Complementary: expansion: extending: alternation

Complementary: expansion: extending: alternation の関係とは、節(clause)どうしの意味関係でいえば、"one clause is presented as an alternative to another (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 407) "（一つの節が、別の節の代替案として提示される関係）と説明される。この関係を具現する接続詞としては、either や or が挙げられる。文と絵の関係にこれを当てはめると、*Olivia* シリーズからの場面 2 が実例にあたるだろう。

・場面 2 : *Olivia and the Fairy Princesses* の **Olivia** の長考部

Olivia が、自分と同じくらいの年頃の女の子達がみんなお姫様(Fairy Princess)のような恰好をしたがることに疑問を持ち、もっと個性的でモダンなスタイルはないかとあれこれ考える場面である。文では、"I'm trying to develop a more stark, modern style."（「私はもっと簡素でモダンなスタイルを進化させたいの」）という Olivia の台詞とともに、黒いチューブドレス（フード付きで魔女の黒衣のようにも見える）を身に着けた Olivia が、さまざまに奇妙なポーズをとりながら苦悶している場面が、6×3 の規則正しい配置で連続写真のように示される（注：この場面はおそらく、有名なポスターかコマーシャルのパロディーだと推察されるが、浅学にしてオリジナルが何かわからない）。それらの絵の右下隅には別の文が入れられ、"Olivia, it's time for your bath," said her mother.（「オリビア、お風呂の時間よ」とお母さんが言った）とある。読者はここで急に、現実世界に引き戻される。つまりこの場面は、「新たなファッションスタイルの確立を目指した悪戦苦闘」という Olivia の主観的かつ壮大な世界を絵で表現し、「お風呂の時間」という現実的かつ極めて日常的な世界を文で表現し、その二つを意図的に並置させている。この文と絵の関係は、ことばによる either や or の関係とは少し異なるが、Olivia が、「お風呂なんかに入るより、今すべきなのは」と選んだ行動が、日常的ルーティンの代替案(alteration)として示されているという点で、alternation の実例と言えるだろう。

3.3 Complementary: expansion: enhancing: manner

Complementary: expansion: enhancing: manner の関係とは、あるできごとを起こす手段(means)や、あるできごとが準えられるべき様態(comparison)を表す関係で、接続表現としては、means の場合 in that way、thus、comparison の場合 similarly、thus、as、as if などが用いられる(Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 407)。文と絵の関係にこれを当てはめると、*Olivia* シリーズからの場面 3 が実例にあたるだろう。

・場面 3 : *Olivia Helps with Christmas* の導入部

Olivia のお父さんと弟(Ian)がクリスマスツリーを立てる場面である。文では、Olivia told her father and Ian to put up the tree.（オリビアはお父さんとイアンにツリーを立てるように言いました）とある。絵は、Olivia がツリーを立

てるように「言って」いる場面ではなく、実際にお父さんと弟が「どうやって」ツリーを立てたかを説明している。2 つの続きの絵から成っていて、1 つ目の絵では、お父さんがツリーの根元を持って土台に固定している間、Ian が、ツリーの傾いている側と反対の枝を引っ張ってツリーが倒れないようにしている。2 つ目の絵で、ツリーが自分の側に倒れてくると、Ian は手を放して、ツリーを避けるようなしぐさをしている。これらの絵は、「ツリーを立てろという Olivia の指示は、このようにして行われた / 達成された」という手段(means)を表しているといえるだろう。

　以上のように、早川(2014)では実例がなかった 3 つの feature に新たに実例が見つかったことで、図 1 に示したシステムがより有効性をもって利用できるようになったと考える。
　また、元々は言語断片どうしの意味関係を示した LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION のシステムが、文と絵という異なるモードの間のシステムの一部として組み込まれたことは、ことばで表しうる意味関係は異なるモード間でも表しうるということを示唆し、今後 multimodal text の研究を進めるうえで非常に興味深い結果だと言える。

4. システムの拡充
　ここからは、図 1 で下位システムがない 3 つの feature、すなわち symmetrical, amplification, counterpointing について、より細密度の高い分類を考えていく。その際、*Olivia* シリーズの分析に基づき、文と絵の関係として実際に多く見つかった関係、または重要な意味をもつと考えられる関係をシステム化していく。

4.1 Symmetrical
　まず symmetrical とは、第 1 節にみたように、文と絵の表す意味内容がほぼ重複する場合である。しかし厳密には、文と絵の内容が完全に一致することはごく稀である。というのも、文と絵は異なる意味モードであり、表しうる、または表しやすい意味が異なっているからである。文と絵が一見ほぼ同じできごと・内容を表しているように見えても、実際には、両者の「情報量」と「時間の幅」は必ず異なっている。

4.1.1 情報量の違い
　「情報量」という点からみると、絵本の絵はたいてい、文より情報が多い。というのも、絵は、登場人物の服装、位置関係、背景などを中心に、文に書かれていない意味を表すことで、物語をより豊かにする役割を果たすからである。
　このことは、既にさまざまな絵本研究者が指摘している。例えば Painter et al. (2013: 136) は、"The image commits these same meanings but a great deal more besides."（絵はこれら（＝本文）と同じ意味を提供するが、もっ

と多くを付け加えもする）と述べる。松居(2001: 2)は、「物語の舞台と背景をことばで語らず、一目見て絵で読みとらせることこそ、物語絵の極意です」としている。また棚橋 他(2005: 122)は、「絵本を楽しむことに慣れている親子は「14 ひきシリーズ」1 冊だけで 30 分以上楽しむのに対し、慣れない親子は 3 分台で終えてしまった。本文を読むだけの時間である」と述べ、「本文を読むだけ」ではない部分（＝絵を読みとる中）に「30 分以上楽しむ」に値する情報が含まれていることを示唆している。

　このように、文と絵では実際どの程度情報の「量」が違うのか、また、文と絵で伝えられる（または伝えることのできる）情報の「種類」はどう違うのか、という問題は非常に興味深く、「絵本でなければ表現できない」こととは何かを探る研究の根幹を成す問題だと考えられる。この点について充分に語るには紙面が足りず、別の機会に詳細に論じる必要があると考えるため、本稿ではこの点については触れないこととする。

4.1.2　時間の幅の違い

　「情報量の違い」の代わりに、本節では、絵と文が表す「時間の幅の違い」について扱いたい。文は、長時間にわたるできごとやできごとの推移・連続を、比較的容易に表すことができる。例えば、「オリビアは手を洗って朝食を作り、テーブルに並べた」という文であれば、手を洗う過程、朝食を作る過程、テーブルに並べる過程と、その結果としての並べ終わった状態すべてを、ほんの 1 行足らずで伝えることができる。

　ところが絵の場合、それらのできごとすべてを余さず表現するには膨大な手間がかかる。通常の絵本であれば（つまり、朝食作りの過程を特に事細かに説明するのが目的でなければ）、「オリビアは手を洗って朝食を作り、テーブルに並べた」という本文に対して、せいぜい「手を洗う」「朝食を作る」「テーブルに並べる」という 3 つのできごとのうちの 1 つを表す絵がつけられるだけだろう（一番ありうるのは、既に出来上がった料理をオリビアがテーブルに並べ、得意げにしている絵など）。この 3 種のできごとをすべて絵で表そうと思ったら、少なくとも「オリビアが手を洗っている最中の絵」「朝食を作っている最中の絵」「テーブルに並べている最中の絵」と 3 つの絵を描かなければならない。しかも、これらのできごとの起こった時間帯すべてをカバーするには、3 つの絵でも不十分である。というのも、「オリビアは手を洗って」という文は実際、「水道の蛇口をひねる」「水で手を濡らす」「石鹸を手に取る」「石鹸を手の間で滑らせる」「石鹸を置く」「手をこすり合わせて泡を立てる」「水で泡を洗い流す」「水道の蛇口を閉める」「タオルを取る」「タオルで手を拭く」「タオルを戻す」という一連の切れ目ない動作を含意している。しかし「手を洗っている最中の絵」というのは、これら一連の動作のうちの、どこかの一瞬を切り取ったものとならざるを得ないからである。

　Nikolajeva and Scott (2001:159)は、絵のもつこうした制約を、"a picture is static"（絵は静止している）ということばで簡潔に示した。つまり、絵はできごとや動作のうちの一瞬を静止した状態で差し出すことしかできず、連続

する動作を丸ごと表すには不向きなのである（ぱらぱら漫画のような特殊な技法を除く）。

　しかし、Nikolajeva and Scott (2001: 139-145)で興味深いのは、絵本の中で例外的に、絵によっても「時間の幅」が表されている場合を探し出したことである。それは「異時同図(simultaneous succession)」という技法である。これは、複数の時刻のようすを一つの画面上に描き込んだもので、*Olivia* シリーズから例を挙げると、場面 4 が異時同図の典型例にあたる。

・場面 4 : *Olivia… and the Missing Toy* のシャツの完成を待つ場面
　Olivia がお母さんに、赤色のサッカーシャツを作ってくれとせがむ場面である（チームのユニフォームは緑色なのだが、Olivia は皆と同じ格好がしたくない）。本文では、When Olivia came home from practice, her mother was working on the shirt. "Is it done yet?" she asked. "Not yet," said her mother. Olivia waited, and waited, and waited, till she was too exhausted to wait any longer.（オリビアが練習から帰ってくると、お母さんがシャツを作っていました。「もうできた？」とオリビアが聞きます。「まだよ」とお母さん。オリビアは待って、待って、待って、とうとう疲れ切って、もう待てなくなってしまいました）とある。そこにつけられている絵には、ミシンでシャツを縫っているお母さんが描かれているが、その周囲に Olivia が 5 人、さまざまなポーズで描かれている（お母さんの手元を覗き込む Olivia、腰に手を当てている Olivia、腰を下ろす Olivia、床に寝そべって手足を投げ出す Olivia、そして一番右端は、憔悴した表情でピエロの人形を引きずり、部屋から出ていこうとする Olivia）。

　この絵はもちろん、Olivia が突然何人かに増えたということを意味しているのではない。「待って、待って、待って、とうとう疲れ切って、もう待てなく」なるまでの Olivia の様子が、5 つの瞬間に分けて同じ絵の中に描き込まれているのである。こうした技法を用いると、絵によっても、幅のある時間帯を表現することができる（ただし、一瞬一瞬を表す絵は相変わらず静止しており、それらをつなぐ「間」の動きは想像によって埋めなければならない）。

　Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)が指摘した異時同図の手法のほかに、SFL の枠組みによる画像の包括的な研究である Kress and van Leeuwen (1996)の中でも、1 つの画像によって「動き（すなわち、少しずつ異なる静止状態の連続）」を表すさまざまな方法がまとめられている。Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 56)は、'conceptual process' と 'narrative process'という用語を導入することで、静止した状態や概念を表す絵（conceptual process）と、動きを表す絵（narrative process）を区別した。Narrative process を具現する方法はさまざまで、ごく簡単な例を挙げれば、槍をもった人間の絵に矢印を描き加えることで、「槍を矢印が指すに向かって動かす」という動きを表すことができる。このように、典型的には矢印などによって表される画像上の動きの方向性を、Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 50)は vector（ベクトル）と呼ぶ。

　ベクトルを具現する手法としてはほかに、漫画などでよく用いられるおな

じみの手法が数多くある。物体の後ろに連続した半円（ ₎₎₎ ）を記して移動を表したり、物体の一部を意図的にぼかして描くことで、素早い動きを表すなどの方法である。*Olivia* シリーズで、明らかにベクトルを表している例としては、場面 5 がある。

・場面 5 : *Olivia Forms a Band* の表紙

　この作品の表紙には、マーチングバンドのユニフォームを着た Olivia が、バトンを頭上に投げ上げている絵が描かれている。そのバトンは、左上から右下へ、斜め 45 度くらいの角度で静止しているのだが、実際には、「静止して」いるようには見えない。というのは、そのバトンの片側（赤い飾りがついている）には赤い半円形のラインが 5 本（端は意図的にかすれている）軌跡を表すように描き込まれ、もう片側（青い飾りがついている）からは、青い半円形のラインが 6 本伸びている。その赤と青のラインが全体として不完全な円を描き、このバトンが「空中でくるくると回転している」というベクトルを具現している。

　以上のように、いくつかの技法を用いれば、絵によっても、幅のある時間帯にまたがって起きたできごとを表すことができるが、大部分の絵は、最初に述べたように、できごとのうちの一瞬を切り取った静止画像として提示される。

　ここで、本稿のテーマである、「文と絵の意味関係」の話に戻ると、上記のような意味特性の違いにより、文と絵は、同じできごとを表しているように見えても、表している「時間の幅」まで一致することはほとんどない。絵は、文が表すできごとのうち、一部を切り取って表現することしかできない。そこで、symmetrical の下位区分としては、「時間の幅」が文と絵で一致するか、を基準にした選択肢が想定でき、また、両者が表す意味内容を比較するうえでも有用だろう。

　Nikolajeva and Scott (2001: 157)の研究は、絵本を語るのに、物語論（narratology）で用いられる「物語内容の時間（物語内で経過する時間；story timespan）」と「物語言説の時間（物語を読み解くのに要する時間；discourse span）」の関係を表す用語を導入した点でも非常に興味深い（例えば、細部まで描きこまれた絵本の絵は、物語内容が限りなくゼロであっても、鑑賞するのにいくらでも時間を費やすことができることから、「視覚的休止法(visual pause)」を用いているとされる）。

　しかし Nikolajeva and Scott の研究は、これらの用語を、物語論本来の意味に近い形で利用し、「絵本内で進行する時間と、絵本を読むのにかかる時間の差異」を捉える目的のみに用いている。「絵本の文と絵の関係」にこれらの用語がどう当てはまるかについては言及がない。本稿の目的はあくまで、「文によって表される時間と、絵によって表される時間の差異」を捉えることにある。そのため本節では、物語論で一般的に用いられる用語を一端整理したのち、絵本の絵と文の関係に応用することを提案する。この目的のため、まず

ジュネット(1985)と前田(2004)の 2 つの物語論研究を見てみたい。

　フランス物語論の先駆者ロラン・バルトの後継者であり、物語論を確立させたといわれるジェラール・ジュネットは、その著書『物語のディスクール』(1985(原書 1972): 95-125)の中で、「物語内容」を hirisoire、「物語言説」を récit と名付け、両者の継続時間が完全に一致する場合を「等時法(isochronie)」、一致しない場合を「不等時法(anisochronie)」と呼んだ。不等時法はさらに以下の 4 つに分類される：

- 休止法(pause)：物語内容の時間がゼロで、物語言説の時間だけが続く場合（描写や脱線、コメントなどによって）
- 情景法(scéne)：物語内容の時間と物語言説の時間がほぼ一致する場合（登場人物間の会話が直接話法で記される場合など）
- 要約法(sommaire)：物語内容の時間の方が物語言説の時間よりも長い場合
- 省略法(ellipse)：物語中で起こったはずのできごとが、記述されずに省略される場合

　ドイツの物語論研究者、ギュンター・ミュラーの研究に基づく前田(2004: 205-209)も、「情景法」の代わりに「場面的」という用語を使うなどしているほかは、ほぼジュネットと同じ分類を行っている。ただし、「省略法」をさらに、「時間的順序に従った省略法(sukzessive)」と「反復的・持続的省略法(iterative-durative)」に区別している点が参考になる。時間的順序に従った省略法とは、前田(2004: 209)の作例をそのまま挙げれば、「それから数年経って」や「幸福な数年間ののち」のように、一定期間に起こった物語内容を完全に省略し、次のできごとに進む書き方である。一方、反復的・持続的省略法とは、「その週は毎日彼は早くから床についた」や「その間中ずっと彼は家に引きこもっていた」のように、一定期間中に規則的に繰り返されるできごとや持続する状態のみを記し、それ以外のできごとを省略するという書き方である。

　これらの用語を英語に置き換えて（ジュネットの用語はフランス語、前田/ミュラーの用語はドイツ語であるため）システムの形にまとめると図 2 のようになる：
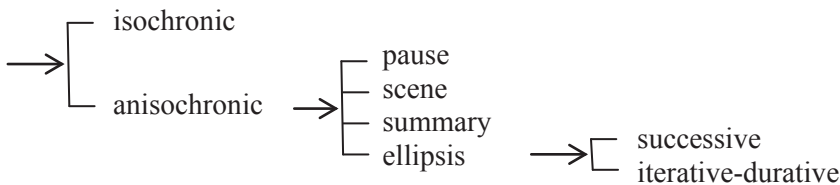
図 2: 物語内容と物語言説の時間の関係システム

　本稿では、図 2 に示したシステムを文と絵の関係に応用するため、「物語内容」を「文で示されるできごと」、「物語言説」を「絵で示されるできごと」に置き換えて解釈する。すると、各選択肢は以下のような場合を指すことになる：

- isochronic：文が提示する時間幅の全体にわたるできごとを絵も表す
- pause：文がなく、または文が提示する時間幅がゼロで、絵だけが存在する
- scene：文が提示する時間幅に起こったできごとの一部を、時間幅のある絵で表す
- summary：文が提示する時間幅に起こったできごとの一部を、総括・代表するような一瞬を絵で表す
- ellipsis: successive：文が提示する時間幅に起こった複数のできごとのうち、1 つのできごとのみを表し、他は省略する
- ellipsis: iterative-durative：文が提示する時間幅に起こった複数のできごとのうち、いくつかの瞬間を連続的な絵で表し、他は省略する

　このような定義に基づき、図 2 を絵本の文と絵の関係を表すシステムに応用すると、図 3 のような形に変わると考えられる：

```
          ┌ isochronic                 ┌ pause              ┌ scene          ┌ successive
  ───→ ───┤                      ───→ ─┤                ───→┤          ───→ ─┤
          └ anisochronic                └ ellipsis           └ summary         └ iterative-durative
```
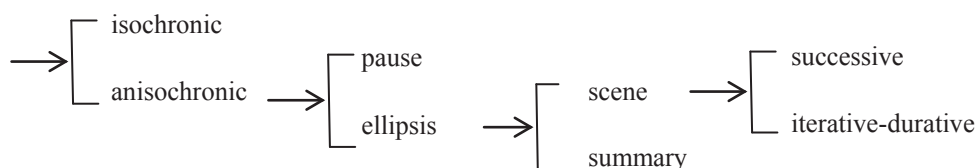
図 3: symmetrical の下位システム

　scene / summary の選択システムを ellipsis の下位システムとしたのは、以下のような理由である。文と絵の時間幅が完全に一致する isochronic か、絵の方が文より多くの時間にわたるできごとを表す pause の場合以外、絵は必ず文で表されたできごとの一部を省略している。その意味で、ellipsis は scene や summary の上位 feature となるだろう。一部を省略した上で、残りのできごとを連続的、あるいは動きのある絵で時間幅をもたせて表す場合が scene、時間幅のない絵で、一瞬だけを切り取って表す場合が summary である。Scene のうちさらに、文で表されたできごとの一部を動きのある絵で表し、後は省略したのが successive、文で表されたできごとのうち、いくつかの瞬間を絵で連続写真的に表し（異時同図）、後は省略するのが iterative-durative といえる。
　各選択肢の具体例を挙げてみたい。まず isochronic は、既に述べた文と絵の意味特性の違い（文は時間幅のあるできごとを容易に表せるが、絵は静止的）により、現実には滅多に見られない選択肢といえる。ただし、もし、あ

るページの文が極端に少なく、絵に動きがあれば、両者の表すできごとの時間幅が一致することは理論上は不可能ではない。*Olivia* シリーズには残念ながら実例がなかったが、例えば「男の子はボールを蹴った」という文のみのページに、男の子がボールを蹴っている絵が、静止画的にではなく、脚の動きとボールの動きを表すベクトルと共に描かれれば、両者の時間幅は一致することになる。

　次に anisochronic: pause は、文のないページで絵だけが繰り広げられるか、あるいは、事実上時間幅のない文に添えられた説明的な絵（Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 56)の用語でいえば 'conceptual process'を表した絵）がつけられた場合だろう。絵本の典型的な例としては、「これは Olivia です」のような文とともに、Olivia の外見を描写する絵が添えられる場合である。この場合、文で表されるストーリーの流れは一旦止まり（pause し）、絵による描写を読み解くのに時間をかけることとなる。

　Anisochronic: ellipsis: scene の例として、既に挙げた場面 4、5 を考えてみたい。場面 5 は表紙なので実際には文がないのだが、Olivia Forms a Band（オリビア、バンドを結成する）というタイトルを本文代わりとして、そのできごとを絵で表している。ただし、バンドを結成するのに費やされた多くの過程は省かれ、Olivia が実際にマーチングバンドの格好をしてバトンを回す部分だけが描かれているという意味で、ellipsis にあたる。また、「バトンを回す」という時間幅のあるできごとを、動きのある絵で表しているという点で、scene: successive と言える。一方の場面 4 は、Olivia がシャツができあがるのを待つ過程を、飛び飛びに連続写真的にとらえたという点で scene: iterative-durative である。

　最後に、anisochronic: ellipsis: summary は、例を挙げるまでもなく、symmetrical な絵の大半に当てはまる選択肢といえる。本節の冒頭に挙げた、「オリビアは手を洗って朝食を作り、テーブルに並べた」という本文に対して、既に出来上がった料理を Olivia がテーブルに並べ、得意げにしている絵が添えられる、といった作例が典型例である。これは、絵本の中で最も多い選択肢であると同時に、多くの人が「絵本の絵」と言われて典型的に想像するパターンだと思われる。すなわち、文で示されたできごとを絵が写真的に切り取って提示する、というパターンである。

　このように、一口に「文と絵の内容が重複する」といっても、実際には完全な重複はありえず、その重なり方にはさまざまな選択肢があるということを、本節では「時間の幅」という概念に焦点を絞って述べた。

4.2 amplification

　4 つの大きな分類のうち、amplification に移る。Amplification とは、文によって生み出された意味を、絵がより大げさにする場合を指す。これはもともと、SFL の枠組みによる appraisal 理論の用語である。以下に図 4 として、appraisal 理論の先駆的な研究である、Martin and Rose (2003)による AMPLIFICATION の選択システムを示す（ただし Martin and Rose は、amplification

の代わりに、より専門的な graduation という用語を用いている）。

```
                                        ┌─ intensifiers
                                   ┌──→ ├─ attitudinal lexis
                            ┌ FORCE ┤    ├─ metaphor
                            │       │    └─ swearing
                            │       │
GRADUATION ──→ ┤       └──→ ┌─ raise
                            │            └─ lower
                            │
                            └ FOCUS ──→ ┌─ sharpen
                                         └─ soften
```
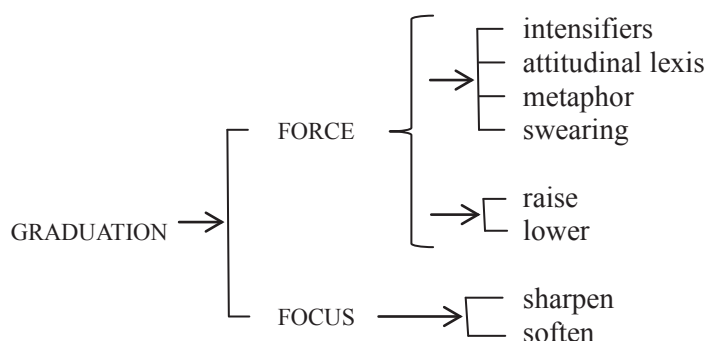
<div align="right">(Martin and Rose, 2003: 43 Figure 2.2 を再掲)</div>

図 4: **appraisal** の AMPLIFICATION 選択システム

　図 4 の中で、FORCE というのは、さまざまな価値づけの「程度」を選択するシステムである。例えば、あるものごとが special（特別だ）という価値づけに対し、**very** special、**quite** special、**extremely** special などの語彙によってその価値づけを強める(raise)、あるいは逆に弱める(lower)ことができる。一方の FOCUS とは、ものごとがいかに典型的にその「カテゴリー」に当てはまるかを表すシステムである。例えば、He is a policeman.（彼は警察官だ）という価値づけに対し、He is a **real** policeman.（彼は本物の警察官だ）ということでカテゴライズを厳密化する(sharpen)こともできるし、He is **a kind of** policeman.（彼は一種の警察官だ）ということでカテゴライズを和らげる(soften)こともできる (Martin and Rose, 2003: 38-43)。

　このシステムは、絵本において、文で示されたさまざまな意味を、絵がいかに強めたり弱めたりするか、という選択システムに、ほぼそのまま応用できると考える。ただし、FORCE システムの features である、intensifier, attitudinal lexis, metaphor, swearing は、価値づけの程度を強めたり弱めたりするための言語資源の選択肢であるため、絵の意味の選択肢を論ずる本節とは関係がない。絵本を分析するためにはむしろ、文で表された意味のうち「何を」絵が強め/弱めているかを基準とした下位システムが必要だろう。それは、以下のような項目にわたると考えられる：

- degree：程度（うまさ、うるささ、美しさ、きたなさ ect.）を大げさにする
- quantity：数や量を大げさにする。Raise の選択肢と組み合わさると、文で表されるより絵の中で方がそのものの数が多くなり、lower と組み合わさると少なくなる。

- size：大きさを大げさにする。Raise の選択肢と組み合わさると、文で表されるより絵の中での方がそのものの大きさが大きくなり、lower と組み合わさると小さくなる。
- variety：種類や選択肢の数を大げさにする。Raise の選択肢と組み合わさると、文で表されるより絵の中での方がそのものの種類・選択肢が多くなり、lower と組み合わさると少なくなる。

　以下に図 5 として、上記の修正点を取り入れた amplification の下位システムを示す。
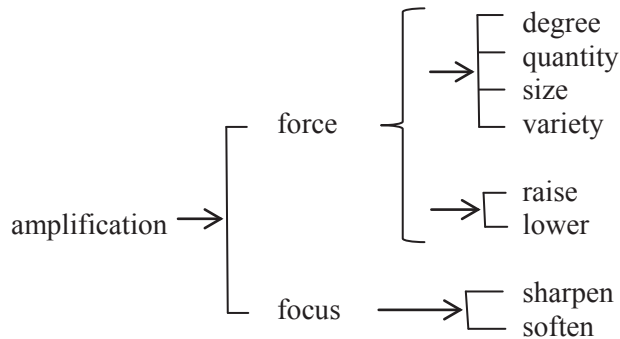
図 5: Amplification の下位システム

　早川(2014)で amplification の代表例として挙げた場面（早川(2014)では「場面 3」）は、この下位区分に従えば amplification: force: degree & raise の例となる。以下に場面 6 として再掲する。

・場面 6 : *Olivia* の海水浴の場面
　赤い水着を着た Olivia とサングラスをかけた Olivia のお母さんが、ビーチにやってきた場面である。文は、Last summer, when Olivia was little, her mother showed her how to make sand castles.（去年の夏、オリビアが小さかった時、お母さんが砂のお城の作り方を教えてくれました）とある。そのページの絵は文とほぼ symmetrical で、お母さんが Olivia に砂のお城を作って見せている様子が描かれている。
　ところが次ページでは、Olivia が常識では考えられないほど立派で大きな（Olivia の背丈の何倍もある）砂のお城を作っている場面が描かれている。砂のお城は、エンパイア・ステート・ビルディングを精巧に模したものになっている。その絵につけられた文は、She got pretty good.（オリビアはとっても上手になりました）である。この場合、文で「上手になりました」とあって、本当に上手になった絵が描かれているのだが、もし絵がなく文だけを耳で聞いたら、ここまで「上手」とは思わないだろう。この場合、「文から想像

するより並外れてすごい」という、「程度」のくいちがいがユーモアを生み出している。

今回分析した *Olivia* シリーズでは、amplification: force: quantity や amplification: force: size の選択肢は見つからなかった。以下に場面 7 として、amplification: force: variety & raise の実例を示す。

・場面 7：*Olivia* の着替えの場面
Olivia が、学校に行く前に身支度をする場面である。文では、Olivia gets dressed. She has to try on everything.（オリビアは着替えをします。オリビアは全部着てみないと気がすみません）とある。そこに付された絵は、横 6 列、縦 3 行に並んだ計 17 人の Olivia（1 つのスロットには本文が書いてあるため、6×3=18 より 1 つ少ない）が、それぞれに異なる赤色の服を着て、思い思いのポーズをとっている。その衣服の種類は、赤いセーターから、イブニングドレス、それに水着（水着にも更に、スクール水着のようなものとビキニタイプの 2 種類ある）および、また帽子や靴、ハンドバックやサングラスなどの小物類に至るまでさまざまである。これらの絵は、everything（全部）ということばによって通常想像する、「1 人の女の子が持っているお洋服の種類全部」よりもずっと多くてバラエティーに富んでいる。このような例が、文で表されたものごとの種類を、絵がより大げさにしているという点で、amplification: force: variety & raise と分類できるだろう。

また、amplification: focus の選択肢を具現している例を、以下に場面 8 として示す。

・場面 8：*Olivia Saves the Circus* の演目場面
Olivia が、（Olivia 曰く）中耳炎になったサーカス団員に代わり、さまざまな演目をこなしてみせる場面である。各ページに、"I was Olivia the Tattooed Lady."（「私は刺青女のオリビアになったの」）"Then I was Olivia the Lion Tamer"（「それから私は、ライオン使いのオリビアに」）"and Olivia the Tight-rope Walker"（「綱渡りのオリビアにも」）"and was Olivia the Clown"（「ピエロのオリビアにもなって」）"I was the Flying Olivia"（「空飛ぶオリビアにもなったのよ」）という Olivia の台詞が入る。そして実際に絵で、体中に刺青を入れた（ただし、刺青はマーカーで描いたという Olivia の注釈つき）Olivia の絵や、ライオンを威嚇して従わせる Olivia の姿、頭上高く張られた細いロープの上を歩く Olivia、ピエロの衣装をつけ、ピエロのメークをした Olivia、空中ブランコをする Olivia（これは数見開きに渡って連続写真のように詳細に描かれる）の姿が示される。このような例は、文で表された「刺青女」「ライオン使い」などのカテゴリーを、「まさにその通り」と思わせるリアリティーと細部の描きこみをもって絵にしたもので、文で示されたカテゴリーを絵がより厳密化にしている、という点で、amplification: focus: sharpen と分類できるだろ

う。

4.3 counterpointing

　4 分類の最後の項目、counterpointing に移る。Counterpointing とは、文によって生み出された意味（の全体または一部）と、絵によって生み出される意味（の全体または一部）が相反する場合を指す。このような意味のしかたは、まさに、文と絵が一緒になって意味を生み出す絵本の本領が発揮される場だと考える。というのも、相反する意味をもった文と絵を意図的に並置させることで、片方のモードだけでは伝えることのできないユーモアや皮肉、驚き、意外性などを生み出すことができるからである。

　このことを具体的に示すため、早川(2014)で counterpointing の代表例として挙げた *Olivia* シリーズ中の場面（早川(2014)では「場面 2」）を、以下に場面 9 として再掲する。

・場面 9：*Olivia Saves the Circus* の冒頭部

　シリーズ 2 作目の冒頭部、Olivia が弟たちのためにパンケーキを焼いてあげる場面である。パンケーキを弟たちに食べさせる場面に続き、Olivia が、使った食器を片づける場面がくる。その部分の文はこうである：This is a big help to her mother.（それでお母さんは大助かり）。しかし絵で描かれているのは、台所の流しに食器が乱雑に積み重ねられ、床には水しぶきや汚れが飛び散った様子である。つまり、文では「お母さんは大助かり」と言っているのに、絵では、「助けるどころか仕事を増やしている」という意味がつくられている。このくいちがいが、絵本の意味に広がりを与えている。つまり、「助けになっていると思っているのは Olivia 本人だけ」という言外の意味を生み出して、皮肉交じりのユーモアを生じさせているのである。絵で、当の Olivia が満足気な表情で描かれているのも、現実世界と Olivia の主観的世界（＝自己満足）のギャップを浮き彫りにする効果を上げている。

　このように、文と絵で意図的に内容を相反させるのは、絵本というジャンルによく見られる選択肢であり、うまく用いれば、非常に効果的な技法である。ただし、この技法に伴い常に問題になると考えられるのは、相反する 2 つの意味のうち、どちらを「ほんとう（＝現実）」と捉えるかである。

　Nikolajeva and Scott (2001: 174-175)は、この問題に関しても、示唆に富んだ指摘をしている（日本語訳は早川による）：

> But when verbal and visual texts are contradictory, there is a variety of options. For example, although the verbal and the visual text may support each other in general, a minor detail can be inserted that subverts the other's credibility: the detail may suggest that what was presented as true is in fact a dream, or vice versa (what we call the "Mary Poppins syndrome"). The verbal and visual texts may also offer quite different perspectives on events: for example, where the child describes a ghost in the verbal narrative, the pictures present the image of a curtain or a sheet so that the modality of words and pictures is contradictory.

> 文と絵が相反している場合、[読者には]さまざまな選択肢がある。たとえば、文と絵とが全体的には補いあっていても[＝同じ内容を生み出していても]、些細な描写や記述によって、どちらかの信頼性を損なうことができる。つまり、それまで本当のこととして表現されていたことが、実は夢だったと示唆されることも、あるいは逆に、夢だと思っていたことが現実だったと暗示されることもある（いわゆる「メアリー・ポピンズ症候群[1]」）。また、文と絵が、同じできごとについてまったく違った見方を提供することもある。たとえば、文では子どもが幽霊について述べているのに、絵ではカーテンやシーツが描かれていると、文と絵の様態(modality)が矛盾することになる。

　このように、Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)は、modality（様態）という用語を用いることで、「現実かどうか」に関わる文と絵の選択肢を整理した。ここでの modality とは、"a linguistic notion covering categories such as possibility, impossibility, contingency, or necessity of a statement (p173)"（陳述内容に対する可能性、不可能性、偶然性、必然性といったカテゴリーを表す言語学的概念）という意味である。この modality に基づき、Nikolajeva and Scott (2001: 173)は、絵本中のできごとの提示のされ方を以下の3つに分類した：

- indicative（直説法）: presenting the events as true　できごとを真実として提示する
- optative（願望法）: expressing a desire　できごとを願望として表す
- dubitative（疑問法）: expressing doubt　できごとの真実性に対する疑いを表す

本節ではそもそも、文と絵がくいちがう counterpointing の下位区分を考えているため、文と絵が一致していることが前提の indicative は選択肢から除かれるだろう。残りの optative と dubitative が counterpointing の下位システムの選択肢となると考えられる。しかし Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)は、これらの用語を、「文と絵のどちらが」ほんとうかという視点では用いていない。あくまで、両者が総合的に織りなす意味の信ぴょう性について述べている。本節では、これらの用語を、「絵と文とどちらが現実か」という観点で捉え直し、以下のような定義で用いることとしたい：

- optative：文が「現実」で絵が「空想（願望）」を表す
- dubitative：文が「空想（願望）」で絵が「現実」を表す

　optative とは例えば、文では現実や事実が客観的に語られるのに対し、絵では（主に主人公の）夢や願望が展開される場合である。具体例として、Olivia シリーズから、場面10 を見てみたい：

・場面 10：*Olivia Forms a Band* の演奏場面
　Olivia が、楽隊(band)に憧れ、家中から楽器になりそうなものを集めてきて

「一人楽隊」を結成する場面である。2 見開き（4 ページ）に渡る場面で、最初の見開きの文は And when she marched in, everyone agreed that Olivia *did* sound like more than one person.（そしてオリビアが（居間に）行進してきたとき、本当に何人かいるみたいに聞こえると、みんな認めました）と書かれている。絵では、オリビアが青と白の縞柄の服を着て、体中に楽器を付けた様子が描かれる（頭にベルをくくりつけ、口にホイッスルをくわえ、背中に太鼓を背負い、肩から木琴を提げ、靴の代わりにシンバルを履いている）。一方、2 つ目の見開きの文は、To Olivia, she sounded just like a real band.（オリビアにとっては、自分の演奏がまるで本物の楽隊みたいに聞こえました）とあり、絵では、本物のマーチングバンドのユニフォームを着た Olivia が何十人と列を成し、それぞれに小太鼓、笛、シンバル、大太鼓、トランペット、トロンボーン、チューバを演奏して行進している。

　ここでは、「本物の楽隊みたいに (just like a real band)」という文（すなわち、「実際には楽隊ではない」ことが含意されている）と、Olivia が実際に楽隊になっている絵とが相反する。

　ここで、文と絵のどちらが現実かは、物語の文脈を考えれば分かる。最初の見開きの、普段着を着てさまざまな楽器を一人で演奏している絵からの飛躍を考えれば、2 つ目の見開きの絵は Olivia の願望を表した空想であり（そもそも、Olivia が複数人存在するというのも常識から逸脱する）、「（本当は一人なのに）本物の楽隊みたいに」聞こえた、という文の方のが現実であることが分かる。

　このように、文による現実と、願望の絵を並置させることで、Olivia の空想力の豊かさが（意地悪な言い方をすれば、大げさな想像をするひとりよがりな性格が）表されている。

　一方の dubitative とは、文で述べられる様態に対して絵が相反する内容を述べることにより、「今、文で言ったことはほんとうかな」と疑問を呈する場合である。この場合、optative とは逆に、絵が現実なのに対し、文が空想を表すことになる。具体例としては、既に見た場面 9 がこれにあたるだろう。すなわち、「お母さんは大助かり」という文は Olivia の「心の声」であり、ぐちゃぐちゃに散らかった台所の絵が現実なのである。

　またここで、3 つ目の重要な選択肢として以下を加えることを提案する：

・　ambiguous：文と絵のどちらが現実かわからない

これは、文と絵が相反する意味を提示しているが、どちらが「ほんとう」かを判断する明確な根拠が絵本の中に示されない場合である。*Olivia* シリーズの 2 作目、*Olivia Saves the Circus* は、全篇がこの様態で書かれている点が興味深い。この作品は、Olivia がクラス全員の前で休暇中の思い出を発表する、という設定なのだが、そこで Olivia が語ったのは、お母さんと弟と一緒にサーカスに行ったら、サーカス団員が全員中耳炎で演技ができず、Olivia が代

わりにすべての演技をこなしてサーカスを救った、というものである。Olivia
の語りに合わせ、Olivia が綱渡りや空中ブランコといった曲芸を披露する様
子や、ライオンや象などの猛獣を意のままに操る様子が次々と描かれる。
Olivia が語り終えると、クラスの担任の先生と Olivia の間に以下のような会
話が交わされる：

> "Was that true?"（それは本当のことなの？）
> "Pretty true."（ほんとに本当です）
> "All true?"（全部が本当？）
> "Pretty all true."（ほんとに全部が本当です）
> "Are you sure, Olivia?"（確かなの、オリビア？）
> "To the best of my recollection."（私の記憶の限りでは、確かです）

この（会話）文では、明らかに Olivia の話した内容の真偽に対する（教師側
の）疑いが示されているが、結局、Olivia の話が作り話だったのかどうかは、
最後まで明らかにされない。上記の会話ののち、教員は呆れた顔をして天を
仰ぎ、Olivia は何食わぬ顔でクラスに笑顔を向けた絵が描かれる。大人の読
者はおそらく、作品に描かれた Olivia の華麗な演技を、子どもならではの空
想が混じった法螺話と解釈するだろうし、逆に子どもの読者は、Olivia が本
当に大活躍をした冒険譚と解釈するだろう。このように、文と絵の内容をく
いちがわせるだけでなく、「どちらがほんとうか」に関して解釈の余地を残す、
というのも、絵本の意味の可能性を大きく広げてくれる選択肢の一つである。
　以下に図 6 として、counterpointing の下位システムを示す。

```
counterpointing ─────→ ┌ optative
                       ├ dubitative
                       └ ambiguous
```
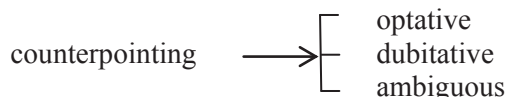
図 6: Counterpointing の下位システム

5. 結語

　前節までの内容を一つのシステムの形にまとめると、図 7 になる。アステ
リスク(*)は、理論的には想定できるが、今回の分析絵本中には実例が見つか
らなかった選択肢を示す。

```
                             isochronic*
symmetrical                                pause                              successive
(=exposition) ──→ ┌                                          scene        ┌
                  └ anisochronic ┌                      ┌─→ ┌             ┌─→ ┌ iterative-
                                 └─→ ┌ ellipsis  ──→    └ summary  ──→    └ durative


                             idea
               projection ┌
          ┌─→ ┌       └─→ ┌ locution
          │   │
complementary │                          elaborating      (exposition)
          │   │                      ┌─→ ┌ exemplification
          │   │                      │   ├ clarification
          └─→ ┌ expansion ──→ ┌     │   └ addition
                              │     extending      variation
                              ├─→ ┌ ┌─→ ┌ alteration
                              │     │   └ temporal
                              │     enhancing      spatial
                              └─→ ┌ ┌─→ ┌ manner
                                        └ cause-conditional

verbal  and ──→ ┌
visual text

                                    degree
                         force  ┌   quantity
                      ┌─→ ┌ ┌─→ ┌   size
                      │        variety
amplification ┌       │
          ┌─→ ┌       │          raise
                      ├─→ ┌ ┌─→ ┌ lower
                      │
                      focus      sharpen
                      └─→ ┌ ┌─→ ┌ soften


                                    optative
counterpointing ┌                   dubitative
              └─→ ┌ ambiguous
```

図 7: 絵本の文と絵の関係性システム（拡充案）

　このシステムはまだ仮説の状態であり、検討や発展の余地が多く残されている。ここに検討課題をまとめることで、本稿の結語としたい。
　検討課題の第一として、選択の頻度の問題がある。図 7 のシステム上に示された各選択肢は、まったく同じ頻度で用いられるわけではなく、非常に多用される選択肢（symmetrical: anisochronic: ellipsis: summary）と、ごく稀に使用される選択肢（amplification や counterpointing 全般）がある。このことは、絵と文が一致しているのが絵本の unmarked な選択（marked、unmarked の用

語は Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 73 より）であり、そこにいわば「スパイス」として、時折、文と絵がくいちがうページを挿入するのが、読者にとって一番意外性を感じさせ、おもしろいと思わせる効果があるためだと考えられる（文と絵がくいちがうページばかりが続くと、特に幼い読者は混乱してストーリーがわからなくなる）。こうした、選択の頻度と絵本の効果の関係を検討していくことは、「絵本の面白さ」を SFL の観点から解き明かす上で重要な課題であろう。

　二点目として、第 4.1.1 節で語り残した「絵と文の情報量の違い」の問題がある。一見 symmetrical に見える絵と文であっても、実際には文のみが表している意味、逆に絵のみが表している意味がある（例えば、第 4.1.1 節で既に述べた、絵でのみ表される登場人物の服装、位置関係、背景など）。そうした文と絵の「分業」は実際にどの程度起こっているのか。また、文でのみ、あるいは絵でのみ典型的に表される情報にはどのようなものがあるか、といった検討課題が浮かび上がる。これらを明らかにするため、例えば、絵本の絵を隠して文だけを読むことで、どの程度の情報が伝達されるか、逆に文なしで絵だけを見ると、どのような場面を想像するか、などの実験的調査が想定できる。それによって、文で表される情報と絵で表される情報、その両者がどの程度重なり合い、またどの程度異なっているのかが明らかになるだろう。こうした文と絵の分業と協力の仕組みを解明することで、文と絵両方を用いる絵本というモードの特殊性や存在意義がより明確になると考えられる。

　三点目として、当然、今回アステリスク（*）がついた選択肢の実例が、あるのかないのかという課題がある。図 7 に示したシステムは、主に、既に提案されている言語の分析システムを、絵本の文と絵の関係性を捉える下位システムとして応用したものである。つまり、アステリスクのついた選択肢は、言語単位どうしの意味の関係としては確認されているが、文と絵という異なるモードが表す意味の間には見つからなかった関係性である。今後、もっと分析対象を増やしていくことで、これらの選択肢の具現例が見つかれば、このシステムをより説得力のあるものとして用いることができる。逆に、いくら分析対象を増やしても、これらの選択肢が見つからなければ、ことばで表すことのできる意味関係と、ことばと絵の間に表しうる意味関係は違うという主張につながり、それもまた興味深いテーマとなるだろう。

　これらの課題を含め、絵本というモードの意味のしかたを総体的に明らかにするには、まだ多くの研究が必要である。今後も分析を重ね、システムの精密化と拡充を目指したい。

　最後に、SFL の枠組み全体に占める本研究の位置づけを述べて結びとしたい。第 1 節に述べたとおり、SFL は、言語システムだけでなく、画像をはじめとした異なる意味のシステムに応用されている。例えば、Kress and van Leeuwen (1996)は、画像を扱った包括的な研究として有名である。また、より本稿のテーマに近い、絵本の研究としては、Painter et al. (2013)がある。しかし、これらの研究の多くは、画像（すなわち絵）を独立して扱っており、文と絵の関係性については言及が少ない。つまり、絵本を扱う場合でも、絵

だけを抜き出してとりあげ、絵の中のどの要素が動きを表し、どの要素が親密さを表すか、などに着目しているため、絵と絵に付された文の関係についてはあまり語られない。本稿で試みたように、2 つの意味モード間の関係性を探っていくことで、言語で表せる意味、画像で表せる意味、その共通点と相違点、そして両モードを同時に用いたときに初めて表せる意味、などが明らかになり、それぞれの意味モードの特性がより明らかになると考える。そして、これらの研究は、同時に、SFL が言語以外の意味システムに応用できることをより明確に示し、理論枠組み自体の発展につながるだろう。

註
[1]「メアリー・ポピンズ症候群」とは、物語中で一度は夢か妄想と位置付けられたできごとに対し、実は現実に起こっていた証拠を登場させる技法のこと。トラヴァース作『メアリー・ポピンズ』シリーズ中の 1 話にちなんだ用語である。子どもたちが真夜中の動物園で、家庭教師のメアリー・ポピンズと共にさまざまな冒険をした後、自宅のベッドで目覚める。ポピンズが、そんな冒険は身に覚えがないと主張したため、子どもたちは一旦、昨夜のできごとはすべて夢だったと思い込む。ところが物語の最後に、子どもたちは、朝食の支度をするポピンズが、夜の動物園でコブラの女王からもらった（夢でしか存在しないはずの）蛇皮のベルトを身に着けているのを目撃する、というエピソードからきている。

参考文献
ジェラール・ジュネット著、花輪 光、和泉 涼一訳 (1985)『物語のディスクール：方法論の試み』（叢書 記号学的実践②）東京：水声社（原書：Gérard Genette. (1972) 'Discours du récit' In Figures III. Paris: Seuil.）

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 3rd edition. London: Hodder Arnold.

早川知江(2014)「絵本の文と絵：bimodal text における意味の相補性」*Proceedings of JASFL* Vol. 8 日本機能言語学会 に掲載の予定

松居 直(2001) 「物語絵本の発見――ワンダ・ガアグ『100 まんびきのねこ』――」河合 隼雄、松居 直、柳田 邦男『絵本の力』（P72 と P73 の間に挿入）東京：岩波書店

Kress, G. and Leeuwen, T. (1996) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G. and Leeuwen,T. (1998) 'Front pages: (the critical) analysis of newspaper layout'. In Allan Bell and Peter Garrett (eds), *Approaches to Media Discourse* 186-219. London: Blackwell.

Martin, J.R. and Rose, D. (2003) Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the Clause. London / New York: Continuum.

前田彰一 (2004)『物語のナラトロジー――言語と文体の分析』（千葉大学人文科学叢書③）東京：彩流社

松居 直 (1973)『絵本とは何か』東京：日本エディターズスクール出版部

Nikolajeva, M. and Scott, C. (2001) *How Picturebooks Work*. New York: Routledge.

Nodelman, P. (1988) *Words about Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children's Picture*

Books. Athens/London: The University of Georgia Press.

Painter, C, Martin, J.R. and Unsworth, L. (2011) Organizing Visual Meaning: framing and balance in Picture-Book Images. In S. Dreyfus, S. Hood and M. Stenglin (eds) *Semiotic Margins: Meaning in Multimodalities* 125-143. London/New York: Continuum.

Painter, C., Martin. J.R. and Unsworth, L. (2013) *Reading Visual Narrative: Image Analysis of Children's Picture Books*. Sheffield and Bristol: Equinox.

瀬田貞二 (1985)『絵本論—瀬田貞二子どもの本評論集—』東京：福音館書店

棚橋美代子、阿部 紀子、林 美千代 (2005)『絵本論——この豊かな世界』東京：創元社

Unsworth, L. (2001) *Teaching Multiliteracies across the Curriculum: Changing Contexts of Text and Image in Classroom Practice*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

The Oral Discourse in CLIL Lessons:
A Functional Perspective

Gilder Davila
Sophia University

Abstract

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a teaching approach that has recently gained some popularity amongst Japanese tertiary education institutions. The key point in this approach is the dual-focused in teaching language and content while at the same time providing students with opportunities to learn how to use the language in their particular field of study. The purpose of this paper is to show the similarities and differences in two instructors' oral instructional discourse when teaching Academic English and CLIL lessons in the light of a methodological functional approach from Christie (1991) based on *curriculum genres* in the educational setting. The choice of this approach is further motivated by the theoretical indebtedness in Christie's work to: a) the uses of Systemic Functional Linguistics for the interpretation of how language works in educational and other social settings in terms of the schematic structure potential of each genre; and b) Bernstein's ideas of regulative and instructional language as part of language learning as a social process.

1. Introduction

School-based teaching and learning in a language that is not the students' first language has become a prominent topic in educational planning and research over the last 20 years (Dalton-Puffer and Smit, 2013: 545). A good way of fulfilling this dual demand for language and content is through Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)[1]. CLIL allows teachers and students to discover the benefits of learning language and content at the same time.

A recent study of genre in CLIL lessons is found in Llinares, Morton and Whittaker's (2012) *The Role of Language in CLIL*, where they propose an analysis of the main genres found in several subjects taught under the CLIL approach, namely science and technology, geography, and history. This genre analysis is based on studies of school genres in English-speaking countries such as the ones undertaken by the Sydney School in Australia. In fact, Llinares et al. (2012), follows a similar process of analysis to the one exemplified in the Sydney School's "text types" which are widely found in Australian education, for instance Martin and Rose (2008). After the genre analysis of CLIL subjects, Llinares et al. (2012) present similar descriptions and conceptualizations of patterns of meaning to those offered by Martin and Rose.

One of the main concerns of this paper is to explore how oral discourse functions in a Japanese university classroom setting when English language and a content subject are taught together under the CLIL approach as compared with more traditional Academic English teaching. A study of genre in CLIL lessons seems likely to shed some light not only on genre use as such but also on the educational

settings in which CLIL methods could be employed. Surprisingly, very little research has been reported concerning the kind of text types commonly employed in classes conducted using the CLIL method.

2. Literature review
2.1 Text types analysis in school environment
An important concept in the analysis of text is that of register. Register has to do with how language changes according to the social situation. In the study of classroom discourse under a Systemic Functional approach, the concept of register is needed in order to recognize the role played by the sort of language used in the classroom and also in order to follow how the participants get involved in the classroom activity. Thus, attention to field will be of crucial importance, as it will be a pointer to the knowledge and skills required of the participants who engage in the learning; attention to tenor will help to highlight the importance of the interactive functions of language between teachers and learners; and mode can offer a helpful view of language as a resource for expressing meaning effectively (Llinares et al., 2012).

Another important interpretation of register, followed by Christie (1991), comes from Bernstein's (1990) distinction of the two sociolinguistic code registers of "instructional discourse" and "regulative discourse". In the classroom, instructional discourse is employed when transmitting specialized knowledge (content) to students while Regulative discourse (pedagogical) is employed to organize the social world of the classroom (rules). Christie (1994) points out that the classroom is one of the places where language plays a central role in structuring the teaching-learning activities in which students are engaged. During the teaching-learning activities, the teacher and learners participate in the pursuit of various goals that are structured in particular ways, making the resultant texts instances of genres. So, the term Curriculum Genre can be employed to distinguish the different types of lessons as staged, goal-directed activities, and the corresponding learning activities as social processes in the form Martin and Rose (2007) define as macro-genres.

An important benefit of the recognition of curriculum genres is the assistance they give in the detection and identification of the schematic structure potential (SSP) of the text types used in the classroom. By analyzing the schematic structure potential of a particular genre, researchers are able to determine the obligatory and optional elements in the construction of a text type. The broadest distinction of genres in the registers employed by teachers during a classroom session is the division mentioned earlier into Bernstein's regulative and instructional registers. In Christie (1991), these are called pedagogical and content registers.

2.2 SSP and functions in CLIL lessons
During lessons, teachers regulate the social event in the classroom by making use of genres of instruction, procedure, explanation, etc., to keep order and control in the learning activity of the classroom. Christie (1991) found that the pedagogical register (regulative register), which is the one identified as containing instructions and procedures, has the function of projecting the content register (instructional

register) into the various oral and written genres used at school. Bernstein similarly described the instructional register as embedded in the regulative register, but Christie (1994), avoiding the use of the word "embedded", decided to take the term projection from Halliday's grammar, arguing that the pedagogical register projects the instructional one. The identification of these two registers makes possible the recognition of more finely differentiated genres which can eventually be analyzed through the genre analysis approach that was in development at the time Christie wrote her doctoral dissertation and has now reached the form proposed by Martin and Rose (2008) as a repertory of the main genres encountered in early literacy.

This overview of classroom register is also the one used by Llinares et al., (2012) to account for genres observed in CLIL sessions. By using conversation extracts from CLIL sessions, they show how the teacher organizes the classroom and introduces activities to students. In terms of the register variable of tenor, the role of the teacher is that of the authority in charge of classroom management who makes use of commands, questions and statements to enact this role function. They also describe how teachers make use of words such as "now", "first", "so", etc., to organize instructions as part of the textual metafunction. There is some evidence that the regulative register might not be under the total control of the teacher, however since CLIL lessons promote peer or group interaction, some elements of the regulative register are, therefore, also found in the language used by the students while organizing themselves for classroom activities.

In the case of the instructional register, special attention will be given to the variable of field. Since the goal in instruction is to introduce students to new experience and knowledge, the field chosen by the teacher or institution is of paramount importance. Llinares et al., (2012) found that teachers and students make a substantial use of the ideational metafunction to make sense of experience of the world.

During this enactment of the instructional register, another important pair of concepts comes into play in the analysis of classroom language, i.e. vertical and horizontal discourse. According to Llinares et al., (2012), the content (instructional register) used in CLIL can be viewed from a commonsense perspective (horizontal) and uncommonsense perspective (vertical). Commonsense here refers to those everyday activities or beliefs that learners are involved in by being part of a community such as being able to ride a bicycle or knowing about road safety. Uncommonsense refers to those activities or experiences that learners do not share on this sort of communal basis, for instance the scientific practice or knowledge of biology, normally learned in an educational environment.

2.3 The Structure of Knowledge (Bernstein)

There is no doubt that teachers are always shifting from one discourse to the other when introducing content or simply when trying to make a particular piece of content available to the students. The extent to which they do this will depend on how confused the students might be with some particular piece of content. While it might sound simple in principle to shift discourses, it is only possible to accomplish smoothly when the teacher has a well-based idea of how the culture works in that particular educational setting. In other words, in the case of CLIL, being an expert in

the content subject and in the targeted foreign language does not guarantee that the teacher is also experienced in the ways that prevail in the learner's community. At all times, teachers must be aware of the difficulties a particular piece of knowledge might present to the learners and be ready to overcome them through the use of language that is part of the learners' life experience. Using Bernstein's words, teachers must be ready to move from the vertical discourse to the horizontal discourse when necessary.

The key in this code-switching depends on the teacher's readiness to make the right meaning choices to reduce learners' confusion to manageable levels. If teachers are alert, they will be able to help learners overcome their doubts with regard both to the language medium and to the subject content.

Difficulties in this regard are most likely to occur in contexts where the person in charge of a CLIL subject is not a native speaker of the learners' first language. So, how effectively can the horizontal plane of discourse be maintained in this particular but common teaching situation? Since CLIL teachers are responsible for their students' content learning, the use of horizontal discourse in the classroom will usually have a clear pedagogical and benefit (Llinares, et al., 2012). CLIL, as a name at least, is far from widespread in Japan, but one institution that has recently introduced it into first-year classes is Sophia University. At Sophia, some CLIL courses are given by teachers whose native language is not the same as that of the students. In such cases, it is less easy for the teacher to support the students' learning of subject matter through the use of horizontal language specifically adapted to their difficulties. This being so, it would be interesting to see if and how teachers who do not share the first language of the students are still able to make use of horizontal language support while teaching their specialized subject matters.

3. Method: The schematic structure potential (SSP)

The participants in this study are two instructors from the Foreign Language Department of Sophia University who are giving CLIL courses involving subject matters such as Literature, and Culture and Identity in addition to the previously existing equivalent courses in Academic English. One of them is a bilingual native speaker of both English, the language of instruction, and Japanese, the students' first language (Instructor A). The other is a native speaker of English with some knowledge of Japanese (instructor B). Both instructors are specialists with a higher degree in the subject of instruction. Since they have the same curriculum in Academic English, the only explicit difference in their teaching assignments is the difference choice of subject content in their CLIL courses. Figure 1 shows the general SSP; that is the maximum content of the planned lesson structure for the Academic English course taught by both instructors.

Instructor A and B

(C $\longrightarrow$)
LI ^ [WR ^ NTI ^ WC] ^ CO

Where:
C: Control element
➤: Constant presence of the element C
LI: Lesson initiation
^: Sequence from one stage to another
[ ]: Recursion stage
WR: Warm-up recasting[2]
NTI: New topic introduction[3]
WC: Warm-up content
CO: Conclusion (Lesson closure)
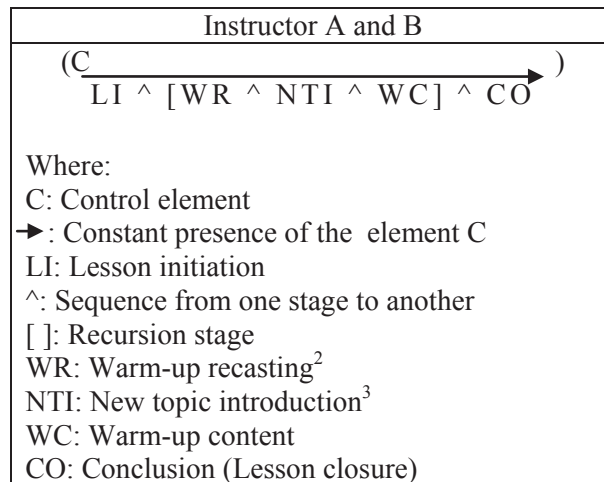
Figure 1: The General SSP of an Academic English Lesson

Figure 1 shows a General Schematic Structure Potential (SSP) for an Academic English lesson at Sophia University using symbols similar to the ones used in Christie's (1991) example of the SSP for the Morning News bulletin. The stages of the lesson were inferred from observations of video recordings and from transcription data. Since my main interest is to show how instructional discourse is used, only a brief explanation will be given of the first Lesson initiation stage, and more attention will be given to the stage of main interest, which is the Warm-up content (WC) which is built up in the stage order [WR ^ NTI ^ WC].

4. Analysis and results
4.1 Lesson Initiation (LI)
In an actual lesson, the lesson initiation stage, as the name suggests, contains all the moves involved in the starting up of the class. In this stage, the pedagogical register will mainly be used. As the main purpose is to explain what to be done during the class session, generally, the starting point in this element is a brief greeting (of the whole class or of individual students) followed by language moves from the regulative discourse such as phrases for attracting students' attention. Extract 1 and 2 show examples of (LI) from Instructors A and B in Academic English lessons:

Extract 1
Lesson Initiation in Academic English: Instructor A

I: instructor
S: student
1   I: Right, so shall we start?
2   Good afternoon, everybody
3   S: - Good afternoon –
4   I: Ok, we are in this classroom but its better, isn't it?
5   It's much more cool and I think we can focus better.
6   Ah, first of all.

Extract 2
Lesson Initiation in Academic English: Instructor B

I: instructor	
S: student	
1	I: Ok.
2	Hello everybody!
3	How are you today?
4	S: Fine
5	I: Good.
6	So, today's class is very important class.
7	We've got quite a lot to do as always.

In both of these extracts, the first six moves make up the Lesson Initiation. This starts with a brief greeting, followed by a move to start off the activity.

Another important aspect of this element in the SSP is its association with the first-order register (regulative), the pedagogical register, which is used by the instructor to establish the organization of the classroom social activity that is about to take place. No examples of content register (instructional) can be seen in this stage of the SSP.

4.2 The Warm-up Content stage in Academic English lessons
In the stage building-up to the Warm-up content part of an Academic English Lesson, the instructor and the students explore the main topic of the class by performing language activities which are initially started off in peer groups with the instructor later becoming involved in the talk, which is why it is called Warm-up content. This activity displays more instances of the content/instructional register. Since it is in this stage that the main topic of the lesson is discussed, it also contains examples of the interaction between horizontal and vertical knowledge recommended by Bernstein. The finer internal structure of the Warm-up Content element is structured as follows:

$$(C \longrightarrow)$$
$$HT \wedge (R) \wedge RQ \wedge WC \wedge G \wedge PSF$$
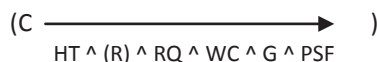
Figure 2: Finer internal structure in the Warm-up
Content element in the SSP of Academic English lesson

Where:
C: Control element
➜ : Constant presence of the element C
HT: Handout tool
R: Recast
RQ: Referential questions
WC: Warm-up content
G: Guidance
PSF: Praise sandwich feedback[4]

The WC stage in the lesson starts by drawing students' attention to a handout tool (HT) which contains the information to be discussed. This use of a handout can be considered obligatory for the purposes of this study since it figures in both instructors' actions at this place in the lesson. Some form of language as action will normally be used to accompany this and clarify the worksheet content, followed by an optional recasting sub-element (R), in which hard-to-follow passages can be put into more accessible language as necessary.

After this brief recasting, the instructor uses one or two referential questions (RQ) to initiate small-group discussion among the students. Once the students are into their discussions, the instructor can go round participating in each group conversation in turn, either asking the same questions again or simply blending into the proceedings. It was found from observations that the regulative register is still mainly in use in this stage, where the primary concern is still the introduction of new content.

It is important to keep in mind that the main aim of this Academic English course is to introduce students to university-level academic activities, so the information employed in these lessons tends to come in the form of instructions as a part of the pedagogical discourse. Examples of content discourse are also found, however, when the instructor tries to: (1) rephrase a student's comment with the use of commonly shared knowledge and (2) to make relevant ideas more accessible to the students. These two strategies can be seen as examples of horizontal knowledge (commonsense) leading to the acquisition of vertical language (uncommonsense).

The following extract (Extract 3) from the WC stage of an Academic English lesson given by bilingual Instructor A illustrates some of the points discussed above:

Extract 3
From the WC element of an Academic English lesson taught by Instructor A

Instructor A
194 I: Let´s look at interviews then. – looking at the handouts -
195   What are the advantages of interviews?
196   What do you think (name)?
197 S: the good thing, we can able to meet people directly.
198   We cannot uh... how the people answer.
199 I: yes, you can reach people directly
200   you know how they are answering,
201   It's all live, it's easy to understand.
202   Is that what you want to say?
203 S: Yes.
204 T: Can you say your last point again?
205 S: so... so, maybe cannot have how is the people answer.
206 T: Ok, so how they are answering.
207   Do you mean like facial expression or gestures?
S: -silence-
208 T: we can know how the people are going to answer because we are there, we're watching them.
209   Do you mean like smile, sad, confused, like that, facial expressions and

gestures? – body
      language use -
    <Student nodding>
210   Yeah! Because it's all live. Great!

Moves 204 to 209 contain instances of how horizontal knowledge is used to introduce new content during an Academic English class. In this case, the instructor is providing the student with vertical knowledge, (special vocabulary in move 207, which may not have been known) by using horizontal knowledge (more general vocabulary and body language in move 209). The final sub-stage (PSF) (move 210) summarizes and concludes the interaction with a positive feedback. In Academic English classes at Sophia University, this type of horizontal discourse is commonly employed since some of the vocabulary employed in the lesson might be new for the student without exactly expressing any knowledge that would be new in the student's first language. In CLIL classes, however, as will be shown in the next subsection, discussion will often bring in new vocabulary and new knowledge together, with the one being used to introduce the other.

Comparing instructor A's warm-up content stage (shown above) with instructor B's (not shown), the schematic structure potential appearing in these two classes of Academic English was basically similar, while the structuring of knowledge in the discourse mainly correlated with Bernstein's (1990) categories of regulative and instructional register as presented in Christie (1991). The only notable difference between instructors A and B in this (WC) element stage had to do with their individual teaching styles and their preparations of the lesson content before presenting it to the students.

4.3 The Warm-up content in CLIL lessons

For the analysis of CLIL lesson discourse, only samples of the warm-up content lesson stage will be discussed. Since the Lesson initiation stage is essentially the same as with Academic English. In CLIL, as has been said, the subject course content differs between instructors A (Literature) and B (Identity and Culture). However, a similar schematic structure potential was found in both instructor's lessons. Figure 3 shows the general SSP of a CLIL lesson.

Instructor A (Identity and Culture)	Instructor B (Literature)
(C ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯→) LI ^ WR ^ (LA) [NTI ^ WC ^ SE]^ CO Where: C: Control element → : Constant presence of the element C LI: Lesson initiation ^: Sequence from stage to another ( ): Optional element LA: language activity [ ]: Recursion stage NTI: New topic introduction WC: Warm-up content SE: Sharing experiences CO: Conclusion	(C ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯→) LI ^ (WR) ^ [NTI ^ WC ^ CD]^ CO Where: C: Control element → : Constant presence of the element C LI: Lesson initiation ^: Sequence from stage to another ( ): Optional element WR: Warm-up recasting NTI: New topic introduction WC: Warm-up content CD: Comprehension discussion CO: Conclusion

Figure 3: The General SSP of a CLIL Lessons

While both instructors follow a similar SSP in their CLIL lessons, there is one obligatory sub-element in the recursion sequence that differs between the two. The difference has to do with the treatment of lesson content. In the SSP for Instructor A's lesson, the (WC) element contains a sub-element (SE) that is different from the corresponding sub-element (CD) for Instructor B's lesson. Since the activities in (SE) and (CD) essentially concern treatment of content, this must reflect a difference in the Content register. In addition, there is also one obligatory sub-element (WR) in Instructor A's SSP which appears to be only an option in the case of Instructor B. This has more to do with the ways in which instructors A and B conduct their classroom activities, and will therefore reflect differences in pedagogical register. A brief analysis of the obligatory sub-elements SE (Instructor A) and (CD) (Instructor B) will next be presented.

4.4 The staged build-up to the SE activity in a CLIL lesson by Instructor A
It will be recalled that in the build up to the lesson stage represented by the (WC) element in the Academic English lessons, the Warm-up content started with the instructor directing the students to the learning material and then using referential questions (RQ) to engage them in an interaction lasting two to three minutes, and finished with a wider sharing of thoughts in a general class discussion. In this CLIL class given by Instructor A, a similar pattern is observed up as far as the general discussion stage, but in this case there is no set of display or referential questions relating to the learning topic and requiring an answer to be reported to the class. Instead, students are asked to share their own experiences, within their own peer group, in relation to a word, phrase, passage, or image presented by the instructor. In other words, students are asked to share their own relevant experiences conversationally. During this activity, text types such as recounts and anecdotes are

likely to be produced using the target language. Another important principle applying to this part of the lesson is that the instructor does not intervene in the students' conversation. Once the interaction activity is done, the instructor selects some students and asks them to share their experiences with the rest of the class. Genres such as anecdotes and recounts are found to be used by the students in this stage. When one student finishes with this story telling, the instructor gives some feedback and then moves on to another student. The typical staging pattern up to the SE activity is shown below:

$$(C \rightarrow \quad \rightarrow \quad \rightarrow \quad)$$
$$WC \char94 SE \char94 GD \char94 PSF$$

Figure 4: Sub-stages found in the performance of
the SE activity in the CLIL lesson given by Instructor A

Where:
C: Control element
➜ : Constant presence of the element C
WC: Warm-up content
^: Sequence from one stage to another
SE: Sharing experience
GD: General discussion
PSF: Praise sandwich feedback

As shown in Figure 4, the presence of the control element is not constantly apparent in this (SE) activity sequence since students are almost engaged in free talk as they give their interpretations of the point raised by the instructor. From the instructor's point of view, this lesson stage is intended to promote critical thinking among the students and help them to understand issues relating to Identity and Culture, which is the main point of the course. At the end of the activity, the instructor introduces some important concepts relating to the just finished discussion, which in nearly all cases are known to the students since they refer to topics of general cultural knowledge at university level. As in the Academic English lesson given by the same instructor (Extract 3), when a new concept has to be introduced, the instructor makes use of horizontal language that may consist in using simplified language or in appropriate cases Japanese equivalent as shown in Extract 4 below.

Extract 4
Use of Horizontal knowledge for explaining concepts in a CLIL lesson by
Instructor A

Instructor A
14 I: So I want you to look at one interesting piece of information.
15 Look at this information! Okay.
16 Genesis! This is from Genesis.
17 Which book is that?
18 Is it from the Quran? No, it is not from the Quran.
19 Where is Genesis from?
20 Maybe you know the title in Japanese, it is sōseiki.
21 So, where is it from?
22 S: The Bible.
23 I: Ok. Good! This is from the Bible.

In move 20 here, the instructor uses a piece of general knowledge in the student's first language to proceed more easily with the explanation (Japanese Sōseiki= English Genesis). However, this knowledge was probably not familiar to every single student, so while it has now come to represent a common concept for the whole class in connection with this lesson, for some students it may have been a new item in both languages. The instructor is close enough to the students to be aware that only some of them know the word and concept in Japanese and that those who do not may need to use dictionaries to find out before they can wholly take in the content of the lesson. If the lesson from which this extract was taken can serve as a fair sample of the CLIL method, a transitivity analysis of the whole lesson transcript shows a high frequency of relational, and a correspondingly low frequency of material processes in it reflecting the high rate of horizontal-to-vertical changeover in places where the instructor is introducing specialized subject content to the students. These results also confirm Christie's findings (1991) regarding transitivity in the content register in primary education.

4.5 The staged build up to the CD activity in a CLIL lesson by Instructor B
In this lesson students were learning how to read, interpret, and analyze poetry. Using some famous poems as materials, the instructor begins by introducing a poem along with some vocabulary used in literary criticism and then proceeds to highlight certain technical or unfamiliar items of vocabulary as a means towards clarifying and finally analyzing the poem. The handout worksheet is supplemented by videos, PowerPoint slides and other visuals to illustrate what is said and facilitate understanding.

The most interesting move in this stage of the lesson is found in the stage named as Comprehension Discussion (CD). Since the whole content of the lesson is very likely to be new to the students, the whole of the discussion following the Warm-up Content (WC) and Guidance remarks is restricted to the prepared sets of handout questions (RQ), (DQ), which is the main difference between this CLIL lesson and the one given by Instructor B.
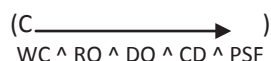
(C ⟶)
WC ^ RQ ^ DQ ^ CD ^ PSF
**Figure 5: Sub-elements found in the realization of
SE stage in AEII-CLIL Instructor B**

Where:
C: Control element
➤ : Constant presence of the element C
WC: Warm-up content
^: Sequence from one stage to another
RQ: Sharing experience
DQ: General discussion
CD: Comprehension discussion
PSF: Praise sandwich feedback

To facilitate changeovers between horizontal and vertical knowledge, Instructor B makes use of a range of physical tools such as pictures, videos, and illustrations (in the lesson handouts) as aids to better understanding. Many instances were also found in the instructor's words as an attempt to move from vertical language to horizontal and vice versa. An example is shown in Extract 5:

Extract 5
*Use of Horizontal knowledge for explaining concepts in a CLIL lesson by
Instructor B*

Instructor B
16 I: Ok. Put your hand up if you know what a minotaur is?
17   Or you´ve heard of the minotaur, sort of
18   What is the minotaur (name)?
19   What do you know about the minotaur? –asking a student who knows it-
20 S: A minotaur is …? –audio noise-
21 I: That's right!
22   It's a Greek myth. So if it is a myth, is it an old story or a new story?
23 S: Old story
24 I: Very old. It's the story of a guy who looks a little bit like this.
-teacher draws a minotaur on the board-
25 Ok. Can you see what it is?
-students laughing-
26   It's a man body with a head of…
27   What's the name for a male cow?
28 S: a bull?
29 I: Yes! A bull. So a cow is a female and a bull is a male cow
30   So it's a head of a bull 'cause it has the horns
31   What else do you know about the minotaur story?
32 Ask your partner

In move 22 here, the instructor achieves a quick shift from vertical "myth" to horizontal "old story". Following that, the concept of the Minotaur is illustrated on the board and further uses are made of horizontal language to help the students to form an image of the creature being discussed. In this case, there is no movement from Japanese to the target language as in Instructor A's lesson, but instead Instructor B uses illustrations and extremely basic words such as "guy", "bull", "cow", "male", "man", and "body" which belong to the vocabulary most familiar to the students.

As explained by Christie (1991), tenor, field, and mode in the two registers here analyzed (pedagogical and content) operate in different ways in the organization of the Schematic Structure Potential. Some of the lesson stages obtained from the SSP of instructor A are characterized more by the pedagogical than by the content register. Starting with tenor and assuming in the usual way that it can be analyzed on the three dimensions of power, affect and contact, the specifically pedagogical and content characteristics of tenor in the WC stage of a typical lesson can be summarized as follows:

Table 1: Tenor in the Warm-up content stages of both CLIL lessons

The pedagogical tenor	The content tenor
Instructor and students	Warm-up content, students, and instructor
	Power: hierarchic as part of the activity inside the WC stage.
Power: traditional hierarchic relationship teacher-student.	
	Affect: friendly and positive
Affect: always positive.	
	Contact: frequency varies among participants. For the instructor and some students, once a week. Many points of local and communal knowledge shared.
Contact: once a week during the 15-week term.	

Power in the pedagogical tenor is generally of hierarchical nature since it is the instructor who primarily controls the language-content activity in the classroom. However, during the Warm-up content stage, for a short time, the power relations are less hierarchical since the instructor occasionally joins in. The point where the instructor most overtly assumes power during the Guidance activity is where the instructor seems to reassume power, essentially in the capacity of advisor. Regarding contact, the considerations are similar for both registers. The students in these courses come from different majors, which means, from the point of view of any student, that (s)he will be in regular contact with several other class members through other lessons in shared fields of study, while having few or not outside relations with others. Qualitatively, in both registers, relations will be friendly and respectful.

Table 2: Field in the Warm-up Content of Identity and Culture and Literature courses

The pedagogical field	The content field
Traditional and polite classroom manners.	Warm-up discussion activities for sharing experiences related to the lesson content in the classroom setting as a rehearsal in academic English, or more explicitly in English as a medium for the university-level studies.

Regarding field in the pedagogical register, traditional norms of orderly conduct and language for the regulation of social organization and the facilitation of learning in the classroom are clearly seen in regular patterns of classroom behavior. Some classroom behaviors proper to the local culture are also seen. However, these never affect the course of the lesson. In the content register, the field content is controlled by the teacher and the institutional curriculum in most cases.

Table 3: Mode in the Warm-up Content of Academic English and CLIL lessons

The pedagogical	The content
SPACE: face to face Monologic	SPACE: face to face Monologic and dialogic
Time: language as action, (instructions).	Time: language as reflection

In the pedagogical register, the mode is normally monologic since it is the instructor who is encharged with directing the students to the warm-up content activity and also with finishing it off; the language used is often language as action. In the content register, during the WC stage the mode is dialogic on the part of the instructor but this time in the form of language as reflection.

A transitivity analysis of the speeches of both instructors confirmed, by the side of the students, who use language as reflection. Later with the instructor's involvement in the conversation at the guidance sub-stage, the mode becomes monologic on the part of the instructor but in the form of language as reflection.

A transitivity analysis of speeches of both instructors confirmed an unusually high use of relative processes when introducing content to students. This data suggests a functional slant in the meaning patterns of meaning choices and thus facilitate transfers of specialized content between horizontal and vertical connections of knowledge. A summary of lesson stages selected for analysis is shown in Table 4:

Table 4: Uses of pedagogical and content registers in selected sub-stages of CLIL lessons

SE sub-stages (Identity & Culture)	Register	CD sub-stages (Literature)	Register
WC	Pedagogical/Content	WC	Pedagogical/Content
SE	Content	RQ	Pedagogical/Content
GD	Pedagogical/Content	DQ	Pedagogical/Content
PSF	Pedagogical	CD	Pedagogical/Content
		PSF	Pedagogical

Both instructors show a higher use of the content register in their lessons overall. In particular, the SE activity in the lesson given by Instructor A was conducted entirely in the content register, since the topic of discussion in that particular lesson did not require any overt use of the Control function during the peer interaction. Instructor B's lesson, on the other hand, shows a steady presence throughout of the content register embedded in the pedagogical register, since the functional varieties of language used in this lesson were more restricted due to the nature of the topic being discussed.

5. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore, describe and analyze the occurrence of text types and patterns of meaning, i.e. genres, in two university courses, one teaching conventional Academic English and the other adopting ideas from a method called Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), in which the students' targeted second language is used as a vehicle for presenting new subject content. Christie's approach (1991) to classroom discourse analysis was selected for the analysis of the oral data in the two courses since it allows a systematic insight into the uses of clause processes, and more particularly into distinct registers of language for behavior regulation and knowledge instruction. Christie's names for Bernstein's regulative and instructive registers of language are the "pedagogical" and "content" registers, respectively. Another aspect of Bernstein's notion of instructional language that is relevant to the present analysis is the idea that for the effective introduction of specialized content language (vertical knowledge) to learners, the learners' own commonsense language (of horizontal knowledge) should be employed as an access channel or support. A well-judged use of terms from both horizontal and vertical knowledge promotes the acquisition of knowledge since the language used to introduce the new content is already mostly known to the learners.

From the analysis, some important information was obtained regarding the conditions for introducing CLIL methods successfully in a university second language learning environment. First, it was found that while the schematic structure potential (SSP) of the lessons in both courses followed a generally similar pattern, the lesson stages dealing with specific content differ significantly due to the different ways in which the registers are employed in each lesson.

Academic English and CLIL classes given by two instructors were followed. Both instructors generally used very similar lesson stages and discourse patterns, the main difference being in the sort of language employed to introduce new content.

Comparing between the two kinds of courses, although the pedagogical register is always present as a control in the lessons of both instructors, more uses of the content register were detected in the lesson stages dealing with specialized new knowledge in CLIL lessons, in which the presentation of language and content knowledge is integrated in principle.

A transitivity analysis of the oral discourse of the two instructors in a knowledge-presenting stage of this kind, as indicated through the SSP pattern, revealed a similar pattern of a high rate of use of relational processes in each case. The reason for this is that relational explanations are required in these stages in which specialized contents and familiar words need to be linked together. In addition, an analysis of the text types used by both instructors revealed in more detail how the integration of language and content actually takes place. With regard to their uses of the pedagogic and content registers, the two instructors showed similarities but also differences. The presentation of content in the lessons represented one of the most important aspects of the CLIL course since it is in connection with content explanations that the meaning choices struck between instructors and students are first decided. If instructors could be made more aware of the effects of the meaning matches actually offered in their oral discourse and the resulting implications for the integration of language and content, a better balance between the pedagogic and content outcomes of discourse might be achieved, to the benefit of the students' progress in both language and content learning.

A theme analysis further revealed how monologic and dialogic modes of discourse organization proceed in both kinds of courses. The monologic mode continued to predominate since most of the vertical knowledge employed in this register was controlled by the instructor. When an instructor engaged in interaction with students, more transfers were made into horizontal knowledge, resulting in higher frequencies of the dialogic mode. Instructor using the CLIL method should attempt to maximize these uses of horizontal knowledge since this is the best way to allow students to become involved in a fruitful learning dialog. To return to the most important point of this paper, classroom uses of CLIL methods for the promotion of language and content learning together are likely to show better results if the instructors actively focus on their meaning-choices. An effort to achieve this on instructor's side, both in the selection and preparation of course content and in the recognition of the language needs of the students, will greatly contribute to a productive integration of language and content learning, which is the declared aim and method of this educational approach. For the readier achievement of this goal, finally, the instructor in charge of a CLIL lesson should have a good knowledge of both language acquisition and, of course, the specialized content being taught. This places a high demand on the instructor, since most teachers at the present moment are primarily either a language teaching specialist or a content specialist.

Notes

[1] CLIL is a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language (Do Coyle, Hood and Marsh, 2010)

[2] Warm-up recasting: an activity done to reformulate the topic in discussion in order to make it more understandable or accessible.

[3] New topic introduction: an activity done to introduce the main and new topic of the day to the students.

[4] Praise sandwich feedback: constructive criticism embedded in praise.

References

Bernstein, B. (1990) *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse. Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 4* London and New York: Routledge.

Christie, F. (1987) 'Genre as Choice.' In Ian Reid (ed.) *The place of Genre in Learning: Current Debates*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University, 22-34. Print.

Christie, F. (1991) "Curriculum genres in early childhood education: a case study in writing development". Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney.

Christie, F. (2002) *Classroom Discourse Analysis. A Functional Perspective*. London and New York: Continuum.

Christie, F. (1994) "On pedagogic discourse". Final Report of a research activity funded by the Australian Research Council 1990-92. University of Melbourne.

Coyle D., Hood, P. and Marsh, D. (2010) *CLIL: Content and Language Integrated Learning*. Cambridge University Press

Dalton-Puffer, C. and Smit, U. (2013) Content and Language Integrated Learning: A research agenda. *Language Teaching*, vol. 46(4), 545-559 Cambridge University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1989) *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social Semiotic Perspective*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Mathiessen, C.M.I.M. (3rd ed.) (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London and New York: Arnold.

Llinares A., Morton T., Whittaker R. (2012) *The role of language in CLIL*. Cambridge University Press.

Martin, J.R. (1985) *Factual Writing: Exploring and Challenging Social Reality*. Geelong, Victoria: Deakin University Press.

Martin, J.R. (1992) *English Text: System and Structure*. Philadelphia, and Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Martin, J.R. and Rose, D. (2007) *Working with Discourse: meaning beyond the clause*. 2nd ed. London: Continuum.

Martin, J.R. and Rose, D. (2008) *Genre Relations: Mapping Culture*. London: Equinox.

名詞化された感情評価語彙の変化が特定する
心理療法プロセスの発達段階

The Developmental Phase of Psychotherapy Identified by the Transition
of Nominalized Evaluative Lexical Choices of Affect

加藤　澄

Sumi Kato

青森中央学院大学

Aomori Chuo Gakuin University

Abstract

In psychotherapy, the client's linguistic evaluative lexis indicates how the client construes his/her experiential world, which provides the therapist with important information needed to proceed with the therapy. This study adapted Appraisal theory, which systematized the linguistic evaluation of any text, to the psychotherapy interviews, and discussed (1) emotion lexis as the focal point of negotiation, (2) how the therapist's reformulation using nominalized expressions of the client's formulation worked in order to facilitate the client's reconstruction of his/her experiential world, (3) how the client's semiotic development related to his/her reconstruction of his/her experiential world, and (4) linguistic competence required for the therapist.

1. はじめに

　評価的意味とは，話し手/書き手の視点を通して表現される自己，他者を含めた対人事象，出来事，物事に対する感情あるいは査定のことをいう。あらゆるテクストに共通したこの評価言語の全般的な重要性は，評価が，(1)話し手/書き手の意見を表現し，そうすることで，話し手/書き手とその所属コミュニティーの価値体系を反映，(2)話し手/書き手と聞き手/読み手の間の関係を構築，維持し，そして，(3)ディスコースを組織する(Thompson and Hunston, 2000:6)という点にある。対人的相互作用における評価は，様々な形態で所定の相互作用上のいかなるところにも現れ，音声的，語彙的，統語上，ディスコース上，いかなる言語的構造形態をも取りうる。Martin and White (2005)は，この評価言語の対人的機能に着目し，選択体系機能言語学(Systemic Functional Linguistics)の枠組みよりアプレイザル(Appraisal)理論を組み立てた。アプレイザル理論は，態度評価，程度評価，評価スタンスを表す言語を扱い，話し手/書き手がそれぞれの命題・提言を対人的に位置づける言語資源を体系化したものである。この言語資源を用いることによって，話し手/書き手は間主観的な次元からイデオロギー的な次元まで幅広い見解を表現し，意味の交渉(negotiation)を行う。

　この個人的な感情，査定を伝える評価言語理論を日本語テクストに適用させた研究には，Sano (2006)， White and Sano (2006)， Sano (2008)， Thompson, Fukui, and White (2008)， 佐野 (2010)， 佐野 (2011)などがあるが，新聞，医療現場における患者の語りなど適用テクスト・タイプは限られている。心理療法テクストに応用した研究では加藤(2009)があるが，これは英語による面接テクストであり，本研究では日本語への適用をはかる。

　発話には評価を通じて話し手のパーソナリティーが投影されるが，心理療法では，セラピスト(以後 T と略記する)はクライエント(以後 C と略記する)が自身の経験世界をどのように捉えているかをみる。C のその評価の有り様が，C の態度，感情，性格，経験世界の捉え方を発現させるもので，心理療法を進めていく上で，重要な資料を T に提供する。交渉のプロセスは C の経験世界に対する評価に対し，T のフィードバックを通して具現される。そこから双方による意味の交渉が行われ，C の経験世界観の再構築がはかられる。

　本研究では，感情評価に着目する。評価の主要な機能の 1 つとして，対人的関係性の構築と維持があげられる。一般に対人的関係性の構築には連帯が不可欠で，連帯の確立には，感情の共有をはかることが有効な手段となる。このことは心理療法という設定にも当てはまり，そこでは T と C の間で互いに共有を負荷し合いながら積み重ねられる感情評価が重要な言語資源となる。感情評価を用いることにより，話し手は聞き手にその感情的反応を共有するよう，あるいは少なくともその反応が適切・妥当であることを聞き手が理解できるよう意味の交渉を行う。そうした交渉を重ねて，2 者間の連帯が確立されていく(加藤, 2012)。こうした意味の交渉の過程で，古い情動体験が処理され，新しい情動と認知の統合がなされる。この場合の情動処理とは，C が体験した情動をどの程度象徴化して語れるかによってなされる。岩壁(2011)は「もし感情に言葉をつけて考えることができなければ，その感情体験は消化されないまま蓄積され，ついには身体的症状として表れるかもしれない。感情を言葉にすることによって，C は，その感情に圧倒されるのではなく，象徴的なコントロールを得ることができる」として，C がその情動体験を言語化して自己の語りの中に取り入れる必要性を説く。その象徴化機能の役割を担う語彙-文法資源の 1 つが名詞化である。情動体験を名詞化して語ることにより，C の古い情動が象徴化され，問題解決に向けて役立てていけることになる。

　本研究では，アプレイザル理論より態度評価を異なる療法アプローチによる 5 事例のそれぞれ初期と転換期の面接逐語記録に適用し，C と T の両者に用いられた評価表現を，当該理論に基づいてカテゴリー化し，量的分析を行なった。そしてその中の感情評価に着目し，意味生成の発達という観点から，(1) C の経験世界の再構成を促す意味生成資源としての名詞化表現，(2) T に求められる言語能力について論じる。

2. 方法と結果
2.1 アプレイザル理論の理論的枠組み

　アプレイザル理論は評価資源として，(1)態度評価(Attitude)，(2)程度評価(Graduation)，(3)評価スタンス(Engagement) という 3 つの意味資源から成る。本研究では，これら 3 つのうち，(1)の態度評価のマッピングを行い，(2)の程度評価と(3)の評価スタンスについては別課題とするが，アプレイザル理論の体系全容のよりよい理解をはかるために，この 2 者についても簡潔に説明を付しておく。

　(1)の態度評価とは，話し手/書き手が間主観的な価値あるいは評価を，参与要素(participant)とプロセス(Process) に付すことにより，感情的な反応や文化的価値観システムを示す意味資源で， (a)感情(Affect), (b)判断(Judgment), (c)理解(Appreciation) の 3 つのカテゴリーから成る。それぞれ下位基準が設けられていて，以下にその定義を示す。

(a)感情：評価者の評価対象に対する感情的な反応を表出させたもので，評価者がある現象によって感情的にどのように影響されたか，そして感情を表す語彙-表現を用いて、どうその現象を査定するのかを表す。
【希求】[1]物事・人物に対する好悪の感情（好き・嫌い）。
【情動】喜怒哀楽といった感情の起伏を表す（例：嬉しい・悲しい・楽しい・怒る）。
【心状】精神的な安定・不安定を表す（例：心配・不安・安心・恐がる）。
【満足】満足・不満足の程度を表す（例：満足する・納得する・飽きる・諦める）。

(b)判断：制度化された規範，社会的・道徳的判断に基づく人の行為やパーソナリティーの評価カテゴリーである。評価対象は人の行為・性格などで，それらが倫理的か非倫理的か，法に適ったものか違法性を有するものか，社会的に容認できるものかそうでないか，または正常か常軌を逸したものかを査定する。文化的あるいはイデオロギー的な価値観によって査定されるため，同じ評価語彙が，異なる文化的コンテクストでは異なる査定となりうる。感情が文化・社会の違いを問わず普遍的な性質を持つのと対照的である。
　(i)行動規範
　　合法性あるいは道徳体系に関わるもので，対象となる人物の行動・パーソナリティーが社会的規範に沿うものであるか，あるいは反するものであるかを評価する。多かれ少なかれ文化によって明示的に体系化された規則・規約の集まりと言える。
　【倫理】倫理・道徳的見地から見てそれに従うものか，逸脱するものかを表す（例：人道的・正当な・不謹慎・不正・不当・理不尽・邪悪）。
　【誠実性】誠実さ・正直に関する評価語彙群（例：真面目・純朴・不貞・誠意・健気・忠実）。

(ii)社会的評価

　対象の行動・パーソナリティーが社会的に，あるいはその人物の所属コミュニティの評価基準に照らして，望ましいかそうでないかに関する評価資源であるが，法的，あるいは倫理的な含みはない。

【特殊性】その人物がどれだけ標準からかけ離れているか，あるいはその行動がどれだけ慣習に則ったものであるかを表す（例：数奇な・奇抜な・希有な・偏屈・名高い）。

【能力】その人物がどれだけ有能かを表す（例：卓越した・熟達した・優れた・劣った）。

【信頼性】その人物がどれだけ信頼できるか，あるいは社会的に好ましい性向を有しているかを表す（例：信用できる・頼もしい・軽率な・信実）。

(c)観照

(c)**観照**：審美的あるいは社会的価値観から査定される事象・具象に対する評価カテゴリーである。生産物，プロセス，存在に対する人間の感情が，1つの価値体系として慣習化されたものと見なすことができる。従って，判断が人間の行為を評価する基準であるのに対して，観照評価は，一般に生産物，製造物といった実体的なもの，また抽象的な構築物に対してなされる評価である。人間についての評価も含むが，その場合は行動主体としてよりは実体的な存在として捉えられる。

【反応】対象に対する反応（例：面白い・つまらない・興ざめ・刺激的・啓発的）。

【構成】対象の構成・バランスについての評価（例：均整のとれた・複雑な・論理的な・単純な）。

【価値】様々な社会的慣習の見地からの評価で，対象となる内容の価値・有効性・真偽的観点からの評価（例：信憑性のある・無意味・重要・意義深い・有効）。

(d) 肯/否定的カテゴリーと表現形態

　評価は一般に肯/否定的カテゴリーを持ち，嬉しい/悲しい・楽しい/つまらない，といったような対照的なペアをなす。無標の評価は形容詞を通して具現され，有標の表現として，名詞化表現によるもの（例：哀しみ・喜び・悔恨・憤怒），副詞によるもの（例：楽しく・恨みがましく・苦々しく・嬉々として），動詞によるもの（例：悲しむ・喜ぶ・憐れむ・案ずる・厭う）などが考えられる。

　表現形態のカテゴリーとして，明示的評価 (inscribed appraisal) と喚起的評価 (evoked appraisal) の別が設けられている。明示的評価は，「賢い子供」，「邪悪な政府」のように，態度評価を表す評価語彙によって明示的に示され，喚起的評価は，「よく本を読む子供」，「蝶の羽をむしり取る子供」のように，明確な評価語を含まず，行動情報，出来事や状態を指し示すことによって間接的に表現される。

(2)程度評価と(3)評価スタンス

　程度評価は話し手/書き手が自ら下した評価に対して，どれだけコミットしているかを示す資源で，態度評価に程度基準を付すことで，対人的インパクトを強くしたり和らげたりする資源である。例えば態度評価に，「幾分，ちょっと，やや，むしろ，結構，本当に，大変，全然」といった強度スケールを示す副詞表現を付したり，あるいは「好き」と「愛する」に見られるような相対的価の違いを利用して，語彙そのもので強度を表現するような例である。一方，(3)の評価スタンスは，グラマーに注目し，話し手/書き手の見解の位置づけを行うために主に構文を扱う意味資源である。端的に言えば，態度評価を主観的あるいは客観的な色づけで表現するのか，発話命題への傾斜を表したり，不確かさで言うのかといった見解の位置づけを示す資源である。蓋然性を表すモダリティなど，この範疇に包含される。

　以上，アプレイザル理論を概略したが，図1は理論の体系網を示したものである。
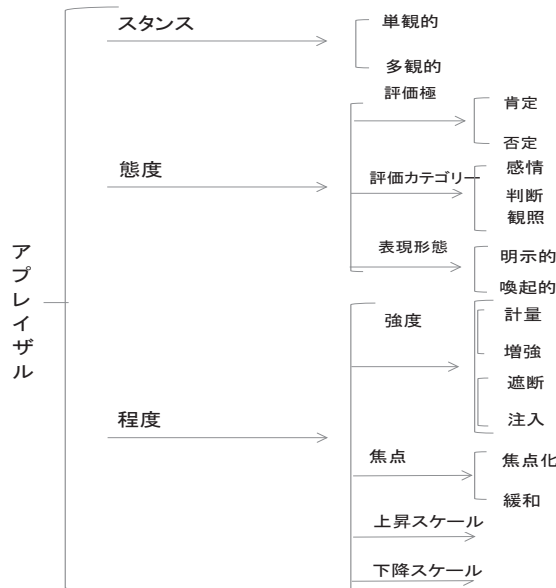
図1:アプレイザル体系網 (Martin and White, 2005)

　簡略化して言えば，態度評価は何がどう評価されているかを担う意味表現で，(2)の程度評価はそれに意味上の強弱をつける資源，(3)の評価スタンスは主に構文から見解スタンスを述べる資源で，後者2つは言わば態度評価の補助的位置づけと言える。本研究では，主軸と考えられる態度評価を扱う。

2.2. 方法と結果

　本研究では，異なるアプローチによる5事例より，面接初期とCの症状に改善の兆候が見られる転換期のセッションをそれぞれ1セッションずつ抽出し，分析データとした。分析セッションの抽出は，セッション担当者以外の

2 人の臨床家による合議によってなされた。その際の評定基準は，抽出者が担当 T による面接報告とセッションの逐語記録を読み込み、2 つを合わせた総合的判断によって抽出した。表 1 は各事例の概要である。これら 5 事例のうち事例 1 と 3 は，症状の変化が比較的明快とされるもので，最終的には成功事例となったものであり，事例 2 は，依然不安定要素は残るものの，症状に改善の兆候が見られるため，T が見切りをつけて終結としたもの，事例 4 は，C の症状に多少改善の兆候は見られたものの，最終的には C のドロップアウトに終わったもので，事例 5 は，現在も進行中で，小康状態を保ちながら治療期間は長期にわたっている。

表 1: 分析事例概要

事例	Cの年齢/性別	主訴・問題	療法アプローチ	セラピーの帰結	分析対象としたセッション
事例1	20代/女性	社会的不適応による抑鬱	来談者中心療法	16回で終結	第5回、9回セッション
事例2	50代/女性	家庭問題による急性ストレス反応	情動焦点化療法	4回で終結	第1回、4回セッション
事例3	20代/女性	情緒不定・自己愛性人格障害	統合的認知行動療法	26回で終結	第3回、15回セッション
事例4	20代/女性	心理的な要因のある欝	統合的認知行動療法	21回で中断	第6回、21回セッション
事例5	20代/女性	社会的不適応による抑鬱	統合的認知行動療法	現在も継続中	第6回、22回セッション

　これら 5 事例計 10 セッションを 2.1.で述べた態度評価のカテゴリーに従って，各セッションで用いられる評価語彙 - 表現を分類し，(1)各事例の初期と転換期について，分類項目ごとに評価総語彙 - 表現数に対する割合を出し，さらに，(2)名詞による感情表現の計量を行なった。語彙の抽出と分類には，佐野(2011)による『日本語アプレイザル評価表現辞書』を参考に，加藤が心理療法に特化した辞書を作成し，抽出・分類の自動化がはかられた。しかし，1 つの語彙に対し，複数の異なる意味を持つ評価語彙が少なくなく，その場合，それぞれの意味に応じたカテゴリーへの分類がはかられるため，2 人の評定者[2]のマニュアル作業による意味のコンテクスト照合を行なって分類を決定した。その時点で評定者に分類上，不一致が生じた場合は，評定者間の合議によって最終的に分類を決定した。さらに全テクストについて，2 人の評定者のマニュアル作業で，評価語彙-表現の見落としがないかどうか，コンテクストとの照合を行いながら確認を行なった。評価語彙辞書にない語彙が，コンテクストによっては評価語彙となる場合や，同じ語が異なる話し手（ここでは C と T）によって異なる意味を持つ場合があり，また話し手は語の新しい意味と新しい使用をコンテクストに応じて語用論的に学び続けるため，同じ語であっても異なる時に異なる意味を持たせる場合もあり，コンテクストとの注意深い照合が必要とされるからである。(1)と(2)は，評価語彙辞書にはない評価語彙の例である。

(1) T：まあ，<u>中学生</u>ですもんね，
(2) T：まあ，まだ，ね，<u>中学生</u>だからわかんないけど，…

　「中学生」という語彙だけとれば，評価語彙とはならないが，コンテクストによっては，(1)と(2)のように評価的意味を持つ場合がある。前者は，コンテクストから，難しい年頃という評価的意味合いになり，後者は未熟者という意味合いで用いられている。喚起的評価についても同様のことが言える。喚起的評価は特に文脈依存性が高く，聞き手/読み手の解釈における自由度が大きく，細心の読み取りを要する。
　これらの作業において同じく不一致が生じた場合は，評定者間の合議で分類を決定した。表2は，合議に入る前のマニュアル作業による意味のコンテクストとの照合を行なった時点での2人の評価者の一致率を，カッパ係数で出したものである。数値はかなり高い一致率を示している。

表 2: 評価語彙–表現抽出における評定者の一致率

事例	カッパ係数	
	初期	転換期
1	k=0.805	k=1.000
2	k=0.871	k=0.610
3	k=0.744	k=0.828
4	k=0.898	k=0.796
5	k=0.862	k=0.728

　図2は，上述3つの上位カテゴリー別評価語彙-表現数の割合である。図3は，事例別Cの各セッションでの名詞化された感情評価語彙の総感情評価語彙-表現数に対する割合を，初期と転換期別に示したものである。また図4は、CとTの初期の名詞化された感情評価語彙の総感情評価語彙-表現数に対する割合を事例別に出したもので、図5は、転換期のそれを出したものである。さらに，初期と転換期で名詞化された感情評価語彙の出方に差があるかどうかについて母平均の差のt検定を行なったところ，有意差が見られた（t=4.602，df＝4，p<.01）。これらの計量結果に基づいて，以下に質的分析を行う。
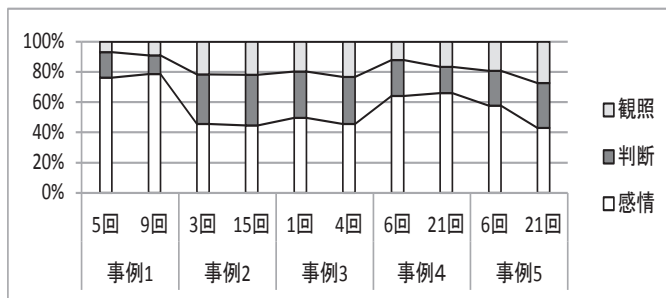
図 2: 事例別評価カテゴリーの割合
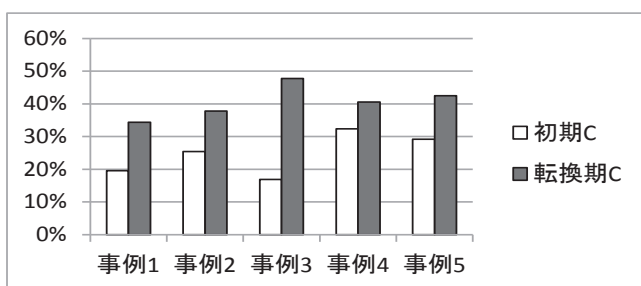
図 3: 事例別 C の初期/転換期別名詞化された感情評価語彙の総感情評価語彙-表現数に対する割合
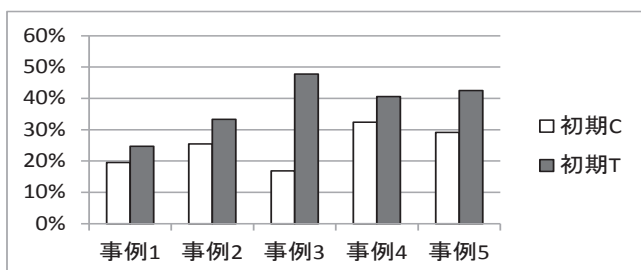
図 4: 事例別 C と T の初期の名詞化された感情評価語彙の総感情評価語彙-表現数に対する割合
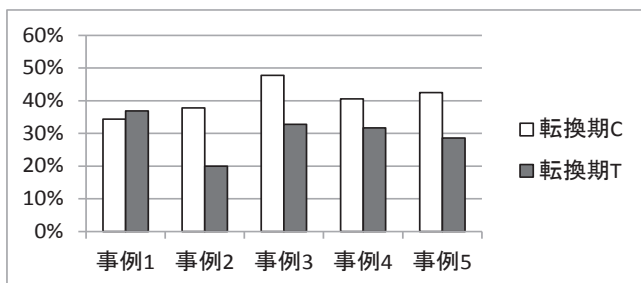
図 5: 事例別 C と T の転換期の名詞化された感情評価語彙の総感情評価語彙-表現数に対する割合

3. 評価的意味の交渉俯瞰

　図2は10セッションで用いられた評価語彙‐表現を当該理論の上位分類カテゴリーに従って分類し，評価総語彙‐表現数に対する割合で出したものである 。これによって相互作用の参与者間で何が交渉されているかの概観が可能となる。ここではセラピーの常道とも言える感情の交渉が大筋を占めるといった図式が概観できる。ジャンルによって変数の優先項目に違いが見られ，例えばアカデミック・ライティングでは，知識の主張に付加される確実性の度合いを査定することが評価の中心となり，確実性変数に沿った評価が，また人物照会など価値査定が中心となるジャンルでは，善悪変数が重要となる(Thompson and Hunston, 2000)。心理療法で軸となるのは，感情変数と言える。

心理療法のプロセス/効果に関する先行研究は，T が C と感情的に関わることが，拠って立つ療法アプローチにかかわらず，成果をもたらす傾向があることを示してきている(岩壁, 2008)。この場合の感情的関わりとは，「面接において，C が自分の問題と関わる感情と接触した状態で作業すること」(岩壁, 2009)である。計量結果は，量的に感情に関わる言語選択の割合の大きさを示し，こうした臨床上の知見を裏付けるものとなった。

4. 文法的メタファーあるいは名詞化

　図 3 より，初期から転換期にかけて，C の感情評価に名詞化表現が有意に増加することがわかった。この現象について論じる前に，SFL における文法的メタファーについて以下に論じる。

　文法的メタファーとは Halliday による導入概念で, Halliday (2001:537‐538)は，メタファーを「意味の表現の仕方の転移」と定義し，「この語はどのように用いられるか」ではなく，「この意味はどのように表現されるか」として捉える。つまり，同じ意味を表すのに 2 つ以上の文法的に異なる表現が可能であれば，どちらかがあるいはどれかを文法的メタファーとみなす。その際の表現形態として，直線的に無標の形で表現される形態が一致した表現または整合形(congruent)で，それ以外の一致しない表現または非整合形(incongruent)の形態を文法的メタファーと呼ぶ。整合形とは「主語＋動詞」の形をし，いわゆる変形操作を受けていない形態である(安井, 2007:8)。通常言うメタファーが語彙中心で，そこでは意味が問題とされるのに対し,文法的メタファーは意味の方を固定し文法的表現形態を問題とする。文法的メタファーを単純に定義すれば，「品詞の転換」と言え(安井, 2007:3)，動詞・形容詞を名詞化するケースが主となる。この名詞化が心理療法では変化特定の上で、重要な役割を担うと考えられる。

　心理療法は参加者が非対称的な役割を担って進行するが，基本的に意味の構築は共同でなされる。片方が質問し，もう一方が答え，さらにそれに片方がフィードバックを与えるといったように,相互作用によって,意味の構築,再構築がはかられていく。通常，話し手は聞き手のフィードバックを期待するが，聞き手のフィードバックには，聞き手の評価が織り込まれたり，あるいは話し手が織り込んだ評価に対する修正がなされたりすることによって，聞き手が何をどのように理解・解釈したかを話し手に知らせることになる。そこから双方による意味の交渉が行われる。これはセラピーの設定でも同様で，T のフィードバックを通して，C の意味の交渉が行われ，そのプロセスを通して C の意味の再構築がはかられる。その際の T のフィードバックは、C の経験世界の解釈に重要な変化をもたらす言語行動とならなければならない。そのためにはフィードバックを，戦略的な語彙‐文法資源の選択によって操作的に行う必要がある。名詞化はこの操作資源の 1 つであると考えられる。

　名詞化の基本的な機能特徴は，整合形の節が名詞化されると，叙法部から独立できることで主語が除かれ，そのため行為者性が除かれるという点であ

る。これによって行為は特定の個人から離れて「もの」化され，それによって一般化・概念化・抽象化が起こる。「もの」化するということは，プロセスとして捉えてきたものを，「もの(thing)」あるいは「静止画像」として捉えることで，いわばプロセスの捉え直しということになる。C の問題情動は，「もの」化されることによって， C に本来備わっている属性としてではなく，外在化された現象として見なされることが可能となる。C が問題情動を自分の属性としてみなす観点からは，C はただ無力感に陥るだけで解決法を生み出しにくいが，問題情動を自分自身から切り離し，外在化された現象として捉えることで，解決への新たな視野が生まれる。以下に，セッションより例をあげて論じる。

　(3)は C の発話の過程中核部が、T の発話で主名詞に代えられた名詞化形態を例示している。(　)内は，分類カテゴリーである。

(3)　C：(中略)で，私のことをすごく感情的だって言うんですね。確かにその人は頭もいいし，理性的だと思うんです。でも私どうしたって，そんな考え方しかできなくて，本当に苦しく(感情/心状)ってたまらなく(感情/心状)って・・・そういう人間はやっぱり落ちこぼれていくより他，しょうがないのかなと思うんです(感情/満足)。
　　　T：今もうすでに自分は**落伍者**(感情/満足)である・・・。

(4)　C：　決して私自身の体験なんていうのは，他の人は内面的な体験なんていうのはできないのに，ただ頑張れとか何とか言うのはすごく勝手だっていう気がしちゃったんですね。
　　　T：　本当の自分の辛さ(感情/心状)，**やりきれなさ**(感情/心状)，**空っぽさ**(感情/心状)，それは誰にも分ってもらえない。ただ頑張れ，頑張れって言っているだけ。

　(3)では，C の陳述の下線部分を，「すでに」と明確化し，「落伍者」という名詞をあてて評価を下している。また，(4)では，T は C の「体験」の中身を明確化すると同時に抽象名詞を用いることで，C の体験の抽象化 / 一般化をはかっている。C の発話は喚起的評価が中心となっている。
　名詞化された語彙には，しばしば評価語彙が伴われる。以下のような例である。

(5)　C：昼間一人でいると悶々として，今頃 2 人で，私の知らないところで会っているんじゃないかとか，もう帰ってこないんじゃないかとか，もう考え始めると何も手につかなくなって，寝込んでしまいそうになります(感情/心状)
　　　T：根拠のない妄想的**勘ぐり**に負けてしまう。

(6)　C:　これまでにも性格的に合わないなっていうことが時々ありましたけど，こうなってしまうとこの先やっていけるんだかどうだか。
　　　T:　通常，**夫婦によくある軽い性格の不一致感**を克服できるかどうか不安。

　(5)では，C の否定的感情を肯定的感情に転化させるための仕掛けとして，T によって C の行動情報を名詞化された解釈である「勘ぐり」に，「根拠のない」と「妄想的」いう評価語彙を織り込んで，「勘ぐり」に対して捉え方の転換を示唆する評価を付与している。(6)の「性格の不一致感」は，C の喚起的評価を T が C に一般化して提示することで，C が感情を整理できるようにし，一方でCの否定的感情の肯定的感情への転化を促すための仕掛けとして，名詞化された「性格の不一致感」に「夫婦によくある」と「軽い」という評価語彙が織り込まれている。
　評価語彙は介入が難しいため，このように含みのある評価語彙を織り込むことで，C の経験世界の認知の再構築を誘導することが可能となる(加藤, 2009)。名詞化された行為には，「非生産的で，意味がなく，自己憐憫的で，非建設的・・・」など形容詞あるいは形容詞節の評価語彙を無限に付与できる。これは行動・出来事情報を「こと」化することによって，修飾語がいくらでも付与できるという名詞が持つ利便性である。
　(3), (4), (5), (6)とも C の感情は整合形で示され，喚起的評価が主体となっている。明示的評価は明確な評価語彙を用いて直接的に，喚起的評価は明確な評価語を持たず，間接的に評価を述べる表現である。日本語話者の場合，人物属性の表象形態が欧米語族の話者に比べ，エピソード的な行動情報をとる傾向がある(唐沢, 2007)。明示的表現によるあからさまな評価を避けるという日本語文化が好む婉曲的表現傾向の現れである。例えば，「あなたはものすごく考えて行動するんですね」は行動情報による喚起的評価に相当し，「慎重だ / 思慮深い」といった明示的評価語彙に換言できる。そこでこうした行動情報による評価を T が的確に名詞化された評価表現に換言して返すことによって，C の経験世界の解釈の概念化を促すことができる。
　(7)は同格節としての前修飾を伴って機能する名詞形態である（主名詞は太字，埋め込み節は斜体で示してある）。

(7)　C：いきなりガタガタって。本当にうまく(感情/満足)いっていると思ってました。よそ様のいろんな問題を聞くたびに他人事だと思ってて。自分は違う(感情/満足)んだって。自分はうまく(感情/満足)やっているんだって思ってました。
　　　T：[*自分はうまくやっている*] っていう**自己満足**(感情/満足)に，つゆほども疑いを持たなかった。

　(7)では，T の言い換えによって名詞化された「自己満足」に，「自分はうまくやっている」という C 自身によって語られた語結合が連結されているた

め, C がその発話に介入, あるいは異議を唱えるのが特に難しくなっている。相手の言葉を忠実に語結合の中に織り込みながら, その内容に解釈の転換を促すような色をつけた見解を示す主名詞, ここでは「自己満足」という語を結び付けることで,「自分はうまくやっている」という C の経験世界の解釈をネガティブに命名している。このように C の見解を残すかにみせて, それとは観点を違えた名詞を主名詞として置くことにより, C に別の経験世界の認知を促すことができる。

こうして T は, T による経験世界の解釈に対する C の反論あるいは介入の余地を狭めることで, C がそれを受け入れざるを得ない状況を創出していく。言わば, 名詞化表現は「隠れた説得者(hidden persuader)」(Thompson and Hunston, 2000)としての機能を担っていると言える。T による名詞化された経験構成的内容に異議を唱えることは必ずしも不可能ではないが, 名詞化された意味を解き開くためには, 回りくどい(時に対決的緊張をもたらす)相互作用が求められるため, 多くの場合見送られ, 結果, T の言い換えの容認という事態がもたらされる。これはセラピー設定に限らず, 一般に多くの対人的相互作用の場で, 共通して言えることである。よってこのような出来事の要約あるいは評価に対して, C が介入するのはかなり難しい。こうして C は T によって自己の情動反応に名称が付与されるが, それは名詞化作用によって客観的視点が導入された情動となる。須藤(2003)は, 上述の名詞化の機能が, アメリカ政府の政策提案文書に巧妙に取り込まれることで, マスメディアの操作が意図されるさまを論じているが, 同じ操作意図が, 心理療法では善意に活用される。

評価語彙は, 同定/属性的関係過程節, 2 人称主語を持った心理文のような特定の語彙-文法資源と結びついた時, 判決的 (verdictive) な威力を発揮する。判決的というのは, オースティン(Austin, 1975)が評価する言葉として用いた語で, 文字通り, 陪審員, 仲裁人, 審判などが下す判決に類似するものという意味で使われる。心理療法の文脈では, T が専門家という立場であることから, その発言は判決者の発言として威力を持つことになる(Havens, 1986)。特に属性的性質を表すものであれば, その威力は増幅されるであろうとしている。以下のような例である。

(8)　C：　あれもこれもすべて完璧にわかっていないといけないんだと思ってきたのが, 他の皆もそれほど分かっていないんだって思えてきて。だから他の人だって分かってないんだから自分も分かんなくったって平気なんだって思えてきて。言い訳みたいですけど。
　　　T：(i)[自分も分からなくていいって開き直る]**こと**は, 考えようによっては, <u>ずるい**妥協**</u>かもしれない。(ⅱ)［*しかし確かにそういう考え方ができるようになった*］**こと**は, 自分で<u>大きな**変化**</u>だっていうふうには受け取れるわけですよね。

(8)では, T の発話の中の(ⅰ),(ⅱ)とも判決文である。(ⅰ)では, C によって

「自分も分からなくっていい」と評価された行動は，T によって「こと」化されることにより同定的関係過程節の参与要素の位置を獲得し，そこで<u>情動とアイデンティティが分離され</u>，「ずるい妥協」という否定的定義が与えられている。C の経験世界を，T が同定的関係過程節を用いながら定義することによって，臨床上ポイントとなる情動定義が次々とマッピングされていく。セラピーでは，T は C によって整合形で表現される C の生活史のエピソードを集めるが，それらは C の否定的なアイデンティティを解き開くために，T の言い換えの中で属性的関係過程節によって分類され，同定的関係過程節によって定義される。その際に，同定的関係過程節のトークン(Token)の位置に，C の問題行動とみなされる陳述を「もの」化して参与要素として埋め込み，ヴァリュー(Value)の位置で名詞化表現によって抽象化する。(ⅱ)では，同じ行動情報が，「大きな変化」として肯定的に定義付けられている。

　このように行動情報を「こと」化することで，それを新たな文脈の参与要素として配置することによって，別の関係を述べることが可能になる。例えば，C の問題情動を「こと」化することで，それを属性的/同定的関係過程節の参与要素にして，新たな文脈に位置づけることができる。Halliday (2001:556)はこうした名詞化による文法的メタファーが，科学的(学術的)及び専門的知識を構築するテクストを生むことにおいて発達したとし，そこでは2 つの役割を果たしてきたとする。1 つは専門領域における分類上の階層をなす術語群の構築を可能にしたことで，もう1 つは複雑な節を名詞化することによって「圧縮」したものを節の主題とすることができ，段階を追った議論の展開が可能になったという2 点をあげている。セラピーにおいても，同様の段階的議論は欠かせず，手段としての名詞化がそこでは不可欠である。

　こうして概念化によって，古い情動体験が処理され，新しい情動と認知の統合がなされる。この情動処理とは，C が体験した情動をどの程度象徴化して語れるかによってはかられる。Greenberg and Safran (1987)は，感情の情報処理は情動と認知が統合され，新しい認知‐感情的意味構造が構成されることで完了するとしている。人は情動を経験すると，その意味を探索しようとするもので，情動の経験と認知的な探索や内省の過程が統合されて，はじめて1 つの情動体験が処理されたといえるとする。その際の情動処理の進行具合は，自らの情動経験をどの程度象徴化して語り，そこに意味を見出し，今後の問題解決に役立てられるかなどに反映される(伊藤, 2006)。こうした象徴的コントロールは，C をがんじがらめにしている特定の感情を抽象化・概念化することによって，自己のアイデンティティから切り離すことでなされる。抽象化が認知を促すのである。

　岩壁(2011)は，T が C の感情の言葉に注意を向け，それを受け取ろうとし，その上で C が，自身の体験にぴったりする言葉をあてがうのを手伝うとしているが，その役割を担うのが T のリフォーミュレーション (reformulation)である。以下のような例である。

(9)　C: 自分は学生時代，何やってたんだか。成績だってさっぱりぱっとし
　　　ないし，サークルやってたわけじゃないし，今は小さな会社でつまん
　　　ない事務して，これからもこんな感じで結婚もできずにずっと生きて
　　　いくと思うと，一気に気持ちがダウンして，今週は起き上がれなくて(中
　　　略)。
　　　T: 世俗的な敗北感に圧倒されるのですね。

　(9)では，C の行動情報とそれに伴う感情を「敗北感」「圧倒」という名詞
で表現している。その際に名詞化された語彙に評価語彙が付与されることに
よって，そこに C の解釈の再構築を促す操作性が働く。(9)では「世俗的な」
という視点を織り込むことで，C の敗北感が世俗的な見方であって，「世俗的」
ではない見方をすれば「敗北感」に再考の余地が生まれることを示唆してい
る。その際に，T は C が自身の情動体験にぴったりする言葉をあてがうのを
促す必要があるが，その役割を担うのが，T の名詞化による言い換えである。
名詞化によって自分の情動が命名され，それが象徴的コントロールとして働
く。ここから C は象徴化された情動体験を問題解決に向けて役立てていける
ことになる。言い換えれば、客観的視点の導入に伴う感情表現を実現する。
(3)から(8)にあげたような例が，セッションの経過とともに C の中に蓄積して
いき，転換期には C 自身が名詞化された感情評価を用いるようになる。(10),
(11), (12)は，その例である。

(10)　C : 自分に対する幻滅感(感情/満足)が大きかったっていうそんな感じが
　　　するんです。今は何か，希望(感情/希求)っていうか，楽観視(感情/心状)
　　　してるっていうのか・・・。

(11)　C : 誰に対しても，そういう恐怖感(感情/心状)っていうのがないんです
　　　ね。

(12)　C : (前略)それ自体にそれほど敗北感(感情/満足)を感じなくてもいいん
　　　じゃないかなっていう気がしてきましたね。

　特定の感情にがんじがらめになっている自分を，その感情を客体化するこ
とによってその問題感情から切り離し，C の「感情の内省」を促すというプ
ロセスは，初期の段階の操作であり，終結期では C の経験的現実の再解釈は
行わず，経験世界の言語による新しい切り取り方を学んだ C の陳述をそのま
ま受け容れ，その過程で，C の陳述を肯定的に評価していくという作業にな
る。終結期において，事例 1 を除き T の名詞化表現が C よりも少なくなるのは
そのためである。終結期では，C は自己の過去の情動を新しく獲得した表現
を用いて再構成するのである。
　ワクテル(2004: 229)は，「C に自らの人生の真実は直面し難いものだと思わ
せてきたのは，まさにその真実の主観的な構成のされ方であることも多い。

リフレーミング(reframing)されることによって，現実はしばしばより容易に接近されうるものとなり，否認と歪曲をそれほど必要としない生き方が可能となる」としている。成功事例の C は，T のリフレーミング作業によって獲得した名詞化表現で語ることにより，新たな生き方の探索が可能となるであろうと想定される。

その他付随的な機能について簡潔に触れておくと，名詞化は個人の行為性をなくすことで FTA(Face Threatening Act)[3] を緩和するという点があげられる。名詞化は表現を形式的なものにする。叙法が取り除かれることで，主語，つまり動作主が除かれ，ある特定の行為者への帰属が避けられるが，それによって客体化あるいは一般化が生じるからである。そこで聞き手との間に距離が生じ，表現が形式化されたものとなる。このように行為の主体性が薄らぎ，ついには行為の属性となり，フェイスにとって脅威とはならなくなることで生じる客体化は，消極的ポライトネスにつながる。基本的に心理療法では，C は自分のフェイスにとって脅威となる自己開示を行う必要があるため，ある程度フェイスを諦めることが求められるが，名詞化の客体化機能は，行為者が隠されることによって，つまり行為が特定の個人へ帰属することを避けるため，FTA を軽減する補償行為につながる。

テクスト形成的側面からは，名詞化は C の経験世界のイベントを，主題あるいは新情報として際立たせる。解釈的な言い換えによる主名詞と前修飾を持つ名詞化表現は，その抽象化・一般化機能から，C のイベントを問題として強調することになるからである。このことから，繰り返し起こるテーマとして，T はそれらを C の問題情動として特定できよう。

セラピーにおいて名詞化表現は、臨床理論上、このように重層的に作用する言語資源である。

5. 総合的診断

計量結果と質的分析より，5 事例とも，症状の改善への変化が観察されるということが言える。特に事例 1 については，劇的によくなったケースであり，臨床家の査定が最も高く，その意味ではモデル・セッションとして参照される稀なケースである。図 3 より，事例 1 では，転換期に名詞化が初期の倍近くになっており，また，図 2 から，感情評価の割合も高いことがわかる。事例 3 についても，転換期における C の名詞化の増加が事例 1 以上に著しいが，事例 1 では事例 3 よりも病状が重篤であるため、臨床上の注目度は事例 1 の方が高いと考えられる。

心理療法の成果の実態は流派によっても異なるが，終結とするレベルは多様である。また事例 4 のようなドロップアウトも多く、Sledge et al. (1990) は，短期療法と長期療法を受けた C について，それぞれのグループのドロップアウト率を調べたところ，前者が 67%，後者が 61% であったことを報告している。こうしたドロップアウト率は，療法の流派によっても異なることが様々なドロップアウト研究より報告されている。いずれにしても明確な成果を示す状況展開となるケースは決して多くないというのが，臨床の現状である。

よって事例 1 のようなケースは，1 つのモデルとして，効果測定尺度を構築する試みにおいて，有用な情報を提供する(加藤, 2013)。

6．教育的談話としての心理療法 T に求められる言語的コンピタンス

　心理療法における対人的相互作用は，教師と生徒間で成立する教育的談話(pedagogic discourse)によって具現される(Muntigl, 2004; 加藤, 2009)。心理療法の最終目的とは，C の経験世界の解釈に変化と洞察を与え，それが現実生活の場での行動パターンの変化となって現れるようにすることである。そのために T は C に経験世界の認知について解釈を教え込み，変化と洞察が生じるよう導いていくのだが，そのプロセスが基本的に教育的談話に類似するものと捉えられる。Freud (1943)は分析家の務めをある意味 C の再教育であるとし，言わば教育的な暗示を与えることによって，C が問題を解決できるようにすることであるとしている。Muntigl (2004)は，教育的談話から成り立つ心理療法は，指導レジスター(instructive register)と規制レジスター(regulative register)の 2 つのレジスターで構成されるとする。指導レジスターは，伝授される知識そのもの，あるいは教え込まれるべき意味領域をさし，規制レジスターは，指導と学習活動の目的設定のための言語選択を行い，目的達成までの相互作用の方向性を指し示し，それを維持するものである。テナーは，T が専門家(expert)，C が初心者(novice)という構図になる。この観点に立てば，必然的に教育者としての T に言語的コンピタンスが求められる。少なくとも C のそれよりも高いことは必須であろう。それではこの教育はどのようにしてなされるのであろうか。

　流派を超えて，心理療法の基本目的は，C が現在直面している困難な状況を打破あるいは改善すべく，C の経験世界の認識に変化をもたらすことである。心理療法は基本的に T による C のフォーミュレーション(formulation)のリフォーミュレーション(reformulation)を通してなされる。この場合のリフォーミュレーションとは，Halliday (1994)が「敷衍すること」と定義する文法機能の一つで，先行発話の語彙‐文法資源構成を敷衍して言い換えることを言う。心理療法のコンテクストでは，リフォーミュレーションの目的は C の経験世界の解釈を変えることで，単に同じ意味を別の表現で言い直すことではなく，リフォーミュレーションすることで T は C の元の意味を変えるのである。問題について違う語り方をすることは，違う言語資源が使われることで，違う言語資源が使われるということは，そこに異なる意味生成プロセスが生じることになるからである。変化の可能性は，このリフォーミュレーションによって，C が経験世界の解釈を変えるかどうかにかかる。セラピーでは T は C の発話における特定の局面を選んで言い換えるが，T は C のフォーミュレーションを解釈し，それをリフォーミュレーションによって，C の発話命題(proposition)を，つまり C の経験的社会的現実解釈をたえまない交渉下に置く。こうした交渉が功を奏すると，C は T から新しい話し方を獲得し，C は自身の経験世界の再構築を果たすことになる。新しい話し方をすることで，個人の意味作りの可能性が成長するからである(加藤, 2010)。ワクテル(2004:

143)は，C がしばしば自分のことを固定的な言葉で考える傾向があり，治療上の重大な問題の 1 つであるとしているが，セラピーではリフォーミュレーションによって新しい話し方を提示し，その経験世界の解釈を変える試みがなされる。ワクテル(2004)は，「リフレーミングは，解決を不可能にするようなやり方で解釈されてきたジレンマに対して，解決の可能性を指し示すような心理的事象への意味付けの仕方である」と述べているが，リフォーミュレーションとの違いは，リフォーミュレーションが言語という記号上の現象を問題とするのに対し，リフレーミングが認知上のそれを問題とすることである。しかし，認知が言語によってもたらされるという立場に立てば，この場合のリフレーミングはリフォーミュレーションと置き換えて捉えてもよい。

　Martin (1992:208)では，リフォーミュレーションはフォーミュレーションの抽象化，概念化のレベルをシフトすることと捉えられ，このシフトはフォーミュレーションからリフォーミュレーションへ移行する際の文法的変形、つまり文法的メタファーを通してなされるとする。文法的メタファーとはHalliday による導入概念で，Halliday (2001: 537−538)は，メタファーを「意味の表現の仕方の転移」と定義し，「この語はどのように用いられるか」ではなく，「この意味はどのように表現されるか」として捉える。つまり，同じ意味を表すのに 2 つ以上の文法的に異なる表現が可能であれば，どちらかがあるいはどれかを文法的メタファーとみなす。その際の表現形態として，直線的に無標の形で表現される形態が一致した表現あるいは整合形で，それ以外の一致しない表現あるいは非整合形を文法的メタファーと呼ぶ。節の文法的メタファーには、叙法に関わるメタファー（対人的メタファー）と過程構成に関わるメタファー（観念構成的メタファー）がある。名詞化は観念構成的メタファーという文法的変形からくる意味生成作用を持つ語彙‐文法資源の 1 つである。

　図 5 は，T による名詞化の変化を示したものであるが，初期には C よりも多く，転換期には C より少なくなっている。

　特定の感情にがんじがらめになっている自分を，その感情を客体化することによってその問題感情から切り離し，C の情動処理を促すというプロセスは，初期の段階の操作であり，転換期ではCの経験的現実の再解釈は行わず，言語による経験世界の新しい切り取り方を学んだCの陳述をそのまま受け容れ，その過程で，C の陳述を肯定的に評価していくという作業になる。転換期において，事例 1 を除き T の名詞化表現が C よりも少なくなるのはそのためである。転換期では，C は自己の過去の情動を新しく獲得した表現を用いて再構成するのである。こうした C の言語発達は，T の積極的な言語的介入によって引き起こされる場合もあれば，セラピーの展開に伴って，C が自ら気づきとして獲得する場合もある。どちらのプロセスをたどるかは，T またはC の言語的コンピタンスによって大きく異なる場合もあるが，基本的に T が名詞化された表現を多用することによって，C を誘導するというのが臨床理論にかなう。図 5 より，転換期における T の名詞化表現の減少について，度数上は明らかに減少傾向を見せているが，統計的有意差は観察されなかった。治療アプローチなどの変数を固定した上で，事例数を増やした検証が今後の

課題である。

　日本のような高コンテクスト文化では，対人的相互作用において，抑制された表出行動，例えば沈黙・曖昧表現などを用い，聞き手にその意図するところを読み取らせることを期待する。つまり話し手責任より聞き手責任の相互作用と言える(Hinds, 1987)。対して欧米型社会は話し手志向で，話し手はコンテクストに依存できず，できる限り説明し，明瞭に表現しなければ相手に伝わらないと考える。こうした文化社会的な違いは，面接の場でも免れ得ないであろう。であれば，高コンテクスト文化の日本の心理療法面接ではメッセージの受け手で，フィードバックが課される T には，なおさら的確な解釈と言語的コンピタンスが求められる。

　言語獲得という観点から，文法的メタファーは素朴な整合形にひねりを加え，一段高次の抽象度のより高い段階における記号操作を可能にするもので，整合形より難易度が高い(安井, 2007)。また文法的メタファーには漢語が多用されるが，この漢語は極めて便宜性の高いものであるが，それを自在に用途に供するにはそれなりの知識が必要である。必然，T には高い言語的コンピタンスが要求される。

　失敗事例ではシフトイベントとしての名詞化表現の教授が行われていなかったか，あるいは行われてもうまく機能しなかったと想定される。以下は失敗事例からである。C がここ数日，家の中にこもって，何もする気がおきずに，1 日中，眠ってばかりいると話した直後の T の応答である。

(13)　T:　何かプレッシャーとかストレスがあったりすると，寝てしまったりするのかな。
　　　C：はい。多分，<u>現実逃避</u>なんでしょう。
　　　T:　今の生活から，すごく逃げたいと感じているんですね。

　(13)では，C が自分の行動を「現実逃避」としてすでに抽象化しているのを，「今の生活から逃げたい」と T がわざわざ解き開くことで整合形に戻している。C の意味生成の発達を促すのとは逆行する流れである。C の初期の発話は抽象概念で処理されていない整合形であるが，失敗事例の T によるリフォーミュレーションは C のそれから文法的転位がなされない整合形がほとんどで，全般的に抽象度が極めて低い。

　これは一例であるが，失敗事例では，このようにシフトイベントとしての名詞化表現への転化プロセスが機能していないというのが，シフト失敗の要因の 1 つとしてあげられる。

　C と T の意味作りの能力は，Bernstein (1971)のコード理論から端的に引き出せる。教育的談話としての心理療法では，T が専門家，C が初心者という図式から，T には「精密コード(elaborated code)」が求められる。少なくともリフォーミュレーションに対応できるだけの語彙 - 文法的レパートリーを T が備えていることが必須要件である。最も望ましくない組み合わせは，C が「精密コード」を，T が「限定コード(restricted code)」を用いる組み合わせで

ある。心理療法は言語使用の観点から言えば，問題にがんじがらめになった C の限定コードを広げ，精密コードに近づけるプロセスである。同じコンテクストをコードを違えて構築することによって異なる意味を創造するプロセスで，C が意味生成上のレパートリーを拡げるのに T が材料を提供する。こうした指導的役割を担う T に精密コードが求められるのは言うまでもないことである。

7. **logogenesis** としてのセラピーと **ontogenesis** としての C の変化

Halliday and Matthiessen (1999)は，テクスト展開による意味生成 (logogenesis)，個体発生あるいは言語使用者の言語発達による意味生成 (ontogenesis)，系統発生あるいは言語進化による意味生成(phylogenesis)という 3 つの意味生成(semogenesis)に沿って言語使用の変化をモデル化している。これによると，「テクスト展開による意味生成」は，テクストがインスタンスを形成する(instantiate)テクスト展開プロセスで，個体発生は個人がレパートリーにできる言語資源の発達を遂げること，系統発生は個人がインスタンスを形成するのに言語テクストを引き出すことのできる文化母体と言える。これをセラピーのコンテクストで捉えると，「テクスト展開における意味生成」は各セッションの段階を追った相互作用の社会的プロセス展開をさし，個体発生は，C の意味生成上の変化・成長をさす。系統発生は，セラピーという文化社会的あるいは職業的慣習ということになろう。

本研究では，(1)セラピー面接自体が，プロセスが展開する過程で意味生成上発展していくかどうか，(2)面接の意味生成上の変化・発展が C に意味生成上の成長をもたらすかどうかという観点から分析を結論づける。個体発生が実現されていれば，C はセラピーの終結期において初期とは異なる話し方をしていると想定されるが，成功事例の C に名詞化表現の増加が見られたことにより，個体発生が認められたと言えよう。これはセラピープロセスの「テクスト展開における意味生成」によって実現されたものである。つまり教授レジスターを通して，T が「テクスト展開における意味生成」を指揮し，C がそれを通して学習するというテクスト展開である。失敗事例では C の意味生成上の変化が観察されず，個体発生は実現されなかった。その要因として，T による整合形から非整合形への転化が不十分であったことをあげ，「テクスト展開における意味生成」のあり方に問題があったことと結論づける。

8. まとめ

本研究は，アプレイザル理論に基づいた評価語彙のマッピングから，セラピーでは，(1)感情評価が大きな割合を占めること，そして，(2) C において初期から転換期にかけて名詞化表現が増加することが観察された。そこで，この名詞化表現の増加が心理療法においてどのような意味を持つのかについて論じた。

名詞化の機能をまとめると，経験世界の解釈を作り上げる機能面からは，(1)感情の一般化・概念化あるいは抽象化機能，対人的相互作用の観点から，

(2)介入の余地を狭める，(3)FTA の緩和，また本研究のテーマとは直接関連はないが，テクスト形成的機能として，(4)問題の俯瞰が可能になる，という 4 点があげられる。本論では特に，(1)の機能に着目し，名詞化表現の概念化あるいは抽象化機能が，C の情動体験の処理の役目を果たすことを論じた。また，心理療法を教育的談話とみなし，C は T による指導のもと，意味生成上の成長が促されることについて触れた。必然，指導者としての T には，言語的コンピタンスが求められる。特に名詞化表現は言語獲得の観点から，高次の言語能力が求められる意味生成資源である。

　本研究では，C の意味生成資源の変化が心理療法の流れを通して変化することが示されたわけであるが，大事なのは，セッション内だけでなく面接室の外においても，面接での C の記号上の発達が，C 自身の意味生成上の成長をもたらすかどうかという点である。これについては，テクスト分析の範疇外のことで言及できず，「言語使用者の言語発達による意味生成」の範囲をあくまで面接内の観察に留めざるをえないことを研究の限界とする。

　また付随的ながら，このような研究が持つ実際的な意義は，主観性を排除した厳密な意味での科学的手法として，言語という客観的データを用いることの有効性を示す一例として提示できることである。臨床心理学の分野では，学派間に共通する分析方法，あるいはプロセス比較のための共通した尺度がないためである(下山, 2002; 岩壁, 2008)。本研究では，初期から転換期にかけて，C の感情評価に名詞化表現が増加することが観察されたが，これらは初期と転換期という臨床上，明確な段階に相当するため，変化測定基準として提示できる可能性を持つ。よって，プロセス/効果研究の方法論としての可能性を持つものである。事例数を増やしたエビデンスの蓄積が今後の課題である。

　また計量結果に基づいた言語分析は，言葉の使い方に関しての臨床家の訓練においても有用であり，臨床家が心理療法面接の中で，どのような場面でどのような言語資源の選択を行うのがより高い効果につながるのかについて，実際的に明らかにできよう。

註

[1] Martin and White (2005)には設けられていないカテゴリーで、佐野(2011)が設けたカテゴリーである。

[2] 評定者には，筆者と当該セッション担当外の臨床家があたった。

[3] フェイスに対して脅威となる言語行動である。ポライトネス理論の根底にあるのがフェイスの概念で，2 つのタイプのフェイス，ネガティブ・フェイスとポジティブ・フェイスとがある。ネガティブ・フェイスは，他者によって行動が妨げられたり干渉されたくないとするマイナス面に関わる欲求で，ポジティブ・フェイスは，他者からみて望ましい自己像の維持，認められたい，好かれたい，賞賛されたいといったプラスの欲求である。対人的相互作用では互いのフェイスを維持し合うようにすることが誰もが望む

ことである (Fraser, 1990)。従ってフェイスの維持をはかるために，相互作用の参与者は FTA を避けるか，あるいはどうしてもそれが避けられない場合は，脅威を最小限に抑えるための言語的手段が求められる。

参考文献

Austin, J.L. (1975) *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bernstein, B. (1971) *Class, Codes and Control*. London: Routledge.

Brown, P. and Levinson, S. (1978) *Politeness:Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Freud, S. (1943) *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. New York: Garden City Publishing,

Greenberg, L.S., and Safran, J.D. (1987) *Emotion in Psychotherapy: Affect, Cognition and the Process of Change*. New York: Guilford Press.

Hinds, J. (1987) 'Reader versus Writer Responsibility: A New Typology.' In U. Conner and R.B. Kaplan (eds), *Writing across Languages: Analysis of L2 Text*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold. (山口登,筧寿雄訳『機能文法概説：ハリデー理論への誘い』東京：くろしお出版, 2001.)

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (1999) *Construing Experience through Meaning.: A Language-based Approach to Cognition*. London: Cassell.

Havens, L. (1986) *Making Contact*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

伊藤義徳 (2006) 『感情研究の新展開』263-278. 京都：ナカニシヤ出版.

岩壁 茂 (2008) 『プロセス研究の方法』東京：新曜社.

岩壁 茂 (2009) 「感情のアセスメント」『臨床心理』第 9 巻 4 号.東京：金剛出版

岩壁 茂 (2011)「情動と言葉」『現代のエスプリ』93‐106. 東京：至文堂.

唐沢 穣 (2007) 「対人関係の描写」『ことばのコミュニケーション』1‐15. 京都:ナカニシヤ出版.

加藤 澄 (2009) 『心理療法面接テクスト分析』東京：ひつじ書房.

加藤 澄 (2010) 「記号モードで解析するサイコセラピー」『家族にしのびよる非行・犯罪‐その現実と心理援助』家族心理学年報第 28 号. 118‐131. 東京：金子書房.

加藤 澄 (2012) 「評価言語より解析する家族療法面接における対人関係性構築のメカニズム：質的分析」『家族心理学研究』第 26 巻第 2 号.

加藤 澄 (2013)「クライエントの過程構成のマッピングより得られる変化測定尺度としての起動者性－心理療法を基に－」『機能言語学研究』第 7 号.

Martin, J.R. (1992) *English Text*. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Martin, J.R. and White, P.R.R. (2005) *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Muntigl, P. (2004) *Narrative Counseling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Sano, M. (2006). A Linguistic Exploration of Persuasion in Japanese Culture: A Systemic Functional Interpretation of Selected Written Expository Texts. University of Wollongong, Wollongong.

Sano, M. (2008). 'The Rhetoric of Editorials: A Japanese Case Study.' In E. Thomson and P.White (eds), *Communicating Conflict: Multilingual Case Studies of the News Media*, London: Continuum pp. 97–118.

佐野大樹 (2010)「ブログにおける評価情報の分類と体系化: アプレイザル理論を用いて」『信学技報(言語理解とコミュニケーション研究会)』NLC2009-39 pp.37-42.

佐野大樹 (2011a)「日本語における評価表現の分類体系~アプレイザル理論をベースに」『信学技報』110(400), NLC2010-33, 19-24.

佐野大樹 (2011b) 『日本語アプレイザル評価表現辞書』言語資源協会.

Schwarz, N., and Clore, G.L. (1990) 'Feeling as Information: Informational and Motivational Functions of Affective States.' In E.T. Higgins and R.M. Sorrentino (eds), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior*, Vol.2. New York: Guilford Press. 527-561.

下山晴彦 (2002)「学派を超えた精神療法・心理療法の基礎訓練」『精神療法』28(4). 60

Sledge, W,H., Moras, K., Hartley, D.E., and Levine, M. (1990) Effect of time-limited psychotherapy on patient dropout rates. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 147, 1341-1347.

須藤絹子(2003) 「米政府文書における意味の方略と読者の批判的解釈の可能性:名詞化と名詞性をめぐって」『国際文化研究 』 第 10 号, 51-65.

Thomson, E., Fukui, N. and White, P. (2008). 'Evaluating 'Reporter' Voice in Two Japanese Front-Page Lead Stories.' In E. Thomson and P. White (eds), *Communicating Conflict: Multilingual Case Studies of the News Media*, London: Continuum pp. 65–95.

Thompson, G. and Hunston, S. (2000) (eds), *Evaluation in Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ワクテル, P. (2004) 『心理療法家の言葉の技術』東京：金剛出版.

White, P. and Sano, M. (2006). 'Dialogistic Positions and Anticipated Audiences - a Framework for Stylistic Comparisons.' In K. Aijmer and A. M. Simon-Vandenbergen (eds), *Pragmatic Markers in Contrast*, Amsterdam: Elisver pp.189–214.

安井 稔 (2007) 『文法的メタファー事始め』機能言語学研究第 4 巻. 1‐20.

JASFL
Occasional Papers

Volume 1 Number 1 Autumn 1998

Articles （論文）

JASFL
Occasional Papers

Articles （論文）

JASFL
Occasional Papers

Volume 3 Number 1 Autumn 2004

Articles （論文）

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 1 October 2007

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 2 October 2008

Articles

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 3 October 2009

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 4 October 2010

Articles （論文）

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 5 October 2011

Articles （論文）

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 6 October 2012

Articles （論文）

論文

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 7 October 2013

論文

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 8 October 2014

論文

『機能言語学研究』および*Proceedings of JASFL*
作成と投稿のための規約

作成と投稿のための規約

1. 使用言語
日本語または英語

2. 原稿の種類
（1）研究論文　（2）書評・紹介　（3）研究ノート

3. 独創性
投稿原稿は以下の条件を満たす場合にのみ出版の対象として考慮する。
(1) 著者のオリジナルな著作であること。
(2) 他の出版物に同時に応募しないこと。
(3) 他の学会で既に発表した内容のもの（同一の内容のもの、同一のタイトルのもの、発表言語だけを変えたもの等）、重複発表と見なされるものは受け付けない。また重複発表と見なされたものは発表後であっても採択の許諾を取り消すこととする。
(4) 著作権は各著者に属する。ただし再版の権利は日本機能言語学会に属する。

4. 投稿資格
投稿は会員にかぎる。ただし共著の場合は筆頭著者が会員であればよい。

5. 審査方法
審査の際はすべての原稿は無記名とし、３名の審査員が審査する。

6. 書式と構成

6.1 書式設定とファイル形式
用紙をB5とし、余白は上下左右各25ミリをとる。使用するワープロソフトは問わないが、ファイルはMicrosoft Word互換のファイル(docまたはdocxファイル)として保存、投稿する。

6.2 フォント設定と行間
日本語で書く場合のフォントはＭＳ明朝（11ポイント）、英語で書く場合はTimes New Roman（11ポイント）の文字サイズを用いることとし、シングルスペースの行間とする。

6.3 語数
『機能言語学研究』：日本語の場合22000文字以内、英語の場合7000語以内とする。
Proceedings of JASFL: B5 14ページ以内とする。

6.4 要旨

執筆する言語にかかわらず、論文要旨を必ず英語で100字〜200語にまとめ、冒頭に記載する。

6.5 タイトル

日本語で執筆する場合には英語のタイトルを必ず記載する。タイトルの表記法は下記を参考にする。

　　例：　　　日本におけるSFL理論の英語教育への応用
　　　　　　　On Application of SFL to English Education in Japan

6.6 セクション構成と段落

日本語で執筆する場合、 セクションおよび段落の最初は字下げをする。ただし、英語で執筆する場合、セクションの最初は字下げ（インデント）せず、２段落目からインデントする。セクションのタイトルは左寄せとする。またセクションの番号は「１」から始めることとする（「０」は使用しない）。

7.　参照方法

参照したすべての文献（著書、モノグラフ、論文他）は本文中の適切な場所で明示すること。その方法は以下を参照すること。

7.1 直接引用

原文をそのまま引用する場合は必ず「」内に入れる。引用文が４行を超えるときは本文の中に挿入せず、全文をインデントして本文から一行空けて切り離す。

7.2 著者への参照方法

　　a. 著者名が本文に記されている場合は、その直後に出版年とページのみを（　）に入れて示す。例「Halliday (1994：17) が述べているように...」
　　b. 特定の個所ではなく、より一般的に参照する場合は、著者名の直後に出版年のみを（　）に入れて示す。例「Hasan (1993) は次のように述べている。すなわち...」
　　c. 著者名が本文中に記述されない場合は、著者名も（　）に入れ、（著者、コンマ、年）の順で記載する。例 (Martin, 1992)。」
　　d. 著者が２名の場合は二人の姓を入れる。例 (Birrell and Cole, 1987)
　　e. 著者が３名以上の場合は筆頭著者名のみを出し、ほかは「他」として全著者名は出さない。(Smith et al., 1986)
　　f. 同じ著者の同じ年の出版物を２冊以上参考文献として使う場合は、それぞれの著作の出版年に 'a', 'b' 等の文字を付記して区別する。例(Martin, 1985a)
　　g. 同一個所に複数の参考文献を付ける場合には、すべての文献を１つの（　）内に入れ、各文献をセミコロンで区切る。例 (Maguire, 1984; Rowe, 1987; Thompson, 1988)

7.3. 略語

同一文献に２回目以降言及する場合にも最初の場合と同様にして、 '*ibid*.', '*op. cit*.', '*loc,cit*.' 等の略語は用いない。

8. 参考文献

参考文献は本文で引用・参照したもの、および原稿の準備段階で使用した文献すべてをリストに載せること。 著者の姓のアルファベット順、同一著者ならば出版年の順に並べる。

8.1. 書籍

１つの文献の記述は、著者名、( ) に入れて出版年、著作名、出版地、出版社、必要ならばページの順序に出す。 記載方法は下記の例に倣うこと。

a. 単著の例：

寺村秀夫(1984)『日本語のシンタクスと意味』第2巻 東京：くろしお出版

Halliday, M. A. K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar 2nd edition*. London: Arnold.

b. 共著の例：

益岡隆志、田窪行則(1992) 『基礎日本語文法』東京：くろしお出版

Martin, J. R. and Rose, D. (2004) *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause*. London: Continuum.

c. 単一編纂者図書の例：

龍城正明（編）（2006）『ことばは生きている』東京：くろしお出版

Christie, F. (ed.) (1999) *Pedagogy and the Shaping of Consciousness: Linguistic and Social Process*. London: Cassell.

d. 複数編纂者図書の例：

仁田義雄、益岡隆志（編）（1989）『日本語のモダリティ』東京：くろしお出版

Hasan, R. and Williams, G. (eds) (1996) *Literacy in Society*. London: Longman.

8.2. 雑誌の論文

論文名は「 」内に入れ、雑誌名は『 』内に入れ、巻、号、ページを記載する。英語の場合は雑誌名をイタリックにし、巻、号、ページを記載する。ただし英語の場合、タイトルはそのまま表記する。また編纂図書の一セクションを形成している場合は ' 'で囲むこととする。

例：

安井稔(2007)「文法的メタファー事始め」，『機能言語学研究』4：1–20

龍城正明 (2008)「「は」と「が」そのメタ機能からの再考」, *Proceedings of JASFL*, 4: 115-149

Halliday, M.A.K. (1966) Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part1, *Journal of Linguistics*, 3.1: 37-81.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) 'Descriptive motifs and generalizations'. In A. Caffarel, J.R. Martin and C.M.I.M. Matthiessen (eds), *Language Typology: a Functional Perspective* 537-674. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

9.　註
　　註はできるだけ避ける。どうしても必要な場合は簡潔にし、本文の最後、参考文献の前に置く。

10.　図、表、地図、グラフ
　　これらはすべて 本文中該当箇所に挿入する。コンピューターでスキャンしたり、写真撮影したりする際不鮮明にならないよう、文字、数字、線等は太く、はっきりと書いておくこと。

11.　校正
　　著者は編集者から送付された編集済みファイルの校正（初稿のみ）をする。

12.　原稿提出
　　原稿電子ファイルで、添付ファイルとして提出すること。フォーマットはMS-Word互換ファイル (.doc, .docx)とする

13.　原稿送付先
　　editor@jasfl.com

Notes for contributors to *Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics* and *Proceedings of JASFL*

1. **Language**
   Manuscripts may be submitted in English or Japanese.

2. **Types of Manuscripts**
   (1) Standard Articles   (2) Review Articles and Book Review   (3) Research Notes

3. **Originality**
   Manuscripts are considered for publication only on the understanding that they are not simultaneously under consideration elsewhere, and that they are the original work of the author(s). Any previous form of publication and current consideration in other languages are not accepted. If the manuscript has been deemed as the same content published before in other books and journals, the validity of selection is eliminated and the article is excluded from the journal. Copyright is retained by the individual authors, but JASFL is authorized to reprint.

4. **Qualification**
   JASFL members are exclusively eligible to contribute to publications; however, regarding an article by multiple authors, the main author at least is requested to be a JASFL member.

5. **Assessment procedures**
   Articles are subject to the usual process of anonymous review. Articles are read by three reviewers.

6. **Formats**

   6.1 Document format
   All pages can be created with any word processor under a condition that the file is saved as Microsoft WORD format (.doc, .docx) on B5-sized paper, with margins of 25 mm or 1 inch on every side.

   6.2. Fonts and Spacing
   Manuscripts are typed in Times New Roman (11 point) with single spacing.

   6.3 The word limit
   Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics:
   Manuscripts are not allowed to go beyond 7,000 words.
   Proceedings of JASFL:
   Manuscripts are not allowed to go beyond 14 pages in the B5 format.

   6.4 Abstract
   An English abstract of 100-200 words is included in the beginning of the text.

   6.5 Title
   English title is required when a manuscript is written in Japanese.

6.6. Indentation and Section Number

Indentation is required from the second paragraph of a section. The first section number starts with "1", NOT "0".

7. Format for References in the Text

All references to or quotations from books, monographs, articles, and other sources should be identified clearly at an appropriate point in the main text, as follows:

7.1 Direct quotation

All direct quotations should be enclosed in single quotations. If they extend more than four lines, they should be separated from the body and properly indented.

7.2 Reference to an author and more than one authors

a. When the author's name is in the text, only the year of publication and the page should be enclosed within the parentheses, e.g. 'As Halliday (1994: 17) has observed …'

b. When the reference is in a more general sense, the year of publication alone can be given, e.g. 'Hasan (1993) argues that …'

c. When the author's name is not in the text, both the author's name and year of publication should be within the parentheses and separated by a comma, e.g. (Matthiessen, 1992)

d. When the reference has dual authorship, the two names should be given, e.g. (Birrell and Cole, 1987)

e. When the reference has three or more authors, the first author's name should be given and the rest should be written as 'et al.', e.g. (Smith et al., 1986)

f. If there is more than one reference to the same author and year, they should be distinguished by use of the letters 'a', 'b', etc. next to the year of publication, e.g. (Martin, 1985a).

g. If there is a series of references, all of them should be enclosed within a single pair of parentheses, separated by semicolons, e.g. (Maguire, 1984; Rowe, 1987; Thompson, 1988).

7.3 Abbreviation

If the same source is referred to or quoted from subsequently, the citations should be written as the first citation. Other forms such as '*ibid*.', '*op.cit.*', or '*loc.cit.*' should not be used.

8. Reference List

The Reference List should include all entries cited in the text, or any other items used to prepare the manuscript, and be arranged alphabetically by the author's surname with the year of publication. This list should be given in a separate, headed, reference section. Please follow the examples given:

8.1 Books

a. A single-authored book

Halliday, M. A. K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar 2nd edition*.

London: Arnold.

b. A multiple-authored book

Martin, J. R. and Rose, D. (2004) *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause*. London: Continuum.

c. A single-edited book

Christie, F. (ed.) (1999) *Pedagogy and the Shaping of Consciousness: Linguistic and Social Process*. London: Cassell.

d. A multiple-edited book

Hasan, R. and Williams, G. (eds) (1996) *Literacy in Society*. London: Longman.

8.2 Articles in journals and edited books

Halliday, M. A. K. (1966) Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part1, *Journal of Linguistics*, 3.1: 37-81.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) 'Descriptive motifs and generalizations'. In A. Caffarel, J.R. Martin and C.M.I.M. Matthiessen (eds), *Language Typology: a Functional Perspective* 537-674. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

9. Notes
Notes should be avoided. If they are necessary, they must be brief and should appear at the end of the text and before the Reference.

10. Figures, tables, maps, and diagrams
These items must be inserted in an appropriate position within the article, and should carry short descriptive titles. They must be precisely and boldly drawn to ensure scanning or photographic reproduction.

11. Proofs
Authors will be sent proofs for checking and correction.

12. Submission of a manuscript
A manuscript for submission must be saved as a MS-Word compatible file, and be submitted as an attachment file.

13. Correspondence
Manuscripts are to be sent to: **editor@jasfl.com**

Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Vol. 8 June 2015

Articles

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics