

# 機能言語学研究

第5巻 2009年

## 論文

- An Analysis of Intonation from the Viewpoints of Strata and Metafunctions ..... 1  
Ken-Ichi KADOOKA
- An Analysis of the Polysemy of Processes Realised by Japanese Adjectives: ..... 17  
The System Network for Process Types in the Kyoto Grammar  
Toru FUJITA
- 日本語の新聞報道記事のジャンル構造 ..... 33  
鷺嶽 正道
- Genre-Based Approach to Teaching Tense in English Classes: ..... 47  
Tense in Art Book Commentaries  
Chie HAYAKAWA
- Interpersonal Strategies of ENGAGEMENT in Public Speaking: ..... 69  
A Case Study of Japanese and Australian Students' Speech Scripts  
Keiko OZAWA
- 「話し言葉らしさ・書き言葉らしさ」の計測 ..... 89  
—語彙密度の日本語への適用性の検証—  
佐野 大樹
- 語彙的意味の共有度より導かれる治療アプローチの違いと ..... 103  
サイコセラピーにおけるテキスト性の捉え方  
加藤 澄
- Concession and Assertion in President Obama's Inauguration Speech ..... 131  
David DYKES

日本機能言語学会

## Foreword

Two years have passed since the previous issue Vol.4 was published. This journal appears every other year, so that two years seemed far ahead when we published Vol. 4. However, time flies like an arrow and Vol.5 has just launched this year of 2009. Our contributors, both Systemic Functional Linguistics(=SFL) linguists and graduate students have been studying hard, and we are grateful to all those who submitted their papers to this issue.

Vol.5 of *Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics* covers a wide range of current topics in SFL: phonological study of intonation, lexico-grammatical analysis (the Kyoto Grammar analysis), genre analysis, statistical and computational analysis of lexical density, text analysis from a therapeutic viewpoint, and an analysis of President Obama's speech. Though there is no particular order of the articles themselves, they have been grouped into lexico-grammatical analysis including contrastive phonological and grammatical analysis, genre theory and discourse analysis. All of these articles will interest readers of this journal, and give insightful analyses into the framework of SFL.

I hope that this journal will be of interest to those who study SFL not only in Japan, but also internationally, 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5巻 2009年 目次

---

#### 論文

An Analysis of Intonation from the Viewpoints of Strata and Metafunctions ..... 1  
Ken-Ichi KADOOKA

An Analysis of the Polysemy of Processes Realised by Japanese Adjectives: ..... 17  
The System Network for Process Types in the Kyoto Grammar  
Toru FUJITA

日本語の新聞報道記事のジャンル構造 ..... 33  
驚嶽 正道

Genre-Based Approach to Teaching Tense in English Classes: ..... 47  
Tense in Art Book Commentaries  
Chie HAYAKAWA

Interpersonal strategies of ENGAGEMENT in Public Speaking: ..... 69  
A Case Study of Japanese and Australian Students' Speech Scripts  
Keiko OZAWA

「話し言葉らしさ・書き言葉らしさ」の計測 ..... 89  
－語彙密度の日本語への適用性の検証－  
佐野 大樹

語彙的意味の共有度より導かれる治療アプローチの違いと ..... 103  
サイコセラピーにおけるテキスト性の捉え方  
加藤 澄

Concession and Assertion in President Obama ..... 131  
David DYKES

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics

# An Analysis of Intonation from the Viewpoints of Strata and Metafunctions

Ken-Ichi Kadooka  
Ryukoku University

## Abstract

In this paper, the meanings and nuances of the intonation systems are analyzed from the Functional viewpoint. Various meanings and nuances are conveyed by intonation in languages such as English. These aspects must be analyzed with certain framework; it is Strata and Metafunctions that are adopted here. Of the four Strata of the Systemic scheme, Semantics and Lexicogrammar are more attentively dealt with than Phonology and Phonetics. This is because meaning is more essential to the function of language than the sound.

## 1. Introduction

This paper is an analysis of the meaning of intonation, with the Hallidayan scheme. As for the meaning of the intonation system of English, Halliday and Greaves (2008) conduct a holistic analysis following the line established in the Systemic framework (Systemic Functional Linguistics: henceforth referred to as *SFL*), such as Halliday (1967, 1970, 1985, 1994), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). The biggest difference in Halliday and Greaves (2008) from the previous SFL works on intonation is that the analysis is based on the distinction of Strata. This is in line with the methodology adopted in Kadooka (2004 a, b, 2006, 2008). Analyses in this way — categorized by Strata and/or Metafunctions — will be more fruitful than those without the stratal framework. This difference is the main point in this paper.

A general term ‘intonation’ must be considered in the Systemic scheme as the three mutually independent, though closely related categories of *tonicity*, *tone* and *key*. *Tonicity* is on the syllable where tonic nucleus falls, influencing the distinction of new and old information. *Tone* means the kinds of pitch movement beyond the units of words — it is the kernel of the general term *intonation* since both tone and intonation stand for the melody of clauses. *Key* is the term for the speaker’s psychological point of view, expressing the speaker’s attitude such as assertion, request for information, irony, anger.

In the SFL studies up to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), intonation had been analyzed in terms of these three categories. Though Strata and Metafunctions had been the key concept in the SFL scheme, intonation had not been analyzed using these frameworks. Halliday and Greaves

(2008) seem to have changed such a tendency. This paper will follow the similar methodology adopted in Kadooka (2004 a, b, 2006, 2008).

In the following sections, the examples from English and Japanese will be analyzed under the SFL scheme. Through the investigation of these two languages, a schematic analysis will be presented.

## 2. Strata

Before discussing the stratificational structure of the linguistic levels within the SFL framework, an introduction to the classification of tone languages, such as Chinese and Thai, and non-tone languages would be necessary. In tone languages, each syllable or tone-bearing unit has its own pattern of tone. If a given tone language has (m) patterns of variations, those words of (n) syllables theoretically have as many variations as the (m)th power of (n). The second division is made among the non-tone languages; they are generally divided into the pitch-accent and the stress-accent types. Japanese is a typical pitch-accent language and English belongs to the stress-accent type. This division by the accent types is also valid for the function of clause intonation, or Key in the SFL terminology; in English, the meaning and/or the nuance conveyed by intonation is quite rich in variety, while it is less so in Japanese. In the classification in Kadooka (2006), English is defined as one of the 'pragmatic intonation' languages. Here *pragmatic intonation* refers to the intonation system in which Key conveys various speaker's intention, as listed in (2) later in this section. There the speaker's hidden intentions are denoted under the assumption that the speaker is looking at a picture. Japanese is defined as 'non-pragmatic intonation' language; that is to say, it is assumed that in Japanese subtle nuance as in English cannot be conveyed exclusively by intonation.

When the relationship of this classification and strata is diagrammed, it is as follows, where the degree of function is symbolized with +++, ++, + (the order being arranged from the stronger to the weaker):

(1)

	tone languages	non-pragmatic intonation	pragmatic intonation
sample	Chinese	Japanese	English
Semantics	+	++	+++
Lexicogrammar	tone	pitch	stress
Phonology			
Phonetics			

As shown with the various data, e.g. in Halliday (1967, 1970) and Halliday and Greaves (2008), English is rich in the function of clause intonation. Though not testified below in this paper, paratone, tone sequence and tone concord are typical to endorse such functional aspects of

the clause intonation system in English. Hence the evaluation +++ is given for the pragmatic intonation languages. In non-pragmatic languages like Japanese, the meaning denoted by intonation is less functional than pragmatic intonation languages. In the case of Japanese, clause intonation is restricted because of the pitch accent system. Though paratone was testified in Kadooka (2004b), it seems that tone sequence and tone concord cannot be found in Japanese (Kadooka 2009). In tone languages like Chinese, the restriction to the clause intonation systems is stronger, since pitch is determined in every lexical item and there is almost no room to realize clause intonation. In Beijing Mandarin, for example, it is not possible to express interrogation with the rising tone at the end of a clause.

In this stratification it is most characteristic among the four Strata that Semantics is given an independent status while the other three are put together. This is mainly because clause intonation is analyzed on the Stratum of Semantics, while all of Lexicogrammar, Phonology and Phonetics are concerned with lexical items — i.e. words.

Here the interrelation of the intonation systems and the ‘accent’ must be mentioned; it is implied that those languages with non-pragmatic intonation tend to have a pitch accent system and that those with pragmatic intonation will more likely have a stress accent system. The former is exemplified by Japanese and, to a slight extent, by Swedish<sup>1</sup>, and the latter is represented by English. Notice, however, that these distinctions are relative and that there may be some exceptions. The division of non-tone languages into stress accent and pitch accent systems is also relative.

With the pragmatic intonation systems, for instance, interpersonal nuance (see (2) below in this section for the detail) is suggested mainly by Key,<sup>2</sup> which should be considered to belong to the semantic Stratum. At the same time, a syntactic distinction between declarative and interrogative is also often indicated by the intonation pattern of falling or rising. Similar points can be made about relations in the other two systems.

It must be emphasized here again that the seemingly one-to-one correspondence between the typology of tone languages/pragmatic/non-pragmatic intonation systems and the Stratum is NOT absolute and exclusive, but relative. Take the example of paratone in tone languages.<sup>3</sup> Paratone is a Textual phenomenon that signals the change of topics (high paratone) or the insertion of a parenthetical remark (low paratone). It is characteristic of paratone that longer texts are necessary in order for it to be realized, and in such cases tone languages may also make allowance for the lexical pitch movement to accommodate the larger range of clauses.

Now let us examine how the meaning of intonation patterns is realized in each Stratum. Starting from the uppermost one of semantics, the order is first set for lexicogrammar, and then adjusted in the next two Strata which are concerned with expression: phonology and phonetics.

First, let us look at semantics. There is one peculiarity with SFL that distinguishes it from the other linguistic approaches; that is, *semantics* in the SFL Stratum covers what is considered as pragmatics in general linguistics, as well as semantics in the narrower sense. The SFL semantics also includes Interpersonal nuance as defined in Kadooka (2001). As an illustration, the five SFL simplex intonation patterns, as in (6), can be found in Halliday and

Greaves (2008: 50). Based on the same string of the words 'I like it,' different speakers are assigned to each tone, and the hidden nuance is explained:

- (2) // 1 I like it // (falling tone: simple statement, 'Viewer responding casually to question')
- // 2 I like it // (rising tone: 'Defensive viewer, when just accused of not appreciating the painting'; challenging: 'what makes you think I don't?')
- // 3 I like it // (level tone: 'Indecisive viewer, non-committal: 'I don't object to it')
- // 4 I like it // (fall-rise: 'Budget conscious buyer, reserved: 'I do like it, but...')
- // 5 I like it // (rise-fall: 'Awestruck art critic, strong: 'I really like it')

These are the realization of the five simplex tones, excluding the compound tones fall-rise and rise-fall. The Interpersonal nuances are glossed in parentheses. For example, the suggestion of the level tone is that the topic is basically irrelevant to the speaker, though he/she admits that the person in question has ability to do whatever is being talked about.

Among the five intonational patterns in (2), that with the rising tone is interesting from the viewpoint of POLARITY. That is to say, the rising tone realizes the intention of interrogation, generally speaking. (6)b is an exception in that regard, however. Rather than realizing the speaker's intention of interrogation, (6)b expresses the style of rhetorical question; 'I DO like the painting; what makes you think I don't?'. This doubt is a typical realization of Interpersonal nuance. As a text, we can observe the speaker's reserve in the sense that Lexicogrammar is maintained as a declarative structure; while at the same time, with the key of rising intonation, the speaker's complicated attitude is suggested. This kind of contradictory attitude can be compared to Japanese *hon'ne* (real intention) and *tatema* (surface principle). Here the utterance itself is *tatema*, while the intention conveyed by the rising tone is *hon'ne*. In the sense that a subtle nuance of this sort can be vividly conveyed by intonation in languages with a pragmatic intonation system, these meanings should be located within the semantic Stratum.

Of the five tones listed in (2), tone 1 is unmarked. What make the other four — tones 1 through 4 — marked is the Interpersonal nuance suggested in Kadooka (2001): a challenging assertion with tone 2, indecisiveness with tone 3, contemplation as a buyer with tone 4, and a strong expression of the taste with tone 5.

The next Stratum to be examined is Lexicogrammar. This concept itself is peculiar to SFL in that at least syntax and morphology are combined together as a uniform domain. In the compositional hierarchy, all of the four series of Rank are investigated under the heading Lexicogrammar: clause – phrase or group – word – morpheme (Halliday (2004: 20 – 22)). So wide-ranged is the domain covered by Lexicogrammar that the intonational meanings in tone languages, pragmatic and non-pragmatic intonation system languages are all definitely connected to this Stratum. Notice, however, that the ways in which each type of language is affected differ from one to another. For tone languages, each lexical item must be assigned one of the tones, since this is the domain for both syntax and phonology. With languages having a non-pragmatic intonation system, the most significant domain would be lexis with the pitch accent. However,

clause intonation is also distinctive to some extent. Hence clause intonation is the domain of phonology and syntax. The same is true with languages having a pragmatic intonation system. In addition, a range of interpersonal nuance can be added by intonation in those languages.

In my observation, the realization of Ideational metafunction mainly depends on the Lexicogrammar Stratum. That is to say, some concept is put into lexical items, i.e. word(s), and then the words are arranged into a clause under some syntactic rules.

Next below Lexicogrammar is the Stratum of Phonology. The range of this Stratum is mostly confined to words, with the exception of Key realizing the domain of clauses or clause complexes. Though both Phonology and Phonetics belong to the same plane of expression, semiotic realization is observed only in Phonology. With intonation, it is Key that is related to meaning. Not related to intonation, different in meaning are such minimal pairs of word stress as *import* (noun) vs. *impórt* (verb), *présent* (noun and adjective) vs. *présént* (verb) in English.

The last stratum in table (1) is Phonetics. Phonetics is the physical realization of both segmental and prosodic elements of speech sound. As pointed out already, this Stratum is not related to meaning. This is not to say that the scope of investigation has to be limited to this one prosodic parameter in each case, but only that this parameter represents the most crucial aspect in each of three types.

In the following sections, we will look into the meaning of intonation from the viewpoint of the metafunctions, Tonicity and Tonality. Then a methodological contrast will be made in section 5.

### 3. Subdomains of the Ideational Metafunction

In the series of his books, Halliday (1967, 1970, 1973, 1974, 1979, 1985, 1994, 2002) has not been consistent in which terminology should be adopted to the concept of an Ideational or a Logical/Experiential metafunction. In the earliest version, Halliday (1974, 1979/2002: 209 – 211) lists Experiential rather than Ideational metafunction<sup>4</sup>. Then in Halliday (1985) both Logical and Experiential are included, constituting the subdomains of the greater Ideational metafunction. This fourfold treatment has been inherited in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), but a clear explanation is given in Halliday and Greaves (2008). In this section, the definition of the Ideational, Logical and Experiential metafunctions will be analyzed.

Concerning the division of Ideational metafunction into the subdomains of the Logical and the Experiential, I will pose the following two questions:

- (3) Question 1: How is Ideational metafunction divided into Logical and Experiential subdomains?
- Question 2: In regard to the meaning of intonation, how do or do not these two subdomains overlap?

We shall try to answer these two questions in a moment. Before the analysis, the SFL framework



will be introduced to make these two questions more explicit.

The first question will be clarified when we align the three metafunctions with the context of situation. As depicted in the concentric circles of these two systems in Kadooka (2004a: 50), there are neat one-to-one correspondences between these two series of concepts, which can be summarized in table form as follows:

(4)

metafunction	Ideational	Interpersonal	Textual
context of situation	field	tenor	mode

Yamaguchi ([http://www.intcul.tohoku.ac.jp/~yamaguch/JPG/systemic\\_room\\_supplement/systemic\\_room/overall\\_model\\_sft.html](http://www.intcul.tohoku.ac.jp/~yamaguch/JPG/systemic_room_supplement/systemic_room/overall_model_sft.html)) shows that the triplet *field, tenor, mode* is the first order component and the second order is realized in the domain of *register*. When we extend our scope outside of language, it seems reasonable to regard the system of metafunctions as consisting of three subdivisions.

It is not easy to find many explanations and/or definitions of the distinction between the Logical and Experiential subdivisions, but the table below, which clarifies the relations among these subdomains, is extracted from table 2 (3) in Halliday (1994: 36):

(5)

	Definition (kind of meaning)	Corresponding status of clause	Favored type of structure
Experiential	construing a model of experience	clause as representation	segmental (based on constituency)
Logical	constructing logical relations	—	iterative

With this table, it is clear how these two metafunctions are defined in principle. More specifically, we must also look into how intonation works in these two domains.

As for the second question presented in (3) above, it would be worth taking the chance of looking at a new remark with regard to the structure of the Ideational metafunction in Halliday and Greaves (2008: 97):

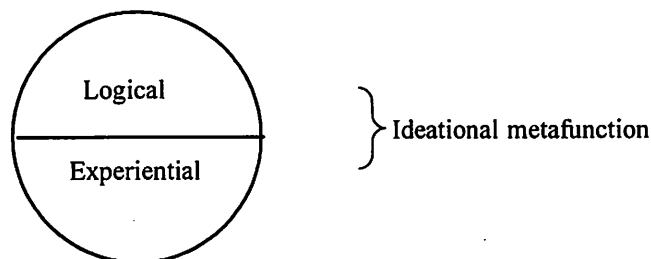
- (6) ... But it is useful to separate intonation from ‘tone’ in this specific sense, and here we can invoke the metafunctional criterion, that intonation does not construe meanings of the experiential type.

This remark to *tone* is more directly related with the Interpersonal metafunction, since Key conveys various speaker’s attitude such as interrogation, assertion, irony, which are defined as *Interpersonal nuance* in Kadooka (2001). This leads to the speculation, then, that intonation is related to the Logical metafunction. Before examining the examples related to intonation, some

theoretical schematization will be made in regard to the relation between these two subdomains of the Ideational metafunction.

Within the whole framework of the Ideational metafunction, Kadooka (2006: 51, Figure (13)) presents a diagram as follows:

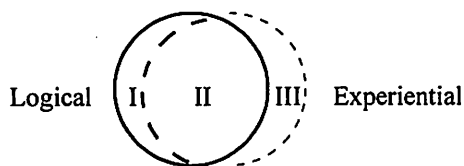
(7)



That one circle is divided into the two areas of the Logical and the Experiential shows that these two are in complementary distribution. This illustration must be reconsidered, however, in that the function of the Logical and Experiential subdomains are not in complementary distribution.

The Experiential subdomain is related to the realization of the outer world to the semantic stratum, and that the Logical subdomain shows the relation — such as chronological order, parataxis and hypotaxis, proper or adversative logical connection between clauses, cause and reason — between each proposition (my interpretation and translation).<sup>45</sup> As far as the function of clause intonation is concerned, the situation does not seem to be straightforward, however. Halliday and Greaves (2008, Chapter 4, Section 3) point out that intonation plays some part in the Logical metafunction. On the other hand, they deny the contribution of intonation to Experiential metafunction. They offer an example in which a rising tone always means something small, which would not be a case in any language. On this account, the border between Logical and Experiential components is clear-cut. I will propose a revised conceptualization of the relation of the Logical and Experiential domains as follows:

(8)



This figure shows that the two subdomains overlap in general, which is not the case in regard to the function of intonation; the Experiential Metafunction is not related to intonation. Hence it will be appropriate to assume that these two overlap in some area and not in others, especially in the sense that the functions of these two differ to each other. When the three compartments are referred to as I, II, III in the illustration, the overlapped one II is related to both the Logical and Experiential subdomains. The one which is concerned with the meaning of the intonation system is the compartment I.

As an example to examine the function of clause intonation from the viewpoint of the

Logical metafunction, pairs from English and Japanese will be given. Below is an example of a minimal pair which shows how a contrast of a logical nature can be shown through the intonation (based on my observation):

- (9) a. // 2 ^ do you / want cof/fee // 1 or tea // (there are only two choices: coffee and tea)  
b. // 2 ^ do you / want cof/fee // 2 or tea // (there would be more than two choices)

(a) is a selective question offering a restricted choice between either coffee or tea. The second rising tone in (b), on the other hand, suggests that there could be a third or a fourth choice other than coffee and tea, e.g. juice or soda. In that sense, (a) and (b) make a minimal pair of intonation patterns. More important is the observation that the difference of this kind of real world — the difference in the sense of the Ideational metafunction — is realized as the result of the difference of tones, i.e. tone 1 in (a) and tone 2 in (b), both at the end of the clauses.

What will the Japanese counterpart of this pair of intonation patterns be? Below is the literal translation of (9) together with the same intonation patterns (my judgment as a native speaker of Japanese<sup>6</sup>):

- (10) a. \* // 2 o-cha // 1 ^ soretomo / ko:hi: //  
          tea            or            coffee  
b. // 2 o-cha // 2 ^ soretomo / ko:hi: //

The combination of a rising tone followed by a falling one in (a) is unnatural. Such unnaturalness may come from the fact that falling tone in a situation like this rather sounds like a statement, and not at all like asking the listener's preference. Therefore (b) remains ambiguous whether there are other choices than coffee and tea or not. It can be concluded that the implicit difference due to the distinction in tones as observed in English is not found in Japanese. This is one of the differences found between non-pragmatic intonation languages like Japanese and pragmatic intonation ones such as English.

In conclusion, the role of intonation in the Ideational metafunction is restricted to that in the Logical subdomain. The relation between the Logical and the Experiential subdomains must be considered outside the Ideational metafunction, however. I will leave further pursuit of the relation between these two subcomponent of the Ideational metafunction to the next occasion.

#### 4. Tonicity and Tonality

Although not related to the meaning of tone directly, *Tonicity* and *Tonality* are two other parameters of prosodic configuration in clauses. Tonality is related to the boundaries between prosodic feet, hence it can be defined as the realization of rhythm on the one hand, and as a marking of meaning chunks on the other. Tonicity is the parameter of which syllable tonic stress falls on. According to Tench (1996: 8), the two terms can be explained as follows (neither terms are capitalized in the original):

(11) **Tonality:** the system by which a stretch of spoken text is segmented into a series of discrete units of intonation which correspond to the speaker's perception of pieces (or 'chunks') of information

**Tonicity:** the system by which an individual, discrete, unit of intonation is shown to have a prominent word which indicates the focus of information

As is evident from the terminology, the two are interrelated. This is because one intonation group necessarily consists of at least one independent foot with a tonic syllable. Hence it is often the case that the changes in both Tonicity and Tonality coincide. The finer details of Tonicity and Tonality can be found in chapters 2 and 3 in Tench (1996), respectively. In this section, we will examine only the questions of how Tench's Tonicity and Tonality are related to SFL intonational theory and to which Stratum/Strata and metafunction(s) they would relate.

Below are some minimal pairs showing the differences of Tonicity (Halliday (1994: 295))<sup>7</sup>:

- (12) a. / tell me / when he / comes / 'inform me of the time of his (habitual) arrival'  
 a'. / tell me when / he comes / 'inform me at the time of his arrival'  
 b. / ^ the question / which he dis/cussed / the question: "which did he discuss?"  
 b'. / ^ the / question which he dis/cussed / the question that was discussed by him

From the Lexicogrammatical viewpoint, *when* in (a) is an indirect interrogation and *when* in (a') is a conjunction. Similarly, *which* in (b) is an interrogative pronoun and *which* in (b') is a relative pronoun. Considering that the words and their ordering are exactly the same in each of the two pairs, the Ideational difference of the clauses must come from the foot boundaries.

The following pairs of similar examples are from Tench (1996: 21), following transcription (underlines designate Tonic and vertical bars are boundaries of intonation groups):

- (13) a. My brother who lives in Nairobi defining / restrictive clause  
 a' My brother | who lives in Nairobi non-defining clause  
 b. She washed and brushed her hair wash: transitive verb  
 b'. She washed | and brushed her hair wash: intransitive verb

With the non-defining relative clause in (a'), the speaker has only one brother; with the defining clause in (a), it is not certain whether this is the case or not. In (b) the person washed her hair –hence the verb *washed* is transitive–, but in (b') the person washed other parts of herself and only brushed her hair.

Thus, in SFL terms, it is evident that Tonicity functions both in the phonology Stratum and in the Semantic stratum. From the metafunctional aspect, it is related to the Logical subcomponent. The summary of these examination will again be given in the last section.

Similar pairs differing only in Tonicity can also be made out in Japanese. Below is a minimal pair based on my observation. The way of transcription is after the SFL style in that the

tonic syllable is emphasized with the underline:

- (14) a. // haha wa / shinde inai // 'Mother is not dead; she is alive'  
 mother TOPIC dead NEG  
 b. // haha wa / shinde // inai // 'Mother is dead and is not here'  
 not here

Some notice would be necessary as for the phonological and/or phonetic aspects of lexical emphasis in Japanese. The pitch accent system of Japanese is the more predominant than stress. Though less predominant than in the emphasis by stress in English, the pair in (14) can be contrasted by the lexical stress on *shinde* in (a) and on *inai* in (b). If the pair in (14) would be contrasted ONLY with the pause between feet, it would be a matter of juncture, which is not the case here since the distinction only with pause sounds unnatural.

In (a) the negation 'inai' (not) is attached to the predicate 'shinde' (dead), and the stress falls on the negation 'inai.' In (b) 'inai' is independent, suggesting the situation 'not alive any more.' In order to avoid ambiguity, a longer pause is necessary here between the two feet /shinde/ and /inai/. Since the negation comes at the end of clauses in Japanese, the significance of Tonicity differences is greater than in English. That is to say, the situation is the opposite between (a) and (b); the question of whether a person is dead or alive depends on the differences of Tonicity and juncture.

Next to be examined is the function of Tonality. Below is a pair demonstrating a difference in the placement of Tonality in English (Tench (1996: 22)):

- (15) a. He asked himself  
 b. He asked himself

In (a), *himself* is a reflexive pronoun whereas it is an emphatic pronoun in (b). Hence the verb *asked* is transitive in (a) but it is intransitive in (b). While Tonicity functions to disambiguate the ideational world by marking the boundaries of feet, Tonality sets a focus on the tonic syllables. In the case of the example (15), Tonality distinguishes the in/transitivity of a verb.

As Japanese is a pitch-accent language, stress is not so prominent as in English. Still, a minimal pair such as follows can be found (Campbell (1997: 56)). The stressed word is indicated with the underline.

- (16) a. As a reply to the question 'Whose book is this?': Tanaka-san no hon..  
 Tanaka-san GEN book  
 b. As a reply to the question 'Is this Tanaka-san's dictionary?' Tanaka-san no hon.

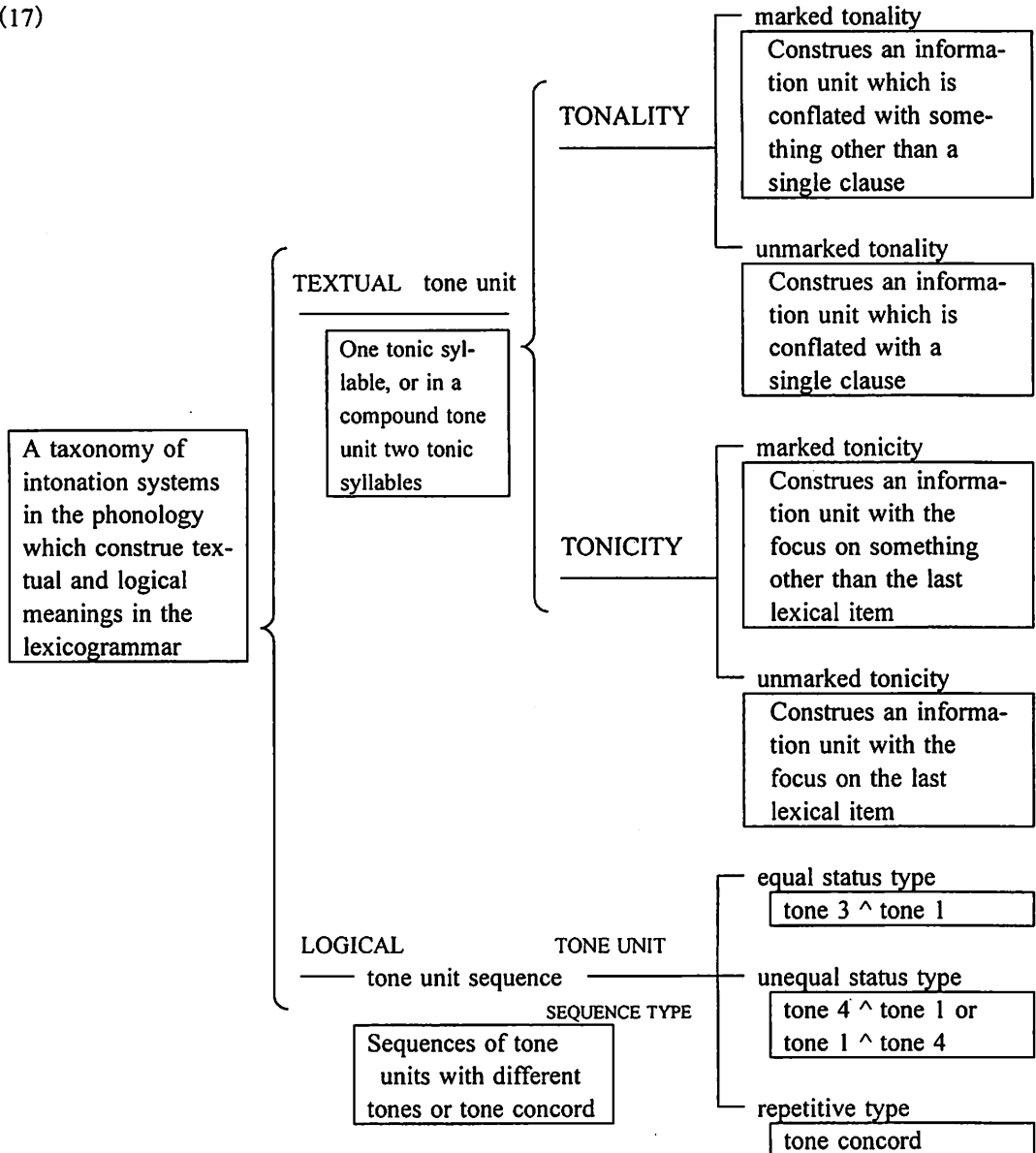
Although word stress in Japanese is less systematized than in English, the difference such as testified in (16) is reasonable. In my observation as a native speaker of Japanese, pause and rhythm also function in the distinction of a minimal pair like this, as well as stress. That is to say, for (a) to emphasize the intention that 'not anyone else's book, but Tanaka-san's, a longer pause

would be inserted between *Tanaka-san no* and *hon*. In (b), on the other hand, such a pause between *Tanaka-san* and *hon* would be unnatural.

Regarding Tonicity, it can be supposed from the comparison between English and Japanese earlier in this section that cross-linguistic diversity in Tonicity and Tonality is smaller than that in the semiotic system of tone. Even in tone languages, minimal pairs of Tonicity such as (12), or (14) will be found easily.

Halliday and Greaves (2008: 98) give a diagram of a system network including Textual and Logical Metafunctions:

(17)



It is worth attention that Tonality and Tonicity are classified under the Textual metafunction here. In the sense that Tonicity and Tonality are related to the boundaries of tonic syllable and pause between the intonation units, it is reasonable to assign them to the domain of the Textual metafunction. It is noticeable here that both Tonicity and Tonality are divided into the two cases of marked and unmarked. The unmarked Tonicity is realized as the focus on the last lexical item, while the marked one is otherwise. In this sense, it is certain that Tonicity is the domain which should be dealt with the Textual metafunction. Tonality is, on the other hand, concerned with the number of clause(s); those realized in single clauses are unmarked, while those with more than two clauses are marked. Thus, as far as this diagram (17) is concerned, it is only with the Textual metafunction that Tonicity and Tonality are related, not with the Ideational.

As examined in the earlier half of this section, both Tonicity and Tonality are related to the Ideational metafunction, however. Though it should be evaluated that Halliday and Greaves (2008) is the first attempt to analyze the function of clause intonation within the framework of the metafunctions, more thorough aspects are necessary, it seems.

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper, the function of the clause intonation systems are analyzed from the viewpoints of the Metafunctions and the Strata. This way of analysis originates in Kadooka (2001, 2004a, b, 2006, 2008), and followed by Halliday and Greaves (2008). The detail of the analyses are inconsistent in these two groups of the researchers.

As a summary, the matrix of the three Metafunctions and four Strata in English can be arranged as in (18). Only Tonicity and Tonality were subject to a detailed discussion under the title of section 3, and the examples of Key were presented in the same section. Other categories arranged in (18), such as Interpersonal nuance, paratone, tone sequence, tone concord, are from Kadooka (2001, 2004a, b, 2006, 2008). For the sake of simplicity, those assignments in the Phonology and the Phonetics Strata will be left as blank in the sense that all of the phenomena are realized with these two aspects:

(18)

	Ideational = Logical	Interpersonal	Textual
Semantics	Tonicity  Tonality	Interpersonal nuance  Key	Paratone Tone sequence Tone concord Tonicity Tonality
Lexicogrammar	Wording	Polarity	
Phonology			

Phonetics			
-----------	--	--	--

Key is assigned to both the Semantics and the Phonology Strata depending on its nature. Its realization as any of Tones 1 - 5, 13 or 53 attaches it to the Phonology stratum, while Key as Interpersonal nuance belongs to the Semantics stratum on the one hand and to the Phonology stratum on the other. For some examples and a discussion of paratone, see Tench (1996); he discusses paratone under the title *Textual structure*. For examples of tone sequence and tone concord, see chapter 8 of Halliday (1994).

When this configuration is applied to Japanese, it will look like the following:

(19)

	Ideational = Logical	Interpersonal	Textual
Semantics	Tonicity Tonality	Interpersonal nuance Key	Paratone Tonicity Tonality
Lexicogrammar	Wording	Polarity	
Phonology			
Phonetics			

This table reflects the observation that tone sequence and tone concord are missing (Kadooka 2008). Thus, the difference of the function of clause intonation is realized in the matrix, as contrasted in (18) and (19).

**Notes**

\*1 Swedish intonation system is briefly introduced in chapter 11 of Gussenhoven (2004) with some examples. Various approaches reviewed there show that there are two kinds of pitch accent in Swedish, leaving aside how to classify and analyze the data.

\*2 'Key' is defined as the grammatical system which carries interpersonal meaning among the different tone (Halliday (2004: 15)). Its realization is exemplified with the five intonation patterns in (9) in main text.

\*3 Some examples of paratone in Japanese is in Kadooka (2004: 394 - 396). It is highly probable that similar kind of paratone instances can be observed in tone languages like Chinese.

\*4 In the earlier version of terminology, metafunction was referred to as *macrofunction*. The change of the term into *metafunction* was done in Halliday (1985).

\*5 I appreciate the useful comments from the anonymous reviewers. I am responsible for all



errors and misinterpretations that might be contained in this paper.

\*6 As for the grammatical judgment of (14a), some speakers may claim that it is natural. My intention is that the English counterpart in (13) is more assuredly established to distinguish the difference of Key, but it is not the case with Japanese.

\*7 In the original notation, tonic is not printed in bold types. Nor is it in the Japanese translation (Yamaguchi and Kakehi (2001)).

## References

- Bolinger, D. (1986) *Intonation and Its Parts: Melody in Spoken English*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bolinger, D. (1989) *Intonation and Its Uses: Melody in Grammar and Discourse*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Campbell, N. (1997) "Pragmatic intonation." in Onsei Bumpou Kenkyuu-kai (ed.) *Bumpou to Onsei*. (Grammar and Phonetics). Tokyo: Kurocio.
- Daneš, F. (ed.) (1974) *Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Gussenhoven, C. (2004) *The Phonology of Tone and Intonation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1967) *Intonation and Grammar in British English*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1970) *A Course in Spoken English: Intonation*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1973) *Explorations in the Functions of Language*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1974) "The Place of 'Functional Sentence Perspective' in the System of Linguistic Description." in Daneš (ed.).
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1979) "Modes of Meaning and Modes of Expressions." reprinted in Halliday (2002).
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1985) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. (first edition) London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. (second edition) London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (2002) *On Grammar*. London: Continuum.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen. (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. (third edition). London: Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and William S. Greaves. (2008) *Intonation in the Grammar of English*. London: Equinox.
- Kadooka, K. (2001) "A Note on the Interpersonal-Nuance Carriers in Japanese." in *JASFL Occasional Papers*. Vol. 2. pp. 17 - 28.
- Kadooka, K. (2004a) "On the Multi-Layer Structure of Metafunctions." in *JASFL Occasional Papers*. Vol. 3. pp. 43 - 62.
- Kadooka, K. (2004b) "A Systemic Approach to the Typology of Functions in Intonation Systems." in *Festschrift for Professor Masayoshi Shibatani's Sixtieth Birthday*. Edited by Taro Kageyama and Hideki Kishimoto. Tokyo: Kurocio. pp. 389 - 404.
- Kadooka, K. (2006) "A Systemic Account on Strata and the Meaning of Intonation." in *Ryukoku Journal of Humanities and Sciences*. Vol. 27, No. 2. pp. 43 - 58.
- Kadooka, K. (2008) "A Systemic Approach to the Function of Tone and Intonation in Japanese." in *Ryukoku Journal of Humanities and Sciences*. Vol. 30, No. 1. pp. 67 - 83.
- Kadooka, K. (2009) *A Systemic Analysis of the Function of Clause Intonation* (Setsu-onchou no Kinou ni suite no Sentaku-taikei ni yoru Bunseki). Tokyo: Seibido.

- O'Connor, J.D. and G.F, Arnold. (1973) *Intonation of Colloquial English* (second edition).  
Japanese translation by Katayama *et al.* Tokyo: Nan'un-do.
- Pike, K. L. (1945) *The Intonation of American English*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Tench, P. (ed.) (1992) *Studies in Systemic Phonology*. London: Pinter.
- Tench, P. (1996) *The Intonation System of English*. London: Cassell.
- Wennerstrom, A. (2001) *The Music of Everyday Speech*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yamaguchi, N., Hisao Kakehi. (2001) *Kinou-Bumpou Gaisetsu*. (Introduction to Functional Grammar, a translation of Halliday (1994)). Tokyo: Kurosio.

# **An Analysis of the Polysemy of Processes**

## **Realised by Japanese Adjectives:**

### **The System Network for Process Types in the Kyoto Grammar**

**Toru Fujita**

**Doshisha University, Graduate School**

#### **Abstract**

The purpose of this paper is to show the importance of semanticisation in surveying the lexicogrammar of a specific language within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Semanticisation is the process by which the possible meanings in a specific language are systemised to show the meaning potential of the language. This importance can be exemplified through the examination of Japanese adjectives, which are analysed as Processes in the Kyoto Grammar, a treatment of SFL for Japanese. The analyses show that some adjectives that share the same forms may realise different types of meaning or process type. These analyses suggest that the system of possible meanings is necessary for the functions of adjectives to be precisely described. The semanticisation seems, therefore, essential to the functional research of specific languages.

#### **1. Introduction**

It is said that language can be categorised according to how they treat different parts of speech. In this regard, although almost all of the languages in the world are considered to have nouns and verbs, the situation appears different when it comes to adjectives, as Dixon (2004) implies. Adjectives in different languages have been provided with different definitions by different linguistic theories. Accordingly, it is essential in the analysis of a language to investigate the position of the adjectives in the language in question. In this regard, this paper is aimed at showing the polysemy of certain adjectives in Japanese, within the analyses of the Kyoto Grammar, and at claiming that the process of semanticisation is necessary for a language to be examined in the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

SFL, advocated by M. A. K. Halliday, offers a general theory for constructing specific

grammars for specific languages. Based on this theory, various grammars, such as the Sydney Grammar, the Cardiff Grammar, as Fawcett (2000, etc.) calls, and so on, are proposed to describe a language. Among these specific grammars, the Kyoto Grammar, proposed by Professor Tatsuki, is a grammar for the Japanese language, which demands a different treatment from English. For this difference, it is natural for the Kyoto Grammar to offer concepts that are not similar to those in other grammars.

Despite the various grammars both in SFL and in other linguistic theories, the Kyoto Grammar seems to be the most suitable grammar for the present purpose. This is partly because the present study deals with the semantic potentials of Japanese, which is one of the significant aims of SFL. Moreover, other grammars within SFL, such as the Sydney Grammar, have been developed to explain other languages, which have been cultivated in cultures other than Japanese. Reflecting different cultures, Japanese and English, for example, present different natures as to the behaviours of some grammatical categories, which will be specified later. Following this, the present paper will consider the semantic analyses of Japanese in the Kyoto Grammar.

Although the three metafunctions suggested in SFL are functioning at the same time and should be analysed simultaneously, the present paper will treat the ideational metafunction, especially referring to the treatment of the Kyoto Grammar. For other two metafunctions in general, see Halliday (2002), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), and so forth. Moreover, the treatment of other metafunctions in Japanese is introduced in more detail in Tatsuki (2009).

Another important point in SFL that will be covered in this paper is semanticisation, which states that the meanings that are possible in a language should be enumerated to form a system of potential meanings. It is the meanings but not the forms that are examined in SFL, so that the Kyoto Grammar also attempts to describe the potential meanings analysed in Japanese. The system of the meaning potential of ideational metafunction in Japanese, as suggested in Tatsuki (2008), will be introduced in the following section.

Making use of this system, the present paper will consider the polysemy of Japanese adjectives. Polysemy usually refers to “the grouping of related meanings under a single form”, as Croft (2003, p. 105) puts it. The polysemy in this paper will designate the different meanings in a system that are instantiated by the same lexicogrammar. Lexicogrammar is a term in SFL that signifies both the vocabulary and grammar, as they are not separable from each other. This paper will, therefore, point out that there are some meanings in Japanese that employ a single lexicogrammatical strategy.

Accordingly, it will be shown that some adjectives in Japanese, in their same forms, may have different meanings depending on their context. This phenomenon suggests that the semantic analyses of the adjectives are necessary for a study in SFL, so that semanticisation of the adjectives should be advanced to clarify the meaning potentials in Japanese process types.

## 2. Adjectives in the Kyoto Grammar

It has been argued that a certain Japanese adjective can be utilised to realise different meanings. In order to discuss the different meanings realised by a single adjective, it is essential to consider the treatment of the adjectives in Japanese. This section will survey the treatment of the Japanese adjectives in the Kyoto Grammar in contrast with that of English, especially focusing on the ideational meaning that the adjectives may be used to express.

A traditional view of Japanese claims that Japanese adjectives are considered to be the part of speech which has its own conjugation patterns. In this sense, it is regarded as opposed to the verbs, which exhibit different patterns in conjugations. The distinction between the two categories is not thought to be restricted to the grammatical behaviours, but they are thought to express different types of meanings as a whole. It is argued that adjectives are used to describe the states, quality, or nature of things, while verbs describe actions or happenings. In this regard, the two parts of speech, adjectives and verbs, have been treated as different categories.<sup>1</sup>

This nature of the Japanese adjectives appears contrastive to that of English in that English adjectives are the category for modification and requires other verbs to predicate a thing. The situation seems different in Japanese, where adjectives have their own function to predicate a thing, as below:

- (1) a. *Kono hana wa*<sup>ii</sup>                    *utsukushi-i*  
           This flower                        be beautiful  
           ‘This flower is beautiful’.

As (1a) shows, Japanese does not require an equivalent of *be*, when the attributes of things are stated with adjectives, while the English translation is accompanied by the verb *is*.

This contrast between Japanese and English is also covered within the grammars suggested in the framework of SFL. Reflecting the contrast, the treatments of adjectives in the two languages can be distinguished from each other, so that it seems necessary to present the essential differences. This paper will do this through only one of the three metafunctions, that is, the ideational metafunction, on which the following analyses of the contrast between both languages will be based.

The ideational metafunction, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) suggest, is considered to be realised at the level of clause as transitivity structure. This structure is treated as expressing the ideational meaning of the clause, where the Process is regarded as the central element. In the interpretation of English, the Process of a clause is usually realised by verbs, which have the function to stipulate other elements called participants in the transitivity. The considerate part of the ideational meaning of a clause can be determined by the Process, which realises the process types of the clause. These process types are thought to be the six types of ideational meanings in English, which are material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational, and existential processes. These different types of processes in English are closely examined in Halliday and Matthiessen

(2004).

As discussed earlier, Japanese adjectives are realised as the predicates, as in (1a), which have similar nature to the verbs in English. As the adjectives are treated as the predicates in Japanese, the Kyoto Grammar analyses the adjectives as the candidate for a Process, which has the influences to the choices of other participants in transitivity (Tatsuki, 2004).

Analogously with the treatment of the Sydney Grammar, the Kyoto Grammar also considers Processes to express or realise some processes. It is natural, however, that the Japanese language has a different system for process types, because it is realised in a culture distinct from English cultures. As different manifestations in different cultures, the two languages do not have to share the same types of processes. This is because the SFL theory suggests that the meanings are specific to the cultures where the languages are spoken.

Accordingly, it is necessary for Japanese to have a distinct system for process types which correspond to its culture. The system for the Japanese process types is, therefore, proposed in the Kyoto Grammar, as illustrated in Tatsuki (2008c):

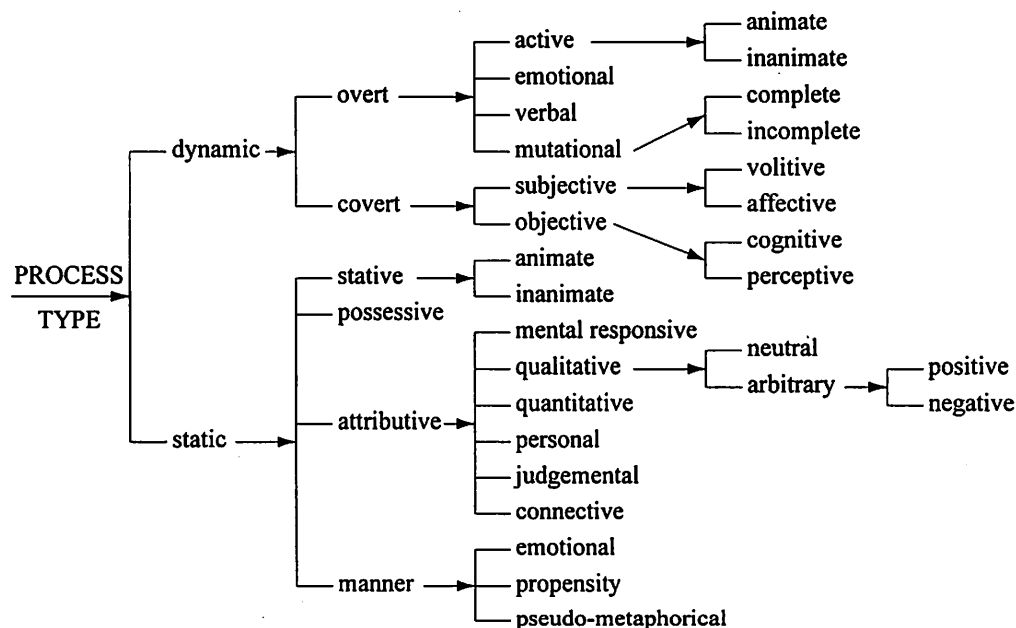


Figure 1: System for Japanese Process Types (Tatsuki, 2008c)

The process type system for Japanese in Figure 1 can be characterised by its primary choice of dynamicity: dynamic or static process. This feature can be opposed to the system of English, where the primary choice has the six options that correspond to all the six process types of English. The choice of dynamicity, on the other hand, allows all the processes in Japanese to be classified according to whether the process entails the changes such as chronological transitions

or concrete motions.

Under this criterion, Japanese verbs such as *tsukuru* 'make', *omou* 'think', *iu* 'say', *kawaru* 'change', and so on can be analysed as realising dynamic processes, as they contain actions. Note that some of the more delicate choices in this system will be scrutinised later, and others that do not have immediate relations with this paper will be left unexplained. See Tatsuki (2008b, 2008c) for more details.

Another characteristic interpretation for the Japanese process types is that the verbs and the adjectives do not have a clear distinction as to their meanings in the system, at least at the first choice of dynamicity. This indefiniteness of the process types can be demonstrated by that both the verbs and the adjectives, as Processes, can be utilised to express also both dynamic and static processes. Fujita (2008b) maintains that there are many adjectives that do realise dynamic processes, while there are equally many verbs that express static processes, as well as dynamic processes.<sup>iii</sup>

Such adjectives include *ureshii* 'be happy', *nikui* 'hate', *kuyashii* 'be frustrated', and so forth. Although the traditional interpretation suggests that the adjectives should describe the static states or natures, the interpretation of the Kyoto Grammar does not restrict process type of the adjectives to the static. The adjectives above can be analysed as the dynamic process types.

Along with the dynamic adjectives, the verbs that have static interpretations can be found. Such verbs are illustrated by *au* 'match', *kakeru* 'lack', *kotonaru* 'differ', and others. Despite their grammatical category, verbs can behave to mean static processes, which do not entail the actions. Moreover, as mentioned in Fujita (2008b), it seems rare to find these verbs used in imperative meanings, suggesting that the static processes cannot be normally used in commands.

From these observations, the Kyoto Grammar has shown that the meanings of the verbs and adjectives in Japanese do not have a clear border at the primary choice of the system of process type.

This section has presented the treatment of adjectives, as well as verbs, in the Kyoto Grammar, especially in reference to the process types of the ideational metafunction in Japanese. The analysis of ideational metafunction in the level of lexicogrammar can be conducted through the analysis of the process types. The analysis of process types must include the presentation of the whole potential within the language in question, so that the Kyoto Grammar suggests the system network for the Japanese process types, as in Figure 1. This system can be characterised by its having the choice in dynamicity at first, clarifying the distinction of the dynamic and static processes. It is also stated that this distinction in the process types does not directly correspond to the difference in the grammatical categories, so that it is difficult to determine the process type merely from the parts of speech, such as verbs and adjectives, without other clues.

### 3. Polysemy of Japanese Adjectives

The above discussion has presented the treatment of adjectives in the Kyoto Grammar, where it is maintained as expressing both static and dynamic process types. In continuation, this section will survey the polysemy of adjectives, in which the same lexical items can be employed to express different process types.

As defined earlier, the polysemy in this paper refers to the different choices in a system that are realised by the same lexicogrammar. As for the purpose of this paper, this type of polysemy can be described as the situation where the different process types in Figure 1 are realised by a single lexical item, such as an adjective or a verb.

One of the most conspicuous pairs of process types that exhibit the polysemy consists of the processes of affective and mental responsive types. The affective process is the result of choosing dynamic, covert, subjective, and affective processes in the system network shown in Figure 1. The mental responsive process is, on the other hand, the result of the choices of static, attributive, and mental responsive processes. Although there may be other pairs or triplets of processes that exhibit the polysemy in the ideational metafunction, the present paper will focus on the pair, as they express a good contrast, especially in the dynamicity. As the two process types have not been sufficiently explored in this paper, the meanings of these two process types in Japanese will be explicated.

The affective process is considered to be the process under choosing dynamic, covert, and subjective processes, so that it is equipped with the features of all of these process types. As explained earlier, dynamic process is regarded as the process that encodes the motions or chronological transitions. For this feature, all the choices under the dynamic process are treated as sharing the traits of the dynamic process.

After choosing the dynamic process, there are further choices of overt or covert process types, as in Figure 1. Of these two choices, what is consequently concerned with the affective process is covert process, by which covert actions of mostly human beings are encoded. Such covert actions include thinking, knowing, feeling, and so on, which cannot be directly observed from others who do not experience the process. Although these experiences share some features under the name of the covert process, they can be analysed as having more delicate choices, as Figure 1 suggests.

More delicate choices for the covert process are subjective and objective processes. Subjective processes are considered to be the processes that only the person who experiences the process can know whether it is actually happening. Objective processes, on the other hand, are the processes whose realities can be deduced from others.

As the consequence of these choices, the affective process is considered to have all the features of dynamic, covert, and subjective processes. As the ultimate choice of these processes, affective process encodes the experiences, such as the temporary emotions. These emotions may



include fear, sorrow, or embarrassment, whose reality cannot be inferred by others, but others can only imagine the reality. The affective processes can be illustrated, below:

- (2) a. *Watashi wa kanashi-i*  
 I be sad  
 'I feel sad'.
- b. *Kare wa kanashi-gatteiru*  
 he be sad  
 'He feels sad'.
- c. *Boku wa kowa-i*  
 I be afraid  
 'I feel afraid'.
- d. *Kanojo wa kowa-gatteiru*  
 she be afraid  
 'She feels afraid'.

Examples (2a-d) represent the affective processes, which are also dynamic, covert, and subjective. These experiences, such as being sad or being afraid, are considered to be subjective in that only the participant<sup>dv</sup> can know the real feelings. Furthermore, these processes are said to be covert, since they are not directly observable from the outside. Finally, they are also regarded as dynamic processes, as they exhibit the temporary transitions in that these feelings might disappear in due course.

One of the interesting facts about the affective process in Japanese is thought to be that it requires additional morphemes *-garu* or *-gatteiru* as in (2b, 2d), when it is used with the grammatical persons other than the first person. Accordingly, (2b) and (2d), with the third person participants (i.e., *kare* and *kanojo*), are appropriately accompanied by the above-mentioned morphemes. This can be attributed to the fact that these emotions cannot be definitely posited by others, so that the addition of the morphemes may show that the statements are not determined but inferred.

The other process type of significance about the polysemy in this paper is equal to the mental responsive process. This process is considered to be the consequence of choosing the options of static, attributive, and mental responsive processes. For this reason, the process is said to bear the characteristics of both the static and attributive processes, each of which will be surveyed below.

Opposed to the dynamic process, the static process is the process where the natures of things or people can be encoded. These natures do not entail the concrete actions or temporary motions, as these experiences are construed by the dynamic processes. For this feature, all the choices under the static process in Figure 1 are considered to be concerned with the natures of things.

Under the choice of the static process, there are four further options in the treatment of the Kyoto Grammar. These options are equal to the stative, possessive, attributive, and manner processes. Among these four processes, the attributive process is the process by which the attribute or the quality of things or people is communicated.

Finally, the attributive process of the static process has six choices, one of which is equal to the mental responsive process. This process type is considered to realise the situation where an object makes some people feel the feeling or emotion specified by the process. The mental responsive process types can be illustrated by below:

- (3) a. *Kono hon wa*                      *kanashi-i*  
       this book                                be sad  
       ‘This book makes people sad’.
- b. *Kare wa*                                *kanashi-i*  
       he    be sad  
       ‘He makes people sad’.
- c. *Kono hon wa*                      *kowa-i*  
       this book                                be horrible  
       ‘This book is horrible’.
- d. *Kanojo wa*                            *kowa-i*  
       she    be horrible  
       ‘She is horrible’.

As (3a-d) show, the mental responsive process attributes the qualities to the things or people stated. In this way, (3a) demonstrates the ability of ‘this book’ to make people ‘sad’. Note that this example does not signify the book that is feeling sad, since a book is not usually thought to be able to feel sad. For this reason, there seems to be no ambiguity in regard to the interpretation of (3a).

For (3b), on the other hand, there is an interesting point that may require a special note. The expressions of feelings or emotions, as suggested in (2b) and (2d), usually have to be accompanied by the additional elements such as *-garu* or *-gatteiru*, when the participant is not the first person. Despite this feature, (3b) does not require additional elements, though its participant is *kare* ‘he’. For this reason, (3b) might seem to be inappropriate in Japanese for its lack of *-gatteiru*.

The clause,<sup>v</sup> however, may be appropriate in certain contexts where what is told is not the feeling of the participant but that of the others. What is told in (3b) is not the feeling of the person referred to as *kare* ‘he’ but that those who see or hear of the person may feel sad about the person. In this sense, this clause is not thought to be expressing the actual feelings of the participant, but the process type employed in the clause is static. This is because it states the attributes of the person who is being talked about, especially in the contexts where people discuss the condition

of the person. Although the use of Example (3b) as the mental responsive process seems rare, it is possible to state the attribute of the person, leading to the analysis of the mental responsive process. Other examples of (3c, d) may be interpreted in the same way as (3a, b) in that *kowai* only expresses the feelings of some other people.

Accordingly, the mental responsive process, which is proposed in the Kyoto Grammar, is analysed as the attributive process, one of the choices in the static process. The mental responsive process is also considered to be attributive, because it is used to attribute the nature to things or people. This process is also thought to be static in that the attribute is not regarded as the temporary actions but is a static quality of the object.

As has been shown, the Kyoto Grammar considers two very different process types: the affective process and the mental responsive process. The former appears as the choice under the dynamic process, whereas the latter is analysed as the choice under the static process. This difference suggests that the meanings expressed by the two process types are very different from each other.

Although the meanings of the two process types are different, it is obvious that the two process types exhibit the polysemy of the Japanese adjectives. The polysemy refers to the different choices in the process types system in Figure 1 that are realised by the same adjective. As in the examples above, the Japanese adjectives such as *kanashii* may be analysed as expressing different process types. It seems necessary to reconsider Examples (2) and (3), below:

- |      |    |                               |                  |
|------|----|-------------------------------|------------------|
| (2)' | a. | <i>Watashi wa</i>             | <i>kanashi-i</i> |
|      |    | I                             | be sad           |
|      |    | 'I feel sad'.                 |                  |
| (3)' | a. | <i>Kono hon wa</i>            | <i>kanashi-i</i> |
|      |    | this book                     | be sad           |
|      |    | 'This book makes people sad'. |                  |

It is clear that Examples (2a) and (3a) share the same adjective, that is, *kanashii*. Despite the grammatical identity of the same adjective, these two examples exhibit different process types: dynamic and static processes.

The interpretation of (2a) is that the person who is referred to as *watashi* 'I' is feeling sad for some reason. In this sense, the person may cry or do some other actions in order to reveal the feeling that he or she has. This allows the example to realise the affective process, which is a choice within the dynamic process.

The latter Example (3a), on the other hand, is not concerned with the feeling of *kono hon* 'this book'. A book is usually not able to feel sad, so that it is not the case that the book has to cry because of its sadness. The interpretation of (3a) is, however, that the content of the book makes the people, who read it, sad. For this nature, the process in (3a) is thought to be the mental responsive process, which designates the feelings of the others. Because the process signifies the

attributes of the book, the process is analysed as the attributive process, which in turn can be analysed as the static process.

Note that the similar polysemy can be observed even in the English clauses where the sadness is realised. This polysemy can be illustrated by the following clauses:

- (4) a. I am sad.  
 b. He is sad.  
 c. This book is sad.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), with their treatment of the Sydney Grammar, suggest that these clauses should be analysed as expressing the relational processes, by which the Carriers (i.e., *I*, *He*, or *This book*) are related to the Attributes (i.e., *sad*). The contrast as to the polysemy in these clauses is that both of Examples (4a, b) can be analysed as expressing the emotive situation of the people, while Example (4c) expresses the nature of the book that makes people feel sad.

Although these clauses are equally analysed as the relational processes, the more delicate analyses of the same clauses will capture the difference in the interpretations of the process types, even though the system for the process types in English may appear different from that of the Kyoto Grammar in Figure 1.<sup>vi</sup>

Aside from the analyses of English clauses, it seems necessary to consider another pair of Japanese in (2-3). Although (2b) and (3b) seem similar at a glance, they also exhibit the contrast between the dynamic and static interpretations, as illustrated below:

- (2)' b. *Kare wa*                      *kanashi-gatteiru*  
           he                                be sad  
           'He feels sad'.
- (3)' b. *Kare wa*                      *kanashi-i*  
           he                                be sad  
           'He makes people sad'.

This pair also shows the contrast between the two process types both grammatically and semantically. In terms of the forms, these examples can be easily distinguished from each other for (2b) being accompanied by *-gatteiru*. In addition, the difference lies in the interpretations of the meanings. The former expresses the feeling of a human being, whereas the latter can be analysed as having similar meaning as *Kare wa kanashii yatsu da* 'He is a guy who makes people feel sad', though it may be also interpreted as 'He has been made sad by a certain experience', according to the context.

Furthermore, it can be pointed out that the polysemies realised in the two pairs, that is, (2a, 3a) and (2b, 3b), exhibit different natures. The two distinct process types in the former pair (2a, 3a) are discerned by the choices of the participants (i.e., either *watashi* 'I' or *kono hon* 'this book'), while the two examples in the latter pair (2b, 3b) can be distinguished from each other by

the accompaniment of *-gatteiru*, which shows that the speaker does not know the actual feeling stated by the adjectives (i.e., *kanashii*). This difference between (2a, 3a) and (2b, 3b) suggests that there does not seem to be a unified perspective to distinguish the polysemy in the process types, so that it is essential to refer to the context where the process type is stated.

With these distinctions of process types, the other two pairs, that is, (2c, 3c) and (2d, 3d), exhibit a similar phenomenon with the above pairs. The pair (2c, 3c) has a similar distinction in the process types as the pair (2a, 3a) in that the choices of the participants may reveal the process types. Similarly, the pair (2d, 3d) has a parallel nature with the pair (2b, 3b), as the process type of each clause can be stated in reference to the accompaniment of *-gatteiru*.

It can be said from the analyses above, that the Japanese adjectives *kanashii* and *kowai* have similar distribution in their polysemy. As the polysemy is thought to be the set of meanings on a system, the adjectives that can realise the same set of process types can be treated as having the same type of polysemy. This type of polysemy can be found for other adjectives, such as *ureshii* 'be happy' or *samishii* 'be lonely', to name a few. These adjectives can realise both the affective and mental responsive processes according to the situations where they are realised.

Thus, this section has shown that there can be observed the polysemy in certain Japanese adjectives. The polysemy in this paper can be thought of as the different meanings on a system that are realised through the same form. This has been exemplified by several examples of Japanese adjectives in that the adjectives, such as *kanashii*, may be utilised to express either the affective process or the mental responsive process. Along with this polysemy, there may be the potential that other sets of polysemy may be found as the consequence of the analyses in the Kyoto Grammar.

#### 4. Significance of Semanticisation

The above section shows that there is polysemy in Japanese adjectives. The previous section has not, however, sufficiently surveyed the situations where different meanings are chosen for an adjective, so that this section will consider the analyses of the polysemy in terms of the context. Moreover, the consideration on the context will be followed by the discussion as to the significance of the semanticisation, when constructing a grammar for a specific language.

It is suggested in the last section that the process types of the clauses might be analysed through the analyses of other elements. The accompaniment of *-gatteiru*, for example, strongly suggests the process type being affective, which realises the feeling or emotion of human beings. The choices of things as the participants, which do not usually have emotions, also suggest the mental responsive processes.

These examples, however, represent unmarked cases, where the interpretation of the clauses can be taken rather directly. In reality, there may be marked cases such as in a fantasy fiction where a book should feel the sadness, or one can clearly grasp the emotions of others. In

these cases, it becomes much more difficult to tell the process types of the clauses, because the ordinary relationships between the participants and the processes are not maintained.

Furthermore, one of the characteristics of the Japanese language makes it more difficult to state the precise process type of an utterance. As the Processes in Japanese are sometimes not fully accompanied by the necessary participants in an utterance, it is considered to be always difficult to determine the process types according to the types of participants. In this sense, the participant of an utterance consisting only of an adjective such as *kanashii* 'be sad' may be either *watashi* 'I' or *kono hon* 'this book', which is indefinite within the utterance. In order to decide whether it is the affective process or the mental responsive process, the participant has to be recovered from elsewhere in the Communicative Unit (Tatsuki, 2004b).

For this nature of Japanese, the analyses of the process types in transitivity have to be conducted in consideration of the context where the Processes appear. Context in SFL is treated as having two related aspects: context of culture and that of situation. The context of situation, which is immediately concerned with the realisation of ideational metafunction, is considered to play an important role in determining the process types used in a clause. In other words, process types can be determined through the analysis of the field of the text, that is, what is talked about in the text.

If a text is about a sad experience of a person, for example, an expression consisting only of *kanashii* 'be sad' may be interpreted as realising an affective process. This is because the narrator can be thought of as the one who feels the emotion, which can be expected by the analysis within the Communicative Unit.

In another text about reviewing a book, on the other hand, the same expression above can be interpreted as the realisation of the mental responsive process. This is also because the one that is looked upon as the participant may be a book, which cannot usually feel sadness but can make people feel the emotion.

Thus, it is not only the participants or the addition of morphemes (i.e., *-gatteiru*) but also the context, especially the immediate situation in the Communicative Unit, that is regarded as decisive for the analysis of the process types in Japanese. According to the situation, a Japanese expression may be interpreted variously, at least in terms of the process type it is realising.

The context-based analysis into process types in a text leads to the consideration that the meaning of each clause has to be investigated. The exploration in the meanings of a clause can be paraphrased as the analysis of both clauses and their context in terms of their meanings. This type of analysis is referred to as semanticisation in SFL, by which the meaning of a form becomes the focus of the analysis.

The semanticisation has two advantages in the analyses of texts: both in the analysis of the text itself and in the construction of the grammar for the language. As mentioned earlier, the semanticisation of the clauses and context will lead to the analysis of the meaning that is realised in the text and also of the analysis of the semantic relationship such as the polysemy. In this way,

the analysis and explanation of a Japanese text can be conducted through the implement of the Kyoto Grammar.

Furthermore, the semanticisation is also a significant process in the analysis of a particular language, such as the Kyoto Grammar. One of the main purposes of SFL is equal to stating the meaning potential systems for particular languages. The clarification of the systems can be achieved only after the semanticisation of all the types of the meanings. As to the system for process types, for instance, it is necessary to inexhaustibly investigate the possible types of processes. In the consequence, it is possible to construct a system, as Figure 1, which is suggested in the Kyoto Grammar.

For these purposes, the semanticisation seems necessary in the studies utilising SFL, both in describing texts and in constructing particular grammars. In order to analyse the process type system in more delicacy, the semanticisation of more examples followed by the analysis of the process types has to be conducted. As mentioned in Tatsuki (2008c), there is a possibility that more delicate system for the process types can be proposed in the Kyoto Grammar. Along with the process types, it is also essential to investigate the systems for other metafunctions through the semanticisation of various texts in Japanese.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper has shown the analysis of the polysemy that is realised by Japanese adjectives within the framework of SFL. It was clarified earlier that the framework of SFL recognised that every language might have its own grammar, as demonstrated by the Sydney Grammar, the Kyoto Grammar, and so forth. The Kyoto Grammar is a grammar especially for the analysis of Japanese, which attempts to describe the meaning potentials of Japanese.

One of the systems suggested by the Kyoto Grammar is the process type system in Figure 1, which shows the current treatment of Japanese process types. Among the various process types in the system, two choices of the process types were introduced: the affective process and the mental responsive process. The former process states the current feelings or emotions of human beings, while the latter describes the attributes of things that emotionally influence people. Although there are more process types, these two were specifically introduced, as they had immediate relationships to the following discussion.

These two process types were described as good examples for the polysemy of Japanese adjectives. The processes were analysed as having the polysemy, because some pairs of the instances of the two process types could be realised by the same adjectives. In this sense, these pairs can be treated as having polysemy, so that the meaning can be analysed as ambiguous without proper context.

Accordingly, the present paper also argued that the semanticisation was an important process in the studies of the particular languages. The semanticisation of texts will lead to two

advantages, one of which is the more precise analysis of existing texts. An example for this analysis can be the polysemy, which would not be appropriately analysed without semanticisation.

Another benefit of the semanticisation is the construction of the particular grammar. In order to construct a grammar for a particular language in the framework of SFL, it is necessary to clarify the meaning potentials for each metafunction. The clarification of the potentials can be achieved only by semanticising many clauses or other units to reveal the whole possibility of the system. The semanticisation of more examples in Japanese will further enrich the analyses of the Kyoto Grammar to provide more delicate systems for the process types, as well as the other metafunctions.

### References

- Croft, W. (2003) *Typology and Universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (2004) Adjective Classes in Typological Perspective. In Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004), pp. 1-49.
- Dixon, R. M. W., & Aikhenvald, A. Y. (Eds.) (2004) *Adjective Classes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fawcett, R. P. (2000) *A Theory of Syntax for Systemic Functional Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fujita, T. (2008a) An analysis of English transitivity system: From a contrastive study between English and Japanese process types. *Core*, 36,37, 15-42.
- Fujita, T. (2008b) The Kyoto Grammar no wakugumi ni yoru hinshitsu o arawasu keiyoshi no bunseki [An analysis of Adjectivals of Quality in the framework of the Kyoto Grammar]. *Proceedings of JASFL*, 2, 1-9.
- Fujita, T. (2008c, October) *Nihongo no keiyoshi to doshi ga gugensuru kateigata: The Kyoto Grammar no sentaku taikemou o mochiita bunseki*. [Realizations of Process Types by the Japanese Verbs and Adjectives: An Analysis Using the System Network in the Kyoto Grammar]. Paper presented at the meeting of Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics, Ochanomizu University, Tokyo, Japan.
- Fujita, T. (2008d, November) *Keiyoshi no seiteki imi to douteiki imi ni okeru tagisei* [On the polysemy of Japanese adjective: With special reference to static and dynamic semantic interpretation]. Paper presented at the meeting of the Linguistic Society of Japan, Kanazawa University, Ishikawa, Japan.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (2002) *The Collected Works of M. A. K. Halliday: Vol. 1. On Grammar* (Jonathan J. Webster, Ed.). London: Continuum.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3rd ed.). London: Arnold.



- Kato, A., Sachi, K., & Morita, Y. (Eds.) (1989) *Nihongo Gaisetsu* [An Overview of Japanese]. Tokyo: Ofu.
- Kudo, M. (Ed.) (2007) *Nihongo Keiyoshi no Bunpo: Hyojungo Kenkyu o Koete* [The Grammar of the Japanese Adjective: Beyond the Study of the Standard Dialect]. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.
- Shibatani, M. (1990) *The Languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stassen, L. (1997) *Intransitive Predication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tatsuki, M. (2004a, September) *A new treatment of Japanese transitivity: An analysis of adjectives as a process type -The Kyoto Grammar approach-*. Paper presented at the meeting of International Systemic Functional Congress, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan.
- Tatsuki, M. (2004b) Communicative Unit ni yoru Theme Bunseki: The Kyoto Grammar no wakugumi de [Analyzing the Japanese Thematic Structure in a Communicative Unit: The Kyoto Grammar Approach]. *Doshisha Daigaku Eigo Eibungaku Kenkyu*, 76, 1-20.
- Tatsuki, M. (2008a, July) *A contrastive study of English and Japanese transitivity: The Kyoto Grammar approach*. Paper presented at the meeting of International Systemic Functional Congress, Sydney, Australia.
- Tatsuki, M. (2008b) A Contrastive Study of English and Japanese Transitivity: The Kyoto Grammar Approach. In Wu, Matthiessen, & Herke (Eds.) (2008), pp. 178-182.
- Tatsuki, M. (2008c) Nichieigo no Kateigata ni kansuru Kosatsu: The Kyoto Grammar ni yoru Nihongo Kateigata Bunseki [A Consideration on Process Types of Both Japanese and English: An Analysis of Process Types in Japanese through the Kyoto Grammar]. *Doshisha Daigaku Eigo Eibungaku Kenkyu*, 83, 69-98.
- Tatsuki, M. (2008d) 'Wa' to 'Ga' Sono Meta Kino kara no Saiko ['Wa' and 'Ga': A Reconsideration from their Metafunctions]. *Proceedings of JASFL*, 2, 135-149.
- Tatsuki, M. (2009) The Kyoto Grammar to Nihongo Bunseki [The Kyoto Grammar and the Analysis of Japanese]. *Nihongogaku*, 28(4), 60-72.
- Wu, C., Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., & Herke, M. (Eds.) (2008) *Proceedings of ISFC 35: Voices Around the World*. Sydney, Australia: 35th ISFC Organizing Committee.
- Yakame, H. (2008) *Nihongo Keiyoshi no Kijutsu teki Kenkyu: Ruikeiron teki Shiten kara* [A Descriptive Study on the Japanese Adjective: From the Perspectives of Typology]. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.

---

<sup>i</sup> In addition, there is also the grammatical category called *keiyodoshi* 'adjectival verbs', which again has its own conjugation pattern. The analysis of the adjectival verbs in Japanese, especially in the Kyoto Grammar, has to be accompanied by further studies. Although the adjectival verbs

will not be discussed in this paper, the study on the semantic position of this grammatical category should be investigated in more detail in the Kyoto Grammar.

<sup>ii</sup> The particle morpheme *-wa* is usually treated as a topical marker, as Shibatani (1990) analyses. This analysis, however, seems irrelevant in SFL, which requires the analyses from three distinct metafunctions, so that the particle will be left unanalysed in this paper. For the analyses of the particle in the treatment of the Kyoto Grammar, see Tatsuki (2008d).

<sup>iii</sup> Note that the Japanese equivalent for the word ‘verb’ is *doshi*, which literally has a strong connotation for its meaning the actions. The equivalent for the adjective (i.e., *keiyoshi*) may be also accompanied by the assumption that its fundamental function is to modify the nouns.

<sup>iv</sup> “Participant” is a general term in SFL for the elements required by the Process. In this paper, most participants correspond to grammatical subjects, while the term may also designate objects.

<sup>v</sup> The term “clause” is considered to be the unit for the analysis of English texts, being inappropriate for those of Japanese. The treatment of the units of analysis in the Kyoto Grammar is presented in Tatsuki (2004b).

<sup>vi</sup> This observation, which is similar to that of Japanese, is not meant to insist that the two languages should be analysed in exactly the same way. It appears that the two languages just happened to have similar behaviours as to the interpretation of certain adjectives. This observation may be contradicted by the examples in other languages.

日本語の新聞報道記事のジャンル構造\*  
**An Analysis of Japanese News Stories:  
A Pilot Description of its Generic Structure**

鷲嶽 正道

Masamichi Washitake

愛知学院大学

Aichi Gakuin University

**Abstract**

This paper is a preliminary attempt to explore the genre of Japanese news stories from the perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics. In particular, it focuses on topical news associated with current affairs in print-news media. At first, it outlines two significant previous works: Yamaguchi (2000) which suggests a set of typical stages of which Japanese news story genre is composed, and proposes that macro-Theme contributes to the description of the generic structure; and White (1997), a comprehensive exploration of English print-news reports, which provides my research with the framework of an orbital relationship between ‘the Head/ lead nucleus’ and ‘satellites’.

By reviewing these studies and analyzing an adequate number of texts, the structure potential for Japanese news stories is shown. This is an orbital structure consisting of the essential ‘Head/ lead nucleus’ and optional ‘satellites’, namely Additional information, Background, Consequence, Detailed account, and Evaluation. According to the generic structure, the last section of this paper demonstrates that the deployment of the satellite of Evaluation can be motivated by one of the news reports’ goals: providing the readers with the view of events.

1. はじめに

本稿の目的は、選択体系機能言語学 (Systemic Functional Linguistics : 以降 SFL) の理論枠組みのもと、日本語の新聞報道記事のジャンル構造を提案することにある。今日、日本で発刊されている新聞には媒体、想定する読者、記事の専門性、目的などに応じて様々な種類があり、掲載されている記事も様々な「ジャンル」に渡る。そこで、本稿では分析対象とする新聞報道記事を、紙媒体の一般紙に掲載されている、犯罪、事故、政治家の言動など、社会的に重大な出来事を伝える記事、いわゆる時事報道とする。

ジャンルとは、「特定の展開段階を持ち、特定の目的に向かった対人的相互作用 (a staged,

goal-oriented social process)」(Martin, 1992:505)と定義される。それでは、新聞報道記事の目的とは何だろうか。新聞報道を含むメディアは「自分たちが、ありのままで、価値判断を伴わず、客観的な事実の複写を提供していると主張している」が、「実際のところ、新聞報道は必然的に主観的である。」(White, 2003: 61)。この指摘は英語の新聞報道記事についてなされたものであるが、日本語の新聞報道記事にも当てはまると考える。したがって、新聞報道記事の目的は、単に社会的に重大な出来事を伝えるだけではなく、「読者に、新聞社が提案する見方で出来事のありようを見るように説得すること」だと言える(鷺嶽、2006: 177)。

この目的を達成するため、新聞報道記事は特定の展開段階を持っている。次節以降、新聞報道記事のジャンル構造に関わる先行研究を検討しながら、日本語の新聞報道記事の実態に即したジャンル構造の記述を試みる。

なお、本稿でのSFLの術語訳は、ハリデー(2001)と山口(2000)に準拠する。

## 2. 新聞報道記事はいかに構成されているか

日本語の新聞報道記事は、最も典型的には、見出し、リード、本文で構成される。後述するように、日本語の新聞報道記事の見出しは特徴的な構造を持ち、記事の注目すべき点や記事の見方(あるいは価値判断)を読者に示している。いっぽうで、本文は見出しとリードの内容を支持するように、それぞれ異なった役割を果たす構成要素で構成されている。見出しの構造と記事全体の構造は、恐らくフラクタルではない。そこで、本稿では見出しの構造と記事全体の構造を別個に観察する。本節では記事全体の構造を、次節では見出しの構造を分析する。

記事全体の構造を分析するにあたり、まず新聞報道記事のジャンル構造に関する先行研究について概観する。次いで、見出しを含めた日本語の新聞報道記事のジャンル構造の記述を試みる。

山口(2000)は選択体系機能文法を紹介する研究の中で、日本語の新聞報道記事を分析し、新聞報道記事が次のような展開段階から成り立っていると提案した。すなわち、「タイトル、サブタイトル」「事故・事件の要約」「事故・事件の詳細」「事故・事件の波及効果」「事故・事件を取り巻く状況」である。「タイトル、サブタイトル」は本稿で用いている「見出し」と、「事故・事件の要約」は「リード」と同義と考えてよい。当該研究では、「事故・事件の要約」が後続する展開段階にマクロ主題を提示し、後続する展開段階はマクロ主題から分配された主題のもと展開すると議論した。そして、この主題選択パターンが新聞報道記事のジャンル構造の展開段階の具現に貢献していると主張した。この主張は、言語に「たたみこまれている」(山口、2000: 8)諸要素どうしの有機的な関係を示唆している。この示唆にしたがえば、新聞報道記事を構成する展開段階の順序や有無は、テキストにたたみ込まれている他の意味要素(例えば、主題展開や価値付け(Appraisal))からの

要請によって決定しうる。

いっぽうで White (1997) は、英語で書かれた新聞報道記事（事件や事故を扱った、いわゆる *hard news* と呼ばれる記事）を分析し、非連続的で軌道的な構造（*non-linear and orbital structure*）を持ったジャンル構造を提案した。このジャンル構造は見出しとリード（典型的には記事の冒頭）から成る「核」（*the Headline/ lead nucleus*）の展開段階と、それ以外の要素から成る「衛星」（*satellites*）の展開段階で構成されている。核は必須の要素でテキストの支配的地位にあり、文字通りテキストの意味的中核をなす。衛星は任意の要素であり、それぞれ、核の内容を詳述したり、核の内容と因果関係にあるものを述べたり、核の内容を特定の時間や場所に位置づけたり、核の内容に価値付けしたりすることで核と結びついている。そのいっぽうで、個々の衛星どうしに結びつきや連続性はない。それゆえに、このジャンル構造は非連続的で軌道的なのである。

以上、2つの先行研究により、新聞報道記事のジャンル構造について、以下のような枠組みが得られた。

- 1) 見出しとリード（核）がテキストの意味的中心に据えられている（ただし、山口は見出しの機能については言及していない）。
- 2) 残りの展開段階（衛星）はそれぞれ特定の役割のもと構成され、核と特定の関係で結びついている。いっぽうで、衛星どうしは直接的な関係を持たない。
- 3) したがって、衛星が配置される順番や特定の衛星の有無は、テキストに具現されている他の意味要素による要請がない限り、任意である。

核と衛星の関係というジャンル構造の枠組みは、本来、英語の新聞報道記事を記述するために考案された枠組みであるため、無批判に日本語に当てはめることはできない。そこで、この枠組みの適応をめぐる、テキスト分析を試みる。下の図1は、核と衛星の関係を日本語の新聞報道記事に適応したものである。

図1：新聞報道記事に見られる核と衛星の関係

テキスト	展開段階	核/衛星
サッポロ買収案撤回 スティール	見出し	核
米系投資ファンドのスティール・パートナーズ・ジャパンは 17日、ビール大手、サッポロホールディングス（HD）に対す る同社株の買い増し提案を撤回すると発表した。	リード	
サッポロ HD の買収をひとまず断念し、経営陣を退陣に追い 込む戦術に転換したとみられる。	未確定	衛星1
スティールは現在、サッポロ株の 18.6%を保有する筆頭株主 だ。今後も保有を続け、3月に開かれるサッポロ HD の定時株 主総会で、経営陣の再任や買収防衛策の継続に反対票を投じ るなど、引き続き敵対的な姿勢は続ける方針だ。	未確定	衛星2
スティールは2004年10月、サッポロ HD の大株主に浮上。 07年2月に突然、保有比率 66.6%まで追加取得することを提 案しサッポロ HD の経営陣が反対を続けると、08年3月に取 得目標を 33.3%に引き下げたが交渉は行き詰まっていた。	未確定	衛星3

(テキスト：読売新聞 2009年2月18日 朝刊 2面)

核をなす見出しとリードの内容をもとにして、特定の話題ごとに衛星がつくられていることがわかる。次に、衛星どうしの自立性を確認するため、図1のテキストに、衛星1と3の位置を交換し、衛星2を削除する操作を加えた。操作後のテキストを図1'として提示する。読みやすさの観点から一部補足はしているが、衛星をひとつ削除したにも関わらず、記事全体に矛盾が生じたり、記事の情報に不足が生じたりしていないことがわかる。

図 1' : 衛星の位置と有無を操作したテキスト

テキスト	展開段階	核/衛星
サッポロ買収案撤回 スティール	見出し	核
米系投資ファンドのスティール・パートナーズ・ジャパンは 17日、ビール大手、サッポロホールディングス (HD) に対す る同社株の買い増し提案を撤回すると発表した。	リード	
スティールは 2004 年 10 月、サッポロ HD の大株主に浮上。 07 年 2 月に突然、保有比率 66.6%まで追加取得することを提 案しサッポロ HD の経営陣が反対を続けると、08 年 3 月に取 得目標を 33.3%に引き下げたが交渉は行き詰まっていた。	未確定	衛星 3
(スティールは) サッポロ HD の買収をひとまず断念し、経 営陣を退陣に追い込む戦術に転換したとみられる。	未確定	衛星 1

(括弧内の補足は著者による)

この結果から、核と衛星の関係を日本語の新聞報道記事に適応しても問題がないこととする。ただし、核と衛星の具体的な関係については、日本語の新聞報道記事独自のものを考案する必要がある。

上記の 1)から 3)の枠組みをもとに、適当な数量の日本語の新聞報道記事を分析した。その結果、核と衛星との間に次のような ABCDE の関係が確認できた。

- a) 出来事に関連する追加情報 (追加情報 Additional information) : 核で概略された話題ついて、単に (下記のいずれの関係にも当てはまらない) 情報を追加する。例えば、国際会議の報告であれば、次の開催国や開催時期の情報が追加情報に当たる。
- b) 出来事が起こった背景 (背景 Background) : 核で概略された出来事の背景、出来事に至った過程、原因を述べる。
- c) 出来事の結果 (結果 Consequence) : 核で概略された出来事の影響や結果、出来事への反応を述べる。
- d) 出来事の詳細 (詳細 Detailed account) : 核で概略された内容を詳細に述べる。
- e) 出来事への評価 (評価 Evaluation) : 核で概略された出来事に対して評価を下す。典型的な方法として、c) との組み合わせ、引用の利用、価値付けを伴った語彙の利用がある。

これらの関係は、山口 (2000)、White (1997) がそれぞれ提案したジャンル構造の展開段階と重なり合う部分が多いが、以下の 4 点で異なる。

- 1) 新聞報道記事に掲載されるような重大な出来事は、必ずしも事故や事件とは限らない（例えば、首相や大臣の外遊、大手企業の決算報告、制度改革などは、事故でも事件でもない）。そこで新たに「出来事」という広い意味の言葉を用いた。
- 2) 出来事どうしの因果関係が明確に示されていないことが多い（因果関係を曖昧にして時系列で述べられていることが多い）ため、White が用いていた Cause-and-effect を解消し、cause にあたるものを b) の背景に取り込んだ。すなわち、c) は核で概略された出来事以降の出来事（影響や反応）を、b) は核で概略された出来事以前の出来事（背景や原因）を指す。その作業に伴い、b) の英語訳を Background とした。
- 3) 術語の英語訳について、d) は節複合における敷衍（elaboration）との混同を、e) は対人的意味に属する価値付け（Appraisal）との混同を避けるため、それぞれ d) を Detailed account、e) を Evaluation とした。
- 4) 出来事の詳細、背景、結果、評価のいずれの関係とも異なり、単に核に関する情報を付加するだけの衛星が少なからず確認できた。この衛星を a) とした。

以上、山口が提案した日本語の新聞報道記事のジャンル構造を、White の概念を利用して発展させることができた。以下に、前掲した図1のテキストをジャンル分析したものを図2として提示する。

図2を見ると、核が出来事のあらましを述べており、衛星1から3はそれぞれ核の内容を評価したり、核の内容を詳述したり、核の出来事の背景を説明したりしていることがわかる。衛星どうしは互いに依存した関係を持っておらず、したがって、衛星どうしの順番が入れ替わっても、どの衛星が省略されても新聞報道記事として適格性を欠くテキストにはならない。



図2：新聞報道記事のジャンル構造分析

テキスト	展開段階	核/衛星
サッポロ買収案撤回 スティール	見出し	核
米系投資ファンドのスティール・パートナーズ・ジャパンは17日、ビール大手、サッポロホールディングス（HD）に対する同社株の買い増し提案を撤回すると発表した。	リード	
サッポロ HD の買収をひとまず断念し、経営陣を退陣に追い込む戦術に転換したとみられる。	評価	衛星 1
スティールは現在、サッポロ株の 18.6%を保有する筆頭株主だ。今後も保有を続け、3月に開かれるサッポロ HD の定時株主総会で、経営陣の再任や買収防衛策の継続に反対票を投じるなど、引き続き敵対的な姿勢は続ける方針だ。	詳細 + 結果	衛星 2
スティールは2004年10月、サッポロ HD の大株主に浮上。07年2月に突然、保有比率66.6%まで追加取得することを提案しサッポロ HD の経営陣が反対を続けると、08年3月に取得目標を33.3%に引き下げたが交渉は行き詰まっていた。	背景	衛星 3

### 3. 見出しの構造

よく知られているとおり、見出しとは新聞報道記事の要約である。多くの新聞報道記事ではリードが内容の要約をしているため、見出しはいわば要約の要約と言える。日本語の新聞報道記事の、とりわけ大きな記事の見出しの多くは複数の見出しから成っている。見出しの文字の大きさから主となる見出しと副となる見出しは判別できるものの、見出しどうしの関係は明確ではない。しかし、そこには新聞報道記事の見出しという非常に局所的な言語使用域に限って成立する何らかの「文法」があるはずである。

鷺嶽（2006）は見出しを3種類の要素に分類し、それぞれ「通常の見出し（Headline: 以降 HL）」「下位の見出し（Sub-Headline: 以降 SHL）」「先立つ見出し（Pre-Headline: 以降 PHL）」とした。新聞報道記事に HL は必須の要素であり、すべての新聞報道記事の冒頭に利用されていると言ってよい。いっぽうで、SHL と PHL は任意の要素であり、比較的大きな記事にしか利用されない。

本節では、鷺嶽（2006）で必ずしも十分ではなかった HL、SHL、PHL の定義をより明確なものにするとともに、3種類の見出しという考えを発展させ、見出しが HL、SHL、PHL によってどのように構成されているのか、解明を試みる。

HL は典型的には記事中最も大きな文字で表記される、見出しの中核を成す要素である。

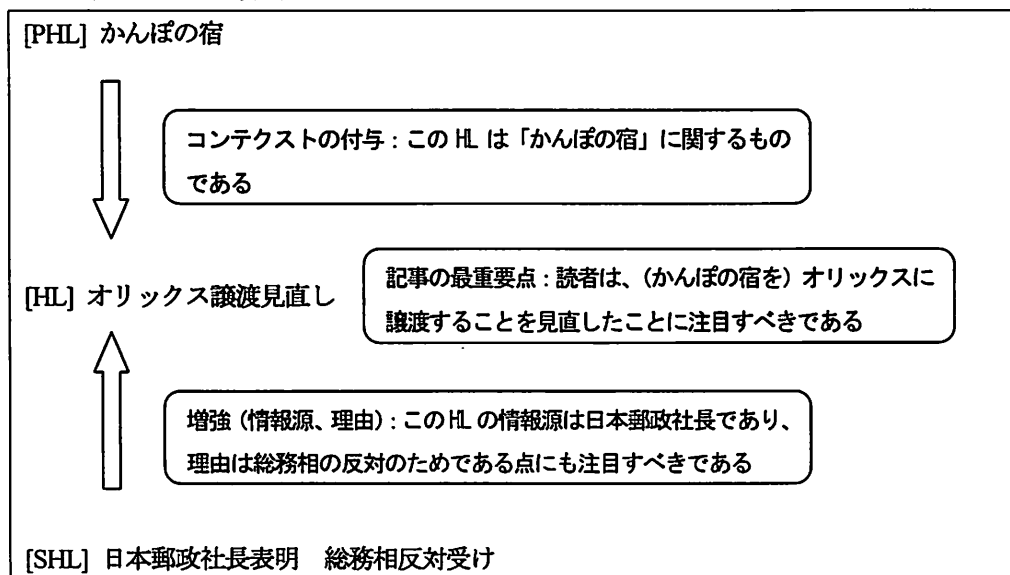
White (2003:78) が指摘しているように、HL は記事中最も重要とされる点は何であるかを読者に伝える役割を果たしている。言い換えると、見出しは、連続的で多用な見方があるはずの出来事について、どの点をどのように見るべきかの指針を読者に与える。先述したように、HL は必須の要素なので、記事に見出しがひとつしかなければ必然的にその見出しはHLである。

SHL と PHL は HL との相対的な関係で決まる。HL の後ろ（左側）に位置し、HL よりも小さな文字で表記されるのが SHL である。SHL と HL の関係には節複合における拡充の概念 (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 395-422) を適応させることができる。すなわち、概略、SHL は HL の内容を詳しく述べたり（敷衍）、HL に情報を追加したり（拡張）、HL を時系列や因果関係などで修飾したり（増強）することにより拡充する。SHL は HL に従属し、HL の内容を拡充するものであるが、出来事の要点と見方を与えるという点において、HL と同じ役割を果たしている。

PHL は文字通り HL に先立つ要素である。SHL より利用頻度は低く、利用される場合は横書きで HL の上部に位置することが多い。PHL は HL に（文脈という意味での）コンテキストを与える役割を担い、典型的には、当該記事が読者にとって既知の情報（あるいは既知であるという前提の情報）の追加情報であることを示す。

次の図3は、典型的な見出しの構造を分析したものである。

図3：見出しの構造分析



(テキスト：読売新聞 2009年1月30日 朝刊 1面)

この記事の見出しでは、「オリックス譲渡見直し」がHLである。典型的なHLに見られ

るように、当該 HL も名詞化により情報が圧縮されているため、内容については曖昧な点がある。しかし、「かんぼの宿」が PHL として配置されているため、当該 HL は当該記事が発行される以前から報道されている、かんぼの宿の売却問題に関わる出来事の要点を示していることがわかる。いっぽう、SHL では日本郵政社長が見直しを表明したと、譲渡見直しに至った理由が記されている。すなわち、情報源と理由を示すことにより SHL は HL を増強しているのである。同時に、SHL は HL の「オリックス譲渡見直し」について「誰が」「なぜ」が重要であるということも読者に示している。

ここで、見出しとともに核を形成するリードについて追記する。リードは、典型的には記事本文の第一文とされているが、大きな記事の場合、本文から独立して記されていることが多い。また、リードが一連の見出しの間（例えば HL と SHL の間）に挿入されている場合も少なくない。ただし、いずれの場合も見出しとリードの役割が変わることはない。

#### 4. 「評価」が配置される動機

第2節で議論したように、衛星を構成する任意の展開段階は、特定の条件がない限り位置や有無についても任意である。したがって、最も小さな新聞報道記事の場合、記事は見出し（多くは HL のみ）とリードから成る核のみで構成される。

それでは、特定の衛星が配置される条件とは何であろうか。本節では、「評価」の展開段階を衛星として持つ新聞報道記事に注目し、その配置を動機づけているものを探る。

核と衛星の関係の関係を分析する中で、新聞報道記事に2種類の傾向があることがわかった。ひとつは評価の衛星を含むもの、もうひとつは評価の衛星を含まないものである。前者は政治や経済に関する記事に典型的に見られ、後者は事故や事件の記事に典型的に見られる。

事故や事件が問題であることは自明のことであり、一般にそのことに対する評価を待つことはない。それに対し、政治家の言動、会談の報告、大手企業の動向などについては、善し悪し、成果の有無、妥当性など、出来事の見方を読者に提供する必要がある。公正で中立であるという体面を維持しつつ、出来事の見方を提供する手段として、多くの新聞報道記事では、次の4つの方策を利用している。

- 1) 価値付けされた見出し：見出しに価値付けされた語彙を用いる。
- 2) 「評価」の位置：最も典型的にはリードの直後に配置される。
- 3) コメントの引用：専門家や政治家などの権威者、あるいは被害者や反対者などの発言を引用する。
- 4) 価値付けを伴った発言過程：「述べる」に対し、「成果を強調した」「反発の声が上がっている」など、書き手の解釈が伴った発言過程を用いる。

これらの方策は、単独で用いられることも、組み合わせて用いられることもある。例えば、次のテキスト（図 4）は、1) から 4) のすべての方策を利用した例である。数字は、上記の方策の番号にそれぞれ対応している。

図 4：出来事の見方を提供する方策

テキスト	展開段階	核／衛星
[PHL] 診療報酬請求 [HL] 厚労省、審査に 1) 介入 [SHL] 神奈川 支払い却下、激減	見出し	核
歯科医からの診療報酬請求を審査する社会保険診療報酬支払基金の神奈川県審査委員会で、審査のあり方に厚生労働省が 1) 「介入」した結果、支払いを認めない処分件数が従来の 10 分の 1 にまで減少、請求に占める処分の割合が全国最低レベルになったことがわかった。	リード	
3) 「 <u>審査の独自性が損なわれた</u> 」と委員から 4) <u>反発の声が上</u> がっている。	2) 評価 1	衛星 1
中略	背景	衛星 2
中略	詳細	衛星 3
神奈川県基金の事務局が「事務局から見ても明らかなものは査定してほしい」と申し出るなど動揺が広がり、委員会終了後に本省の歯科医療管理官が神奈川基金で説明する騒ぎになった。	結果	衛星 4
上條英之歯科医療管理官は「リストは全国の基準を超えた神奈川独自の基準の疑いがある項目で、一律の判断をすることがないよう求めた。査定をしないよう求めたことはない」と説明している。	評価 2	衛星 5

(テキスト：朝日新聞 2009年2月17日 朝刊 29面)

([PHL]、[HL]、[SHL]の表示、番号、下線、中略は著者による)

図 4 を見るとわかるとおり、見出しで使われた「介入」という語はリードでも再び使われている（下線部 1)）。ここで出来事の価値付けに大きな力を発揮しているのは、見出しとリード（核）、評価 1（衛星 1）の各展開段階である。核は新聞報道記事の要約であり意味的中核であるがゆえに、出来事の価値付けに対しても支配的な役割を果たす。いっぽうで、評価 1 は、出来事に対し核と同じ価値付けをすることで、核を支持している。

評価の衛星を持つ新聞報道記事を分析したところ、核での価値付けを支持する評価の衛

星は核の直後に位置づけられるという大きな傾向が見られた。ここで、核と衛星の「距離」と読者に与える価値付け効果の関係を見るために、評価1（衛星1）と評価2（衛星5）の位置を入れ替えてみる（図4'参照）。

図4'：「評価」の配置を変えたテキスト

テキスト	展開段階	核/衛星
[PHL] 診療報酬請求 [HL] 厚労省、審査に1)介入 [SHL] 神奈川 支払い却下、激減	見出し	核
歯科医からの診療報酬請求を審査する社会保険診療報酬支払基金の神奈川県審査委員会で、審査のあり方を厚生労働省が1)「介入」した結果、支払いを認めない処分件数が従来の10分の1にまで減少、請求に占める処分の割合が全国最低レベルになったことがわかった。	リード	
上條英之歯科医療管理官は「リストは全国の基準を超えた神奈川独自の基準の疑いがある項目で、一律の判断をすることがないよう求めた。査定をしないよう求めたことはない」と説明している。	評価2	衛星5
中略	背景	衛星2
中略	詳細	衛星3
神奈川県基金の事務局が「事務局から見ても明らかなものは査定してほしい」と申し出るなど動揺が広がり、委員会終了後に本省の歯科医療管理官が神奈川基金で説明する騒ぎになった。	結果	衛星4
（この指導に対して）「審査の独自性が損なわれた」と委員から反発の声が上がっている。	評価1	衛星1

（番号、中略、括弧による補足は筆者による）

すると、干渉したとされる厚生労働省側の釈明が先になされ、干渉を受けたとされる神奈川県の審査委員の不満が最後に位置することになる。図4'のテキストでは、核での価値付けと同じ価値付けがなされた評価の衛星が離れてしまい、価値付けの効果が十分に発揮されていない。さらに、負の価値付けを伴った語彙である、見出しとリードの「介入」をより中立的な語彙の「指導」に変更してみる。この操作を施したテキストが次の図4''である。図4''のテキストでは、価値付けが中和されているため、評価の衛星の配置に大きな違和感はないだろう。

図4”：評価の配置と値付けされた語彙を変更したテキスト

テキスト	展開段階	核/衛星
[PHL] 診療報酬請求 [HL] 厚労省、審査に <u>指導</u> [SHL] 神奈川 支払い却下、激減	見出し	核
歯科医からの診療報酬請求を審査する社会保険診療報酬支払基金の神奈川県審査委員会で、審査のあり方を厚生労働省が <u>指導</u> した結果、支払いを認めない処分件数が従来の10分の1にまで減少、請求に占める処分の割合が全国最低レベルになったことがわかった。	リード	
上條英之歯科医療管理官は「リストは全国の基準を超えた神奈川独自の基準の疑いがある項目で、一律の判断をすることがないよう求めた。査定をしないよう求めたことはない」と説明している。	評価2	衛星5
中略	背景	衛星2
中略	詳細	衛星3
神奈川県基金の事務局が「事務局から見ても明らかなものは査定してほしい」と申し出るなど動揺が広がり、委員会終了後に本省の歯科医療管理官が神奈川基金で説明する騒ぎになった。	結果	衛星4
(この指導に対して)「審査の独自性が損なわれた」と委員から反発の声が上がっている。	評価1	衛星1

(番号、下線、中略、括弧による補足は筆者による)

以上、2段階に及ぶテキスト操作から、新聞報道記における評価の衛星の有無と位置づけには、読者に出来事の見方を提供するかどうか、提供するならばどのような見方を提供するか(価値付け(Appraisal))が動機となっていると考える。典型的には、核での価値付けを支持する評価の衛星は、その価値付けの効果が損なわれぬよう、核の直後に、衛星1として位置づけられる。

## 5. おわりに

本稿では、主に山口(2000)とWhite(1997)の研究を辿りながら、ジャンル構造に焦点を当て日本語の新聞報道記事の分析を試みた。分析の結果、日本語の新聞報道記事のジャンルを記述する方法として、White(1997)のモデルを援用した核と衛星の関係(ABCDEの関係)、見出しの構造の再構成案、任意の展開段階である「評価」が配置される動機を提

案することができた。ただし、「評価」以外の衛星をなす任意の展開段階の有無、配置のしかた、その動機については、さらなる分析を必要とする。

本稿で提案したジャンル構造をもとに、語彙-文法的資源の分析も実施し、日本語独自の新聞報道記事のありようを包括的に記述することが、今後の展望である。

## 注

\*この論文は、2008年7月にオーストラリア、マッコーリー大学で開催された第35回国際機能言語学大会（The 35th International Systemic Functional Congress）で発表された原稿を日本語にし、大幅に加筆修正を加えたものである。

### 1 次資料

- 朝日新聞 2009年2月17日 朝刊 29面  
読売新聞 2009年1月30日 朝刊 1面  
読売新聞 2009年2月18日 朝刊 2面

### 2 次資料 (参考文献)

- Halliday, M.A.K and C.M.I.M. Matthiessen (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3rd ed.). London: Arnold.
- Martin, J.R. (1992). *English Text: System and Structure*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Martin, J.R. and D. Rose (2007). *Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the Clause* (2nd ed.). New York: Continuum.
- White, P.R.R. (1997). "Death, disruption and the moral order: the narrative impulse in mass-media 'hard news' reporting". In F. Christie & J. R. Martin (eds.), *Genre and Institutions*. New York: Continuum. pp. 101-133.
- White, P.R.P. (2003). "News as history: Your daily gossip". In Martin, J. R. & Ruth Wodak (eds.), *Re/reading the past: Critical and functional perspectives on time and value*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 61-90.
- ハリデー、M.A.K. (2001) 『機能文法概説—ハリデー理論への誘い—』山口登・寛壽雄 (訳) 東京、くろしお出版
- 山口登 (2000) 「選択体系機能理論の構図—コンテキスト・システム・テキスト—」小泉保 (編) 『言語研究における機能主義—誌上討論会—』東京、くろしお出版、pp. 3-47
- 鷲嶽正道 (2006) 「新聞報道記事が伝える「事実」—説得のための語彙-文法的資源の利用をめぐる—」愛知学院大学短期大学部学術研究会 (編) 『閑花集』 pp. 173-194

## **Genre-Based Approach to Teaching Tense in English Classes: Tense in Art Book Commentaries**

**Chie Hayakawa**

**Nagoya University of Arts**

### **Abstract**

This paper examines and describes lexicogrammatical resources used in commentaries in several art books focusing on the use of tense. The art book commentary is the genre which students in art schools frequently encounter in everyday school life and need to use as a model when they write pieces of commentaries on their own works of art.

Genre theory, which aims to teach students how to use language in appropriate ways in various social contexts to achieve their goals, is a powerful tool in classrooms to teach how to select tense in particular genres, as it generalizes countless texts of the same type and provides the knowledge about the typical lexicogrammatical resources used in that genre. For example, the English Recount writing is mostly written in the past tense, Descriptions in the present tense and Instructions in non-finite clauses (Martin 1985; Martin and Plum 1997).

The art book commentary, however, is more challenging to teach than these 'simple' genres, as it constitutes a "macrogenre" (Martin 1992 and 2001; Martin and Rose 2008) which is composed of several sub-genres: Recount, Description, Biography and Explanation. Each of these genres shows its distinctive features in the selection of tense and other lexicogrammatical resources, and collectively gives a mixed and intricate grammatical pattern to the texts.

This paper seeks to develop a lexicogrammatical description of the art book commentary genre to provide an explicit model to students so that they can improve their skills to read and write the texts of this challenging genre.



## 1. Genre and Tense in Educational Context

### 1.1 Genre Theory

This paper is a part of the research which seeks to introduce the genre theory into the teaching of English in Japanese schools, especially in college and university contexts. Genre, from the Systemic Functional point of view, is defined as “a staged, goal-oriented social process” (Martin 1992: 505), and it refers to a theoretical group of countless texts produced for the same purpose. For example, the term Instruction covers all texts that aim to give people instructions to do something, such as recipes, and the Recount is the genre whose purpose is to record personal experiences in the past. Texts of the same genre share similar properties both in their overall textual structures and in their lexicogrammatical choices to achieve their goals (we will see the examples below). Genre-based education aims to teach students how to use language in appropriate ways in various social contexts to achieve these goals.

For Japanese students who learn English as a second language, genre is a very useful theoretical tool for improving their reading and writing skills, because it generalizes countless texts of the same type and teaches them typical English lexicogrammatical resources used in that genre. To demonstrate the close relationship between the text’s genre and the grammatical choices made in the text, I will briefly summarize the lexicogrammatical properties of the texts of three genres, Recount, Description and Instruction.<sup>i</sup>

A typical example of Recount writing, whose aim is to document personal experiences in the past, is shown below:

My cousin stayed with me last weekend. I was really looking forward to getting to know her again. We hadn’t seen each other in ages but we had no trouble enjoying ourselves. We didn’t do anything special. We had such a good time just hanging out together. We spent hours chatting. Talking to her was so easy. She’s two years older than I and I learned a lot just by listening to her talk about her experiences. Shopping was so much fun even though we didn’t actually buy much. We loved looking around the stores. Watching the other shoppers was just as interesting. It was great trying on clothes. Laughing at each other in clothes we would be afraid to wear brought back old memories. I remembered playing dress-up with my cousin when we were little. We never stopped giggling. On Sunday we had a hard time saying goodbye. She asked, “Would you mind staying at my place next time?” Would I mind? No! I’d love to.

I answered by giving her a big hug right then and there.

(taken from Makoto Kurata, Craig Smith, Hitoshi Yokoyama, Morishige Ishikawa, Sanae Matsuda. (2006) *New Strategies for Stronger English Skills*. Tokyo: Kinseido.)

This type of text characteristically uses specific participants (*I* and *my cousin*) and events in the past tense (*stayed, had, didn't do* and *leaned*), and arranges the events in chronological order.

Description refers to a genre which aims to describe what something is like. The example is shown below:

### **Shark and rays**

Shark and rays are fish, but unlike most other fish, they have a skeleton made of cartilage instead of bone. A cartilaginous skeleton has advantages in that it is lighter and more flexible than bones. Sharks do not have a gill cover like bony fish but instead have gill slits, and their skin covering is composed of denticles (tiny teeth) of scales [...].

(taken from *Sydney Aquarium Guide Book*. Sydney Aquarium. 2000.)

It selects general participants (*shark* and *rays*) and events in the simple present tense (*are, has* and *is composed of*) in order to describe the general state or habitual acts of a class of thing.

An example of Instructional writing is:

### **How to use**

Attach the strap to the Walkman as follows.

1. Loop the string through the strap hole of the Walkman.
2. Adjust the length of the string. Slide the cover back ①. Wind the string around the gap of the adjuster ② and stick the knot of the string inside the gap of the adjuster ③ then slide the cover closed.
3. Place the strap around your neck then fasten the safety joint.

(taken from an instruction manual for STP-NWN3. Sony Cooperation. 2006.)

It uses general participants (*the Walkman, the string* and *the strap*; note that *the Walkman* is not a specific Walkman but a class of instrument) and events in the imperative mood which are non-finite and thus have no tense (*Attach, Loop* and *Adjust*).

The generalized knowledge about these conventional lexicogrammatical choices is

helpful in classroom contexts. While these conventions are automatic or natural to native English speakers, it is not natural for most Japanese students who learn English as a second language. Genre theory aims to bring some of these conventions into focus, show what kinds of social situations produce them, and give appropriate texts that students can use as models.

## 1.2 TENSE System

As we have seen in the previous section, the choice of tense is closely related to genre: while the most typical tense in Recount writing is the past tense, the present tense is dominant in Descriptions, and Instructions mostly consist of non-finite clauses with no tense. To use the right tense in different contexts and in different types of texts is sometimes a challenging task for students, and it is necessary to give them the explicit instructions on how to use tense in a target genre. This paper will focus on tense in the English art book commentary, the texts which students in art schools are required to read in every day school life, and to use as a model when they write a piece of commentary in English on their own work.

Before discussing the use of tense in art books in detail, this section will briefly summarize how the English clause expresses different tenses. There are a number of studies, including Palmer (1987) and Kilby (1984), on forms and meanings of English verbs and verbal groups. Most of these studies differentiate tense (*i.e.* present and past) from aspect (progressive and non-progressive) and phase (perfect and non-perfect). In the theoretical framework of the Systemic Functional Theory (hereafter SFT), however, these three aspects of verbal group forms are treated synthetically under the system of TENSE (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Sec. 6.3) and this paper follows this practice.

The constituent that realizes tense in the English clause is a verbal group. The verbal group is a constitution which functions as Finite plus Predicator. Predicator is realized by a lexical verb and with auxiliary verbs, if any. Therefore, a verbal group, *have been eating*, for example, contains a finite verb *have*, an auxiliary verb *been* and a lexical verb *eating*. The tense shown by the Finite element (which is fused with Predicator if the verbal group consists of only one verb) is the primary tense, and the one shown by the auxiliary verb is the secondary tense. The realization of primary and secondary tenses is summarized as Table 4.

**Table 4: Realization of Primary and Secondary Tenses**

	primary	secondary
--	---------	-----------

past	V-ed (simple past tense)	have + V-en
present	V-s (simple present tense)	be + V-ing
future	will + V (infinitive)	be going to + V (infinitive)

(adapted from Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 338)

Thus the tense in the verbal group, *have been eating*, is present in past in present as shown in Figure 1 (note that the name of tense works backwards beginning with the deepest tense  $\gamma$ ).

**Fig.1: Example of an Analysis of Tense in a Verbal Group**

<i>have</i>		<i>been</i>		<i>eating</i>	
(present)	have + V-en	be + V-ing	(eat)		
$\alpha$ : present	$\beta$ : past	$\gamma$ : present			

Mastering the use of English tense is difficult for Japanese students for several reasons. First, verbs of different process types have their own unmarked tenses (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Sec. 5.3.3.4). Unmarked choice for material process verbs such as *eat* is present in present as in *I'm eating breakfast*. The present form *I eat breakfast* has the special meaning and should be read with the sense of habitual action. Mental verbs such as *like*, however, select the present form as the unmarked form, and the present in present form like *I'm liking it* is quite restricted in its use (such a clause can be used only in the contrasting context. The example Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 346) give is *I don't really like Grand Opera. But I'm liking this performance quite a lot.*)

Secondary, literal translation often fails to work for the selection of tense. For example, it is quite natural for the Japanese art book commentary to say as Figure 2.

**Fig 2: Analysis of a Typical Japanese Sentence in the Art Book**

この絵は kono e wa this picture WA	画家自身を gaka jishin o artist himself O	表している arawashi-te iru represent-ASP
Identified/Token	Identifier/Value	Relational: expanding: identifying
This picture represents the artist himself.		

\*WA: nominal marker      \*O: nominal marker (Participant; accusative)      \*ASP: aspect

Students are often told in schools to translate *-te iru* form of Japanese into the present in present form of English (i.e. *be V-ing*), which is true with most material clauses where *kare wa hashi-tte iru* is translated as *he is running*. Like this example shows, when *-te*

*iru* form is used with action verbs such as *hashiru* (run) and *ugoku* (move), it often means that the action is in progress now. *-Te iru* form of Japanese, however, has another meaning, state, especially when it is used with relational and some material processes, in particular, processes of behaviour.<sup>ii</sup> For example, *saifu ga ochi-te iru* (which literally means *a wallet is dropping*) does not mean *saifu* is in the action of dropping. It means that *saifu* lies still on the ground as the result of dropping. Similarly with the relational process, the form *arawashi-te iru* means state, and its English translation should be the present tense *represent* (remember that the unmarked tense of the English relational process is the present), not the present in present *is representing*. Most students do not know such difference between the two kinds of meaning of *-te iru* form, literally translate it as present in present form in English, and often end up with sentences like *This work is showing my friend* or *This color is symbolizing my feeling* when they try to write commentaries on their own works of art.

Another factor which makes teaching of tense challenging is, especially with the art book, the tense form of a verb sometimes differs from the 'real' time when the action takes place. Art books often include sentences like *Sisley here makes use of the complementary color pair of red and green* or *In this clever fashion, Sisley succeeds in integrating the beholder into the picture*. Why are the verbs, *makes* and *succeeds*, are in the present tense, even though it was obviously in the past when Sisley worked on his painting (in fact, the artist died more than a hundred years ago)?

These problems with tense, that is, the interconnection between the process type and unmarked tense, inefficiency of literal translation, and inconsistency between the tense and the actual time, create a need for an explicit theory for students that fully investigates the tense use in the art book commentary, and the following sections try to provide one.

## 2. Tense in Art Books

As we have seen in Section 1.1, knowing the close relationship between genre and tense is a powerful tool for students both in reading and writing English as long as their target genres are the "simple" ones such as Instructions, Descriptions and Recounts we have seen above. The pattern of tense in real texts, however, is not always so straightforward. The target genre of this paper, the commentary in English art books, for example, shows more complicated patterns in the use of tense and poses a challenge for students as well as for teachers who try to explicitly describe and explain which tense is used where, how

and why.

To give a comprehensive picture on the pattern of tense in art book commentaries, this paper analyzes 199 clauses taken from the following two art books:

- Karin H. Grimme. (2007) *Impressionism*. Köln: Taschen. (hereafter *Impressionism*.)
- Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. (1995) *Vermeer and the Art of Painting*. New Haven / London: Yale University Press. (hereafter *Vermeer*.)

Table 5 summarizes the pattern of tense choices in the corpus consisting of passages taken from these art books.

**Table 5: Tenses in Art Book Commentaries**

finite						non-finite		total
present	present in present	past in present	past	present in past	past in past	in-perfective	perfective	
110 (55.3%)	2 (1.0%)	13 (6.5%)	47 (23.6%)	1 (0.5%)	2 (1.0%)	20 (10.1%)	4 (2.0%)	199 (100%)
175 (87.9%)						24 (12.1%)		

Table 5 clearly shows that the art book commentary is not a genre consisting of a single tense, but is a combination of a number of different tenses. While the present tense (such as *is*, *are*, *show* and *consists of*) is dominant (which accounts for more than half the clauses of the corpus), past (*was*, *drew* and *painted*) and past in present (*has been* and *have completed*) are also used as well as more complicated tenses including present in past (*was offering*) and past in past (*had been executed*) though their appearances are rare.

What makes learning the tense patterns in this genre even more difficult is the fact that the passages tend to keep shifting from one tense to another in the short term. Consider Example 1 below (double slashes indicate clause boundaries and verbal groups are underlined):

- (1) *Boats on the Seine* is one of a group of related motifs // to which Renoir devoted himself in Chatou on the Seine in 1879/80. // Compositionally, the picture is similar to Monet's *The Bridge at Argenteuil*, // which had been executed five years earlier. // Both artists placed a bridge on the right-hand side of the picture, // in both cases with a train passing over it, against the background of a river-bank with a house. // But

while Monet depicted a specific place, // Renoir was concerned with the general depiction of a Sunday atmosphere: // two elegant young ladies are having themselves boated down the Seine on a bright Sunday. // Renoir structured the brilliant “mosaic” of the water // using a number of different painting techniques. // The rapid application of liquid paint on a wet surface alternates with more viscous, almost dry paint on a dry surface.

(from *Impressionism*. p70)

Tense keeps changing from present (*is*) to past (*devoted, placed, and depicted*) and to present again (*alternates*) interrupted by the past in past (*had been executed*), non-finite imperfective (*passing and using*) and present in present (*are having*) clauses.

The factors which bring such a complicated pattern in tense selection seem to be two holds: one is that the commentary in art books is not a single genre, but what Martin (1992 and 2001) and Martin and Rose (2008) call “macrogenre” which consists of two or more sub-genres; the other is that even within a single sub-genre, each clause chooses a specific tense depending on the process type and participants of the clause. I will pursue these two factors more fully in the following sections, and by doing so, develop a linguistic description of the art book commentary focusing on the use of tense.

### 3. The Art Book as a Macrogenre

This section focuses on the first characteristic of the art book commentary I have proposed, that is, its macrogeneric property. The term macrogenre refers to “relations between short genres that go to make up larger texts” (Martin and Rose 2008: 218). The longer a text becomes and the more complicated its purpose becomes, the more the text needs to incorporate more than one genre to achieve its goal. For example, a geography text Martin and Rose analyzed in their book constitutes a macrogenre composed of five sub-genres: Report, Explanation, Procedure, Procedural Recount and Exposition, so that “this pedagogic text frames relations between technical activities, social issues and personal actions” (Martin and Rose 2008: 225). This function is achieved only by linking different genres in an intricate logical series.

The art book commentary also seems to be a macrogenre which consists of the following four sub-genres:

- **Description:** Descriptions are the “texts which focus on particular individuals and specify some of their characteristics” (Martin 1985: 7). In art books, Descriptions are often made to describe a particular work of art specifying its composition, use of colour, techniques and motif.

- Recount: Recounts “deal with a sequence of events that are presented by the teller as unfolding unproblematically [...] in a Record of Events” (Martin and Plum 1997: 301). In art books, Recounts usually deal with the history of a work of art, that is, when and how the work was executed, how critics of the past valued it, and what kind of critiques were done of it.
- Exposition: In Exposition writing, “more than one argument is presented in favour of a judgment” (Martin 1985: 14). We will refer to the judgment in Exposition as thesis, and to the reasons supporting it as arguments. These arguments explain “why a thesis has been proposed” (Martin 1985: 15). In the art book, a thesis is usually concerned with what the commentator think is the main theme of a work of art, why the work carries so much influence on people, and so on. Arguments are then made to give reasons why the thesis can be justified.
- Biography: Biography is a Recount focusing of a history of someone or something. In science textbooks, for example, “Biography is used to review the history of science. It may focus on the work of one individual; or it may cover the work of several scientists building on each other’s work in a particular line of inquiry” (Halliday and Martin 1993: 196). In the art book, Biography is used to document the life-history of one or a group of artists.

These four genres are linked in intricate logical relations and together make up a comprehensive picture on a particular work of art.

These genres have their own tendency in the selection of tense, and thus, in part, cause the mixed tense patterns in art books. Description, for example, favors the present tense because present is the tense which means “any period of time that includes the present moment. It includes, therefore, ‘all time’” (Palmer 1987: 39). Therefore, the present tense serves to describe the properties of a work of art which do not change in time. Example 2 is a piece of Descriptive writing in an art book (verbal groups are underlined):

- (2) *The Path to the Old Ferry* is another of Sisley’s landscapes in which the depiction of water is central [...]. As his composition line, Sisley once again uses a path, which here runs inwards from the bottom left-hand corner and creates the necessary depth. At the same time, the artist directs the eye of the beholder to the rectangular red patch in the centre of the picture, which is on the opposite riverbank.

(from *Impressionism*. p88)

Biographies and Recounts are often written in the past tense, as it refers to the past time which “excludes the present moment” (Palmer 1987: 39), and is suitable to



document events which took place in the past. An example of Biography is shown below as Example 3 (which tells the life-history of Renoir):

- (3) Renoir had as a young man been apprenticed as a porcelain painter, and was consequently highly familiar with the use of soft round brushes and applications of transparent paint. He then moved on to painting fans, on to which, for example, he copied the early-18th-century motif of *The Embarkation for Cythera* by Antoine Watteau. Then he accepted a number of commissions to decorate Parisian cafés.

(from *Impressionism*. p70)

Exposition writing is in the present and past tenses, as it uses both the unchanging general facts (shown in the present tense) and historical facts (written in the past tense) to support the Thesis. The author links these facts through a number of logico-semantic relations (see the use of *Yet*, *Although*, and *For one thing* in the example below) to argue for the proposed thesis. Example 4 is a piece of Expository writing which gives a number of Arguments to support the author’s Thesis which claims that Vermeer’s works are not realistic and that they should be appreciated out of the real situations in which they were executed:

- (4) Official art theory and criticism of the seventeenth century, and earlier, tended to see realism as an inappropriate means of rendering literary and allegorical subject matter. Yet Vermeer and numerous other Dutch artists of the period clearly showed the fallacy of this academic point of view. [...] Although it embodies certain of Vermeer’s ideas about the art of painting, this canvas hardly represents either the artist himself or his working methods. For one thing, the costume the painter wears here is distinctly old-fashioned and what might be termed “Burgundian.”

(from *Vermeer*. p77)

In sum, one reason why the art book commentary shows mixed tense patterns is that it forms “macrogenre” writing composed of genres of different tenses. Table 6 illustrates the macrogeneric property of a text from an art book which begins as Description, then changes into Biography and ends as Exposition.

**Table 6: Macro-generic Structure of a Piece of Art Book Commentary**

Description (present tense)	Corot’s painting <u>shows</u> a fellow-artist working on the water.
Biography (past tense)	Claude Monet, and the Post-impressionist Paul Signac, <u>were</u> later also <u>to paint</u> in boats. Édouard Manet, who can only be assigned to the Impressionist circle for a short time, <u>watched</u> Monet doing so.
Thesis	<i>Monet Painting on his Studio Boat</i> <u>is</u> one of Manet’s most strongly “Impressionist” paintings.

	Argu- ments	Manet <u>asserted</u> that “the light <u>appeared</u> to him in such unity that a single shade of colour <u>was</u> enough to depict it, and it <u>was</u> better, even if it <u>might come</u> across as coarse, to move abruptly from light to shade that to pile up things that the eye <u>does not see</u> and that not only <u>dulls</u> the power of the eye but also <u>weakens</u> the colouring of the shadows—which <u>are</u> precisely what ought to be emphasized.” It <u>was</u> precisely in discussions about light and shade that Manet, who <u>stressed</u> the contrast, <u>set</u> himself off clearly from the Impressionists.
--	----------------	---

(from *Impressionism*. p13)

The other reason why art books use a range of different tenses is that some of these sub-genres themselves show mixed tense patterns, particularly in the selection between present and past. Distinctions between the present and past tenses in art books tend not to reflect the difference in the times that the actions take place. This poses one of the biggest problems for students in mastering the use of tense in art books. To pursue this problem further, I will devote one section in the latter part of this paper to one of these sub-genres, and analyze in detail the tense patterns found there. The analysis will involve the discussion of the systems of PROCESS TYPES and PARTICIPANTS as well as the system of TENSE, as the choice of tense is closely related to these systems.

#### 4. Analysis

##### 4.1 Recount

Recount is probably the most unproblematic genre to teach. Its tense pattern is foreseeable given the purpose of the genre: to chronologically document the events that happened to a particular work of art. Most clauses belonging to this genre select a thing, that is, the work itself or some reference to it as Token (in case of relational clauses) or Sayer (in case of verbal clauses) and past as their tense. See Example 5.

- (5) This charming picture, [[which was once in the collection of Thoré-Bürge]], was probably the one described at the 1696 sale as “a young woman adorning herself, very beautiful.”

(from *Vermeer*. p53)

The present tense and the past in present tense (i.e. present perfective), however, sometimes appear (see *have been linked* and *mentions* in Example 6) when the Sayer or Token of the clause is some reference to the work. These tenses serve to mean that the content of the reference still holds true today, because “present time must be understood to mean any period of time that includes the present moment. It includes, therefore, ‘all

time” (Palmer 1987: 39), and that “the perfect forms indicate periods of time that specifically began before and continued up to (possibly overlapping) a point of time, the present moment in the case of the present tense, and a point of time in the past in the case of the past tense” (Palmer 1987: 37).

- (6) Two seventeenth-century references, one even during Vermeer’s lifetime, have been linked with this simple but subtle painting. The earliest, however, from 1664, mentions only “a head by Vermeer,” a description vague enough [[to fit four known pictures]]. The work [[which was described simply as “a head in antique costume” in the important Vermeer sale of 1696—|and which brought 36 guilders—]] could only refer to two known works, [[especially given the relatively high price for a quite simple composition]]: this canvas and a similar one formerly in the Wrightsman collection and now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

(from *Vermeer*. p69)

## 4.2 Biography

Biography is another unproblematic genre in that it shows regularity in its lexicogrammatical patterns: Subjects (generally, Actor in case of material clauses, Token in relational clauses and Senser in mental clauses) are almost always the artists in topic, and verbs are in the past tense (See Examples 7 and 8). This pattern is in accordance with the purpose of the genre: to chronologically document the life history of a particular artist. Secondary tense is sometimes selected, when “the way in which each choice of tense, whether past, present or future, defines a location in time which is then used as the point of departure for a further choice among the same three tenses” (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 345). The past in past tense in Example 8 (*had been*) shows that the action of being apprenticed as a porcelain painter was construed as a justifying background to a point that is going to be made later: that Renoir’s works were full of decorative aspect.

- (7) Claude Monet, and the Post-impressionist Paul Signac, were later also to paint in boats. Édouard Manet, [[who can only be assigned to the Impressionist circle for a short time,]] watched Monet doing so.

(from *Impressionism*. p13)

- (8) Renoir had as a young man been apprenticed as a porcelain painter, and was consequently highly familiar with the use of soft round brushes and applications of transparent paint. He then moved on to painting fans, on to which, for example, he copied the early-18<sup>th</sup>-century motif of *The Embarkation for Cythera* by Antoine Watteau. Then he accepted a number of commissions to decorate Parisian cafés.

(from *Impressionism*. p70)

### 4.3 Description

Lexicogrammatical patterns become more complicated as we move on to the next genre, Description, where we face mixed tense patterns. The purpose of this genre is to describe things or people represented in a work of art or the work itself including its composition, use of colour, technique and motif.

Descriptive parts in my corpus consist of 61 clauses, out of which 36 clauses are in the present tense, 11 past, 10 non-finite, two present in present, one past in past and one past in present. These figures indicate that, although the present is the dominant tense, this genre utilizes a range of different tenses. I will take one of these tenses in turn and investigate its meaning in Descriptive writing.

Clauses almost always select relational process (*is*, *alternates*, *consist of*, and *demonstrate*) when Token is a thing, that is, the picture itself, parts of the picture, represented things or people, technique, color, or painting materials, while they appear with mental verbs (*see*, *find* and *anticipate*) when observers of the painting, *We* or *the beholder*, act as Sensor. All the clauses with these two grammatical patterns are in the present tense as they describe the properties of a particular painting we can observe now. See Example 9.

- (9) Compositionally, the picture is similar to Monet's *The Bridge at Argenteuil*, The rapid application of liquid paint on a wet surface alternates with more viscous, almost dry paint on a dry surface. At the point [[where the boat intersects with the surface of the water]], we see little white specks of foam. They consist of dabs of thick paint [[loosely applied to the canvas]]. Seemingly random structures like these demonstrate the specific technique of Impressionism.

(from *Impressionism*. p70)

Note that the problem of inefficiency of literal translation we have seen in Section 1.2 arises here, as the Japanese counterparts of most of these clauses would be in *-te iru* form such as *rikiddo peinthingu to dorai peinthingu ga kougo ni tsukaware-te iru* (which literally means *liquid painting is alternating with dry painting*) and *bouto ga mizu no hyoumen ni sesshi-te iru* (*the boat is intersecting with the surface of the water*). These clauses, however, express state, not progression, and in English they always appear in the present not in the present in present tense.

The present in present tense (or present progressive), however, is sometimes found in English Descriptions. This tense has relatively restricted appearance, and can only be found with material clauses describing a 'scene' depicted in a picture, that is, the on-going action of people represented in the work of art. Consider Examples 10 and 11.

(10) two elegant young ladies are having themselves boated down the Seine on a bright Sunday.

(from *Impressionism*. p70)

(11) the woman is still pulling tight the ribbon around her neck

(from *Vermeer*. p53)

Such use of the present in present tense is limited to material processes with represented people as Actors.

The tense selection poses a bigger challenge for students when artists serve as Actors. See Example 12.

(12) As his composition line, Sisley once again uses a path, which here runs inwards from the bottom left-hand corner and creates the necessary depth. At the same time, the artist directs the eye of the beholder to the rectangular red patch in the centre of the picture, which is on the opposite riverbank. This red patch in the midst of green surroundings is particularly striking, as Sisley here makes use of the complementary color pair of red and green [...]. In this clever fashion, Sisley succeeds in integrating the beholder into the picture, and above all into the movement.

(from *Impressionism*. p88)

Here, we face an inconsistency between the tense of verbs and the actual time when the actions happened. All the clauses with Sisley as Actor are in the present tense (*uses*, *directs*, *makes* and *succeeds*), but, in reality, these actions took place in the past, as the time the artist worked on the painting is definitely in the past. The present tense in Example 12 seems to mean what Kilby (1984: 23) calls “the historic present” which “appears to occur in contexts where vividness, or immediacy is desired.” Such use of the present tense is so common that he even proposes that the distinction between past and present forms in English does not indicate time difference, but the existence of vividness or remoteness (Kilby 1984: 24). The present tense in Example 12 constructs the artist’s acts of using, directing, making and succeeding as something [+ vivid] and [– remote], in that we can vividly observe the results of the artist’s actions on the painting.

In fact, in the art book context, there is very little difference between the present and past tenses when verbs are used to describe the artist’s actions to the painting whose results we can observe now. Example 13 is another Descriptive piece of writing which is similar in its function to Example 12, in that it aims to describe the composition of a painting and how artists arranged things in their works. Verbs in Example 13, however, are in the past tense.

(13) Compositionally, the picture is similar to Monet’s *The Bridge at Argenteuil*, which

had been executed five years earlier. Both artists placed a bridge on the right-hand side of the picture, in both cases with a train passing over it, against the background of a river-bank with a house. But while Monet depicted a specific place, Renoir was concerned with the general depiction of a Sunday atmosphere: two elegant young ladies are having themselves boated down the Seine on a bright Sunday. Renoir structured the brilliant “mosaic” of the water using a number of different painting techniques.

(from *Impressionism*. p70)

It is difficult to see the obvious meaning difference between Examples 12 and 13, and the only difference seems to be if the commentator tries to construct the acts of artists more vividly or not. From these examples, we can see that the present and past tenses have very little difference in their meanings when used in Descriptions with artists as Actors.

#### 4.4 Exposition

Exposition is another genre where we find mixed tense patterns. The purpose of Expository writing is to present one or more Thesis and to list a number of Arguments to support the Thesis. These Arguments fall into four main types: 1) the observable properties of a work of art, 2) the unchangeable or general facts, 3) statements by the artist or some critiques in the past, and 4) historical facts (that is, events in the past).

Two main tenses used in this genre are present (72 clauses out of 106 finite clauses) and past (23 clauses), and the present tense is used to construct 1) and 2) types of Arguments while the past tense is used for 3) and 4).

Let us look at the past tense clauses first. One of the reasons the past tense is often used in Expositions is that the commentator quotes artists' or critics' statements as evidences for his argumentation. Projecting clauses are in the past tense as these statements were made in the past. If the projected clauses are “idea,” they often appear in the past tense because of the sequence of tenses, and if they are “locution,” they often appear in the present tense as the projected clauses quote the Sayer's statements.<sup>iii</sup> Example 14 quotes the statement of Pissarro as an “idea” to support the proposed thesis which claims that any of the Impressionist pictures reflect the joint work of different artists.

(14) Pissarro himself thought that it was wrong to think that artists were the sole inventors of their style and they lacked originality when they resembled others.

(from *Impressionism*. p8)

Other examples of projecting clauses include *Sisley thought*; *Sisley felt*; and *Sisley*

*himself wrote.*

The past tense is also used when citing “historical facts,” that is, events that happened in the past, as parts of Arguments to the Thesis. Consider Examples 15 and 16.

(15) (it should be recalled that) Vermeer’s older contemporary, Rembrandt, painted single figures and heads in exotic costume all during his life.

(from *Vermeer*. p69)

(16) Yet Vermeer and numerous other Dutch artists of the period clearly showed the fallacy of this academic point of view.

(from *Vermeer*. p77)

Some of the events, however, are constructed with the past in present tense even though they happened in the past. See Examples 17-19 below.

(17) Vermeer has in no way stressed the ongoing motion, the progress in time, but has given us a perfectly balanced moment which seems to eternalize the act rather than capture it.

(from *Vermeer*. p53)

(18) X-rays of this canvas have provided surprising information about Vermeer’s working methods.

(from *Vermeer*. p69)

(19) Indeed, one modern critic has suggested

(from *Vermeer*. p69)

What is the difference between the past tense (Examples 15 and 16) and the past in present tense (Examples 17-19)? Palmer (1987) gives a useful definition on the meanings of these tenses:

The present non-perfect refers to a period of time in the present, a vague period that includes both past and future time but overlaps that present moment. The past non-perfect refers to a similar time in the past, which may overlap an indicated point of time in the past; it does not extend to the present. The perfect forms indicate periods of time that specifically began before and continued up to (possibly overlapping) a point of time, the present moment in the case of the present tense, and a point of time in the past in the case of the past tense (p37).

When the past in present tense (or present perfective) is used with action verbs such as *stress*, *provide* and *suggest* in Examples 17-19, however, “activity does not continue throughout the relevant period of time” (Palmer 1987: 47), and it just means that “the

action is relevant to something observable at the present” (Palmer 1987: 48). Kilby (1984: 26-27) uses the term “current relevance” to capture such properties of the perfect, or past in present, form. What these two studies seem to mean is that, though Examples 15-16 and 17-19 are similar in that they both use events in the past as parts of Arguments to the Thesis, the past in present tense replaces the past tense when the action of the verb is considered to have more current relevance. In case of Example 18, for instance, though the action of providing surprising information took place in the past, it is constructed with the past in present tense, not in the simple past tense, because the information the X-rays provided is something relevant to the plausibility of the proposed Thesis that the commentator wants to argue now.

I will move on to the other dominant tense in Expositions: present. The present tense is often used to describe the observable properties of a work of art (e.g. *For one thing, the costume [[the painter wears here]] is distinctly old-fashioned...*) and the unchangeable or general facts (e.g. *The artist's impression is the life-giving factor*). But more importantly, a great number of the present tense verbs appear with expressions of modality (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Section 4.5.2), because some of the Arguments the commentator uses are not the facts but just his suppositions. Modality expressions include auxiliary verbs like *may* in Example 20.

(20) The activities of the Dutch East India Company may also lurk somehow behind this picture [...].

(from *Vermeer*. p.69)

Other examples are:

(21) that the sharply contrasting patterns of light and dark may be Vermeer's direct transcription of the incidence of light [[as viewed through his camera obscura]].

(22) Besides, they can be better identified with a pair of pictures [[sold in the same auction]].

(23) Though the artist must remain master of his craft,

(24) the surface, [E], should transmit to the beholder the sensation [[which possessed the artist]].”

Modality can also be expressed by adverbs that function as Modal Adjuncts like *certainly* and *often* in Examples 25 and 26.

(25) Optically and coloristically, this canvas is certainly one of the artist's most subtle and beautiful explorations of the physical world.


(from *Vermeer*. p53)

(26) The pearl symbolism is often ambiguous,



(from *Vermeer*. p53)

The Expository writing has another distinctive feature in the selection of verbs. It is a dynamic genre where the commentator explains how the Thesis can be justifiable. To do this, it is necessary to arrange several events into sequences of actions logically connected to each other. Grammar tends to realize them as clause complexes where each clause is logically and semantically connected to others. The grammar, however, has other options to realize these logico-semantic relations. For instance, the following list illustrates the lexicogrammatical resources to realize the relation of ‘reason’. The resources are ordered according to the “the drift towards ‘thingness’” proposed by Halliday (1998: 211):

- 
- (i) As cohesion between clause complexes: *She worked too hard. So she got ill.*
  - (ii) As interdependency between clauses in a clause complex: *She got ill because she worked too hard.*
  - (iii) As Circumstance (a prepositional phrase) in a clause: *She got ill because of overwork.*
  - (iv) As Process (a verbal group) in a clause: *Overwork caused her illness.*
  - (v) As Participant (a nominal group) in a clause: *The result of her overwork was her illness.*

“The drift towards ‘thingness’” is the term Halliday uses to express the general drift in the choice for realizing phenomena which moves from the most congruent one with a clause complex to the most metaphorical one with a noun. In the above examples, (i) realizes the causal relation between processes by the most congruent form, that is, as a conjunctive between two clause complexes, *So*. Gradually, the realization moves towards the metaphorical end. Processes, which are congruently realized by clauses (e.g. *She worked too hard*), come to be realized as Participants (e.g. *overwork*), and the relations between processes, which are congruently realized by conjunctive elements (e.g. *So / because*), come to be realized by Processes which connect the processes now realized as Participants (e.g. *caused*). Example (v) illustrates the terminal point of the drift where the causal relation itself is realized as a Participant (*result*). The modern English discourse, especially academic discourse, favors the options near the metaphorical end, that is, expressions like (iv) and (v) (Halliday 1993: 64-67).

Another important point to make about logical relations is the distinction between

two types of relations. Some of logical relations are more rhetorical, and others more experiential. Martin (1992: Chapter 4) distinguishes these two types of relations by using the terms, *internal* and *external* relations. External relations are those oriented to what is going on outside of a text, and internal relations are those constructed by the speaker or author reflecting the organization of the text itself. For instance, *because* in *She went back home early because she had an appointment* realizes an external relation reflecting the cause in the outer world of her returning home early. *Because* in *She must have gone back home, because the lights are off in her office*, on the other hand, realizes an internal relation, where the speaker is making an inference basing on the observed fact.

In Expository writing in art book commentaries, internal relations are important in the steps where the commentator constructs his argumentation supported by the facts he gathered. Example 27 is a typical example which exploits a verb to realize an internal causal relation.

- (27) The unusually direct contact between sitter and spectator, and the slightly parted position of the lips, presents a sense of immediacy so great as to imply strongly some specific act of identity—such as a sybil [[uttering her prophecy]] or some biblical personage.

(from *Vermeer*. p69)

What really happens here is the process of making inference where the commentator thinks that the picture is giving a sense of immediacy because he sees that the sitter and spectator are in direct contact and that the lips (of the sitter) are slightly parted. The relational process verb *presents* implies the internal relation the commentator constructed between his observations and his conclusion. Most of these types of causal verbs appear in the present tense as they substitute for the logical relations the commentator constructs now basing on his observations. As a result, these internal logics are constructed as if they are irrefutable facts (notice that unchangeable or general facts are given in the present tense as the tense refers to any period of time that includes ‘all time’. See Section 3 of this paper). Such substitutive use of relational or material process verbs for internal reasoning is one of the characteristic features of Expositions in art books. Other examples are as follows:

- (28) Many of the Impressionist pictures reflect the joint work of different artists.  
 (29) The cosmetic box and powder brush suggest that cosmetics as well as jewelry are to be considered as worldly vanities and thus are part of this subtle warning against seduction by the physical delights of this world  
 (30) and that similar small heads with unusual headgear by Carel Fabritius indicate [[that

he may have carried this tradition to Delft.]]

- (31) Such an unusual—even astonishing—procedure may once more provide evidence in support of Vermeer’s use of the camera obscura.
- (32) In most seventeenth-century pictures the underpainting reveals adjustments and corrections of edges, shapes, and forms.

Examples in this section have shown that causal relations, especially internal ones, are important resources for arranging events into sequences of events leading to certain conclusions, and for explaining how the proposed Thesis can be justified from the commentator’s point of view.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper has analyzed and described commentaries in several art books focusing on the use of tense. The analysis demonstrated that the art book commentary is not a single genre, but a macrogenre which is composed of four different genres each of which shows its own patterns in its grammatical choices:

- Recount deals with the history of a work of art, that is, when and how the work was executed, how critics of the past valued it, and what kind of critiques were done of it. This genre is mostly written in the past tense with several present or past in present clauses which appear when a Sayer is the reference to the work.
- Biography is used to document the life-history of one or a group of artists. The past tense is dominant in this genre, and secondary tense is sometimes used when the first past tense defines a location in time which gives the point of departure for the secondary past tense.
- Description describes a particular work of art specifying its composition, use of colour, techniques and motif. This genre shows a mixed tense pattern with the present, present in present and past. The present tense is the most natural, or default, choice, and the present in present only appear with material clauses to describe a scene depicted in the work of art. The past tense appears when the Actor of the action is an artist, and in this grammatical pattern, clauses have very little difference in their meaning from clauses in the present tense.
- Exposition presents one or more Arguments to support a Thesis which is usually concerned with what the commentator think is the main theme of a work of art, why the work carries so much influence on people, and so on. This genre, again, shows a mixed tense pattern and shifts from the past tense which talks about the historical facts to the present tense which presents the general facts or observable properties

of a work of art. A great percentage of verbs in this genre metaphorically represent causal connections between nominalized events to present the author's internal logics as objective facts, which are constructed as unchangeable facts by the use of the present tense.

This paper demonstrated that some texts in real use, including the art book commentary, have macrogeneric property which leads to intricate lexicogrammatical patterns, and thus require an explicit explanation for students for the improvement of their reading and writing skills.

### References

- Halliday, M.A.K. (1993) On the language of physical science. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds.) *Writing Science: Literacy and Discursive Power* 54-68. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1998) Things and relations: regrammaticising experience as technical knowledge. In J.R. Martin and Robert Veel (eds.) *Reading Science: Critical and Functional Perspectives on Discourses of Science* 185-235. London / New York: Routledge.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen. (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and J.R. Martin. (1993) *Writing Science: Literacy and Discursive Power*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Kilby, David (1984) *Descriptive Syntax and the English Verb*. Sydney: Croom Helm.
- Martin, J.R. (1985) *Factual Writing: Exploring and Challenging Social Reality*. Victoria: Deakin University.
- Martin, J.R. (1992) *English Text: System and Structure*. Philadelphia / Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Martin, J.R. (2001) From little things big things grow: ecogenesis in school geography. In R. Coe, L. Lingard & T. Teslenko (eds.) *The Rhetoric and Ideology of Genre: Strategies for Stability and Change* 243-71. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Martin, J.R. and G.A. Plum (1997) Construing Experience: Some Story Genres. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*. Vol.7 (1997): 299-308.
- Martin, J.R. and David Rose (2008) *Genre Relations: Mapping Culture*. London /

Oakville: Equinox. (Equinox Textbook and Surveys in Linguistics)

Matthiessen, Christian. (1995) *Lexicogrammatical Cartography: English Systems*.

Tokyo: International Language Science Publishers.

Palmer, F.R. (1987) *The English Verb*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Longman.

Teruya, Kazuhiro. (2007) *A Systemic Functional Grammar of Japanese*. London / New York: Continuum.

---

<sup>i</sup> For more detailed description, see Martin (1985) and Martin and Plum (1997). Martin (1985) focuses on factual genres and Martin and Plum (1997) deal with some narrative genres, and they both give detailed descriptions on the schematic structures and lexicogrammatical choices of the texts of these and other genres.

<sup>ii</sup> Teruya (2007: 279) deals with this *-te iru* form with behavioural verbs as the process type 'existence-plus' and explains that "in this type, the process [...] represents the continuation of a resultative state that occurs to the Existent."

<sup>iii</sup> For the distinction between idea and locution, see Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: Sec. 7.5).

## **Interpersonal strategies of ENGAGEMENT in Public Speaking: A case study of Japanese and Australian students' speech scripts**

**Keiko Ozawa**

**Hanawa Technical High School, Fukushima**

### **Abstract**

This study aims at exploring the interpersonal strategies evident in two speech scripts: one is by a Japanese secondary school student and the other is by an Australian primary school student. Both participated in public speaking competitions in their respective countries. To explore the interpersonal strategies in their speeches, the APPRAISAL<sup>1</sup> theory (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2007) has been useful as a theoretical framework, which provides the tools to probe how students respond to the interpersonal demands in making a speech of this type. The study especially explores the ENGAGEMENT resources within the framework (Martin & White, 2005). The ENGAGEMENT system provides speakers with the means to 'adjust and negotiate the arguability of their propositions and proposals', and is one of the appropriate tools for analyzing interpersonal strategies to persuade the audience by their speeches (White, 2002)<sup>2</sup>. The study provides a case study to discuss the variations of ENGAGEMENT resources for interpersonal strategies which refer to how speakers take other voices into consideration in presenting one's own authorial voice to the audience (White, 2002). An appreciation of the interpersonal meanings and an understanding of how they function in public speaking will have important implications in the modelling of ENGAGEMENT system in texts in the teaching of public speaking in EFL classrooms.

### **1. Introduction**

Public speaking is the process of addressing an audience effectively (Morreale & Boveé, 1998). While it is highly valued in schools in western-based education, it is not very common to learn public speaking in English classes in Japan. However, there are many public speaking competitions held as part of extracurricular activities, such as the 'English Speech Contests' and these have provided valuable opportunities for many students to express themselves in English in public. Public speaking competitions are good educational activities that help students to express themselves effectively to a group of people.

Adolescence is a time when students come to grips with the subtleties of expressing their feelings and opinions, of moderating their views, and agreeing to other perspectives (Derewianka,

2007). Although many studies have been conducted on students' writing, focused on the students' ability to construct a coherent text, the ability to use language to do the interpersonal work of managing social relationships and establishing an authorial identity in their speeches has not been focused on very much (Derewianka, 2007). Those interpersonal resources are not explicitly taught. This is true of the training of public speaking in Japan as well.

To explore interpersonal resources in speech, APPRAISAL theory (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2007) is used as theoretical framework. APPRAISAL theory examines the resources by which speakers evaluate phenomena and acknowledge other positions to the audience to build a relationship between speakers and listeners (Martin & White, 2005). One of the important functions used by speakers is to adjust the arguability of their propositions by reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering or affirming (White, 2002). These acts are part of the subclass of the APPRAISAL system, that is, the ENGAGEMENT system. This system is explored in this paper. ENGAGEMENT resources are used for the effective negotiation of interaction between speakers and listeners to create a contrastive stance in argumentation (Martin & White, 2005).

### **1.1 Public Speaking Competition and 'English Speech Contest'**

Two speeches presented here were given at different public speaking competitions for which an Australian student and a Japanese student wrote the scripts. One is 'Multicultural Perspectives Public Speaking Competition (hereafter MPPSC)' in NSW, Australia, which aims at heightening awareness of multicultural issues among primary school students while developing their interest and skills in public speaking (DET, 2007). The other competition is an English Speech Contest in Fukushima, Japan. The contest generally aims at developing students' skills to express their ideas on any issue in English as well as enhancing the motivation toward learning English and fostering a global view (Zen'eiren, 2007).

### **1.2 Judging criteria for speeches**

MPPSC judges speeches on the originality and depth of their material, and how effectively a speech is presented to an audience (DET, 2007). On the other hand, the English speech contest, in the Japanese EFL context, judges not only this criterion but also English pronunciation or intonation in speeches and the delivery by the speakers such as gestures or eye contact (Zen'eiren, 2007). Although both competitions have different criteria for speeches, both require speakers to present their opinions effectively to persuade their audience.

Concerning effectiveness of texts, White (2002) points out that the 'rhetorical potential of text' concerns how texts are constructed not only to persuade explicitly but also to influence

attitudes and assumptions by more implicit means. This explicit and implicit persuasion can be explored by the sub-system of ENGAGEMENT in the APPRAISAL framework.

### 1.3 Genre in speeches

Persuasive texts are shaped by 'systemic, text-type and discourse type related variation' in the way that such persuasion is approached (White, 2002). Two speech samples have different contexts as well as different themes; however, both follow exposition genres in which speakers put forward a single argument or interpretation (Burt et al., 2000). Both speeches also seem to have a distinctive feature: the opening part of speeches contains engaging prefaces related to their thesis statements used to produce some rhetorical effects.

In order to construe the 'rhetorical voice' of a text, the APPRAISAL resources are clustered together in the text (Martin & White, 2005). Different clusters tend to correlate with different genres that are said to relate themselves with distinctive rhetorical voice (Derewianka, 2007). In expositions as in two speech samples, APPRAISAL resources tend to be used for persuading and rebutting (Derewianka, 2007). The process of persuading or rebutting will require some factors such as taking other voices into considerations and negotiating position between speakers and the listeners to gain alignment from the audience (White, 2002). Both speeches are exposition texts that implicitly and explicitly refer to other voices. Both speakers use strategies that bring these other voices into play.

## 2. Literature Review

Hunston and Thomson (2000) use the term 'evaluation' to cover the expressions of a speaker's attitudes, feelings and values. While many recent studies have explored the aspects of evaluative language which include the studies of positioning under the description of 'hedging' (Hyland, 1996; Crompton, 1997) and the corpus-based work on 'status and value' in persuasive texts (Hunston, 2000), there has been until recently no integrated theory of the construction of evaluative stance in texts (Hood, 2004). However, the recent developments in systemic functional theory have been built into a system known as APPRAISAL theory by Martin and his colleagues (Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2007). The APPRAISAL theory has been explored in many different genres and many studies have been conducted especially in academic writing or reading for English for Academic Purposes (Hood, 2004; Hood, 2005; Humphrey, 2006). Discourse analyses in different fields are also conducted by many studies including Coffin (2002) in the field of history, White (2004) and Bednarek (2006) in media discourse. However, no study has been found in analysing scripts of public speaking in terms of APPRAISAL theory.



Recent approaches to the analysis of the APPRAISAL theory involve more comprehensive sets of subsystems. There are three subclasses in APPRAISAL system: ATTITUDE, GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT (Martin & White, 2005). While many studies have been conducted in terms of ATTITUDE subsystem (Martin, 1995; Hood, 2004; Hood, 2005), there seems to be fewer studies from the perspective of ENGAGEMENT system. Miller (2004) explores engagement strategies in US international discourses and Siew Mei (2007) elaborates the use of ENGAGEMENT in undergraduate geography essays; however, no study has explored public speaking based on ENGAGEMENT. This study will further elaborate the interpersonal resources in students' public speaking scripts in terms of APPRAISAL system focusing on ENGAGEMENT system.

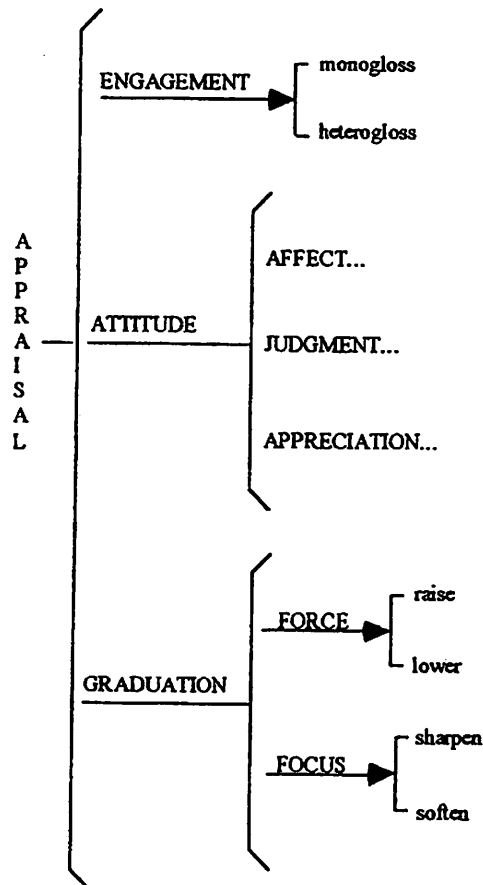
### **3. Theoretical Framework**

This part provides the outline of APPRAISAL system as the theoretical framework for this study. The term APPRAISAL is concerned with 'the language of evaluation, attitude and emotion, and with a set of resources which explicitly position a text's proposals and propositions interpersonally' (White, 2002).

#### **3.1 Subclasses of the APPRAISAL system**

APPRAISAL theory divides evaluative resources into three interacting domains: ATTITUDE, GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT. This part will provide the explanation of ATTITUDE and GRADUATION before the details of ENGAGEMENT. Figure 1 shows an overview of APPRAISAL resources (Martin & White, 2005).

Figure 1: An overview of APPRAISAL resources



ATTITUDE is concerned with people’s feelings, including emotional reactions (AFFECT); judgement of human behaviours or characters (JUDGEMENT); and evaluation of the value of things (APPRECIATION) (Martin & White, 2005). These ATTITUDE resources can be made directly or implied. The following are examples of three subsystems of the ATTITUDE system. The examples are from the speeches and italics are used to indicate lexical items that encode the respective system.

AFFECT: They were *very excited*, I often *got worried*, etc.

JUDGEMENT: Some are *great cricketers*, he is *wrong*, etc.

APPRECIATION: a *violent* government, *never-ending* homemaking labor, etc.

GRADUATION adjusts the degree of evaluation. It is concerned with grading phenomena by which feelings can be amplified and blurred (Martin & White, 2005). There are two categories

of GRADUATION. One is grading meanings from low to high intensity (FORCE) (e.g. *millions of people, a little angry*, etc). The other is grading meanings by sharpening or softening an attitude (FOCUS) (e.g. they are *truely* Australian, *a bit* strange, etc).

### 3.2 The ENGAGEMENT system

ENGAGEMENT deals with sourcing attitudes and voices around opinions in discourse (Martin & White, 2005). The system particularly deals with the extent to which the authorial voice engages with alternative points of view or opinions (Martin & White, 2005). The linguistic resources include quoting, reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering, affirming and so on' (Martin & White, 2005).

#### 3.2.1 'Voices' in speech

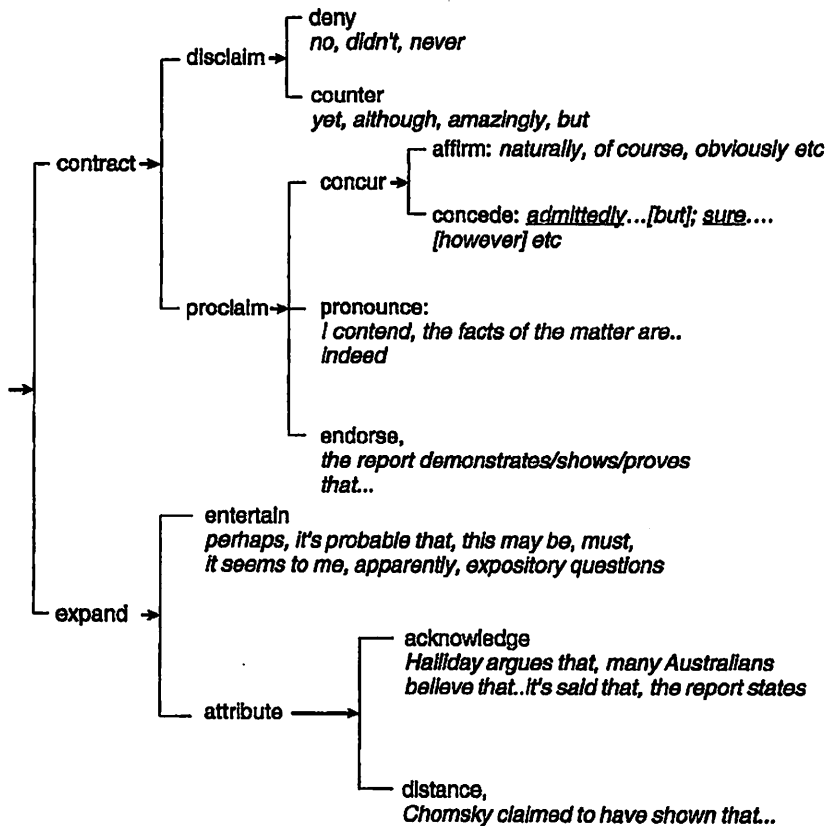
Speakers can adjust the 'dialogic terms' or status of an utterance (White, 2002). The notion of dialogism is inspired by the work of Bakhtin (1981), who argues that all discourse is 'dialogic' or double-voiced (cited in Cockcroft and Cochcroft, 1992). It is from this concept that the term 'heteroglossia' which means 'multi-voiced' is derived (Martin & White, 2005). In this sense, the resources within ENGAGEMENT system can be all heteroglossic: speakers represent themselves as engaging in a discourse by 'acknowledging, responding to, challenging or rejecting actual or possible responses from other speakers' (White, 2002).

While utterances can be heteroglossic where different possibilities and positions are acknowledged, they can also be 'monoglossic' (single-voiced) where the source is simply the speaker and there is no reference to other voices in the proposition (Martin & White, 2005). Those expressions are referred to as 'bare assertions' (Martin & White, 2002).

#### 3.2.1 Four options of the ENGAGEMENT system

The nature of this ENGAGEMENT system can differ according to whether heteroglossic resources are 'dialogically expansive' or 'dialogically contractive' (Martin & White, 2005). The distinction depends on the degree to which an utterance allows alternative positions and voices (dialogic expansion), or the space for alternative positions is closed down (dialogic contraction) (White, 2002). Under these categories, there are four individual options shown in Figure 2 with the taxonomy and examples in each category (Martin & White, 2005).

Figure 2: The ENGAGEMENT system



(1) DISCLAIM: introducing an alternative position in order to reject, supplant or dismiss it.

- DENY (negation), COUNTER (concession/counter/ expectation)

(2) PROCLAIM: presenting highly warrantable proposition so that it is difficult to challenge.

- CONCUR, PRONOUNCE, ENDORSE

(3) ENTERTAIN: opening up a range of possibilities or likelihood.

It encompasses meaning by which speakers make assessment of likelihood via modal auxiliaries (*may, could, should, etc.*), modal adjuncts (*perhaps*), modal attributes (*it's likely that ...*), via circumstances (*in my view*) or certain mental verb projections (*I think...*).

(4) ATTRIBUTE: explicitly recognising external voices by quoting and reporting.

- ACKNOWLEDGE, DISTANCE

#### 4. Research Design

The textual analysis in the present study was conducted on two speech samples for exploring ENGAGEMENT resources. One is a native speaker's speech (hereafter NSS, see Appendix A)

and the other is a Japanese student's speech (Koukyouken, 2004, hereafter JSS, see Appendix B). NSS text was obtained from an Australian primary student who has recently earned a place in the regional finals in the Year 5 & 6 division of MPPSC. The JSS text won the first prize in the prefectural final and a place in the regional final of an English Speech Contest for secondary school students. Although the context of each text and the age of speakers are very different, it can be said that both speeches were highly acclaimed to proceed to the next stage of the competition judging from many perspectives including effective interpersonal strategies. Both speeches were analysed in terms of APPRAISAL theory focusing on ENGAGEMENT resources. Since this is a case study of two speech scripts chosen from a number of other speech scripts in different genres, no attempts were made to generalise the findings.

The research questions guiding this study are (i) what are some patterns and differences in the usage of ENGAGEMENT resources in speech? (ii) In what ways do ENGAGEMENT resources contribute to the interpersonal strategies for effective speeches?

## **5. Results of the Study**

The textual analysis reveals varieties of interpersonal resources in both speeches. Contrary to the prediction that JSS would use fewer ENGAGEMENT resources than NSS does, it shows a varied range of interpersonal strategies to gain alignment with the audience. However, the analysis also indicates three differences in the functions of interpersonal resources: (i) the different types of mood and projecting resources demonstrate different effects of acknowledging stances; (ii) JSS seems to prefer the strategies to show politeness or tentativeness to project their own authorial voice; (iii) NSS text often contains effective use of countering and negation to acknowledge alternative stances and gain alignment with the audience.

## **6. Discussion**

The findings are firstly discussed focusing on the introduction parts of each speech. The parts include the impressive opening in which the speakers try to gain attention as well as alignment with the audience; and the thesis statement show their authorial voice. Numbers with brackets in each text refer to the numbers of text citation for discussions. Some examples of texts are from the rest of each speech (see Appendices, A & B)

### **6.1 Introducing voices: mood and projecting resources**

The texts NSS and JSS use different mood to introduce their authorial stance at the beginning of their speeches: The NSS text uses interrogative mood to introduce alternative propositions first,

while the JSS text uses imperative mood to show her stance by quoting an exchange. The following are examples of the mood used in the two texts.

NNS [1]: Interrogative mood

Is it when they first enter the country? - Is it when they get Australian citizenship? - Or is it *only* when they speak English fluently, without an accent - and watch the cricket religiously all summer?

JSS [1]: Imperative mood (projecting resource)

“Hatsumi<sup>3</sup>, do the dishes!” “*No, I won’t* [DISCLAIM: DENY]. Get my brother to do it! It’s his turn”

The speakers choose different mood for different effects to engage with the audience. NSS uses the interrogative mood to provide external judgements on the topic, ‘when does a migrant become an Australian?’ The effect of those questions is not only drawing the attention of audience by provoking the judgement on the topic but also providing alternative positions.

On the other hand, JSS uses a direct quotation using imperative mood, which can draw the audience’s attention to engage with her speech. This will have two simultaneous strategies: it shows the authorial voice from the dialogue, but disowns the responsibility to some extent by using the quote. Firstly, this imperative mood demonstrates the contradictory stance against the speaker’s stance, *Hatsumi, do the dishes!*, showing the strong expectations of girls’ doing chores. Then the speaker rejects it with strong negation, *No, I won’t*, showing her position toward the value. It shows a solid authorial voice, which is disagreement with gender inequality. The speaker seems to close the dialogic space by showing her strong rejection.

Secondly, however, quotation has the effect to soften the authorial stance and make some space for arguability. Halliday (1994) calls this type of linguistic resource ‘projection’. The text JSS [1] is the direct quote from the daily life conversation between the speaker and her family member. Although it was quoted from the speaker’s own voice of an emphatic statement, the audience knows that dialogue happens not here and now but sometime and somewhere. This choice indicates that the speaker only takes partial responsibility for the strong rejection indicated in the utterance.

As shown above, different types of mood at the beginning of speeches introduce different voices to acknowledge alternative stances or indicate authorial voices. They are sometimes realised as projecting resources, which gives some space for the authorial voice as well as gain the attention from the audience.

## 6.2 Suggesting tentativeness on proposition

JSS contains a unique resource to suggest tentativeness and the speaker takes the authorial position as follows:

JSS [2]: preface before the thesis statement

How can we realize a world with true equality between the sexes? *I may sound a little impertinent* [ENTERTAIN, also GRADUATION 'a little'], *but* I have something to say about it.

There is a modal auxiliary *may* used to suggest tentativeness or even preface politeness on the proposition. For example *may* suggests tentativeness on the authorial proposition, and the clause, *I may sound a little impertinent*, prefaced in front of *but I have something to say about it* shows politeness in presenting the authorial proposition. This type of usages in English often happens in formal situation such as meetings, but does not seem to be common in public speaking competition.

## 6.3 Interpersonal functions of *I think*

There is another example in JSS to suggest tentativeness on the proposition using *I think*.

JSS [3]: tentative *I think*

*I think* [ENTERTAIN] this is really strange.

*I think* has a complex of meaning which cannot simply be labelled 'uncertainty' or 'lack of commitment' (Simon-Vandenberg, 2003). Aijmer (1997) observes that *I think* can signal some degree of tentativeness or uncertainty and also express authority (cited in and Simon-Vandenberg, 2003). Simon-Vandenberg (2003) analyses political interviews and finds that speakers do not use *I think* to express uncertainty but to convey 'this is my opinion'. The expression therefore suggests authority rather than hesitation (Simon-Vandenberg, 2003).

Aijmer (1997) suggests two means to distinguish between two types of *I think* which are 'tentative' and 'deliberative' (cited in Simon-Vandenberg, 2003). Aijmer (1997) classifies *I think* as deliberative when it is initial in the clause and also has a prosodic booster. Furthermore, all examples where *I think* is followed by the conjunction are also regarded as deliberative since they carry some prominence (cited in Simon-Vandenberg, 2003). The following is the examples of tentative and deliberative *I think*.

NSS [2]: tentative *I think*

... I'd like to tell you about a group of recent migrants who *I think* [ENTERTAIN] became Australian *even* before they were legally allowed to stay here.

NSS [3]: deliberative *I think*

They were very excited when they finally were allowed to stay and became Australian citizens, *but I think* [PROCLAIM: PRONOUNCE] they were Australians long before that.

The judgement of tentative and deliberative *I think* will be syntactic from the view of Aijmer (1997). While NSS [2] has *I think* not in the initial position in the clause, in NSS [3], *I think* is followed by the conjunction *but* and this countering carries some prominence.

JSS [4]: deliberative *I think*

(*I may sound a little impertinent, but I have something to say about it.*) *I think* that stating our opinions clearly *will* open the door to a more equal relationship between men and women.

Although, in this text, there is no conjunction before *I think* and the prosodic analysis is not conducted, the syntax which carries some prominence that may be extended to the ENGAGEMENT resource which makes the proposition *I think* ... stand out. The sentence, '*I may sound a little impertinent, but I have something to say about it*' is prefaced before the proposition *I think* and carries prominence. Therefore, *I think* in JSS [4] can be interpreted as deliberative. Whichever function *I think* has, or whatever the context it occurs in, *I think* expresses the speaker's personal angle (Simon-Vandenberg, 2003). One feature common to both the NSS and the JSS speech was the use of 'I think' as a deliberative.

#### 6.4 Strategies to present authorial voices

Both JSS and NSS use resources of DISCLAIM (COUNTER, DENY) which are often used for acknowledging alternative positions and presenting authorial voices. NSS especially uses effective strategies and this part discusses the strategies in terms of countering (DISCLAIM: COUNTER) and negation (DISCLAIM: DENY).

##### 6.4.1 The usage of countering

NSS contains nearly twice as many instances of COUNTER as JSS. COUNTER includes resources which represent the particular proposition as replacing or countering a proposition which would be expected (Martin & White, 2005). The NSS text [4] is a thesis statement of her speech which contains two instances of COUNTER.



NSS[4]: countering in the thesis statement

Many people have different opinions about this, *but* [DISCLAIM: COUNTER] *I believe* a migrant truly becomes Australian, *not necessarily* when other people think they are Australian, *but* [DISCLAIM: COUNTER] when they feel that they belong in Australia and want to make it their home.

Although her thesis statement, briefly speaking, is ‘migrants become Australians when they feel that they belong in Australia and want to make it their home’, the speaker uses certain rhetoric moves with two countering resources. The authorial voice first opens up the dialogic space for the audience by suggesting that, *Many people have different opinions about this*, and then she introduces the authorial proposition. The proposition *I believe...* also uses countering with which she acknowledges the alternative position by negation (negation is discussed in the next section) first and then draw the proposition.

While the countering is conveyed via conjunctions such as *but*, it is also conveyed by adjuncts such as *even*, *only* and *still*. There are many effective examples of the adjuncts in NSS that signal counter-expectational aspects while there are few in JSS text. In the text NSS [5], the authorial voice counters the alternative position or expectation.

NSS [5]: countering adjunct

They *even* [DISCLAIM: COUNTER] got involved with others in the community to help other refugee children and their families ...

The resources of DISCLAIM: COUNTER are very effective in presenting the authorial preposition by invoking alternative positions and replacing them. The countering strategy could lead the audience to agree with the speaker with ingenuity (White, 2002).

#### 6.4.2 The usage of negation

Denial (negation) is a resource for introducing the alternative positive position by acknowledging and engaging with it, and then rejecting it (White, 2002). Although the negation necessarily carries with it the positive position, it is ‘not the simple logical opposite of the positive because ‘the positive does not reciprocally carry the negative, or at least typically’ (Martin and White, 2005: 118). While many negations happen in both the NSS and JSS texts, there are some examples in which NSS uses the resource powerfully as follows:

NSS [6]: negation

They contributed to Australia by living with the land *not off it* [DISCLAIM: DENY].

Many aboriginal or Torres Strait islander people 'lived with' the land in very severe environment while many other people 'lived off,' that is, earned much money from, for example, mining industry which is one of the biggest national benefits in Australia. The phrase *not off it* carries the contrasting position about the people who live off the land. One denial resource can carry much implication behind the speech. (I would write a little more about this. There is an implication in the statement that seems to indicate solidarity with the people who live in ways that are not detrimental to the land and who are connected to the land. There are others that exploit the land... something like that?)

NSS text often contains negation resources with ones of DISCLAIM: COUNTER beyond clauses and demonstrates effective rhetoric moves to assert the authorial prepositions. The NSS text is concluded with rejecting and countering alternative positions that are introduced at the beginning of the speech (text NSS [1]).

NSS [7]:

*As all these examples show becoming Australian can happen even if* [DISCLAIM: COUNTER] you *haven't become* [DISCLAIM: DENY] legally Australian, - *even if* [DISCLAIM: COUNTER] you *still* [DISCLAIM: COUNTER] have an accent - and *even if* [DISCLAIM: COUNTER] you *don't play* [DISCLAIM: DENY] cricket or Aussie Rules.

The NSS text [7] corresponds with the text [1]. The speaker first acknowledges alternative positions to introduce her stance toward the theme, *when does a migrant become an Australian?* Then she shows some examples to support it. At the end of her speech, she uses effective strategies to increase solidarity and summarise her proposition by dismissing other positions and forcefully asserts in her proposition that becoming Australian happens when people feel that they belong in Australia and want to make it their home.

## 7. Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated variations of ENGAGEMENT resources speakers employ and different kinds of rhetorical strategies in stating authorial voices with regard to adjusting dialogic space. It mainly explores the introduction of the speeches, however, in terms of ENGAGEMENT resources, it was surprising to note that JSS uses varied strategies as NSS does. No matter what context the text is produced for, speakers interact with listeners and are required to adopt a stance in relation to the other voices. However, at the same time, the comparative analysis of the texts suggests some differences in the functions and variations: (i)

the different types of mood and projecting resources demonstrate different effects of acknowledging stances; (ii) JSS seems to prefer the strategies to show politeness or tentativeness to project their own authorial voice; (iii) NSS often contains effective use of countering and negation to acknowledge alternative stances and gain alignment with the audience. Further analysis in terms of lexicogrammatical realisations would reveal richer variations of the resources and other different strategies of speakers.

It should be noted again that this is a case study that explores only two speech samples and generalisations cannot be made. Further research using corpus study could reveal different strategies between native speakers of English and Japanese EFL students. And also, the present study only focused on the written script. Therefore, it is limited to the analysis of the written text and does not take into account the complexities of the interpersonal resources used in a spoken environment such as pitch and intonation. Halliday (1994) stresses the key importance of meaning as the determining factor in all aspects of language function whether realised through grammar and phonology. Further research from broader perspectives can explore more details in APPRAISAL system in students' public speaking across countries.

This study has focused only on a small fraction of whole ENGAGEMENT system which is a small part of the whole language system. The APPRAISAL network contains simultaneous systems for three subclasses. Its resources are scattered across clauses as choices resonate with one another (Martin & White, 2007). The pattern of choices is thus 'prosodic' (Hood, 2006; Martin & White, 2007). Further research on all subclasses of the APPRAISAL system beyond clauses can be helpful in fully appreciating the complexity of the interpersonal functions. At the same time, every text, including speech, requires all three metafunctions of language system to make meanings appropriately to accomplish the social goal as language has three metafunctions such as ideational, interpersonal and textual functions (Halliday, 1994). It can also be explored how the APPRAISAL system can cooperate with or be extended to other metafunctions as, for example, Coffin & Hewings (2004) focus on the interaction of the textual with interpersonal metafunctions in academic writing.

This paper concludes with suggestions for two strategies that might be used for teachers to teach public speaking in an EFL context in terms of the interpersonal metafunction. One of the strategies for teachers is becoming aware of the APPRAISAL framework and practice analysing to understand how interpersonal resources realise on particular texts as this study shows. The other strategy is teaching students the interpersonal functions of language including the APPRAISAL resources in class. This will help them use evaluation and project their voices more effectively in their speech. Unfortunately, the systemic functional view of language, especially interpersonal function, is not applied in EFL education in Japanese secondary schools as yet. Using the SFL view

of language and encouraging students to become aware of the language of evaluation can provide students with an appreciation of the language system and enhance the production of meaning.

### Notes

1. In referring to the APPRAISAL system and its subtypes, e.g. ENGAGEMENT, small caps are used to avoid confusion between technical and non-technical uses.
2. The page number is not enclosed since the citation is on the website.
3. Pseudonym is used. *Hatsumi* is a female first name in Japan.

### Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Bev Derewianka for supervising in this study which was a special project in my Masters degree in TESOL at the University of Wollongong (UOW), Meeta Chatterjee in UOW for her considerable support and feedback on drafts of the paper and the reviewers for their insightful comments. All remaining errors and inadequate points are mine.

### References

- Bednarek, M. (2006) *Evaluation in media discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Butt, D., Fahey, R., Feez, S., Spinks, S., and Yallop, C. (2000) *Using Functional Grammar: An Explorer's Guide*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Sydney: National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, Macquarie University.
- Cockcroft, R. & Cockcroft, S. (1992) *Persuading People: An introduction to rhetoric* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Coffin, C. (2002) The voice of history: Theorizing the interpersonal semantics of historical discourses. *Text*, 22(4), 503-528.
- Coffin, C. & Hewings, A. (2004) IELTS as preparation for tertiary writing: distinctive interpersonal and textual strategies. In Ravelli, L. & Ellis, R. (eds), *Analysing Academic Writing: Contextualized Frameworks* (pp. 153-171). London: Continuum.
- Crompton, P. (1997) Hedging in Academic Writing: Theoretical problems. *English for Specific Purposes*, 16(4), 271-287.
- Derewianka, B. (2007) Using appraisal theory to track interpersonal development in adolescent academic writing. In McCabe, A., O'donnell, M. & Whittaker, R. (eds), *Advances in Language and Education* (pp.142-165). London: Continuum.
- DET (Department of Education and Training, New South Wales) (2007) *Public Speaking: 2007 Multicultural Perspectives Public Speaking Competition*. Available URL:[http://www.pau.nsw.edu.au/TAU/Public%20Speaking/MPPS/ home.htm](http://www.pau.nsw.edu.au/TAU/Public%20Speaking/MPPS/home.htm)

(Accessed 10 August, 2007).

- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn). London: Edward Arnold.
- Hood, S. (2004) Managing attitude in undergraduate academic writing: a focus on the introductions to research report. In Ravelli, L. & Ellis, R. (eds), *Analysing Academic Writing: Contextualized Frameworks* (pp. 153-171). London: Continuum.
- Hood, S. (2005) What is evaluated, and how, in academic research writing?: The co-patterning of attitude and field. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*. 19, 23-40.
- Hood, S. (2006) The persuasive power of prosodies: Radiating values in academic writing. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 5, 37-49.
- Humphrey, S (2006). "Getting the reader on side": Exploring adolescent online political discourse. *E-Learning*, 3(2), 143-157.
- Hunston, S. (2000) Evaluation and the planes of discourse: Status and Value in Persuasive Texts. In Hunston, S. & Thomson, G. (eds), *Evaluation in Text: Authorial stance and the construction of Discourse* (pp. 176-207). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hunston, S. & Thompson, G. (2000) *Evaluation in Text: Authorial stance and the construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hyland, K. (1996) Scientific English: hedging in a foreign culture. In Joyce, J. (ed), *Language-Culture Connection* (pp, 219-227). Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Koukyouken (Fukushima-kenritsu Koutougakkou Eigo-Kyouiku Kenkyukai) (2004) Koutougakkou Eigo Ben'ron Taikai Yuushousha Genkou: The Key to a Gender-Free Society. *Albion*, 41, 22-26.
- Martin, J. R. (1995) Reading positions/positioning readers: Judgement in English. *Prospect: A Journal of Australian TESOL*, 10, 27-37.
- Martin, J. R. (2000) Beyond exchange: APPRAISAL system in English. In Hunston, S. & Thomson, G. (eds), *Evaluation in Text: Authorial stance and the construction of Discourse* (pp. 142-175). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, J. R. & White, P. R. R. (2005) *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Martin, J.R. & Rose, D. (2007) *Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the clause* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn). London: Continuum.
- Miller, D. R. (2004) "... to meet our common challenge": ENGAGEMENT strategies of alignment and alienation in current US international discourse. In: Gotti, M. & Candlin, C. (eds). *Intercultural Discourse in Domain-specific English*. Available URL: <http://>

- [www.grammatics.com/appraisal/millerD/millerD-textus.pdf](http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/millerD/millerD-textus.pdf) (Accessed 12 October, 2007)
- Morreale, S. P. & Boveé, C. L. (1998) *Excellence in public speaking*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Siew Mei, W. (2007) The use of engagement resources in high- and low-rated undergraduate geography essays. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*. doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2007.09.006 (Accessed 5 November, 2007)
- Simon-Vandenberg, A. M. (2003) The functions of I think in political discourse. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 10(1), 41-63.
- White, P. R. R. (2002) *The language of attitude, arguability and interpersonal positioning*. The Appraisal Homepage: Website. Available URL: <http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/index.html>
- White, P. R. R. (2004) Subjectivity, evaluation and point of view in media discourse. In *Applying English Grammar: Functional and Corpus Approaches* (pp. 229-246). London: Arnold
- Zen'eiren (Japan Association of English Education for Secondary School Teachers) (2007). *Dai-ikkai Zenkoku Koutougakkou Eigo Speech Contest Jisshi Youkou* (The implementation guidance for the 1<sup>st</sup> All Japan High School English Speech Contest). Available URL: <http://www.zen-ei-ren.com/01SpeechContest Ver2.pdf> (Accessed 7 September, 2007)

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Native speaker's speech

When does a migrant become an Australian?

[1] Is it when they first enter the country? - Is it when they get Australian citizenship? - Or is it only when they speak English fluently, without an accent - and watch the cricket religiously all summer? [4] Many people have different opinions about this, but I believe a migrant truly becomes Australian, not necessarily when other people think they are Australian, but when they feel that they belong in Australia and want to make it their home. People usually feel that they belong when they are welcomed by people who are already in the community. That way they get connected to their communities and want to contribute to making Australia a better place. Today I will tell you about some groups of migrants who have become Australians even though not all of them have taken out formal citizenship, - or learned English,- or played cricket in the backyard on Christmas day.

Over thousands of years millions of people, like my ancestors and yours, have migrated to Australia and become Australians. The first migrants to Australia were the Aboriginal or

Torres Strait Islander people. They lived in Australia for over fifty thousand years and felt connected to their land and their communities. <sup>[6]</sup>They contributed to Australia by living with the land not off it.

However, when the British settlers arrived in 1788, they didn't think that Aboriginal people really belonged to Australia - and they declared the land Terra Nullius - an Empty Land. Indigenous people weren't allowed to become Australian citizens until the 1960's and the policy of Terra Nullius was only changed after people like Eddie Mabo taught us all how strongly Aboriginal people were connected to their land and communities. Now most people are very proud of the First Australians and are sorry that we did not recognise them sooner.

Those early British settlers also learned to become Australian though they didn't formally become citizens - or learn the native languages or sports. For a long time their descendants still felt that they belonged to Britain and that the Queen should be the head of Australia - but most now feel that they are truly Australian.

As well as British migrants, people from every part of the world have arrived in Australia over the past 200 years. They have settled into suburbs like mine and country towns like my grandmother's. Many have become Australian citizens and most have learned English. Some are great cricketers and Aussie Rules players! But even those who haven't done these things have still become Aussies because they have made their new country their home.

<sup>[2]</sup> Finally, I'd like to tell you about a group of recent migrants who I think became Australian even before they were legally allowed to stay here. This is a group of refugee teenagers from Afghanistan who were forced out of their country by a violent government and war. Their lives were in danger and so they escaped and were smuggled into Australia by boat. However, when they arrived in Australia they weren't welcomed at all. They were immediately put into Immigration Detention Centres where they weren't given the chance to learn English or to feel at home. Many of these refugee children almost lost hope of ever becoming Australian and felt that they didn't belong anywhere.

Finally they were released, but only on temporary protection visas. They went to live in the western suburbs of Sydney where they were welcomed and supported by many people in their communities. Even though they didn't know if they were going to be allowed to stay and become Australians legally, they started school, learned English very quickly and started to study for their HSC. <sup>[5]</sup> They even got involved with others in the community to help other refugee children and their families to be released from Detention Centres. <sup>[3]</sup> They were very excited when they finally were allowed to stay and became Australian citizens, but I think they were Australians long before that.

<sup>[7]</sup> As all these examples show becoming Australian can happen even if you haven't become legally Australian, - even if you still have an accent - and even if you don't play

cricket or Aussie Rules. Becoming Australian happens when you are welcomed, when you feel that Australia is your home and when you feel that you belong to the Australian community.

#### Appendix B: Japanese student's speech

##### The Key to a Gender-Free Society

<sup>[1]</sup>“Hatsumi, do the dishes!” “No, I won’t. Get my brother to do it! It’s his turn” In our daily lives, we tend to look on household affairs as women’s work. For now in Japan, a lot of discrimination still exists against women. <sup>[2]</sup>How can we realize a world with true equality between the sexes? I may sound a little impertinent, but I have something to say about it. <sup>[4]</sup>I think that stating our opinions clearly will open the door to a more equal relationship between men and women. I started to consider this problem of inequality through my family. Of my family members I would like to talk about the two couples, my grandparents and my parents.

First, I will take my grandparents as an example. It all started when my grandmother was hospitalized with a severe backache. Up until that point they both had been sleeping on *futons*. But we noticed it was becoming too difficult for her to sleep this way, so we suggested we buy her a bed. I thought she would agree to our suggestion with pleasure. Instead, she got a little angry and said, “No way! I can’t sleep on a higher place than my husband.” What a way of thinking! I could hardly believe my ears. Since then I have come to think about my grandparents and noticed that my grandmother has been ruled by my grandfather all her married life. When he gives her an order, all she says is “Yes,” even if he is wrong. They never discuss, but I sometimes hear her complain about him to my mother. <sup>[3]</sup>I think this is really strange, so I asked her outright whether she thought it good to be ruled by her husband all the time. But she said nothing.

On the contrary, my parents are quite different. My father helps my mother with household chores, such as cleaning the rooms and weeding the grass. Do they sound like a good couple? I think they are now. But not too long ago, I couldn’t say they were, for my father did only what he liked. On his days off, he would watch TV, while my mother kept the house. He was a Neanderthal, who believed household affairs were women’s work.

What do you think has caused my father to change and begin helping my mother? Discussion has caused him to change. My mother likes to state her opinions in a definite manner, and this sometimes leads to an argument. When I was little, I often got worried and asked her, “Mom, why do you and Dad fight so much?” Then she’d smile and say, “It’s not a fight, dear, but a discussion.” At that time, I didn’t believe her, but now I understand what she meant. When their opinions differ, she tells my father why she thinks the way she does until he finally gives in. Sometimes their “discussion” goes on and on for several days. By repeatedly stating her opinions, mostly complaints about her never-ending homemaking labor, she has



gradually brought about changes in him. My mother once said to me happily, "Don't you think Father has changed? It's due to good communication and our love for each other."

Recently, many people in Japan have begun to think about equality between the sexes and say things such as, "Men, as well as women, should learn to cook," or "Women have to get jobs like men do." Such opinions have been around for some years. I'm all for these ideas, because they are concrete examples of a gender-free society. But I think the most fundamental key to the realization of such a society lies in both men and women communicating. And good communication happens when men and women state their opinions on a fifty-fifty basis. Nothing can change unless we speak our mind. My grandmother is a good example of what can happen if we don't give our opinions, while my mother is a good example of what we can happen if we do give our opinions. Suppose there is a couple where the man keeps house and the wife works outside. They may seem a bit strange, but if their decision has result from a good discussion, then it's O.K. and they are perfectly equal. It no longer matters whether it is the husband or the wife that keeps house. What we need to make a difference in how men and women work together is not to have preconceived ideas about conventional gender roles, but to have our own ideas.

Now I hope my grandmother will have the courage to tell my grandfather her real opinions and to say "No." It's quit a difficult problem though.

Today, my parents started fighting again. Oops, my mistake. "Discussing."

「話し言葉らしさ・書き言葉らしさ」の計測  
—語彙密度の日本語への適用性の検証—  
Measuring the Degree of Spoken and Written 'like-ness':  
An Examination of the Applicability of Lexical Density to Japanese Texts

佐野 大樹

Motoki Sano

国立国語研究所

The National Institute for Japanese Language

Abstract

As one of the measures that analyse the difference between written-like and spoken-like texts, Halliday proposed the concept of Lexical Density. Lexical density illustrates the difference by counting the number of ranking clauses and lexical items, or content words, in a text. This measure has been utilised widely, especially, in the field of English corpus studies. If this analytical method is applicable to Japanese, it can be an effective approach that reveals various characteristic of texts. However, the applicability has not been tested with a large scale corpus, and hence, it is rarely employed in a Japanese corpus linguistic field.

The present study, as a pilot study, examines whether the lexical density can reveal the difference between the Japanese texts that are written-like and spoken-like, using the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese. Based on the analysis, this paper suggests that in Japanese, although the lexical density cannot always reveal the graphological difference, it can capture the lexico-grammatical difference between the written-like and spoken-like texts.

1. はじめに

選択体系機能言語理論において、テキストが話し言葉であるか書き言葉であるかは、チャンネル(channel)の違い、すなわち、言葉が音によって伝えられるか、文字によって伝えられるかによってタイポロジカル(topological)に決定される。これに対して、テキストが書き言葉らしい(written-like)か、話し言葉らしい(spoken-like)かの検証はトポロジカル(topological)な観点から考察されることが多く、「書き言葉らしさ・話し言葉らしさ」は選択肢(choice)としてよりもクライン(cline)として捉えられることが多い。

クラインとしてテキストの「書き言葉らしさ・話し言葉らしさ」を計測する方法の一つとして、語彙密度(Lexical Density)計測がある。語彙密度計測は、Halliday (1985)によって提案された概念であり、英語研究においてはコーパス研究のみならず、リーダビリティ計測や Writing 及び Reading

の授業などで幅広く活用されている。しかしながら、日本語研究においては、その有用性が大規模コーパスを用いて検証されておらず、活用には至っていない。有用性を確認できれば、テキストの「書き言葉らしさ・話し言葉らしさ」を客観的に計測できる一指標として、様々な分野での貢献が期待できる。

そこで本稿ではパイロット研究として、日本語における「書き言葉らしさ・話し言葉らしさ」を計測する手法としての、語彙密度の有用性を検証する。

以下第2章で語彙密度の概念および語彙密度を用いた研究について概説する。第3章で実験データ、第4章で有用性の検証方法について説明する。第5章で検証結果を示し、第6章で結果の考察、第7章で本稿のまとめと今後の研究の方向性について述べる。

なお本稿では、「書き言葉らしい」テキストとは、フォーマルで計画性が高く、コンテキストへの依存度が低いテキストであり、「話し言葉らしい」テキストとは、インフォーマルで計画性が低く、コンテキストへの依存度が高いテキストとする(Halliday, 1990; Hammond, 1992)。

## 2. 語彙密度

### 2.1 語彙密度の概念

語彙密度はテキストの情報の密度、すなわち、テキストにどれだけ情報が詰め込まれているのかを計測する方法として提案され、Halliday (1990: 22)では、以下のように定義されている。

This [Lexical density] is a measure of the density of information in any passage of text, according to how tightly the lexical items (content words) have been packed into the grammatical structure [ranking clause].

語彙密度は節(ranking clause)にどれだけの内容語が詰め込まれているかを基準に計測され、基本的に、以下の式によって求められる(Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004)。

$$\text{語彙密度} = \text{内容語の総数} / \text{節(ranking clause)の総数}$$

例えば、以下の文の語彙密度は次のように計測される(Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004)。

In bridging river valleys, the early engineers built many notable masonry viaducts of numerous arches.

まず、述語をもつ節(ranking clause)の数を計測すると、「bridging」を述語とするものと、「built」を述語とするものの二つがある。前者には「in」、後者には「the」、「many」、「of」という機能語が含まれ、それ以外の11語が内容語であることから、「語彙密度=11/2=5.5」となる。

先述したように英語の場合、語彙密度は書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストの違いを表す指標の一つとして考えられており(Halliday, 1985)、インフォーマルな話し言葉での語彙密度は約2、一般的な書き言葉では約6、科学的文章ではさらに上がるという(Halliday, 1990)。

情報の密度の計測に、内容語及び節(ranking clause) 数を用いるのは、これらが情報の詰め込みを可能とする名詞化(nominalisation)と強い関係があるためである。この関係について、Butt et al.(1995)の2 文を比較することで示す。

例文 1: If you drink too much alcohol //when you drive your car, //you are likely to have an accident.//

例文 2: Excessive consumption of alcohol is a major cause of motor vehicle accidents.//

これらの文は、ほぼ同じ観念構成的意味を表すものであるにも関わらず、一節あたりに含まれる情報量は例文 1 に比べ例文 2 のほうが多い。このような情報の詰め込みを可能とする方法の一つが文法的比喩(Gramamtical Metaphor) の一種である、動詞群の名詞化である。図 1 に示すように、例文 1 では動詞群として表されていた内容が、例文 2 では名詞化によって名詞群の一部として表されている。

このように動詞群が名詞化されることで、例文 1 で動詞群として表されていた内容は節の述部として表現される必要がなくなる。名詞となることで、述部としての構造的役割から逸し、節構造を保持する形式的制約がなくなる。節として表されていた情報は、名詞群を拡張する、すなわち、内容語を名詞群に詰め込むことで表現できるようになる。結果的に一名詞群あたりの内容語数が増える一方で節数は少なくなり、節あたりの内容語数は増加する。このような言語的特徴は情報が詰め込まれているテキストで頻出する傾向にあったため、Halliday (1985) は内容語数と節数を利用して語彙密度計測を提案した。

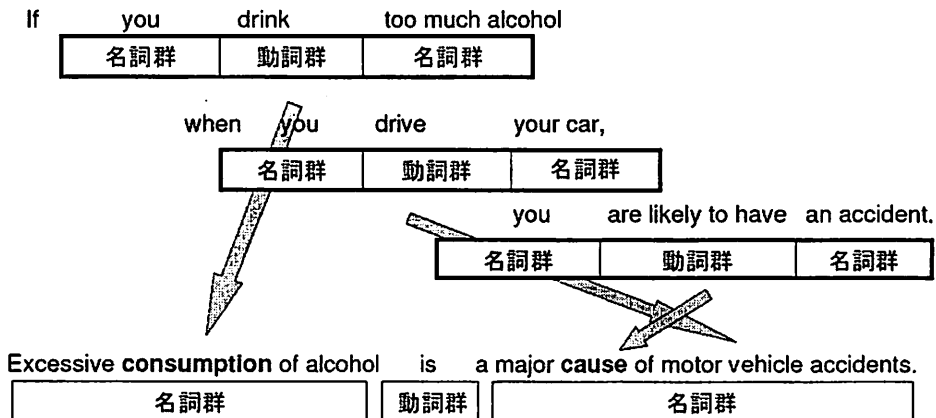


図 1: 名詞化と語彙密度

ただし、「thing」「way」「do」「have」などの名詞及び動詞のように、一般的には内容語と解釈される語であっても、文脈によっては機能語的振る舞いをするものもある。これらの語は情報密度の増加にほとんど貢献しないと考えられており、計測対象に含めないなど、扱いを考慮する必要がある

る(Halliday, 1985)。このような観点から、英語においては語彙密度の計測対象外となる語がリスト化されている(Harrison and Bakker, 1998)。

## 2.2 語彙密度を用いた研究

英語研究において、語彙密度はコーパス研究だけでなく、リーダビリティ研究、医学、教育など様々な分野で活用されている。リーダビリティ研究では、語彙密度が読みやすさ・にくさの指標として利用されている(Harrison and Bakker, 1998)。例えば、Harrison and Bakker (1998)では、語彙密度と既存のリーダビリティ計測法の精度を比較し、語彙密度のほうが Flesch Reading Grade、Flesch Kincaid、Gunning Fog などの計測法に比べ、テキストのリーダビリティを正確に測定することを実証した。

また、医学分野では、語彙密度は患者用のリーフレットの評価基準として利用されている(Clerehan et al., 2005)。病気の症状等について解説するリーフレットは、患者に情報を提示するだけでなく、伝達する必要がある。Clerehan et al.(2005)らは、語彙密度を一基準とした客観的な患者用リーフレットの評価方法を確立することで、理解しやすいリーフレットの作成を促進することができるのではないかと提案している。

教育分野では、語彙密度は学術的表現を習得するための方法や難解な表現を理解するための手法として紹介されている(Butt et al., 1995; Woodward-Kron et al., 2000; 佐野, 2007)。語彙密度の概念に基づいて内容語数や節数を増減させることで、日常的な表現を客観的で一般性のある学術的表現へ、逆に、抽象度が高く難解な学術的表現を日常表現へ言い換えたりすることで、writing 及び reading スキルを向上させる。

このように、英語研究においては語彙密度は様々な分野で活用されている。しかし、日本語研究においてはほとんど活用されていないのが現状である。この理由として、1)日本語における語彙密度の計測方法が確立していないこと、2)日本語において、語彙密度がどのようなテキストの特徴を計測するものなのかがほとんど検討されていないことがあげられる。

1)については、佐野他(2009)が語彙密度の自動計測法を提案した。佐野他(2009)では、『BCCWJ 領域内公開データ(2008 年度版)』(以下、BCCWJ2008)における品詞ごとの述べ数、異なり数、TTR(type token ratio: 異なり数/述べ数)を計測し、内容語的性質が強い品詞と機能語的性質が強い品詞とを特定した。その上で日本語において語彙密度の計測対象となる品詞を提案した。また、節境界検出プログラム CBAP の解析結果を用いて、節(ranking clause)数の計測方法を示した(丸山他, 2004)。

2)については、佐野他(2009)がテキストの内容を示す日本十進分類法(NDC)と販売対象等がわかる日本図書コード(Cコード)の情報を用いて、語彙密度は「児童」や「一般」を対象とした創作的なテキストでは低く、「専門」を対象とした科学的なテキストでは高くなることを証明した。

しかしながら、日本語において英語と同様に、語彙密度が「書き言葉らしさ・話し言葉らしさ」を表す指標として利用できるのかについてはまだ検討されていない。語彙密度が「書き言葉らしさ・話し言葉らしさ」を計測する方法として利用できるのであれば、Web やコーパスからの情報抽出の際、「書き言葉らしさ・話し言葉らしさ」を条件とした検索が可能となる。また、辞書構築の際には、同義語の相違等について把握するための一指標としても利用できる。さらに、学術的テキストが話

し言葉的な性質が弱く、書き言葉の性質が強いテキストであると考えれば、論文指導・評価への応用も期待できる。

そこで本稿では、日本語において語彙密度が書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストの差異を表す指標として利用できるのかを、BCCWJ2008 を用いて検証した。

### 3. 実験データ

BCCWJ2008 は、現在国立国語研究所を中心に構築が進められている『現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパス』の一部を収録したものである。BCCWJ2008 は書き言葉を収録したコーパスではあるが、書籍、白書、Web データ等、多様なテキストを収録しており、書き言葉らしいテキストだけでなく話し言葉らしいテキストも多数含まれる(柏野他, 2008; 佐野他, 2009)。

実験データには BCCWJ2008 に含まれる生産実態サブコーパス(PSC) 及び流通実態サブコーパス(LSC)の書籍サンプルを用いた。PSC は、書き言葉の生産力に着目したサブコーパスで、2001 年から 2005 年までに国内で出版されたすべての書籍・雑誌・新聞を対象とした母集団からランダムサンプリングされたデータである。LSC は、書き言葉の流通・流布に着目したサブコーパスで、2007 年の時点で東京都内の公共図書館に所蔵されている書籍を対象とした母集団からランダムサンプリングされたデータである(丸山と秋元, 2007; 丸山と秋元, 2008)。

実験データに含まれるサンプル (以下、BCCWJ2008 に含まれるテキストをサンプルと言う) 数は、表 1 の通りである。

表 1: 実験データサンプル数

サブコーパス	総サンプル	数計測可サンプル数
PSC	5,365	5,298 (99.2%)
LSC	4,429	4,397 (98.8%)
集計	9,794	9,695 (99.0%)

PSC には 5,365 サンプル、LSC には 4,429 サンプル、計 9,794 サンプル収録されている。このうち、節(ranking clause) 数が、15 以下であるものが、PSC で 1.2%(67)、LSC で 0.7%(32) あった。これらのサンプルは組織名の羅列など節構造をもたない言語表現が大部分を占めていたために、計測対象から除外した。

なお、実験データには表 2 に示した、分野、出版年、著者年齢、著者性別、販売対象(児童、一般、専門等)や形態(新書、文庫等)などの情報が付与されている。

表 2: BCCWJ の状況コンテキストに関する情報

状況コンテキスト	要因
Field	分野(NDC による)、出版年
Tenor	著者性別、著者年齢、販売対象(C コードによる)
Mode	形態(C コードによる)

#### 4. 検証方法

日本語において、語彙密度が書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストの差異を表すことができるのかを以下の手順で検証した。

1. 9,695 サンプルの語彙密度の計測
2. 書記層からの検証
  - 音便化された表現を含む/含まないサンプルの語彙密度平均値の比較
  - ラ行の音が脱落した表現を含む/含まないサンプルの語彙密度平均値の比較
  - アスペクト動詞を簡略化した表現を含む/含まないサンプルの語彙密度平均値の比較
3. 語彙・文法層からの検証
  - 書き言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルと話し言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルの語彙密度の平均値の比較
  - 終助詞「ヨ・ネ」を含む/含まないサンプルの語彙密度平均値の比較

#### 4.1 語彙密度の計測方法

語彙密度の計測には、佐野他(2009)で提案された方法を用いた。佐野他(2009)では、節(ranking clause)数の計測に、CBAPの解析によって得られる節種カテゴリを用いる。CBAPは以下のように、節境界ラベルをテキストに自動付与する(丸山他, 2004)。

身長の二乗掛ける/連体節/ 二十二が標準体重ということになってりまして/テ節/私の標準体重は/主題ノ/ 六十四キロなんですが/並列節ガ/ それから見ると/条件節ト/ セキロぐらいは/主題ハ/ 減量が必要ということで/並列節デ/ 運動をする/連体節/ 方がいいことになってまして/テ節/ 本当は食事量を減らすという/連体節トイウ/ ことなんでしょうけど/並列節ケレドモ/ なかなかそれは/主題ノ/ 難しいので/理由節ノデ/私は/主題ノ/ 専ら運動の方で健康を維持しようという/連体節トイウ/ ことに努めとります。/文末/ (p.47)

CBAP 節境界ラベルのうち、佐野他(2009)は節(ranking clause)として機能するものを特定し当該の節境界ラベル数を計測することで、節(ranking clause)数を決定する。節(ranking clause)として計測する節境界ラベルの一部を、以下に示す(佐野他, 2009)<sup>1)</sup>。

連用節、並列節ケレドモ、並列節タリ、条件節カギリ、条件節タラ、譲歩節テモ、理由節カラ、理由節ノデ、時間節アト、時間節イマ、時間節トキ

例えば、以下のようなテキストを解析した場合、

自身のもつ自然の回復力を待っているのである。これを「自然治癒力」という。

『噛み合わせバカにしていると恐ろしい』山田敏輔

CBAP の解析結果は以下ようになる。

自身のもつ/連体節/自然の回復力を待っているのである。/文末/これを「自然治癒力」という。/文末/

ここでは、「自身のもつ」は連体節として機能しており、「自身のもつ自然の回復力を待っているのである」と同じclause ランクでなく、下位階層で機能していると見なされ、節(ranking clause)数は2となる。このような方法で、サンプルごとの節数を計測した。

なお、CBAPは形態素解析の誤りに起因する検出誤りや、複合動詞に関する検出誤りなどの問題が特定されているものの、その検出精度は97%以上であることを述べておく(丸山他, 2004)。

語彙密度の計測対象とする語の特定には、佐野他(2009)で特定された語彙密度計測対象品詞リストを用いた。佐野他(2009)では、形態素解析辞書 UniDic の品詞体系のうち、以下のものを計測対象としている<sup>2</sup>。

名詞・普通名詞・副詞可能、名詞・固有名詞・地名・国、名詞・普通名詞・サ変可能、名詞・普通名詞・形状詞可能、形状詞一般、名詞・普通名詞一般、名詞・固有名詞・人名・名、名詞・固有名詞・地名一般、名詞・固有名詞一般、名詞・固有名詞・人名・姓、名詞・固有名詞・組織名、名詞・固有名詞・人名一般、形容詞一般、副詞、動詞一般、感動詞一般、形状詞・タリ

これらの品詞は、山崎他(2009)の語彙頻度データで、「出現頻度が1万以上であり、かつ、異なり数が150以下の品詞」、「TTRが、0.002以下の品詞」に当てはまらないもので内容語的性質が強いものである(佐野他, 2009)。

以上の方法を用いて、サンプルごとの節(ranking clause)数を計測し、語彙密度の計測対象となる品詞に属する語の数を計測することで語彙密度を計測した。

#### 4.2 書記層からの検証

語彙密度が書記層における話し言葉らしいテキストと書き言葉らしいテキストの差異を捉えられるのかを検証するために、近藤(2005)が話し言葉らしいテキスト特有の表現としてあげている音便化、ラ行の脱落、アスペクトの簡易化表現を含むサンプルと、それと対となる音便化、ラ行の脱落、アスペクトの簡易化がされていない表現を含むサンプルの語彙密度の平均値を計測し、両群に有意差(有意水準 0.01)が認められるかを検証した。

具体的には近藤(2005)であげられていた表現のうち、BCCWJ2008 で使用頻度が10以上であった表3に示す表現を用いて比較を行った。有意差の有無の検定には、データに正規性が仮定できた場合は、 $t$ 検定を用いた。正規性が仮定できなかった場合は Wilcoxon の順位和検定を用いた。なお、以下では話し言葉らしいテキスト特有の表現を含むサンプル群を S 群、対となる表現を含むものを W 群とする。「( )」内の数は当該の表現が利用されていたサンプル数を示す<sup>3</sup>。



表 3: 書記層の検証対象表現

対象表現	項目	群名	項目	群名
音便化	ドッカ(141)	S1	ドコカ(2,506)	W1
	オッカケル(72)	S2	オйкаケル(142)	W2
	ソナナラ(24)	S3	ソレナラ(477)	W3
	ツマンナイ(25)	S4	ツマラナイ(265)	W4
ラ行の脱落	ケド(2,217)	S5	ケレド(2,574)	W5
	コレル(41)	S6	コラレル(323)	W6
	ミレル(90)	S7	ミラレル(2,354)	W7
アスペクトの簡易化	アルイテク(86)	S8	アルイテイク(128)	W8
	オボエテマス(14)	S9	オボエテイマス(105)	W9

この研究はパイロットであり、検証する表現は9ペアと少ない。もし書き言葉らしい表現が利用されているサンプルと、話し言葉らしい表現が利用されているサンプルの平均値に有意差が認められるのであれば、語彙密度は書記層における差異を捉えられる可能性があることを示唆する。

#### 4.3 語彙-文法からの検証

語彙密度が語彙-文法層における書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストの違いを捉えられるのかを、鍛冶他(2004)の書き言葉特有語彙と話し言葉特有語彙を用いて検証した。書き言葉特有語彙は書き言葉では使われるが話し言葉では殆ど使われない語彙を、話し言葉特有語彙は、話し言葉で通常使われる語彙を指す(鍛冶他, 2004)。

書き言葉特有語彙と話し言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルの語彙密度の平均値に有意差が認められるかを、書記層からの検証と同様の手段を用いて検討した。また、話し言葉で利用されることが多いとされる終助詞「ネ」「ヨ」を含むサンプルと、含まないサンプルの語彙密度の平均値についても有意差が認められるかを検討した。

表 4: 語彙-文法層の検証対象表現

対象表現	項目	群名	項目	群名
特有語彙	激しくなる(53)	S10 群	激化する(81)	W10 群
	引き受ける(546)	S11 群	受諾する(30)	W11 群
終助詞「ネ」「ヨ」の有無	有り(3,957)	S12 群	無し(5,738)	W12 群

書記層と同様に、もし書き言葉らしい表現が利用されているサンプルと、話し言葉らしい表現が利用されているサンプルの平均値に有意差が認められるのであれば、語彙密度は語彙-文法層における差異を捉えられる可能性を示唆する。

### 5. 検証結果

#### 5.1 書記層の検証(1): 音便化

音便化された表現を含む S1~S4 群と含まない W1~W4 群の語彙密度の平均値を計測し、有意差が認められるのかを調べた結果を表 5 に示す。S 群に比べ W 群のほうが平均値はいずれも高い。しかしながら、S1(ドッカ)群と W1 群(ドコカ)及び S4(ツマンナイ)群と W4(ツマラナイ)群の平均値には有意差が認められたものの、S2(オッカケル)群と W2(オйкаケル)群、S3(ソナナラ)群と W3(ソレナラ)群の平均値には有意差は認められなかった。

表 5: 書記層検証結果 1

対象表現	S 群	平均	W 群	平均	p 値	有意差
音便化	S1:ドッカ	3.136	W1:ドコカ	3.721	7.772e-14	有
	S2:オッカケル	3.325	W2:オйкаケル	3.608	0.5258	無
	S3:ソナナラ	3.259	W3:ソレナラ	3.455	0.01517	無
	S4:ツマンナイ	2.933	W4:ツマラナイ	3.453	0.0007812	有

5.2 書記層の検証(2): ラ行の脱落

ラ行が脱落した表現を含む S5~S7 群と含まない W5~W7 群の平均値及び有意差の有無について表 6 に示す。S5(ケド)群と W5(ケレド)群及び S7(ミレル)群と W7(ミラレル)群には平均値に有意差が認められた。特に、S7 群と W7 群では平均値に約 2.7 の差があり、顕著な差異が認められる。しかしながら、S6(コレル)群と W6(コラレル)群には有意差が認められなかった。話し言葉らしいテキストに特有と考えられている「コレル」を含むサンプル群(S6 群)のほうが「コラレル」を含むサンプル群(W6 群)に比べ平均値が高い。

表 6: 書記層検証結果 2

対象表現	S 群	平均	W 群	平均	p 値	有意差
ラ行の脱落	S5:ケド	3.341	W5:ケレド	3.524	2.2e-16	有
	S6:コレル	3.969	W6:コラレル	3.702	0.8138	無
	S7:ミレル	3.555	W7:ミラレル	6.265	2.2e-16	有

5.3 書記層の検証(3): アスペクトの簡易化

アスペクトが簡易化された表現を含むサンプルと含まないサンプルでは、平均値に有意差は認められなかった。表 7 に S8(アルイテク)群と W8(アルイテイク)群及び S9(オボエテマス)群と W9(オボエテイマス)の平均値に有意差が認められるかを調べた結果を示す。平均値は W 群のほうが高いものの、有意差は認められない。

表 7: 書記層検証結果 3

対象表現	S 群	平均	W 群	平均	p 値	有意差
アスペクトの簡易化	S8:アルイテク	3.285	W8:アルイテイク	3.315	0.1019	無
	S9:オボエテマス	3.358	W9:オボエテイマス	3.715	0.6958	無

#### 5.4 語彙-文法層の検証(1): 書き言葉特有語彙・話し言葉特有語彙

書き言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルと話し言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルの語彙密度の平均値を比較した結果を表 8 に示す。書き言葉特有語彙を含むサンプル群と話し言葉特有語彙を含むサンプル群では語彙密度の平均値に有意差が認められた。平均値の差も顕著であり、S10(激しくする)群と W10(激化する)群では、平均値に約 1.8、S11(引き受ける)群と W11(受諾する)群では約 2.2 の差がある。

表 8: 語彙-文法層検証結果 1

対象表現	S 群	平均	W 群	平均	p 値	有意差
特有語彙	S10: 激しくする	4.637	W10: 激化する(128)	6.441	7.3e-11	有
	S11: 引き受ける	4.308	W11 受諾する	6.502	2.442e-15	有

#### 5.4 語彙-文法層の検証(2): 終助詞「ネ」「ヨ」の有無

終助詞「ネ」「ヨ」を含むサンプルと、含まないサンプルの語彙密度の平均値を比較した結果を表 9 に示す。終助詞「ネ」「ヨ」を含むサンプル群(S12 群)と含まないサンプル群(W12 群)にも、書き言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルと話し言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルの場合と同様に、有意差が認められた。

表 9: 語彙-文法層検証結果 2

対象表現	S 群	平均	W 群	平均	p 値	有意差
終助詞	S12: 「ネ」「ヨ」有	3.955	W12: 「ネ」「ヨ」無	4.337	2.2e-16	有

### 6. 考察

S1~S12 群、W1~W12 群の語彙密度の平均値を計測し有意差の有無を調べた結果、書記層における差異を示す検証項目である S1~S9 群、W1~W9 群の比較 9 項目のうち、4 項目では有意差が認められたものの、残り 5 項目では有意差が認められなかった。語彙密度計測で、書記層における書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストの差異を捉えることは困難だと考えられる。特に、アスペクトの簡易化に関しては、S8 群(アルイテク)と W8 群(アルイテイク)にも S9 群(オボエテマス)と W9 群(オボエテイマス)にも有意差は認められず、語彙密度によってアスペクトが簡易化された表現を含むテキストと含まないテキストの差異を捉えることは難しいと思われる。

一方、語彙-文法層からの検証項目である S10~S12 群、W10~W12 群の比較 3 項目では、いずれも有意差が認められた。特に、書き言葉特有語彙を含むサンプル群と話し言葉特有語彙を含むサンプル群では平均値に顕著な差が見られた。図 2 に、S10、S11、W10、W11 の最大値、最小値、第 1 四分点、第 3 四分点、中央値を示すグラフを示す。なお、y 軸は語彙密度を示す。

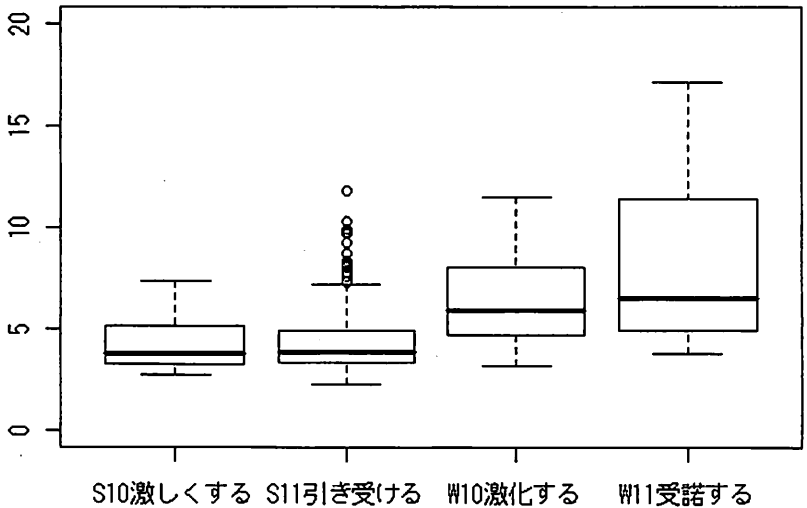


図 2: 書き言葉・話し言葉特有語彙の語彙密度

平均値に有意差が認められるだけでなく、S10 群と W10 群、S11 群と W11 群には、サンプルの分布状況にも顕著な違いがあることが伺える。W10 群と W11 群は、S10 群及び S11 群に比べ、語彙密度が高いサンプルで利用される傾向がある。

これらのことから、語彙密度は語彙-文法層における書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストの差異を捉える指標としては有用性が高いと考えられる。特に、観念構成的意味が近い、書き言葉特有語彙と話し言葉特有語彙の違いを明確に捉えることが可能であると思われる。このように語彙密度によって観念構成的には同じような意味をもつ語彙の差異を捉えられるということは、同義語の語用における相違について検討する際、経験や内省のみに頼らない客観的な指標として、語彙密度が活用できることを示唆する。

7. まとめ

以上、本稿では語彙密度が日本語においても書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストの差異を捉えることができるのかを、書記層及び語彙-文法層から検証した。書記層における検証項目として、音便化、ラ行の脱落、アスペクトの簡易化などの表現を含むサンプルと含まないサンプルの語彙密度の平均値を比較したところ、語彙密度の平均値に有意差が認められたのは、9 項目中 4 項目のみであった。

しかしながら、語彙-文法層における差異を捉える手段としては、語彙密度は有効な指標になり得

る可能性をもつと考えられる。書き言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルと話し言葉特有語彙を含むサンプル及び終助詞「ネ」「ヨ」を含むサンプルと含まないサンプルの語彙密度の平均値を比較したところ、3項目全てで有意差が認められた。特に、書き言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルと話し言葉特有語彙を含むサンプルでは、平均値に明確な差が見られ、また、サンプルの分布状況からも両群の差は明確であった。このことから、語彙密度は、語彙・文法層における書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストの差異を捉えることができる可能性が高いと考えられる。

本研究はパイロットであるため、検証した語彙・文法層の項目は少ない。しかしながら、検証した語彙・文法層の項目では全て有意差が認められた。今後は、語彙・文法層における書き言葉らしいテキストと話し言葉らしいテキストとの差異に焦点をあて、日本語における語彙密度の、すなわち、テキストに情報を詰め込むという言語行為の社会的な役割について検討していきたいと考えている。

## 注

<sup>1</sup>CBAP 節境界ラベルの詳細については、丸山他(2004)を参照

<sup>2</sup>UniDic の体系については、小椋他(2008)を参照。

<sup>3</sup>一つのサンプルに話し言葉らしいテキスト特有の表現とそれと対となる表現の両方が用いられていた場合、S 群及び W 群両方にサンプル数を加算した。

謝辞: 本研究は、文部科学省研究費補助金特定領域研究「代表性を有する大規模日本語書き言葉コーパスの構築：21世紀の日本語研究の基盤整備」(平成18～23年度、領域代表者：前川喜久雄)による補助を得ています。

## 参考文献

- Butt, D., Fahey, R., Feez, S., and Yallop, C. (1995) *Using Functional Grammar: An Explorer's Guide*. Sydney: National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, Macquarie University.
- Clerehan, R., Buchbinder, R., and Moodie, J. (2005) 'A linguistic framework for assessing the quality of written patient information: its use in assessing methotrexate information for rheumatoid arthritis', *Health Education Research*. 20(3): 334-344.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985) *Spoken and Written Language*. Victoria: Deakin University.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1990) 'Some grammatical problems in scientific English', *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*. 6: 13-37.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd edition). London: Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. and Matthiessen, C. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3rd edition). London: Arnold.
- Hammond, J. (1992) *English for Social Purpose*. Sydney: NCELTR Macquarie University.
- Harrison, S. and P. Bakker (1998). 'Two new readability predictors for the professional writer: pilot trials', *Journal of Research in Reading*. 21(2): 121-138.
- Sano, M., and Maruyama, T. (2008) 'Lexical density in Japanese texts: classifying text samples in the Balanced

Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ)' in C. Wu and C. Matthiessen and M. Herke (eds.)  
Proceedings of 35th International Systemic Functional Congress. Sydney: Macquarie University.  
Woodward-Kron, R. Thomson, E. And Meek, J. (2000) Academic Writing: A Language-based Approach.  
Wollongong: Gonichi Language Services.

- 小椋秀樹, 小磯花絵, 富士池優美, 原裕. (2008) 『『現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパス』形態論情報規程集』国立国語研究所内部報告書 LR-CCG-07-04.
- 柏野和佳子, 丸山岳彦, 秋元祐哉, 稲益佐知子, 佐野大樹, 田中弥生, 山崎誠. (2008) 『『現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパス』における書籍サンプルの多様性』特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」平成19年度研究成果報告書(JC-D07-02), 特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」データ班.
- 鍛冶伸裕, 岡本雅史, 黒橋禎夫. (2004) 「WWW を用いた書き言葉特有語彙から話し言葉語彙への用言の言い換え」『自然言語処理』11(5): 19-38.
- 近藤雅恵. (2005) 「日本語の口語的変化」『人間文化論叢』8: 289-296.
- 佐野大樹. (2007) 「学術的表現への言い換え-教育現場での選択体系機能言語理論-」『日本語学』11月号, 60-71.
- 佐野大樹. (2008) 「大規模バランストコーパスにおけるテキスト分類-システミック理論の観点から-」『特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」平成20年度全体会議予稿集』83-90.
- 佐野大樹, 丸山岳彦, 山崎誠, 柏野和佳子, 秋元祐哉, 稲益佐知子, 田中弥生, 大矢内夢子. (2009) 『語彙密度を利用した『現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパス』テキスト分類の試み』特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」平成20年度研究成果報告書(JC-D-08-02), 特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」データ班.
- 柴崎秀子, 玉岡賀津雄, 山本和英, 加納満, 原信一郎, 李在鎬. (2008) 「平成20年度研究進捗状況報告: リーダビリティ一班日本語コーパスを応用した文章の難易測定の研究」『特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」平成20年度全体会議予稿集』77-82.
- 伝康晴, 小木曾智信, 小椋秀樹, 山田篤, 峯松信明, 内元清貴, 小磯花絵. (2007) 「コーパス日本語学のための言語資源: 形態素解析用電子化辞書の開発とその応用」『日本語科学』22: 101-122.
- 丸山岳彦, 秋元祐哉. (2007) 『『現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパス』におけるサンプル構成比の算出法(1)-現代日本語書き言葉の文字数調査-』特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」平成18年度研究成果報告書(JC-D-06-02), 特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」データ班.
- 丸山岳彦, 秋元祐哉. (2008) 『『現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパス』におけるサンプル構成比の算出法(2)-コーパスの設計とサンプルの無作為抽出法-』特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」平成18年度研究成果報告書(JC-D-07-01), 特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」データ班.
- 丸山岳彦, 柏岡秀紀, 熊野正, 田中英輝. (2004) 「日本語節境界検出プログラムCBAPの開発と評価」『自然言語処理』11(3): 39-68.
- 山口昌也, 高田智和, 北村雅則, 間淵洋子, 小林正行, 西部みちる. (2008) 『『現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパス』における電子化フォーマット ver.2.0』特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」平成19年度研究成果報告書(JC-D-07-03), 特定領域研究「日本語コーパス」データ班.
- 山崎誠, 丸山岳彦, 柏野和佳子, 佐野大樹, 秋元祐哉, 稲益佐知子, 田中弥生, 大矢内夢子. (2009)

「現代日本語書き言葉均衡コーパスのサンプル長と言語的特徴-固定長サンプルと可変長サンプルの質的な違い-」『言語処理学会第15回年次大会発表論文集

語彙的意味の共有度より導かれる治療アプローチの違いと  
サイコセラピーにおけるテキスト性の捉え方  
The Therapeutic Difference Shown by the Share of Lexical Meaning  
and How to Capture the Texture of Psychotherapy

加藤 澄

Sumi Kato

青森中央学院大学

Aomori Chuo Gakuin University

要旨

Sullivan、Searles という統合失調症治療における異なる著名な精神科医による面接セッションを、語彙的共有度の観点から比較観察し、治療上のアプローチの違いを明示する。方法として、Hasan による同一連鎖、類似連鎖、そして結束調和分析のマッピングが用いられている。観察の結果、Searles のアプローチでは、患者の陳述に、語彙の多義性を利用した二重解釈あるいはメタファーとしての解釈の連鎖が見られたが、Sullivan のそれでは、これらの連鎖は見られなかった。つまり Searles におけるセッションでは、セラピストによる語彙の二重解釈あるいはメタファー的解釈によって進められていくのに対して、Sullivan では二重解釈あるいはメタファー的解釈を施さず、患者の意味を明確化していく手法がとられている。メタファーによる解釈では、その多義性から患者/クライアントの抑圧された無意識とのつながりを意識下に引き出すことが、セラピーにおける主要な目的となる。

さらに結束調和分析では、Searles によるセッションは、Sullivan によるそれよりも結束性が緊密であることが観察された。しかし経験構成的意味解釈からすると、必ずしも意味をなしているとは言いがたい。そこで、「二者言語」、「三者言語」という概念を用いて説明に供すると、Searles によるセッションでは、セラピスト—患者/クライアント間でしか理解されない二者言語の段階からセラピーのプロセスを踏んでいくアプローチがとられ、一方、Sullivan のそれでは、始めから三者言語の確立を目指したアプローチがとられることが結論づけられた。

1. はじめに

本研究は、Harry Stack Sullivan<sup>1)</sup>によるサイコセラピーの面接記録を基に、精神療法における語彙-文法資源の定式化を試みようとする研究の一貫である。本研究では、Harold F. Searles<sup>2)</sup>による面接セッションと Sullivan によるそれとに、Systemic Functional Linguistics (以後、SFL) で捉える結束性の理論的枠組みに基づき、同一連鎖、類似連鎖、そして結束調



和分析のマッピングを行い、そこから両者の治療アプローチを比較することによって両アプローチの違いを明示することを目的とし、語彙的意味の共有度、結束性の観点から、サイコセラピーのテキスト性について考える。

Sullivan は特に統合失調症治療で知られ、その治療実績は伝説的に語られるほど画期的なものである。Sullivan が治療に携わっていた時代は、まだ抗精神病薬ができていない時期で、その治療は面接とアルコール療法、治療環境の創出といったものを基盤にしたものであった。従って、抗精神病薬に頼らず、面接等の物理的治療法のみで扱って治療実績を築いたことは、当時も今も驚異的に受け止められている。Searles は、Sullivan と同じく特に統合失調症治療で知られ、サイコセラピーの過程における治療者の感情的な深い関わり合いの意義を明らかにし、患者と治療者との共生的関係の重要性について言及している。面接を柱としたその治療手法から、Sullivan の後継者とも言われるが、二者の臨床持論よりその面接手法には顕著な違いが窺われる。

まず、Sullivan であるが、セラピストは患者/クライアントが用いる言葉の意味を綿密に調べ確認するまでは、患者/クライアントが何を意味しているのかわかるとすべきではないとして、患者/クライアントが使用する言葉の意味を厳密に確認しながらセラピーを進める手法をとる。一方、Searles は、コード化された形で意味を伝えるメタファーの使用を重んじて、患者/クライアントの言葉を、その内界を伝えるメタファーとしての解釈に心を砕き、そしてそれを操作する方法をとる。これらの両者の臨床見解から伝えられる治療アプローチの違いは、両者の面接トランスクリプトを通観しただけで、十分窺えることで、本研究では、二者の実際の面接セッションに結束性の分析を行うことで、その治療アプローチの違いを言語学的手法を用いて明示することが目的である。比較対照することにより、統合失調症治療の二つの高峰とされる二者の治療アプローチを明示したい。

まず、Sullivan と Searles のセッションから同一連鎖、類似連鎖のマッピングをはかった結果、Searles のマッピングでは、語彙的多義性を利用した二重解釈あるいはメタファーとしての解釈の連鎖が明示されたが、Sullivan のそれでは観察されなかった。このことがもたらすセラピー上のアプローチの違いについて考える。どちらの治療アプローチが有効なのかについての言及は、研究の論じる範囲を超えるので、両者の治療アプローチの違いの指摘に留め、さらに結束調和分析を施すことによって、セラピーの面接テキストにおけるテキスト性の捉え方について考察する。

## 2. 資料と方法

資料は、Sullivan と Searles による統合失調症患者との面接セッションのトランスクリプトを用いる。以下の2つである。

### 1) Sullivan による面接セッション

1920年代に行われた15歳、破瓜型3)統合失調症患者との面接セッション。患者は11ヶ月と20日後に、回復の見込みなく転院させられている。このケースは、Sullivan が慢性

疾患として、本質的に器質性のものである。治療の間、患者は抗精神病薬 4) のような薬物療法は受けていない。抗精神病薬はこれらの面接セッションが行われた 1920 年代には存在しなかったためである。

## 2) Searles による面接セッション

ミセス・ダグラスのケース *The Case of Mrs. Douglas*, 1977 年 9 月 22 日にサールズの開業オフィスで行われたもので、1 時間のセッションの完全なトランスクリプトが残されている (Langs and Searles 1980:267-299)。患者は 33 歳で統合失調症を発症、重度の疾患である。治療は精神分析によるアプローチのみで、薬物は用いられていない。この録音が行われた時点で Seales はすでにこの患者を 25 年間診てきている。

上述の面接セッションに、SFL に基づいた結束性の分析がなされる。分析にあたって、各セッションのセグメント化がなされたが、セグメント化はトピックの区切りごとになされ、本研究で結束性のマッピング例として例示するのは、それらの中から無作為に抽出したものである。本研究はこれらのマッピングを通じて、Sullivan、Searles 両者のサイコセラピーにおける言語使用の違いを明示することを目的とし、マッピングによって得られた観察結果について議論する。

## 3. 同一連鎖・類似連鎖のマッピング

SFL では結束性は、テキスト性という概念の中で捉えられている。Halliday and Hasan (1976) は、テキスト概念を統一性のあるディスコースとして捉え、テキストにテキスト性を与える要素の 1 つが結束性であるとし、テキストがどのように結束性を持つようになるのかという理解を求めてアプローチをはかった。そこで結束作用をもたらす手段として、1) 指示 (reference)、2) 代用 (substitution) と省略 (ellipsis)、3) 接続 (conjunction)、4) 語彙的 (lexical) という四つの結束作用をあげている。

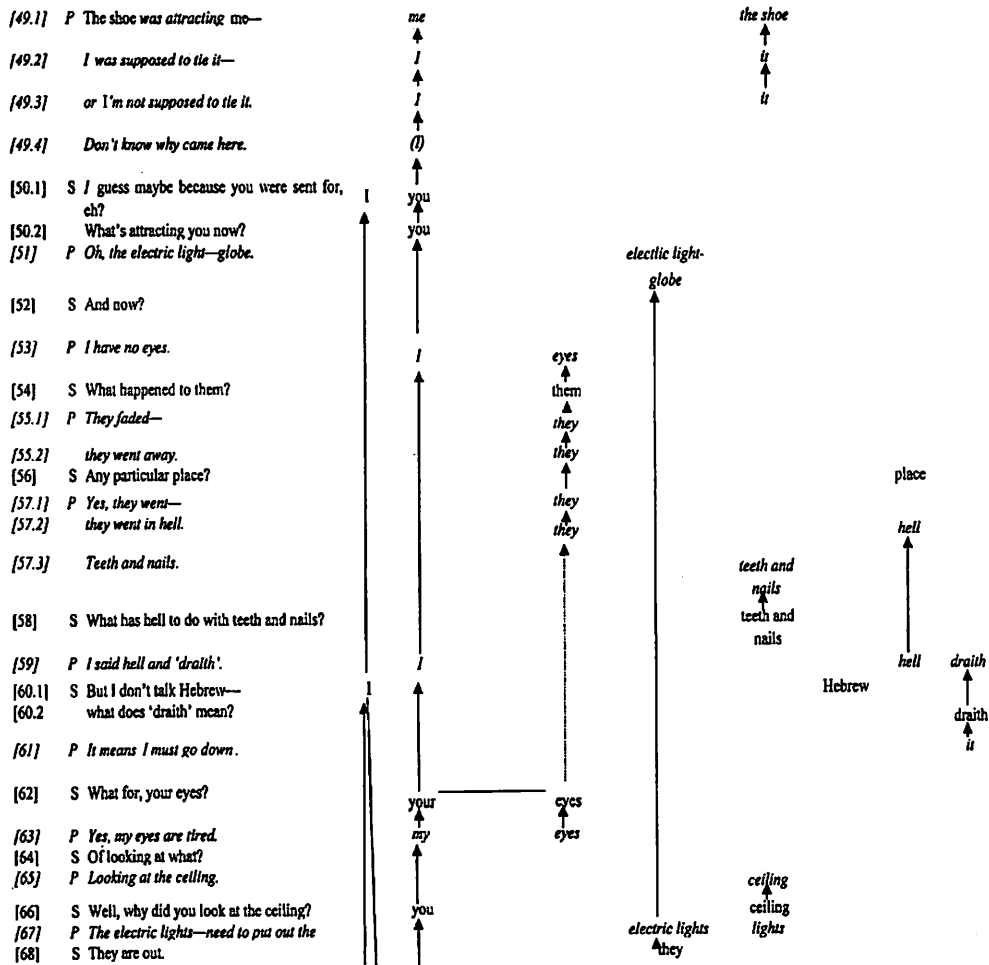
さらにこの仕組みを基に、Hasan (Halliday and Hasan 1985) は、それぞれが「同一指示」[上述、1) の指示に相当]、「同一分類」[2) の代用と省略に相当]、「同一外延」[4) の語彙的に相当] という意味関係によって、他と関連づけられた一組の項目によって、結束的連鎖 (cohesive chain) を形成するとする。連鎖には 2 つの下分類、「同一連鎖 (identity chain)」と「類似連鎖 (similarity chain)」があり、前者は、同一指示からなるもので、後者は同一分類か同一外延に関連するもので、同類の物・出来事、あるいは非同類ではあるが関連性のあるもの・出来事の項目からなる。図 1 と図 2 は、同一連鎖の例を、それぞれ Sullivan、Searles による統合失調症患者とのセッションから、そして図 3 は、類似連鎖の例を、Searles の別のチャックからマッピングしたものである (患者の発話を斜体にして、セラピストとの別が通覧できるようにしてある。Sullivan のセッションでは、S=Sullivan、P=患者；Searles のセッションでは、S=Searles、D=患者)。本研究では、この Halliday and Hasan の結束性の理論的枠組みから、これらの連鎖を観察することによって得られるセラピー上のアプローチの違いについて論じる。まず、図 2 に示した Searles による面接セッションより、同一連鎖のマ

ッピングを行ったものを見てみたい。

図2で、網掛けになっている部分がセラピストによる語彙の多義性を利用した二重解釈あるいはメタファーとしての解釈の呈示として捉えられるグループである（但し、これは類似連鎖）。例えば、[171.2]の *meaning of family ties* は[171.1]の *ties* に対して、*Might have meanings of family ties* という所有的関係過程節でつながり、そこから文字通りの *ties* をめぐって、セラピストと患者の間で意味の交渉が行われている。文字通りの *tie* をめぐる交渉の連鎖が、ボックス内に示される語彙群である。2つ目のグループもやはり[182.5]の *black* に対して、[183]で、*black-may have some meaning of depression* という所有的関係過程節でつながっている。

どちらの連鎖もセラピストの発話であり、セラピストが患者の使用語彙に語彙の多義性を利用した二重解釈あるいはメタファーとしての解釈を施し、言い換えをはかろうとしている箇所、メタファーとして類似連鎖を形成している。前者に関しては、*ties* という物品からその用途が象徴するもの、ここでは絆として捉えられている。確かに *ties* には *bond* と同義の解釈があるが、それに *affection* あるいは *family* という抽象語を付与しての解釈がなされている。患者は単にネクタイを作ると主張しているだけであるにもかかわらずである。ここで患者がいう *ties* とは文字通りのネクタイのことである。このセッションについての Langs (Langs and Searles 1980:230) との対話の中で、Searles は患者が常にネクタイを作っていること、また Searles 自身が自分にも作ってもらいたいと常に頼んでいることを明らかにしている。

図1 同一連鎖(Sullivanによるセッション)



加藤：語彙の意味の共有度より導かれる治療アプローチの違いとサイコセラピーにおけるテキスト性の捉え方

- [69] P Yes, it's too bright.  
 [70] S You like the dark?  
 [71] P I like it when it's medium.  
 [72.1] S This is pretty fairly medium, isn't it?  
 [72.2] (Moves restlessly, starting to rise)  
 [73.1] S Well, Larry, there was quite a long time you didn't say so much to us.  
 [73.2] How come?  
 [74] P I don't even know I'm present.  
 [75.1] S Present?  
 [75.2] How come you were quiet so long?  
 [76.1] P Quiet so long?  
 [76.] Because I'm a mouse.  
 [77] S Sure you are not a giraffe?  
 [78.1] P Can't you turn out—  
 [78.2] what's behind here  
 [78.3] (going to curtains of closet).  
 [78.4] Is mine hiding here?  
 [78.5] I'm afraid of the dark—  
 [78.6] I'm afraid of being robbed.  
 [79] S Of what?  
 [80.1] P Didn't know such a thing would happen.  
 [80.2] Rob me of my body.  
 [81] S What good would your body be?  
 [82.1] P I could walk—  
 [82.2] my body?  
 [82.3] Because it's an ornament.  
 [83] S You think somebody might steal it to use it as an ornament?  
 [84] P Yes, I think so.  
 [85] S What would they ornament with it?  
 [86] P I don't know what to do.

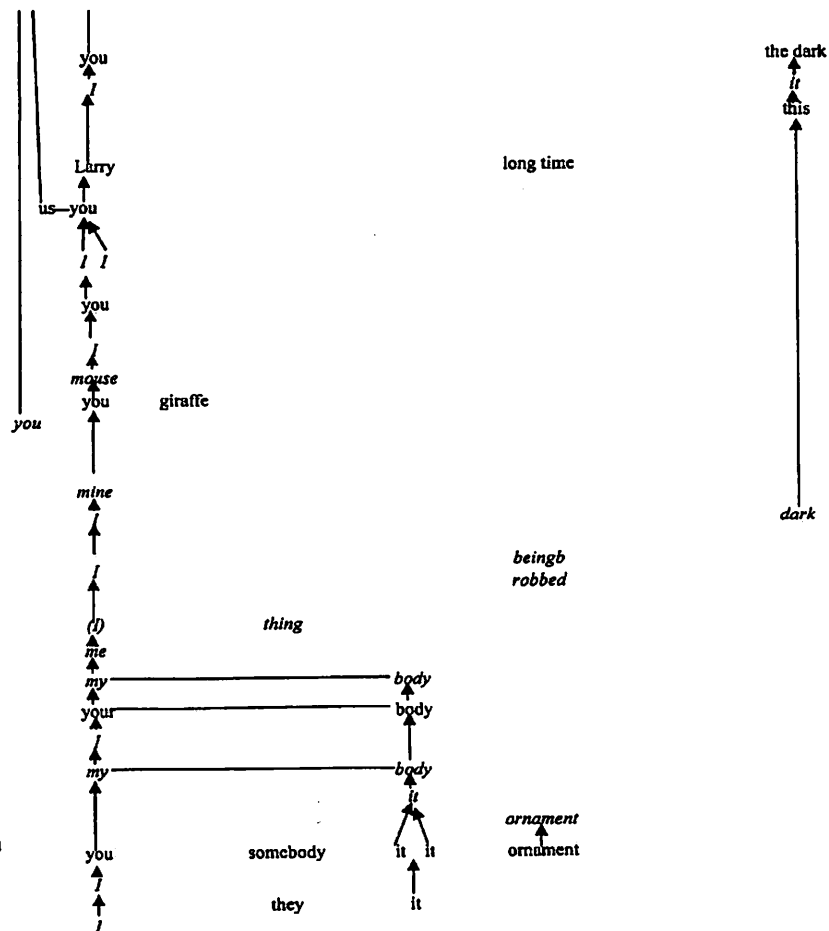
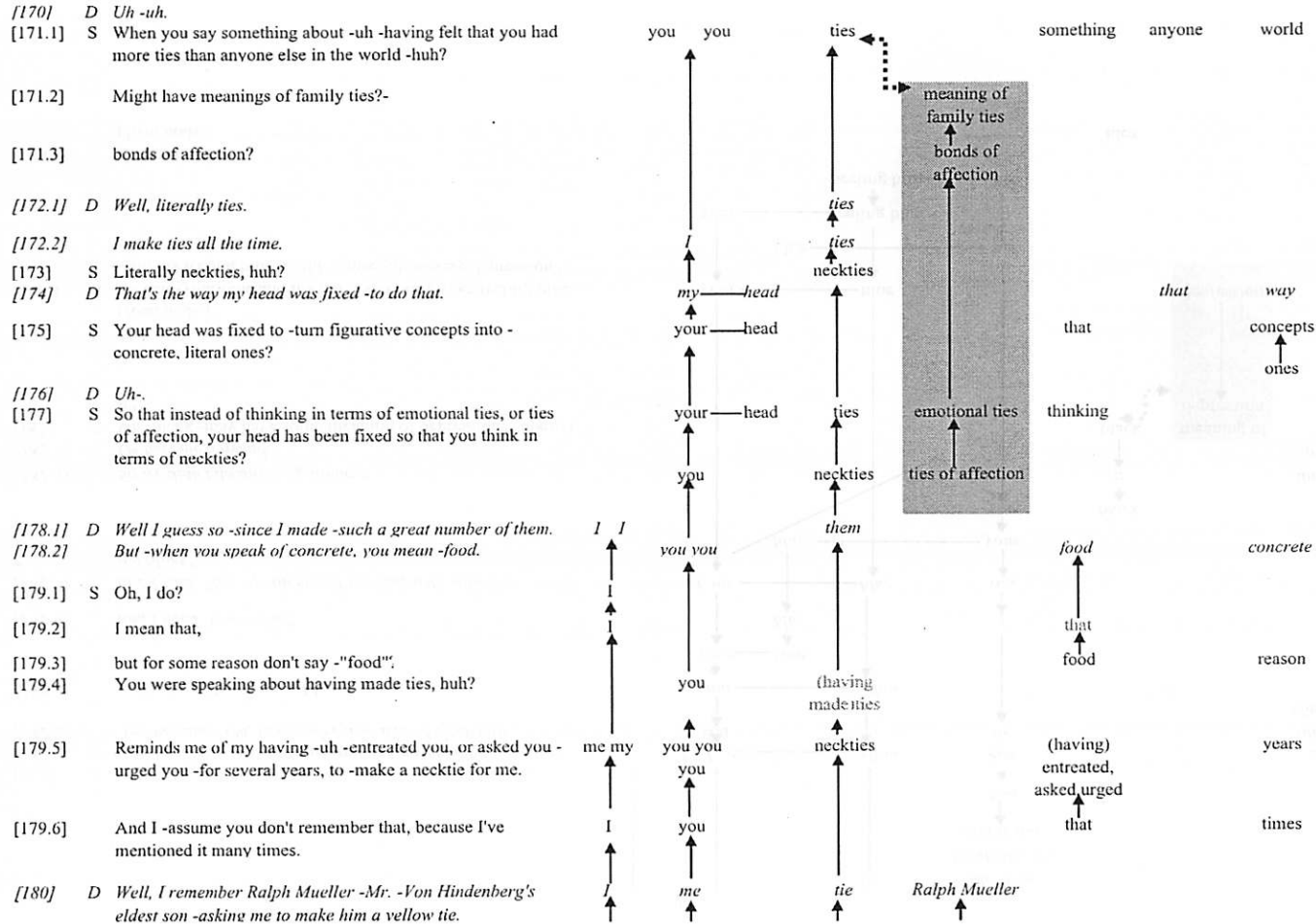


図2 指示連鎖 (Searlesによるセッション)



[1811] S I see.  
 [182.1] D And I said I didn't -see how -my -yellow would do him any  
 [182.2] And he said, "Oh, yes, you're a source of electricity,  
 [182.3] and your yellow is your blue,  
 [182.4] and I need -more blue",  
 [182.5] and I said, "But -if you mixed my blue with your blue, you'd  
 get black".  
 [182.6] So we didn't do anything about it.  
 [182.7] Or become a nymph.  
 [183] S Uh -black -may have some meaning of depression? -doesn't  
 it?  
 [184] D Um.  
 (Joan nods.)  
 [185.1] S So that -your blue and his blue is -mixing your feeling blue  
 with his feeling blue might -cause -uh -severe depression? -  
 [185.2] is that the idea?  
 (Joan nods.)

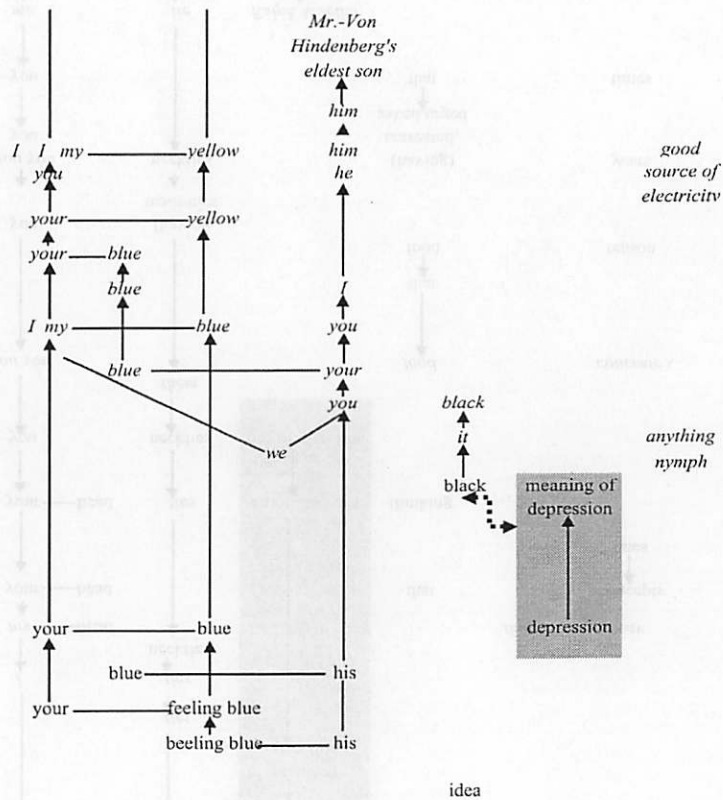
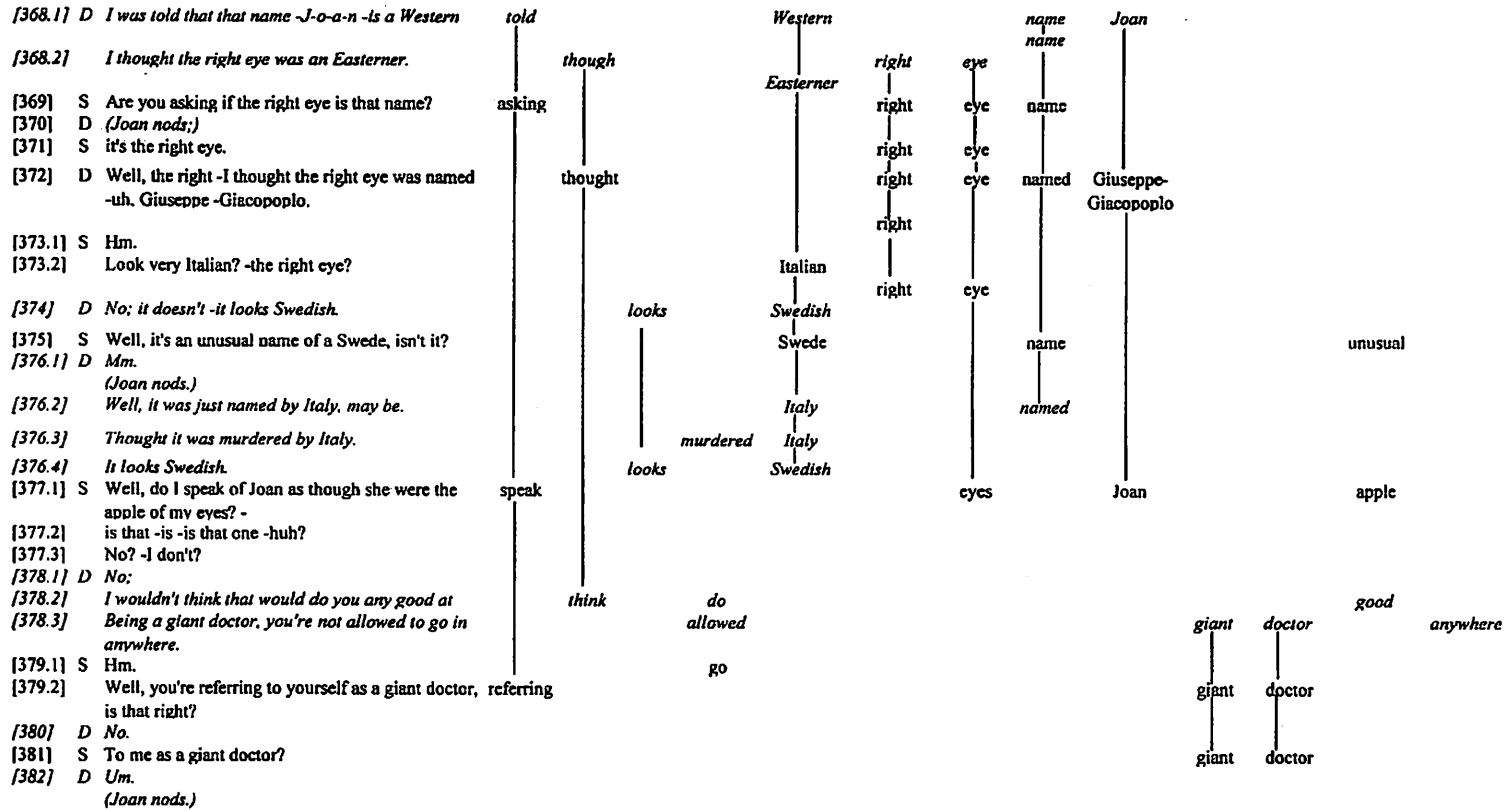


図3 類似連鎖 (Searlesによるセッション)

(S: Searles D: Mrs. Douglas)





加藤：語彙的意味の共有度より導かれる治療アプローチの違いとサイコセラピーにおけるテキスト性の捉え方

しかし Searles はこの物品として *ties* に、別の解釈を織り込んでいるのである。この対話の中で Langs は、Searles と次のようなやり取りをしている (Langs and Searles 1980:229)。

Langs: And the tie represents her unconscious perception that you need the tie to her.

Searles: Right, I took up the ties in an emotional sense. I think that turned out to be a good things.

もう一方の *black* を *depression* とする連想に関しても、確かに情緒・感覚的意味は遠くはないが、状況のコンテキストからみて、解釈の飛躍といえないこともない。一方、図1に示される Sullivan のマッピングには、語彙の多義性を利用した二重解釈あるいはメタファーとしての解釈の連鎖は生じていない。また図2では、いくつかの特定の語が頻繁に登場し、長い連鎖を形成しているのに対し、Sullivan のマッピングでは、患者とセラピストを表す人称代名詞以外に、こうした連鎖はみあたらない。このような相違点は、両者のどういったアプローチの違いからくるものなのであろうか。これについて議論を進めていく前に、ここでメタファーの定義について概観してみたい。

#### 4. メタファー概観

メタファーを解釈することは、ある概念領域を別の概念領域の観点から理解することを可能にするもので (杉本 1998:201)、言葉によって喚起される、あるいは概念化されるものと言語とを結びつける認知的プロセスである。メンタル・スペース理論から説明すると、このプロセスはソース (メタファーに使われる概念領域) とターゲット (メタファーによって理解される概念領域) という異スペースのマッピングによってなされるが、その際にこの2者間に融合スペースが作り出され、両者の顕著な特質がその融合スペースにおいて検討され、メタファー解釈のための認知作業がなされるのである (Fauconnier 1997)

1つの表現をメタファーとして捉えるかどうかは、聞き手の側の認知上の処理が関係する。伊藤 (1991:33)は、認知処理のプロセスとして、1)入力情報に関する各スキーマの活性化、2)スキーマの重ね合わせによる共通特性の抽出、3)主題に関する内的表現の新たな構成、をあげている。スキーマとは物事について構造化された形で記憶されている情報群のことをいう。例えば「男は狼」の認知処理は、第1に、「男」スキーマと「狼」スキーマが記憶より呼び起こされるが、受け手によって、各スキーマにおける顕著性の認識に違いがあり、それがメッセージの解釈に影響を及ぼす。例えば、「男」は「襲いかかる危険な存在」といった顕著特性を受け手が認めていなければ、この表現のメタファー的解釈は読み取られないか、あるいは少なくとも送り手の意図とは別の読み取りがなされるかもしれない (伊藤 1991:33)。

このメタファー解釈の基盤となる情報群の蓄積には、2つの背景要因がからんでくる。1つは文化のコンテキストである。受け手が所属する文化、社会的コンテキストによる影響を受けながら、受け手の中に情報群が蓄積されるのである。もう1つは、受け手の個人的経験に基づく情報群の蓄積である。受け手の過去の生活史の中で蓄積されてきたものであ

り、受け手の経験世界の解釈の基盤となるものである。これら2つの背景要因が絡み合っ  
てスキーマが蓄積され、それによってメタファー解釈に個人差が出てくるのである。こ  
こからメタファーの多義性という特質が生じてくる。

セラピーにおいて、アイロニーと同じく、あえて文字通りの表現を用いず、メタファー  
を用いる相互作用上のメリットは何なのかを考えた場合、このメタファーが持つ意味の多  
義性が注目される。つまり1つのソースが、複数のターゲットを可能性としてもつという  
点である。

北山は、言葉の両義性（あるいは多義性）が、セラピーという設定において持つ意義に  
ついて、次のように述べている。

精神分析ではフロイトに代表されるように、複数の異なった意味のうちの一部  
が抑圧されて無意識になっている言葉の両義性が問題となる。これに加えて、ほ  
とんどの意味が意識されている場合でもそのつながりの方が無意識であるとき、  
両義的な言葉の発見によってそのつながりが初めて明らかとなる場合もある。し  
かし、実際の臨床場面における両義的な言葉の使用は、抑圧された意味を意識さ  
せながら乖離したつながりを明らかにする場合はほとんどなので（中略）。国語  
の枠組みの中で広く共有された意識されやすい意味と、患者の創造したものでふ  
つうは無意識に抑圧されてしまいやすい個性的な意味との間が、両義的な言葉に  
より結びつきながら分けられるという現象に注目し…。 (北  
山 1993:15-16)

セラピーにおけるメタファーの使用で問題となるのは、第二の背景要因である患者/ク  
ライエントの個人的経験に基づくスキーマの集積である。セラピストが、面接においてメ  
タファーを用いて言い換えをはかるのは、患者がその解釈に要するスキーマ体系の個人  
的经验に基づいた情報蓄積より、抑圧された無意識とのつながりを意識上に浮上させる作用を  
及ぼすためであると考えられる。ここにおいてセラピストが目指すのは、個人的経験に基  
づく抑圧された無意識とのつながりを探るものとなる。ターゲットをソースで理解するだ  
けでなく、ターゲット領域に関する推論を、ソース領域の推論に基づいて行うことの可能  
性（杉本 1998:116）が、セラピーにおいて意味を持つものとして機能するのである。北山  
（1993:70）は、「両義的な言葉は、人々に共有されやすい意識的な意味と、個人が個別の  
内面に抱いている個性的な意味との間の橋渡しの機能を果たしている」としている。

##### 5. その他の治療上のメタファーの機能

セラピーにおけるメタファー使用によってもたらされる機能として、他にもいくつか考  
えられる。先ず Face Threatening Acts (以後、FTA)の観点から、アイロニーと同様、その多  
義性からくる婉曲性のために、患者/クライエントのフェイス 5)に与える脅威を和らげる働  
きがあげられる。

不安喚起はセラピーにおける重要概念の1つである。不安の概念は Sullivan が提唱した

ものではないが、理論的に発展させ、サイコセラピーの支柱としたのは Sullivan である。Sullivan は不安を、懸念、緊張、恐怖、罪悪感、無能感、無価値感、恥、自己嫌悪など、あらゆる情緒上の苦痛形態を入れた苦悩の状態のことをさして言っている。対人関係の何かがうまくいかなかった、あるいは長くそうした状態に置かれた時、不安が生じ、そして一度不安が生じると、それは他者との関わりに否定的な影響を及ぼす。不安に苛まれた体験は、患者/クライアントが未来の対人的関わりの中で、資源として使うことのできる情緒上の体験体系の中に同化されず、その人は不安体験を、決して起こらなかったものとして見なすのである (Chapman 1980)。

セラピーではこの不安を利用するわけであるが、不安が患者/クライアントに湧き上がってくることによって、問題特定のために、どこを精査していけばいいかがわかる。もし患者/クライアントの対人関係についての探求がうまく行われていけば、不安はしばしば持ち上がってきて、治療者はそれを利用する機会を得ることができる。逆に言えば、もし不安喚起が自然に生じてこなければ、治療者は重要な局面を扱っていないのである。このように不安喚起は、セラピーで利用できる重要な資源であるが、極度の不安は逆に相互作用の流れを損なうため、常時モニターされる必要がある (加藤 2009)。セラピーのセッションの間、激しい不安を体験すると、患者/クライアントは躊躇いがちになったり、急にその話題を避けて関連のないことを議論し始めたりすることがある。患者/クライアントは不安領域が、緊張からパニックにわたって自分を不快感で満たすという点で危険な領域であることを、自身の発達期に知ってしまっているのである。そこでセラピストはそれを扱おうとすると、抵抗 6) を受けることになる。

こうして過ぎた不安は、セラピーの進行の妨げになるのである。不安がセラピーの進行にはずみをつける一方で、それはまたセラピーの流れを妨げるものとなる。いわば不安は、サイコセラピーにおいて諸刃の剣として作用するのである。従ってセラピストは、不安を有用な水準に維持しなければならない (Chapman 1978)。Sullivan の治療では、妄想を有する統合失調症患者の場合、患者が緊張病状態 7) に近づくまで患者を極度の不安に置くことで、患者の妄想に揺さぶりをかけ寛解に導くために、不安喚起のプロセスは特に重要なものとなる (加藤 2009)。

それでは、言語学的見地から、不安は何によって引き起こされるのであろうか。純粋に内的体験から引き起こされる部分については、言語分析が扱える範疇を超えているが、語彙-文法的レベルに留まる限り、次のことが考えられる。

セラピーでは、基本的に患者/クライアントは通常、自分たちの消極的フェイス 8) 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。セラピストはセラピーを通じて、命令、要求、あるいは解釈を通して、批評、忠告を行わなければならないため、患者/クライアントのなわ張りに対して侵入的であらざるをえない。Fraser (1990) は、命令、忠告、脅し、警告を聞き手の消極的フェイスにとって脅威となる行動として指摘し、また不平、批判、反対、タブーである話題を持ち出すといったような行動を、聞き手の積極的フェイス 9) にとってのそれであると指摘する。このことから、

FTA は語彙-文法的レベルにおいて不安を喚起する潜在的要因といえる。そして緩和はセラピーの状況では、侵入的言語行動あるいはFTAによって引き起こされるかもしれない不安の高まりをコントロールする言語行動と考えられる (加藤 2009)。メタファーによる言い換えは、この緩和作用を持つものと考えられる。

セラピーにおける問題構築の段階では、患者/クライアントが述べたことを、セラピストが言い換えることによって相互作用が進められていく。患者/クライアントが体験事象を述べ (=formulation)、それに対してセラピストが、患者/クライアントの経験世界の受け止め方を変えるために患者/クライアントが述べたことを別の言葉で言いなおすことによって進められる。言い換え (reformulation)とは、つまり患者/クライアントの経験世界の認識に新しい準拠枠を与えることで、その経験世界の認識を変えていくための言語行動である。こうして言い換えは、新しい意味を生み出すことになる。この場合、適切な言い換えは、面接の成功の鍵となるもので、よって治療過程の最も重要な構成要素となる。

セラピストによってメタファーによる言い換えがなされる時、メタファーが持つ意味の振幅が、こうしたFTAを和らげるのである。例えば、“Marriage is cocoon.”と言った場合、cocoonの解釈は、1)安全な場所、2)発展、成長の場、3)幽閉の場、4)逃れ場 といった意味の幅を持つということである (Ferrara 1994:130)。

Barker (1985)は、メタファーは患者/クライアントによって、異なる意味を持つという点で、投影法に似ているとしている。またメタファーの解釈の曖昧性のために、患者/クライアントは、その曖昧さを補うために自分自身の持っているものを引き出ししてくるとしている。その時に引き出されるものの1つに、北山の言う無意識のうちに抑圧されている意味とのつながりがある。

2つ目の機能として、名詞化の機能と同様に、メタファーを用いることによって、患者/クライアントの経験世界の解釈が抽象化・一般化されたものとして、患者/クライアントに捉えられるという点がある。そこから問題の外在化が可能となる。

問題の外在化というのは、患者/クライアントが抑圧的なものとして経験する問題を客体化するよう患者/クライアントを促すアプローチである。この過程で、問題は患者/クライアントから離れた実体、問題の原因であるとされてきた人物、あるいは対人関係とは別のものと化す。患者/クライアントに生来備わったもの、あるいはその人間関係に固定化されたものとして捉えられてきた問題は、外在化されることによって、もはやそうした動きのとれないものではなくなる。問題を外在化することで、患者/クライアントは今まで自分の生活や対人関係を形成してきた問題まみれの経験世界の解釈から、自分を引き離すことが可能となるのである。そうすることによって、新しい生活を構築できるようになる (White 1990:38-49)。

名詞化は具体的な情報を隠すことによって客体化を行うが、それは患者/クライアントの一致した表現を、語彙-文法上、「もの」として扱うことでなされる。ここでいう一致した表現というのは Halliday の概念で、それによると、言語は、相互に関連し合う3つの意味を作り出すシステム、意味層 (semantics)、語彙文法層 (lexicogrammar)、音韻層 (phonology) から成るが、各層は具現という関係で結ばれ、意味層と語彙-文法層でなされる選択は、通

常、自然な一致した (congruent) なものであるが、これら 2 層が独立層であるために、各層において意味的に一致しない選択がなされることも可能であるという捉え方に基づく。Halliday は一致しない表現を文法的比喩として捉えるが、名詞化は文法的比喩の 1 つとして考えられる。この名詞化によって具体的な経験構成に伴う情報が失われ、結果として、患者/クライアントの経験世界の概念化のプロセスが生じる。これはセラピストが患者/クライアントの問題を「もの」として扱うことを可能にするが、それによって、問題の客体化、一般化が生じ、患者/クライアントは問題を外在化された現象として捉えられるようになる (加藤 2009)。これと同様のことが、メタファーについても言えるのである。第一の背景要因である文化、社会的な尺度から集積されるスキーマ体系、言い換えれば文化、社会的に共有された信念体系を背景にして、メタファーによって意味されるものが抽象化、一般化されたものとなり、問題の外在化に寄与する点があげられよう。ここでは、文化・社会的な概念体系を反映する個人によってあまり振幅の広がらないメタファーが用いられなければならない。このようなメタファーを使用することによって、患者/クライアントの経験世界の解釈の一般化、抽象化がはかられるのである。

3 つ目の機能として、メタファーを使い、そしてそれを解釈するというセラピスト—患者/クライアント間の共同作業が、ラポール 10) を築くのに一役買う点があげられる (Ferrara 1994:130)。メタファーの創造あるいは解釈をめぐる、そこにセラピスト—患者/クライアント間で共同作業が行われると、それはラポール構築につながる。入念に創造されたメタファーの意味の相互理解が生まれると、セラピーの場で用いられる言語が相互理解を促すために使われようという信頼が参加者に生まれ、ラポール構築を育むことになるのである。こうしたメタファーの創造と理解をめぐる相互に協力的な過程が、セラピーにおける将来のその他の協力作業の基盤となるのである。

## 6. 足場の危うさ

長谷川 (1991:54) は、治療的パラドックスあるいは治療的二重拘束 11) との対比の下という但し書き付きではあるが、メタファーを治療言語として捉え、さらにその中でも初等クラスあるいは基礎に属するものと位置づけている。この初等クラスの治療言語としてのメタファーの使用頻度は高く、1 時間セッションで 100 ワードにつき、平均三つのメタファー語彙が使用されるという報告もある (Pollio and Barlow 1975)。また、北山 (1989:15) は、患者の生の体験に距離を置いて指し示す言葉を作る必要があるとし、その言葉作りの方法として、比喩化と織り込みをあげている。前者は、患者の体験する代表的言動を文字通りに表す言葉を、患者の反復問題行動の比喩として用い、それを共有するやり方のことを言い、後者は、患者の言うことと治療者の考えを織り込んで言葉を作り、そうした共有語彙を増やしていくというやり方のことを言う。どちらもセラピスト—患者/クライアント間の語彙の共同創造と共有という点に注目が置かれている。

このようにメタファーがセラピーにおける重要な言語資源の 1 つであることに異論はなからうが、一方で、この同じ言語資源は、相互作用の不毛を生む可能性を孕む。図 2 では、

前提として、*black* をソースとして、*depression* をターゲットとしているが、もし仮に *black* がターゲットであるとしたら、あるいは *yellow*、*blue* がターゲットであるとしたら、つまり患者自身がメタファーを話し、それにセラピストがさらにメタファーで応酬しているだけであるという捉え方もありうる。図2における網掛け部分のボックスは、患者の語彙をソースにした場合のメタファーであるが、患者自身が用いる語彙がすでにターゲットであるという可能性があるということである。つまり何がソースで何がターゲットであるか、Searles によるセッションなどでは、図2、図3のチャックに見られるようなソースとターゲット設定の足場が危うく思われる場面がしばしば観察される。

Searles による面接では、患者の発話に、外的なもの内的なものに関わらず、ほとんどの局面でメタファーとしての解釈が施されている。患者の陳述を、心のありさまを反映するものとしてメタファー的に眺めていくこと、内的なもの、外的なものを問わずメタファー的に眺めていくと、何が足場なのか、つまり、何を文字通りの現実と捉えるべきなのか、区別がつかなくなるというようなことが起こりうる。一種、言葉のゲームのような様相を呈してくる。

この足場について、濱野は、次のように述べている。

あることがらについて熱心に話をするのできるのは、その物語に使われることばを支え、裏付ける現実が必ず存在するという信頼があるからである。字義通りということばに魅力があるのも理由のないことではない。われわれが当たり前と思っていること、文字通りのできごとであると思っていることをメタファーとして捉えようとするとき、それを極端に推し進めるとどこまでいってもメタファーでしかなく、挙句の果てにそのメタファーの生まれてきた足場が突然崩れて消えてしまうということになるのではなからうか。それは自分の存在する場がなくなってしまうということでもあり、精神病レベルの不安に「～」との関わりにおいてメタファーが支えられているという構図があり、「～」が存在する場をどのように考えるべきかという問題が必ずメタファーにはついてまわるのである。(濱野 1990:185)

とどのつまり、われわれが生きているのは、心的現実であって、セラピストが探るのは、患者/クライアントが生きている心的現実である。われわれにとって客観的現実というものは、存在しないのである。現実には実際にわれわれが認知する通りに存在するものと通常、われわれは考えがちで、実際の事象について話す時、あるがままの現実について描写していると信じ込んでいる。しかしわれわれが描写するものは、実はわれわれが対象事象に対して抱くメンタル・イメージに基づいて認知したものに過ぎず、現実そのものではない(加藤 2009)。従って、そうした心的現実をメタファーで解釈しようと思っても、それはメタファーに対するメタファーによる解釈でしかないことを常に心に留めておかなければならない。

ここでは特に、統合失調症者との相互作用の足場となるものについてさらに考察を進め

るために、次のセクションでもう一度、結束性のマッピングをみてみたい。

## 7. 統合失調症者の発話特徴

統合失調症者の発話特徴として、統合失調症患者が会話上の、または論理的意味よりむしろ語彙的意味に従って話す傾向が強いことが、多くの研究より報告されている。例えば、統合失調症患者は、1) 音声的な諸特徴、押韻、語呂合わせ、同義語の拡大使用に基づいて語彙を選ぶ (Arieti 1974)、2) コンテキストを考慮して語彙選択をするのではなく、強い意味、または患者/クライアントが好む意味から語彙を選択する (Chapman and Chapman, 1973)、3) ディスコース上、時間的に離れた時点よりも近い時点で発話された語彙に影響を受ける (Salzinger, Portnoy, Pisoni, and Feldman 1970)、といったような諸特徴が指摘されている。例えば、次のような例である。

(1)

The first time they attacked at Pearl Harbor, now they will attack at Diamond Harbor or at Gold Harbor.  
(Arieti 1974: 254)

(1)では、‘harbor’ が2回繰り返され、また pearl, diamond, goldなどはすべて宝石、輝石の類で、語彙的結束性は強い。しかし経験的意味解釈からすると、意味をなしているとはいえない。Searlesの面接例でも、図3より、類似連鎖を観察すると、*Western, Eastener, Italian, Swedish, Swede, Italy*といった語彙の羅列など、語彙的結束性を持つ連鎖が並ぶが、意味をなしているとは言いがたい。解釈の拠り所となるものがテキスト外にあり、それがコンテキストとの照合を通して見た時、そこに整合性を見出せないからである。こうした統合失調症者の発話特徴を考えながら、先述の足場についての考察に戻ると、例えば、(1)の Pearl Harbor, Diamond Harbor, Gold Harborといった語彙の羅列に、メタファー的解釈を施すことにどれほどの意味があるのかといった疑念が浮かぶ。統合失調症者の語彙使用上の足場が危ういとする背景には、こうした恣意的な発話特徴が存在するのである。

Rochester and Martin (1979) は統合失調症者と正常人の談話を比較分析し、1) 統合失調症者は正常者より指示的結束性 (cohesive tie) をあまり使わないこと、2) 思考障害を持つ統合失調症者はそうではない統合失調症者より語彙的結束性 (lexical cohesion) に頼る傾向があることを報告している。しかし結束性を考える場合は、連鎖の考察だけでは不十分である。Hasan (Halliday and Hasan 1985) は連鎖はあくまで構成素のみを材料とするもので、テキストとして談話を考える場合には、メッセージ自体が問題とされなければならないとする。つまり語彙-文法的単位がテキストとして生きるのは、文節以上の階層においてであり、言語単位が完全なメッセージをコード化できるのはこの階層においてであると捉えられるのである。従って連鎖は結束性を作るのに組するが、それだけでは不十分で、メッセージの構成素間の関係を考えなければならないとする。つまり、同一連鎖と類似連鎖が互いにどのように相互作用するかまで調べなければ、結束性の捉え方として不十分であると

するのである。この連鎖の相互作用が結束調和 (cohesive harmony) である。

Hasan (Halliday and Hasan 1985) によれば、結束調和が成り立つのに必要最低限の条件は、最低2つの連鎖のメンバーが別の連鎖の最低2つのメンバーと同じ文法関係に立つことである。根拠は2つあって、1つはもし関係が1つで十分だとすると、連鎖に入る項目はそれ自体で他のメンバーと相互作用を行うことになる。つまり連鎖のグループに入るというだけで相互作用の尺度になることになってしまう。従ってその場合は、連鎖の形成と連鎖の相互作用とを区別する必要がなくなる。しかしでたらめな文節や群 (group) リストに必ずしも結束性が見出されないことから、連鎖自体が結束性を伴うことはないとする。2つ目の理由は、2つの連鎖メンバーが同じ関係に立つということは、2つの方向性を示しているということで、1つはメンバーが同じ連鎖のメンバーであることを示す意味的類似性を示すものであり、もう1つの方向性は、2つの連鎖のうちペアをなすメンバーを結びつける意味的類似性を表す。つまり、行為者と行為、発言者と発言、行為とその行為が及ぶ領域、修飾と修飾されるものといったグループの構成素間の相互作用がなされているかどうかをみることによって始めて、結束性というものが測れるということである。さらにわかりやすく言えば、結束性のあるテキストを作ろうとする時、話し手は同じこと、似たようなことが含まれる事象がどれだけ似ているかを示せるだけ、同じようなこと、似たようなことを言い続けるということである。

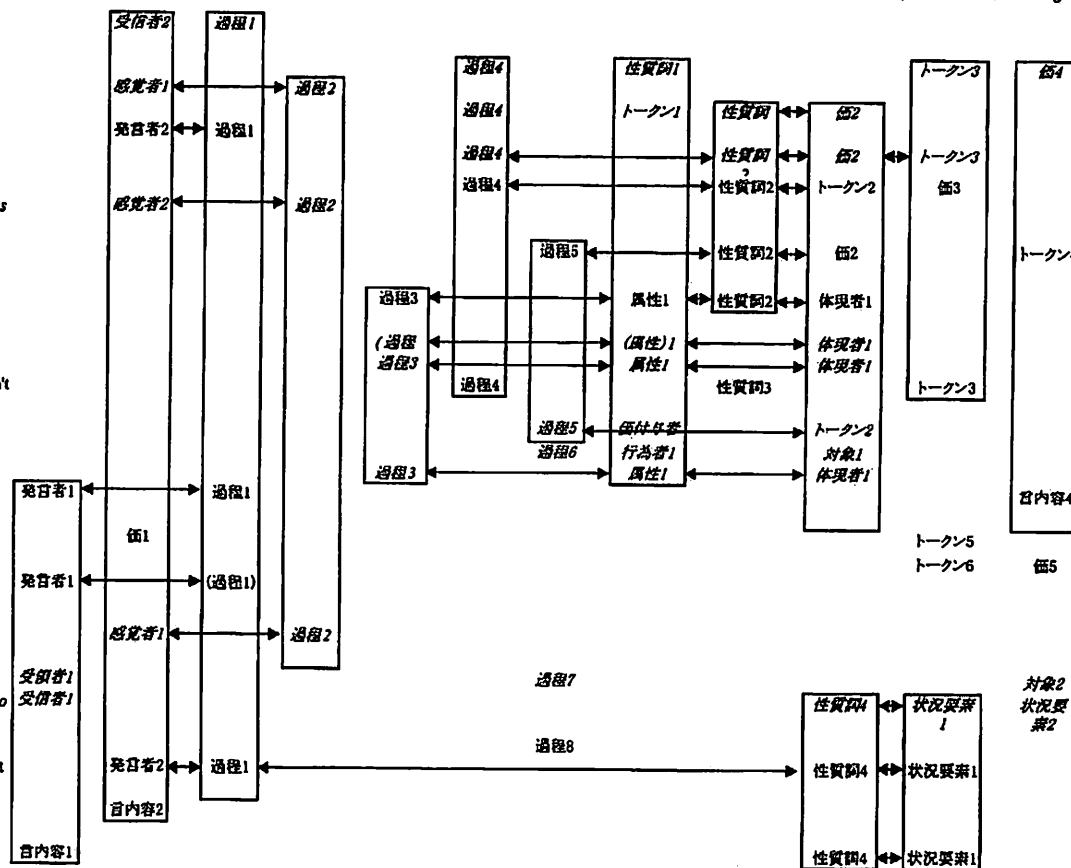
そこで Hasan の結束調和分析に従って、図3に示されるセッションに結束調和分析を施したものが図4である。



図4 結東傾和分析1 (Searlesによるセッション)

(S: Searles Dr. Mrs. Douglas)

[368.1] D I was told that that name ~J-o-a-n -is a Western name.  
 [368.2] I thought the right eye was an Easterner.  
 [369] S Are you asking if the right eye is that  
 [370] D (Joan nods.)  
 [371] S it's the right eye.  
 [372] D Well, the right -I thought the right eye was named -uh, Giuseppe -Giacopoplo.  
 [373.1] S Hm.  
 [373.2] Look very Italian? -the right eye?  
 [374.1] D No; it doesn't -  
 [374.2] it looks Swedish.  
 [375] S Well, it's an unusual name of a Swede, isn't  
 [376.1] D Mm.(Joan nods.)  
 [376.2] Well, it was just named by Italy, may be.  
 [376.3] Thought it was murdered by Italy.  
 [376.4] It looks Swedish.  
 [377.1] S Well, do I speak of Joan as though she were the apple of my eyes? -  
 [377.2] is that -is -is that one -huh?  
 [377.3] No? -I don't?  
 [378.1] D No;  
 [378.2] I wouldn't think that would do you any good at all.  
 [378.3] Being a giant doctor, you're not allowed to go in anywhere.  
 [379.1] S Hm.  
 [379.2] Well, you're referring to yourself as a giant doctor, is that right?  
 [380] D No.  
 [381] S To me as a giant doctor?  
 [382] D Um.(Joan nods.)



Hasan (1985:93)によれば、テキストの語彙項目は、関連項目(中心項目と非中心項目とに分れる)と周辺項目とに分けられる。図4においてボックスで囲まれているのが同一連鎖と類似連鎖を合わせたもので、これらの連鎖グループに入る項目が関連項目である。またこれらの連鎖グループのメンバーの中で、矢印で結ばれている連鎖項目が中心項目で、結ばれていない連鎖項目が非中心項目、そして過程7のようななどの連鎖にも入らずに単独で存在する項目が周辺項目である。

結束性の緊密度をはかる基準として、Hasanは、1)関連項目に対する周辺項目の割合が低ければ低いほど、テキストの結束性は高くなる、2)非中心項目に対する中心項目の割合が高ければ高いほど、テキストの結束性は高くなる、3)相互作用の図で断絶が少ないほど、テキストの結束性は増す、をあげている。この基準に基づいて各項目の割合比を出すと、1) 関連項目に対する周辺項目の割合は12%、2) 非中心項目に対する中心項目の割合は69%という数値が得られる。3) に関しては、図より単独で存在する語彙項目が少ないこと、また連鎖のグループに入る語彙でも、他の連鎖グループと相互作用を行う項目が多いことから、断絶が少ないことが観察できる。

この数値結果より、図4に示されたセッション部分は、明らかにテキストの結束的つながりの束の密度が高いことが明示されるのである。しかし経験的意味解釈からすると、例えば、*it (the right eye) was just named by Italy* や、*it was murdered by Italy* といったような発話の羅列に、テキスト性があるといえるのだろうか。

Halliday and Hasan (1976)は、テキスト性の定義として、どんな言語の断片であれ、操作的なもの、換言すれば、ある場面の脈絡において統一体として機能しているものはテキストを構成するとしている。そしてテキストにテキスト性を与える必要要件が結束性であるとする。その場合、テキスト性はオール・オア・ナッシング、つまり結束的なつながりの密度の高い束があるか、それとも全然ないかの問題ではなく程度問題であるとする。

木村 (1975:228) は統合失調症者の言語使用の特徴について、減裂思考とか統合失調語症が、「異次元」の述語面によって統一された思考、言語様式であるとする。世界の諸概念、事物はそれぞれ非連続的に存在しているが、これを述語面で包摂して、個物と個物、概念と概念の間に連絡をつけているため、連続したものとして認識できるが、もし、この述語面が異質なもので統一されれば、個々の概念、事物は統合を欠き、非連続のものになってしまうであろうとしている。これは上述、*it (the right eye) was just named by Italy*、*it was murdered by Italy* など一連の発話によって例証されるものである。後者の *it* は文脈上、*the right eye* を受けていると考えられるが、それぞれ別のものをさしている可能性もある。図4のチャンクでは、*it* という指示詞が随所に見られるが、そのたびごとに違うものをさしているということが可能性としてありうるのである。ちょうど幼児の発話において、「これ」、「あれ」という指示詞の頻発が、必ずしも適切な同一連鎖に従ったものではないのと同じ状況であるともいえる。

ではこうした異質な言語様式によってなされる相互作用が、テキスト性を示す必要要件となる高い結束性を示すということはどういったことなのであろうか。

## 8. 二者言語・三者言語の観点から捉えるセラピー

北山 (1993:127-130) は「二者言語」、「三者言語」という概念を用いて、セラピーにおける相互作用を段階的に捉えている。それによると、二者言語とは、二人にしか通じないもの

で、二人だけに共有された符牒のようなものとされ、三者言語は第三者にもわかる言語であるとされている。さらに一者言語というものがあるとすれば、それはナルシスティックな言葉の使用であり、当事者以外には通じないと感じられるもので、自分にも通じないことが多いとしている。

北山 (1993:127-130) はさらに、比喩について言及している。比喩を三つに分類、セラピストにはまだ理解できないが、いつか理解できる可能性のある「わからない比喩」、セラピストと患者/クライアントの間でしか比喩として共有されることのない「二人だけの比喩」、国語の枠組みの中ですでに共有されている「国語発想論的比喩」とがあるとする。

この北山の概念を借りれば、Searles によるセッションは二者言語による相互作用の段階といえよう。セラピーは基本的に、二者の間で行われる相互作用である。その二者間で符牒が共有されれば、そこでは密な結束性が達成されていると考えられるが、そこから緊密なテキスト性が示されるのである。北山 (1993:70) は、「筆者にとっては、このような比喩を媒介にしたやりとりが統合失調症圏の患者の治療論全体においてどれほどの意義があるのか未だわからない」としつつも、セラピストが比喩を聞こうとするから患者/クライアントが比喩を話し、患者/クライアントが比喩を話すからセラピストが比喩で応えるという相互共感的な側面と当然即妙のやりとりは、重症例であればあるほど重要な要素となるであろうとしている。用いられる比喩が拠って立つ足場は危ういが、それはそれでセラピーにおける 1 つの相互作用の様式として、機能を果たすという立場である。

しかし患者/クライアントは常に社会の中で、他者との相互作用を果たしながら生きていかなければならず、そのためには、その相互作用は第三者にもわかるような言語様式を用いてなされなければならない。話される言葉は常に「みんな」にわかるように伝えられなければならないのである。従って、二者言語から三者言語様式への移行がはからなければならないのであるが、Searles によるアプローチでは、段階的なプロセスが採られるのに対し、極力曖昧性を排除し、患者の言葉の意味を確認しながらセラピーを進める Sullivan のアプローチは、始めから、三者言語を射程においたアプローチと言えるかもしれない。

セラピー設定で使用される言語様式を、北山のいう二者言語のままに、そこで語られる発話の意味解釈だけに心をくづくか、始めから三者言語に徹底しようとはかりながら相互作用を進めていくかは、各セラピストが採るアプローチの手法上の問題ということになる。勿論、疾患の重篤度、セラピーの回数などその他の要因に対する考慮も、アプローチの採用に含まれることであろうが、ここでは単純に異なるアプローチの例示としたい。Barker (1985) は、セラピストは、患者/クライアントのコミュニケーション様式に関心を寄せるよう心がけるべきであるとしている。間接的コミュニケーションをとらずに、直接的なものだけで治療が成功に結びつく患者/クライアントもあれば、直接的なものだけでは変化がもたらされず、間接的コミュニケーションへと傾きがちな人々は、メタファーやその他の比喩表現を使う傾向があり、この種の人々は、自分の伝達する実際情報よりも、自分が聞き手に及ぼす影響に関心が向くようだと述べている。

Searles (Langs and Searles 1980:297) はこの自身のセッションについて、“beautiful”、“lovely, lovely, lovely” であると賛辞の形容詞で表現している。それは、このセッションにおいて、自殺願望、殺意、性的感情等の抑圧感情が、患者のみならずセラピスト自身のそれも含めて、

手応えをもって確かめられたという理由によるものである。例えば、図2のチャンクにおける tie について、セラピストが患者との絆を求めていることを患者が理解していることの現われであるという Langs (Langs and Searles 1980) の指摘を受け入れ、また black を患者の絶望の意味に解釈するなどしている。また eye に関しては、患者がアル・カポネ、チュニスから来た男、セラピストの注意を引く誰かなど、そのつど特定の人物がセラピストの eye の中に見えろと言うのを受けて、セラピストは患者がその人物にセラピストを投影しているといった解釈を行っている (Searles 1995)。このセッションでも(2)のようなやりとりが見られる。

(2) Searles のセッションより

- [284] D Well, it's a woman.  
 [285] S It is a woman.  
 [286] D The right eye's a woman, and the left eye's a man.  
 [287.1] S Hm.  
 [287.2] Now, whether they're married is another question? -huh?  
 [288] D (Joan nods.)  
 [289] S Huh?  
 [290.1] D Well, I -I think she's -she's a very good doctor,  
 [290.2] she wouldn't hurt anyone.  
 [291.1] S The one in the right eye?  
 [291.2] So that if she married, she wouldn't -isn't the type who would murder her husband?  
 [292] D Uh -uh.  
 [293] S She isn't.

辻褄の合わないやり取りが、セラピーに益するとは思えないことから、結束性がセラピーの成功・不成功に関与するものであることは想定できよう。

Hasan は結束性と教育の関連について次のように述べている。

教育において大事なことは、結束性のある談話を作り出すことである。教師は、生徒が選ばれた話題について、結束性を持ってつながりがよいように「話す」教育をし、訓練をすることを目指している。新しい分野について話す時、初めの頃の談話は、後の段階での談話に比べると結束性が少ない。(中略) 学習者において中心的概念のあいだの意味的關係がまだはっきりしていないからである。生徒の練習問題をとりあげてみて、教師は、それに結束性があるとかないとかまず決めてかかることは絶対にすべきではない。たんにそれ自体のメリットにおいて、教師はあるがままに談話を受け止めなくてはならないのである(中略) 意味は言語によって構築されるので、教師はその練習問題に使われている言語に集中することによって、それができる。(中略) 結束の仕組みは、意味の關係を確立するからこそ、テキスト性を形成するのである。談話に結束性がないのは、互いに関係した意味を系統立てる能力がないということを示している。特定の型の言葉遣いを選ぶと、どんな意味になるかを指摘することによって、教師は生徒を助けることができる。

(寛 1991:158-159; Halliday and Hasan 1991:158-159)

サイコセラピーにおける対人的相互作用は、教師と生徒間で成立する教授的談話 (pedagogic discourse) によって実現される。セラピーは患者/クライアントの経験世界の認識に変化と洞察を与え、それが現実生活の場で行動パターンの変化となって現れるようにすることを目的とするが、そのためにセラピストは、患者/クライアントを新しい経験世界の解釈へと導いていくプロセスを踏むのだが、そのプロセスは教授的談話と類似するものと捉えられる (加藤・マッケンターラー 2007)。

前述の引用より、Hasan は、教師は生徒が選ばれた話題について結束性を持ってつながりのよい話し方をする訓練を行うとするが、これをサイコセラピーの状況に当てはめると、セラピストは患者/クライアントが選ばれた話題について、結束性の緊密な談話で話せるように指導していくプロセスとして捉えることができる。サイコセラピーは患者/クライアントの陳述をセラピストが言い換えていくことによって進行していく。サイコセラピーにおける言い換えとは、患者/クライアントの言語化を言い換えて返してやることによって、患者/クライアントの経験世界の認識に新しい枠組みを与えてやるという重要な言語行動で、これがまさに教授的談話としての基底となるものである (加藤・マッケンターラー 2007)。

そこで、患者/クライアントの陳述において結束性が緩いということは、患者/クライアント自身が、自身の経験世界の認識において、洞察ができていないということを示すものとなる。分かりにくい、曖昧であるということで、言い換えれば、患者/クライアント自身が言いたいことの内容がよくつかめていないということである。つまり洞察度が低いという見方ができる。逆に、結束性が高ければ、経験世界に対する洞察が深まっているということである。こうしたことから、患者/クライアントの洞察の深化の度合いが、結束性の束の緩みと緊密さの観察の中で、把握されるという見方ができよう。

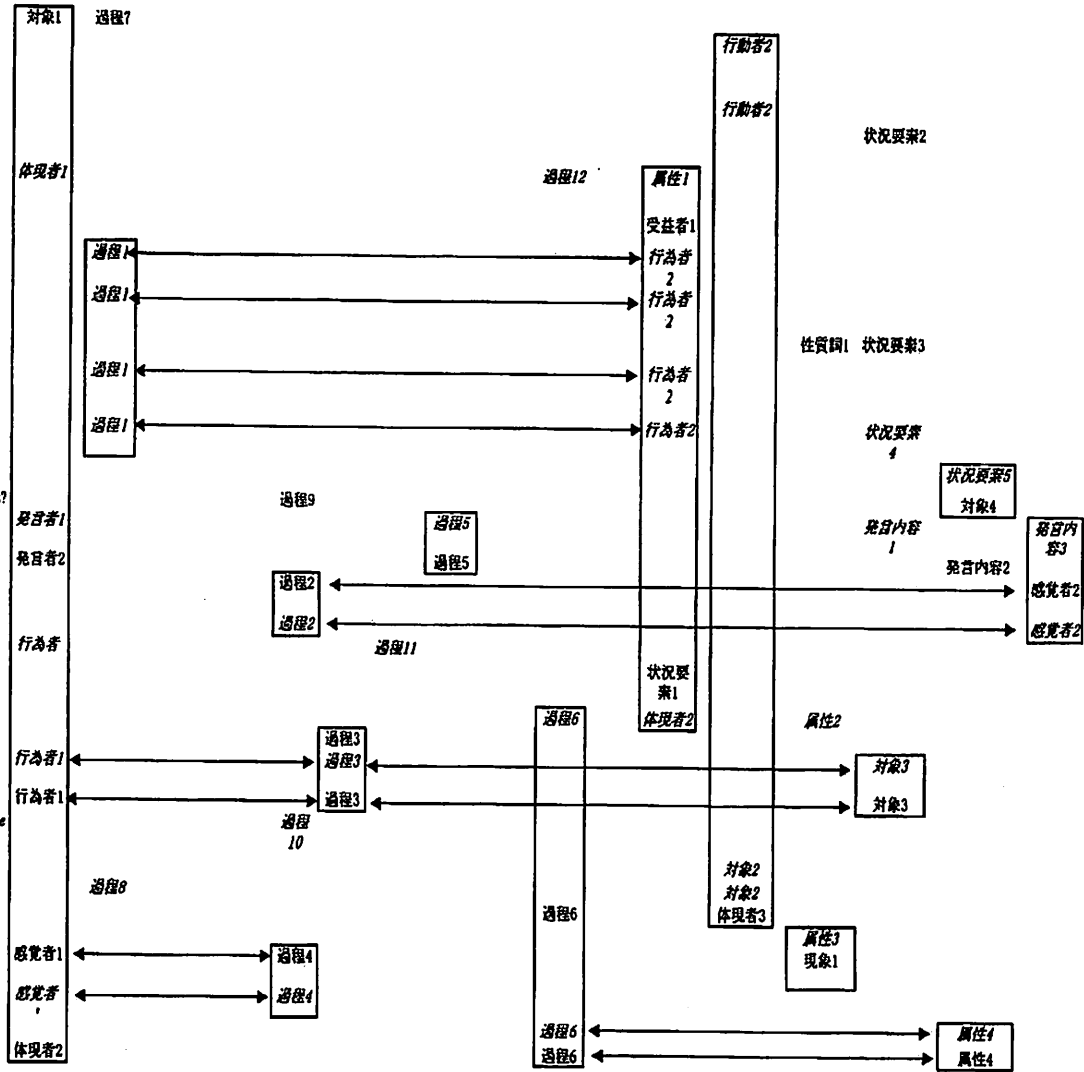
これがセラピーにおける結束性の捉え方の基本であるとする、二者言語による相互作用もまた、二者にしかわからないやり方ではあるが、上述の基本型を踏襲しているといえる。その際に進め方の軸となるものが、メタファーという意味の振幅の大きい表現媒体資源であるが、第三者にとって、意味解釈をめぐって推論の幅が極端に広がった時、二者言語という捉え方がなされよう。

それでは、Sullivan の面接ではどうなのであろうか。図1のセッションをトピックに区切った1つのチャンクに、結束調和分析を施したものが図5である。

図5 結束調和分析2(Sullivanによるセッション)

Japa

- [50.2] What's attracting you now?
- [51] P Oh, the electric light—globe.
  
- [52] S And now?
- [53] P I have no eyes.
- [54] S What happened to them?
- [55.1] P They faded—
- [55.2] they went away.
- [56] S Any particular place?
- [57.1] P Yes, they went—
- [57.2] they went in hell.
- [57.3] Teeth and nails.
- [58] S What has hell to do with teeth and nails?
- [59] P I said hell and 'draith'.
- [60.1] S But I don't talk Hebrew—
- [60.2] what does 'draith' mean?
- [61] P It means I must go down.
- [62] S What for, your eyes?
- [63] P Yes, my eyes are tired.
- [64] S Of looking at what?
- [65] P Looking at the ceiling.
- [66] S Well, why did you look at the ceiling?
- [67] P The electric lights—need to put out the lights.
  
- [68] S They are out.
- [69] P Yes, it's too bright.
- [70] S You like the dark?
- [71] P I like it when it's medium.
  
- [72] S This is pretty fairly medium, isn't it?  
(Moves restlessly, starting to rise)



加藤：語彙的意味の共有度より導かれる治療アプローチの違いとサイコセラピーにおけるテキスト性の捉え方

これを Hasan による基準に基づいて各項目の割合比を出すと、1) 関連項目に対する周辺項目の割合は20%、2) 非中心項目に対する中心項目の割合は51%という数値が得られる。3) に関しては、図より単独で存在する語彙項目が比較的少ない、ことから、明らかに図4のチャックと比べて、結束性が緩いことがわかる。

先述のセラピスト自身による評価より、結束性が緊密であるということがテキスト性に寄与するということから、テキスト性が緊密であるか散漫であるかによってセッションの成功・不成功がはかれる可能性があることが仮説として言えるかもしれない。但し、そこには常に、二者言語、三者言語の別が付随するのである。それでは、緊密ではないセッションが必ずしも不成功例なのかという点に関しては、本研究が論ずる範囲を超えているので言及しない。ただ言えることは、Sullivan による統合失調症治療によって、約80%の患者が治癒に至っていることが報告されていることである (Chatelaine 1922)。これは当時も今も驚異的な数字で、特に当時は抗精神病薬といったものがない状況での治療であるから、臨床実績として伝説的に語られる所以となっていることに言及しておきたい。

勿論、テキスト性を考える場合、テキスト性に関与するその他の要因、情報構造、主題のパターンなどの考慮が求められて、総合的な判断が可能となるのであり、結束性はその中の要因の1つに過ぎない。しかし重要な要因である。

本研究では、結束性のマッピングを通して、Sullivan、Searles の面接アプローチの違いを、主に Searles のアプローチの特徴を論じることによって、逆に Sullivan のそれを浮き上がらせ、テキスト性の重要要因である結束性について考察したものである。治癒という面からみた場合、どちらが有効であるかは、本研究の論ずる範囲を越える問題であるので、ここではアプローチの違いを指摘するに留める。

二者のアプローチの違いを示すものとして、二者それぞれの議論をここに引用したい。以下は Sullivan からである。

不確実性の余地が多少でもあれば、話し手が自分の使用する用語の含む含蓄の範囲を、必要なだけ可能な限り明言的に定義を試みる必要がある。これがそもそも不可能である場合、例えば大部分の精神病患者/クライアントを相手にする時には、単語の用法は、きみのほうの意味ではなくて、患者/クライアントにとっての意味のほうが勝つ。患者/クライアントにとっての意味が何かは、患者/クライアントの言語的生産物の中でその単語が使われた文脈からこちらが作りあげる他ないことが少なくない。この作業の手がかりとなるデータが全然なければ、われわれの方では、これは「支離滅裂」さとか不整合などといって気を取り直す他はない。一般に曖昧性の高度なこと、あるいは準拠枠が漠然としていることがはつきりわかっているならば、そういう患者の単語使用法に基づく結論を出すことには十二分の用心をするのが賢明というものである。

(中井他 1995:123; Sullivan 1962)

一方、Searles の面接アプローチを示すものとして、本研究で引用したセッションの重症統合失調症患者との20数年間にわたる面接について、Searles は次のように述べている。

彼女にとっては妄想の世界の中で完全に具体的な出来事である体験を、象徴的ないしは比喩的なものでしかない言語という形へと翻訳することを、彼女がきっぱりと拒絶するということが、何度も何度も無限に繰り返されてきたということである。しかし彼女のおかげで、それらの体験の中には、いかに多くの手で触れることのできる具体的な現実があるかということに私は次第に気づくようになり、そのことでかえって彼女が私の力を借りて、言語への翻訳という方法をとることが多くなってきたのだった。

(松本他 1995: 166-167; Searles 1979: 208)

Greenson (1967)は、精神分析家に必要とされる最も重要な技能は、患者が話すものの裏側にあるもの、音楽に例えて言えば、聞こえる主旋律を聞き取ると同時に、対位旋律（ここでは無意識に相当）も聞いていなければならないことである。あるいは絵画に例えていけば、患者が描く断片的な描画を見ながら、そこに見られるものの無意識を遡って、それを翻訳することができなければならないとする。Spence (1987) は、セラピーには表層的な読み方と、無意識を読んでそれを構成するという2つの選択があり、精神分析家は後者を好むものであるが、それを分析家は顧慮してみる価値はあるとしている。なぜなら、もしその構成物がメタファーによって成り立つものであれば、それを追い求め続けることが、セラピーの過程上、何かの役に立つからであると結んでいる。

## 9. 結論

本研究の目的は、SFLにおいて捉えられる結束性の概念を基に、結束性のマッピングをはかることによって、語彙的意味の共有度と結束性の観点から、Sullivan と Searles の面接アプローチの違いについて明示することであった。そこで、Searles による面接テキストの同一連鎖と類似連鎖のマッピングの通観より、語彙の多義性を利用した二重解釈あるいはメタファーとしての解釈を呈示する連鎖が観察されたが、Sullivan のそれでは見られなかった。こうした相違点より、セラピーにおけるセラピストによるメタファーの使用が、セラピーにおいてどのような意義をもつものなのかを考察した。

まず、セラピーにおいてメタファーが持つ機能として、1) FTA の観点から、その多義性からくる婉曲性のために、患者/クライアントのフェイスに与える脅威を和らげる、2) メタファーを用いることによって、患者/クライアントの経験世界の解釈が抽象化、一般化されたものとして、患者/クライアントに捉えられ、問題の外在化が可能となる、3) メタファーを使い、そしてそれを解釈するというセラピスト-患者/クライアント間の共同作業が、ラポール構築につながる、という点があげられる。そして4つ目として、本研究が焦点を置く、セラピストがメタファーを用いて、患者/クライアントの陳述の言い換えをはかるのは、メタファーが持つ多義性から、その解釈に要されるスキーマ構造の個人的経験に基づいた情報蓄積より、抑圧された無意識とのつながりを意識の上に浮上させる働きを持つためであると考えられる点である。しかし一方で、このメタファーによる応酬はソースとターゲットの足場を危ういものとし、相互作用を不毛なものとする可能性を常に孕む。つまり、内的なもの、外的なものを問わず何でもメタファー的に眺めていくと、何がソースで何がターゲットなのか区別が



つかなくなるということである。

そこでこの足場についてさらに考察を進めるために、本研究ではHasanの結束調和分析を用いて、結束性の視点から相互作用を考察した。マッピングの観察の結果、Searlesによるセッションでは、Sullivanによるそれと比べて、結束性を示す数値が高く出た。しかし、経験構成的意味からすると、必ずしも意味をなしているとはいえないことが観察された。こうした相互作用を説明するために、セラピーにおける二者言語、三者言語という概念を借りれば、第三者からみて、経験構成的意味上、意味をなしているとは思われなくとも、高い結束性を示す面接テキストは、二者間のみわかる二者言語の段階として捉えられことになる。このような相互作用は、重度の精神疾患の患者に有効であることが治療面から言われる。一方、二者言語の段階を踏まずに、始めから三者言語の確立をめざしたアプローチがSullivanのそれといえる。Searlesにおける面接では、二者言語から三者言語様式への移行をはかりながら進めるという段階的なアプローチが採られるのに対して、Sullivanでは、はじめから三者言語の確立に徹した相互作用を採るという対照的なアプローチのあり方が明示される。勿論、疾患の重篤度、セラピーの回数などその他の要因に対する考慮も、アプローチの採用に含まれることであろうが、ここでは単純に異なるアプローチの例示としたい。これらの概念を通して、Sullivan、Searlesのアプローチの違いがより明示的に示されるのである。

どちらのアプローチが、治療という側面からみて、有効であるのかを議論するのは、本研究の論ずる範囲を超えるものである。従って、ここではアプローチの違いの指摘に留める。

※本論文は、拙著「サイコセラピー面接テキスト分析」(2009 ひつじ書房)の第9章のテーマを、さらに発展させるために、追加データを加え、加筆・修正したものである。

## 註

- 1) Harry Stack Sullivan (1892~1949)。新フロイト派に分類されるアメリカの精神医学者。精神医学は対人関係の学であるとする病理論をうちたて、精神医学に初めて対人関係の視野を取り込んだ。統合失調症治療で、画期的な治療実績を残している。
- 2) Harold. F. Searles (1918~)。分裂病治療の権威とされる。分裂病の心理療法過程における治療者の感情的な深い関わり合いの意義を明らかにし、病者と治療者との共生的関係の重要性について言及した。彼が主に診たのは慢性分裂病患者であり、しかも対人関係論を基盤にした治療法ということで、同じく分裂病治療の孤高の高峰とされるSullivanの後継者とみなされることが多い。
- 3) 統合失調症の形態の1つで、慢性の経過をとるもの。
- 4) 抗精神病薬1950年代初期と半ばになってきた。Sullivanが亡くなったのは、1949年。
- 5) Brown and Levinsonによるポライトネス理論の根底にあるものはフェイスの概念であるが、フェイスは失われ、維持され、また高められるもので、傷つきやすく、相互作用の参与者は、自分達のフェイスが脅かされるようなことがあればそれを守ろうとする。従って、対人的相互作用の間、たえずモニターされる必要がある。こうして互いのフェイスを維持し、相互作用の間、互いにこの意図を持っていることを相手に知られるようにすることが誰もが望むことなのであるが、言語行動によっては、フェイスに対して脅威となるものがあり、これがFTA (Face Threatening Act) である。
- 6) セラピーが患者/クライアントとの合意の上でなされるにもかかわらず、患者/クライアントが治療の

目的に反するような言動をとることがあり、そこでは、患者/クライアントが面接によって自身の無意識があらわにされることへの恐怖や不快感から、治療行為に非協力的になったり、敵対的になったりするようなことをいう。

- 7) 統合失調症の形態の1つで、慢性の経過をとるもの。
- 8) 他者によって行動が妨げられることのないことの要求。
- 9) 他者からみて望ましい自己像の維持の要求。
- 10) サイコセラピーにおける重要な第一歩で、セラピスト—患者/クライアント間における深いレベルでの絆形成。
- 11) 統合失調症の患者を持つ家族のコミュニケーションの特徴として、Bateson が提起したもの。

### 参考文献

- Arieti, S. 1974. *Interpretation of Schizophrenia*. New York: Basic Books.
- Barker, P. 1985. *Using Metaphors in Psychotherapy*. New York: Brunner/ Mazel, Inc. (堀恵、石川元訳『精神療法におけるメタファー』東京：金剛出版 1996年.)
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S. 1978. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chapman, A.H. 1978. *The Treatment Technique of Harry Stack Sullivan*. New York: Brunner/ Mazel, Inc. (作田勉 監訳『サリヴァン治療技法入門』東京：星和書店, 1979年.)
- Chapman, A.H. 1980. *Harry Stack Sullivan's Concepts of Personality Development and Psychiatric Illness*. New York: Brunner/ Mazel, Inc.(山中康裕 監修『サリヴァン入門』東京:岩崎学術出版社 1994年.)
- Chapman, L.J. and Chapman, J.P. 1973. *Disordered Thought in Schizophrenia*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Chatelaine, K.L. 1992. *Good Me, Bad Me, Not me-Harry Stack Sullivan: An Introduction to His Thought, Dubuque*. Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.
- Fauconnier, G. 1997. *Mapping in Thought and Language*. Cambridge Univ. Press. (坂原茂 田窪行則 三藤博 訳『思考と言語におけるマッピング』東京：岩波書店、2000年.)
- Ferrara, K.W. 1994. *Therapeutic Ways with Words*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fraser, B. 1990. "Perspectives on Politeness." *JP*, 14, 219-236.
- Gadamer, H-G. 1975. *Truth and Method*. London: Sheed and Ward.
- Greenson, R. 1967. *The Technique and Practice of Psychoanalysis*. New York: International Universities Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman Group Limited. (安藤貞雄 他訳『テキストはどのように構成されるか』東京：ひつじ書房、1997年)
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. 1985. *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. Geelong, Vic.: Deakin University Press. (寛壽雄訳『機能文法のすすめ』東京：大修館書店・1991年)
- 濱野清志. 1990. 「臨床治療場面におけるメタファー」、芳賀純、子安増生(編)『メタファーの心理学』東京：誠信書房。
- 長谷川啓三. 1991 「メタファーとパラドックス」『現代のエスプリ：メタファーの心理』、286、49-60。東京：至文堂。

加藤：語彙的意味の共有度より導かれる治療アプローチの違いとサイコセラピーにおけるテキスト性の捉え方

- 伊藤進. 1991. 「メタファーと認知」、『現代のエスプリ：メタファーの心理』、286、31-39. 東京：至文堂
- 加藤澄. 2009. 『機能言語学によるサイコセラピー面接テキスト分析』（近刊）東京：ひつじ書房.
- 加藤 澄・エアハード・マッケンターラー. 2007c. 「サイコセラピーにおけるクライアントの洞察と談話の結束性との連関」 『日本機能言語学会第 14 回秋期大会プロシーディングス』 45-57.
- 木村敏 . 1975. 『分裂病の現象学』 東京：弘文堂
- 北山修. 1989. 「創造と解釈」『現代のエスプリ：言葉と精神療法』、9-24. 東京：至文堂
- 北山修. 1993. 『言葉の橋渡し機能』 東京：岩崎学術出版社
- Langs, R. and Searles, H.F. 1980. "Uninterrupted Transcript of Session with Mrs. Joan Douglas." *In Intrapsychic & Interpersonal Dimensions of Treatment.* London: Jason Aronson Inc.
- Pollio, R. and Barlow, M. 1975. "A Behavioral Analysis of Figurative Language in Psychotherapy: One session in a single caseStudy." *Language and Speech.* 236-254.
- Rochester, S. and Martin, J.R. 1979. *Crazy Talk.* New York: Plenum Press.
- Searles, H.F. 1979. "The Patient as Therapist to his Analyst: Tactics and Techniques in Psychoanalytic Therapy." *Countertransference.* Vol. 2. New York: Jason Aronson. (松本雅彦訳『逆転移 1』 東京：みすず書房. 1995 年.)
- Salzinger K., Portnoy, S., Pisoni, D.B. and Feldman, R.S. 1970. "The Immediacy Hypothesis and Response-produced Stimuli in Schizophrenic Speech." *Journal of Abnormal Psychology,* 76, 258-264.
- Spence, D. P. 1987. *The Freudian Metaphor.* New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc. (妙木浩之訳『フロイトのメタファー』 東京：産業図書株式会社、1992)
- Sullivan, H.S. 1962. *Schizophrenia As A Human Process.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc. (中井久夫他訳『分裂病は人間的過程である』 東京：みすず書房 1995 年.)
- 杉本孝司. 1998. 『意味論 2-認知意味論』 東京：くろしお出版
- White, M. and Epston, D. 1990. *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

## Statement Functions in President Obama's Inauguration Speech

David Dykes

Yokkaichi University

### Abstract

Since the 1970s, there have been attempts to identify syntactic structures in discourse above the levels of clause or sentence. It is easy to find connections from questions to answers or from commands to undertakings or compliances, but it is harder to connect up statements. Part of the difficulty is that the real diversity in types of statements is not sufficiently recognised. A statement like 'The challenges are serious', for example, is not usually used to give information so much as to offer a valuation in the expectation of having it accepted. Considerations like this suggest that some statements could be more constrained by the speech-functional moves that come before them, and may be more constraining on what other moves follow, than has often been appreciated. This article, which is exploratory, sets out to explore connections among a small sample of statements found in a spoken text.

### 1. Introduction

Barack Obama was sworn in as 44<sup>th</sup> President of the USA on 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2009, just as it was becoming certain that the American credit crisis had developed into a world depression. How his administration will be seen when this article comes out, I do not know. But his approval rating in America just after he assumed office was higher than for any president since Kennedy. He had become inseparably identified with his campaign motto 'Yes, we can', which worked as a collector and amplifier for popular expectations. It had started with more of a self-preserving function; it allowed Obama to stand his ground against older opponents and deflect their charges that he lacked the experience to handle a crisis. But the arrival of the crisis just as the campaign proper was getting underway imposed new resonance on 'Yes, we can' which contributed to Obama's win. Getting through the crisis became the inevitable central theme of his inauguration speech.

Obama's gift as an orator has excited intense interest around the world, and Japanese

bookstores are currently doing a roaring trade in books based on CD and DVD recordings of his main speeches; one or two university reader versions have even come out in time for the start of the academic year in April 2009. A great deal could be said about why his style of speaking is so popular, even in the non-English-speaking world, but in this article I want to think about only a few relevant elements in his inauguration speech, delivered just after his taking of the oath. First, in the section following this one, I shall refer to a tradition of analysing speech – including discursive monologue – textually into turns and interpersonally into information, value or action exchanges. Then I shall look more closely at some typical ‘response’ moves, such as acknowledgements of benefits, and some ‘initiating’ moves, such as the imparting of value and action proposals, noticing ways in which they interrelate with personal roles. I shall be referring to text patterns of ‘stating’, ‘denying’ and ‘conceding’ which are of great strategic importance in deliberative rhetoric generally, and in this policy-confirming speech in particular.

## 2. Initiating and responding moves

Since the 1970s, it has been common to divide dialogue, and also a good deal of eliciting or persuasive monologue, into moves of initiation and response. In discourse analysis close to the systemic functional tradition, this started with Sinclair and Coulthard's analysis of classroom talk into transactional and interactive exchanges (1975). Initiation and response are syntactic terms. An initiating move ‘prospects’ and is not primarily ‘prospected’, whereas a responding one is prospected and does not primarily prospect. In a normal exchange the initiating move unsurprisingly comes first, but in contextualised discourse, this can be overridden by other considerations. When you ‘answer the phone’, for example, your first speech is a response. There is also often a formal difference between the main clauses used in initiating and responding moves: as Matthiessen puts it, responding ‘is typically realized grammatically either by a minor clause or an elliptical major clause’ (1995: 436).

Obama's ‘Yes, we can’ would normally come in a response move rather than an initiating one, and it also displays the ellipsis that Matthiessen talks about: what it is that we ‘can’ do is not indicated in the clause, but has to be supplied from whatever action suggestion has gone before, or can be contextually understood. This explains the great popularity of the phrase in recent months as a closing punch-line in jokes and cartoons, where it gets fitted in after all kinds of inappropriate initiating circumstances.

Undeniably, there is a chameleon-like quality to the response ‘Yes, we can’. It can be used to affirm initiating moves the speaker approves of, to reject hostile ones, or to hold and highlight eliciting ones he means to fulfill. Here are some possible responses to the four sorts of primary speech moves – offer, command, statement, and question – recognised by Halliday and Matthiessen in *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2004: 107; ‘IFG’):

- |      |                   |   |              |         |
|------|-------------------|---|--------------|---------|
| (1a) | [Init. offer]     | Can you use a \$20 online donation?       | Yes, we can. | [Resp.] |
| (1b) | [Init. command]   | Just make sure you can create new jobs!   | Yes, we can. | [Resp.] |
| (1c) | [Init. statement] | You can’t out-fund Hillary Clinton!       | Yes, we can. | [Resp.] |
| (1d) | [Init. question]  | But can you handle a real crisis, Barack? | Yes, we can. | [Resp.] |

The chameleon quality is increased by the uncertainty of who else has to be included in ‘we’. Presumably Obama’s campaign team are behind (1a) and (1c), but in (1b) and (1d) it is not clear whether the line stops with the administration staff, or takes in all Americans, or people outside America.

I cited Matthiessen above, as well as Sinclair and Coulthard, in saying that responses do not normally come first in exchanges, and that the clauses they are realised in tend to be minor or elliptical. However, it is clear from the opening of Obama’s speech, below, that these rules are not absolute. I quote here from the text as printed in the 22<sup>nd</sup> January morning edition of the *Chunichi Shinbun*. The paragraph divisions follow the ones in the newspaper, but the numbering ([1] in this case) is my addition:

(2) My fellow citizens:

[1] I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. I thank President Bush for his service to our nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.

(*Chunichi Shinbun*, 22 January, 2009: 6; following excerpts also from this source)

This passage can be connected up in two ways. If it is heard as Obama’s reply to the acts and preparations by which he has been made president, it can be interpreted as a sequence of several response moves – reactions, acknowledgements and the like – even though it comes

at the start of the text and there is no previously expressed sequence of initiations for it to respond to. Taken this way, 'I thank President Bush ...', for example, would have to be taken as responding to actions and speeches assumed to have been performed, although outside of the scope of the text, by the outgoing president. But the passage could also be heard another way, as Obama's expression of his own sentiments and thoughts on this day. That would be an initiating use. It would not be unthinkable, either, to take the passage both ways, as a mixture or blend. If the main set of functions is responsive, for example, there are also some less prominent initiating references to topics of remembrance and sacrifice which, as the sequel will show, are setting up for arguments that follow later. The word 'mindful' is especially ambivalent between responding and initiating. A speaker can be mindful of either the past or the future, and if he doesn't immediately specify which way he means, he is leaving himself with two options on call.

The past or future position in real time is not a sure guide to whether someone is referring forward or back in a text. Ancestors' sacrifices belong to the past, but in the moral tradition of history-as-heritage, they are also a model for future conduct. For example, in Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech, given on the same Washington Mall in 1963 to mark the hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's proclamation of slave emancipation, the point was not just to recall, but, even more, to "cash the cheque" of the earlier achievement by calling for a fuller recognition of civil rights in the future. Obama's speech, too, contains background allusions to this side of the heritage:

(3) [31] This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed – why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join us in celebration across this magnificent mall, and why a man whose father less than sixty years ago might not have been served in a local restaurant can stand before you to take a most sacred oath.

Returning to linguistic details, the uncertainty as to whether this is a memory of the past or a reminder for the future is also evident in the pronouns. 'Our liberty' and 'our creed' are American values, and it is Americans that Obama is standing before, but the 'us' joined in celebration are less easy to identify. They could be Obama and his family, surrounded by Americans of all origins, but they could also be all Americans watched by people outside America, including 'the Muslim world' ([23]) and 'people of poor nations' ([24]).

In passage (2) above, ambivalence of reference is taken further. In the first sentence:

(2a) I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.

The only roles that are beyond doubt are the agent ones: it is Obama who is standing here, the citizens who have bestowed trust, and the ancestors who have borne sacrifices. The affected roles are blank or general. Why Obama talks of 'the task before us', not 'before me', could have more than one implication, depending on whether 'us' stops at his administration or takes in the American people; if it does, the people are presumably standing humbled alongside Obama. The absence of 'me' after 'the trust you have bestowed [on me]' also leaves Obama less explicitly dependent on the citizens than he might otherwise have been. And finally, the lack of a phrase to specify the point of 'the sacrifices borne by our ancestors' ('borne [for us]', or 'borne by our ancestors [before us]?') leaves Obama with the choice of whether to return to this later as a benefit or a lesson.

It would seem, then, that initiating and responding functions are much less separate in Obama's rhetoric than in a strongly role-determined context such as that of the school classes observed by Sinclair and Coulthard. Obama's moves do not definitely 'realise' one sort of move rather than another, but they have a way of offering both functions at once, and leaving it in the hands of the speaker which one will later be selected for primary development. But before going further into this, let me return to the simplicity of cases in which move functions are kept sharply clear.

### 3. Primary speech functions and responses

One standard way of relating personal roles like 'you' and 'me' to speech functions in their initiating and responding phases is the one set out in two matrices of initiation and response functions in IFG: 107-08, based on a metaphor of the giving or demanding of goods and services. However, the examples in IFG all represent situations of people literally giving or demanding goods or services, which makes it hard to separate speech-functional meanings from the lexical meanings of words like 'give' and 'teapot' (= main item in a tea service). For that reason, I prefer to use the table in Matthiessen 1995, which is based on more varied examples. I reproduce this as my Table 1, which can be found overleaf.



Table 1. Speech functions and typical realisations in mood types

( i ) initiating	information	goods-&-services
give	statement ↘ declarative & full <i>He's abroad now. ( - Is he?)</i>	offer ↘ various, e.g. modulated decl. / interrog., oblique imper. <i>I can / Shall I / Let me pass                      you your handbag. ( - Do!)</i>
demand	question ↘ interrogative & full <i>Is he abroad now? ( - He is.)</i> <i>Where is he now? ( - Abroad.)</i>	command ↘ imperative & full <i>Pass me my handbag, dear!</i> ( - Here.)

( ii ) responding	information	goods-&-services
give (on demand)	answer (response statement) ↘ decl. & elliptical; minor <i>(Is he abroad now?) - He is.</i> <i>(Where is he now?) - Abroad.</i>	compliance [response offer] ↘ various, e.g. minor <i>(Pass me my handbag, dear!)</i> - Here!
demand (on giving) = accept	acknowledgement [response question] ↘ interrogative & elliptical; minor <i>(He's abroad now.)</i> - Is he? / Abroad?	acceptance [response command] ↘ imper. & elliptical; minor <i>(I can / Shall I / Let me pass                      you your handbag.) - Do! /                      Thanks!</i>

(Source: Matthiessen 1995: 437; : typical realisations)

There are still two problems in this arrangement which I wish to guard against. The first is the assumption, I assume on grounds of symmetry, that an acknowledgement is typically

realised as a ‘response question’. A weakened interrogative like ‘Is he?’ can be used this way, but so can a non-polar marker like ‘Oh’ or an echo of factual or evaluative content, like the question of someone’s being abroad in Matthiessen’s example. In general, I would say that the more interrogatively marked a response is in grammar or tone, the more likely it is to be heard as querying, while, conversely, the less likely it is from its context to be heard as a query, the less the hearer will be disposed to interpret it that way on the prima facie evidence of grammar or intonation features.

The second and more important problem is how far statements of value and taste should be treated as giving information. ‘He’s abroad too often’, for example, could be heard as ‘offering’ a value assessment which the responder will be expected to ‘accept’. In a situation where both speakers already know how often the person is abroad, this question of valuation (‘too often?’) becomes the obvious point of interest. Values and tastes can no doubt be hived off for special treatment in the same way deontic statements often are. But why the information-passing sort of statement should be taken as the standard in the first place is not clear. In many sorts of texts, information passing is of secondary importance, as a local means for securing the common input needed for agreement in matters of tastes, values, goals, decisions or so forth. This is definitely the case in inauguration speeches, and an incoming president who tried to set forth his values and goals as facts would be judged as an uncommunicative technocrat.

How value statements work in a text like this can be shown in paragraph [6] of Obama’s speech. But as this is something that needs to be judged cumulatively, I am also going to include paragraphs [4] and [5] as a background:

(4) [4] That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war, against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many; and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.

[5] These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land – a nagging fear that

America's decline is inevitable, and that the next generation must lower its sights.

[6] Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America – they will be met.

Paragraph [4] is a catalogue of things that are wrong with America. A hearer who has the election campaign in mind might notice that all of these 'failures' are also cues for Obama's policy goals. The point of reciting the nation's troubles, then, is not to give information that the listeners do not have already, but to remind them, and reconfirm their acceptance, of the values and goals on offer. If an unspoken audience response is expected for the last failure in the catalogue, for example ('The ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet'), the implicated choice, just as with any cue for future action, must be between 'Right, Barack!' and 'Wrong, Obama!'

Paragraph [5] takes acceptance in [4] for granted, but raises another problem: the current low state of national morale. The matter at issue here is not which goals are necessary, but whether action is possible at all.

Paragraph [6], finally, is made up of four statements, of which the first three present a linked argument introduced by 'Today I say to you ...', and the fourth a counter argument marked by 'But' and introduced by 'know this, America – ...'. Let me set this out analytically:

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| (4a) [6] Today I say to you that                            | [Projecting element I]  |
| i the challenges we face are real.                          |                         |
| ii They are serious and they are many.                      |                         |
| iii They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. |                         |
| But   | [Conjunction]           |
| know this, America –  | [Projecting element II] |
| iv they will be met.  |                         |

Before looking at the statements, it is worth noticing that the projecting elements set up not only a frame, but also a change: the first setting is first-person and indicative, and the second is second-person and imperative. There is also a matching difference in the

statements projected; in i, 'the challenges we face are real' seems to be a recall of the failures in [4], while, in iv, 'they will be met' is either a confident prediction or else a resolve and pledge. Either way, it offers an alternative to the fear in [5] that 'the next generation must lower its sights.' Notice, too, how, 'must lower' offers a similar but negative version of the same ambivalence, between gloomy prediction and grim resolve and warning.

Looking now at the statements, i, ii and iii all recall things from paragraphs [4] and [5], but i and ii have further similarities which they do not share with iii. Both are statements of value more than of fact, as can be confirmed by a test that the most likely sort of response to either would be 'Right!' or 'Wrong!' rather than 'Are they?' or 'Oh'. One reason for this is that assessments of what is 'real' or 'serious' depend on criteria which, unless discussed and agreed, will be different from judge to judge. Another is that what is most fact-like in the content has already been passed in advance, in paragraphs [4] and [5].

All the same, the values are not homogeneous. For one thing, while 'real' in i is absolute in this context (the fears are not imaginary), 'serious' and 'many' in ii are gradable (the failures are getting worse). For another, 'real' is a representation of people's understanding of the crisis, while 'serious' and 'many' are representations of things involved. Although failures and fears are introduced separately (failures in [4], fears in [5]), Obama combines them in [6] under the name 'challenges'. As in recent usage for disability and enablement, challenges are demands made on confidence, not demands set on behaviour out of failure or fear.

It may seem out of order for Obama to be accepting values that he has proposed himself, but that is to forget the assumption all along that the understanding of the crisis recalled in [4] and the fear projections in [5] are all public property. Obama's part, as just said, is in renaming the failures and fears as challenges. As a result of this, the war, the macro and micro faces of the economy and public spending are all also converted from proofs of crisis into objects for treatment. And in that sense, paragraph [6] is an initiating argument. A sequence like this which sets out by accepting existing values, but then revalues them, and switches to a new initiation, is logically close to a concession argument, and statements i and ii could be paraphrased fairly well as a pair of concessive clauses leading up to statement iv:

(4b) Real as the challenges we face are, and however serious and many – they will be met.

It is also possible to treat statement iii the same way. This results in a third concession clause, as set out in (4c), where the statements are in their original wordings again. On this reading, then, i-iii are Obama's concessions to the popular understanding of the crisis, that is, his partial acceptance of it, while iv is his re-initiation, through a partial reversal:

(4c) ... i the challenges we face are real. ii They are serious and many. iii They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. iv But ... they will be met.

By the matrices in IFG and in Matthiessen 1995, these statements are all primarily equivalent, as moves of information giving. But if that is granted, a further distinction is still needed for the information sources; Obama can be assigned two voices, as a grass-roots president in i-iii, and as a leader-president in iv. And these voice distinctions are based on perceived differences in the speech functions.

While the functional division between the first three statements and the last one is very clear, it is at least equally evident that another break can be made between the first pair of statements (i and ii) and the second pair (iii and iv). This is the result of a step that occurs in the progression in the value descriptions from values of sight ('real') through values of things seen ('serious', 'many') to values of things sought for ('not met easily or in a short span of time'). The third stage in the progression requires a step outside the world of what can be recognised ('propositions', in IFG) into the world of what can be enacted ('proposals'). In (4c), this is reflected in a change in clause patterns from <'they are' + evaluative adjective> in i and ii to <'they will [not] be' + 'met'> in iii; and as the reversal move in iv also has to do with things that can be enacted, not just recognised, the argument as a whole is left divided into two contrasting pairs. Within the second pair, iii and iv, a completely different type of argument is also set up, based on a polarity difference ('it will not be met' : 'it will be met') and on the presence or absence of restrictions ('easily', 'in a short span of time'). This argument of matching and difference does not cancel the one of concession and revaluation, however. Both work compatibly, apart from some disturbances at the boundaries before and after statement iii. As for statement iv, it works rather like the chameleon response 'Yes, we can' in example (1) above, since it can be heard either in a

broad scope, as latching on to the series of concessions opened by statement I, or in a narrower scope, as latching on only to statement iii:

- (4d) [Acceptance] i the challenges we face are real.  
iv – but they will be met. [Re-statement]
- (4e) [Offer] iii They will not be met easily or in a short span of time.  
iv – but they will be met [Refusal]

In the narrower-scope exchange in (4e), which is not the primary scheme fitting the main plan of the passage, I suggest that statement iii can best be seen as performing a local cueing move to which statement iv locally responds. This could explain why iii includes a negation, which does not fit so well in the concession series of statements i, ii, iii.

A moment ago, I mentioned ‘disturbances at the boundaries before and after statement iii’; let me next quickly show what disturbances there are, and try to account for them. Too much weight should not be placed on the negative connotations of the word ‘disturbances’; I could just as well say that statement iv is the culmination of the passage in quotation (4), and Obama or his speechwriters decided to suspend and enrich the conclusion here.

The greatest disturbance is from the projection elements. The first one (‘Today I say to you’) may have a cohering purpose: it helps to bind the four statements together despite the break before statement iii. It will be noticed that it also echoes ‘I stand here today’ from the opening of the speech (quotation (2)) – a device also used in the quotation (3) passage. The use of the ‘I’ pronoun here, and the uses in quotation (2), make the only three instances of its occurrence in the speech, among 62 occurrences of ‘we’; so these are to be regarded as exceptional effects, not representative ones. The second projection element (‘know this, America’) seems to behave like a more elaborate ‘you know’. It has a delaying and amplifying effect, but also focuses attention on the speaker’s relation with the listeners, and thus tends to steer the pragmatic meaning of ‘they will be met’ towards ‘we will meet them’ or ‘let’s meet them’. As framing elements, ‘know this, America’ also locks onto ‘Today I tell you’ to reinforce overall coherence.

The change in the clause pattern from ‘they are’ to ‘they will not be’ weakens the coherence in the concession series, as does the change from adjectives to the verbal predicate

'met'. This is compensated by added adverbials; 'not ... met easily' is nearly synonymous with 'serious', and 'not ... in a short span of time' is at least similar to 'many'. Even the normally dead metaphor 'not met easily' is less dead than usual and allows a connection back to 'the solutions we face'. Thus, the anaphoric cohesion links in statement iii are fairly numerous. Apart from their direct function of joining meanings up, these links also act as a screen for the change in meaning that is required of the word 'challenges'. The 'serious' challenges in ii are past problems. But the 'challenges that will not be easily met' in iii are future demands. There is a hairline crack in the semantics here, which is well splinted and concealed.

Other special features at the boundaries of statement iii are rare grammar constructions: 'they are many', for 'there are many of them', at the close of ii is hardly ever used in English now; and neither is the imperative 'know this' in the projection into iv. As well as being simply prominent, the other effect of such features is to interrupt the listeners' hold on the argument, which, if not overdone, creates suspense and allows small adjustments in direction.

In this examination of 'primary speech functions and responses' in a very small portion of Obama's speech, I hope to have shown that while the notions of roles ('me' and 'you', etc.), orientation ('giving' and 'demanding') and turn order ('initiating' and 'responding') do seem to be applicable to monologue speech delivery of this particular sort – provided that the speaker is interpreted as interacting with previous enactments, public opinions or sentiments, alluded to views of others, or preceding parts of the same speech – the question of whether a particular part of the speech is responding or initiating cannot be decided on an assumption that initiations come first, or that responding moves never do. What counts, at any moment, is whether the speaker wants to be heard as initiating or responding, and at times the answer may be 'both'.

#### 4. Stating, accepting, denying, conceding

One difficulty with detaching turn orders from initiation and response functions in this way, and also allowing roles to change from one exchange to the next, is that exchange pairs such as 'question and answer', 'statement and acknowledgement', 'offer and acceptance' and 'command and undertaking' cannot be so confidently identified. However, in real language, too, it is a fact that patterns of alternation are far from consistently predictable. What

patterning occurs is often only in certain stretches of text, and it may be explicable only with hindsight, because real regularities depend on the actual situational, intentional and interactional influences speakers react to, which may not be the ones predicted. In a speech for a historic occasion, in any case, predictable arguments are not likely to be good ones.

One thing that can nearly always be said about a speech like this, however, is that the finer functions of declarative statements will be extremely important. It will matter whether a statement of the sort <'they are (not)' + predicate> is meant to present a fact, taste or value directly, or to display a stance about whether such a statement can properly be made. If it is meant directly, it can simply be said that the speaker is 'stating'. I intend this as a default term; statements that are not more specially determined are 'stated'. If a stance is being displayed, the next question will be whether it is directed towards some proposed or assumed view of a matter (possibly the speaker's suspended view). It will then usually be either 'accepting' or 'denying' in tendency. Combinations and blends are also possible, and in one common type, whether for reasons of divided judgement or for politeness or deference, there is a practice of 'conceding' a view partly, but adding modifications or conditions to reduce the degree or scope of acceptance. These four statement types described here can be summarised as in Table 2:

Table 2. Four types of statement in monologue persuasive speeches

type	initiating/responding	accepting/denying	example
stating	(as if) initiating	either	'These challenges will be met.'
accepting	(as if) responding	accepting	'This is now well understood.'
denying	(as if) responding	denying	'(No,) they will not be met easily.'
conceding	(as if) responding	partly accepting	'(Yes,) they are serious.'

My example for 'accepting' is an abbreviated version of the first statement in quotation (4), paragraph [4]. The other three examples have already been discussed.

There can be other kinds of statements as well, including those presented more insistently or hesitantly than usual. In earlier work, I have used the terms 'asserting' and 'suggesting' for



these (most recently in Dykes 2006); but this is a modal distinction, not a speech-functional one, and could be added to any of the statement types in the table.

This tabulation is intended as a summary conclusion to my examination of the passage in (4), and not as something that I am defending actively in this article; if I did intend to defend it here, I would not have the necessary space. As second best, however, I now want to conduct a rapid check by identifying statement types in another passage in the speech, which in its contents and ordering follows the one in (4) quite closely.

The reader may have already had thoughts about the resemblance of 'they will be met' with 'Yes, we can!', previously mentioned. The last passage that I am choosing introduces the phrase more directly still. The next nine paragraphs of the speech after the passage in (4) give examples from American history of how people in adverse situations 'struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might live a better life' (paragraph [14]). Obama then says that the time has come to emulate these ancestors: 'Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America' (paragraph [15]) Then there is a review of tasks which, excepting the references to war, corresponds almost exactly to the earlier list of troubles in paragraph [4]. Having passed into 'challenges', the failures and fears now find expression as 'work':

(5) [16] For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act – not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. And all this we will do.

[17] Now there are some who question the scale of our ambitions – who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short. For they have forgotten what this country has already done; what free men and women can achieve when imagination is joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage.

My purpose here is not to unlock every last secret, but simply to pick out what kinds of

statements are used among the ones in Table 2. Both of the paragraphs open with existential statements which are news to no one ('there is work to be done', 'there are some who question the scale of our ambitions ...'). As responses, these mark Obama's acceptance of existing shared knowledge, while their initiating function, of course, is to propose new topics. As the statements are thematically connected, there is a strong suggestion that the 'we' who can see the work to be done are the same as the 'we' whose ambitions are being questioned. But as Obama's later failure to entice Republican senators into his cabinet showed, this is wishful thinking.

In paragraph [16], there follows a statement ('The state of the economy calls for action ...') which could either be accepting a shared belief or stating Obama's own. This will probably depend on the pitch and tonality given to 'action'. The body of the paragraph is then a series of pledges (offering) or strong predictions (stating) all beginning with 'we will'; these are closer specifications of 'they will be met' from paragraph [16] above. Again, the pronouns are elusive; the 'we' at the start of each sentence suggests wide membership again, yet many of the projects will have opponents; the uses of 'our' and 'us' with many objects of actions ('our commerce', 'bind us together', 'our cars', 'our factories', 'our schools and colleges and universities') are more truly universal, and point to the American public as beneficiaries. There are 62 uses of 'our' in this speech, and 12 of 'us', compared with 2 uses of 'my' and none of 'me'.

'All this we can do' at the end of paragraph [16] will be heard by most listeners as an echo of 'we can' in Obama's motto, while the affirmation 'And all this we will do', following it, may be heard as 'Yes ...!' There are two likely ways of delivering the combination, either with emphasis on both parts (narrow-scope), or with 'we can do' restrained and 'we will do' emphatic (wide-scope). In the latter case, the first move could be interpreted as an acceptance of the confident mood of the audience – assuming the speech has gone well –, while the second would be either pledging (offering) or strongly predicting (stating), as in most of the paragraph. If stating, it would most likely be done in the emphatic way that I elsewhere call 'asserting' (Dykes 2006: 26); the conditions for this are first, that the addressee, or other interested person, is presented as being not disposed to assent, whereas, second, the speaker is presented as being committed. This suggestion that the point is being sent through against resistance harmonises with the actual abrupt topic change to defeatism in paragraph [17].

If paragraph [16] is the reversal of the failures in [4], then paragraph [17] is the defeat of the fears in [5]. Those who 'question the scale of our ambitions' may include more economists or journalists than ordinary people, but they belong with those who argue that 'the next generation must lower its sights'. These reported arguments in [17] (essentially that 'our system cannot tolerate too many big plans') can be viewed either as the responses of these people to Obama's offers, in which case they are what IFG calls 'refusals' (IFG: 108), or else as initiating offers of values or of action restraints. The response they call for is a choice between 'Right!' or 'Wrong!' For the continuation, it is better to take the questioners as offering value revisions directly and action restraint by implication. In that case, Obama responds with a refusal of the value revisions ('Their memories are short'), and reasons stating why action restraints are not needed ('For they have forgotten what this country has already done; what free men and women can achieve ...'). To comment on the 'imagination', 'common purpose' and other values at the end, it would be necessary to bring in the speech's historical topics which I have chosen to leave out. Leaving that aside, therefore, I end my review of the statement types here.

## 5. Conclusion

This is clearly not a method that arrives at tidy divisions of a monologue speech into discrete exchanges that accomplish one job each in serial progression. But then, an inaugural speech is not a text that is expected to have a linear construction or a division into discrete parts. It has to be a unifying speech, bringing together elements of quite variously shared knowledge, sentiment, value, discursive or illustrative habit and more besides, that react together in various ways and reverberate. Exactly what reverberates with what, or how richly, does not need to be the same for each listener. If you do not know all of the implied history you lose some symbolic connections, but what remains may be that much simpler and sturdier for you. Similarly, if you read 'we will ...' uses as future predictions only, missing their potential as resolves or pledges, you lose part of the speech's energy, but still have your own contemplative version. There is no right way to understand this text, and no wrong way. Subtle is not better than simple. You just have to enter it, and explore some of its possibilities while leaving others untried. Lots of texts are like that, and when you hear or read a rich text again, you can always look forward to finding something different in it.

One way of exploring monologue texts is through an observation of statement uses. It is

well known that some statements are used in ways that are not declarative, or not only ordinarily so. For example, some deontic statements are virtual offers or commands, or even non-deontic ones can be taken that way through implicature ('Your socks don't match'). But what is not so widely recognised is that value statements in general are more often used to offer or accept meanings than to pass information. To say that 'our system cannot tolerate too many big plans' does of course pass information that the speaker thinks the system cannot tolerate many big plans; but except in an opinion poll that is not usually the point. The point is to propose a value scale such as 'tolerable in size' for a certain sort of thing (social planning) in order to work an adjustment upon the fluctuating consensus of how things of that sort are to be qualified, and in what scope or degree. To treat this as equivalent to straight news seems misleading – even if modalities can be added to straight news items to convert them into suggestions or strong assertions.

In this article, which is exploratory, I have tried to find a way of describing how value statements or action-proposing statements can be treated as offers or as acceptances rather than as information transfers. With increased delicacy, this can be refined to include denials and concessions as well. How far to read these moves into text passages, and whether to regard particular moves as initiating offers, say, or as responding acceptances, remains a considerable difficulty; and in some cases both options may need to be tried together, as in a maze, to see which route leads further. There also seem to be cases in which one analysis switches into another or in which two can run on concurrently, with initiations in the one reading doubling as responses in the other. A good deal of trial and error, along with attention to fine detail, is needed to arrive at conclusions.

In the near future, I intend to come back to this problem area more systematically, and to take more account of others' research in these matters.

## References

- Chunichi Shinbun* (daily newspaper). Nagoya.
- Dykes, D., 2006. 'John Shepherd's Shepherding in Jane Austen's *Persuasion*', in Tokai Eibei Bungakukai (ed.). *Tekusuto no naka to soto: Inside and Outside the Text*. Tokyo: Seibido, pp. 23-33.
- Halliday, M., rev. Matthiessen, C., 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Third Edition. London: Arnold.

Matthiessen, C., 1995. *Lexicogrammatical Cartography: English Systems*. Tokyo: International Language Sciences Publishers.

Sinclair, J. and Coulthard, M. 1975. *Towards an Analysis of Discourse: The English Used by Teachers and Pupils*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# JASFL

## Occasional Papers

Volume 1 Number 1 Autumn 1998

### Articles (論文)

- Thematic Development in *Norwei no Mori*: Arguing the Need  
to Account for Co-referential Ellipsis ..... 5  
ELIZABETH THOMSON
- Synergy on the Page: Exploring *intersemiotic complementarity*  
in Page-based Multimodal Text ..... 25  
TERRY ROYCE
- Intonation in English - Workshop ..... 51  
WENDY BOWCHER
- 日本語の「主語」に関する一考察 ..... 69  
On the Definition of "Subject" in Japanese  
塚田浩恭 HIROYASU TSUKADA
- イデオロギー仮説の落とし穴 ..... 79  
Theoretical Pitfall in the Ideology Hypothesis  
南里敬三 KEIZO NANRI
- 談話の展開における「観念構成的結束性」と書記テキストの分類 ..... 91  
'Ideational Cohesion' in Discourse Development and in the Classification of Written Text  
佐藤勝之 KATSUYUKI SATO
- 英語における節の主題：選択体系機能理論におけるメタ機能の視点からの再検討 ..... 103  
Theme of a Clause in English: A Reconsideration from the Metafunctional Perspective  
in Systemic Functional Theory  
山口 登 NOBORU YAMAGUCHI

# JASFL

## Occasional Papers

Volume 2 Number 1 Autumn 2001

### Articles (論文)

- Linguistic Analysis and Literary Interpretation ..... 5  
RICHARD BLIGHT
- A Note on the Interpersonal-Nuance Carriers in Japanese ..... 17  
KEN-ICHI KADOOKA
- Schematic Structure and the Selection of Themes ..... 29  
HARUKI TAKEUCHI
- Theme, T-units and Method of Development: An Examination of the  
News Story in Japanese ..... 39  
ELIZABETH ANNE THOMSON
- セミオティックベースとそれを利用したテキスト処理について ..... 63  
The Semiotic Base as a Resource in Text Processing Systems  
伊藤紀子、小林一郎、菅野道夫  
NORIKO ITO, ICHIRO KOBAYASHI AND MICHIO SUGENO
- 選択体系機能文法の英語教育への応用：節、過程中核部、主題の分析による  
作文の評価 ..... 73  
Applying Systemic Functional Grammar to English Education: Evaluating the Writing  
of EFL Students Base on the Analysis of Clause, Process and Theme  
佐々木真 MAKOTO SASAKI
- 日本語の対人的機能と「伝達的ユニット」—The Kyoto Grammarによる分析試論— ..... 99  
The Interpersonal Function and the Communicative Unit for Japanese: From the Approach  
of "The Kyoto Grammar"  
船本弘史 HIROSHI FUNAMOTO
- 日英翻訳における Theme に関する課題 ..... 115  
Thematic Challenges in Translation between Japanese and English  
長沼美香子 MIKAKO NAGANUMA
- テキストの中の母性 ..... 129  
Maternity in Text  
南里敬三 KEIZO NANRI

# **JASFL**

## ***Occasional Papers***

Volume 3 Number 1 Autumn 2004

### **Articles (論文)**

- Lexicogrammatical Resources in Spoken and Written Texts** ..... 5  
CHIE HAYAKAWA
- On the Multi-Layer Structure of Metafunctions** ..... 43  
KEN-ICHI KADOOKA
- An Attempt to Elucidate Textual Organization in Japanese** ..... 63  
KEIZO NANRI
- A Comparative Analysis of Various Features Found in Newspaper Editorials and Scientific Papers, Including 'Identifying Clauses'** ..... 81  
MAKOTO OSHIMA AND KYOKO IMAMURA
- Constructions of Figures** ..... 93  
KATSUYUKI SATO
- Technocratic Discourse: Deploying Lexicogrammatical Resources for Technical Knowledge as Political Strategies** ..... 105  
KINUKO SUTO
- Application of Syntactic and Logico-semantic Relationships between Clauses to the Analysis of a Multimodal Text** ..... 157  
HARUKI TAKEUCHI
- An Analysis of Narrative: its Generic Structure and Lexicogrammatical Resources** ... 173  
MASAMICHI WASHITAKE
- 選択体系機能言語学に基づく日本語テキスト理解システムの実装** ..... 189  
Implementation of a Japanese Text Understanding System Based on Systemic Functional Linguistics  
伊藤紀子、杉本徹、菅野道夫  
NORIKO ITO, TORU SUGIMOTO AND MICHIO SUGENO
- タスク解決に関する対話における修辞構造を用いたステージの規定** ..... 207  
The Definition of Stages Using Rhetorical Structure in Dialogue on Task Solutions  
高橋祐介、小林一郎、菅野道夫  
YUSUKE TAKAHASHI, ICHIRO KOBAYASHI AND MICHIO SUGENO
- 外国為替記事のドメインのモデル化—機能的分析** ..... 225  
The Domain Modelling of Foreign Exchange Reports: a Functional Analysis  
照屋一博 KAZUHIRO TERUYA



*Japanese Journal*  
*of*  
*Systemic Functional Linguistics*

機能言語学研究

Vol. 4

April 2007

---

Articles

- 文法的メタファー事始め..... 1  
The Grammatical Metaphor As I See It  
安井 稔  
Minoru Yasui
- A Systemic Approach to the Typology of Copulative Construction .....21  
Ken-Ichi Kadooka
- Text structure of written administrative Directives in the Japanese  
and Australian workplaces .....41  
Yumiko Mizusawa
- A case study of early language development:  
Halliday's model (1975) of primitive functions in infants' protolanguage .....53  
Noriko Kimura
- 日本語ヘルプテキストへの修辞構造分析と対話型ユーザ支援システムへの応用  
An Analysis of Rhetorical Structure of Japanese Instructional Texts and its Application to  
Dialogue-based Question Answering Systems .....83  
伊藤紀子、杉本徹、岩下志乃、小林一郎、菅野道夫  
Noriko Ito, Toru Sugimoto, Shino Iwashita, Ichiro Kobayashi, Michio Sugeno

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics

# PROCEEDINGS OF JASFL

Vol.1 October 2007

---

## Articles

- 日本語テキストにおける過程構成の統計的分析 ..... 1  
藤田 透
- 『羅生門』の研究 ―物質過程を中心に― ..... 9  
鷲嶽正道
- 日中・中日翻訳におけるテキスト形成的機能：  
「出発点」の特徴に関する対応分析 .....19  
鄧 敏君
- 日本語テキストにおける Theme の有標性への視点 .....31  
長沼美香子
- サイコセラピーにおけるクライアントの洞察と談話の結束性との連関 .....45  
加藤 澄、エアハード・マッケンターラー
- 米国の煙草の広告の Reading Path .....59  
奈倉 俊江
- アスペクト表現における対人的機能の考察 .....65  
船本弘史
- 「日本語を母国語とする幼児における Primitive functions (Halliday 1975) .....75  
の出現と使用に関するケーススタディ」  
木村紀子
- 日本の英語教科書にみられるジャンル .....89  
早川 知江
- The Role of Genre in Language Teaching: The Case of EAP and ESP .....105  
Virginia M. Peng
- Texts, Systemics and Education .....115  
An Expansion of a Symposium Contribution to the 2006 JASFL Conference  
David Dykes

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics

# PROCEEDINGS OF JASFL

Vol. 2 October 2008

---

## Articles

- The Kyoto Grammar の枠組みによる品質を表す形容詞の分析 ..... 1  
藤田 透
- 日本語助動詞の研究：多義性から多機能性へ ..... 11  
船本 弘史
- Grammatical Intricacy, Genre, Language Function and Pedagogy ..... 23  
Howard DOYLE
- 日本語・英語の「説得」：観念構成的意味を中心に ..... 39  
佐藤（須藤）絹子
- Are There Modal Imperatives? – Just Someone Dare Say No! ..... 51  
David DYKES
- 英語教育におけるジャンルと過程型 ..... 67  
早川 知江
- サイコセラピーにおける問題の外在化のための語彙-文法資源 ..... 83  
加藤 澄
- 日本語テキストの Subject と Predicate の役割に対する一考察 ..... 97  
水澤 祐美子
- Honorifics and Interpersonal Function ..... 107  
Miroslawa KACZMAREK
- イデオロギーの復興 ..... 123  
南里 敬三
- 「は」と「が」そのメタ機能からの再考 ..... 135  
龍城 正明

# **Notes for contributors to *Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics***

- Preparation of Manuscripts:

1. Lay-out: All pages must be typed with Microsoft WORD (Times New Roman, 11 point ) on B4-sized paper, 66 letters per line, 30 lines per page, with margins of 25 mm or 1 inch on every side.
2. Abstract: An abstract of 100-200 words should be included in the beginning of the text.

- 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:

1. Direct quotation: All direct quotations should be enclosed in the single quotations. If they extend more than four lines, they should be separated from the body and properly indented.
2. Reference to the author and 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 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, the first author's name should be given and the rest should be given 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. attached 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).
3. If the same source is referred to or quoted from subsequently, the citations should be done as the first citation. Other forms such as 'idid.', 'op.cit.', or 'loc.cit.' should not be used.

- Reference List: The Reference List should include all entries cited in the text, or any other items used to prepare the manuscript, arranged alphabetically by the author's surname and the year of publication. This List should be given in a separate, headed, reference section.
- 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 List.

## 投稿規定

- 原稿はすべてワープロ（Microsoft WORD）でB5版用紙にタイプする。余白は上下左右各25ミリをとり、1ページに40行で、1行あたり全角40字／半角80字とする。日本語で書く場合のフォントはMS明朝、英語で書く場合はTimes New Romanで、いずれも11ポイントの文字サイズを用いる。
- 要旨：論文要旨400字～800字でまとめ、添付する。
- 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。
  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切り離す。
  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「ハリデー（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「ハサン（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（ ）に入れる。例（マーテン、1992）。」
    - d. 著者が2名の場合は二人の姓を入れる。例（バーレルとコウル、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。（スミス他、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（マーティン、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（マーギュリ、1984

;ロウ、1987;トンプソン、1988)

3. 同一の文献に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。

- ・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はすべてリストに載せること。例は英語版を参照のこと。
  1. 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。
  2. 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。
  3. 論文名は「 」内に入れ、書名は『 』内に入れる。
- ・注はどうしても必要な場合のみ簡潔にし、本文の最後、参考文献の前に置く。
- ・原稿はすべてコンピュータ処理の可能なディスクで提出すること。使用可能なソフトは、MS WORD (Windows or Macintosh Versions) とする。

# 機能言語学研究

## Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics

For information about JASFL, visit the website:

<http://www2.ocn.ne.jp/~yamanobo/jasfl.html>

2009年 6月25日 印刷

2009年 6月30日 発行

日本機能言語学会

発行者 龍城 正明

編集者 角岡 賢一

編集所 (龍谷大学)

〒612-8577

京都市伏見区深草塚本町67

電話 075-642-1111

# JAPANESE JOURNAL OF SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

Vol. 5 2009

## Articles

- An Analysis of Intonation from the Viewpoints of Strata and Metafunctions ..... 1  
Ken-Ichi KADOOKA
- An Analysis of the Polysemy of Processes Realised by Japanese Adjectives: ..... 17  
The System Network for Process Types in the Kyoto Grammar  
Toru FUJITA
- An Analysis of Japanese News Stories: ..... 33  
A Pilot Description of its Generic Structure  
Masamichi WASHITAKE
- Genre-Based Approach to Teaching Tense in English Classes: ..... 47  
Tense in Art Book Commentaries  
Chie HAYAKAWA
- Interpersonal Strategies of ENGAGEMENT in Public Speaking: ..... 69  
A Case Study of Japanese and Australian Students' Speech Scripts  
Keiko OZAWA
- Measuring the Degree of Spoken and Written 'Like-ness': ..... 89  
An Examination of the Applicability of Lexical Density to Japanese Texts  
Motoki SANO
- The Therapeutic Difference Shown by the Share of Lexical Meaning ..... 107  
and How to Capture the Texture of Psychotherapy  
Sumi KATO
- Concession and Assertion in President Obama's Inauguration Speech ..... 131  
David DYKES

**Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics**