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今年も本学会の活動の結実として Proceedings of JASFL 第 10 巻を発行することができました。これもひとえに会員諸氏の精力的な研究活動と学会活動へのご尽力の賜物と感謝しております。

今回発行されました Proceedings of JASFL Vol. 10　2016 は昨年 10 月 10 日と 11 日に玉川大学で開催された日本機能言語学会第 23 回秋期大会の研究発表内容を論文に改定した論文集です。若手研究者の活力ある発表、熟考を重ねた中堅・古参研究者の発表とその内容は広範で多岐にわたり、2 日間にわたる有意義な質疑応答や議論の成果が反映された力作ぞろいとなっています。絵本を題材にしたマルチモダリティーの分析、メタ機能の観点から見た英語学習者の作文談話分析、英語教育における SFL の有用性と英作文教育、概念の違いが報道記事にどのように具現されるかという談話分析、テクストにおける結束性の分析、そして、雑誌記事におけるテクスト構造とテクスト作成者との関わる分析、いずれも最新の SFL 理論を準用した秀作ぞろいとなっています。

また特別講演としては、国際基督教大学のJohn C. Maher教授をお迎えし、‘Language Revival in the British Isles’と題して講演していただきました。講演ではイギリス、アイルランドにてゲール語系の少数言語が絶滅の危機にある一方で、文化社会的な要因により新しく学び使用する世代が現れつつある現状が報告されました。ビデオなどによる実例により刺激と示唆に富む講演となりました。

上記のような SFL に関する最新の研究、知見などが満載された Proceedings of JASFL Vol. 10　2016 が会員諸氏にとって今後の SFL 研究の一助になれば、本学会を代表するものとして、これにまさる喜びはありません。

日本機能言語学会会長
龍城正明

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論文

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics

絵で表せる意味、文で表せる意味：絵本の文を絵にする
Meanings Made by Words and Pictures: Visualize Words in Picturebooks

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Abstract

In Hayakawa (2015), I carried out a comparative analysis on the experiential meanings of words and pictures of a classic picturebook, *Millions of Cats* by Wanda Gág (1928), and pointed out that the meanings related to "time" "relationship between characters and objects" "appraisal" "psychological description" and "causal relation" are typically created by words only, the ones related to "appearance" "relative relation and size of characters and objects" "background settings" are communicated mainly by pictures, and "existence" "attribute" "action and transfer" can be expressed by both of these media.

The meanings presented typically by words only, however, are not totally inexpressible by pictures. Likewise, the meanings often created by pictures only can also be expressed verbally. My hypothesis is that each of these media, words and pictures, has its own cline from "meanings easy to express" to "meanings hard to express". To confirm this hypothesis, I conduct an experiment in which students are asked to visualize the words of a picturebook they hear without seeing the pictures. The meaning with many cases of visualization is the "meaning easy to express by pictures" and the one with less cases is the "meaning hard to express by pictures."

1. はじめに

本稿は、異なる意味モードを組み合わせたテクストを研究する multimodal studies の一種であり、特に、典型的な bimodal text である絵本の意味のしかたの特徴を明らかにしようとする研究の一環である。絵本で最も興味深いのは、文と絵という二つの意味モードが組み合わさった点である。その組み合わせ方を工夫することで、文だけでも、そして絵だけでも表せない意味を生み出せるところが、絵本の最大の魅力である。絵本の絵と文がどんな関係で結びついているかを言語学の視点から分析することで、絵本ならではの意味を生み出すしくみを明らかにすることが、この一連の研究の目的である。

今回のテーマは、絵で表せる意味と文で表せる意味はどう違うかを探るこ

とである。そのために、芸術大学生の協力を得て、実験的調査を行った。この調査により、この二つの意味モードの得手不得手を明らかにし、今後、絵と文の補い合いや協力関係を明らかにすることにつなげたい。

本稿は、早川(2015)の続きという位置づけになるため、まず第 2 節でその概要を振り返る。次に第 3 節で、絵と文の意味の可能性について仮説を提示したのち、第 4、5 節でそれらの仮説を検証するために行った調査方法と分析結果を紹介する。この調査は 2 部に分かれ、一方の調査では、学生に、絵本の絵だけ見せ、文を想像して書いてもらった。その文を分析することで、絵で表せる意味のうち、文でも表しうるのは何かが分かる。もう一方の調査は逆に、絵本の文だけを聞かせ、絵を想像して描いてもらった。この絵を分析することで、文で表せる意味のうち、絵でも表しうるのは何かが明らかになる。本稿では、後者の調査結果だけを報告することで、絵で表しやすい意味と、表しにくい意味をまとめる。第 6 節では、調査結果を振り返ることで、i) 文も絵も、工夫すれば同じ意味が表せること、ii) ただし各モードはそれぞれに、「比較的表しやすい意味」と「比較的表しにくい意味」をもつこと、iii) 絵本は、「文では比較的表しにくい意味」を絵で、「絵では比較的表しにくい意味」を文で表すことで、最小の情報量で最大の効果を挙げていること、の 3 点を主張する。

2. 早川(2015)の概要

早川(2015)では、次の絵本を分析した：

Wanda Gág (1928) Millions of Cats. New York: Puffin Books. ISBN: 978-0-14-240708-0
（日本語版 ワンダ・ガアグ 文・絵 / いしい ももこ訳 『100 まんびきのねこ』）

この絵本の最初のページには、このような絵が載っている。白黒モノクロの版画風の絵で、おじいさん、おばあさんが描かれ、二人の横には 1 件の家が描かれている。家の周りには花壇、小道、垣根がある。

この絵に添えられた文は、こうである（邦訳は早川による）:

Once upon a time there was a very old man and a very old woman.
（昔あるところにおじいさんとおばあさんがいました）
They lived in a nice clean house which had flowers all around it, except where the door was.
（彼らは素敵なこぎれいな家に住んでいて、その家は、ドアの前以外はぐるっと花に囲まれていました）
But they couldn't be happy
（でも彼らは幸せではありませんでした）
because they were so very lonely.
（なぜならとても寂しかったからです）

これらの絵と文は、それぞれどのような意味を表しているだろうか。文では、「おじいさんとおばあさんがいて、家に住んでいた」とあり、絵では、その通りにおじいさんとおばあさんと家が描かれているのだから、絵と文は、一見「同じ意味」を表しているように思える。しかし、細かく分析すると、両者の意味で重なり合っている部分はごく一部で、ほとんどの意味は、絵だけで、あるいは文だけで表されていた。

このことを分析するのに使った理論枠組みは、Systemic Functional Linguistic（以下 SFL）である。具体的には、文の分析枠組みとしては Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)の *Introducing Functional Grammar*. 3rd edition を、絵の分析枠組みとしては、Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) の *Reading Images* を用いた。これらの研究はいずれも、SFL の枠組みで様々な意味のシステムを提案しているが、この 2 つの研究には重要な対応関係がある。以下に表 1 としてまとめた。

表 1: Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)と Kress and van Leeuwen (1996)の研究領域

文の分析枠組み **Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)**	絵の分析枠組み **Kress and van Leeuwen (1996)**
Ideational meaning (PROCESS TYPE, LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION)	Chap 2. Narrative representation
	Chap 3. Conceptual (Analytical) representation
Interpersonal meaning (POLARITY, MODALITY, MOOD etc.)	Chap 4. Interactive meaning (CONTACT, SOCIAL DISTANCE, ATTITUDE)
	Chap 5. Modality
Textual meaning (THEME, INFORMATION STRUCTURE etc.)	Chap 6. Compositional meaning (INFORMATION VALUE, SALIENCE, FRAMING)

表 1 が示すように、Halliday and Matthiessen の Ideational meaning の領域は、ちょうど Kress and van Leeuwen の Narrative representation と Conceptual representation の領域に相当し、どちらも、「誰がどこで何をしているか」というような観念的意味内容を扱っている。同様に、Interpersonal meaning は、絵画の Interactive meaning や Modality の領域に相当し、どちらも対人的な意味を生み出すシステムを扱う。Textual meaning は画像の Compositional meaning に相当し、情報の組織立てに関わる意味を扱う。

このように、SFL は言語だけでなく、画像を含む様々な意味モードに応用されており、それら複数のモードを、互いに対応した枠組みの中で比較分析できる。そのため、絵本を分析する際も、文で表されている観念的な意味が絵ではどの程度表されているか、また、文と絵で表されている対人的意味はどの程度重なり合うか、といったことを容易に比較することができる。

早川(2015)では、この 3 つの意味の中でも特に、観念構成的な領域に絞って、*Millions of Cats* の文と絵を比較した。その結果を表 2 として振り返る。

表 2: 文と絵の表現の得意分野（早川 (2015)の表 5 を再掲）

文の得意分野	文・絵の得意分野	絵の得意分野
・時間(CIRCUMSTANCE / TENSE) ・人やものの関係性 (PARTICIPANT ROLE) ・価値づけ、特に「程度」「良し悪しの判断」(APPRAISAL) ・心理描写(APPRAISAL) ・因果関係 (LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION)	・ものの存在 ・単純な属性 ・動作・移動 ・属性・存在の変化	・服装・外見／それによる全体的印象 (Conceptual: Analytical: Exhaustive process) ・（人物の）ポーズ・表情・視線・リアクション (Narrative: Reactional Process) ・人やものの相対的位置・大きさ (Conceptual: Analytical: Exhaustive process) ・風景・背景・それによる場面設定 (Conceptual: Analytical: Exhaustive process) ・時系列的変化 (Conceptual: Analytical: Structured: Temporal) ＊複数の絵の並置による

左欄に示したのが、少なくとも分析テクストにおいては文のみで表されていた意味、右欄に示したのが、絵でのみ表されていた意味、中央は、どちらのモードでも表わされていた意味分野である（それぞれ括弧内は、その意味を具現する手段を表している）。

表 2 に見られる通り、例えば「時」（その物語がいつ起こったことなのか）は「むかしむかし」というようなことばでのみ表され、絵でそれを直接的に表現した部分はなかった。ほかにも、「人やものの関係性」も文だけで表された。例えば、絵では、「人」と「家」をバラバラに描いており、「人」が「家」に「住んでいた」という両者の関係性は、文だけが表していた。同様に、人や物が良いか悪いかという「価値づけ」や、かなしい・さみしいなどの「心理描写」、また、「A だから B」のような「因果関係」も、文のみで表されており、絵ではこれらの意味の具現例は見つからなかった。

逆に、絵だけで表されていた意味ももちろんある。それは主に視覚的要素で、例えば、登場人物の「服装・外見」は絵だけで表され、それをわざわざ文でも重複して描写した場面はなかった。同様に、人の「ポーズ・表情・視線・リアクション」、登場人物どうしの「位置関係」、「風景・背景」なども、絵だけで表されていた。

ここまでが早川(2015)の概要である。しかし、表 2 のようなまとめ方は、読者に誤解を生じさせる可能性がある。その誤解とは、まるで、「この意味

は文でしか表せない」「この意味は絵でしか表せない」などと、2つのモードの守備範囲がはっきり区分できるかのように見えることである。今回、新たに確認したいのはまさに、両者の意味の可能性には、本当にそのような明確な区分があるのかどうかである。つまり、表2の左欄の意味領域、すなわち、分析テクストではたまたま文のみが表した意味というのは、絵ではまったく表すことができないのか、逆に、右欄の、絵だけで表されていた意味領域を、文で表すことはできないのかということである。この疑問に関し、今回、次節に見る3つの仮説を立てた。

3. 仮説

本稿では、分析に先立ち、絵本における文と絵の意味の可能性について、以下の3つの仮説を立てる：

i) 文も絵も、工夫すれば同じ意味が表せる。「文では絶対に表せない意味」「絵では絶対に表せない意味」は存在しない。
ii) ただし、各モードはそれぞれに「比較的表しやすい意味」と「比較的表しにくい意味」を持ち、「最も表しやすい意味」の極から「最も表しにくい意味」の極まで、クライン（連続体）を成している。
iii) 絵本は、「文では比較的表しにくい意味」を絵で、「絵では比較的表しにくい意味」を文で表すことで、最小の情報量で最大の効果を挙げている。

この仮説を確かめるため、文で表された意味を、芸大の学生がどのように絵で表現するかを調査した。

4. 調査方法

調査対象は、名古屋芸術大学 「英語1」（早川担当）履修の1～4年生で、この学生たちを、2つのグループに分けた。一方は、美術学部・デザイン学部生で、もう一方は、音楽学部・人間発達学部生である。

美術・デザイン学部生には、*Millions of Cats* の文だけを聞いて絵を描く調査に協力してもらった。音楽学部・人間発達学部生には逆に、*Millions of Cats* の絵だけを見て文を考える調査に協力してもらった。

これらの調査で明らかにしようとしたことは次のとおりである。文だけ聞いて絵を描かせることで、 文で表せる意味のうち、絵でも表しうる意味は何かを探ろうとした。逆に、絵だけ見て文を書かせることで、絵で表せる意味のうち、文でも表しうる意味は何かが分かると考えた。

本稿では、紙面の都合上、文だけ聞いて絵を描かせた調査の結果だけを紹介する。逆に、絵だけ見て文を書いたほうの調査に関しては、2016年度『名古屋芸術大学研究紀要』（早川(2016)）に掲載した。

ここからは、調査の手順を簡単に紹介する。学生には資料1のような質問紙を配布した。

資料 1: 質問紙
＊質問紙下方の絵を描く欄は、紙面の都合上省略した。

手順

① ワンダ・ガアグ（Wanda Gág）絵・文、いしい ももこ 訳の『100 まんびきのねこ（*Millions of Cats*）』という絵本を朗読します。最初から最後までよく聞いてください。絵は見せません。

② 冒頭の文章を、もう一度よく読んでください（注：［　　］部は早川の補足です）：

むかしむかし、あるところに、とても としとった おじいさんと、とても としとった おばあさんが すんでいました。
ふたりは、こぢんまりした きれいな いえに すんでいました。そして、いえの まわりには ［ドアの前以外］ぐるっと はなが さいていました。
それでも、おじいさんと、おばあさんは、しあわせでは ありませんでした。 ふたりは、とても さびしかったのです。

③ この文章に合わせて絵を描いてください。

資料 1 中の「手順②」からわかるように、調査では英語原文ではなく、日本語翻訳版のほうを利用した。これは、学生の英語力によって、調査結果に影響が出ることを防ぐためである。すなわち、英語が分からなかったために書かれている内容が絵にできなかった、という事態を避けるための処置である。
　また、この質問紙の裏面には、「あなたの絵を研究データとして用いること及び論文に掲載することに同意しますか」というチェック項目があり、「はい」のほうにチェックがあった学生の回答のみ使用した。その結果、回答された絵のうち 71 枚の絵をデータとして用いた。

5. 分析

　ここからは調査結果の分析である。まず、絵本冒頭部の文に含まれていた ideational な意味を、表 3 の「意味」欄に示された要素に分けた。この欄は、冒頭部の文が含む意味、つまり、冒頭の文を詳細に読むとこれらのことが分かる、という内容を示している。「日本語」の欄は、その意味を具現する日本語訳、「英語」の欄は、その意味を具現する英語原文を示した。

表 3：*Millions of Cats* 冒頭部に含まれる ideational な意味

意味	日本語	英語
1. 状況：時：過去	むかしむかし	Once upon a time
2. 存在：おじいさん、おばあさん	おじいさんとおばあさんがすんでいました	there was a (very) old man and a (very) old woman
3. 属性：年寄り	おじいさん、おばあさん（語彙選択）	old
4. Graduation	とても（としとった）	very (old)

5. 存在：家	いえ	a house
6. 関係性：すんでいた	ふたりは…いえにすんでいました	They lived in a …house
7. 属性：こぢんまりした	こぢんまりした	
8. 属性：きれいな	きれいな	nice clean
9. 存在：花	はながさいていました	which had flowers
10. 状況:位置(花)	いえのまえにはドアの前以外ぐるっと	all around it, except where the door was
11. 存在：ドア	ドア	the door was
12. 属性：不幸せ	おじいさんとおばあさんはしあわせではありませんでした	they couldn't be happy
13. 属性：さみしい	ふたりは（とても）さびしかったのです	they were (so very) lonely
14. Graduation	とても（さびしかった）	so very (lonely)

これら 1～14 の意味のうち、どの項目を何人の学生が絵で表しただろうか。結果は図 1 のようになった。

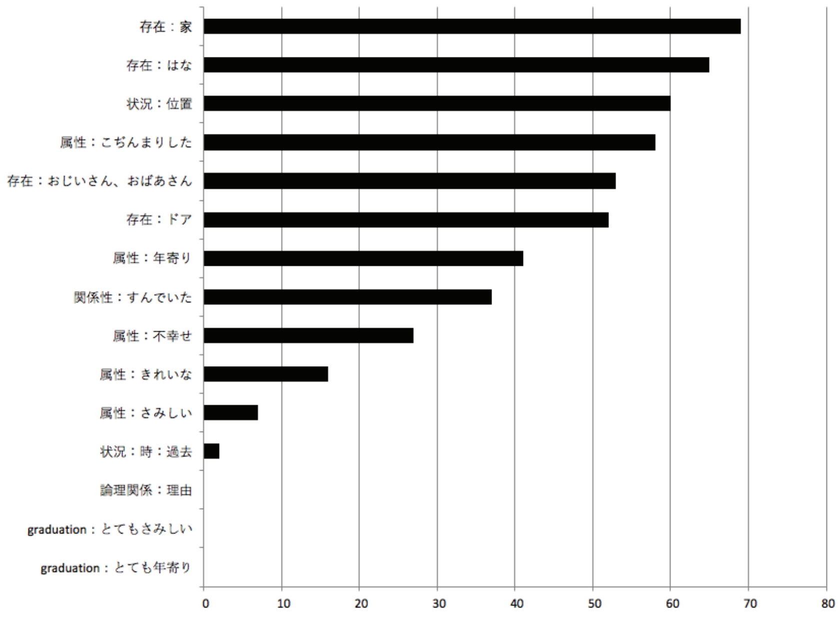

図 1：絵で表されていた件数（71 件中）

ごく単純に考えて、絵で表される機会が多かった意味は、絵で表しやすい意味、絵で表される機会が少なかった意味は、絵では表しにくい意味、ということになる。すなわち、図 2 のグラフの上方（「家」や「はな」の存在）ほど絵で表しやすい意味、下方（論理関係や graduation）ほど、絵では表しにくい意味ということになる。

図 1 に示された各意味が、「具現例がある」「ない」とはっきり分かれるわ

けではなく、比較的具現数の多い意味から少ない意味へと連続的に並ぶことから、文で表された意味は、「絵でも表せる意味」と「表せない意味」にはっきり分かれるわけではなく、比較的表しやすい意味から、比較的表しにくい意味へと連続的に存在していることが分かる。

ここからは、表 3 に挙げたそれぞれの意味が絵でどのように具現されていたか、その表現手段の回答例をいくつか見ていきたい。紙面の都合上、重要な特性が見られた事項のみ確認していく。

●学生の絵による具現法①：存在（家、おじいさんおばあさん、花、ドア）

まず、文で言うと「家がありました」と表現されるような「存在」の意味は、絵で表されたケースが最も多かった。絵による「存在」の具現のしかたは非常に単純で、そのものの姿を絵の中に描き込めば、それだけで存在を表すことができる。例えば図 2 に示した学生の絵では、家、おじいさんおばあさん、花、家のドア、が目に見える形で描き込まれ、それらが存在していることが一目瞭然にわかる。

図 2：家、おじいさん・おばあさん、花、家のドアの存在を具現した絵

●学生の絵による具現法②：関係性（住んでいた）

「存在」よりも回答例が少なかった意味、すなわち、絵ではやや表しにくいという結果が出たのは、登場人物どうしの「関係性」である。この絵本の場合、老夫婦と家との間には、「住む」という関係があることが文で表されていたが、そのことを絵で具現するには、工夫が必要となる。ちなみに、出版されている絵本の絵では、おじいさんとおばあさんと家とが、単に横に並べて描いてあるだけなので、その間に「住む」という関係性があることは表現されていない。

学生の絵で、この関係性が分かるように描かれていた回答例をいくつか見る。まず、図 3 のように、窓などを通して、家の中に二人がいるように描くという手法がある。家の内部に人間がいれば、普通は、その家に住んでいると解釈するため、これが代表的な具現法となる。また、より象徴的な表現法

を見ると、図 4 のように、アイコン的に二人の顔だけを家の中に並べるとか、図 5 のように、フキダシで家の中に二人がいることを図示する、などの方法もある。

図 3（左）、4（中）、5（右）:「住む」という関係性を具現した絵

●学生の絵による具現法③：属性（不幸せ）

「存在」や「関係性」よりさらに具現が難しいのは、目に見えない、すなわち心理的な属性だろう。この絵本の場合、「老夫婦は幸せではありませんでした」、すなわち「不幸」という属性と、「とてもさみしかったのです」という 2 つの心理的属性が、文により構築される。まず「不幸」の具現例を見てみる。心は直接目に見えないとはいえ、感情は表情にでるため、図 6 のように、ふたりを暗い顔つきで、しかもうつむきがちに描くことで、比較的容易に表現することができる。

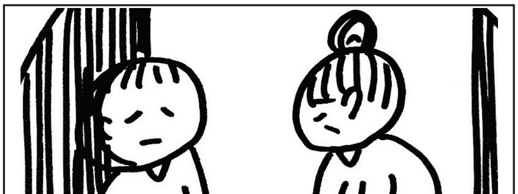

図 6 :「不幸せ」という心理的属性を具現した絵（部分）

では「さみしい」のほうはどうだろうか。「不幸」に比べて、「さみしい」というのは複雑な感情であり、具現するのが難しいと思われる。実際、「さみしい」という意味が明らかに具現されていた例は、71 件中 7 件しかなかった。その数少ない例を見てみたい。

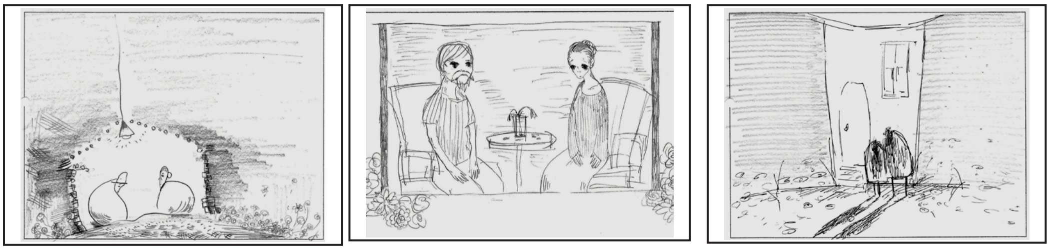

図 7（左）、8（中）、9（右）:「さみしい」という心理的属性を具現した絵

一つの手法は、図 7 のように影を効果的に使うことである。人物のいる画面の中心だけを明るくし、人物の周り（この場合は人物がいる家の周り）を暗くすることで、世間から取り残されたようなさみしさを具現することができる。また、人物が俯いているだけだったら単なる「不幸」と見分けがつかないが、図 8 のように、花まで俯かせ、しかも花弁が散っている様を描くことで、花の儚さに投影させてさみしさを具現できる。また、影の使用法として、周囲を暗くする以外に、図 9 のような、人物の前に影が伸びている構図も、さみしさを醸し出すことができる。前に影が伸びているということは、すなわち光に背を向けているということであり、先行きの暗さやさみしさの表現につながっている。

また、文では「とても（年取った）」という表現で表されていた属性を具現したと考えられる例は、回答例中には見つからなかった。「年寄り」という属性自体は、顔のしわや白髪によって表せるため、それほど具現は難しくない。問題は「とても」という部分である。これは appraisal システムの graduation という部分に当たり、属性を強めたり弱めたりする意味領域である（appraisal システムについては、Martin and Rose (2003: 22-65) を参照のこと）。言語では、「とても」という単語を使うだけで容易に表現できる意味が、絵では表しにくい。つまり、絵では「年寄り」ということは表せても、それが「とても年寄り」なのか「まあまあ年寄り」なのか「ちょっと年寄り」なのか区別することは難しいからである。今回の調査では「とても」という graduation を絵で具現した回答例はゼロという結果になったが、顔をしわくちゃに描くとか、描きようによっては表せなくもないと推測されるため、graduation が絵では表現不可能とは言いきれない。「（二人は幸せではなかった）なぜなら（さみしかったから）」というような論理関係を具現した例も、今回の回答例の中には見つからなかった

6. 結果とまとめ

最後に、節 5 までの結果に基づき、絵で表しやすい意味と表しにくい意味を図 10 としてクラインの形にまとめてみた。上に行くほど表しやすい意味、下に行くほど表しにくい意味になる。

- 存在
- 状況（位置）
- （participant どうしの）関係性
- 属性
    - 目に見える属性　客観的な属性
    - 目に見えない属性　主観的な属性
- 状況（時）
- Graduation
- 論理関係：理由

図 10：絵で表しやすい意味と表しにくい意味のクライン

図 10 に見られるように、そのものの姿を絵の中に描くことで表せる「存在」や、登場人物どうしの位置関係を紙面で再現できる「状況（位置）」は、絵による表現が容易な意味領域、つまり絵の得意領域であるといえる。次いで、物理的な位置関係ではなく、「所有する」「属する」などの抽象的な関係性が続き、次に登場人物の「属性」が並ぶ。節 5 に見たように、「属性」の中でも、「不幸せ」のような表情に出る（＝目に見える）属性のほうが、「さみしい」のように目に見えない属性よりも表現しやすい。下方の「graduation」「論理関係：理由」は、今回の回答例の中には具現例がなかったが、「非常に具現が難しいので具現例がなかった」ということと、「どのようにしても具現が不可能」ということは同じではないため、今回の調査の範囲では「具現が不可能」とまでは言い切れない。「『とても年取った』『さみしいので不幸せだった』ということを絵で表現してください」のように、表現課題を限定した調査で確認するべきだと考える。

この結果を踏まえ、最初に挙げた仮説を振り返る。

i) 文も絵も、工夫すれば同じ意味が表せる。「文では絶対に表せない意味」「絵では絶対に表せない意味」はない。

この仮説に関し、今回の調査で「～の意味は絵で表せる／表せない」という単純な二分法は間違いであるということが、ある程度明らかになったと考える。例えば、早川(2015)で比較的文の得意分野であると指摘した「さみしい」のような微妙な心理描写についても、影などの技法を工夫すれば、少数だが絵でも表せていた例があることを見た。

正確には、「できる／できない」の二者択一ではなく、「～の意味は絵のほうが表しやすい／～の意味は文のほうが表しやすい」という傾向で語るべきであろう。

ii) 各モードはそれぞれに、「比較的表しやすい意味」と「比較的表しにくい意味」を持ち、「最も表しやすい意味」の極から「最も表しにくい意味」の極まで、クライン（連続体）を成している。

この仮説に関し、絵で表しやすい意味と表しにくい意味を図 10 で実際にク

ラインの形にまとめた。具体的には、「存在」や「位置関係」が最も表しやすく、「graduation」や「論理関係」が最も表しにくい、という連続体である。ただし、今回分析したのは、たった 1 冊の絵本の 1 場面だけなので、これ以外の意味領域についても当然、同様の調査や検証を重ねる必要がある。

iii) 絵本は、「文では比較的表しにくい意味」を絵で、「絵では比較的表しにくい意味」を文で表すことで、最小の情報量で最大の効果を挙げている。

絵本の絵というのは、文に忠実で、文が表す意味をすべて表しているのがいい絵だ、という訳では決してない。むしろ、文で表されている意味は、わざわざ絵で重複して表す必要はない。逆に、絵を見ればわかる登場人物の外見などについて、文で長々と説明する必要もない。

実際に出版されている *Millions of Cats* が、そうした絵と文の役割分担をいかにうまく行っているかを見て、本稿の締めくくりにしたい。作者の Wanda Gág 自身が描いた絵では、おじいさん・おばあさん、花に囲まれた家が並列して描かれているのみで、人物は笑っているでも悲しんでいるでもないニュートラルな表情で描かれている。影などの特殊な効果も用いられないシンプルな絵である。このページでは、図 10 のクラインの上方の意味分野、すなわち人や物の「存在」、それらの「位置関係」(＝家が花に囲まれている)を主に絵で表し、逆に下方の絵が不得意な分野、すなわち「目に見えない属性」や「主観的な属性」「時」「Graduation」「論理関係」などは、絵では全く表す意図がなく、文でのみ表されていた。例えば、Once upon a time というフレーズで時を、not happy や lonely といった単語で心理的属性を、very や so very といった語彙で Graduation を、because のような接続詞で論理関係を表している。これらの意味はすべて、絵で表そうとするととても複雑な絵になってしまうため、このように文だけで表現されている。

このように、良い絵本というのは、絵の得意分野と文の得意分野をうまく生かし、両方の意味を持ち寄ることで、シンプルでいて多くのことを語る作品であると言える。今回の調査が、絵本の魅力、その表現の特殊性と可能性を明らかにする一助になることを願う。

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Authorial Stance on the Move: Published and L2 Learners' Research Abstracts in Applied Linguistics

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Abstract

The aim of the study was twofold, to describe the adequateness of ideational description by exploring element standards on rhetorical moves in L2 learners' abstracts (e.g., instrument in method), and to describe the appropriateness of interpersonal negotiation through the expansive and contractive engagement in L2 learners' abstracts by comparing with those in the published abstracts. The Learner Abstract Corpus (the LAC) was compiled from Taiwanese L2 post-graduate students' responses to timed research abstract writing assessment. Four abstracts were randomly-selected from high-level, intermediate-level, and low-level sub-corpora. The Published Abstract Corpus (the PAC) was compiled from 2 abstracts of six prestigious international journals. For the ideational element standards on the moves, an increasing inclusion of the standards was observed from the low-level through the intermediate to the high. For the interpersonal, the PAC revealed the more expansive approaches of authorial stance on the moves, while the LASC indicated a rising pattern of more expanding authorial stances in the intermediate-level and high-level sub-corpora. Notable are the engagement on two moves in the PAC, the results including high-frequency expansive attribution of the proposition to the study findings, and the conclusion including contractive proclamation of the study highlights as the merits.

1. Introduction

Through a Systemic Functional Linguistics lens, quality of a text can be thoroughly evaluated by three dimensions, including proposition of communicative content at the ideational level, writer-reader interaction of meaning negotiation at the interpersonal, and topic-comment organization at the textual (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Martin and White, 2005). Among these dimensions, interpersonal interaction has been an increasingly-popular research focus on which the interaction is analyzed by textual features and lexico-grammatical choices, against the backdrop of ideational contents (Chang and Schleppegrell, 2011; Loi et al., 2016). This focus seemingly holds an underlying premise that an effective academic text is often recognized as the construction designed to win an argument over writer-reader interaction (Chang, 2012; Chang and Schleppegrell, 2011; Lancaster, 2014; Martin and White, 2005). Writer-reader interaction has been found largely observable by writers' maneuvering contractive and expansive approaches to entertaining prior discussion, potential objections, and readers' response, which thus reveals a writer's stance against the backdrop of this heteroglossic discussion (Chang and Schleppegrell, 2011; Chang, 2012; Loi et al., 2016; Martin and White, 2005). Arguably, this interaction characterizes authorial stance denoting how meaning expressions are related to authors' attitude, degree of commitment, and engagement with alternative views in the Engagement framework (Martin and White, 2005).

This complex nature of authorial stance may pose greater difficulties to English as a second/foreign language (L2) learners, particularly for their writing of a complicated genre, i.e., research articles (RAs) (Chang, 2012; Loi et al., 2016). For example, seven L2 doctoral students in the social sciences were found expressing more obscure authorial stance in writing the introductions of RAs, and making progress after receiving the instruction that directly addressed the function and use of authorial stances via the text-linguistic and the corpus-based approaches (Chang, 2012). A few researchers have clearly argued for the importance of expressing an explicit authorial stance in the RA introductions to greater persuasion of RAs (Chang, 2012; Chang and Schleppegrell, 2011; Hood, 2010). Little is known about the degree to which L2 post-graduate student writers at varying levels are able to appropriately express authorial stance in RAs. Among varying sections in RAs, research abstracts, being expectedly to be an attractive miniature of the complete RAs (Lin et al., 2015; Swales and Feak, 2009), may provide a snapshot of how authorial stances can be expressed across the varying sections of RAs. In this sense, research abstracts seem to be worth investigating. Such investigation can address the degree to which authorial stances are conveyed on rhetorical moves for promoting the RA-highlights and persuading readers of the merits behind the highlights.

The study reports on the writer-reader interaction texture of L2 learners' and published research-article abstracts in applied linguistics. The aims of the study were twofold, to describe the adequateness of ideational description by exploring element standards on rhetorical moves in L2 learners' abstracts (e.g., instrument and research procedure in method; major findings in results), and to describe the appropriateness of interpersonal engagement through expansive and contractive rhetorical approaches in L2 learners' abstracts by comparing with those in the published abstracts.

2. Method

2.1 Overview

The study attempted to describe a construed L2 developmental system in RA-abstract writing by analyzing the ideational element standards and the interpersonal engagement devices of authorial stance. First, the ideational element standards refer to the elements essential to rhetorical moves in research abstracts (e.g., instruments in method; the results to research questions) on the move across the three proficiency-based LASC, which reveals the extent to which L2 learners can select and state key elements in the RA-abstract writing. Second, the interpersonal engagement of authorial stance denotes appropriate expression of the writers' chosen perspectives and respect for potential alternative views from readers. In fact, the study attempted to compare the function of authorial stance on the moves (i.e., expansion and contraction) across the LASC and PAC.

2.2 The corpora

2.2.1 *The Learner Abstract Corpus (the LAC)*

The LAC was compiled from 185 abstracts written in response to the Research-Abstract Writing Assessment (the RAWA). The Research-Abstract Writing Assessment was designed with (1) a prompt for a 200-250 English abstract, (2) two rating scales for the responses, the global move of rhetorical functions from Swales and Feak's (2009) scheme for research abstracts (i.e., background-purpose-method-results-conclusion), and the local pattern of linguistic devices. The global move consisted of contents (accuracy and effectiveness) and move (presence, proportion, sequence, and coherence). The local pattern comprised brevity (conciseness, cohesiveness) and language use (accuracy for word use, and appropriateness for word variety and hedging).

The abstracts were rated by two scales (i.e., the global move and the local pattern), totaling a score for writing quality (ranging from 1 to 10). The distribution of score were frequency-analyzed, and classified the LAC into three proficiency-based sub-corpora, including the low (1 to 41 percent), the intermediate (42 to 80), and the high (above 81). In this preliminary analysis, only four abstracts were randomly selected from each sub-corpus, totaling 12 abstracts in the LASC.

2.2.2 *The Published Abstract Corpus (the PAC)*

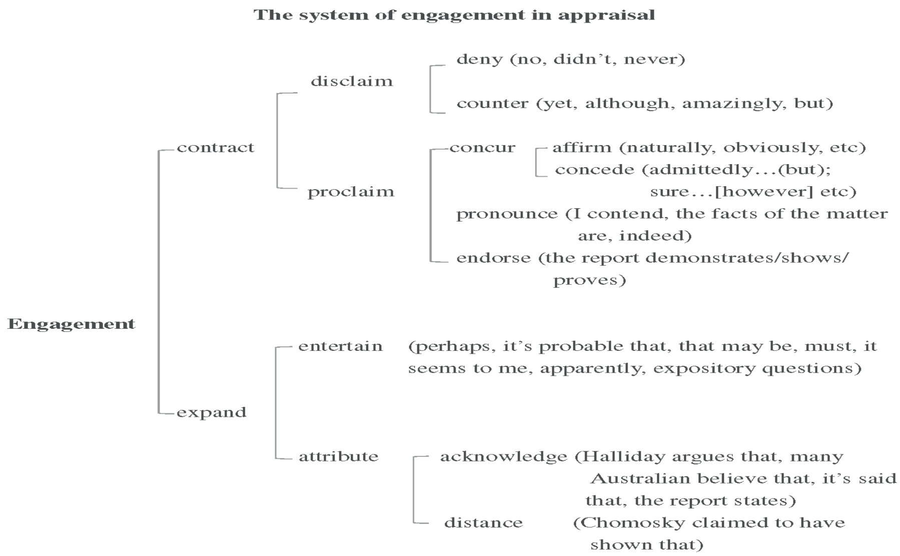
The PAC was compiled from abstracts of six prestigious international journals (i.e., *Journal of English for Academic Purposes, Written Communication, ReCALL, Computer Assisted Language Learning, Language Learning & Technology, The International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*), published from 2010 through 2015, around 75-85 abstracts from each journal. The journals were chosen for their focus on computer-assisted language learning that was of higher relevance to the L2 learners' writing prompt (i.e., asynchronous discussion on online platform) in the study. For the present analysis on authorial stances, twelve abstracts (two from each journal, published in 2015 and 2014) were randomly selected from the PAC.

2.2.3 *Move Tagging and Element standards*

In Table 1 listed in the method section, a coding scheme (adopted from Swales and Feak, 2009) was employed to tag moves with different communicative purposes in the abstracts. The moves include the purposes of providing background or literature review (B), indicating purposes or tasks of the study (P), describing methods or theories (M), reporting results (R), and making conclusions and evaluations (C). Two blended moves were identified from the analysis of the LASC, i.e., P+M combining the study purpose and methods in one to two sentences; M+R blending the study method and results in one to two sentences. These move tags served as a framework for the subsequent analysis of element standards and authorial stances. Table 1 also details the element standards on each move extracted from the writing prompt. The element standards were extracted by the APA (2008) suggestions for reporting standards in the journal articles of the social sciences.

2.3 The Engagement system in appraisal for authorial stance

This study adopted an integrated approach to mapping the authorial stance onto the rhetorical moves (Chang and Schleppegrell, 2011; Loi et al., 2016). Following the Swalestian framework of describing RA abstracts by the communicative acts, the project employed the coding scheme in Table 1. Against the backdrop of the move structure, the study adopted Martin and White (2005)'s engagement system that consisted of the expansive and contractive approaches in Figure 1.



Taken from Martin & White (2005, p.134)

Figure 1. The Engagement system in appraisal

This Engagement system subsumes two major discursive approaches, the contractive of disclaiming and proclaiming, the expansive of entertaining and attributing. Adopting this system, the analysis sought to identify a repertoire of linguistic resources employed for projecting authorial stance and reader respect for potential objections or alternative views.

2.4. The analytical procedure

Prior to the analysis, both the PAC and the LASC were move-tagged by two coders respectively holding an MA in applied linguistics. The high inter-coder reliability was reached with the Kappa's coefficients of 0.92 (higher than the cutoff 0.81 for perfect agreement). In analyzing element standards, the two coders evaluated whether the listed standards were adequately expressed in the abstracts (with the Kappa's coefficient 0.93). Finally, the analysis of authorial stances was conducted by the semantic discourse via the manual analysis of two coders (both being researchers in the RA analysis in applied linguistics), with the Kappa's coefficient 0.88.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 The distribution of element standard on the move in the LASC

In Table1, the LASC was found to include partial or complete element standards on the moves across the three subcorpora. First, the low-level LASC had 76 abstracts with Scores 0-3, and was found 50 percent of these abstracts included the complete element standards on the method and results moves but not including the complete on the purpose move. In the same sub-corpus, the other half of the abstracts did not included element standards across the three moves. Second, the intermediate-level LASC had 71 abstracts with Scores 4-6, and was found that 60 percent of the abstracts included the complete element standards on the method and results moves; 80 percent on the purpose move. Finally, the high-level LASC had 38 abstracts with Scores 7-10, and was identified with 80 percent of the abstracts having complete element standards on the method and results moves; 100 percent of the complete element standard on the purpose move.

Table 1 The top 3 under-expressed element standards in each sub-corpus

Moves	**The under-expressed element standards**	**The sub-corpus**
Purpose (P)	1. effects of implementing text-based asynchronous discussion; 2. content-based English course	The low
	1. content-based English course	The intermediate
	None	The high
Method (M)	1. participants of 41 college students majoring in applied English in 2004, 35 students in 2005 and 2006; 2. data of discussion exchanges; 3. 5-point-Likert-scale questionnaires; group interviews	The low
	1. participants of 41 college students majoring in applied English in 2004, 35 students in 2005 and 2006; 2. data of discussion exchanges; 3. 5-point-Likert-scale questionnaires;	The intermediate
	1. participants of 41 college students majoring in applied English in 2004, 35 students in 2005 and 2006	The high
Results (R)	1. learners' English reading and writing ability; 2. learners' content comprehension; 3. learners' positive perceptions toward asynchronous discussion	The low
	1. learners' English reading and writing ability; 2. learners' content comprehension;	The intermediate
	1. learners' English reading and writing ability	The high

In Table 1, the high-level LASC was found to have fewer under-expressions than the intermediate-level and the low-level. In other words, the higher-proficient L2 learner writers might be more capable of including the element standards essential in research abstracts than their lower-proficient counterparts, consistent with previous studies (Lin et al., 2015; Swales and Feak, 2009). This variation of the under-expression across the subcorpora seems to substantiate qualitative evidence for the rating quality of the LASC being presented by a sum score. The sum score mainly reflected the proficiency-level of the abstract response by both the global move (i.e., content elements and rhetorical moves) and the local pattern (i.e., language accuracy and brevity) (Lin et al., 2015). Also, the score appears to be sensitive in reflecting the complete inclusion of element standards (i.e., only a part criterion in rating).

3.2 The distribution of the authorial stance on the move in the LASC and the PAC

Table 2 reports on the distribution of authorial stances on the moves in the two corpora. Overall, the authorial stances were found to have higher frequency on the results, conclusion, purpose and background (arranged by frequency), while having no distribution on the method. Across the two corpora, the LASC revealed that the lower-level L2 learner writers tend to convey fewer authorial stances. This finding was consistent with to previous studies, such that "[t]he low performers [being] less committed and critically distant make moves to construct a reader who is more authoritative than the writer" (Lancaster, 2014: 51). The higher-level writers (i.e., the intermediate-level and the high-level) were found to express more authorial stances on the moves, although the degree of openness of this authorial stances may be different from that of the PAC.

Table 2 The distribution of authorial stances on the moves in the two corpora[1&2]

LASC	on the moves: [authorial stances]	PAC	on the moves: [authorial stances]
H1	**P[e:e]-M-R[e:a-a][c:p-e]**[c:d-d] [e:e]-C	JEAP15	B-**P-M+R[e:a-a]-R[e:a-a]**-C[c:p-p] [e:e]
H2	B[c:p-c]**-P-M-R[c:p-e][e:a-a]**-C[e:e]	JEAP14	B-**P-M-R[e:a-a]**[c:d-d] -C[e:e]
H3	**P-M-R[c:p-e][e:a-a]**-C[c:p-p]	WC15	B[c:p-e]**-P+M+R[e:a-a]** -C
H4	**P-M-R[c:p-e][e:a-a]**-C[e:e]	WC14	**P-M-R[c:p-e]** -C[e:e]
I1	B-**P[e:e]-M-R**	RC15	**P-M-R[e:a-a]-C**[c:p-p]
I2	**P[e:e]-M-P-M-R[c:p-e]**-C[c:p-p]	RC14	**P-M-R[e:a-a]**[c:d-d]**-C**[e:e]
I3	**M-P-M-R**	C15	B-**P-M-R[e:a-a]**[c:d-c]**-C**
I4	B[c:d-c]**-P[e:e]-M-R**-C[e:a-a]	C14	**P**[e:e]**-M-R**[e:e][c:d-c]**[e:a-a]**
L1	B-**P-M-R[e:a-a]**[e:e]	LLT15	**P-M-R[e:a-a]-C**
L2	B[e:a-a]**-P+M-M-R[c:p-e]**[c:d-c]	LLT14	**P-M-R[e:a-a]**[c:d-c]-C[e:a-a][e:e]
L3	**P-M-R[c:p-e]**[e:e]	IJCL15	B-**P**[c:d-c][c:p-p]**-M-R[e:aa]**
L4	**P-M**[e:e]**-C**[e:e][c:p-e]	IJCL14	B[e:e][c:d-c]-**P+M-R**[c:p-c][c:d-d]-C
The LASC (* denoting the frequency count of the stance) B: 1* (c: d-c), 1* (e: a-a), 1* (c: p-c); **P: 4*(e: e);** M: 1* (e: e); **R: 7*(c: p-e), 5*(e: a-a)**; 1*(c: d-c), 3*(e: e); C: 3*(e: e), 2*(c: p-p), 1*(c: p-e), 1* (e: a-a)			
The PAC (* denoting the frequency count of the stance) B: 1* (e: e), 1* (c: d-e); **P: 1* (e: e), 1* (c: d-c), 1* (c: p-p); R: 10*(e: a-a), 1*(c: p-e)**; 3*(c: d-d), 3*(c: d-c); C: 5*(e: e), 2* (c: p-p); 2* (e: a-a)			

Specifically for the type of authorial stances, a few noteworthy variations were identified across the corpora. In the LASC, the results moves were often expressed by the contractive proclamation with higher authorial endorsement to the study results. Such higher endorsement may prevent projecting a more neutral authorial stance on the study results that is often expected in the research community (Loi et al., 2016). On the purpose and conclusion moves, the L2 learner writers are found to adopt more expansive approaches hedging their proposition and accommodating potential alternative viewpoints. Below are three specific examples taken from the LASC. On the purpose move, the L2 learner writers were found to adopt the pattern "aim to verb." A possible explanation is that L2 learner writers seem to believe the use of the lexical bundle "aim to verb" expressing a mitigation of the study purpose that could turn out to be not fulfilled. In mitigating the purpose, the L2 writers may intend to open up a space for lesser agreement over the fulfillment of the study purpose, as in the I2 example.

Example 1: I2

//P//The current study **aims to** investigate the effects of non-simultaneous discussion which is implemented in content-based English courses as well as the factors which influence the results **[expand: entertain].**

Second, on the results move, the L2 learner writers were found to frequently express the contractive proclamation of higher authorial endorsement to the results. Such higher authorial endorsement clearly projects more authorial certainty for the results, which makes the results-reporting less neutral and perhaps less conformed to the research conventions, as in the L3 example.

Example 2: L3

//R//**The results showed** that the entries of students' participation have been increased and more than half of the participants maintain positive attitude on asynchronous discussion **[contract: proclaim, endorse].**

Third, on the conclusion move, some L2 learner writers at high-level were found to adopt the contractive proclamation pronouncing the merits of the study findings. Such contractive approach can be found in the PAC as well, which suggests that the high-level L2 learner writers may learn to use the contractive proclamation in emphasizing the highlights of their RAs.

Example 3: H3

//C//**The research also sheds lights on** practice for asynchronous discussion in classrooms including the consideration of assessments… **[contract: proclaim/pronounce]**.

In summary, the LASC indicated the higher-frequency expression of authorial stances on the results, conclusion, and purpose moves. The results move were often expressed by a contractive proclamation that highly endorsed the proposition by the study results, rather than by an expansive attribution for more tentativeness of the study results. Besides the relative assertion of the study results, a few expansive attribution and expansive entertaining were also expressed.

As indicated in Table 2, in the PAC, the results move were often expressed by the expansive attribution of acknowledging varying perspectives (i.e., one based on the results, and the other alternatives), enabling a projection of a more neutral authorial stance. Similarly, a few expansive approaches (i.e., acknowledging alternative views, and entertaining more possibility for potential objections) were found on the conclusion moves. Yet notably, some of the conclusion moves were expressed with the contractive proclamation pronouncing the merits or contributions of the study findings. A possible explanation is that while more open-space for interaction is given on the preceding moves, the published writers seek to close the space as so to better persuade putative readers of the strengths in the ending part of research abstracts.

Table 2 presents the frequency counts of authorial stances on the move expressed in the PAC and LASC. First, across the two corpora, authorial stances were found being on the results and conclusion most frequently, followed by the background and purpose, and fewer occurrences on the method. Consistent with previous studies (Chang, 2012; Loi et al., 2016), authorial stances tend to be projected throughout RAs, when the writer intends to critically argue for a preferred perspective and to highly respect the alternative and potential objections. In fact, these two major functions of authorial stances have been found being expressed mostly in the introduction and discussion sections of RAs in which the writers are more likely to voice a chosen opinion and to seek broader agreement from putative readers (Chang and Schleppegrell, 2011; Loi et al., 2016).

Consistent with the previous studies (Chang 2012; Loi et al, 2016), the findings indicate that a main function of authorial stances was to present an author-oriented voice or perspective and to open up space for alternative views. In this vein of thinking, a better-accepted authorial stance tends to be expressed with a more softening tone for more expansive entertaining of alternative views (Chang, 2012; Loi et al., 2016). Following this vein of thinking, the published writers are found to frequently adopt the expansive entertaining approach to embracing more potential opposite or diverse perspectives from putative readers. In fact, on the results move, the authorial stance tends to be expressed in a manner of letting the evidence speak for itself, particularly by the expansive attribution approach acknowledging the results. Alongside reporting the results in a neutral and more descriptive way, the explanations for the results were found often being expressed in the expansive-entertaining approach that opens up more spaces for reader negotiation but project an authorial stance at the same time. Similarly, on the conclusive move, a common stance was the expansive-entertaining to accommodate alternative views or potential objections from readers.

Below are the PAC examples. First, while the LASC revealed the more use of the contractive proclamation endorsing the study results with lower-degree of mitigation, the PAC indicated the more use of the expansive attribution acknowledging the study results as a source with more tentative nature stated in the IJCL15 example.

Example 4: IJCL15
//R//**The results indicate** that corpus design and composition has a much greater influence on lexical variation than previously recognized **[expansive: attribute/acknowledge]**, highlighting the need to evaluate internal representativeness in quantitative corpus-based research.

Second, on the conclusion moves, the published writers tended to adopt the expansive entertaining greater respect for alternative views and to mitigate their proposition with more uncertainty about their propositions, as in the JEAP14 example.

Example 5: JEAP14
//C//**The findings suggest** that collaborative prewriting may be beneficial for text quality, even for students who prefer to work individually **[expansive: entertain].**

Third, the published writers sought to underscore the contributions or merits of their studies by the contractive proclamation pronouncing the merits, in the RECALL15.

Example 6: RECALL15
//C//**The research findings delineate the pedagogical merit** of key domain analysis and thus help to inform English as a foreign language teachers and materials developers in the design of courses emphasising spoken interaction. **[contractive: proclaim: pronounce].**

In a nutshell, the PAC revealed the more expansive approaches of authorial stance on the results, conclusion, and background moves (arranged by frequency). Notable are the engagement on two moves in the PAC. The results move was found to have the higher-frequency expansive attribution of the proposition to the study findings, expressing a more neutral writer stance. The conclusion move were identified with the more contractive proclamation underscoring the merits of the study findings.

4. Conclusion

On the basis of L2 proficiency-based learner abstract sub-corpora (the LASC), the findings indicate a developmental stage of L2 learner writers in composing the required ideational element standards and interpersonal engagement devices. As expected, the higher-proficiency level the L2 learner writers achieve, the more complete element standards they can compose, and the more appropriate authorial stances they can project for broader reader agreement. The Published Abstract Corpus (the PAC) were found to deploy a more expansive approach to accommodating more potential alternative views on the results, conclusion, and purpose/background moves. Pedagogically, L2 research-writing instructors should first make authorial stance salient and clear to L2 learner writers. The instructors should explicitly address the specific features of authorial stance, including the expressive approaches of expansive and contractive spaces (e.g., entertain and attribute for the expansive; disclaim and proclaim for the contractive). Once L2 learner writers incrementally learn to construct authorial stance, they can successfully state their intended stances in a heteroglossic research community full of alternative stances, and perhaps win over more readers' agreement (Swales, 1990).

Notes

[1] The moves in boldface indicates the obligatory one, **P-M-R**.

[2] The initials of the authorial stances are detailed below: e-a-a, expansion: attribute-acknowledge; c:d-d, contraction: disclaim-deny; c:d-c, contraction: disclaim-counter; c:p-c, contraction: proclaim-concur; c:p-p, contraction: proclaim-pronounce; c:p-e, contraction: proclaim-endorse; e-e, expansion: entertain.

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Systemic Functional Approaches to Task-Based Language Teaching: Developing Language and Writing Skills through Genre-Based Tasks

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to discuss how some systemic functional linguistic (SFL) concepts can inform the notion of task-based language teaching (TBLT) to better conceptualize teaching and evaluation of learning in the second language (L2) classroom, with a specific focus on L2 writing development. Although SFL approaches to L2 pedagogies such as TBLT have been rather rare to date, this article argues that by applying SFL to TBLT, educators and practitioners will be able to develop the effective approach that can facilitate their students' acquisition of both language and writing skills, due to their unique and complementary features.

1. Introduction

This article attempts to apply some systemic functional linguistic (SFL) concepts to task-based language teaching (TBLT) as a means to enrich the fields of learning, teaching, and evaluating writing in an additional language. To date, SFL approaches to second language (L2) pedagogies such as TBLT have been rather rare in the field of second language acquisition (SLA), perhaps due to the SFL's "much more explicit social orientation" (Ortega, 2009: 234), while SLA research "takes a strong interactionist, psycholinguistically-focused, language processing-oriented stance" (Byrnes, 2014a: 326). Due to the traditional boundaries between the disciplines of SLA and L2 writing (Ortega, 2012), language development and writing development have been investigated separately and not in terms of how they influence each other. This disciplinary boundary can be observed in the following remark from Wolfe-Quintero, Inagaki and Kim (1998: 2)—"[W]e are not interested in measuring the ability to 'write well' in a second language—but in measuring language development as it is manifest in a written modality". However, one may wonder how linguistic performance can be meaningfully interpreted without reference to its contextual adequacy and communicative success as a whole. This article therefore argues that for some of the core, yet still insufficiently explored issues in the fields of SLA—for example, the theoretical and pedagogical interplay between learning L2 and writing in L2, or the reciprocally-supported development of *linguistic knowledge* and *writing expertise* (Manchón, 2001a; Ortega, 2010)—an SFL approach may help SLA researchers and educators to develop a more realistic idea of how writing can be taught or investigated on the one hand, and help L2 writing scholars and practitioners to become more aware of how language can be taught or investigated on the other hand.

How, then, might a theoretical and pedagogical interplay between SFL and TBLT be accomplished? Moreover, how beneficial is this theoretical and pedagogical nexus to the fields of both SLA and L2 writing? The guiding rationale for this paper is based on the proposal originally provided by Byrnes (2014b) and Byrnes and Manchón (2014a, 2014b) that the concept of *task* can be enriched or re-conceptualized by encompassing writing into its research agenda as complex, reflective, and textual meaning-making events, and at the same time that L2 *writing* research and pedagogy can be theoretically empowered by embracing the *language learning potential* (Manchón, 2011b) of the task construct. With that orientation, this introductory section provides a theoretical discussion regarding how tasks can benefit from the inclusion of L2 writing and how L2 writing can benefit from the task construct. In so doing, we can reconsider ways of interpreting and assessing the nature of *writing tasks*, namely, language performance in written tasks.

2. The benefits of writing to task

As have been addressed by many SLA scholars, the main theoretical constructs of TBLT have been inspired by issues associated with developing oral proficiency. Many of these studies have investigated learner performance within oral communicative tasks based on a structural, form-only understanding that is devoid of considerations of communicative adequacy and success (e.g., Ellis, 2009; Robinson et al., 2009; Skehan and Foster, 2007; Robinson, 2007). As Pallotti (2009) pointed out, “very few of these (studies) discuss how the communication unfolded and whether it was successful in achieving its goals” (p. 596).

The overriding emphasis on oral proficiency indicates that writing has been a rather unfocused or rather neglected area in TBLT. One of the reasons for the insecure position of writing in TBLT is that, as Harklau (2002) pointed out, writing data are less likely to constitute a pure reflection of “spontaneous,” “unmonitored,” and “implicit” linguistic ability than speaking data. However, given that writing allows for more *reflection* and therefore enables the learner to actively search and deploy what they know about language in all its facets, including the use of vocabulary, formulaic sequences, grammar, sentence constructions, and discourse, in order to produce a text that is perfectly functional at achieving the task’s goals as well as being contextually adequate to others, it can be posited that writing data offers an excellent window into the L2 development of a learner. The act of writing is also a richer site for learners to test their hypotheses than that of speaking due to its reflective nature (Ortega, 2012; Williams, 2012).

It is also important to note that writing is, both formally and structurally, more complex than speaking because writers “seek to challenge themselves with the creation of meanings that are, conceptually and socially, also increasingly more complex” (Ortega, 2015: 83). More specifically, L2 writers confront inextricably inter-related attentional demands, including the ideational, interpersonal, textual, stylistic, and register demands of conveying communicative meaning to their audiences, whether the writing task focuses on relatively simple and short writing events (e.g., tweets, emails, and letters) or comprises complex writing events such as those associated with academic, institutional, and professional contexts (Byrnes and Manchón, 2014a). Either way, writing entails complex meaning-making and decision-making activities that are mediated by a wide range of varied intractable dimensions.

My proposal in this paper is thus to suggest that TBLT theory and research would benefit from an exploration of writing events as more socially and conceptually complex deployments of grammatical resources in language production than oral events. Embracing writing in the research agenda of TBLT will enable TBLT researchers to gain a fuller understanding of learners' language use, insofar as it is motivated by the functional need to deliver complex content within discourse, as is achieved by combining the communicative purpose of the genre, the content, and the audience type.

It appears that, among the different conceptual frameworks used in L2 writing research, SFL, as developed by Michael Halliday and his followers (e.g., Christie, 2002; Halliday, 1994, 1996, 1998; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999, 2004; Martin, 2009; Martin and Rose, 2008), is the theory that is most felicitous in providing a nexus point between language and writing. More precisely, drawing on SFL may enable L2 researchers to move beyond traditional static linguistic approaches to analyzing texts in their target discourse domains, and instead, move to analyzing "the *dynamic structures of language use surrounding the completion of target tasks*" (Long, 2014: 170, emphasis in original). To that end, the strongest point of an SFL approach to task or L2 learning is that it provides us with a unique framework that allows us to understand or analyze: (1) the crucial role of interaction between a multitude of variables in constructing meaning (ideational, interpersonal, and textual), which, unless analyzed, might remain hidden from learners, (2) the link between the choice of optimally appropriate meaning-making resources and communicative success for particular genres and tasks (i.e., the relationship between the linguistic form and its function in the construction of meaning (semantics) in texts (discourse)), and (3) L2 performance and L2 learning trajectories in terms of a learner's meaning-making capacities across contexts, from oral to written, casual to formal, concrete to abstract, and congruent to incongruent.

Overall, SFL makes a distinct contribution to analysis of the discourse of target tasks to facilitate the process of designing pedagogic tasks as well as evaluating learners' linguistic choices in the process of completing a specific target task. This is achieved by making explicit the dynamic structures of the socio-cultural events in which the texts are embedded — i.e., how the L2 functions "to convey who did what, to whom, and under what circumstances" (Gebhard et al., 2013: 109). This insight is crucial, particularly in the context of EFL classrooms, because EFL learners are less exposed to the genres and tasks used in real-life situations and, therefore, they often have difficulties developing a conscious awareness of certain grammatical resources for certain contexts of use.

3. The benefits of task to writing

While SFL-oriented writing theory has much to contribute to TBLT, TBLT also offers L2 writing scholars an alternative viewpoint of learners' writing development, in that it helps such scholars to focus on linguistic variables, rather than on the socio-rhetorical and socio-cultural dimensions of writers' development. Specifically, TBLT has much to inform SFL, since one of the limitations of the latter is that its primary focus is on explicit descriptions of textual features or choices being made by the writer to construct the meaning (i.e., *what* should be done); therefore, the theory itself does not offer pedagogic procedures that make both language learning and writing development occur concurrently (i.e., *how* it can be done), involving the unit of analysis for the syllabus, selection of syllabus content, and rational sequencing of pedagogic tasks, and so on. Herein lies the role that TBLT could play in compensating for the limitations of the SFL theory.

The concept of TBLT has increasingly been used as the theoretical underpinning of syllabus design and task sequences in language education. As addressed by researchers such as Norris (2009) and Long (2014), the task-based framework assumes that language should be used as a means to an end, and that the objective of language activities should be the successful completion of a task (outcome-based), rather than the formation of accurate utterances (form-based). Despite its focus on outcome, however, the task-based approach seeks a compromise between communicative practice and formal instruction, thereby recognizing that communicative practice is not necessary at every step of successful task completion. Thus, task-based theory provides an instructional framework that organizes language classrooms in a sequential manner, initially encouraging students to learn the formal features of the target language in order to construct a target genre (in the pedagogic-task or task-supported phases), then shifting to the genre realization or meaning-making process (in the target-task phase). By so doing, TBLT reconciles the need for explicit teaching of lexicogrammatical forms on the one hand and communicative effectiveness on the other.

Thus, it is important to acknowledge that there are two types of task: *target* tasks and *pedagogic* tasks. Target tasks are communicative acts that we accomplish through language in the real world (e.g., responding to an e-mail message; making an appointment), while pedagogic tasks are the activities and materials used to help learners to accomplish those target tasks (Norris, 2009). Long (2014) suggests that these two types of task should be differentiated by researchers and educators. By the same token, Ellis (1997) described tasks as consisting of "unfocused" tasks (those designed to elicit general samples of language use) and "focused" tasks or "consciousness-raising" tasks (those designed to facilitate the use of specific target-language features in a communicative context such as a particular grammatical structure). These conceptual discussions about task types and phases indicate that TBLT can be an effective framework that offers sequenced tasks in which learners are encouraged to utilize language to accomplish a certain outcome in a certain context/genre/task.

By borrowing these ideas from TBLT and combining them with SFL-based writing pedagogy, then, tasks in foreign language writing classrooms can serve as *genre-based tasks*, as originally proposed by Byrnes (2009, 2011). Potentially, genre-based tasks could help operationalize a writing pedagogy that focuses on both linguistic knowledge and writing expertise; using this pedagogy, novice EFL learners can be expected to attain reasonably competent levels of language use and writing performance in their target languages.

Bearing in mind these theoretical discussions regarding the possible interplay between SFL and TBLT, this article aims to present a concrete example concerning SFL-initiated genre-based tasks. The rest of this paper will present how genre-based tasks were designed and implemented based on the synergetic theoretical combinations of SFL and TBLT in the context of college-level academic EFL courses for biology-major students.

4. Designing SFL-initiated genre-based tasks

4.1 The curriculum structure

The curriculum, which consisted of four levels (Levels 1, 2, 3, and 4), was designed for biology-major undergraduate students at a Japanese university. With reference to Byrnes (2005, 2006, 2009, 2011), the four-semester course sequence was designed to familiarize the students with various written genres in different textual spheres in a step-by-step manner, shifting from private to public and general to academic. Precisely, within the four-level curricular progression, Level 1 focused on primary discourses used in everyday oral situations while in Level 2, the target genre shifted to secondary discourses used in the written mode primarily through expository essays such as description, comparison and contrast, and argumentation. Level 3 introduced students to email writing as a *blurred genre* in which the oral and written modes were combined to enable students to experience a wide range of modalities and consider the audience and the overall purpose (Yasuda, 2011). Finally, Level 4 expanded language use in the written mode from general to more academic by focusing on subject-specific texts and summarizing the content.

The four-semester sequenced curriculum was based on the two assumptions informed by SFL and TBLT: (i) accumulated experience with different *genres* helps learners to expand the range of lexicogrammatical resources that they can put to use; and (2) having learners work on increasingly more complex *tasks* leads to their interlanguage development in L2. In other words, the goal of the curriculum is to make learners aware of the kinds of choices that exist at various strata of the language system in genres/tasks/contexts.

4.2 The Level 4 portion explored in this study.

This paper focuses on the Level 4 portion of the four-semester sequence of genre-based EFL courses offered for biology-major students. This course was 15 weeks in length and taught by the author. The Level 4 portion explored in this study sought to shift its target genre-based tasks toward a more scientific representation of reality by integrating content-oriented reading of academic texts (e.g., research reports on biotechnology, genetics, and biodiversity) and summarizing the main points of each source text. As the target genre, a *summary* was selected since this genre serves as “an aid to close reading and understanding of a field of knowledge” (Hood, 2008: 352) and it provides the opportunity to demonstrate an understanding of the new subject itself and of the specialized language associated with it—which exactly corresponded to the students’ future genre/task needs.

As noted above, genre-based tasks in this study consisted of pedagogic tasks and a target task. Pedagogic tasks were simpler versions of the target task and their complexity levels (the *complexity of the pedagogic tasks, not linguistic complexity*), as proposed by Long (2014: 225), gradually increased toward the completion of the target task at the end of the course. For this purpose, the target task (writing a summary of an academic text) was broken into its component pieces or sub-tasks. Table 1 is a course schedule for the reading-writing integrated course and demonstrates how pedagogic tasks were sequenced and integrated into reading activities so that learning genre, task, content, and language could happen concurrently.

Table 1: The course schedule

Week	Reading Topics	Genre of the Reading	Pedagogic Tasks for Summary Writing
1	Guidance		
2	The Uses of Genetics	Research report	Pre-instructional summary-writing task (baseline)
3	How to write a summary		Analysis of the selected summaries on the "Uses of Genetics" in Week 2
4	Hirofumi Yamashita's Three Star Vegetables	Magazine Column	Paraphrasing practice (i) Acknowledge/Clarify
5	What is COP 17?	Magazine Column	Paraphrasing practice (ii): Summarize/Organize
6	What is TPP?	Newspaper Article	Paraphrasing practice (iii): Shift level of abstraction
7	TPP & Domestic Agriculture	Newspaper Article	Paraphrasing practice (i), (ii), and (iii)
8	Disappearance of Wildlife	Science Textbook	Summarizing practice (i): The target readers are those who have little background knowledge on the topic.
9	Photosynthesis	Science Textbook	Analysis of the selected summaries on "Disappearance of Wildlife" in Week 8
10	Evolving animals	Science Textbook	Summarizing practice (ii) The target readers are those experts who have certain background knowledge on the topic.
11	Species Diversity of Mammals	Research Report	Analysis of the selected summaries on "Evolving animals" in Week 10
12	Bio-Diversity	Research report	Summarizing practice (iii): Using reporting verbs and acknowledging the author of the original source
13	DNA Testing	Research report	Analysis of the selected summaries on "Bio-Diversity" in Week 12

14	Wrap up		
15	Biotechnology & Genetic Engineering	Research report	Post-instructional summary-writing task

The course schedule illustrated in Table 1 highlights some notable features that make it distinct from a traditional content-based syllabus implemented in previous years at this institution. First, the reading topics were selected based on the students' academic needs, aiming to develop their content knowledge as well as discipline-specific words and lexical phrases. Second, the reading materials came from authentic materials (e.g., science textbooks used in high schools in English-speaking countries, online newspaper articles, and research reports) which the students were likely to encounter in their future academic careers. Third, the genres of the reading materials were sequenced based on their relative complexity, not impressionistically: shifting from magazine column, newspaper articles, science textbooks, and to research reports. The decision of these genre sequences was made based on the assumption that the complexity levels of magazine columns and newspapers are lower than those of science textbooks and research reports because magazine columns and newspapers generally focus on the general public as target readers and therefore contain smaller instances of technical words, while science textbooks and research reports target more expert readers who are familiar with discipline-specific lexical items and are thus characterized by more frequent occurrences of technical terminology.

Lastly and most importantly, the reading activities were integrated into summary writing, which constituted a range of pedagogic tasks or sub-tasks. As shown in Table 1, in Week 3, the students learned fundamental conventions about summary writing through the analysis of the selected students' summary samples. The fundamental conventions of summary writing included: (i) definition, (ii) purpose and the importance of considering who their audience is and what he or she needs; (iii) how summarizing is different from paraphrasing in terms of meaning-making linguistic operations; and (iv) summary conventions (e.g., using a reporting verbs, citing the author's last name, and using the present tense, etc.). Then, in Weeks 4-7, the students learned the three types of paraphrasing: acknowledge/clarity, summarize/organize, and shift level of abstraction (Lipton and Wellman, 1999). Through explicit instruction on various types of paraphrasing techniques, the students were expected to raise their awareness of how to control the level of abstraction depending on who the audience is (expert or general public). In Weeks 8-13, the students moved to summary writing practice. The students were encouraged to write a summary of the source text they read in class to different audiences, such as an elementary school student who has little technical knowledge on the topic and a graduate student who has substantial knowledge on the topic. The summaries were submitted to the instructor after each class and then returned to each student in the following week, with the instructor's comments and feedback. Some of the students' summary models were selected and used for in-class genre analysis in order to raise their awareness of what does or does not constitute an effective summary.

In fact, this in-class analysis of sample summaries conducted every other week constituted the main feature of the pedagogic genre-based tasks for this course. The students engaged in the model analysis based on the scaffolding questions that were informed by the ideas of SFL. Sample scaffolding questions and the student worksheet for the analysis of genre models are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Scaffolding questions for analysis of the genre models

Read and analyze the summaries and answer the following questions.

1. Content

- What is a main topic of the original article?
- How does each of the three summaries address the main topic?
- Which sentence plays a role as a thesis statement?
- How is the thesis statement in each summary supported by further details?
- Which summary sample do you think is better than the others? Why?

2. The relationship between the summarizer, the original author, and the audience

- Suppose the intended audience of your summary was a secondary school student, which summary sample do you think s/he would prefer? Why?
- If the intended audience of your summary were a professor, which summary sample do you think s/he would prefer? Why?
- How does the writer acknowledge the original author?

3. Language

- How does the writer reword the source information in a way that avoids copying the original author's words verbatim?
- What kinds of lexicogrammatical resources does the writer use to generalize the gist?
- What kinds of lexicogrammatical resources does the writer use to condense the information?
- How is the summary organized?

For this genre analysis, the students were presented with different summary models of the same source text that addressed different audiences (e.g., experts and non-experts) for different purposes (e.g., overview summary and goal-oriented summary). On other occasions, the students were presented both effective and less effective summary models. Then, referring to the SFL-initiated scaffolding questions in Table 2, the students were encouraged to dig into the summary models as *discourse analysts* (Désirée, 2009) in terms of how each summary reflected *ideational, interpersonal,* and *textual* meanings and how the three types of metafunctions interacted simultaneously with one another to realize the genre. At the ideational level, the analysis encouraged the students to identify the main point of the text and analyze how the macroproposition was expressed by the writer. At the interpersonal level, the students were prompted to analyze how the writer positioned him/herself vis-à-vis the original author and how he/she expressed appraisal, evaluation, and judgment. At the textual level, the students were encouraged to analyze the flow of information and the lexicogrammatical resources that helped transform the original text. The students then independently composed their summaries regarding the content of the article that they had read in class. These pedagogic tasks were designed and implemented so that students could eventually *transfer* what they learned to the target task for this course.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This article presented how pedagogical procedures of TBLT can be linked to conceptual principles of SFL in the context of the college-level EFL reading/writing integrated course. It is expected that linking SFL to TBLT enables teachers to connect learning-to-write (the content) and writing-to-learn (the language) more effectively than by utilizing other pedagogical approaches because this theoretical interplay enables teachers to create the *communicative event* (Boswood and Marriot, 1994) in which learners participate. The students will therefore be able to read the materials not just to learn the content itself but also to convey it to a particular audience in a particular situation, which makes more explicit the dynamic structures of the socio-cultural events in which the texts are embedded. Furthermore, linking SFL and TBLT will also enable teachers to sequence in-class pedagogic tasks "in a series of increasing complexity, as gradual approximations to the full target task" (Long, 2014: 179), while as a result, providing a "genre-rich environment in which students ha(ve) access to a range of strategies and resources" (Tardy, 2009: 283). This kind of approach seems to best fit the needs of inexperienced, novice EFL learners.

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Propositions of Risk Facing and Proposals to Run Risks

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Abstract

Many projections of need can be construed two ways: as a proposition that a need might exist, or as a proposal to take action. For example, news of a prosecutor 'insisting that a crime suspect in another country should be flown back for questioning' can be read either as a reported statement that this is the right thing to do or as a reported demand to have it done. A similar ambivalence can arise with projections of risk. To say that a suspect 'risks being flown back' may mean either that he faces a risk of it happening in future, or that he has consented to it happening now in spite of what future risks may result. Using a report of a legal standoff between Julian Assange of Wikileaks and a Swedish prosecutor as an example, this presentation discusses how ambivalence of this sort can be dealt with in a classification of socio-semiotic processes and activities like the one used in Systemic Functional Grammar.

1. Introduction

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: 546) observe that need projections can often be construed two ways: (1) as propositions that a need exists, or (2) as proposals for action. An example can be seen in the following BBC news excerpt about Julian Assange of Wikileaks who has been in asylum since 2012 in the Ecuadorean Embassy in London to avoid extradition to Sweden on suspicions of rape. Assange claims that this is a legal trick and that if he plays along he is likely to be sent to the USA to face charges of divulging security secrets:

> **Excerpt 1**
> Swedish prosecutor Marianne Ny has long resisted questioning Julian Assange in London, arguing that it would lower the quality of her interviews and insisting that he should be flown to Stockholm instead.
> (BBC News, Europe, 13 March, 2015)

Following 'insisting', 'he should be flown' can function here either (1) as a reported statement that this is the right thing to do (a need proposition) or (2) as a reported demand to have it done (a need proposal). Further, < *insist* > is working not only as a reporting verb, but also as a positive stance indicator in contrast to the preceding negative indicator < *resist* >. The construction here is separable from its contents, since corresponding counterarguments can be constructed for Assange:

Excerpt (modified) 2

Fugitive Julian Assange has long **resisted** being flown to Stockholm, arguing that it would endanger his personal safety and **insisting** that he **should** be questioned in London instead.

(Content-reversed variant of Excerpt 1, matched to Assange's interests)

Those familiar with Systemic Functional Grammar will see that 'proposition' and 'proposal' are being used in specific senses here: a 'proposition' is the meaning of a clause realised in a statement or other information exchange, relating roughly to a traditional indicative mood, and a 'proposal' is the meaning of a clause realised in a command or other action exchange, relating roughly to an imperative mood (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 138-139). In the above dispute, the way the insistences and resistances dovetail together might also suggest the existence of a reverse-pole set of 'opposition' and 'opposal' functions. These are not independent, however, but can be understood as responses (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 137): even if Assange had not already asked for the questioning to take place in London, Ny's resistance to the idea might still have been taken as her preemptive response to such an anticipated proposal.

My argument has drawn on only one text excerpt so far, and the dovetailing could have arisen out of the claim and counterclaim form of the legal issue. In what now follows, I intend to look more broadly at ways in which risk language is used, paying attention to whether a distinction can be drawn generally between these proposition and proposal functions. I will then return to the BBC news text to see how helpful such a general distinction may be for practical description. If it seems to fit this text, two further future challenges will be, first, to extend the same kind of investigation to other kinds of texts, and second, to try and account for it in relation to the 'topological' overview of socio-semiotic field processes devised several years ago by Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam (2010: 95-96).

2. Ways in which the word *risk* is used

While nobody would want to say that risk language is the same thing as the use of the word *risk*, observations on how the word is used offer one convenient approach to risk language, which in itself is hard to delimit. Historically, *risk* is one of a number of nouns which came into frequent use in the Mediterranean region around the 11th or 12th centuries to deal with situations of uncertainty in certain practical activity areas, and began to supplant older nouns like *fortune*, *fate*, *doom* and *decree* associated with more absolute views of power (Münckler, 2010). One of these new nouns, *danger*, (from '[the power of the] *domain*') was administrative in origin, but others came from areas such as trade or gambling in which it was natural to draw a connection between the difficulty of taking decisions and the anxiety of not knowing how they would fall out (Münckler, 2010). This development continued to spread through European languages generally. For French, in the timespan 1600-1925, there are reported to have been rises in the use of the nouns *risque* (= *risk*) and *chance*, falls for *péril* (= peril) and *fortune*, a smaller fall for *aventure* (= venture, chance), and near continuity for *danger* and *hasard* (= hazard, chance) (Piron, 2010). Corresponding nouns in English may not have exactly the same meanings or use frequencies, but the picture is similar, at any rate, for the rise of *risk* and *chance*. This is one reason why it is not enough to talk of an increase in the 'language of uncertainty' in general. '*Risk*' represents a particular view of uncertainty, associated in many cases with another view called '*chance*'. In activity areas from insurance and investment to management strategy and medical decisions, *risks* and *chances* are habitually taken as two faces of a coin – sometimes literally. And in some contexts this association is translation-proof, as appears from talk of 'no *chansu* without *risuku*' in a very different language like Japanese.

For noun meanings of *risk* in present-day English, I opened my conference presentation with a survey based on *The Oxford English Dictionary*, but to save space here I will rely instead on *The Concise Oxford Dictionary,* which concentrates on just two noun meanings:

(1) **risk n.**

1 a chance or possibility of danger, loss, injury, or other adverse circumstances (*a health risk*, *a risk of fire*).

2 a person or thing causing a risk or regarded in relation to risk (*is a poor risk*).

(COD, **risk n.**)

In the BBC news story, the prosecutor Ny argues that questioning Assange in London would lead to low quality interviews, while Assange fears that being flown to Stockholm might lead to being extradited to the USA. These are risks in sense **1** above, possible adverse outcomes from specified entry conditions. Implied risks in sense **2** might be the view of the US government that Assange is a security risk, and the view of Assange that being flown to Stockholm constitutes a risk to his liberty. Risks of this second sort are not outcomes but hazardous entry conditions. A hybrid sort of risk is also imaginable in which Assange chooses to 'run the risk' of being flown to Sweden (entry) and, in a distinct but co-occurring sense, 'runs a risk' of being extradited to the USA (outcome). The OED takes something similar to this as a third, supposedly obsolete sense **3**: 'A hazardous journey, undertaking, or course of action; a venture'. But confining ourselves now to the COD meanings above, we shall be looking at examples of both **1** and **2** in this BBC news story later.

Verb uses of *risk* are less common, but *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* divides them into three meanings, **1** – **3**, depending again on whether what is meant to be risked is an entry value, an unpleasant outcome, or a whole undertaking:

(2) **risk v.**

1 expose to risk.

2 accept the chance of (*could not risk getting wet*).

3 venture on

(COD, **risk v.**)

Uses that can be constructed to fit this news story are that Ny does not want to risk the quality of her interviews by questioning Assange in London (sense **1**), Assange cannot risk being extradited to the USA (sense **2**), and therefore he will not risk the trip to Stockholm (sense **3**). Similar instances found in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) are: 'the Russian people do not want to risk their new prosperity' (sense **1**); 'they would risk being expelled from the country' (sense **2**); and 'he decided to risk the trip to the US' (sense **3**).

A syntactical characteristic of uncertainty nouns is a tendency to be used with particular prepositions. Some uncertainty nouns seem to have needed the context of a preposition phrase in order to emerge into general use in the first place. Thus 'in danger' first arose (in French) as a phrase meaning 'in the power of the domain' and the noun only later took on its general meaning. 'Risk' is similarly first found (in a shipping agreement, in Latin), in the phrase '*ad tuum resicum*' ('at your risk') which is still one of its most typical contexts of use today. The phrase design varies from language to language ('**at** risk' in English, French and Italian, '**in** risk' in Spanish and Portuguese, and across time ('**in** risk' was once also widespread in English)'. But in current English, it seems possible to make out a family likeness in phrases of the type <*at* + *your* + *noun* > that are drawn on as conditions for decision making. Alongside *at your risk*, further examples that come to mind are *at your discretion*, *at your pleasure*, *at your peril* and *at your command*.

Family likenesses are subjective, but arguably this group based on *at*, and often characterised by the possessive *your* – can perhaps be set apart from an *on* group for initiatives (*on your command*, *on your suggestion*), a *by* group for causes (*by chance*, *by decree, by the will of heaven*), a *with* group for helps or hindrances (*with effort*, *with luck*, *with difficulty*), and so on. Casual observations of this sort, which it is not my purpose to test rigorously here, can be appealed to in support of one widely held view in risk management that 'risks' are (best viewed as) integral to decision making as distinct from 'dangers' which are (best viewed as) existing sources of harm (Luhmann, 1991: 25).

Nouns of uncertainty are also typically used in collocation with general verbs, or verbs of thin representational meaning. The following table shows COCA corpus occurrences of eight verbs or verb expressions that are regularly completed by a noun group involving *risk*. The ones more often completed with indefinite < *a risk* > are placed above the broken centre line, and the ones rather completed with definite < *the risk* > below it:

Table 1: COCA occurrences of <*a risk*> and <*the risk*> after selected verbs

<verb + *a risk*>	**n**	**<verb + *the risk*>**	**n**
there is a risk	186	*there is the risk*	37
pose a risk	74	*pose the risk*	4
have a risk	25	*have the risk*	18
present a risk	19	*present the risk*	0
accept a risk	1	*accept the risk*	27
face a risk	8	*face the risk*	30
take a risk	210	*take the risk*	420
run a risk	22	*run the risk*	678

The order either above or below the broken line depends on the absolute number of occurrences there. Indefinite < *a* > is naturally more likely to be found with new objects of attention while definite < *the* > is more likely to be found with given or assumed objects, meaning in effect that the expressions above the line tend to be used more in situations of risk recognition while the ones below are used more in situations of reactions or responses to risks. But this distinction is at best very rough. In any case, one verb cannot be limited to one pattern of use. Thus *take*, in spite of being found more with definite < *the* >, is nonetheless also more common with indefinite < *a* > than any of the other verbs sampled. Other factors play their part too. For example, the definiteness of the risk will vary with the sort of speaker representing the situation. Not only *take*, but also other verbs such as *have* and *face*, may fit better with < *a risk* > from one sort of perspective but better with < *the risk* > from another. With *face*, in particular, this opens the way to two distinct meanings: (1) being exposed to a risk without necessarily knowing anything about it, and (2) recognising and accepting some particular risk.

To the extent that other factors do not interfere, the table also seems to suggest that in some situations it is crucial to a speaker's interests to keep a risk proposition apart from a risk proposal. Thus, faced with the risk (proposition) of being extradited to the USA, Assange is less willing to face the risk (proposal) of being flown to Stockholm. Or state prosecutor Ny, facing a risk (proposition) of low-quality interviews, is initially unwilling to question Assange in London – but under growing pressure from time limitations, decides eventually to face that risk (proposal) since the alternative is to risk losing any chance of questioning him at all.

3. Risk as an expert term

If a risk can figure either as an uncertain proposition to cope with or as an uncertain proposal to deliberate, risk perceptions must obviously be highly context-sensitive. Münckler (2010) is one of many researchers, in diverse technical fields, who regard the modern concept of risk as a response to the evolving secularisation of society and to the idea of history as undirected. Different notions of risk exist in each field, so that books on the subject often double as histories of open-endedness in different activity areas. Sofsky's (2005) overview of the 'risk principle', for example, has an introduction starting with the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake, proceeding through the 1929 stock market crash and the Chernobyl atomic power plant disaster, and ending with the destruction of the World Trade Center. His topics include adventure voyages, insurance, political stability, war and peace, and the quest for balance between freedom and security. There may not be one idea of risk that can be applied uniformly to all of these topics, but what is consistently clear is that risk needs to be an elastic concept that readapts itself in each age, place and community to whatever the people there and then see as being threateningly uncertain.

Other studies are more bounded. Bernstein (1998) follows the development of risk strategies in business from simple expectation of loss or gain up to portfolio management. Beck (1986) is a study of social change tracing a shift in class conflict away from greed-driven competition to a fear-driven flight from insecurity. Finally, most recently, there are theories of risk management as a hyper-field combining all special risk areas and strategies in a coordinated repertory of approaches, diagnoses and solutions offering potential responses to any situation seen from any perspective (Taleb, 2007; Aven, 2014).

There is also a movement towards a more integrated psychology of risk. One distinction that can certainly be identified across risk areas is between risk seekers, who see risk as the gateway to gain, and will seize on acceptable risks so as not to miss out on chances, and risk-averse individuals for whom risk is rather the gateway to loss and who will happily bypass chances if it means avoiding the risks that attend them. Relating this to the categories of 'Appraisal Theory' in Systemic Functional Grammar, 'risk seeking' can be described on a positive value base of 'happiness' within acceptable bounds of 'insecurity', while a description of 'risk aversion' can only be positively based on 'security' within acceptable bounds of 'unhappiness' (Martin and White, 2005: 49).

Kahneman, an influential author on risk psychology, notes that risk seeking and risk aversion are not only convenient names for personality types. They are also observable and predictable behaviours associated with contrasting types of expert role. In a public investment project, for example, an investor will characteristically work for maximum returns within reasonable limits of risk, whereas an administrator will far more likely seek minimum risks for reasonable returns (Kahneman, 2011: 278).

More systematically, Aven (2014: 34-36) traces historical 'development paths' for six expert risk perspectives of special interest in current risk management:

Table 2: Six development paths for risk perspectives in risk management

For decision analysts:	*Risk = expected value loss* (c. 1700-)
For site engineers & health personnel:	*Risk = i expected value loss* (c. 1700-) *ii probability of undesirable event* (c. 1900-) *iii consequences and probability* (c. 1980-)
For engineering-based scientists:	*Risk = i expected value loss* (c. 1700-) *ii probability of undesirable event* (c. 1900-) *iii consequences and probability* (c. 1980-) *iv consequences and uncertainty* (c. 2010-)
For business leaders:	*Risk = i expected value loss* (c. 1700-) *ii uncertainty* (c. 1900-)
For economists:	*Risk = i expected value loss* (c. 1700-) *ii objective uncertainty* (c. 1900-)
For risk management theorists:	*Risk = The best current overview of perspectives and the best theory for mediating among them*

(Aven, 2014: 34-36, my summary)

Returning to the BBC text, the potential gains and losses are legal in nature so that none of Aven's perspectives fits exactly. But clearly, both Ny (as prosecutor) and Assange (as prospective detainee) have complementary sets of desirable and undesirable goals to balance between them, and depending on which aspects are foregrounded, each of them has (1) something to seek within due bounds of risk, and (2) something to avoid within due bounds of cost. However, their positions are not symmetrical. For Ny, the greatest potential gain would be the chance to interview Assange under optimal procedural conditions, while the greatest loss would be to run out of preparation time. How to balance these two risks is a delicate question. For Assange, however, while there are various large and small gains imaginable, including the chance to enjoy freedom of movement or to have all charges dropped, the one worst-case loss – extradition to the USA – would be enough on its own to outbalance any positive goal that is not assured without strings.

4. Risks as propositions and as proposals

A closer look at instances of phrases such as < *face the risk* > or < *run the risk* > in the COCA corpus shows that even with the definite article < *the* > included, risk propositions are more common than risk proposals, at least in the mix of text types sampled. There are examples of both sorts, however, and it is interesting to ask how clearly they can be told apart, and on what basis. Here are the five earliest listed instances of < *face the risk* >, from the 1990s. The register coding is 'NEWS' for printed news material, 'MAG' for magazine material, and 'SPOK' for spoken material, in this case a broadcast news comment. The sample is rather news heavy:

Table 3: COCA instances of < *face the risk* > (earliest five cases from the 1990s)

(1) If women want equal pay and equal jobs, the theory goes, they must also accept equal exposure to workplace risk, or at least have the choice to face the risk. (NEWS)

(2) Americans could face the risk of five separate mosquito-borne diseases that have at present been virtually eradicated, according to Andrew Haines, a professor at University College and Middlesex School. (MAG)

(3) The audience should stay there and face the risk like we know … p … bordom … potta … the bottom line of this is that this was not advertised as such. (SPOK)

(4) At a testy meeting this morning with Mayor Bill Campbell and directors of the Atlantic Committee for the Olympic Games, IOC officials said the organizers were given a blunt warning to resolve the problems immediately or face the risk that the Games would turn into a fiasco. (NEWS)

(5) Speeders and drivers who run red lights in Fort Collins now face the risk of being ticketed by automated radar-camera units, thanks to a new law passed by City Council. (NEWS)

Instance (3), reacting to a stage show in which bloodstained clothing belonging to HIV-positive actors is unexpectedly passed around an audience, is the closest thing here to a clear risk proposal. It is not a first-hand proposal, however, but an implied proposal that the speaker is evoking and criticising. Instance (2) is a pure proposition in which there is no question of choice. The other three instances, (1), (4) and (5), involve combinations of desired and undesired consequences from the same choice. If women want equal conditions, if organisers want to procrastinate, or if drivers ignore traffic rules, so be it; but in each case, this choice will imply assent to some concomitant risk. In (1), this is explicit and transparent: women must 'have the choice to face the risk'. In (4) and (5), the risk follows logically from the choice but without being explicitly chosen.

A deeper examination would have to pay close attention to the appeals made to adjudicating experts and authorities in four of the instances ('the theory' in (1), 'Andrew Haines' in (2), 'IOC officials' in (4), and 'a new law' in (5)) and would need to explore the nature and variability of these couplings of wished and unwished for consequences in a larger sample of instances. Is the coupling condition strongly dependent on one of the component words (< *face* >, < *the* >, < *risk*>) or is it a general feature of phrases of this sort? From this first view, it can only be said that, in this news-biased set of instances, < *face the risk* > appears to be of use in situations where a connection is being drawn between an action proposal in one area of activity that is represented as conditional for, or dependent upon, a risk proposition elsewhere.

I will cut off at this point with the mere observation that there seems to be something here deserving future attention. In the next section, I will return to look at combined risk representations in the more contextualised setting of the BBC news report of the dispute over Assange's questioning. Within this text, I shall particularly notice how expressions involving the word '*risk*' and some near synonyms are used in this uncomfortable standoff situation in which, for both Assange and the state prosecutor Ny, the potential gain that can be expected in one respect or area from a proposed course of action has to be balanced gingerly against a likely loss in another respect or area.

5. Is it realistic to talk of a distinctive discourse of *risk facing* and *risk running*?

The point that makes the standoff between Julian Assange and the Swedish prosecution office newsworthy is that there is more at stake than whether he can be charged with rape or sexual assault. While claiming that these accusations are unfounded, Assange also argues that if he once sets foot in Sweden he is liable to be extradited to America to face charges of leaking state secrets. In other words, if he agrees to 'run' one risk in order to resolve the standoff, he will 'face' another. A further twist in the story is that there is a time limit to the charging procedure. An August 2015 term for the assault charges was imminent at the time the story was reported and has since expired. Thus Marianne Ny 'faces' a risk of time running out which she is trying to avert – according to the article – by 'running' the last-minute risk of agreeing to conduct her interviews in London under conditions that she sees as being favourable to Assange.

In the terms of the news story, then, both characters are caught in predicaments where any proposal for defusing the dispute can lead to loss, but where the gambit of a calculated loss might also open the way to a much greater gain. Behind everything is a black box: nobody knows whether there is an agreement between Sweden and the USA for the extradition of Assange or not. In this situation, we can naturally expect a great deal of deliberative talk over how to balance all the unknowns.

As with any vocabulary item, the word *risk* itself cannot be expected to appear more than a few times in this one text, no matter how conducive the subject matter is. In fact, it appears positively twice, once in the initial news summary, and then again in the following 'Analysis'. But there are also two more places where the word is not used but might have been. Again, one of them is in the news summary and one in the 'Analysis'. As sources for further insight, I will now quote these four actual or virtual appearances, following their order in the text, as Excerpts 3 – 6.

> **Excerpt 3**
> Mr Assange denies the assault claims and has been living at the Ecuadorean embassy in London since 2012.
> He fears that if he is sent to Sweden he **could then be extradited** to the US to face charges over leaking material.
> (BBC / News / Europe, 13 March, 2015; my emphasis)

This is near the start of the news summary, and the word *risk* as such is not used. But this 'fear' of being extradited to the US is afterwards referred to and explained in the analysis as a 'risk' (Excerpt 6 below). Here in Excerpt 3, the verb *risk* could be used naturally in paraphrase (< *he risks being extradited to the US* >). Being extradited to the US is a projected outcome, certainly far from Assange's intentions. On these grounds, it can be called a risk proposition. If the input condition of being flown to Sweden were a question of fate or chance, this would match the situation in instance (2) of Table 3, where 'Americans could face the risk of five separate mosquito-borne diseases'. But given that the flight to Sweden is in large part a voluntary matter, the question is contextually closer to that of the Olympics organisers in instance (4) of Table 3, who are warned 'to face the risk that the Games would turn into a fiasco'. Reading the two paragraphs of Excerpt 3 together, too, 'fear' in the second paragraph, can be regarded as Assange's motive for 'living at the Ecuadorean embassy'. There is a pragmatic connection between his proposal to stay put in the embassy and the feared outcome proposition that 'he could be extradited' otherwise.

> **Excerpt 4**
> "My view has always been that to perform an interview with him at the Ecuadorean embassy in London would lower the quality of the interview," Marianne Ny said in a statement.
> "Now that time is of the essence, I have viewed it therefore necessary to **accept such deficiencies** in the investigation and likewise **take the risk** that the interview does not move the case forward."
> (BBC / News / Europe, 13 March, 2015; my emphasis)

The risk 'that the interview does not move the case forward' is a possible future outcome of Ny's decision 'to accept such deficiencies'. This makes it a concomitant risk proposition: not an outcome she intends, but a liability she is resigned to facing. In this respect, her attitude is comparable to that of the drivers in instance (5) of Table 3 who 'face' the risk of being caught on a radar-camera each time they 'run' [the risk of ignoring] a red light.

The word 'likewise' in the second paragraph hints at some equivalent expression to 'take the risk' in the preceding text and the only candidate for this is 'accept such deficiencies'. In Table 1 in Section 2, < *accept the risk* > had a frequency profile similar to < *face the risk* >, and inserting it as a substitute here (< *to **accept such risks** in the investigation* >) does not seem to disturb the meaning much, although it may be inferior style to overuse the word *risk*.

Excerpt 5

Swedish prosecutor Marianne Ny has long resisted questioning Julian Assange in London, arguing that it **would lower the quality** of her interviews and insisting that **he should be flown to Stockholm** instead.

But the clock is ticking because under Swedish law **there is a time limit for investigating** some offences. In Mr Assange's case, prosecutors only have until August 2015 to question him about some of the allegations, although they have until 2020 to investigate the most serious alleged rape offence.

(BBC / News / Europe, 13 March, 2015; my emphasis)

This is from the 'Analysis' part of the news text, and offers a summary of part of Ny's press statement (Excerpt 4) with an explanatory comment. The rest of what Ny says, about accepting deficiencies, is left aside here. As a result, attention is shifted from the quality of the interview to the place and time conditions. The first paragraph, focusing on place, resumes Ny's proposal 'that he should be flown to Stockholm'. The alternative, London, it is still recalled, has an attached risk proposition: 'it would lower the quality of her interviews'. But the second paragraph shows how the more preferred place choice is tied to a hazardous time choice. By delaying his move to Sweden, Assange can exploit the time limit rule. From Ny's perspective, therefore, this is an implied risk proposition. There is no close equivalent to this situation in the Table 3 instances, although the example of workers demanding equality in one working area and being concomitantly asked to accept it in others (instance (1)) is rather similar in its argument strategy.

Excerpt 6

If he was extradited, he would be detained upon arrival in Sweden. Mr Samuelson said leaving the embassy and travelling to Sweden still **presented a risk** for Mr Assange.

"If he leaves he **loses his political immunity** ... he **stands to end up in an American prison** for 35, 40 years," he said.

(BBC / News / Europe, 13 March, 2015; my emphasis)

This summary of an interview with Assange's lawyer comes near the end of the

‘Analysis’ section. The phrase ‘present a risk’ is used to cite the continued existence of a risk. This is a proposition, but not being claimed either as the condition for a risk or as the expected outcome of one. It is rather an equivalence statement: ‘leaving the embassy and travelling to Sweden’ is per se ‘a risk’. The equivalence is expounded through a trail of sequential connections in the second paragraph. If the three dots mark an omission, the chain may be reconstructed: { *leaves* → *loses his political indemnity* → [*flown to Sweden* (?) → *detained on arrival* (?) → *re-extradited* (?)] → *end up in an American prison* }. All of this seems to be summarised in the preceding word ‘risk’, and strangely enough fits the ‘hazardous journey, undertaking, or course of action’ meaning of < *risk* > which the Oxford English Dictionary treats as obsolete.

The phrase < *stand to* > in ‘he stands to end up in an American prison’ looks like another near-synonym of < *risk* > (cf: ‘he risks ending up’). In my judgement, however, there is no idea of uncertainty in < *stand to* >, so that the meaning is closer to < *be liable to* >. The choice of the chaining construction (‘he stands to end up’, not *’he stands ending up’) may also point this way.

This concludes my close-up remarks on uses of the word *risk* or of near equivalents in this BBC news text to express what I have called ‘risk propositions’ and ‘risk proposals’. The two findings of most importance are:

1) If risks can be described linguistically, the most promising way seems to be under the two heads of **risk propositions** and **risk proposals**. A more vivid and less technical name for these two primary functions might be ‘**risks faced**’ and ‘**risks to be run**’.

2) Any description of risks will require sensitivity to text and context, and attention to the kind of risk pattern involved: Is a particular risk proposition represented as an entry to a risk, or as a likely outcome of one? In the case of a risk proposal, who proposes, and in what circumstances? For combinations of risks, is one area of loss represented as regrettably concomitant to, or as happily compensated by, another area of gain?

6. Conclusion and future research

This study was based on the summary and analysis of a legal stand-off situation in a media news text. The description involved intricate calculations of gain against loss, where gains have to be bought with losses, and each voluntary loss is understood as the outlay for a gain. There were only two occurrences of the word *risk* in the text, but attention was given to other words and phrases that seemed to be substitutable synonyms, or more broadly, to situations in which a balance of gain against loss was in some way linguistically represented.

A characterisation of the word *risk* and its uses and combinations was attempted, followed by a review of how, as a result of evolving practices in various areas of expertise, ideas of risk have come to be represented diversely in different fields. Recently, in the young field of risk management, a reintegrating movement is underway which seeks, at the cost of broad data gathering and intricate coordination, to bring all of the special conceptions of risk back together again.

From these sketchy reviews, I picked on two general concepts, *risk propositions* and *risk proposals* that link up conveniently with Systemic Functional Linguistics and can be used to distinguish the kinds of risk representation actually found in a news text. More vividly, and with some loss in accuracy, these can also be thought of as propositions of ‘facing risks’ and proposals to ‘run risks’. Taking five corpus instances of the phrase < *face the risk* > as a reference aid, I read through a total of six text excerpts conspicuously concerned with risk predicaments to see how well they could be described using these concepts.

The results are few in number and not systematic, but my initial finding is that this division into risk propositions and risk proposals offers a promising first step for description, and ultimately for analysis. Propositions and proposals appear to be most often used in combination, like the concessions and counterclaims in a concessive argument. The possible relations between them, and the order in which they can come, are varied, and an extensive study would be needed to classify them on causal, predictive, normative or other grounds. A promising preliminary for this sorting work would be a division into *entry risk* and *outcome risk* functions. The difference between these can be glimpsed in meaning distinctions of the sort ‘Don’t risk drinking and driving’ (an entry risk proposal) and ‘If you drive home like that, you risk being caught for drunk driving’ (an outcome risk proposition).

A step on from there, a further enquiry goal would be to see how this talk of risks can be accommodated in the topology of socio-semiotic activities devised by Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam (2010: 221). My hunch, at this stage, is that risk propositions realise a kind of ‘expounding’ activity while risk proposals are appeals for ‘exploring’.

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Signalling Chunking by Means of Topic and Focus: Some Patterns of Text Chunking

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Abstract

In SFL, textual unity giving rise to text chunks is generally explained in terms of a hierarchy of themes (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 45): macro-themes, hyper-themes, and clausal themes. Contrary and complementary to this top-down approach to text chunking is Cloran's (1994, 1999) decontextualization theory, which identifies local text chunks called rhetorical units in bottom-up fashion based on the nature of CE (Central Entity) and EO (Event Orientation) of a message relative to the immediately relevant context known as the material situational setting (MSS).

Although Cloran's theory provides a great tool for analyzing text chunking in conversational data, its sole concern with rhetorical activities or rhetorical units makes it difficult to identify text chunks in written texts which tend to be determined not so much by the rhetorical activities they display as by the content or points they are intended to make at particular moments in the textual development.

In this study, it is hypothesized that certain developments of textual chunking are more concerned with chiselling out ideas about a particular topical entity rather than developing pre-determined thematical propositions and presenting a model of stepwise text chunking based on Gundel's (1999) classification of focus.

1. Introduction

There are texts whose goal is to describe a focused entity from various angles as in the case of definitions, narratives, an exposition of theoretical methodology, hard news reports, etc. In such texts, the text development of the focused entity or the topic is an incremental movement tracking the entity under focus to build an increasingly elaborated frame of reference for it until a full depiction of the intended significance of the topic has been completed. It is also known that there are various kinds of topics other than propositional topics. In definitions, the topic is usually a concept viewed as belonging to a class and possessing a specific property rather than a proposition asserted or a proposal put forward. In narratives, a text unfolds by introducing characters and depicting remarkable events which happen to them, with the text chunks representing phases revealing in gradual steps, among other things, the situational setup, the characters' psychological reactions, and the consequent situations regarding the events. This being the case, in a story, what amounts to its point is to be kept unrevealed towards the end instead of being declared at the outset. It is clear that stories call for an entirely different method of creating text chunks than that of combining topic sentences and their support. For that matter, even the standard paragraph writing involves various essentially incremental processes in the implementation of the topic and its support which often comes in a number of intricately related layers.

The question this paper is concerned with is whether it is possible to model this process of bottom-up development of written texts just as Cloran did for mother-child dyadic conversations, which might shed some light on this aspect of text organization. In Cloran's (1994) decontextualization model, text chunks are incrementally identified as rhetorical units within a stretch of conversational text, where the rhetorical units are independent clauses carrying a message realizing a particular rhetorical action such as Action, Commentary, Observation, Reflection, Report, Account, Plan/Prediction, Conjecture, Recount, and Generalization. Although very successful for this type of oral texts, this approach is difficult to apply to written texts for two reasons. Generally speaking, written texts are monologic rather than dialogic, which makes them almost impervious to rhetorical analysis based on interactional exchanges such as the decontextualization theory. The second reason, which is closely related to the first, is that rhetorical units are intended to reflect the distance between the immediate conversational situation and the content of the message. This assumption does not usually apply to written texts whose messages are not grounded in the shared immediate situation of communication between the author and the reader. Thus, if we are to model the process of gradual bottom-up formation of written texts, we need a different approach which better reflects what is going on during this text formation process.

2. Gundel's classification of focus

In this paper, I hypothesize that the development of a written text is a process of chiselling out the controlling idea of the text in chunks of various sizes. The model to be presented below which realizes this idea is based on Gundel's (1999) classification of focus into three types, psychological, semantic, and contrastive. Although Gundel is not particularly concerned with the role of focus in the development of a text and her treatment is limited to spoken language, her three-way classification, which is intended to be an exhaustive one, can be directly applied to the modelling of bottom-up development of written texts. This is because a focus can in a sense represent the whole reason why a particular message occurs at the particular moment in the text in which it does. A focus may not carry the whole burden of the message, but it indicates the most crucial aspect of it as a new and appropriate contribution to the on-going communication. Thus, monitoring the choice of focus in a text is expected to reflect step-by-step efforts in text development.

Another attractive feature of Gundel's classification is that she sets psychological focus apart from semantic and contrastive focus in that it is accessible over a stretch of text whereas the other two are strictly bound to particular messages in which they occur, with contrastive focus contributing and semantic focus not contributing to psychological focus. If psychological focus is interpreted as meaning the same as a controlling idea, which does not seem too far-fetched, the stretch of text where it remains accessible can be regarded as the text chunk associated with and determined by it. In this regard, Chaplen's (1970) exposition of the concept of a controlling idea as the gist of a topic sentence lends support to its equation with Gundel's psychological focus. According to Chaplen, a topic sentence must be delimiting because of its controlling idea. One of the first steps in writing is to choose what information to include in a paragraph and what information to exclude from it. This is very difficult unless the writer composes a topic sentence containing a controlling idea that really does limit his subject. He must compose a topic sentence that provides a clear guide both to himself and to the reader. Accordingly, he insists that material that does not develop the controlling idea should be excluded from the paragraph (Chaplen, 1970: 5), making the paragraph exclusively composed of sentences supporting the controlling idea in one way or another. In other words, paragraphs are text chunks which are not only graphically but also informationally unified.

A third feature of Gundel's classification which suggests to us the feasibility of modelling the step-by-step progress of text development through the tracking of focus is that we can account for a substantial portion of the incremental nature of text development by means of semantic and contrastive focus. Semantic focus refers to those entities which are introduced into a text as answers to questions probing for specific information. Here is how Gundel (1999, 295) defines semantic focus, using examples (7) and (8).

Excerpt 1

Semantic focus is the part of the sentence that answers the relevant wh-question (implicit or explicit) in the particular context in which the sentence is used. Thus Bill is semantic focus in (7) and (8) (where capital letters indicate position of prosodic prominence).

(7) Do you know who called the meeting?
(It was) BILL (who) called the meeting.
(topic = x: x called the meeting; comment/focus = x was Bill)
(8) Every time we get together, I'm the one that has to organize things, but this time
(It was) BILL (who) called the meeting.
(topic= x: x called the meeting; comment/focus= x was Bill)

From the perspective of textual development, we should further emphasize the role of wh-questions, explicit and implicit, which allow the introduction of a semantic focus into the text. Explicit wh-questions, also known as probing questions, are often used in a text by its author to actively steer its development in a more specified direction by inserting a wh-question in the developing text. It is also very common to see what appear to be answers to implicit wh-questions introduced at points where such questions are naturally expected or as a way of heading off possible objections. Pagano (1994) deals with what she terms denials in written text which report the non-existence of certain expected information as if the writer responded to the reader's questions. The following example by her will illustrate this situation (Pagano, 1994: 253-254).

Text 1

In Trankle & Markosian (1985), Expert System Adaptive Control (ESAC) is described.
The system consists of a self-tuning regulator augmented with three different expert system modules: the system identifier, the control system designer and the control implementation supervisor.
A real time version of the system has not been implemented.
(Automatica, 26 June 1989: 815)

The last sentence is an example of a denial, for which no explicit question has been asked but one is presumed to be called for by the author. Citing Widdowson (1979), Pagano ascribes the occurrence of denials in written texts to the writer's simultaneous assumption of both addressor and addressee roles, thinking of the reader's possible reactions and acting as required.

This contention can be further strengthened and generalized by the two studies, Hoey (1994) and Winter (1994), which essentially argue that written discourse is a process of dialogic question-answer reciprocation. According to this view, every sentence is a text is backed by a corresponding wh-question asking for the information supplied by that sentence. They advance this position in order to explain the universal organizational schemes of text which have been pointed out and studied by many researchers. An example from Hoey (1994: 30) will suffice to make the point that semantic focus naturally arises as a result of forming a written text on the basis of question-answer reciprocation in which the questions are posed through requirements other than what the psychological focus, or the topic, demands.

Text 2
A: What was the situation?
B: I was on sentry duty.
A: What was the problem?
B: I saw the enemy approaching.
A: What was your solution?
B: I opened fire.
A: What was the result?
and
How successful was this?
B: I beat off the enemy attack.

By just string together B's answers, the following original written text emerges.

Text 3
I was on sentry duty.
I saw the enemy approaching.
I opened fire.
I beat off the enemy attack.

It is also clear that semantic focus partly accounts for why certain new information which does not directly relate to the topic of a text can be introduced into the text without disrupting its consistency.

Gundel's contrastive focus is another reason why her classification can be deemed capable of modelling the step-by-step bottom-up development of a text. Unlike semantic focus, contrastive focus introduces a new entity relative to an already familiarized entity. In written text, this is probably the most frequently employed method of developing any kind of exposition. The following examples illustrate how contrasting concepts (drug legalisation in the first case and organic yields in the second) are introduced into texts on the basis of what is taken as a more familiar concept, drug prohibition and intensive yields, respectively.

Text 4: Contrastive evaluation
America spends at least $20 billion (£13 billion) a year on drug enforcement, and arrests more than one million people a year on drug charges. Yet, according to standard economic analysis and existing evidence, drug legalisation would be a far superior policy to drug prohibition

Text 5: Contrastive consequence
Organic yields are significantly lower than intensive yields. To grow the same amount of food, organic farming therefore requires land that could otherwise be used for nature reserves, forests or wetlands—or golf courses and low-cost housing if we so choose.

Topic shifts can be explained as cases of a contrastive focus replacing the current topic. It also happens that a topic or a semantic focus is contrasted with something without causing a topic-shift. These are cases of extension in Halliday's theory of expansion, which captures incremental increases of socio-semiotic information. Thus, contrastive focus can be considered to be a more specific way of identifying incremental increases of information from one sentence to the next.

3. The model

In this section, our model of bottom-up incremental text development based on topic/focus tracking is introduced. In the previous section, we saw how Gundel's three-way classification of focus into psychological, semantic, and contrastive focus can address various aspects of text chunking including the presence of an entity accessible over the entire stretch of a text chunk, introduction of an entity in response to an explicit or implicit wh-question, and extension of a text by introducing a contrastive entity. We have also noted that each of these three kinds of focus captures a crucial aspect of bottom-up text chunking. To recapitulate, psychological focus can be definitional of the extent of an individual chunk as a site over which a psychological focus is accessible. On the other hand, semantic focus can explain the phenomenon of 'intrusive' sentences which do not directly follow the semantic flow of the previous sentences. Finally, contrastive focus can take care of the cases of extending a text through shifting attention to something new associated with but not necessarily subsumable by the psychological focus of the current text chunk.

In order to translate this classification of focus into a model of bottom-up text development or chunking, we first rename the focuses as follows for ease of reference: psychological focus is renamed as topic, semantic focus as focus1, and contrastive focus as focus2. The model of bottom-up chunking based on topic and focus to be proposed in this paper would be best characterized as a model of topic maintenance with the following four kinds of requirements, which induce text chunks as a net result:

1 **Forward progress**: Within a text chunk, successive sentences move the communication forward.
2 **Method of development**: Each textual development of a text chunk carries a recognizable method of textual development.
3 **Topic**: The method of a textual development is under the thumb of the topic of the text chunk.
4 **Focus**: Every consecutive sentence must feature a focus, focus1 or focus2,

which characterizes its relation to the preceding sentence.

It might be wondered why we have text chunks in the first place. The above model presupposes the existence of text chunks composed of a series of sentences. Instead of pursuing this question further, we content ourselves here with assuming their existence by resorting to Winter's (1994: 47) maxim that "we cannot say everything about anything at any time," which necessitates the use of multiple sentences if perfection in communication is aimed at.

3.1. Forward Progress

3.1.1 Progress of topic

The first requirement of the model is intended to capture this pursuit of perfection from a different angle. It presumes that each additional sentence in an unfolding text contributes to the ongoing communication. What the ongoing communication is all about is determined by the topic of the text, mentioned in the third requirement. In other words, the notion of topic is inherent in any discussion of textual development which results in a unified chunk. In the simplest case, a topic is an entity like an object about which the text gives some information. However, a topic can be as complex as the author pleases. Often the topic of a text chunk itself is so involved or abstract that it has to be developed over a stretch of sentences.

The following example (Myers, 2010: 6) illustrates one of the most straightforward cases of topic progress, where the topic entity, a deck chair, remains to be the topic until the end of this text chunk, consistently referred to with its pronominalized form 'it'. Although the topic is established in the first sentence once and for all, the rest of the sentences dwells on the "coolness" of the deck chair supplying relevant information through incremental expansions.

Text 6

SO THE BEACH HOUSE WE RENTED came with this cool deck chair, which everybody loved.

I liked it so much that I wrote down the name, searched it on the Web, and ordered one from Amazon. (*consequence)

It reclines kind of like one of those zero-gravity recliner chairs, and even though it folds up neatly for storage, it's not rickety like most folding deck chairs. (=clarification)

Downside—it's not especially cheap. (answer to 'What about the price?')

But given my unsatisfactory experiences with its predecessors, I'm happy. (*concession)

Perhaps it will encourage me to spend more time on the deck drinking beer, and less time at the computer. (*consequence)

posted at 11:27 AM by Glenn Reynolds

The next example (Thomson, 2009: 26) shows a more usual case of topic establishment in which the initial few sentences are devoted to delineating the topic of a text, often involving a concession. The first sentence mentions the general inability to eliminate occupational hazards, but it is the second sentence which finalizes the topic, which is the proposition of a measure for their reduction through penalization. The third and last sentence is a concessive statement about the possible consequences of this measure, both unfavorable and favorable.

Text 7

Occupational accidents will never be eliminated because all human activity entails risk.
But the total number of accidents could be greatly reduced, and the surest way of achieving such a reduction is to penalise, with fines or even imprisonment, those employers on whose premises they occur. [Topic(penalization)]
Such a policy might result in cases of individual injustice, but it would be effective in securing safer workplaces. (*consequence)

The last example illustrates a more realistic case of topic shift (Myers, 2010: 112). The first three sentences are concerned with the initial topic of the groundless accusation of bloggers ranting in blogs which is refuted by many carefully formulated opinions found among them. The fourth sentence effects a topic shift from bloggers' opinions to the study of categories of stance-taking manifested in blogs, which remains the topic in the remainder of the text.

Text 8

Bloggers are often accused in the media of being solipsistic ranters shouting at an empty internet. [Topic (bloggers accused as ranters)]
It wouldn't surprise these accusers that I have found so many opinion statements in blogs. (*concession)
But it might surprise them to find that these opinions are so carefully marked, in many cases, for the way the writer holds them, the way he or she says them, and their basis of lack of basis in fact. (+alteration)
One reason to look at the categories of stance-taking is to see the wide range of ways bloggers relate to what they say. [Topic shift]
Another reason to look at these categories is to see, again, how interactive blogs must be to survive. (+reason)
The blogs I have analysed vary in their numbers of readers, but they all do interact with their readers in nearly every sentence. (=clarification)
The pleasure in reading something like Dooce, Instapundit, India Uncut, or Going Underground is not just in getting the opinions—I certainly don't agree with all of them. (*consequence)
It is also in seeing how cleverly they manage that interaction and keep it going. (+addition)

3.1.2. Two modes of forward progress according to Firbas (1992)

As to the delimitation of the forward movement itself, again we content ourselves with adopting a view due to one of our predecessors in this field of research. According to his theory of Functional Sentence Perspective based on the notion of communicative dynamism (CD), Firbas (1992: 67) proposes the following two ways of moving the communication forward. As the FSP theory is more concerned with the sentence-internal distribution or development of the degrees of CD across the elements within a sentence, its real implications for inter-sentential CD need to be tackled in some future research dealing with both stepwise textual development and the position of topics and focuses at the same time. In the present work, we just notice that the introduction of a topic corresponds to that of the theme-element called Phenomenon, and the forward movement of the communication to the two element arrangements concerning the ascription of a quality to what is thematic.

3.2. Methods of development

3.2.1. Text development as socio-semiotic activity

Somewhat more ambitiously, the second requirement of the model is meant to equate the process of incremental textual development as one of socio-semiotic activity in which the development of information in the form of adjoining additional sentences is a realization of a certain nameable act of semiotic extension. This requirement is necessary in order to separate ordinary written texts obeying it from other texts such as those simply depicting some external object. For example, children's picture books carry texts whose sentences just mention things going on in a picture without forming a cohesive text. For example, the following "text" accompanying a picture in a famous picture dictionary (Scarry, 1998: 7) for children only makes sense when one is looking at the picture, in which Pickles, the mother pig, and her children are depicted as they are surrounding a table on which she is placing plates.

Text 9

Pickles and the piglets are about to have supper.
The piglets are running all about.
Sit at your places, piglets!

In our model, this kind of text, which tends to occur in multi-modal texts, is not regarded as making a proper text chunk. As it stands, this requirement is still largely programmatic, awaiting such augmentations as a list of recognizable methods of extension and a set of rules for identifying them has been provided yet. This paper provisionally adopts two working principles, one based on Halliday's expansion theory and the other on the distinction between external and internal conjunction (Martin and Rose, 2007).

We can establish the following correspondences between the expansion theory and Firbas' (1992) Pr- (Presentation-) and Q- (Quality-) functions. This is as it should be because according to the theory of expansion, in both elaboration and enhancement, the focus remains on the entity currently under focus whereas it moves to some comparable entity newly introduced in an extensional transition. In other words, we suggest that through the intermediary of this correspondence, we reinterpret the various categories of expansion as so many methods of text development.

Expansion categories reinterpreted as methods of text development

- Elaboration (Q-function): exposition, exemplification, clarification
- Extension (Pr-function): addition, variation, alteration
- Enhancement (Q-function): temporal, spatial, manner, causal-conditional

As will be illustrated in section 4, in each category of expansion what actually moves the communication forward is mostly the process of following the intended inferences between adjoining sentences. In this paper, it is assumed that the semantic categories falling under each of the three types of expansion act to delimit the range of semantic connections between the expanded and expanding sentences. In section 4, it will be suggested that the semantic categories might serve to characterize the focused entity in the expanding sentence.

3.2.2.Text development as external and internal conjunction

The distinction between external and internal conjunction (Halliday and Hasan 1976, Martin and Rose 2007, etc.) can suggest a different angle to the problem of intersentential developments than the theory of expansion does. This is basically the opposition between what is argumentative and what is more spontaneous. Various causal relations between events are generally interpreted as spontaneous developments of situations, as in the following example from the same picture book as cited above:

Text 10
Mr. Fixit dropped a hammer on his toe a minute ago.
He is howling now.

We have as many spontaneously related situation pairs as there are different types of socially recognizable situations, some of which, taken from various sources, are as follows:

- Procedural causality: *Coach will give us a time, for example 2:45 for 1,000 meters. And then me and Ryan and Sandy and Chrisby and Steve will all get racing.*
- Psychological causality: *Bobby amazed everyone when he played the piano. He surprised them. They didn't think he could do it.*
- Physical causality: *Then we went on um the the Matterhorn I think its called and you go then you go through this water place under it right here it's splashing on to you. You get all wet.*
- Experiential causality: *and my friend and I we hike well all over the place on these railroad tracks and so we were used to it and we hiked ahead and they went all the way down the mountain again*
- Economic causality: *A couple of Saturdays ago I went to Mount Baldy and they didn't tell us to bring a dollar for the ski lift that went three miles up hill. And so all the kids that didn't bring their dollar had to hike up hill.*
- Social causality: *Alan offered to help him. Mr. Skytree did not accept Chip's offer*

Spontaneous developments also include description, classification, chronological, and dialogic interaction.

By contrast, argumentative developments are relations imposed by the author to present his or her own lines of thinking, realizing such things as evaluation, explanation and transitions from reasons to conclusions. This opposition between spontaneous and argumentative developments are assumed to be equated with that between external and internal conjunction. This step makes it possible to treat those text developments arising from the argumentation of the text, which like cases of focus1, tend to take leaps not restricted to ones required by the immediately preceding sentences.

3.3. Topic

The third requirement specifying the preponderance of topics over other text-chunking processes is intended to place the role of topics in text chunking as continuously ranking above and exerting influence over the focuses. In other words, this is a direct statement of what holds text chunks together, which is of course the topic. The topic is regarded as the basso continuo of the text, as it were. Ideally, it is hoped that one can detect some manifestation of the topic in every sentence of the chunk over which it is holding sway. Most of the time, this is achieved through various thesaural means of relating concepts lexically. In the following example (Thomson, 2009: 72), the topical concept, the ability to reason beyond what is explicitly given in the text, is pronominalized into 'this' in the second sentence, and lexically succeeded to by 'conclude' in the third sentence.

Text 11

One important aspect of reasoning is the ability to go further than the information you have been given, to draw conclusions from evidence, to see what follows from statements which other people make. [Topic (*the ability to go further than the information you have been given*)]
This is an ability which we all exercise to a certain extent in our daily lives. ['*this*']
If we draw back the curtains in the morning, and find that last night's snow covering has gone, we conclude that the temperature must have risen overnight. ['*conclude*']

The topic is not just something carried along throughout a text chunk. As noted above, it can also be called the controlling idea of the chunk when its dynamic aspect is to be emphasized. When viewed in this angle, we notice how the initial sentences of a text set up the vector of the unfolding text pointing the direction in which it is headed. When the writer voices his or her opinion in a few paragraphs, the very initial sentences clearly indicate the direction of the text by means of an evaluative stance, as in the following two sentences marking the first sentence of a letter to the editor (Thomson, 2009: 67-68).

Text 12

・Sir: I was concerned to read of the proposals for compulsory fluoridation of water.
・Sir: Those who believe organic food is good for the countryside and the environment should think a little harder.

In certain genres of text such as newspaper reports or encyclopedic articles, the function of establishing the topic of a passage is often delegated to headers or section titles, as shown in the next example (Sutcliffe, 2006: 206; the sentence numbers are added by the current author) in which the first half of the passage is concerned with the three notions in the section title "Concept, Class, and Category in the Tradition of Aristotle", and the latter half with what amounts to the notion of concept in Aristotle's system. The role of the title is as if to say that the following passage deals with the three notions in the Aristotelian terms. In spite of a lack of topic-setting sentences, each of the first six sentences bears lexical marks related to the three notions instead while the remaining sentences are all lexically marked by term-related notions including 'essence' and 'universal'.

Text 13
Concept, Class, and Category in the Tradition of Aristotle

1. In Aristotle's logic, a categorical proposition affirms or denies that something (the subject) has a property (the predicate).
2. Aristotle proposed an exhaustive classification of predicates: for him, anything which could be predicated of any subject had to concern substance, quantity, quality, relation, time, position, state, activity, or passivity.
3. These are the Aristotelian categories.
4. Later usage of the word category was to become much looser.
5. For the rest, Aristotle had little to say about class, and it appears that there was no direct ancient Greek equivalent for the word concept.
6. With respect to the latter, however, the essentially relevant notions in Aristotle's account are terms and universals.
7. Subjects and predicates were called terms, and a major concern of Aristotle was with their definition.
8. For Aristotle, the definition of a term stipulated the essence of the object referred to.
9. The essence of a thing is that which makes it the type (sort, kind, class, ...) of thing that it is, and not some other type of thing.
10. The essence has two aspects: the genus is that which is predicable essentially of other kinds of things as well; and the differentia is that which is possessed essentially only by things of one type (members of one species) and not by any other type.
11. Thus, to the extent that terms are logical universals, one may be guided by Weitz (1988), in concluding from his review that:
12. Aristotle . . . has a theory of concepts according to which they are definitional entities—*logoi* that are closed in their necessary and sufficient properties which serve as the governing correct use of the concepts and terms that convey them.

A third manifestation of the preponderance of topic over focus is that the topic of one paragraph is most of the time carried on in an evolved form to the next paragraph, forming a chain of related topics. In the next example showing a typical evolutionary progress of the topic, the three paragraphs evolve the same underlying topic of major protest actions taken by a federation of welfare groups in the city of New York (Kornbluh, 2007). The topic of the first paragraph is a boycott of the New York City schools in 1966 demanding financial aid for clothing and supplies. The second paragraph takes over this topic and turns it into a historical account of its background and philosophy. The third paragraph moves the topic of the boycott along the time line to show its 'culmination' in the form of the first arrests of its members.

Text 14
First paragraph
In one of its first major protest actions, the City-Wide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups called a boycott of the New York City schools at the start of the 1966-67 academic year. [Topic (*a boycott called by the CWCCWG*)]
This boycott differed from the one civil rights activists had organized in 1964 in that its leaders demanded that the city government spend money on clothing and supplies for schoolchildren as well as on school buildings, teacher salaries, and other educational

needs. [*this boycott*]
The focus of the boycott was less on the integration of schools than on the quality of schools, and children's access to goods that would help prepare them for school. [*the boycott*]
Lily Mae Robinson, who sat in at the Department of Welfare for fifty hours in support of the boycott, wrote that she and her colleagues "dreamed of a better Welfare system for all those who need it, for jobs for those of us who can work, for decent housing and for the best education we can give our children." [*the boycott*]
At the same time, she and other members of the City-Wide Coordinating Committee demanded supplements to their welfare grants to keep schoolchildren warm and decently dressed. [*members of CWCCWG*]
Second paragraph
Demands for material goods and claims to participate in what historian Lizabeth Cohen has termed the "consumer's republic" lay at the heart of the movement for welfare rights. [Topic (*demands for material goods and claims to participate in the consumer's republic*)]
Jennette Washington, Lily Mae Robinson, and other activists asserted their right to the "good life" promised by the affluent society. [*right to the good life*]
They argued that full citizenship in the postwar United States depended not only on having access to decent schooling for their children, but also on being able to feed and clothe their children decently, on having furniture in their homes, and on owning decent goods. [*being able to feed and clothe children decently, having furniture in homes, owning decent goods*]
Third paragraph
The school clothing protests led to the City-Wide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups' first arrests. [Topic (*first arrests*)]
Citywide activists picketed in support of the boycott at welfare department headquarters in lower Manhattan. [*picketed at welfare department headquarters*]
Robinson, with four other women and one man, spent two nights sleeping on the floor of the office at 250 Church Street. [*spent two nights sleeping on the floor of the office*]
By the middle of the sit-in, she recalled, "we knew that we were now friends, most of us with the same kinds of problems in housing, education, etc." [*the sit-in*]
Welfare Commissioner Mitchell Ginsberg, an important member of the reformist administration of Mayor John Lindsay, ordered police not to make any arrests. [*ordered police not to make any arrests*]
After two nights of sitting in and no progress in the negotiations, "one group moved in on all entrances to the building," according to the newsletter of the City-Wide Coordinating Committee. [*one group moved in on all entrances to the building*]
Police arrested seventeen members of Citywide, including two members of its Executive Board, and released them on bail later that evening. [*arrested seventeen members*]

3.4. Focus

The fourth requirement of the model is basically the other side of the second requirement. Its explicit specification is necessary to present a realistic model of bottom-up text chunking based on topic and focus which can describe the step-by-step developments of an 'unfolding' text in specific terms. The model proposes that such a description is made possible by keeping track of how topics and focuses are developed, using Gundel's (1994) classification of focus for the definition of topic and focus. For this purpose, on the one hand, it is necessary to specify what entities in a text can qualify as topics and how they can be maintained or shifted within and outside the text. On the other hand, however, it is necessary to account for how exactly successive sentences develop the controlling idea in the topic, which we consider is to be captured by specifying the method of development from one sentence to the next and the kind of focus introduced by the development as the entity representative of the transition and capable of being tracked in concrete terms.

The division of focuses into the two kinds, focus1 and focus2, makes a claim that these two kinds can subsume all instances of focus that actually occur as bearers of new developments. Focus1 takes care of those entities introduced into the text as answers to explicit or implicit questions, and so they are extraneous to the main flow of developments of the controlling idea to the degree that the wh-questions are. Focus2 is supposed to deal with the remaining occurrences of focus in the text which dynamically moves the communication forward by expanding the controlling idea. In this paper, we simply suggest that the notion of being contrastive required of focus2 should be characterized as 'being a party to expansion', i.e., falling into either a case of elaboration (marked by '='), extension (+), or enhancement (*). This measure has the benefit of providing the very first framework of classifying and analyzing the actual occurrences of focus2. As already mentioned in 3.2.2., we also adopt the distinction between external and internal conjunction, which makes it possible to treat cases of argumentative leaps often characterized by their relatively global concerns as compared with cases of external conjunction. The following example (Tomes, 2010: 7) illustrates this situation, in which the last sentence sums up all the preceding sentences.

Text 15

One of the questions that members of the public most often ask writers and composers is, 'Where do you get your ideas from?' [Topic (writers and composers)]

They don't so often think to ask this question of performers. [+F2 (performers)]

People who are not themselves musicians tend to assume that if you're playing classical music, you just play the notes and the music comes out sounding right all by itself. [=F2 (just play the notes)]

But 'sounding right' is actually the end-point of a long process of preparation which involves everything from historical knowledge to a very subtle appreciation of how things connect and how this might be conveyed in sound. [*F2 (a long process of preparation)]

A musical score only supplies a certain amount of information. [=F2 (musical score)]

Although the notes are specified, an enormous amount of additional information is not given, and perhaps never could or should be. [Topic (additional information)]

Composers know that there's sometimes an inverse relationship between how many detailed instructions they give and how successful the result will be. [F1 (why not specified?)]

The reticence of the printed score usually stimulates an imaginative dialogue between the performer and the music. [*F2 (imaginative dialogue)]

Good performers throw themselves into the task of sensing what layers of meaning are implied by the notes. [=F2 (sensing layers of meaning)]

So performing musicians need ideas too. [Conclusion (internal conjunction)]

4. Conclusion

This paper has proposed a model of bottom-up text chunking which is based on the tracking of focused entities in the text chunks, topic, focus1 and focus2, which correspond to psychological, semantic and contrastive focus of Gundel (1999), respectively.

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テクスト構造とテクスト生成者の関係をめぐる二つの課題

Two Issues Concerning the Relationship between Text Structure and Text Generator

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Abstract

The present paper examines the relationship between the text generator and 'context of situation' (CoS) by identifying the location of the text produced and the structure that it adopts in relation of the text generator's mind and the 'meaning expression space' (*ihyōkūkan*), i.e., the real and/or virtual space in which the text is generated and consumed by people concerned. The paper argues the following: (1) Text structure (forming part of the CoS) should exist in the form of schemata in the text generator's mind, but those schemata can also exist outside the mind of the text generator as records that can be extracted from, say, magazine articles in the meaning expression space, or as information expressed by people concerning the text generation in that space. (2) The text generator must attempt to realize his/her visions but s/he does not always realize ideologies in her/his text generation. The foregoing arguments are presented through an analysis of the September 2015 issues of 4 Japanese fashion magazines (*CanCam*, *JJ*, *Vivi*, and *Ray*) and some of their articles.

1.　はじめに

システミック機能言語学理論において、状況のコンテクスト（CoS）とテクスト生成（過程）の関係について立場が二つに分かれている。一方は CoS をテクスト生成の外にあるとみなす立場で（Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Hasan, 1996）、もう一方は CoS をテクスト生成の内側にあるとみなす立場である（Martin, 1985, 1986, 1992, 1997）。しかしながら、Halliday（1978）には CoS をテクスト生成過程の一部としてとらえていると解釈される箇所が多々ある（南里, 2014, 2015）。テクストを分析するにあたってそのテクストに書いてある内容から CoS を類推する方法をとっている限り、CoS はテクスト生成の一部をなすと考える方が妥当であると考えられるにも拘らず、Halliday（1978）が CoS をテクスト生成の外にあるとみなすのは一体どうしてなのだろうか。

Martin は 1980 年代イデオロギーがテクスト生成の源泉であるとの立場からイデオロギー志向のテクスト生成モデルを発表（Martin, 1985）しているが、その後 Martin（1997）はイデオロギーをテクスト生成モデルから削除してしまう。CoS における権力分配並びにテクスト生成者の信条システムをイデオロギーであるとした定義が破たんしたのが原因だ。ところが、その ideology が Martin & Rose（2003）で復活しているのである。そもそも、テクスト生成者の意味表出を権力志向か否かのみでみることに無理がある。イデオロギーよりもっと包括的な概念でテクスト生成者の意味表出を捉えることが求められているのではないか。

本稿では CoS とテクスト生成者との関係をテクスト構造とテクスト生成者の意味表出空間[1]（以下「意表空間」）との関係に限定して、上記二つ課題に対して次のような提案を行いたい。(1) テクスト構造がテクスト生成者の記憶中のスキーマとして存在している限りそれはテクスト生成過程の内側にあると解釈すべきである。しかし、(2) 当該意表空間にその構造が記録として存在しており、テクスト生成に当たってその構造の使用が当然であると強く信じている人がその意表空間にいる場合、そのテクスト構造はテクスト生成の外にあると考えられる。(3) テクスト生成者は意味表出にあたって、あるいは、テクスト生成にあたって「ビジョン」[2] を持っており、このビジョンが不当に不利益を被る者を生み出だした場合にのみイデオロギーという表現を使うのが適切である。尚、(4) スキーマの想定は必然的に認知心理学的立場をとることになるので、システミック機能言語学は反認認知心理学的立場の修正を迫られることになるだろう。

上記 4 点を赤文字ファッション雑誌 *CanCam*、*JJ*、*Vivi*、*Ray* の 2015 年 9 月号の分析（雑誌全体の記事構成分析、装い提案型記事群の構造分析）を通して提案する。

2. データと分析手順

既に述べた通り、本稿で分析をするのは、*JJ*、*CanCam*、*Vivi*、*Ray* の四つの「赤文字系」女性ファッション誌である。雑誌名のロゴがしばしば赤で印刷されることが多いことでつけられた名前だが（吉村, 2010：940）、これら赤文字系ファッション誌は、18 歳から 20 代後半までの女性（女子大生、または、OL）をターゲット層とする雑誌で（Assist Ad Systems, 2004-2012）、専属モデルや読者モデルを介して、主にアパレル商品、アクセサリー、コスメ商品の購買を促す雑誌である。

本稿では、テクスト構造がテクスト生成の内か外かという問い（前節の 3 点の提案のうち最初の 2 点）を、4 誌が用いている 2 種類のテクスト構造（雑誌構造と装い提案型記事群の構造）がテクスト生成者（あるいは 4 誌の編集者）のビジョンの下に創造されていると考えることが妥当かどうかの視点から考える[3]。

まず、4 誌の編集者のビジョンをネット上に公開されている情報を基に同定する。その後、4 誌に掲載されている記事を 8 種類に分類し、雑誌全体が

どのような記事配列になっているかに焦点を当て雑誌全体の構造（雑誌構造）を同定する。雑誌構造の同定後、4 誌に掲載されている記事（群）の中で目次で最も大きなフォントで紹介されている記事群（以下「特集記事」と言及）を取り上げ、それがどのような構造になっているのかを見出しの対人機能的特徴に焦点を当て同定する。（以下、特集記事の構造を「装い提案型記事構造」と呼ぶ）。これら二種類の構造（雑誌構造と装い提案型記事群構造）を同定した後、この二種類の記事構造が編集者（テクスト生成者）のビジョンによって創造されたものであると考えることが妥当かどうか検討する。妥当ならば、テクスト構造はテクスト生成の内側にあると考えられ、妥当でないならばテクスト構造はテクスト生成の外側にあることになる。この検討が終わって、テクスト生成過程にビジョンを設定することの利点を説き、その設定はイデオロギーの設定と同じではないことを論じる。

3.　データ分析

3.1. 4 誌のビジョン

山村（2007：25）は、アパレル商品のマーチャンダイザーは「消費者（財貨を消耗する人）ではなく、アパレル商品を着用する『生活者』の視点に立って、装いを創らなければならない」と述べている。テクスト生成者たる編集者はターゲット層が存在する意表空間で他の雑誌編集者と競合することになるが、いずれも「生活者の視点に立って装いを創」りながらも独自性を出そうと試みている。例えば、*CanCam* は「20 代・働き女子」にターゲットを当て、「Japanese かわいい」女の子を創造すべくファッション・コスメ情報だけでなく、ライフスタイル情報も発信するというビジョンを持つ（小学館, 2015）。そしてそのコーデ情報は時として「ずるいくらいモテる服」を提案しているという（後藤, 2015）。*JJ* は「学生から社会人になりライフスタイルが変わった 25 歳」をコアターゲットにし、「仕事への意識も高く、結婚しても仕事を続けたいと考えている」「恋愛よりも男性と対等な付き合い」をしたい「稼げる JJ ガール」に「大人見えカジュアル」情報を発信するという（WWD, 2014）。*Vivi* は「とにかくおしゃれが大好き」で「時代をリードする女の子」に対し、「ミーハー」で時ともに変化するトレンドファッション情報を発信するという（Ships Mag, n.d.）。最後に *Ray* は、日本全国の女子大生を対象に、彼女らがためしてみたいと思うであろう様々なコーデやコスメ情報を提供し「自分プロデュース応援マガジン」たることをビジョンとして掲げている（主婦の友社, 2015）。以上、上記 4 誌はどれも 20 代の女性に「装い」の提案を行うという中核的ビジョンにそれぞれの雑誌特有のビジョンが付加されたビジョンを持っており、これら複合的ビジョンが雑誌構造及び装い提案型記事群構造を通して具現されている、と本稿では解釈する。

3.2. テクスト分類

データ中の記事は下記の 8 つに分類することが可能である。

（1） 広告：広告代理店を通して掲載されたと思われる広告。あるいは、特

表 1.　赤文字 4 誌と記事の出現頻度

	広告	F 記事	C 記事	小物	E 記事	女性	男性	その他
Can	12.5	32.8	8.6	**14.2**	3.4	**8.2**	**7.8**	12.5
JJ	11.0	**55.3**	16.2	0.4	1.3	**8.3**	**0.0**	7.5
Vivi	11.7	39.7	**22.2**	0.8	4.7	5.4	**7.8**	7.8
Ray	13.2	**50.2**	**18.7**	**0.0**	1.3	5.1	4.7	6.8

定の商品一品の購買を促していると判定される広告（記事）。ただしタイアップ広告、コラボ広告は除いた。

（２）　ファッション記事（F 記事）: ファッション商品[4]の紹介をしていると判定される記事。

（３）　コスメ記事（C 記事）: コスメ商品の紹介をしていると判定される記事。

（４）　小物記事：小物の紹介をしていると判定される記事。

（５）　イベント記事（E 記事）: レストランやアミューズメントパークなど訪問すべき場所を紹介している記事。

（６）　女性記事：（主に）女性を紹介している記事。

（７）　男性記事：（主に）男性を紹介している記事。

（８）　その他の記事：上記以外の記事。

3.3. ビジョンと記事の選定

まずは 4 誌のビジョンが影響していると考えられるところ見てみよう。表 1 を見ていただきたい。これは前節に紹介した 8 つの記事が雑誌全体に占める割合を雑誌ごとに示したものである。[5]（カギとなる数値は濃い字体にしてある。）ライフスタイルも紹介するとしている *CanCam* は小物記事、人物紹介記事が多く、その分ファッション・コスメ記事の出現頻度が低くなっている。小物の購入や他者の生き方を学ぶことで生活面からも女性の装いを変えていくという発想のようである。女性の自立をビジョンに加える *JJ* はファッション記事及び女性記事の出現頻度が高く、男性記事の記載はない。女性の自立を目指すにあたって男性の考えを紹介する必要はないとの発想かもしれない。ミーハーなビジョンを持つ *Vivi* はコスメと男性記事の出現頻度が高い。ファッション商品に対してコスメ商品は価格が低く、新しい装いを作るのに安価で即効性がある。そこに男性記事がくると考えると、ミーハーな（*CanCam* ほどの高級志向ではない）ビジョンとマッチするのではないだろうか。女子大生をターゲット層に自分プロデュースを目指す *Ray* は *JJ* の次にファッション記事の出現頻度が高く、コスメ記事も *Vivi* に次いで出現頻度が高い。小物記事の掲載はゼロ。自分プロデュースであればこそ、小物を減らしてファッション商品、コスメ商品の紹介に誌面を割いたと考えられるかもしれない。以上、雑誌独自のビジョンが記事の種類の選択に影響を与えている可能性は高い。が、しかし、テクスト構造となると話が異なるようだ。

3.3.1.　雑誌構造の同相性

累積統計法と著者が名付けた方法を使って雑誌構造を抽出する。累積統計法とは今現在見ているページからそのページを含んで 10 ページ遡りその 10 ページ（以下「累積ユニット」と呼ぶ）中にどんな種類のテクストが含まれているかをフロントページから雑誌末の裏表紙までページごとに調べたものである。これにより、雑誌の先頭から最後のページに至るまでどのような記事の移り変わりが起こっているのか（これを「雑誌構造」とする）が視覚的にとらえられることができる。この手法を用いて、まずは 4 誌の雑誌構造の共通項を抽出してみる。

3.3.1.1. 雑誌構造

誌構造を同定するにあたってカギとなる記事は、広告、ファッション記事（以下「F 記事」）、コスメ記事（「C 記事」）、および、表紙、目次、協力店リスト、星座占いである（後の 4 種類の記事は「その他記事」として本稿では分類）[6]。雑誌の第 1 ページはロゴが入った表紙。（4 誌とも表紙を第 1 ページとしてカウントしている。）その後に広告が数ページ表れ、目次以降 1、2 ページ程度の広告掲載域が出現し、雑誌末にまた数ページの広告域が表れる。（グラフ 1 は *JJ* の広告掲載域を示している。縦軸は 1 累積ユニット中何ページ広告ページが含まれているかを示し、横軸は累積ユニットの基点となるページを示している。）で、他の記事はこの雑誌の初めと終わりの広告域に挟まれた形で出現する。その記事で最も生頻度の高い記事は F 記事で、それに

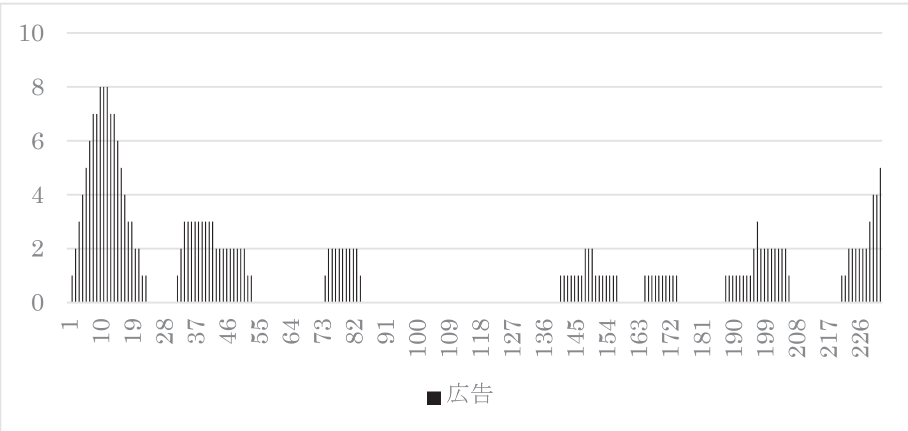

図 1: グラフ 1. *JJ* 広告

C 記事が続く。傾向としては F 記事が先に表れ、C 記事が後を追う形をとる。（グラフ 2 とグラフ 3 参照のこと。）

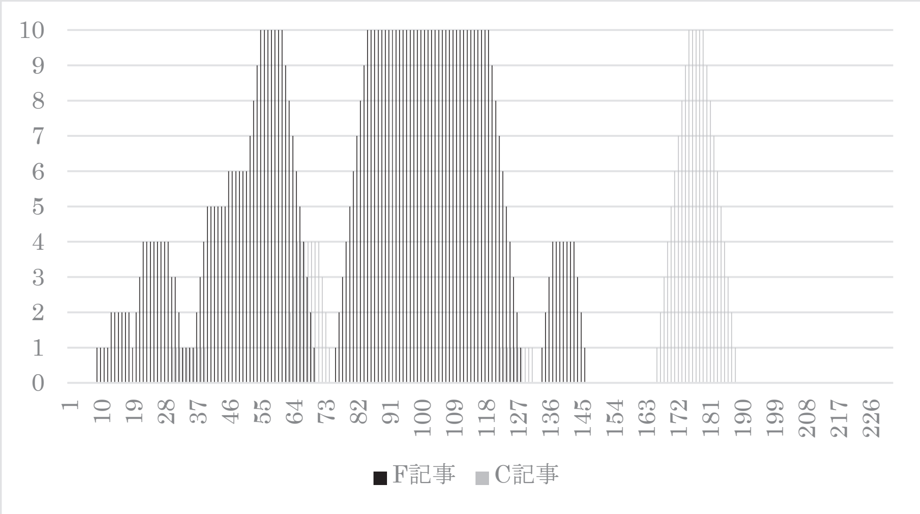

図 2: グラフ 2. *CanCam* F・C 記事

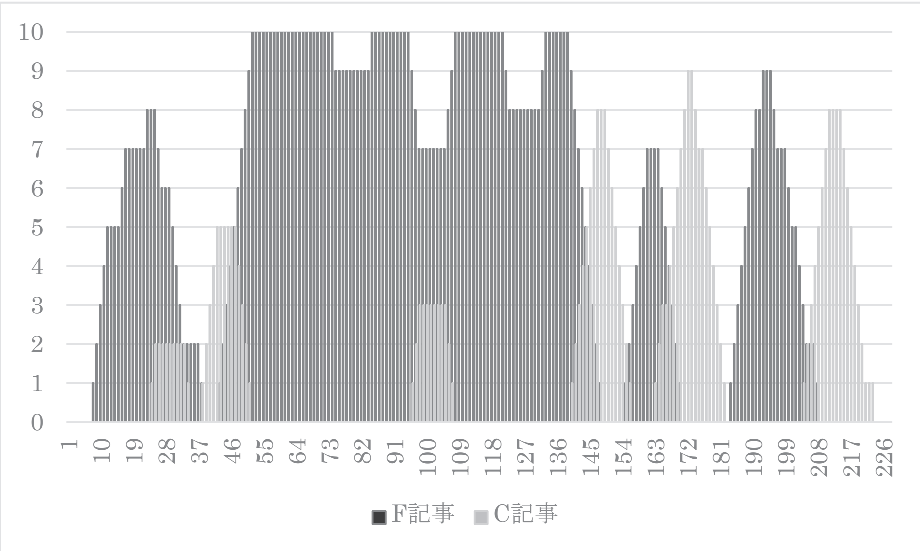

図 3: グラフ 3. *JJ* F・C 記事

さて、4 誌において累積ユニット中 3 ページ以上の頻度で出現した記事を拾い、それに、4 誌に共通する要素（表紙、目次、協力店リスト、占い）を足すと、［1］のような雑誌構造が抽出できる。

［1］表紙 ˆ 広告 ˆ 目次 ˆ F 記事 ˆ C 記事 ˆ 協力店リスト ˆ 占い ˆ 広告

本稿ではこれを赤文字雑誌（共通）の雑誌構造とみなす。

3.3.2.　装い提案型記事群の構造

データ 4 誌に掲載された特集記事（いずれも F 記事）は、*CanCam* は pp.46-55 に、*JJ* は pp.44-74 に、*Vivi* は pp.32-69 に、*Ray* は pp.44-76 に掲載されている。

これら特集記事は 3 層構造をなしているのだが、この構造同定において本稿は対人機能の観点からの分析を用いた。まず、第一と二層の中核をなす「見出し」に注目し、それらの対人的機能が「提示」「共有」「依頼」のどれかに分類できることを突き止めた。「提示」はムードを持たないと考えられる名詞群による情報提示を指し、「共有」は陳述または連体修飾節と中心語という形をとる情報提示を指し、「依頼」は読み手の行動を促す依頼・命令文による何らかの行動の促しを指す。（提示には「提案開始の提示[7]」、「人物の提示」（有名人物の名前のみを提示）、「オケージョンの提示」（特定の装いをまとうべきオケージョンを名詞群で提示）の 3 種がある。）残りの第三層は基本「共有」だが、第三層分析では共有される情報内容を書き出して分析を行った。

では、上記 3 層がどのように連携しているかの説明をする。最も大きな見出し（以下「大見出し」）を中核とする第一層は特定の季節（*CanCam* の場合は秋、それ以外の 3 誌は夏）の装いの提案を行う。この提案は、「装い提案開始の提示」または「装いの共有」の形をとって行われる。第一層には補足説明がつく。補足説明では大見出しの中に使われている装いの表現をやや具象化した説明が与えられる。続く第二層は小見出しを中核とするユニットで、第一層で提示された装いの情報を更に具象化した提案がなされる。この第二層で典型的に写真（モデルが特定のコーデをまとったもの）が提示される。この第二層の小見出しは、「装いの提示」、「装いの共有」、あるいは、「装いの依頼」の形をとる。この後、第三層へと向かう。第三層は最も具象性の高い層で、ここで、モデルがまとっているファッション商品の「属性説明」（当該ファッション商品の見た目、手触り等の説明）、「商品詳細」（商品名、価格、その商品が入手できる商店の名あるいはブランド名）が提示される。但し、商品詳細はコーデをまとったモデルが読者モデルである場合記載されない場合が多いようだ。記事が第一層から第三層まで到達した後、後続の記事は第一層を共有した形で第二層から装いの提案を再開する。

では、*CanCam* の p.46 に掲載されている記事を例に装い提案型記事群の構造の説明をする。（図 5 を参照されたし。）

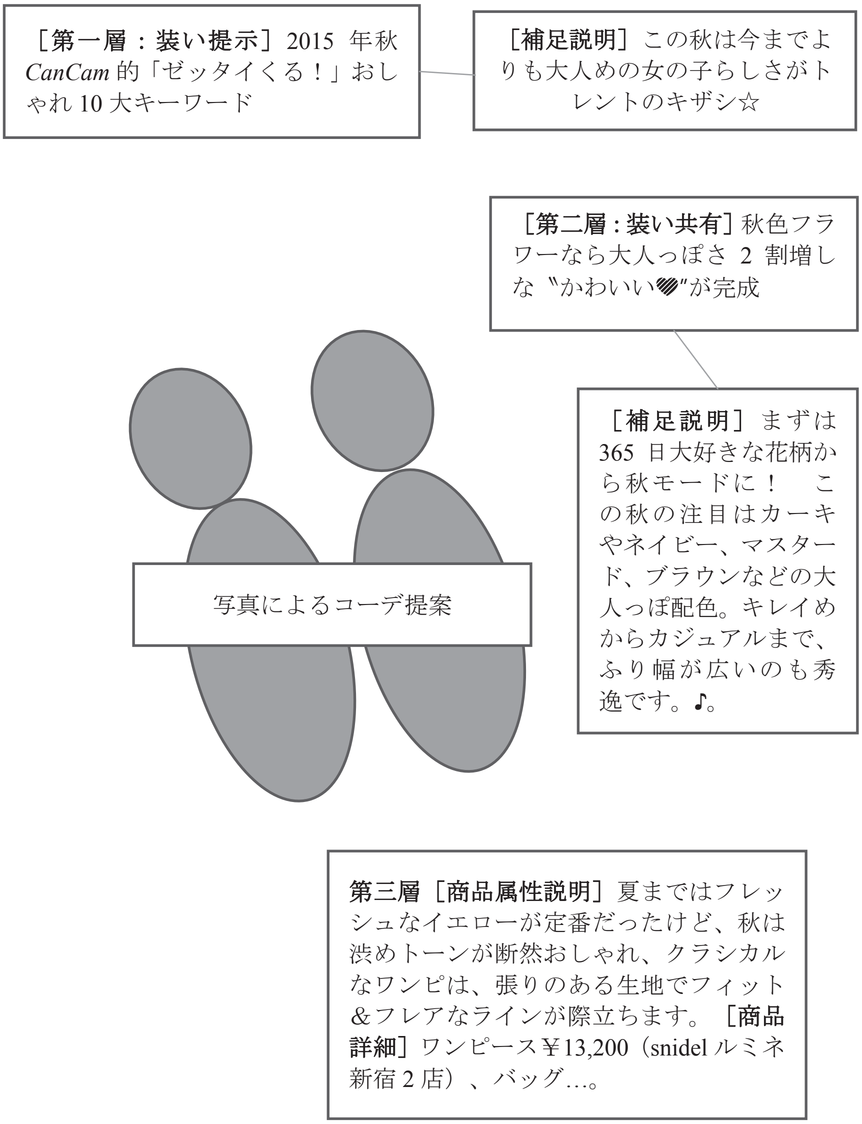

図 5. 装い提案型記事の構造（*CanCam*, p.46 の記事構成）

この記事の第一層では「2015 年秋 *CanCam* 的『ゼッタイくる！』おしゃれ 10 大キーワード」と装いの提案が始まることを意味する中心語（「キーワード」）をもつ大見出しが用いられる。この大見出しの補足説明には、大見出し中に用いられた「おしゃれ」が「大人めの女の子らしさ」を体現するものであるとある。続く第二層の小見出しでは「秋色フラワーなら大人っぽさ 2 割増しな〝かわいい♥〟が完成！」という装いの共有が行われている。この小見出しでは第一層で言及された「大人めの女の子らしさ」の色を特定することによって第一層よりは具体的な装い提案がなされている。第二層の補足

表 2. 他 3 誌の装い提案型記事の第一層から三層までの構造

	JJ（pp.43-44）	*Vivi*（pp.32-34）	*Ray*（pp.44-46）
第一層	［**装い共有**］カジュアル育ちの「きれいめ夏服」	［**装い提示**］夏、流行っているものがまるわかり‼みんなのリアル私服SHOW	［**装い共有**］真夏の“キュン可愛”着回しフルスロットル♡
第二層	［**装い共有**］“いい女な”代表読者の夏服は「きれいめ」がキーワード	［**人の提示**］石原さとみさん ふぁいる、いち	［**装いの共有**］いみずんのスイッチ着回し 60 days
			夏のヘビロテ服 10 ［**中間層**］
第二層補足説明	薄着になる夏は、おしゃれと手抜きの線引きが難しくなる季節。ゆるおしゃれが流行中だけど、〝ラク〟に	「大人っぽくとかフォーマルがキーワード」	UV ケア素材のカーデや温度調節しやすいシャツなどシンプル but 機能的なアイテムをラインアップ…
写真	有	有	有
第三層	［**商品属性解説**］イベントの司会の日はガウチョパンツで動きやすく。［**商品詳細**］Tops:Pulette Pants: Stunning Lure Bag: Furla Pumps:VII XII XXX	［**商品属性解説**］ジレみたいな縦長のアイテムを入れると、それだけで大人っぽく見えるので、足元をカジュアルなサンダルにしてもかわいいですね。…［**商品詳細**］ロングレジ｜￥34000（WON HUNDRED）…	［**オケージョン提示**］急な人事で明日からあこがれのデザイン課に異動することに…［**商品詳細**］ローファー6.900 円＋税/RANDA［**商品属性解説**］細ストライプのパンツで、ぺたんこ靴でも足長に。

説明は、さらなる色の具体化（「カーキ」「ネイビー」「マスタード」「ブラウン」）とファッションモード（「キレイめ」から「カジュアル」）の具体化がなされ、ここで特定のコーデをまとったモデルの写真が提示される。第三層はこのモデルがまとっているコーデの詳細情報、つまり、モデルが来ているコーデの属性が掲載され、その後コーデのファッション商品がひとつずつ取り上げられ、商品カテゴリー名（「ワンピース」等）、価格、その商品が入手できる店の名と続く。この第一層から第三層のながれは同誌 p.48（特集記事先頭の見開き 2 ページに続くページ）に継承され、p.48 掲載の F 記事は第二層の小見出しから装い提案が再開されている。同様の記事構成は pp.49-55 においても採用されている。

この装い提案型記事群の構成は他 3 誌の特集記事、*JJ*（pp.43-74）、*Vivi*（pp.31-62）、*Ray*（pp.44-76）でも用いられている。この 3 誌の特集号の最初の第一層から第三層までの分析結果を表 2 にまとめているので参照願いたい。

なお、第二層と第三層の間にさらに小見出しを挿入して中間層を形成する場合もあるので付け加えておく。

さてここまで二種類のテクスト構造の同定を試みたが、次のセクションではこの二つの構造がテクスト生成者のビジョンの下に創造されたものか否かについて論じてみる。

3.3.3.　テクスト構造とビジョンの関係

構造が雑誌全体のものであれ、装い提案型記事群のそれであれ、テクスト生成者の記憶の中に知識としてその構造（あるいはそれを生み出す知識）がなければテクスト生成者はそれをテクスト中に具現することはできないだろう。つまり、テクスト生成者の記憶中にこれら二種の構造に関するスキーマがあると仮説を立てる必要があるということである。その上で、これら二種のテクスト構造とテクスト生成者のビジョンとの関係を考えると、これら二種のテクスト構造はビジョンが存在する意識内にあると考えられ、テクスト構造はビジョン表出のために用いられたと考えることが可能で、テクスト構造がテクスト生成過程の内にあると主張することには妥当性があることになる。

それでは Halliday の主張、テクスト構造はテクスト生成過程の外にあるというのは誤りなのだろうか。

まず、赤文字雑誌が同じ雑誌構造及び同じ記事群構造を使用している時、この二種のテクスト構造は、赤文字雑誌による装い提案のための意表空間においては、使用されることが当然視されているテクスト構造であると想定することができる。また、雑誌編集に当たって、雑誌編集現場は過去の雑誌（バックナンバー）にアクセスできるテクスト生成空間であることも想像に難くない。バックナンバーはテクスト構造の記録の書である。それらを絶えず参考にしているとするなら、本稿で見た二種のテクスト構造は記録としてテクスト生成の外（あるいはテクスト生成者の意識の外）にあり、テクスト生成者のビジョン表出に強い制限を与えるものであるとの解釈も当然成り立つことになり、仮にそのテクスト構造の情報（スキーマ）がテクスト生成者の記憶の内にあるものであったとしても、その使用が事実上強制的であれば、Halliday 流の、テクスト構造はテクスト生成の外にある、という主張にも客観的合理性があることになるだろう。

まとめよう。テクスト構造はそれがテクスト生成者の記憶中にスキーマとして存在していればこそそれが表出できたと言うべきである。しかしながら、テクスト構造が当該意表空間において用いられ、その使用が自然な選択であると考えられ、そのテクスト構造の記録がその意表空間に存在する場合、テクスト構造はテクスト生成過程の外にあると解釈することには問題はない。

3.4. ビジョンとイデオロギー

テクスト生成は何かに動機づけられ生み出されるものであることは間違いないだろう。Martin（1985, 1992）はその動機としてイデオロギーを想定し

た。そのイデオロギーの内容は、権力志向の発話動機とテクスト生成者の信条システムであった。1997 年 Martin はイデオロギーを表向き捨ててしまう。イデオロギー破棄の原因は個人的信条が当該社会を覆う権力志向の発言動機と同じと考えてしまったことによる。先述の通り、イデオロギーは Martin & Rose（2003）で復活する。復活後マーティンによるイデオロギー定義はかなり大雑把になり、2010 年ごろの Martin のイデオロギー定義は特定の対人関係を具現する思考法に様変わりしてしまう。（詳しくは南里［近刊］を参照のこと。）しかし、この定義で何がわかるのだろう。Eagleton（1991: 7）がかつてこう述べている。イデオロギーを権力と関わりのない価値や信条と等価であるとしてしまうと、イデオロギーという言葉を使う意味がなくなってしまう、と。これは特定の対人関係を具現する思考法（Martin の最近のイデオロギー定義）についても言えることだ。

では、イデオロギーはどう定義したらいいのか。権力がらみのイデオロギー定義は魅力的ではある。Martin（1985）が言っていたようにイデオロギーはまずは権力志向の意味表出活動に付与されるべきものかもしれない。そして、意表空間において覇権を狙っている必要もあるかもしれない（Marin, 1992: 574）。しかし、南里（近刊）は権力や覇権狙いはイデオロギー定義において第一義的ではないのではないかと疑問を投げかけている。南里（近刊）によれば、「他者に不当に不利益を被らせること」がイデオロギー定義の中核に据えられるべきだという。この「他者に不当に不利益を被らせること」をテクスト生成者が権力を持って行えば行うほどそれはよりイデオロギーとして認識されると説いている。南里（近刊）のイデオロギー定義は次の通りだ。

> いくつかの陳述に書き換えることが可能な信条であり、その信条に沿った陳述の提示、あるいは、その陳述が推奨する行為の実現によって不当に不利益を被る者が生み出される場合、このような信条をイデオロギーと呼ぶべきである。

ただ、この定義をそのままテクスト生成モデルに組み込むことはできない。なぜなら、上記のイデオロギー判定はテクスト生成者を観察する者によってのみなされるべきものだからである。上記のようなイデオロギーの存在はテクスト生成者によって全く意識されておらず、潜在意識中にもない場合がありうるだろう。そういったものをテクスト生成モデルの必須コンポーネントとして組み入れることはできない。では、上記に定義されたイデオロギーに代わるもので、必須コンポーネントとしてテクスト生成モデルに組み入れられるものが他にあるだろうか。本稿ではアドラー心理学の「劣等コンプレックス」を挙げておくにとどめておこう（ドライカース, 2001: 45-55）。劣等感の過度の補償が他者へのアグレッシブな振る舞いになると指摘した点を重視しての提案である。テクスト生成モデル構築におけるアドラー心理学の援用はまた別稿で論じたいと思う。

さて、他者に対して不当に不利益を被らせるのがイデオロギー的であるとして、そのような思考がいつもテクスト生成を動機づけているのでないなら、本稿で提案したビジョンをテクスト生成の必須のコンポーネントとして設定するのには合理性があると考えられる。

先の *CanCam* のビジョンに立ち返れば、例えば、「20 代・働き女子の視点に立って Japanese かわいい装いを創る」というのはビジョンであるが、このビジョンは不当に不利益を被る人を生み出すことが目的のビジョンであるかもしれない。しかし、そうでないかもしれない。後者の場合、仮に第三者が「不当に不利益を被る人を生み出す目的」で *CanCam* が装い記事群を編集したと主張したとしても、論理的可能性として、そのような意図を編集者は全く持ってはいなかったという場合も当然ありうるのである。現実的対策としては、イデオロギー的でないビジョンの存在を認めておいて、その後、テクスト生成の背後にある動機がイデオロギー的であるか否かを検討するという手法をとるのがベストだろう。

4.　結論

Halliday（1978）が（外界の）出来事がテクスト化されると論じるとき、それは、当然のことながらテクスト生成者の記憶中のスキーマに基づくテクスト生成への言及であるはずである。だが、その時 Halliday はテクスト生成における心理的作用の存在を容認しなければならないことになる。その一方で、Halliday（1978）が意表空間において実際に生成されたテクスト構造を記録の存在、および、その存在を知っている多数のテクスト生成者の発言の存在に言及していたとすれば、テクスト構造はテクスト生成の外に存在するという Halliday の主張は十分に納得できるものである。

イデオロギーについて言えば、その定義が何であれ、テクスト生成過程に必須のコンポーネントとして組み入れることはできない。そもそもイデオロギーとはテクストを解釈する第三者の観察結果であり、その意味でも必須のコンポーネントとして組み入れることはできない。しかしながら、テクスト生成の動機は必要であろう。本稿ではビジョンがその動機に適任ではないかと示唆した。細かい論理的検討は今後の課題としたい。

註

1　本稿ではテクスト生成並びにテクスト消費が行われている時空間を「意味表出空間」と呼ぶことにする。意表空間の詳しい定義については南里（2014, 2015）を参照されたし。

2　本稿では「ビジョン」をテクスト生成に当たって目指すものという意味合いで用いることにする。

3　テクスト構造（あるいは CoS）がテクスト生成の内か外かという議論は社会学的に考えると意味をなさない。なぜなら、テクスト生成は特定の個人によってなされなければならず、集合的な社会自体がテクストを生成することはありえないからである。（そこで議論は必然的に認知心理学の領域に入るのだが、）そこで本稿

ではテクスト生成をテクスト生成者のビジョンが雑誌誌面に投射され構造化されるプロセスと捉えることとし、その過程でテクスト構造がテクスト生成者の内界にあるか外界にあるかという議論を行うことにする。

4. 本稿ではファッション商品をアウター、トップス、ベルト、ボトムス、ソックス、靴、及びアクセサリーを指すものとする。アクセサリーは次のものを指すものとする。帽子、カチューシャ、ヘアピン、バレッタ、ヘアバンド、眼鏡、サングラス、イヤリング、ピアス、ネックレス、時計、ブレスレット、バングル、バッグ、指輪。上記以外のリビング等におく飾り物、家具、食器は本稿ではまとめて小物として分類することにする。

5. 統計処理は、1 ページ 1 種類の記事の原則で行われた。1 ページに二つまたはそれ以上の種類の記事がある場合、その記事のうち最も多くの面積を占めている記事を取り上げそのページの記事とした。

6. 「協力店リスト」と「占い」は本稿で取り上げた赤文字誌だけではなくストリート系ファッション誌などにも掲載されており、日本の女性ファッション誌の特徴をなすものとして取り上げ、これに「表紙」を加えてみた。

7 見出しに用いられている中心語が、提案・提出・紹介を意味する名詞（例えば、「見本」「show」「クローズアップ」）または、重要度が高いことを意味する一般性の高い名詞（例えば、「キーワード」「OOTD」）で具現されている場合、その見出しは「提案開始の提示」の機能を持つと分類した。

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第23回日本機能言語学会秋期大会プログラム

会期：2015年10月10日（土）～ 10月11日（日）
会場：玉川大学

10 月 10 日（土）

13:00 – 13:40	受付
13:40 – 13:55	開会の辞　第1室　日本機能言語学会会長：龍城正明（同志社大学）
14:00 – 14:40	研究発表1 第1室　司会：David Dykes（四日市大学） 早川　知江（名古屋芸術大学）［発表言語：日本語］ 「絵で表せる意味、文で表せる意味：絵本の文を絵にする」 第2室　司会：南里敬三（大分大学） 稲子あゆみ（シドニー工科大学）［発表言語：英語］ ‘Coupling Values with Plutonium: Bonding Orientations on Twitter in the Time of Nuclear Crisis’
14:45 – 15:25	研究発表2 第1室　司会：David Dykes（四日市大学） Patrick Kiernan（明治大学）［発表言語：英語］ ‘A Systemic Approach to Multimodal Characterization in Manga’
15:25 – 15:40	休憩
15:40 – 16:20	研究発表3 第1室　司会：Virginia Peng（立命館大学） Ming-chia Lin（National Academy for Educational Research）［発表言語：英語］ ‘Authorial stance on the move: Published and L2 learners’ research abstracts in applied linguistics’
16:25 – 17:05	研究発表4 第1室　司会：佐々木真（愛知学院大学） 保田幸子（九州大学）［発表言語：英語］ ‘Systemic Functional approaches to second language acquisition: Toward a reconceptualization of written language development’
17:05 – 17:20	休憩
17:20 – 18:00	総会　第1室　司会：飯村龍一（玉川大学）
18:30 – 20:30	懇親会　「土風炉」（町田西口店）（会費：5,000円）

10 月 11 日（日）

9:30 – 10:00	受付
10:00 – 10:40	研究発表1 第1室 司会: 角岡賢一（龍谷大学） **明石智子（香港理工大学）**［発表言語: 英語］ ‘Researching the multimodal representations of the Second World War (WWII) in school history textbooks from Japan and Hong Kong (China)’ 第2室 司会:小林一郎（お茶の水女子大学） HE Qiuping（**香港理工大学**）［発表言語: 英語］ ‘Towards multisemiotic literacy: Coherencedevicesinexplanation-construction’
10:45 – 11:25	研究発表2 第1室 司会: 伊藤紀子（同志社大学） David Dykes（**四日市大学**）［発表言語: 英語］ ‘Propositions of risk facing and proposals to run risks’
11:25 – 11:40	休憩
11:40 – 12:20	研究発表3 第1室 司会: 福田一雄（新潟大学名誉教授） **石川 彰（上智大学）**［発表言語: 英語] ‘Signalling chunking by means of topic and focus: some patterns of text chunking’
12:20 – 13:30	昼食
13:30 – 14:10	研究発表4 第1室　司会: 佐々木真（愛知学院大学） **南里敬三（大分大学）**［発表言語: 日本語］ 「テクスト構造とテクスト生産者の関係をめぐる二つの課題」
14:10 ‐ 14:25	休憩
14:25 ‐ 15:35	**特別講演** 第1室　**司会**：**龍城正明（同志社大学）** Prof. John Maher（**国際基督教大学**）［発表言語: 英語］ ‘Language Revival in the British Isles’
15:35 – 15:45	閉会の辞　第1室　日本機能言語学会副会長：**バージニア・パン（立命館大学）**

The Program of JASFL 2015

Date: October 10th (Saturday) – October 11th (Sunday), 2015
Venue: Tamagawa University (Tokyo, Japan)

Oct. 10th (Saturday)

13:00 – 13:40	Registration
13:40 – 13:55	Opening Remarks Room 1 President of JASFL Masa-aki Tatsuki (Doshisha University)
14:00 – 14:40	Paper Session 1 Room 1 Chair: David Dykes (Yokkaichi University) Chie Hayakawa（Nagoya University of Arts）[To be presented in Japanese] 'Meanings Made by Words and Pictures: Visualize Words in Picturebooks' Room 2 Chair: Keizo Nanri（Oita University） Ayumi Inako（University of Technology, Sydney）[To be presented in English] 'Coupling Values with Plutonium: Bonding Orientations on Twitter in the Time of Nuclear Crisis'
14:45 – 15:25	Paper Session 2 Room 1 Chair: David Dykes (Yokkaichi University) Patrick Kiernan（Meiji University）[To be presented in English] 'A Systemic Approach to Multimodal Characterization in Manga'
15:25 – 15:40	Coffee Break
15:40 – 16:20	Paper Session 3 Room 1 Chair: Virginia Peng (Ritsumeikan University) Ming-chia Lin（National Academy for Educational Research）[To be presented in English] 'Authorial stance on the move: Published and L2 learners' research abstracts in applied linguistics'
16:25 – 17:05	Paper Session 4 Room 1 Chair: Makoto Sasaki (Aichi Gakuin University) Sachiko Yasuda（Kyushu University）[To be presented in English] 'Systemic Functional approaches to second language acquisition: Toward a reconceptualization of written language development'
17:05 – 17:20	Coffee Break
17:20 – 18:00	AGM Room 1 Chair: Ryuichi Iimura (Tamagawa University)
18:30 – 20:30	Tofuro（Machida）(Participation Fee: 5,000 yen)

Oct. 11th (Sunday)

9:30 – 10:00 Registration

10:00 – 10:40 Paper Session 1

Room 1 Chair: Kenichi Kadooka (Ryukoku University)
Tomoko Akashi（The Hong Kong Polytechnic University）[To be presented in English]
'Researching the multimodal representations of the Second World War (WWII) in school history textbooks from Japan and Hong Kong (China)'

Room 2 Chair: Ichiro Kobayashi (Ochanomizu University)
HE Qiuping（The Hong Kong Polytechnic University） [To be presented in English]
'Towards multisemiotic literacy: Coherence devices in explanation-construction'

10:45 – 11:25 Paper Session 2

Room 1 Chair: Noriko Ito (Doshisha University)
David Dykes (Yokkaichi University) [To be presented in English]
'Propositions of risk facing and proposals to run risks'

11:25 – 11:40 Coffee Break

11:40 – 12:20 Paper Session 3

Room 1 Chair: Kazuo Fukuda (Professor Emeritus, Niigata University)
Akira Ishikawa（Sophia University）[To be presented in English]
'Signalling chunking by means of topic and focus: some patterns of text chunking'

12:20 – 13:30 Lunch

13:30 – 14:10 Paper Session 4

Room 1 Chair: Makoto Sasaki (Aichi Gakuin University)
Keizo Nanri（Oita University）[To be presented in Japanese]
'Two Inquiries about the Relationship between Text Structures and Text Producers'

14:10 – 14:25 Coffee Break

14:25 – 15:35 Plenary Room 1 Chair: Masa-aki Tatsuki (Doshisha University)

Guest Speaker: Prof. John Maher（International Christian University）
[To be presented in English]
'Language Revival in the British Isles'

15:35 – 15:45 Closing Remarks Room 1 Vice President of JASFL Virginia Peng
(Ritsumeikan University)

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Vol. 9 October 2015

論文

『機能言語学研究』および*Proceedings of JASFL*
作成と投稿のための規約

作成と投稿のための規約

1.　使用言語

日本語または英語

2.　原稿の種類

（１）研究論文　（２）書評・紹介　（３）研究ノート

3.　独創性

投稿原稿は以下の条件を満たす場合にのみ出版の対象として考慮する。

(1) 著者のオリジナルな著作であること。
(2) 他の出版物に同時に応募しないこと。
(3) 他の学会で既に発表した内容のもの（同一の内容のもの、同一のタイトルのもの、発表言語だけを変えたもの等)、重複発表と見なされるものは受け付けない。また重複発表と見なされたものは発表後であっても採択の許諾を取り消すこととする。
(4) 著作権は各著者に属する。ただし再版の権利は日本機能言語学会に属する。

4.　投稿資格

投稿は会員にかぎる。ただし共著の場合は筆頭著者が会員であればよい。

5.　審査方法

審査の際はすべての原稿は無記名とし、３名の審査員が審査する。

6.　書式と構成

6.1　書式設定とファイル形式

用紙をB5とし、余白は上下左右各25ミリをとる。使用するワープロソフトは問わないが、ファイルはMicrosoft Word互換のファイル(docまたはdocxファイル)として保存、投稿する。

6.2　フォント設定と行間

日本語で書く場合のフォントはＭＳ明朝（11ポイント）、英語で書く場合はTimes New Roman（11ポイント）の文字サイズを用いることとし、シングルスペースの行間とする。

6.3　語数

『機能言語学研究』：日本語の場合 22000 文字以内、英語の場合 7000 語以内とする。

Proceedings of JASFL: B5 14 ページ以内とする。

6.4 要旨

執筆する言語にかかわらず、論文要旨を必ず英語で100字～200語にまとめ、冒頭に記載する。

6.5 タイトル

日本語で執筆する場合には英語のタイトルを必ず記載する。タイトルの表記法は下記を参考にする。

例：　　日本におけるSFL理論の英語教育への応用
On Application of SFL to English Education in Japan

6.6 セクション構成と段落

日本語で執筆する場合、 セクションおよび段落の最初は字下げをする。ただし、英語で執筆する場合、セクションの最初は字下げ（インデント）せず、２段落目からインデントする。セクションのタイトルは左寄せとする。またセクションの番号は「１」から始めることとする（「０」は使用しない）。

7. 参照方法

参照したすべての文献（著書、モノグラフ、論文他）は本文中の適切な場所で明示すること。その方法は以下を参照すること。

7.1 直接引用

原文をそのまま引用する場合は必ず「 」内に入れる。引用文が４行を超えるときは本文の中に挿入せず、全文をインデントして本文から一行空けて切り離す。

7.2 著者への参照方法

a. 著者名が本文に記されている場合は、その直後に出版年とページのみを (　)に入れて示す。例「Halliday (1994：17) が述べているように…」

b. 特定の個所ではなく、より一般的に参照する場合は、著者名の直後に出版年のみを (　) に入れて示す。例「Hasan (1993) は次のように述べている。すなわち…」

c. 著者名が本文中に記述されない場合は、著者名も (　) に入れ、（著者、コンマ、年）の順で記載する。例 (Martin, 1992)。」

d. 著者が２名の場合は二人の姓を入れる。例 (Birrell and Cole, 1987)

e. 著者が３名以上の場合は筆頭著者名のみを出し、ほかは「他」として全著者名は出さない。(Smith et al., 1986)

f. 同じ著者の同じ年の出版物を２冊以上参考文献として使う場合は、それぞれの著作の出版年に‘a’, ‘b’ 等の文字を付記して区別する。例 (Martin, 1985a)

g. 同一個所に複数の参考文献を付ける場合には、すべての文献を１つの (　) 内に入れ、各文献をセミコロンで区切る。例 (Maguire, 1984; Rowe, 1987; Thompson, 1988)

7.3　略語

同一文献に２回目以降言及する場合にも最初の場合と同様にして、‘*ibid*.’, ‘*op.cit*.’, ‘*loc.cit.*’ 等の略語は用いない。

8.　参考文献

参考文献は本文で引用・参照したもの、および原稿の準備段階で使用した文献すべてをリストに載せること。著者の姓のアルファベット順、同一著者ならば出版年の順に並べる。

8.1　書籍

１つの文献の記述は、著者名、(　) に入れて出版年、著作名、出版地、出版社、必要ならばページの順序に出す。　記載方法は下記の例に倣うこと。

a.　単著の例：

寺村秀夫（1984）『日本語のシンタクスと意味』第2巻 東京：くろしお出版

Halliday, M. A. K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar 2nd edition*. London: Arnold.

b.　共著の例：

益岡隆志、田窪行則 (1992)　『基礎日本語文法』東京：くろしお出版

Martin, J. R. and Rose, D. (2004) *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause*. London: Continuum.

c.　単一編纂者図書の例：

龍城正明（編）（2006）『ことばは生きている』東京：くろしお出版

Christie, F. (ed.) (1999) *Pedagogy and the Shaping of Consciousness: Linguistic and Social Process*. London: Cassell.

d.　複数編纂者図書の例：

仁田義雄、益岡隆志（編）（1989）『日本語のモダリティ』東京：くろしお出版

Hasan, R. and Williams, G. (eds) (1996) *Literacy in Society*. London: Longman.

8.2　雑誌の論文

論文名は「　」内に入れ、雑誌名は『　』内に入れ、巻、号、ページを記載する。英語の場合は雑誌名をイタリックにし、巻、号、ページを記載する。ただし英語の場合、タイトルはそのまま表記する。また編纂図書の一セクションを形成している場合は‘ ’で囲むこととする。

例：

安井稔(2007)「文法的メタファー事始め」，『機能言語学研究』4：1−20

龍城正明 (2008)「「は」と「が」そのメタ機能からの再考」, *Proceedings of JASFL*, 4: 115-149

Halliday, M.A.K. (1966) Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part1, *Journal of Linguistics*, 3.1: 37-81.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) ‘Descriptive motifs and generalizations’. In A. Caffarel, J.R. Martin and C.M.I.M. Matthiessen (eds), *Language Typology: a Functional Perspective* 537-674. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

9. 註

註はできるだけ避ける。どうしても必要な場合は簡潔にし、本文の最後、参考文献の前に置く。

10. 図、表、地図、グラフ

これらはすべて本文中該当箇所に挿入する。コンピューターでスキャンしたり、写真撮影したりする際不鮮明にならないよう、文字、数字、線等は太く、はっきりと書いておくこと。

11. 校正

著者は編集者から送付された編集済みファイルの校正（初稿のみ）をする。

12. 原稿提出

原稿電子ファイルで、添付ファイルとして提出すること。フォーマットはMS-Word互換ファイル (.doc, .docx)とする

13. 原稿送付先

jasfleditor@gmail.com

Notes for contributors to *Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics* and *Proceedings of JASFL*

1. Language

Manuscripts may be submitted in English or Japanese.

2. Types of Manuscripts

(1) Standard Articles (2) Review Articles and Book Review (3) Research Notes

3. Originality

Manuscripts are considered for publication only on the understanding that they are not simultaneously under consideration elsewhere, and that they are the original work of the author(s). Any previous form of publication and current consideration in other languages are not accepted. If the manuscript has been deemed as the same content published before in other books and journals, the validity of selection is eliminated and the article is excluded from the journal. Copyright is retained by the individual authors, but JASFL is authorized to reprint.

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Articles are subject to the usual process of anonymous review. Articles are read by three reviewers.

6. Formats

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All pages can be created with any word processor under a condition that the file is saved as Microsoft WORD format (.doc, .docx) on B5-sized paper, with margins of 25 mm or 1 inch on every side.

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Manuscripts are typed in Times New Roman (11 point) with single spacing.

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Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics:

Manuscripts are not allowed to go beyond 7,000 words.

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An English abstract of 100-200 words is included in the beginning of the text.

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English title is required when a manuscript is written in Japanese.

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Indentation is required from the second paragraph of a section. The first section number starts with "1", NOT "0".

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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:

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All direct quotations should be enclosed in single quotations. If they extend more than four lines, they should be separated from the body and properly indented.

7.2 Reference to an author and more than one authors

a. When the author's name is in the text, only the year of publication and the page should be enclosed within the parentheses, e.g. 'As Halliday (1994: 17) has observed …'

b. When the reference is in a more general sense, the year of publication alone can be given, e.g. 'Hasan (1993) argues that …'

c. When the author's name is not in the text, both the author's name and year of publication should be within the parentheses and separated by a comma, e.g. (Matthiessen, 1992)

d. When the reference has dual authorship, the two names should be given, e.g. (Birrell and Cole, 1987)

e. When the reference has three or more authors, the first author's name should be given and the rest should be written as 'et al.', e.g. (Smith et al., 1986)

f. If there is more than one reference to the same author and year, they should be distinguished by use of the letters 'a', 'b', etc. next to the year of publication, e.g. (Martin, 1985a).

g. If there is a series of references, all of them should be enclosed within a single pair of parentheses, separated by semicolons, e.g. (Maguire, 1984; Rowe, 1987; Thompson, 1988).

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If the same source is referred to or quoted from subsequently, the citations should be written as the first citation. Other forms such as '*ibid.*', '*op.cit.*', or '*loc.cit.*' should not be used.

8. Reference List

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

8.1 Books

a. A single-authored book

Halliday, M. A. K. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar 2nd edition*. London: Arnold.

b. A multiple-authored book

Martin, J. R. and Rose, D. (2004) *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause*. London: Continuum.

c. A single-edited book

Christie, F. (ed.) (1999) *Pedagogy and the Shaping of Consciousness: Linguistic and Social Process*. London: Cassell.

d. A multiple-edited book

Hasan, R. and Williams, G. (eds) (1996) *Literacy in Society*. London: Longman.

8.2 Articles in journals and edited books

Halliday, M. A. K. (1966) Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part1, *Journal of Linguistics*, 3.1: 37-81.

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) 'Descriptive motifs and generalizations'. In A. Caffarel, J.R. Martin and C.M.I.M. Matthiessen (eds), *Language Typology: a Functional Perspective* 537-674. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

9. Notes
Notes should be avoided. If they are necessary, they must be brief and should appear at the end of the text and before the Reference.

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These items must be inserted in an appropriate position within the article, and should carry short descriptive titles. They must be precisely and boldly drawn to ensure scanning or photographic reproduction.

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13. Correspondence
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