ISSN 1884-9903

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 8 October 2014

論文

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Proceedings of JASFL 2014 第 8 号　発行によせて

発足から 21 年目を迎え、日本機能言語学会の新たなる歴史の始まりとして、昨年 4 月に日本語用論学会と学術交流協定を締結しました。この協定により、両学会の会員が相互の大会で研究の成果を発表しやすい環境となり、これにより相互の研究活動がいっそう活性化されることが期待されます。

今年も本学会の活動の結実として Proceedings of JASFL 第 8 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. 8 2014 は昨年 10 月 8 日と 9 日に神奈川大学・横浜キャンパスで開催された日本機能言語学会第 21 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談話分析、日本語の情報構造に関わる語彙文法、ジャンル理論を枠組みとした英語の談話分析、同様のジャンル内における日中英の多言語談話分析、ジャンル理論を応用した英語教育にかかわる談話分析、社会的な価値付けを伴う英語の談話分析、マルチモダリティーと最新のテクノロジーの融合を促す語学教育など、７編掲載されていますが、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、青山学院大学名誉教授の本名信行氏をお迎えし、「グローバル人材育成と国際コミュニケーション能力をめぐって～英語の問題を中心として～」と題して講演していただきました。日本人としての英語を、自信をもって使い情報発信をすることの重要性を改めてご教示くださいました。豊かな知見に裏付けされたお話しとユーモアたっぷりのお話しぶりで、聴衆一同が魅了されました。

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. 8 2014 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

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 8 October 2014

論文

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics

絵本の文と絵：bimodal text における意味の相補性
Verbal and Visual Text in Picturebooks: Complementarity of Meaning in the Bimodal Text

早川 知江
Chie Hayakawa
名古屋芸術大学
Nagoya University of Arts

Abstract

This paper is a part of multimodal studies and focuses on a typical bimodal text, picturebooks. The focus of this analysis is the semiotic relationships between words (verbal text) and pictures (visual text). Picturebooks may often be conceived as 'children's books with several illustrations inserted within the text which makes sense on its own'. The pictures in actual picturebooks, however, not merely repeat the same meaning as the words, but create some kind of 'contradictions' from the verbal text. In other words, pictures work complementally with words by intentionally adding meanings, communicating the opposite meanings, or creating distinctive meanings which cannot be attained through the verbal system.

In order to demonstrate the rich potential of meaning making in picturebooks, this paper uses *Olivia* series by Ian Falconer as an example, and investigates the relations found between the words and pictures to come up with the new system LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION BETWEEN VERBAL AND VISUAL TEXT IN PICTUREBOOKS. I combine the four-partite system proposed by Nikolajeva and Scott (2001) and LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), which is originally proposed to categorize semantic relations between verbal, not visual, units of the same rank; e.g. clauses or groups.

1. 絵本の意味の可能性

選択体系機能言語学（Systemic Functional Linguistics；以下 SFL）は、言語システムだけでなく、異なる意味のシステムを同じ枠組みの中で扱えるという利点をもっている。Kress and van Leeuwen (1996)の画像の研究をはじめとして、multimodal（複数の異なる意味伝達手段によって生み出される）テクストの分析は、SFL を用いた研究の重要なトピックとなっている（分析例として、Kress and van Leeuwen, 1998; Unsworth, 2001; Painter et al., 2013 などを参考のこと）。

本稿は、multimodal テクストの代表である絵本の意味の可能性を探る研究の一環である。絵と文が組み合わさってできている絵本は、bimodal（二つの異なる意味伝達システムによって生み出される）テクストとして、独特でかつ興味深い意味のしかたをもつ。このことを、SFL の理論を使って明らかに

したい。

絵本というと､「物語に､後から物語に合う挿絵をつけただけの子供向けの本」という認識を抱きがちである。つまり、まずことばによる物語がありきで、字だけでは子供が興味をもたないといけないので、文の補助として「おまけ」のように絵がつく、という認識である。

しかし実際にいくつかの絵本を読んでみれば、そして、その絵と文の関係を見てみれば、その認識は間違いであることがすぐに分かる。絵本の文と絵の内容は必ずしも一致しておらず、意図的な「くいちがい」があることが多い。しかも、その「くいちがい」こそがユーモアや皮肉など、新たな意味の可能性を生んでいることに気付かされるだろう。それこそが絵本独自の面白さとなっているのである。

本論の導入として、こうした「くいちがい」が典型的にみられる部分をいくつか、例として見てみたい。本稿の中心的な分析テクストとなる、Ian Falconer 文・絵の *Olivia* シリーズから（シリーズの詳細については第 2 節参照のこと)、数場面を見てみる。なお、著作権の都合上、本稿では絵本の絵は掲載せず、代わりに絵の構図やそこに描かれているものを、できる限り詳細に説明する。

・場面 1：*Olivia* の冒頭部

シリーズ 1 作目 *Olivia* の冒頭のシーンである。文は This is Olivia. She is good at lots of things.（これがオリビア。彼女はいろんなことが得意）と書かれている。ところが絵を見ると、もうすでに「くいちがい」がみられる。Olivia（第 2 節に見るように、赤い服を着た豚の女の子である）が楽譜を持って、口を大きく開けて、どうやら歌を歌っている絵が描かれている。しかしその楽譜には、40 very loud songs（40 曲のとってもうるさい歌）と書かれている。つまり、文では「いろんなことが得意」と言っているのに、絵では、「周りからするとうるさいだけ」という意味がつくられている。このくいちがいが、絵本の意味に広がりを与えている。つまり「上手と思っているのは Olivia 本人だけ」という言外の意味を生み出して､ユーモアを生じさせているのである。

・場面 2：*Olivia Saves the Circus* の冒頭部

シリーズ 2 作目の冒頭部、Olivia が毎朝、弟たちのためにパンケーキを焼いてあげる、という場面である。パンケーキを弟たちに食べさせ、使った食器を片づける場面につけられた文はこうである : This is a big help to her mother.（それでお母さんは大助かり)。しかし、そこについている絵には、台所の流しに食器が乱雑に積み重ねられ、床には水しぶきや汚れが飛び散った様子が描かれている。これも場面 1 と同様で、文と絵の意味のくいちがいにより、「助けになっていると思っているのは Olivia だけ（お母さんは逆に仕事が増えている)」という、皮肉によるユーモアを生み出している。

・場面 3：*Olivia* の海水浴の場面

場面 1, 2 とは違うタイプのくいちがいを見てみたい｡赤い水着を着た Olivia

と、サングラスをかけた Olivia のお母さんが、ビーチにやってきた場面である。文は、Last summer, when Olivia was little, her mother showed her how to make sand castles.（去年の夏、オリビアが小さかった時、お母さんが砂のお城の作り方を教えてくれました）とある。そのページにつけられた絵は、文とそれほどくいちがうところはなく、お母さんが Olivia に砂のお城を作って見せている様子が描かれている。

ところが、次のページをめくると、Olivia が常識では考えられないほど大きな（Olivia の背丈の何倍もある）砂のお城を作っている場面が描かれている。砂のお城は、エンパイア・ステート・ビルディングを精巧に模したものになっている。その絵につけられた文は、She got pretty good.（オリビアはとっても上手になりました）である。この場合、今までの 2 例とは違い、文と絵が矛盾するわけではない。文で「上手になりました」とあって、本当に上手になった絵が描かれているのだが、もし、絵がなく文だけを耳で聞いたら、ここまで「上手」とは思わないだろう。この場合は、「文から想像するより並外れてすごい」という、「程度」のくいちがいがユーモアを生み出している例である。

本稿は、このような「くいちがい」に注目し、絵本の絵と文の関係をいくつかのタイプに分類し、「絵本の絵と文の関係システム」を確立することを目的とする。第 2 節では、改めて分析テクストを紹介し、第 3 節では問題の所在をまとめる。第 4 節で絵本の絵と文の関係に関する先行研究をまとめたのち、第 5 節で先行研究に示された分析モデルの実例を探す。最後に第 6 節では、この分析モデルをさらに拡充・改良するため、システムの 1 feature である complementary の項目をより細密な選択肢に分類することを提案する。その際、Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) が提案した、論理 - 意味的関係 (LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION)のシステムを利用する。

2. 分析テクスト：*Olivia* シリーズ

まず、本稿の分析テクストである *Olivia* シリーズを紹介する。この絵本シリーズを分析テクストとして選んだのは、数ある絵本の中でも、文と絵の間に有意味なくちがいが多く、しかもそのくいちがいを巧みに利用してユーモラスな効果を生み出しているため、絵本の絵と文の関係を明らかにするという本稿の目的にふさわしいと考えたためである。

シリーズの作者は Ian Falconer、ニューヨーク在住のイラストレーター兼画家であり、舞台芸術や衣装デザインなども手掛けている。シリーズ 1 作目 *Olivia* は、2001 年 Caldecott Honor を受賞し、New York Times Bestseller にも選ばれた。

あらすじとしては、おしゃまでやんちゃな豚の女の子 Olivia を中心に、その家族の日常をユーモラスに描いたシリーズである。作者の Falconer 氏には Olivia という名の（人間の）娘がおり、*Olivia* はその娘や実在の弟たちをモデルにして（ただし作品の中では豚として）描いた作品である。このことは、シリーズ第 1 作目の献辞に示されている：

> To the real Olivia and Ian, and to William, who didn't arrive in time to appear in this book.（本物のオリビアとイアン、そしてウィリアムにこの本を捧げる。ウィリアムは生まれてくるのが間に合わなくて、この本には登場できなかったけれども；訳は早川による）

シリーズとしてほかに、以下のような作品が出版されており、以下続刊中である：

・ *Olivia Saves the Circus*（オリビアサーカスを救う）
・ *Olivia…and the Missing Toy*（オリビアと消えたおもちゃ）
・ *Olivia Forms a Band*（オリビア、バンドを結成する）

日本でも、谷川俊太郎氏の邦訳で出版されている（ただし上記のタイトル邦訳は日本での出版タイトルではない)。本稿では、シリーズ最初の作品 *Olivia* を含め、上記 3 冊、計シリーズ 4 冊を例にとって分析していく。

3.　問題の所在

第 1 節にみたような文と絵のくいちがいや、そのくいちがいがつくる絵本ならではの面白さは、なぜ生まれるのだろうか。それを可能にする絵本最大の特徴は、当たり前のようだが、絵本が、文(verbal text)と絵(visual text)が組み合わさった bimodal text だということである。つまり、文が意味を生み出し、絵も意味を生み出し、その二つがさまざまな関係性をもって相補的にはたらくことで、さらに別の意味を生み出す可能性が生じる。

このように、文と絵が相互に補い合う絵本において、文と絵の関係性にはどのような種類があるのか。まず大分類として、「くいちがいがある場合」と「ない場合」があるだろう。また「くいちがいがある」場合、そのくいちがいにはさらにどのような種類があるのかが問題になる。これらの問題を追及していくことで、最終的には、文と絵の関係として選びうる選択肢をシステムの形にまとめ、絵本が生み出す意味の可能性を明らかにしたいというのが本稿の目的である。

4.　先行研究

こうしたテーマを扱った先行研究にはどのようなものがあるだろうか。SFL の領域でいえば、既に言及した、Kress and van Leeuwen (1996)が、画像を扱った包括的な研究として有名である。また、より本稿のテーマに近い、絵本の研究としては、Painter et al. (2013)がある。しかし、これらの研究はどちらも画像（すなわち絵）を独立して分析しており、文と絵の関係性については言及が少ない。つまり、絵本を扱う場合でも、絵だけを独立してとりあげ、絵の中のどの要素が動きを表し、どの要素が親密さを表すか、などに着目した研究のため、絵と絵に付された文の関係についてはあまり言及がみられない。

代わりに、Painter et al. (2013)では、文と絵の関係の先行研究として Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)に言及している。この研究は、絵本の文と絵の関係

性を 4 種に分類したものである。本稿ではまず、このモデルを出発点として、随時改良を加えながら分析を進めていきたい。よって、まずはこれがどのようなモデルか、以下に概観する。

Nikolajeva and Scott (2001: 12)は、絵本における絵と文の関係を以下の 4 つに分類している：

i) Symmetrical（対称的）: two mutually redundant narratives
ii) Complementary（相補的）: words and pictures filling each other's gaps（文と絵が互いに欠けている部分を補う）
iii) expanding（敷衍）もしくは enhancing（増強）: visual narratives supports verbal narrative, verbal narrative depends on visual narrative（絵が文を強調したり詳しく述べたりして支え、文が絵に依存する）
iv) Counterpointing（対立的）: two mutually dependent narratives（絵と文がそれぞれに異なっていて、解釈上互いに依存する）

これらの定義だけでは具体的に内容がわかりにくいため、次節では、*Olivia* シリーズの中から、これらの定義に当てはまると思われる実例を挙げながら、それぞれの選択肢がどのようなものか、またどのような効果を生み出しうるか、順に見ていく。

5. 4 分割モデル各選択肢の実例

5.1 Symmetrical

Symmetrical な関係は、前節の定義に見た通り、文（あるいは文の一部）と同じ内容を絵で表現するという選択肢である。例えば場面 4 が当てはまるだろう。

・場面 4：*Olivia Forms a Band* の冒頭部

Olivia が、履いている靴下のもう片方を探している場面である。文（会話）では、「似たような靴下はたくさんあっても、どれも正確には履いているものと対にならない」といったことが書かれている。その文に対し、絵では、実際に片方だけ靴下をはいた Olivia がクロゼットを開けて何かを探していて、周りに似たような靴下がいくつも散らかっている様子が描いてある。この場合、文と絵の内容はほとんど重複している。このように、「文の通りの絵が描いてある」というのが symmetrical な関係であり、絵本で最も頻繁に選ばれる選択肢であろう。

5.2 Complementary

Complementary な関係とは、文の gap（隙間）を絵が埋める関係だといえる。つまり、文に欠けている情報を絵が補うという関係である。場面 5 が実例となるだろう。

・場面 5：*Olivia* の美術館の場面

文では、On rainy days, Olivia likes to go to the museum. She heads straight for her favorite picture.（雨の日、オリビアは美術館に行くのが好きです。オリビアはお気に入りの絵にまっすぐ向かいます）と書かれた場面である。しかし実際に「オリビアのお気に入りの絵」というのが誰のどんな絵かという説明は、文では一切なされない。この説明を、代わりに絵が行っている。絵本の絵の中で Olivia が見ている絵は、エドガー・ドガ(Edgar Degas)の踊り子の絵である。Olivia がドガが好きだということは、文だけでは分からず、その情報の「隙間」を絵が埋めているという点で、このような例が complementary といえる。

ここで注意したいのが、symmetrical と complementary という 2 つの選択肢の境界は非常に曖昧だということである。第 5.1 節で、symmetrical な選択肢は文と絵の内容が一致していると述べたが、実際には、文と絵は違う mode であるため、完全に「同じ」内容にはならない。厳密には、絵は、どんなときも必ず文にはない内容を含んでいるのである。

例えば第 5.1 節に見た場面 4 でも、絵では、Olivia の様子を見守るお母さんが白と黒の服を着ているが、そのことは文では書かれていない。また、Olivia が洋服ダンスの前にいる、とか、その洋服ダンスの上にピエロの人形が置いてある、といった状況についても、文では一切触れられていない。こういった、登場人物の服装や背景などは、通常、文では書かれずに絵でのみ表される。その意味で、絵は常に文の「隙間」を埋めているため、常に complementary だという言い方もできてしまう。

本稿では、symmetrical と complementary を明確に区別する基準とするため、以下のような方針を提案したい。それは、

> 文と絵の表す意味の間に、ストーリー理解や読者に及ぼす効果の上で、「有意味」な差があるときのみ complementary と扱う。

という方針である。つまり、場面 4 の例で、お母さんの服装や、洋服ダンスに人形が乗っているかどうかは、一切、その後のストーリー展開に必要のない情報である。この場合、文の情報に「隙間」があるとか、その隙間を絵が埋めている、とは考えない。

一方、場面 5 の場合、Olivia が見ているのがドガの踊り子の絵であることが、その後のストーリー展開に直接的に関わってくる。場面 5 の次のページには、Olivia が何かを（視線の先にドガの絵画があると推測される）じっと見ている絵が描かれており、文は、Olivia looks at it for a long time. What could she be thinking?（オリビアは、その絵を長い間見ています。いったい何を考えているのかな？）となる。さらにその次のページには文がなく、Olivia がバレリーナの格好をして舞台で踊っている絵のみが載せられている。つまりこの絵は、「Olivia は、自分がバレリーナになって舞台で踊っているところを想像している」という、Olivia の頭の中を表しているのであり、前ページの「いったい何を考えているのかな」という問いへの回答になっている。Olivia の空想はもちろん、ドガの踊り子の絵に触発されてのことであるが、そのつながりは、文だけ読んでいては分からない。つまり、場面 5 で Olivia が見て

いたのが踊り子の絵であった、というのは「有意味な」情報なのである。その点で、場面5は、「文と絵の表す意味の間に、ストーリー理解や読者に及ぼす効果の上で、「有意味」な差」があるため、complementaryと分類することになる。

5.3 Expanding or Enhancing

3つめの選択肢expanding or enhancingは、文が表す意味を絵が強調するというタイプで、既に見た場面3の砂のお城の例が当てはまるだろう。「Oliviaは砂のお城づくりが上手になった」という文の意味を、絵が大げさにしていた。こうした例は、SFLの枠組みでいうと、APPRAISAL SYSTEMのAMPLIFICATIONの程度を上げており、SFLの論理-意味的関係(LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION)システムのfeatureであるexpandingやenhancingとは異なるものである。混乱を避けるため、本稿では、expanding or enhancingというfeature nameを使わず（より正確に言うと、ほかの選択肢の名称として使うことにし）、場面3のような文と絵の関係は、新たにamplifyingと呼ぶことにしたい。このことは、本稿末尾のシステム図（図2）に反映させた。

5.4 Counterpointing

4つ目の選択肢counterpointingというのは、絵が文とは逆の／矛盾する意味を表す場合である。これは、既にみた場面1（「Oliviaはいろんなことが得意」と文で言いつつ、手に持った楽譜が「うるさい歌」になっている）や場面2（「お母さんは大助かり」と言いつつ台所がぐちゃぐちゃ）が典型例となるだろう。

6. Complementaryの delicate choice

ここまで、Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)の4分割モデルを、実例を挙げながら説明してきた。本節ではさらに、このモデルをどう改良していくとより良い分析ができるかを考えていきたい。

実際、この4分割モデルに従って、*Olivia*シリーズに含まれるすべてのページを分類したところ、4つのfeatureでは充分に説明しきれない例が出てきた。それは、特にcomplementaryに関わる部分である。というのも、complementaryの定義である「文の「隙間」を絵が埋める」というのは、実際にはパターンが無数にあり、意味のある分析にするには、さらに下位分類が必用だと考えられたからである。

ここでは、その下位分類の基準として、そもそも「文の「隙間」」がなんであるか、つまり、欠けている情報の種類によって分類する、という方法を考えてみる。*Olivia*シリーズ中で「絵によって埋められている文の「隙間」」として見つかったものを挙げてみると、少なくとも以下のようなパターンがあった。

6.1 文の具体例を挙げる

「絵が文の具体例を挙げる」とは、文には欠けている具体例を絵が提示するという関係である。場面 6 が実例となるだろう。

・場面 6：*Olivia* の導入部

文では、She is very good at wearing people out.（オリビアは人を疲れさせるのがとっても得意）と書かれている場面である。実際にどんなことをして「人を疲れさせる」かは文では書かれておらず、絵で Olivia のやんちゃな行動の具体例が挙げられている。走ったり、飛んだり、縄跳びをしたり、ハンマーのようなものを持って日曜大工をしたりしている Olivia がページ中に描かれている。

6.2 文の内容を明示化

「絵が文の内容を明示化する」というのは、文では「絵」「本」「花」などと大まかにしか表されていないものに対し、具体的にどのような絵か、どんな内容の本か、どんな種類の花かを絵が明らかにするという関係である。すでに見た場面 5（美術館の場面）で、Olivia のお気に入りの絵が何かを絵が明示化する、という例が当てはまるだろう。

6.3 文のストーリーのサブストーリーを表す

「絵が文のストーリーのサブストーリーを表す」というのは、文で語られる（メインの）物語と並行して起こる別の（サブの）物語やエピソードを絵が語るという例である。場面 7 が具体例になる。

・場面 7：*Olivia…and the Missing Toy* の両親への訴えの場面

Olivia のお気に入りの人形が、飼い犬に噛まれてバラバラにされてしまった場面である。Olivia がお父さんとお母さんに泣いて人形が壊れたことを訴えると、両親がそれぞれに別の反応をする様が 3 つの連続する見開きを使って示されている。

お母さんは、「可哀想だけどしかたないわね」という態度。お父さんは、「明日新しいのを買ってあげるから」と慰める。お父さんの提案を聞くと途端に、Olivia の機嫌が直る。こうした Olivia と両親のやりとりがメインストーリーであり、このストーリーは、主に、文で書かれた Olivia と両親の台詞によって構築される。

一方、絵は、もちろんメインストーリーの通りの symmetrical な情報も表している。すなわち、泣いて何かを訴える Olivia の絵、それに対して困ったような顔を返すお母さんの絵、口を開けて Olivia に何かを語りかけるお父さんの絵、そして、最後に笑顔になってお父さんの脚に抱き付く Olivia の絵、などである。

ただし、この 3 つの見開きにわたる絵は、メインストーリーに対して symmetrical な情報のみではなく、サブストーリー、あるいはサイドストーリーとも呼ぶべき、文では表されない別の物語も同時に語っている。例えば、

Olivia が喋っている前で、お母さんは、まだ赤ん坊である一番下の弟(William)に食事を食べさせている。しかし Olivia に気を取られて、全く赤ん坊の方を見ていない。それをいいことに、William は食べ物の皿をもてあそび、中身をテーブルに空け、ページが進むごとにテーブルの上はめちゃめちゃになっていく（しかしお母さんは最後までそのことに気づいていない)。さらにテーブルの下に目を転じると、上の弟(Ian)が、周りの騒ぎにはまったく無頓着に、黙々とロボットで遊んでいる様子も描き込まれている。Ian の手を離れたロボット（おそらく電動で動く）が、ページを追うごとに前に進んでいるが、この規則正しい前進が、時間の流れを表すとともに、Ian のマイペースさも表しているようだ。

これら、William や Ian が生み出す物語は、文ではまったく語られることがなく、絵を見て初めて、「Olivia が壊れた人形に夢中になっている間、ほかの家族はこんなことをしている」ことが明らかになる。こうした情報を、本稿ではサブストーリーと呼ぶ。

6.4 文で表される出来事に対する周囲の反応を表す

次に、「絵が、文で表される出来事に対する周囲の反応を表す」というタイプがある。先ほどと同じ場面 7 を使って、今度は、絵によって表されるお母さんの表情に注目したい。最初の見開きでは眉を下げ、Olivia の訴えに対し「あらあら」と同情するような顔をしている。次の見開きで、お父さんが「新しいのを買ってあげるよ」と言い出すと、「え」という感じで無表情になり、最後、感動した Olivia がお父さんに抱き着く 3 つ目の見開きでは、眉をつり上げた厳しい表情で夫（＝オリビアのお父さん）を見ている。これは明らかに、お父さんの台詞および対応に対して批判的（「アナタったらまた甘やかして」）な評価を下していることを示している。こうしたお母さんの反応も、文では表されない意味を絵本に付け加えている。

6.3 節で説明したように、この場面で弟たちは、メインストーリーとは関係なく独自のストーリーを繰り広げていたので、それをサブストーリーと呼んだ。一方、お母さんの表情が生み出す意味は、メインストーリーに対する反応なので、サブストーリーとは呼ばず、「文で表される出来事に対する反応」という別のカテゴリーとした。

6.5 文の出来事の前後の出来事を表す

「絵が、文の出来事の前後の出来事を表す」というのは、場面 8 のような場合である。

・場面 8：*Olivia Forms a Band* の Olivia 入場シーン

これは、Olivia が一度にたくさんの楽器を演奏して、一人でバンド（楽隊）を作ってしまうという話である。その中に、（Olivia を除く）家族がそろう居間に様々な物音が聞こえてくる様子を描いたページがある（物音は、効果音を表した文字で示されている。本稿では、効果音は絵の一部とする)。このペ

ージには文はない。1 ページめくると文があり、And when she marched in, everyone agreed that Olivia *did* sound like more than one person.（そしてオリビアが行進してきたとき、確かに、一人なのに何人かいるように聞こえました）と書かれている。when she marched in とある通り、Olivia が居間に入ってきた瞬間のシーンであり、1 ページ前の絵は、Olivia がやってくる前の状況を表していたと解釈できる。つまり、絵によって、まだ Olivia が居間に入ってくる前から、何かにぎやかな音が徐々に近づいてきつつあった、という意味を生み出し、文で書かれた出来事より前の状況を絵が補足する、という選択が行われている。

6.6 登場人物の発言・思考内容を表す

次に「絵が、文の出来事中に登場人物が言っている・考えていることを表す」という場合を考えてみたい。同じく *Olivia Forms a Band* から、場面 9 を見てみる。

・場面 9：*Olivia Forms a Band* の Olivia とお母さんの問答場面

これは、家族で花火を見に出かけようというお母さんの提案に対し、Olivia が「花火には当然バンドがつきものよね」と言い始める場面である。文によって、二人の会話内容が表されている：What kind of band are you thinking of?（バンドって、どんなバンドのことを言ってるの？）とお母さんが聞くと、Olivia が A fireworks band, of course.（もちろん花火をやるときのバンドよ）と答える。同じ band（バンド）ということばで、Olivia とお母さんが何を想定しているか、文ではわからない。しかし絵を見ると、両者の想定の違いが明らかになる。絵では、お母さんと Olivia 双方の頭からそれぞれに吹き出しが出ていて、その吹き出しの中に、コラージュの手法で写真が埋め込まれている。お母さんの吹き出しの中にはロックバンド風の少年たち（エレキギターを弾きながら髪を振り乱してジャンプしている）の写真が、Olivia の吹き出しの中には、ユニフォームを着て整然と並んだマーチングバンドの写真が収まっている。絵によって思考内容が明らかになることで、二人とも実は全然違うことを考えているという事実が初めて分かる。

6.7 文が「問い」、絵が「答え・ヒント」

最後に、「文が「問い」で絵が「答え・ヒント」になっている場合」というのも、絵本でよく見るパターンである。これは、文の情報の欠落を最も意図的・効果的に使用したタイプといえるだろう。場面 10 が実例である。

・場面 10：*Olivia…and the Missing Toy* の探索場面

これは、Olivia のお気に入りの人形が突然なくなってしまい、家中を探すという場面である。とある部屋から怪しげな物音が聞こえてきた、というページに続き、Olivia が部屋の中に入ってみると、部屋の壁に、牙のある巨大な怪物のような影が映っている絵が描かれている。そこに付された文は、And that’s when she saw it. It was…（そしてその時、彼女は見たのです。それは…）

である。この It（それ）というのが何か、というのはまだ文では語られないため、読者は絵に描かれた影の形だけから、その正体を推測しようとする。

次のページに答えがあり、文で（It was…）THE DOG! And he chewed her toy to bits.（(それは…）犬でした！犬がオリビアのおもちゃをバラバラにしてしまったのです）と書かれている。絵には、バラバラに噛み千切られた人形と、その横できょとんと Olivia を見上げる飼い犬のペリー(Perry)、そして窓から差し込む稲光によって、Perry の影が伸びて壁に大きく映し出されている様子が描かれている。

ここでやっと、前ページで It と呼ばれた巨大な影の正体は（そして人形を勝手に持っていったのも）犬の Perry であることが明らかになる。このように、前ページの文が「(影の正体は何かという）問い」、絵（影の形）が「ヒント」、次ページの文および絵が「答え」という関係になっている。また、次ページの絵は、なぜ影がそんなに巨大であったかという新たな謎に対する「答え」も同時に与えている。まどから差し込む稲光で Perry の影が伸びて広がり、壁に多く映し出されていたのである（注：ただし現実には、稲光など遠い光源による影は広がらない。絵本ならではの演出であろう）。またこの場合、巨大な影によって「いったいどんな怪物が出てくるの？」と読者を脅かす、サスペンス的な効果もある。

以上のように、一口に「文にない意味を絵が補足する complementary な関係」といっても、実際には、「具体例を示す」「内容を明示化する」「サブストーリーを提供する」「周囲の反応を表す」「前後の出来事を示す」「発言・思考内容を表す」「問いにヒント・答えを与える」など、多種多様な下位タイプがあることがわかる。

7. LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION システムの取り入れ

ここでもう一度、第 6 節に見た complementary の下位区分を見直すと、SFL で扱われる論理-意味的関係(LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION)の選択肢に極めて近いことに気づかされる。図 1 として、LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION system を載せる。

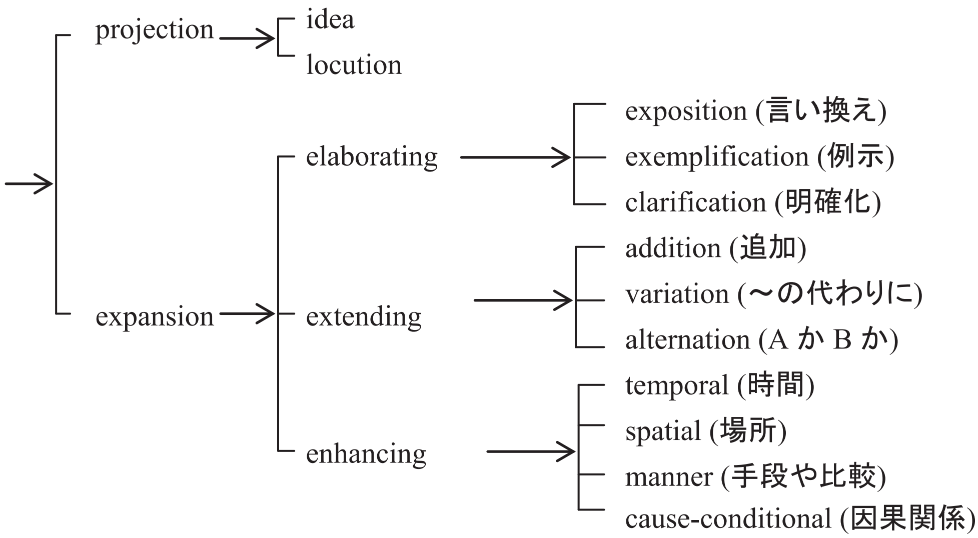

図 1: System of LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION
(Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 373, 397-398, 405, 411-412)をまとめた)

LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION のシステムは、もともとは同じ階層(rank)の言語単位、たとえば clause と clause、group と group の間に生じうる意味関係をシステムの形に整理したものである。例えば、Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 398)の例を使えば、

> She wasn't a show dog; I didn't buy her as a show dog.（この子はショー用の犬じゃなかった。ショー用の犬として買ったわけじゃないんだ；訳は早川による）

は、最初の clause とほぼ同じ意味内容を次の clause が言い換えているため、この 2 つの clause の論理-意味的関係は expansion: elaborating: exposition と分析される。

もし仮に、この、本来はことばとことばの間に起こりうる関係性を捉えるために提案されたシステムが、文（ことば）と絵の関係性にも当てはまるとすると、論理-意味的関係というのは、言語と言語だけではなく、言語と別のモードの意味資源の関係にも当てはまる、普遍的なシステムだということができる。

そのような観点からもう一度、第 6 節に見た、分析テクスト中の文と絵の complementary な関係を LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION に当てはめて考え直してみると、以下のようになるだろう：

6.1 絵が文の具体例を挙げる →elaborating: exemplification
6.2 絵が文の（一部の）内容を明示化する →elaborating: clarification
6.3 絵が文のストーリーの「サブストーリー」を表す →extending: addition

6.4 絵が、文の出来事に対する周囲の反応を表す
→enhancing: cause-conditional: result
6.5 絵が、文の出来事の前後の出来事を表す →enhancing: temporal
6.6 絵が、登場人物の発言・思考内容を表す→projection: idea/locution
6.7 文が「問い」で絵が「答え・ヒント」 →elaborating: clarification

このように考えてみると、Nikolajeva and Scott (2001)の提案した 4 分類を「絵本の文と絵の関係性システム」の delicacy の低い選択肢として、Halliday and Matthiessen (2004)の LOGICO-SEMANTIC RELATION を、complementary の先の delicacy の高い選択肢として組み合わせると、少なくとも、今回分析テクスト中に見つかった文と絵の関係性はすべて説明できることになる。また、symmetrical な関係というのは、文と同じ内容を絵で表す、すなわち言い換えるのであり、elaborating: exposition に相当するといえる。この提案をシステムの形にまとめたのが図 2 である。

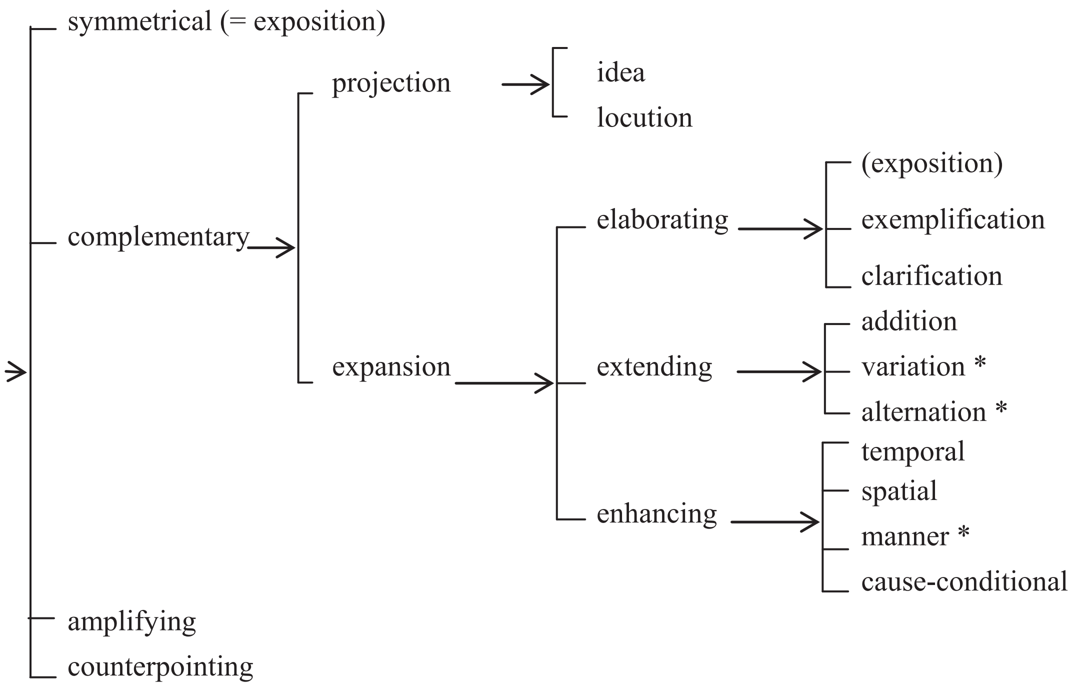

図 2: 絵本の文と絵の関係性システム（案）

図 2 中で、アステリスク（*）がついている選択肢は、今回の分析テクスト中にはなかった選択肢、つまり、言語単位どうしの意味の関係としては確認されているが、文と絵という異なるモードの表す意味の間には見つからなかった関係性である。

今後、もっと分析対象を増やしていくことで、これらの選択肢の具現例が

見つかれば、このシステムをより説得力のあるものとして用いることができるようになる。あるいは逆に、いくら分析対象を増やしてもこれらの選択肢が見つからなければ、ことばで表すことのできる意味関係と、ことばと絵の間に表しうる意味関係は違うという主張につながり、それもまた興味深いテーマとなろう。

また、今回の分析ではほかの 3 つの feature、すなわち symmetrical、amplifying、counterpointing については下位システムがまったく提案できなかった。この部分の拡充も含め、今後も研究を続けたい。

参考文献

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 3rd edition. London: Hodder Arnold.

Kress, G. and Leeuwen, T. v. (1996) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G. and Leeuwen, T. v. (1998) ‘Front pages: (the critical) analysis of newspaper layout’. In Allan Bell and Peter Garrett (eds), *Approaches to Media Discourse* 186-219. London: Blackwell.

Nikolajeva, M. and Scott, C. (2001) *How Picturebooks Work*. New York: Routledge.

Nodelman, P. (1988) *Words about Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children’s Picture Books*. Athens/London: The University of Georgia Press.

松居　直 (1973)『絵本とは何か』東京：日本エディターズスクール出版部

Painter, C, Martin, J.R. and Unsworth, L. (2011) Organizing Visual Meaning: framing and balance in Picture-Book Images. In Shoshana Dreyfus, Susan Hood and Maree Stenglin (eds), *Semiotic Margins: Meaning in Multimodalities* 125-143. London/New York: Continuum.

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

瀬田　貞二 (1985)『絵本論―瀬田貞二子どもの本評論集―』東京：福音館書店

Unsworth, L. (2001) *Teaching Multiliteracies across the Curriculum: Changing Contexts of Text and Image in Classroom Practice*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

主語省略に対する
テクスト的制約要因についての考察

A Study of Textual Constraints on the Subject Omissions

付　改華

Kaika Fu

新潟大学大学院

Graduate student, Niigata University

Abstract

This paper aims to make it clear what kind of textual factors cause or restrict the subject omissions. According to Halliday and Hassan (1976), unity in a text is different from which in a sentence, and the unity is expressed by cohesion. However, for the cohesion, there are selections from the direction, substitution, omission, connection, lexical cohesion, etc. For choosing what kind of the cohesion form, we must consider the textual feature. With the thought that the subject omission is an utterance strategy named "the proper selection for variability of transmitting information" in this paper in which a speaker attains to transmit some information to the listener(s), we analyzed the conditions of subject omission in the text by observing the form of the subjects, their contribution to cohesion, their presupposed element, the distance with their presupposed element.

1.　はじめに

日本語における主語/主題の省略については、これまで、多くの議論がなされてきている。例えば、三上(1960)は「略題」について、「ハ」のピリオド越え現象を指摘した。久野(1978)は、「共感度」の観点から、複文および連文で生じる主題省略の条件を考察している。野田(2004)は、文、句、複文･連文という 3 つのレベルで、いかに見えない主語を捉えるかについて議論を行っている。しかし、これまでの主語省略についての研究は、単文、複文、連文のレベルに留まり、談話的省略を考察するものは少ない。それに加え、省略現象ばかりでなく、非省略現象をも射程に入れた研究も少なかった。本稿では、テクストにおける主語省略の制約要因を明らかにしたい。

2.　先行研究

先行研究において、談話的省略を考察しているものと言えば、久野(1978)が指摘した省略順序の制約と、砂川(1990)が検討した主題の省略と非省略の条件が挙げられる。

2.1 省略順序の制約

久野(1978：15)は、次のような省略順序の制約を提案している。即ち、「省略は、より古い(より重要度の低い)インフォーメイションを表わす要素から、より新しい(より重要な)インフォーメイションを表わす要素へと順に行う。」

(1) A 次郎ハボストンニ花子ト行ッタ?
Ba *ウン、ボストンニ行ッタヨ。
Bb ウン、花子と行ッタヨ。
(久野1978：54)

古いインフォーメイションを表す要素から、新しいインフォーメイションを表す要素へと進むという文中の語順の原則によれば、強調ストレスを置かないで(1A)を発話した場合、「花子ト」のほうは「ボストンニ」より重要度の高いインフォーメイションとなる。上述した省略順序の制約によると、(Bb)は適格な答えであるが、(Ba)は適格ではない。

しかし、テクストでは、情報の構造だけでなく、テクストのつながりや、書き手/話し手の意図で主語が省略されたり、されなかったりすることが頻繁に見られる。例えば、次の文を見てみよう。

(2) 私は高山久伸、一流商事で係長という役職について2年になる。
(ドラマ『流星の絆』)

(2)はドラマ『流星の絆』から抜き出したものであり、高山久伸という登場人物の自分自身についての独白である。この場合、既知情報として普通は省略される主題主語「私は」は、ここでは省略されていない。本稿では、テクスト内において、主語省略の条件を考えてみる。

2.2 砂川(1990)の研究

砂川(1990)は、主題の省略と非省略という現象を手がかりにし、談話を構成する際の主題の省略と、「は」による主題提示の機能について考察している。

砂川(1990)は、主題の省略が許されるのは、省略されたものが何を指し示しているのかが読み手に理解可能である時に限られると述べ、その主題の省略を可能にする条件として、構文的な条件の他に談話構成上の条件、あるいは言語的文脈や言語外的文脈を手がかりとした推論の成立の可能性といった条件を提示している。そのうちの構文的な条件として、省略された主題を指し示す人物が直前の文で言語的に示されている場合は、その復元が可能となるということを指摘している。一方、主題の非省略については、砂川(1990)は、第二文が第一文の主題を維持することが困難なため、再び「は」を用いて同一の主題を明示することを、「は」の「主題の維持機能」と呼び、同じ主題が、次の文で維持されることが困難な場合は、主題を再設定するとしている。

砂川(1990)は読み手に理解可能かどうかという視点から、主題の省略と非

省略という現象を研究しているが、本稿では、省略は書き手/話し手が情報伝達を達成するために行う「伝達情報の軽重選択」ストラテジーであると考えた上で、主語の省略と非省略条件を考察していきたい。

3.　研究対象と研究方法

3.1　主語の規定

本稿では、主語の定義について、仁田(1997：166)に従う。すなわち、「《主語》とは、述語の表す動きや状態や関係を体現する主体として、文の表している事態(文の叙述内容である出来事や事柄)が、それを核として形成されている、といった事態の中心をなしている構成要素である」。また、主語に伴う助詞によって日本語における主語を次のように呼んでおく。すなわち、主格助詞「ガ」を伴う主語は、「主格主語」と呼ぶ。主題を表す「ハ」を伴う主語は、「主題主語」と呼ぶ。取り立て助詞「サエ」、「モ」、「デモ」、「マデ」などを伴う主語は、「とり立て主語」と呼ぶ。与格助詞「ニ」を伴う主語は、三原(2000)に従い、与格主語と呼ぶ。伴う助詞がない主語と「ノ」を伴う主語は、奥田(1985)に従い、それぞれを「基本格主語」と「生格主語」と呼ぶ。一方、省略された主語を「省略主語」と呼んでおく。

3.2　研究方法

ハリデーとハッサン(1997)によれば、テクストがテクストとして持っている統一性は、文の構成と異なる別種の統一性であり、結束性で具現化されているとされる。しかし、結束的なつながりには、指示、代用、省略、接続、語彙的結束性などがあり、どのような結束装置が選択されるかについては、テクスト内部で考察しなければならない。本稿では、テクストにおける節主語とテクスト内の他の要素との結束関係を考察し、対照することによって、主語省略を制限するテクスト内的要因を検討する。

ハリデーとハッサン(1997：431)によれば、テクストに関しての重要な問いかけは、次のようなものであるとされる。即ち、

「この文は結束性によって関係付けられているのかいないか? もし関係付けがあるとすれば、いくつの異なる方法によってであるか? その文のどの項目が結束関係に組み込まれているのか? それぞれの例において、結束性のタイプは何で、距離はどれくらいか」

本稿では、文の主語の結束関係を、主語の形、結束性関係の有無、前提要素との距離、前提要素という四つの指標で考察する。

なお、ハリデーとハッサン(1997)は、テクストのつながりには、文が直前の文に関連付けられる「直接のつながり」と、いくつかの結束形式を仲介して前提要素と関連付けられる「仲介のつながり」、前提要素との間に別の要素が介在する「遠隔のつながり」、という三種類のつながりのタイプがあり、直接

のつながりの場合の距離は 0、仲介のつながりの場合の距離は M(n)、遠隔のつながりの場合の距離は N(n)、また、遠隔のつながりと仲介のつながりが混在している場合は、$N(n_1)+M(n_2)+\ldots$または、$M(n_1)+N(n_2)+\ldots$と記している。本稿では、前提要素との距離を考察する際、ハリデーとハッサン(1997)のこの規定に従う。

4.　調査と分析

　テクスト内の節主語の省略状況を調べるために、ある文章の一、二段落ではなく、冒頭から、少なくともひとつの大きなまとまりをなすものを単位としてとり上げることが必要である。本稿では、伊坂幸太郎著「首折男の周辺」の冒頭の一節である「疑う夫婦」をとり上げ、調査を行う。調査では、基本的には文を対象としているが、一文中違う主語が使われている複文の場合に限り、従属節と主節のように節単位で調査を行う。結束関係の有無、前提要素との距離を指標として、主語省略・非省略の分布を考察した結果は表 1 で示すことができる。

表 1: 主語省略と結束関係の分布

	距離	省略(例)	非省略(例)
結束的用法	直接/仲介	28	6
	遠隔/遠隔+仲介+遠隔+…	19	15
非結束的用法	×	19	14

表 1 から、次のようなことがわかる。まず気づくのは、省略は結束装置の一つと思われるが、非結束的用法にも、主語省略が見られるということである。次に、結束的用法では、直接/仲介のつながりの場合は、主語が最も省略しやすいが、非省略のケースも見られる。一方、遠隔のつながりでは、非省略のケースが多くなると予測していたが、省略のケースも少なくない。次節から、非結束的用法と結束的用法の主語省略及び非省略についてそれぞれ考える。

4.1　非結束的主語省略と非省略

　次の文を考えてみよう。

(3)　φ山手線の駅を降り、北東の方角を目指しながら、ガードレールに囲まれた細い歩道を進んでいくと坂道に出る。
(4)　φ夏ならまだしも、冬のこんな時期に半袖でいるわけないだろ。
(5)　φ何言ってるんだ。

(3)はテクストの冒頭で観察された主語省略の例である。その省略されている主語には前提要素がまったくないので、非結束的用法として扱う。(4)と(5)

はテクストの冒頭ではないが、テクストに前提要素がないため、非結束的用法として扱う。では、なぜ前提要素がないのに、主語が省略されているのか。(3)は、作者が、一連の現在形の動詞を用い、まるで自分がその場で行動しているかのように、動きに合わせて、目の前に現れてくる物事を陳列していく用法であり、読者をその場へひきつける効果があると考えられる。本稿では、このような手法を「視点移入手法」と呼ぶ。このような手法は常に物語の状況描写に見られる。(4)は、「人間は冬では半袖でいるわけない」という一般常識で、主語を明示しなくても理解に支障がないので、明示しないほうが経済的である。主語が特定されていないため、この種の省略を「非特定指示」省略と呼ぶ。一方、(5)のような主語省略は、日常会話で最も頻繁に見られ、「外界指示的主語省略」と呼ぶ。会話では、主語が会話参与者であるなら、省略されるのが普通である。しかし、外界指示なら必ず省略されるというわけでもない。

(6)　「ねえ、あなた、これ、隣のお兄さんじゃないかしら」
(7)　「親父はお人好し過ぎる」
(8)　「おまえならやりかねない」

(6)では、夫婦二人でテレビを見ており、妻が「これ」と発言し、テレビで話題になっている人に夫の注意を引き寄せるのである。当然、この場合では、「これ」があってもなくても理解には支障がないと思われるが、話し手によって、注意喚起などの意図で明示されることになることは、本稿の「「主語の省略」は、話し手が情報伝達を達成するために行う「伝達情報の軽重選択」ストラテジーの結果である」という考え方を裏付けていると言える。復元できるかどうかから見れば、確かに省略できるが、話し手の意図から見れば、省略不可となっている。一方、(7)と(8)では主語が省略不可となるのは、話し手が「親父はお人好し過ぎる」、「おまえならやりかねない」を事実のように文全体を客観記述し、伝えるためである。すなわち、文全体が焦点となっている。

次の文章はどうだろうか。

(9)　①山手線の駅を降り、北東の方角を目指しながら、ガードレールに囲まれた細い歩道を進んでいくと坂道に出る。②地面が波打つように、上り坂と下り坂が続く。③そこを越え、T 字路にぶつかったところで左折する。④古い住宅街に入る。⑤電柱やごみ集積所にはじめじめした湿り気が漂っている。

(9)では、②における主格主語「地面が」と「上り坂と下り坂が」、⑤の主格主語「湿り気が」が省略されていない。なぜかというと、書き手のカメラ・アングルが移動するにつれての、レンズに入る状況についての描写であるからである。つまり、前提要素のない新情報が省略されると、意味不明になるのである。しかし、次のような「ハ」を伴う旧情報を表す主題主語はなぜ省略されな

いのかという問題が出てくるだろう。

(10)　①「ねえ、あなた、これ、隣のお兄さんじゃないかしら」と安永智子がこぼしたのは、そのアパートの二階、一番端の二○一号室の居間でだった。
　　②安永純平は、その安永智子の隣に座っている。

旧情報が主題の位置に来ることが一般的である。(10)の②の場合、「安永純平」はテクストで明示されたことはないが、書き手によってタイトルの「疑い夫婦」で予め設定されたという点ではやはり旧情報である。書き手は予め設定された情報を「は」で提示するのが普通である。一方、①では「永安智子」は「が」に伴っているが、これは複文の従属節で提示されたためで、やはり情報を提示しようとするという意図で現れているのである。

4.2　結束的主語省略と非省略

本節では、主語省略と非省略を、直接/仲介のつながりと遠隔のつながりという二つの場合で考察する。

4.2.1　直接/仲介のつながりの場合の主語省略・非省略

次のような主語省略の例を考えよう。

(11)　隣人 $_i$ は、確かに、短髪で長身、格闘家と言っても通用する外見だ。
　　ϕ_i 肩幅が広く、胸板が厚い。

(12)　安永純平は並べられた項目 $_i$ を一つずつ吟味していく。言われてみれば、ϕ_i 隣に住む男に当てはまる。

結束的な主語省略では、よく見られるのは(11)のようなものである。つまり、文の主語が主題として提示され、そして次の文にまでかかる場合、次の文で省略されるのである。これについて、三上(1960)は、「ハ」のピリオド越え現象として、久野(1978：103)は、「反復主題省略」として見解を述べている。本稿では、(11)における主題主語である「隣人は」は文の主題として、それに話者の視点が置かれるため、直接/仲介のつながりで省略されていると考える。一方、(12)では、前文の主題「安永純平」に話者の視点が置かれ、その上「並べられた項目」に対して補足説明をする時点で、「並べられた項目」が注意焦点となり、次の文で主題として省略される。このように、前の文の、主題寄りの視点での補語が、次の文の主題になり、しかも省略されることは、常に補足説明文章で現れる。

では、非省略の具体例を考えてみよう。

(13)　「隣の?」
　　部屋の隣といえば、二〇二号室に住む、若者だとはすぐにわかった。

(14) ①猛暑で誰も彼もが朦朧としていた数ヶ月前、田端駅へ向かうバスの停留所で、ある男 $_i$ が首の骨を折られ、殺されているのが発見された事件だ。②停留所に立っていた被害者 $_i$ は一瞬のうちに、背後から首を捻られ、殺されていた。

(15) 「どれも隣のお兄さんに当てはまるような気がしませんか?」安永智子 $_i$ は言った。おっとりとした彼女 $_i$ は滅多なことでは取り乱さない性格だ。

(13)では、夫婦二人の会話で出てきた「隣のお兄さん」とはどういう人間なのか、安永純平の頭の中で「部屋の隣と言えば」と捉え、主題提示し、説明を行う。本稿では、このような主語非省略を会話と心理活動という時空間の転換によってもたらされるものと見なす。一方、(14)では、文②の主題主語「被害者は」は①における主格主語「ある男が」と同一指示的であるが、「被害者」のほうは非客観的であると思われる。なぜこのような違いがあるかというと、①と②が異なる時空間にあるためであると思われる。①は、どのような殺人事件なのかを客観的に概略し、②は殺人事件についてのコメントである。このようにそれぞれ違う時空間にある事柄を記述する場合、前提要素があっても省略されないのが普通である。このような手法はニュースや記事などでよく見られる。(15)では、前の文で「安永智子」と主題提示し、後文でも主題として働くが、省略されず、「彼女」の形で提示されている。これも時空間の転換という理由で主題主語が省略されていないと考えられる。前の文は、「安永智子」の発言行為を述べているのに対して、後文は性格などの記述になっている。このような時空間の転換によって、「おっとりとした彼女」が補足的説明になるし、「滅多なことでは取り乱さない性格だ」も補足的説明になっている。

4.2.2　遠隔のつながりの場合の主語省略・非省略

本節では、遠隔のつながりの場合の主語省略・非省略の具体例を検討する。

(16) ①安永純平 $_i$ はしばらく、黙り込む。②隣人は、確かに、短髪で長身、格闘家と言っても通用する外見だ。③肩幅が広く、胸板が厚い。「④眼鏡、かけていたか?」

「⑤かけていないですけど、コンタクトとかじゃないですか?⑥一度だけ、かけてるところも見たことあるんですよ。⑦黒いやつで」

「⑧会社員っぽくはなかったよな」

「⑨そうなんですよね。⑩言われてみれば、昼間もよく会いますし、怪しい感じが」

「⑪隣の人をそう簡単に、怪しいというのはどうなんだよ」

⑫テレビではさらに、目撃者情報をまとめた似顔絵と全身の図が映された。⑬ ϕ_i あ、隣の若者だ!と声を上げそうになった。⑭それほど似ている絵だった。

「⑭ね、似てますよね」
「⑮確かに、似てるな」
⑯ ϕ_i だからと言って、隣に首折の殺人者が住んでいるとはすぐには思いにくく、うーん、でもなあ、と独り言のような短い呻きを上げ、りんごを齧ることしかできない。

(16)では、⑬と⑯で省略されている主題主語は①の主題主語である「安永純平は」と同一指示的であり、前提要素とはそれぞれ 11 文、14 文隔たっている。それほど遠い距離なのに省略されるのはなぜだろうか。本稿では、この種の主語省略は「話者視点移入手法」によるものであると考える。①で「安永純平は」を主題導入した後、書き手は安永純平に成り変ったかのように、安永純平の視点でその場面を観察し、発話し、心理や感情を表出し、読者に臨場感を引き起こさせる。自分の視点で自分の行動や感情などを記述するには、当然自分を明示しないほうが最も臨場感を与えることになる。物語の書き手は、書き手として客観記述したり、登場人物と視点を一致させて臨場感と緊迫感を与えたりして、常に視点を変えて生き生きとする物語を展開していくのである。客観記述の場合、直接/仲介的主語省略が普通であるが、登場人物に視点を置く場合は、直接/仲介的主語省略はもちろん、遠隔のつながりの主語省略も許容される。当然、最も話し手の視点を表す一人称{代名詞/名詞}でも省略されない場合があるように、書き手の視点が登場人物に置かれる場合でも、様々なテクスト構成上や語用上の理由で省略されないことも見られる。

遠隔のつながりの主語省略には、(17)のようなものが見られる。

(17) ①安永純平はしばらく、黙り込む。②隣人は、確かに、短髪で長身、格闘家と言っても通用する外見だ。③肩幅が広く、胸板が厚い。「④眼鏡、φかけていたか?」
「⑤φかけていないですけど、コンタクトとかじゃないですか?⑥φ一度だけ、かけてるところも見たことあるんですよ。⑦φ黒いやつで」
「⑧φ会社員っぽくはなかったよな」
「⑨そうなんですよね。⑩言われてみれば、昼間もよく会いますし、怪しい感じが」

(17)では、④、⑤、⑧、そして⑥の従属節では、主語が遠隔のつながりの形で省略されている。④では、一見、主語が②の主題主語「隣人は」と同一指示的であるかのように思われるが、実際、14 文前の「どれも隣のお兄さんに当てはまるような気がしませんか?」にある対格補語「隣のお兄さんに」を前提要素としてとっている。これは、④は、①、②、③の叙述とは異なり、会話の連鎖の時空間内にあるからである。もっと前の会話を考えてみると、次のような流れになる。

(18)　安永智子：「どれも隣のお兄さん $_i$ に当てはまるような気がしませんか?」
…
安永純平：「ϕ_iいつ引っ越してきたんだったか」
安永智子：「九月でしたよ。ほら、ちょうどこの事件の後ですよね」
安永純平：「眼鏡 $_j$、ϕ_iかけていたか?」
安永智子：「$\phi_j\phi_i$かけていないですけど、コンタクトとかじゃないですか?一度だけ、かけてるところも見たことあるんですよ。ϕ_j黒いやつで」
安永純平：「ϕ_i会社員っぽくはなかったよな」
安永智子：「そうなんですよね。言われてみれば、昼間もよくϕ_i会いますし、怪しい感じが」
…

(18)のような会話の流れの中で、「安永純平」と「安永智子」の二人はテレビを見ながら、「隣のお兄さん」を話題にして、やりとりをしているのである。やりとりの中で、「発話－応答」ペアが形成される。即ち、相手が発話するならば、その発話に沿って話を展開するか、別の話題に移るかというのはコミュニケーションの基本である。元の話題に沿って話を展開するならば、話題となるものが省略されるのが普通であるが、別の話題に移る場合には、別の話題を明示し、強調することが必要である。(18)では、話題人物「隣のお兄さん」について、「いつ引っ越してきたのか」、「眼鏡をかけているのか」と質問したり、「会社員っぽくはなかった」とコメントしたりして会話を展開させている。このような「発話‾返答」のやりとりで話題人物「隣のお兄さん」は、次々の文では、主題主語としても、主格主語としても、補語としても省略できる。主格主語として省略されるケースは(17)の④文「眼鏡、ϕ_iかけていた」であるが、補語として省略されるのは、(18)の最後の文「昼間もよくϕ_i会いますし、怪しい感じが」である。

では、遠隔のつながりの主語非省略の例を考えてみよう。

(19)　①ϕ_iだからと言って、隣に首折の殺人者が住んでいるとはすぐには思いにくく、うーんでもなあ、と独り言のような短い呻きを上げ、りんごを齧ることしかできない。
②「行ってきましょうか」安永智子が言い出したのはしばらくしてからだった。「③隣の部屋に行って、確かめてきましょうか」
④「あのな」安永純平 $_i$ は顔をしかめずにはいられない。…

(19)では、④で明示された主題主語「安永純平は」は、それと 2 文隔たる文①で省略されている主題主語と同一指示的である。一方、文章(16)からわかるように、①は、さらに 16 文も隔たった文「安永純平はしばらく、黙り込む」の主題主語「安永純平は」と同一指示的である。しかも、その間で別の主題が介在している。では、前述したように、①では「話者視点移入手法」によって

その主題主語は省略することができるが、なぜ(19)の④では同様の理由で省略が難しいだろうか。これは、(17)では、介在要素「隣人」に対する補足説明は「安永純平」の意識の流れで行われるに対して、(19)では、「安永智子」の発話行為に対する記述は発話の時点で「安永純平」の意識の流れで行われるわけには行かないからである。すなわち、安永智子の発話行為に対しては、「安永純平」からの視点で捉えるのではなく、書き手自らの視点で客観記述しているのである。この場合、「安永智子」と「安永純平」に対する書き手の視点はいずれも客観的であり、その境界を設けるために、いずれも明示しなければならない。

次のような主語非省略の例も見られる。

(20)　…
「おまえ、後でこっそり、隣に確認しに行こうなんてするなよ」安永純平はテレビから目を離し、妻を見る。
「まずいですか」
「本当に、彼が犯人だったら、危なすぎるだろうが」

前述したように、会話の「発話‾返答」のやりとりの中では、話題となる要素が省略されるのが普通である。しかし、(20)では、話題要素の「隣のお兄さん」は「本当に、彼が犯人だったら、危なすぎるだろうが」の条件節「彼が犯人だったら」では省略されていない。これは、「「犯人」は「危ない」」のはもちろんであるが、「彼が犯人だ」ということこそが二人にとって危なすぎることであるからである。すなわち、「彼が犯人だ」では、「彼が」は少なくとも焦点の一部となっているため、それを省略することは難しいのである。

5. 終わりに

以上、具体例の検討を通して、主語省略に対するテクスト的制約要因を考察した。結果は、次の表 2 に示すことができる。

表 2：主語省略・非省略の制約要因とテクストでの分布

	距離	省略	非省略
結束的用法	直接/仲介	① 先行主題の継続 ② 先行主題の視点での補足説明 ③ 会話の「発話ー応答」ペア	① 時空間転換 ② 主語が焦点の一部
	遠隔	① 話者視点移入 ② 会話の「発話ー応答」ペア	① 他の要素の介在による再提起 ② 時空間の転換による再提起 ③ 主語が焦点の一部
非結束的用法	×	① 外界指示 ② 非特定指示 ③ 視点移入手法の状況描写	① 注意喚起の外界指示 ② 新情報の発見 ③ 主語が焦点の一部 ④ 主題提起

まず、日本語における主語省略は、結束的用法でも非結束的用法でも生じ得る。非結束的用法での主語省略は、外界指示や、非特定指示、視点移入手法の状況描写で行われるが、非省略は、注意喚起の意図での外界指示、文全体が焦点になること、新情報の発見、主題提起などの要因で生じている。一方、結束的用法での主語省略は、そのつながり方が直接/仲介か、遠隔かによって、違う分布を呈している。直接/仲介のつながりの場合では、前提要素が先行主題であるときや、前提要素に対して補足説明が先行主題の視点で行われるとき、また会話の「発話ー応答」ペアになっているときには、主語が省略される。しかし、会話・記述など時空間の転換の場合や、主語が伝える情報の焦点の一部である場合では、主語を省略しにくい。遠隔のつながりの場合では、最も多く見られるのは、会話の「発話ー応答」ペアでの主語省略であるが、話者の視点移入による主語省略もある。それに対して、主語の非省略は、他要素の介在や、時空間の転換による再提起の場合で顕著である。なお、主語がテクストの情報構造上の焦点の一部である場合でも、その主語は省略しにくい。

しかし、本稿では、会話の「発話ー応答」ペアを、主語省略を認可するテクスト的な制約要因の 1 つと考えたが、生き生きとした会話では、会話の特質によって主語の使用を促す制約も多く、検討する余地はまだある。これを今後の課題として研究を続けていきたい。

参考文献

奥田靖雄 (1985)『ことばの研究・序説』東京：むぎ書房.
久野　暲 (1978)『談話の文法』東京：大修館書店.
砂川有里子 (1990)「主題の省略と非省略」,『文藝言語研究・言語篇』, 18：15-34.
仁田義雄 (1997)『日本語文法研究序説』東京：くろしお出版.
野田尚史 (2004)「見えない主語を捉える」,『言語』, 33-2：24-31.
三上　章 (1960)『象は鼻が長い』東京：くろしお出版.
三原健一 (2000)『日本語の統語構造』東京：松柏社.
ハリデー, M. A. K., R. ハッサン (著) 安藤貞雄他 (訳) (1997)『テクストはどのように構成されるか』東京：ひつじ書房.

謝辞

本稿は、第 21 回日本機能言語学会秋期大会における口頭発表に基づくものです。この場を借りて、当日司会をしてくださった角岡賢一(龍谷大学)、質問やコメントしてくださった会場の方々、そして発表の準備段階で貴重なご意見をくださった福田一雄先生(新潟大学)、秋孝道先生(新潟大学)、大竹芳夫先生(新潟大学)に心から感謝申し上げます。なお、本稿の不備はすべて筆者の責任にあります。

Is Tripadvisor® a Travel Site or an Advice Site, and Does it Make a Difference?

David Dykes
Yokkaichi University

Abstract

Grammatical mood has atrophied in modern English. For a while, Martin and Rose's (2008) broad division of genres into *instructing* and *informing* types seemed to promise a way of sorting patterned sequences, if not clauses, into types correlating with discourse function again. But in practice, *instructing* genres were neglected. Work in Hong Kong on a topological approach to socio-semantic processes in the register category of 'field' is now leading to a more even-handed approach to both proposal (*instructing*) and proposition (*informing*) functions (Matthiessen, Teruya, and Lam: 2010). In this presentation, I look at proposal and proposition patterns in the review of an ascent of Mount Fuji on the travel website Tripadvisor® and trace two alternating yet semantically continuous strands of discourse in the review, corresponding mostly to what Martin and Rose called the 'recount' pattern of genre and to what Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam now call 'recommending'.

1. Texts that are primarily instructing and texts that are primarily informing

In recent years, Systemic Functional Linguistics has been cultivating a 'topological' approach to the analysis of socio-semiotic field processes. In the scheme now elaborated (Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam (2010: 95-96; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 39-40), processes are sorted into eight primary categories of *expounding*, *reporting*, *recreating*, *sharing*, *doing*, *enabling*, *recommending* and *exploring*, represented as contiguous segments on a conceptual wheel, or effectively a pie graph, of communicative activity. The last segment in the pie, *exploring* (of values or issues), leads impressively back to the first, *expounding* (also of values or issues), which rounds off the set and appears to allow a good coverage of most of the familiar sorts of socio-semiotic interaction:

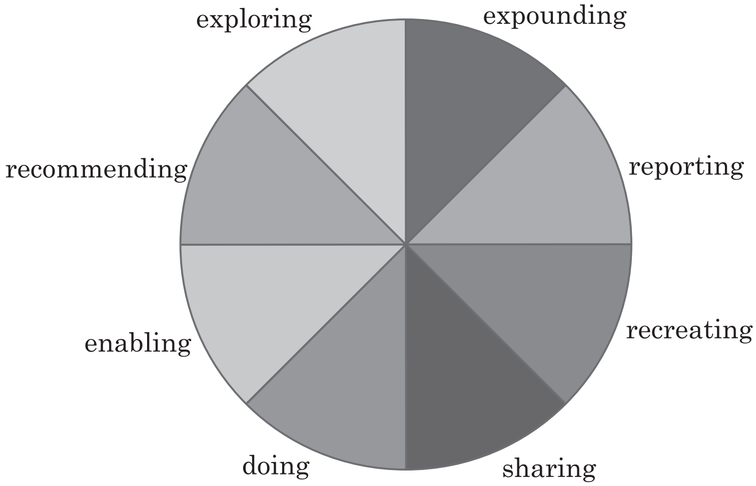

Figure. 1: Field of socio-semiotic processes (after Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam, 2010)

It is important to ask how this topology of processes or activities relates to preceding typologies of genre in works such as Christie and Martin (1997) or Martin and Rose (2008). A closer look at the eight primary processes on the topology wheel reveals that they actually fall into two sets of four, which can be thought of as macro-propositions for representing 'what is' (*expounding*, *reporting*, *recreating*, *sharing*) and macro-proposals for arriving at 'what to do' (*doing*, *enabling*, *recommending*, *exploring*). This links up both with the proposition and proposal functions behind clause moods (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014: 138-139), and with the primary distinction between *informing* and *instructing* in Martin and Rose's repertory of genres (Martin and Rose, 2008: 7). Once they are understood as varieties of *informing*, the four processes of *expounding*, *reporting*, *recreating* and *sharing* also offer a close match to the four *informing* genres of *description*, *report*, *recount* and *narrative* in Martin and Rose's genre repertory.

In complementation to this, it would not be surprising if the other four processes on the topology wheel, *doing*, *enabling*, *recommending* and *exploring*, also offered similar matches to *instructing* genres. Unfortunately, this is less easy to confirm because *instructing* is under-treated by Martin and Rose, who seem intent from the start on confining it to a small range of enabling 'procedures' (instructions) and restricting 'protocols' (rules):

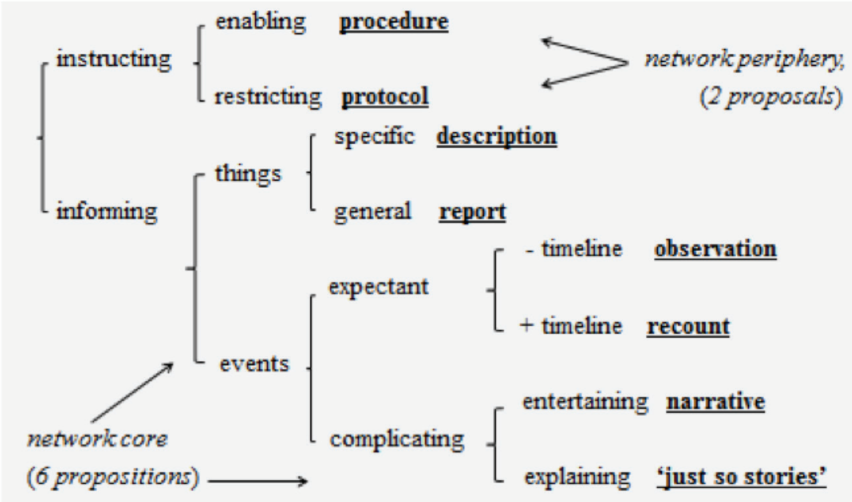

Figure 2: A basic repertory of junior school science genres (Martin and Rose, 2008)

One reason for Martin and Rose's reluctance to pay fuller attention to *instructing* processes is that they understand their network paths as socially endorsed patterns of practice. Given the current emphasis given in schools to training in standard sets of text types, that is understandable. But any claim that the processes underlying these text types are really so firmly fixed is questionable. Educationally, too, it may not be desirable to train learners so insistently in mastering a repertory of propositional functions that they end up unable to do much with the directive and volitional moods needed for advanced proposal skills such as giving guidance or responding to persuasion. Even in texts that are primarily propositional, to supply motivations or clarify purposes it may sometimes be necessary to change tack (that is, mood) in mid text, stepping aside from a declarative pathway to take a directive or volitional sidetrack. And particular portions of text will then take on different functions when viewed on the directive track, say, from the functions they have when viewed as statements. Keeping as close as is feasible to the terms used by both Martin and Rose (2008) and Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam (2010), one possible layout for a repertory inclining more towards *instructing* might be:

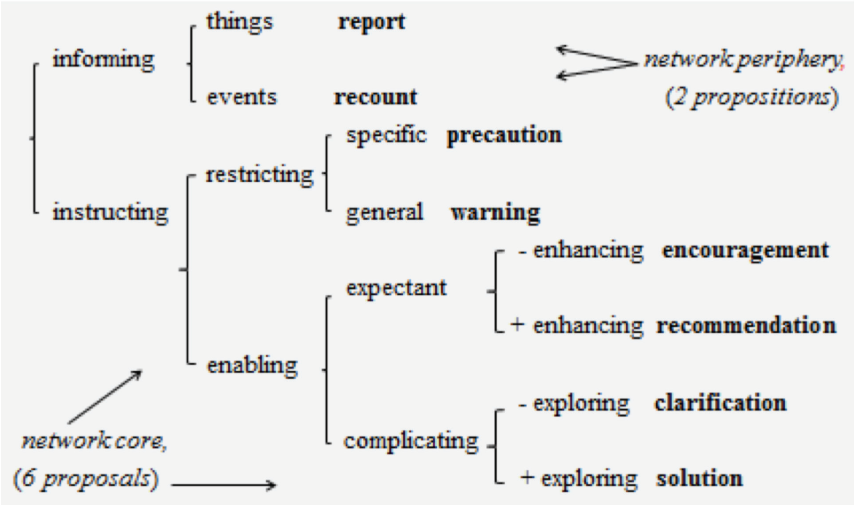

Figure 3: A basic repertory of guidance genres (rewiring of Martin and Rose, 2008)

This is not the only possible arrangement for a repertory of genres inclined towards *instructing*, but I have set the paths this way firstly, as just explained, so as to keep to the criteria ('specific' / 'general', 'expectant' / 'complicating', etc.) used by Martin and Rose, and secondly to fit in with the practice actually followed in texts such as advice books or travel guides, which I encounter in my own research. In the *instructing* branch of functions which make up the network core in Figure. 3, the socially endorsed pathways are enabling ones (guidance is about 'how to do things'), and of these, the *complicating* ones, which serve to clear up misunderstandings or propose new solutions, are generally of more value than the *expectant* ones which serve to approve or recommend known options. The pruned back *informing* branch, reduced to the two indispensable types of factual report and recount from experience, are of relevance as back-up resources, offering as much knowledge or experience as is required for a process of informed decision making; for example, it is useful to have a preliminary overview of what ascent routes are available for climbing Mount Fuji, or what carrying equipment exists for taking a baby on a shopping trip. This *informing* branch is peripheral in guidance discourse, however, and this is the prime difference between the repertory arrangements in Figures. 2 and 3.

2. Texts that can be read as either instructing or informing

Clearly, some of the core genre functions from Martin and Rose's repertory in Figure. 2 are still important in the Figure. 3 scheme. Guidance can do without reports or recounts, but informed guidance cannot. This suggests that a recount passage might have different functions as a self-standing informing text and as a support for a proposal. The following passage about a short trip to Portugal qualifies as a recount in the terms of Figure. 2, as it is *informing* more than *instructing*, deals with *events* rather than *things*, proceeds *as expected*, and follows *a timeline*:

(1) When the walking tour was over we took a train to Cascais, an old fishing village with small beaches about 40 minutes away. We sat outside to enjoy a delicious lunch of omelets (a common lunch and dinner food in Portugal) and a pitcher of Sangria before going down to the beach …
(www.atexanintuscany.blogspot.com)

It would not be impossible to integrate this into a persuasive text, as a customer testimony supporting a tour advertisement. But there is no evidence that such a complex interpretation is intended here, and the identification of the uploading site as 'blogspot.com' suggests that it is more likely to be a personal experience story.

In the following passage, however, it is less easy to decide which primary genre the text should be assigned to. The first sequence of actions, concerning a "we" subject and following a past timeline, switches over to a 'you' subject which could be either reader-specific or generic, and leads to a clothing recommendation which could be future-oriented, or again generic:

(2) We started descending at 5pm [error for '5am'?] and got down by 10 (but we rested a lot on the way – we weren't in a hurry as our bus back to Tokyo was at 12pm.)
You go through layers of clouds at least four times – twice going up and twice coming down. You need therefore showerproof jacket and warm clothing,
(www.tripadvisor.jp Erika [****], London, 2009/08/12)

The external evidence of the website name suggests in this case that the targeted readership is a generic class of first-time Fuji climbers, towards whom the writer is adopting the role of a 'trip advisor'. If this is right, it means that a sequence of second-person directive implications can be imaginatively evoked to complement a past 'we' sequence: 'Speaking from experience, we tell you that one descent option is to rest a lot and come down in five hours; but depending on your ongoing connections, you may also choose to move faster.'

This, I think, is the natural way in which a guidance passage like this is usually read. There are two strands of discourse running continuously in parallel: the recount strand of what 'we did' on some experience-conferring past occasion, and the exploring or recommendation strand of what you could do in a similar future situation. Only one of these strands can be put into words at any one stage in the discourse, so on the text surface the writer has to choose whether to speak overtly about what 'we did' or about what 'you could do'. But whichever strand appears openly, another covert strand is also being woven implicitly along the underside. At any moment the fabric may be flipped over to allow the underside to appear on the top again while the topside drops underneath.

By extending passage (2) backwards, the same point can be made more graphically. The text does not just switch from first-person recount to second-person options or recommendations, but now begins to zigzag back and forth, from options to experiences, and back to options:

(3) If **you go** at normal pace, **you arrive** at the ninth station by 2pm/3pm [error for ‘2am/3am’?], it’s recommended to have a rest here as the main hut here is very pleasant and the hot chocolate is rejuvenating. Then **continue** straight to the top. Mid July the sunrise is around 4am. **We started descending** at 5pm [error for ‘5am’?] and **got down** by 10 (but **we rested** a lot on the way – **we weren’t in a hurry** as **our bus back to Tokyo was** at 12pm.)
You go through layers of clouds at least four times – twice going up and twice coming down. **You need** therefore showerproof jacket and warm clothing,
(www.tripadvisor.jp Erika [****], London, 2009/08/12)

Two remarks can be added here. First, ‘recreations’ and ‘sharing’ of experiences similarly look as if they are supplying matches to ‘recommendations’ and ‘exploring’ of values and issues in the topology wheel of field processes in Figure. 1 above (detailed discussion would be needed to show how meaningful and systematic this correspondence really is). And second, passage (3) includes evaluative or factual statements (“it’s recommended to have a rest here …”; “Mid July the sunrise is around 4am”) that are not tied to a first-person or second-person viewpoint and therefore fit into either strand and can be used to orchestrate crossovers.

The ‘two strands’ argument advanced here is a hypothesis which, in the nature of things cannot be confirmed. What can be offered for inspection, however, is an inverse version of passage (3) in which second-person ‘recommendation’ or ‘exploring’ sections are systematically switched with first-person ‘recount’ ones, while evaluative and factual general statements are left unchanged:

(4) **We went** at normal pace **and arrived** at the ninth station by 2am/3am, it’s recommended to have a rest here as the main hut here is very pleasant and the hot chocolate is rejuvenating. Then **we continued** straight to the top. Mid July the sunrise is around 4am. **If you start descending** at 5am and book **your bus back to Tokyo** for 12:00 (so **you aren’t in a hurry**) **you can rest** a lot on the way and **get down** by 10.
We went through layers of clouds at least four times – twice going up and twice coming down. So **we certainly needed** showerproof jackets and warm clothing,
(www.tripadvisor.jp Erika [****], London, 2009/08/12)

Some clause reordering is needed to keep the argument coherent, along with changes in conjunctions, adverbs and other details. In the end, there are undeniable differences in implied meaning. In (3), the slow return comes across as the writer’s preference whereas the advice about rainwear is emphatic; in (4), there seems to be more insistence in the advice to go slowly, while the experience with the rainwear is an anecdote. But the same two strands of what the writer experienced and the reader can expect to encounter run right through both of these passages, and whichever parts of each strand are not explicitly mentioned are easy to infer.

3. Generalising

The detailed text-based part of my presentation ends with the above argument in favour of a two-stranded approach to guidance texts. The rest is a matter of drawing out connections to two matters of more general interest.

3.1 The need for a more interactive analysis of guidance discourse

One difficulty in discussing a text section such as:

(5) We started descending at 5am and got down by 10 (but we rested a lot on the way – we weren't in a hurry as our bus back to Tokyo was at 12pm.)

is that it is not easy to know how far the writer really intends this recount of a leisurely descent to be read as a recommendation as well. It is possible that she is merely justifying a descent time which seemed slow. Similarly, rather than being deliberate, her noon departure time may have been the result of booking the ticket late. But what is clear from her review in spite of these doubts is that she is writing as someone who has experienced climbing Mount Fuji, for the benefit of readers who have not climbed it but are considering the idea. There is thus (assumed to be) an asymmetry in the relations between the writer and the reader, and the best way of analysing such a text is dialogically, in consideration of the facts that (1) the writer has more experience or expertise to draw on in this particular activity field, and that (2) the dialogue exchange is to be for the reader's benefit.

Analysis on these lines has been familiar since the time of Searle (1969: 67), and the description of 'recommending' in Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam (2010: 175), although more social in its inspiration, falls within Searle's descriptive tradition. In Matthiessen, Teruya and Lam's scheme, recommendations can be divided into two branches of 'promoting' a course of action for the good of the writer and of 'advising' a reader, for the good of that reader. In practice, however, these branches are not always distinct; the writer's insistence that people should wear sensible clothing on a mountain, for example, may be taken either as her promotion of what she thinks to be right or as her advice as to what is best for the reader.

3.2 A threefold relationship of guidance

I end with a short reference to my own approach to guidance relations (Dykes: 2011: 43-52), which consists in reading any guidance text as a series of three coordinated exchange types proceeding within one relationship of guidance. I assume that relations between the parties in a two-sided guidance relationship, in a written mode, can be described in three relevant ways:

	GUIDING	GUIDED
INTERACTION RELATIONS	Advice giver	Advice receiver
ACTIVITY FIELD RELATIONS	Expert	Non-expert
TEXT RELATIONS	Writer	Reader

The advantage of this threefold division is that it allows for the likelihood that the producer of a guidance text will not often be engaged in advice giving (*instructing*), expert knowledge giving (*informing*) and text signposting all at one moment. In fact, if a guidance text is divided into segments of roughly one clause complex each, one of the three role relations will nearly always come to the fore to eclipse the two others. The discussion of (*informing*) and recommendation (*instructing*) strands alternating in passage (3) was an illustration of this. As for textual signposting functions, which are characteristic of starting, redirecting and finishing passages, these arise and persist over longer intervals.

One way to see which guidance role is most to the fore at any stage in a text is by ranking. In a guidance text, advice giver / advice receiver relations, enacted through *instructing* functions, need to be looked for first. If they do not appear, expert / non-expert relations, enacted through *informing* functions, can be looked for next. Finally, for the organisation of the text at large, there will be signposting controls as part of the writer / reader relationship. Signposting may take the form of factual statements ('Mount Fuji is the 3775 meters high sacred mountain of Japan') if the main point of the content is so familiar as to set up more of a topic announcing effect than a truly informing one.

To illustrate how these ranking operations can also work as a text dividing device, essentially on a basis of mood, I end with a specimen analysis for the first eight text segments of the above review of the climb up Mount Fuji. The main division is into the guidance relationships appearing most prominently in each segment. On the right, I also note the associated discourse function: 'Text' (for text controls), 'State' for the stating of information, and 'Direct' for the giving of action or value directions. But this last column is explanatory only; I am not presenting it as something separate from the 'Guidance relationship' entry:

Table 1: The first eight segments of the Tripadvisor® text 'Just do it', analysed

Text segment	**Guidance relationship**	**Function**
1. "Just do it" [title]*	Writer / reader	Text
2. Mount Fuji is the 3775 meters high sacred mountain of Japan. [topic]**	Writer / reader	Text
3. A dormant volcano, it attracts about 200,000 recreational climbers every year during the months of July and August when it is open for public climbing.	Expert / non-expert	State
4. Best to climb overnight so that you see the sunrise at the top.	Advice giver / receiver	Direct
5. The top of Mount Fuji is cloudy all day long, but it clears for the morning	Expert / non-expert	State
6. so if you manage to get through the first layer of clouds by the break of dawn, you can't miss it.	Expert / non-expert	State
7. That is, if you are on the right trail.	Writer / reader	Text
8. Best to go on Kawaguchiko trail which is the most popular and is on the east side of the mountain.	Advice giver / receiver	Direct

Notes: * 1 is not advice because it is not actively addressed to anyone.
** 2 is not informing, but activates familiar information (except '3775') .

References

Christie, F. and Martin, J. R. (1997). *Genre and Institutions: Social Processes in the Workplace and School*. London: Cassell.

Dykes, D. (2011) An expert advice writer's persona: Three faces of role enactment. *Proceedings of JASFL*, 5: 43-52.

Halliday, M., rev. Matthiessen, C. (2014) *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar.* Fourth Edition. London and New York: Routledge.

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

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

Searle, J. (1969) *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Electronic-media reference

http://www.atexanintuscany.blogspot.com (accessed Aug., 2013)

http://www.tripadvisor.jp Search: <Mount Fuji Fifth Station> (accessed Aug. 2013)

Organising Customer Actions in Commercial Context: A Comparative Analysis in Japanese, English and Chinese

Sonya Chik
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Abstract

This paper presents a comparative study of the different linguistic strategies employed by corporations to organise and control the actions of their customers through written corporate communication in Japanese, English and Chinese. The role of language in business and corporate communication, particularly in persuasive texts such as promotional discourse has been well-researched (Bhatia, 1993, 2004; Cook, 1992; Dann, 1996; Fairclough, 1992, 2001, 2003). However, study on how corporation uses different languages to instruct, regulate and control customer behaviour remains under-explored. Grounded in systemic functional linguistic theory, this paper aims to identify how the customer is constructed and positioned lexicogrammatically in enabling text under commercial context in Japanese, English and Chinese. The analysis showed that Japanese favours indirect commands expressed in a formal and distant manner to maintain the institutionalised relations between company and customer, while English and Chinese favours comparatively direct and neutral approach in regulating customer with minimal or no differentiation in hierarchical relationship between writer and addressee. The differences between the three languages are observed in the distribution between mood type that realises command congruently or metaphorically, and degree of value and orientation in modality that reflects the speaker's attitude, evaluation and degree of commitment to the proposition (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Teruya, 2007; Li, 2007).

1. Introduction

The relationship between corporation and customer is twofold. On the one hand, customer exercises greater power under the context of sales and advertising when the corporation is in a soliciting position (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). On the other hand, customer is subject to rules and policies set forth by the corporation. In this paper, I will present the findings of different lexicogrammatical choices selected to control customer behaviour in the context of corporate communication in Japanese, English and Chinese. Here the instructing and regulating texts produced by the corporation for its customers belong to the enabling text type, one of the eight primary socio-semiotic processes classified under the text typology cartography developed by Matthiessen and Teruya based on Jean Ure's work in 1989. The eight primary text types are expounding, reporting, recreating, sharing, doing, recommending, enabling and exploring (for text typology, see Teruya, 2007; Matthiessen et al., 2010 and Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014). The function of enabling text type is to enable the addressee to undertake some courses of action, either through procedural instructions or rules and regulations.

This study will show some characteristics of the enabling text type in corporate communication, in particular how interpersonal meaning is instantiated and how the corporation-customer relationship is enacted in Japanese, English and Chinese. The article is organised as follows. Section 2 introduces the material and methodology used for text analysis, section 3 presents and discusses the results of the analysis with reference to the theoretical framework highlighting commonalities and differences between the three languages, and section 4 provides summary and concluding remarks.

2. Research methodology

A corpus of 11 texts that consist of over 20,000 words is used for this study: Japanese 14,000 words, English 4,200 words and Chinese 2,220 words. The corpus comprises comparable texts extracted from airline baggage handling procedure, travel insurance policy and privacy policy in Japanese, English and Chinese. While this paper is concerned primarily with Japanese, a comparative analysis with reference to English and Chinese provides insight on how different languages operate in the given domain of socio-semiotic activities.

First, the text data was approached from top-down and the semantic components of the potential structural configuration of the corporate enabling text was examined with reference to Hasan's (1984 / 1996) concept of Generic Structure Potential. Both the obligated and optional elements that construe the potential structure of the commercial enabling text are identified and further explored in terms of their lexicogrammatical realisation.

Next, the data was examined from below, using the interpersonal systems of MOOD and MODALITY to explicate the interpersonal potential of enabling text, in particular, instructing and regulating texts in commercial context. The relations between the obligated and optional elements of the potential structure of the text are further analysed by exploring the experiential configuration and logical construction of each clause that makes up the command and its supporting elements. Finally, unique linguistic features that pertain to each language were identified and made relevant to the context of situation in terms of social roles and distance between corporation and customer.

3. Summary of findings

The following section presents a summary of findings from the analysis of the three groups of enabling texts (baggage handling, privacy policy, travel insurance policy) that contain both instructional and regulating elements in the commercial context. The discussion will be focused on the division of labour between direct and indirect commands and how they are realised similarly and differently between Japanese, English and Chinese.

3.1 Context of situation – enabling in commercial context

The field of activity in which the sample texts of this study operate is one that is concerned with enabling the addressee to carry out certain courses of action under a commercial context. In particular, the privacy policy text and delay baggage procedural text are concerned primarily with increasing the addressee's ability to undertake certain activities such as 'filing a claim' or 'disabling a service', whereas the travel insurance policy text is intended to impose obligation on the addressee with respect to certain types of behaviour such as obligation to 'pay the premium' (c.f. Matthiessen et al., 2010).

Since the social activity is institutionalised, the social distance is maximal between the company and its customers. The agent role that is depicted by the tenor relationship is a hierarchic one. The company, in the context of instructing and regulating customer behaviour, will have a greater degree of control over the customer. However, it is also the company's interest to keep the customer happy as the customer has power over sales and purchases of the company's products and services. The analysis of the use of language in enacting these special social roles and relationships between company and customer in the commercial context has, therefore, become the focus of this study. The role of language is both constitutive, to explain and describe conditions under which instruction or regulation is taken place, and ancillary, to enable the addressee to take certain actions, although the text under study is in written medium.

3.2 Generic structure composition of commercial enabling text

In the attempt to identify the potential textual configuration of the sample texts, it is observed that while there are specific obligatory and optional elements that make up the potential structure of the enabling texts, no obligatory and optional ordering of these elements can be identified (see Hasan 1984/1986).

The data shows that that in order for an enabling text to function the way it does, some form of 'request' or 'command', whether as an instruction e.g. *login to manage your booking* or regulation *no item may exceed 32 kg*, is necessary or obligatory. Other optional elements are present to support the command by presenting an explanation, purpose or condition that justify or motivate the addressee to comply with the command.

In terms of potential ordering of the optional and obligatory elements, two generic patterns are observed. The first pattern includes an iteration of Condition ^ Command e.g. *If your baggage is damaged, please file a report with our Baggage Services Counter*. Both the baggage handling and travel insurance policy texts are organised around this iteration of clusters of Condition ^ Command. Another pattern of semantic organisation of corporate enabling text includes a combination of optional elements such as 'explanation' and 'reasoning' before presenting the 'condition' that necessitate or motivate the 'command'. For example, the 'privacy policy' text is constructed around a repetition of the following structure: Explanation ^ Reasoning ^ Condition ^ Command as illustrated below:

<u>Explanation</u>
"Apple and our partners use cookies to remember personal information…."

Reasoning
Our goal is to make your experience with Apple more convenient and personal.
Condition
If you want to disable cookies,
Command
go to Safari preferences…..

Although the findings here are instantial, the consistency in the types of optional and obligatory elements that exist in all three languages suggest that they could well be representative of the particular enabling text under the business context.

3.3 Systems of MOOD and MODALITY

This study adopts the interpersonal systems of MOOD and MODALITY as the major framework of analysis to explore how corporations issue commands to their customers in written form. The most fundamental types of speech role or speech function are giving and demanding, whether of information or goods and services. The exchange of information can take on a form of proposition in a 'statement' or 'question', while the exchange of goods and services can be represented by a proposal in the form of 'offer' or 'command' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:107-108). In its congruent form, statement is grammatically realised in declarative, question in interrogative and command in imperative mood. However, the writer can also choose to represent the speech function of command incongruently or metaphorically, for example, using a declarative clause that is modulated for 'obligation' (a *complaint must be made in writing to us*) to issue the command in an indirect manner.

In addition to speech function and mood, modality also plays a significant role in the construction of command in enabling texts. "Modality refers to the area of meaning that lies between yes and no – the intermediate ground between positive and negative polarity" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 618). It is further broken down into two sub-systems namely modalization, the semantic category of propositions with reference to usuality and probability; and modulation, which refers to the semantic category of proposals with reference to obligation and readiness.

The 'enabling' text type in the commercial context is concerned with organising actions of the addressee through commands. This type of 'enabling' context relates to instructional command that is expressed in modulation sub-type of ability under 'readiness', for example *can* in English and *可 ke* '*can*' in Chinese (c.f. Matthiessen et al., 2008:192, Wang, 2011:71). The addressee can be assumed to be willing to undertake some courses of action, but in need of empowerment through instruction (Matthiessen et al., 2008). The other type of command relates to the 'obligation' kind of modulation where the addressee's behaviour is being regulated by modulated declarative clause of 'obligation' e.g. *should* in English, 应该 *yinggai* 'should' in Chinese or 'necessity' しなければならない *shinakereba naranai 'must'* in the case of Japanese. In this corpus, a separate sub-type of ability related to potentiality under modalization することができる *surukoto ga dekiru 'it is possible that'* in Japanese and 可以 *ke yi 'able to'* , 可 *ke* '*can'* in Chinese (c.f. Teruya, 2007; Li, 2007; Wang, 2011) is identified as a salient feature for indirect command.

Figure 1 presents a combined network system of modality adopted from Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 618/621), Teruya (2007:218) and Li (2007:140) that displays the subcategories of modalization and modulation in Japanese, English and Chinese. The enabling text type under study contains commands that are realised in different modality types, with different languages favouring different subtypes of modalization and modulation. Section 3.4 below will discuss in detail how the instructing and regulating texts are realised by the systems of mood and modality.

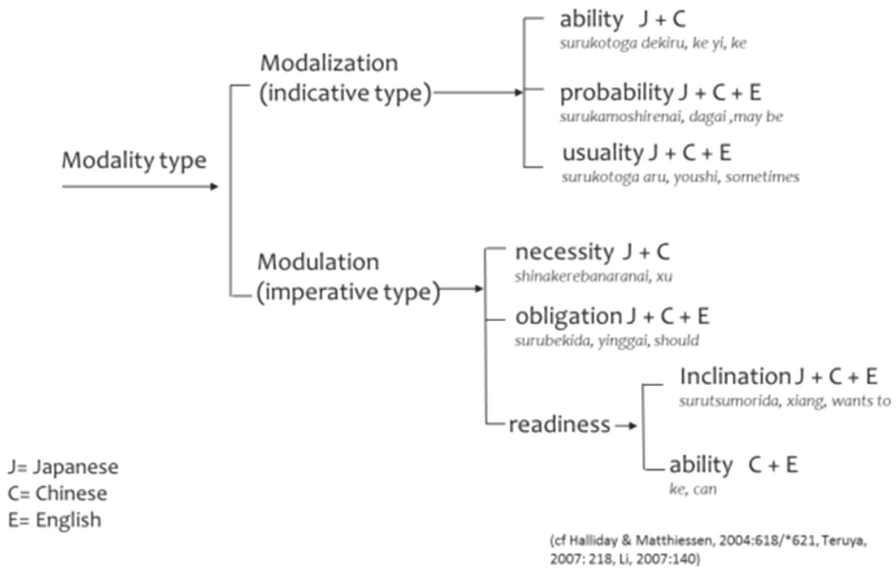

Figure 1: A modified system network of Modality in Japanese, English and Chinese. (cf Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004:618/*621, Teruya, 2007: 218, Li, 2007:140)

3.4 The obligatory element - Command

To enact the tenor relationship between the company as the command giver and the addressee or customer as the command receiver, the interpersonal meaning potential is at risk. The writer, therefore, has the choice to give a proposal directly to the addressee in an imperative mood 'Do it!' or a proposition by making reference to the addressee's obligation 'You should do it.' or ability 'You can do it'. The following two sections will elucidate the varying strategies adopted by the writers in realising different types of commands in the different commercial contexts in Japanese, English and Chinese.

3.4.1 Direct command

Direct commands that instruct the addressee to carry out particular courses of action are identified in the airline baggage texts as well as the privacy policy text. It is consistent across all three languages that direct commands realised in imperative mood are mainly selected for step-by-step actions that are to be performed in a sequential manner and are related to processes of action such as *login, click, pay, file, return, go, check.* Another prominent feature identified in instructional commands is the politeness markedness associated with the imperative clauses that realise these commands. It is observed that in general the direct commands in imperative clauses are always marked for politeness in Japanese regardless of the context of situation. However, in English and Chinese versions, the degree of politeness markedness may vary. In example 1, both Japanese and Chinese are marked for politeness with てください *te-kudasai* and 請 *qing 'please'* respectively, whereas English is represented by a plain command.

Example 1

Japanese	Chinese	English
WORLDTRACER をクリックしてください。 *WORLDTRACER o kurikku shitekudasai* Please click WORLDTRACER	請登入 WORLDTRACER 網頁。 *qin dangru WORLDTRACER wang ye.* Place logon to WORLDTRACER website	Just click on the WORLDTRACER website.

In Japanese, social distance and hierarchical status between the interactants of a discourse are grammatically explicit. The Predicator not only assigns social roles to the interactants through the different moods as in declarative and imperative, and modality as in obligation and readiness, it also marks the social and hierarchical distance between the interactants through the systems politeness and honorification (Teruya, 2004; 2007). Example 2 illustrates a direct command that is marked both for politeness and honorification in Japanese while its Chinese and English counterparts are only marked for politeness.

Example 2

Japanese	Chinese	English
必要書類をご記入のうえ、手続きをしてください。 *hitsuyou shorui o gokinyuu no ue, tetsuzuki o shitekudasai.* Upon filling in necessary documents, please proceed to the formalities.	請到行李服務櫃檯申報。 *qing dao xingli fuwu guitai shenbao.* Please file a report at our Baggage Services Counter.	Please file a report with our Baggage Services Counter.

In this context, the role of the addressee as the respectable customer of higher status is overtly specified by the selection of honorific verb ご記入 *go kinyuu* 'to fill in' and politeness marker てください *te-kudasai* for imperative mood. Although the Subject in Japanese is often implicit, the role and social status is made explicit by the Predicator through the systems of politeness and honorification (Teruya, 2004). By contrast, the tenor relationship between company and customer is less grammatically explicit in English and Chinese. Although the writer has the choice to mark the imperative by a politeness marker such as *please* in English and 請 *qing* in Chinese, there are cases where the imperative clauses are unmarked or neutral. As for social status, while in English and Chinese there is no equivalent of grammaticalised honorifics as in Japanese, the honorific second-person pronoun 您 *nin* when assigning the respectable customer role to the addressee is available for selection in the Chinese system. However, this selection is optional as observed from the sample data.

3.4.2 Indirect command

Another type of command under the enabling socio-semiotic process is the indirect type, which is more related to the controlling of addressee's action through 'obligation' type of modulation. Command of this kind is usually issued indirectly in the form of modulated declarative clause. With varying degrees of polarity, the different modality types together with different mood types construct commands that can be categorized under different values (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:619-621). Figure 2 presents the relation of modality to polarity and mood.

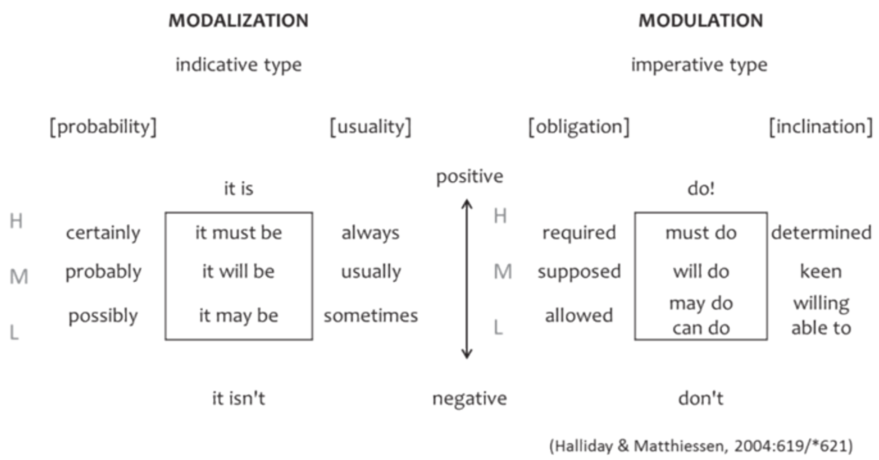

Figure 2: Relation of modality to polarity and mood

As shown in Figure 2, the value of modality is associated with modal judgement of the writer in relations to the cline of polarity. For instance, within the modality of obligation, the value of modality H=high (required), M=median (supposed) or L=low (allowed) shifts along the cline of polarity "do" and "don't". Hence, 'you must do it' is a command with high value of modality and 'you can do it' one with a low value of modality of readiness.

Another variable that determines how each type of modality will be realised is the orientation: that is, the distinction between subjective and objective modality, and between explicit and implicit variants. The relative frequencies of the indirect commands that are realised by modality of obligation and readiness – ability in the different orientation as well as value of modality in the sample texts are visualized in Figure 3 below.

n=66							
Modal Value	Subjective explicit	Subjective implicit		Objective explicit		Objective implicit	
		OBLIGATION (42%)					
H	N/A	no+ may, must	2%				
H	N/A	しなければなりません *shinakerebanarimasen* 'must'	4%				
H	N/A	できません *dekimasen* ' can't'	1%	it has become necessary	1%		
H	N/A	不得 *bude* 'can't'	1%				
M		shall, should	14%			須 *xu* ' required to'	3%
M	N/A	shoud not	1%			will need to	1%
		READINESS - ABILITY (58%)					
L	N/A	can , may	10%				
L		可 *ke* ' can'	10%	することができます *surukotoga dekimasu* 'it is possible that'	18%		

Figure 3: Frequency distribution of modality sub-types of obligation and readiness – ability and their orientation

In realising regulating commands of high value modality under obligation type, subjective implicit type is favoured by English and Japanese, while Chinese favours an objective approach. It is observed that in English, indirect command with high value of modality *must, no…may*, tends to be depersonalised and backgrounded either through assigning a 'thing' to be the Actor *no item may exceed 32 kg* instead of *you may not bring item that exceeds 32 kg*., or employing a passive construction *a complaint must be made*. On the contrary, command with high value modality such as しなければなりません *shinakerebanarimasen* 'must' in Japanese is realised by the Actor 保険者 *hokensha* 'the insured' and is only found in the travel insurance policy text. However, when translated into English, median value of modality *shall* is employed. This can be explained by the fact that the insurance policy is written in the format of a legal contract and there is a tendency for English to overuse the modal adjunct *shall* in legal writing to realise both modality of obligation and readiness (Garner, 2001:105-06.). In representing commands with median value of modality, Chinese tends to select a more objective implicit representation of 'shouldness' using 须 *xu 'be required to'* instead of a more subjective choice using 应该 *ying gai 'should'*.

While the majority (59%) of the indirect command is realised by the ability sub-type of readiness modality, there is a significant difference between the choice of subjective and objective grammatical realisation in constructing this kind of command between languages. For example, the addressee is empowered to disable cookies through a subjective implicit modulated declarative clause: *you can opt out*… in English and 你可选择退出 *nike xuanze tuichu* 'you can choose to opt out' in Chinese respectively. Whereas in Japanese, this type of enabling proposition is realised in an objective explicit type of modality 拒否することができます。 *kyohisurukotoga dekimasu* 'it is possible that opt out is performed'. The grammatical construction of the modalization of ability in Japanese has set up a space or distance between the addressee and action through nominalisation, thereby depersonalizing and presenting the proposition in an objective manner by default.

In terms of tenor relations between writer and reader, oblique assignment of social role and status to the reader through the system of politeness and honorification is predominant in Japanese. Example 3 shows the different realisation strategies of empowering the addressee through the 'ability' type of modality in Japanese, English and Chinese.

Example 3

Japanese	Chinese	English
フリークエントフライヤー会員は、[[カンタス・フリークエントフライヤーポイントでお支払いいただく]]ことができます。 *furiikuento furaiyaa kaiin wa, kantasu furiikuento furaiyaa pointo de oshiharai itadaku koto ga dekimasu* It is possible for the qantas Frequent Flyers members to pay by Frequent Flyers point.	澳航飞行常客会员可使用积分支付 *ao hang feixingchangke huiyuan ke shiyong jifen zhifu* Qantas Frequent Flyers members can pay by using Frequent Flyers points.	Qantas Frequent Flyers can pay using points

The regulating command in the Japanese version is realised in an explicitly objective form that is marked for honorification to enact the tenor relationship between the company and its respectable customer: お支払いいただくことができます *oshiharai itadakukoto ga dekimasu* (honorification + modality of ability). However, in English and Chinese versions, the command is present in a subjective implicit manner with no differentiation in tenor relationship between the writer and the addressee.

3.5 Command and its environment

As discussed in section 3.2, optional elements that form the environment to support obligatory element or the command of the enabling text in business context include 'explanation', 'reasoning' and 'condition'. It is observed that depending on the context of situation, explanation of some kind is usually present to set the purpose or justify the course of action that is either recommended to or required from the addressee. Figure 4 summarizes the relationship between 'command' whether in the form of imperative mood or modulated indicative mood, and its environment from which it operates including 'explanation', 'reasoning' and 'condition.

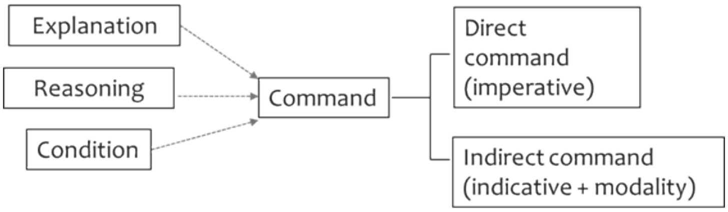

Figure 4: Command and its environment in corporate enabling text

In the corpus, explanation is constructed as proposition in declarative mood and is characterised by the modality of probability when the likelihood or usuality of certain courses of action is at risk. This is common in context of situation where the command is dependent on the explanation of certain actions or consequences.

Figure 5 shows that Japanese constructs the modality of probability in an objective explicit way through a modalization of 'usuality' することがあります *surukoto ga arimasu* 'it sometimes happens that' (cf Teruya, 2007: 213). Similar to the modalization of 'ability' することができます *surukoto ga dekimasu* 'it is possible that' , the action is again phenomenalized through the empty lexical item こと *koto* and the agent is distanced from the series of action.

n=30							
Modal Value	Subjective explicit	Subjective implicit		Objective explicit		Objective implicit	
		PROBABILITY					
M/L	N/A	may, will	36%			N/A	
L	N/A			することがあります *surukotoga arimasu* 'it sometimes happens that'	28%	N/A	
M/L		可能 *keneng* 'may', 将 *jiang* 'will'	36%			N/A	

Figure 5: Frequency distribution of modality sub-types of probability and their orientation

By contrast, both English and Chinese versions address the reader directly as 'you' 你 *ni* to take up the agent role in the series of action. The proposition, therefore, is presented subjectively and implicitly to the addressee through modalization of probability *may, will,* 可能 *ke neng 'may',* 将 *jiang 'will',* thereby assigning modal responsibility to the addressee who is the Subject as well as the agent, whether it is the company in '*Apple may use cookies*' or the customer in '*you will continue to receive the mobile ads*'.

Presenting the reason, purpose or condition to justify or necessitate a command is observed as a common strategy in corporate enabling text. In instructional and regulating texts, commands are often supported by propositions in the form of statements that present solution to a problem or negative consequence to warn addressee to undertake certain actions. Example 4 illustrates how a condition that precedes a command is configured differently in Japanese, Chinese and English to enable the addressee to take certain action that form part of an activity sequence with an outcome that is desirable to them (Matthiessen et al., 2008).

Example 4

Japanese	Chinese	English
Cookieを無効化されたいお客様がSafariウェブブラウザを利用されている場合は、Safariの環境設定の中のセキュリティ設定でCookieを無効化してください。 *Cookie o mukouka saretai okyakusama ga Safari webuburauza o riyousareteiru baai wa, Safari no kankyousettei no naka no sekyuriti settei de Cookie o mukouka shitekudasai.* Under the circumstance where customers are using the Safari web browser and who want to disable cookies, please disable cookies in the security setting of the Safari setting.	×β1 如果你希望禁用 cookies, *ruguo ni xiwan g jinyong cookies* if you wish to disable cookies	×β1 If you want to disable cookies
	+2 并且正在使用 Safari 网页浏览器, *bingqie zhengzai shiyong Safari wangyeliuranqi* and are currently using Safari web browser	+2 and you're using the Safari web browser,
	α 1 请点击 Safari 的"偏好设置", *qing dianji Safari de bienhaosheji* please click Safari preference setting	α 1 go to Safari preferences
	×2 然后进入"隐私"面板 *ranhou jinru yinsi mianban* and then enter "privacy" pane	×2 and then (go) to the privacy pane
	×3 禁用 cookies。 *jinyong cookies* disable cookies	×3 to disable cookies

In both the English (original text) and Chinese versions, the dependent relationship between condition and command is constructed in a clause complex with a conditional dependent clause marked by functional relator *If* and *如果 ruguo* 'if' followed by a command. Both clause complexes are realised in an 'addressee imperative' mood organised in an additive sequence of material processes. The reader here is constructed as a direct addressee *you* and the proposition is presented through a metaphorical modal realisation of the addressee's inclination in a mental process '*if you want to*', 如果你希望 *ruguo ni xiwan 'if you wish to'*.

In the Japanese comparable text, however, the sequential instruction presented in the English and Chinese versions (*go to Safari preferences, and then to the* *privacy pane)* are nominalised into different circumstantial elements in Japanese (Safariの環境設定の中のセキュリティ設定で *Safari no kankyousettei no naka no sekyuriti settei de* 'in the security setting of the Safari setting') followed by an imperative command, all presented in a clause simplex. Furthermore, in the Japanese version, the reader is generalised as 'customers who want to disable cookies' whose intention to disable cookies is backgrounded and moved down to a circumstantial element, distancing the addressee from the series of action. The social role and hierarchical status of the reader is further highlighted through the systems of politeness してください *shitekudasai* and honorification 無効化されたいお客様 *mukouka saretai okyakusama*, 利用されている *riyousareteiru*. This presents a significant difference from the neutral and friendly approach adopted by the English and Chinese versions in which the reader is directly addressed and instructed in a step-by-step manner.

4. Conclusion

In this study I have investigated various lexicogrammatical and semantic patterns in organising customer actions in written enabling texts under the commercial context in Japanese, English and Chinese. The findings suggested that 'command', the obligated element in the corporate enabling text, tends to be realised in imperative clause when it is an instructional type and in modulated declarative clause of 'obligation' and 'ability – readiness' when it is the regulating type (c.f. Matthiessen et al., 2008: 190 – 195). Optional elements such as 'explanation', 'reasoning', and 'condition' that form the environment in which the 'command' operates are often realised in the form of proposition characterised by declarative clause in modalization of 'probability' and 'usuality'.

Under the commercial context, institutional distance is maintained differently between Japanese, English and Chinese. In Japanese, the social distance between the company and customer is maximised through politeness and honorification markers, the inherent grammatical construction of certain modality types, and the logical construction of clauses through nominalisation and clause embedding. The grammatical construction of 'ability' and 'usuality' types of modality in Japanese motivates the proposition to be configured as a phenomenon, rather than a series of action materialised by explicit agents. The phenomenon is embedded through the empty lexical item, or commonly referred to as nominalizer, *koto*. This phenominalization further distances the participant from direct involvement in the event, whether it is the company or customer. Institutional or social distance between company and customer is also most overt in Japanese as it has politeness and honorification markers in different grammatical construct and rank scale to indicate hierarchy and social distance between the participants. Although in the English version, and also in its Chinese translation, there are instances where the interpersonal meaning is suppressed and command is realised in a distant manner by depersonalizing the agent through passive construction as in *will not be accepted* (c.f. Iedema, 1997:82), it is not as systematically grammaticalised and frequent as in its Japanese counterparts. By contrast, although English and Chinese can choose to insert politeness markers (honorific pronoun for Chinese) to realise the formality of the context, social distance between company and customer is usually reduced through a more friendly and direct approach by directly addressing the reader as ‘you’ (c.f. Downing and Lavid: 1984:108). Proposition and proposals are also constructed closer to spoken format in clause complexes, assigning agent role to the addressee who realises the series of action.

This study has examined the different linguistic strategies that companies had adopted to organise and control customer behaviour through public discourse in the commercial setting. The findings are instantial and more data, especially a combination of source texts in both Japanese and English or Chinese, is needed to validate the results. Moreover, the relations between command and the environment in which it operates in corporate discourse can be further explored by employing Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann and Thompson, 1987), through which the functional relations between optional elements can be further categorized and systemically analysed.

References

Bhatia, V. K. (1993). *Analysing genre: language use in professional settings.* London : Longman.

Bhatia, V. K. (2004). *Worlds of written discourse*. London & New York: Continuum.

Cook, G. (1992). *The discourse of advertising.* Routledge.

Dann, G. (1996). *The language of tourism : a sociolinguistic perspective*. CAB International.

Downing, A. and Lavid, J. (1984). ‘Information progression strategies in administrative forms – a cross-linguistic study’. In *Linguistic Choice across Genres – Variation in Spoken and Written English*. Antoina sanchez-Macarro and R. Carter (eds). John Benjamins B.V. Amsterdam. 99-115.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power*. (2nd ed.) Pearson Education Limited.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Routledge.

Garner, B.(2001). *Legal Writing in Plain English*. University of Chicago Press

Halliday, M. A. K. and Hasan, R. (1985). *Language, context, and text*: *aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Geelong, Vic: Deakin University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar (3rd ed.)*. London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2014). *An introduction to functional grammar (4th ed.)*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hasan, R. (1984/1996). ‘The nursery tale as a genre’. Nottingham Linguistic Circular, 13, 71-102, (1984). Reprinted in Hasan, R. (1996) *Ways of saying: ways of meaning.* C. Cloran, D. Butt, and G. Williams (eds) London & New York: Cassell. 51-72.

Wang J. (2011). *Gong neng yu yan xue li lun yu ying yong ‘Theory and application of functional linguistics’.* Harbin: Harbin Engineering University Press.

Iedema, R. (1997). 'The language of administration: organising human activity in formal institutions'. In F. Christie and J.R.Martin. (eds) *Genre and Institutions: Social processes in the workplace and school* 73-100.

Lavid, J. (2000). 'Cross-cultural variation in multilingual instructions: a study of speech act realisation patterns', in E. Ventola (ed.) *Discourse and Community: Doing Functional Linguistics*. Tubingen: Gunter Narr 71-85.

Li, Eden Sum-hung Mann. (2007). *A systemic functional grammar of Chinese: a text-based analysis.* London & New York: Continuum.

Mann, W.C. and Thompson, S. A. (1987). *Rhetorical Structure Theory: A framework for the analysis of texts.* Technical Report, ISI/RS-87-185. Marina de Rey, CA: USC/Information sciences Institute.

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

Matthiessen, C.M.I.M., Teruya, K. and Lam, M. (2010). *Key terms in systemic functional linguistics*. London & New York: Continuum.

Teruya, K. (2004). 'Metafunctional profile of the grammar of Japanese', in Alice Caffarel, J.R. Martin and C.M.I.M. Matthiessen (eds). *Language typology: a functional perspective*. 185-254. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Teruya, K. (2007). *A systemic functional grammar of Japanese.* Two volumes. London & New York: Continuum.

Teruya, K., Akerejora, E., Andersen,T., Caffarel, A., Lavid, J.Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. Petersen, U.H., Patpong, P. and Smedegaard, F. (2008). "Typology of MOOD: a text-based and system-based functional view". In R. Hasan, C. Matthiessen and J. Webster (eds), *Continuing discourse on language*, Volume 2 (859-920). London & Oakville: Equinox.

Internal Conjunction as Argumentative Operations

Akira Ishikawa
Sophia University

Abstract

This paper explores the possibility of extending the system of conjunction to include implicit conjunction especially from the point of view of explaining reasoning in the text. Since the current formulation of the conjunction system is based on explicit conjunctive expressions, there remains some possibility that certain discourse meanings related to combining statements fail to be incorporated in it. This paper investigates this possibility by considering three approaches to argument analysis: that adopted in introductory books on critical reasoning and argumentation, *topica* in the ancient rhetoric of the West, and a system of operations and connections. Based on Fisher's (2004) distinction between causal relation, explanation and reasoning, the paper examines the centrality of transition from reasons to conclusion in the characterization of arguments, at the same time establishing relations between the reasoning process categories and the internal/external conjunction system. It will be pointed out that the internal/external distinction may reflect the difference between subjective and objective presentation. *Topica* in ancient rhetoric indicates a potential extension incorporating argumentation based on outside warrants. The system of operations and connections offers a possibility to incorporate in argument analysis various discourse moves supplementing the central reasoning.

1. Introduction

The distinction between external and internal conjunction is primarily made for explicit conjunctive words and phrases (Halliday and Hasan 1976:329-355). But as Martin (1992:183) notes, "it is hard to see how texts … can be interpreted unless implicitly realized connections are made." However, apparently it seems to require a substantial expansion of the conjunctive system as proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and later revised by Martin (1992:168-270) and Martin and Rose (2007:115-154) to incorporate implicit conjunctive relations into the system. The difficulty with identifying implicit conjunctive relations partly comes from the limitation of the conjunctive system as primarily applicable to adjacent clauses or clause complexes (Martin 1992:171), characterizing them as "cohesive". It seems that this "clausal" origin of conjunction might restrict the range of possible conjunctive relations too narrowly to what is basically expressible as clausal elements (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:541) to capture the aspects of argumentation in text.

Although the distinction between external and internal conjunction is a very powerful conceptual tool which will enable us to make sense of the perceptive differences between argumentative and non-argumentative textual development, it is not always straightforward to apply it in the actual analysis of texts of different genres. This situation clearly indicates that the characterization of the two conjunction types needs to be further elaborated in order to make it a practical tool for discourse analysis. This does not mean that the original formulation of the distinction is conceptually vague or leaves a lot of room to be filled in, but rather that it works like a set of stakes planted primarily to map out an area of investigation. The situation is quite different from that of other conceptual tools such as expansion, projection and the metafunctions, which are more concerned with the architectural features of language than how language serves particular social purposes. In this regard, genre might be another such concept serving to stake out an area of discourse study whose territorial features are still largely waiting for further elaboration despite its successful discovery of various disciplinary genres as reported in Martin and Rose (2008) and Christie and Martin (1997).

One can understand this indeterminacy associated with certain discourse-oriented concepts as reflecting the applied nature of discourse studies in SFL. Without going into any further discussion on this point, I assume that certain discourse-related concepts, including genre and the external/internal distinction of conjunction, inherently depend upon applicative studies for the clarification of their 'territorial' features, especially in terms of boundaries to be drawn between the regions of the area covered by the concept. In the case of external and internal conjunction, the major boundary between these two regions seems to be determinable only after extensive study of how the distinction can serve to clarify the structure and function of particular texts of various genres under investigation.

The kind of issues involved in this distinction will be best seen in the following quotation from Halliday and Hasan (1976: 240):

> The essential fact here is that communication is itself a process, albeit a process of a special kind; and that the salient event in this process is the text. It is this that makes it possible for there to be two closely analogous set of conjunctive relations: those which exist as relations between external phenomena, and those which are as it were internal to the communication situation.

The contrast between the two modes of conjunction suggests that there are two different ways of developing text. What drives the two kinds of textual unfolding is one central issue of interest for those who are engaged in the study of textual organization. One attempt at further specification is made by Martin (1992), where the contrast is equated with the **field** element of the register, on the one hand, and **genre**, on the other:

> This would treat external relations as by and large oriented to field – they encode the institutional organization of our culture. Internal relations on the other hand are oriented to genre (including the conversational structure

realizing genre in dialogic modes) – they encode the organization of text as it is formulated to construct our culture.

Following this characterization, in Ishikawa (2013), it is suggested that the same contrast might be captured in terms of whether the text is **goal-oriented** or not, which is called **stage-reading** and **phase-reading**, respectively. This interpretation of the contrast between internal and external conjunction is meant to connect the field/genre contrast to the functional intent of the text producer, who will try to present himself either as being faithful to facts in describing phases of an event or as proceeding toward the predetermined point of a stage in expressing his opinion. Unlike the traditional contrast between fact and opinion, the contrast between phase-reading and stage-reading does not come from the difference in the nature of the content being expounded but rather from the difference between whether, as it were, a bottom-up approach or a top-down approach to developing the text is intended. As part of evidence of this interpretation, it is also pointed out in the same paper that Aijmer's (1996) discourse markers, which by themselves do not represent content but refers to the textual significance of the portion of the text marked by them, can be classified into certain classes of Martin's (1992) internal conjunctions, i.e. as contributing to stage-reading.

The potentiality of this distinction for discourse study is most impressively demonstrated by Martin and Rose (2008: 130), who show that history genres can be divided into two groups based on the distinction between **field time** and **text time**, drawing on Coffin (1997). Each genre of the first group, called recount genres, develops their text in the form of series of events or episodes. In other words, what controls the textual development is the temporal relations connecting events and episodes with each other. On the other hand, the second group of historical genres, called explanatory genres, depends upon text time for connecting events, which are treated as causes and effects. In contrast to field time, text time allows us to disrupt the chronological order of events, as in the case of factorial explanations, where the causes of an event are examined after the mention of the event.

It is clear that this opposition between field time and text time reflects the same intuitions constituting the distinction between external and internal conjunction. The two text-organization modes are characterized as chronicling (based on field time) and explanation (based on text time). As evidence of this interpretation, one can refer to Martin and Rose's (2008: 137) third group of history genres, called argument genres, which comprises **exposition**, **challenge** and **discussion**. As opposed to the chronicling and explanation of historical events, they are concerned with 'the task of motivating **interpretations**', which might more generally be called *points* or *theses*. The common key linguistic feature of these argument genres is their use of internal conjunction (Martin and Rose, 2008: 135).

Thus, the external/internal distinction of conjunctive mode enables us to gain considerable insights into how texts of historical genres can be organized. In view of the cline of temporality from field time through text time to internal conjunction, the last of which is devoid of temporality, one can conjecture that it should be possible to extend the external/internal distinction of conjunctive mode to other genres as well although the conjunctive distinction is not used as a characteristic linguistic feature for other genres in Martin and Rose (2008). Clearly, the story genres can be associated with field time, but with the other genre families, that of reports and explanations and that of procedures and procedural reports, it would fall far short of informatively characterizing the way text is developed in the family if it is simply associated with internal conjunction. Instead, it would then be necessary to resort to a classification of internal conjunction such as proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 242-243), Martin (1992: 240), and Martin and Rose (2007: 132, 141).

This natural move offers us another perspective which seems to throw more light on the intuitions behind this conjunctive distinction. That is, the two conjunctive modes seem to be subject to a classification into a number of common sub-classes: Additive, Adversative, Causal and Temporal according to Halliday and Hasan, and Addition, Comparison, Causal and Time for Martin and Rose (2007). The view afforded by this perspective is that **temporality** or **causality** alone, or both combined do not capture the difference between the two conjunctive modes. Rather, it is necessary to appeal to the more abstract, original formulation in terms of 'relations between external phenomena, and those which are as it were internal to the communication situation,' the latter of which is also called 'rhetorical' (Martin and Rose 2008: 135). So in order to probe for the ways in which this conjunctive distinction can be applied to the explication of different textual development in different genres, one needs to be clear about the difference between textual development guided by relations of external phenomena, and by rhetorical relations.

In the rest of the paper, I will take the tack of investigating the relations between argumentation and internal conjunction, especially focusing on the problem of how to translate the parlance of argumentation into that of internal conjunction. Since the argument genres all have internal conjunction as a key linguistic feature, such an investigation will serve as evidence of the revelatory power of SFL to explicate what is involved in reasoning in language.

2. Argument analysis

2.1 Semantic characterization

One of the difficulties of argument analysis can be illustrated by the following example from Fisher (2004: 18):

(1) John broke the window because he tripped.
(2) John broke the window because he had forgotten his key.
(3) John must have broken the window because he was the only person in the house.

The three sentences all feature the same 'inference indicator' *because*, but its function in argumentation is different in each sentence, and the difference is closely related to the external/internal distinction of conjunction. According to Fisher, in (1), *because* indicates a **causal relation** between the two events while in (2), it forms a statement which '**explains** John's reason for breaking the window.' He says in neither (1) nor (2), argumentative reasoning is indicated by *because*. This interpretation is acceptable because the speaker of these sentences is normally understood as merely reporting what happened without offering any opinion on his part. By contrast, in (3), Fisher maintains, "the natural way to construe it requires that we treat 'because' as a reason indicator.' It is also pointed out that the word *must* is a clue to this interpretation. In SFL, one might say that this *because* is used for internal conjunction.

Thus, a classification of conjunctive expressions into external and internal conjunctions cannot be solely based on specific conjunctive lexical items but requires the kind of semantic interpretation that we saw above. To further complicate the situation, Fisher (2004: 17) states that 'whether certain claims are to be counted as conclusions or reasons depends solely on the author's apparent intentions – as he or she has expressed them.' This means even at the level of inter-sentential conjunction (because claims are statements), the nature of the conjunction under investigation requires a semantic scrutiny as to whether an argumentative intent is involved in the connection between the statements.

An immediate consequence of this requirement seems to be the difficulty one might find in identifying the author's argumentative intentions between statements connected by Addition or Comparison rather than by Time or Causal, for unlike the latter, the former two conjunctive classes do not directly express temporal or causal connections between statements, which are used as major criteria for distinguishing between external and internal conjunction as we have seen above. It becomes necessary, among other things, to find the criteria for identifying external and internal conjunctions for Addition and Comparison, which should reflect a more basic understanding (meaning irrespective of temporality and causality) of the 'externality' and 'internality.'

Another consequence of the requirement is that the identification of the author's intentions, and, a fortiori, that of the category of each particular conjunctive relation in the text can only be made in a context containing the relation which is wide enough to sustain the author's **rhetorical intent**, whether it is meant to be argumentative or otherwise. As will be shown later, these rhetorical intentions can come in various sizes of text depending on the type of textual purpose the speaker or the writer is engaged with.

2.1.1 Conclusion, reasons, and assumptions

One typical approach to argument analysis which is based on semantic considerations rather than textual ones is to analyze an argument into conclusions and reasons, as seen in introductory books on reasoning such as Fisher (2004) and Thomson (2009). Generally, to conclusions and reasons are added assumptions, implicit propositions which are necessary in order to be able to effect the transition from reasons to the conclusion. From the viewpoint of textual analysis for rhetorical intentions, one should note that basically, no further analysis is required than identifying these three components in an argumentative passage, leaving smaller textual chunks carrying other rhetorical functions largely untouched. In other words, the major task is to find 'warrants' for passing from the reasons to the conclusion, which usually takes the form of looking for hidden assumptions justifying the transition.

In Thomson (2009), however, **explanations** (57-66) and assessment of **the reliability of evidence and authority** (83-95) are separately treated, acknowledging the different rhetorical functions of these components in an argument. This separate treatment of explanations resonates with Fisher's interpretation mentioned above, but it also suggests that certain reasoning is understood as stopping short of making claims. This observation can be amplified by assuming that a piece of reasoning is not taken as making a claim when it is objectively presented. One can interpret this as a way of connecting the external/internal distinction with the objective/subjective distinction. That is, explanations can be regarded as a way of treating relationships between external phenomena solely in terms of objectively supported evidence.

Assessment of the reliability of evidence and authority also has to do with our investigation into the external/internal distinction of conjunction because it draws our attention to a different kind of 'warrants' from those existing between the reasons and the conclusion, generally with the aid of some assumptions. They are outside the warrants arising from circumstantial factors: vested interest, relevant experience or expertise, factors affecting someone's (the witness's, for example) judgement, and corroboration (of different sources) (Thomson 2009: 84-85). If outside warrants are used to justify or refute a statement, it clearly indicates an intention to make an argument. So an appeal to them in a text will enable one to conclude that the text is being rhetorical.

Another important point to note in this tradition concerning the semantic analysis of arguments can be ascertained by noticing the special importance given to the identification of **implications**, **parallel arguments** and **principles**, all of which involve implicit statements or inferential patterns playing crucial roles in the development of argument (Thomson 2009: 72-82). If the reasoning in a passage crucially depends upon these implicit elements, it is safe to conclude that the passage is argumentative (i.e. rhetorical). Thus, the segments related through these elements can be considered as exhibiting implicit internal conjunction.

2.1.2 *Topica*

Another semantic approach to argument analysis is one traditionally known as *topica*, the grounds or basis of an argument, which is part of the skills for creating argumentative discourse, especially for forensic purposes (Barthes 1979: 105-116). *Topica*, or **regions** of an argument, constitute the techniques for defeating one's opponent with an argument based on **evidence** rather than attitude or emotion (Senger 1986: 64). The evidence for a particular argument is either **intrinsic to the orator,** such as definition, enumeration of parts, circumstance closely connected with the subject, words of the same family, genus/species, analogy, difference, adjuncts, antecedents/ consequents/ contradictions, efficient causes, or **extrinsic to him**, i.e. appealing to authorities associated with virtue, knowledge or necessity (confession) (Cicero 1949). Intrinsic evidence is one way of spelling out the warrants one needs for drawing a conclusion from reasons. Extrinsic evidence seems to directly correspond to the outside warrants we discussed at the end of the previous section.

Topica form part of the education of rhetorical skills, which deals with the problem of how to discover the material or concepts which will lead to an effective argument. This part is complemented by the part concerned with various inferential patterns, including some treatment of fallacies, and the part dealing with inquiries, particular or general, and choice of suitable *topica* for specific **types of inquiry** (Cicero 1949: 442-459). Inferential patterns do not seem to be treated as a proper subject of discourse analysis in SFL although they might hold some pedagogical interest for those concerned with scientific disciplines. By contrast, the study of different types of inquiry seems to be profitably connected with that of register in SFL in view of the fact that there is some interest in discourse analysis regarding 'linguistic' models of argumentation among legal scholars (Haft, 1992).

Since the purpose of this approach to argument analysis is pedagogic, the emphasis is placed on the discovery techniques for argument using the concepts represented by the *topica*. In this sense, the approach remains semantic or conceptual and does not address the more linguistic concerns about how argumentative texts are organized. Although the subject of *topica*, and ancient rhetoric, for that matter, is directly concerned with creating argument, it seems safe to say that the focus is placed on the practical or pragmatic aspects of argumentation rather than on the discourse analysis of argumentation which would reveal the textual mechanisms of developing reasoning. As a result, it is difficult to connect *topica* with the distinction between external and internal conjunction. As has been noted, this comes from the lack of interest on the part of the ancient rhetoricians and philosophers in the way a text develops as the result of reasoning. For such linguistic analysis, one needs a theory which accords the text a central place in its theorizing.

2.2 Cognitive analysis

What is called cognitive analysis here is represented by the theory of arguments as operations proposed by Schlesinger et al. (2001), which is a notational system for the analysis of arguments. Their theory is based on the assumption that thinking is a form of internal argument:

> In Developmental Psychology it has been argued that thinking develops in the child through the internalization of speech (Vygotsky 1987). Empirical studies of reasoning have led Green (1995) to conceive of thinking as a form of internal argument.

This assumption leads to the idea of explaining the divergences between the expressed argument and the underlying reasoning process. Schlesinger et al. devised a system of operations which would formalize the underlying reasoning processes in terms of the steps taken during argument (Schlesinger et al. 2001: 3):

> The formalization intends to capture the cognitive structure of the argument. It represents the steps in the underlying structure (the 'operations', in our terminology) and the relationships between them.

There are eight classes of operations, which can be grouped into four groups according to the following criteria (21-22):

a. whether the operation is targeting a previous operation
b. whether it is adding new information to the targeted operation
c. whether the adding operation adds new information to the outcome or the operator of the targeted operation

When an operation is not targeting a previous operation, the step is an initiation of a new topic, which is called **Presentation**. Targeting a previous operation, the operation may not add new information but rework the content of the previous information, which is called **Interpretation**. There are four ways of adding new information to the outcome (roughly equivalent to the propositional content) of a previous operation. One is called **Elaboration**, which augments the propositional content of the previous information by adding additional detail. The operation called **Cause** is a step of accounting for the previous information by supplying its cause as new information. A third operation, **Inference**, can be realized by drawing a consequence from the previous information through all sorts of inferential modes, not necessarily restricted to logical inference. The last operation, called **Nescience**, signals the speaker's ignorance of the previous information ('I didn't know it'). When the adding operation has the operator rather than the outcome as target, there are two relevant operations. The operator of an operation refers to the kind of operation such as those being enumerated here, i.e. Presentation, Interpretation, etc. But as operators, they are taken to the rhetorical force of each type of operation, subtracting the proposition content of the whole operation. One of the two relevant operation, **Adjudgment**, adds new information which assesses the previous operation as valid, legal, ingenious, etc. Being an evaluative operation, Adjudgment can also be applied to the outcome of the previous operation, as in 'This statement is true', 'These claims are contradictory', etc. The second operation, called **Justification**, is similar to Cause, but different from it in that it accounts for the reason why the previous operation was taken as a reasonable step ('What justifies this operation is …').

With the addition of other operations which allow the compounding of these operations and the introduction of (notations for) questions and probability, one can specify the underlying structure of a piece of reasoning, monologic or dialogic, reflecting an argument of a point. As is clear from the grouping criteria of these operations, they can directly express the connection between consecutive statements of reasoning, specifying how the relevant components of the statement are related. It might be expected that a fairly direct translation of the set into Martin and Rose's conjunctive classes can be carried out.

It turns out that more than half of them (Interpretation, Elaboration, Cause, Inference, and Justification) can be put into direct correspondences to internal conjunction whereas Adjudgment and Nescience have no clear counterparts. The absence of a counterpart for Presentation is due to its nature as the initial step in a piece of reasoning (non-targeting operation)[1]. Since Nescience is essentially a conversational response move, it is understandable that it does not have corresponding internal conjunction categories.

There are several interesting observations to be made indicating the relations between this approach and the external/internal distinction of conjunctive relations under investigation. One is the absence of internal conjunction corresponding to the operation of Accounting. In Table 1., a likely category of internal conjunction is supplied in italics to mark this situation. The absence can be accounted for by taking Accounting to correspond to explanations, which, as pointed out by Fisher, do not deal with direct (physical) causality. As has been discussed above, one can interpret explanations as objectively presented reasoning of causality. It turns out this is exactly the view taken by the authors (Schlesinger et al. 2001: 81):

> … while a Justification is the operation of *supporting* an assertion and defending it, Accounting is the operation of *explaining*: giving a reason for a state of affairs or stating what is its cause. … The Justification states why the author believes he is entitled to make the claim, whereas an Accounting operation states what is the reason for a certain state or event.

A second observation one can make is that Martin and Rose's (2007: 141) Comparison: different: oppose and Consequence: countering: dismiss /unexpected seem to correspond to the outcome/operator distinction where the former involves contrasting outcomes (propositional contents) and the latter contrasting operators. If this is the case, they can be related to Adjudgment:Comparison and Adjudgment:Confrontation, respectively, because both operations have two operations as target rather than one. The distinction between outcome-targeting and operator-targeting seems to offer a new perspective on the problem of internal conjunction.

A third interesting observation is that most Adjudgment operations are not expressible by means of internal conjunction. Instead, they have to resort to **implicit** conjunction rather than **explicit** conjunction. So taking this perspective of argument operations can lead to an extension of the range of meanings covered by internal conjunction from the viewpoint of discourse semantics. It is also noteworthy that the Adjudgment operations can be realized as hypotactic constructions such as 'It is true that …' (Truth Value) and 'John said …' (Designation), which suggests that the theme area of a sentence can have realizations complementing internal conjunction in the case of Adjudgment (Schlesinger et al. 2001: Chapter 6).

Table 1: Eight classes of operations and corresponding internal conjunction class

	Examples	Martin & Rose's internal conjunction
1. Presentation	[A new statement]	(None)
2. Interpretation	This means that … .	(Comparison:similar:rework/adjust)
3. Elaboration	This event took place at … .	(Addition:developing:additive)
4. Cause		
Result	The result of this was that …	(Consequence:concluding:conclude)
Accounting	The reason (motive) of this was …	(*Consequence:concluding:account*)
5. Inference:		
Modus Ponens	['if a then b' and 'a is the case'], hence 'b'	(Consequence:concluding:conclude)
Modus Tollens	['if a then b' and 'not b'], hence 'not a'	(Consequence:concluding:conclude)
Deduction	['a is begger than b' and 'b is bigger than c'], hence 'a is begger than c'	(Consequence:concluding:conclude)
Generalization	[In Nice we met an English-speaking official.] So apparently all Nicean officials speak English.	(Comparison:similar:rework)
Analogy	[In summer food spoils when left outside.] So food will spoil when left in a very warm room.	(Comparison:similar:compare)
Backward Modus Ponens	['if a than b', 'b is the case'], hence 'a'	(Consequence:concluding:conclude)
Eduction	[He gambles for high stakes.] So he must be irresponsible.	(Consequence:concluding:conclude)
Presupposition restoring	[J. has stopped smoking.] So J. had been smoking.	(Consequence:concluding:conclude)
6. Justification	What justifies this operation is …	(Consequence:concluding:justify)
7. Adjudgment:		
Truth value	This [statement] is true/false (correct/incorrect)	
Validation	This [operation] is valid (well-founded)/invalid (unfounded)	
Evaluation	This is not permitted.	
Status	This [operation] is ingenious.	
Confrontation	These claims are contradictory.	
Comparison	a is bigger than b.	
Designation	The author of this claim is N.	
Subsumption	a is a member of category b.	
8. Nescience:		
Question	What does this mean?	
”I don’t know”	I do not know what this means.	

Another interesting thing to note is that internal conjunctions falling under the category of **extension** do not correspond to this initial set of eight operations because the former concerns the introduction of a new argumentative point while the latter concerns the treatment of a single current argumentative point. As a consequence, Schlensiger et al. (2001:147-162) provides a different set of devices, called **connections**, which can account for those components of an argumentative passage which are not to be related to the current argumentative point through the targeting operations:

1. "Unrestricted" connections: Accrual, Comment, Progression, Degression, Seriation, Concession, Correction, Summarizing, Solution, Impediment
2. Between-argument connections: Response, Alternate
3. toned-down operations: Similarity, Contrast, Sequel

As can be surmised from their names, the connections represent diverse argumentative behavior one encounters in texts. Table 2 shows the correspondences between the connections and their counterpart conjunctive categories. Progression and Degression are incremental and decremental movements in semantic force, which may be expressed by **continuatives** such as *even*: *John had his home renovated. He even planted a new garden* (Progression); *John had his home renovated. His neighbor made only some necessary repairs of his house* (Degression) (Schlensinger et al. 2001: 151). These movements are often crucial in supporting a particular claim because they serve to indicate a tendency rather than a simple listing of observations. Again, this is a lacuna in the English internal conjunction system which is taken over by different means.

Table 2: Connections and internal conjunctions

connection	internal conjunction
Accrual	(Addition:developing:additive)
Comment	(Addition:staging:sidetracking)
Progression	(None)
Degression	(None)
Seriation	(Time:successive:)
Concession	(Consequence:concessive:concede/unexpected)
Correction	(Comparison:similar:adjust)
Summarizing	(Comparison:simlar:rework)
Solution	(None)
Impediment	(Consequence:concessive:unexpected)
Response	(None)
Alternate	(Addition:developing:alternative)
Simlarity	(Comparison:similar:compare)
Contrast	(Comparison:different:oppose)
Sequel	(Time:successive:)

Another missing counterpart with good reason is that of Response because just as in the case of the Nescience operation, Response is basically a conversational move of complying with a request for information. By contrast, the absence of a counterpart for Solutions is another interesting lacuna in the conjunction system because arguments often take the appearance of problem-solving with the text leading the thought process of posing problems and weighing up possible solutions: *Salt is not good for Carl, because his blood pressure is high. He should try a salt-free diet* (Schlesinger et al. 2001: 155).

The distinction between operations and connections confirms that the central issue in argument analysis is the reasoning surrounding the establishment of a particular argumentative point in focus. This is the same attitude we saw in the semantic approaches above. On the other hand, it reveals the often unnoticed neglect of the discourse processes underlying argumentation in the analysis of arguments. In this respect, Schlesinger et al.'s approach may offer new insights for SFL approaches to discourse analysis. It should be noted that Martin and White's (2005: 134) **engagement** seems to offer a similar possibility of extending the study of argument analysis. Although the categories of meaning in their engagement system are proposed to account for the textual behavior aimed at achieving **alignment** with **value position**, as value positions are usually associated with claims in argument, those categories can also be taken as a kind of argumentative operations/connections, thus establishing a close link between appraisal theory and the conjunction system. This may be a move toward emphasizing the dialogic nature of reasoning, or thinking in general, which is manifested in unfolding text.

3. Conclusion

I have considered the problem of how to extend the system of conjunction based on the internal/external distinction by examining three distinct approaches to argument analysis. It is pointed out that the internal/external distinction reflects a more general distinction of subjective and objective presentation. This suggests the possibility that Halliday and Hasan's (1976) 'external phenomena' may really mean what is presented objectively. Adopting this interpretation will lead one to recognize the need to identify the author's intentions in textual development because statements can be rhetorical only when they are so intended by the author. The well-known distinction between explanations and claims might provide some evidence of our recognition of the role of the author's intentions.

An examination of topica and the related concepts of ancient rhetoric reveals a different, more pragmatic perspective on argument analysis. However, it also opens up a new outlook on the discourse analysis of argument by emphasizing two different modes of presenting warrants for drawing a conclusion, those intrinsic and extrinsic to the author. The recognition of outside warrants in argument is expected to make a broader range of texts analyzable as argumentative texts.

One way to capture the author's rhetorical intentions might be to think of them in terms of a model of argumentative moves. One such model, proposed by Schlesinger et al. (2001), has been examined, especially in terms of the significance of the distinction between what they call operations and connections. It has turned out that the distinction is based on the same recognition as espoused by the previous approaches we examined of the centrality of the transition from the reasons to the conclusion in an argument. One finding from the examination of the model is that certain operations and connections are inherently subject to implicit conjunction because of their ‘dialogic’ nature such as Nescience, Response, Solution and Adjudgment.

This finding lends considerable support to those who regard it as imperative to extend the system of conjunction to include implicit conjunction. It may be possible to capture certain conjunctive relations by using a structural analysis such as Rhetorical Analysis (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 583-585), but the underlying semantics of textual transitions may not be fully explicated unless such transitions are put into specific contexts. Schlesinger et al’s operations and connections might be used to identify textual units resembling Martin and Rose’s (2008) **phases** in the **stage**. This also indicates the possibility to extend the conjunctive system to be able to handle textual transitions in common terms. Such an extension will pave the way for developing a theory of textual transition which would clarify the relationships between various approaches handling different kinds of textual units such as Martin and Rose’s (2008) genre relations, Eggins and Slade’s (1997) conversational moves and Cloran’s (1999) rhetorical units.

In connection with Schlesinger et al.’s model, brief mention was made of a possible application of the approach to recategorize Martin and White’s system of engagement. This move will lead to shedding a new light on the interpretation of the textual processes as essentially dialogic in nature.

Thus, it has been discussed that it is possible to extend the system of conjunction by taking an approach which investigates the processes of reasoning (or more broadly, thinking) going on in the text by means of a certain system of argumentative operations (and connections). This approach is expected to bring various hitherto unrecognized, or recognized but not fully treated phenomena and distinctions into the purview of discourse analysis.

Note

1 If one just focuses on the function of introducing a new point, it may be plausible to let it correspond to Addition:staging:framing.

References

Aijmer, K. (1996) *Conversational routines in English.* New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

バルト, R. (Barthes, R.) (1979) 旧修辞学(*l’ancienne rhetorique*) （沢崎浩平訳） 東京：みすず書房

Christie, F. and Martin, J.R. (1997) *Genre and Institutions: Social Processes in the Workplace and School.* London & New York: Cassell.

Cicero, M.T. (1949) *Topica.* In H. M. Hubbell (tr.) *Cicero: de invention, de optimo genere oratorum, topica.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 377-459.

Cloran, C. (1999) ‘Contexts for learning’. In F. Christie (ed.) *Pedagogy and the shaping of consciousness: linguistic and social processes*. London & New York: Continuum. 31-65.

Coffin, C. (1997) 'Constructing and giving value to the past: an investigation into secondary school history'. In F. Christie and J.R. Martin (eds) *Genre and Institutions: social processes in the workplace and school*. London: Pinter. 196-230.

Eggins, S. and Slade, D. (1997) *Analysing casual conversation*. London & Oakville: Equinox.

Fisher, A. (2004) *The logic of real arguments*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ハフト (Haft, F.) (1992) 『レトリック流法律学習法 (*Einfuhrung in das juristische Lernen*) 』東京：木鐸社

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

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1989) *Language, context and text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) *Introduction to Functional Grammar* 3rd edition. London: Arnold.

Ishikawa, A. (2010) 「社説からリサーチ・ペーパーへ」 *Proceedings of JASFL*, Vol. 4. October 2010. 105-118.

Ishikawa, A. (2013) External and Internal Conjunction Reexamined: An Attempt to Expand the Conjunctive System. *Proceedings of JASFL*, Vol. 7. October 2013. 85-97.

Martin, J.R. (1992) *English text*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Martin, J.R. and Rose, D. (2007) *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause.* London & New York: Continuum.

Martin, J.R. and Rose, D. (2008) *Genre relations: mapping culture*. London & Oakville: Equinox.

Martin, J.R. and White, P.R.R. (2005) *The language of evaluation: appraisal in English*. London &New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

サンジェ, J. (Senger, J.) (1986) 弁論術とレトリック (*l'art oratoire*) （及川、一之瀬訳）東京：白水社

Schlesinger, I., Keren-Portnoy, T. and Parush, T. (2001) *The Structure of Arguments.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Thomson, A. (2009) *Critical reasoning: a practical introduction.* 3rd ed. London & New York: Routledge.

Coming Clean:
Evaluation and the Language of Public Confession

Patrick Kiernan
Meiji University

Abstract

This paper explores the ways narratives evoke identities and how evaluation, in particular, is used as a resource to negotiate identity in the context of a public confession. The paper situates the evaluative resources of Appraisal (Martin & White, 2005) in relation to intertextuality (Allen, 2011), multimodality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) and positioning theory (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999). It considers an analysis of a televised confession on the Oprah Winfrey talk show with Lance Armstrong, a prominent athlete who had recently been convicted for doping. Media reports following the interview indicate that the confession failed to placate a shocked public. The analysis, which moves from broader contextual considerations to detailed features of the text, shows why the confession proved so ineffectual. The interview included few acts of apology and was dominated by a renegotiation of identity, which drew heavily on evaluative resources. The attempts by Armstrong to defend some features of his original narrative were largely undermined by the rich use of multimodal resources which position Armstrong as a liar, a cheat and a bully, in spite of his efforts to both re-contextualize his actions and distance himself from a past self.

1. Introduction

> *…to the skeptics…I am sorry you can't dream big, and I'm sorry you don't believe in miracles but this is one hell of a race. This is a great sporting event and you should stand around and believe, you should believe in these athletes* (Lance Armstrong 2005 on the podium after winning his seventh Tour de France)

> *This story was so perfect for so long…You overcome the disease, you win the Tour de France seven times, you have a happy marriage, you have children, I mean its just this mythic, perfect story. And it wasn't true.* (Lance Armstrong, 2013 during his interview with Oprah Winfrey)

Narrative and beliefs are fundamental to human identity. Many of the legends and religious stories at the heart of traditional cultures may have lost some of their power in an increasingly technological and multicultural world but, in the meantime, the growth of media and communications has actually made some narratives more potent and far reaching than in the past as competing national, cultural and corporate identities vie for the perfect story. Narratives in the media can play a central role in negotiating power and identity in the world today and are therefore an important area of social and linguistic research.

One salient example of the power of media narratives that begs exploration is the story of the US cyclist Lance Armstrong (hereafter LA). His remarkable recovery from an advanced diagnosis of cancer and even more remarkable subsequent success in the Tour de France (see Armstrong & Jenkins, 2000) brought him international fame and fortune. It also helped generate an estimated $500 million for Livestrong, the cancer foundation he initiated (MacLaggan, 2013); huge profits for a range of products he endorsed (Levinson & Novy-Williams, 2012); and raised the wealth and prestige of the Tour itself during the years of his successes there. In some cases, sponsors alluded directly to the LA narrative. A 2001 Nike commercial defied doping allegations by showing LA training and taking drug tests concluding with LA riding in the rain to his voiceover 'Everyone want's to know what I am on. What am I on? I am on my bike, busting my ass six hours a day. What are you on?' Filling the anticipated drug slot (e.g. "on EPO") with "bike" draws the viewer's attention away from drugs to his training. However, this cornerstone of his fairytale story of winning against unbelievable odds that he did so without the aid of performance enhancing drugs that were rife in professional cycling at the time, was ultimately to be turned on its head when the United States Anti-Doping Administration report incriminated LA as running 'a doping conspiracy' on his team; 'a massive fraud' and 'one of the most sordid chapters in sports history' (USADA, 2012, p. 64). The fairytale was, after all, not to be believed. This paper introduces an analysis of LA's first public confession that shows how public confessions are challenging sites for identity negotiation.

The following section establishes the theoretical framework for this study by indicating how Appraisal (Martin and White, 2005) in conjunction with multimodality (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001); intertextuality (Allen, 2011) and positioning theory (Harré and Langenhove, 1999) might be used to explore identity. The remainder of this paper moves from an overview of the larger context of the confession in towards more specific features of the linguistic and multimodal resources at play. LA, I will argue while once in a powerful position to control the discourse surrounding him at a number of levels found that his rhetoric was undermined at each level during the interview so there was little he could do to defend himself.

2. Appraisal as a source for exploring the negotiation of identity

Identity indexes or 'identifies' a specific self. However, identities are not necessarily either unique or permanent. Identities can be transient or ephemeral such as the role of an interviewer or more permanent such as professional cyclist, cancer survivor, American or man. Identity, here, refers to the way in which individuals or groups establish a sense of self in relation to others, either through affiliation with or separation from others. Identities are socially defined though they may be associated with biological or physical traits (such as gender being based on sex). Identities can also change over a lifetime from infant to youth to middle age. Studies of everyday talk, institutional talk and public talk (such as political speeches) indicate that evaluation of self and others and even ideas can contribute to identity positioning, albeit with limitations due to the relative power of speakers and other contextual factors.

In terms of Hallidean linguistic description (Halliday, 2003), identity positioning belongs in the realm of the *interpersonal metafunction* at the level of *discourse-semantics,* the same intersection identified by Martin and White (2005) for Appraisal. Moreover, in locating Appraisal, Martin and White explain that Appraisal conceptually shares this realm with *Negotiation* and *Involvement*, the latter being associated with solidarity in contrast to power. Power and solidarity represent the two contrasting positions that we can adopt when situating ourselves in relation to others. This theme of alignment verses dis-alignment through power distancing is the central concern of positioning theory. Positioning theory (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003) focuses on the way that self and others are situated through talk using pronouns and other resources that signal participants and participant relations. Evaluation can be used to evaluate other things besides participants such as ideas or inanimate objects but even these evaluations have potential implications for participants.

Within Appraisal, the principle areas of *attitude* describe *judgements* of *social esteem* or *social sanction;* emotional *affect* in terms of *un/happiness, in/security* and *dis/satisfaction;* and *appreciation* as *reaction, composition* or *valuation.* From the point of view of identity positioning these reflect three different strategies for negotiating one's own identity and/or the identity of others. Judgements are an explicit form of positioning since they designate some action (and by implication the person responsible for it) as socially commendable or reprehensible. As expected, throughout the confession interview discussed here, judgements are prominent but both LA and OW include evaluations of other people such as accusers and teammates to reposition him. For example, when LA says: 'We were all grown men. We all made our choices.' 'Grown men' may appear to be a judgement of positive social esteem since he is attributing his teammates with the power to choose for themselves whether to dope or not. However, the point of this judgement is to play down his own responsibility as the principle instigator of the doping and to defend against the accusation that he forced his teammates to dope (see Section 6). However, other attitudinal resources also appear throughout the interview, perhaps because the larger positioning of him in terms of (negative) social sanction require exploring emotional and even aesthetic dimensions. When LA says 'the story was so perfect' he acknowledges the narrative of his heroic return from cancer to winning bike races as aesthetically appealing because it contains all the important ingredients that make up a good story. It is therefore a *positive appreciation* of *composition.* Though the implication we can take from this is that the public's appreciation of this story and emotional attachment to it gave LA the power to obscure the negative social sanction associated with winning through doping.

Another key resource described by appraisal is *engagement,* which is concerned with how far viewpoints are restricted or *dialogically contracted* to a single focus or *monogloss*, or expanded to embrace multiple perspectives. Martin and White (2005) demonstrate this phenomenon using examples from print media and Bakhtin (1981) expounds hetroglossia (from which engagement derives) in the context of characterization in novels. In other words, engagement is concerned with expanding or contracting perspectives and by implication associations with other texts but also with the implications of doing so on the identity of the teller.

In face-to-face contexts such as the interview considered here, quotation and allusion are important resources for dialogical expansion but there is also use of multimodal resources such as photographs and video clips of past events to integrate the external narrative content.

Finally, Appraisal describes a set of resources called *graduation,* which describe the *force* (relative impact) and *focus* (relative clarity or vagueness). Typically, *graduation* is realized by lexical choices such as modality (absolutely not/ I could've) but tone of voice, intonation, facial expression and gesture and even such resources as video clips can be used to *raise force* through impact or *sharpen* the *focus* as I will illustrate in Section 6.

3. Lance Armstrong and the confession interview

Lance Armstrong is a retired professional cyclist who, after a remarkable recovery from cancer in 1998, went on to win the Tour de France a record seven times (1999-2005) only to be stripped of his titles after being convicted of taking performance-enhancing drugs on the basis of retroactive (blood and urine) tests and confessions from his former teammates, in late 2012. He denied the doping for many years even suing some of his accusers and only renouncing the legal fight when the weight of evidence against him made it impossible to defend himself (USADA, 2012). Only months after he had been convicted and after his sponsors and cancer foundation had disowned him did he agree to confess. Instead of a hastily arranged press conference, he set up an interview with chat show host Oprah Winfrey (hereafter OW) who had previously hosted him on her show as the heroic cancer survivor, Livestrong foundation head and Tour de France winner. The confession interview was recorded in a hotel in Houston, Texas near LA's home and aired on prime time US television on January 18 and 19, 2013 (Winfrey). It was his first public admission of guilt and a chance for him to apologize and come clean but one where the odds of winning back his public were heavily stacked against him.

LA was the first cyclist to admit to doping on OW's show but this was not the first confession she had heard on her show. Indeed one journalist described her show as "the go-to place for celebrities wanting to apologize for their indiscretions or unburden their darkest secrets." (IBNLive, 2013). Shocking as some of these confessions may have been, they were characterized by the cozy and supportive atmosphere of the show. This was a very different context from the hastily arranged press conferences of most convicted dopers. The confession was months after his conviction and many years after the offences. He had denied doping more defiantly (and convincingly) so that many who believed him felt betrayed. All of this weighed heavily against a positive reception of the confession but, in the end, the interview was widely judged as coup for OW and failure for LA (Enten, 2013).

4. Framing the interview

This section explores the overall structure of the interview in terms of framing. I follow a similar approach to Scollon (2008) who in turn drew on Goffman's (1975) framing theory and Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001). The story of LA's fall from grace would have already been familiar to many viewers of his interview with OW however she and her producers contextualize the story with a video montage depicting the background events and preceding later segments with further montages. These montages supported the ideational content of the interview by illustrating background events but they had also been carefully chosen to evaluate these events. The first of these montages lasts for approximately one minute but includes 32 scenes depicted through video, still images, music and voices. A male voiceover, reminiscent of a movie trailer, serves as a guide to the viewer through LA's rise and fall to disgrace. There are other voices too including LA's past doping denials during press interviews and his "I'm sorry you don't believe in miracles" from his final Tour podium speech (see the epitaph of this paper), two newscasters, the UCI president announcing his ban and stripping him of his title, and an invisible podium announcer's voice during one of the video clips exaggeratedly heralding "Lance Armstrong" to the spectators. Together with the voiceover, the music provides coherence to the narrative as well as contributing to its drama through changes of pace.

Besides the video collage used to frame segments OW also framed or supported some of her questions with quotations read from her notes and used a video player in the room as a device to have LA reflect on his former self.

Schematically, the interview can be represented as occurring within a sequence of frames. At the outside is the voiceover, which is closely associated with the music, and title screens that frame the segments off from other programming and the commercials that interrupt it. The first video collage is also accompanied by this framing voiceover and in later framings some video preempts a second layer of collage, which follows. If, following Goffman (1975), one were to represent the outer layer as 'animator' then the next layer of collage which is accompanied by OW's voiceover might stand as the 'author' as it is here that the narrative is evoked. Since the interviewer is so closely associated with the layer of author, LA is effectively reduced to the role of 'Principle'. This weakened position within this interview context, would have been very different from the power he had held as a rider at press conferences and, as will become apparent in the following sections, LA's confession and apology is interspaced with moments of denial and defiance as he tries to take charge of the narrative that is emerging. These attempts to negotiate or deny features of the story that had already been attributed to other observers made him look unconvincing, particularly as clips included those showing him in court making denials in a recognizably similar way.

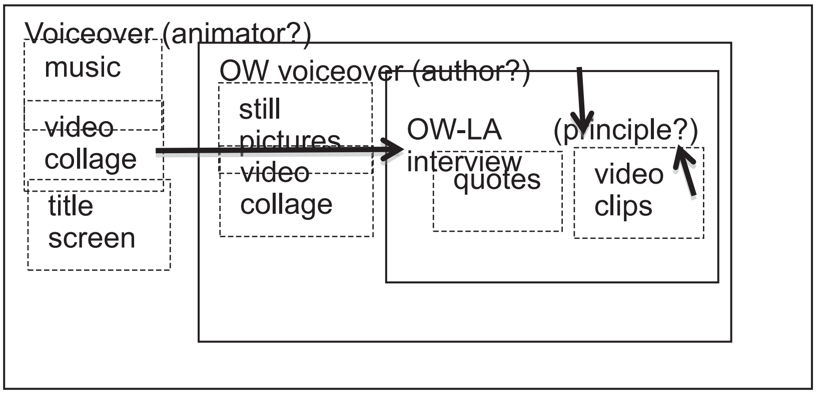

Figure 1: A diagram illustrating conceptual framing within the interview

One dimension that is not shown by this diagram is LA's own motivations. The ruling against LA had already led to the loss of his sponsors and potentially opened him up to legal proceedings. Public admissions beyond what had already been said might expose him to further litigation. Meanwhile, LA admitted that besides the loss of income that had ensued the lifetime ban on competition was something he hoped to overturn.

5. Apology and Contrition

During the course of the interview there were 21 examples of moves that were concerned with apology. LA used a rich array of grammatical resources for these apologies reflecting a variety of hedging strategies. Around 14 minutes in Part 2 of the interview, OW repeats her question 'Do you owe David Walsh an apology?' David Walsh was the Sunday Times journalist who LA had sued for liable over an article which implied that he had taken drugs. LA responded with conditional 'I'd apologize to David.' In doing so, he effectively repositions the question as hypothetical and shirks the metaphor of debt. In contrast, he offers a much fuller apology to 'those millions of people who believed' which breaks down into four moves indicated in square brackets as follows:

1) [express sympathy for effects of wrong doing] 'I say I understand, your anger, your, your, sense of betrayal, um,'
2) [identify wrong doing] 'You supported me forever, through all of this, and I lied to you,'
3) [apology] 'and I'm sorry'
4) [promise to make amends] 'And, and, I will spend, and I am committed to spending as long as I have to to make amends.'

Although this is the fullest apology in the interview, the fourth move is followed by 'knowing full well I won't get many back' an expression of self pity which may also give the impression that he is apologizing in order to win back public support. It also corresponds to the weakest level of apology that one could paraphrase as 'I am sorry it happened for my own sake'. A more involved apology would embrace 'I am sorry this happened for your sake' as in move 1) above and then acknowledgement of responsibility and wrongdoing. The four stage apology above shows that a full apology would embrace a number of moves. Apology strategies may include avoiding apologies, mitigating or refusing blame and attempting to renegotiate narratives of blame. In terms of the macro structure of the interview, the first part focused on eliciting a general confession and understanding of doping practices but actually failed to move beyond what was already known and saw LA disputing some of this. The second half (actually much shorter) went into further detail by considering the people who LA had felt threatened by enough to attack in public and OW invites him to acknowledge these individuals.

6. Evaluation and multimodality

This section considers the use of the use of *force* (one of the two aspects of the Appraisal resource *graduation*) in a short segment, which illustrates how other modalities contribute to these evaluations. During this segment, OW raised the issues of LA's responsibility for doping on his team in response both to a direct accusation from one of his teammates and the conclusion of the USADA report. The report was quoted in the video collage prefacing the section and OW quotes the teammate's accusation from her notes. In terms of the *attitudinal* resource of *judgement* OW develops a *judgement* of negative *social sanction* (that LA forced his teammates to dope) through highlighting a positive *social esteem* among his teammates. However, leaving this conspicuous ambiguity aside, this is also a dispute about how much power LA had on his team, so the issue of force, both in the everyday sense and the Appraisal resource, is key to LA's attempts to downplay his influence.

OW (interview): Were you <u>the one in charge</u>?
LA: Er, well, I was the, I was <u>the top rider</u>, I was <u>the leader of the team</u>, I mean I wasn't <u>the manager</u>, <u>the director</u>, <u>the duh-duh-duh</u>
OW: But if someone was not doing something to your satisfaction, could you get them fired?
LA: …it depends what they're doing. I mean, if you're asking me, somebody on the team says "I'm not gonna dope" and I say, "you're fired"?
OW: Yes.
LA: <u>Absolutely</u> not.
OW: Could you[…?
LA: [I mean, could I? <u>I guess</u>, <u>I could've</u>. [interrupting fast and angry]
OW: [looking shocked] You could.
LA: But, I <u>never</u> did…<u>Look, er, er, er</u>, I was <u>the leader of the team</u>.
OW: Mm-hm.
LA: And the leader of the team, leads by example, an' it was <u>never</u> a <u>direct</u> order,
OW: Mm-hm.
LA: Or a <u>directive</u> to say "you <u>have to</u> do this, if you want to do the Tour.
OW: Mm-hm
LA: That <u>never</u> happened.
[Section omitted]
OW: [Fast and impatiently] Are we talking semantics, here? Are we talking semantics?

Meaning a fine line between you have to do it but, hey, look, you're on this team, you wanna win, are we talking semantics?
LA: Uh, well no, one, er, I dunno, I view one of them as, as a, as a, as a verbal pressure.
OW: Mm-hm
LA: A, a directive.
OW:Mm-hm.
LA: And that didn't exist.
OW: But you accept that if you are Lance Armstrong, the… (line 28)
[waves her arms with emphasis]
LA: No. I, I, I take that.
OW: Yeah. The captain, the power the force…
LA: The leader of the team.

The single underlines in the extract represent the roles being disputed. LA acknowledges his role as "the leader of the team" but denies having the absolute power of being "the one in charge". LA therefore positions himself as having less power (and *social esteem*) than OW credits him with. LA's "duh, duh, duh" here meant "etc." and was accompanied by a hand gesture that indicated that there were many other positions on the team (including manager and director) with the power to make decisions. Meanwhile, LA uses modality (indicated by the double underlining) to assert his claim that he did not have the power to fire people on his team for refusing to dope. However, the apparent softening of force in terms of modality "I mean, could I? I guess, I could've" is actually spoken with considerable force and anger to the extent that OW looks at LA shocked and frightened. In other words, his tone of voice and the look on his face and in his eyes actually raise the force. Whereas in what follows: "Look, er, er, er," his tone softens as he realizes that his anger has betrayed him. This expression of anger is very short lasting only a few seconds but ironically makes him look a very forceful person and so ironically undermining what he actually says. A further example of how the speakers integrate the modality of physical gesture is OW's "the …" (line 28), accompanied by a thrusting gesture to emphasize LA's importance, an emphatic evaluation of *force* and *social esteem.*

7. Conclusion

This interview was supposed to be a confession and an opportunity to apologise publically for cheating by taking banned drugs to win the Tour de France, lying for years about doing so, and bullying and suing people who dared to suggest that he might have taken drugs. Instead, LA attempted to use it to renegotiate his identity and the storyline within the context of what has already become public. Although, LA showed himself to be a skilled user of evaluative resources, he is largely unsuccessful because of the contextual framework of the interview, which both discredits him as a speaker and undermines the points he contends by clearly undermining evidence supporting his guilt. Moreover, while he defends himself logically, and appeals by both acknowledging and downplaying wrongdoing, his momentary displays of anger are more convincing than his displays of sorrow. It is therefore not surprising that despite confessing to doping he failed to come clean in the eyes of the media. In this paper, I have illustrated how Appraisal can be used in conjunction with an understanding of positioning, intertextuality and framing and multimodality to reveal the reasons for LA's failure and OWs success in controlling the narrative.

References

Allen, G. (2011). *Intertextuality* (Second Edition ed.).

Armstrong, L. and Jenkins, S. (2000). *It's not about the bike: My journey back to life*. Berkley: Turtleback.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (C. Emmerson, Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Enten, H. J. (2013, Monday 21 January 2013 21.40 GMT). Lance Armstrong's Oprah PR disaster: polls show confessing is for losers, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com

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

Halliday, M. A. K. (2003). 'A brief sketch of systemic grammar'. In J. J. Webster (ed.), *On Language and Linguistics: M. A. K. Halliday* (pp. 180-184). London & New York: Continuum.

Harré, R, and Langenhove, L. Van (eds). (1999). *Positioning Theory: Moral Contexts of Intentional Action*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Harré, R. and Moghaddam, F. (2003). 'Introduction: The self and others in traditional pshychology and in positioning theory'. In R. Harré & F. Moghaddam (eds), *The Self and Others: Positioning Individuals and Groups in personal Political and Cultural Contexts* (pp. 1-12). Westport: Praeger.

Harré, R. abd van Langenhove, L. (eds). (1999). *Positioning Theory: Moral Contexts of Intentional Action*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

IBNLive. (2013). 10 shocking confessions on Oprah Winfrey's shows. Retrieved from IBNLive.com website: http://ibnlive.in.com

Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2001). *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication*: London: Arnold

Levinson, M. and Novy-Williams, E. (2012). Armstrong stands to lose $30 Million as sponsors flee. *Bloomberg*. http://www.bloomberg.com

MacLaggan, C. (2013). We expect Lance to be completely truthful, *News Daily*. Retrieved from http://www.newsdaily.com

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

Scollon, R. (2008). *Analyzing public discourse: Discourse analysis in the making of public policy*. London & New York: Routledge.

USADA. (2012). Reasoned decision by the United States anti-doping agency on disqualification and ineligibility (USADA v. Lance Armstrong. Colorado Springs.

Winfrey, O. (Writer) (2013). Oprah and Lance Armstrong: Worldwide Exclusive.

How Can Systemic Functional Grammar Support the Teaching of New Technologies

Peter McDonald
J. F. Oberlin University

Abstract

The rapid development of ubiquitous technologies offers many new opportunities for learners to express themselves. In the pre-digital age, learners could only express themselves through written texts (the written mode) or spoken texts (the oral mode). By contrast, learners in a computer-assisted learning environment can easily combine these two modes and even add visuals or music. These new texts, which systemic functional grammar (SFG) researchers call multi-modal texts, are already widespread. Multi-modal texts are currently being applied in courses that use Moodle/Blackboard, blogs, digitally created presentations, and tablet computers.

However, new pedagogical opportunities also create new pedagogical challenges. SFG research suggests that multi-modal texts that utilize new technologies are more difficult to understand than has been accounted for in existing educational research (Kress, 2003). Moreover, SFG research finds that existing grammar and classroom methodologies are inappropriate for teaching these new multi-modal texts (Unsworth, 2008; Royce, 2002). An important question has thus emerged: how can teachers create effective pedagogical resources that allow students to utilize new technologies in a meaningful way?

The present study demonstrates how the SFG model by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) can help address the aforementioned issue. Specifically, this study shows how the model can be used to create new classroom approaches that assist the teaching of both traditional mono-modal texts and multi-modal texts that utilize new technologies. These new approaches are illustrated through examples of teacher-created multi-modal texts. Finally, this study provides practical advice that will help teachers apply the findings in their classrooms.

1. Introduction

Although new technologies have created new and exciting opportunities for expression since the 1990s, the curricula that educational institutions offer have not fundamentally changed. In my own teaching context, an English language program in a Japanese university, students are fully engaged in new technologies in their own lives. They read and create multi-modal texts that incorporate words, visuals, and music; engage in conversations with participants from all over the world; and experience learning autonomy by researching new skills and knowledge. However, once class begins, students are thrown into a 19th century model of learning where one teacher delivers the curricula to a large group of students using the traditional technologies of paper, pen, and textbook.

Research suggests that this widening educational gap can be observed in industrial countries (Collins and Halverson, 2009). Narrowing this gap in the short term is unlikely because of three reasons. First, changing the curricula can be difficult because of situational constraints (Cuban, 2001). Situational constraints (e.g., budget, size, number of stakeholders, and built-in work practices) refer to the complexity of educational organizations that makes adaptation difficult for these institutions. Second, the affordances that new technologies offer require innovative approaches to language and learning. Introducing innovation at the curriculum level can be challenging (Hyland and Wong, 2013). Third, new technologies predominantly utilize multi-modal texts to communicate their message. However, contrary to the findings of traditional research, multi-modal texts are difficult to understand and create. Therefore, new methodologies and approaches must be developed and employed to teach multi-modal texts in the classroom (Kress, 2003: 35–60).

One way researchers and practitioners can help close the gap between the need for teaching the curricula and the affordances that new technologies offer within the constraints of established curricula is to establish a multi-modal pedagogical language that will assist the teaching of multi-modal texts. Establishing a multi-modal pedagogical language can assist the teaching of multi-modal texts in three ways. First, at the classroom level, this form of language can help teachers perform their daily tasks, including creating lesson plans, providing student feedback, and comparing texts. Second, at the institutional level, this form of language can help communicate curriculum practices and set goals in a way that can be understood by all stakeholders. Third, a globally shared language can support research into teaching digital literacies.

However, establishing a curriculum-based multi-modal language entails certain challenges. Pedagogical language requires the creation of a meta-language, the usefulness of which has long been debated in TESOL teaching (Brown, 2000). Moreover, multi-modal texts are complex, and creating one pedagogical language that can account for this textual complexity may be difficult (Baldry and Thibault, 2005). Perhaps these challenges account for the fact that, to the best of the writer's knowledge, as of yet, there is no established pedagogical language that can help teachers talk about multi-modal texts in the classroom.

This study argues that systemic functional grammar (SFG) can help overcome these challenges. SFG can assist teachers because it can build upon their existing mono-modal approaches to education while allowing them to create new multi-modal approaches. These functions are achieved in two ways. First, SFG is a communicative approach to language (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) and can thus be employed along with established approaches to language and learning, such as consciousness raising. Here, language users work with language in use, rather than proscribed sentence, and they make a series of assumptions about the language, rules of thumb, which can be adjusted to suit the needs of the communicative situation (Rutherford, 1987).

Second, SFG supports the creation of new multi-modal approaches because it allows the different modes that make up multi-modal texts to be examined together, as one overall text, or separately. Thus, if students are working with presentation software, SFG allows teachers to examine how the images combine with words to create meaning and how the images and words create meaning separately. Thus, SFG allows teachers to move beyond the traditional mono-modal approaches to education, where modes are taught separately, toward new multi-modal approaches, where teachers and students can combine modes in new and exciting ways.

2. SFG Theoretical Model for Multi-Modal Pedagogical Language

2.1 SFG and Reading Image-based Texts

The theoretical foundation for creating a multi-modal pedagogical language is Halliday's "trinocular" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 31) perspective on language, which analyzes written/spoken texts using three meta-functions: textual, experiential, and interpersonal. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) applied this model to image-based texts to produce the following meta-functions:

- Compositional function (related to textual function)
- Representational function (related to experiential function)
- Interactive function (related to interpersonal function)

The goal of this study is to show that this potentially complex theory of language can be used in the classroom in a practical and simple way. Therefore, each function is not described in detail in this study; for further information, see Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006). To demonstrate how teachers and students can use a working knowledge of the model in the classroom, this study focuses only on representational and interactive functions.

These two functions can assist the teaching of multi-modal texts because they give teachers a framework within which they can classify images. Once images are classified, these visual classifications can be used in the classroom alongside existing linguistic classifications. For example, when teaching writing, teachers often classify sentences into types: topic sentences, supporting sentences, and concluding sentences. The following section describes how the SFG model can be used to classify images in a similar way.

2.2 Representational Function: Narrative Images vs. Concept Images

According to the theory of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), all images have a representational function. An image can represent two things to the viewer: a narrative event or a concept (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 59–154). Artists create narrative events in images by joining the participants (e.g., people, animals, and objects) with a line called a "vector" (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 59–73). In the classroom, teachers often use narrative images when teaching the past progressive. Action verbs are commonly represented by images that contain vectors. For example, when teaching the verb "read," teachers might show students images of participants looking at a book. Here, the imagery line or the vector lies between the eyes of the participants and the book.

In concept images, the participants are not represented in action; no vector joins them. The participants are instead represented in a fixed state of being, such as in a portrait painting (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006: 79–114). Examples of concept images include the Mona Lisa as well as maps. Figure 1 shows an example of a concept image. The participants—the leaf, the water, the curb, and so on—are not joined with a vector. Instead of representing an action, these participants are asking the viewer to consider an idea or a concept.

Figure 1

2.3 Interactive Function: Offer Images vs. Demand

Images have both a representational function and an interactive function. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006: 114–154), images interact with viewers in two ways: by offering information or by demanding attention. A simple way to understand the difference between offer and demand situations is to contrast giving a presentation at a conference with carrying out a face-to-face conversation with someone. In the presentation situation, the speaker offers information to the audience at a certain distance. The participants can choose to either listen to the speaker or think about where they are going to go for a beer after the presentation. In a face-to-face situation, the participants demand attention from one another. They are standing eyeball to eyeball with a focus on what is being said.

Figure 2 shows an example of an offer image. Through this long shot, the reader of the image is placed at a detached distance from the image and is expected to observe and analyze various elements framed in the picture: the participants and the circumstances. In contrast to Figures 1 and 2, Figure 3 demands attention from the viewer. The receiver is placed at a close distance, almost face to face with the window box. Thus, the illustrators increase the value of the window box and decrease the value of the window itself.

Figure 2

Figure 3

2.4 Image Classification: Concept/Offer Images vs. Concept/Demand Images

As outlined above, interactive and representational functions can be used to classify images into types. For instance, Figure 1 is a concept/offer picture wherein the photographer suggests the concept of a relaxing place. Although one image, the leaf, is depicted at a close distance, it is clearly part of the wide view of the river. Figure 2 is also a concept/offer image wherein the photographer is asking the viewer to consider the image of the side street and the café. Figure 3 is a concept/demand picture wherein the photographer is not *offering* information to the viewer but *demanding* the viewer's attention. The image of the window box is depicted at a close distance, and no other prominent images that can distract the viewer can be seen in the overall image. These classifications can be used in the classroom as pedagogical meta-language.

3 Using the Multi-Modal Pedagogical Language in the Classroom

3.1 Teaching Context

The following activity illustrates how meta-language can be used in the classroom. In this activity, students deconstruct a written text and reconstruct it as a visual text. This activity shows how meta-language enables teachers to classify images and how this classification gives teachers the tools for dealing with the language of images similar to the tools they use to work with the language of words. This activity is not designed as a supplementary activity. As the example shows, the multi-modal activity supports the existing curriculum because it improves the re-writing process while advising students about creating modern multi-modal texts.

3.2 Curriculum Activity

The written curriculum is based on teaching students how to write a descriptive paragraph. Students are taught a basic meta-language, such as topic sentences, supporting sentences, and concluding sentences. They are taught that general ideas are represented by topic sentences while supporting sentences provide details about the topic using examples or explanations. They are encouraged to deconstruct paragraphs to identify and classify sentences according to their respective types. Figure 1 of Appendix 1 shows a teacher-created example of the written text that students are expected to follow. Figure 2 of Appendix 1 shows the deconstructed paragraph.

3.3 Multi-Modal Activity

Students create a short presentation based on their descriptive paragraphs. Students must re-read the essay and decide on the key words that communicate the overall ideas of the paragraphs. After selecting the key words, they must perform a Google image search to find an image that supports the main ideas and helps to communicate those ideas visually to the listener. Additionally, they must re-write the written sentences as necessary to adapt them to the spoken mode.

Figure 4 of Appendix 1 shows a teacher-created example of the multi-modal text that the students are expected to follow. Figure 3 of Appendix 1 shows the multi-modal text deconstructed using the meta-language outlined above.

3.4 Teaching Opportunities

3.4.1 Re-writing

As part of the re-writing process, the multi-modal activity helps students to focus on a wide variety of skills that are already part of the established curricula. Students must reflect on the overall meaning and clarity of their paragraphs and sentences and on how successfully those paragraphs and sentences communicate their intended ideas. They must summarize those ideas and convert them into spoken text. The task encourages autonomous computer-based learning through navigation of presentation software and utilization of search engines.

3.4.2 Multi-Modal Text Relations

The activity is also an excellent way to introduce students to two types of multi-modal text relations: concurrence and complementation (for a detailed discussion of multi-modal text relations, see Unsworth, 2008). Slides 2 and 3 in Figure 4 of Appendix 1 illustrate concurrence. The visual text reiterates the written/verbal text to support comprehension (Lui, 2004), thus making concurrence very useful in visualizing written texts that contain extensive details, such as when describing the relationships between spatial placement and location.

Slide 1 in Figure 4 of Appendix 1 illustrates complementation. The written/verbal text is closely related but not identical to the visual text. Written texts describing mood and emotion are best supported by relationships of complementation. However, relationships of complementation can cause comprehension difficulties when both the written text and the visual text are sending complex messages; concurrence may be a preferable choice in this instance (Lui, 2004).

3.4.3 Naturalization

Applying meta-language allows teachers to explore the hidden complexities of multi-modal texts. Semiotic research suggests that reading multi-modal text effectively requires the reader to initially and perhaps unconsciously decode two semiotic systems: the spatial system of design for decoding images and the linear system of writing for decoding the words. The reader must then interpret how the two systems combine to create one overall meaning (Royce, 2002). Therefore, although multi-modal texts may have simple ways of presenting information, the underlying relationships may be complex. Unsworth (2008) pointed out the effect of "naturalization" where these complex semiotic relationships can be hidden by writers to create cohesive texts. In the context of English as a Foreign Language programs, processing multi-modal texts can be seen as extremely complex because learners must not only process the graphic and written modes but also translate them into their own language.

This type of activity allows these naturalized semiotic relationships, namely, concurrence and complementation, to be decoded in a meaningful and creative way. Once established, other complex semiotic relationships can be explored using different texts, such as when designing webpages or blogs and deconstructing complex scenes in movies. Thus, when students return to the multi-modal society that they can access outside of the classroom, they should have a clear idea of how to comprehend and construct multi-modal texts.

Aside from occurring in multi-modal texts such as presentations, movies, and comic books, naturalization can also be observed in the traditional written mode. A well-written essay appears to have a seamless structure, but underneath such structure lies an organizational pattern that can be unpacked. To become good readers and writers, students must explore how to deconstruct an essay into its component parts. This multi-modal activity is an imaginative way to re-enforce the key concept that writers must organize their ideas into a comprehensible pattern to create successful texts regardless of modality.

3.4.4 Textual Comparisons

Discourse analysis suggests that all texts contain underlying textual patterns that allow readers to construct meaning (Hoey, 2001). Thus, converting multi-modal texts to mono-modal texts can provide students with an imaginative and creative framework for exploring these textual patterns. This type of activity can easily be repeated for other types of textual patterns that students explore in the written curriculum, such as compare/contrast patterns and problem/solution patterns.

This simple classroom activity can be expanded to help students perform textual comparisons with other writing genres. For instance, students can compare traditional paragraphs with online visual presentations (e.g., blogs and tweets). Indeed, many of the components of alphabetic paragraph writing can easily be transferred to creating presentations and writing online blogs or tweets, whereas others may only be appropriate in certain contexts.

3.4.4 Image Juxtaposition

From a visual perspective, this activity is an excellent way to introduce students to the concept of image juxtaposition. Image juxtaposition is putting different types of images together in a sequence to create meaning. It is a fundamental skill for creating effective image-based texts and is effectively utilized in movies, advertising, comic books, and so on. Image juxtaposition is another aspect of naturalization outlined above. The use of the theoretical framework to deconstruct the verbal/visual text shows students that a clear logical pattern exists in image juxtaposition. In Figure 3 of Appendix 1 for example, image juxtaposition is created through contrast, that is, the concept/demand picture breaks the concept/offer pattern.

4. Discussion: Question and Answer with Participants

Two main topics were discussed during the presentation. The first topic was whether teaching students how to read images has a place in the English language classroom. In this view, the purpose of English language teaching is to teach language. Students already know about images, and they can learn what they do not know outside the English class.

However, this study agrees with the notion that a semiotic view of language and learning is needed to teach all subjects (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006), including the English language. Multi-modal literacies are currently considered an essential part of the L1 curricula (Gruszczynska, A. et al., 2013; Selwyn, 2013) but are receiving little attention in L2. In the digital age, words rarely work alone; they are often combined with other modes, such as visuals and music. This combination of modes is radically changing language, and these changes need to be addressed in the language curricula. Teaching multi-modality has thus become a necessary part of the language curricula. The present study attempts to show that multi-modality can be taught in ways that enhance our traditional teaching practices and introduce students to multi-modal texts.

The second topic was how to teach image awareness in language classes and to what extent SFG theory should be part of the classroom methodology. This study argues that a C/R approach is appropriate for teaching image awareness and that by adopting such approach, complex SFG-based explanations can and should be kept to a minimum.

As outlined above, students can be taught that images can be classified according to types in the same way that they are taught that sentences can be classified according to types (e.g., topic sentences and supporting sentences). Once teachers and students have a working knowledge of these underlying principles, they can begin to classify images into types by asking a series of simple awareness-raising questions.

1) Is the image representing a narrative? (Is it portraying an event? Does it have a vector?)

2) Is the image representing a concept? (Are the participants not joined in action together? Are they staring at the viewer or into the distance? Is the image portraying an idea rather than an event?)

1) Is the image interacting with the viewer by *offering* information to the viewer? (Is the image represented in close up or at a distance?)
2) Is the picture interacting with the viewer by *demanding* attention from the viewer?

However, image-based texts are difficult to define. Therefore, as the underlying principles of CR suggest, teachers would have to deal with rules of thumb instead of proscribed rules when applying these theories in the classroom. SFG is a communicative linguistic system. Similar to sentences, images can be interpreted differently depending on the communicative context.

5. Future Research

This study suggests the possibility of developing generalizable rules of thumb about how images work in discourse. These rules of thumb are helpful in teaching students how to comprehend and construct texts, including traditional multi-modal texts and multi-modal texts. When applied in image-based texts using the theoretical model of Kress and Van Leeuwen, SFG can unveil these rules of thumb in a way that is both meaningful and relevant to our modern language classrooms. This study shows only one example of how this objective can be achieved. Further research should be carried out to show how the model of Kress and Van Leeuwen can be applied in other teaching contexts.

References

Baldry, P. and Thibault, P. (2005) *Multi-modal transcription and text analysis* London & Oakville: Equinox.

Brown, H. (2000) *Principles of language learning and teaching.* London: Longman.

Collins, A. and Halverson, R. (2009) *Rethinking education in the age of technology*. Columbia: Teachers College.

Cuban, L. (2001) *Oversold and underused: computers in the classroom*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gruszczynska, A., Merchant, G., and Pountney, R. (2013) Digital Futures in Teacher Education: Exploring Open Approaches towards Digital Literacy. *The Electronic Journal of e-Learning* 11.3: 193-206

Hyland, K and Wong, C., (2013) *Innovation and Change In English Language Education.* Oxen: Routledge.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Matthiessen, C.M.I.M. (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.* London: Hodder and Arnold.

Hoey, M. (2001) *Textual Interaction*. Oxon: Routledge.

Kress , G (2003) *Literacy in the New Media Age*. Oxon: Routledge.

Kress, G. and Van Leeuwen, T. (2006) *Reading Images.* London: Routledge.

Liu, J. (2004). Effects of comic strips on L2 learners reading comprehension. *TESOL Quarterly*, 38(2).
Unsworth, L. (2008) 'Multiliteracies and Metalanguage: Describing Image Text Relations as a Resource for Negotiating Multimodal Texts' In J. Coiro et al (eds). *Handbook of Research into New Literacies.* 377-407. New York: Erlbaum.
Royce, T. (2002) ' Multi-modality in the TESOL Classroom' In *TESOL Quarterly.* Vol. 36, No.2, Summer 2002.
Rutherford, W .E. (1987) *Second Language Grammar and Teaching.* New York: Pearson Education.
Selwyn, N. (2013) 'Micro' politics: mapping the origins of schools computing as a field of education policy' In *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*. 42.5

Appendix 1

Figure 1 – Example Paragraph

> My favorite place to relax is a small café down the street from where I live. The café is on a small side street, and as soon as you see it, you feel like going in. There are three windows on either side of the door, and each window has a small window box with brightly colored flowers.

Figure 2 – Example Paragraph Deconstructed

Sentence Number	Sentence Type	Sentence Function
1	Topic Sentence	Introduce the general idea
2	Supporting Sentence 1	Support general idea with a detail
3	Supporting Sentence 2	Support general idea with a detail

Figure 3 – Multi-Modal Text Deconstructed

Image Number	Image Type	Function
1	Concept/Offer	Introduce the general idea
2	Concept/Offer	Support general idea with a detail
3	Concept/Demand	Support general idea with a detail

Figure 4 – Multi-Modal Text: Example Presentation

Slide 1
My favorite place to relax is a small café down the street from where I live.

Slide 2
The café is on a small side street, and as soon as you see it, you feel like going in.

Slide 3
There are three windows, each of which has a small window box with beautiful flowers.

第21回日本機能言語学会秋期大会プログラム

会期：2013年10月12日（土）～ 10月13日（日）
会場：神奈川大学（横浜キャンパス）23号館 3階

10 月 12 日（土）

13:00 － 13:40	受付 305教室	
13:40 － 13:55	開会の辞 310教室	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1 310教室	司会：角岡賢一（龍谷大学）
	早川 知江（名古屋芸術大学）［発表言語：日本語］ 「絵本の文と絵：bimodal textにおける意味の相補性」	
14:45 － 15:25	研究発表2 310教室	司会：角岡賢一（龍谷大学）
	付 改華（新潟大学大学院生）［発表言語：日本語］ 「主語省略に対するテクスト的制約要因についての考察」	
15:25 － 15:40	休憩 305教室	
15:40 － 16:20	研究発表3 310教室	司会：南里敬三（大分大学）
	David Dykes（四日市大学）［発表言語：英語］ 'Is Tripadvisor® a Travel Site or an Advice Site, and Does it Make a Difference?'	
16:25 － 17:05	研究発表4 310教室	司会：南里敬三（大分大学）
	Sonya Chik（香港理工大学）［発表言語：英語］ 'Regulating the customer in business context: a systemic functional perspective in Japanese, English and Chinese'	
17:05 － 17:20	休憩 305教室	
17:20 － 18:00	総会（役員選挙） 310教室	司会：**伊藤紀子（同志社大学）**
18:30 － 20:30	懇親会 山海楼 3F（会費：5000円）	

10 月 13 日（日）

9:30 - 10:00	受付　305教室	
10:00 - 10:40	研究発表1　310教室　司会：三宅英文（安田女子大学） 石川 彰（上智大学）［発表言語：英語］ ‘Internal conjunction as argumentative operations’	
10:45 - 11:25	研究発表2　310教室　司会：三宅英文（安田女子大学） George O’Neal（新潟大学）［発表言語：英語］ ‘Obfuscating Tonality for Interactional Effect: New Units, New Focus’	
11:25 - 11:40	休憩　305教室	
11:40 - 12:20	研究発表3　310教室　司会：福田一雄（新潟大学名誉教授） Patrick Kiernan（明治大学）［発表言語：英語］ ‘Coming Clean – Evaluation and the Language of Public Confession’	
12:20 - 13:30	昼食	
13:30 - 14:10	研究発表4　310教室　司会：福田一雄（新潟大学名誉教授） Peter McDonald（桜美林大学）［発表言語：英語］ ‘How Can Systemic Functional Grammar Be Used To Support The Teaching Of New Technologies’	
14:10 - 14:25	休憩　305教室	
14:25 - 15:35	特別講演　310教室　司会：龍城正明（同志社大学） 本名 信行（青山学院大学名誉教授）［発表言語：日本語］ 「グローバル人材育成と国際コミュニケーション能力をめぐって ～英語の問題を中心として～」	
15:35 - 15:45	閉会の辞　310教室　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 2013

Date: October 12th (Saturday) – October 13th (Sunday), 2013
Venue: 3rd Floor, 23rd Building, Kanagawa University (Yokohama Campus)

Oct. 12th (Saturday)

13:00 – 13:40 Registration Room 305

13:40 – 13:55 Opening Remarks Room 310
President of JASFL Masa-aki Tatsuki (Doshisha University)

14:00 – 14:40 Paper Session 1 Room 310 Chair: Ken-ichi Kadooka (Ryukoku University)
Chie Hayakawa（Nagoya University of Arts）[To be presented in Japanese]
'Verbal and Visual Text in Picturebooks: Complementarity of Meaning in the Bimodal Text'

14:45 – 15:25 Paper Session 2 Room 310 Chair: Ken-ichi Kadooka (Ryukoku University)
Kaika Fu（Graduate student, Niigata University）[To be presented in Japanese]
'A study of textual constraints on the subject omissions'

15:25 – 15:40 Coffee Break Room 305

15:40 – 16:20 Paper Session 3 Room 310 Chair: Keizo Nanri (Ohita University)
David Dykes（Yokkaichi University）[To be presented in English]
'Is Tripadvisor® a Travel Site or an Advice Site, and Does it Make a Difference?'

16:25 – 17:05 Paper Session 4 Room 310 Chair: Keizo Nanri (Ohita University)
Sonya Chik（The Hong Kong Polytechnic University）[To be presented in English]
'Regulating the customer in business context: a systemic functional perspective in Japanese, English and Chinese'

17:05 – 17:20 Coffee Break Room 305

17:20 – 18:00 AGM Room 310 Chair: Noriko Ito (Doshisha University)

18:30 – 20:30 Reception Chinese Restaurant Sankairou (Participation Fee: 5,000 yen)

Oct. 13th (Sunday)

9:30 – 10:00 Registration Room 305)

10:00 – 10:40 Paper Session 1 Room 310 Chair: Hidefumi Miyake (Yasuda Women's University)
Akira Ishikawa（Sophia University）[To be presented in English]
'Internal conjunction as argumentative operations'

10:45 – 11:25 Paper Session 2 Room 310 Chair: Hidefumi Miyake (Yasuda Women's University)
George O'Neal（Niigata University）[To be presented in English]
'Obfuscating Tonality for Interactional Effect: New Units, New Focus'

11:25 – 11:40 Coffee Break Room 305

11:40 – 12:20 Paper Session 3 Room 310 Chair: Kazuo Fukuda (Niigata University)
Patrick Kiernan（Meiji University）[To be presented in English]
'Coming Clean – Evaluation and the Language of Public Confession'

12:20 – 13:30 Lunch

13:30 – 14:10 Paper Session 4 Room 310 Chair: Kazuo Fukuda (Niigata University)
Peter McDonald（J. F. Oberlin University）[To be presented in English]
'How Can Systemic Functional Grammar Be Used To Support The Teaching Of New Technologies'

14:10 – 14:25 Coffee Break Room 305

14:25 – 15:35 Plenary Room 310 Chair: Masa-aki Tatsuki (Doshisha University)
Guest Speaker: Prof. Nobuyuki Honna (Professor emeritus, Aoyama Gakuin University)
[To be presented in Japanese]
'On Training International-minded Students and their International Communication Skills'

15:35 – 15:45 Closing Remarks Room 310 Vice President of JASFL Virginia Peng (Ritsumeikan University)

JASFL Occasional Papers

Volume 1 Number 1 Autumn 1998

Articles （論文）

JASFL
Occasional Papers

Volume 2 Number 1 Autumn 2001

Articles （論文）

JASFL
Occasional Papers

Volume 3 Number 1 Autumn 2004

Articles （論文）

機能言語学研究

Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Vol. 4 April 2007

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 1 October 2007

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 2 October 2008

Articles

機能言語学研究

Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Vol. 5 June 2009

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 3 October 2009

Articles

PROCEEDINGS OF JASFL

Vol. 4 October 2010

Articles （論文）

機能言語学研究

Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics
Vol. 6 April 2011

Articles

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 5 October 2011

Articles （論文）

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 6 October 2012

Articles （論文）

機能言語学研究

Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Vol. 7 May 2013

論文

Proceedings of JASFL

Vol. 7 October 2013

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.

4. Qualification

JASFL members are exclusively eligible to contribute to publications; however, regarding an article by multiple authors, the main author at least is requested to be a JASFL member.

5. Assessment procedures

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

6. Formats

6.1 Document format

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

6.2 Fonts and Spacing

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

6.3 The word limit

Japanese Journal of Systemic Functional Linguistics:

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

Proceedings of JASFL:

Manuscripts are not allowed to go beyond 14 pages in the B5 format.

6.4 Abstract

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

6.5 Title

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

6.6 Indentation and Section Number

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

7. Format for References in the Text

All references to or quotations from books, monographs, articles, and other sources should be identified clearly at an appropriate point in the main text, as follows:

7.1 Direct quotation

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

7.2 Reference to an author and more than one authors

- **a.** When the author's name is in the text, only the year of publication and the page should be enclosed within the parentheses, e.g. ‘As Halliday (1994: 17) has observed …’
- **b.** When the reference is in a more general sense, the year of publication alone can be given, e.g. ‘Hasan (1993) argues that …’
- **c.** When the author's name is not in the text, both the author's name and year of publication should be within the parentheses and separated by a comma, e.g. (Matthiessen, 1992)
- **d.** When the reference has dual authorship, the two names should be given, e.g. (Birrell and Cole, 1987)
- **e.** When the reference has three or more authors, the first author's name should be given and the rest should be written as ‘et al.’, e.g. (Smith et al., 1986)
- **f.** If there is more than one reference to the same author and year, they should be distinguished by use of the letters ‘a’, ‘b’, etc. next to the year of publication, e.g. (Martin, 1985a).
- **g.** If there is a series of references, all of them should be enclosed within a single pair of parentheses, separated by semicolons, e.g. (Maguire, 1984; Rowe, 1987; Thompson, 1988).

7.3 Abbreviation

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

8. Reference List

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

8.1 Books

a. A single-authored book

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

b. A multiple-authored book

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

c. A single-edited book

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

d. A multiple-edited book

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

8.2 Articles in journals and edited books

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

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

9. Notes

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

10. Figures, tables, maps, and diagrams

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

11. Proofs

Authors will be sent proofs for checking and correction.

12. Submission of a manuscript

A manuscript for submission must be saved as a MS-Word compatible file, and be submitted as an attachment file.

13. Correspondence

Manuscripts are to be sent to: **jasfleditor@gmail.com**

Proceedings of JASFL

Proceedings of JASFL（第 8 巻）

発行	2014 年 10 月 1 日
編集・発行	日本機能言語学会
代表者	龍城正明
編集者	佐々木真
印刷所	株式会社　あるむ 〒460-0012 名古屋市中区千代田 3-1-12 Tel. 052-332-0861（代）
発行所	日本機能言語学会事務局 〒460-0002 名古屋市中区丸の内 1-17-31 清原名古屋ビル 5F （株）エムケイシステム内 Tel. 052-211-3376（代）

ISSN 1884-9903

ISSN 1884-9903

PROCEEDINGS OF JASFL

Vol. 8 October 2014

Articles

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics