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論文

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　　昨年、日本機能言語学会は発足 20 周年を迎えることができました。この 20 年の歩みは日本での機能主義、とりわけ M.A.K.Halliday を中心とする選択体系機能言語学の普及と発展の歴史とも言えます。一例として、Systemic Functional Linguistics の日本語名称があげられるでしょう。学会発足当初はいくつかの名称が使われていましたが、本学会では発足以来「選択体系機能言語学」という名称を提唱し、この普及に努めて参りました。現在ではこの名称が SFL の日本名として定着していることは、本学会員を始めとして、言語学に関わる皆様の知るところです。また SFL 理論を応用した日本語研究の発展も本学会の歴史を象徴するものと言えるでしょう。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。

　　昨年 10 月 8 日と 9 日に愛知学院大学・日進キャンパスで開催された日本機能言語学会第 20 回秋期大会には国内のみならず、海外からも多数の発表者を迎えて、本学会の国際性を反映したものとなりました。今回発行されました Proceedings of JASFL Vol. 7 2013 はこの大会で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。節タイプに着眼した英語の談話分析、英語表現に関する語彙文法、ジャンル理論を枠組みとした教育的談話分析、日中英の多言語談話分析、日本語の語彙文法、英語のテクスト構成に関する再分析、イデオロギーの視点から見た談話分析、インターネット上の日本語の談話分析と英語の談話分析、ジャンル理論を応用した英語の談話分析、言語論理に迫ろうとするテクスト分析など論文が全部で 10 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、香港工科大学教授の Christian Matthiessen 氏をお迎えし、*The language of space: semiotic resources for construing our experience of space* と題して講演していただきました。言語進化論的な観点から、空間とその認知がどのように意味化され、言語表現として具現化されるかを明瞭に解説していいただきました。それに先立

ち、今回は特別に Matthiessen 氏に私からインタビューをする形式で、今後の SFL の方向付けについてもお話しをいただきました。

　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. 7 2013 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。

　これからの日本機能言語学会の新しい歴史のページが書き加えられ、さらなる発展を祈念するとともに、学会員のみなさまのさらなるお力添えをお願い申し上げます。

日本機能言語学会会長
龍城正明

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論文

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics

Affiliation over Crisis:
Physicists' Use of Twitter Mode
on Fukushima Daiichi NPP Accident

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Abstract

During the aftermath of the quakes-and-tsunami-triggered nuclear disaster when the Japanese community was filled with fear about the impact of the accident on their society, Twitter was one of the most frequently used online interactive media as people dissatisfied with the information provided by mainstream media of television and newspapers sought alternative sources. With the prolonged sense of crisis and concern for the social impact of the accident, Twitter communication continued. Communities, or affiliation networks, were spontaneously forming among users who shared the same kinds of concerns and values over the nuclear issues. A number of such emerging communities formed around a number of Twitter users with specialized. This paper focuses on two physicists who were actively involved in Twitter interaction.

The study examines how they made use of resources available in the mode of Twitter to communicate their specialized knowledge of complex nuclear crisis, and at the same time build an affiliative community. The study draws on systemic functional linguistic theory and in particular on the understanding that cumulated coupling of ideational and interpersonal meaning enables affiliation of shared values (Knight, 2010; Martin 2008, 2009).

1. Introduction

The earthquakes-and-tsunami-triggered nuclear power plant accident in Fukushima in mid March 2011 caused considerable fear amongst the people in: fear triggered not only from facts about the damage of the disaster, but also in terms of the probability or possibility of impacts from invisible radioactive materials diffused into the environment. It was clear that given the nature of the accident, a large number of people living in Japan did not have access to the highly technical scientific knowledge about radioactive materials required for an adequate understanding. In this situation, official media, such as government conferences and other news broadcast on TV and newspapers, were largely perceived as not providing the information they needed. Some people who were concerned about the situation and frustrated with the mainstream media went online to fill the void.

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Twitter became one of the most frequently used online sites to communicate such information during the aftermath.

Among those who interacted publicly on Twitter about the nuclear issues were some experts with scientific knowledge, including some physicists. Over time, as these interactions continued a kind of internet communities spontaneously emerged around particular scientists. These were communities of people who shared similar values and concerns about the accident and its potential impact. In some case these communities even began to function offline, for example, through organized meetings broadcast on online video sites. This paper explores the emergence and functioning of one such Twitter community that formed around particular physicists out of Twitter.

Twitter is called a microblogging site characterized by its shortness, with limitations of 140 characters in whatever language. Myers (2010) refers to Twitter being "stuck in the eternal present continuous", "where one only answers the question 'What are you doing now?'" (Myers, 2010: 75). However, the physicists in the data manage to make use of the apparently limited resources available on Twitter in Japanese to convey their own complex technical knowledge to others in such a way as to build a community over time amongst those concerned over the nuclear crisis. My interest in this study lies in exploring what kinds of meaning making resources Twitter in Japanese afforded the physicists to enable this process.

I draw on the theoretical framework of affiliation (Martin, 2009; Martin, 2010; Knight, 2010) as a basis for this research. I consider the concept of mode in the SFL framework (Halliday, 1985; Martin, 1992; Martin and Rose, 2007) and the functioning of Twitter in this respect. I then explore the way the two physicist Twitter writers, P1 and P2 make use of the mode in their interactions with their readers. I discuss the affordances of Twitter in two respects: in terms of monologic/dialogic and language in action/language in reflection.

2. Affiliation

In analysing the emergence of communities of shared values on Twitter, I draw on the theory of affiliation associated with the hierarchy of individuation (Martin 2009, 2010), a hierarchy that complements the hierarchies of realization and instantiation. The hierarchy of individuation is similar to that of instantiation in that it specializes meaning potential of a culture. The difference between the two is that instantiation refers to the specialization of meaning potential in the text, whereas "individuation specializes that meaning potential according to people (for users rather than uses of language" (Martin, 2010: 22). By regarding language users not as psycho-biological beings but as "bundles of personae embodied in such entities" (Martin, 2009: 563) who commune differently according to different social settings, the hierarchy of individuation enables "perspective on how personae mobilize social semiotic resources to affiliate with one another" (Martin, 2009: 564). As with other hierarchies in SFL, the individuation hierarchy is composed of two bidirectional clines, that of allocation that goes down from culture to persona, and one going upwards from persona to culture as seen in Figure 1(Martin, 2009: 575).
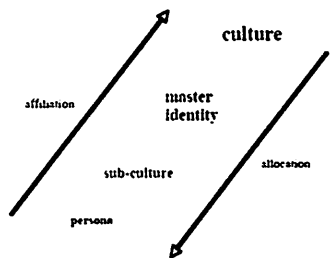
**Figure 1: Individuation as a hierarchy of affiliation
and allocation, (Martin 2009: 575)**

Knight (2010) reveals how affiliation is logogenetically construed along with the unfolding of text by attending to the combined meanings, or more precisely "coupling" of experiential and attitudinal meanings. Her claim is that "couplings that combine attitudinal meanings with ideation can inform us about how participants share and interpret values through meanings that are seemingly experiential in nature" (Knight, 2010: 40). As in Martin (2009, 2010), Knight also regards affiliation as a cline. In the text, one coupling of ideational and evaluative meanings forms a bond. A number of similar bonds cluster into communities of bonds, or bond network, then to more generalized ideological networks. Figure 2 is the diagram of cline of affiliation realized in text.
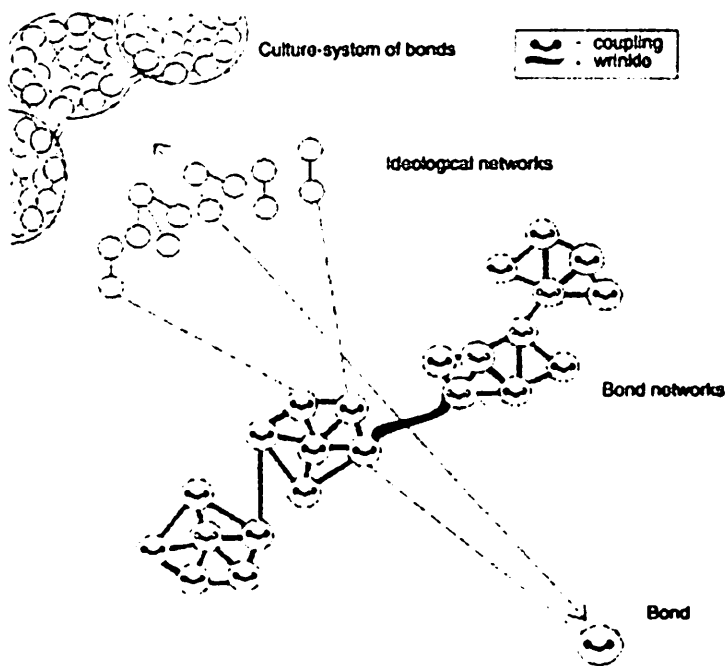
Figure 2 Cline of relation in affiliation (Knight 2010: 44)

In the bottom-up hierarchy of individuation, coupling of ideational meaning (experience) and interpersonal meaning (value) plays the role of forming a bond, the basic unit in the cline of affiliation. Then, the logogenetic unfolding of text allows a number of bonds to accumulate together as bond network.

An online microblogging mode like Twitter allows people to commune around shared interests and values and as such constitutes a valuable site for researching processes of bonding and affiliation. Zappavigna (2012), in a comprehensive SFL-based study on Twitter, examined the coupling of ideational and interpersonal meanings both qualitatively and quantitatively (Zappavigna, 2012: 11-13). She focused on hashtags as ideational labels, and explored the ways in which various interpersonal meanings are coupled with them towards 'ambient' affiliation, for instance, over the US presidential election. Zappavigna and Almutairi (2012) also explained different communities emerging around coffee talk on Twitter using the affiliation framework, focusing on the coupling of the ideational meaning of "coffee" and the interpersonal meaning of types of attitude. Inako (forthcoming) looks at tweets on plutonium written by one physicist and one freelance journalist, finding that the two Twitter writers from different professions showed different coupling patterns. Though the focus of this paper is not on the linguistic analysis of coupling itself, the logogenetic nature in the affiliation cline shown in Knight's framework also applies to the emergence of a community of particular affiliation on Twitter site after 3/11.

3. Mode of Twitter: Data and perspectives

I begin this section by locating mode as a register variable in SFL. Register is part of the context level below genre in the realization plane (Martin, 1992: 502-503). Register is the configuration of three variables, field, tenor and mode, variables that are realized in the linguistic choices in the text (Martin and Rose, 2007: 308-309). Field refers to the representation of social action: the nature of what is happening. Tenor refers to the role structure: who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles. Finally, mode refers to the symbolic organization: what role language is playing in realizing social action (Halliday and Hasan, 1985; Martin, 1992; Martin and Rose, 2007). Twitter, an internet microblogging site on the internet, is a kind of written mode in which language takes a dominant role in realizing social action. Martin (1992) further explains that mode is oriented to both interpersonal meaning and to experiential meaning. "Interpersonally, mode mediates the semiotic space between monologue and dialogue", while experientially it "mediates the semiotic space between action and reflection (Martin, 1992: 509). In order to explore the mode of Twitter in this paper it is necessary to determine how this mode functions in terms of these two perspectives, that is, how dialogic or monologic are the tweets of the Japanese physicists; and to what extent do they represent language in action or language in reflection.

The data of this research consists of tweets, or Twitter posts written by two experts in physics (P1 and P2) both of whom provide their identification, that is, their name and affiliation, on the public domain of the internet. The two physicists had been using Twitter publicly since before March 2011. After the nuclear accident was made public on 12 March, they both began tweeting on the issues and gained

followers. Both had approximately 2-3000 followers before 3/11. P1's followers sharply increased to 150,000 within one week, and P2's followers gradually beyond 24,000 over a year. During one year between 12 March 2011 and 11 March 2012, P1 tweeted 13549 tweets and P2, 32294 tweets. Their tweets were retrieved from a site called Twilog, a Twitter related service where users can store all their tweets on the public domain of the Internet. Both P1 and P2 had been keeping all their Twitter posts public on Twilog for more than one year before March 2011. The instances of tweets were translated from Japanese into English by the author of this paper.

4. Physicists' Tweets

In examining the resources in the mode of Twitter in Japanese that physicist writers deployed there are three aspects to consider: resources intrinsic to Twitter, language specific resources, and hypermodal resources available around Twitter. Features intrinsic to Twitter include its real-timeness, Twitter functions of # (hashtag), RT (retweet), @ (atmark), and the limitation of length to 140 characters. Graphological resources comprise features in Japanese language and those specific to online graphology. As for hypermodal resources, the concept "hypermodality" (Lemke, 2002; Zhao, 2010), defined as "semiotic artifacts in which signifiers on different scales of syntagmatic organization are linked in complex networks of webs" (Lemke, 2002: 300). As one mode of internet interaction, Twitter also affords hypermodal resources including links to other sites writers have created or to any other sites on the web. Along with the exemplified tweet instances, I discuss how they realize the mode of Twitter in terms of language in action/language in reflection perspective, as well as from monologic/dialogic perspective.

Characterized by Zappavigna (2012) as "convergent, real-time web experience" (5), the first major feature in Twitter mode is that it provides all tweets that a user follows in one stream of posts as what is called "Timeline" or "TL". Users can also go to particular users' Twitter sites, accessible from either computers or from mobile devises. This, according to Zappavigna (2012), provides text time "that bears a close relationship to the lived experience of time by users (Zappavigna, 2012: 39). One instance that represents this real-time feature of Twitter in our data is the following sequence of tweets written by P2.

Table 1: P2's tweets along on 10ᵗʰ July
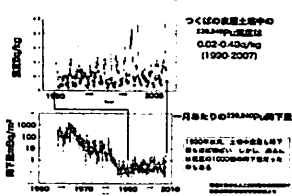
Tw1	09:58:11	地震きた。	Quake's come.
Tw2	09:58:28	長い長い。	Long long.
Tw3	09:58:47	横揺れきた。	Lateral vibration's come.
Tw4	09:59:37	でかいでかい。	Big big (colloquial).
Tw5	09:59:46	どこだ震源、M6.8?	Where hypocenter, M6.8?
Tw6	10:00:10	それが最大？RT @user1 #nhk 宮城北部震度4	Is that the maximum? RT@user1 #nhk　North of Miyagi seismic intensity of 4

These 6 tweets were posted one after another within 2 minutes, apparently along with the ongoing event of a quake. In terms of mode feature, the tweet sequence obviously realizes language in action. All tweets are short, with 5 to 16 characters only. In terms of style, the tweets are of a casual spoken style, with the omission of particles as in, "地震きた *jishin kita*" instead of "地震が来た *jishin ga kita*" in Tw1; use of colloquial language "でかい *dekai* instead of 大きい *ookii*" in Tw4; noncongruent word order in "どこだ震源 *doko da shingen*" instead of "震源はどこだ *shingen was doko da*"in Tw5. In Tw6, the use of question mark "?" as punctuation in Japanese also reflects a casual style.

In terms monologic/dialogic criteria, this sequence of tweets starts as monologue, and turns to dialogue with two questions in Tw5 and Tw6. Tw6 in particular realizes dialogic mode by using other Twitter-intrinsic conventions. The first one is RT, or retweeting. RT followed by @user means that the part of the tweet that comes after is quotation of @user's tweet. Another Twitter function is the use of hashtag (#)as the label of a topic. In the above example, #nhk means that @user assigns the marking "nhk", or Japan Broadcasting Corporation, to his/her tweet. Then, P2 in Tw6 addresses @user by asking for further information by using RT @user function.

Contrastive to the tweet sequence on Table 1 are P1's sequential tweets from 7:32am on 29th March. This was the morning after TEPCO, the electricity company that owns the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant made public in its late night press conference that plutonium had been detected in the soil sample from their site. P1 posted 16 tweets within 17 minutes. One such tweet is Tw7 on Table 2.

Table 2 P1's tweet on 29th March

| Tw7 | 07:38:50 | 【5.昔は Pu がもっとあった】気象研究所のデータによると，1990 年以来，土壌中濃度も降下量もほぼ横ばい．しかし，過去には現在の 1000 倍の降下量だった年もある（気象研）．添付図参照.
http://plixi.com/p/87687218
 | [5. In the past there was more Pu] According to the Meteorological Research Institute, since 1990, both the density in soil and the fall out amount remain more or less unchanged. However, in the past there were years that had 1000 times the amount of descend as present (MRI). Refer attachment.

http://plixi.com/p/87687218 |

Tw7 was the 11th tweet of the sequence. The numeric 5 in the bracketed headline means it is the fifth of his tweets entitled "原発敷地内プルトニウムに関する連続ツイート *genpatsu shikichinai purutoniumu ni kansuru renzokutsuiito*" (sequential tweets on plutonium in the site of nuclear power plant). This and other tweets in the sequence show characteristics different from P2's. First, P1's tweets are longer, and use standard written style with a headline and numerical orders. Without @, RT or # in the tweet sequence, 16 tweets are monologic in nature. In terms of hypermodality, 11 of the tweets have links to other sites. Three of them are linked to a site called Plixi where P1 provides the slides he created himself to supplement the tweets with further texts and diagrams. Tw7 on Table 2 is an example of such tweets which links to the slide with two diagrams quoted from the Meteorological Research Institute. Practically, it would be impossible to prepare 16 tweets of this sort within 17 minutes. More probably some or all of the 16 tweets were prepared in advance, and were then posted one after. Also, from a tweet with "チョットネヨウ *chotto neyoo*" (will sleep a little) posted about one hour later, we might infer that he had stayed up all night after TEPCO's conference to prepare the tweets. Twitter mode here is obviously realizing language in reflection rather than language in action.

The next tweet sequence on Table 3 demonstrates that language in action and in reflection can coexist in one sequence of tweets. In Tw8-Tw10 is part of such sequence which P2 started with a question on the news of cesium contamination on beef from Asahi.com online news.

Table 3: P2's tweet sequence on 9 July

Tw8	17:05:25	最後に相馬の牛を検査したのはいつなんだろう。http://bit.ly/pe9ifS	Well, when was that when (they) inspected cows of Sooma last? http://bit.ly/pe9ifS
Tw9	17:06:49	これかぁ。短期間に蓄積したのか。RT @user2 個人的には今回の2300Bq/kg という検査結果には驚いてます。過去の福島県産牛肉の検査結果で最も高い放射性セシウムの検出値は395Bq/kg(4/26 川俣町)であり、南相馬市では107.1(5/25)でした。	This huh .Was it accumulated in a short period? RT @user2 Personally (I) am surprised at this time's inspection results of 2300Bq/kg. The highest radioactive cesium's detection value in the past Fukushima-Prefecture-produced beef's inspection results was 395Bq/kg (26 April Kawamata Town), and in Minami-Sooma City, 107.1 (25 May)
		5 other tweets	
Tw10	17:28:15	RT @user2 【福島県産牛肉の暫定規制値超えセシウム検出について④】個人的には今回の2300Bq/kg という検査結果には驚いてます。過去の福島県産牛肉の検査結果で最も高い放射性セシウムの検出値は395Bq/kg(4/26 川俣町)であり、南相馬市では107.1(5/25)でした。	RT @user2 [About cesium detection beyond provisional regulation value in beef produced in Fukushima prefecture 4] Personally (I) am surprised at this time's inspection results of 2300Bq/kg. The highest radioactive cesium's detection value in the past Fukushima-Prefecture-produced beef's detection result was 395Bq/kg (26 April Kawamata Town), and in Minami-Sooma City, 107.1 (25 May).

One minute later, she wrote another tweet quoting another user with "RT @user2. Tw8 and Tw9 present similar language-in-action features as in Tw1-5. Tw8, without @, is a question without any particular addressee but rather aimed toward her followers in general. Tw9 shows that she has identified the source of the news from @user2's tweets, another Twitter user who is a government official. She pointed to it with "これかぁ。 *Kore kaa.*" (This huh.) "これ *Kore*" (this) here is a cataphoric reference pointing to the quoted tweet of @user starting from RT. Then, after five other tweets, four on beef and one on radon, P2 came back to the quotation and did a "retweet", or republished the @user2's tweet, although the most part of the tweet had already been quoted. Lengthened "かぁ *kaa*" with a small"あ *a*" is casual. After

posting this, P2 appears to have reflected on what she quoted in her Tw9, and decided to retweet it 20 minutes later for some reason, perhaps in order to reinforce the credibility of the quoted information.

The atmark @ can also organize dialogic tweets and yet control the degree of visibility. For instance, the tweets starting with @user3 in tweets Tw11 to Tw13 are not seen on the Timeline of P2's followers unless he/she follows user3 as well. However, since these tweets can be seen on P2's Twitter or Twilog page, the use of atmark (@) at the beginning of a tweet does not make the tweet completely invisible. This function is called "replying".

Table 4: P2's tweet sequence on 10 July

Tw11	00:17:53	@user3 ええ、１０００００ もあったらいやだと思います。	@user3 Yes, I think (it) is unpleasant if there is as much as 10000.
Tw12	00:18:32	@user3 まあいつもいってることですが、サーベーメーター当てて食品汚染はかるなんて、、、	@user3 Well (it) is what I always say but, doing such a thing like measuring food contamination applying survey meter,,,
Tw13	00:20:28	@user3 いやさすがに私はそこまで懐疑的ではないですが。むしろ 2000Bq/Kg がはかれないというのが良くわかる事例という位置づけでは。食品汚染はかるのにガイガー買うのはやめましょう、的ななにか。	@user3 No still I am not as skeptical as that but. Rather (isn't it) the positioning that (it is an) instance that (one) cannot measure 2000Bq/Kg. Something like let's stop Geiger to measure food contamination, kind of like.

On Twitter, it is the users' choice to quote or not all or any part of @user's tweets by typing RT before the atmark, or even by modifying it.In Tw9 and Tw10, P2 quoted user2's tweets twice. However, in Tw11 to Tw13, she chose the replying function. As a result, the parts tweeted by @user3 become less visible to the audience, though still accessible if the reader clicks on "View conversation" below P2's tweets.In short, the choice P2 made in Tw11-Tw13 is different from the one in Tw9. Also not that these tweets present dialogic features close to spoken mode, as seen in responses such as "ええ *ee*" (yes), "いや *iya*" (no); filler "まあ *maa*" (well). P2 also uses colloquial expressions such as "的ななにか *tekina nanika*" (kind of like something).

There are other graphological features that physicists deploy in their Twitter posts. The first of such features is Japanese graphology that comprises multiplescripts, two syllabic scripts *hiragana* and *katakana*, *kanji* or Chinese characters, and *romaji* or Roman alphabets, as well as numerals and Greek alphabets.

This complex graphological system congruent in written Japanese allows a relatively large amount of content in one post compared to alphabetical languages such as English. It is particularly the case with technical language where technical entities are congruently realized in *kanji* compounds. Look at Tw14, which has 116 characters while its English translation has 329 characters, more than twice the size of one tweet.

Table 5: P1's tweet on 27th March

| Tw14 | 12:40:42 | 半減期が短く，特徴的なガンマ線を出す放射性物質はすぐに同定できるが，半減期が2万4000年もあり，α線を出して崩壊するPuは，ドッサリない限り検出できない．(KEKでは)Pu239の「親」である239Npの崩壊ガンマ線が見えていない．現時点でPu大量飛散は無い． | Radioactive materials whose half-life period is short and that emit characteristic gamma rays can be identified immediately, but Pu, whose half-life period is as long as 24,000 years and that decays emitting α rays, cannot be detected unless there is a pile. (At KEK) decaying gamma rays of 239Np, which is 'parent' of Pu239, is not seen. At this moment there is no large dispersal of Pu. |

In this highly technical tweet, most technical terms are realized in a small number of *kanji* as in "半減期 *hangenki*"(half-life period), "放射性物質 *hooshaseibusshitsu*" (radioactive material), and "親 *oya*" (parent). Words in Hiragana or katakana also are usually shorter than English words, e.g., "すぐに *suguni*" (immediately), "ガンマ *ganma*" (gamma). Reflecting technicality, Roman and Greek alphabets are used as abbreviation of technicality and institutional terms such as "Pu" instead of"プルトニウム *purutoniumu*" (plutonium) and "α" instead of "アルファ *arufa*" (alpha). Japanese graphological system as such allows technical meaning to be elaborated to a certain extent even within 140 characters.

However, in spite of this affordance, sometimes physicists use marked graphology instead of congruent to mean differently.

Table 6: P1's tweet on 27 March

| Tw15 | 14:47:10 | (Puﾓﾝﾀﾞｲﾊ ﾂｳｼﾞﾙ ﾍﾞｷ ﾄｺﾛﾆ ﾂｳｼﾞﾀ ﾖｳﾀﾞｶﾗ ｻﾝﾎﾟﾆ ﾕｺｳ) | (Since Pu issue seems to be gotten through to the place it should be gotten through let's go for a walk) |

Tw15 on Table 6 is written in half-size *katakana* in 39 characters. It could have been written in congruent complex writing as "Pu問題は通じるべきところに通じたようだから散歩に行こう" in 27 characters without brackets. However, P1 tweeted in this incongruent style every now and then. This script shift from congruent to half-size

katakana only involves field shift from technical to every day. It can be interpreted as a shift from one persona of a professor in physics giving a lecture to another persona, who has just finished his lecture leaving for a walk. Inserting this kind of tweets occasionally is P1's unique style.

In terms of internet graphology, emoticons, classified as "evolved punctuation" by Knox (2009: 161-162), are a common feature found in the physicists' tweets. As shown in Table 7, emoticons in physicists' tweets appear with @ indicating particular addressees.
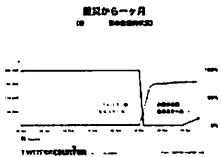
Table 6: P2's tweets with emoticons

Tw16	17:55:51, 10th July	@user2 スルーしてもらってよかったのに（＾＾）	@user2 It was OK to have (my tweet) ignored　（＾＾）
Tw17	23:56:41, 12 July	@user4 先生まず３０年って何秒か、計算してみましょうよ。（；；）	@user3 Sensei first how many seconds thirty years are, let us calculate. (；；)
Tw18	01:00:54, 31 Aug	勉強してください。ちょっと怒っています。 （~~） @user5	Please study. (I) am a bit angry.　(~~)@user5

In Japanese style emoticons, （＾＾）in Tw16 indicates a smiling face, （；　；）in Tw17 a crying face with tears dropping down from the eyes, and (~~) in Tw18 a frowning face. These emoticons do contribute to affiliation by taking the role of "assisting interpersonal connection" (Zappavigna, 2012: 71).

The final example tweet I introduce in this paper is one also contributing to the affiliation of Twitter readers around the physicists, one written by P1 on 10th April 2011, one month after 3/11.

Table 7 P1's tweet on 10th April

Tw19	21:25:23	震災から一ヶ月（@P1 家の危機的状況）ﻠﻠﻠ... http://plixi.com/p/91210264	One month after quake disaster (@1 family's critical situation) hmm... http://plixi.com/p/91210264

This is one of many of P1's tweets which have links to diagrams. The cline that rises sharply after 11/3 and still keeps increasing is the scale of the number of followers, whereas the cline that radically drops from 100% to 0% and then gradually starts recovering in early April is the scale of husband-wife conversations. Here the

diagram represents not a technical meaning but an everyday one. It was posted after one month of tweeting 2028 posts since 12 March about the nuclear crisis, largely perceived as a critical situation. In Tw19, P1 compares this situation to the critical situation in   his own family after 3/11. This kind of sense of humor also played an important contribution in the process of creating a bond, and of weaving up the bond as community of affiliation during the immediate aftermath of a complex disaster that hit Japan in March 2011.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I explored the meaning making resources available in the mode of Twitter and used by two physicists to communicate during the aftermath of nuclear accident in Fukushima. Both physicists made choices from various resources available to convey their meanings. These included resources intrinsic to Twitter, hypermodal resources available via linking, and graphological resources including different scripts in Japanese writing system and emoticons. In terms of mode features, the physicists' tweets were at times more dialogic or more monologic, representing either language in action or language in reflection. In the example tweets presented in this paper, P1 tended to be more monologic and represented language in reflection, and P2more diaglogic as language in action. However, this does not mean that P1's tweets were all monologic and that they never referred to ongoing events, nor that P2's tweets were alldialogues. Rather, what I interpret from their tweets is that these physicists made conscious choices in the resources they used in order to   gett across the particular meanings they wanted to convey to their audience.

What is revealed from this brief review of two physicists' tweets is that in spite of its generally-perceived limitation of 140 characters, the mode of Twitter constitutes a complex mode offering the potential for complex meaning making by its users. It afforded the physicists the potential to disseminate and negotiate highly technical knowledge sought by the community during the time of the nuclear. In turn this affordance for complex meaning-making in the mode of Twitter enabled a new community of shared values to emerge around these particular Twitter writers with specialized knowledge in physics. Certainly both P1 and P2 were fluent users of this cutting-edge mode of internet.

Note

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Clause Type and Speech Functions
in a Time Management Advice Text

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Abstract

In Systemic Functional Grammar, exchange-initiating speech functions are classed into four main types specified as the (1) giving or (2) demanding of (a) goods or services or (b) information (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 107). Three of these types, 'command' (2-a), 'statement' (1-b), and 'question' (2-b), are most congruently realised by the imperative, declarative, and interrogative clause moods as identified by their subject-predicate patterns. But the fourth, 'offer' (1-a), is generally realised using diverse modal constructions such as *Would you like...,? Shall I...?* or others, the choice of which depends on circumstances and the role relations concerned. Here, I examine the implications of this and argue that the function specification needs to be diversified too. In particular, it is not realistic to transfer the supply and demand metaphors of a service encounter to the exchange functions of a guidance activity like advice giving in which speaker and hearer interests can converge to a point where – delicacies of viewpoint apart – modalities such as *you should flip a coin* and *I would flip a coin* come to effectively the same thing.

1. Introduction

In Systemic Functional Grammar, speeches in a dialogue have the primary function of exchanging information or projected future acts. In the first case, the function of a main clause, through either giving or demanding, is to set up a 'proposition'; in the second case, by similar means, it is to set up a 'proposal' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 110-111). For Halliday's model situation of the transfer of a teapot, this generates a matrix of four primary exchange-initiating speech functions (Table 1).

These functions are primary in the sense of not being subject to the more particular constraints associated with response moves or genre structures. The complexities of these more constrained environments have been explored by researchers such as Eggins and Slade (1997: 169-226).

Schemes of functions like the one in Table 1 begin to appear in Halliday's work in the 1980s (e.g., Halliday, 2002 [1984]: 319). Before then, he took the less elaborated position that the formal system of mood in English supplies three main 'options' of declarative, interrogative and imperative, the real functioning of which is greatly complicated in practice by divergences in the logical and historical developments of meaning, as pointed out in *A New English Grammar: Logical and Historical* (Sweet, 1900; Halliday, 2002 [1970]: 189).

Table 1: Primary speech functions in exchange-initiating moves (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 107)

Role in exchange	Commodity exchanged	
	Goods-&-services	Information
Giving	Offer *Would you like this teapot?*	Statement *He's giving her the teapot.*
Demanding	Command *Give me that teapot!*	Question *Is he giving her the teapot?*

Following this hint, I begin my approach to this question of speech functions with a review of the two accounts of 'relations between subjects and predicates' in Sweet: first the indicative and imperative verb moods (Sweet, 1900: 105-112) and then the declarative, exclamative, interrogative and imperative sentence classes (Sweet, 1900: 172-176). The discontinuity in evolution between these two accounts precludes any chance of a seamlessly integrated description, but the open seam itself is a continuous source of renewal for meaning.

2. English verb moods

According to Sweet, the retreat of the old subjunctive leaves present-day English with just two principal verb moods that are pervasive across most registers of use, the indicative and the imperative:

> ... if a language has special forms to express commands as distinguished from statements, we include the forms that express command under the term 'imperative mood'. Thus in English *come!* is in the imperative mood, while the statement *he comes* is in the 'indicative mood'.
>
> (Sweet, 1900: 105)

However, many functions earlier performed using the subjunctive, with others associated with modal verbs, infinitives or various projection constructions, can still usefully be collected into an indicative subset which Sweet calls the 'indicative of thought', covering doubtful, hypothetical, or not yet realised sorts of propositions, sometimes subsumed under a general category of *irrealis* (Palmer, 2001):

Table 2: The indicatives of fact and thought (Sweet, 1900: 105-112; my summary)

Indicative		Imperative
Indicative of fact	Indicative of thought	
	Conditionals, concessives, wishes, quotations, etc.	

Imperative meanings are similarly *irrealis* in the sense of not yet realised, and an important challenge for modal theory is how to treat this connection. Imperatives are traditionally divided into second and non-second person types. But since the 1950s (von Wright, 1951), 'deontic', 'dynamic' and other act-oriented kinds of modality have also been identified within the formal indicative on grounds such as obligation and inclination. Halliday (1970) calls these 'modulations'. The distinction between modalised propositions and modulated proposals allows further areas of the formal indicative to be hived off as an imperative-like modality of 'direction':

Table 3: Modalised propositions and modulated proposals

Indicative		Imperative	
Mood of fact	Modalities of thought	Modalities of direction	Mood of act
	Variously modalised propositions	Variously modulated proposals	

Modulations are not easy to divide into neat classes, however, so this arrangement does not lead transparently to the four functions shown in Table 1. A facilitating conceptual step is to interpret a 'question' as the request to have some complementing statement supplied, and an 'offer' as the anticipatory undertaking of an obligation. This then accounts logically for the four functions, while leaving a certain priority to statement and command, since questions are oriented on required statements, and offers on preempted commands or other directives.

3. English clause functions

Halliday's treatment of mood as a clause category, however, corresponds more to Sweet's scheme of 'sentence classes', or rather to three of the four types in it:

> ... sentences fall under the four main groups – (a) sentences of statement, or declarative sentences, (b) sentences of exclamation, or exclamative sentences, (c) sentences of question, or interrogative sentences, and (d) sentences of hortation, or imperative sentences.
>
> (Sweet, 1900: 172; discussed in Halliday, 2002 [1970]: 189)

Four classes, or types, are still widely accepted in education (Smith, 2011: 211-213), although Sweet (1900: 172) already shows that the exclamative is a special emphatic declarative (*The moon is bright*; *How bright the moon is!*) with a parallel in the *wh-* interrogative (*Is the moon bright? How bright is the moon?*). This suggests that the scheme can be either expanded to five types or reduced to three, as indicated in the right-hand column of Table 4:

Table 4: Clause types and uses (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 853; two tables in H&P)

Clause type	Example	Characteristic use
Declarative	*You are generous.*	Statement
Exclamative	*How generous you are!*	Exclamatory statement
Closed interrogative	*Are you generous?*	Closed question
Open interrogative	*How generous are you?*	Open question
Imperative	*Be generous!*	Directive

But whether the *wh-* variants are treated apart or not, the core pattern remains the threefold division into statement-like, question-like, and directive-like types. Of these, the statement-like and question-like types make a closely complementary pair: a statement *I am generous* can be used to affirm a question *Are you generous?* while *Am I generous?* can be used to anticipate or elicit the statement *You are generous.*

A directive has no obvious complement of this sort. In an early analysis of discourse functions by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975: 28), directing was found to resemble questioning in requiring a response, while differing crucially from it in that the response was to be 'non-linguistic'. The directive complement, if it exists, cannot be simply non-linguistic if its primary function is to start a speech exchange. What might fit the requirement, here, would be a speech of present commitment to an act of future performance. In fact, that would also match the future orientation of the directive. As an example, *Shall I be generous?* can be used to anticipate or elicit *Be generous!*, while *(Yes,) be generous!* makes a positive uptake for *I'll be generous!* Something like this shows up in practice, because while Sinclair and Coulthard claimed to find only three primary functions in their main analysis of teaching exchanges, they also noticed a 'focus' function in preparatory sequences in which teachers used first-person proposals to commit themselves to an agenda:

(1) Now, I want to tell you about a King who lived a long time ago in Ancient Egypt.

<div align="right">(Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975: 22)</div>

Around the same time, Searle (1976: 11) was arguing for two complementary act types of 'directives', for getting hearers to act, and 'commissives', through which speakers commit themselves to act. Taking a promise (Searle, 1969: 54-71) as a commissive prototype, it can be seen that a formula of the sort *I will be generous* can be positively responded to by *(Yes,) be generous!* while *Be generous!* can be responded to by *I will be generous!* The difficulty still remains, however, that while the imperative, *Be generous!*, exists as a simplest realisation for the directive, since anything else is more modulated, there is no simplest choice for the commissive but an embarrassment of options with additional associated implications that vary from one candidate to the next.

This can be shown with the examples of the 'offer' modulation *would you like?* and the 'promise' modulation *I will.* A speaker who says *I will give you this teapot* is

usually regarded as committed to this promise unless released from it. But a speaker who says *Would you like this teapot?* is not yet committed to anything until the offer is taken up. Table 5 shows these and several other typical commissive formulas, along with the formally matching typical directive in each case:

Table 5: Initiations for goods-&-services encounters

Verb mood / modality	Who becomes committed if the business goes through?	
	Speaker	Hearer
Imperative mood Absolute	Proffer *Have this teapot!*	Command *Give me that teapot!*
Modal *will* May still be refused	Promise *I will give you this teapot.*	Request *Will you give me that teapot?*
Modal *would like* Subject to being taken up	Offer *Would you like this teapot?*	Enquire for *I'd like that teapot.*
Modal *can* Avoiding sharp refusal	Consent *You can have this teapot.*	Ask consent *Can I have that teapot?*

This tabulation ignores any other functions that can be realised using these formulas. The modulations are arranged in decreasing strength, from *will* at the top to *can* at the bottom. The 'command' and 'offer' examples from Table 1 fit in easily, but at different degrees of strength. Also, one of the assumptions behind these examples, that the imperative mood is more associated with demanding roles, is not clearly borne out, since *Have this teapot!* makes a giving offer (giving of a good or service). The difference in functions between *Have this teapot!* and *Give me that teapot!* comes from the lexical verb meanings, while it does not seem to matter whether the proposal is to be realised imperatively or in a *will*, *would like*, or *can* modulation, since either a commissive or a directive function can be obtained without strain anywhere in the table. Once this choice is fixed, of course, there are knock-on constraints for the declarative or interrogative order of the underlying indicative base clause and for the distributions of first- or second-person pronouns.

This is not yet the whole picture, however. There is also a further large group of directives and commissive proposals in which selections of clause type and person are not of primary importance and even the directive / commissive distinction may amount to no more than a nuance. The exchanges talked about so far have been 'service encounters', that is to say face-by-face dealings between parties in complementary giving and demanding roles. But there are also exchanges of a much more side-by-side sort, in which the participants' interests and goals converge and the commodity given or demanded is support or guidance. Table 6 shows examples of exchange-initiating proposals from a page entitled 'Flip a coin' from a bilingual blog (Fournier, 2011[En]) providing time-management advice for busy people. The

parts in regular type are quoted, while the words in bold are constructed complements:

Table 6: Initiations for side-by-side guidance exchanges

Verb mood / modality / projection	Who becomes committed if the business goes through?	
	Speaker	Hearer
Imperative? Absolute	Resolve *Never look back.*	Insist *Never look back.*
Projection *I feel* Approval in principle	Commend *Sometimes, I feel it is better to reduce the decision process by just flipping a coin.*	Recommend *Sometimes, I feel it is better to reduce the decision process by just flipping a coin.*
Modal *can* Resignation	Indulge *I can argue for hours in my head about X versus Y.*	Tolerate *You can argue for hours in your head about X versus Y*

The bearing of the participants' respective role positions on the commissive or directive status of what is proposed is of much less weight here than in Table 5. I have put a query after the gloss 'Imperative' because *Never look back* could also be a non-finite clause realising a general maxim; and sure enough, the form of the verb *regarder* in the French text (*ne regarder plus en arrière*) is infinitive, not imperative, here. This does not exclude the possibility of *Never look back* being imperative in the English, of course, but it comes far short of supporting it.

As for the *I feel ...* projection, the proposal here does not evoke action from any particular person, first, second or third. To specify the person would require some completion of the sort *better for me* or *better for you*. In this respect, the French text is no different from the English.

In the Modal *can* example, finally, there is something strained in the constructed first-person version. In practice, for solidarity's sake, second-person pronouns are frequent in first-person examples, and that is the case in this instance:

(2)... Many decisions in my life, private or at work, were taken by a coin. You can argue for hours in your head about X versus Y. My decision to go studying in England was taken this way, 20 years ago. ...   (Fournier, 2011 [En])

The French text, here, uses an indefinite pronoun *on* (*On peut débattre avec soi-même*), which is close in meaning to English *one* (*One can argue in one's head*) but without being so formal.

The particular details of the examples are not what matter here, however. The point to appreciate is that in a text where the writer's and reader's interests and goals

converge as strongly as they are construed to do here, the sense of two parties negotiating over benefits is of limited relevance. With *Never look back*, the writer is neither volunteering a future act to benefit the reader, nor demanding a service back from the reader. Yet a proposal is certainly being made, and certainly for the reader's benefit. There is a commodity gain to be won, but it is to be wrested from the world at large through the dialogue parties acting side by side.

4. A text extract

I ended my oral presentation by skimming the 'Flip a Coin' text for cases of declarative, interrogative or imperative clauses that could not simply and definitely be reduced to the congruent functions of giving information, demanding information, or demanding action, respectively. In the 53 main clauses or clause equivalents of the text I found 16 of these, including 4 cases of a commissive 'focus' function of textual signposting (cf. (2), above).

In this written version, with a page limit in force, I am not able to display and then skim the whole text. Instead, I shall confine myself to the last third of it, which offers several features of interest. In what preceded, the writer has argued a thesis that flipping a coin is a good way of dealing with trivial or imponderable decisions in life, and has illustrated this with episodes from his own past. In the passage below, conclusions are drawn from this:

Text 1: Main clause equivalents 39-53 from the text 'Flip a Coin'

[39] Back to the point. [40] Reduce the decision process and flip a coin. [41] You will save a great deal of time.

[42] Now it is not as easy as it sounds. [43] Because the second you do it and the result unfolds, you are tempted to go for the other decision. [44] I guess it is human nature. [45] So stick to the decision made and go with it.
[46] Never look back. [47] This can be difficult [48] but hey, you made your decision and acted.

[49] Alternatively you can sit on your couch and continue analysing X versus Y and waste minutes.

[50] I prefer my way.

[51] So, a little exercise for you now. [52] You can't decide on something. [53] Try flipping a coin.
(Fournier, 2011 [En]; numbering added)

My analysis of the clause types and speech functions for this passage follows in Table 7. In the last column on the right I also note the clause types for the equivalent parts of the French text, written by the same person. Where a possible difference in clause type is apparent between the two languages, this is indicated in bold:

Table 7: Clause types and speech functions in the text 'Flip a Coin'

No.	Starting	Clause type	Speech function	Fr. clause type
39	Back to the point.	**elliptic**	directive?	**imperative**
40	Reduce the decision ...	imperative? **non-finite?**	directive? statement?	**imperative**
41	You will save a great deal ...	declarative	statement	declarative
42	Now, it is not as easy as it ...	declarative	statement	declarative
43	Because the second you ...	**elliptic**	statement? non-primary?	**declarative**
44	I guess it is human nature.	declarative	statement	declarative
45	So stick to the decision ...	**imperative?**	directive?	**non-finite**
46	Never look back.	**imperative?**	directive?	**non-finite**
47	This can be difficult	declarative	statement non-primary?	declarative
48	but hey, you made your ...	declarative	statement	declarative
49	Alternatively, you can sit ...	declarative	directive? non-primary?	declarative
50	I prefer my way.	declarative	statement	declarative
51	So, a little exercise for ...	elliptic	commissive	elliptic
52	You can't decide on ...	declarative	statement	declarative
53	Try flipping a coin.	imperative	directive	imperative

(**bold type** shows possible differences in function between the English and French texts)

Of the 15 clauses etc. identified, I find myself able to classify eight with confidence ([41], [42], [44], [48], [50], [51], [52], [53]) in both the English and the French texts. Six of them are statements supplying facts, assessments or specifications. The homework announcement ([51]) is a proposal which I class as 'commissive' ('offer') in the sense that the writer undertakes to perform the steps that follow in [52] and [53]. 'Try flipping a coin' ([53]) is a 'directive', but of the side-by-side guidance sort; it is not a 'command' because no service is demanded.

This leaves seven more problematic instances, which I will discuss in similar groups. [47] and [49], first, might pass as a plain statement and a plain directive except that they share a further function of assenting to a position supposedly held by a reader. On an analysis of 'speech function pairs' Eggins and Slade, 1997: 183),

this suggests response functions of acknowledgment ([47]) and acceptance ([49]). These assenting responses may also be strategic preparations for reversal speeches to follow ([48], [50]). But so long as they start out as responses, there is an argument for excluding them from the main analysis as non-primary.

Another clause with a possibly non-primary function is [43], depending on the status that is assigned to the conjunction (or adjunct?) *Because*. In the French text there is no equivalent for *Because*, and [43] has a primary statement function.

The remaining four instances have proposal functions, but with complications. *Back to the point* in [39] is elliptic, but looks like being another textual commissive (*[I'll come] back* ...), as it is the writer who has previously digressed. The French text, however, has a first-person imperative (*Revenons au point de départ*) similar to the now obsolete English **Come we back*. There could be a case here, then, for supplying *[Let's get] back* ...

This leaves instances [40], [45] and [46], of which [46], *Never look back*, was used as an example in Table 6 above. In English it looks like a simple directive, but in the French text it is realised with an infinitive clause, suggesting a general status as a maxim not integrated with a person role (cf. similar uses in English of *Never mind, Never say die*). It is interesting that while all three of these instances would usually be described as grammatically similar in English, the French text uses the imperative (and hence direct second-person address) only in instance [40]. A possible reason might be that in [40] the reader is being directed to take positive action for a definite benefit (*You will save a great deal of time.*), while in [45] and [46] the emphasis is on resisting the itch to reopen a closed case. A maxim may be enough against the itch, but not for the more specific direction-giving. It is interesting to find a residual survival of this distinction in English imperatives based on *never* and *always* – which are categorical in both senses of the word, universal in application as well as emphatic (Dykes, 2008).

5. Five limitations of Halliday and Matthiessen's matrix of speech functions

Halliday and Matthiessen's account of speech functions as (1) the giving or (2) the demanding of (a) goods or services or (b) information has proved its robustness in so many discourse situations that it seems ungrateful to fault it. After all, even for problems that the framework is unequal to, it provides a first stimulus from which to advance further (Hasan, 2000). The point needs to be made, however, that a model of discourse based on commodity exchange can only advance so far. Basically it remains bound to the logic of the service encounter, i.e., to matched complementary interests, negotiation, and optimisations of benefits within the ranges allowed under the prevailing market order.

The main practical problem is that a vast proportion of speech interaction is not based primarily on face-to-face encounter but on side-by-side support. Differences in knowledge and experience remain, so that the information side of the exchange model continues to work. But the principles that 'offer' is the natural complement of 'command', and that 'commands' are for demanding goods and services, are strained at best. To force them to fit a collaborative situation such as the giving and getting of advice, either the facts of the situation itself, or the meanings of the function terms, have to be bent further out of true than is comfortably acceptable.

It is not at all my intention to deliver a grand critique, and all I wish to do is to testify to a sense of strain. But I shall finish this write-up of my presentation by noticing five limitations that I come up against in trying to match the four primary SFG speech functions to the facts of the Internet page 'Flip a coin':

1) Directives are for more than the demanding of services. Some such as *Have this teapot!* are used for rendering service. Others, such as *When in doubt, flip a coin*, have intrinsic value as maxims of procedure; the communication of this value is a service in addition to whatever other commodity advantages do or do not come up for the (un)fortunate parties concerned.

2) Commissive and directive speeches come in more variants than words like 'offer' or 'command' can express, and the formulas by which they are realised tend to be met with in pairs (e.g., *Will you help me? I'll help you*). Most of the formulas are modulations of declarative or interrogative clauses, while others are based on projections, historic subjunctives, or the imperatives of lexically complementary verbs (e.g., *Give me some tea! Have some tea!*).

3) In face-to-face service exchanges, both parties are likely to be intent on giving or getting commodities; in side-by-side guidance exchanges, they are more likely to be intent on combining their best efforts to ensure either shared benefits, or else an enhanced benefit for the party obtaining the guidance.

4) In side-by-side guidance, the parties' interests and roles are less distinct than in face-to-face service encounters. As a result, there may not be much effective difference between speeches like *I should flip a coin* and *You should flip a coin*. One may be co-implied in the other, leaving person selections to be kept for other purposes such as relationship building.

5) For further comparisons of directives and commissives, it would be helpful to collect facts of usage for complementary pairs such as *Give me that teapot! Have this teapot!* or *Would you like this teapot? I'd like that teapot*. This would direct attention to larger relations between directive and commissive functions. The assumption that the imperative clause is associated more with directive than commissive functions has real grounds in the fact that the imperative clause and the directive function share a strong second-person perspective. But the question of what directive and commissive formulas share is of equal importance. Market exchange models may illuminate one limit state of the relationship (full mutual complementation). But there is also a need to consider the other limit case of interest and value convergence in which the distinction between directive and commissive functions either disappears or is replaced by a more persistent set of complementary care relations.

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Making the Link
–The Use of Links and Other Forms of Reference in Online Forums–

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Abstract

A link is a form of referencing that has parallels with *allusions* in oral texts and *reference* in written texts. However, hyperlinks in online forums allow for connection to a range of multimodal resources and are more closely integrated into the post or thread. This paper explores the use of links in an online forum for cyclists where links have both enhanced and become an integral part of communication. Based on a preliminary description of link usage in the forum, this paper highlights some of the ways links are being used and proposes a way of classifying link usage that might be compatible with an SFL framework.

1. Introduction

D1: To start the September thread, here's my garmin chart up thru today: [a snapshot shows an August calendar with distances and times.]
Maybe light for most TCC-folks but not too shabby for a 60-year old?

C2: Today, I led a group of beginner cyclists from Sagamiko Station to Futako Tamagawa. The route was planned as: http://ridewithgps.com/routes/1584754. Actual was:
http://app.strava.com/rides/20426359

No text stands alone and explicit links to other texts through allusion or reference is ubiquitous but the presence of hyperlinks in online contexts offers new possibilities that are changing the way people communicate. In the sample above, D1 and C2 are the first two posts on a forum thread (D and C are participants and the number indicates the number of the post on the thread). Both D1 and C2 included detailed data about their rides through links. D inserted a snapshot of an online resource that summarized his activities over the month and C offered links to two different mapping resources. The first is a route planning resource (RidewithGPS, 2013) that shows a map and gradient profile that can also be uploaded to a cycle computer to provide route directions (rather like a car navigation system). The second is from Strava (2013) a site that allows riders to upload rides from the cycle computers to share online, to compare and compete to ride the fastest over ride 'segments'. Here, it provides concrete evidence of the actual route ridden. Such links allow users to communicate in ways that would not be possible offline and links in a forum

provide a communicative resource that would benefit from a functional description. This paper considers this phenomenon through an exploration of link usage in this online forum.

Context and intertextuality and implicit or explicit links are central to the concerns of researchers working within a Systemic Functional Linguistic framework because SFL is concerned with both textual organization above sentence level and the meaning of texts in their situation in the world as well as in relation to other texts (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 2002). For example, genre describes a text type as duplicating features across different texts constituting an implicit link between a specific text and others in the same genre. Martin and Rose (2008: 6) make the point that genre recognizes both recurrent practices and relations among genres. In addition, explicit references are often made to other texts, for example to cite evidence for an argument. In SFL, this has been referred to as 'extended reference to macro-phenomenon' (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999: 102-103). Within the text, links provided by grammatical resources such as pronouns, demonstratives or use of synonyms and definite articles are used to create cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999). These are the resources associated with textual metafunction, which comprises of lexical cohesion, conjunction, ellipsis and reference. In this broad sense, 'links' may be said to cover a range of intertextual and intratextual referencing or 'connecting' resources. It seems reasonable to suppose that intertextual and intratextual links would be much the same in online contexts as in offline contexts except that the structuring of the Internet around hyperlinks, which allow the reader to move directly from one text (or part of a text) to another at the click of a mouse, potentially changes the nature of links.

2. Exploring links in an online forum

Although online texts may reproduce or mimic features of offline texts, one of the essential differences between on and offline texts is the linkage. At the click of a mouse, someone reading the Wikipedia entry on M.A.K. Halliday can jump from the highlighted words 'systemic functional linguistics' to another page introducing Systemic Functional Linguistics. In this paper, however, I look specifically at links used within the interactive context of a forum. Whereas Wikipedia is intended as an informational source for the public, akin to an encyclopedia (O'Sullivan, 2009), online forums are social meeting places. If one of the defining features of the Internet is the linking of information (ideational content) it has also become widely exploited for linking people (interpersonal) around the world through forums and other social networking sites.

Forums are built around sequential exchanges similar to a conversation. In the forum, 'an utterance,' to borrow Conversation Analysis terminology, is represented by a 'post'. A sequence of posts is referred to as a 'thread' and so is the equivalent of a 'conversation'. Within a forum, these threads may serve a wide range of functions. In the cycling forum considered here, threads were used for sharing information about cycling; discussing cycling related issues; organizing rides and race participation; reporting on cycling experiences, buying and selling equipment; designing the club kit and even customizing the layout of the forum itself among other things. Here, I focus on how the use of links facilitates such activities and

enables communication by using links to reference a range of resources including direct access to online technology.

Since hyperlinks are a feature of Internet technology rather than a property of language, they may not be the most obvious target for linguistic observation. However, they have become an integral part of online reading and communication in social networking sites and online forums. Moreover links enable a concrete form of communication because articles or video clips can be linked to a post and become the focus for a discussion. Links allow all participants direct access to the material being discussed without disrupting the layout of the post. In short, participants can be on the same page. Moreover, linked resources need not be restricted to text: pictures, video, and online resources such as the mapping and tracking sites linked to C's post in my quote from the forum above. Each of these linked resources makes it possible to communicate much more than would be possible with words alone. The integral nature of links to such resources was underlined by comments when contributors failed to include relevant links such as for sale items without photos.

3. Data source: An online forum for cyclists
The data discussed here derive from an online forum that can be viewed in full online, irrespective of whether or not you are a member. As this is material in the public domain, I have included the forum URL (TCC, 2013) and some linked resources referred to here in references. The forum serves as a club for cyclists in the Tokyo area who ride and race together but also informs a wider community. As the forum is almost entirely in English, most of the participants (including the site owner) are residents or visitors from overseas. Participants are predominantly male. Nevertheless, there is discussion on a wide variety of cycling related issues among a broad community of participants (1,565 registered members) including many outside Japan, and an even wider community of followers (of 22 currently viewing the forum only 8 are logged in as members). Every day there are new posts on as many as a dozen 'threads'. Each thread begins with a specific comment or question which ensuing posts address in various ways.

The forum is divided into topic types, which include Introductions, General Discussion, Bicycle Mechanics, Official Tours and Races and Unofficial Tours and Short Runs. However, users have effectively developed their own classification system within this to rationalize what might otherwise become a proliferation of short threads. For example, there are long running threads for YouTube clips where YouTube links are shared and discussed, and 'Today' where members report on current activities. As shown in the extract at the opening of the paper, at the beginning of each month, somebody starts a new Today thread so that it will be for example 'Today July 2013'. Both Today and YouTube threads include many posts unrelated to those that precede or follow them. In contrast, threads concerned with a specific ride or event follow a predictable narrative from advertising the event, through agreements to participate and planning to reports of the event. Similarly, threads concerned with mechanical problems and equipment purchases followed a narrative pattern of issue raised→issue discussed→issue resolved. The choice of whether to post to an existing thread (and if so, to which one) or to begin a new one (and if so, the choice of thread type) is the most fundamental link resource and

serves to position the post in the forum. In addition the forum host software allows users to insert links of various kinds into individual posts.

The original data used to explore link usage here was collected during August and September 2012. This paper repeats the structure and points I made at JASFL2012 but also includes more recent examples.

4. Referencing tools in the forum

Submitting a reply to a post implicitly links it to the previous one, just as a subsequent speaking turn in a conversation does. Assuming that another participant does not submit a response sooner, it will appear immediately after (further down the page) on the same thread. Nevertheless, there is also the possibility that another user may post a reply sooner in which case a reply may allude to the original post, a subsequent one (or more), or both. A quotation function allows users to indicate the post or part of the post to which they are referring. The quotation will then appear in a box with banner heading 'Username said: ↑ ' where 'Username' is the username adopted by the forum member. The arrow indicates that the quote originates from a previous post. Quotations from other sources appear in a box but without the banner. For simplicity, in quotations from the forum, I have just used a letter of the alphabet to represent the user and quotation marks. The quotation function is widely used and sometimes includes multiple quotations, such as where the originator of a thread responds to replies. Quotation is used not only to comment on the content but also on the wording. Consider the following example:

> S29: Y said: 'You're not fooling anyone, you know you love it! Shiozawa-toge hill repeats, FTW!'
> you shut your filthy mouth ;-)

Here, FTW is an ironic abbreviation of 'For the Win' meaning 'Go for it!' (as in games shows where participants choose to go for the big prize). 'Filthy mouth' here, could be to flout the playful suggestion that he really enjoyed the steep climb up Shiozawa-toge or a deliberate misreading of FTW as 'F*** the World'. The subsequent response quotes the comment and adds 'Ha, ha' with an ironic smile on a smiley face icon. Smiley icons are a linked resource since, on this forum, they are chosen from a menu and are discussed below. Despite the prevalence of quotation, it is not always used. Occasionally, novice users paste parts in quotation marks (and ask how to post quotations properly) but even expert users often rely on their post as being read as an implicit. Here are some users discussing the removal of a part (the cassette) which is completely stuck:

> J8: I broke the chain whip ...
> O9: You are holding the chain-whip in your left hand, the lock-ring tool in your right, leaning over the upright wheel, and pushing down with your right hand, aren't you?
> J10: Yes

Because the thread focuses specifically on this problem and only involves a few

participants who are charting the progress of the problem, quoting is unnecessary and the report of the broken tool (the chain whip) is immediately understood. In this thread, the first quotation that was used picks up on the playful suggestion that 'If you had started doing those deadlifts like I told you to, this would not be a issue' implying that building stronger arms might have enabled him to remove the stuck component. This leads to a humorous subtheme of the best way to develop strong arms. Another strategy employed by users as an alternative to quotation was to refer to the username (or even the real first name of a user where participants clearly knew each other). A few users even borrowed the Twitter practice of using an @ mark before the username as a brief way to indicate the post to which they were replying. Quotation and subsequent posting are key resources for highlighting associations between and among posts that exist over and above general linguistic resources associated with coherence such as lexical repetition. This should not be surprising as forum participants draw on a general competence in English as well as a competence in online use and the conventions associated with forums and this forum in particular. In addition to these resources for links back to previous posts, the ability to incorporate hyperlinks allows users to enrich the content of their post in ways that might be said to not so much compensate for the absence of face-to-face communication as introduce a further dimension to text reading which includes multi-modal elements in ways that would generally not be possible offline. Before considering these resources, I will introduce the conventions used for introducing links.

5. Introducing links

Unlike webpages in general, links in a forum are not navigational options but an integral part of the message. Accordingly, users signal them. However, the introduction of links in the forum ranges from an explicit use of reference to simply placing the link at a relevant point. This range of choice from explicit signaling to implicit placement therefore has parallels with way posts are related to each other discussed above. The most explicit links use demonstratives as the link word (underlined type represents links): 'I use this with my wife.' Here the word 'this' is linked to a picture of a tent suitable for cycle touring, in an online catalogue. The catalogue not only provided information about the tent but also made it possible to order one directly. Similarly the meeting place for a ride is given as 'Meet Place: Family Mart (HERE)' where 'here' linked to a Google map indicating the location of the particular Family Mart store where the riders would meet up. The word 'Family Mart' could easily have been linked to the map as 'this' is in the previous example or it might have been replaced with the model name of the tent. However, the use of such demonstratives is widespread in the forum perhaps because they draw attention to the link. In the same post as the Family Mart link 'Route: HERE' is used to link to the mapping service Ride with GPS that shows the details of the route including an elevation profile in a format that can also be uploaded to cycle computers for navigation. Perhaps one reason for this slightly different linking strategy is that users familiar with the Family Mart, which is the regular meeting point, would not need the Google link but could identify it by name. By contrast, the course for the ride did not have a specific name and describing the route even to

riders familiar with the roads in the area would have been lengthy.

A more indirect strategy for introducing links is URL links. Here, the URL is typed out in the post but also acts as a link. This is a common strategy for introducing YouTube clips or online articles. In such cases, the content of the link is generally the main point of the post and will be accompanied by a comment. The comment may include demonstratives ('I found this the other day.' or 'Check this out!') but the demonstratives are unlinked.

Finally, there are 'incidental links' where a relevant word in the text is linked. This approach implies that the link is optional information, rather more like the navigational options of Wikipedia, however this tended to be done in situations where knowledgeable readers may have enough familiarity with the linked content not to need to access it. For example, reference to "Rule #5" which derives from the Velominati website (2013) that lists a humorous set of rules that capture the unspoken etiquette of hardcore road cyclists. In this case, referring to the rules by number with an incidental link carries the implication that it should be familiar to some readers already. Similarly, one ride leader made reference to   'a non-beginner-ride such as our Tamagawa Loop' linking the route title to his webpage introducing the rides that, in turn, offered links to mapping pages. The link therefore publicizes his rides and provides interested users with further information. The choice of explicit, URL or incidental links therefore constitutes the primary choice when inserting links into forums.

A further choice is not to include a link at all but instead paste material directly into the post rather like quotations but in the form of images. This completely removes the option not to click on the link and thus allows users to make the content mandatory, though forum links tend to be treated as mandatory anyway. Besides cluttering the post, pasted images from linked sources are separated from their original context. Some users inserted images rather than links due to technical limitations. Content derived from personal accounts such as the Garmin monthly summary would require password access. However regular users pasted from accessible sources either to deliberately decontextualize images or to freeze resources in time. Some users adopted the practice of pasting eye-catching images from the Internet as a way of making ironic comment or emphasize some point in an exaggerated way. Such use of visual imagery might be seen as an extension of the language of smilies that also offer emotional or ironic comment on the text. For example, in the thread about removing the stuck cassette, where one user had already suggested humorously that regular weight training would help remove the stuck cassette he posts a picture of a heavyweight weightlifter about to hoist a huge barbell above the advice: 'I have had a few tough to release cassette lock rings. Always found the best approach was to apply even, heavy force to them slowly. Hitting them, or trying to shock them into moving is not going to work.' The juxtaposition is amusing because the weightlifter also looks like he needs to apply heavy force!

Frozen images from online sources can also be used to capture a specific moment in time. One rider posted a screenshot from Strava the online database that allows users to compare ride data captured on their cycle computers. The screenshot showed the rider as the fastest rider even though he knew he would be dethroned as

soon as his friend uploaded his ride data.

Users own photographs are used for a variety of reason throughout the forum. Generally, photographs of rides and races by club members are uploaded to the gallery on the forum website. Contributors can either verbally direct readers to the gallery or link to it. Alternatively, some users chose to link to their personal blogs or online image storage services such as Picasa. Even so, travel logs including photographs, which looked like blog segments, were uploaded as posts. In this case, images were sequenced to fit a textual narrative. The same format was sometimes used for bike building or renewal projects. Technical threads often included photographs for the sake of diagnosis and reporting of progress, perhaps for the sake of immediacy, though there were also links to online resources such as manufactures manuals or video demonstrations.

6. Multi-modal resources

For forum users communicating at a distance with text as a primary medium, an important role for links is to make available multimodal resources including photographs, video, mapping and data logging facilities, and other texts that may also include illustrative material. If these resources are thought of as contributing an increasing degree of depth in terms of modality, then the minimum contribution to this would be provided by the availability of smilies that change emoticons into small colored 'smiley' faces to signal some emotional expression. Users can select these from a menu that includes some cycling specific ones such as a miniature, animated cyclist. Photographs would constitute the next level of increased modality as they provide still images. As noted above, photographs were sometimes used for ironic comment, rather like a smiley. However, their real value was in enriching the informational content such as illustrating repairs or other projects. Smart phones facilitate this by allowing users to upload snaps taken on the phone directly. The next level of modality is video since this introduces a temporal dimension. If a photo can capture a scene from a ride, links to video taken on a GoPro camera adds a sense of movement, speed and the sounds associated with the experience. The online resources such as Strava that continually update ride information and course or segment records might be thought of as having a further additional dimension of time due these live interactive features. A final classification for modality would be those that are multimodal and include text and images and other multimodal features. The posts themselves might be included in this category.

7. Links and functionality

Links of all of the above modalities were used throughout the forum, yet the patterns of link usage and choice of modalities clustered around specific types of thread. For example, the news thread followed a recurrent pattern of linking to online news articles and the YouTube thread to online videos. Similarly bike mechanics threads used photos of ongoing work and for sale adds were expected to include current photos of the merchandise. While there is not space here to explore this role of links in association with generic patterns within the forum, this is a worthwhile area for future analysis. In the meantime, it is worth drawing attention to three primary communicative functions within the forum that shaped link usage: interpersonal,

informational and functional. Interpersonal communication included contributions to the pool in terms of race and ride reports were enhanced by linked to pictures, blogs or GoPro clips; claims for bragging rights enhanced links to Strava data uploads; and humor enhanced by ironic links to images, video or articles. While it might be argued that the interpersonal nature of forums means that all communication has an interpersonal dimension, links to news items, advice on how to do something, where to buy something, announcement of future events, information about cycle training, technique, etiquette, mechanics and equipment, history and events in professional cycling were more focused on informational content and accordingly included links to a wide range of informational Internet resources such as news sites, blogs, online retailers, manufactures manuals and so forth. A final important function was functional activities such as organizing rides or race participation, buying and selling items, solving problems, and designing the club kit. Such activities were enhanced by the availability of links to mapping features and online sign up for races as well as other resources that helped get the job done.

8. Conclusion

I suggested in the introduction to this paper that links in a broad sense are important in SFL research because they embrace a range of intertextual and intratextual referencing. In the body of this paper I outlined a framework for the description of the use of hyperlinks in a specific forum. I have looked at how links are introduced, the modalities that can be introduced through the use of links and the functionality of links. For each of these aspects, I have suggested there is a spectrum of choices available to users, each of which reflects the communicative needs of forum users. When exploring patterns of link usage I found that they tended to reflect the overall generic structure and communicative functions of the forum itself, so that what started out as a description of link usage, looked increasingly like a description of communication within the forum. This is perhaps less surprising when one considers that the links serve as a tool to extend communicative resources, rather as the bicycle serves as a device to extend human energy. Just as the contributors to this forum have found that bicycles have enabled them to extend their horizons, links extend their communicative potential in an online context. Nevertheless, more research is needed into this phenomenon. Future work on exploring links in online communication would benefit from detailed studies into specific features such as the use and distribution in sub-genres, or their role in interpersonal communication, or looking in detail at the contribution multimodal features make to the overall message.

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Institutionalizing Culture:
Role of Appraisal in Story Genres

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Abstract

Drawing on the appraisal framework developed within the Sydney school of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Martin, 1992; Martin and White, 2005), this paper explores patterns in the use of resources of evaluation in traditional stories from English, Korean, and Japanese. This paper further examines the commonality and diversity of the language of evaluation as a way in which language institutionalizes and diversifies culture and cultural norms. Despite the common understanding in SFL about the universality of story genres, the result of our analysis indicates that, as language is a "communally-based system of meaning-making possibilities or options" (Martin and White, 2005), traditional stories from diverse languages are rather strongly conditioned by culture-specific ways of deploying appraisal resources.

1. Introduction

Language from a systemic functional linguistics (SFL) perspective is viewed as a particular kind of social semiotic that has evolved for the exchange and construction of meaning (Halliday, 1978; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). The model of language in this theory is characterized by the organization of language and context into functionally distinct strata or layers where language and context metaredound with each other. This modeling of language and context allows instances of language to be interpreted from the more abstract strata of register and genre; that is, each of the lexicogrammatical metafunctions can be mapped onto the variables of field, tenor, and mode at the stratum of register, which then provide resources for interpreting language as a social and cultural phenomenon at the stratum of genre. It is this particular theorizing of language and context that makes it possible to interpret text as an instance of social discourse which derives its meaning from social and cultural contexts.

Drawing on these kinds of realizational patterns and complementarities across the functional strata, and following the Sydney school's modeling of mapping culture as "systems of genres, together with variations in tenor, field and mode" (Martin and Rose, 2008), this study seeks to explore the ways in which different

social contexts are realized and transmitted in culture-specific ways in various traditional stories. In particular, we are concerned with the ways in which interpersonal meanings are mapped onto the level of discourse semantic appraisal system, and with the ways in which appraisal expressions realize patterns of cultural diversity in traditional story genres.

2. Theoretical framework
2.1. Genre and culture in the Sydney school

In SFL, genre is theorized as a connotative semiotic which construes metafunctionally organized register variables of tenor, field, and mode; that is, genres are "a pattern of register patterns, just as register variables are a pattern of linguistic ones" (Martin and Rose, 2007), and are "staged, goal-oriented social processes. Social because we participate in genres with other people; goal-oriented because we use genres to get things done; staged because it usually takes us a few steps to reach our goals" (Martin and Rose, 2008). In this multistratal model of language, genres are viewed as cutting across register variables, enabling the metastability of genres. The relationship between a genre and register variables then is a realizational one because the classification of various genres is contingent upon the deployment of different types of discourse semantic resources.

Furthermore, this metastability of genres and discourse strategies deployed in various genres has further been claimed to operate in typologically distinct languages as traditional stories from different cultures share similar patterns of generic organization, discourse and grammatical strategies, and basic narrative patterns (Rose, 2005/2006; Martin and Rose, 2008; Tian 2011). But, what kinds of language-specific discoursal strategies are deployed for the common goal of cultural reproduction in story genres, and how such an interaction between linguistic and culture-specific elements is mediated in story genres from divergent cultures are issues yet to be examined.

2.2. Appraisal

The appraisal framework is concerned with the linguistic means by which the negotiation of social roles and interactional patterns are encoded. It primarily deals with the kinds of attitudes and evaluations negotiated in a text, how varying degrees of the strength of such evaluations are realized, and how individuals and characters are positioned in relation to each other with regards to socially sanctioned value judgments, hence the three subsystems of Attitude, Graduation, and Engagement (Martin, 1992; Martin and White, 2005; Martin and Rose, 2003; Martin and Rose, 2008). Of these three subsystems, our immediate concern in this paper, the system of Attitude, is concerned with both positive and negative assessments of evaluation, with either inscribed or invoked realizations. Attitude entails the ways in which individual feelings are shared, people's behavior is assessed, and the value of things is evaluated in a text, as illustrated in the following examples from our data stories:

Affect:
ENG: ...and I'm a tiny bit **scared** of her.
JPN: Chi-chanwa **warai** nagara...
       Chi-chan   **smile** as...
       *At the same time that Chi-chan was **smiling***
KRN: Umuniga **bangawo**-hanunde...
       mother **happy**   while
       *While (his) mother was **happy**...*

Judgment:
ENG: Carol Ann is very **bossy**.
JPN: soremo   **yuukino aru** kodomo dakeda...
       in addition brave   child   only (had to) be
       *in addition, it had to be **brave** child.*
KRN: **cham jungsungul dahe** nongsarul jiutsu...
       real devotion   with farmed...
       *(he) farmed **with full devotion**.*

Appreciation:
ENG: My flower of sunshine is **sick**.
JPN: jugatsu no nichiyobi no **kimochiyoku hareta** asa deshita.
       Sunday   in October   **wonderful   sunny** morning was.
       *It was a **wonderful sunny** Sunday morning in October.*
KRN: igun **jaeil jal yeomun** jo ini...
       this **ripest**   millet as...
       *as this is **the ripest millet**...*

Each of the appraisal items further includes a number of subcategories, and these will be drawn upon as needed in the course of the analysis.

3. Data
The data were comprised of seven English, seven Japanese, and nine Korean stories. To avoid researchers' biases in collecting the data, only those stories were selected that were not translated from other languages, had similar intended reading proficiency levels -grades 1 and 2-, and carried levels of pedagogical and cultural significance. The stories selected on these criteria were either recommended reading stories for language arts instruction or reading chapters in language-arts textbooks (see Table 1).

Table 1: Data texts

Text #	English	Korean	Japanese
T1	Mr. Putter	Lazy Farmer	I Have a Younger Sister
T2	Watermelon	Talking Monkey	Suho's White Horse
T3	Julian	Learned Son-in-law	Irohanihoheto
T4	Talent Show	Daughter-in-Law who Put out a Fire	Chi-chan's Shadow Play
T5	Centerfield	Snake that Guarded Ginseng	The Tree of Courage
T6	Garden	Wondrous Well	One Flower
T7	Stealing Home	Rice-Producing Hole	Gon, the Little Fox
T8		Gold that Saved a Son	
T9		Father Worth a Thousand Nyang	

Following Martin and White's appraisal analysis model (2005), these texts were first separated into clauses and clause complexes, and attitude items were recorded and their frequencies were calculated in separate columns for the three subcategories of 'affect', 'judgment', and 'appreciation', along with a recording of the source of attitude items in terms of the appraiser and of the target of appraisal expressions. Table 2 below illustrates the template used for the analysis using the attitude examples in 2.2 above.

Table 2: Attitude analysis template

Appraising item	Appraiser	Affect	Judgment	Appreciation	Appraised
scared	Beany	-security			Carol
bossy	Beany		-propriety		Carol
sick	Marisol			-composition	the flower

The attitude items tabulated were then compared across the three languages in terms of the most frequent use of the subcategories of Attitude items, the total attitude items used per clause complex, and the ratio of the author and story characters as appraisers.

4. Appraisal Analysis
4.1. Appraiser and types of attitudes
The first appraisal analysis specifically attended to text-internal appraisers and the degree to which the three subtypes of appraisal items are manifested. In order to understand the relation between text-internal voice and the type of interpersonal evaluation, the main protagonist in the story was used as the primary text-internal appraiser, and the types of attitudes expressed by the protagonist were tabulated and calculated out of the total number of attitude items used in the texts. One particular pattern in the way that attitude expressions are used is that Affect is the predominant type in all the three languages as the primary interpersonal resource used by protagonists as appraisers. This analysis is shown in table 3 below.

Table 3: Attitude average percentage among protagonists

Appraiser	English	Korean	Japanese
Protagonist's Affect	123 (31%)	57 (13%)	132 (22%)
Protagonist's Judgment	20 (5%)	37 (8%)	16 (3%)
Protagonist's Appreciation	13 (3%)	16 (4%)	2 (<1%)
Others' attitudes	236 (61%)	334 (75%)	449 (75%)
# of total attitude items	392 (100%)	444 (100%)	599 (100%)

In contrast to the common use of Affect items, the analysis revealed a striking difference in the distributional frequency of appraisal items per clause complex. Table 4 below shows the total number and frequency of instances of attitude expressions in the data texts analyzed. What this table demonstrates is that despite the varying degrees of attitude expressions specific to each text, there is a clear distinction between the frequency of appraisal items used in the English texts and that of the Korean and Japanese texts. It is worth noting that whereas the highest frequency of appraisal items in the Korean and Japanese texts is 104% and 125%, respectively -these texts have at least one or more attitude items used per clause complex-, the English text with the highest frequency of appraisal items uses less than 60% of appraisal items per clause complex; that is, roughly only one or so appraisal item is used in every two or so clause complexes. With the exception of one Japanese text, T7, the highest frequency of 57% of attitude items in T5 in the English stories amounts to the lowest appraisal frequency in both the Korean and Japanese texts as the lowest attitude frequencies in the two languages are 55% and 57%, respectively. The average frequencies of attitude items used per clause complex in the entire texts are 43%, 72%, and 85% in the English, Korean, and Japanese texts, respectively.

Table 4: Total attitude item percentages per clause complex

	English			Korean			Japanese		
	# of C/Cs	Att freq.	% of Att items per C/C	# of C/Cs	Att freq.	% of Att items per C/C	# of C/Cs	Att freq.	% of Att items per C/C
T1	101	39	39%	69	72	**104%**	72	49	68%
T2	97	32	33%	69	45	65%	125	129	**125%**
T3	101	30	30%	65	61	94%	109	109	99%
T4	125	66	53%	75	52	69%	150	85	**57%**
T5	111	63	**57%**	47	31	66%	94	110	117%
T6	120	40	33%	100	75	75%	71	73	103%
T7	230	122	53%	54	31	57%	173	45	**26%**
T8				69	38	**55%**			
T9				62	39	63%			
Average Att % per C/C			**43%**			**72%**			**85%**

Table 4 provides suggestive evidence to argue that pace the current claim that "stories in diverse languages use comparable discourse and grammatical

strategies" (Rose, 2005), stories in different languages do in fact differ in terms of the use of different discourse strategies to construe and transmit collective individual feelings, social judgments, and evaluation of things in culture and language-specific ways. Fundamental individual feelings, their institutionalized feelings manifested either as the language of judgment or as that of evaluation of things may be comparable across different languages and cultures, but what distinguishes one language and culture from another may lie in the amount of work that such interpersonal attitude items are required to perform in order to establish a community of shared beliefs and value systems.

4.2. Distribution of the source of appraisal

The analysis illustrated in Table 3 above shows that, besides the protagonists as registering feelings, a large number of other voices in the stories are also involved in expressing attitudinal meanings. In order to determine how other voices make use of evaluation resources, the role of appraisers in the stories was further divided into that of authors and the main protagonists. Table 5 shows that in addition to the differences in the frequency of attitude expressions per clause complex between English, on the one hand, and Japanese and Korean, on the other, a similar division between the three languages can also be observed in the way that authors intrude their own interpersonal evaluations and appreciations into the stories.

Overall, the majority of evaluations share in common a high percentage of evaluations made by authors and protagonists, but in the English stories, protagonists are the main source of appraisal items, whereas in the Korean and Japanese stories, authors actively get involved in telling readers how to interpret one's feelings, judge other people's behaviors and characters, and appreciate the value of things. This division of the source of evaluation into authors and protagonists may further provide evidence to argue that despite the common use of the language of evaluation, languages and the interpersonal cultural elements embedded in languages may in fact differ from language to language.

Table 5: Appraisal items and sources of appraisal

Appraiser	English	Korean	Japanese
Author	94 (24%)	230 (52%)	281 (47%)
Protagonist	164 (42%)	110 (25%)	150 (25%)
Total # of Appraisal items	392 (100%)	444 (100%)	599 (100%)

What is of particular interest from the perspective of patterns of cultural diversity as realized in the stories is concerned with the use of the language of judgment. As cultural and social systems are reworked feelings "institutionalized as proposals" some of which become "formalized as rules and regulations administered by church and state" (Martin and White, 2005), it may as well be that it is in this area of the language of evaluation that shared community values and belief systems manifest themselves insomuch as how we should behave or not as members of a community. In this regard, the same division between English stories on the one hand, and Korean and Japanese stories on the other is also manifested in the way that the language of judgment and its source are used (see Table 6).

Table 6: Authors and characters as appraisers of the language of judgment

Appraiser	Types of Judgment	English	Korean	Japanese
Author	+Judgment	38 (36%)	110 (45%)	124 (49%)
	-Judgment	21 (20%)	79 (32%)	82 (33%)
	Total +/-Judgment	**59 (56%)**	**189 (77%)**	**206 (82%)**
Others	+Judgment	23 (22%)	38 (16%)	34 (13%)
	-Judgment	24 (23%)	17 (7%)	12 (5%)
	Total +/-Judgment	**47 (45%)**	**55 (23%)**	**46 (18%)**

Table 6 shows that the Korean and Japanese stories, much more so than the English stories, are organized around the strong voice of authors as appraisers of the language of Judgment, and hence the readers, at least if they are compliant, are told to attitudinally align themselves with the authors as they are instructed both explicitly and implicitly as to how to place value judgments about the characters and their emotions in the stories. It may as well be that this frequent use of the authors' evaluative language partly accounts for how cultures are transmitted through telling stories.

5. Conclusion
SFL research on stories has reminded us of how "stories in diverse languages us comparable discourse and grammatical strategies...independent of the context of speaking." (Rose, 2005) But, when we are faced with a new language and culture, we are also surprisingly reminded of how distinct other cultures are from our own. Where does this cultural commonality and simultaneous diversity come from? How are we going to account for this seeming Janus-faced aspect of language and culture?

Our exploration of the language of appraisal in the English, Korean, and Japanese stories suggests that although a prosody of evaluation may possibly be a shared feature of stories in general (Martin and Rose, 2008), the pulse of interpersonal meanings and their sources realized in varying degrees of authorial interpolation is a phenomenon rather specific to individual languages and cultures. The language of Affect, for example, is the main dominant interpersonal discourse strategy deployed commonly among the three languages, but the stories differ in terms of the frequency of such interpersonal meanings used in the stories. Furthermore, they also differ in the frequency of authorial intrusion to align readers with socio-culturally accepted norms and rules. Of course, the lower frequency of authorial intrusion is compensated for by the higher frequency of the main protagonists' evaluation of others in the stories, thereby making it look as if the stories look similar to each other on the surface. Compared with the Korean and Japanese stories, the authors in the English stories, for example, are much more likely to allow story characters to be interpersonally evaluative, thereby leaving it to the reader to construe interpersonal meanings, whereas the presence of authors' voice is much more evident in the other languages as authors intervene to be interpersonally evaluative with the language of Judgment. The outcome of this research may then be captured as Figure 1 below in an attempt to show both commonalities and diversities of stories in diverse languages and to show the ways

in which different cultures make use of interpersonal meanings to varying degrees for the transmission of culture.

It is well known in SFL that language metaredounds with socio-cultural environments; and that is, language and culture are two inseparable entities which realize and are realized by each other. By examining from the discourse semantic appraisal framework instances of culture as reflected in stories from English, Korean, and Japanese, we hope to have shown how different cultures are institutionalized in the form of language even in such innocuous children's stories as our data stories.

ENG stories

low appraisal use;
lower authorial
intrusion;
higher character
appraisal by other
characters.

Affect
as the
dominant
pattern

KRN/JPN stories

higher appraisal use;
higher authorial
intrusion;
lower character
appraisal by other
characters.
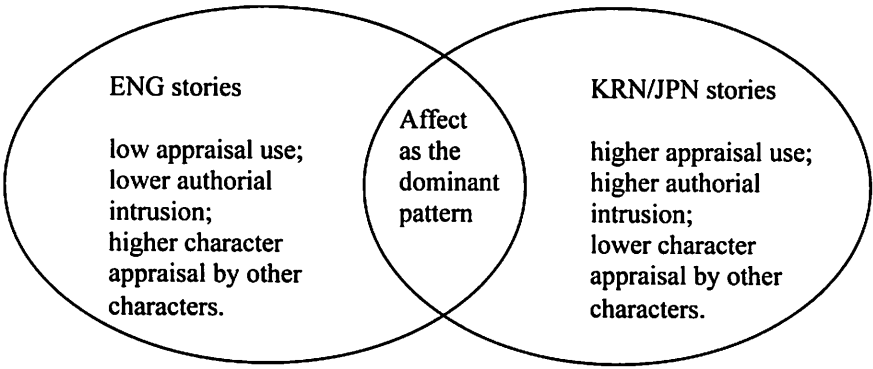
Figure 1: Culture-specific features from interpersonal appraisal perspective

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日本語を非母語とする日本語学習者が書いた
お礼の手紙の考察
Attitudinal Resources Expressed in Japanese
Thank You Letters

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Abstract

This study explores how linguistic resources in Japanese thank-you letters enact interpersonal values using the Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2005; White, 2001, 2002). The focus of this study is attitudinal accounts within the Appraisal framework. Although the original framework has been widely applied to English texts (Hood, 2004 etc.), it has not yet been applied to Japanese texts. The Japanese system of ATTITUDE has recently been developed based on an extensive analysis of evaluative expressions in the *IWANAMI Japanese Dictionary,* the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese, and the Japanese Database of Individual Patient Experiences (Sano, 2011a). The data in this study comprise 11 letters written by intermediate level non-native speakers of Japanese. They were asked to write a thank-you letter to their host family to express their gratitude for their visit. Attitudinal resources in these letters will be identified and discussed.

1. はじめに

　非母語話者は語彙・文法の選択肢が限られているため、話し言葉にせよ書き言葉にせよ正確な使用は母語話者に比べると難しい。お礼の手紙では、フォーマリティも高く、正確な語彙・文法の選択はもとより、敬語表現も必要となるため難しさは増す。これまでも日本語を外国語として学ぶ学習者の手紙を分析したものはあるが (宇佐美, 2010; 李, 2005 etc.) 、日本語を非母語とする日本語学習者が書いたお礼の手紙を分析は希である。

　そうしたなか、評価表現が必要とされるお礼の手紙の分析に役立つ辞書が言語資源協会より 2011 年に発行された。この辞書により、日本語の評価表現と価値基準の言語資源がまとめられ、学習者に対する提示が容

易になった。本稿では、『日本語アプレイザル評価表現辞書 -態度評価編 - JAppraisal 辞書 ver1.0』を分析手法として使用し、非母語話者が書いたお礼の手紙を、語彙とテクスト構成の両方の観点より分析し、その特徴を考察する。

2. 方法
お礼の手紙を分析するにあたり、データと分析方法を以下に詳述する。
2.1 データ
日本語の非母語話者が書いたお礼の手紙を分析した。具体的には留学生が海外研修中にお世話になった相手に宛てたお礼の手紙である。お世話になった相手は、留学中に滞在したホームステイファミリー、日本語を担当した先生、及び研修コーディネーターのいずれかとなる。図 1 は実際に書かれた手紙のコピーである。
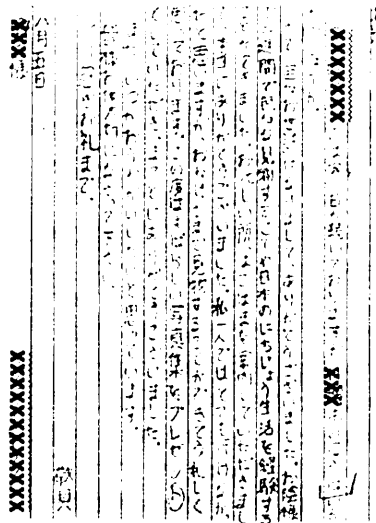
図 1: 日本語非母語話者が書いたお礼の手紙

手紙の書き手となる日本語非母語話者における日本語のレベルは中級程度である。人数は 11 名で、彼らが書いた 11 枚の手紙を分析した。テクストの長さは 300words 前後である。全員が、この手紙を書く前にお礼の手紙の書き方を 1 時限分(60 分)学んだ。

2.2 分析
日本語を非母語話者とする者が書いた手紙の分析には、語彙とテクストの構成の両方を明らかにする為、日本語評価表現(JAppraisal)と Generic Structure Potential (GSP)をそれぞれ使用した。

2.2.1 日本語評価表現

　JAppraisal とは Martin & White (2005)らが提案した選択機能言語学の枠組みにおける Appraisal 理論にならい、日本語に応用ができるよう英語 Appraisal 理論の attitude の枠組みを再構築したものである。JAppraisal は岩波国語辞典より評価表現 8,544 件を無作為に収集し、これらの語彙を評価表現の価値基準により分類されている。その後、記述した体系を用いて価値基準の種類の分類情報を付与した評価表現辞書を作成したものである(佐野, 2012)。2011 年に言語資源協会より『日本語アプレイザル評価表現辞書―態度評価編―JAppraisal 辞書 ver1.0』が発行されており、これまでブログ(佐野, 2010)や医療言語(佐野, 2011b)等に応用されてきている。まず、JAppraisal 辞書の元となった英語における Appraisal 理論を紹介する。

　英語 Appraisal 理論では、最初に attitude、engagement 及び graduation の選択が可能となる。attitude は書き手・話し手が周囲に対して付与する感情や情緒的な価値を表すものに対し、Engagement は書き手・話し手の意見を様々なスタンスにより表現するものである。一方、Graduation は、書き手・話し手が、評価を高めたり低めたりする表現となる(Martin & White, 2005)。図 2 に以上の 3 分類を提示する。

```
                    ┌─Attitude
                    │
Appraisal ──────────┼─Engagement
                    │
                    └─Graduation
```
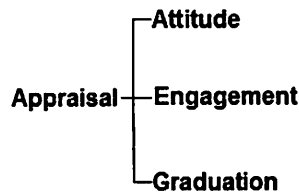
図 2: 英語 Appraisal 理論のシステム (Martin & White, 2005)

　一方、JAppraisal では英語 Appraisal 理論における attitude に焦点を当て、日本語の評価表現の価値基準を構築したものである。表 1 は、食品に関する評価表現と価値基準の例である。

表 1: 食品に関する評価表現と価値基準例(佐野, 2012: 54)

価値基準	評価極性	
	肯定	否定
おいしさ	a.「おいしい」をもらった一品	b. ぱさぱさしていて, まずい
価格	c. とにかく, 安い	d. 値段が高すぎる
安全性	e. 無添加で安全	f. 農薬で汚染された可能性がある

　表 1 の上段にあるよう、価値基準を「おいしさ」に置くと、「おいしい」が肯定的な評価となり、「まずい」は否定的な評価となる。次に、価格における価値基準では、「安い」と「高すぎる」が評価において両

極となるものである。さらに、安全性という価値基準では「安全」と
「汚染」を挙げることができる。

　JAppraisal では、最初に、評価表現の価値基準を「極性」と「内外評
価」に分類する。これらの 2 つの分類である「極性」と「内外評価」は、
同時に選択する必要がある。「極性」は、「肯定」「否定」に分類され
る。一方、「内外評価」は「内評価」と「外評価」に分類される。「内
評価」は評価者が抱く感情表現であるのに対し、「外評価」は、評価対
象の特徴を付与するものとなる。「内評価」の例としては、「その日も
囲碁を楽しんだ」の「楽しん」となり、外評価の例は、「これには「わ
らしべ長者の法則」を用いると有効だ」の「有効」となる。

　「内評価」は更に「受動」と「能動」に分類される。「受動」は、感
化されてわき起こる感情・行為を表すものであるのに対し、「能動」は
評価者が評価対象を自己の精神世界に位置づけることで生じる感情であ
る。受動の例は「私は旅費のかかる九州の方言を調べてくれる人が出た
ことを喜んだ」の「喜んだ」となり、能動の例としては「経時の執権就
任には、これを反対する勢力があり」の「反対」となる。

　「受動」の性質をもつ評価表現は、更に 2 つに分類される。評価者の
心の状態を表す安心・安堵・気楽さ・心配・不安・動揺等を基準とする
「情動」と、評価者の心の出来事を基準とした嬉しさ・楽しさ・感動・
怒り・悲しみ等の「心情」である。「悪夢による恐怖が通過した」の
「恐怖」と「変わらない不器用さに再開できた喜び」の「喜び」がそれ
ぞれ、前者と後者の例となる。

　一方、「能動」の性質をもつ評価表現は、「希求」と「満願」に分類
され、「希求」は、評価者の趣向・好みと評価対象との一致を基準とす
る愛情・欲心・惜しみ・恨み・疎み等の表現であり、「満願」は、目的
の達成度・満足度や評価者の規範と評価対象との一致を基準とする満
足・信用・賛同・不平・不信・軽蔑等の表現である。「希求」の例とし
ては、「亭主になる男の事業に彼女は惚れた」の「惚れた」となり、
「満願」の例では、「今回の冒険にすっかり満足したぼくらは....」の
「満足」となる。

　これまで説明した「内評価」に対し、「外評価」は 2 つのグループに
分類される。最初のグループは「相対」「他動」「自律」の 3 種類に分
類され、もう 1 つのグループは「境界」と「非境界」の 2 種類に分類さ
れる。これらの 2 つの分類は同時に選択することが可能である。

　まず、「外評価」の最初のグループとなる 3 分類のひとつ「相対」は、
比較対象との評価対象の位置づけからの特徴を基準とし、 2 つ目の「他
動」は、評価対象が他の要素へ与える物理的・精神的な影響を基準とす
る。さらに 3 つ目の「自律」は評価対象の個としての特徴が基準とされ
る。「相対」の評価表現の例は「彼女の服装は実に個性的だ」の「個性
的」となり、「他動」における評価表現の例は「太陽光の中には生物に

とって<u>有害</u>な光も含まれて..」の「有害」が挙げられる。また、「自律」の例としては、「なんて<u>かしこい</u>子だろう」の「かしこい」を挙げることができる。

　「外評価」のもう 1 つのグループは、更に「境界」と「非境界」の 2 種類に分類される。「境界」は人間活動の主体・行動・生産物に適用可能な特徴に関する表現となり、「非境界」は、上記以外にも適用可能な特徴、或いは自然界の事象にのみ適用可能な特徴を表す。「境界」の表現例は「彼女の料理は<u>そつがない</u>」の「そつがない」であり、「非境界」の例は「手羽先は<u>おいしい</u>」の「おいしい」である。図 3 に、これまで詳述した評価基準をまとめる。
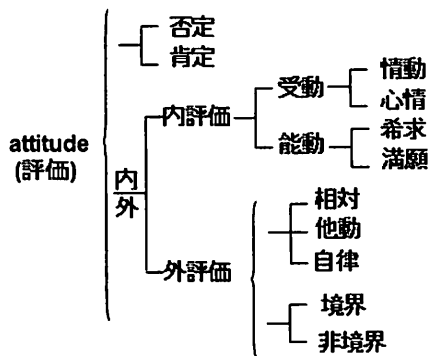
図 3: JAppraisal における attitude のシステム(佐野, 2012)

　これらの 11 基準に基づき、お礼の手紙に使用されている語彙を分析した。次に手紙のテクスト構成を分析するために使用した Generic Structure Potential の分析方法を示す。

2.2.2 Generic Structure Potential
　お礼の手紙のテクスト構成を明らかにするため GSP を使用する。GSP は、Hasan (1985)により提案されたテクスト構成を分析する方法のひとつであり、テクストを obligatory element(s) (必須要素)と optional element(s)(任意要素)に分類し、テクスト構成を明らかにするものである。必須要素とは、そのテクストが属するジャンルを特定するために必ず表出されるものであるのに対し、任意要素は必ずしも表出されるとは限らない。また必須要素と任意要素の位置や任意要素の有無がテクストを特徴づける。英語では買い物での店員と客のやり取り (Hasan, 1985)やおとぎ話 (Hasan, 1996)に適応されている。

　おとぎ話の例をもとに GSP で使用される記号の説明を図 4 を参考にしながらおこなう。

[(<Placement>^) Initiating Event^] Sequent Event^ Final Event [^(Finale)・
(Moral)]

図 4: 英語のおとぎ話における Structure Potential (Hasan, 1996: 54)

　図 4 において( )で囲まれた要素が任意要素であり、一方何も囲まれて
いない要素は必須要素となる。語彙文法の要素が他の要素に含まれるか
もしれないものは< >で囲まれる。要素間の点「・」は両脇の要素の入れ
替えが可能なことを示し、要素間の印「˜」は両脇の要素が表出する順
番が決まっていることを示す。移動が可能となる要素は[ ]により移動可
能な範囲が決まっている。右から左に向いている円を描いた矢印は要素
の反復の可能性を示している (Hasan, 1996: 54-55)。
　さらに、必須要素、任意要素の各要素を決定するために、crucial
semantic attributes (決定的意味特性)を特定する必要がある。決定的意味特
性は 2 種類の nuclear meaning(s)(中心意味)と elaborative meaning(s) (詳細
意味)に分けられる。中心意味は属するジャンルに必須となる意味特性で
あり、一方、詳細意味は表出する可能性がある意味特性である。以上の
手順に基づき、お礼の手紙のテクスト構成を分析した。

3. 結果

　分析の結果、11 テクスト中 105 個の評価表現が存在し、テクスト構成
は 3 つの必須要素に分類された。評価表現では、feature 毎に表出の頻度
に違いが見受けられた。それぞれの feature では以下に詳述する。

3.1 JAppraisal

　手紙に表出された feature には、11 テクストを通して偏りが見られた。
まず、極性においては、「否定」が 19%、「肯定」が 81%となった。
「否定」の例としては、「お忙しいところ」の「お忙しい」がある。
「肯定」の例では「お陰さまで」を挙げることができる。
　「内評価」と「外評価」は同程度で、それぞれ 48%と 52%であった。
それぞれの feature の表出頻度を図 5 に示す。
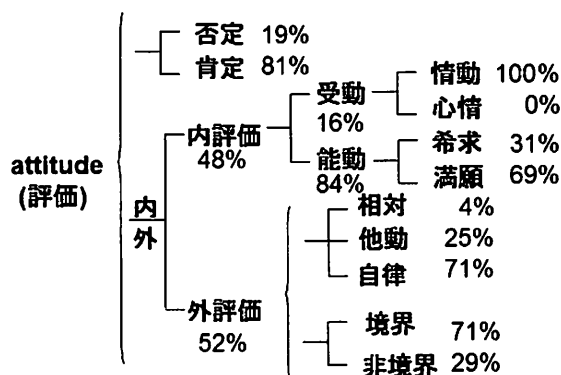
図 5: 各 feature とその表出頻度

　「内評価」の分類の内、「受動」と「能動」では、それぞれ 16％と 84％であった。さらに「受動」の分類となる「情動」と「心情」においては「心情」が 100％であった。「心情」の例としては「毎日はとても<u>楽しかった</u>です」の「楽しかった」となる。一方、「能動」の分類となる「希求」と「満願」では、前者が 31％、後者が 69％であった。「希求」の例としては「ご自愛の程お祈り申し上げます」が、また、「満願」の例では「本当にありがとうございました」が挙げられる。

　「外評価」となる 2 グループの内、最初のグループ、「相対」、「他動」及び「自律」は「相対」の割合が低く 4％であり、「他動」が 25％、「自律」が一番高い 71％であった。それぞれの例としては、「相対」が「<u>良い</u>経験になりました」の「良い」、「他動」が「いろいろお<u>世話</u>になり」の「世話」、また、「自律」が「お<u>元気</u>でいらっしゃいますか」の「元気」となる。もうひとつのグループ、「境界」と「非境界」は、前者が 71％、後者が 29％であった。「境界」の例では「ご<u>活躍</u>ください」の「活躍」が、又「非境界」の例では「ご<u>多幸</u>をお祈りします」の「多幸」が挙げられる。

3.2 GSP

　お礼の手紙 11 通のテクスト構成の結果を示す。テクストの構成は 3 つの要素に分けることができた。Establishment(前文)、Gratitude(本文)と Sign Off(末文)である。お礼の手紙の例、11 テクストでは、すべての要素が表出したので、3 要素とも必須要素となる。また、表出の順序は Establishment(前文)、Gratitude(本文)と Sign Off(末文)の順であった。図 6 にお礼の手紙の GSP を提示する。

Establishment(前文) ＾ Gratitude(本文) ^ Sing Off(末文)
図 6: 日本語のお礼手紙における Structure Potential

それぞれの必須要素では、その要素を特定するための意味特性が存在した。Establishment(前文)では、手紙の始まる時候の挨拶に代表されるように、「オープニング」と、読み手の現状を察する意味要素「察し」が見られた。さらに、Gratitude(本文)では滞在中のお礼と見られる意味特性をもつ「謝意」と滞在中の思い出を表す意味特性をもつ「回想」が存在する。手紙の終わりにあたる Sign Off(末文)では、読み手の今後を慮る「配慮」と別れの言葉を告げる「終辞」、最後に自分の名を名乗る「記名」という意味特性が表出した。いずれの場合も 11 テクスト全てに見受けられたので、決定的意味特性といえる。以上を図 7 にまとめる。

- Establishment
  (前文)
  { ・オープニング
  ・察し

- Gratitude
  (本文)
  { ・謝意
  ・回想

- Sign off
  (末文)
  { ・配慮
  ・終辞
  ・記名
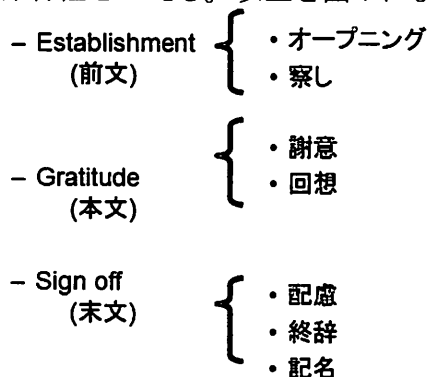
図 7: 3 つの必須要素と必須要素の意味特性

このように、それぞれの必須要素にも決定的意味特性が見受けられた。

4. 考察

　日本語のお礼の手紙の書き手となる日本語学習者は、前もって手紙の書き方を学習しているので、似通った語彙とテクスト構成ががデータを通じて見受けられた。例えば「否定」に分類される「お忙しい中」はEstablishment(前文)の中で見受けられた。そのような手紙に特有な表現を除けば、「肯定」が殆どで、学習者の研修に対する肯定的な態度を確認することができた。

　「内評価」と「外評価」は、ほぼ同程度で現れたので、書き手は「内評価」に見られる感情表現：感謝や楽しさと、「外評価」に見られる経験に対する価値の付与を手紙に取り混ぜていると解釈することができる。

　「内評価」における分類では「受動」と「能動」があったが、「能動」の頻度がはるかに多かった。これは、留学中、学習者が自ら進んで研修やアクティビティに参加したことを表していると思われる。また、「受動」における分類では「情動」は全く表出せず、「心情」のみが表出した。「心情」は出来事を基準とした評価者の嬉しさや楽しさ、感動、怒り、悲しみ等であるので、極性の「肯定」の多さと相まって、滞在に対する自らの肯定的な心情を多く表現していることがわかった。もう一方の選択肢である「情動」は例がなかったので、「情動」に分類される

安心や安堵といったような評価者の心の状態を表す語彙の使用を学習者に促す指導法も提案できる。

「内評価」のもう一方の分類、「能動」の細分類となる「希求」及び「満願」では、「満願」が「希求」の倍以上表出されていた。「満願」は目的の達成度や満足度を示す評価基準であるので、「満願」の表出頻度の多さに、学習者が留学の満足度を上手に表現していることが見受けられる。

「外評価」では分類が 2 つのグループになるが、1 つ目のグループにおける分類となる「相対」、「他動」及び「自律」では、「自律」の割合が多く占めた。「自律」に分類される評価基準としては、評価対象への個の基準が表されるのだが、Establishment(前文)の「察し」に多く見られ、「お元気でいらっしゃいますか」の「元気」といった例が挙げられる。この表現は、既に学習した手紙のフォーマットを参考にしている表現だと思われる。同様な表出が Sign Off(末文)でも見受けられた。Sign Off(末文)の要素中に多く見られた表現のとして、「ご活躍ください」や「ご多幸をお祈りします」という表現が見受けられた。これらは、「ご活躍」は「外評価」の分類「境界」に分類され、「ご多幸」は、同じく「外評価」の「非境界」に分類される。これらの語彙は Sign Off(末文)における意味特性のひとつである「配慮」内のみ存在したことから、手紙の書き手が、既に学習したの手紙のフォーマットを参考にしたものとおもわれる。

5. まとめと今後の課題

本稿では、非母語話者が書いた日本語のお礼の手紙を語彙とテクスト構成の観点から分析した。お礼の手紙の語彙をテクスト構成要素毎に見ることで、各要素の特徴と学習者の留学生活に対する評価を知ることができた。書き手が既に授業を通じてお礼の手紙の書き方を学習していたので、テクスト構成は差が見られなかったものの、テクストの構成要素を決定する意味特性ではさまざまな語彙が使用されたいた。一方で、全く使用されていない評価基準ももあったので、日本語を指導するにあたり、その評価基準に分類される語彙を集中的に増やすことで、学習者の日本語能力の向上に役立つと思われる。

今回は、パイロット研究で、『日本語アプレイザル評価表現辞書―態度評価編―JAppraisal 辞書 ver1.0』を使用しテクストを分析したが、今後は、テクスト数を増やしていきながら、お礼の手紙に使用される敬語や過程を検討し GSP を詳しく検討する。日本人母語話者が書く同様の手紙と比較し、どのような違いが見られるかを検討するとともに、最終的には日本語の非母語話者の学習指導に繋がるようにしたい。

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A Registerial Study of Reporting and Exploring Text Types in Japanese, Chinese and English

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Abstract

This paper presents a registerial study of reporting and exploring text types in Japanese, Chinese and English. It is part of an initial exploration of a long-term project that aims at developing a registerial cartography of different text types in the three languages under study, which are classified according to the eight primary socio-semiotic processes namely expounding, reporting, recreating, sharing, doing, recommending, enabling and exploring (for text typology, see Teruya, 2007; Matthiessen et al, 2010). A small sample of texts is collected from financial news report and public speech, and is analysed using the systemic functional linguistics theory with a focus on the ideational and interpersonal systems (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Matthiessen, 1995; Teruya, 2007; Li, 2007). In particular, lexicogrammatical features in terms of transitivity or process type, mood, modality and evidentiality will be examined to identify possible patterns that realise the meanings that constitute the register variations to which the text belongs. To gain a functional overview of the rhetorical organization and development of the texts, selected texts are analysed using the Rhetorical Structural Theory (Mann et al, 1992).

1. Introduction

In this paper I will present some linguistic features of two types of register by analysing systemic functionally a set of relevant two text types, namely, 'reporting': financial news report, and 'exploring': public speech. My purpose is to identify some of the general characteristics which underlie each register by observing patterns of instances in the sample texts. These characteristics in turn reflect something about the situational variables that can be observed in the different sets of text to determine linguistic features that make them what they are in terms of register (Halliday, 1978). Here I explore Japanese, Chinese and English in the relevant registers and interpret them as language embedded in context as a system within systems that are ordered, or stratified, in different levels of abstraction (see Figure 1 below). Each system within a stratum has its own internal organization but is related to other adjacent systems realisationally (Matthiessen, 1993).

Below I will first discuss the framework and method of analysis, followed by a summary of findings, with reference to the relevant systems in where the linguistic patterns of the two registers are identified. Finally, I will discuss the similarities and differences between the configuration of semantic resources as realised by the

lexicogrammar in the environment of financial news report and public speech, with reference to some of the linguistic characteristics of Japanese, Chinese and English.
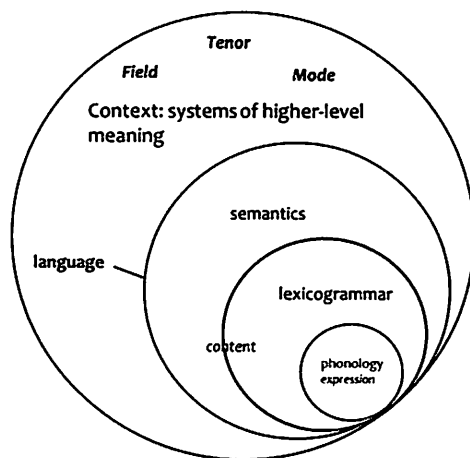

Figure 1: Stratification of language in context (Matthiessen, 1993)

2. Framework and analysis

The environment, or the context of situation, in which text is serving can be characterised with reference to the "field", "tenor" and "mode" (Halliday, 1978). In order to predict how the text is related to the situation, we need to know the situational factors by which linguistic systems are activated.

> field: social action in which the text is embedded, e.g. socio-semiotic process;
> tenor: role relationships among the relevant participants, e.g. institutional role, power and affect;
> mode: role of language, its function in the context, e.g. medium and channel

Each of these environmental features tends to determine selection of options made in a corresponding component of meaning: the field governs the selection of option in ideational systems that construe our experience of the world around us and inside use, the tenor in interpersonal systems enacts social roles and relationship, and the mode in textual systems organises a flow of meaning in text (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). This study will focus on the ideational and interpersonal systems in an effort to show something of how language is related to its contextual environment.

This study is a theory-based descriptive analysis of text based on a sample of 18 texts consisting of 13,758 words (350 clauses) in Japanese, English and Chinese, selected from financial news report and public speech that were extracted from news media websites. Following the concept of language in context as illustrated in Figure 1, a cluster of similar texts in each text type, reporting and exploring, was collected based on the register variation of field, tenor and mode. The data or instances of text was analysed as wordings lexicogrammatically and semantically using the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. In ideational system,

transitivity against which social activities construed in each text are classified in terms of specific process type such as material process of doing, mental process of sensing and so on; and interpersonally, systems of mood, modality and evidentiality are deployed to identify ways of evaluation, proposition and proposal. In terms of the overall rhetorical composition of text, selected texts are analysed using the Rhetorical Structure Theory (henceforth RST), an analytical framework designed to identify hierarchic structure in text and describe the relations between text parts in functional terms (Mann et al, 1992).

3. Summary of findings
In what follows, results of analyses are discussed by identifying some of the prominent linguistic features of each register/text type. Specific examples in three languages are given to illustrate how the meanings of the texts are realised systemic functionally through lexicogrammar in both the ideational and interpersonal systems.

3.1 Context of situation – reporting
From the contextual strata, the field of activity that is concerned with a reporting text is generally about reporting on particular phenomena (Matthiessen et al. 2010:181). For example, the phenomena reported in the financial news report are typically the performance of the financial market or that of a particular industry or corporation. The purpose of the financial news report is thus to recount specific events and project trends based on expert advice, or sometimes from non-specific source such as market's speculation. In terms of tenor relationship, the one who reports is an expert reporter and general public is the receiver. Here the reporter offers expert or first-hand information to the public and since the two parties do not have connection or physical contact with each other, the social relationship is seen to be distant. In terms of mode, language assumes the role of information giving and the financial news reports under study are written: either written to be read as a published news report or written to be spoken for broadcasting on TV.

3.1.1 Expressing movements and change
Now let's take a look at how meanings in financial news report are manifested in the ideational system. In terms of transitivity or experiential grammar, the material process (60%) dominates the process type of the sample data, construing the actual happening of the events or the movements of the financial market. It can be observed that the Actors are usually inanimate e.g. the bank, revenue or currencies and verbs frequently selected usually construe movements and are consistent among all three languages, e.g. *uwamawaru, sheng* , 'rise'; *shitamawaru, die,* 'fall'; *nobita,* ceng, 'gained'; *hetta, jian xiao,* 'dropped' and are usually associated with circumstantial elements of definite extent e.g. 20% increase or decrease in stock price, import rate or revenue, etc., all of which has an impact on the financial value of the subject being reported.

Projection (8% Verbal process and 4% out of 10% total Mental process), although low in frequency, plays a significant role in serving as evidence or commentary that reflects the opinion of some trusted source or sometimes

speculation of the reporter. Figure 2 below shows a distribution of process types in the financial news report text type across three languages.
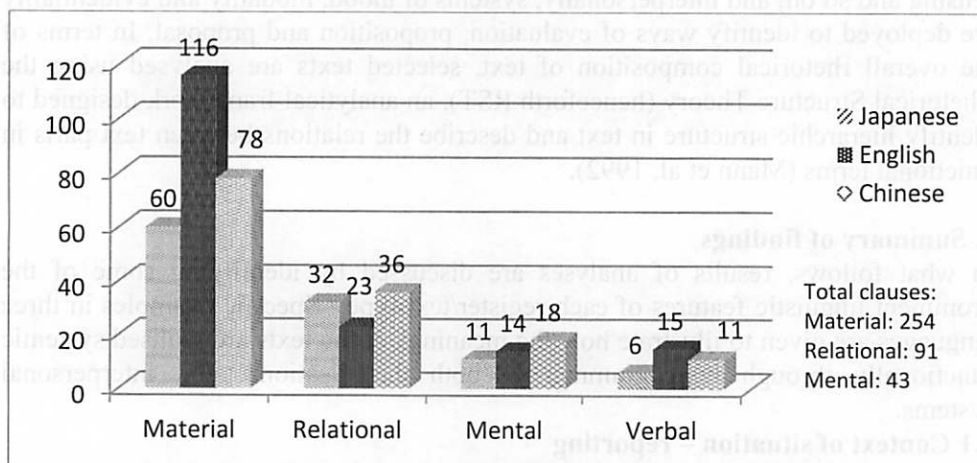

Figure 2: Distribution of process types in the Financial News Report

Below are some examples of how material processes realise movements and change in the three languages respectively. The function of each process type from the data is further exemplified below.

Example 1: Material Process realising movement (Japanese)

Actor	Circumstantial	Process
原油の輸入額も *Genyu no yunyuugaku mo* The import rate of crude oil also	2割 *2 wari* *20%*	増えた。 *fueta* **increased**

Example 2: Material Process realising movement (Chinese)

Actor	Process	Circumstantial
高盛股價 *Gao sheng gujia* Goldman shares	上升 *shang sheng* **rose**	8%

Example 3: Material Process realising change (English)

Actor	Process	Goal
The bank	**launched**	an "internal initiative" in the second quarter

Example 4: Material Process realising movement (English)

Actor	Process	Circumstantial
Net revenues in Goldman's investment banking division	**declined**	**9 per cent** to $4.36bn in 2011

In the sample data, there are instances where personal judgement or attitude of the reporter in the form of 'reporter's voice' are realised lexically at the rank of words. On the group and phrasal level, all three languages employ the use of circumstantial elements of manner, particularly those indicating quality or degree of intensity, to construe an impact of market change or movement, e.g. "weakest level in a week", "drastically slim down", "increase enormously". This can be observed in Chinese *shou ru da jian* "revenue dropped greatly" and in Japanese *oohaba na geneki* "enormous cut in profit" to constitute impact of market change and movement. Furthermore, it can be observed in English and Chinese that the reporter's evaluation is sometimes realised through assigning negative value to the process, e.g. 'disappointing earnings' and 'failed to recover fully' in English, and *ling shichang shiwang* "make the market disappointed" in Chinese.

3.1.2 Predicting and speculating trends

Another main purpose of financial news report is to predict or speculate market trends. In my data, this is mainly achieved by (1) citing predictions and comments from trusted source through Sayer or Senser such as financial experts, bank representative or government officials in the form of projection e.g. the quoting of 'locution' (speech) and reporting of 'ideas' (thought), and (2) providing evidence by citing non-specific source through 'hearsay' or 'appearance'. Examples 5 – 7 below illustrate how these functions are realised lexicogrammatically through projection, modality and evidentiality.

Example 5: Verbal projection + modality - prediction by VIP (English)

Sayer	Process	Locution
Yunosuke Ikeda, head of FX strategy for Nomura in Tokyo	**said,**	"There's a good chance the finance ministry **could** intervene in the markets."

Example 6: Mental projection + modality   - prediction by financial firms (Chinese)

Senser	Process	Idea
券商 *quanshang* brokerage firms	**相信** *xiangxin* **believe**	今年的新增貸款分配會較過去幾年為佳。 *Jinnian de xinzeng daikuan fenpei hui jiao guoqu jinian wei jia.* that the allocation of new loans this year **will** be better than in the past few years.

Example 4: Material Process realising movement (English)

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Net revenues in Goldman's investment banking division	**declined**	**9 per cent** to $4.36bn in 2011

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Senser	Process	Idea
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Example 7 : Evidentiality - appearance, non-specific source (Japanese)

Actor	Range	Process
営業利益は, *eigyourieki wa* Sales profit	今期予想比5倍の150億円程度に *Konki yosouhi 5hai no 150 okuen tiedo ni* to about 15 billion yen , 5 times of the anticipated ratio of this term.	増えそうだ。 *huesouda* **is seen** to increase

According to Halliday (1994), 'modality means the speaker's judgement of the probabilities, or the obligations, involved in what he is saying.' Evidentiality, on the other hand, is a grammatical system that marks information source that is inferred through sensory evidence such as seeing and hearing, or reasoning based on knowledge or common sense (Aikhenvald, 2006:2-3). In my data, Japanese financial news report tends to employ evidentiality that either derives from sensation such as 'appearance' e.g. *you da* "looks like that", 'hearsay" such as *sou da* "it is said that" (cf Aoki, 1986:230-234) and 'reasoning' e.g. *hazu da* "it is the normal expectation that" or *wake da* "it is for the reason that" (cf Teruya, 2007:212, Teramura, 1984:265-267.) to predict and speculate trends. However, both Chinese and English tend to employ lexical items that realise meanings of expectation or prediction and modalization of probability such as *hui* "will", *ping gu* "estimate", *gu ji* "guess / expect" (cf Li, 2007:140-143) and 'can', 'could', and 'will' (cf Chafe, 1986:261-272) to serve the similar function. Figure 3 shows the distribution of modality and evidentiality across three languages in the financial news report.
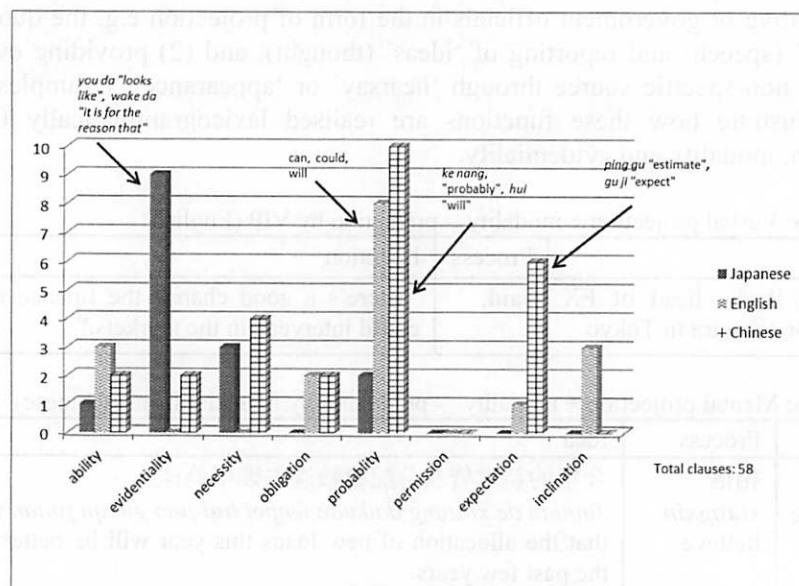
Figure 3: Modality and evidentiality distribution in Financial News Report

In terms of mood type and speech function, since the nature of the reporting text type is information giving, it is not surprised that the sample data is declarative mood dominant (97%). For moods that are other than declarative, they are found to

be either optative within the projected locution of the Sayer enacting statement of desire e.g. a quotation from Goldman Sach's representative: *kibishii keiei kankyou o norikiritai* '(we) would like to overcome severe business environment' or interrogative employed by the reporter as a strategy to enact statement of speculation rather than a direct question addressed towards the reader. Consider the following:

> Jun Azumi has talked the talk of his predecessor. <u>But will he walk the walk and intervene in the markets to weaken the yen</u>? With the Japanese currency having struck a fresh post-war high of Y75.65 against the US dollar on Thursday, <u>strategists say it is likely and it could be very soon.</u>

The example above illustrates how the reporter employs a rhetorical question to speculate the government's intervention in the markets and further predicts the outcome through modality of probability 'likely' and 'could be' through the voice of the strategists in a reported locution.

3.1.3 Rhetorical organization of a financial news report

To explore the rhetorical structure or organization of the financial news report, I have conducted a RST on one of the sample data. The text is organised with the most important information stated in the headline 'Euro hits low against dollar', followed by a restatement in the lead and is elaborated through a series of comments on the performance of the various currencies organised in additive relationships. This in turn forms the base of the rhetorical structure of the overall text organization. As pointed out by Matthiessen et al (2010:182), today's news report is organized more like a report serving in expounding contexts. It has a nucleus, some key event that is deemed newsworthy and thus likely to grab the addressee's attention, and this nucleus is elaborated in detail, typically a number of times to cover different angles on the event (lexical cohesion). Figure 4 shows a rhetorical structural representation of one of the financial news report that echoes this nucleus – satellite organization of text.
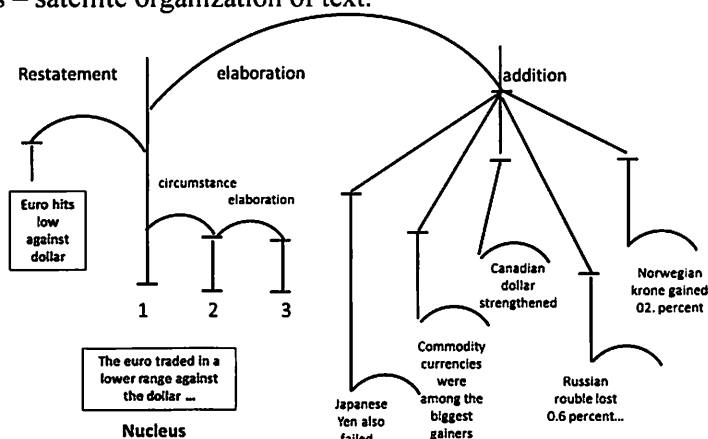
Figure 4: A rhetorical structural representation of Financial News Report

3.2 Context of situation – exploring

Exploring text usually concerns about exploring societal views (values or issues) typically in public, comparing alternative ones and arguing in favour of one of them (Matthiessen et al, 2010:92). This study focuses on speeches that are delivered by public figures such as celebrities or political leaders in a specific occasion to a specific group of audience. In these speeches, speakers set out to convince their addressees the view they propose is plausible, providing evidence in favour of it. They also try to relate to their audience, getting them to align with their views. (Matthiessen et al, 2010:92) In this study, the social relationship between the speaker and listener is hierarchical with the writer having a higher social status than that of the audience. While the speaker or writer may have power over the addressee because of social status, the addressee also has power over the speaker as they hold the right to not believe or agree with the speaker's view or proposal. The mode is spoken and monological, and the channel of distribution is either face-to-face or through electronic means. Since most speeches are written to be spoken, they are usually formal and highly organized in a logical way.

3.2.1 Arguing and aligning social values

The examples extracted from Obama's speech against Iraq war in 2002, Haruki Murakami's acceptance speech for the Catalunya International Prize in 2011 and President Hu Jintao's speech during his visit to the White House in 2011 below illustrate how the speaker conveys meaning to establish his stance, substantiates his arguments, aligns social values and proposes actions by selecting different lexicogrammar from the ideational and interpersonal systems.

Experientially, the public speech in the sample data is dominated by material process in all three languages (53%), although in Japanese some of the material processes are embedded in relational clauses through downranking or nominalisation (see Example 12). Figure 5 below shows the distribution of process types in the public speech data in Japanese, English and Chinese.
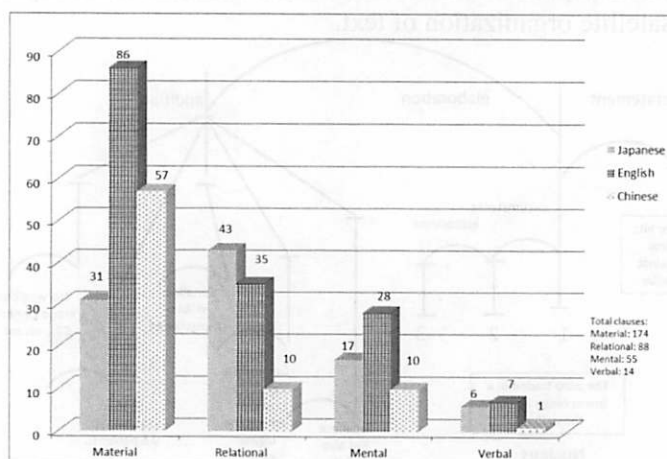
Figure 5: Distribution of process types in Public Speech across three languages

It can be observed in public speech that explanation of arguments and proposals are usually realised by material process while the speaker's stance or view on certain social values tend to be construed by mental process (see Examples 8-10). The grammatical strategy of assigning values to process type through the system of polarity is also identified as a common means to align social values. For example, in Obama's speech, he gives reasons for opposing the Iraq War, which he considered as a 'dump and rash war' by comparing what he considered as a 'war of virtue", the Civil War. On the one hand, Obama portrayed a positive image of the Civil War by assigning positive value such as "in the name of larger freedom" to the material process "fought", and positively valued material process "triumphed" against negatively valued noun "evil". On the other hand, he devalued his opponents by assigning negative values to them through negative evaluated nominal groups such as "cynical attempt" and "armchair, weekend warriors" and the possible negative consequences of their proposed actions "cost in lives lost" and "hardships borne".

Another prominent motif of public speech is the manifestation of the speaker's personal view through mental process, which usually represents the speaker's stance, thought and belief, and is sometimes projected ideationally in the form of an idea in which the speaker's proposal or proposition is manifested. This is consistent across all three languages in my data. Examples 8-10 illustrate how mental process construes the speaker's stance and ideas in a speech.

Example 8:   Creating a stance through mental process (English)
"I don't oppose all wars. What I am opposed to is a dumb war. What I am opposed to is a rash war."

Example 9:   Aligning social value through mental projection (Japanese)
この世界に共通した新しい価値観を打ち立てていくことができたら、どんなに
すばらしいだろうと思います。
kono sekai ni kyoutsuu shita atarashii kachikan o uchitateteiku koto ga dekitara, donna ni subarashii darou to omoimasu.
I think if the new sense of values common to this world can be established, how wonderful that could be.

Example 10: Proposal through mental projection (Chinese)
我希望通过这次访问，推进积极合作全面的中美关系，开启两国伙伴合作新篇章。
wo xiwang tong guo zhe ci fang wen, tui jin jiji hezuo quanmian de zhongmei guanxi, kaiqi liangguo huoban hezuo xinbianzhang.
I hope that through this visit to promote a positive, cooperative and comprehensive Sino-US relations, to open a new chapter of partnership between the two countries.

In Example 8, Obama presents his stance by selecting the mental process "oppose" that operates between positive and negative polar to contrast "all wars" and "dumb war / rash war". In Example 9, however, Murakami assigns a positive attribute *subarashii* "wonderful" to his proposal of establishing a new value system that is common to this world which is embedded in a conditional clause. The proposition is construed by a mental projection *to omoimasu* "I think". Similarly, in

Example 10, President Hu's proposal for positive and cooperative Sino-US relations is manifested explicitly in mental projection through the mental projecting verb *xiwang* "hope".

3.2.2 Persuading and proposing actions

Interpersonally, the selection of modality that reflects the speaker's personal attitude and judgement is observed to be a prominent feature in public speech. In his closing note, Obama has repeatedly selected the modality of obligation 'ought', permission 'should' and inclination 'would' that interplays with negative polarity (not, nor) and negatively valued nouns such as 'hellish path', 'awful sacrifice', to negate something that is commonly undesirable so as to align to his views and proposal to his audience.

> Example 11: Obama's speech
> *"But we **ought not** – we **will not** – travel down that hellish path blindly. **Nor should** we allow those who **would** march off and pay the ultimate sacrifice, who **would** prove the full measure of devotion with their blood, to make such an awful sacrifice in vain."*

Similar pattern can be observed in Murakami's speech with frequent selection of modality, evidentiality and polarity to build evidence to support his argument. 35% of the processes is either modalised through obligation *~beki* 'should' (Example 12), and necessity *~nakutewa narimasen* 'must' (Example 13) and reasoning through evidentiality *~hazu desu* 'is expected that' (Example 14) (cf Teruya, 2007: 168, Teramura, 1984: 228-231).

> Example 12 : Obligation
> 私たち日本人は核に対する「ノー」を叫び続けるべきだった。
> *watashi tachi nihonjin wa kaku ni taisuru "noo" o yobituzukeru **beki datta**.*
> We Japanese **should** continue to say "No" to nuclear power.

> Example 13 : Necessity
> 我々は新しい倫理や規範と、新しい言葉とを連結させなくてはなりません。
> *wareware wa atarashii ronri ya kihan to atarashii kotoba o renketsu **sasenakutewa narimasen.***
> We **have to** (must not not) make connection to new ethics, norm, and new words.

> Example 14 : Evidentiality
> それは私たち全員が共有できる物語であるはずです。
> *sore wa watashitachi zenin ga kyouyu dekiru monogatari dearu **hazu desu**.*
> **It is expected that** that is a story which we, all members can share.

In my data, the selection of modality that marks obligation *yinggai* 'should' and necessity *yao* 'must' in Chinese speech substantiates the argument for the proposal put forth to the audience. In terms of mood, it may be noteworthy that although the speeches in the data across all three languages are declarative mood dominant (over 95%), imperative mood such as command in Chinese e.g. *dajia yao jingxing! jingxing!* 'We have to wake up and be alert! Be alert!'(cf Li, 2007:130-

131), both command and offer in English e.g. "Let us send a message to the president" (cf Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004:139) or command in Japanese e.g. *furikaette mite kudasai* 'please look back' (cf Teruya, 2007:182-189) plays a significant role in realising proposals.

However, it is observed in my data that only in Japanese there are cases of declarative suppositive mood that realises the speaker's supposition, e.g. *donna ni subarashii darou* 'how wonderful will it be'. A clause like this that enacts the suppositive mood usually encodes the speaker's subjective assessment of the degree of probability; however, this suppositive mood could be a strategy the speaker employs to present 'certainty' as objective rather than subjective (cf Teruya, 2007:168, Teramura: 1984:228-231).

3.2.3 Rhetorical organization of a public speech

To illustrate how the argument of a speech can be organized rhetorically, the speech by Miyazaki Hayao in the 1994 Japanese Animator Award is analysed using RST. Here Miyazaki explores the possible reasons for the success phenomenon of Japanese comics from his personal point of view. The speech is of a nucleus-satellite structure (Figure 6) and is organized through elaboration of evidence predominantly in additive relations to support his argument. Clauses 1 and 2 set the background of the context and clause 3 is the nucleus that is realised in the form of a question. The argument is presented in a series of answer to the question that is the nucleus and is divided into three parts in an additive sequence clearly separated by conjunctive adjuncts *sono ichi* "Firstly", *sono ni* "Secondly", and *sono san* "Thirdly". Finally, in closing, the speaker invites the audience to reflect on his proposition in an interrogative suppositive mood *dou omowareru darou ka* "what could be your thoughts?".
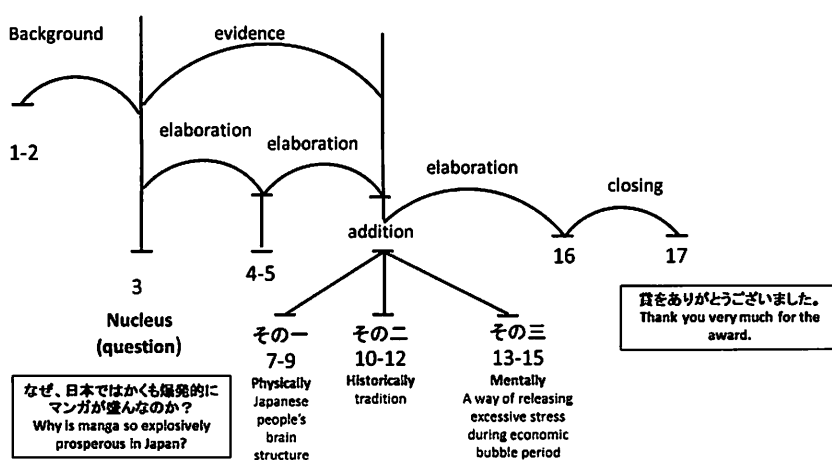
Figure 6: A rhetorical structural representation of Miyazaki Hayao's speech "Manga Seiko Ron" in 1994 Japanese Animator Award.

4. Conclusion

This study has presented a general view of a potential register profile of financial news report and public speech through a systemic functional approach from an ideational and interpersonal perspective. It has also identified some general characteristics and features in functional grammar across Japanese, Chinese and English.

The results of the analysis suggest that although both financial news report and public speech are material process dominated, the former tends to favour processes that construe movements or changes of the market whereas the latter tends to assign social values to the process types through the system of polarity to establish the writer's stance or substantiate an argument. Interpersonally, financial reports are characterized by predicting and speculating market trends and performance through modality in English and Chinese, and evidentiality in Japanese. In public speech, however, shaping arguments through contrasting social values using the polarity system and urging obligation and necessity to act in certain ways through modality and modalization are observed to be prominent strategies in establishing stance and persuading the audience.

The data also shows that verbal projections, the quoting or reporting of speech, in financial news report are usually used to give reason and predict trend, and are mainly performed by trusted source like bank or VIP (Teruya, 2004:241). In public speech, however, projections are mainly mental and are often employed to express the personal view or opinion of the speaker over some social values. In general, financial news report is field oriented while public speech is tenor oriented. However, the presence of interrogative mood that realises rhetorical question and the use of adjuncts that reflect degree or intensity of the process type in some financial news reports help create the 'reporter's voice', making it possible for the reporter to indirectly participate in the evaluation and prediction of future trends (Van Djik, 1988:56).

In terms of rhetorical structure, although the finding is tentative as the sample size is small, financial news report and public speech are both observed to be characterized by a nuclear-satellite relationship. While in financial news report, the satellite elaborates the nucleus through comments that are organized in additive relations, a similar pattern of rhetorical organization is observed in the public speech in where the satellite is organized in a sequence of additive arguments that serve as elaboration of the evidence to support the nucleus.

In exploring differences and similarities between Japanese, Chinese and English in the selected text types, while there is no major difference in the features identified for each register, some lexico-grammatical features are identified to be unique to specific language. For example, in financial news report and public speech where convincing the reader or listener through reasoning and the provision of evidence is necessary, Japanese employs evidentiality that provides evidence from unknown source such as 'hearsay' and 'reasoning' through general knowledge, while Chinese and English achieve the same function through modality of probability and expectation. In terms of mood type, it is observed that in Chinese and English speeches, imperative mood is employed to invite audience to join the proposed action through a command, while in Japanese, proposals are sometimes

embedded in declarative suppositive mood manifested in a statement, which reflects the speaker's subjective view presented in an objective way (Teruya, 2007:168, Teramura: 1984:228-231).

5. Future tasks
This paper is an initial report on an ongoing project which aims to develop the registerial cartography of different text types in Japanese, Chinese and English based on contextual parameters, focussing on the field parameter which consist of eight primary socio-semiotic processes — expounding, reporting, recreating, sharing, doing, recommending, enabling and exploring— only two of which are discussed here. The findings illustrated here are interim in nature and thus could be further elaborated. For example, more comparable texts in each category are needed to formulate any meaningful conclusion. Grammatical functions and complementarity between languages can only be touched upon lightly in this study. However, they should shed light on ways in which registerial profiling could be studied. For a true comparison and exploration of the register text type between languages, an in-depth analysis on each language is recommended.

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Data
Financial news report

Booeki akaji 31 nen buri 11nen 2.4 chooen, endaka shinsai de nyuushutsu gen enryooyunyuu wa kyuusoo (2012 January 25) Nihon Keizai Shinbu

Nisseiboo HD, eigyooeki gohai 13 nen 3 getsuki 150 okuen (2012, March 24) Nihon Keizai Shinbun

Goldman Sachs earnings decline 58% (2012, January 18) Financial Times

Euro hits low against dollar (2012, March 1) Financial Times

Hot yen leavesTokyo with cold, hard choices (2011, October 27) Financial Times

Gaosheng shangji zhuan 78 yi yuan sheng yuqi (2012, January 19) Hong Kong Economic Times

Gaosheng: minzi chuang jinrongye wuai dahang (2012, April 6) Hong Kong Economic Times

Public speech

Miyazaki Hayao (1996) *Manga Seiko Ron* - 1994 Japanese Animator Award. Shuppatsuten 1979~1996 Studio Gibli

Murakami Haruki (2011, June 11) *Higenjitsuteki na musooka toshite* - Murakami's acceptance speech for the Catalunya International Prize in 2011

Obama, Barrack. (2002, October) *Speech against the Iraq War* in Obama Speeches. http://obamaspeeches.com/

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日本語の心理過程：「見る」と「見える」
Mental Process in Japanese: '*Miru*' versus '*Mi-eru*'

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Abstract

This paper deals with the clauses with verbs like '*mi-eru* (see)', '*kiko-eru* (hear)' and '*kangae-rareru* (think)', and how they are analyzed in the grammatical system networks drawn in the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics. These are the verbs generally called '*jihatsu doushi* (spontaneous verbs)', and represent actions which happen spontaneously, not intentionally. They appear to realize Mental processes, but are significantly different in the construction of clauses from their more typical Mental counterparts, '*miru*', '*kiku*' and '*kangaeru*' which are intentional. The intentional verbs usually take the form of '*A ga B o miru*' in which A is the Senser and B is the Phenomenon, whereas the spontaneous ones take the form of '*A ni B ga mi-eru*'.

This paper argues that the spontaneous verbs are special types of Mental verbs with some grammatical differences from the intentional ones in that i) some spontaneous verbs do not project, ii) they have different unmarked tense, iii) they do not take imperative form and vi) they take the participants equivalent to the Senser which are sometimes 'unconscious'. Based on these differences I will try to draw a new Mental process system which incorporates spontaneous verbs as well as intentional ones.

1. はじめに

　日本語には「見る」に対して「見える」、「聞く」に対して「聞こえる」などの、いわゆる自発動詞と呼ばれる動詞が多く存在する。本稿は、選択体系機能言語学(Systemic Functional Linguistics; 以下 SFL)の枠組みで、その分析法を考えることを主題とする。これらの動詞を用いた節は、その過程型(process type)を考えるさい、疑問に思うことが多い。

　作例だが簡単な例を挙げると、自発動詞は以下のように使用される：

(1)　　私は空が<u>見える</u>。
(2)　　私には[[彼が笑った]]のが<u>聞こえた</u>。

これらの節は一見心理過程(Mental Process)に見えるが、第 2 節でも詳しく見

るように、「A に（は）B が見える」という形をとり、通常の心理過程の「A が B を見る」とは助詞のパターンが異なる。これらの節に関し、特に疑問なのは以下の 3 点である：

- 過程型は何なのか。「見える」も「見る」と同じで心理過程でよいのか。
- 節の各要素（A,B）の participant role は何なのか。「A に」という形でも Senser なのか、「B が」という形でも Phenomenon なのか。
- 対人的(interpersonal)機能を見た場合の Subject は何なのか。通常、「が」「は」がついているものが Subject として扱われるが、この場合、「B が」が主語でよいのか。

本稿は、これら 3 つの課題を中心に、「見える」型節の分析のしかたを考えていきたい。

　以降、まず第 2 節では、心理過程の基本、つまり心理過程とはそもそもどのような過程で、どんな参与要素をとるかを、「見る」「聞く」といった、いわゆる典型的な心理過程動詞の実例を交えてまとめる。

　続く第 3 節では、第 2 節の例と比較して、自発動詞「見える」「聞こえる」などを用いた節の実例を見ることで、助詞のパターンが典型的心理過程動詞とは大きく異なることを確認する。

　第 4 節では、「A に B が見える」型の節を対人的な観点から見た場合、Subject は「B が」なのか「A に」なのかを考える。本稿では、Subject は「A に」であることを提案する。

　第 5 節では、観念構成的(experiential)な観点から、自発動詞を用いた節の過程型を考える。その際、分類候補として心理過程と関係過程をあげ、いくつかの特徴から、心理過程であることを確認する。ただし、自発動詞は通常の心理過程動詞と異なる点が、既に見た助詞のパターン以外にいくつかあることを指摘する。それは、i) 投射能力の問題、ii) Senser が無意識のものの場合もあること、iii) 無標の時制が異なること、そして iv) 叙法とのかかわりの 4 点である。

　最後に第 6 節では、第 5 節に見たような違いをふまえ、これまでに提案されている心理過程の選択システムに手を加え、うまく自発動詞が含まれるようなシステムを提案する。

　なお、本稿で用いた例文は、著作権フリーの小説がダウンロードできるサイト、『青空文庫（http://www.aozora.gr.jp/）』の中から、アクセス件数が多く、かつ文体が現代語に近いものから選んだ。使用したのは以下の 6 つの小説である：

- 宮沢賢治 『グスコーブドリの伝記』 （以下 『グスコーブドリ』）
- 宮沢賢治 『銀河鉄道の夜』 （以下 『銀河鉄道』）
- 太宰治 『走れメロス』 （以下 『メロス』）

- 太宰治 『人間失格』 （以下『人間』）
- 夏目漱石 『吾輩は猫である』 （以下『吾輩』）
- 小林多喜二 『蟹工船』 （以下『蟹工船』）

また、自発動詞は、「見える」以外の動詞の使用頻度が低く、上記小説からでは用例数に限りがあったため、その他、以下の 2 作品からの例文も、補足的に使用した：

- W. サローヤン（著）、伊丹十三（訳）(1979)『パパ・ユーア クレイジー』東京：新潮社（以下『パパ』）
- 日本アート・センター（編）、黒江光彦（解説）(1975)『新潮美術文庫 13 フェルメール』東京：新潮社（以下『フェルメール』）

2. 心理過程の基本

まず、SFL の理論枠組みにおける心理過程の基本をまとめる。以下の記述は主に Teruya (2007: 239-256)に従ったものである。

そもそも心理過程とは、"The experience of our own process of consciousness are construed by the grammar as mental process. (Teruya, 2007: 239) "と定義されるように、私達の心や意識のはたらきを表わす過程である。Senser と Phenomenon という 2 つの参与要素をとり、このうち Senser は、"The Senser is one who "senses" the phenomena of reality in various ways […]. In fact, the Senser in Japanese is generally realized by a nominal group denoting a human, if not **an entity endowed with consciousness** […]. (Teruya, 2007: 243; 強調は早川による)" と定義されるように、なんらかの現象を感じとる主体である。強調部が示すように、日本語では必ず意識(consciousness)をもったもので具現される。また Phenomenon は、"The phenomenon sensed by the Senser is realized lexicogrammatically as a Phenomenon, **marked by** *o* を. (Teruya, 2007: 243; 強調は早川による)"と定義されるように、感じとられる方の現象を指すが、強調部が示すように、通常、助詞の「を」でマークされる。また Phenomenon は、通常の名詞群(=phenomenon)のみでなく、macro thing と呼ばれる、act（節＋ノ）、fact（節＋コト）でも具現される。節にトがついたものは被投射節(projected clause)であり、これは心理過程とは別の節と分析される。

分析テクスト中に見られた、心理過程節の実例をいくつか挙げる。以下はそれぞれ、phenomenon、act、fact、被投射節を現象としてとる例である。助詞（太字部）の形に注意してほしい：

(3) みんなはもうこの前の凶作を思い出して、 ('phenomenon') （『グスコーブドリ』）

みんなは	もう	この前の凶作を	思い出して、
Senser	Circumstance	Phenomenon	Process: Mental

(4)　またその人が、イートハーヴの市で一か月の学校をやっているのを
　　　知って、　('impinging on sensing' (act))　（『グスコーブドリ』）

また	（グスコーブドリは）	[[その人が、イーハトーヴの市で一か月の学校をやっている]]のを	知って
	Senser	Phenomenon	Process: Mental

(5)　きのう新聞で主人がブドリのけがをしたことを読んだので、
　　　('impinging on sensing' (fact))　（『グスコーブドリ』）

きのう	新聞で	主人が	[[ブドリのけがをした]]ことを	読んだので、
Circumstance	Circumstance	Senser	Phenomenon	Process: Mental

(6)　やっぱり星だとジョバンニは思いましたが、（被投射節）（『銀河
　　　鉄道』）

やっぱり	（それは）	星だと	ジョバンニは	思いましたが
	Token	Process/Value	Senser	Process: Mental
Projected clause			Projecting clause	

また、心理過程はさらに5つの領域に下位区分できる：

- 感情を表わす emotive（投射不可）
  　　　　A が/は　　B(名詞群/act/fact)を　　好む・楽しむ　など
  　　　　A が/は　　B(名詞群/act/fact)に　　驚く・惚れる　など
- 感覚を表わす perceptive（投射不可）
  　　　　A が/は　　B（名詞群/act）を　　　見る・聞く・嗅ぐ　など
- 頭で考えることを表わす cognitive（投射可）
  　　　　A が/は　　B(名詞群/fact)を　　　考える・思う・知る　など
  　　　　A が/は　　節と　　　　　　　　　考える・思う・知る　など
- 意志・意図を表わす intentional（投射可）
  　　　　A が/は　　B(名詞群/fact)を　　　決める・計画する　など
  　　　　A が/は　　節（しよう）と　　　　決める・計画する　など
- 願望を表わす desiderative（投射可）
  　　　　A が/は　　B(名詞群/act/fact)を　　望む・願う・期待する　など
  　　　　A が/は　　節（したい）と　　　　望む・願う・期待する　など

　これらは、意味によって下位区分されているだけでなく、被投射節をとれるカテゴリーととれないカテゴリー、現象として名詞群と fact だけがとれるカテゴリー、あるいは act だけが取れるカテゴリーなど、文法的性質も異なる。
　　助詞の形に注目すると、今まで見てきた実例も含め、心理過程はほとんどの例が、「A が/は B を 〜する」となる。ただし、emotive の「驚く」系

の動詞のみ、「A が B に驚く」のように、Phenomenon につく助詞が「に」となるが、他は全て「A が」が Senser、「B を」が Phenomenon となる。

　以上のことをふまえ、心理過程の選択システムを書くと図 1 のようになる。図 1 のシステムは、これまでにまとめた心理過程の特徴を満たしている。すなわち、心理過程であれば、まず必ず意識をもった Senser がいて、それは「〜が、は」で具現される。そして、projecting だと β clause（被投射節）もとれる。Phenomenon はたいてい「〜を」で具現され、reaction 動詞を選択したときだけ「〜に」となる。
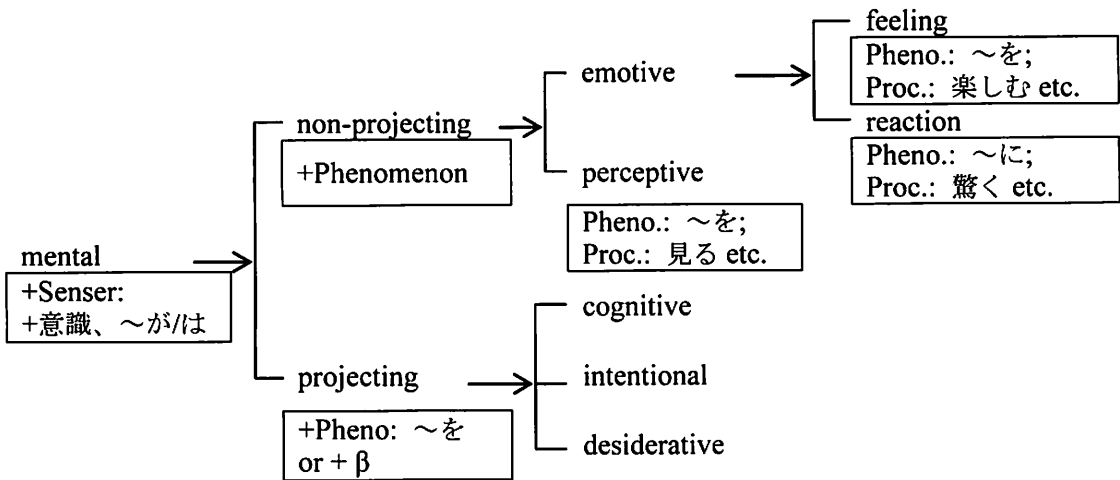
(Teruya 2007: 244. Figure 5.2 を基にした)
図 1：心理過程選択システム

3. 自発動詞

　前節は通常の心理過程のまとめである。本節では自発動詞に話を移すが、そもそも自発動詞にはどんなものがあるだろうか。ここまで見てきた心理過程の動詞は、それぞれ、対になるような「自発動詞」をもつことが多い。さらに興味深いことには、前節に見た、心理過程の 5 つの下位分類でみると、自発動詞があるカテゴリーとないカテゴリーにはっきりと分かれる：

- emotive の「好む・楽しむ・驚く・惚れる」には対応する自発動詞はない（「好める」「驚ける」とはいわない）。
- perceptive の「見る」「聞く」「嗅ぐ」にはそれぞれ、「見える」「聞こえる」「匂う 」という自発動詞がある。
- cognitive の、「考える」「思う」「知る」にはそれぞれ、「考えられる」「思える（または「思われる」）」「知れる」「分かる」という自発動詞がある。
- intentional の「決める」「計画する」には対応する自発動詞はない（「決める」には、一見「決められる」という対応表現があるように思えるが、これは「決めることができる」という可能の意味で、

　　自発の用法にはならない）。
- desiderative の「望む」「願う」「期待する」にはそれぞれ、「望まれる」「願われる」「期待される」という自発動詞がある。

　このように、自発動詞は、perceptive、cognitive、desiderative という 3 つのカテゴリーのみに存在する、とまとめられる。
　また、動詞の形を見ると、自発動詞はほとんど、動詞に助動詞の「れる」をつけた形となる。「におう」「分かる」だけが例外で、この 2 つは正式には自発動詞と言わないのかもしれないが、以下の実例に見るように、他の動詞と助詞のパターンが全く同じになるため、本稿では「におう」「分かる」も自発動詞の仲間として扱う。
　分析テクストの中から、これらの自発動詞を用いた節の代表例を挙げると、以下のようなものがある：

- emotive
(7)　あすこの岸のずうっと向うにまるでけむりのような小さな青い火が<u>見える</u>。（『銀河鉄道』）
(8)　ふと耳に、潺々《せんせん》、水の流れる音が<u>聞えた</u>。（『メロス』）
(9)　しかし私にはホット・ドッグが<u>匂うんだ</u>。（『パパ』）

- cognitive
(10)　メロスには政治が<u>わからぬ</u>。（『メロス』）
(11)　しかし、人間への不信は、必ずしもすぐに宗教の道に通じているとは限らないと、‖自分には<u>思われる</u>のですけど。（『人間』）
(12)　堀木の場合、それ以外の理由は、自分には今もって<u>考えられません</u>のですが、（『人間』）

- desiderative
(13)　明日雨が降ることが<u>期待される</u>。（作例）

　以上をまとめると、自発動詞は基本的に「A に（は）B が〜する」という使われ方をする（「A に（は）」はあるときとないときがある）。前節で見た典型的心理過程の「A が B を〜する」とは全く違う形であることが確認できる。そこでこれらの節をどう分析するか、以下で検討していく。
　まず確認したいのは、上記のような自発動詞を用いた用例は、図 1 に見た心理過程の選択システムでは、入る場所がないということである。例えば、図 1 のシステムで最初の realizational statement（+Senser: ＋意識、〜が/は）を見ると、心理過程(mental)ならば Senser が存在し、その Senser は意識をもったもので具現され、助詞としては「が」または「は」がつく、とされている。しかし上例のような自発動詞を用いた節は、これに当てはま

らない。

　そのため本稿では、「見える」型の節はそもそも本当に心理過程なのか、もし心理過程でないならどの過程型であるか、あるいは心理過程だとしたら、システムをどのように書き変えたらいいのか、を考えていく。

　まず、「もし心理過程でないならどの過程型であるか」を考えると、最も可能性があると考えられるのは関係過程(Relational Process)である。というのも、心理過程と関係過程には、非常に類似した例があることが既に指摘されているからである。例えば Teruya (2007: 254-255)によれば、

(14)	彼は	嘘つきを	嫌った
(15)	父は	自分の病気を	おそれていた
	Senser	Phenomenon	Process: mental

は心理過程として分析されるが、非常に似た意味の

(16)	彼は	嘘つきが	嫌いだった
(17)	わたしは	自分が	おそろしい
	Carrier-domain	Carrier	Attribute/Process

は関係過程として分析される。この場合、心理過程で Senser だったものは Carrier-domain という特殊な参与要素となり、この参与要素をとる節は特に Domain-specified Relational clause と呼ばれる。

　この Domain-specified Relational clause は、いくつかの点で、「見える」型の節と共通点をもつ。まず助詞の形として、心理過程で Phenomenon にあたる要素が、Carrier となって「〜が」をとるというのが自発動詞と同じである。また意味的にも、自発動詞というのは、

- 「見える」「聞こえる」「匂う」＝そのように知覚できる状態である
- 「（政治が）分かる」＝政治に詳しい、「考えられる」「思える」＝その現象がありうる
- 「望まれる」「願われる」「期待される」＝それが望ましい

のように、心理というより性質(Attribute)を表しているとも考えられる。

　しかし同時にいくつかの点で、自発動詞は Domain-specified Relational clause と決定的に異なる文法的性質をもつ。まず Domain-specified の関係過程は、「A は^B が^形容詞群」という形をとり、述語は典型的に形容詞群である。一方の自発動詞は、「A に（は）^B が^動詞群」であり、述語は動詞群となる。

　また、自発動詞はやはり関係過程でなく心理過程として分析すべきであることを示す重要な特徴がもう一つある。それは、自発動詞には投射能力

があるということである。投射能力というのは、発言過程(verbal process)と心理過程だけがもつ特徴で、関係過程には投射能力がない。例えば、「彼は雨が止むだろうと言った（発言過程）」「私は雨が止むと思った（心理過程）」に対し、「私は雨が止むと嫌った（関係過程）」とは言えない（「私は雨が止むことを嫌った」なら言えるが、この場合、節はコトに埋め込まれ fact となっているため、被投射節ではなく、関係過程節中の参与要素である）。

　ここで、自発動詞の投射能力を確認する。まず、perceptive の「見える」「聞こえる」は投射できない（*私は雨が止むと見える）が、これは、通常の心理過程でも perceptive の「見る」「聞く」は投射しないため、自発動詞であるために投射できないわけではない。次に、cognitive の「分かる」「考えられる」「思える」は投射することができる。以下に例を挙げる：

(18)　当時のいわゆる"暗い"レンズには絞りがついていたとは||考えられないから、（『フェルメール』）
(19)　ただしこれだけは失恋のためとも||思われない。（『吾輩』）

desiderative の「期待される」も投射することができる：

(20)　明日には雨がやむと||期待される　（作例）

このように投射能力があることから、「見える」「聞こえる」「分かる」などの自発動詞は、 はやはり心理過程であることが確認できたといえる。

4. 自発動詞を用いた節の Subject

　前節の議論に基づき、自発動詞を用いた節（例(7-13)を簡略化したもの）を心理過程として分析すると、表 1 のようになる（Phenomenon の欄に載せた要素のうち、「～と」と投射された場合は、節中の参与要素ではなく別の節として分析する）：

表 1：自発動詞を用いた節の心理過程としての分析

	A に（は）	B が	～する
	耳に、 私には メロスには 自分には 自分には	小さな青い火が 水の流れる音が ホット・ドッグが 政治が <<…と>> ＊別の clause それ以外の理由が 明日雨が降ることが	見える。 聞こえた。 匂うんだ。 わからぬ。 思われる。 考えられない。 期待される。
観念構成的	Senser	Phenomenon	Process: Mental
対人的	Complement?	Subject?	Predicator

観念構成的分析は表 1 の通りでよいと考えられるが、対人的分析には検討すべき事項がある。というのも、通常 Subject は「〜が」で具現されるため、この場合も「B が(Phenomenon)」が Subject、「A に(Senser)」が Complement ということになるのだろうか。しかし意味的、感覚的には、主語はやはり「A に(Senser)」のほうであるように感じられる。

　ここで改めて、Subject とは何かを確認すると、形式的には、先述のように、「〜が」「〜は」で具現されることが多く、"Subjects are realized by nominal groups marked postpositionally by *ga* が or *wa* わ[sic. は]. (Teruya, 2007: 64)" などと述べられる通りである。この点では確かに「B が」が Subject と考えられる。

　しかし Subject には助詞の形以外にも重要な特徴があり、modal responsibility を負う、という側面もある。Modal responsibility という用語はさまざまな意味を含むが、最も重要な点として、「Subject は述語の敬語表現に影響を与える」ということが挙げられる。このことは、以下の 2 つの引用に示される：

> it [=Subject] is held responsible for the various interpersonal meanings such as polarity, politeness, honorification and modalities, that are realized through the Predicator. (Teruya, 2007: 59)

> 日本語の Subject は Mood の構成要素である Predicate に影響を及ぼす可能性がある。このことは、Predicate に尊敬語と謙譲語が存在する場合に顕著となる。(水澤, 2008: 100-101)

このことから考えると、「が」や「は」という形に限らず、述語を敬語にさせるものが Subject であるということができる。敬語に対応しているのは「A に」なのか「B が」なのかを確かめるため、自発動詞を用いた節(21)の参与要素を変化させてみる。

(21)　ジョバンニにはカンパネルラが見える。

この節の「A に」にあたる「ジョバンニ」を「ジョバンニ様」とすると、

(21a)　ジョバンニ様にはカンパネルラが見えていらっしゃる。

のように述語が敬語になるが、「B が」にあたる「カンパネルラ」を「カンパネルラ様」に変えても、

(21b)　ジョバンニにはカンパネルラ様が見える。

となり、通常、

(21c) *ジョバンニにはカンパネルラ様が見えていらっしゃる。

とはならない。例(22)も同様で、

(22)　メロスにはセリヌンティウス（のこと）がわからぬ。
(22a) メロス様にはセリヌンティウス（のこと）がおわかりにならない。
(22b) メロスにはセリヌンティウス様（のこと）がわからぬ。
(22c) *メロスにはセリヌンティウス様（のこと）がおわかりにならない。

(22a, b)は適切だが、(22c)は不適切である。
　これらの例から分かるように、動詞の敬語表現に対応しているのは「A
に」の方であって「B が」ではない。このことは、やはり「A に」が
Subject であることを表わしていると言える。よって本稿では、「見える」
型の節の主語は「A に」の方であると提案する。

5. 通常の心理過程と異なる点
　ここからは、観念構成的な見方にもどって、「見える」型の節が、通常
の心理過程と、文法的にどのような点で異なるか、4 点を順に見ていく。

5.1 投射能力
　通常の心理過程と異なる点の 1 つ目として、投射能力がある。第 3 節で
見たとおり、自発動詞であっても通常の心理過程動詞であっても、cognitive、
desiderative の動詞は投射することができる。ただし自発動詞の場合、必ず
投射できるとは限らないという点で、通常の心理過程動詞とやや異なる。
それは特に desiderative の動詞である。例は以下の通りである：

(23)　私は<<明日には雨がやむと>> 期待する。（作例；(24, 25)も同じ）
(23a) 明日には雨がやむと‖期待される。

(24)　私は<<大学に進学したいと>>望む。
(24a) *大学に進学したいと‖望まれる。（受身でなく自発の意味で）

(25)　私は<<彼に大学に行ってほしいと>>願う。
(25a) *彼に大学に行ってほしいと‖願われる。

　例(23)に見るように、「期待する」は自発動詞「期待される」となっても
投射できる。しかし、同じく desiderative の動詞「望む」の場合、例(24)に
見るように、通常の心理過程だと投射できるのに、自発動詞の「望まれ
る」だと投射できない。投射しない形、つまり「大学進学が望まれる」の
ように、名詞群が Phenomenon になる形ならもちろん可能である。例(25)に
見るように、「願う」も同様で、自発動詞の「願われる」は投射しない。
　このように、心理過程最大の特徴である投射能力という点からみても、

自発動詞は通常の心理過程とは異なる、特殊な過程をつくるということができる。

5.2 Senser が無意識な場合

　通常の心理過程と異なる 2 点目として、Senser を具現するのが意識をもったものでない場合もあることを挙げる。通常、心理過程における Senser は、第 2 節に見たように、「意識(consciousness)」をもったもので具現される。ところが自発動詞の場合、この特徴が当てはまらないことがあり、特にperceptive の動詞に顕著である。以下に例を挙げる：

(8)　　ふと耳に、潺々《せんせん》、水の流れる音が聞えた。
(26)　麻袋の中で、行くのはイヤだ、イヤだってしてるようでな||......眼に見えるようだ。（『蟹工船』）
(27)　眼に見えずに、|||[[考える]]こと、[[云う]]こと、[[する]]ことが、[...]同じになって行った。（『蟹工船』）

　例(8) (26, 27)の場合、「Ａに」に当たるものは人ではなく「耳」や「眼」であり、「Ａ に（は）」は「意識」がないものの場合もあることが分かる。通常の心理過程では、「目が見る」とか「耳が聞く」という言い方はしない。また自発動詞でも、perceptive 以外の cognitive や desiderative はやはり「意識」があるものが Senser となる。「頭に分かる」とか「心に望まれる」といったような例は少なくとも分析テクスト中には 1 つも見つからなかった。

5.3 無標の時制

　通常の心理過程と異なる 3 点目として、無標(unmarked)の時制が何になるかが挙げられる。無標の時制というのは、その過程が「今起こっている」ことを表す時制のことだが、これが過程型によって異なることはよく知られている。例えば、物質過程(material process)だと現在進行形（例：私は今料理をしている）だが、関係過程だと現在形（例：私は花子という）である。
　そして、通常の心理過程の無標の時制は現在進行形となる。例は以下の通り：

- perceptive：私は　空を見ている/音楽を聴いている/薔薇の香りをかいでいる
- cognitive: 私はその事実を　知っている/考えている/思っている
- desiderative: 私は平和を　望んでいる/願っている/期待している

これらを現在形にすると、例えば「私は悲しいときには空を見る」のように、習慣の意味になってしまうため、無標とはいえない。

　一方の自発動詞は無標の時制が全く異なっており、ほとんどの場合現在形が無標となる。例は以下の通り：

- perceptive：私には　空が見える（?見えている）/音楽が聞こえる（?聞こえている）/薔薇が匂う（*匂っている）
- cognitive: 私には 政治が分かる（分かっている）/その可能性が考えられる（*考えられている）/ そう思える（*思えている）
- desiderative: 平和が　望まれる（*望まれている）/ 願われる（*願われている）/ 期待される（*期待されている）

　perceptive の「見える」「聞こえる」は、「見えている」「聞こえている」とも言えなくはないが、これらは、「今は見えて（聞こえて）いるが、もうすぐ見えなく（聞こえなく）なるかもしれない」というような特殊な場面に使う形であり、無標とは言えないと考えられる。cognitive の場合、「分かる」はなぜか「分かっている」と進行形にしてもほとんど意味が変わらないが、「考えられている」は、受け身の意味（例：一般には彼は有能だと考えられている）で用いるのみで、自発の意味では用いない。Desiderative の「望まれている」「願われている」「期待されている」も同様で、これらが進行形になるのは受け身の「れる」のみであり、自発の意味で進行形にはならない。
　このように無標の時制が現在形という点も、通常の心理過程と異なる点である。

5.4 叙法とのかかわり
　最後に、通常の心理過程と異なる点の 4 つ目として、叙法とのかかわりを見る。叙法というのは、叙述法、疑問法、命令法の区別のことだが、ここではごく単純に、命令法を選択できるかという点だけを見る。
　まず、通常の心理過程は、ごく普通に命令法を選択することができる。例は以下の通り：

- perceptive：空を見ろ / 音楽を聴け / 薔薇の香りをかげ
- cognitive: その事実を知れ / 考えろ / 思え
- desiderative: 平和を望め / 願え / 期待しろ

　一方、自発動詞は命令法は選択できない：

- perceptive：*空が見えろ /*音楽が聞こえろ /*薔薇が匂え
- cognitive: その事実が *分かれ/ *考えられろ /*思えろ
- desiderative: 平和が　*望まれろ /*願われろ /*期待されろ

　意味的に考えると、自発動詞というのは文字通り自発的に行われる過程

であり、他者が命令することができないのは当然といえる。そうした意味の特殊性が、命令法を取らないという文法的特徴となって表れているといえる。

6. まとめと新たなシステム

ここまでの議論をまとめると、自発動詞は通常の心理過程と助詞のパターンが異なり、「AがBを見る」ではなく「AにBが見える」となる。ただし投射能力があることからすると、やはり心理過程であることは間違いない。また、敬語のパターンからすると、Subject は「Aに」である。

また心理過程でありながら、通常の心理過程と異なる点が複数ある。それは、投射能力、Senser を具現するものに意識があるかないか、無標の時制、命令法が取れるかとれないか、の4点である。

本稿の締めくくりとして、以上の違いをふまえ、図1に見た心理過程のシステムに手を加え、自発動詞を含みうるシステムを提案する。以下に図2としてこれを示す：
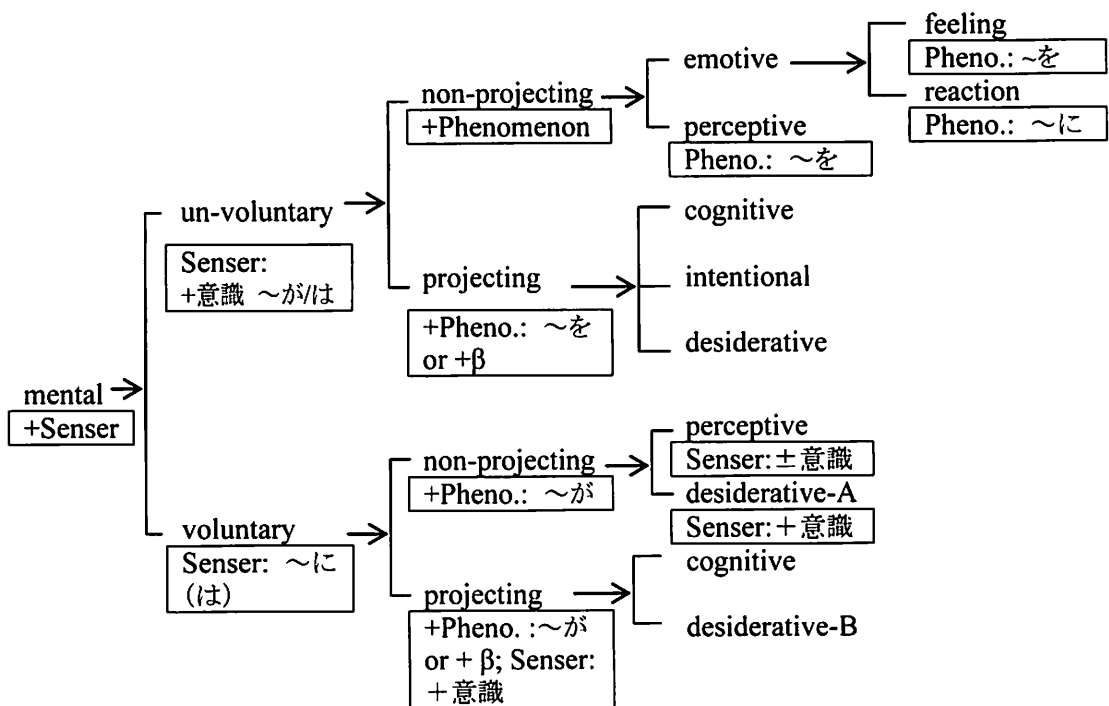
図2：心理過程選択システム（自発動詞を含む）

図2の示す重要な点は、mental process に入った時点では、まだ Senser がある、ということしか決まっておらず、それが意識をもつかどうか、助詞の形が何であるかは決まっていないということである。その後、un-voluntary（自発動詞でない）を選択すると、Senser は意識をもち、「〜が/は」のつく名詞群で具現される。一方 voluntary（自発動詞）を選択すると、

Senser は「～に（は）」で具現され、Phenomenon が「～が」となる。さらに voluntary の perceptive だと Senser は意識があってもなくてもよく、それ以外の過程は意識がなければならない。

　以上、日本語に特有の自発表現を扱ったことで、SFL の言語理論を日本語分析に応用する際に注意すべき事項や、動詞をシステム化することのむずかしさの一端が明らかになったと考える。

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External and Internal Conjunction Reexamined: An Attempt to Expand the Conjunctive System

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Abstract

In order to be able to deal with implicit conjunctive relations within the system of external and internal conjunction, originally proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), a reexamination of the relationship between the two types of conjunction and the strata of language analysis is called for. Starting from Martin's (1992) assumption that external and internal conjunction should belong to register and genre strata respectively, this paper examines how various internal conjunction relations can be matched to specific stages of certain genres by extending Ishikawa's (2010) treatment of newspaper editorials as "mosaics" of miniature or micro-size genres. It turns out that the 'rhetorical' nature of internal conjunction is closely associated with the discursive functions of genre stages. The distinction between external and internal conjunction is further characterized in terms of phase- and stage-reading of stretches of texts. It is also shown that in order to capture the text organizational function of internal conjunction, it is necessary to split the functions into two layers: the layer of annotation and that of cognitive description. This layering enables us to explain both overt and implicit internal conjunctions such as discourse markers, and non-declarative mood types in written texts.

1. Introduction

The distinction between external and internal conjunction, originally proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 241), is a very powerful tool in discourse analysis, which enables us to make sense of the distinct impressions between argumentative and non-argumentative texts. The distinction was further elaborated by Martin (1992) and Martin and Rose (2007), leading to a revised formulation of the two independent systems based on the four major classes of **addition, comparison, time, and causal**[1], which serve to capture the non-overlapping semantic classes of conjunctive text organization. While **external conjunction** may be safely considered as the linking of activities and phenomena in the described field, the characterisation of internal conjunction as **'rhetorical'** seems to require further elaboration.

According to Martin (1992: 181), two major 'syntagmatic environments' in which internal conjunctive relations between sentences are found are (1) the organization of an argument and (2) the dynamics of conversational exchange. Although his proposal excludes **implicit conjunctive relations**, which he calls

'cohesive', from his discussion of the two kinds of conjunction, it should be natural to consider internal conjunction to be something more comprehensive so that internal and external conjunction together can cover the entire spectrum of intersentential conjunction, encompassing both explicit and implicit conjunctions, whose extent is necessarily broader than that traditionally understood as **logico-semantic relations** between sentences. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 240) suggest that we should view the relationship between the two clause complexes in sequence in terms of "a relationship between different stages in the unfolding of the speaker's COMMUNICATION ROLE – the meaning he allots to himself as a participant in the total situation." So, given that there are indefinitely many communication situations, the realm of internal conjunction needs to be expanded as we uncover new types of situations.

One motivation for this study has been the problem of **the indeterminacy of conjunctive relations** found in actual texts, which seems to suggest a possibility of the existence of different types of conjunctive relations than those hitherto known as external and internal conjunctions. This problem also indicates the necessity to treat the analysis of conjunction on the level of **discourse semantics** rather than as part of the logico-grammatical mechanisms. In other words, what internal conjunction really is should be revealed by considering it as a mechanism in the stratum of **situation** and that of **culture**. This move is partly supported by the following remarks by 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.**

As with the previous quotation concerning the "relationship between different stages in the unfolding of the speaker's COMMUNICATION ROLE," it is clear that Halliday and Hasan regard the development of a text as expressive of the speaker's and writer's engagement (which is **interpersonal**) in the process of weaving text-external and text-internal motifs into a fabric called text.

The other half of our move is supported by Martin and Rose's (2008) stance towards the distinction between **register** and **genre**. Unlike Halliday and Hasan, who treated genre as part of register (an aspect of mode for Halliday, and one of field for Hasan), Martin assigns genre to the stratum of **culture** rather than that of **situation**. One immediate consequence of this decision is that "genre and register could vary independently" (Martin and Rose 2008: 16), with genres as reflections of combinations of the register elements instead of "being stuck in any one of tenor, field or mode" (Martin and Rose 2008: 17). This in turn allows for a new treatment of the external-internal distinction of conjunction, where external conjunction is treated as **an aspect of field** and internal conjunction as expressive of **genres**. This perception of the stratal difference between external and internal conjunction is echoed by the following comment by Martin (1992: 180):

> 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.

In the next section, we will examine how external and internal conjunctions can be distinguished in terms of the field-genre contrast, which requires an investigation of the relationship between genres and conjunction types. It turns out that genres can be connected to conjunctive types through a functional reinterpretation of conjunction relative to Martin and Rose's (2008) four major genre families, where genres are socially accepted staged configuration of text development. Since a genre can be sufficiently realized by the presence of required stages, its size sometimes can diminish drastically. This situation is illustrated by a summary representation of a narrative, whose phases are condensed into a single sentence for each stage (Martin and Rose, 2008: 84-85). The same idea is applied in Ishikawa (2010) to analyse newspaper editorials, where paragraphs can be regarded as a mosaic of miniature genres, enabling an exceedingly intricate combination of facts, explanations, and discussion. In this paper, it will be shown that through the close relationship between the genres and conjunction types, we find the same situation, although usually in more subdued manner, in those texts in which rhetorical or interpersonal moves are seen. In other words, this paper argues that internal conjunction can be directly translated into **miniature** or **micro-size genres**.

2. Genres and conjunction types
2.1 phases and stages
Martin and Rose (2008) proposes a classification of genres into four major families (stories, histories, reports and explanations, and procedures and procedure reports), which are further classified into specific genres. Identification of a particular genre is based on the presence of specific stages with clearly defined discursive functions which appear in a fixed order. This association of stages with their distinct discursive functions is a defining characteristic of their genre theory, which is contrasted with their analysis of stories in terms of **phases** as indicators of certain prosodic structure (Martin and Rose 2008: 82-92). Since phases are primarily concerned with and identified by the activities being depicted in a text, their organizational function is to provide a sequence of textual chunks of experiential material composed of concrete activities, thus constituting the field of the text. By contrast, **stages** do not directly supply experiential material to the text, but rather undertake the constitutive functional steps for a particular genre being developed. As the genres are so defined that they achieve certain socially recognized goals, their stages are also assigned specific subgoals conducive to the specific overall goal of a genre. Thus, there is a sense that phases represent *textual development on the ideational plane*, whereas stages unfold on *the interpersonal plane* because discursive goals are essentially interactional.

This phase/stage opposition, or ideational/interpersonal contrast, can be easily

translated into that between external and internal conjunction. In Text 1, taken from Alec Fisher (2004, 18), a. and b. are simple depictions of an event in the external world, but c. clearly involves an interactional activity of argument.

Text 1
a. John broke the window because he tripped (external)
b. John broke the window because he had forgotten his key (external)
c. John must have broken the window because he was the only person in the house (internal)

Although this example may strike one as focusing on a micro-structure level of external phenomena, it is possible to consider the events of his tripping and his breaking the window in a. as two phases which are taken as forming a cause and result pair. Similarly, in b. we find a cause and result pair, or a problem and solution pair, which is presented as a linking of two facts. On the other hand, c. has the structure of an **exposition (thesis^argument)**, which is composed of a potentially controversial interpretation of the situation of the broken window followed by an argument for the interpretation. This is evidence that genres can be realized within a single sentence because their stages are functionally defined as serving certain discursive goals.

It might be conjectured that the pairing of cause and effect can remain an intentionally non-rhetorical move unless it serves another distinct discursive goal. For example, John's tripping does account for why he broke the window, but this is different from saying that the speaker intentionally adduces John's tripping as the reason for his breaking of the window. Such non-rhetorical parings of causally related activities (cause, purpose, reason, and means) are part of the enhancement relations, and along with the other enhancement relations such as time and space form a frame of reference for the description of a situation in terms of processes and participants.

On the other hand, as soon as we have a sequence of sentences describing an episode in a chronologically ordered development of events, it is difficult to avoid sensing rhetorical movement in it because the stretch of text is concerned with the presentation of the episode, which is understood as the overall goal of the text. So as the size of the text increases, it should become easier to install a genre structure in it because many genres only require essentially bi-partite stage structures. This is another reason why micro-size genres can be realized even within a single complex sentence.

So **recounts** are concerned with a topical overall event, and **accounts** just need something to be accounted for, which means as long as there is an activity of accounting for some situation, a statement of a causal relationship counts as a socially significant rhetorical activity. Thus, Martin and Rose (2008: 135) treats Account as one stage forming the genre of **historical account**, whose stage structure is **Background^Account**. In other words, what distinguishes between the three causal relations in Text 1 is the consideration of whether the causality remains on the ideational plane or it takes place on the interpersonal one. It is clear that Texts 1a. and b. are simply appealing to rationality while c. is also an attempt at persuasion.

2.2 Phase-reading vs. stage-reading

Pursuing this strategy of matching the external-internal distinction of conjunction with that of phases vs. stages requires an addition of *phase/stage readings* to conjoined sentences. This does not present any substantial difficulty in the case of an external conjunction linking two facts as in Text 2, whose conjunctive category is **comparison**:

Text2
Helena's first love worked in a top security structure.
Similarly her second love worked for the special forces.
Martin & Rose (2007: 125)

Here the two sentences do constitute two distinct phases of Helena's life. As we saw above, this straightforward phase interpretation, or phase-reading, often does not apply to cases involving external consequence relations such as **cause, means, condition** and **purpose** because it is necessarily the case that relations involving causality are accompanied by an element of *rational judgement*, which sometimes borders on an act of *reasoning*. As we saw at the end of the previous section, what crucially distinguishes what is rhetorical from what is not is whether or not the act is taking place on the interpersonal plane. Although it is concerned with the more practical aspects of argumentation, Oléron's (1983: 5) distinction between a "speculative" exercise of speech and one aimed at *"influencing another person"*, which is one of his defining characteristics of argument, seems to point out the same intuition that a mere exercise of reason does not constitute an argument or a rhetorical move. He also points out that an argument requires justifications for the thesis to be defended. Justification is an act of presenting evidence and reasons for the thesis, which goes beyond just referring to a reason for some consequence.

So Text 3 is a case of an external cause(-effect) relation holding between two phases of the author's life. The first sentence does not work as a justification for the involuntary reaction of the author's mind.

Text 3
I had to set my alarm for 6 o'clock in the morning to drive to the airport. Whenever I set my alarm for that time, it evokes a particular memory. (Tomes 2010, 11)

Even when the text deals with general facts which are not restricted to a particular individual's life, it is relatively unproblematic to identify an external consequence relation composed of phases in terms of the type of discursive activity going on in the text. But the identification of the discursive activity directly leads to the question of the genre of the text and its stages. Text 4 is a case in point, where the discursive activity is a procedural explanation about how to annul the effects of cross-vowel differences in a phonetic experiment on the gender difference of F1 in vowel pronunciation.

Text 4

Figure 3.3 shows that men and women tend to have systematically different vowel F1 frequency, but that the difference between vowels can be bigger than the overall male/female difference. To have a sensitive test of the male/female difference we need to control for the vowel differences. (Johnson 80)

Here the two sentences are connected with a relation of a problem and a means to cope with it (the **means** relation), and each of the *relata* can also be considered as phases (phase-reading). But the question whether the relata can also be regarded as two stages (stage-reading) of a certain genre is presumably answered negatively by most readers of the text because they are not steps of a whole procedure which results in some socially recognized complete activity, such as recipe. To be called a procedure, component steps must share an overall goal to be achieved and contribute to its achievement in a recognized (or *semioticised*) way.

So far we have been working on the first half of our correspondence between *stratum - conjunctive type - discourse semantics*: i.e. *situation (field) - external conjunction - phase*. It has turned out that individual clauses and sentences are readily recognizable as representations of phases whether they describe external activities or general situations. We have also considered the question of how to distinguish phase-reading from stage-reading and arrived at a solution in which a stage-reading can only be accessed when the "putative" stages can be connected to an overall goal activity defining a genre. We saw this only with an example involving the means relation, which is one of causal relations, but I claim this is the case with internal conjunction in general, as shown in what follows.

Now let us turn to the other half of the correspondence, which is *culture (genre) – internal conjunction – stage*. Continuing along the lines we have pursued so far, we will examine whether internal conjunction can be attributed to the workings of this correspondence. More specifically, we ask if we can find a genre which accommodates the conjoined *relata* as its stages. What has turned out to be intriguing is the variability of the size of conjunctions and their *relata*, which arises from the fact that stages of genres are defined functionally rather than formally. However, we have also confirmed in relation to Text 1 a. and b. and Text 4 that the functions defining stages must be socially recognized as such, so that, for example, Account, being a component stage of a comprising genre such as **historical account**, contrasts with its components, **Cause** and **Effect**. Thus there is a sharp line functionally demarcating phases and stages although they might be indistinguishable in terms of their relative size alone. We have seen an example of stage-reading applied to a single sentence in Text 1 c., which should represent the lower-bound cases of internal conjunction according to our *internal conjunction as stages of a genre* criterion.

Another clear case of internal conjunction discussed in Martin & Rose (2007: 135) seems to provide us with interesting evidence of our criterion. They take Text 5 as a case of **internal comparison**, where two ideas are regarded as "the same in some way." They also use the term **internal similarity** to capture the internal nature of the conjunction.

Text 5
When Helena says I envy and respect the people of the struggle she implies something praiseworthy about the character of the people.
Similarly, she morally condemns those at the top for bloody murder, without explicitly judging their character.

When we compare Text 5 with Text 2, an example of external conjunction repeated here for ease of comparison, we notice that the external/internal distinction comes from the difference in the nature of the relata, which is attributable to the phase- and stage-reading opposition. As is already pointed out, the two sentences in Text 2 do not constitute stages of either a history or story genre.

Text2
Helena's first love worked in a top security structure.
Similarly her second love worked for the special forces.

By contrast, the two sentences in Text 5 are instances of **exposition**, a historical genre of argumentation, in which the first sentence has the structure of **Argument^Thesis** and the second **Thesis**. Here we note that both Theses are based on appraisal terms, *praiseworthy* and *condemns*. Such verbal and mental processes are thus often concerned with presenting *reasoning* in a skeletal form like this. Neither Text 1 c. nor Text 5 can pass as a full-fledged argument, but as far as the nature of the conjunction is concerned both are judged as internal because they readily recall the exposition genre and the author's argumentative move. Especially in Text 5, the comparison by means of *similarly* is understood to be internal because the propositions compared represent arguments or argumentative points. One might say comparison of argumentative points is part of the stage **Argument** of the exposition genre.

The impression of reasoning is sometimes a subtle one, but from the viewpoint of taking discursive activity as the basis of a genre, the exposition genre seems to need a move of *concluding* (the mirror act of justifying), which is not usually felt in causal relations between facts.

Text 6
a. As a schoolchild, I used to get up at 6am every day to practise the piano before I went to school, and 6am is still That Time for me. (Tomes 2010, 11)
b. i've wished so many times that i could forget, but there you are-- constantly on my mind, it seems, because tiny little things always trigger my memory.(from a web page)

Text 6 a. is a cause-effect statement in which there is a very small amount of reasoning involved but to call "and 6am is still That Time for me" a conclusion will strike most of us as an abuse of the term because neither is it opinionated nor the causal relation is presented as a feat of analysis. Text b. shows another case of external cause where the relation of causality between "little things" and "my

memory" and that between "my memory" and the frustrated wish ("there you are – constantly on my mind") are not presented as reason-to-conclusion transitions.

Similarly, simply being engaged in an act of presenting evidence does not entitle that portion of the text to be a stage of an exposition because evidence may be given to support a claim which is not necessarily a conclusion or a thesis. This situation confirms the fact that the exposition genre is qualitatively different from a mere claim-support sequence.

Text 7
[1]Like most musicians, I have music playing in my head most of the time whether I like it or not. [2]It's a kind of multitasking that comes naturally. [3]To some extent it's how I practice things, or how I digest them. [4]Many's the time I've gone back to the piano to find that a tricky piece of fingering has sweetly embedded itself in my memory.   (Tomes 2006: 9)

The last sentence of Text 7 is meant to give evidence for the claim made in the third sentence about how the author can practice a musical piece in her head while doing something else. It is obvious that the supported claim of the third sentence is not presented as a thesis, but as a step of clarification. So the conjunctive relation between the third and fourth sentences must be **external cause expectant** according to Martin and Rose (2007).

On the other hand, the relation between the first and the second sentence and that between the first and the third are clearly that of **internal similar rework** because they elaborate the entity introduced in the first sentence, "music which is playing in the author's head". This stronger impression of rhetorical force we find in the second and third sentences as compared with the fourth sentence must come from the act of *classification* associated with them. When a text elaborates the description of a certain entity under focus, we always have this sense of active development of conceptual spaces, which is different from being argumentative because the description is meant to be objective rather than opinionated. In other words, such textual moves are not part of an effort to advance one's control of the social world, but try to expand man's understanding of the physical world. So here we are dealing with a genre of **the reports and explanations family**. One notable characteristic of this family is that the stages of the genres closely reflect the structure of the entity or phenomenon being reported or explained. In our example, it is fairly natural to understand that the first sentence represents the stage of **classification** and the following two sentences that of **description**.

Thus, we have seen how internal conjunction can be reinterpreted as manifestations of stages of "micro-size or miniature" genres discussed in Ishikawa (2010).

3. Conversational moves
If one direction in which the external/internal distinction of conjunction is extended is to base **internal conjunction** on the notion of **genre** as a textual structural unity with functionally defined stages as we saw above, another direction is to include textual transitions resembling conversational moves into the fold of internal

conjunctions. In the first place, this extension is warranted because conversational moves are by definition "rhetorical" (Martin, 1992, 180), and being rhetorical is the defining characteristic of internal conjunction (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 241).

> When we use conjunction as a means of creating text, we may exploit either the relations that are inherent in the phenomena that language is used to talk about, or those that are inherent in the communication process, in the forms of interaction between speaker and hearer…

In the above, we have seen that the *relata* of an internal conjunctive relation can be reduced to stages of a genre, which is conceived of on a micro-structural level such as a single sentence or two consecutive sentences. What we have seen is that this treatment of genres as very small chunks of text accords with our interpretation of rhetorical moves which are perceived as internal conjunctions. In Ishikawa (2010), this idea of identifying **micro-size genres** as components of newspaper editorial paragraphs is used to characterize newspaper editorials as a historical genre.

If we are to pursue a similar strategy to establish those chunks of a text involving *transitions resembling conversational moves* (henceforth, simply referred to as *conversational moves*) as a unit on a par with micro-size genres considered above, it is necessary to investigate whether *conversational moves* in this restricted sense can fit into our basic correspondence scheme discussed above. Can they also be considered as genres? Or can they be connected to the stratum of culture in some way?

3.1. Layering rhetorical moves

Being interaction between interlocutors, it goes without saying that *conversational moves* take place on the interpersonal plane. But conversational moves found in written texts are usually a very short stretch of sentences, most of the time just a single sentence. In this respect, they are not like conversational genres, which work interpersonally to achieve a discursive goal over a long stretch of conversational exchanges. In Eggins and Slade's (1997: 227) account of **genres in casual conversation,** we see that they are treating such genres as **longer chunks of text,** not involving "rapid transfer of turns from one speaker to another" or "competitive interaction". By contrast, what I term conversational moves here is typically exemplified by a parenthetical sentence like the one in Text 8.

Text 8
Background music is a kind of epidemic of our time. For some reason, those who run public buildings and spaces seem to feel that they must perfume – or should that be poison? – the air with unsolicited music to keep us docile.   (Tomes, 2006: 8)

In this example, it may be arguable that the parenthetical question does not stand in a conjunctive relation with the enclosing sentence, but the internal rework relation between the first and second sentences strongly suggests that the question is also

working as part of this **rework** conjunctive relation, i.e. **oppose**, which puts forward a different interpretation. It is also clear that both first and second sentences are judgemental statements, so taking each of them as a Thesis of an exposition, whose Argument stage is expected to follow, makes it possible to satisfy the criterion that an internal conjunctive relation is based on genres. But as we have seen above with Text 5 and Text 7, internal comparison relations indicate another perspective on the relation between conjunction types and genre families.

When we discussed how the exposition genre can give rise to an internal consequence relation (**concluding**), the assumption was that conjunction types are taken to be directly translatable to micro-size genres such as exposition, where stages can be reduced to single clauses as long as their discursive function is recognizable. This means that although internal conjunction deals with the stratum of culture/genre, it does not depart from the assumption that conjunction holds between two *contiguous* stage functions. This assumption may seem unproblematic as long as one is dealing with **explicit conjunctive relations**, where two consecutive sentences are connected with overt conjunction markers. But once we set out to include conversational moves displaying interpersonal actions in the conjunction system, it becomes apparent that we have to take more seriously the fact that conjunctive relations also hold between *non-consecutive* sentences in the sense that they do not necessarily hold between immediately adjacent sentences. In a sense, conjunction between non-consecutive sentences might best represent prototypical internal conjunction as is indicated by the contrast between external and internal **Time** relations, where external Time conjunction deals with consecutive relations such as **successive** (*after, since, now that; before; once, as soon as; until*) and **simultaneous** (*as, when, while*) whereas internal Time conjunction does non-consecutive ones such as **successive** (*first, secondly, third, next, previously; finally, lastly*) and **simultaneous** (*at the same time; still*).

This paper takes the position that this difference in consecutiveness between external and internal conjunction comes from the difference of the stratum each conjunctive type belongs to, which enables internal conjunction to link genre-level discursive chunks and restrict external conjunction to combining field-level activities. This produces what is called here the layering effect of internal conjunction, which refers to the situation where internal conjunction works as if it is an extra layer of annotation superimposed over the layer of cognitive description. Since genre stages are primarily concerned with the description of cognitive meaning, it is clear that they involve *the layer of cognitive description*. But their function of chunking discursive units as specific goal-oriented processes such as Thesis, Argument, Orientation, Record, Background and Account also projects itself on the text as a separate type of meaning, i.e. *the layer of annotation*.

In terms of genre families, **the reports and explanations family** and **the procedures and procedure reports family** seem to be more prone to display the layering effect than the stories and histories families presumably because they are primarily concerned with generalizable knowledge, which is often atemporal. For example, Martin and Rose (2008: 142-144) shows how in texts of the descriptive reports genre with the stages Classification and Description, the Description stage needs to be implemented by smaller chunks of characterizing information, called phases, which are required for satisfactory presentation of the entity's properties in question. In the case of

the description of goannas, Description includes goannas' properties such as appearance, behavior, feeding and breeding habits (Martin and Rose, 2008: 143). This kind of list of phases clearly constitutes a different layer of information, whose character is annotative. Since the text does not contain overt conjunctions, these elaborating pieces of information are *additively connected* by implicit internal conjunction of **developing**, which is supposed to be *scaffolded* by the knowledge of this genre imparted in school education. From this example, we notice that *supplying requisite information* should be in the forefront of rhetorical concerns in the reports and explanations family and the procedures and procedure reports family because they have more immediate "transactional" goals compared with the stories and histories families. In a classroom setting, the teacher would have used overt scaffolding for marking the transitions to new phases such as "next" and "now" when she described the goanna's properties. Thus, if the layering effect is explicitly taken advantage of, it can give a scaffold for interpretation to school students who are in the process of learning such genre structures.

Similarly, when the author asks a question or makes a request (e.g. *Let's consider this problem*) in a written text, such acts are meant to be interpreted as annotative rhetorical gestures to put the reader in a certain frame of mind such as a partner in the development of the text. In Text 8, the author may be just asking herself the question *or should that be poison?* but the reader is invited to be complicit in this assessment nonetheless.

3.2 The layer of annotation indicated by discourse markers

If internal conjunction has to do with the layer of annotation in addition to the layer of cognitive description, corresponding to genre stages, this perspective allows us to regard explicit internal conjunction as discourse markers, as discussed by Aijmer (1996). Like Halliday and Hasan's (1976) treatment of conjunction as cohesion markers, Aijmer considers discourse markers as a kind of cohesive device to mark how the text progresses, whose semantic contribution is "to characterize speech acts in which the speaker adds a point or an argument, summarizes past talk, recapitulates, clarifies or reformulates an earlier utterance" (Aijmer, 1996: 207). What she terms *discourse marker function* mostly corresponds to the rhetorical moves performed by explicit internal conjunction. The following two figures, Table 1 and Table 2, summarize the correspondences between Aijmer's discourse marker functions and Martin and Rose's (2007: 141) internal conjunction categories, given in parentheses. Aijmer's characterization of the discourse marker functions clearly reveals the rhetorical nature of the internal conjunction categories. They are all annotative in that they work like traffic signals, not as part of the traffic itself. Yet discourse markers are not dissociated from the cognitive description going on in the text because they have the power of exercising control over how the reader or listener modulates his receptiveness to the description by indicating the "directions" in which it is heading. There are really many directions or dimensions your description may proceed in, but such controlling or directional information must make overall cohesive sense; otherwise the audience will find it contradictory or confusing. This means that the annotative information carried by

discourse makers constitutes an independent level where just as in the layer of cognitive description, the content of annotations is constantly checked for congruity and cohesion.

Table 1: Aijmer's local discourse marker functions and Martin and Rose's internal conjunction types (in bold face)

restricting the validity or relevance of the upcoming message to a particular point of view	*generally speaking, strictly speaking* (**rework**) *and far more important, better still* (**compare**) *between you and me, confidentially* (**framing**)
bringing in old evidence	*after all, come to think of it, as I say, as you know* (**justify**)
restriction of the perspective to the speaker's point of view	*in my opinion, as far as I am concerned* (**framing**)
emphasizing truth	*the point is, the truth of the matter is* (**adjust**)
reference to some authority as the source of information	*as X says* (**framing**)

Table. 2: Aijmer's global discourse marker functions and Martin and Rose's internal conjunction types (in bold face)

adding a point or a fact	*another thing, two further points* (**additive**)
listing	*firstly, in the first place, secondly* (**ordering**)
repeating an argument or a point	*again, there again, but again, once again* (**compare**)
summing up	*in a word, to cut a long story short* (**conclude**)
reformulating	*in other words* (**rework**)
renewing the topic	*to get back to, going back to* (**framing**)
topic digression	*incidentally, by the way* (**sidetracking**)
holding the floor	*let me finish the point about* (**framing**)

4. Conclusion

This is an interim report of my research on textual development of various genres. It is argued that internal conjunction is closely related to genre stages and this

relationship can be better accounted for if we identify two separate layers of information constituting internal conjunction: the layer of annotation and that of cognitive description. This way, it becomes a lot easier to bring implicit internal conjunction within the purview of the conjunctive system.

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教科書は教育的イデオロギーを超えられるか
—事例研究『走れメロス』—
School Textbooks and Educational Ideologies:
A Case Study of *Hashire Merosu*

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Abstract

Textbooks used in primary and secondary schools in Japan are the most important tools for the realization of the educational ideals based on the institution of Japanese school education. They are an aggregate of texts selected and arranged for the benefit of the learners, which contains such texts as literary works and critical essays that are not necessarily written for educational purposes. I will consider whether these texts correspond to the educational ideals or they deviate from them by referring to Gakushû Shidô Yôryô or the Ministry of Education's Official Guidelines for School Teaching and gakushûshidôsho or a reference book for teachers.

In this research I choose a short novel *Hashire Merosu*, written by Dazai Osamu, which has long been adopted as a teaching material for junior high school students. Here I will present systemic analyses of textbooks in general and the text of the novelette, reconsidering the fundamental problem of "where we can find text". I will further consider whether or not a specific literary work realizes the values provided by the Ministry's educational guidelines, examining at the same time the problem of readers "thinking by themselves".

1. はじめに

　初等中等教育で用いられる教科用図書すなわち教科書は、学校教育という制度に支えられた教育理念を具現するための重要な手段であり、生徒の学習にふさわしいとして選択され組織されたテクストの集合体である。国語科用教科書には、詩や小説などの文学作品や評論文など、本来教科書のために書かれたものではないテクストが含まれているが、これら選ばれたテクストは、日本の教育制度を支える〈教育的イデオロギー〉を反映するものなのか、あるいは何かしらこれを逸脱したり超越したりするものなのか、「学習指導要領」および「学習指導書」による解説を参照しながら考えていく。

　具体的には、長年、中学校国語科教科書の教材として採用されている太宰治の『走れメロス』を取り上げる。現行学習指導要領（文部科学省, H10[H15]）

によれば、中学校国語第 2 学年の教材は、「人生について考えを深め、豊かな人間性を養い、たくましく生きる意志を育てるのに役立つ」という観点から取り上げられなければならない。これに関して、ある学習指導書は、この物語は信じることの美しさと強さ、行為を通して成長していく人間の姿、葛藤の重要性などを語りかけると評する一方で、「ここまで、人間が悪に傾く可能性をもつ生き物であることを描いた複雑な作品も少ない」「太宰にとっては、人間の内面に、なぜ、どのように悪が芽生えてくるかという問題が重要だった」とも指摘し、作者の実際の生き方にも関係して、この作品を深く理解しようとすれば指導に困難を生じるかもしれないことを述べている（光村図書出版, H14）。

　本論では、まず、教科書という存在を〈日本という制度〉の〈実体化〉と〈具現〉の観点から捉え（第 2 節）、また、『走れメロス』という 1 つのテクストが、〈教育〉と〈文学〉という異なる価値の交点に位置することを確認する（第 3 節）。

　次に、「そもそもテクストはどこにあるか」という問いを問い直して 4 つのテクスト観を提示し（4.1 節）、それらの観点が、学習指導要領、学習指導書、教科書、国語教育学といった教育の脈絡でどのように現れているかを検証する（4.2 節）。

　さらに、『走れメロス』という〈（原）テクスト〉が具体的にどのように〈テクスト化〉されえるか、例となる図を示し（第 5 節）、最後に、〈読み手が自ら考えること〉の意味を改めて問う（第 6 節）。

2. 教科書の位置

　まず、〈実体化(instantiation)〉と〈階層性(stratification)〉の観点 (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) から、教科書という存在を位置づけてみよう。(現行の)教科書を支える基盤となるコンテクスト／潜勢力(potential) は、(現在の)「日本社会の価値観」であり、これはすなわち、「民主主義国家の理念」や「国民の教育にふさわしい思想」とその制度設計である。これらは、「日本国憲法」および「教育基本法」「学校教育法」によって実体化されている。そうした制度設計に基づいた行政官庁として文部科学省があり、この組織が初等・中等教育の具体的な在り方を「学習指導要領」という形で《公示》している。さらに、各教科書は、各教科書出版会社が編集することにより実体化するが、教科書それ自体が「教育基本法」および「学校教育法」の《規制》を受けた存在であり、また、各教科書が「学習指導要領」の内容を具現しているかどうか、文部科学省によって《検定》を受けなければならない（図 1 を参照）。

　このように、〈出版の自由〉が広く認められている現憲法下で、初等中等教育で用いられる教科書は、多くの制約のもとに成り立っていることが分かる。

	潜勢力		実体
コンテクスト	（民主主義国家の理念、国民の教育にふさわしい思想・制度設計など）	《実体化》 ⇒	日本国憲法・教育基本法・学校教育法
			《規制》 （具現）⇓
	文部科学省	《公示》 ⇒	学習指導要領
		《検定》 ↘	（具現）⇓
テクスト	教科書出版会社	《編集》 ⇒	教科書（学習指導書）
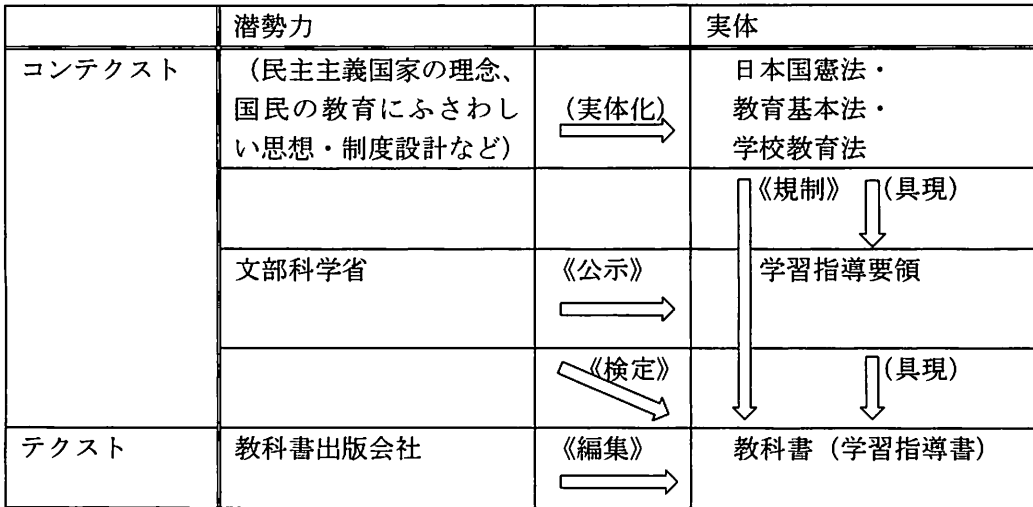
図1：教科書を中心とした〈実体化〉（潜勢力／実体）と
〈階層性〉（コンテクスト／テクスト）の関係：一次的図式[1]

3. 教科書の単元と文学作品

　前節で述べたように、教科書は多くの法的・行政的制約のもとに成立しているのだが、他方、各教科書に教材として具体的に取り上げられるテクストは、詩・小説・エッセイなど、そうした制約とは無縁に書かれた文学作品も少なくない。つまり、教科書の教材としてのテクストは、〈教育的イデオロギー〉の具現形態と見なせる一方、同じテクストが、広く〈文学的価値観〉を具現する１つの形と見なすこともできるのである（図２を参照）。

　もちろん、教科書出版会社（あるいはその教科書編集委員会）は、膨大な文学作品群の中から教科書の教材として適当だと思われる作品だけを選び出すのであり、それに対してさらに文部科学省の検定がかかるのだから、最終的には「健全な青少年の育成」といった〈教育的イデオロギー〉の眼鏡にかなったテクストだけが教材として生き残っているのだと言うこともできる。

　しかし、生き残った文学作品には、そうしたイデオロギーを逸脱・超越した「人間性への深い理解」をもたらす潜在可能性が含まれているかもしれない。そうした観点から、長年、中学校国語科教科書の教材として採用されている太宰治の作品『走れメロス』を、一つの事例として捉え直してみたいと思う。
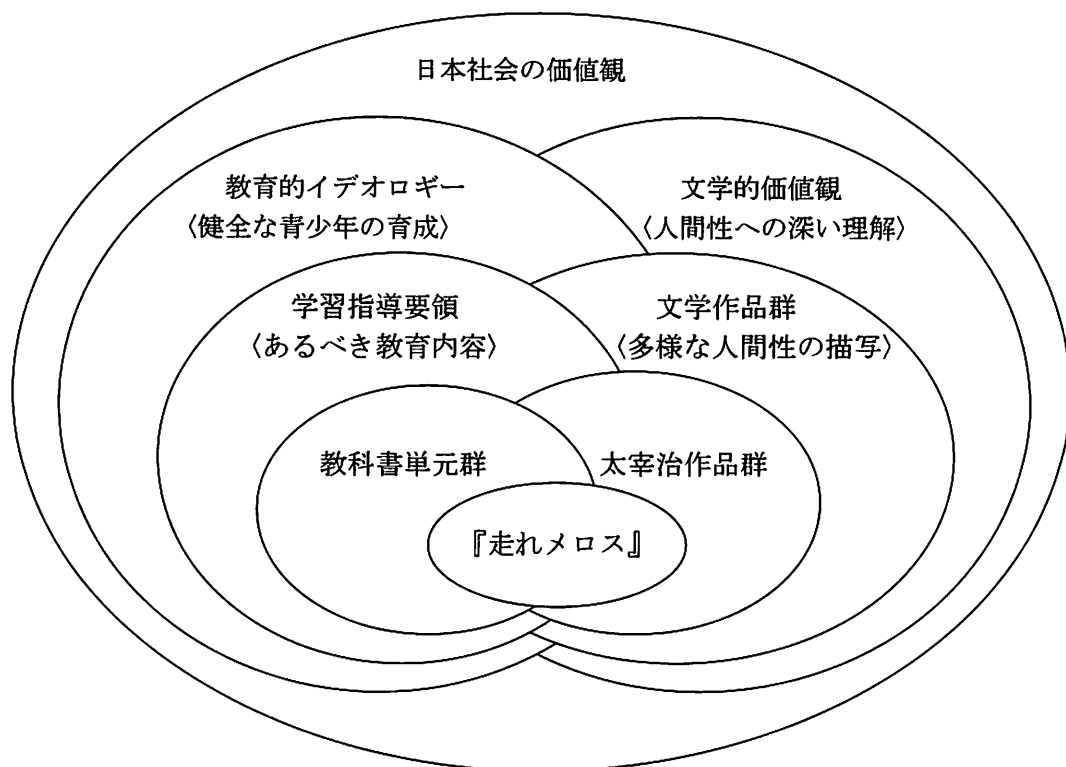
**図2: 交差する価値観とその具現：教科書の単元／
太宰治の作品としての『走れメロス』**

4. テクストの在り処と教育におけるテクスト観

　本節では、「テクストはコンテクストの具現である」という〈システミックのイデオロギー〉を一旦離れて、そもそも「テクストはどこにあるのか」という問いを問い直し、それが教育という文脈でどのように捉えられているかを検証してみよう。

4.1　4つのテクスト観

　〈テクストの在り処〉には、大きく4つの観点が広く知られている。すなわち、(I)書き手中心の見方、(II)テクスト中心の見方、(III)読み手中心の見方、(IV)読む行為中心の見方である。

　(I)書き手中心のテクスト観とは、「テクストは書き手の作るもの」であり、書き手の意図や思想、あるいは書き手の生い立ちや文化的特徴・歴史的経緯を反映するものだと見るものである。(II)テクスト中心の見方とは、「テクストは自立した存在」であり、それ自体の構成や意味内容を持つものだと捉えるものである。また、(III)読み手中心の見方とは、「テクストは読み手それぞれによって解釈されるもの」だとするものであり、さらに、(IV)読む行為中心の見方とは、「テクストは〈読む〉という営みによって作られるもの」だ

とするものである。

　これら4つの観点は、次のように整理することもできる。すなわち、(I)は、書き手の意図や背景を丹念に調べることにより、(II)は、テクスト自体の構造や内容をきちんと捉えることにより、テクストの持つ意味を正しく把握できると考えるのに対して、(III)は、読み手それぞれにより、(IV)は読むという一回的行為により、テクストの意味は様々になりえる（〈正しい意味〉などない）と見ることになる。

　また、(I)・(II)・(III)は、どこから眺めるにせよ、読み手が読む前にテクストは存在すると考えるが、(IV)では、読む行為によってテクストが生じるのだから、（何かしら手掛かりはあるにせよ）読む前にテクストは存在しないということになる。

　次節では、教育に関する様々なディスコースに、それぞれのテクスト観がどのように認められるか、確かめてみよう。

4.2　教育の脈絡におけるテクスト観

　(I)教育の脈絡における書き手中心のテクスト観は、具体的には〈教科書各単元の著者の思想や背景を、著者の他の作品や経歴などを調べて知る〉といった学習活動を要求するものであると言えるだろう。(1)学習指導要領では、例えば「文章に表れている［書き手の］ものの見方や考え方を理解し」、「書き手の論理の展開の仕方を的確にとらえ」（中学校学習指導要領：国語：第1学年／第2・3学年：C読むこと）といった文言を見出すことはできるが、全体として、こうしたアプローチが第一義的に求められているわけではない。

　他方、(2)学習指導書では、〈書き手を調べる〉という学習を1つの教育的活動として認めているが、『走れメロス』の場合は、その注意点を以下のように指摘している。

> 　もし生徒が、ここでの学習をもとに、<u>太宰作品の読み広げ</u>を企図したとすれば、そこに何がしかの<u>とまどいを感じる</u>ことになるだろう。また教師も、授業で<u>作者について調べるという活動</u>を取り入れたとすれば、「走れメロス」に描かれたヒューマニズムと、作者自身の人間不信の生き方との乖離を、生徒にどう説明するか、という<u>困難に突き当たる</u>ことになる。
>
> 　（光村図書 H14: 189／教材の研究：参考事項；下線佐藤）

　『走れメロス』に関する限り、(I)のアプローチは、後述する〈より深い読み〉を実践したあとで、はじめて成果を上げるものになると言えるだろう。

　(II)テクスト中心のテクスト観は、〈教科書各単元の文章（＝テクスト）を理解する〉、すなわち、〈（そこにあるはずの）各文章の構成や意味内容を捉える〉という作業を求めるものであり、学習指導要領や学習指導書において、あるいは、広く〈テクストの在り処〉を問わない者にとって、〈無標の〉あ

るいは〈デフォルトの〉テクスト観であると言えよう。

　(1)学習指導要領には、「様々な種類の文章を読み内容を的確に理解する能力を高める」（中学校学習指導要領：国語：第 1 学年：目標）とあり、具体的には次のような学習事項が並ぶ。

　　ア　文脈の中における語句の意味を正確にとらえ、理解すること。
　　イ　文章の展開に即して内容をとらえ、目的や必要に応じて要約すること。
　　ウ　文章の中心の部分と付加的な部分、事実と意見などを読み分けて、文章の構成や展開を正確にとらえ、内容の理解に役立てること。
　　エ　文章の展開を確かめながら主題を考えたり要旨をとらえたりすること。
　　　　（中学校学習指導要領：国語：第 1 学年：C 読むこと）

　(2)学習指導書も同様に、〈読み取るべきテクスト〉があらかじめ存在するという前提で、〈教材〉というものを捉えていると言える。

　　　「走れメロス」は、詳細な「心理描写」によって人間の内面を描くという文学的表現に特徴がある。人間の内面の揺れや葛藤、苦悩、変化の過程などを詳細に読み取る行為は、登場人物を具体的に理解すること、登場人物の気持ちを理解することにつながり、読み手に「おもしろさ」を呼び起こす。人間的な意味を語る近代小説としてのこの作品から、人間の生き方や心の闘いの意味、真の人間性など、多くのものが得られるであろう。
　　　（光村図書 H14: 178／教材の研究：教材提出の意図；下線佐藤）

　(III)読み手中心のテクスト観は、〈各学習者による文章（＝テクスト）の読みの主体性・読みの多様性を受容する〉態度と言えるだろう。(1)学習指導要領の一部には、「ものの見方や考え方を広げようとする態度を育てる」（中学校学習指導要領：国語：第 1 学年：目標）、あるいは、「文章を読んで人間、社会、自然などについて考え、自分の意見をもつこと」（中学校学習指導要領：国語：第 2・3 学年：C 読むこと）といった文言を見出すことができる。しかし、学習指導要領は、「語句の意味を正確にとらえ」、「文章の構成や展開を正確にとらえ」るという〈規範的な読み〉を前提にしており、一人ひとりの読み手の主体性や読みの多様性を本質的に受容する立場には立っていないと言える。

　『走れメロス』に関して、(3)教科書自体には「自分の考えをもとう」として、「メロスの行動や考え方について、共感できたところや、できなかったところを、その理由も考えながら話し合ってみよう」とあり、いわゆる「教科書ガイド」には、次のような「答えの例」もある。

　・共感できなかったところ：メロスが人の信実を証明するために命を捨て

ようとしたり、親友を人質に差し出したりするところ。
〈理由〉人の命より大事なものはない。いくら信実のためといっても、自分の命を懸けるのはよくないし、親友とはいえ、他人を巻き込んでその命を危険にさらしたりすることは絶対に許されないと思うから。
（光村教育図書 p.148）

しかし、こうした「自分の意見」とは、（「教科書ガイド」を丸写ししたものは論外としても）授業で〈規範的な読み〉を"学習した"うえでの反応であり、〈読み手自身による読み〉の結果であるとは言えない。

(IV)読む行為中心のテクスト観とは、〈各単元の文章（＝原テクスト）を契機として読み手がテクストを形成する〉というものであり、学習指導要領や学習指導書の考えの及ばないものと言えるだろう。

他方、国語教育学の思想の中には、こうした視点を持つものも見出される。例えば、全国大学国語教育学会［須貝千里］(2002) によれば、「作品は、読者の知覚・理解行為とともに現象し、... 文字言語によって書かれた対象のレベルに実体として作品が存在していることを前提にして論ずることはできない」（全国大学国語教育学会, 2002:102）のであり、また、「〈原文〉の影が働くとは、〈原文〉に向かっていこうとする〈読みの動的過程〉の成立であり、それは〈作品の意志〉によって読者が自己倒壊させられていく過程である」（全国大学国語教育学会, 2002:106）と言う。

つまり、現前するテクストについて、読み手がこれを読み解いたり、それぞれに解釈したりするのではない。〈読むという行為によってテクスト自体が作られる〉[2]というのである。また、読み手の「ものの見方や考え方」は、これを「広げようとする態度を育てる」以前に、〈読み〉とともに作られ、また変容するものだということである。

5. 教育的イデオロギーとテクスト『走れメロス』の（不）成立

本節では、前節 4.2 でのテクスト観の整理を踏まえて、図 1 で示したような〈教育的イデオロギー〉がどのように『走れメロス』というテクストを作り上げているか（いないか）、見てみよう。

まず、(1)学習指導要領では、〈（原）テクスト〉は〈教材〉であり、「人生について考えを深め、豊かな人間性を養い、たくましく生きる意志を育てるのに役立つこと」、「人間、社会、自然などについての考えを深めるのに役立つこと」（中学校学習指導要領：国語：指導計画の作成と内容の取扱い）が求められている。

その中で選ばれたはずの『走れメロス』だが、(2)学習指導書によれば、学習指導要領の要求に沿う〈人間性の深い理解〉への導きが示される（光村図書 H14: 178）(4.2 節(II)の引用を参照)一方で、「この小説には、人間の暗黒の面や負の人生観が数多く登場してくる。結果として筋書きの結論はヒューマニズムの方向に展開するが、中途に描かれる<u>悪の情報量は並大抵なもので</u>

はない」（光村図書出版 H14: 189）（下線佐藤）と指摘し、さらに次のように
言う。

　　一般に「走れメロス」は、正義感の強い男が、迷いながらも真実［信実］
　を貫くという単純な話として理解されている。しかし、それは誤解であ
　る。考えてみれば、ここまで、<u>人間が悪に傾く可能性をもつ生き物であ</u>
　<u>る</u>ことを描いた複雑な作品も少ないのではないか。おそらくそこに、こ
　の作品のリアリティーとおもしろさの秘密が隠されているといえる。
　　（光村図書出版 H14: 189／教材の研究：参考事項）（下線佐藤）

「参考事項」の記述ではあるが、ここには、官製の〈教育〉の視点とは異な
る〈文学〉の視点からこのテクストを眺めよう（眺めさせよう）とする態度
が見て取れる（図 2 を参照）。また、先の 4 つのテクスト観からすれば、こ
れは、(II)の〈規範的な読み〉を超えて、(III)読み手それぞれによる多様な解
釈へのきっかけを与えてくれるものだと言えよう。
　それでは、(3)教科書自体はどのようなアプローチを取っているのだろうか。
『走れメロス』本文のあとに、〈読みを深める〉ための手立てとして以下の
ような項目が並べられている。

　　〈読みを深めよう〉：描写や会話に着目して、登場人物の人物像の変化
　をとらえよう。
　① 最初に、「メロス」はどのような人物として描かれているだろう。
　② 王城内での、「メロス」と「王」の会話の部分を読み、「王」がどの
　　ような人物として描かれているかをまとめてみよう。
　③ 「メロス」の考え方や人物像は、村から刑場に向かう途中で、何度
　　か変化している。どんな場面でどのように変化しているだろう。
　　（光村現行版 p. 197）

　こうした〈読みのガイダンス〉を参考に、「観念構成的結束性」（佐藤, 1998）
の概念を取り入れながら『走れメロス』の〈テクストの展開〉を図式化した
ものが、図 3 である [3]。これによって、(i)本文の完全な継時的構築性（冒頭
の第 6 文までを除く）、(ii)物語の時間的展開と主人公メロスの居場所・行動
／心理との関係性、さらに、(iii)王城への帰途、疲労困憊時のメロスの心理
状態の変化（〈悪への傾斜〉）、(iv)覚醒してからのメロスの心理状態の変化
（〈義務遂行の希望〉）などを見て取ることができるだろう。
　さて、このような教科書の〈読みのガイダンス〉によって、大局的には〈よ
り深い読み〉へと導かれるのだろうが、逆に見失われるものが生じる可能性
もある。例えば、「人物像」やその「変化」に注目させることで、言葉その
ものの邪悪さ・暴力性への焦点化を回避させてしまう可能性が指摘できる。
おおよそ延べ 10,000 語（約 12,000 字）（Microsoft Word:「文字カウント」に
よる）の本文の中に「悪・疑い」の類が延べ 36 語、「殺す・死ぬ」の類が延

べ 45 語見出される。この「並大抵でない悪の情報量」は、それ自体このテクストにとって重要な意味を持つとも言える。(II)のテクスト中心のテクスト観には、テクストを構成する語彙への注目は含まれるはずだが、"教育的"ではない邪悪で暴力的な言葉への焦点化は、教科書において忌避されていると解釈することもできる。

　さらに、教科書に準拠しているとする「教科書ガイド」の「考え方」も、気にかかるところである。光村教育図書(2012: 148)では、先の③に関して、「疲れ切って倒れ、なにもかもどうでもよくなる。→義務遂行の希望が生まれる。」という"模範解答"を与えている。しかしここで、「希望が生まれる」部分を精神的成長の結果として注目させることにより、精神の〈悪への傾斜〉を丹念に描写する「どうでもよくなる」部分が単なる通過点になってしまう虞がある。さらに、理性的・意志的な「義務遂行の希望」よりも注目すべき、超越的な「わけのわからぬ大きな力」への注意喚起を欠いており、結果的に、〈より深い読み〉を妨げていると言えるのである。

6. おわりに

　教科書は、文部科学省の公示する学習指導要領の規制の下で、〈検閲〉とも解釈される検定を経て、編集・出版されている。そして、教科書の〈使い方〉を提供する学習指導書も、大局的には学習指導要領を具現する手段として作成されており、その限りで、これらはやはり、〈教育的イデオロギー〉を実現する非常に重要な媒体であると言えるだろう。

　そうした制約の中にありながら、教科書も学習指導書も、自らが〈特定の価値観を植え付ける装置〉となることより、〈学習者が自分の力で考える手がかり〉となることを望んでいるようにも見える。

　もし後者を希求するのであれば、〈テクストの在り処〉を今一度探る必要があるのではないか。(II)のような無標のテクスト観は、テクストの中に〈正しい読み〉があるという考え方と結びつきやすい。(III)の読み手による〈多様な読み〉を超えて、(IV)の〈読むことによるテクストの生成〉というテクスト観が、真の意味で〈読み手が自分の力で考える〉という一つの教育的理想へと導いてくれるように思われる。

　カリキュラムに縛られた一斉授業の中で、こうした理想を直接的に実現するのは困難だろう。しかし、〈教え手〉と〈学び手〉がともに、〈読むこと〉が〈作ること〉になるという認識を共有できれば、教科書が全く新しい存在として立ち現われてくるかもしれない。

註

[1] 「日本国憲法」「教育基本法」「学校教育法」および「学習指導要領」は、いずれも物理的には〈テクスト化〉しているが、ここでは、教科書という〈テクスト〉を具現する《文化的装置》として、これらを〈コンテクスト〉に位置づけた。

[2] バルト(1979) によれば、〈原テクスト〉が発信者（作者＝〈神〉）のメッセージであるとは捉えられない。そうであれば、言語活動は読み手の〈読み〉の営為の中に、〈テ

クスト〉は他のテクストとの間を通過し横断する一回的な行為の中に、「引用と参照と反響とで織りなされ」、生じるものと見なされる（バルト，1979: 85，97-98）。
[3] 図3は、(II)および(III)のテクスト観からすれば、『走れメロス』という〈テクスト〉に対する〈メタテクスト〉、(IV)の観点からすれば、図3自体が、筆者の〈読み〉による『走れメロス』の〈テクスト〉ということになるだろう。

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《時間》	《天候》	《場所》	《出来事》	《主役：メロス》	《対役：シラクスの王》

〈始まり〉

(1)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　激怒した［短気］

(2)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　王を除くと決意［直情径行］

(3)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　政治がわからぬ［無知］

(5)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　笛を吹き羊と遊ぶ［素朴］

(6)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　邪悪に敏感［正義感］

〈中の始まり〉

［第1日目］

(7)　今日未明　　　　　　　村→シラクスの町

(14)　　↓　　　　　　　　都の大路　［メロス、妹の婚礼準備の品を買う］

(22)　日も落ち／夜

(23)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　のんき［呑気］

(24-28)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［町のひっそりしている訳を問う］

(30)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［王の残虐を知る］　　　　　　　人を殺す［残忍］

(43)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　人を信ずることができぬ［不信］

(46)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　今日は六人殺された［残忍］

〈中の中の始まり〉

(51)　　　　　　　　　　　王城　　　［王城に乗り込む］

　　　　　　　　　　　　　↓　　　　　　　　　　　　のそのそ入っていく［直情径行］

(54)　　　　　　　　　　　王の前

(59)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［王を糾弾］

(64)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　わしの孤独の心［孤独］

(69)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　疑うのが正当の心構えとおまえたち

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　が教えた［猜疑心：学習による？］

(74)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　平和を望んでいる［平和の希求］

(82)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　はらわたの底が見え透く［猜疑心］

(88)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［自身の処刑までに三日の猶予を請う］

(93)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　とんでもないうそを言う［不信］

(98)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　約束を守ります［誠実］

(102-3)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　友人を人質として置いていく

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［信頼／短慮］

(110)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　だまされたふりして放してやる

　　　［邪心］

(111)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　殺してやるのも気味がいい［残忍］

(118-9)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　遅れてくれば許してやる［屈折］

(126-31)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［親友セリヌンティウスが人質になる］

(132-3)　　満天の星　　　　　　　　［メロス、王城を出発］

〈中の中の中の第一〉

(134)　その夜→

［第2日目］

(134)　明くる日の午前／　　村

　　　　日は高く昇り

(150)　　　夜

(151)　　　　　　　　　　花嫁の家

(152-7)　　↓　　　　↓　　　↓　　　［結婚式を明日にするよう婿を説得］

　　　　《時間》　　《天候》　　　《場所》　　　《出来事》　　　《メロス》

［第3日目］
(157)　　夜明け
(158)　　真昼　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［妹の結婚式］
(159)　　　　　　黒雲→大雨
(160)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［祝宴］
(161)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　満面に喜色［情動性：歓喜］
(162)　　　夜　　　　豪雨
(171)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　未練の情［執着心］
(173-89)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［妹夫婦を祝福］
(182)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　兄は偉い男［自負心］
(191)　　　　　　　　　　　　羊小屋
〈中の中の中の第二〉
［第4日目］
(192)明くる日の薄明
(193)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［王城に向けて出発］
(199)　　　　　　雨中　　　　　　　　　　　　　　矢のごとく走り出た［約束履行］
(211)　日は高く　雨もやみ／
　　　　　　　　暑く　　　　　隣村
(212)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　未練はない［－執着心］
(217)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　のんき［呑気］
(218)　　　　　　　　　　　全里程の半ば
(219-30)　　　　　　　　　　川　　　［川の氾濫に遭遇］
(224)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　男泣きに泣きながら［情動性：挫折］
(227)　真昼時
(231-7)　　　　　　　　　　対岸　　　［濁流を泳ぎ切る］
(241)　日は西に傾きかけ
(242)　　　　　　　　　　　　峠　　　［山賊に遭遇］
(254)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［一味を殴り倒し逃走］
〈中の中の中の第三〉
(256)　　午後　灼熱の太陽　　　　　　　　　［疲労困憊］
(258)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　悔し泣きに泣きだし［情動性：挫折］
(260)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　真の勇者メロス［自負心］
(261)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　動けなくなるとは情けない［情動性：挫折］
(264)　　　　　　　　　　　路傍の草原

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《メロスの心理状態の変化(1)》
　　　　〈自己弁護〉　　　〈敗北・屈辱感〉　　　〈自嘲・自虐〉　　　〈背徳性〉　　　〈自暴自棄〉
　　もうどうでもいい
(266)
(267)　私はこれほど努力した
(268)　約束を破る心は微塵もなかった
(269)　精一杯に努めてきた
(270)　動けなくなるまで走ってきた
(271)　私は不信の徒ではない
(273)　愛と信実の血液だけで動いている
　　　　心臓を見せてやりたい

	〈自己弁護〉	〈敗北・屈辱感〉	〈自嘲・自虐〉	〈背徳性〉	〈自暴自棄〉
(274)		精も根も尽きた			
(275)		私はよくよく不幸な男だ			
(276)		私はきっと笑われる			
(278)		私は友を欺いた			
(280)					もうどうでもいい
(281)		これが私の定まった運命			
(284)	私も君を欺かなかった				
(290-1)		よくも私を信じてくれた それを思えばたまらない			
(294)	君を欺くつもりは微塵もなかった				
(299)	私だからできたのだ				
(301)					放っておいてくれ
(302)					どうでもいいのだ
(303)		私は負けたのだ			
(304)			だらしがない		
(305)			笑ってくれ		
(310)		私は遅れていくだろう			
(313)			私は永遠に裏切り者だ		
(314)			地上で最も不名誉な人種だ		
(319)				悪徳者として生き延びてやろうか	
(323)				正義だの信実だの愛だの、 　くだらない	
(324-5)				人を殺して自分が生きる それが人間世界の定法	
(326)					何もかも 　ばかばかしい
(327)			私は醜い裏切り者だ		
(328)					勝手にするがよい
(329)					やんぬるかな

《メロスの心理状態の変化(2)》

	《時間》	《天候》	《場所》	《メロスの行動》	《メロスの心理(1)》	《メロスの心理(2)》
〈中の中の中の第四〉						
(331/4)			水の流れ／泉			
(336)				[水を一口飲む]		
(337)					夢から覚めた気持ち	
(340)					わずかな希望	
(341-2)					義務遂行の希望／ 　わが身を殺して名誉を守る希望	
(343-4)	斜陽／日没にまだ間					
(347)					私は信じられている	
(348)						私の命なぞ 　問題ではない
(350)					信頼に報いなければならぬ	
(351)					今はただその一事	
(364)	日が沈む					
(352)				[走る]		
(382)			塔楼が見える [所]			

《時間》　《天候》	《場所》	《メロスの行動》	《メロスの心理(1)》	《メロスの心理(2)》
(401)　赤く大きい夕日				
(411)				間に合う間に合わぬは 問題ではない 人の命も問題ではない
(412)				
(413)		［走る］	なんだかもっと恐ろしくて 大きいもののために	
(422-3)				頭は空っぽだ／ 何一つ考えていない
(424)		［走る］	わけのわからぬ大きな力に 引きずられて	
(425)　最後の一片の残光	刑場	［突入］		

《時間》　《天候》	《場所》	《出来事》	《主役：メロス》	《対役：シラクスの王》
〈中の中の終わり〉				
(430)	刑場［王城］			
(436)			彼を人質にした私はここにいる［誠実］	
(441)		［セリヌンティウスを解放］		
〈中の終わり〉				
(446)			途中で一度悪い夢を見た［誠実］	
(447)			君と抱擁する資格さえない［誠実］	
(458)		［メロス、親友との信頼を確認］		
(460)				顔を赤らめて［情動性：羞恥］
(462)				おまえらはわしの心に勝った ［－不信・猜疑心］
(464)				わしも仲間に入れてくれまいか ［信頼］
(465-7)		［王、人への信頼を回復；民衆が賞賛］		
〈終わり〉				
(474)				ひどく赤面した［情動性：羞恥］

図3　テクスト展開における〈場面〉と〈登場人物〉の特性の累積と変容

（括弧内の数字は、句点に基づく文の順序を、また、〈始まり〉・〈中の始まり〉以下は、ジャンル構造を示す。）

報道における投射文のもつ言語論理
Language logic of projection in news reports

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Abstract

This paper investigates ways of quoting and reporting deployed in news reports, specifically in clause complexes in which the quoted and reported locutions and/or ideas are foregrounded to support the logic of news reporting (Teruya, 2007, 2010). Here the investigation is concerned primarily with Japanese but references will also be made to other languages such as Chinese and English so as to bring out characteristics of projection in the reporting text type within the overall typology of registers and in the context of multilingual studies.

In this paper, some features of projection found in Japanese news reporting are illustrated. This illustration not only shows the profile of the register of news reporting but also serves to indicate how different languages operate in similar or different ways in terms of how the logic of natural language is instantiated in different domains of socio-semiotic activities.

1. はじめに

　言語は、現実あるいは仮想世界についての人間の理解をディスコースの中に論理として構築する。ここで言う論理とは、言語による論理という意味で「言語論理」あるいは「文法論理」であり、言語論理は、異なる姿でテクストに具現化する。しかし、言語論理は、テクストのタイプによって実体化のし方が多様であるだけでなく、言語によって構築のされ方が異なる。

　本稿は、言語論理の全体像の把握を模索する研究の一環の一部で、言語体系が実体化を通してテクストに具現化するそのし方を体系的に捉える手段として投射文に着目し、それを取り巻く論理の展開を突破口として日本語の言語論理全体を究極的には把握しようとするものである。ここに提示する研究は、予備的研究の枠をでないが、論理の実体化を体系的にとらえる手段として社会意義的過程を根拠とするレジスターの類型（Matthiessen, 1993）を用いて言語論理の構築を解明する選択体系機能的（以下、略して体系的）アプローチ（龍城、2006 参照）としては示唆的である。

　本稿では、言語論理をつぎのように概観する。まず、言語論理の所在を明らかにするためにテクストと文法の関係をそれらが構築する論理・意味的な構造の観点から論じ、同時に言語論理が複文によって実現されること、そして投射文が具現化を通してそれに付随する特定の論理を構築していることをメタ機能的な結合体を通して述べる。さらに言語論理が映し出される、投射

文を内包する複文の輪郭をベースにして、複文の体系と報道のテクストに実体化する日本語について述べ、言語論理の実体化の研究を部分的に紹介する。

2. 社会意義過程と＜報告＞型のテクスト群

意味は、社会大系によって創出され、言語をつかさどる社会構成員によってテクストという形で交換される。創出され、交換される意味は、孤立しては存在せず、統合された意味の潜在性として体系的に存在している。社会大系は、意味を創出するという理由から、そしてそれ自体が意味を媒介に成立しているということから意義体系 semiotic system として解釈を受ける。テクストは、意味の単位であり、それゆえに、テクスト研究は、社会を意義体系として捉える状況のコンテクストを出発点としている。

状況のコンテクストは、フィールド（活動のタイプと領域）、テナー（参加者の役割と関係）とモード（記号化の様式と修辞的な経路）という三つの観点から体系理論的に詳述が可能だが、ここで取り上げるレジスター類型（あるいは、体系 system の側からではなく実体 instance の側からみたテクスト類型）は、社会意義活動 socio-semiotic processes を解釈するフィールドを一義的に用いて得られた全体像である。その解釈のし方は、テクストが社会的意義の創造と具現的に関連していることから適切であるといえよう。モード的には、テクストが伝達される様式と経路によって類型化され、話されたテクストと書かれたテクストを対極に据えながら、たとえば、話すために書かれたテクストのような中間的なタイプを内包している。さらに、そのモードの側面を交差する形でテクストが創出・伝達される方向性の観点から対話と独話という分類ができる。テクストを創造する社会成員の位置づけを捉えるテナーの観点は、＜共有＞型に属する会話や小説等のようなテナー指向型のテクストを解析する際に、必要に応じて付け足すことが可能である。

categorizing 分類
explaining 説明
arguing 議論
reviewing 批評
instructing 指示
regulating 規制
expounding 解釈
exploring 探求
enabling 可能化
recommend-ing 推薦
doing 実行
recommending 推薦
promoting 促進
advising 忠告
directing 監督
collaborating 協同
sharing values 価値の共有
sharing experiences 経験の共有
sharing 共有
recreating 再現
reporting 報告
socio-semiotic process 社会意義過程
inventorying 一覧化
surveying 調査
chronicling 時系列化
narrating 語り
dramatizing 脚色

図1: 8つの主要な社会意義活動とその下位タイプ

　テクストの総体は、フィールドの観点から主要8つの社会意義活動型に分類される。その8つは、＜解釈＞＜報告＞＜再現＞＜共有＞＜実行＞＜推薦＞＜可能化＞＜探求＞であり、それぞれがさらに下位分類される（図1を参照）。ここでは、すべてのテクスト類型については言及せず（Matthiessen, 2006; Teruya, 2007, Matthiessen et al. 2010 を参照）、当該の研究対象である＜報告＞型について簡単にまとめる。

　＜報告＞型のテクストは、ある経験範疇における特定の現象の発生や存在を報告するテクストを包括している。＜報告＞は、話されることで、あるいは書かれることでなされるが、インターネットの到来によってニューメディアという表題のもと取り扱われるようになった＜報告＞型のテクストが具現化する経路は多様化している。

　報告のし方はさまざまで、時間にそって出来事を＜時系列化＞したり、場所を＜調査＞したり、あるいは物事を要約し＜一覧化＞したりして報告がなされる。異なる報告のし方は、報告がなされる対象の性質によって決定される。そういった点では、書き手や受け手の相互関係や役割といったテナーの影響をあまり受けず、コンテクストに展開する経験的活動に傾注しているテクスト型だと言ってもよいだろう。

　＜時系列化＞型の報告は、たとえばメディアインタビューや警察の取り調べのように時間的に継起する出来事の詳述によって具現化される。詳述は、それが展開する時間的枠組みがさまざまで、人生の狭間あるいは一生を描いたバイオグラフィーであったり、歴史書のように時間に幅のあるものもある。

属構造 generic structure（Hasan, 1984/1996）の観点から見ると、時間の幅のいかんに関わらず、＜オリエンテーション＞にはじまり＜出来事の記録＞へと展開していく。このタイプでは、時間のありか（工藤、1995）が重要なモチーフとなり、それを枠組みとして展開していく。この点では、時間のありかが抽象・中立化している＜解釈＞型のテクストとは根本的に異なっている。

　ここでは取り上げないが、＜調査＞型のテクストは、トポグラフィックな報告と呼ばれる方法で導かれる。＜時系列化＞型の報告が出来事の展開方向を時間的に追うようになされるのに対し、＜調査＞型の報告は、特定の場所の配置を空間に描くように構成される。通常、特定の場所の外観に始まり、場所の特徴や関連事項を描写の枠組みとして使用しながら、場所をクローズアップする。ガイドブックにある名所巡りや徒歩旅行のようなトポグラフィックな＜手順＞を表すテクストもこのタイプに属している。トポグラフィックな報告も手順もいずれも空間のあり方を基礎になされるが、トポグラフィックな手順は、空間を経過する動きを捉えることから、旅行記のように時間を巻き込みながら展開する。しかし、時間には拘束されない。

　３つ目の下位タイプである＜一覧化＞型のテクストは、たとえば、商品一覧や人事記録のようにさまざまな事物や現象を記録する形で具現化する。

3. 投射文の位置づけ

　＜報告＞型のテクストの特徴は、全般的に言うと、投射文の存在である。ここで言う投射文とは、論理・意味的関係によって２つ以上の文が連結された複文によって実現された種々の連結結合のうち、「言う」「話す」「要求する」などの言動過程や「思う」「願う」「決める」のような精神過程によって映し出された＜ことば＞や＜考え＞を伴う観念的なそれをさしている。伝統的には「引用」という用語が用いられていて、複文について言えば、引用と置き換えても差し支えない場合もあるが、＜投射＞が意味創造の起動処理過程 semogenic process として言語のあらゆる領域にフラクタルな形で存在していること、そして、それが＜命題 proposition＞や＜提言 proposal＞についての個人的な見解をモダリティーや付属語を通じて相互対人的に実現していることから、この場合不適当である。

　意味単位としてのテクストと文法との相関関係は、性質の異なるベクトルによって具現化されている。ここで言うベクトルとは、部分と全体、形式と意味、そして実体と体系との関係のことで、テクストの理解や生成には、これらすべてのベクトルが関与しなければならない。部分と全体の関係について言えば、文は構造的に組成されるものであるが、複文は、＜回帰性 recursion＞によって構造化されている。形式と意味の関係について言えば、文層化 stratification による具現関係によって、そして実体と体系の関係について言えば、実体化 instantiation によって言語がテクストに具現化するからである（体系理論の概念や用語は、ハリデー、2000 を参照；ハリデー、2001）。先に投射が意味創造の過程であることを指摘したが、その内部に論理・意味関係を構造化するという点でこれらのベクトルをすべて巻き込みながら複文は具現化

している。このことは、語彙文法と意味が自然な関係にあることから、複文化 clause complexing がディスコースの意味パターンと自然な関係にあることを意味し、さらには、複文化をテクストにおける論理・修辞的関係のパターンとして解釈ができることを示唆している(Matthiessen, 2002: 281)。

複文の構造がどのようにメタ機能的に統合されるのか、具体的に例をみてみよう。以下図2は、3つの文が連結された複文「俺は1人で考えるから、君は君自身を救うために、手をつくすんだ」をメタ機能的に解析したもので（Teruya, 2006)、構成成分としてのそれぞれの文の内部におけるメタ機能的統合と文相互間の連結性を図式で示したものである。上部にあるそれぞれの四角はメタ機能的な結合で、一番上がテクスト的機能、下の左が経験的、その右が相互対人的機能を表し、さらにそれを取り囲む大きな右枠は、ハイポな関係（以下第4節参照）によって連結された従属的結合を示している。実線は、文内部のメタ機能的関係を（経験的結合は過程を、そして相互対人的結合は述語を中心として）表している（Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999: 52-8 を参照）。破線は、文相互間の連結関係を文内部の関係と関連づけるもので、メタ機能的マッピングを図式化している。丸で囲まれた文字は、それぞれ以下の機能、Ⓣテーマ、Ⓡレーマ、Ⓢ感覚者、Ⓜ手段、Ⓢ主語、ⓐ行為者、Ⓟ述語、Ⓒ補語を示している。
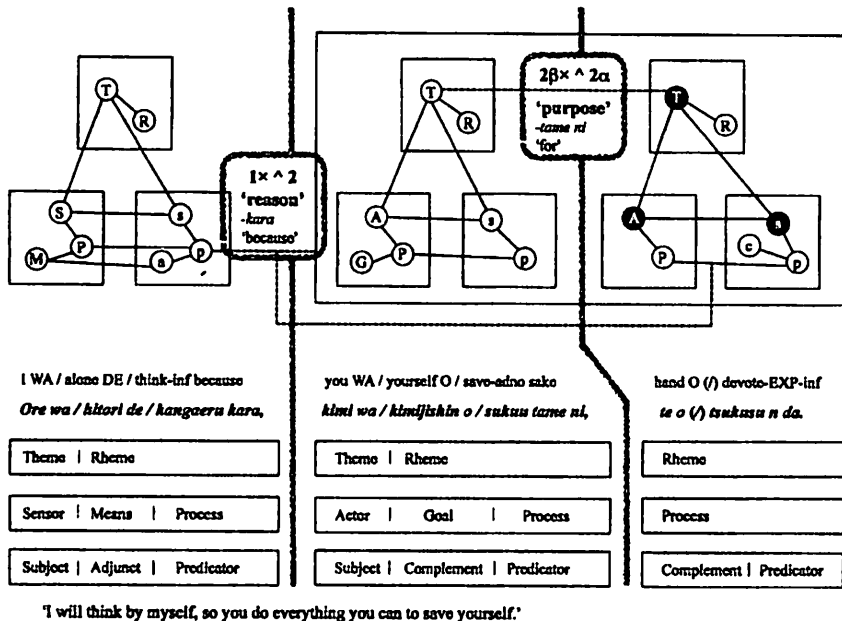
図 2: 複文におけるメタ機能的な統合と文相互間の連結性（Teruya, 2006）

連結関係的には、最初の文「俺は1人で考えるから」が、後続する2つの文からなるハイポな結合「君は君自身をすくために、手をつくすんだ」とパラな関係で並列的に連結し（以下第4節参照）、論理・意味的には、最初のパ

ラな関係を示す＜理由 reason＞によって、＜目的 purpose＞を示すハイポな関係の複文とがさらに連結結合されている（複文については、Teruya, 2007、メタ機能的統合と連結については、Teruya, 2006, 2009 を参照）。最後部の文は、黒枠の文字で印された省略された機能があるが、その省略は、＜目的＞をあらわす構造接続詞「ために」によって連結された結合が、たとえば通常同一の主語をもつという文法的制御によって起こるもので、メタ機能的結合の連結、つまり複文化によるものである。

　言語論理は、このように、機能的に分離された対人的、経験的、そしてテクスト的機能を連結する包括的なマッピングによって付帯的に生成されたもので、種々のパターンをもつ連結要素が連続的に＜ループバック loop back＞する属性をもっている。この属性は、語彙文法的には、複文体系の＜回帰性 recursion＞であり、この特性が複文の論理体系を動的に複雑なものにしている（Lemke, 1995: 108）。

　つまり、複文は、「拡大可能な、動的な資源であり、構造化された構成体にではなく、関係によって組み立てられたもの」であるのである（Matthiessen, 2002: 294-5）。言い方をかえると、本稿の研究対象は、形式に固定されない、意味機能が包括された有機的な関係構造であるといえるであろう。

4. ハイポな複文における結合要素の順序と構造化

　ふたつの文を最少数の連結要素として有機的な構造をつくり、さらに回帰的に拡大していく潜在性をもつ複文は、連結のし方によって意味文法的な性質が異なる。複文の修飾関係は、連結要素の文法的性質が対等であるばあいをパラタクティック paratactic な関係（以下「パラな関係」と略）と呼び、連結要素が対等ではなく、一方が他方に従属する従属関係にあるものをハイポタクティック hypotactic な関係（以下「ハイポな関係」）と呼ぶ。ハイポな関係の場合、＜従属される＞要素は、概略すると、文としての制約がなく、ムードや丁寧さの選択が可能であるなど対人文法的に「フリー free」（Matthiessen et al., 2010）であるのに対し、それに＜従属する＞要素は、文法的に束縛されている。パラな連結要素は、ふたつのうちのどちらが他方に先行して具現化するのかという制限はあるものの、いずれもフリーである。

　日本語の場合、このような修飾関係の違いは、以下の図3にあるように、先行する要素の文末の形態論的形、つまり構造接続詞によって構造化される（Teruya, 2007 を参照）。このような構造化のし方は、言語によって異なっていて、言語論理の構築のし方を多様にしている。いくつか例をみてみよう。

　図3は、英語、中国語、日本語、タイ語のハイポな関係の構造的な差異を例示したもので、論理・意味的には、＜事実的な条件＞をあらわしている。太文字でしめした部分は構造接続詞で、括弧で印された構造接続詞は、他方と共起が可能だが必ずしも必要ではない要素を表している。構造接続詞が具現する文の位置は、日本語だけが文末で、その他は文頭になるため、表現の面では日本語がその他と異なっている。ところが、ハイポな関係を印す構造接続詞について言うと、日本語は、＜従属する文＞に＜従属している＞印とし

て構造接続詞が具現する点で英語とタイ語に似ており、＜従属される文＞に＜従属されている＞印が構造化される点で中国語がその他と異なっている。

　連結される文（あるいは、節）のレベルにあるこのような構造的な違いは、複数個の文が連結される複文全体の有機的な結合を異なるものにしている。要素としてのふたつの文が連結されてできるネクサス結合 nexus がパラな関係を表す場合を数字 １２３ …で表記すると、１＾２＾… のように同等の文法的価値をもつ文が一直線に展開していく。パラな関係の場合、日中英泰いずれの言語も論理の展開性について言えば相似している。

　しかし、ハイポな関係の場合は、連結要素の文法的価値が不同で、＜従属する文＞が二次的な要素として上位の＜従属される文＞を論理的に補うために連結されるため、論理の展開がパラな関係とは異なる。ハイポな関係をギリシャ文字 αβγ …で表し、ネクサス結合の主文である＜従属される文＞をα 、それに＜従属する文＞を β とした場合、英語は、論理の展開が前進的であるα＾β（β が α に「＾ 後続する」と読む）と同時に、その逆の後退的な β＾ α という双方向的な論理展開を潜在性としてもつが、日本語は、後退的な展開 β＾α にハイポな関係を映し出すだけで、普通一方向的である（Teruya, 2006, 2009 を参照）。構造接続詞の位置を英語と同一にもつタイ語は、日本語のように後退的な β＾α が普通ではあるが、発話機能に多少違いがでるものの、前進的な α＾β もこの場合可能である（Pattama Patpong 個人通信）。確実な言及は、詳細な研究を待たないといけないが、中国語も日本語とタイ語に近く、ハイポな関係が後退して展開するが、＜従属される＞主文がハイポな関係を示す構造で印されることもあってか、日本語ほど後退性が固定していないようである。

	dependent clause	independent clause
English	**If you are feeling cold,**	**(then)** put your coat on
Chinese	Nǐ (**yīnwèi**) juéde lěng you (**because**) feel cold	**jiù** chuānshang dàyī **just** put-on coat
Japanese	(**Moshi**) samukatta-**ra** (**if**) cold-past-**conditional**	kooto o kinasai coat O wear-imperative
Thai	**tha:3 khun1 ru:4sik3 na:w5** **if** you feel cold	suam 5 sia3 si?2 put on shirt 'attention'

図3: 英中日泰におけるハイポな関係をあらわす複文の構造的な相違

5. 投射文の形式から意味へ

　以上では、複文が言語単位としての「文（あるいは節）」の上位にあり、固定された形式をもたないということを二文連結結合を使って、その有機的な連結結合の関係構造について実体の観点から説明した。実体は、体系が具現化した形式である。そして、ある形式は、それを構成する要素を観察し、要

素の実体化の素性を多側面的に捉えることで把握することができる。ハリデーが体系的言語分析の手法として提唱する「三眼的遠近立体法 a trinocular perspective」（Halliday, 1996: 408-9）を使って『彼は「では、また会おう」と言った』という投射文を説明しよう。

　まず、複文を文法層に位置づけ、「下から」それを分析することで投射文を＜投射する文＞と＜投射される文＞という２つの文に解体して捉えると、たとえば、＜投射する文＞の場合、経験機能的には、媒体となる（つまり、引用をおこなう）＜いい手＞が＜意識＞という意味素性を持った（あるいは担わされた）名詞群（「彼は」）でなくてはならないこと、そして、投射する潜在性をもつ動詞（「言った」）によって＜言動過程＞が具現され、＜投射する文＞を構成していることがわかる（詳細は、Teruya, 2007）。それを補填し「上から」眺めると、意味の単位としてのテクストに投射文がどのように現象するのかを修辞的にみることができる。

　さらに、三眼的遠近立体法による三位一体的な解析は、「まわりから」の視点を要求する。この場合、「下から」みて得た＜投射する文＞と＜投射される文＞という連結構造を、選択網として表現が可能な複文体系を背景にすることで、その＜まわりから＞観察することを意味する。つまり、シンタグマティックな投射文の構造を論理・意味的関係の文法範疇に位置付け、パラディグマティックに観察することを意味している。以下の図６は、＜拡充 expansion＞と＜投射 projection＞を主要な選択肢としてもつ複文体系を簡略化して示した体系網である。
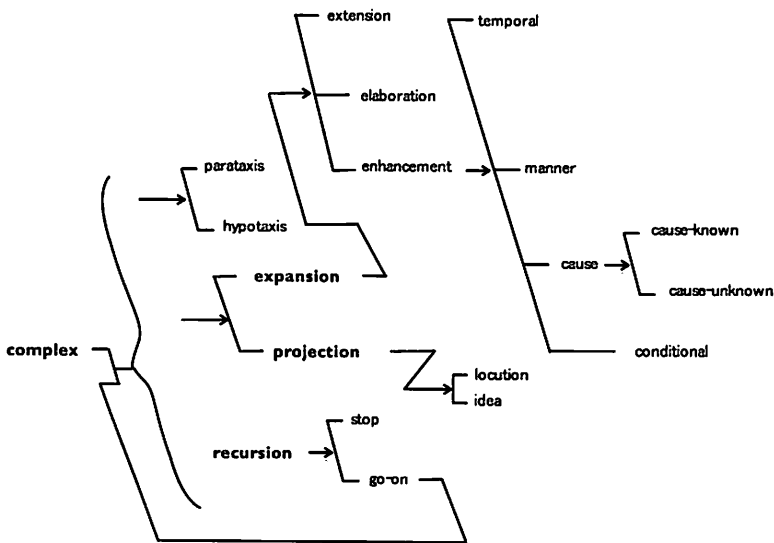
図 4: 日本語の複文の体系（略図）（Teruya, 2007）

　複文への玄関口としての＜拡充＞と＜投射＞は、二者択一的な選択肢でありながら、先に指摘した＜回帰性＞によって体系網へのエントリーを繰り返

し、複文構造を発展させる。つまり、両者は、意味創造の主要過程として相互に影響をあたえながら、複文構造を複雑化しているのである。別の例をみてみよう。

　以下の表は、5つの文（a-e）からなる複文を図4の複文体系のカテゴリーにもとづいて分析し、依存関係と論理・意味関係を表す Halliday (1984)の記号表記をもちいて示した分析例である。分析は、論理の連結を総観的 synoptic に見たもので（動的 dynamic な視点については、Teruya, 2009 を参照）、投射された＜ことば＞をもつふたつの投射文が他の論理の中に組み込まれて実体化する姿を映している。

　この複文の例から言えることは、複文が回帰性を具現しながら展開するだけでなく、その展開の中で、例えば、投射された＜ことば＞が他の論理に修飾・限定されながら、論理的な価値を付与されて実体化しているということである。これは、投射文に限ったことではない。

例1: 複文における投射文

a	理由として，大統領が	β=	β+	1	
b	「違反は罰せられなければならない」と			2 "	locution
a	述べる一方で，				adversative
c	ボズワース特別代表は直前に		α	1	
d	「圧力が最も生産的とはいえない」と			2 "	locution
c	述べるなど，				exemplifying
e	対応が分かれたことを挙げた。	α			

（産経ニュース、2009 年 4 月）

　この例の場合、投射された＜ことば locution＞に＜逆説 adversative＞的な意味合いをもたせたり、あるいは＜例示 exemplifying＞するために＜ことば＞を用いたりして、「対応が分かれた」という陳述に論理を付与している。紙片の都合上詳しくは述べられないが、日本語の新聞記事における投射文は、＜拡充＞体系のさまざまなタイプの論理が回帰的に付与され具現化するが、中国語や英語の投射文の場合、複文内における論理・意味的な具現のし方が異なっている。簡単に言ってしまうと、投射文は単独であらわれるか、あるいは、複数個の連結文からなる複文の中に取り入れられた場合、例3の中国語の複文の例にあるように、稀に＜つけたし additive＞という拡張の機能を担わされて具現することはあっても、例1の日本語の複文のようにその他の論理・意味的価値を付与されることは、新聞記事のような＜報道＞型のテクストの場合、ほとんどない。

　新聞記事に出現する投射文のその他の特徴をさらにひとつあげると、＜ことば＞の引用が多いことで、そのなかでも日本語の場合は、そのほとんどが

＜引用＞である反面、中国語の場合は、＜引用＞と＜レポート＞として具現化することである。＜ことば＞の投射が主に＜引用＞であるのは、おそらく正確な情報、つまり発話された言語表現を伝達する新聞記事の役割のせいもあるだろうが、日本語の場合、投射された文の発話機能が＜陳述＞であるばあい、中国語や英語などの言語のように＜引用＞と＜レポート＞の区別が代名詞やテンスなどの変更によって顕著に示せないことにもよるであろう。

例2:　投射文を伴う中国語の複文の依存関係と論理意味的関係

¶除了认为经济软着陆可期，（経済のソフト・ランディングの実現が可能だとする以外に）	+β		additive: positive
世行还指出，（世界銀行は、指摘している）	α	α	projected:
中国在外处于主要发达经济体增长前景乏力且不确定的大环境，（中国が主要発達経済体が増加する将来性が弱くかつ不確定である大きな環境におかれているとともに）		"β	1	locution
对内则面临国内房地产市场情况可能恶化的风险，（国内的には、不動産市場の情況が悪化するリスクに直面する）		+2	additive: positive

（世界銀行は、経済のソフト・ランディングの実現が可能だとする以外に、国外においては、中国が主要発達経済体が増加する将来性が弱くかつ不確定である大きな環境におかれているだけでなく、国内的には、不動産市場の情況が悪化するリスクに直面すると指摘している。）

6. おわりに

　本稿では、コンテクストにおける活動分野の観点から社会的意義活動全体を８つの主要タイプに体系的に総括するレジスター分類をもちい、報道を目的として具現化する新聞記事を＜報告＞型のテクスト群として捉え、体系機能的に投射文を外観し、その特徴について述べた。投射文に着目するのはいくつか理由があるが、ひとつには、＜報告＞型のテクスト属に顕著に投射文があらわれ、それを用いることで新聞記事の言語特徴がとらえられるからであり、またひとつには、本稿が、言語の意味創造過程である＜投射＞の機能の具現化、さらには、言語論理の構築のし方を多言語的に比較研究する研究の一部であることによる。

　具体的には、２つの連結文によって構築される複文の最小連結構造体についてだけではなく、３文以上が連結した複文構造に着目し、引用・レポートされた＜ことば＞がどのように論理・意味的に具現化するのか、そのし方を例にみた。複文の論理の展開が後退的である日本語と中国語をみると、中国語の場合、投射文が通常他の論理・意味関係に抱き込まれるのではなく、単独で具現化するのに対し、日本語では、たとえば、＜原因＞や＜逆説＞などのような論理的意味を与えられながら具現化する点で異なることを指摘した。

　このことは、体系網の相違に見られる体系的な価値だけではなく、実体化

を通じて累積的に担わされる論理・意味的価値の点において投射文の実体的な価値が言語間では異なることを示唆している。この体系および実体的価値の相違は、投射がおかれている複文体系がもつ特性である＜回帰性＞に起因するものであり、言語が処理する論理の展開が潜在的に一方向的であるのか、双方向的であるのかという点だけではなく、メタ機能的な意味文法的まとまりをもつ文をさらに複数個連結して複文をつくりだすメタ機能的統合のあり方とも関わっていて言語論理の研究を複雑にしていることを物語っている。

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第 20 回日本機能言語学会秋期大会プログラム

会期：2012 年 10 月 6 日（土）～ 10 月 7 日（日）
会場：愛知学院大学（日進キャンパス）12 号館

10 月 6 日（土）
12:00 – 12:40　　　　　受付　　　1 階ロビー

12:40 – 12:55　　　　　開会の辞　105 教室　　　　　　日本機能言語学会会長: **龍城正明（同志社大学）**

13:00 – 13:40　　　　　研究発表 1
第 1 室: 101　　　　　　司会: 三宅英文（安田女子大学）
　稲子あゆみ（日本大学非常勤講師、シドニー工科大学大学院）[発表言語: 英語]
　'Affiliation over Crisis: Physicists' Use of Twitter Mode on NPP Accident'

第 2 室: 102　　　　　　司会: 角岡賢一（龍谷大学）
　George O'Neal（新潟大学大学院）[発表言語: 英語]
　'Janus Talking: SFL and Conversation Analytic Accounts of Tonic Position in Natural Conversations'

13:45 – 14:25　　　　　研究発表 2
第 1 室: 101　　　　　　司会: 三宅英文（安田女子大学）
　David Dykes（四日市大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'Clause type and Speech Functions in a Time Management Advice Text'

第 2 室: 102　　　　　　司会: 角岡賢一（龍谷大学）
　Francis Robert Low（香港理工大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'Expression as a multi-semiotic resource ensemble: a multimodal discourse analysis of a closing speech of a courtroom trial'

14:30 – 15:10　　　　　研究発表 3
第 1 室: 101　　　　　　司会: バージニア・パン（立命館大学）
　Patrick Kiernan（明治大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'Making the Link: The use of links and other forms of reference in online forums'

第 2 室: 102　　　　　　司会: 福田一雄（新潟大学）
　Marvin Lam（香港理工大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'Applying Functional Text Typology in the Study of Healthcare Communication'

15:10 – 15:30　　　　　休憩

15:30 – 16:10　　　　　研究発表 4
第 1 室: 101　　　　　　司会: バージニア・パン（立命館大学）
　南里敬三（大分大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'The Neuropsychological Viability of Systemic Contextual Theory'

16:15 – 16:30　　　　　第 20 回記念企画(1)　　105 教室　　　　　　司会: 伊藤紀子（同志社大学）
　佐々木真（愛知学院大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　「日本機能言語学会の歩み」

16:30 – 17:00　　　　　第 20 回記念企画(2)　　105 教室　　　　　　司会: 伊藤紀子（同志社大学）
　龍城正明（同志社大学）、クリスチャン・マティスン（香港理工大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　「選択体系機能言語学の現状と展望」

17:05 – 17:45　　　　　総会　　　105 教室　　　　　司会: 伊藤紀子（同志社大学）

19:00 – 21:00　　　　　懇親会　　海の台所はまきん（会費：5000 円）

10 月 7 日（日）

9:30 – 10:00　　　受付　　1 階ロビー

10:00 – 10:40　　　研究発表 1
第 1 室: 101　　　司会: 飯村龍一（玉川大学）
　Hyo-Chang Hong（マーシャル大学）、川光真二（マサチューセッツ大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'Institutionalizing Culture: Role of Appraisal in Story Genres'

第 2 室: 102　　　司会: 南里敬三（大分大学）
　Diana Slade（香港理工大学、シドニー工科大学）、Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen（香港理工大学）、Jack Pun（香港理工大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'How can emergency communication be done better in bilingual settings? A linguistic view'

10:45 – 11:25　　　研究発表 2
第 1 室: 101　　　司会: 飯村龍一（玉川大学）
　水澤祐美子（慶應義塾大学非常勤講師）、Rowena Ward（ウーロンゴン大学）[発表言語: 日本語]
　'Attitudinal resources expressed in Japanese thank-you letters'

第 2 室: 102　　　司会: 南里敬三（大分大学）
　Sonya Chik（香港理工大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'A Registerial Study of Reporting and Exploring text types in Japanese, Chinese and English'

11:25 – 11:35　　　休憩

11:35 – 12:15　　　研究発表 3
第 1 室: 101　　　司会: 小林一郎（お茶の水女子大学）
　早川知江（名古屋芸術大学）[発表言語: 日本語]
　「日本語の心理過程：『見る』と『見える』」

第 2 室: 102　　　司会: 伊藤紀子（同志社大学）
　石川彰（上智大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'External and internal conjunction reexamined: an attempt to expand the conjunctive system'

12:15 – 13:25　　　昼食

13:25 – 14:05　　　研究発表 4
第 1 室: 101　　　司会: 小林一郎（お茶の水女子大学）
　佐藤勝之（武庫川女子大学）[発表言語: 日本語]
　「教科書は教育的イデオロギーを超えられるか―事例研究『走れメロス』」

第 2 室: 102　　　司会: 伊藤紀子（同志社大学）
　照屋一博（香港理工大学）[発表言語: 英語]
　'Quoting and reporting in the construction of logic in news report'

14:05 – 14:20　　　休憩

14:20 – 15:30　　　特別講演　105 教室　司会：龍城正明（同志社大学）
　クリスチャン・マティスン（香港理工大学教授）[発表言語：英語]
　'The language of space: semiotic resources for construing our experience of space'

15:30 – 15:40　　　閉会の辞　　105 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 2012

Date: October 6th (Saturday) – October 7th (Sunday), 2012
Venue: 12th Building, Aichi Gakuin University (Nisshin Campus), Aichi

Oct. 6th (Saturday)
12:00 – 12:40   Registration (1F Lobby)
12:40 – 12:55   Opening Remarks (Room 105)
  President of JASFL **Masa-aki Tatsuki** (Doshisha University)

| 13:00 – 13:40 | Paper Session 1
Room1: 101   Chair: Hidefumi Miyake (Yasuda Women's University)
  Ayumi Inako (Part-time lecturer at Nihon University, PhD Candidate at University of Technology, Sydney)
                                                        [To be presented in English]
  'Affiliation over Crisis: Physicists' Use of Twitter Mode on NPP Accident'

Room2: 102   Chair: Ken-ichi Kadooka (Ryukoku University)
  George O'Neal (Niigata University) **[To be presented in English]**
  'Janus Talking: SFL and Conversation Analytic Accounts of Tonic Position in Natural Conversations'

| 13:45 – 14:25 | Paper Session 2
Room1: 101   Chair: Hidefumi Miyake (Yasuda Women's University)
  David Dykes (Yokkaichi University) **[To be presented in English]**
  'Clause type and Speech Functions in a Time Management Advice Text'

Room2: 102   Chair: Ken-ichi Kadooka (Ryukoku University)
  Francis Robert Low (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University) **[To be presented in English]**
  'Expression as a multi-semiotic resource ensemble: a multimodal discourse analysis of a closing speech of a courtroom trial'

| 14:30 – 15:10 | Paper Session 3
Room1: 101   Chair: Virginia Peng (Ritsumeikan University)
  Patrick Kiernan (Meiji University) **[To be presented in English]**
  'Making the Link: The use of links and other forms of reference in online forums'

Room2: 102   Chair: Kazuo Fukuda (Niigata University)
  Marvin Lam (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University) **[To be presented in English]**
  'Applying Functional Text Typology in the Study of Healthcare Communication'

15:10 – 15:30   Coffee Break

| 15:30 – 16:10 | Paper Session 4
Room1: 101   Chair: Virginia Peng (Ritsumeikan University)
  Keizo Nanri (Oita University) **[To be presented in English]**
  'The Neuropsychological Viability of Systemic Contextual Theory'

16:15 – 16:30   Special session for the 20th anniversary of JASFL-1   (Room 105)
Chair: Noriko Ito (Doshisha University)
  Makoto Sasaki (Aichi Gakuin University)   **[To be presented in English]**
  'The 20-year history of JASFL'

16:30– 17:00   Special session for the 20th anniversary of JASFL-2   (Room 105)
Chair: Noriko Ito (Doshisha University)
  Masa-aki Tatsuki (Doshisha University), **Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen** (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University)
[To be presented in English]
  'Current Topics and Future Perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics'

17:05 – 17:45   AGM (Room 105)   Chair: Noriko Ito (Doshisha University)

19:00 – 21:00   Reception   Japanese Restaurant *Hamakin*   (Participation Fee: 5,000 yen)

Oct. 7th (Sunday)

9:30 – 10:00   Registration (1F Lobby)

| 10:00 – 10:40 | Paper Session 1

Room1: 101   Chair: Ryuichi Iimura (Tamagawa University)
   Hyo-Chang Hong （Marshall University）, Shinji Kawamitsu （University of Massachusetts: Amherst）
                                                                     [To be presented in English]
   'Institutionalizing Culture: Role of Appraisal in Story Genres'

Room2: 102   Chair: Keizo Nanri (Ohita University)
   Diana Slade （The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, University of Technology, Sydney）, Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen （The Hong Kong Polytechnic University）, Jack Pun （The Hong Kong Polytechnic University） [To be presented in English]
   'How can emergency communication be done better in bilingual settings? A linguistic view'

| 10:45 – 11:25 | Paper Session 2

Room1: 101   Chair: Ryuichi Iimura (Tamagawa University)
   Yumiko Mizusawa （Part-time lecturer at Keio University）, Rowena Ward （University of Wollongong）
                                                                     [To be presented in Japanese]
   'Attitudinal resources expressed in Japanese thank-you letters'

Room2: 102   Chair: Keizo Nanri (Ohita University)
   Sonya Chik （The Hong Kong Polytechnic University） [To be presented in English]
   'A Registerial Study of Reporting and Exploring text types in Japanese, Chinese and English'

11:25 – 11:35   Coffee Break

| 11:35 – 12:15 | Paper Session 3

Room1: 101   Chair: Ichiro Kobayashi (Ochanomizu University)
   Chie Hayakawa （Nagoya University of Arts） [To be presented in Japanese]
   'Mental Process in Japanese: 'Miru' versus 'Mi-eru''

Room2: 102   Chair: Noriko Ito (Doshisha University)
   Akira Ishikawa （Sophia University） [To be presented in English]
   'External and internal conjunction reexamined: an attempt to expand the conjunctive system'

12:15 – 13:25   Lunch

| 13:25 – 14:05 | Paper Session 4

Room1: 101   Chair: Ichiro Kobayashi (Ochanomizu University)
   Katsuyuki Sato （Mukogawa Women's University） [To be presented in Japanese]
   'School textbooks and educational ideologies: a case study of Hashire Merosu'

Room2: 102   Chair: Noriko Ito (Doshisha University)
   Kazuhiro Teruya （The Hong Kong Polytechnic University） [To be presented in English]
   'Quoting and reporting in the construction of logic in news report'

14:05 – 14:20   Coffee Break

| 14:20 – 15:30 | Plenary   (Room 105)

Chair: Masa-aki Tatsuki (Doshisha University)
   Guest Speaker: Prof. Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University)
                                                                     [To be presented in English]
   'The language of space: semiotic resources for construing our experience of space'

15:30 – 15:40   Closing Remarks   (Room 105)
   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）

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Vol. 4 October 2010

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機能言語学研究

Articles

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Vol. 5 October 2011

Articles （論文）

PROCEEDINGS OF JASFL

Vol. 6 October 2012

Articles （論文）

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**

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Articles

Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics