Analysis of linguistic features in reports
of a political event: the Falklands war as a case study.

Volume I

by

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ABSTRACT

The study reported in this thesis investigated the differences and similarities in the use of linguistic features by three English newspapers in the reports of the Falklands Conflict (1982). The aim was to assess the influence of ideological positions in the language used. The study describes discourse structure and specific forms which characterise some texts of the reports analysed. The purpose was to identify some salient features of what readers receive as an input while reading the news. The argument in this study is that identification of linguistic patterns that characterise newstexts must be uncovered not only to facilitate comprehension, newstexts being subjects to language constraints at the level of micro-structure but also to facilitate the understanding of the logic of their structure at the level of macro-structure. Our hypothesis is that there is no neutrality or neutral representation in newspaper supposedly factual reports and this is even more obvious when we are in a situation of conflict, because there is a predominance of patriotic feelings. It was discovered that although the texts analysed come from different discursive formations, there is some form of homogeneity in the use of certain stylistic features, and categories of participants occuring as agents or affected. The results of phase one of the analysis shows little differences in the way the three newspapers studied vary in the reports of a single event. The evaluation of verb-processes and their distribution with the categories of participants in the texts displays some neutrality on the part of the Guardian, but the semantic moves 'generalisation' and 'nominalisation' are frequent in the three newspapers reports. Our conclusion is that the type of 'ideological competence' shown by the three newspapers implies a certain neutralisation of the differences shown elsewhere. A number of theoretical and methodological issues are given an extensive treatment to understand the background of theories of language within the context of society. In this study, I have adopted the linguistic approach of Fowler, Trew, Kress and Hodge (1979) for our analysis of the reports of the Falklands War with an extension of the semantic evaluation of processes of action verbs, mental speech acts in relation to their occurrence with animate or inanimate categories in agents or affected semantic roles.

The conclusions describe the variations marking the differences in social meanings as vehiculated by the forms and their distributions in the texts studied.

Acknowledgements

Lammii ay dekkal demb (Wolof)
'Speech is what gives shape to the past.'

Hanki koy daarol awratee
'Narrative is where we meet the past'
(a Fulani *dictum*)

INTRODUCTION

In this project I attempted to study a number of linguistic variables used in the reports of the Falklands war and the textual interpretation that can be inferred from the stylistic variation and the thematic variation in the texts analysed. The objective is to determine the social relevance of linguistic variations. The aim is basically to discuss the use of language in the press to achieve particular effects by looking at the position of linguistic elements such as transformations, semantic roles, verb processes etc. in the texts studied. Three newspapers have been studied for that purpose: one 'Quality', the *Guardian*, and two 'Tabloids', the *Daily Mirror* and the *Sun*. These three papers are known as belonging to different institutions with different readerships. The style in which they report events is assumed to be different. How different are the meanings inferred from this difference of styles in their public discourse of the Falklands war is the question we attempt to answer in this project.

This study is also undertaken within the framework of discourse analysis which emphasises the study of language in use rather than the abstraction of a system of Langue or Competence. The purpose of this present work follow these general principles of linguistic theory which emphasize language as a social practice, where linguistic forms reflect and reproduce the organisation of power. One objective is to see how both the syntagmatic (distribution of semantic roles, metonymy, thematic structure) and the paradigmatic (verb choice, metaphors etc.) order in language contribute to the production of meaning. The primary intention was to analyse the language of reports of the Falklands war as an illustration of this aim; but it has been found necessary to go much further afield in order to understand the background. Firstly, as the intention was mainly linguistic, ⸲ reconsideration of the traditional methods of language analysis is briefly undertaken in this study in order, and necessarily to our project, to single out the contributions brought by recent approaches to language analysis in social context. Thus if we are interested in grammatical devices, it has been found that the *Chomskyan paradigm* is insufficient for our purpose, and therefore we go back to Saussure and trace the ramifications of structuralism in language and 'social meanings' etc. Secondly, with increasing

interest in Stylistics, discourse, etc., it is necessary to consider *Speech Act Theory*, *Gricean Maxims* and *co-operative principle* and the search for *relevance*. This is because there is reason to believe that readers interpret language according to such principles and may be expected to interpret media language in that way too. In some sense they are prepared to co-operate, i.e. to believe it. Newspapers rely on their readers to accept the *Coo perative Principle*, *relevance* etc., as if it were conversation. But it is argued in this thesis that it is not conversation and the newspapers are taking advantage of the reader. Thirdly, it is argued in this study that in effect some developments have run counter to the exclusion of the daily use of language and insisted that language has no existence independently of speakers (cf. Hymes, Kress and Hodge etc.) This does not deny that language can be analyzed as a system, nor does it deny that idealization is often required. But it does assert that a full account of the 'faculté de langage' requires a framework that embeds language in society, and that purely formal descriptions are incomplete. For example there are various sociolinguistic approaches which treat varieties of language in a different way: That of Labov (although socially sensitive) accepts the formalism of Transformational Grammar (linguistic variable rules) (Chomsky, 1965) but not its reliance on intuition. Some of Labov's followers deny the Competence/Performance distinction. Competence according to Chomsky is the linguistic ability of a native speaker to construct a language as a set of sentences independently of a social context; the actual production or utterance/performance is not the concern of a theory of linguistics. Halliday's approach incorporates social and functional criteria into the formalism ; that of Hymes is based on speaker's knowledge, insisting that speakers have knowledge outside of purely grammatical knowledge and therefore that must be taken into account in speaking of their competence. These ideas, which also include the Prague School's point of view that we use language to express a certain purpose, are discussed in this project. Approaches of other scholars, Barthes, Bourdieu, Calvet, Pêcheux, etc. extend structuralist insights to society as a whole, therefore not discarding historical presuppositions in the system of language, i.e context and knowledge as manifested by the conditions of production of discourse.

The notions of ideology and power determining language structure are emphasised

in some of these studies. To an extent, certain of modern developments in language analysis deny the possibility of completely objective description as a result of extending the insights to society as a whole. Therefore in this thesis we try to review this complex background. The basic claim in recent studies by French analysts (Althusser, Pêcheux, Foucault etc.) is that language cannot be separated from the ideological conditions of its production and according to Pêcheux (1981), 'the nature of the discursive formation determines what can and must be said from a given position in a given conjuncture'. These are not merely the words used but also the constructions into which these words are combined in so far as they determine the signification of these words (see Williams 1981).

The methods used by Fowler *et al.* (1979) are transformations, nominalisations as seen in this work, others like Pêcheux *et al.* (1975) attempt to identify key words before establishing their syntactic/semantic relationship.

The use of a socially sensitive linguistic analysis, following Trew (1979) and Kress (1978) to assess its potential in accounting for public language is preferred. The reason we have opted for this approach is its challenge to the strictly formalistic methods prevailing in linguistic analysis of syntax and semantics (see Chapter 3 of the thesis).

The analysis of the Falklands conflict reports will ultimately show how the 'syntactic tactics' can have semantic explanations. For example, passivisation and nominalisations among other linguistic operations, sometimes shift responsibility by excluding the agent of an action in certain contexts. Linguistic operations such as foregrounding, thematic structure, cohesion play an important role in vehiculating meanings. My analysis deconstructs reports from newspapers, which in a second stage of the analysis are viewed within a method dealing both with the micro-structure (the linguistic elements) and the macro-structure (the pragmatic inferences of the units above the sentence of the texts investigated). It relates the syntactic-semantic-pragmatic instances of the discourse to the institutional formations producing them (in this study, the three newspapers investigated).

Indeed, newspapers and their place in society as power mediating agencies, are an important issue to be discussed, as a background which may prove vital in our at-

tempt to understand the basic rules of their writing. Our argument is that language in general and media language in particular does not exist outside society, and institutions that use it and manipulate with it, my approach therefore focusses on the functional aspect of language.

The thesis is structured into two parts as follows:

Part One provides an intellectual background relevant to this study. Thus, for example where Chomsky stresses grammatical competence to the detriment of performance, Saussure stresses the Langue as against Parole; whereas Hymes speaks of a communicative competence emphasizing the social context and knowledge; also Grice's theory of implicature and Austin/Searle Speech Acts Theory underly that speakers bring knowledge which is not purely syntactic/phonological knowledge but also semantic and pragmatic knowledge focussing therefore on the meaning completely discarded in the purely formalistic approaches. As a result, Chomsky's idea of the autonomy of the syntactic component independent of semantics is summarized in this study in relation to a novel approach to syntax and transformations which are looked at as semantic transformations. Thus in Chapter 1 it was found relevant for our study to examine those approches stemming from structuralism. Considering language as a semiotic system (system of signs), our argument suggests that it encodes concepts in a symbolic way and therefore, it was found relevant to review the trend of linguistics prevailing in the early twentieth century which goes back to Saussure who argued that the structure of the world as symbolized, depends to a considerable extent on the relationship between signs. Saussure's reference to society is limited to a homogeneous group– a sum of individuals–sharing the same language and excludes the study of language in a society as a whole. However his contribution to theories of signification is not ignored in this project. Chapter 2 is about a literature search in the specific areas of political and journalistic language in the light of recent interests in polemics and propaganda. A comparison of Orwellian insights with more recents studies on media language in linguistics is worked out. Chapter 3 provides an extensive review of the main approaches related to the method chosen in this study as for example Halliday's approach. A critical evaluation of some of these approaches and findings is given. It was found that some

methods used in discourse analysis, although they refer to ideological representations do not go far enough in integrating them in the language structure.

Part 2 introduces the scope of the study and the analysis of the reports and the conclusions drawn. Chapter 4 introduces the methodological approach in which the author extends the methods used by Trew al (1979) and Kress and Hodge (1979), by introducing new categories of participants and linguistic variables. It also provides the first stage of data analysis in order to test the hypothesis first set up by Trew (1979). On observation of that pilot study, it was found that the way the headlines were grammatically structured differ to a certain extent but the differences were not so big especially in the two 'populars'. Chapter 5 contains the major part of the analysis of the reports which is based on the framework adopted in Chapter 4, and the results arrived at which confirm my hypotheis that the three newspapers do not differ considerably in the way the Falklands conflict is reported. Crosstabulations are done in order to evaluate the similarities or differences and graphs are drawn to illustrate the results.

Chapter 6 extends the analysis into a thematic one. In this chapter the aim is to see when do nominalisations in their broad meaning as defined in chapter 4, occur in thematic position and what types of processes are attributed to them. A quantification of the distribution of both nominalisations and verbs is done for that purpose.

Chapter 7 is both a general discussion and an analysis of some stylistic features which we argue in this thesis have an effect on the readers interpretation of news-discourse.

In this chapter I attempt to show the manipulative use of some lexical and grammatical categories which contribute to mislead the reader's interpretation and judgement of the event and categories of participants reported.

Chapter 8 provides a summary of the general conclusions and gives some suggestions for further studies.

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List of Abbreviations

A.A.D: Analyse Automatique du Discours

T.G: Transformational Grammar

G.S: Generative Semantics

G.M.G: Glasgow Universiy Media Group

(an): animate

(in): inanimate

(P): Physical process

(M): Mental process

T: Transactive

NT: Non-transactive

S.P.A.T: Speech Act Theory

Part 1

Background

Chapter 1

Background of New Structural Approaches in Linguistics

1.0 Introduction

This chapter attempts to present an overview of a broad field of linguistic methods of language analysis most of which stem from the structuralist philosophical approach to social phenomena in general and language in particular. Inevitably, this field is so vast that a comprehensive survey of that area here is impossible. Therefore only that part relevant to this thesis is surveyed. The aim is to discuss a structuralist paradox— firstly, by providing an account of Saussure in relation to various developments of the post-structuralist approach to language (Barthes and others), secondly, by reviewing the transformationalist approaches. This discussion fills in the background to the linguistic and discourse study of media texts which, as I am hoping to show, may be ideologically constituted. Some recent analysts, especially French have taken this problem as their starting point, e.g., Althusser, Barthes, Foucault, Pécheux and others.

In sociolinguistics, although some studies have extensively dealt with language in social context, the socialisation is still incomplete. Most recent studies have tried

to incorporate knowledge,ideology and power into the linguistic structure not departing so much from structuralist methods. Therefore the contribution made by structuralism in sociolinguistic studies is not ignored. Within the context of language in use there are some problems in the formalistic methods of analysis based on structuralism. One aspect is the binary opposition which restricts the scope of language analysis when we are in discourse. Although the Langue/Parole relationship has moved toward Parole, it has not really changed. It seems that since Plato, Saussure and Wittgenstein not much has been achieved in the determination of language and meaning. However in this thesis I argue that there are some achievements even in those linguistic studies that have incorporated the concepts of knowledge, ideology and power in the linguistic structure. Their specific contribution is in language in use. Section 1 is an exposition of this background of thoughts stemming from structuralism in linguistics. In section 2 the contribution made by Barthes in the study of written language, which is of interest in this thesis, is discussed. In section 3 the notions of textual power and preferred reading are discussed in the light of some scholars who insist on the social fact of the sign and the ways in which relations of power are encoded in the discursive syntax of newspapers. Section 4 explains how discourses can be interpreted according to the conditions of their production; media discourse is an obvious case in this study. Section 5 summarises Chomsky's transformational model which has been adapted to the case study in this thesis. Section 6 discusses the relevance of 'ideological competence' in media language and section 7 summarises and concludes Chapter 1.

1.1   Linguistic Structuralism and Ideology

The stress on structuralism [1] in linguistics represents a shift from historical and comparative to analytic studies made necessary by the problems posed by the development of these earlier methods.[2] The aim was to study each language structurally.

These studies are marked by Saussure's isolation of Langue as a formal object of study discarding the social context of its production

...from the very outset we must put both feet on the ground of language and use language as the norm of all other manifestations of speech. (Saussure 1966:9)

This view is reinforced by the statement

The true and unique object of linguistics is language studied in and for itself. (Saussure 1966:232).

Chomsky (1957; 1965) on the other hand differs from Saussure only in terminology, since his concern with an idealized linguistic competence does not account for the question of the social and political conditions in which a particular competence is constituted as legitimate, the linguistic competence being an abstract system of rules.

It is obvious that the structuralist methods of analysis preferred to see language as a formal phenomenon and originally innocent object of study which facilitated their analyses and contributed to their creation of binary oppositions such as Langue and parole for Saussure, Competence and Performance for Chomsky.

To a certain extent Barthes, in opting for another form of dichotomy such as Denotation and Connotation, has also followed the path of structuralism. The previous approaches dismissed the notion of connotation, as Parole or Performance, as scientifically non analysable. The other controversial dismissal for the same 'scientific' reason (Chomsky 1957) concerns semantics as being a part of the formal grammatical structure of language in its universal sense. However, this was reconsidered in generative semantics (Katz and Fodor, 1964) and by Fillmore (1968) in his theory of case grammar. Even later on as claimed by Barthes (1966:1), the analyst finds her/himself in much the same position as Saussure in the face of the heteroclite nature of language and seeking to extract from the apparent anarchy of the messages a principle of classification and a basis of description, which inevitably implies a system of units and rules within an organized framework of analysis.

Structuralism therefore is a metalanguage studying language. As rightly argued by Chambers (1974) 'it seeks the logic behind phenomenal performances, the coherent, regulatory and transformational rules and forms that exist behind a structure....'

It seems that the functions of language in social practice are not the issue in these approaches. How much for instance the structure of language can encode a world view is the domain of performance or parole not of competence or langue. A perhaps more reliable principle of classification is shown by Whorf (1956) by comparing the grammar of Hopi language to English grammar where English speakers know the order in which to say:

A new red car

and not

A red new car

where the order is determined by a subcategorization of adjectives into external and internal, showing therefore that the grammar of language can be its theory of reality. Syntax, for example, can code a world view without any conscious choice on the part of the speaker/writer. However as argued by Fowler*et al.* (1979:185):

> the world view comes to language users from their relation to the institutions and socio-economic structure of their society, and transformational rules and forms that exist behind a structure...; it finds the sense of analysis not in the content but in the form, examines not entities but relations that structure the material, and it is confirmed by a language use which has society's ideological impress which is linguistically mediated.

This takes us back to the theory of how the subject is related to the external object through means of representation and how what is represented by those discursive

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means really is the external object, this is where the role of ideology comes in (cf. Althusser 1971, Benton 1984). Thus Thompson (1984:46-47) quoting Bourdieu argues that Language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge but also an instrument of power; one seeks not only to be understood, but also to be obeyed, believed, respected, distinguished... competence implies the power to impose reception. In the same line of thought, Barthes' interest in language was motivated by the realisation of the power of ideology in it (Barthes, 1970). This resulted in the questioning of the status of language itself by moving away from the instrumentalist approach. His main contribution in that area is his attempt 'to formulate an actual theory of ideology and how it worked through signs' (Duke, 1983; Barthes, 1957). Inspired by Whorf 1956, Kress and Hodge (1979:5) make also a close connection between language and ideology:

> We all interpret the flux of experience through means of interpretative schemata, initial expectations about the world, and priorities of interest... we inevitably impose our classifications on others and on ourselves. Language is immersed in the life of a society as the practical consciousness of that society which can be a partial or false consciousness or ideology.

The issue of ideology as a conscious or unconscious phenomenon requires a debate which in itself is too important a topic to be discussed in this study. (cf. Althusser 1971:121-173 for a discussion on the subject).

In this chapter, I attempt to review these approaches developed by structuralists in language analysis with respect to their contribution in the understanding of a complex phenomenon with an emphasis in the second section on whether 'meaning' is involved in the grammatical structure (cf. Fillmore 1968; Katz and Fodor 1964 etc.). The relevance of these approaches to the specific fields of political language and media language is also discussed within this background study.

1.1.1 Discourse, Textual Analysis and Ideology

The extension of the unit of analysis to the text has brought the concept of discourse
into methods of linguistic analyses. Some of them follow the same pattern as for
the decomposition of the sentence as the text is considered as a big sentence (Ben-
veniste, 1966) with more linguistic elements such as connectors and coordinators
which insure its structural cohesion (Van Dijk 1977, Fowler 1977, etc.). The effect
of ideology on the text has been studied extensively in relation to political and media
language. Thus with textual analysis we seem to have entered the realm of discourse
where discursive formations (cf. Pêcheux 1974) represent various discourses such as
the discourse of literature, or of politics or media. The form of writing was pre-
sented by Barthes (1953)1972) as 'the place of engagement' (Durke, 1983:109). New
methods of analysis, such as for the Narrative (Barthes 1981, Greimas 1973, 1977;),
Halliday (1981), and for journalistic language (Greimas 1981; Gritti 1981; Kress
and Trew 1978; Van Dijk 1985; Fowler et al.; 1979 etc.) have attempted to capture
concrete realizations, the objectivations of 'social knowledge' as found within par-
ticular configurations and practices. Some of these studies (Barthes 1957, Hartley
and Montgomery 1985) incorporate a semiotic approach defined by Pierce (1982) as
the study of the phenomenon that manifests itself as a particular type of correlations
(that between 'signals' and 'messages' etc.).

It seems that a reader's competence is at work in this type of analysis which re-
quires some concrete knowledge of the world rather than an abstract cognitive one
(a priveleged access to the real as accorded to the knowing subject based on his
cognitive capacities as an ideal speaker hearer) without losing the systematic order
of a scientific methodology applied to a social science. Before a detailed discussion
on the subject of textual analysis some insights on Saussure's concepts of *Langue*
and *parole* and theory of sign are relevant here.

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1.1.2 Saussure: A School and a Method

The Saussurean influence, concentrating on language system as distinct from language in use, continues throughout the 20th century since so far the structuralist approaches have a tendency to orientate their studies of language towards the structure of *langue* as it is strongly put by J. Kristeva (1981:214) who states that:

> Pour la linguistique moderne, la langue apparait en tant que structure avec les lois et des règles de fonctionnement qu'il s'agit de dècrire: La separation langue/parole, paradigme/syntagme, synchronie/diachronie montre l'orientation vers la langue, le paradigme et la synchronie plutot que vers la parole, syntagme, et diachronie. [3]

Pêcheux (1969:9) argues that:

> la langue est un système virtuel qui ne s'actualise que dans et par la parole."[4]

And he also states that only 'parole' as an act of speech presupposes a context, a situation which is concrete and defined. Langue is usually considered as 'a theoretical tool useful for explaining why and how language works' (Eco 1977: 49).

Since language is a social institution, one might assume a priori that it is governed by prescriptions analogous to those that control communities; this Saussurean view (1966) is put forward in relation to meaning in J.Culler (1972:25), summarizing Barthes' ideas that structuralism is based on the realization that if human actions or products have a meaning there must be an underlying system of conventions which makes this meaning possible. The actions are meaningful only with respect to a set of institutional conventions, thus the notions of signification and value play a major role. The importance of these two concepts in view of later parts of this thesis is now discussed in section 1. .1. ⟩

1.1.3 System, Value and signification

The composition of a sign system is mainly of values. The meanings of these values depend on their arrangements in new relationships (e.g. a child aquisition of a sign system). Saussure (1966:114) when referring to the value of a word says that:

> We generally think first of its property of standing for an idea; and this is in fact one side of linguistic value.

He sees value as one element in signification and the latter is subordinated to the former. This subordination is related to the idea of language as a system therefore provoking a separation; hence Saussure's statement (1966:114) that:

> signification is the domain of speech and the subject, langue is concerned with value only.

Whereas Greimas (1973:17) claims that:

> Le Sujet se trouve determiné dans son existence semantique par sa relation a la valeur... seuls seront pris en consideration les lexemes qui pourront etre inscrits sur l'axe syntaxique [5]
>
> Sujet $\Longrightarrow$ Objet

Barthes sees signification as the association of two terms which are the signifier and the signified; it is 'the union of what signifies with what is signified; or alternatively neither forms nor contents, but the process that goes from one to the other.' (Sturrock 1974 :17). The signification is the myth itself, just as the Saussurean sign is the word (cf. Sontag 1982) Myth is also seen as a value. The mythical signification is never arbitrary; it is always in part motivated. Myth plays on the analogy between meaning and form (Barthes 1982:113) As I am hoping to show later in this work, I am interested in the way the lexical categories as both grammatical and semantic

functions (agents or affected) occur in the syntactic order rather than independently, as their semantic value will partly depend on this order i.e on the form.

To depart from Saussure's framework of thought, Jakobson & Halle (1956) argue that the notion of a purely distinctive system is a rather abstract one and would be considered in isolation only from the standpoint of an 'algebraic' view. Jakobson (1960:355) sees six factors through which a communicative act is expressed which are 'addresser, addressee, context, message, contact, and code, Diagram 3 shows the adaptation by Pratt 1974 and Leech 1975 of these functions to newspaper communication with a stress on the social significance of these functions. Jakobson considers that the object of research is language in action and the purposeful momentariness of language as a sign system. The same view is held by the Prague School (1964) arguing that any item of language exists solely because it serves some purpose.

Eco (1977:52) states in relation to Saussure's definition of signs that

> any attempt to treat signs as solely conventional arbitrary symbols proves to be a misleading oversimplification

Van Dijk (1985:19) argues that:

> the symbolic world ... is totally invented ... the laws of the symbolic world are entirely socially and culturally determined.

He therefore claims that 'whatever exists in the symbolic world is there because someone put it there.'

My interest in semiotics is closely entertwined with semantics, as the study of the way in which the universe of sense is culturally or ideologically organized and not just a correspondence between signs and things or states of world.

This type of study does not exclude meaning from structural analysis. Chambers (1974:51) claims that:

9

Social Significance of Newspaper Language

I After J T Platt and K Platt (1975)

SENDER		RECEIVER
journalist representing newspaper, journal, etc.	message	Each reader of the newspaper, journal, etc.

Primary Sender		Secondary Sender(s)	Message — possibly → distorted	Receiver
Prime Minister	→	Journalist(s) (May distort message)		each reader
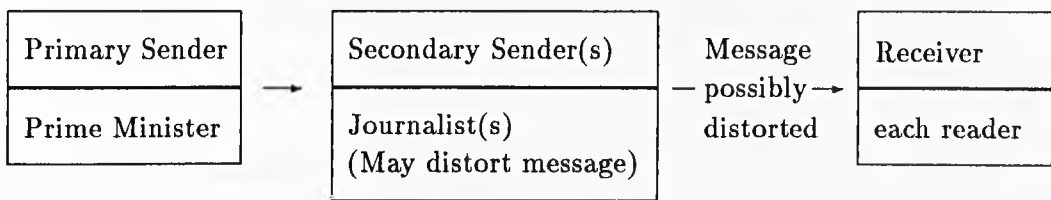
II Semantics and Society (Leech 1974)

5 Functions:

informational : orientation towards subject matter
expressive   :   ”   ”   speaker/writer
directive   :   ”   ”   listener/reader
phatic   :   ”   ”   channel of communications
aesthetic   :   ”   ”   message

Functions: *Expressive Phatic   Informational   Aesthetic   Directive*
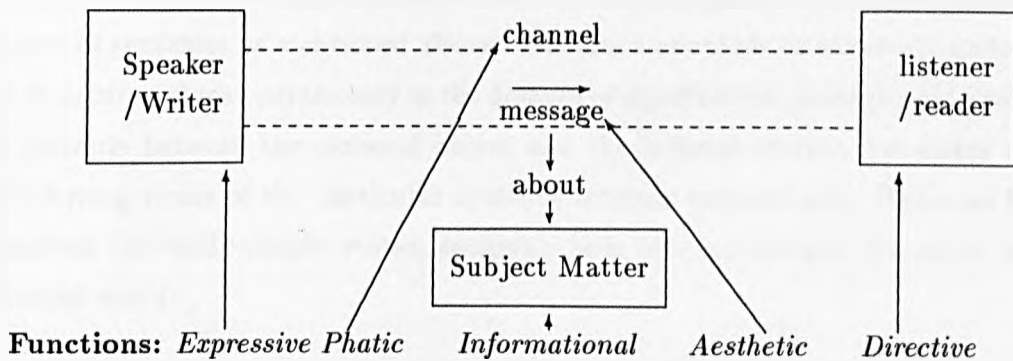
Importance of expressive and directive functions when considering public expression of opinion and attitudes.

Diagram 3

Saussure located his work beneath the heterogeneous level of speech (parole) in order to uncover the site (langue) that generated individual speech acts...

Hence in identifying the relations within the linguistic totality, Saussure (1966:66) located what he considered to be a determinate moment in that system, *the linguistic sign* defined as follows:

The linguistic sign is composed of sound image, signifier, and a concept, signified.

Subsequently, Chambers (1974:52) claims that:

...In cutting up the linguistic totality into constitutive units he (Saussure) was dealing with matters of language but in the same operation these units were contextualised as chains of signs, signification, in the matrix of social life as a sign system...

Following Chambers' view, Saussure's theory of signification, i.e the coupling of signifier and signified in a sign chain, and its referent in the social materiality of the world in which that signification is but a particular practice, has been less the concern of semiotics as mentioned above. The aim was rather to construct systems and structures which operate only in the domain of signification, discarding therefore the dialectic between the external object and the internal system, i.e within the self-referring terms of the particular system's internal organisation. Hence as Ian Chambers (1974:53) clearly states, semiotics puts into parenthesis the social and historical world:

The resulting one sided analyses examine emasculated objects ripped from their genesis and relations in a mode of production, and analysed in the closed universe of a self reflexive totality.

It seems from the different opinions stated above that structural linguistics has become a part of the semiotic approach where several inter-methodological relationships are possible. Thus Pomorska (1985:170) argues that

> one method can elucidate another and provide it with a new dimension... there can also be a relationship of inclusion, i.e when one method becomes a part of another

Thus Peirce (1982) sees semiotics as an agglomeration of approaches with varying points of view and varying scopes all of them influenced by Austin's theory of 'speech acts', or the semiology of Barthes. The theory of speech acts calls attention to the social conditions of communication (see Chapter 3 of this thesis).

Eco (1977:41) claims that:

> semiotics has developed because through the pressure and the technological development of mass media, the problem of communication has proved to be the central one of 'our civilization'...

Following the above interpretation, my interest in semiotics is in its relation to meaning, as one can consider media language full of significations which have, as a purpose, the manipulation of signs to convey a specific type of knowledge that can among other things, be described as ideological. The concern in this work is how the relation between linguistic and theoretical processes can be explored in relation to the reporting of events as argued by Trew (1979:154):

> one of the premisses from which such analysis begins is that social ideology or theory involves the representation of the social in terms of social entities engaged in relations of processes of action and interaction

Because language and culture are mutually implicated, in the early 60s there appeared the first systematic outlines of semiological theory (Jakobson 1977). Barthes

(1967) writes for example that every semiological system has its linguistic admixture; however there is some confusion between signification and meaning found in linguistic research in general. Hence Barthes (1967:10-11) claim:

> Semiology is therefore perhaps destined to be absorbed into a trans-linguistics, the materials of which may be myth, narrative, journalism...

It appears that the linguistic consideration of meaning (semantics) has usually concluded that meaning resides completely in language. Thus Barthes (1967:39) argues that for Saussure semantics must be a part of structural linguistics whereas for the American 'mechanists' [6] the signifieds are substances which must be expelled from linguistics or left to psychology or other sciences. Leech (1981) argues that meaning can best be studied as a linguistic phenomenon in its own right, not as something "outside language". Therefore his interest is in what is involved in recognizing relations of meaning between sentences, and in recognizing which sentences are meaningful and which are not; to perform this recognition, this view pressupposes a distinction between 'knowledge of language' and knowledge of the 'real world'. Leech (1981) distinguishes seven types of meaning:

1. Conceptual (Denotation)

2. Connotative meaning (communicative value above purely conceptual content)

3. Social meaning (social meaning: social circumstances of its use)

4. Affective meaning (feelings and attitudes of speaker/writer)

5. Reflected meaning (through association with another sense of same expression)

6. Collocative meaning (association with words which occur in the environment of another word

7. Thematic meaning (what is communicated by the way in which the message is organised in terms of order and emphasis.

Leech (1981), also claims that in talking about connotation, he is also talking about the "real world" experience one associates with an expression when one uses it or hears it. A relevant aspect of Saussure's view about meaning is emphasized by Fowler (1987:17) who writes that Saussure's argument is that 'linguistic signs do not designate pre-existent and natural segments of reality'; rather he concludes that 'signs chop up the flux of nature into arbitrary chunks; hence since signs fall into systems of paradigms, their meanings and hence the structure of the world as symbolized, depend to a considerable extent on the relationships between signs'. So, for example, the meaning of the word "mutton" in English is determined by its place in the system of terms "sheep", "lamb", "mutton" on the one hand, and by its place in the system "pork", "beef", "chicken", "mutton" etc. on the other hand. Jakobson (1965) protesting against the too literal and therefore trivial understanding of the Saussurean postulate about the arbitrariness of linguistic signs, insists on the iconic character of numerous linguistic devices - that is on the direct resemblance between some *signantia* and *signata*; for example he points out the iconicity of word order such as the order of conjoined verbs which expresses the order of events (Veni, Vidi, Vici); Fowler (1977:78) refers to a narrative progression commonly managed by the sequencing of new predicates and of temporal expressions as it is shown in his study of text 'the Lover and his lass'. Herman (1980) cited by Pomorska and Rudy (1985) developed the Jakobsonian approach to the iconicity to show to what extent this iconicity reflects the structure of reality. These will be borne in mind in my study of media language.

Pomorska and Rudy (1985:28) quoting M. Krewszewski (1880s) see two basic factors in the life of a language, two associations: Similarity and Contiguity (cf. section on metaphor and metonymy in chapter seven of this work). The relation between signans and signatum described as arbitrary by Saussure is in reality a habitual, learned contiguity, obligation for members of a given language community. This view is also stressed by Benveniste (1966) who argues that from the synchronic point of view of a language community using linguistic signs one must not ascribe

to them an arbitrary nature. Thus he claims that it is obligatory to say 'fromage' for 'cheese' in French and it is not arbitrary to the speaker.

As Fowler (1987) argued meanings are not given by nature, thus their arbitrariness. However one can also wonder what source they do have since one can believe that most of them are socially motivated. The purpose of the argument in this study is to show that in certain respects social and ideological structure influences language (see Chapters 2 and 4 of this thesis).

Following some criticism in relation to signification, social meanings being on the connotative plane are not Saussurean signs, but symbols as Saussure defines them. A symbol is not something wholly arbitrary; hence he (1966:68) states:

> There is a rudiment of a natural bond between the signifier and the signified. The symbol of justice, a pair of scales, could not be replaced by just any other symbol such as a chariot.

But it is also argued (Coward and Ellis 1977) that the symbol being socially motivated, is a cultural convention, discarding the "naturalness" of the bond as stated by Saussure, it has instead become naturalized. All the above statements lead us to look in a more specific way at the alternative presented by Barthes who, although one might discard him as a linguist [7] , brings some new insights to the field of relating the system of language to the interpretation of its signs, i.e their decoding. Thus referring to the existence of syntagms and variations which are 'glottic'i.e. belonging to the language, he argues (1964) 1967:20) that

> ...this linguistics...can assume a great importance wherever fixed syntagms (or stereotypes) are found in abundance, which is probably the case in mass-languages, and every time non-signifying variations form a second order corpus of signifiers, which is the case in strongly connotated languages: e.g. the rolled r is a mere combinative variant of the denotative level but in the speech of the theatre, for instance, it signals a country accent and therefore is part of a code, without which the

message of 'ruralness' could not either be emitted or perceived.

This point of view is relevant to sociolinguistics which can ask the question how do arbitrary variants assume strong values, which moreover may be different in different communities and at different times? A rolled [r] would have different values in different situations. In this study I am interested in variants found in written texts. The relevance of Barthes' insights in this respect seems appropriate.

1.2   Barthes: Meaning and Style

The totality of Barthes work is seen as an attack on the presumption of innocence in writing. He argues (1953:18-24) that all writing shows some kind of closure which is not visible in spoken language; he also states:

> L'écriture est une contre-communication...elle intimide...le mot devient un alibi. [8]

According to him, the reality is always given in its judged form; hence he maintains that the object content of the word *deviationist* is penal; if two deviationists meet, they become *fractionist*. Barthes also speaks of tactical writing; hence the communists in France substituted the word *peuple* for the expressions *braves gens* and *classe ouvriere*. Barthes for example, describes political writing (1953) as a social phenomenology and the closeness between this type of writing and the literary is pointed out. Therefore he (1953:18-24) comments that:

> de meme qu'une ecriture politique ne peut que confirmer un univers policier, de meme toute ecriture intellectuelle ne peut qu'instituer une para-litterature, qui n'ose plus dire son nom. [9]

His attitude to writing is significant for this work, as media languages like literature claim an ideology of realism as a text and as a narrative; (cf. Greimas 1981). Text is

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considered in this study as determinant of style since style is a textual phenomenon thus Kress's statement (1987:126):

> Producers of texts have certain kinds of consumers of texts in mind, and have, consciously or not, particular aims for the texts that they produce. Conversely, the appearance and organization of linguistic features in a text has particular effects for readers, enabling or facilitating certain readings, closing off or attempting to close off others.

As mentioned above, that naturalness between a signifier and a signified does not exist but is rather a cultural convention; consequently Barthes started questioning the classical French style of writing which he classifies as a particular way of writing developed at a particular time and place rather than the rational way of writing it was claimed to be; Dittmar (1976) and Milroy, J. (in his inaugural lecture, 1984) held an analogous position on standard language, which they see as an artefact, and Firth (1964:196) has called it a class dialect 'usage of the best companies'. Hence Barthes' argument that:

> The naturalness of realism derives from its echoes of other writing that represent reality through a transparent language, whether novels, journalism or treatises etc... (Barthes 1973: 59).

He therefore states that this écriture shapes reality in its own image institutionalizing the bourgeois way of life and its values.

This study is concerned with a specific form of writing, a register referred to as journalese. It has been mentioned earlier in the introduction that this variety is an institutionalized language; in this context, institutions are seen as language communities which are in the hands of Press Barons, owners of the newspapers. Editors of the newspapers have sometimes to write according to the point of view of these owners if they want to keep their job (see Hollingworth, 1986; cf. Lonrho affair in the New Observer, 1988).

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In Britain, most of the newspapers, whether they are 'populars' or 'qualities', are run by middle class professionals; and the styles used in writing are representative of the interests of this community which uses specific codes to convey a plurality of meanings. Barthes' argument that a 'colourless' way of writing proves impossible to achieve since it becomes a noticeable style in itself confirms the structuralist attitude to language that writing is all style, that 'white'writing does not exist. Therefore:

> l'ecriture realiste est loin d'etre neutre, elle est au contraire chargee des signes les plus spectaculaires de la fabrication. (Barthes 1953:49). [10]

Furthermore, he adds that:

> l'ecriture n'est nullement un instrument de communication, elle n'est pas une voie ouverte par ou passerait seulement une intension de langage. (1953:18)[11]

It seems from the above arguments that the symbolic nature of the system of language in its written form predominates when it comes to meaning. Hence for Lacan (quoted by Cameron 1984:96), 'meaning is located not in the thoughts of the enunciator but in the system of signs itself, and the world into which we are socialized is not a world of the things themselves but a symbolic order fixed by the linguistic system.' This attitude to writing and meaning as seen mainly by Barthes derives logically from a structuralist point of view; he also claims that stylistic modes such as precision and clarity are purely rhetorical attributes. Such things, he believes are not intrinsic qualities of a certain kind of writing, but features extrinsically determined in the light of economic and political conditions (see Hawkes 1977: 110).

In my opinion, this view of Barthes as well as of Lacan can be reflected in any analysis of text when properly applied, especially in the media reports which do not reveal a simple reflection of reality (cf. Allan Bell 1984, Fowler et al 1979, Pêcheux 1975, T.A.Van Dijk 1985 etc...).

Barthes (1957) also applied a cultural and semiological approach to explain linguistic behaviour. His viewpoint was inspired by Whorf and Sapir (1956) arguing through their hypothesis that the so called objective world does not exist 'out there', but is manufactured by us through our total pattern of linguistic behaviour (cf. Hawkes 1977:110, and Cameron 1985:97). Therefore it seems, from the above views based on Barthes, that the manipulations of codes for certain purposes determine social meanings. In section 1.2.1 below I shall concentrate on how this view can be exemplified in the media.

1.2.1 Meaning in Media Codes

As an illustration to the points made above, Barthes (1957) comes up with an example of a covert manipulation of codes by the French media. The actual example is a Paris-Match magazine cover showing a black soldier in a French uniform saluting the French flag. According to Barthes this photograph has normally one fully adequate denotative meaning: 'Here's a black soldier saluting the French flag'. But this meaning is invaded by a second sense, which is precisely its intended sense: the connotative meaning. The context from which this second meaning sprung is the time of the Algerian war of independence, therefore a mixture of nationalism and militarism. The interpretation according to Barthes is that colonialism must be right since there are even 'negroes' perfectly willing to defend it to death. Hence the mechanisms of ideology and the method whereby these mechanisms are revealed, are set forth in a diagrammatic manner.
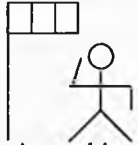
Connotation	'Negro soldier saluting the French flag' *système réel*	Empire: equality and Brotherhood *système dénotatif*
Denotation	photograph	
	système réel	*système dénotatif*

Diagram 1: After Barthes (1957)

Barthes argues that there is a perpetual to-and-fro movement between the denotative and the connotative so that they appear as a natural unity. He claims that the connotated myth (a collective representation) is successful exactly when it 'goes without saying', when it confirms an established attack, when it universalises history by saying 'that's the way it must be'. The sign as a whole is therefore taken up as the articulator of a second concept: The ideological one which is the domain of the signifieds of the connotation (Barthes 1957:166) as shown in the following diagram:

denotative signifier (D.1) photograhic image	*denotative signified (D.2)* Negro saluting French flag	
denotative sign (D.3) *connotative signifier (C.I)*		*connotative signified (C.II)* colonialist nationalism militarism
		connotative sign (C.III)

Diagram 2: after Barthes (1957:115).

The connotative system is seen as an integral part of the signifying system that gives intelligibility to each sign (cf. Barthes' system of fashion. [12]. However this interpretation of the denotative system of meaning as a zero degree non-ideological language is seen as idealist (chambers, 1974:11). Because Barthes (1957:166) sees ideology as

'the domain of signifieds of connotations' and refers to it as 'larceny'[13] (cf. Barthes 1957:126), denotation is seen as literal while connotation is 'symbolic'. Captions are usually denotative. However connotation starts where denotation stops, it uses the description of the picture to establish a further meaning. Connotations in Barthes's terms, 'naturalize' the sign and stop us from questioning it. (Sturrock 1974:17).

Guiraud (1975:41) speaks of a 'technical level of signification based on one of the codes and a poetic one engendered by the receiver using a system or systems of implicit interpretations which by virtue of usage, are more or less socialized or conventionalized.'

There are various arguments concerning the separation of the two levels (denotative and connotative) as representing two different orders. Hence Chambers (1974) argues that the separation between the connotative sign and the systemic organisation of the linguistic sign (seen in Barthes) is to be questioned, as in the process, the 'logics-in-use' behind the intentionality of the connotative sign are decontextualised in the reductionist movement back to the linguistic model, therefore collapsing the distinction he set forth. Chambers argues that ideology has to negotiate a path through the differential social relationships and particular pictures of everyday experience that form the framework of interpretation.
In the next section the importance of signification in media language and its relation to ideology is examined.

1.2.2 Signification in Media Language

The denotation/connotation distinction is particularly appealing when it comes to the analysis of public language which is more inclined to be ideological i.e to vehiculate a point of view.

An increasing interest in this theoretical approach by both Media and Discourse Analysts (see Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis) has led us to attempt an application of Barthes' notion of signification. This method introduces semiological representation

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in linguistics in an analysis of newstexts which takes account of their ideological organization syntactically, semantically and pragmatically [14] The background for this study is summarised in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.

An illustration of this method is given by Corner (1983) by looking at the key terms in the ideological organization of the following sentence:

> "But union militants are almost certain to wage a propaganda war to get miners to reject the deal " (Daily Star, 13th Nov.,1980:4).

Corner (1983:272-3) argues that terms like *militants* and *propaganda* have a powerful signification in understanding industry today:

> Yet the significations themselves have the highly determinate readability, secured by a socially objectified notation. *propaganda* operates here to mean *illegitimate* and *dishonest persuasion*. The determinate readability of the signification has implications for the visibility of the statement as the expression of the 'point of view', although it masquerades as natural to the reader.

The same interpretation is achieved by the Media Glasgow group in the following example quoted by Corner (1983:273): *The motor industry is troubled* implying that the work force caused *trouble*. This 'implication' relates to different readers' inferential processes and cannot be systematically attributed to the meaning intentions of the news producer. In another sentence they show how one can draw the realization of the actions which are a *returning* followed by a *going*, they argue that this realization involves intertextual inferences[15] about *trouble, idleness* and *labour disputes* in this industry. Hence the production by Chrysler of a one-sentence popular narrative, inferentially paraphrasable as:

> They come back from an *extended* holiday (associations of idleness) and (promptly) went on another kind of holidaying (reduced working week, two days (idle)).

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Where the two circumstances, *extended Christmas holiday/three day week* linked by the connective of likeness *and* are realizable as a *grim joke* by the author, according to G.U.M.G. In this interpretation the workers are the primary agents of the actions of *returning* and *going* dismissing perhaps the real agent(s) who *put them on*. However as rightly argued by Leech (1981: 43):

> The danger when meaning is covert or implicit, is that we cannot confront the writer by saying 'I disagree' in the same way we could if he had made his feelings and values explicit.

However, it is argued here that a reader or listener can infer meanings in the case of journalistic writing or broadcasting due to its selection of expressions and symbols as I attempt to show in this thesis. One cannot discharge it of intentionality and possible connections with social values and positions in discourse (cf. P. Henry 1968, Pêcheux et al., 1974; Pêcheux 1982).

In written language, a form I am interested in for the purpose of this study, the social meanings are not only drawn from the words but also from the syntagmatic linear organization of the various signs through the pattern of phrasing easily found in *newstalk* as discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis in an account on Orwell's *newspeak* (1954) and English language and politics (1961). It has been argued above that a reader can infer different meanings, independently of the intentions of the author. Thus in the section below the notions of textual power and preferred reading are discussed.

1.3   Textual Power and Preferred Reading

It is argued in this study that there is a natural connection between the order in which texts are symbolically structured and the meanings readers may infer from that order. Hall (1978:26) sees texts as:

the products in some sense of a signifying practice, a practice which constructs and produces meanings.

The notion of textual power (see Morley 1980:9-11) is also based on the idea of preferred reading; 'preferring'appears to be a textual function, working towards the aligning of the inferential structures of 'reading'with those of the moment of 'writing'in a relation of naturalised correspondence; through such a match it is recognized that the reproductive function of discourse and therefore its ideological effectivity are maximized. The notion of 'plurality of readings'is similar to the notion of 'multi-accentuality'loosely, the socially governed variations of meaningfulness attaching to a sign in use to which Voloshinov(1973:10) adds that 'it does not simply exist as part of reality–it reflects and refracts another reality'. According to Voloshinov what is internally constituted is the social fact of the sign

> ... defined by quality of signifying relationships ... and relations between people who by using it make it a sign, like social experience which is the principle of its formation, it has both dialectal and generative properties, effective nucleus of meaning but has in practice a variable range used in a variety of situations...

It is argued in this study that there is some responsibility of the author in the choice of the preferred meaning to convey. Thus, in relation to media language, Hall *et al.*, (1976:53) claim that:

> In relation to the messages available through television we shall suggest that they never deliver one meaning; they are rather the site of a plurality of meanings, in which one is preferred and offered to the viewers over the others as the most appropriate; this preferring is the site of considerable ideological labour.

Hall (1978) relates text to practices and to social formations. Similarly, Fowler *et al* (1979) explore the ways in which 'theories of reality' and relations of power are

encoded in the discursive syntax of newspapers headlines and reports.

Presumably, the ideological character of press and television discourse, both verbal and visual, is an integral part of the text construction (e.g sentence, caption, selection of shot, interview question) and therefore powerfully delimits what is said in any subsequent realisation. This has been argued by Barthes as reported by Young (1981:35-76).

1.3.1 Plurality of Meanings and Preferred Readings

It appeared in section 1.3 that Barthes insists on the delimitation of meaning by the very production of the text which could make the possibility of the plurality of meanings in the same text less possible, although it is clear that words and images are extensively determined in semantic character by their textual and pragmatic positioning[16]. Obviously, there are varying degrees of openness in the potential meanings; therefore abstract words like 'freedom'or 'democracy'in public language for instance are more open than words like 'pencil'. Potential meanings of abstract words are extensively discussed in Chapter 2 in the context of 'Orwellian linguistics'. For example Enoch Powell (Ulster M.P) rejects the denomination of England as a 'democracy', and prefers the label 'Parliamentary government'.

The most apparent examples of preferred reading within a plurality of meanings seem to be those mass media practices in which one strip of text more or less directly closes the openness of another or others; e.g. the verbal 'anchorage'and connotative orienting of a still image by a caption or by copy would be one such example (cf.the Paris-Match example in Diagrams 1 and 2); or related voice-over film techniques in television as detailed in the Glasgow University Media Group's work discussed in chapter 2 of this work.

Thus in Diagram 1 and 2 Barthes saw three ways of reading myth for example.

First by focussing on the signifier the 'negro who salutes' is an example of French imperiality, he is a symbol of it and he argues that this type of focussing by letting the concept fill the form of the myth without ambiguity is that of the producer of myths and that of a journalist. Second by focussing on full signifier, and distinguish the meaning and the form and consequently the distortion which the one imposes on the other. The signification of the myth is received as an imposture. 'the negro becomes the *alibi* of French imperiality.' The third is to focus on the mythical signifier as an extricable whole made of meaning and form and the signification received is ambiguous. 'the saluting negro is no longer an example or a symbol, still less an alibi: he is the very presence of french imperiality. The third level is the most important to pass from semiology to ideology. (Sontag 1982:115).

In newspaper language Barthes exemplifies the way the myth reader is led to rationalize the signified by means of the signifier. Thus in the headline

THE FALL IN PRICES: FIRST INDICATIONS. VEGETABLES: PRICE DROP BEGINS

The first system is purely linguistic, and the signifier of the second system is composed of a certain number of accidents, some lexical (First, begins, the [fall]), some typographical (enormous headlines where the reader usually sees news of world importance) where the signified is 'governmentality'. The signification of the myth follows clearly from this: fruit and vegetable prices are falling because the government has so decided; sometimes the newspaper allows one to see through the myth by for example a small character type headline which follows

the fall in prices is helped by the return of seasonal abundance

The example is instructive because it shows that myth aims at causing immediate impression, its action is assumed to be stronger than the rational explanation which may later 'belie it', and the naturalization of the concept, identified as the essential function of myth, is here exemplary. In a first (exclusively linguistic) system, causality would be, literally, natural:'fruit and vegetables prices fall because they are in

season'. In the second (mythical) system, causality is artificial, false, but it creeps, so to speak through the back door of nature and this is why myth is experienced as innocent speech and not because its intentions are hidden. The reader sees a kind of causal process, the signifier and the signified have in his eyes a natural relationship. Any semiological system is a system of values, the myth consumer takes the signification for a system of facts, myth is read as a factual system, whereas it is but a semiological system. Thus in 'the fall of prices has started', the question is what fall? that due to season or government? Signification here becomes a parasite of the article, in spite of the other being definite, so language lends itself to myth.

1.3.1.1 Reading: Discussion and synthesis

Despite the problems arising from current formulations, the concept of 'preferred'reading and the way of thinking about activity in reading seem to remain among the most suggestive and usable ideas in media language research concerned with power as ideological representation. The most likely developments in this area will come through a more detailed sociolinguistics of the practices involved in 'reading'the varieties of media text. An aspect of this method is to be seen in the Orwellian concept of 'Doublethink'and the methods developed by Fowler et al.,(1979), Kress and Hodge (1978), Van Dijk (1985) among others discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Sinclair (1985:14) for instance argues that although written text is not 'primarily seen as an activity, each reading of it, even two readings by the same reader is a unique communicative event.' He adds that

> ..since the main purpose of a text is to be read, its destined role in a
> series of interactions has a backwash effect upon its composition.

Barthes's essay S/Z (1970) shows that the text does not offer an accurate picture of an unchangingly 'real'world, and second that a reading of it is possible which can tear the veil away, reveal the signifier-signified connection as the un-innocent convention [17] it is, and offer a sense that reality remains genuinely ours to make and to remake as we please.

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1.3.2 Genres of Writing: Signification and Decoding

The concern with signifiers on a semantic level forms a central feature of A.J.Greimas's view (1973:13); he sees the signifier-signified connection as, in the long run, infinitely regressive in nature:

> Signification is thus nothing but such transposition from one level of language to another, from one language to a different language, and meaning is nothing but the possibility of such transcoding.

There are various genres of writing to express power through the textual structure. The main concern in this study is syntax and its relation to 'political and social discourses that serves to legitimate a social order' (Seidel 1985:51) such as the theoretical processes involved in the representation and linking of particular events (Trew 1979). However a genre like the narrative is found relevant in the way it structures the textual order and media reports may be narrative-like . Narrative is made of units which do have a function in the same way newsreports and headlines have theirs. The textual unity has a purpose in the text signification. Thus a character, a scene, an event have the same structural unity as there is between semantics, syntax, phonetics etc. (see Barthes 1966).

1.3.2.1 Narrative

Narrative is defined not only as a form in which historical knowledge is expressed, but also as a medium through which history 'qua' sequence of events is produced. Faye (1984) sees 'Narration' as language 'en acte'(cf. Speech Act Theory in Searle (1971) and Austin (1975)) for a similar view on speech) and reporting (rapportant) its object (cf Faye's study of the Narratives of National Socialism in Thompson (1984:229).

Although originally the model of textual analysis of the narrative is applied to its oral form, as for example in myth, textual analysis is more common in the analysis

of the written narrative (cf. A. J. Greimas's method (1981) which is useful for the analysis of political discourse as it sought to establish a basic matrix of roles and relations, and Gritti's analysis (1981) of the narrative of journalistic writing. Thus following Young's comments (1981:135-6) the aim is

> to manage to conceive and live the plurality of the text by locating and classifying not its meanings but the forms and codes according to which meanings are possible.

The procedures are 'rules of manipulation'.

Barthes put the emphasis on the intertextual function of the text. As an illustration to this form of analysis we can refer to the text translated by E.A. Poe from Beaudelaire chosen by Barthes for this purpose. Thus in the following title of the text

The facts in the case of M. Valdemar,

the function of the title is to mark the beginning of the text as a commodity. Every title thus has several simultaneous meanings including at least these two:

> i) what it says linked to the contingency of what follows it;
> ii) the announcement itself that a piece of literature (which means, in fact a commodity) is going to follow.

Young (1981:139) concludes that 'the title always has a double function, enunciating and deictic". The text is taken outside its author and the literary history he's part of, although Barthes takes it that these problems will pass into the analysis in terms of cultural quotations or departures of codes. As mentioned above Barthes' analysis operates at the level of discourse. The textual analysis used allows the reader to stay within the symbolic, the plurality of the text, and its significance. The explanation given by Barthes is that for commercial reasons, society needing to assimilate the text to a product (cf. Bourdieu 1974), a commodity has need of markers. An

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analogy between the function *title + text* and *headlines + reports* is relevant to my study of headlines in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Thus, in Waldemar, from the point of view of the analysis 'there are traces of the two codes: a socio-ethnic code (the name Waldemar is Polish), and a symbolic code.' Therefore, according to Young (1981:139) quoting Barthes: 'saying 'M(onsieur) Waldemar'is not the same thing as saying Waldemar. The presence of the 'monsieur'brings with it an effect of social reality, of the historically real: the hero is socialised, he forms part of a definite society, in which he is supplied with a civil title.'

In headlines, a formal term of address such as 'P.M. Margaret Thatcher'symbolizes a recognition of a certain social status, and Maggie another one depending on the user and the context of use (See Chapter 7 of this thesis).

Greimas (1981:34-65), sees three components of myth in the structural model of analysis of the narrative:

> i) The 'armature'is an invariant structural status common to all narra-
> tives.
> ii) The message.
> iii) The code.

This organisation obviously shows the importance of structure analogous to the system of Langue thus the Langue of the narrative.

An application of this type of analysis on journalistic writing, another form of narrative since its form follows the order generally agreed as specific register, is realized by J.Gritti (1981:100). He describes a press story entitled *The last days of a great man*. The corpus consists in a number of articles describing the agony and the death of pope John XXIII, in seven dailies and four weeklies in Paris: a reported event in real life becomes a representation; apart from *Le Monde* which provides a denoted report underlying its objective purpose, all the other papers obey a new narrative scheme described as:

i) Dilemma (incurable sickness)

ii) Disjunction (a possible amelioration)

iii) Dilemma (an irremediable aggravation)

The segmentation of the sequences reveals the narrative writing of each paper in the way they tell the story e.g. The *Parisien libéré* has six sequences (more hesitant). *France-soir* has four sequences. This form of analysis has to a certain extent motivated my deconstruction of texts from the reports of the Falklands war into information units in Chapter 6 of this work.

It follows from the above methods of analysis that there is always a tendency to seek a principle of classification and a basis of description to be extracted from the "apparent anarchy of the messages"in order to set up a system of rules and units (cf. Barthes 1966:1-4). Thus Pêcheux's methodological framework (1974) for instance stands against Saussure's dichotomy (1960) of langue and parole and also against the idea of signification being determined by value which pertains to langue; however Pêcheux faces also the same difficulties due to the general orientations of structuralism. (cf. Thompson's criticism (1984) of these methods as discussed in section 1.4 below).

1.4 Position in Discourse, and Meaning.

Paul Henry (1968) argues that the conditions of production and interpretation of the discourses are tied to the different loci assigned to people by social structures. Hence he points out that when a mother speaks to her boy, the relevant elements in the conditions of production of her messages are tied to her relationship with her child in the family if she addresses him, as for example, 'Johnny'; whereas if 'Johnny James Smith'is used then the relevant elements belong to an institution outside the family. In the domain of politics where words change their meaning according to

positions held by those who employ them, Pêcheux (1969) stresses the determination of significations by particular social historical conditions; Pêcheux therefore sees the results of what is called 'discourse analysis'in the English speaking world as mainly descriptive and disregarding the role of ideology (cf. Chapter 2 of this thesis). However recently a recognition of the latter in discourse has been clearly shown in the field of discourse analysis of newstexts (Chapter 2 of this study). Pêcheux (1969:12) uses the term 'processus de production' to indicate formal mechanisms which produce a specific type of discourse in a given context. Thus discourse is seen as

> une partie d'un mécanisme de fonctionnement, c'est à dire appartenant à un système de normes ni purement individuelles, ni globalement invariables mais relevant de la structure d'une idéologie politique et donc correspondant à une certaine place a l'intérieur d'une formation sociale donnèe.

Although Pêcheux had attempted to incorporate the analysis of discourse to the theory of ideology, there are still according to some critics (J.B. Thompson 1984), some elements which need more clarification. Consequently, the following aspects are to be made clear according to this criticism of Pêcheux by Thompson (1984:249):

1. Langue and the autonomy of syntax

    The theory of discourse calls into question Parole while leaving Langue intact, again stressing the autonomy of langue which provides grounds for a rejection of any sociologism in linguistics. Hence Pêcheux's model (1978) of automatic analysis of discourse attests the fidelity to the perspective opened up by Saussure and therefore is another example of a linguistic system sheltered from the effects of history.

2. Discourse and theory of meaning

    However, the concept of parole is replaced by the concept of discourse where social historical formations leave their traces in language. According to Pêcheux's

idea, semantics cannot be divorced from a theory of the social-historical conditions in which meaning is produced;

But Thompson (1984), argues that although this discursive semantics claims to bring a theory of meaning, in fact it does not because the 'discursive processes'of Pêcheux are various forms of substitution between the elements of a discursive formation [18]. For example 'meaning'(sens) is always one word, expression or proposition for another word; in that case Thompson sees a proximity between this notion of 'sens'and the Saussurean concept of 'valeur'which makes discourse appear as little more than a contextualized version of langue (Thompson, 1984:250).

Pêcheux (1974) claims that to suppose that 'semantics'is a branch of pure linguistics, that 'sens'is a derivative of syntactic structures (cf. Chomsky 1965) is to exclude from view the ways in which ideology and discursive formations enter into discourse and produce their 'effets'de sens. As an illustration of his ideas, he applied the A.A.D method (1969) on the Mansholt report which is based on a text issued by a Socialist in relation to the Zero Growth Theory (Pêcheux, 1969; 1978:251-266). This method of analysis is described in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Before elaborating on the specificity of journalistic language in Chapter 2 of this thesis it is relevant to this work to focus on some structural approaches to language based on the transformational model which has been adapted to the study of variations through syntactic transformations in Chapter 6 of this work.

1.5   Syntax and Semantics

For an early version of T.G, alternative syntactic phrasings are available to express the same meanings with minor but stylistic variations of focus, perspective, or emphasis. However these variations have their own importance. Thus, Fowler (1985:70) argues that the example:

circumstances dictate the raising of taxes

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mystifies not only the pseudo agency of 'circumstances' but also the syntactic options taken in the remainder of the sentence such as the deletion of nouns designating participants, the verb 'dictate' which has no object, and 'raising' is without a subject, taxes are not linked to any specification of who is taxed etc.

Chomsky's attitude to syntax and semantics is seen through the analysis of the following sentences:

1—John is easy to please
2—John is eager to please

(1) and (2) have an identical syntactic constituent structure but different distributional potential. As explained by T.Moore and Carling (1982), in Chomsky's model this difference of distribution was captured by giving them distinct syntactic representations at one level of deep structure and the same representation at another level of surface structure.

The two levels being related by transformational rules, an example of similar deep structures but distinct surface structures was the relation between active and passive sentences. The first argument was that deep structure was the structure that formalised those aspects of sentence structure relevant to the semantic component, then a later view argues that both structures (deep and surface structure) contributed in a different way to semantic interpretation. Chomsky's latest view is that a suitably enriched version of surface structure alone is sufficient to determine semantic interpretation. The question therefore was how syntactic apparatus modelled on the rule systems of formal language theory could be given semantic significance.

Following Moore and Carling's argument (1982), there are two reasons weakening Chomsky's theory which are

i)Semantic notions such as presupposition and focus are not sufficiently well defined or well understood to come into a formal model.

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ii)Because of obscurity of meaning there's no comprehensive metalanguage or set of categories in terms of which meaning may be formally represented.

1.5.1 Analysis of Meaning

Following the discussion above two formal methods for analysing the lexicon emerged: such as

i) The Classificatory Method

It consists of establishing relations among lexical items as for example Hyponymy (dog, cat, animal) or Semantic Fields (or classes) i.e. verbs are grouped under heads such as 'motion'etc. and nouns under heads such as 'place'etc...

as in

    a) John went into town
    b) The man drove into the city

where (a) and (b) have the same semantic representation under class *go* or *move* and class place *town* and *city*.

ii)The Decompositional Method

It breaks down the meaning of individual lexical items into complexes of 'semantic features'or markers such as Man [human, male, adult] for a bachelor; Fillmore (1968) develops these semantic features in Case Grammar. Thus in

    c) John killed Bill
    d) John injured Bill

the distinction between 'kill'and 'injured'is their breaking down in

    CAUSE BECOME DEAD (for 'kill')
    CAUSE BECOME HURT (for 'injure')

the occurence of CAUSE and BECOME in both representations enables the extent to which the two items involve similar basic concepts to be made explicit. Thus Generative semanticis(see Katz and Fodor 1964) assume that

i)word meaning is clearly definable

ii)semantic markers can be comprehensive

However (i) suggests a dictionary view of word meaning as claimed by Katz and Fodor (1964:491):

> It is widely acknowledged and certainly true that one component of a semantic theory of a natural language is a dictionary of that language known as the Lexicon

This view obviously suggests that words are objects that contain meanings that may be best studied independently of the knowledge, experience and expectation of language users, to which one can argue that native speakers do not always mean the same thing by the same words (cf. Whorf & Sapir's hypothesis on language relativity, 1956); and more can be said about social meanings of words like 'terrorist', 'freedom fighter'etc... Thus, if for R. Reagan (US President) the Contras of Nicaragua are called 'freedom fighters', for the Sandinista government of Nicaragua they are'counter revolutionary'. The claim made by the G.S that a dictionary entry is a characterisation of every sense a lexical item can bear in a sentence, is questioned. An example is the French term *indigene* which is given the dictionary entry 'a native speaker of the country'(Le Petit Robert) but is not given to the French people in France, or to the 'whites'in Australia, because the primitive connotative meaning it has taken by usage has become culturally conventionalized. Concerning their second point, that semantic markers can be comprehensive Katz & Fodor also failed to take into account 'the flexibility of language which is in constant adaptation to novel experience' as rightly argued by Moore and Carling (1982:135). The G.S assumption that the number of distinct senses can be recovered at the level of surface structure within the formal model by the inclusion of semantic markers, does not reflect the way in which individual items interact with one another and with the knowledge, expectations and ideology of language users. Thus the following sentence

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John wrote poetry in the garden

generates

1 - It was John who read poetry in the garden
2 - It was poetry John read in the garden
3 - It was in the garden John read poetry

An attempt is made to incorporate within the syntactic model the observation that these three sentences, while they may be syntactically related are nevertheless distinct in terms of what they pressupose and what, in each case, is in focus. Chomsky (1965) claims that Thematic relations are 'carried over'by transformations. However, as argued by Kress and Hodge (1979) someone who does not know the transformation will not be able to reverse it, to arrive at the underlying structure; thus different groups within one general language community will habitually 'read'the same words in radically different ways. Hence in media language for example the description of transactive actions is done by using processes denoting complex actions which are collapsed into surface forms which make them seem extremely simple such as the nominalisations which conventionally become cliches, and the reader usually scans them quickly, whereas the writer of an editorial for instance needs more time to choose the words for the composition of a leading article. Thus the terms *production* and *ban* imply actions such as

Someone bans something → ban
someone produces something → production

Whereas 'production'is a derivation marked by the ending (-ion) 'ban'in contrast has not this marking and is charged with the quality of negativity 'not do'(something) which is removed by transformation from the surface of the language; we are forced to look for the causer of such action; the same conclusion prevails for the following words used to describe the miners'actions (Kress & Hodge 1979). Thus,

curtail → not (produce) as much

kill → make not alive

reduce → not do as much as before

have nominalisations derived from sentences as causers:

a sudden [black out] can kill people

something/someone blacks out a city → a black out

where 'black out'is a word which we would expect to find in a dictionary. Hence this example points to one process which language uses to construct new words when the need and the context for a particular nominalisation makes it as a new and stable word. One is forced here to search for the causer of 'kill'. The deletion of actors in the nominalization is useful, because it is easy to substitute miners and still the writer of the editorial is protected from involvement by the transformations he has applied. This seems to give the reader an alternative way of interpreting utterances. However one can wonder whether hearers/readers are aware of the internal structure of these words like that on the right of the arrow as their starting point, which is transformed into the single unit. Kress and Hodge (1979:34) argue that the relationship between surface structure and deep structure is one of simultaneous identity and disjunction. Ideally the identity is prominent and the underlying pre-transformed structure is directly recoverable as is the case with the expanded passive form. But the surface form has an apparently autonomous significance, and the full interpretation of transformed utterances is normally an unstable, perhaps idiosyncratic resolution of the different levels of interpretation, i.e. the interpretation probably involves a kind of double vision whereby the underlying structures are both seen and not seen or 'seen'and not heard. Although reversible, transformations always involve suppression and/or distortion. Kress and Hodge claim that the standard that acts as the measure of what has been suppressed or distorded is given by the underlying structures uncovered by reversing transformations. As an example of heavy transformations, they (1979:29) refer to the language used by scientists such as the following sentence taken from Chomsky's work (1957):

Syntax is the study of the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed in particular languages...where the use of passives show a certain paradox between the apparent contradiction between the linguistic forms of scientific objectivity and the natural form of scientific theories; such constructions indicate a world of people where noone speaks, only language does (Kress and Hodge 1979:29).

Chomsky establishes conditions of the generative power of rules and skips the analysis of the use and meaning of the forms in actual exchanges according to Kress and Hodge. Therefore it seems from the above discussion that the idea that syntax constitutes a system that is independent of meaning and the related idea that language can only be studied as a system independent of language users beliefs and expectations are reflections of an essentially rationalist and idealist position which is discussed in the section below.

1.5.2   Competence Inadequacy

One of the major criticisms made of Chomsky concerns the rigid separation between the linguistic competence of speakers, user's knowledge of language and other types of knowledge of the world of their experiences. He assumed a body of tacit linguistic knowledge called competence found in each competent user of language who is defined as:

an ideal speaker listener in a completely homogeneous community who knows its language perfectly. (Chomsky 1965:3)

Some might argue that this idealisation, which in Chomsky I believe is rather an abstraction, is necessary to reach positive and objective results almost analogous to the ones in Physics. Thus, as Keith Brown (1984:39) put it:

"an attempt to get at the general principles which generate data, must involve generalisation - data is thus rarely rare, it is usually idealised

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to greater or lesser extent to suit the purposes of description and it is difficult to see that it would be possible to proceed in any other way "

Chomsky postulated abstract theoretical constructs only indirectly related to observable data to explain the distribution of forms rather than simply describing them. He had a great impact in descriptive linguistics because he addressed himself to syntactic problems already acknowledged by the structuralists as central as for example the problem of describing the relations holding across syntactic forms. Chomsky, therefore, was recognizing the necessity of dealing with a theory of syntax and context of production of utterances, although he confined himself to the study of an isolatable language, a limitation imposed on himself for valid reasons, as he was not concerned with language in use.

However if we consider the embedding of language in society, it would appear that these were not insights to the nature of language as a social phenomenon and an epiphenomenon. Consequently, Chomsky makes a rigid separation between the linguistic competence of speakers, user's knowledge of language and other types of knowledge of the world of their experiences.

Thus the dichotomy Competence/Performance in Chomsky together with the dichotomy Langue/Parole in Saussure is justified by K. Brown (1984:39) as follows for the former,

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker listener in a completely homogeneous speech community who knows his language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distortions, shifts of attention and interest, errors (random or characteristic) in applying this knowledge of the language in actual performance [Brown refers to Chomsky 1965:3; 1980:6].

As for Saussure it is justified as:

> Langue is a well-defined object in the heterogeneous mass of speech facts.

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Although Saussure favours the study of Langue as an autonomous system and also advocates a science of semiotics which would include the science of language in society:

> On peut donc concevoir une science qui étudie la vie des signes au sein de la vie sociale, elle formerait une partie de la psychologie générale (Saussure 1969:33) [19]

a statement which according to some sources shows the orientation towards a more exhaustive analysis of language by putting it within a wider framework; as L.J. Calvet (1974) put it:

> Looking for India he discovered America

Indeed it is worth quoting Calvet's comment (1975) that most researchers in the field of structural methods of analysis do not question themselves or the procedures or models they use, believing that the formalisations are neutral facts and logical constructions. Thus his remark:

> To answer the question how does language work, some answer by structure, others by competence (L.J. Calvet 1975:78)

Calvet argues that both answers are limitative because:

> i) to answer by structure would confirm the view that language functions as an instrument of communication of which 'will describe the mechanics, therefore, we leave aside society, the individual and the various functions of language'.
>
> ii) to answer by competence is to stress the individual as the producer, but considered as a model of production outside the psychological and social determinations. In both cases we have abstraction, idealisation, hence suppression of history

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In both cases (i and ii) there is a limitation to language as seen through the challenge offered by the functionalist approaches in the methodology of language analysis (cf. Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis). In the next section another form of competence specific to media language is introduced.

1.6   Ideological Competence

In this study I am interested in syntax in its broad sense especially through the transitivity system. As we are in journalism and not in the abstract *langue*, my interest is in the media competence. Bentele (1985) sees two types of competence in relation to the media. The first is the media competence (production) of a journalist. This competence can be described in general as the capability to master a set of rules necessary to produce media products (texts in their widest sense). The second is the media competence (reception) which accordingly is the capability of the recipient to perceive and interpret semiotic systems in the media according to a system of rules. The two competences overlap (see Bentele 1985:162 for details). This double competence argument is also found in a study by Slakta (1971) who talks about a specific competence which is linguistic and a general competence which is both specific (linguistic) and general (ideological) who claims that:

> It is impossible, with all riguor, to separate implicit ideological knowl-
> edge of the social universe from the tacit knowledge of linguistic rules.
> (Slatka, 1971:112).

It is argued here that the dichotomy *competence/performance* is not relevant for media language in its written form because it is simply all performance. Unlike the ideal speaker/hearer the consumer of media discourse understands this discourse according to his/her own knowledge. On the other hand the legitimization of the media by the news they produce as institutions and semiotic systems with a social function recalls Saussure's langue to a certain extent. Also the producers of media language try to produce the discourse of everyone, aiming at a model of ideal

tence which is referential and which does not allow memory or reading, thus being more synchronic than diachronic.

1.7 Conclusion

Two main approches are summarized in Chapter 1. The first based on Saussurean linguistics sees language as a structure whose mechanics can be described outside society and which discards language in use as too complex and therefore not an object for a scientific study, and the second which emphasises the individual as a producer outside social and determinations and which stresses the abstract nature of language. Both approaches are based on a certain idealization of language to form and structure. To a certain extent idealisation is often required, and the intention is not to reject form and structure because most certainly their interaction with other factors contributes to the understanding of utterances as it can be seen with sociolinguistic and pragmatic rules (Chapter 3 of this thesis). In this study, two aspects which are relevant to the type of language and the methodology applied are considered. The first aspect is the notion of the arbitrariness of the sign and the semiotic aspect of langue as advocated in the first approach. The second aspect is the notion of transformations based on the Chomskyan model in the second approach. The Barthesian exploitation of the former opens the way to an incorporation of the notion of ideology in language analysis as it calls into question the social conditions and ' political norms of communication' (Chilton1986:4). The other studies that emerged, although using the formalism of Saussure and Chomsky do not exclude the external influence on language structure. Therefore, this leads us to look at the new structural approaches starting with the functionalist views of language analysis (cf. Halliday; Prague school) in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The various sociolinguistic approaches which incorporate the social factor within the grammatical structure of language, and more particularly in media and political discourse, in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Although syntax was not always the main object of study of structural linguistics (Hocket, 1951, Saussure 1966)) or semiotics (Barthes, 1957) some scholars (Voloshinov, 1973; the Prague school 1964; Halliday 1978;

Fowler *et al.*, 1979; Trew 1978) among other discourse analysts gave it a central position for a different reason than Chomsky (1957, 1965), and this is an interesting point because I consider syntax as important for the general argument of this study which is to adopt a functionalist but socially sensitive method of analysis which to some extent refers to 'patriotic grammar and lexicon'. Chapter 2 of this thesis gives a background of different approaches both theoretical and applied on political and media languages found relevant to the study of the Falkands war reports. It is hoped that a certain combination of those approaches together with the various theoretical concepts surveyed in Chapter 1 will contribute to a satisfactory methodological framework of analysis.

Chapter 2

Scholarship and Essays on Political and Media Languages Social and Linguistic Background in Research

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses Power and Ideology and how they are represented in media language. Media language is chosen because that is where there are most clearly seen. Although this study is mainly concerned with journalistic texts, the latter are examined as a subtype of political texts, since they can be instruments of political action. Various methods of analysing both political discourse and media discourse have been used recently. There is some division between two types of approaches. The first type concentrates on the sociological aspect of language. It is characterized by its emphasis on the macro-structure of language such as content analysis (Glasgow Media Group), thematic analysis although closer to linguistic analysis still more schematic (Van Dijk 1985), and the second type incorporates more of linguistic theory into the social aspect of language (Pêcheux 1969, 1975, 1978, 1982; Trew

1978, 1979, Fowler *et al.*, 1979; Bell 1984); Fowler 1985; Maitland and Marthaud, 1987; Seidl 1985; etc.). The aim of Chapter 2 is to give a summary of some of these approaches followed by some criticism by other scholars. A discussion on the motivation for opting for some of these approches in my case study follows. Section 2.1 summarises the conceptions of language and its relation to society in the context of political implications. In this section I concentrate on Orwellian approach to language practices and their reflection in political thought. An assessment of Orwellian linguistics by some critics is made in the context of the relation between language, power, and meaning. Structural functional methods of discourse analysis in relation to media language are also reviewed. Of more interest is a transformationalist theoretical interpretation of Orwell's work by Fowler and Hodge (1979) and the criticism it led to (Chilton, 1984). The linguistic model of analysis suggested by Fowler and Hodge (1979) and the controversial attitudes (Murray, 1981; Sharrock and Anderson 1981; Durkin, 1983) raised by this method are discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis. The transformationalist approach is also discussed in Section 2.2 which focusses on syntactico-semantic methods of analysis of news and political discourse previously mentioned in Chapter 1 of this study. The discussion in section 2.2 may help to show why I chose the latter method in my analysis of newspaper reports. Section 2.3 refers to some opinions on media discourse and the various methods of analysis of this discourse from content analysis to more linguistically orientated methods which are of relevance to this study. Section 2.4 refers to more recent methods of analysis of news-discourse.

A discussion and comments on the appropriateness of these studies in the context of this work follow in Section 2.5 of this Chapter. In this section a conclusion from the various discussions of this chapter is drawn in relation to previous discussions in Chapter 1 and further discussions in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

2.1 Language practices and Political implications

Established conceptions of standard linguistics have presumed an homogeneity of actual societies and claimed the functioning of their languages as arising from tacit consensus (cf. Chilton 1984), as seen in Chapter 1 with Saussure's homogeneous speech community and Chomsky's notion of an ideal speaker hearer (cf. Chapter 1 of this work).

Some critics (Chilton 1984; Calvet 1975) considered these conceptions as Utopian since they relate languages to Utopian presupposition. Thus, Society is seen by these critics as a conflictual entity rather than as a group of individuals (cf. Thompson 1984).

Chilton in his discussion of Orwell's Newspeak (1984), argues that the idea of Utopian unified language in George Orwell's view (1949) of languages depends on the evaluation made of their ethical or political implications. Chilton refers to Swift, in *Gulliver's Travels* which satirises specific types of language theory: language planning and language practice (cf. Orwell 1961:408). This is reflected in the reduction of vocabulary size (cf. the voyage to Laputa) leading to a conceptual restriction by linguistic means: thus in *Nineteen Eighty Four*, this reduction might contribute to the diminishing of the power of abstraction and creativity among the users of the language.

However, although the idea of a unified factual language [1] was categorised as a Utopian ideal, Orwell argues that this position assumes that theories of language - and certain language practices - express ethical and political values (cf. Sampson 1979).

Chilton (1984:130) argues that Orwell's view above, would be incompatible with most accepted views about what constitutes linguistic science, since such views usually disclaim any logical connections between linguistic theory and the holding of political beliefs (cf. Chomsky 1979). Sampson (1979:8) argues against Chomsky (in his early works) that political theories or beliefs can be derived from:

...supposedly 'scientific' theories of languages; hence any notion of a
politics of language would make beliefs about language as well as action
in language matters of political behaviour
(Sampson 1979:8)

The question therefore concerns the impact scientific knowledge has on political
matters, as seen for example in the relation between politics and literature (Orwell
1961:398)

Thus Sampson (1979:8) claims that Chomsky's syntax (1957) refutes 'liberalism'
while semantics strongly supports it.

Saussure argued (1966:81) that the linguist who wishes to understand a state of
language must discard all knowledge of everything that produced it. Therefore the
linguist must ignore and suppress the past because the intervention of history can
only falsify his judgement. This argument is part of the controversy that Orwell's
assumptions about language and power had been trying to solve by redefining the
theoretical framework of language analysis (see Orwell's approach in the section
below and Barthes' similar account in Chapter 1 of this thesis).

2.1.1   Orwell's Newspeak Theory

In the Appendix of his novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*, Orwell uses Newspeak to il-
lustrate a theory of the relationship between language form and language meaning
and also a theory of the relationship between meaning, mind and reality; hence the
statement:

The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of ex-
pression for the world view and mental habits proper to the devotees
of 'Ingsoc' but to make all other modes of thought impossible. (Orwell
1954:241).

Therefore the linguists of 'Oceania' define all the rules and definitions of the languages like dictionary writers (cf. Johnson's dictionary, 1755). They decide which words shall 'exist', and the aim is the elaboration of a perfect version which will fix the vocabulary beyond change; this procedure was not uncommon in technical languages for such practical purposes such as efficiency of communication or other forms of registers such as academic language (cf. Mey 1985). However, Orwell's satire makes explicit that this linguistic myth (Oceania's definitions) is frequently untrue; he argues that the means is frequently political power related to force, forms of manipulation, and he argues that this is true in the novel as well as in the real world of social formations (cf. Barthes' views on classical French in Chapter 1 of this work; Mey 1985 on standard language).

This notion of power is also found in Thompson's argument (1984) that language theory should be viewed within relations of domination, therefore in the context of a social theory. It is 'social control' that is exercised and not 'reality control' for scientific purposes as the writers of newspeak try to justify it. Orwell (1954) tried to show how the social structure acts on every aspect of personal behaviour affecting active and passive linguistic experience, he was concerned especially with one aspect of social structure, inequality in the distribution of power:

> Particular relations are all variant realisations of a single structural
> opposition between those who possess authorised power and those who
> lack it. It is in the material interests of the first group to maintain their
> authority over the second and to persuade them that it really is in their
> best interests not to challenge this authority.

In linguistic behaviour Orwell saw this principle realised through forms of public communication such as newspapers, or instances of power such as governments, bureaucracies etc. Control is exercised through language as argued by Fowler and Hodge in section 2.1.2 below.

2.1.2 Linguistic and Interpretative View

Following Fowler and Hodge's interpretation (1979), Orwell's newspeak is shown to be a symbol of the importance of the mode of exercising control through language, in the dialogue between Winston and O'Brien in the second half of the novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*. Three linguistic operations contribute to exercise some forms of control:

1. deletions of articles, prepositions, conjunctions and modality and tense (is/was) punctuation.

2. Substitutions.

3. Re-ordering (Shift of indication of time place to early position).

Hence Fowler and Hodge considered the following report in Newspeak from Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*:

> Times 3.12.83. Reporting bb dayorder doubleplusungood refs unpersons rewrite fullwise, upsub antefiling (1954:39).

as a transformation (cf. Standard Theory of Transformation, Chomsky 1965) from oldspeak (Standard):

> (The) reporting (of) B(ig) B(rother's) order (for the) Day (in the) Times (of) December 3(rd) (19)83 (is) extremely unsatisfactory (and)(makes) ref(erence)s (to) non-existent persons. Rewrite (it) (in) full and submit your draft to Higher Authority before filing.

According to them, the transformations above seem to have two main functions:

1. indications of relationships between words or parts of a sentence are suppressed.

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2. indications of the truth-value of the utterance are no longer possible.

For instance, their argument is that we cannot say whether the reporting is now unsatisfactory or whether it always was—it is not clear what is a verb and what is a noun; e.g., 'ref(s)' could be either. A similar case is the sentence 'reporting of Big Brother's order for the day'. The sentence could be a transformation of an underlying structure which has the form X reported Y, where X is the unknown actor and Y the object. The explanation for the choice of such a linguistic form according to Fowler and Hodge could be for 'the sake of economy' but it could also be a 'fine example of doublethink'. (cf. Fowler and Hodge 1979, for more details). The surface form typical of this kind of language is achieved mainly by two related transformations which are nominalisations and deletions:

1. nominalisations (i.e. turning verbs into nouns)

    e.g., report → reporting, refer → references.

Orwell describes the interchangeability of nouns and verbs as characteristic of Newspeak where for instance one peculiarity

> an almost complete interchangeability between different parts of speech. The word 'thought' for example did not exist in Newspeak. Its place was taken by 'think' which did duty for both noun and verb. (Orwell 1954:243).

2. Deletion (the rule in this case is delete all agents except Big Brother).

Fowler and Hodge 1979 argue therefore that the effect of these two rules (i) and (ii) is that the only kind of action which is coded as action (i.e. through the use of verb) is the exercise of authority by whoever is doing the ordering and the only active agent is Big Brother.

Following the above analysis, it comes out that the nature of newspeak requires a reader's competence as the meaning is discernable with difficulty. This competence I believe, is not only a linguistic competence in the sense of Chomsky's but rather a form of a general competence as advocated by Slakta (1971). A prominent function seems to be implication or double think as put by Orwell:

> The input is a piece of language plus an unspecific instruction to change it. (Orwell 1954:39).

2.1.3 Transformations: a Critical Account

So far the linguistic account of Orwellian work has been interpreted by Fowler and Hodge (1979) through the transformationalist interpretation (see my account above). Fowler and Hodge (1979) also claim that transformations do not just change grammatical constructions (cf. Chomsky in Chapter 1 of this work), but also actually change meaning, and this is where they depart from Chomsky's theory.

Some critics have put reservations as to the above principle because of the different nature of the transformations they present. Hence Chilton (1984:131) argues that it leads them into difficulties. For instance, following the example above where Winston Smith receives instructions expressed in a form of telegraphic Newspeak, Orwell's rendering into English, what is at issue according to Fowler and Hodge (1979:13) is the nature of the relationship between the two languages

> the new language is related systematically to the standard English version by a series of transformations, mostly deletions.

suggesting, therefore, that 'Orwell's Newspeak is to be thought of as a variant of English yielded by a special stylistic set of syntactical operations' (Chilton 1984:131). Chilton's argument against the above theory is that it raises the question of which language's grammar do these syntactical operations belong to, since according to him the main linguistic theme of the novel is what is the nature of the relationship

between Oldspeak and Newspeak, and it is made clear that these two languages are to be seen as two separate languages as he shows in the following example from Orwell's novel *Nineteen eighty-four* where Winston comments:

> You haven't a real appreciation of Newspeak Winston, said Syme. Even when you write it, you're still thinking in oldspeak...these pieces that you write in the Times...they're good enough but they're translations. (Orwell 1954:45)

This means that it is not a transformation from one variety into another. According to Chilton (1984:12), Hodge and Fowler present their transformational rules as turning oldspeak into abbreviated Newspeak but not the other way round (1984:12).

The second argument, following the Whorfian Hypothesis (Whorf, 1956) is that Newspeak is specific in the concepts it encodes, and if some things are not expressed, it is not due to deletions or transformations but because the appropriate words do not exist.

Thirdly, Fowler and Hodge's transformationalist account of the description of the way already produced texts get interfered with an editorial or a censorship process makes it unclear how their notion of transformations can be applied to the mental processes and speech acts of the individual newspaper, as distinct from the relaying of sentences. The interfering of texts with an editorial has also been the topic of Bell's study (1984) of newscasts, who also devised some transformational rules to overcome bias. According to Chilton, this problem arises from the fact that in their scheme, first you generate a sentence of oldspeak, then you transform it into Newspeak. Chilton's criticism mainly points out that any attempt to assimilate Orwell's theory of language to a transformationalist one will tend to miss radical aspects of Orwell's politico-linguistic vision.

Chilton is also against the inclusion of 'context-free deletions of prepositions and the substitution of value judgements' which he says 'cannot be part of a finite transformational grammar' (Chilton 1984:131). However Van Dijk (1985:4) seems

to support this inclusion:

> even through such apparently context-free language characteristics
> as sentential syntax, ideological positions, contents of power can also be
> signalled.

In standard theory transformational rules are supposed to represent the knowledge or competence of the ideal speaker/hearer (see Chapter 1 in this work) with individual performance being regarded as tolerable variation peripheral to the system. A similar point of view is implied by Fowler and Hodge's use of Bernstein's notion of different codes of the same language, which are also considered as variants of the same basic linguistic system (see Bernstein 1971). In this conception the linguistic system is closed, no individual can affect the whole, and his linguistic activity is relegated to the category of 'parole'.

The acceptance of the idea of a standard language 'Oldspeak' confirms the Saussurean separation of Langue and Parole where Langue could be the standard version. Such a situation could lead to what Joseph (1987) calls a fallacious interpretation of language standards 'held to represent the original state of the language' and 'any deviation from the standard is taken as a sign of ignorance.' (Joseph 1987:126). Moreover no individual can consciously grasp the entirety of the rules that constitute the 'Langue' of the community. Hence Thody (1977) comments in the preface to his book on Roland Barthes:

> No-one, in Saussure's way of looking at language, can ever possess
> the whole langue. This is a corporate and virtually anonymous treasure
> which enables communication to take place, but which can never have
> more than a potential existence in any actual speaker.

In certain ways one can consider the Saussurean concept of langue as Utopian (cf. Chapter 1 of this thesis). Orwell in that respect is opposed to the concept of a verified entity myth and hence is in opposition to Saussure.

2.1.4   The Concept of Langue in Orwell's Theory

The concept of langue as a static system mystifying the social processes, by which conformity is pursued is crucial to Orwell's theory of Newspeak. What his satire does, however, is to demystify it by presenting it as the product of a planned policy— in effect by restoring its historical dimension. The sociolinguistic model of *Nineteen-eighty-four* proposes the possibility that some elite might develop a form of language that is fixed and closed, and unintelligible to the rest of the population.

The exclusion of the relevance of temporal succession for the speaker, although he recognises time as historically antecedent states of a language (diachrony), attests of the importance of synchrony and static state of language in his view. However one could interpret the priority of synchronic descriptions as methodological rather than a theoretical prime.

Orwell is concerned with the way in which it is possible to be trustful and truthful in a given language. Consequently, he is concerned with the extent to which that possibility depends on the relation of language to temporal succession for the speaking subject.

As an illustration to the above historical dimension, one can refer to the example in *Nineteen Eighty Four* where Winston (see above) has no clear memory of the states where Oceania was at war with Eastasia, so he cannot make a truth claim at any time of the form:

Oceania is/was/will be at war with Eastasia.

Tense ceases to function with respect to speaker's time.

An aspect of the divorce of Langue from Time is the exclusion of the description of linguistic renewal by theoretical linguists according to Chilton's view (1984:133). This theoretical position is identical with Orwell's Newspeak planner's practice. It is intended that Newspeak should stay a static, closed system. Lexical production

and borrowing are ruled out, such restrictions are perceived as a means of political control.

2.1.5 The Involvement of Power in Newspeak

Orwell's view of political language and the popular sense of the term 'Newspeak' can be closer to legal language which does not merely carry information but defines reality performatively , thus a speech act and pragmatic analysis of Orwell's work would probably be illuminating.

It is clear that in *Nineteen Eighty Four* Orwell was sensitive to the role both of structural and performative aspects of the meaning in the social process, and it is these aspects that largely explicate his idea of 'reality control'. The notion of Newspeak rests on the equation of language and the political ideology of Oceania; Newspeak as the character O'Brien points out rests on a metaphysics:

> Power is power over the human beings, over the body —but, above
> all, over the mind...We control matter because we control the mind.
> Reality is inside the skull.... (Orwell 1954:212-213).

Controlling the mind is done through the structure of language (Orwell 1954:241). However, Orwell's work being satirical, he is not committed to the principle of language structure controlling the mind since he takes full account of the role of power. Indeed Orwell does not believe that language structure alone can determine the conception of reality: power is required to enforce it.

The argument, therefore, is that assertions as to the state of things may be taken as true by different speakers under different social conditions where power, authority and status are involved as shown when Winston is tortured, for example:

> $2 + 2 = 5$ because the Party says so.

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However, Chilton argues that legal truths are not always distinguished, e.g., in 'Guilty' in the law court where the felicity conditions (cf. Searle 1971) are clear; but

> Monetary supply is the cause of inflation
>
> Proust was a great novelist

may apparently have the force of legal truths and seem undistinguishable for certain speakers and hearers from truth claims proper (Chilton 1984:137). These statements probably entail that opinions could be taken as absolute truths. Fairclough (1987:116) argues that 'the relationship between register and power shows how people shape registers, and how registers shape people.' The concept of power in language structure is also discussed by Bolinger (1980:72) who argues that 'words, grammar and the rest of language have a latent power, individually and in the way sentences are built from them.' language therefore is not a neutral instrument as I attempt to show in my study of the Falklands reports in Chapter 5, 6 and 7.

2.1.6 Concept of Referential Meaning

Meaning, following Newspeak theory, would be extremely structuralist if it followed the "Whorfian hypothesis" (1956) where the only conceivable concepts are those already determined by the language. For instance, the expression 'politically free' would be an inconceivable concept because, as a collocation it is linguistically unavailable.

However, as argued by Chilton (1984:140) Orwell opposes a referential view of meaning which simply says that the collocation 'political freedom' is impossible because there is no political freedom for it to refer to. He is not defining meaning theoretically, but in the sense of what people do (he is not saying it is meaningless, but that restriction is not achieved by purely linguistic means). Whatever the theory is, it requires social and political conditioning as well (cf. Pêcheux 1969; 1975) and Thompson 1984b). So the idea of stripping words to their desired definitions is a complex one in *Nineteen Eighty Four*. It involves saying what you *can mean* in

a language (to use Halliday's formulation 1970; 1973) not merely by virtue of the internal properties of the language, but also in the double sense that those with power

1. have predefined the language for you

2. can employ non-linguistic constraints on its extension and use.

Hence this point of view from Orwell:

> The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world view and mental habits proper to the devotee of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible. (1954:241).

The connection between knowledge and meaning in Orwell is summarized by Chilton (1984:142) as follows:

> What Orwell is up against here, hence differing from Whorf (1956) is the difficulty of drawing a sharp distinction between genuine semantic contradictions and the set of beliefs, assumptions, and values. The former are specified by the internal structural properties of the language, and the latter are held by particular people with respect to their world, stressing therefore the importance of knowledge in determining meaning.

Orwell's essay 'Politics and the English Language' (1961) discusses contemporary uses of actual language as used by politicians and the media, and which Orwell believed, manifests a similar tendency towards predictability, loss of meaning and 'reduced state of consciousness' favorable to political conformity (Orwell, 1961:363)

2.1.7   Role and Function of Newspeak

According to Bolton (1984:151) Orwell didn't have much interest in language development as an ongoing process. Newspeak was an artificial government creation,

not an evolutionary state in the language. Newspeak and its characteristic as a literary written language different from a natural language which has a distinct role is examined as reflected in Goldstein's book (Orwell 1954:168):

> English was (Oceania's) chief *lingua franca* and Newspeak apart from its individual features is as a whole a literary device with chiefly literary origins.

Thus the effect of the following phrase from the report in newspeak (section 2.1.2)above

> in the *Times* 3.12.83 reporting bb day order double plus ungrad refs unpersons rewrite fullwise upsub antefiling. (Orwell, 1961:39)

is also seen in similarly telegraphic headlines. Orwell as quoted by Bolton (1984:189) equates political writing to pieces of a mecano set.

> political writing in our time consists almost entirely of prefabricated phrases bolted together like the pieces of a child's mecano set. (in Bolton 1984:189)

and also talked of 'prefabricated henhouses' (Orwell 1961:366-367)

> Prose consists less and less of words chosen for the sake of their meaning and more of phrases tacked together like the sections of a pre-fabricated hen-house.

Orwell also compares Newspeak to 'ungrammatical' regularity of early child language:

> the extreme regularity of Newspeak inflections resembles the sim-plicity of its syntax, both reflect immature but normal stages in child language learning, as also clearly, does its meagre vocabulary.

So Newspeak is artificial but it is not arbitrary (see Bolton 1984:156).

The syntax of Newspeak validly reflects the early stages of language acquisition. Therefore, Bolton (1984:181) quotes Orwell who wrote:

> there are no reliable rules, there is only the general principle that concrete words are better than abstract ones, and that the shortest way of saying anything is always the best.

A similar view is held by Bautier (1984). Orwell consequently set up the following rules at the end of 'Politics and the English Language' (1961:366-367):

1. never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech, which you are used to seeing in print

2. never use a long word where a short one will do,

3. never use the passive where you can use the active,

4. if it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.

5. never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent,

6. break any of these rules sooner, then say anything outright barbarious

(cf. also Bolton 1984:191 for discussion).

These rules remind us of Grice's maxims of conversation (1975), since they are just as difficult to apply (see in Chapter 3 of this thesis), the conditions of production of discourse in Bourdieu and Calvet and Allan Bell's set (1984a) of rules for editing later in this chapter. According to Bolton's criticism (1984:193), Orwell himself remarks at the end of his essay:

> look back through this essay and for certain you will find that I have again and again committed the very faults I am protesting against.

For example, the essay's opening (1961:353) includes:

> ... but it is generally assumed ...

Furthermore, referring to the Rules, Orwell says that one could keep all of them and still write bad English. And of course, from a linguistic point of view, the opening sentences of Orwell's essay are by his own rules apparently a transgression - they contravene number (iv) and arguably numbers (ii) and (iii). Hence Bolton (1984:196) states that Orwell's rule number (iv) assumes a sophisticated judgement.

Orwell adds that in 'our time, political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible... Thus it has to consist largely of euphemisms, question begging and sheer cloudy vagueness':

> Defenceless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*: millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*: people are imprisoned for years without trial or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy Arctic number camps: this is called elimination of *unreliable elements*". (see Orwell 1961:363).

He (*ibid.*) states that such phraseology is needed if one wants to name things without calling up mental picture of them.

Orwell's title and remarks deal with the language as a whole—spoken and written, receptive and expressive. His real concern is with political language—a sub-language. Political language is designed to make 'lies sound truthful and murder respectable'. Bolinger (1980:72) claims that

technically loaded words are euphemistic or dysphemistic. They picture what they designate in a favorable or an infavorable way.

he therefore adds that

the heavier loading of the biased noun is most visible with names of nationalities. It suggests racial stereotypes, associations are built up with noun and adjective. (Bolinger 1980:79).

A number of examples of this euphemistic jargon are given by today's political events around the world; thus to quote a few, the occupation of the South of Lebanon by Israel seems to be widely accepted as the *Protection of Israeli border* or a *security zone*. An another controversial linguistic device is the passive voice[2] which illustrates the difference between grammatical and rhetorical features. Some scholars (Stanley and Robbins 1977) see it as the most controversial construction in the English language; they sum up some linguistic views which see the passive voice as a 'sign of sophistication for educated' or as as 'effective prose'. Stanley and Robbins rightly argue that 'effective prose' intentionally affects the reader in some way predetermined by the writer:

Certain uses of the truncated passive enable the speaker/writer to manipulate the amount of information available to the hearer/reader influencing the way in which the latter can and will interpret a given sentence. (Stanley and Robbins 1977:300).

A passive voice allows a different ordering of participant nouns than its active equivalent as for example

X was killed by Y
Y killed X

and in Fowler's definition (1985:71-72)

It is one of a number of reordering transformations that are used to determine the order in which information is released to an addressee, and to focus attention on topics of relatively great importance

2.2 A Syntactico-Semantic Approach

In the following section I am going to refer to other forms of analysis which also uses a transformationalist approach close to Fowler *et al.*'s model. The first is applied on news discourse, the second on political discourse.

2.2.1 Bell's model and system of rules

Bell's model of linguistic analysis of news (1984a) also proposes a model of transformations which might have some more theoretical explanations; these are:

1. information deletions which remove information from a sentence and information addition which add some information to the sentence;

2. lexical substitutions which replace one lexical item or several;

3. syntactic rules which transform a relative clause into a main clause by deleting a relative pronoun, or a finite verb into a non-finite verb, and deletions of co-ordinate structures.

According to Bell (1984a) a certain number of inaccuracies can occur and these can be reflected in the linguistic structure of the text:

1. falsification

2. over-assertion

3. over scope

4. refocus

5. addition

To discuss the first inaccuracy above (falsification), Bell takes the story as the basic unit of news and not the sentence (cf. Greimas, 1981; and Gritti, 1981 in Chapter 1 of this thesis).

The semantic effect of inaccuracies makes a story more newsworthy, e.g., many changes to time adverbials make a story more recent than it is, Bell argues. Galtung and Ruge (1970:259-298) suggest that the concept of recency being just one news value or factor, there are other news values influences on the selection of news:

1. frequency: which makes them conform to established cycles of newswork;

2. negativity: with preconception about a nation;

3. consonance, which shifts stories towards greater consonance with stereotypes.

In relation to the analysis of news, Bell argues that the three components to the problem of inaccurate editing are:

1. practical

2. technical/Linguistic

3. social/ideological

For the first component, Bell argues that there is a time/space pressure on editors, sociolinguistics can only point to technical inaccuracies. For the second component, linguists can offer linguistic guidelines by which copy editors can avoid inaccuracies. Hence to avoid falsification (see above), he suggests the application of six rules (see Bell 1984a for details). These rules recall Orwell's rules in section 2.1.7 above and Grice's maxims (1975) described in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

According to Bell, inaccuracies are not randomly distributed, but concentrate on certain categories of news, e.g., about some countries of the South [3] and distort the news in consistent ways (to make it more newsworthy). This can result from the ideology within which the editors are working. In this case sociolinguistic analysis can make its second contribution, e.g., pointing out where and how the inaccuracies occur which should stand a little better chance than most arguments of persuading news workers that there is indeed a problem.

The third contribution sociolinguistic analysis can make is by further studies of news-edition in a wide range of media and places, thus enabling bad editing about the nations of the 'South' to end. However changes can only occur by reversing the world view of media powers. I also argue that the choice of the term 'inaccuracies' is too technical and lack the ideological connotation which I believe in this study motivates the distortion of the news and the categorisation specific to third world countries by the same agencies. The mere correction of these inaccuracies is not sufficient to change the order in which news are disseminated and read.

Thus Mey (1985:50) comments:

> it goes without saying that using a certain pronoun, or addressing people in a particular way will never, by itself, make society more democratic..there is no real 'leveling' of the social conditions in using an informal pronoun or a person's first name.

However by signalling these inaccuracies one may to a certain extent influence the course of things.

2.2.2 Pêcheux's model of A.A.D

Pêcheux (1978) used a method based on the Automatic Analysis of Discourse (1969). His approach is also a syntactico-semantic one (cf. Bell in section 2.2.1 above). He submitted a politically ambiguous text to different readings. The application of the

analysis is in terms of an analysis of the paraphrases and linked arguments and preconstructs elicited applied to a homogeneous corpus. The students are provided with short extracts containing a number of central themes. They were asked to write a summary of 10 lines with a special interest to transmission of information and form.

To half of the students the text was ascribed to a left wing source and to the other half it was ascribed to a right wing source. Both groups were asked to suggest other sources. Only a minority came with left wing signatories. The students were later divided into 2 groups according to their political position to confront the left versus right wing paraphrases. Three ambiguities were explored, the political ambiguity of the Mansholt report, the ambiguity of the political position designed as left or right in France in Spring 1973, and the class ambiguity of the group of technical managers with elitist ideal yet being retrained as a result of unemployment (cf. Seidel, 1985)

Pêcheux came out with semantic domains divided into 4 classes in which the 'Right' and 'left' paraphrases are compared via syntactic analysis and relations and intersections traced between domains. These domains are

1. causes of the crisis

2. policy of economic organisation

3. policy of consumption

4. policy of cultural development

the question of predicates that highlights some of the differences between the 'Left' and the 'Right' corpora is for instance 'a lack of raw materials' (manque) in the 'Right' results could be seen as substituting for diminution, limitation, or restriction, through which a second more overtly political argument is being rehearsed in the 'Left' corpus. The argument thus moves from a natural state of shortage to the introduction of a restriction by means of a political argument. This shows the focus on agency which involves syntactic analysis as is the case in Trew's study as well as in part of this case study.

The aim of the work was to reveal the ideological ambiguity of a discourse. However some criticism (Thompson 1984) is made of Pêcheux's approach. The choice of the extract that contains functional key words such as 'expansion démographique', 'pays en voie de developement', 'population mondiale'; the request to procure an objective summary (résumé fidèle) and the thematic unity of the discursive sequences produced by the two groups of 'locuteurs'in conditions of production which are stable and homogeneous (CP stables et homogènes) is secured (assuré e) (see Pêcheux 1978 and Seidel 1985:49-51 for details).

In the next section (2.3) other views which seem to back up Orwellian's arguments as based on concrete facts are discussed.

2.3   Media, Propaganda and Power

Bolton (1984:196) reports that the *New Yorker* on the 16th August, 1982, armed itself with 'Politics and the English Language' to attack the Reagan administrator's euphemisms, 'question begging' and 'sheer cloudy vagueness'. However, Chomsky (1979) considers that in general journalists, like any intelligentsia, undertake to analyse and present some picture of social reality. By virtue of their analyses and interpretations they serve as mediators between the social facts and the mass of the population; they create ideological justification for social practices. Anyone willing to extricate himself from the system of shared ideology and propaganda will readily see through the modes of distortion developed by substantial segments of the intelligentsia.

A privileged status is accorded to the version that conforms better to the needs of power and privilege. Chomsky (1979) also reports that despite the record of the U.S. Government's lies during the period of the Vietnam War, the press with fair consistency remained obedient and quite willing to accept the Government's assumptions, framework of thinking and interpretations of what was happening. At times the Press simply concealed easily documented facts, - the bombing of Laos for example; they accepted the basic principles of government propaganda without

questioning them (it is true even for that part of the Press opposed to the war).

Chomsky argues that there is a conformist subservience to the dominant ideology, to those in power (cf. the role of the Press during the Falklands/Malvinas conflict in 1982). Chomsky points out a number of propaganda euphemisms used by the liberal Press during that period (1960's) of the Vietnam War, such as:

"the stupidity of the US intervention..."

The word *intervention*, is a politically neutral term (see notion of semantic value in Chapter 1 of this thesis). Similarly, the use of an expression *the war savagery is denounced* is a neutral way of describing responsibility in the conflict by abstraction-the use of a nominalisation could lead to the connotative interpretation that the goals were legitimate but the means could have been more 'humane' i.e it may implies the war in itself is alright but its savagery is not. (cf. reports on the Palestinian *Intifada* or Uprising (December, 1987), which stress the human aspect by refusing the reality of its genesis i.e. its political one; this reflects a synchronic view of the event which misses the historical dimension). These tacit assumptions are crucial because a propaganda system is more effective when its doctrines are insinuated rather than asserted. Hence the justification of Orwell's view (1961) that the more the language of control is backed up by the reality of power the more the deletion of the fact of power and coercion, the more powerful, mystificatory and irrational is the control.

The media reports in Chomsky's examples from the U.S. Press are as not informative as one would normally expect them to be if the role of newspapers were to report facts. They rather act on us by enlisting the logical and conceptual context of language in support of the affective content. This is, therefore, a euphemistic propaganda to show that what appears to be an *invasion* is actually nothing but a *friendly intervention* (see Leech 1981:45-53).

A Washington Post editorial (30 April, 1975 on the Vietnam War entitled *Deliverance* stated:

The American public is entitled, indeed obligated, to explore how good impulses come to be transmuted into bad policy but we cannot afford to cast out all remembrance of that earlier impulse.

One must ask then what were the good impulses? When precisely did the U.S. elsewhere try to help the South Vietnamese choose their own government and social order? The presupposition is that:

We must believe that *We* Americans are always good though to be sure fallible. For the fundamental lesson of Vietnam is not: *we* as a people are intrinsically bad, but rather we are capable of error.

The structure of the proposition above is analogous to logical proof (cf. the Aristotle's Rhetorical Proof (Enthymeme)[4] except that the connection between one proposition and another — and also the underlying postulates — tend to be associative rather than conceptual as formulated by Leech 1981 in defining the concept of social meanings (see Chapter 1 of this work). The entailment above follows the basic assumptions found in Orwell's work based also on meaning recovered by presupposition.

It is arguable that the same rhetoric: *We* as a people, is a fusion between the leaders of the institutions and the people, and any deviation from this interpretation, would be considered extremist because it would raise the question of institutional sources of power as shown with the notions of Transformational Topic and the Institutional voice in Chapter 7 of this study.

Thus, the same sort of organisation of ideas is to be found in the British popular Press during the Falklands/Malvinas conflict (1982) and more recently the Iran-USA and Libya-USA issues). The type of newspeak prevailing during the Falklands war reflects the loyal adherence to a national ideology and therefore the subscription of most of the newspapers to that ideology, no matter to which political social formations they belonged or they sympathised with.

It is argued sometimes that people simply make up their own minds and are not influenced very much by what they read or see. The defenders of such a view (Sharrock and Anderson 1979) question the conclusions drawn by most Media analysts of news in terms of bias and manipulation of the 'reader' as I shall discuss later in this chapter. Thus people are inclined to want to hear that *We* (British) are good and *they* (Argentinians) are bad!

However some studies in this field have more or less shown the effect of news on peoples' minds as we shall see with recent studies by media scholars.

2.3.1 Glasgow University Media Group Studies: the Uncovering of Deep Structures

Recent studies of Media representations include the G.U.M.G's work on industrial relations (1976, 1980, 1982). They found that reports of strikes and disputes concentrated unduly on certain specific industries at the expense of others (see Glover 1984). For instance industrial matters such as accidents at work are under-reported and usually only appear when linked to disaster stories, even though they account for many working days being lost. They also argue (1980) that some points of view fail to gain a proper hearing. Although they argue that television cannot exclusively shape peoples' thoughts or actions, it has a profound effect because it has the power to tell people the order in which to think about the events and issues. In other words, it 'sets the agenda', decides what is important and what will be featured. and therefore, more crucially, very largely decides what information people will think with:

> TV controls the crucial information with which we make up our minds about the world. (G.U.M.G. 1982:1)

For example, wage inflation and strikes were the dominant explanation given of the nation's problems instead of lack of investment in industry, for instance:

high wages are the cause of inflation

the main cause of lost production and stoppages are the strikes

The language applied to industrial disputes was found heavily stereotyped using warlike imagery and describing workers as nearly always making 'claims' or 'demands' while employers 'offer' or 'propose' and sentences like 'management demand higher output' rarely appeared. Interviews undertaken by journalists are very often manipulated in the choice of questions and settings (cf. interviews with A. Scargill, the NUM President, by the BBC, November 1984) which show therefore an attempt to orientate the debate in a certain direction.

The G.U.M.G's method of analysis is organised as follows:

1. they compared the picture of the industrial world which TV news creates with those of other sources including official statistics on unemployment, strike and accident rates;

2. they made detailed studies of the language used in industrial reporting;

3. they selected stories and issues which received a sustained amount of coverage and showed how the whole range of factors involved in news manufacture leads to a partial and distorted view of representation within industry and within society

They showed (1982:5) how the selectivity of news about industrial life is made, how certain industries and activities are emphasised to the near total neglect of others. Also 'trouble' on the news, is more likely to come from low status or marginal groups, from the bottom of society than the top; for example the film shows pickets while the journalist talks about law and order rather than showing film of management mistakes inside the factory (cf. the emphasis on interviews of working miners during the 1984 strike); this attitude can be seen in the show focussing on Scargill 's divergence from the TUC, rather than on the original issue, i.e. the closure of pits. Thus they focus on individuals, personalities as participants rather than on the

causes of events, again missing the historical dimension Walton and Davis (1977:339) argue that

> close analysis of the linguistic form reveals that the essential assumptions, conventions and codes, coupled with routine practices of industrial reporting, allow the production of fetishised neutrality which when studied and analysed reveals itself as non-natural and non-neutral.

In their analysis some examples show the one-sided view through language, e.g. in discussing pay claims, workers are said to 'reject' while management 'makes pleas'.

> They rejected a plea to call off the strike which could cut production by a thousand cans a day. (ITN, 3.1.75, G.U.M.G, 1982:93).

There also the ambiguous use of certain words which show a heterogeneous information transformed into a more subtle one as in Harold Wilson's phrase:

> Manifestly avoidable stoppages of production

which omitted to give the precise origin of the stoppages and therefore who was to blame (BBC TV News 3.1.75, G.U.M.G 1982:93). The word 'strike' is avoided and replaced by the less emotive term 'dispute'. The well known phrase 'the coal miners strike' is changed into 'the coal mining dispute' (G.U.M.G 1982:23); it seems through the above analysis as if coherence and rationality belong to management (appearing as victims) not to the workforce (cf. to my analysis of contrastive categories in Chapter 7 of this work). In the G.U.M.G's terms:

> production in our society is normal and satisfactory unless there are problems with the work force. (G.M.G 1982:36).

The above examples show how the news is a manufactured product, organized and constructed from within very limited ways of seeing the world (cf. account by Orwell

above). The news follows a narrow set of ideas and interests and these determine what descriptions are made of events, e.g., we know that in some of the Western Media 'strikes are bad' unless they happen in Poland. We also know that 'Islam is fanatical' except in Afghanistan. Palestinian actions in Palestine are terrorist actions but Israeli actions are always a 'defensive response'.

Even in cases where individual journalists are very critical, it is very difficult to break from 'normal journalism' and the acceptable housestyle (see Newspeak above in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*) since there are always pressures from the top to conform, and clearly no journalist will fight every battle that comes along. In the end the most effective form of control is self-censorship.

The Glasgow group's conclusions are that both the Press and Broadcasting are active and quite consistent in their support of powerful established interests and promote 'a social democratic' consensus information which is both controlled and routinely organised to fit within a set of assumptions about how the world thinks and how it ought to work.

2.3.1.1 Criticism and Discussion

The main criticism of the GUMG is that they seem to have mainly relied on case study to make their point (Glover 1984, Elliot 1981, Sharrock and Anderson 1979) and makes evidence rather sketchy (Elliot 1981). Another criticism is that their work is too weak on explanation, and fairly strong on description; their argument that television is directly manipulated on behalf of the more powerful members of society s seen as not entirely fair (see Glover 1984). The reference of G.U.M.G to self conscious senior managers who enjoy real power within their institutions is also not entirely accepted.

The relevance of The GUMG to my study of the Falklands crisis comes from their interesting study of the conflict and the various reactions it drew. They were concerned by how news was controlled by the lobby system and also focussed on the

way events were described. For example, the 'bombing of Port Stanley airfield', and the way in which wives were sought out by journalists for their reaction to the fate of their menfolk and not for their own opinions on the war was quite revealing of the manipulation of the media. The main elements were the family reactions in the homefront, the opinion polls and the various diplomatic moves in the United Nations, Latin America and Europe. However they argue that International comments were only selectively reported and often 'framed'. An interesting area of their study is their reporting of unveiled propositions of imperatives of successful war-making which implied restrictions on news and its selective deployment, the argument being to save lives (see Parliamentary Proceedings 1982). The differences in the way the 'sinking of the Belgrano' and the 'sinking of the Sheffield' (the 5th of May 1982) are reported have been made obvious by the GUMG (1985). Thus the suffering of death on the Belgrano was 'less hard' than on the Sheffield.

2.3.2 Membership Categories and Lexicalization

The saliency of the theme of bias through the choice of language and orientation of issues has been examined above. Another factor is the Membership Categorization Device (Sacks, 1974, Davis & Walton 1983, Sharrock & Anderson 1979) assigned to some personalities - for example, Tony Benn is categorized as a 'militant' associated with 'hard left' etc. An example of this form of categorization is the one that associates Race with trouble as in the phrase 'School Mobs in London Race Riots' which has been censored by the Press Council (July 1973) as 'inaccurate and unjustified' (Glover 1984:33)

Membership categorization device stresses according to Sacks (1974) 'the interdependence of identifications of activities and actors' to account for how we hear certain items together (cf. Chapter 7 of this thesis). Thus a Membership Categorization Device with its collection of rules of application can be used to tie two categories, an activity and a category incumbent and (as a variant of activity and actors), knowledge and an owner.

An account of this linguistic categorization is given by Davis and Walton in their study (1983) of the 'Aldo Moro's murder case story'. The social context of that story relates to the facts of 'terrorism' in Italy and the significance of Aldo Moro (president of the Christian Democratic Party) for the Red Brigades (usually associated with the radical Left) which according to the study are placed outside 'normal society' by the application of heavily value laden labels and stereotypes (criminal, killers, murderers, gang) also derived from 'military and 'political' vocabulary frequently used in combination with 'guerrilas', 'urban guerrilas', 'violent anarchists', 'Marxist revolutinaries' etc. The linguistic interpretative category used more in the Press (British, German, Italian, U.S) as deduced by Davis and Walton assumes the psychopathological nature of the 'Red Brigades' activities 'vicious monsters', 'fanatics' etc. These activities show the 'significance of the Red Brigades' exclusion from the membership categories of the audience' which represents the 'overwhelming majority', the 'people', the 'ordinary citizens' which 'linguistically represent the concensus from which the Red brigades are excluded by the means above'. This also indicates as stated by this study that the social descriptions operate in binary oppositions which they argue is a significant form of ideological reduction (cf. G.U.M.G 1980). Another ideological device is expressed by the 'Public Voice' as discussed in the section below.

2.3.3   The Public Voice

Hall *et al.* (1978) argue that 'newspapers are not simply mouth pieces of the ruling class' the Press takes the 'primary interpretations' with which it has been provided and turns them into items of news according to the norms and values which make up the journalist's professional culture. The stories are translated into everyday language in which each paper addresses its public. The Press claims to speak on its readers' behalf and at the same time its statements serve to confirm the policies and actions of the control culture so that each supports the other, this is what Hall *et al.* (1978:36) call 'taking the Public Voice'. Lerman (1983) refers to the Institutional Voice speaking for the public (see Chapter 7 of this thesis). The Press supplies the link between those in the control culture who define and deal with social problems

and the public (see diagram 7.1 in Chapter 7 of this thesis). Concerning the facts and the context that the press have supplied about mugging, Hall and his co-authors argue that the Press helped to create a moral panic, an ideological over-reaction which served ruling class interests at a time of a crisis (Hall *et al.* (1978:41)

2.3.3.1   Stereotyping and Ideology

There has been a controversial attitude as to whether the Mass Media promote stereotyping and Ideology through language use. A study realized by Murdoch (1976) on a selection of news stories from his local paper the *Leicester Mercury* consisted in showing how the Press promoted ideological images of young people. The news stories about 'youth' rely on two contrasting stereotypes embodied in sensational headlines: one reflecting the 'well adjusted high-achievers' as in

BOY, 16, SWIMS THE CHANNEL'

and the other the unruly, anti-social delinquents as in

YOUTH FINED FOR INDECENT EXPOSURE

This line of argument has been questioned by Sharrock and Anderson (1979) in the framework of a general criticism of media studies. According to the results of their own re-analysis of the headlines above they suggest that Murdoch's method misunderstands the 'implicit rules' by which we read headlines in general and the above cited headlines in particular and claim that these have been taken out of the practical context of reading which leads to neglecting the 'clues and skills that go into making sense of them' (cf. Glover 1984). and therefore making the readers less discerning than they really are. So what Sharrock and Anderson are against is the 'convenient combination' through the use of the Membership Categorization Device of two categories (an activity and the category incumbent) as a form of machinery in this particular case because we are told by Murdoch that the excerpts are about 'youth' in advance of the reading summarized as follows:

> Take these stories together, do not look at them individually. Do not
> see their categories of actor(Youth, Boy 16....) as members of other pos-
> sible collections. Collect them as in the same group 'youth'. (Sharrock
> and Anderson 1979:377)

Their criticism based on an ethnomethodological view of language (Garfinkel 1967,
Sacks 1974) suggests that in 'any newspaper, headlines merely perform the task of
arousing a reader's curiosity and pointing to the sort of story we are about to read:
it tells the reader what to expect and not what to believe' Their viewpoint stresses
the importance of understanding how audiences actually go about reading what is in
the media and not imposing one's own view by suggesting that ideological messages
are reaching up newspapers readers

> We are not trying to argue that one *cannot* arrive at the kinds of
> conclusions that media scholars reach. We argue only that these con-
> clusions are not *necessarily* to be drawn from those materials, *and* those
> conclusions are not the only ones which can legitimately be drawn from
> those same materials.

in the following section (2.4) more linguistically orientated studies of news-discourse
are discussed.

2.4   News Discourse: Methods of analysis

In sections 2.1 and 2.2 and 2.3 of this chapter various studies on both political lan-
guage and media language together with some critical accounts have been summed
up. In the following section, other approaches to news discourse analysis which
in the line of my argument in this study, reached some conclusions about linguis-
tic correlates of ideological positions and the integrative dimension of the two, are
reviewed. In this review, only studies of news in the press which are of a direct rele-
vance to my study, are dealt with, although other studies are enriching (cf. Chapter

3 of this thesis).

Van Dijk (1985) proposes an analytical framework for the structures of news discourse in the press which differ from the previous works on news discourse. In relation to the analysis of content, form and style Van Dijk sees previous studies

> geared towards the assessment of social or cultural dimensions of mass media and communication, such as the political views, the institutionl embeddedness or the ideological orientation of journalists or newspapers.

His argument therefore is that not much attention has been given to the analysis of news as a type of (media) discourse, or as a specific socio-cultural accomplishment'. Van Dijk (1985) provides a thorough discourse analysis of news structures. An aspect of his study relevant to my work is the identification of a thematic structure in newstexts. His method is based on a schematization of the newsstructure as shown in Diagram 4 below:

news
discourse

summary   news story

headline   lead   episode   comments

events   consequences   expectation   evaluation
                reactions

main event   background   events   verbal
                           acts   reactions

circumstances   history

context   previous
events
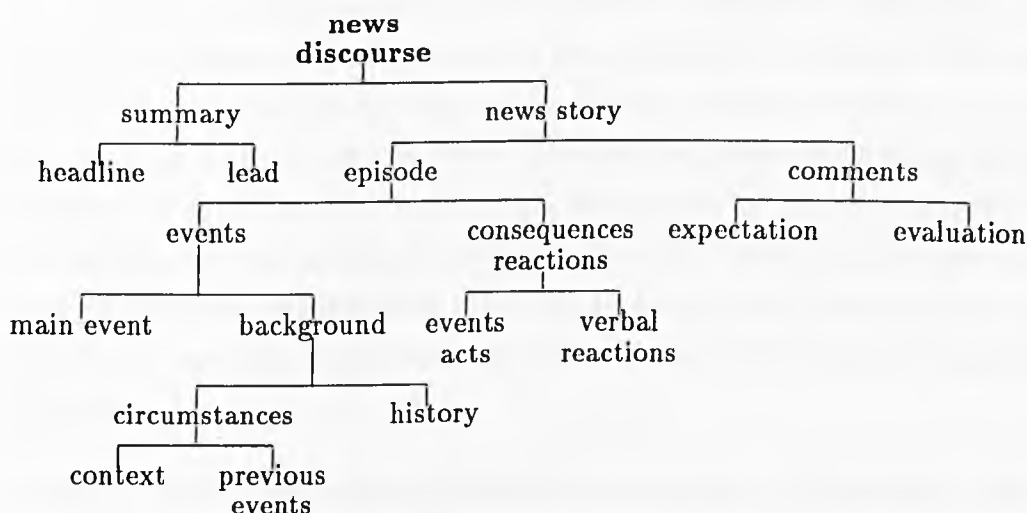
He argues for a semantic macrostructure which can be derived from a text (cf. Barthes and Greimas' functions of the narrative in Chapter 1 of this thesis). In other words this can be done with the 'ability of linguistic and cognitive rules and strategies' (Dijk 1985:74). He also specifies that 'topic' or 'theme' of a text are related to 'meaning and reference' and are therefore semantic devices (cf. Chapter 3

of this thesis for a detailed account on theme). Meaning implies large fragments of texts in his view. So a theme or topic is assigned to large stretches of text or talk and not to one sentence; it is not just a word or simple concept but a macro-proposition, sometimes sentences are themes or topics. The principles used to infer or derive topics (themes) from a text are called macro-rules (deletions, generalizations, and (re)-construction). These are summarizing devices which 'reduce a complex detailed meaning structure of text into a simpler, more general abstract (higher level) meaning of text'. An example of 'theme' or 'topic' is the headline assigned by a journalist to a newstext which according to Dijk could be a high level abstraction from the information in the text.

Evidently a generalization of an information could entail some bias, as several forms of summaries could be made of a text depending on what is perceived by the writer or reader to be the main topic. So, like meanings in general, themes or topics are 'cognitive units', since they represent how the text is understood and what is important. Following Dijk's argument this means that knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and ideologies may operate in the cognitive construction and representation of macrostructures (see van Dijk, 1985:77). So Van Dijk dealt mainly with global structures of discourse. In this study the focus is on minor structures of discourse; I have chosen to deal mainly with the transactive structure of texts and assigned the notion of theme to the item which occupies the position of the agent/subject or object (in the Fillmorean sense 1968), which are found easier to retrieve from the continuum of sentence clause as I shall detail in Chapter 6 of this thesis. The category of theme I am interested in is the topical one which has a role both in the experiential and interpersonal structure of the clause as discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Unlike Van Dijk's study where the details of information in the text are added up at the lower level of the hierarchical schemata of newsstructures, I have left them out as they are not relevant for the purpose of this analysis.

My analysis focuses on the actual participants in events in position of doers or undergoers of processes in particular reports of a conflict involving categories of

entities whether animate, human, or inanimate, inhuman; the nature of the themes of these reports evolve around these participants' movements. In some ways this study has some rapprochement with some aspect of the study done by Hartley and Montgomery (1985) in their reference to binary oppositions in terms of which they argue events are constructed in media journalism (e.g., 'US' and 'Them' or 'Home' and 'Foreign') which they say represent a 'Manichean view of the world.' Moreover they added up a semiotic dimension to capture the distinction between two modes of signification; the representational, which is realized by selection in the vocabulary etc., and the relational applied broadly, which is realized by a selection in deixis, and non verbal elements (see Hartley and Montgomery 1985:233).

Both the twofold distinction between the ideational function versus the interpersonal function (Halliday 1978 and in Chapter 3 of this thesis); the propositional content versus the pragmatic orientation (Van Dijk 1977) and the constative versus the performative (Austin 1962) expresses the distinction between

> the way utterance renders the world of objects, persons, events and processes, and the way in which it sets itself into relation with a recipient (reader, viewer or hearer).

An interesting part of their study of representational elements is the construction of semantic domains, from the newspaper front pages texts, based on homologies where relationships between nations for instance are expressed in deep structures of texts. Thus the lexical item 'Britain' and the cognate item 'British' are members of a set of lexical items which map the semantic domain of Nations/Nationalities. Several semantic domains are established in the same way such as for instance 'oppositional vocabulary' which maps the semantic domain of 'disputes', 'disagreement', 'debate' for confrontation and antonyms for conciliation, settlement etc. each primary binary opposition frames a secondary binary opposition. Hartley and Montgomery speak of the 'unity of texts' as a 'supra-textual unity', the underlying structure that link them together is expressed by means of the concept of homology (Levi strauss 1968). Thus, the relation between

russians:british

is like the relation between

employers:unions

or the analogy

Home:Foreign::peace:violence

Their point of interest is that the representational mode of signification in the newspaper produces a distinction between 'We' and'they' identities.

Their analysis show that those wider cultural processes are not merely invoked within textual features, but rather that textual features play an active, political role in cultural relations of power.

The notion of domains has also been dealt with by Pêcheux in his study of the Mansholt report (Pêcheux, 1978; Seidl, 1985). as seen in section 2.2.2 above. In section 2.5 below, a discussion of some of the points surveyed in the previous sections in relation to Newspeak and their relevance to this study is attempted and a conluding point of view is given.

2.5   Discussion and Conclusion

I have mentioned in the Introduction that Newspeak is considered as a Utopian language like other technical languages called sub-languages because they are closed systems differing from natural languages. Some points can, therefore, be made about how theoretically one can explore conceptions of language such as Orwell's in order to gain insight into those aspects which have been neglected by the main trends in linguistics - the crucial notion that language can control and be controlled, for example.

The question of value is not suppressed, since one can find resemblances between certain language schemes. Orwell's novel relates such language theories and practices to social and political context. The notion of an objective or 'scientific' view of language is itself set in question (see Chapter 1 of this work).

Furthermore a transformationalist account (cf. Hodge and Fowler above) may not completely capture the Orwellian fictions but to a certain extent it brought some positive insights which motivate its application as a model of analysis (see Chapter 4 of this work). Also Saussure's framework similarly fails to a certain extent because of the assumption of utopian homogeneity convention, synchronicity, etc. (see Saussure 1960:81-90).

This view leads us to the conclusion that theories of language may be construed as modes of language practice, characterising the language practice of social forms or social groups, and may correlate with political theories and beliefs.

At the same time the interpretation of Newspeak as a sub-language raises the problem of both determinacy and closure. These are postulated — not as properties of language, but in accordance of what is said above, as characteristics of the behaviour of users in particular social and political settings (see Chapter 1 of this work).

Language is, therefore, seen by Orwell (1961:359) not as a natural system, but as an artefact that can be extended or restricted in ways dependent on the choices or habits of users (see the words democracy, socialism, freedom, patriotic). The idea of Newspeak as a created artefact different from natural language has been discussed in section 2.1.7 above.

In this study, it is argued that the restrictions by linguistic means exists in the allocation of a public voice to politicians in general and the institutions in power. For example the choice of participants acting in the Falklands war events reported by the three newspapers under study excludes the opinions of the British people at large (cf. G.U.M.G 1985 and the Gallup survey of opinions in June 1982). So newspeak restrictions can occur in various circumstances, and Williams (1971:77) questioned Orwell's assigning of modern forms of repression and authoritarian control to a single

political tendency for:

> ...it would certainly now be *doublethink* to suppose that the only
> source of these elements is a form of socialism, just as it is only *thought-*
> *crime* that could prevent us from seeing a propaganda phrase like *the*
> *free world* as a very clear example of Newspeak.

'Parole' is restricted to the first category named i.e. the politicians. The 'unified
factual language' of the Falklands reports attests of the political allegeance of the
newspapers to the government discourse to some extent and to the opposition. Both
had a common ideological stand towards the Falklands question. In this study
I attempt to see through a thorough analysis of some linguistic features in the
texts taken from the three newspapers studied whether this political stand is also
transparent in the media reports through the study of both the transitivity system
(Chapter 5 and 6) and the lexicon (Chapter 7).

Recently, there has been more interest in studies of news by linguists or discourse
analysts, although according to some opinions (Van Dijk 1985) these studies are
confined into a pure structural approach where the news represent the data for a
structural analysis of style as choice of features as for example 'lexical choice'. In
Chapter 1 of this thesis it was shown that a 'context-free' approach to language is not
sufficient. Thus any attempt to analyse a 'sub-language' outside its social conditions
and its purpose in the context of its production would not answer questions relevant
to its specific structure.

In this study I am wavering between the macrosociological approach in the sense
that the institutional ideological formations behind the texts analysed are not under-
estimated neither is the micro-approach which provides us of the necessary elements
which allow us to draw some conclusions on how the world of events and participants
to these events are represented in a specific type of news discourse. It is argued in
this study that no matter from where we start the macro- or the micro- approach
the interdependence of the two makes one limited without the other.

The analysis of media products, in terms of the above assumptions, is essentially an act of decoding, an attempt to excavate the various levels of social and ideological relations which are embedded in the form. Before I draw the methodological framework for this analysis, it will be relevant to examine some structural functional approaches to discourse analysis and their relevance to media and political discourse to show the evolutionary path followed in linguistics after Saussure and Chomsky.

Chapter 3

Social Approaches to Discourse Analysis

3.0   Introduction

One of the most successful areas that has identified relationship between language structures and ideology and power is Discourse Analysis. In Chapter 2 of this thesis the non-innocence of linguistic structures such as transformations have been discussed. The aim of Chapter 3 is to look at the social functions of linguistic structures discussed through various approaches, and more particularly 'Critical linguistics' which inspired this study through its incorporation of the concept of power in their linguistic model (Fowler *al.,*1979, Kress and Hodge, 1979, Kress 1983 etc.). The concept of power was previously absent in the study of language as seen in chapter 1 of this thesis. However we have seen in Chapter 2 of this thesis that power is deeply rooted in sub-languages such as newspeak or political languages. I am in this work concerned with language in use and how various models of language analysis have concentrated on this aspect. Section 3.1 is a brief outlook of the various theoretical approaches to discourse analysis and their contributions or limitations to the analysis of language as a social practice. Section 3.2 discusses the relevance of some of these approaches to a journalistic register, the form of language

under study in this thesis. Of much relevance to this work, Halliday's functional approach, Fillmore's semantic functions and the Prague School works on style have emphasised categories of meaning as well as grammar, together with the social side of meaning. Their approaches are extensively reviewed in sections 3.2, 3.3 and part of 3.4. The functional style of syntax which affect thematic positions in discourse is also discussed. The second part of section 3.4 is devoted to Critical Linguistics who argue that linguistic structure can control meaning as seen with the transformations in Chapter 2. The third part of section 3.4 discusses the pragmatic relations between structure of text and context. The relevance of Speech act Theory (Searle, Austin) to newsreports is stressed in the light of some studies (Jalbert, Coulter). Section 3.5 summarises, discusses and draws the conclusions of the theoretical approaches surveyed and introduces the perspective of my analysis which is orientated towards the 'critical' approach.

3.1 Discourse Analysis: Approaches and Methods

Within linguistics the term *discourse analysis* is associated with authors such as Harris (1952) and Halliday (1973). The term 'discourse' means the actual use of language, spoken or written, in a real context.
Said (1985:297) argues that 'from a linguistic point of view, discourse gains its status as a mode of verbal expression in opposition to historical narration.' For Van Dijk (1985b:1) 'discourse is first of all a form of language use'. There are various approaches to discourse analysis (Stubbs 1983), (Brown & Yule 1983), and in the first place, discourse analysis is concerned with natural expressions of language, such as every day conversation or the written texts of novels and newspapers; moreover for most discourse analysts what matters is the actual organisation of the expressions (Sinclair 1980; Coulthard 1977) and not the extent to which they concur with some grammatical ideal (cf. Chomsky 1965).

Van Dijk (1985b:1) stresses the importance of the role played by 2 methods of analy-

sis: Semantics (account of the meaning of expressions by rules of interpretation) and Pragmatics (role of utterances in contexts as speech acts). Style is also considered as a major 'indexical property of discourse'. (cf. Sinclair's Dynamic model 1985).

What is also common to most forms of discourse analysis is the extension of the sentence into a greater unit such as *text* (Van Dijk 1977; Pêcheux 1978; Halliday 1977).

The orientation in this thesis is toward an approach which has emerged from a group of linguists, Roger Fowler, Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew (1979), who have sought to develop a *critical linguistics* which is sensitive to the ways in which linguistic forms reflect and reproduce the organisation of power, and which in media discourse particularly sometimes lead to the mystification of reality. The limitations of critical linguistics studies (Fowler *et al* have already been partially discussed following some studies (Thompson 1984; Chilton 1984) in Chapter 2 of this thesis. In this Chapter their contributions to a socially-motivated approach to language analysis are emphasized and their limitations identified.

A major criticism made of previous discourse analysts, is the lack of importance given to meaning and interpretation even if the issues were raised as argued by Thompson (1984) who sees their 'structural' studies as ' at best, a preliminary shape in a more comprehensive interpretative theory'. (cf. Pêcheux *et al.* 1974; and in Chapter 1 of this work).

It is also correctly argued that while discourse analysts have been justifiably concerned with the relations between linguistic and non-linguistic activity, they have failed to provide a satisfactory account of the non-linguistic especially in the uses of key concepts such as power, ideology and control (Thompson 1984). We speak of 'modes of discourse': different stylistic and sociolinguistic varieties employed in different kinds of communicative contexts, (Hymes 1971). So discourse analysts, like critical linguists (Fowler *et al.* 1979; Fowler 1987), consider for instance that all discourse tacitly articulates value-schemes or ideologies and the point about the 'modes' is that different modes, because of their varying sociocultural origins, goals and affiliations, carry different values. This view has been overstated by Murray

1981:744:

> They are so intoxicated by their "discovery" that conveying informa-
> tion is not the sole function of language and there is modality (outside
> the verb system) in English that they regard all language as mystification
> ...and every feature of language as modal.

Other critics see Kress and Hodge's arguments about transformational processes, classifications, language structure and class structure as 'useful speculations' and 'their critique of the role of modal auxiliaries in a classic Piagetian experiment makes a substantial point for developmental psychologists.' (Durkin, 1981 :103). However Durkin (1981:103-104) in his criticism also sees three substantial problems in Kress and Hodge's 'transformations and Truth':

1. They seem to assume the speaker/writer enacts (by choice) the transforma-
   tions that they infer, and the hearer/reader performs the inverse operation.

2. They make many empirical claims or assumptions about psychological reality
   that they have no means of testing, such as 'lots of feature x = acceptance of
   perspective x1'.

3. The possibility that some readers' interpretations may not mirror the putative
   derivational history of a text is explained as due to an uneven distribution of
   the 'transformational facility', along class lines.

According to Durkin (1981:104) 'asserting a strongly realist position does not resolve the issues, hearers and readers are not blank states.' More criticism of Kress and Hodge and Fowler *al*'s works is made by Sharrock and Anderson (1981:287-293). Thus they questioned the way Kress and the others have incorporated sociology in their analysis of language and the incorporation of the Sapir and Whorf hypothesis which they argue is 'obscure in its association of 'grammar' and 'world view' these terms being 'highly problematical'. An example of their criticism refers to the sentence

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> All students matriculating in the University shall ... be bound by the
> following Regulations....(Fowler *et al* 1979:42)

where the authors make the argument that because 'the agent' of a sentence is
normally identified in the left-most noun phrase, the reader will be led to expect
that 'students' will be agents when, in fact, they are not. Sharrock and Anderson
argue that there is no reason why people should use the mistaken hypothesis that
'students' are the agents as claimed by Fowler *et al.* The criticism is that 'the
mystification they expose is no more than hypothetical' (p 289).

I agree with Fowler's point of view (1987:17) that representation, for example, of
Parliamentary proceedings in the Press (cf. Hansard, House of Commons Parlia-
mentary debates 1981-1982), is likely to be ideologically different from reports of a
murder case in the 'popular' newspapers. It is also argued in this study that there
are connections between some grammatical constructions and the psychological re-
ality that we as readers may infer as hypothesized in my introduction to this study,
linguistic structures can give intelligent representations of ideological positions and
relationships. My hope in this discussion is to reaffirm the need to explore the ways
the whole language provides for a repertoire of discursive variations and thus a range
of alternative categorizations. It has been argued by Fairclough that social insti-
tutions contain diverse 'ideological-discursive formations' associated with different
groups within the institution' (1985:739). This view which focuses on the ideologi-
cal nature of discourse has been put forward by Foucault 1972; Fuchs and Pêcheux
1975 ; Pêcheux 1982); Courtine 1981) Thus Courtine 's statement (1981:34) that
'if ideologies have a 'material existence', the discursive will be considered as one
of the material aspects'. Thus in the same line of ideas Fairclough stresses that 'a
characteristic of a dominant IDF is the capacity to 'naturalize' ideologies, i.e. to win
acceptance for them as non-ideological 'common sense' (1985:739). The suggestion
made therefore by the same author is to 'denaturalize' those ideologies by adopting
'critical goals' as 'the objective of discourse analysis':

> I suggest that denaturalization involves showing how social structures
> determine properties of discourse, and how discourse in turn determines

social structures (Fairclough 1985:739).

We have seen in Chapter 1 of this thesis how this 'denaturalization' or 'de-mystification' has been applied on media language by Barthes (Barthes 1957; Sontag 1982). One of Barthes's 'critical goal' was 'the demystification of social institutions, showing therefore that what we lazily or wickedly declare to be invulnerable natural forces are actually malleable human ones'. (Sturrock 1974:15). As seen in section 2.1 of Chapter 2 the control of the mind is done by control of language (Orwell, 1954). The power of language to control the mind is also shown by Barthes (in *mythologies*) (1957) when he argues that 'the provencal farmer, Gaston Dominici, was convicted of murder because the language and psychology of the law courts are borrowed from literature and had no access to the mind or the language of the peasant Dominici'. This mythology as argued by Sturrock (1974:15) 'looks like some ugly and extensive plot by the bourgeoisie to idemnify French culture and the social order against change.' It has been argued through the studies reviewed in Chapter 2 that linguistically, the power of discourse through language provides names for categories and allows these names to be spoken and written frequently, so contributing to the apparent reality and currency of the categories, for example, ready made syntactic structures for stating the alleged attributes of members of categories. Many parts of linguistic structure contribute to categorization in discourse, from lexical devices to syntactic constructions. An example of the former is over-lexicalization: use of a prolific vocabulary for groups that are a preoccupation of the culture, such as blacks or immigrants; and of the latter, recurrent transitivity structures such as the placing of members of a particular group consistently in subject or object position, depending on the communicative needs of the ongoing discourse and the meaning to be conveyed to the reader. Both structures prove to be recurrent features in media discourse, a variety under study in this thesis.

Language in use has become the object of most recent studies of discourse. Thus Sinclair (1985) suggested later a model of analysis which integrates linguistic description by showing how components of discourse play their part in the achievement of some purpose. He claims (1985:16) that 'a dynamic view of language sees discourse as directional...' and it '...must be leading somewhere'. He states (1985:18)

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that 'any particular pattern of syntax or lexis, or a combination of both, may have different functions in different types of texts..' Another example is given by Fairclough's study of an extract from an interview between two male police officers and a woman who has been complaining of rape. Fairclough shows the particular sense of coherence of 'naturalized ideologies' shown by the 'orderliness' of the interaction (Fairclough 1985:740). Some of ideologically based coherence can be seen in the phrase 'you're female and you've probably got a hell of a temper' implying 'women tend to have bad tempers' and further imply in relation to a precedent sentence 'why would I frighten you' 'people in bad tempers are frightening to others' making the two sentences a coherent question- answer and complaint-rejection pair. He argues that in other instances the inferrences are less obvious (see Fairclough 1985:741). The orderliness of discourse has been argued by Foucault cited by Smart (1986:39):

> that where there is an order, correlations, positions in common space, a reciprocal functioning and linked transformations then a discursive formation is identified.

Smart argues that Foucault refers to relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains such as institutions, political events, to name only the relevant ones to this study. In this study, the issue is a level of discourse that mediates between form and purpose as advocated by Sinclair (1985:18). For this purpose some of the critical linguistics material such as the transformationalist approach (Chapter 2 of this thesis) which takes after Halliday's functional approach to discourse analysis rather than Chomsky's grammatical and abstract transformations, is considered. However, we rely on the latter's concepts of underlying and surface structure [1] (cf. Chapter 1 of this thesis.) The importance of Halliday's attitude to discourse is expressed by his definition of a text as a 'socio-semiotic process' emphasizing therefore its sociological aspect

> a text is a sociological event, a semiotic encounter through which the meanings that constitute the social system are exchanged. (Halliday, 1978:139).

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He therefore argues that 'the meanings are the social system, and 'the social system is itself interpretable as a semiotic system' (Halliday, 1978:141).

The analysis of text is also functional, being such as to relate the text to the function of components of the semantic system. These functional components provide the channel whereby the underlying meanings are projected on to the text via the semantic configurations called *Registers* (see Halliday 1973).

Halliday insists on the fact that ultimately the nature of language is explained in terms of its functions in the social structure[2]. He claims that:

> To understand language, we examine the way in which the social structure is realized through language, how values are transmitted, roles defined and behaviour patterns made manifest (Halliday 1973:6).

He therefore proposes a sociological semantics and sets up a theory of semantic networks such as in the case of language use by a mother for the purpose of controlling a child's behaviour and the linguistic measures she might adopt which will reflect different means of control categories (Halliday 1973; Henry 1968). To sum up Halliday's views, a socially-orientated approach to language analysis would be thus expressed:

> First of all, investigating how language is used, trying to find out what are the purposes that language serves for us, and how we are able to achieve these purposes through speaking and listening, reading and writing...seeing whether language has been shaped by use, and if so in what ways, how the form of language has been determined by the function it has evolved to serve (Halliday, 1973:7).

Knowledge of social constraints is part of the competence of the speaker/writer; this led to the emergence of the concept of communicative competence. Thus Hymes (1971; 1974) argues that the notion of communicative competence involves both

language and social knowledge; and text is an instance of social meaning in a partial context of situation, so situation is constitutive of the text (Hymes 1971). Halliday and Hasan (1976:28) talk about the awareness of the difference between text and non text as part of competence; therefore a textual competence relates directly to the communicative functions of language.

In the next section (3.2) the functionalist approach to language and style as developed by Halliday and others is discussed with a view to explain its relevance to the study of a journalistic register.

3.2 Functional Approach

Halliday (1981:332) argues that 'a functional theory of language is a theory about meanings, not about words or constructions.' We have seen in section (3.1) above that the functionalist framework of analysis claims that language is not realized in the abstract, it is realized as 'the activity of peoples in situations, as linguistic events which are manifested in a particular social dialect and register' (Halliday 1976:52). Concerning written language Halliday adds

> even studies of the written language have only recently begun to be made from this point: to describe special characteristics of a given register for such a purpose large samples of material are needed." (Halliday 1971: 152).

The specificity of written journalistic register is emphasised by Sinclair (1985) who argues that printed material has to be prepared against strict deadlines, as in newspaper production, where every effort is made to neutralize the effect of time, and there is very little impromptu material in newspapers.

> written language is not primarily seen as an activity. Its relation to time is that of an unchanging record. (Sinclair 1985:14).

However as seen in chapter 1 of this thesis the most important factor in textual analysis is the plurality of readings of it. This justifies the claim that the text has an interactive role that is related to time in a different way, since as argued by Sinclair (1985) 'a reading of a text is an event in time'. In this study the argument is that there is a close interaction between the structure of the text and its destination for reading. A newspaper report can be read as a 'unique communicative event'. The questions one would ask therefore are who is writing for whom? And what's the goal to be achieved? Different functions in the text achieve different purposes. The syntactic, lexical forms of each text are determinant of what is supposed to be achieved by the text. In section 3.2.1 below Halliday's functional approach is discussed in relation to newsreports.

3.2.1 Functional Model: its Relevance to Newsreports

This section briefly summarises the Halliday an functionalist approach (1971; 1973; 1981) to discourse analysis and its applicability to the analysis of newsreports as summarised in Kress (1983).

Although he dealt mainly with speech and literary texts, Halliday (1971:151) refers to 'extreme cases of grammatical variations' also investigated in this project. of newspapers headlines and reports (Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this project). This approach is drawn from the three types of meaning (experiential, interpersonal, and contextual) respectively embodied in the three functions, ideational, interpersonal, and textual (Halliday 1981). Kress 1983 summarises them in relation to newsreporting:

1. The experiential meaning and news reporting.

   There are two alternative ways of reporting, either by nominal sentences or by verbal sentences (full sentences); the former is characterized by a timeless set of categories and describes a world of abstraction; the latter is characterized by the situation in time (past or present) (cf. Benveniste 1966:140-148). The experiential meaning represents features which express the speaker's/writer's perceptions and classification of events and participants, processes (actions,

events, states) presented in two ways: verbs or nouns (nominalizations or verbal actions) which express modality: auxiliaries (might, would), verbs of neutral processes (think etc.)

2. The interpersonal meanings.

These comprise features which express speaker's/writer's attitude towards the proposition and towards her/his audiences; for example, one aspect is to achieve solidarity between the newspaper's point-of-view and the reader's in order to structure the reader's interpretation of events, so the writer's attitude to the proposition has interpersonal effects.

As Kress (1983:44) puts it:

> This deals with the expression of meanings such as the establishment, maintenance and specification of relations between members of a society. The grammar of a language contains categories and elements which express the meanings.

Kress refers to modal verbs and adverbs, hesitation phenomena, mental process verbs such as think, seem, feel, tenses, moods (cf. also Kress 1976). Some of these elements have been recognized by traditional grammar

3. The contextual meanings.

They represent those features which express the speaker's/writer's wish to structure the information which she/he presents for example, the context of a reported event, of a situation in which the report is received.

The order in which events are presented in the report immediately 'sets the stage' for the reading and interpretation of the report. An illustration of this can be seen in Kress and Trew's work (1978:755-771).

It is in terms of the textual function, that Halliday describes certain kinds of 'stylistic variation' such as, for example the use of an active or passive sentence to express the same cognitive meaning, although in this case study we would rather speak of social meanings to avoid speaking of synonymy (cf. Chapter 1 of this work). Kress (1985:126) argues that style has to be considered in relation to the effects produced

in the complex interrelations of producer of the text, text, and consumer of the text in their specific social positionings.

Halliday's accounts of the ideational component of grammatical structure is in terms of 'transitivity functions' concerned with the type of process expressed in the clause, with the participants in this process -animate or inanimate -and with various attributes and circumstances of the process and the participants (Halliday 1967:38). These functions are defined as applied in Chapters 4 and 5 of this study. Thus any action clause organized on an ergative basis (cf. Comrie 1978) there is associated with one inherent role which is that of the participant affected by the process in question. Fillmore (1968) describes this as the 'semantically most neutral function' and labels it objective. Hence according to Fillmore, the following clause:

The sergeant trained the recruits

is the most central clause type because both one participant form and two participant forms are equally normal. He therefore argues that this may be considered as the 'favourite' clause type of modern English. An example of an ergative clause with a process and an affected would have this form:

They're being led/
They're being trained/ they're training
They're being marched/ they're marching

This structure, however extends beyond action clauses to those of mental process, and to clauses of relation as well (cf. Fowler *et al.* 1979 and in Chapter 4 of this work). For example,

Paul fears the ghosts
ghosts fear Paul

are not identical in meaning but the *transitivity roles* are the same. In Chapters 5 and 6 of this study I attempt to show that the variation between action clauses and

mental clauses is a factor of differentiation in the way the events of the Falklands war are reported by the three newspapers studied.

The textual component in language is defined as the set of options by means of which a speaker or writer is enabled to write texts and use language in a way relevant to the context. The clause in that function (textual) is organized as a message known as a thematic structure (Garvin 1964). The theme of a clause is usually seen as the element which in English is put in first position, therefore, theme, actor, and modal subject are identical unless there is a good reason for them not to be. This first position of theme has however been disputed recently by Huddleston (1988) as will be discussed in Chapter 6 of this thesis. In modern English, to associate theme and modal subject when they are not identical is a reason for using a passive thus dissociating the actor from this complex, so that it is put either in focal position at the end or omitted as in for example:

1. This gazebo was built by Sir Christopher Wren

2. This gazebo is being restored

where the typical theme of a declarative clause is the grammatical subject 'gazebo'. In both cases (1 and 2) Halliday (1970) points out that there is a definite awareness of the meaning when something is put in first position. He argues (1970:161-162) that the theme is the point of departure for a message. Other options in thematic structure are open to the speaker/writer; for example, any clause can be split into two parts by the use of nominalizations as in:

3. The one who built this gazebo was Sir Christopher Wren

where the theme is the whole of whichever part comes first -here 'the one who built the Gazebo'. The thematic role of nominalizations is studied in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Theme also ' represents a particular status in the message' thus being an expression of 'textual' function. In this study, the specificity of journalistic texts, and

their linguistic composition and function are of primary interest. Moreover, journalistic written text is characterized by an information structure with a higher lexical density per grammatical unit; less complexity and more parallelism of grammatical structure; a thematic variation (marked and nominalized themes) which suggests a particular information structure because of the association between the two systems of the form (theme which is given and rheme which is new) (Halliday, 1977:176-224). These two functions of theme and rheme are developed by the Prague School who were the first to develop the notion of textual function. They made a special reference to the marked notion of foregrounding which I shall discuss in relation to further references to newspaper language. The discussion of Prague school work in this study is also justified by their functional approach to language as seen for Halliday in section (3.2) above and in relation to the structuralist and semiotic approaches seen in Chapter 1 of this thesis. Before moving on to details of the Prague school contribution to the functionalist approach to language and style, a semantically orientated approach of case grammar and its relevance to this study is reviewed in section 3.3 as a background to the methodological model displayed in Chapter 4 of this thesis. My interest in semantics and syntax is specifically motivated by the methodological priority given to them in relation to media discourse.

3.3 Case Grammar and Transitivity

In section 3.2.1, I referred to the transitivity roles which are not specific to action clauses since they determine mental clauses as well. The participant roles of actor or affected are determined by their relation to the verb/processes they occur with. The notion of case relations advocated by Fillmore (1968) emphasises the functions of the arguments (Palmer 1981:146), for example:

1. John opened the door with a key

2. The key opened the door

3. The door opened

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'John', 'the key' and 'the door' respectively in 1, 2, 3 are grammatical subjects with the same predicate 'opened'; they are arguments.

Fillmore (1968) explains that if we handle 'John', 'the key', 'the door' in terms of case relations that are not directly related to the grammatical Subject and Object, the case of each noun being the same in all three sentences (i.e., all being grammatical subjects), thus John is the *agentive* (actor) throughout, the key is *instrumental*, and the door is the *objective*.

Fillmore also defines his case notions in semantic terms and as a set of universals. Consequently, he suggests six cases (cf. Chafe 1970 for some differences[3]):

Agentive (or typically animate perceived instigator)

Instrumental (inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb)

Dative (animate being affected)

Factitive (object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as a part of the meaning of the verb).

Locative (the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb as for example the case where location can be a subject 'Chicago is windy')

Objective (the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself).

Cook (1979:51) defines these cases as:

> ...deep structure dependency relations of nouns to verbs which are determined by semantic features in the verb and specify the nature of the noun's participant in the state, process or action expressed by the verb.

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Chafe (1970:10) sees also the aspect of semantic structure in terms of a small set of relations borne by a noun to its verb such as those inspired by Fillmore (1968) which were of truly semantic significance and not necessarily tied to particular surface constructions: e.g.,

Peter laughed
Peter feel

The semantic relation of the verb to the noun in these two sentences is different even if they are on the same syntactic axis. In the first case, the semantic relation of the noun Peter to the verb 'laugh' is that of an actor and a process, therefore an action. In the second case the relation is that of an experiencer or affected and a verb of sense or mental process.

3.3.1   Animacy, Deliberateness and Agency

In order to justify the use of inanimate agents in this study (cf. Chapter 5 of this work), it was found interesting to refer to Chafe's objections (1970:110) to Fillmore's argument that the ability of a noun to occur as an agent has the power to do something which has a force of its own, self-motivated (a concept which coincides with the concept of animateness);

Animacy and deliberateness are seen as the tests for determining agency therefore the following rule is given by Fillmore (1968:26):

N $\longrightarrow$ [animate]/ A,D [X-Y]

translated as any noun in an Agent or Dative phrase must contain the features [+ animate]. However some cases are contradicting this rule, hence in the following phrases:

The virus killed the organism

The slugs destroyed the cabbages

can we say that *the virus* and *the slugs* acted deliberately? The same question is raised for the following phrase:

My ear is twitching

where *my ear* could be agent since 'it is doing the twitching' or an experiencer or even location (I have a twitch in my ear). Thus, Chafe is taking examples of inanimate nouns occurring in the place of agents and have a force of their own:

1. The wind opened the door

2. The ship destroyed the pier

To the suggestion by Fillmore (1968) that these are instruments not agents, Chafe (1970:111) argues that we cannot say

3. Michael opened the door with the wind

4. The captain destroyed the pier with the ship

The meaning of (4) is different from the meaning of (2), hence the following rule:

$$V \implies \begin{matrix} \text{Count} \\ \text{Animate} \\ \text{Potent} \end{matrix}$$

which implies that it requires an animate agent. These constraints such as

[+N, +Agt]⟹Animate

which implies that it requires an animate agent. These constraints such as

$$[+N, +Agt] \Longrightarrow Animate$$

imply that only an animate could be agent. For example in

the news killed him

'news' is analysed as instrumental. There seems to be a problem with case grammar within the case frames (cf. Chafe 1970) as seen in section 3.3.2 below. In English the notions animate and inanimate are related to the features human and inhuman more than to the features living and non-living. Darnell and Vanek (1976:160) argue that

linguistic facts regarding the classification of beings and objects as animate or inanimate can only be interpreted in the light of cultural facts.

These two notions are relevant to this study because of their relation to the function of agency (see Chapters 5 and 6). I argue with relevance to my study that syntactic and semantic explanations are not sufficient to explain some linguistic constraints. Some extra-linguistic interpretation is necessary. In my study I wish to explain the use of some categories of agents with some predicates or processes as I chose to call them for that purpose. Although from the linguistic/semantic point of view these uses are correct, from the pragmatic point of view they are more purposive than meaningful from the referential point of view. In the same way rules of use are devised by Orwell (1961) for proper reporting; Bell (1984) for accurate editing in Chapter 2 of this thesis; and by speech act theory's sincerity conditions later in this chapter, Fillmore advocates rules for case frames.

3.3.2   Case Frames: their Relevance to Discourse

The notion of 'case Frames' refers to the grouping of roles with the verb types with which they characteristically occur (Chafe, 1970; Cook, 1979; Longacre, 1983).

The insertion of verbs depends on the particular array of cases, i.e. the 'case frame' provided by the sentence. For example, the verb 'run' may be inserted into the frame [-A], the verb 'said' into the frame [-D], verbs like 'remove' and 'open' [-O+A], verbs like 'murder' and 'terrorise' (which require animate subjects and animate objects) into [-D+A], and verbs like 'give' into [-O+A] etc. A clear illustration of this classification of case frames is a case matrix drawn by Cook (1979:53).

Longacre (1983:236) sees two points of view in the relevance of case frames to discourse analysis, which are

1. as a derivational module in the generation of a discourse from its abstract (generative rules)

2. as a way of demonstrating the semantic unity of mainline material in the analysis of a discourse

Thus, Longacre (1983:239-240) argues that, to see analytically what are the semantic characteristics of its main line of development, certain assumptions are relevant:

> That a discourse is by definition semantically coherent.
> That the semantic characteristics of the predicates of a discourse (verbs, adjectives, nominalisations) are crucial to the semantic characterization of the whole discourse

However, semantic coherence is not something given as neutral but is socially motivated and constrained. Van Dijk (1972:143-147) advocates a full blown repertoire *à la* Fillmore for the analysis of discourse (some of these characteristics are considered in Chapter 6 of this thesis). To illustrate Longacre's assumptions, I have listed some

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predicates of a discourse such as verbs and nominalisations and their relevance to this study is explained in terms of their semantic evaluation.

3.3.3 Positive, Negative, and Neutral Evaluation

The semantic characteristics of predicates apart from their syntactic frames include also their value in terms of the meaning they can vehiculate. This meaning contributes also to the semantic characterisation of the discourse.

Following (2) above, some illustration for this assumption is examplified in a number of textual analyses of the same text (see Tandy and Petofi (1977); Oppel (1977); Longacre (1977); Greimas/Nef (1977); Halliday (1977) and Fowler (1977). The text is extracted from Thurber's fables and is entitled 'A Lover and his Lass'. In Longacre's study verbs of negative evaluation in their nominalized forms are contrasted with verbs of positive evaluation. The verbs of negative evaluation in the text are for example, 'disdain', 'derision', 'scornful', 'gossip', 'criticizing', 'maligning'; the verbs of positive evaluation surface as 'make love', 'court', 'exchange', words of endearment such as 'to attract', 'have sex appeal', 'have charm', which are psychological verbs paraphrased are also verbs of positive evaluation; but verbs of propulsion ('bump around', 'push', 'pull') and of physical activity ('snort', 'snuffle') as well as 'laugh' are probably negative. Verbs of praise where a semantic evaluation as to the functions of Goal, Experiencer, according to whether the object of evaluation knows or does not know that he is being evaluated, and who bears the evaluation can express a positive evaluation (praise); a neutral evaluation (describe); or a negative one (disdain, scorn). Longacre (1977:318) argues that within the text there are no genuinely neutral evaluations even though the verb 'describe' which is of itself neutral is used, the description is decidedly negative. Verbs of this class with negative evaluation occur from the begining of the text to the end of text and figure very prominently within it. These are in surface structure forms, i.e. noun, verb, adjective, in such expressions as the following 'disdain', 'derision', 'scornful', 'gossip', 'mocking', 'criticize' etc. Verbs with positive evaluation are hinted at in the surface structure terminology: 'make love', 'court', 'exchange words of endearment'.

The verb 'describe' should be a neutral word, but it is not used neutrally in that text. An interesting account of value theory is given by Aschenbrenner (1971) which evaluates verbs or processes according to their dyspathic (negative) or sympathic (positive) response.

The relevance of case frames and the semantic evaluation of verbs to this study is in the ideological value that the coherence of such or such uses entail in the whole meaning of the type of discourse studied. In this case study (Chapter 5) the distribution of the verbs/processes in terms of the semantic value assigned to them (cf. Chapter 4 of this thesis) characterises the ideological orientation of the meanings conveyed. As I attempt to show in section 3.4 those meanings are tied to the contexts in which they occur. An other important aspect of case grammar is its contribution to the notion of synomymy and the notion of syntactic distribution. For example the verbs 'to kill' and 'to die' have the same meaning but different case frames. Thus 'to die' does not require an agent and 'to kill' requires an agent or an instrument even if it is not specified in the surface structure. This distinction is relevant to the study of processes where the choice of types of processes determine not only the transactivity system in case of action clauses but also the transitivity system in general. The ideological entailment in any case reveals the interaction between the linguistic features and the social implications. So depending on participants which represent the cases, one can frame the verbs accordingly. It is clear that technology and scientific language contribute to dehumanise the actions which by presupposition are performed by individuals. Without a presupposition analysis in the phrase 'jets shot by harriers' it is easy to blame the 'harriers' for the action of shooting because they are technically equipped to do so. The computer manipulating the 'agents' recalls the shooting of the Iranian airbus by the Vincennes (a US warship) in 1988. The incident was admitted as a human error only after it had first been attributed to the computer as a technical error. It seems that in time of war, more and more agents of physical actions are inhuman, powerful instruments minimizing the human initiative. It is argued in this study that these are an indirect way of manipulation by language with technological power.

3.4 Other Functional Approaches

3.4.1 The Prague Circle Approach

As mentioned before (Chapter 1 of this work), the Saussurean principles have inspired various trends of thought in linguistics, mainly in the study of 'Langue' which, however, is seen as a functional system where synchrony coexists with history. Hence the Prague School of Linguistics defined synchrony as dynamic: for example the synchrony of a film is not the juxtaposition of the images but rather a synchronic whole in movement. They claimed (Garvin 1964) that no element of language can be duly evaluated if considered in isolation from the other elements of that same language as every word affects every other. Their argument is that any item of language (sentence, morpheme, phoneme etc.) exists solely because it serves some purpose, because it has some function - mostly that of communication to fulfill. They therefore did not intend to study the linguistic elements as systematizations in a theoretical abstract field, but in the concrete language (Langue) considered through its concrete manifestations in communication, Langue being a system of means of expression of a purpose. They consider that it is impossible to evaluate individual words detached from their functional utilization and automatized meaning of word combinations, or consider the automatized meaning of a word in a single combination and single function as being its only possible meaning (Havranek 1964:14). Hence their research into the functional and stylistic levels of language -a view in which they differ from the American structuralists (Bloomfield 1933 or Plato etc.), in that they did not mean functionalism in its mathematical sense implying some dependence of the changes of X upon the changes of Y. Indeed my chief interest in these linguists is that their work on stylistics, their analysis of syntax into functional elements (as opposed to formal grammatical elements of Chomsky, 1957) is relevant to my analysis of syntactic devices as functional elements (processes, agents/affected, nominalisations etc) in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis. The most important of these functional elements are Theme and Rheme, which admitted them to the realm of semantics.

3.4.1.1 Functions of Theme and Rheme

Theme is defined as the basis of the statement known from the context or situation, while *rheme* supplies the actual new fact communicated about the theme. These are two semantic functions of the sentence-utterance from the viewpoint of the information conveyed by it. The theme is not always expressed by the grammatical subject even if the word order in sentence is fixed as in English. For example, the following phrases:

1. this argument, I can't follow

2. that book I haven't got in my library

where the theme is played by the grammatical object. What matters is that this element (i.e., any grammatical sentence element) represents that part of the statement which presents no new information.

In English, the word order is determined by grammatical rules and is fixed so that, to produce a certain effect in meaning, some special devices are used such as the periphrastic:

> it was X who Y in some case

In French, too, there is clefting, as studied by Courtine (1981:85). For example, the sentence

> (1) It is democracy that we want for France
> (C'est la democracie que nous voulons pour la France)

could have an interpretation which is 'contrastive' and paraphrased into a deictic (1a), designative (1b) and constative (1c).

> 1a It is democracy -and nothing else- that we want...

1b This democracy is the democracy that we want...

1c There is democracy, and eventually other things that we want...

This type of syntactic constructions introduce thematic positions in discourse. In this study, Theme is an important function in the clause/sentence as its choice and place has some pragmatic implications such as the way events are ordered in the mind of the writer. The change in thematic position produces effects in the meanings conveyed as it has been seen in Kress and Hodge's study (1978a:761-762). Following a Prague School statement, (Garvin 1964; Fried, 1972) nominal expressions occurring in thematic positions are more frequent in English as a consequence of a wide use of the passive voice.

3.4.1.2 Foregrounding or De-automatisation

The concern of the Prague School with the problems of style has also been examined in the light of the analysis of poetic language as developed by Mukarovsky (1964) and also through Garvin's notion (1964) of 'foregrounding' or 'distortion' of the means of language, also referred to as de-automatization[4] (cf. Halliday 1977).

This analysis is particularly relevant to my study of transformations of linguistic structure and their possible significations. Foregrounding is opposed to automatization of language as stated by Mukarovsky (1964:19):

> the more an act is automatized, the less it is consciously executed,
> and the more foregrounded, the more completely conscious does it become.

Thus Mukarovsky (*1964:19*) argues that a new expression which is foregrounded because of its newness, is immediately automatized (standardized) in a scientific text by an exact definition of its meaning. The event is said to be schematized. In journalistic style where foregrounding is a common feature, it is subordinate to communication: its purpose is to attract the reader's (listener's) attention more

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closely to the subject matter expressed by the foregrounded means of expressions. For example an analysis in terms of foregrounding and topicalization would be as follows:

1. five jets were shot down by X

2. X shot five jets down

the topicalization differs: the emphasis being put on the theme 'five jets' (affected) in the first instance (A) and on X (agent) in the second (B). Foregrounding could also be a performative opening clause which occurs as a discursive process such as 'we shall start (doing)'. Hodge (1988:153) argues that tense is in that case a significant choice. The effect of 'we shall start' implies that we have not yet started with the announcement that we are starting as though the act of discourse is not the event that is being marked, but specifically the prior act of thought. There is some uncertainty in the interpersonal plane expressed by the use of both the future and the past tense. The use of 'we' signifies the status of speaker as speaking with authority on a formal occasion, even though it effaces individuality.

3.4.1.3 Stylistic Variation

The Prague School's contribution to the analysis of style -mainly syntax -was in the variation and the communicative function of the sentence, which they defined as an elementary speech utterance through which the speaker (or writer) reacts to some reality, concrete or abstract. They also assert (Jakobson 1976) that synchrony should not be identified with statics, because at any moment in its development, a language system displays items that are just being born into it. Their orientation arose partially as a rebellion against notions of static and closed systems (see also Bailey *et al.* 1980 for details). They argue that:

> ...every system exists as an evolution...and that the individual ut-
> terance cannot be considered without reference to the existing complex

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of norms...(Jakobson and Tyryanov 1985:25-27)

Consequently in their treatment of the standard language and dialects, they refer to the impossibility of requiring the definiteness and accuracy of the standard language to be forced upon other functional dialects and styles. These criteria are relevant to my topic, the analysis of journalistic language, since this variety is in need of a store of various clichés. The Prague School (Garvin 1964:15-16) argues that this criterion may be functionally justified. Hence my analysis of newspaper language shows some syntactic devices such as transformations, which can also be functionally justified, as commital or non-commital, depending on what the writer expects the reader to understand -a linguistic operation of valuable importance in media language and clearly shown by the group designated as 'critical linguistics'.

3.4.2   Critical Linguistics: beliefs and objectives

Critical linguists like Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge agree with Orwell's views (1954) that connections between linguistic structure and social structure can be seen through the language materials analysed (cf. Chapter 2 of this work). These connections differ from the correlation between social groupings in a population and styles of speech which has been described in sociolinguistics in general. The argument developed by Fowler *et al.* (1979) is that social grouping and relationship influence the linguistic behaviour of speakers and writers, and, moreover, that these socially-determined patterns of language influence non-linguistic behaviour, including crucially cognitive activity as, for example, the juxtaposition

Palestinian/Terrorist + Presupposition.

where the presupposition inferred is that anything palestinian is terrorist. They argue that 'syntax can code a world view without any conscious choice on the part of a writer or speaker', hence their comment:

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the world view comes to language users from their relation to the institutions and the socio economic structure of their society. It is facilitated and confirmed for them by a language which has society's ideological impress (Fowler *et al.*1979:185).

They also argue that in political discourse 'any text embodies interpretations of its subject, and evaluations based on the relationship between source and addressee' and 'these interpretative meanings are not created uniquely for the occasion; the systematic use of these linguistic structures is connected with the text's place in the socio-economic system, and hence they exist in advance of the production of the text and our reception of it'. As also argued by Guiraud (1975) and Barthes (1964) (see Chapter 1 of this thesis), they stress the fact that there is no discourse which does not embody social meanings

Our 'organised selections' from among these meanings and responses to our practical theories of the nature of the communicative events in which we participate; we have been socialized into holding these theories and our judgements are largely automatic (Fowler *et al.* 1979:185).

The 'automatic nature of this process' is shown by the following suggestions of the processes:

X manipulates Y through language and X pulls the wool over
Y's eyes through language.

They argue that 'these processes tend to be unconscious for most members of the speech community for much of the time'.

So the syntactic form of a discourse is not indifferent to the lexico-semantic contents of the discourse and vice-versa.

The conclusion reached by Fowler *et al.* (1979:186) is that

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if linguistic meaning is inseparable from ideology and both depend on social structure, then linguistic analysis ought to be a powerful tool for the study of ideological processes which mediate relationships of power and control.

They challenge two dualisms which are related:

1. The belief that 'meaning' can be separated from 'style' or 'expression'.

2. They are also against the idea of a fundamental distinction between the structures provided by the grammar of a language and the ways in which these are deployed in actual instances of linguistic communication, where formal constructs can be analyzed with reference to social function or use in communicative context.

3.4.2.1   Social Structure, Grammar and Meaning

The view of the functionalist Halliday (section 3.2) that language ability is a product of social structure, is agreed in that it requires that social meanings and their textual realisations be included within the scope of a grammatical description. However, according to Kress and Fowler, the meaningfulness of choice from a system alone is not enough if one regards the items in the system as arbitrary and conventional representations of their references (cf. Saussure in Chapter 1 of this work). They claim that it is only when we acknowledge the meaning carried by the items themselves that linguistic form can be demonstrated to be a realisation of social (or other) meaning (cf. account of Barthes in Chapter 1 of this work). Therefore, what Fowler and Kress question (1979:189) is the assumption that 'for each language community a given grammar pre-exists social processes (competence and performance again), which means that social structure has its effects at the level of use only'. They argue that such an attitude indeed 'separates the concepts 'language' and 'society' so that one is forced to talk of links between the two instead of considering language as an integral part of social process' which is also my point of view in this work (see also

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my account of Searle and Austin's speech act theory later in this chapter).

Some of the arguments by Kress and Fowler are illustrated by some sociolinguists (Dittmar 1976) and (Brown and Gilman 1960). These arguments stress the fact that sociolinguistics speaks only of the influence of social structure on the uses of language; Kress and Fowler's analysis (1979) suggests that the influence works in the other direction as well. 'Language', they say, 'serves to confirm and consolidate the organisations which shape it, being used to manipulate people, to establish and maintain them in economically convenient roles and statuses, to maintain the power of state agencies, corporations and other institutions'. This is affected partly by direct and indirect speech acts, partly by more generalized processes in which the theory or ideology of a culture or a group is linguistically encoded, articulated and tacitly affirmed.

Thus in a basic way language is part, as well as a result, of a social process. Pêcheux (1981) argues that 'words, expressions and propositions etc. have no meaning other than in their usage within a determinate discursive formation[5]', they find their meaning by reference to the ideological formations (cf. Williams 1982). It is also argued (Ervin-Tripp 1971:208) that a macroscopic approach to sociolinguistics might consider institutionally classified settings (such as churches and mass media) rather than finer differentiations of settings in local communities, and values about language use as expressed in administrative behaviour rather than merely in community norms and attitudes toward speakers of particular languages or dialects. We could refer to the importance of speech to understand the social aspect of language. Hence it is worth mentioning the works of Brown and Gilman (1960) on the Tu/Vous relation. Indeed, rather than cataloguing the various particular contextual factors to which the Tu/Vous situation responds, they have looked for general and powerful sociological regularities underlying them. They have also placed the power and solidarity dimensions in the contexts of history and ideology. They called the power and solidarity dimensions 'semantic', suggesting that social facts directly determine categories of linguistic structure.

In the same line Marthaud and Wilson (1987:495), more specifically dealing with

political language, argue that

> politicians employ the pronoun system to indicate their solidarity
> within a particular ideological paradigm

They have discussed pronominal selection procedures within the negotiation and presentation of political role identities in the speeches of of M.Thatcher, N.Kinnock and M. Foot, and argued that the distribution and choice of pronominal forms within these speeches clearly reflect the personal and political ideologies of speakers. (cf. A. Rees 1984).

Bernstein (1971) developed the concept of code to show how the social system determines and is reflected in linguistic differences. He presents the concept of code with two facets, the semiotic and the linguistic; both speech models and semiotic functions are referred to as universalistic or particularistic meaning (cf. Gregory and Carrol 1978:81). The difference between the two meanings is that the former is made verbally explicit: i.e., the addresser does not assume that the addressee shares the meaning which tends to be individuated and personal; the latter is verbally implicit, and the addresser does assume that the meaning is shared. It tends to be public meaning.

The 'restricted code' (use of 'you', 'they', with the absence of other features found in elaborated code) according to Bernstein (1971) emphasizes the *We* over the *I*, and it is used to express commonality and public values. This usage is obvious in the *Sun*'s reports (Chapter 7 of this work).

The 'elaborated code' (use of I, adjectives, passives, conjunctions, subordinate clauses) orientates the user to achieved status, it places the 'I' above the 'We' and expresses individuality, social distance and personal values. These two codes are referred to as styles rather than sociolects by Wootton (1975).

Thus, 'We' is claimed to be characteristically used by speakers of the restricted

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code just as the interpersonal pronoun 'it', whereas 'I' is used by speakers of the elaborated code as for example 'I think' (see Pateman 1975:52-61 for more details). However, Pateman discusses the function of defining and reinforcing the form of social relationship by restricting the verbally signalling of individual experience and argues that the class that makes use of 'We' is the oppressed class in a defensive relation to the dominant one. Moreover Wootton (1975:59) argues that the selection of (T) or (V) could be used for example, 'to accomplish a snub, to indicate intimacy or special hostility, or to engage in a political act.' He therefore believes that this kind of consideration is omitted in most sociolinguistic work. Bernstein's functions of the elaborated and restricted codes are not always agreed by scholars. Mey (1985) argues that even the elaborated code is subject to restrictions of a much more fundamental nature than those Bernstein tried to capture, when he created the notion of 'restricted code'. For example he argues that academic code is both restricted and restricting. It is restricted because it has narrow limits on the number of people who can use it and restricting because it limits access to areas of human experiences to those who use this code, he also maintains that the use of elaborated code connotates power and influence. In sociolinguistics, according to Dittmar (1976), the two variables which correlate social context and linguistic form, are specified in terms of the theoretical categories of the relevant academic disciplines: role, status, class, etc. for sociology; phoneme, transformations, etc. for linguistics. So it seems that correlational sociolinguistics does no more than describe linguistic variation evaluation of the phenomena described - hence Dittmar's criticism (1976:240-249) of the concept of 'upward social mobility' (see Labov 1972a). The problematics in sociolinguistics concerns the conceptualization of social class as a category of human agents instead of, according to some other point of view (Williams 1982; Pêcheux 1981, Calvet 1975 etc.) as a category of subjects existing only in struggle. Thus the methods of analysis used in sociolinguistics are considered sometimes as 'machinery procedures' (Wootton 1975:63). These methods are always subject to some criticism. Thus Mey (1985:338) states that:

> any linguistic analysis that wants to be justified in terms of social
> significance, has to be grounded in social reality, not in abstract system

thinking.

and adds that

> Even otherwise progressively oriented sociolinguists often deal with
> linguistic variation as if it were a purely descriptive problem, without
> seemingly being aware of the connections between the social status of
> the different dialects and the conditions that speakers live under. (Mey
> 1985:224)

Thus the method used in critical linguistics integrates the social to the linguistic
system.

3.4.2.2 Critical Linguistics' Model of Analysis

The method of discourse analysis developed by Fowler *et al.* relates the structure
of language to the conditions of production of utterance (cf. Pêcheux 1982). The
connections between linguistic structure and social structure can be analysed follow-
ing a model of grammar proposed by Kress and Hodge (1979:7-9) This is based on
a parallelism between linguistic variation and theoretical (ideological) effects, and
defines language as a related set of categories and processes. Categories are seen as
models describing inter-relation of objects and events, so the scheme of basic models
for English is syntagmatic models. Kress and Hodge set up three models:

1. the transactive model which consists of two entities related by a process;

2. a non-transactive model which consists of one entity related to a process where
   it is difficult to know if the participant is actor or affected—this model is vague
   about causal or affected status;

3. the relational model which consists of a relation either between two entities or
   between an entity and a quality.

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Examples (from my data):

Model (i)   Argentinians sank the Sheffield
where Argentinians and the Sheffield are the two entities related by
the process sank.

Model (ii)   The ship sank
where the entity ship is related to the process sank. The ambiguity here
is in the ambivalence whether the ship sank because of 'internal' defects
    or 'external' agency

Model (iiia) Argentinians are Latin Americans
where two entities, Argentinians and Americans are related together.

Model (iiib) The ship is invincible
where the entity ship is related to the quality invincible.

The first two models (i and ii) are about action so they are referred to as Actionals
(which represent the relationships perceived in the physical world as well as in the
mental world). The third model (iii) is about the classification of the system of the
language: the relations between nouns are equative. The relations between noun
and quality are attributive. Hence this diagram:

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                                      ┌─ Transactive
                       ┌─ Actionals ─┤
                       │              └─ Non-Transactive
Syntagmatic models ─┤
                       │              ┌─ Equative
                       └─ Relationals─┤
                                      └─ Attributive
```
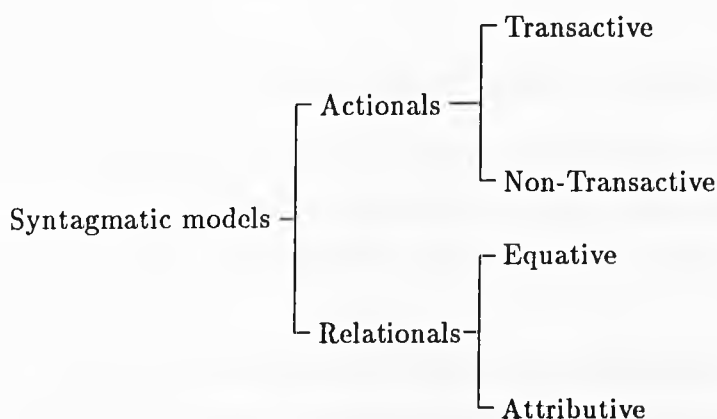
Diagram 3.1 Diagram of Syntagmatic Models (after Kress and Hodge,1979:8)

They propose linguistic operations which are referred to as transformations (cf. Chapter 2 of this work) such as nominalisations and passivisation which, according to Fowler (1979) serve two functions - economy and distortion.

In opposition to Chomsky's transformations (Chomsky, 1965 and in Chapter 1 of this thesis), Fowler argues that these are not innocent and pure linguistic operations. For example, in Kress and Hodge's framework (1979) they are 'a set of operations on basic forms: deleting, substituting, combining or reordering a syntagm or its elements'. Thus for example, the following phrase

the jet was shot.

is transformed from

someone (or something) shot the jet

with the actor (someone or something) deleted and the elements of the syntagm reordered in the passive. The various linguistic operations are:

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1. nominalisation,

   where an entire clause is reduced to its nucleus - the verb - and turned into a noun (e.g. refusal).

2. passivisation,

   which permits agent deletion though not deletion of modality.

3. Relexicalisation (or re-wording), which involves coding experience in new ways so that knowledge flows in the direction agent—addressee (use of contrastive categories, juxtaposition of categories, latin words, etc.).

In this study, compounds are included as nominalisations. The reason is that 'compounds can be used anaphorically to refer to larger nounphrases, clauses or sentences' (Dressler 1985:80).

e.g. cuts in education → education cuts
the campaign against the Tuition fees proposal → the tuition fees campaign
where the antecedent noun is itself a compound which is then shortened
(see Dressler 1985:83 for details).

It is possible to include Compounds in the list of nominalisations as the first means of variation that avoids repetitive news. According to Dressler (1980:80) they are 'means of condensing the expressions of content'. This reduction of information renders the meaning of complex word forms ambiguous or vague unless their meaning is fully lexicalized or supplied by extra-linguistic content or by the linguistic co-text (Dressler 1985; Halliday 1985; Grice's 'maxim of quantity' 1975).

In the specific area of newspaper language the reduction of words and phrases is for instance obvious in the lead in newsbriefs. The lead summarises the most important information in a fewest number of structures. Information proceeds from the general to specific. It can even be the conclusion to the story even if it is the first proposition. Some strategies are suggested to condense the greatest amount

the fewest number of structures, as for instance in the case of speech acts which can provide a structural base in a begining of a sentence (a matrix clause into which other sentences are embedded).

3.4.3 Systematic Relations between Structure of Texts and Contexts

The argument advanced by speech act theorists (Austin 1975; Searle 1971) is that speakers bring knowledge to using and understanding language which is not purely syntactic/phonological knowledge (see in Chapter 1 of this study). By knowledge, what is meant is the system of beliefs and values mentioned in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

3.4.3.1 Speech Act Theory

This theory provides an essential basis for a functional view of language as action, and classifies syntactic units as functional units as, for example in: 'I wish you'd stop doing that' which is syntactically declarative, but reclassified as a speech act of request (Stubbs 1983:11). Austin (1975) posits some conditions under which performative sentences (i.e. a speaker performs an action 'saying makes it so') can be performative. These conditions are labelled felicity conditions such as a correct context. Therefore rules are derived to satisfy those conditions. These rules introduced by Searle are constitutive[6] and regulative rules. Hence the speech act is an institutional fact since it is dependent on the rules (see Searle 1971:41).

Searle includes intentionality in his formalisation of constitutive rules for illocutionary acts (speech acts). The individual's purpose for using language is taken into consideration:

> each use of language is an act by an individual with specific intentions
> (Searle 1971:41)

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Opponents of the above view call it the intentional fallacy (cf. Hirsch 1967:10-11) since it involves the historical author, and advocate the notion of text self-sufficiency.

Searle argues that semantics can be seen as a series of systems of constitutive rules and illocutionary acts which are performative in accordance with these sets of rules (Searle 1971:42). He sees two parts in most sentences used to perform illocutionary acts: the proposition indicating element and the function indicating device: for example,

1. I promise that I will come

2. I promise to come.

In (1) the two elements are separate and in (2) derived from (1) by transformation, (see T.G., Chapter 1 of this thesis) the two elements are not separate (Searle 1971:43). Fowler (1985:73) argues that 'unless these speech acts work in relation to the communicative contexts in which they are uttered, unless the circumstances are appropriate, they misfire, as when for example, I appear to promise but promise something my addressee does not desire, or warn when I have not the status relative to my addressee to permit warning.' Speech acts are centrally implicated in establishing and maintaining power relationships. It is argued by Weissenrieder (1987:22) that in journalistic register the speech act itself may provide the structural base for the piece, (as for example 'we shall start' in the begining of an utterance/sentence). Thus in Spanish the phrase 'dijo que...' (said that) in the begining of a sentence is an illustration of the point. It is also argued by the same author that although most speech acts appear at the begining of a sentence and tend to be the matrix clause into which other sentences are embedded, they may occur in any position.

The function indicating devices in English are: word order, stress, intonation, punctuation, mood of verb, and a set of performative verbs (Searle 1971:44). These devices implicate the responsibility of speaker/writer to hearer/reader that a state of affair or situation exists in the world.

But Searle also argues against the descriptive fallacy, for example in saying 'there is a wasp in your left ear', it could be descriptive or a warning or said to shock, etc. which are all acts of utterance meaning, not sentence meaning, a view opposed by the Generative Semanticists (cf. Sadock, 1977). According to speech act theorists, one sentence can perform a variety of speech acts dependent on who utters it, where, why, etc., i.e., in which context.

On the whole, illocutionary acts form a kind of social coinage (defined by social convention) a complicated currency with specific values by means of which speakers manipulate, negotiate and interact with other speakers. The performing of an illocutionary act involves securing of 'uptake' (i.e. understanding; see Austin in Searle 1971:14-16) hence the importance of context and knowkedge i.e. social conditions.

3.4.3.2   Speech Act Theory and the Problem of Meaning

We have seen in Chapter 1 of this work that some linguists would not refer to context when analysing language since for them, that would not be part of linguistics proper. There is, therefore, a disagreement going on as to whether taking sentences in isolation or referring to their context might reduce or increase the ambiguity of utterance. They also disagree whether semantics should be limited to the study of literal (denotative) meaning, thereby ignoring stylistics and metaphorical meaning, conversational implications, etc. Indeed, the preference given by linguistics to the referential and propositional meaning of isolated sentences has relegated as secondary the domain of stylistic meaning, social meaning/connotation and so on discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis. Hence the positive contribution of speech act theory, which insists on the meaning of an utterance as recoverable from its position in a discourse sequence and shows how structure can control meaning (see Stubbs 1980:97)

1. Hello

2. Hello, is Jim there?

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where (b) is not to be taken literally but as a directive or request meaning:

'I wish to speak to Jim, if he is there please fetch him'.

It also means that structure is not always linguistic (cf. Stubbs 1980:102), it may be the surface manifestation of much more general organisations including causal relations between events and inferences about such events hence the study of units above the clause is possible reclassifying them as functional acts or moves (Stubbs 1980:104) e.g. structure classifies 'grief' as time expression in 'a grief ago' identified with a week ago.

From the discussion on speech act theory, clearly Austin's research on performative utterance cannot be dealt with within the limits of linguisticsproper (see above). The performative character of the speech acts is inseparable from the existence of the institution which defines the conditions to be fulfilled in order for the words to be operative. Therefore the 'felicity conditions' are social conditions, and as Austin himself put it: someone who 'names a ship' for his act to be performative must be entitled to do it, just as a soldier who gives orders to a captain needs to be in a position of power for his orders to be performative. It appears that from a strict linguistic point of view anyone can say anything, but from a sociological point of view (cf. Austin's felicity conditions above) it becomes clearer that anyone cannot perform anything. Hence Bourdieu (1982:71) states:

n'importe qui peut crier sur la place publique: je décrète la mobiliza-
tion generale [7]

but this proposition cannot be an action because of the lack of the required authority. Following Austin's felicity conditions, being just an utterance, it is void. So to dissociate the speech act from its conditions of production shows up the absurdity of such an abstraction. The performative utterance as an institutional act cannot exist sociologically, independently of the institution which gives it all its meaning; and in cases where it does happen the meaning will be socially deformed: e.g., in saying

1. tu n'es qu'un prof !

2. je vous nomme professeur[8]

Both (1) and (2) are two acts of nomination unequal socially; (1) is an insult which if not allowed, would turn against its author, whereas (2) is an official nomination, with a legitimate and universally recognised identity (Bourdieu 1982:71). Another example is given by Leech (1981:330):

1. I pronounce you man and wife

2. Oh no you don't - being neither a minister nor a registrar of mariages, you are not qualified to do so.

In this case there is no difference from propositional utterances. Therefore, we cannot speak of an illocutionary force of the discourse itself, but we do speak of sociological research into the conditions in which a speaker/agent is granted a certain force in his speech. The symbolic effectiveness of the discourse of authority (conventional) depends somehow on the linguistic competence of the speaker whose authority is less clearly institutionalized. Therefore, it follows that the exercise of a symbolic power is accompanied by some work on the form.

Thus it appears that the felicity conditions for performative utterances are determined by their relationship to possibilities in the linguistic market.

Weissenrieder (1987:22) argues that there is a predictability of form and low information content which make speech acts an easily recognizable pattern. They are said to behave as structural 'breakers' which interrupt condensed language and can be viewed as an aid to comprehension. However one can argue that this is not always the case.

The interdependence of the linguistic form and the structure of the social relation, within which and for which it has been produced, can be seen in the oscillations between *Vous* and *Tu* (cf. Brown & Gilman 1960) which appear sometimes when

the objective structure of the relation between the speakers (inequality of age, social status) enters into conflict.

3.4.3.3   Speech Act Theory and its Impact on Newspaper Language

One can see how newspapers take advantage of SPAT and of its view of language as a social behaviour. Austin's discussion (1975) of illocutionary acts is helpful in establishing a stronger link between language and presupposition (see below), e.g. illocutionary acts performed in the course of using language as in 'I acknowledge', the illocutionary force is the act of acknowledging.

However, as Coulter (1979) argues, there are cases where the identification of an illocutionary action in conversation itself depends upon the hearer's performing the relevant presupposition analysis and this aspect is quite relevant in forms of linguistic discourse such as news reporting.

For instance, a speaker makes assumptions concerning the listener/reader, or a situation in general, therefore showing how acceptability of utterances is based on personal prejudice. Indeed while in communicating with each other two people use a discourse informed by the beliefs and values inherited from culture which are tacit (cf. Landar 1966), when assertions are made about events, they may be activated and become an important part of the meaning conveyed, e.g. accounts which express beliefs and values implicitly. These commitments are observed through the presupposition analysis performed by reader/hearer, when beliefs and values are not explicitly stated. That analysis enable them to grasp the illocutionary force of the statement. Because not all illocutionary acts are marked by an explicit performative formula such as 'I promise' or 'I warned you that' when dealing for example with presupposition analysis performed by readers and hearers of news reports. An example of such a case is the use of contrastive categories, a domain rich in presuppositions where the illocutionary force very clearly becomes available at the level of presupposition. Hence in the following example[9]

The Israelis put their own losses at fifteen soldiers killed, while the
Palestine Liberation Organisation had apparently lost about 150 men.

One can notice the contrast killed/lost. Where killed involves a responsible of an
action, here implying the Palestinians, whereas 'lost' involves only an affected in
terms of participants. Hence someone lost something, that is not directly involv-
ing a responsible for an action. The literal truth of a sentence is not enough for
honesty since any sentence characteristically commits the speaker to a whole set of
presupposed and entailed propositions.

Although reports in newspapers are supposed to be factual (cf. Stubbs 1980:210)
they turn out to be fictional texts (cf. the *Sun*'s type of language) because interpreta-
tive. The way meanings are conveyed is ambiguous (see the example of contrastive
categories above). The interest in the above form of analysis for a linguist is that it
touches on questions of ambiguity and semantic organisation of text.

3.4.3.4   The Indirection Argument

Searle (1975:59) points out that the simplest cases of meaning are those in which
the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he/she says; but
there are other cases where he/she means more than what he/she actually says by
way of relying on their mutually shared background information both linguistic and
non-linguistic together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the
part of the hearer (Searle, 1975:60); e.g.,

> Student A: Let's go to the movies tonight
> Student B: I have to study for an exam

The indirection argument emphasises that there is no one to one correspondence
between what is said and what is meant or what is done. In this case no analy-
sis of linguistic forms alone will permit an analysis of underlying acts and moves.
Therefore the social context of the talk must be taken into account in the analysis

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of discourse structure (see above). Goffman (1961) argues that the clues by which the interactant displays his 'line' in a social encounter are displayed not only in talk but are 'diffusely located in the flow of events in the encounter'. Pride (1971) emphasises the subtlety of this process: the language user himself engaged in the more or less continuous exercise of handling status relationships of one sort or another. For Searle the indirect speech act has an illocutionary force different from the literal meaning of the utterance of a sentence. This view can be paralleled with Barthes' notion of denotation/connotation (see Chapter 1 of this thesis). Writing is an instance of language use that does not totally share the features of the ideal communication situation found in the face to face conversation. However we tend to think them as near because interactive. A newspaper has its readers and knows the effects of its writing on them. This is discussed in section 3.4.4 below.

3.4.4   Grice's Implicature and CP

Grice (1975) opposes the idea that a reader reads the whole truth, and formulated his Co-operative Principle to account for it. He conceives conversation as purposive, rational behaviour, therefore he formulates rules that explain people's conduct in their talk exchanges, and argues that speakers and hearers assume a Co-operative Principle (CP) throughout their conversation:

> Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

Hence four maxims   are worked out (see details in Grice 1975:45-46)

1. Quantity

2. Quality

3. Reletion

4. Manner

He next uses the CP and its maxims to explain implicature (see above).

It is possible, following Grice's ideas above, that the CP can be applied to the language of newspapers because it responds to the principles (i) and (iii) above. Some similarity between conversation and that type of language can be seen since the latter is different from academic language most of the time. It uses devices of ordinary language such as the appeal to emotion, and people must read it without being critical (cf. my discussion of language and power earlier in Chapter 2 of this thesis). Whether biases of language could be unmasked by applying rules or principles as above has already been discussed (cf. Orwell's rules and Bell's rules for accurate editing in Chapter 2 of this thesis.)

Although there are arguments for separating written discourse from spoken discourse (cf. Stubbs 1980; Hudson 1985) many features of discourse organisation operate equally in both spoken and written language: lexical and syntactic cohesion, implications, etc. Ambiguous and indirect speech acts are common to both spoken and written literary language. Indeed written language can be considered as interactive as spoken language because devices presenting semantic contents are interactive in that they design discourse for its hearers/readers, e.g., the use of main versus subordinate clauses, focussing and topicalization, etc.

The difference between the two types of discourse is that unplanned spoken discourse is constructed in real time whereas written discourse is produced and edited at leisure (cf. newspaper report). The linear nature of written discourse can be overcome, whereas speakers and hearers are constrained by the linear nature of spoken language (cf. Sinclair 1980). The narratives are also constrained by the linear nature of spoken language since it is a special written discourse intended to be read in the order that are presented which relates it to spoken language in general (see Labov an Waletzky 1967). It has been argued (Van Dijk 1985:153) that the written form silences the reader. It also prevents the writer from demonstrating a responsiveness to interventions from the reader. Thus the power of control is one-directional.

3.5   Language and Control: Summary and discussion

Kress and Hodge (1979:14) persistently argue that language is an instrument of control as well as of communication and they also maintain that the function of language is not only to convey information. Therefore, linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted (cf. my account of Barthes' theory of signification in Chapter 1). In that sense they are opposed to Chomsky (1980:229-230) who denies that communication is a necessary or even important function of language, implying here communication in its narrow sense: to convey propositional information from one person to another. Thus Kress and Hodge (1979:14) stress the fact that hearers or readers can be both manipulated and informed, though preferably manipulated while they suppose they are being informed; hence they comment that:

> Language is ideological in a more political sense of the word, it involves systematic distortion in the service of class interest. (Kress and Hodge 1979:6)

It is obvious that newspaper reports are good examples of presentation through language involving selection. In fact a reporter may witness an event and be faced with the choice of calling it a demonstration or demo, a riot, a street battle, a confrontation and so on, as claimed by Trew (1978), or as in recent *Guardian* and *Independent* reports on the Palestinian uprising December 1987), 'disturbances' and 'stone throwing'. As he writes his report in whole sentences, the journalist needs to make the further selection of verbs (representing the actions) and other attendant circumstances (other people involved, effect as to the actions, place where it happened) as well as the logical conjunctions (e.g., coordinators) and disjunctions (e.g., adverbs like *however*, prepositions like *but* (Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis).

Although Austin (1975) emphasised the social and active character of the use of language, this emphasis remains abstract. In fact few attempts have been made to examine just what is involved in regarding language as a social phenomenon enmeshed in relations of power, in situations of conflict, in processes of social change,

or to explore the institutional aspects of the conditions which render speech acts possible and appropriate - aspects which are related to specific socio-historical circumstances and which could not be derived by attending to the utterances alone (cf. Williams, 1982). Therefore, a new approach to the relation between language and ideology has to differ from some of the presuppositions of modern linguistic theories, because they have highlighted certain features at the expense of others (see Bourdieu 1982; Pêcheux 1981a; among others). In Chapter 1 of this thesis, it has been argued that any attempt to construct an autonomous and homogeneous object of linguistic analysis, whether Saussure's 'langue' or Chomsky's 'competence' is bound to lead one astray, for it conjures away the social-historical conditions under which a particular language or competence is constituted as legitimate, is acquired by some speakers, imposed on others, and reproduced as the dominant form of language use. The Chomskyan notion of competence is also considered by Bourdieu as deceptively abstract for he considers that our competence is not to produce an unlimited sequence of grammatically well-formed sentences but rather the capacity to produce sentences *à propos*, i.e., expressions which are relevant to specific situations and tacitly adjusted to the relations of power which characterise those situations. Our competence, he says, is a practical competence, which is always manifested in actual instances of discourse (cf. Bourdieu cited in Thompson, 1984:78).

In sociolinguistics, linguistic complexity is seen as related to social power and prestige (Bernstein's elaborated code). Complex syntax is a property of the discourse of knowledge and authority. For example, the distinction between subordinate and coordinate clauses can be meaningful.

A high ratio of the former means complexity of logical relationships among the clauses that modify one another, whereas a high ratio of the latter implies a sequence of separate propositions all of the same kind. The former are said to be hypotactic i.e. characterized by a cognitive complexity and the latter are paratactic, i.e. characterized by a simple descriptive language. Fowler (1985) argues that 'to describe the linguistic construction of the texts is in itself a complex skill, but relating it to social context is even more difficult because there is no invariant relationship between textual structure and significance in context'. So what can be

suggested are interrelations.

In the syntactic analysis done by Fowler *et al.* (1979) we argue that it is possible to see how editors directly dependent on the owners of the newspapers can re-style a text towards a target considered suitable for a particular readership by the ownership and the aim in this study is to verify its application to the analysis on agency/processes in Chapters 4 and 5.

In the semantic analysis (Bell 1984a) the active substitution of meanings which are incongruent with the original influences of bias, according to social/political factors made on this evidence, are specific and persuasive, just like any situation where one text is transformed to another. Bell (1982a) claims that such research depends on social and political conditions to define its issues, on a social and detailed linguistic analysis for its evidence, on media sociology for its interpretation and on newswriters for its application. Hence the above type of analysis, although based on linguistic facts, needs social explanation of these facts.

Tunstall (1972:259-280) defined news organization goals and in the case of newspapers, the role of the editorial department which produces the news hence situating the responsibilities. It is argued that to different audiences/readers correspond different language styles (Bell 1982). One can refer in that case to the types of semantic jargon, used in the *Sun* reporting the Falklands war, basically populistic and addressed to working class people.

As Bell stresses it (Chapter2 of this thesis) 'accusations of bias or inaccuracy in the Western media are so common place in the political life of Western countries that they need little documentation.' However, temporal events are important and worth documenting to maintain the dynamic of uncovering the evolution in bias. Thus one can see a shift in the latest reports (from December to March 1988) of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which seem to be more objective since it is difficult to conceal events in the West Bank and Gaza which have been widely broadcast around the world and which one can interpret, although that may be debatable, as a sign of more independence of the Western media. Surely a sociolinguistic comparative analysis on

the same paper over a certain period of time would reveal some structural differences. The case of the 1982 Falklands/Malvinas war with Argentina was particularly a tense one. The British government criticised the coverage of the war by the BBC and some newspapers (*Guardian*) as over neutral (see Harris, 1983). The *Sun* (editorial of 7 Nov, 1982) accused the BBC, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Guardian* of treason. At the same time the Glasgow University Media Group was documenting the BBC's coverage as overwhelmingly pro-British (*Sunday Times*, 16 May, 1982) so questions of news accuracy are important and salient between societies and nations. However, if we compare the different work done by the Glasgow Media Group (Chapter 2 of this work) and the research done by Kress and Trew (1978) we find the latter more linguistically orientated. Indeed Trew (1979) analyses contrasting reports in different British national dailies, and the development over time of reports and editorials about a single event. Kress and Trew (1978) make independent use of a method similar to that developed by Bell above, to study the London *Sunday Times* rewrite of a crucial industrial text. Kress (1983) discusses the ideological bases of journalistic rewriting of news, and compares different reports of one story in two Australian newspapers; this research involves close work on the language of news reports, and is strongest when it contrasts actual text. At their best, such analyses can show convincingly how language is a vehicle of covert interpretation in supposedly neutral reporting.

Many studies reviewed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 have used the concept of power critically to show that media language and representations serve the interests of some institutions and social formations. To look at who is being represented in the media and how they are being represented is to gain a unique insight into the nature of power and conflict in society.

New methods of discourse analysis insist on discourse as a form of language use. The importance of text as a unit of analysis is emphasised. A tendency to discourse analysis for critical goals has also been devised. The importance is given to meaning and interpretation and the incorporation of the concepts of power, ideology and control in linguistic structure.

Previous studies have dealt with stylistic variations and sociolinguistic varieties used in different communicative contexts. Recent studies focus on the value-schemes of these varieties due to their socio-cultural origins and goals.

Social institutions contain several discursive formations and each can be ideological in its own way. So the discursive is the materialisation of the ideology of the institution that produces it. These discursive formations become naturalised in the process of use as seen in Chapter 1 and 2 of this thesis. The critical goal of discourse analysis is to unveil this 'naturalization'.

Some models of analysis integrate linguistic descriptions by showing how components of discourse play their role in the achievement of some purpose—it is the dynamic view of language. The sociological aspect of text is emphasised by its nature of being a 'socio-semiotic process'. Meanings are expressed in the texts and they constitute the social and semiotic system. The functionality of text and its relation to the components of the semantic system is also stressed. Meanings are expressed via registers or sublanguages. Values are transmitted through the social structure which is realized through language. Social constraints play a role in the competence of writer. The interaction between the structure of the text and its destination for reading is close.

It is also argued that different functions in the texts achieve different purposes, thus the importance of syntactic and lexical forms of each text. Linguistically three types of meaning embodied in three functions have been presented in relation to news-reporting (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 of this thesis). The first meaning focusses on the writer's perception of events, participants and processes. The second meaning contains features which express the writer's attitude toward the proposition and his/her audiences creating interpersonal effects. The third meaning represent features which express the writer's wish to structure the information. The thematic structure is part of the textual function of the clause. Theme is generally seen as what the clause is about. Being the most important element, the importance of its position is emphasised. Style is seen as functional and transformations can be justified following the writer's expectations of the reader's uptake. It is therefore

argued that questions of style are political questions because they depend on the effects produced by the interaction of producer of text, text and consumer of text in specific social position. connections between linguistic structure and social structure are visible through the materials analysed. Linguistic patterns shape non-linguistic behaviour and have an incidence on the cognitive activity. The rejection of the dichotomy between performance and competence and between language and society is due to the consideration of language as part of social process. Concepts of power and and ideology are semantic underlying the interdependence between social facts and linguistic structure. The social system is reflected in the linguistic differences which are produced in different codes.

Chapter 3 has mainly looked at the various functional theoretical approaches to discourse analysis. Whether the unit usually taken as the basis of analysis is the clause, sentence or its extension to the text is not so much at stake in this work. Nevertheless, the different concepts used in the above described methods are an enlightenment to new conceptions of methodological multi-disciplinary ways of getting into the insights of language in all its components (syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, semiotic and social).

Thus Chapter 4 is an attempt to work out this methodology as applied to journalistic language.