

Chapter 1

Towards a diachronic, functional account of language in context

“Our sense of the past, and our sense of the ways in which the past impinges on us today, become increasingly dependent on an ever expanding reservoir of mediated symbolic forms.” (Thompson, 1995: 34)

“The context of a written text of the past is more complex, and more difficult to evaluate and make abstraction from, than that of a contemporary spoken language text.” (Halliday, 1959: 13)

1.1 Introduction to the thesis

This thesis presents an investigation of the diachronic construction of meaning in news reports about the events that mark the end of conflict, focusing on seven overseas wars in which Australian military personnel have been involved, and making a case study of the reporting in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (*SMH* or the *Herald*). The quotations used to introduce this chapter reflect the dual motivations for this study: an interest in texts that construe the social contexts of the past and what they indicate to us in the present about our language and our culture; and an interest in exploring changes in context within a particular register of English and how this can be managed using current linguistic models.

The reporting of war always seems to capture the attention of the general public and generate a large volume of material, not to mention generate higher commercial value than ordinary news (see e.g. Read, 1999). For example, on the 21st March 2003, the first day of reporting after the beginning of the War on Iraq, the news of the outbreak of war occupied the first eight pages of the 24-page main section of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. This news appeared on the day before a general election in the state of New South Wales (of which Sydney is the capital), and only three pages of the main ‘news’ section were devoted to covering the election campaign, although there was also a 12-page lift-out section about it. Wars are “quintessentially newsworthy” (Cottle, 2006: 76) in terms of so-called ‘news values’, the kinds of criteria that are said to make some events more newsworthy than others (e.g. Bell, 1991; Brighton & Foy, 2007; Galtung & Ruge, 1965). They involve meanings about tragedy, destruction, heroism, power, serendipity, deception, sacrifice, and other extremes of the human condition, and seem to hold a morbid fascination for us.

At the end of war, armistice carries both a legalistic gravity, as seen in the solemnity of truce-signing ceremonies, and a communal sense of relief and hope, as demonstrated by the crowds of people who flooded into Sydney to celebrate the cessation of the first and second world wars. At the point of armistice, the physical battle might come to an end but other battles, often metaphorical or ideological ones, are brought into focus as a result of the war itself. The discourse of armistice therefore potentially embodies discourses of recrimination, repatriation, reparations, estimations of the economic, structural and human cost of engaging in war, and prognostications about the future of peace. These discourses are often refracted through a range of salient social voices – government and military, for example – as they present their institutionally aligned response to the end of conflict.

In working with this site for study, the research is therefore interdisciplinary in nature. As well as being a primarily linguistic enquiry, it is also an investigation of culture in history, insofar as the linguistic investigation can shed light on historical context. It is a study of the culture of interaction between the *Herald* as an institution and the people of Sydney as its readers, and the cultural history of how Sydneysiders¹ have experienced war and armistice through the media. Thus, as far as culture is a major part of the context of a text, this investigation crucially addresses the problem of describing, and ascribing relevance to, contextual variables in a diachronic set of texts.

1.1.1 Objectives of the thesis

The thesis has two broad aims:

1. to investigate the linguistic notion of register diachronically, and
2. to investigate historical changes in public meaning-making in relation to the end of war and thereby increase understanding of the changing character of *SMH* journalism as a semiotic activity.

In this introductory chapter, I will first outline the scope of the thesis, including: introducing the *Sydney Morning Herald* as an institution and site for the linguistic investigation (section 1.2); introducing the approach to language and context taken in this thesis (section 1.3); and introducing the issues from the disciplines of media studies and media history that are relevant to the objectives of this study (section 1.4). In section 1.5 I will summarise the questions to be addressed in the thesis, and then section 3 will provide an overview of the thesis structure. Finally, section 1.7 will conclude the chapter.

¹ 'Sydneysiders' refers to people who call Sydney home.

1.2 Introduction to the data

The data in this study are reports from *The Sydney Morning Herald*² (henceforth referred to also as *SMH* or the *Herald*) that cover seven major wars in Australia's history: Boer War (1899-1902), World War I (1914-1918), World War II (1939-1945), Korean War (1950-1953), Vietnam War (1962-1975)³, Gulf War (1990-1991), and Iraq War (2003-)⁴. The period covered by the research comprises most of the latter half of European Australian history⁵, and coincides with the period following the Federation in 1901 of British colonies into one Australian nation. Perhaps as a result of this, the early wars (particularly World War I) have collected about them considerable lore and romanticism relating to the cementing of an Australian character and identity (see e.g. Williams, 1999 on the 'Anzac legend' and the growth of an Anzac 'cult') through a 'baptism by fire' (especially the Gallipoli landing on 25th April, 1915). Table 1-1 shows the name by which each text will be identified throughout the thesis, along with its date and main headline. The set of texts as a corpus will be introduced in more detail in chapter 3. It will be noted that the set of texts constitutes a very small corpus, but the value of using a small corpus is that it allows for much more detailed analysis and description than a large corpus within the time restrictions of the research.

² *Sydney Morning Herald* material published after 1959 (i.e less than 50 years old) is the copyright of Fairfax Media. The reports and full page images for Vietnam War text (1975), Gulf War text (1991), and Iraq War text (2003) are reproduced in this thesis with permission from Fairfax Media. The earlier texts are now in the public domain.

³ These dates for the Vietnam War are as given by the Australian War Memorial (2001-2008d), as Australian personnel were involved from 1965-1972. The start of the Vietnam War is difficult to pinpoint, as I will explain in chapter 3.

⁴ There has not been an official end to the Iraq War at the time of writing. However, the 'fall of Baghdad' on 9th April, 2003, was largely construed as the end of a major phase of war, and various ritual closures to Australian involvement were performed during that year even though troops remained in the Middle East (Bromley, 2004: 225).

⁵ Australia was inhabited by the indigenous Aboriginal people alone until 1788 when it was formally colonised by Britain with the arrival of the First Fleet under the leadership of Captain Arthur Phillip.

	Text Name	Date	Main Headline
1	Boer War text	3 rd June, 1902	DECLARATION OF PEACE
2	World War I (WWI) text	12 th November, 1918	GERMANY SIGNS ARMISTICE
3	World War II (WWII) text	16 th August, 1945	JAPAN CAPITULATES
4	Korean War text	28 th July, 1953	KOREAN TRUCE SIGNED
5	Vietnam War text	1 st May, 1975	VIETCONG TAKE OVER
6	Gulf War text	1 st March, 1991	THE WAR IS OVER
7	Iraq War text	10 th April, 2003	BAGHDAD FALLS

Table 1-1 Identification of text names, dates and headlines

The *Sydney Morning Herald* is a broadsheet newspaper published in Sydney, Australia, since 1831, and it is unique in being the only Sydney newspaper to have published throughout the entire period under study (1902-2003). As well as being Australia's longest running newspaper, the *Herald* is famously recognised as having been owned by the same family for nearly 150 years (actually 149 years, 10 months, and 2 days, according to Souter, 1991: v). John Fairfax and Charles Kemp purchased *The Sydney Herald* (as it was known for its first decade) in 1841, and it was continuously owned and managed by the Fairfax family until December 1990, when Warwick Fairfax, the great-grandson of the original owner John Fairfax, lost control of the company following financial mismanagement. The current parent company of the *Herald*, John Fairfax Holdings Limited, retains the name of the family who controlled it for so long. The institutional history of the *Sydney Morning Herald* will be described as part of the contextual description of each text in chapters 3 and 7, and wherever necessary over the course of the thesis. Although the study is focused on just one newspaper, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, I argue that some characteristics of the media in general can also be observed as far as they impact the practices of the *SMH*, and as far as the *SMH* reporting reflects the wider media environment (see chapter 3 for a further discussion of the media environment in relation to each text).

Each text comprises a news report from the first page on which the end of war was reported on the day the news became available. The data were selected in this way in order to ensure as far as possible that they represented a similar type and status of text; that is, they are not 'follow up' reports or commentary. The texts are initially considered to be instances of the same 'register', that is, belonging to a set of texts that operate in similar ways in similar contexts of situation, relative to the overall system (see section 1.3.1 and

chapter 2 for further explanation of register). However, one of the objectives of this study, as mentioned in section 1.1.1 above, is to explore the concept of register further, along the diachronic dimension. Part of this task will be to establish whether the texts *do* instantiate the same register, or whether there are any that differ so radically from the others that they must be considered instances of a different register.

This study considers the institutional context of the *SMH* important for understanding the texts as historical artefacts, but also sees the texts themselves as evidence for the *SMH* context in which they were produced. Just as we need to be aware of the fact that the *SMH* as an institution was different in 1902, 1918, 1945, 1953, 1975, 1991, and 2003 from the present day, so we can also deduce this from reading the texts and paying attention to the context and visual features of the newspaper at each point in time. While the more particular details of the historical or social context may not be clear from the text alone, the language of the text will construe discursively relevant information about the original context. A simple analysis of an extract from the Boer War text illustrates this principle:

THE FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT.

LONDON, June 1.

The terms of peace have been signed at Pretoria.

June 2.

After signifying their acceptance of the British terms all the Boer delegates arrived at Pretoria on Saturday and signed at half-past 10 o'clock at night the document containing the terms of surrender.

Lord Kitchener, in his despatch to the Imperial Government, added that Lord Milner and himself had also signed the document.

Extract 1-1 First coranto from the Boer War text

In Extract 1-1, which is the opening ‘coranto’⁶ article from the Boer War text, *The terms of peace* and *Lord Kitchener* are presented as Themes, or departure points, for some of the messages in the text. Both are given little explanation, with the assumption that the reader knows which terms of peace are being referred to and who Lord Kitchener is. Such homophoric references construe the writer’s expectation of a socially aware adult reader who shares relevant cultural knowledge with the writer as a result of shared recent history through the medium of the newspaper. This small detail in the lexicogrammar is part of the way the “virtual addressee” (Hasan, 1999: 238) is ‘textured’ into the text. The theoretical

⁶ The term ‘coranto’ refers to the brief, telegraphic style of article common in newspapers from the early stages of the European newspaper tradition until around the 1930s (Nanri, 1993). In the earliest coranto style, information was grouped according to the city from which the news was received, regardless of where the event actually took place, and regardless of whether there might have been other similar items under the heading of a different city (Stephens, 2007: 143-144).

approach to the relationship between language and context, and how historical variation in this is to be managed, is introduced in the following section.

1.3 Approach to language in context in the thesis

The thesis draws on a contextually situated theory of language to approach the analysis of meaning and context in the domain of reporting the end of war. This theory is known as systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and has been developed since the late 1950s by Michael Halliday, building on work by Firth and Malinowski. It is a comprehensive theory and framework that models language as a sociosemiotic system that simultaneously operates in and construes its social context. As a theory, it offers considerable explanatory power, and its rigorous analytical tools yield very rich descriptive results. This section provides a brief introduction to the theoretical framework of systemic functional linguistics, with a more detailed discussion to follow in chapter 2.

The SFL framework is well suited to research on language, context and culture, because it explicitly situates language within its context of situation and culture. Language is viewed as a social semiotic system instantiated by individual texts as well as text types or ‘registers’ (the dimension of *instantiation*). As a *social* semiotic system, it is central to human involvement in social action, of which news reporting is one example. Individual texts, such as news reports, are seen as meaningful artefacts in their own right, having meaning in relation to the system. Texts as instances are also simultaneously seen as a means by which to understand language as a system:

“we cannot explain why a text means what it does, with all the various readings and values that may be given to it, except by relating it to the linguistic system as a whole; and, equally, we cannot use it as a window on the system unless we understand what it means and why”
(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 3).

The systemic perspective affords a clear view of relative meaning, or *valeur* in Saussure’s terms (de Saussure, 1959), so it is a useful conception of language for a diachronic understanding of meaning in comparable instances of language. Each of the news reports can be approached as a complex unit of meaning in its own right and in relation to other kinds of meanings and texts from the same point in time (e.g. formal speeches about the end of war, casual conversations about the news, radio broadcasts): this constitutes a synchronic perspective on the meaning of a text. Each text can also be viewed as a temporally distinct instantiation of the meaning potential in a particular domain (e.g. news report about the end

of war in 1918 vs. 1991): this is a diachronic view of the meaning of a text. Both views must be held together simultaneously (cf. de Saussure, 1959). Figure 1-1 displays this duality of perspective visually.

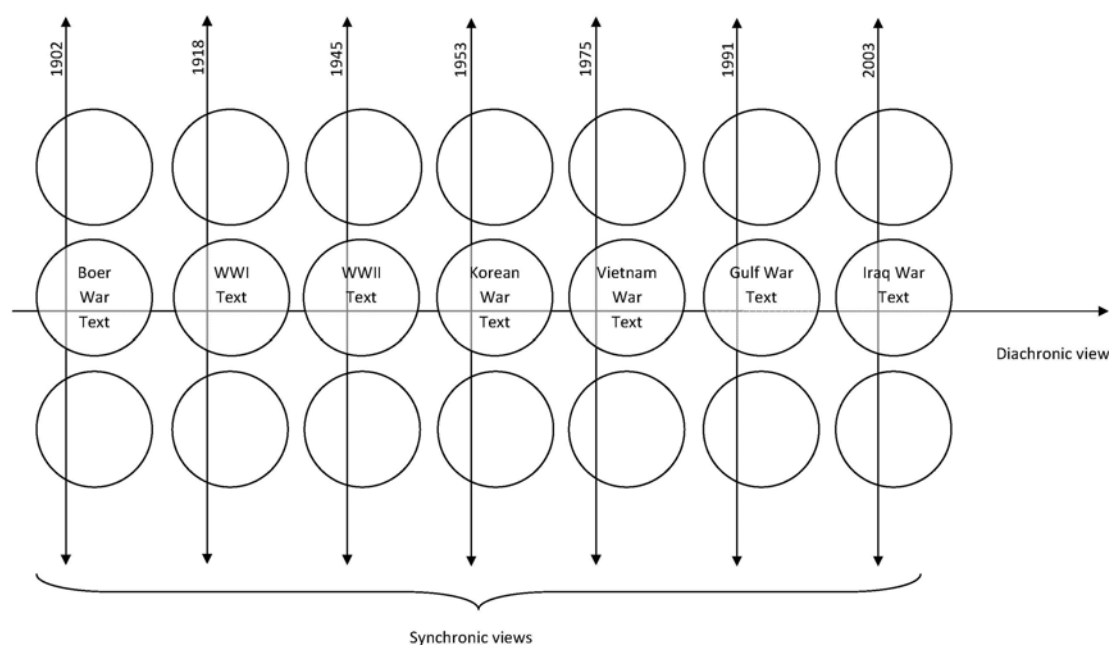


Figure 1-1 Dual perspectives on meaning: the synchronic and the diachronic

The SFL framework has a stratified conception of language (the dimension of *stratification*): language is modelled as layers of expression (graphology or phonology) and content (lexicogrammar and semantics), and contexts of situation and culture are modelled as extralinguistic strata (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 24–25). The strata are related realisationally, such that the expression plane realises the content plane, and linguistic systems realise extralinguistic systems. This relationship is dialogical in that choices at the level of lexicogrammar, for example, construe meaning (semantics) and are simultaneously activated by the semantic choices (Hasan, 1999: 223).

The other important dimension of this theory is the organisation of language according to *metafunction*: the ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions. The metafunctions model the major communicative functions of language: construing experience, enacting social relationships, and organising and communicating the message, respectively. They operate at all strata: corresponding to field, tenor and mode at the level of context, and realised at the lexicogrammatical stratum through systems that include TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, and THEME (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004 for further explanation). The

dimensions of instantiation, stratification and metafunction are integral to the concept of register, which is introduced in the following section. The dimensions will also be discussed further as part of the literature review in chapter 2.

1.3.1 Register

Earlier in this chapter (section 1.2) I referred to the texts in the study as putative instances of the same register. At that point I glossed register as ‘a set of texts that operate in similar ways in a similar context of situation, relative to the overall system’. There are two crucial points about register that are implicit in this gloss: first, that “register is a functional variety of language” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 27); and second, that register can be located on the cline of instantiation as a mid-point between the system and the instance.

The dimensions briefly introduced in section 1.3 above (instantiation, stratification, metafunction) are all implicated in the SFL conception of *register* as modelled by Halliday and Hasan (Halliday, [1995] 2007; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Halliday, McIntosh, & Stevens, 1964; Hasan, 1985b, 1995, 1999), and Matthiessen (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Matthiessen, 1993). Although there is debate among systemic linguists over the relationship of the concept of register to the overall system (see e.g. discussions in Hasan, 1995; Martin, 1992; Matthiessen, 1993), the basic purpose of the concept is to enable the management of contextual variation in language (cf. Halliday, [1995] 2007: 248). Variations of the concept of register will be further discussed in chapter 2. Since stratification operates at all points on the cline of instantiation, register is realised at all strata: contextually, semantically, lexicogrammatically, and also phonologically/graphologically. This conception of register, therefore, entails a powerful analytical framework, and one which is ideally suited to the investigation of comparable texts from different periods of time.

1.4 Relevant issues from media studies and media history

As I have explained in the foregoing sections, the primary theoretical focus of the study is a linguistic one: the diachronic variation of linguistic meaning-making in context, within a particular register of media discourse. Media professionals are essentially professional meaning-makers and ‘discourse-bearers’ (Bell & Garrett, 1998: 6); the commodity they trade in is meaning about the world. They are ‘mediators’ of experience (Fowler, 1991: 120) through language, providing readers with what is often the only means of knowing about an event that occurs outside of their experience (see e.g. Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978: 56). Since the data used in this study have been selected according to the

diachronic dimension and by register (news reports), the research is interdisciplinary to the extent that it is related to the fields of media history and journalism studies. The linguistic research can thus be turned to address pertinent issues within those fields as well. In this section I identify the main research issues from the media studies and media history literature that are relevant to the objectives of this study, and which will therefore be taken up as issues to be addressed in the analysis. These issues are: the function and content of news and news organisations, the role of the journalist, and the role of technology in news production.

1.4.1 The function and content of news and news organisations

One of the aims of this research, as stated in section 1.1.1, is to investigate historical changes in public meaning-making in relation to the end of war and thereby increase understanding of the changing character of *SMH* journalism as a semiotic activity. An important step in addressing this aim is recognising and understanding the function of the news at each point in time and its content or orientation to the experiential domain. Throughout the period under focus in this study, news production has been primarily an economic enterprise (Rantanen, 1997). Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen consider that the development of news is “at the heart of modern capitalism” (1998a: 1), and information has become “a commodity gathered and distributed for the three purposes of political communication, trade and pleasure, and directed in its generic form by technology (for example the telegraph), scientism (for example the belief in the value of 'facts'), and the development of mass media markets” (1998a: 1). The information exchanged comprises meaning in relation to topics dispersed over a variety of domains of social life that have relevance to the community for which the news is produced (cf. Stephens, 2007), and which contribute “to processes of the construction of national identity; to imperialism and the control of colonies” and provide “an essential lubricant in day-to-day financial affairs, both within and between domestic markets” (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998a: 1-2). As Hartley expressed it, “journalism is a capitalization of language, adding value to culture” (1996: 37).

The news must also be timely and new for each day’s publication, since recency is a major part of what gives news its value for consumers (Rantanen, 1997). This feature of news results in an ephemeral quality, since news reports are “produced in the conditions of present-tense organized chaos and consumed in the routine expectation of being thrown away and forgotten” (Hartley, 1996: 1). However, Hartley argues that despite this, the practices of journalism are “neither reinvented anew each day nor necessarily very different

from what was being done decades and even lifetimes ago” (1996: 1). But as communication technologies have developed (see section 1.4.3) communal experiences of and attitudes towards time and space have changed - particularly since the telegraph, which “resulted in *the uncoupling of space and time*, in the sense that spatial distancing no longer required temporal distancing” (Thompson, 1995: 32, emphasis original). So even if it is true that the practices of journalism should have remained largely the same over the period in question (Hartley, 1996: 1), we can expect to find shifts in the meaning of news content in terms of its experiential orientation, especially in relation to systems of temporal and spatial reference used in reporting news events. This area of meaning will be the focus of analysis in chapter 4. The selection, structure and topical development of news content will be explored as part of a cohesive harmony analysis in chapter 6. The contextual parameter of field, which is construed largely by these meanings, will also be analysed systemically in chapter 7.

1.4.2 The role of the journalist

Western journalism has become a kind of semi-professional trade, shifting from what once was learnt ‘on the job’ as a kind of internship, to a career that now tends to begin with a university degree but often also requires the same on-the-job apprenticeship upon entry to the industry (see e.g. Hartley, 1996: 36). It is also increasingly specialised, with some journalists and editors being specifically appointed to cover certain domains of social life, e.g. politics, science, or education, without necessarily having specific training or background knowledge in that area.

Wartime journalism has its own challenges, not least that of staying alive and maintaining some degree of professional balance while being under pressure to write material that will help, or at least not jeopardise, the success of their home country’s military campaign (e.g. Allan & Zelizer, 2004a: 3). The nature of wartime journalism can also be expected to have undergone change over time. Recent literature on the subject has commented on the use of embedded journalists in the Iraq War reporting as if it were a novel approach, apparently seeing the need to provide a definition of the phrase ‘embedded journalist’ as a new concept (see Cottle, 2006: 76). However, the practice of embedding journalists is not new, even if the term ‘embedded journalist’ has only recently gained currency. Australian journalist C. E. W. Bean, for example, who later wrote the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918* (Bean, 1921), travelled as an official reporter with the First Australian Forces in World War I. His presence among the troops was regarded with not a little suspicion and hostility by the

British commanders (Williams, 1999: 63), and this tension between military and media has continued through to recent times.

What may have changed to a greater extent is the relationship of the war correspondent to the newspaper and its readership. Although Schudson has argued that news organisations tend not to have much sense of their audience (1989: 276), the news, like any text, is always written with a “virtual addressee” (Hasan, 1999: 238) in mind, (whether consciously or unconsciously). The virtual addressee is textured into the text such that a linguistic analysis will elucidate the writer’s expectations of the characteristics of this addressee (see Extract 1-1 in section 1.2 above, where the addressee is construed as a socially aware adult reader who has been following the ongoing unfolding of the war). In this way, historical changes in expectations of the *Herald’s* readers can be identified through textual analysis.

The ‘role of the journalist’ must be understood as a role defined with reference to the media organisation of which the journalist is part (cf. Lukin, 2008b: 156-157). When I refer to the ‘role of the journalist’ in this study, therefore, I intend it in the sense of ‘the role of the journalist as a representative of a news institution, and in relation to the market of typical consumers of news from that institution’. The role of the journalist in relation to both the newspaper institution and the readers is a contextual feature that can be observed, for example, through its indexation⁷ in formal changes in the newspaper, such as identification of journalists through bylines. This contextual feature corresponds with the parameter of tenor of discourse, which is concerned with the relationship between writer and reader in the linguistic interaction (see section 1.3 above). The relationship between the *SMH* writer and reader, as part of the tenor of discourse, will be analysed systemically in chapter 7, which presents a systemic analysis of the texts at the level of context. The analysis of tenor in chapter 7 will draw on the findings from the lexicogrammatical analyses presented in chapters 4-6, especially chapter 5 which presents an analysis of the use of linguistic resources for presenting news information from external sources, i.e. non-authorial sourcing. The issue at stake in non-authorial sourcing is the professional identity of the journalist in relation to the news information, including the degree to which the writer is identified as an authority and warranted to provide their interpretation of the events of war and armistice.

⁷ The term ‘indexation’ is used here and elsewhere in the thesis to signify the process of serving as an indicator or example of a prevailing condition.

1.4.3 The role of technology in news production

The role of technology has been a noticeable theme in the media history and media studies literature, for example: in research on the development of networks of communication and news sharing through news agencies (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998a; Rantanen, 1997); the impact of global electronic communication on accuracy and timeliness of foreign news reporting (Beaumont, 2005; Putnis, 2007; Putnis & Ailwood, 2007; Stephens, 2007); and the impact of changing technologies more generally on the possibilities for meaning in the news (Hartley, 1982; Thompson, 1995). Over the period of focus in this study, there have been many changes in the technologies involved in press news production, including communication technologies, sound recording devices, photographic reproduction techniques, and the machines used for typesetting and printing newspapers. The changes in technology are thus expected to have semantic implications as part of the context of the news production, and therefore to be evident in the semiotic choices. This feature of the context corresponds to the contextual parameter of mode of discourse (see section 1.3 above), and will be explored in chapters 4, 5 and 6, in relation to the analyses of the selection of meanings in the texts. The parameter of mode will be analysed systemically alongside the parameters of field and tenor in the contextual analysis in chapter 7.

1.5 Thesis questions

The objectives of the thesis, as stated in section 1.1.1, are:

1. to investigate the linguistic notion of register diachronically; and
2. to investigate historical changes in public meaning-making in relation to the end of war and thereby increase understanding of the changing character of *SMH* journalism as a semiotic activity.

In this chapter I have introduced broadly the features of the study that have been designed to meet these objectives: namely, the selection of data for analysis in the study; the conception of register as a way of managing meaning variation according to context; and the identification of relevant factors of the semiotic activity of journalism from the fields of media studies and media history. Chapters 2 and 3 will extend the discussion of these topics prior to the presentation of the analysis of the texts.

As part of the thesis objectives, the broad underlying question that the thesis sets out to answer is this:

What can be seen of registerial consistency and variation, in terms of context, semantics, and lexicogrammar, through the diachronic investigation of the reporting of armistice in the Sydney Morning Herald from 1902 to 2003?

As indicated in the foregoing sections, the analysis of the selected texts will follow a multistratal, multifunctional approach to language in context. This will enable me to address the above questions through more specific questions about how register operates diachronically. These questions are:

1. In these seven texts, how are the lexicogrammatical and semantic resources of English turned to the task of reporting armistice (including representing time and space, attributing information to non-authorial sources, and creating structure and texture) in relation to their context, and how has the use of these linguistic resources changed?
2. What does the concept of register offer to the diachronic study of text in context, and what can a diachronic analysis of language in context contribute to the development of the theory of register?
3. What evidence can the analysis of register offer to both linguists and historians for the study of social and cultural change in the social milieu of Sydney over the period 1902 to 2003?

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The investigation of these questions about the language of reporting armistice in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and what this reveals about register diachronically, will proceed over the remaining chapters of the thesis in the following way:

Chapters 2 and 3 provide further background to the study. Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature from media studies and systemic functional linguistics to further locate this interdisciplinary study within current debates in the relevant fields. Chapter 3 provides a detailed introduction to the data, including a summary of the content of each text and a description of the historical background of each text. The selection of background information for discussion is based on the specific issues that appear to be ‘at risk’ from readings of the texts themselves.

Chapters 4 to 7 present multi-stratal analyses of the texts as instances of a register. Chapter 4 explores the lexicogrammatical realisation of meanings about time and space in

the news reports as encoded in the experiential and logical metafunctions. Chapter 5 focuses on the lexicogrammatical realisation of the experiential and logical encoding of information sources and alignment in the news reports. The analyses in these chapters will demonstrate how particular ways of orienting to time and space and news information in the texts construe particular contextual calibrations in relation to the content and function of the news, the role of the journalist, and the role of technology.

Chapter 6 presents a semantic analysis focusing on cohesion. A sub-set of the texts (Boer War, Korean War, and Iraq War texts) is analysed in terms of cohesive harmony with a view to describing and comparing the semantic realisation of text structure, texture, and field development. Chapter 7 presents an analysis of the texts at the level of context. A comparison of the context of situation of the texts is presented, based on systemic analyses of the parameters of context: field, tenor and mode. Finally, Chapter 8 presents a discussion of the key findings of the thesis in relation to the thesis questions, and concludes the thesis.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an introduction to the objectives of the research and the central questions of the thesis. It has introduced in a general way the data to be analysed and the nature of the problem addressed, in relation to the linguistic notion of register and the concerns of media studies with the semiotic activity of news journalism. It has also indicated how the objectives are to be met and questions answered over the course of the remaining chapters of the thesis. The next chapter, chapter 2, will review the literature pertaining to the research area and thesis questions.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

“The meanings are woven together in a very dense fabric in such a way that, to understand them, we do not look separately at its different parts; rather, we look at the whole thing simultaneously from a number of different angles, each perspective contributing towards the total interpretation. That is the essential nature of a functional approach.” (Halliday, 1985b: 23)

2.1 General introduction and overview of the chapter

The previous chapter outlined the direction and scope of the study and flagged some of the areas of previous study relevant to the research. This chapter will bring these various disciplinary areas together in a discussion of the relevant literature. As stated in chapter 1, the broad question is:

What is the extent of registerial consistency and variation, in terms of context, semantics and lexicogrammar, in the reporting of armistice in the Sydney Morning Herald from 1902 to 2003?

More specifically, the thesis addresses the questions of what the contextually situated linguistic analysis reveals about social and cultural change in the social milieu of Sydney over this period; to what extent current theories of context are sufficiently systematic for a diachronic description and analysis of context; and what a diachronic analysis of language in context can contribute to the development of a theory of context.

The chapter proceeds from an overview of research in media and war reporting (section 2.2), including historical, media studies, and linguistics approaches. It then moves towards a focused explanation of the systemic functional framework for register analysis (section 2.3) before concluding the chapter (section 2.4).

2.2 Traditions of media discourse analysis

In the previous chapter I noted that wars generally receive heavy coverage in the news media, whatever form the media has taken over the years (newspaper, then radio, newsreels, television and internet). In a similar way, the reporting of war in the media has received a great deal of attention in academic literature (e.g. volumes by Allan & Zelizer, 2004b; Andersen, 2006; Cottle, 2006), particularly in recent decades as the discipline of media studies has become more popular and gained recognition as an area of research, and as the linguistic study of media discourse has gained momentum. The present thesis brings

discourse analysis to bear on a diachronic corpus of texts as instances of a register of media discourse, namely, news reports. As such, it continues a tradition of media discourse analysis which has been practised in various manifestations over the past century across a number of disciplines, including linguistics, media studies, and cultural studies. This section presents a review of the main areas of scholarship in relation to media discourse analysis.

2.2.1 Historical accounts of news media

Many historical surveys and contemporary accounts of the media industry and media discourse have been published, covering a wide temporal, geographical, institutional and philosophical range. For example, historical accounts include: Smith's (1979) and Stephens' (2007) extensive histories of news and newspapers; Conboy's (2004) critical history of journalism; Knightley's (2004) history of war correspondents; Read's (1999) history of the Reuters agency; Frank's (1961) early history of the English newspaper; Walker's (1976) history of the press in New South Wales; and the institutional histories of the *Sydney Morning Herald* by Fairfax & Sons (1931) and Souter (1981; 1991).

As the earliest developed forms of public news medium, newspapers are familiar everyday linguistic artefacts in industrialised societies. The practice of disseminating news via newspapers is around five hundred years old, having begun in the 16th century in Europe, especially Holland and Italy, to serve the commercial interests of the mercantile community. English language newspapers arose later, in the early 17th century (Stephens, 1988). Increasing literacy rates following 18th century education reforms led to the widening of newspaper readership beyond the merchant class to the more general public (Grossberg, Wartella, & Whitney, 1998; Nanri, 1993).

While modern newspapers all have a degree of similarity in both form and function, there have been considerable structural and functional changes over time in the newspaper as a medium. Smith describes an early form of the newspaper in Europe, the 'coranto', as an extremely important new social phenomenon because of its role in broadening the horizons of readers, providing them periodically with comprehensive information about contemporary events in other place (Smith, 1979: 11). The 'comprehensive' and 'periodical' nature of the knowledge disseminated in this way remains the essence of the newspaper. Modern print newspapers in Australia are regularly and frequently published; are printed on newsprint paper in either 'broadsheet' or 'tabloid' size; display a consistent and recognisable format and title; and carry a variety of reports in each issue, which are organised into sections based on

theme or ‘newsworthiness’, and in which editorial opinion is reserved for a small number of articles explicitly marked as such.

On the continuum of modern newspaper development, the present study comes in at seven points: 1902, 1918, 1945, 1953, 1975, 1991, 2003, as exemplified in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and the manifestation of news reporting at each stage is potentially different from the one before. A discussion of the changing cultural and historical context of the *Herald* in the periods relevant to this study is presented in chapter 3.

2.2.2 Approaches to studying the news media

Apart from being a physical product in the form of a newspaper, press news is a form of discourse, a particular use of language to enact social processes (cf. Fairclough, 1995b). The discourse of the news media is crucially important as a site for analysis because of its status as the “most prestigious of daily media genres, and its role at the centre of the exercise of power in modern societies” (Bell & Garrett, 1998: 4). In this way, the news media have become a channel for cultural reproduction and symbolic control (Bernstein, 1990), constituting the means by which people come to understand important local and global events (cf. Hall et al., 1978), which may have significant ongoing social effects.

The processes and structures of production and reception in all areas of media, including the news, entertainment, information, and commercial (advertising) functions of newspaper, radio, television, film, and internet, have been widely studied. Media research is typically directed towards two main outcomes: professional development of media practitioners (e.g. Friedlander & Lee, 2004; Grossberg et al., 1998; McLellan & Dobinson, 2004; Tumber, 2004), and critical engagement with the social phenomenon of the media. Research that critically engages with the social and cultural issues of the media include, for example, Tuchman’s (1976; 1978) and Schudson’s (1982; 1989) accounts of news production processes and conventions, Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen’s (1998b) edited volume on the globalisation of news, Herman & Chomsky’s (2002) critique of the American mass media, and Hartley’s (1982; 1996) volumes on the place of news in society and culture. Many studies have also been concerned with understanding the work of the journalist, from issues of how journalists structure the news report (e.g. Tiffen, 1993; Waugh, 1995; Zelizer, 1989), to the relationship between correspondents and news subjects, in particular the political and military spheres (e.g. Allan & Zelizer, 2004a; Knightley, 2004; Tuchman, 1978; Tumber, 2004).

Scholars in linguistics have also turned to the news media as a rich site of data for exploring diverse social issues. For example, linguistic research has investigated the linguistic construction of women as victims of crime (Clark, 1992), the principles of visual meaning in newspaper front pages (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998), and dominant attitudes and ideologies about various aspects of the world (eg. Coffin & O'Halloran, 2005; Martin, 1995b; Moore, 2006; Trew, 1979b). Other significant research on media discourse includes: Bell's sociolinguistic descriptions of the language and structure of news discourse (e.g. Bell, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1998); Bednarek's recent work on evaluation in news discourse (Bednarek, 2006); and Nanri's diachronic investigation of the discourse structure of news reports as a function of economic environment and ideology (Nanri, 1993). Nanri's study is one of the very few attempts to investigate context diachronically, and demonstrates the usefulness of selecting a corpus of topically consistent texts for diachronic analysis. He investigated the development of the discourse semantic structure of news reports from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, with a view to synthesizing a theory of context oriented to the economic environment and a theory of context oriented to ideology (see section 2.3.1.2.1 below for further discussion of context as a theoretical construct). The resulting account provides a detailed and theoretically explicit account of the diachronic development of discourse structure and relates the changes to contextual changes, specifically in relation to the economic environment and the ideology of both news suppliers and news consumers.

Media discourse has been a major research site for scholars in critical discourse analysis (CDA) in particular, from the classic studies of the East Anglia school (eg. Fowler, 1991; Fowler & Kress, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979; Trew, 1979a, 1979b) to the development by Fairclough and colleagues of the CDA movement as a "shifting synthesis" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 16) of social and linguistic theories (see for example Fairclough, 1992; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Baker et al., 2008; van Dijk, 1988a, 1998, 1988b; Wodak, 2001, 2005; Young & Harrison, 2004).

Lukin has recently contributed to the development of the conception and analysis of register in relation to media discourse, demonstrating the analytical and explanatory power of register as a theoretical construct (e.g. Lukin, 2005; Lukin, 2008a, 2008b; 2008, in press). Despite the explanatory power and practical 'applicability' (Halliday, 2005) of register as a concept (cf. de Beaugrande, 1993: 14), much of the linguistic research on media discourse has been based on 'genre theory' (e.g. Iedema, Feez, & White, 1994; White, 2003; White & Thomson, 2008), in which texts are classified into genres primarily based on variation in

their staged unfolding, which is seen as a function of their social purpose (Eggins & Martin, 1997: 236). The distinction between register and genre will be discussed further in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2, as part of the explanation of the theoretical framework used for the purposes of register analysis in this thesis.

Despite the central place that language occupies in the media, much of the media research from outside of linguistics lacks a theory of language or meaning with which to interpret the role of the media as a meaning-making super-institution (cf. Hansen, Cottle, Negrine, & Newbold, 1998: 91). Where there is analysis of language or meaning it usually takes the form of a content analysis, which relies on word-level indicators of meaning (e.g. Philo, 1983), or comparisons of the number of inches of newsprint space or number of minutes of television or radio broadcast given to a particular issue (e.g. Herman & Chomsky, 1988). These methods have proven to be quite effective in observing and highlighting general tendencies over broad categories, such as the point made in chapter 1 (section 1.1) about the number of pages devoted to Iraq War coverage as opposed to NSW state election coverage in the *SMH*. But once these general tendencies have been identified at the expression plane (phonology, graphology; see section 2.3.1.2) there is an opportunity to apply more rigorous investigations of the meaningful choices made in the discourse and their systematic relationship to the context (lexicogrammar, semantics, context; see section 2.3.1.2). Linguistic analysis of media discourse is therefore in a position to explore the range of meanings about the world that it is possible to make in that context; in the present study, the focus is on the potential for meaning about the end of war in newspaper reports, and how these meanings are made across the range of linguistic resources (see section 2.3).

2.2.2.1 War in the media, armistice in the media

A number of case studies have been written on the performance and impact of the media during particular wars. Putnis, for example, has contributed much to the historical accounts of wartime media in Australia, e.g. through studies of media operations during the Franco-Prussian War (Putnis, 2007) and the Crimean War (Putnis & Ailwood, 2007), and censorship and relations between the government and the press during World War I (McCallum & Putnis, 2008). Beaumont (2005) focuses on the British press during the Boer War, particular in the context of the significant sieges of Mafeking, Kimberley and Ladysmith, and the effects of censorship and poor communications.

Williams (1999) provides an Australian perspective and critique of the media during World War I, focusing on the media coverage of the Gallipoli campaign and the media's role

in perpetuating the ANZAC legend. Williams raises some pertinent questions of truth in news reporting, especially in the midst of wartime censorship and propaganda, lamenting the fact that “the mainstream press... now constituted a homogeneous mass of apparently like-minded newspapers, which had become, to all intents, semi-official propaganda organs espousing the national cause” (Williams, 1999: 16).

Cryle (2007) assesses the media during the Cold War period in terms of campaigns by newspaper proprietors for freedom of the press in the aftermath of the restrictions that had been in place during World War II. The controversial performance of the media in the Vietnam War in particular is the subject of a number of studies, including Hammond (1998), Hallin (1986), and, notably, Payne’s (2007) history of the Australian press in the Vietnam War.

An account of the role of the media in the Gulf War is given by Knightley (2004) as part of his history of war correspondents, and a focus on the Australian media in this war is given by Goot and Tiffen (1992) in their book *Australia’s Gulf War*. A further perspective is provided by Philo & McLaughlin (1993) from their important project with the Glasgow Media Group. Most recently, the media coverage of the Iraq War has been studied from a number of angles, e.g. (from the collection of papers in Allan & Zelizer, 2004b), selective coverage and its impact on public understanding of conflict (Boyd-Barrett, 2004), representations of Australian national identity (Bromley, 2004), embedded journalism (Tumber, 2004), and legitimization of war (Couldry & Downey, 2004).

The studies outlined above tend to focus on historical events, aspects of the war situation and media contexts, as befits their disciplinary affinity. They provide helpful background information for the diachronic study of the language of reporting attempted in this thesis. They point to areas of contention within media theories and history where particular aspects of context or meaning are at stake, and which would benefit from analysis of the way those meanings are made linguistically. For example, what can the everyday discourse of times past, such as news reports, tell us about the historical *zeitgeist*? There is also a noticeable gap in this body of literature, namely the study of the discourse of armistice in the media as a specific concern in relation to war, despite the complex array of meanings and implications relating to the conclusion of war. For example, in *How Wars End*, Taylor (1985) raises questions in relation to legitimacy and legality in beginning and ending wars, which are predicated not just on physical action but on symbolic, linguistic action, e.g. *declaration* of war, *declaration* of peace, *negotiation* of peace terms. This thesis therefore makes a

contribution to the body of scholarship on war in the media from a linguistic perspective by applying a theory of meaning to the meaning-based problems in the study of history, and demonstrating how historical issues surrounding armistice are indexed linguistically in the news reporting.

2.3 A theoretical framework for register analysis: Systemic Functional Linguistics

The present diachronic study is concerned with the development of meaning potential in a particular register, namely that of newspaper reporting of the end of war. As such, it requires a framework that can manage diachronic change in language and its context, recognising that instances of communication unfold simultaneously alongside a greater unfolding of the linguistic culture of a community and the unfolding of individual communicative experience. Such a view of language as text and process in context is central to the social semiotic theory of language developed by Halliday et al (e.g. Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), known as systemic functional linguistics (henceforth SFL). SFL is based on a social-semiotic view of language (e.g. Halliday, 1978; 1985a: 4), in which language is inherently functional in the social processes of human life, and comprises systems of options through which these functions are realised.

The theory of SFL has been developed since the 1960s by Michael Halliday and others, building on work by Saussure, Malinowski, and Firth. The most recent revision of Halliday's systemic functional description of the grammar of English was published in the third edition of *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), and other languages have also been described to varying degrees of coverage (see e.g. the volume edited by Caffarel, Martin, & Matthiessen, 2004). Other explanations of the theory in relation to English are given by Halliday (1976; 1978), Hasan (e.g. 1978; 1995; 2007), Halliday & Hasan (1985), Matthiessen (1995), Halliday & Matthiessen (1999), Martin (1992), and the ten-volume collected works of Halliday (especially 2002a; 2002b; 2003; 2005; 2007). The theory has a strong tradition of application to media discourse, particularly in the last decade or so (e.g. chapters in the volume edited by Graddol & Boyd-Barrett, 1994; Iedema et al., 1994; Lukin, 2005; Martin, 1995a; Moore, 2004; Nanri, 1993; White, 1998), which means there is good methodological and theoretical guidance in this domain. The crucial concepts of the theory and framework of SFL, as they pertain to the diachronic study of register, are outlined in the following sections. The specific methodology used in my analysis will be explained separately as required in each analysis chapter.

2.3.1 Problematising ‘register’

The term ‘register’ has gained currency in linguistics particularly since the late 1970s, but has not been used consistently across the discipline (see e.g. Biber, 1995; de Beaugrande, 1993; Matthiessen, 1993 for surveys of the conceptualisation and use of the term). Since Halliday’s earlier publications in which he began to theorise register (e.g. Halliday, 1973/2003, 1974/2007, 1975/2007a, 1975/2007b; Halliday et al., 1964), register as a theoretical construct has received considerable attention in SFL literature, particularly in the last decade or so (e.g. de Beaugrande, 1993; Halliday, 1985c, 1995/2007, 1997/2003; Hasan, 1995, 2004; Lukin, 2008, in press). The reason for this attention seems to stem from variations in the way the concept is located in relation to language and context, and where it fits in the SFL dimensions of structure, system, stratification, instantiation, and metafunction (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 20). In some accounts, e.g. Ventola (1987), Martin (1992), Iedema et al (1994), and Martin and Rose (2007), register is located in the dimension of stratification, as an extralinguistic level mapping onto context of situation. On the other hand, Halliday (1978; see also Thibault, 1987) argues that register is “a form of prediction” (Halliday, 1978: 32). He therefore locates register as a point on the cline of instantiation between potential (language system) and instance (text) (e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 27), and stresses that register is a wholly linguistic concept, “a setting of probabilities in the semantics” (Thibault, 1987: 610), which is realised in the lexicogrammar and is activated by the configuration of variables in the context of situation (field, tenor and mode) (see also Halliday, 1985c: 38).

The term ‘genre’ is often associated with the notion of register, although in genre theory register is considered the expression plane of genre (e.g. Eggins & Martin, 1997; Martin, 1997). Genre is seen as a “staged, goal-oriented social process” (Martin & Rose, 2007: 8), whereas register is the configuration of the contextual variables of field, tenor and mode (Martin & Rose, 2007: 297). In order to better explain the differences in these conceptions of register, the following sections will introduce the theoretical concepts of stratification, metafunction, instantiation, and semogenesis, which are fundamental for the diachronic register analysis attempted in this study. Following this presentation, I will return to operationalise the notion of register for the present study.

2.3.1.1 Instantiation

Systemic functional linguistics derives its name in part from the fact that in the model “the grammar of a language is represented in the form of system networks, not as an inventory of

structures” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 23). In SFL, “a language is a resource for making meaning, and meaning resides in systemic patterns of choice” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 23). Thus, we can conceive of language from two perspectives simultaneously: as both text (instance) and system (potential) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 19). These form two poles on a ‘cline of instantiation’, as each text ‘instantiates’ the potential; in other words, “system and text are not different phenomena; they are only different ‘phases’ of one and the same phenomenon” (Matthiessen, 2002: 242). If we look from the system end of the cline of instantiation to a mid-way point on the cline, that point would be a sub-potential specified by situation type. It is this point on the cline of instantiation that Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) refer to as *register*. Seen from the instance end of the cline, this point would correspond to a *text type* (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 27).

This dual perspective is important in the current study because it provides the rationale for investigating individual texts in order to build up a description of meaning potential, and provides a systemic analytical framework for analysing the texts. Borrowing Halliday & Matthiessen’s (2004: 26-27) climate/weather analogy (weather is to climate as text is to system), these texts are like readings of the ‘weather’ at particular times. Viewed together, they contribute to an account of the prevailing ‘climate’, both in terms of the sub-potential (register) and the greater potential (system), and suggest where changes in the ‘climate’ have occurred over time. The diachronic approach of this study enables an account of broader meaning change (and consequently social change) simultaneously with the description of more delicate semiotic choices and register variation.

Register is therefore viewed as a setting of semantic probabilities (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Matthiessen, 1993). It is not that register merely instantiates the potential of context of situation (i.e. concerned with the dimension of instantiation within one stratum; see section 2.3.1.2), rather it is an instantiation of the total meaning potential, a linguistic realisation of the potential of variation in contexts of situation (i.e. concerned with instantiation at all strata). As demonstrated in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 21, Fig. 1-6), all strata (see 2.3.1.2 below) are operational at each point on the cline of instantiation; they are not to be individually considered as parallel to certain points on it (e.g. context equivalent to sub-potential or register).

As with the system, register can be defined probabilistically with reference to a corpus of instances of texts from a particular situation type; as with text, it instantiates the entire language system (although to a more generalised degree). The term ‘configuration’

encapsulates the idea that all variables of context are implicated in the meanings and structure of a text through the way they combine (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 27). As a result, “everything in discourse – its structure, its texture, its principles of consistency and variation – is beholden to the relevant contextual configuration” (Hasan, 1985c: 56). This identification of register is therefore contextually situated, and because it results from a configuration of contextual variables that are realised at all strata, it can be investigated multi-stratally: it is also therefore a linguistically testable and defensible category. This conception of register draws on all the crucial dimensions of SFL theory. Another of these dimensions, stratification, is explained in the following section.

2.3.1.2 Stratification

Commonsense conceptions of language tend to acknowledge that there are words, meanings and context, and that these phenomena are somehow different but related. SFL theorises this view of language through the notion of stratification; that is, language is a phenomenon that can be modelled as a number of different levels of abstraction. In SFL, the most common model of stratification (e.g. following Halliday & Hasan, 1985) is one with four main levels of abstraction “which are both necessary and sufficient for a satisfactory description of language” (Hasan, 1999: 224). Building on Saussure’s (1959) two-sided conceptualisation of the sign, the primary distinction is between content and expression planes, where the content (semantics and lexicogrammar) is realised by the expression (phonology or graphology, as realised by phonetics) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 24–25; Hasan, 1999: 224). At a higher level of abstraction, and external to language, is the context stratum (see section 2.3.1.2.1). The strata of semantics and phonology are seen as ‘interlevels’ mediating between context and lexicogrammar on the one hand, and lexicogrammar and phonetics on the other hand (Teich, 1999: 13; and see Ventola, 1987: 21 for a summary of Halliday’s early model of levels and interlevels of language). Figure 2-1 displays one commonly used visual representation of the SFL model of linguistic stratification (adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 25).

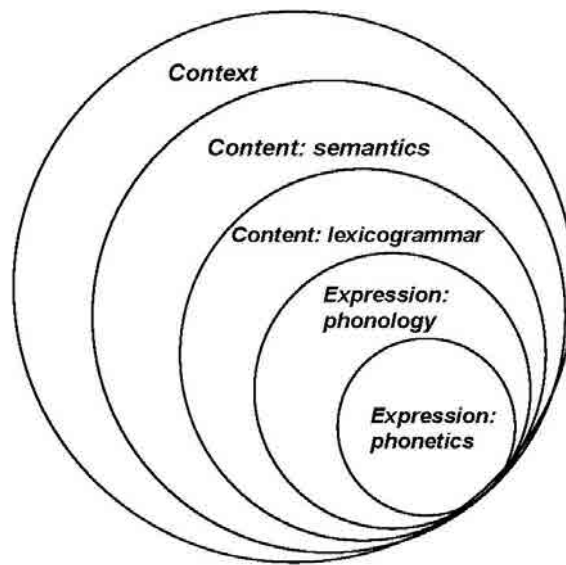


Figure 2-1 Stratificational model of language and context

From the early stages of SFL theory, systemic linguists have agreed on the importance of invoking the contextual stratum when investigating the way language is used in social life (Ventola, 1987: 21). The principle of stratification is thus central to the contextually situated approach of SFL. The stratification of language is also captured in other related SFL models, such as the ‘communicative planes’ of the connotative semiotics framework, following Hjelmslev (see e.g. Halliday & Martin, 1993; Martin & Rose, 2007: 308-309; Ventola, 1987: 57-62). In this framework, register, genre and ideology are modelled as semiotic systems operating as communicative planes in their own right, and in a realisational relationship with the communicative plane of language (Martin & Rose, 2007: 308). That is, they are semiotic systems operating as content planes for which the lower strata are their expression plane (Butt, 2001: 1831). Register is therefore “the expression form of genre, at the same time as language functions as the expression form of register” (Martin, 1992: 495), rather than a system in itself that instantiates the language potential and is instantiated by particular texts according to contextual variation. More recently, Martin and White have also included register in the cline of instantiation (2005: 24-25), but they also emphasise the realisational conception of register and state that in their book they “assume this stratified register and genre model of context” for the purposes of explaining the appraisal analysis framework (Martin & White, 2005: 27).

2.3.1.2.1 Context

As we have seen, the concept of register is centrally concerned with “the fact that the language we speak or write varies according to the type of situation” (Halliday, 1978: 32). In the systemic functional theory of language, variation according to situation is not only possible (since we know from experience that it is), but inherent (Hasan, 2004). The concept of context of situation in a dialectical relationship with language is a defining characteristic of the model of language as social semiotic. In this section I will review those aspects of the SFL model of context that are crucial for this study. This discussion of context will be extended in chapter 7, where I will outline the theoretical issues particular to the analysis of context in this study.

In the stratal model of language context is located outside of language proper in the ‘extralinguistic’ layer, but it is still realisationally related to language, as it is realised by semantics (see section 2.3.1.2). In terms of stratification, ‘context’ includes both context of situation and context of culture, with the former instantiating the latter (Hasan, 1999: 225). Context of situation refers to the immediate relevant social context of the linguistic interaction (Hasan, 1999: 232). Context of culture refers to the social system, “a set of semiotic systems, a set of systems of meaning, all of which interrelate” (Halliday, 1985a: 4), and is instantiated by the context of situation (Hasan, 1999: 224). Halliday (1985a) further explains that, in Malinowski’s work, both context of situation were considered “necessary for the adequate understanding of the text” (p.7), because “involved in any kind of linguistic interaction, in any kind of conversational exchange, were not only the immediate sights and sounds surrounding the event but also the whole cultural history behind the participants, and behind the kinds of practices that they were engaging in, determining their significance for the culture, whether practical or ritual.” (p.6). As Hasan argues, the relation of language to culture is “a theoretical issue most fundamental to linguistic theory” but “remains in need of elaboration” (Hasan, 1999: 219). In the present study, an understanding of the context of culture in a broad sense is important, and an informal description will be provided in Chapter 3. However, for the most part, the focus of contextual analysis and description in the study will be on context of situation, which is introduced below.

As mentioned in section 2.3.1.3, context of situation is modelled as a tripartite structure, comprising three interrelated parameters: field, tenor, and mode. Halliday (1985a) explains the three parameters in the following way:

The field of discourse refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in, in which the language figures as some essential component?

The tenor of discourse refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain among the participants, including permanent and temporary relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved?

The mode of discourse refers to what part the language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it spoken or written or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, didactic, and the like. (Halliday, 1985a: 12)

As stated in chapter 1, this thesis investigates the variation in reporting armistice in terms of diachronic changes in the function and content of the news, the role of the journalist, and the role of technology in news production. These factors of the social process of news production can be understood in terms of “the categories of the abstract context of situation” (Firth, 1962: 8), the parameters of context: the function and content of the news with respect to field of discourse, as it relates to the nature of the social activity taking place; the role of the journalist with respect to tenor of discourse, as it relates to the status and role of one participant (the writer) in relation to the other (the reader); and the role of technology with respect to mode of discourse, as it affects the part the language is playing and how the language is presented to the reader.

A description of the context of the set of armistice texts collectively is presented in Table 2-1 according to the parameters of context at a primary degree of delicacy (see for example context descriptions in Halliday, 1985a; Hasan, 1995, 1999), and following the categories used in Hasan (1999: 233). As the open-ended nature of the description suggests, there is an opportunity to extend the description to greater degrees of delicacy to identify the extent of variation in the register over time. Such a description can be achieved through a paradigmatic approach using system networks that model the parameters of context in a similar way as the systemic representation of the lexicogrammatical resources (see section 2.3.1.3). Context system networks have been proposed by Hasan (1999; 2004) and Butt (2004 mimeo.), and these proposals will be discussed further in chapter 7 prior to the presentation of contextual analyses based on Butt’s networks.

FIELD OF DISCOURSE	Providing selected, structured information and perspectives about recent world events: updating previous instalments: reporting the end of a war...
TENOR OF DISCOURSE	<u>Agentive relation</u> : newspaper/journalist addressing newspaper reader: virtual addressee: adult; educated; interested in current world events...
	<u>Social relation</u> : institutionalised; peer: writer/newspaper dependent on reader's loyalty to maintain readership and maintain advertisers' patronage; reader dependent on writer's service for most recent and comprehensive information about inaccessible events (cf. Stephens, 2007)
	<u>Social distance</u> : near maximal...
MODE OF DISCOURSE	<u>Role of language</u> : constitutive...
	<u>Channel</u> : graphic; no visual contact; monologic: no process sharing...
	<u>Medium</u> : written...

Table 2-1 Description of context according to field, tenor and mode at a primary degree of delicacy (following Hasan 1999)

As mentioned in section 2.3.1.1, there is more than one proposal for a model of stratification in SFL, with the main proponents being Halliday and Hasan, on the one hand, and Martin, on the other. This has implications even for the general conception of context, for in Martin's stratification model, 'context' is replaced by 'register' as a semiotic stratum (see Martin, 1992: 495). This and other theoretical implications of Martin's application of Hjelmslev's connotative semiotics are discussed in Hasan's (1995) comprehensive critique of Martin's model. In order to describe context systematically and in relation to register as sub-potential (see section 2.3.1.1), I follow Halliday and Hasan's approach to context, which has been developed in the literature over several decades (e.g. Halliday, 1974/2007; Halliday, 1977/2002, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Hasan, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2004, in press 2008), and which continues to be developed and refined.

Hasan, recognising the danger of attempts at "transcribing infinity" in context analysis (following Cook, 1990), has begun to approach the problem of the "content" of context for analytical purposes. If we follow Hasan's argument that *"the concept of context must include all those features of the interactants' material and social conditions of existence which are necessary and sufficient for the explication of what is said, whether directly or by implication"* (1999: 238, italics original) then we surmise that not all elements of the broad, exhaustive "context" bear directly on the linguistic choices in a text. Yet, even coming to a text many years after its initial production, we should be able to sufficiently infer the relevant context from the text itself, since "language has the potential for construing context... irrespective of whether the moment of the text's production and its reception by the addressee are the same or not"

(Hasan, 1999: 238). The implication is that whatever is not construed by the text itself is therefore not necessary for properly understanding the text. Not all aspects of the material context are always realised in the text, and so not all aspects of the material context are always relevant to the text as social process (cf. Cloran, 1999 on 'material situational setting').

A brief illustration of this principle was provided in chapter 1 (Extract 1-1, section 1.2). It was demonstrated that a modern reader could approach the Boer War text from 1902 and, even if one could not understand fully the particular meaning of every aspect of the news report, one could still make some reasonable assumptions about the relevant context from how the text appeared to be operating in it: namely, a new instalment of an ongoing news story for an audience who was expected to have been following along. In chapter 7, I will apply networked models of context (following Butt, 2004 mimeo.; see also Henderson-Brooks, 2006; Moore, 2003) to my data in order to give a systematic account of the context, compare contexts across the set of texts, and discuss issues raised by application of the models to my data. This systematic analysis of context will also enable a description of salient features of the social milieu or zeitgeist, as mentioned in section 2.2.2.1.

2.3.1.3 Metafunction

The metafunctional perspective on meaning is encapsulated in the quotation used at the beginning of this chapter:

“[t]he meanings are woven together in a very dense fabric in such a way that, to understand them, we do not look separately at its different parts; rather, we look at the whole thing simultaneously from a number of different angles, each perspective contributing towards the total interpretation. That is the essential nature of a functional approach.” (Halliday, 1985b: 23)

If language is understood to be functional, then the nature of its function(s) must also be identified. Halliday has observed that scholars representing diverse disciplines (e.g. psychology, anthropology, and education) not only seem to agree that language has function as a fundamental characteristic, but also recognise these functions as covering more or less the same domains of social practice (Halliday, 1985b: 15-16). Halliday models these functions of language as three overarching functions, which operate in a fractal pattern throughout the strata, and which represent broadly the social communicative concerns of experience, relationship, and symbolic organisation (e.g. Halliday, 1978: 35).

At the semantic stratum, these functions are realised by three metafunctions: ideational (comprising experiential and logical metafunctions), interpersonal, and textual (Halliday, 1985b: 23; Hasan, 1985a). At the contextual stratum, they correspond to three parameters of context (see section 2.3.1.2.1): field, tenor, and mode (e.g. Halliday, 1978: 33). Field of discourse is the nature of the social activity of which the language is part, and is realisationally related to experiential and logical meanings. Tenor of discourse is the nature of the social relations being enacted in the situation, and is realisationally related to interpersonal meanings. Mode of discourse is the role language is playing in the situation, and is realisationally related to textual meanings. The realisational relationship between parameters of context and semantic metafunctions is not, however, exclusive, as demonstrated by a number of studies (e.g. Hasan, 1999: 219; Scott, 2008; Thompson, 1999).

Moving further down the strata, the metafunctions are realised at the level of lexicogrammar through the interrelated systems of TRANSITIVITY, REFERENCE, EXPANSION, PROJECTION, and TENSE (realising the experiential and logical metafunctions), MOOD, MODALITY, PRIMARY TENSE, EVALUATION, GENERAL QUANTIFICATION (realising the interpersonal metafunction), and THEME, INFORMATION FOCUS, PHORICITY, and KEY (realising the textual metafunction) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

The linguistic representation of experience is central to the research questions of this thesis (as outlined in chapter 1), which are concerned with shifts in meaning and culture in the domain of the conclusion of war. This study focuses on realisations of the ideational function through the lexicogrammatical systems of TENSE, TRANSITIVITY (including Process type, Circumstance type, Participant type, and the semantic implications of these; chapters 4 and 5) and PROJECTION (including the status and function of the projection and the identity and alignment of the source of projection; chapter 5). The semantic system of COHESION is also investigated through a cohesive harmony analysis (chapter 6). The contextual motivations for, and implications of, these selections are investigated in chapter 7, according to the parameters of field, tenor and mode (see section 2.3.1.2.1), further demonstrating that the linguistic implications of contextual selections are not restricted to a single metafunction but are dispersed across the linguistic potential. The functional approach means that each perspective on the texts contributes towards the total interpretation of their meaning in context (following Halliday, 1985b: 23).

2.3.1.4 Semogenesis

SFL also offers a way of modelling the diachronic dimension of language, recognising that meaning takes place in time and systems of meaning develop over time (Halliday, 1995/2007: 262). With respect to register, Halliday states that

“On the one hand, a register is something that evolves, as a distinct sub-system (say, the language of science); on the other hand, a register is something that unfolds, as an accumulation of related text (say, the discourse of science; with intertextuality throughout – all scientific texts in English as one macrotext unfolding since the time of Newton and beyond)... This dual historical perspective sets the parameters for any particular instance.” (Halliday, 1995/2007: 263)

The diachronic dimension of language is thus modelled as three time scales: the phylogenetic (evolution of human language as a system), ontogenetic (development of the meaning potential of the individual speaker), and logogenetic (unfolding of an instance of meaning) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 17-18; see also Martin & White, 2005: 26). These scales operate in a kind of nested relationship: “where a culture has arrived in its evolution provides the social context for the linguistic development of the individual, and the point an individual is at in their development provides resources for the instantiation of unfolding texts” (Martin & White, 2005: 26), and in the converse, logogenesis enables ontogenesis through the provision of semiotic material, and ontogenesis enables phylogenesis in the same way (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 18). These complementarities, and their relationship to the cline of instantiation (from system to instance) are illustrated in Figure 2-2.

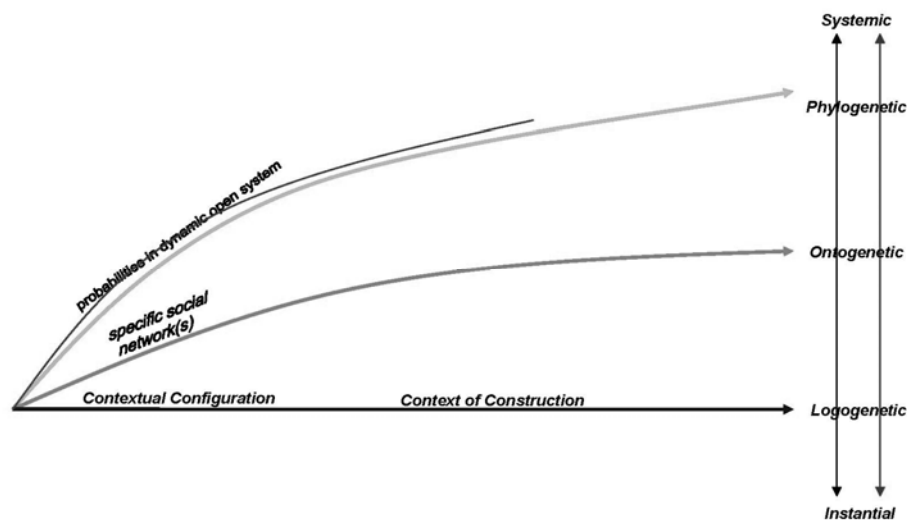


Figure 2-2 Model of semogenesis (adapted from Butt, 2008: 70-71)

As a diachronic approach to text in context, this study particularly addresses a logogenetic view of meaning, through the analysis of the unfolding of the texts, and a phylogenetic perspective, through the accumulation of descriptions of meaning potential from each of the seven texts. The ontogenetic scale will be neglected here because the focus is on the meaning potential as embedded in the institution and culture, and it is not possible here to analyse multiple instances of the same journalists' writing to afford such a perspective. It must also be acknowledged that the study only covers a narrow domain of cultural experience and in a limited way due to the small size of the data set.

2.3.2 Operationalising 'register'

As the above sections have shown, in the accounts of Martin and colleagues (e.g. Martin, 1992), register is viewed as a communication plane with its own semiotic system⁸. That is, it forms a whole stratum conflated with the context of situation for the text and organised metafunctionally (Iedema et al., 1994: 76; Martin, 1992: 495), while genre, at a higher stratum again, is a way of modelling "the integration of meanings engendered by field, tenor and mode" (Martin, 1992: 495) as a "staged, goal-oriented social process" (Martin & Rose, 2007: 8).

This conception is problematic for two reasons, both of which are related to the location of register as a stratum in the connotative semiotic model (see also Hasan's critique in Hasan, 1995). The first is that the variations in 'staging' and social processes of texts can be accounted for by modelling register as a point on the cline of instantiation without the need for an additional stratum. If register is seen as sub-potential, and if instantiation is understood as being applicable at all strata, variation between instances and consistency within text type (i.e. register seen from the point of view of the instance; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 27) can be seen as the result of selections of the systemic variables of field, tenor and mode and their realisations at the lower strata. As Hasan argues, "everything in discourse... is beholden to the relevant contextual configuration", including "its structure, its texture, its principles of consistency and variation" (Hasan, 1985c: 56).

The second issue is that Martin's conception of register lacks the explanatory power of the probabilistic conception of register as sub-potential and text-type (e.g. Halliday, 1978, 1995/2007; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The conception of register as sub-potential allows for textual instantiations to vary in principled ways while still selecting from the same

⁸ But see Martin and White (2005: 24-25, 27), where register is defined as both sub-system (pp.24-25) and stratum (p.27)..

sub-system. Lukin's recent contributions to the development of the conception and analysis of register in relation to media discourse (e.g. 2008, in press) make use of Hasan's notion of 'contextual configuration' as motivation for register, and demonstrate how the analysis of meanings across the range of linguistic functions, and the way they interrelate, offers the richest and most systematic account of variation within register. Part of the task of this study is to draw out the variation between instances and to show how the variation falls within a range governed by certain principles related to the context. In this thesis, I will therefore adopt the Hallidayan concept of register as a way of modelling systemic contextual variation in language (Halliday, [1995] 2007: 248). If the texts are instances of the same register, they will display similar patterns of "selective highlighting of features of the overall system" (Halliday, [1995] 2007: 259). Each instance will construe the context of situation in a way that will display principled variation within a limited range.

2.3.2.1 Locating the analysis in a register framework

Halliday ([1995] 2007: 255) presents a matrix showing the intersection of instantiation and stratification (p.255), which locates register as a sub-system or sub-potential on the cline of instantiation, between the entire language system (potential) on the one hand and instances of language (text) on the other. The matrix, with the addition of the dimension of semogenesis, is reproduced as Figure 2-3 to show how the analysis chapters of the thesis (chapters 4-7) are located in relation to the systemic dimensions of the SFL framework.

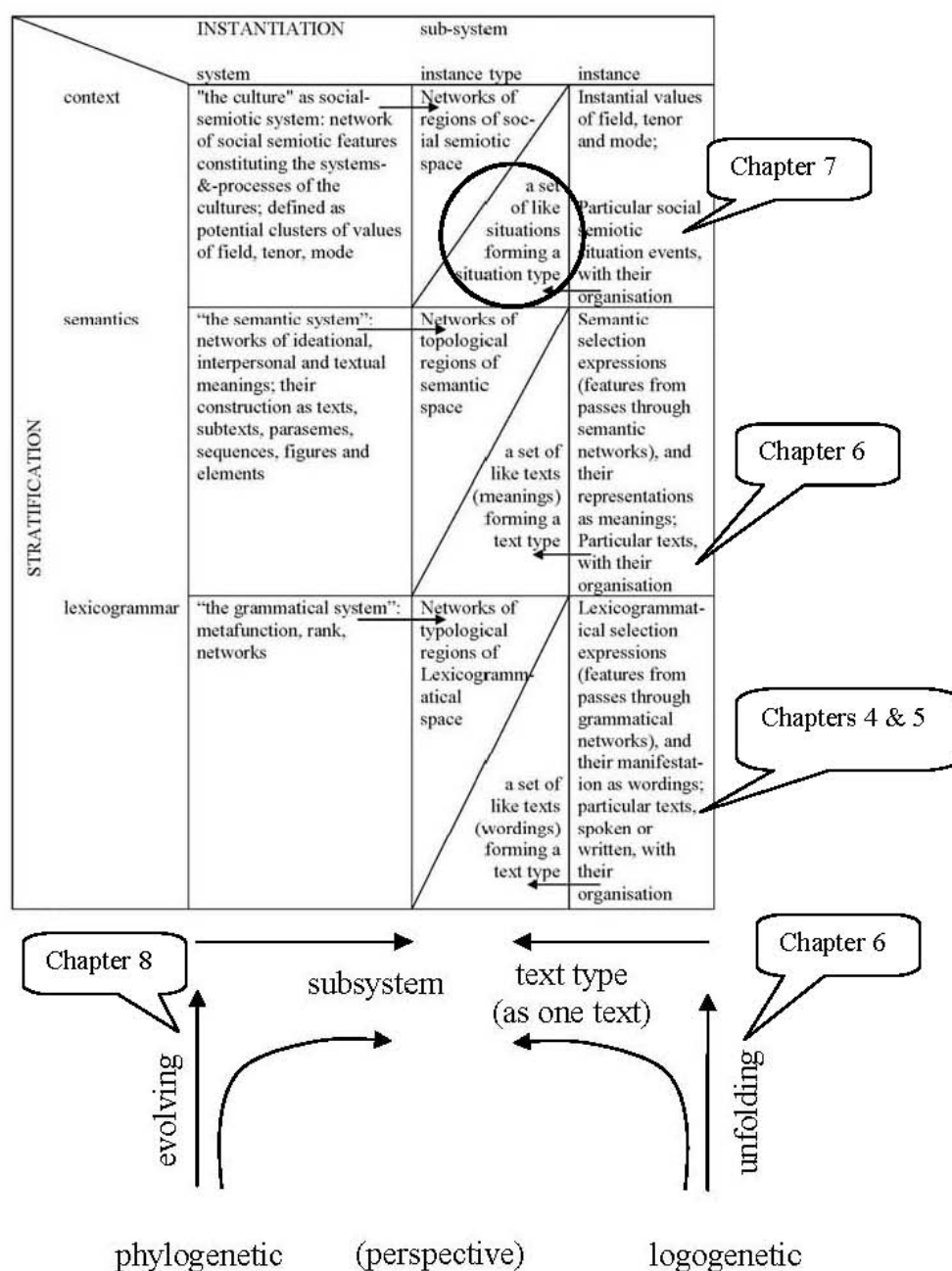


Figure 2-3 Matrix of instantiation and stratification, with semogenesis added, showing conceptual location of thesis chapters (adapted from Halliday, 1995/2007: 255, 264)

The texts in this study collectively belong to an instance type at the contextual stratum, as circled on the matrix below. Each analysis chapter (chapters 4-7) deals with a particular stratum, from lexicogrammar to context, analysing the texts as instances of the register and working towards an account of consistency and variation in the register over time. The diachronic dimension is a central focus of this study, and since the data are temporally distinct instances of a register, the diachronic development of the register may be viewed

from both the system and instance perspectives, i.e. both phylogenetic and logogenetic. Chapter 6 particularly focuses on logogenetic development of three texts (Boer War, Korean War and Iraq War texts) in terms of text structure, while chapter 8, the discussion and conclusion of the thesis, draws together all the findings into a discussion of the development of register, and pushes towards a phylogenetic perspective on the reporting of the end of war.

2.4 Conclusion to chapter

This chapter has located the concerns of the present thesis within the relevant established literature, as a diachronic linguistic study of the historical development of registerial meaning potential in the reporting of the end of war in a major Sydney newspaper, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, through the social semiotic lens of systemic functional linguistics. The next chapter, chapter 3, will provide a general introduction to the context of culture of each of the seven armistice texts, continuing the contextual orientation of the study by locating each text within its own historical situation. The lexicogrammatical, semantic and contextual analyses of the texts will then be presented in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter 3

Reporting armistice in a changing culture

*"In moderation placing all my glory,
While Tories call me Whig - and Whigs a Tory."
(motto of the original masthead of the Sydney Herald, 1831-1847)⁹.*

*"I wouldn't tell the people anything until the war is over
and then I'd tell them who won."
(Military censor, at a meeting in Washington during World War II;
quoted in Knightley 2004: 293)*

*"Every war has its own story to tell..."
(Burton, Caulfield, Clark, & Goldie, 2001)*

3.1 General introduction and overview of the chapter

In the previous chapter I outlined the theoretical underpinning and methodology of this study, in which seven texts, as instances of the register of news reports about the end of war, are to be analysed to address questions about diachronic change in meaning-potential in the *Sydney Morning Herald's* reporting of this topic, social and cultural change in the social milieu of Sydney, and the adequacy of current theoretical models of context to manage analysis of diachronic change. I also located the analytical chapters of the thesis with respect to the systemic functional framework for register analysis.

This chapter operates as an informal point of departure for exploring the context of situation of the texts. I noted in chapter 2 that in SFL, context of situation is a construct that makes abstraction from experience for the purposes of analysing the relationship between social context and text (cf. Firth, 1962; Hasan, 1995). The information presented in this chapter is not abstracted in the same way; rather, it is an informal account of the context of culture of each text, with the details of the discussion selected on the basis of what seems relevant to the understanding of each text, e.g. who had been fighting against whom, how Australia was involved, how long the war had been going on, what other media would have been reporting this event, and so on. In this way the chapter is perhaps similar in function to the way Malinowski provided descriptions of situation and culture (1923/1956; 1935) in order to make his ethnographic data intelligible to a European audience. In the present

⁹ This motto was taken from the 2nd book of Pope's *Imitations of the Satires of Horace*. It was selected by Rev. Dr John McGarvie, who was the brother of one of the first proprietors, William McGarvie, and the newspaper's first lead editorial and article writer.

study, the data are mostly from different eras and have their own peculiarities that may be difficult for a modern audience to interpret. An informal description is therefore necessary at this point in the argument to enable readers of the thesis to understand what the texts are about and what linguistic and contextual features are at issue in terms of diachronic change.

The motivation for presenting this information, rather than beginning with a systematic description of the context of situation, is to locate each text in its historical setting and highlight the issues of meaning-making that are at stake in the texts, while simultaneously closing off the resolvable issues which it is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate further. Because of the complexity of news as an institution of social, cultural and economic importance, an understanding of the conditions in which news is produced and received, including the historical, political, social, economic and technological conditions, is crucial in order to usefully understand all the forces at work (Harrison, 2006: 14).

The analytical relevance of these broader socio-historical factors should not be underestimated, particularly in a comparative study: they have the potential to change the nature of the paradigm from which options are selected in meaning-making, and therefore must be understood if the value of the options selected is to be accurately interpreted. It is a question of *valeur* in the Saussurean sense (de Saussure, 1959), since the meaning of a sign (here, text) is relative to the meanings of the surrounding signs (both similar and different). For example, without knowing whether it was possible to print pictures in the newspaper at a particular point in time, the absence of pictures on a page could be misinterpreted as a choice rather than it was actually an imperative (see e.g. sections 3.4.3 and 7.4.3.1).

This chapter therefore introduces each text and sets out to describe the cultural conditions of production and reception of each text, insofar as they are implicated in the meaning of the text and need to be investigated further as part of the study. The discussion includes details of the socio-political climate in relation to the war, the media landscape, and the *SMH* institutional environment. In this respect, the chapter attempts to align the linguistic research project with the field of enquiry concerning the history of news media and bring to light some of the historical tendencies and traditions that will be shown to have the most bearing on the linguistic choices in the texts. The description in this chapter begins with an overview and comparison of the whole set of texts (section 3.2), and then proceeds with an introduction to each text in chronological order (sections 3.3 to 3.9) before a conclusion to the chapter (section 3.10).

3.2 Overview of the ‘corpus’

The present research takes as its corpus the *Sydney Morning Herald’s* reports of armistice or the end of war from seven major overseas conflicts to which Australia has sent combat troops. These are the Boer War (1899–1902), World War I (1914–1918), World War II (1939–1945), Korean War (1950–1953), Vietnam War (1962–1975), Gulf War (1990–1991), and Iraq War (2003–). Compared with most bodies of text recognised as corpora, the set of texts analysed in this study is too small to be considered a corpus. However, it is still a coherent ‘body of texts’ based on principled selection, and so for the sake of terminological efficiency I will refer to it as a corpus. The value of using a small corpus is that it allows for much more detailed analysis and description than a large corpus within the time restrictions of the research. The compromise, of course, is that the findings are not able to be generalised in the same way as the findings of a larger corpus. This section provides an overview of the corpus as a whole.

3.2.1 Access to data

Issues of the *Herald* dating from its foundation in 1831 are preserved on microfilm at the State Library of New South Wales and university libraries (Macquarie University included). More recent content has been archived on the online database Factiva, and older issues of the newspaper are continually being added. The data were thus readily accessible for linguistic analysis. All texts were scanned from microfilm, and all but the Gulf War and Iraq War texts were manually transcribed into text files for the purposes of electronic analysis. The text of the Gulf War and Iraq War reports was electronically sourced from Factiva and checked against the microfilm version so that all texts represented the ‘hard copy’ version.

3.2.2 Corpus size

As I noted above, the corpus used in this study, which comprises a total of just 5795 words, is too small to be considered alongside what are usually referred to as corpora (e.g. Brown corpus: 1 million words, COBUILD corpus: 525 million words plus). Table 3-1 presents the statistics in relation to word count, clause count, and ratio of words to clauses for each text and for the corpus as a whole. These figures are presented again where necessary in the analytical chapters and will be discussed further at those points.

Text	Words (not including ellipsis)	Clauses	Clause Complexes	Words/ Clause	Clauses/ Complex
Boer War Text	1173	149	92	7.87	1.62
World War I Text	543	58	42	9.36	1.38
World War II Text	317	33	23	9.61	1.43
Korean War Text	926	99	52	9.45	1.90
Vietnam War Text	839	92	42	9.12	2.19
Gulf War Text	1249	109	55	11.46	1.98
Iraq War Text	748	86	40	8.70	2.15
Average	828	89.29	49.43	9.27	1.81
Total	5795	626	346		

Table 3-1 Statistics for seven ‘end of war’ texts

3.2.3 Historical overview

3.2.3.1 The human impact of war

Each text was written at the conclusion¹⁰ of an overseas war in which Australian military personnel were involved. The details of each war are explained in sections 3.3 to 3.9 as relevant to the explanation of the historical context of each text. In Table 3-2, the statistics of war are given as an indication of the scale of each war and its human (military) impact on Australia (based on figures from Australian War Memorial, 1997-2008a; Australian War Memorial, 1997-2008c, 2001-2008a, 2001-2008b, 2001-2008c; Friends Committee on National Legislation, 2006). World War II saw the greatest number of Australians involved, at nearly one million, but World War I resulted in the largest number (and percentage) of Australian casualties. The number of deaths has decreased towards modern times as the technologies and methods of war have changed and soldiers have become distanced from the areas of impact.

¹⁰ As I have noted already, the Iraq War has still not reached a formal conclusion, but the ‘fall of Baghdad’ was presented as the end of an important phase of the war.

War	Total Military Personnel	Total deaths	% Deaths
Boer War	16,463	606	3.68%
WWI	416,809	58,961	14.15%
WWII	993,000	40,000	4.03%
Korean War	17,000	339	1.99%
Vietnam War	46,852	500	1.07%
Gulf War	1,800	0	0.00%
Iraq War	2,000	2	0.10%

Table 3-2 War casualty statistics for Australian military personnel

3.2.3.2 The media landscape

Newspapers have remained a central part of daily community life in Australia since European colonisation (1788), and indeed the press is the only mass communication medium that has been a constant presence since the 19th century, despite the arrival of other media for disseminating news. As shown in Table 3-3, the wider media landscape has changed dramatically almost each decade in the twentieth century, with the gradual introduction of radio, television, video and computers. These changes have led to difficulties for the press, which had been the only medium for most of its history (Henningham, 1993: 59). These changes will be discussed as relevant in relation to each text (sections 3.3 to 3.9).

	Boer War 1899- 1902	World War I 1914- 1918	World War II 1939- 1945	Korean War 1950- 1953	Vietnam War 1962- 1975	Gulf War I 1990-1991	Gulf War II 2003-
newspapers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
news reels	✗ ¹¹	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗
wireless/radio	✗	✗ ¹²	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
television	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓
online newspapers	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓
blogs	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓

Table 3-3 Availability of modes of news dissemination 1902-2003

3.2.3.3 Sydney Morning Herald Circulation

Circulation figures for the *Herald* have been ascertained from the Fairfax archives (Sydney Morning Herald, n.d.), Murray Goot's (1979) historical survey of Australian newspaper

¹¹ Although newsreels were not a regular part of life until the early 20th century, Australia's oldest surviving filmed material is believed to be a film of the 1896 Melbourne Cup carnival (Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2001), which was similar to the newsreels of later decades in that its subject matter was live action, of public interest, and shown shortly after the event.

¹² Radio was in use for maritime and terrestrial communication but public broadcasting did not begin until 13 November, 1923.

circulation, and, more recently, press releases about the market share and readership profile of the newspaper (John Fairfax Holdings Limited, 2003). Figure 3-1 provides a comparison of daily circulation figures of each war period, with a steady increase up to a peak at the time of the Korean War (1953), followed by a decline. Figure 3-2 compares the circulation figures with the Australian population (based on data from Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008) using a logarithmic scale. The population of Australia and the circulation of the *Herald* increased virtually in parallel until the Korean War, but while the population has continued to increase to around five times that of the Boer War period, the hard copy circulation of the *Herald* has gone into decline and continues to do so due to the competition of other media such as television and, probably most significantly, the internet and the increased readership of newspapers online (including smh.com.au).

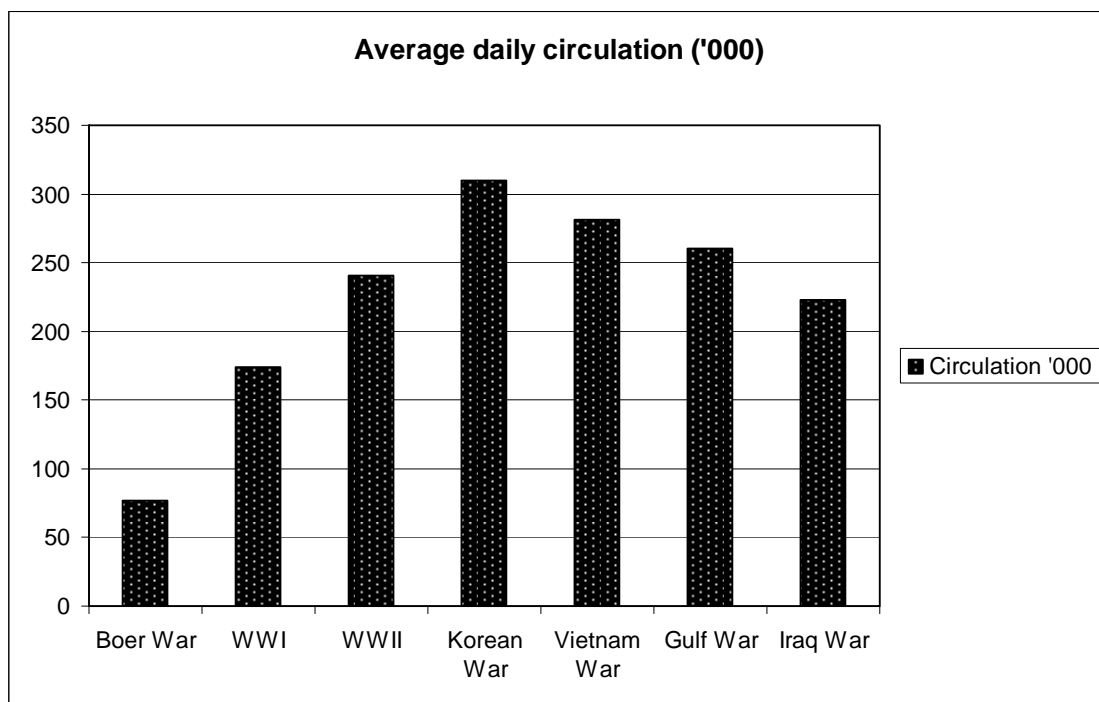


Figure 3-1 Daily circulation figures of the *Sydney Morning Herald* at the time of the armistice reports

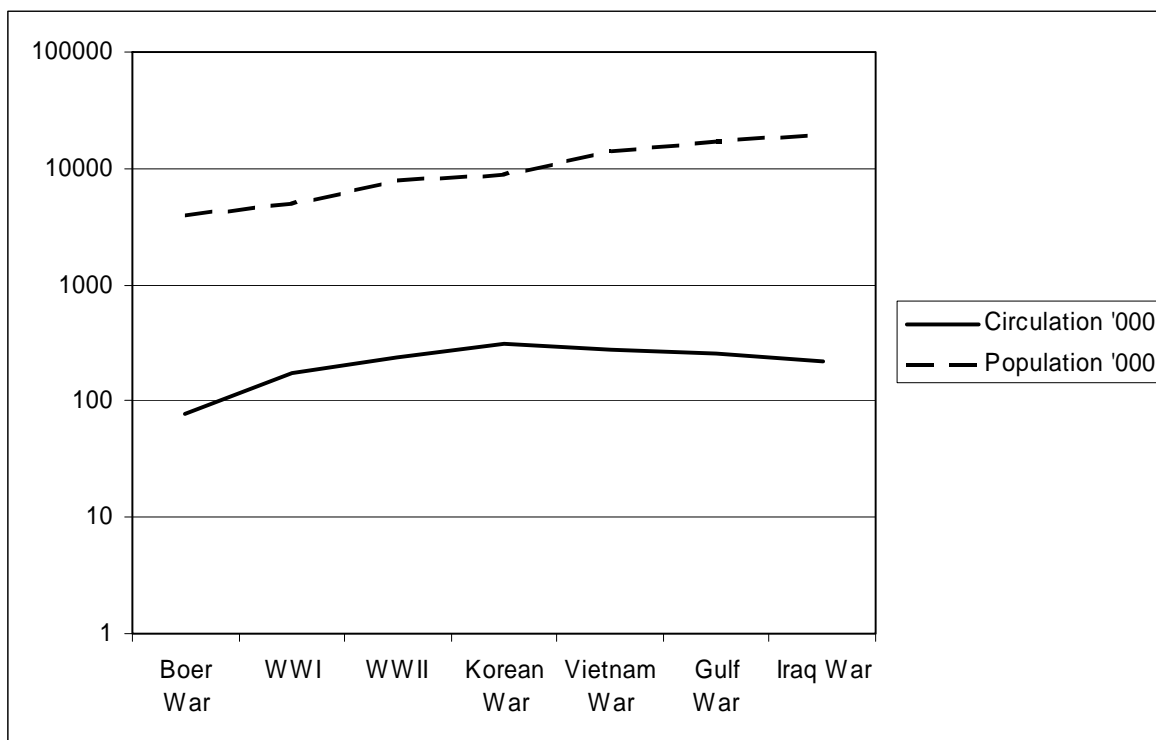


Figure 3-2 *SMH* circulation figures compared with Australian population growth (logarithmic scale)

3.3 Boer War text (3rd June, 1902)

I turn now to consider the texts themselves, beginning with the report of armistice from the Boer War. The Boer War text reports on the end of an imperial war that occurred at a time of considerable world change (Porch, 2000), and just eighteen months into the life of the newly federated Australian nation. It was the end of a period in which the British and other empires were particularly focused on the building and maintenance of their various territories. The war was between the British, who had colonised South Africa, and the Boers (settlers of Dutch origin) of the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Republic of the Orange Free State. The war lasted for more than three years (1899-1902) and ended in British victory with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging between the Boers and the British on 31st May, 1902, following lengthy negotiations and a number of failed attempts at settling on peace terms. This resulted in the Transvaal and Orange Free State coming under British sovereignty until they were granted self-government in 1906-1907.

3.3.1 The presentation of the text

The Boer War text appeared on page 7 of the *Sydney Morning Herald* on Tuesday, 3rd June, 1902. The war news had been regularly appearing on this page (and successive pages) over a long period of time. The first two or three pages of the newspaper usually contained only

advertising and shipping news, and the first news that was presented was local news (over the next 2 or 3 pages). The commercial function of the newspaper was thus foregrounded, although the regularity of the location of various kinds of news in the newspaper meant that regular readers could easily find the information they wanted to read. The page is visually very different from a modern newspaper page (see Appendix A.1) in terms of organisation and density (see chapter 7).

The text comprises fifteen short ‘coranto’ articles, each with its own headline (or several) and time-space index (e.g. *LONDON, June 1*), so it was difficult at first to decide on what to call a ‘text’ for analytical purposes. However, for the purposes of diachronic comparison, I consider that the set of corantos in the central section of the page is equivalent in function to a modern news article, rather than considering each coranto as a separate text. This argument is based on two reasons. The first reason is that the corantos comprise a visually coherent section of the page, as shown in Appendix A.1, where the section comprising the text is indicated by the broken line. These corantos have been grouped together to form a visually salient area of the page, and they also differ from the rest of the articles around the page, which are longer and mostly do not carry individual time-space indexes. Thus, the contextual environment provides a basis on which to claim these corantos can together be given the status of ‘a text’. In addition, the central section of corantos functions differently from the surrounding items, as it presents the main item of news or ‘target event’ (i.e. the announcement of peace) as well as concise reports of responses to and implications of this event. By contrast, the target event of the news is not presented in the surrounding items as a news event in itself, but rather is mentioned as the cause of the positive responses that are being reported as news. This function of the items surrounding the central coranto section is prefaced in the item in the top left-hand corner of the page by an item entitled *INTRODUCTORY*, which begins:

The information we publish below, gathered as it has been in the time at our disposal from many parts not only of the State but of the Commonwealth, and from all sorts and conditions of men, bears its testimony to the great relief experienced to-day. Everyone, whether he be one of the leaders of the community or “the man in the street”, whether he be an Australian or of British or Irish birth, hails the proclamation of peace.

The second reason for considering the collection of corantos as a text is that, despite the headlines and time-space indexes affixed to individual corantos, the range of the subject matter can be compared to that of a modern news article. The difference is that in a modern

news article the various ‘corantos’ of news information would be integrated into one text, losing the time-space indexes and sub-headings. In this sense the set of corantos can be seen as a precursor to the modern integrated news story. The coherence of this set of corantos and its unity as a text will be demonstrated in chapter 6.

The content of the corantos is summarised below:

- Announcement that the peace terms have been signed, including where (Pretoria), when (10.30pm on Saturday) and by whom (Boer delegates, Lord Kitchener, and Lord Milner)
- Report of the outcome of a peace negotiation conference at Vereeniging earlier on the Saturday
- Summary of the King of England’s official response to the end of war
- Summary of *The Times*’ (London) editorial response and its estimation of the significance of the peace
- Reports about enthusiastic responses of civilians in London, Pretoria, Canada, the English provinces, the United States and Europe (‘the Continent’)
- Summary of the Lord Mayor of London’s speech about the proclamation of peace, including votes of thanks to all involved
- Summary of the Governor of Natal’s speech made on the previous Friday (i.e. before the terms of peace were signed), including his opinion on the state of the negotiation process
- Summaries of views from editorials of British and German newspapers (two separate corantos), including positive evaluations of the conduct of both the British and the enemy.
- Report from London about earlier stages of negotiations and the difficulty of securing co-operation between British and Boer leaders
- Summary of speech by Irish Nationalist MP, expressing negative view about the permanence of the peace treaty and England’s relationship with Ireland
- Announcement that the interest on Transvaal bonds¹³ had again begun to accrue
- Retrospective report on the conditions of the negotiation process
- Report on the current conditions of the British troops and horses
- Report on the condition of a former commander of NSW troops, Colonel de Lisle

This summary highlights a number of issues in relation to this text and its context. These issues will be outlined in the following sections and explained as far as possible with reference to the historical background.

3.3.2 The culture of war

The summary of the content of this text suggests a historical context and social milieu of Sydney that is different from the present time. It attests to a former ‘mind style’ (Leech & Short, 1981) through positive evaluations of the enemy such as *a brave but vanquished enemy*, which suggests a very ‘sportsmanlike’, gentlemanly attitude to the waging of war. This

¹³ This announcement related to the fact that, now that the war had ended, the new Transvaal government would assume liability for the Transvaal’s public debt to Great Britain, interest on which had been suspended for the duration of the war.

attitude can perhaps be understood best in relation to the way war was waged at that time, which was quite different from the methods of today. The 'traditional' European formation style of battle was still the primary way of carrying out war, even though guerrilla tactics were becoming increasingly prevalent (Trainor, 2002). The warfare involved fairly unsophisticated transportation and weaponry, including horses, rifles, bayonets, etc, and troops still wore the brightly coloured uniforms of the pre-modern military era (French, 2000: 92).

The text indicates that there were commonly recognised and expected steps or elements in the process of bringing war to an end, e.g. formal negotiations between warring parties, signing of a formal agreement, official responses by political leaders, and celebrations in the communities of the belligerents. This is attested to in the text through the references to the peace negotiations and, in particular, the mention of the *knot of irreconcilables* who had presumably been holding up the negotiations by not co-operating with the majority.

The text also provides evidence of certain social and political preoccupations, e.g. relations between the British and the Boers, between England and other English-speaking countries, and between England and Ireland in particular. The Boer War occurred in the context of a European 'arms race', although French (2000: 90) argues that the war originated from territorial disputes and political disagreements rather than merely military exhibitionism. Therefore the text's preoccupations with relationships between Britain and its neighbours and colonies (e.g. the Irish, the Boers, the South African colonists) can be understood in relation to these features of the historical period.

Australia's own relationship with Britain is not explicitly mentioned in the text, but is implicit in the Anglo-centricity of the information sources (e.g. the British Press) and the implicit assumption that readers would identify with references to *the King*, *Lord Kitchener*, and the people of Pretoria and London, to whom they were linked through membership of the Commonwealth. The Boer War was seen as an important opportunity to show support for Britain through commitment of forces, and was only the second time this opportunity had arisen¹⁴ (Burton et al., 2001). Australia, still such a 'young nation' without even its own anthem or flag, relied entirely on Britain for her own defence as there was as yet no national defence organisation. Yet less than 40% of the cost of sending Australian troops was borne by Britain (Trainor, 2002: 257).

¹⁴ Australia had sent troops to the Sudan a few years previously.

3.3.3 The media culture

The text also highlights relevant features of the news production context at that time, including the implications of technology on ordering of information, the processes of gathering news, and the kind of information that was considered acceptable as news.

The information presented in the text is not chronologically organised according to the time sequence of the events, and nor are the items presented in order of receipt of information, as segments dated June 1 and June 2 are not grouped together. However, the page does seem to be broadly organised in order of significance, as the initial corantos of the central section present the most immediate and pressing news, i.e. that the peace treaty has been signed and the war ended. But the more delicate organisation within this broad schema does not appear to be so precisely determined.

The semantics of the page in terms of the relationship between articles may have been largely to do with the order in which articles were received by the page compositor, rather than necessarily the order of importance, due to the laboriousness of the typesetting and printing process of the *SMH* at this time. News copy was typeset using Monoline typesetting machines from 1901, and printed using Bullock rotary presses from 1875 (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931: 724, 726). Typesetters used the Monoline machines to mechanically select and arrange the characters or types (brass character moulds), which were stored in a magazine connected to a keyboard on the machine. At a keystroke, the required character would be released from the magazine into the line of type, and the lines of type were then mechanically cast from hot metal (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931: 726). In order to be printed, each line of type was arranged and secured in its place within a frame the size of the newspaper page, and a cast of the page was made using *papier-mâché*. By then the printing technology had advanced to the extent that the same principles (albeit different methods) are used in today's presses. The *papier-mâché* mould was used to cast a curved metal forme of the page, which was fitted onto a press cylinder. The Bullock presses were made up of units of two printing cylinders, each covered with the metal formes of pages. Paper from a roll was fed between the two cylinders so both sides could be printed simultaneously (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931: 724) at a rate of 12,000 pages per hour (Harry Ransom Centre, n.d.).

The laborious process of typesetting also must have affected what was possible in the earlier stages of production involving journalists and sub-editors, and must thereby have influenced the end product. For example, the process of arranging typeset articles in the page frame put certain restrictions on the ordering of the articles and the degree to which

alterations could be made after placement. Thus, the options for placement of articles would have been quite tightly constrained to the extent of being a near imperative of the production process.

The inclusion in the Boer War text of material from editorials of other newspapers suggests that the processes of gathering news, as well as what was acceptable as news, have also changed since that time. At that time, the Editor's control extended to all sections of the newspaper, not just the opinion and editorial (op-ed) section. From 1903 onwards this control changed to a system of divided powers, where a separate news editor took responsibility for the content of the news pages (Souter, 1981: 170). So it appears that the division of labour that later affected the composition of editorial staff was also yet to be realised in the selection and organisation of information presented as news, in that news and editorial content were both presented together. This inclusive view of what constitutes news may also be understood with reference to the media environment during this time, as newspapers had the monopoly on mass public dissemination of news. There were nine newspapers in Sydney during that time, which included daily and weekend publications but no national publications (Kirkpatrick, 2006).

The report about the celebrations in Pretoria is attributed to *Mr. Bennett Burleigh*, a British war correspondent, indicating that there were correspondents sent to the Boer War, particularly from Britain. Australian correspondents were also present at various times, e.g. the poet A. B. ("Banjo") Patterson (Knightley, 2004: 68), but none are mentioned in this report. News from the battlefronts was transmitted by telegraph, post, or heliograph (c.f. Beaumont, 2005: 6-7), but communication was often difficult, especially in relation to the numerous town sieges (e.g. Mafeking and Ladysmith, as reported by Beaumont, 2005). Reporting was heavily censored to avoid negative information reaching the British public, but also in an attempt to keep troop morale high (Beaumont, 2005). However, Knightley (2004: 78) reports that the British press frequently carried bogus or embellished stories of Boer atrocities, often accompanied by artistic impressions of the invented stories.

3.4 World War I text (12th November, 1918)

World War I broke out twelve years after the end of the Boer War. The war was fought between the Allied and Associated Powers (principally Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Serbia and the USA) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey), and involved a total of 32 nations in a number of major theatres in Europe, the Middle East,

Africa, and at sea (Bourne, 2000). World War I thus differed dramatically in scope and scale from the Boer War, which was fought in a relatively small area and just between Britain (and British possessions) and the Boer states. Although legal declarations of war were made between the countries involved, they all entered the war at different times and for vastly different (and often unclear) reasons (see e.g. Taylor, 1985). The war ended on 11th November, 1918, with Germany submitting to Allied terms of armistice.

3.4.1 The presentation of the text

The World War I text appeared on page 7 of the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 12th November, 1918, the day after the armistice between Britain and Germany was signed. Like the Boer War text, this relatively short text (543 words) comprises short, telegraphic ‘corantos’ originating from various major cities around the western world (London, New York, Vancouver). The text is recognised as a text and distinguished from the rest of the page in a similar way to the Boer War text. It is contained within the left-most column of the page, which is highly salient because of the ‘screaming’ headline *GERMANY SIGNS ARMISTICE*, the large font of the coranto body text (in comparison to items in other columns), and the large amount of white space around the writing, as shown in Appendix B.1.

Most of the corantos carry very specific time-space indexes giving the exact time the information was received and from where, e.g. *NEW YORK, Nov. 11, 3.5 a.m. (sic.)*. The first five corantos all convey the information that the armistice had been signed, with varying degrees of detail:

NEW YORK, Nov. 11, 3.5 a.m. (sic.)

A Washington message says the State Department has announced that Germany has signed the armistice.

VANCOUVER, Nov. 11, 1 a.m.

It is officially announced that the armistice is signed.

LONDON, Nov. 11, 10.55 a.m.

Armistice signed at 5 o'clock this morning. -LONG

MELBOURNE, Monday.

The following message was received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies through the Governor-General by the Acting Prime Minister (Mr. Watt) shortly before midnight:-

LONDON, Nov. 11, 10.55 a.m.

Armistice signed at 5 o'clock this morning. -LONG.

HOSTILITIES CEASE.

LONDON, Nov. 11, 12.20 a.m.

The Press Bureau states: The Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George) announces that the armistice was signed at 5 o'clock this morning (Nov. 11), and hostilities were to cease on all fronts at 11 a.m.

Extract 3-1 First five corantos of the Boer War text

Following the repeated announcements that the armistice had been signed, there is a list of the conditions of armistice imposed on Germany by the Allies, including both military and naval conditions for the evacuation of allied territory, surrender of weapons and vehicles/ships, and return of prisoners of war. A section entitled *EARLIER REPORTS* (i.e. from before the armistice was signed) presents speculations on the ongoing negotiations between the Allies and the German Government over the terms of armistice. Following this, there is a final coranto relaying a German official report of expectations of the arrival of the armistice terms to Germany, and citing a message from Copenhagen about the release of Allied prisoners at Aix-la-Chapelle.

This summary of the text raises some issues for investigation in the thesis, again in relation to both the processes and practices of news production and the socio-political situation. These will be outlined in the following sections and explained with reference to the historical background in relation to the war and the media environment.

3.4.2 The culture of war

The text is very careful in detailing the fact and terms of the armistice, for example through the very specific time-space indexes, the repetition of the message that the armistice had been signed, and the summary of the military and naval terms. Taylor (1985: 53) suggests that there was a degree of confusion about the end of the war, just as there had been at the beginning of the war. The circumstances of the peace terms certainly suggest a degree of disorganisation, as the terms were dictated to the German peace delegation aboard a train in Allied territory by the Allied Commander-in-Chief, Marshall Foch (France), without authority from the rest of the Allied command (Taylor, 1985: 52). Taylor concludes: “in this hugger-mugger of a way a war which had started in confusion, with no clear definition at the beginning of what the war aims were, ended with no clear idea of war aims either” (1985: 53-54). Although the signing of the armistice may not have been well-defined or organised in practice, it is represented in the report in such a way as there could be no mistake that it had indeed occurred. This may also explain the inclusion of the apparently redundant information that there had been speculation over whether or not Germany would accept the terms offered by the British.

3.4.3 The media culture

During this period, the *Sydney Morning Herald* was one of four daily newspapers in Sydney (there were still no national publications at this time), of which only two are still published¹⁵. In addition, by this time newsreels were screened regularly in city cinemas, and showed footage of various local events (Film Australia, 2005). Thus newspapers now had a companion, or competitor, in the area of public news dissemination. In many ways, these two media can be seen as complementary modes of news dissemination. Newsreels provided action and images for the events people could read about in any of the twelve newspapers available in Sydney at the time. Newspapers were still the main daily source of news and were more readily accessible for the general public, and contained a greater range of news stories than newsreels, largely because of the medium of production. The *Herald* carried some pictorial matter, including maps, illustrations, and even some photographs, e.g. portraits of military leaders. The page of the *Herald* on which the WWI text was published (page 7) does not include any pictures, but page 8 displays a large portrait of Field Marshall Foch, the Allied Commander-in-Chief. While the technology for reproducing graphics in the newspaper was well established by that time, the inclusion of graphics was limited, partly because of the time and effort required to reproduce them, and partly because of the view, common at the time among editors of broadsheet daily papers, that pictures were a frivolous use of page space (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931: 737). Despite the competition of newsreels, the newspapers seem to have retained a view that words were the most appropriate way to convey serious news and pictures would trivialise it.

There had been some minor changes in production technology between the Boer War and World War I, the effect of which was mainly a slight increase in speed of the typesetting and printing processes (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931, p.731). However, the techniques used in these processes were still the same in principle, so making changes to page composition would still have required a great deal of time and effort and would therefore have been avoided where possible.

The WWI text uses highly specific time-space indexes to indicate where the information originated from and when it was received. This suggests that a high degree of importance was placed on clear indications of time in the reporting of the end of war. The locations given in the time-space indexes suggest that the news was gathered from a greater variety of places at this stage than in the Boer War period, not just London. It is also notable that one

¹⁵ The other besides the *SMH* is the Daily Telegraph, established 1879.

of the corantos names an Australian city, Melbourne, as its place of origin. This message repeats the announcement from London that had already been listed immediately before it. Melbourne was still the seat of federal government at the time¹⁶, suggesting that the purpose of including the repeated message was to provide local verification of the announcement by indicating that the Australian government had received the information directly from the British authorities under whose direction they had been fighting.

As with the Boer War text (see section 3.3 above), the corantos are not presented in chronological order, which again raises questions about principles for selecting and organising information in news reports. The text includes a lot of what seems to be redundant or superseded information, e.g. repetition of the information about the armistice (see section 3.4.1), and the inclusion of ‘earlier reports’ from before the armistice was signed. This suggests that the ‘newsworthiness’ of information did not necessarily mean that the information had to be ‘new’ in relation to the latest events, rather that it should be ‘new’ in the sense of not having previously been published in the newspaper. The absence of other forms of media means that readers would not have had access to the information anywhere else. Further, the superseded reports were not altered to fit in with the latest developments, but were still presented as if they were ‘new’ news (except for the heading *EARLIER REPORTS*), e.g. *A German official report says the courier has arrived at German headquarters. The arrival of the armistice conditions in Berlin may be expected hourly*. This report still reads as if the armistice conditions were yet to arrive in Berlin, even though the announcements of the signing of the armistice on the same page of reports indicate that this was no longer the case. This supports Zelizer’s (1989) argument that, for a time, journalists served as ‘relayers of documents’, selecting and collating news items from their various sources, but not altering the expression of those items of news. The attitude towards news suggested by this claim is quite a different attitude from that demonstrated in contemporary practices of production and reception, where, if ‘old’ news is included in a report, it is explicitly framed as part of the background to the latest developments that are the focus of the news.

Many of the corantos use complex structures to attribute information to its source(s), e.g. (the first coranto, marked *NEW YORK*) *A Washington message says the State Department has announced that Germany has signed the armistice*. Examples such as this highlight one of the features of news reporting, that of quoting official and other sources. This feature has

¹⁶ Canberra was chosen as the national capital in 1908 but it was not until 1927 that Federal parliament moved to Canberra.

remained constant over the period under study, and prompts investigation of the potential changes in motivations and strategies for doing this. This feature of news reporting will be the focus of the analysis in chapter 5.

3.5 World War II text (16th August, 1945)

Australia's involvement in World War II began in September 1939 when Britain declared war against Germany following Germany's invasion of Poland. Many other nations subsequently entered the war, which was waged on land, sea and air all over the globe, including eastern and western Europe, Russia (then Soviet Union), northern and southern Africa, China, South East Asia, the Middle East, and the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. The war in Europe ended in May 1945, followed by the capitulation of Japan in August 1945, which ended the war in the Pacific. It is this surrender by the Japanese that is reported in the World War II text in this study.

3.5.1 The presentation of the text

The WWII text, although short compared to the others in the corpus (317 words), dominates the front page of the issue of Thursday 16th August, 1945 (see Appendix C.1). It is accompanied by two photographs (a portrait of the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces, General Douglas MacArthur, and a photograph of rockets being fired from Sydney Harbour in celebration of the announcement of the Japanese surrender) and two boxed items (one entitled 'Events of Historic Day', giving a timeline of the major events of 15th August, and one announcing 'A 12-page illustrated supplement covering all aspects of the Pacific war' and directing the readers to other pages where news about the end of war could be found). The news story itself is headed by three large cascading headlines that take up the top third of the page. The first three paragraphs of the story also cascade in terms of font size: they are printed in very large, bold font decreasing in size to a standard body text font by the fourth paragraph, and remaining constant for the rest of the text.

The news report begins by stating that the peoples of the United Nations had responded joyfully to the news of Japan's surrender. It then reports when the ceasefire was ordered (*at 9.15 a.m. yesterday*). Reports on some of the legal and military procedural implications of the surrender follow, including those that had already occurred, such as the appointment of General MacArthur as Allied Supreme Commander in Japan and the Japanese War Minister committing 'hara-kiri' (honourable suicide), and those that were due to occur in the near future, such as Allied forces (including an Australian Army unit) entering Japan to attend to

the interests of freed Commonwealth prisoners of war. The remainder of the article reports on the civilian response to Japan's surrender, including the King's designation of a National Day of Thanksgiving, and both organised and informal celebrations in Sydney and other locations in Australia. The style of the article, with information presented largely in short, one-sentence paragraphs, still retains the telegraphic quality of the earlier texts, but the individual coranto headlines and space-time indexes have disappeared. There are in fact no indications of the origins of the information anywhere in this text or on the page, even for the reports about events in Japan. The report is neither attributed to an agency nor to an individual journalist. The features of this text that highlight significant aspects of the historical context will be discussed below in relation to the relevant historical background.

3.5.2 The culture of war

As in the earlier two texts, there is a lack of an official Australian response to the end of war and a total absence of any acrimony towards an enemy (Japan) who had been so vilified during the war. There is also no indication of any future steps in the peace process, apart from General MacArthur taking charge and an Australian army unit entering Japan to attend to Commonwealth prisoners of war. Apart from the ceasefire itself, there is no mention of any treaty with the Japanese or official procedure for formally declaring the end of the war. A treaty was not signed with Japan until two and a half weeks later, aboard the USS Missouri (Knightley, 2004: 330)

The Australian public perception of the proximity of war and the threat of Japanese invasion, which is indexed in the headline *DELIRIOUS JOY IN AUSTRALIA*, is perhaps one of the most important factors for understanding the significance of the capitulation of Japan and the way it was reported in the *Herald*. Whereas in the Boer War and WWI the theatres of war were located far from Australian shores, the involvement of Japan in WWII and the presence of a theatre of war in the Pacific brought war suddenly much closer to home for Australians. The fighting came closer to Australia than in any other war, including direct Japanese bombing raids on Darwin (e.g. 19th February, 1942) and the entry of Japanese midget submarines into Sydney Harbour (31st May, 1942). Not only this, but the reputation of the Japanese among Australians had developed so negatively that defeating Japan was considered imperative to national survival (see e.g. McKernan, 2006). So while, in Australia as in Britain, there was great joy upon the announcement of the defeat of Hitler, the capitulation of Japan represented the defeat of the final frontier in the war and, for Australians, the end of a threat so close to home.

In this text, Australia's close relationship with Great Britain seems taken-for-granted, as indicated by the axiomatic references to the *British Commonwealth*, *King and Queen*, and *Buckingham Palace*. As with the Boer War and World War I, Britain's involvement meant Australia must become involved, because of Australia's status as a Commonwealth nation under the British Monarch. This was reflected in Prime Minister Robert Menzies' speech at the beginning of the war, which was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 4th September, 1939:

"Fellow Australians," said Mr. Menzies. "It is my melancholy duty to inform you officially that, in consequence of the persistence by Germany in her invasion of Poland, Great Britain has declared war upon her, and that as a result, Australia is also at war." (Sydney Morning Herald, 1939: 11)

However, there were also tensions created between the Australian (Labor) Prime Minister John Curtin (1941-1945) and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill over the issue of providing homeland defence for Australia, as Britain was unwilling to divert resources to the war in the Pacific when they were needed in European theatres of war to defeat Hitler (Clarke, 2003: 240). This tension heightened the shift in public attitude away from close identification and co-operation with, and dependence on, Great Britain. Having failed to secure British support in this matter, Curtin successfully appealed to the USA for assistance (Clarke, 2003: 240), and then in 1943 the government made Australia an officially autonomous nation by ratifying the Statute of Westminster (Clarke, 2003: 242). The proximity of the war and the commitment of American resources to Australia's defence also meant that in 1943, when Curtin introduced legislation on conscription for homeland defence overseas as far as the equator, public opposition was minimal compared to that expressed in response to similar bills in 1916 and 1917 for conscription to World War I service (Clarke, 2003: 246).

3.5.3 The media culture

The fact that this text appears on the front page of the newspaper suggests that the *Sydney Morning Herald* had quite a different orientation to the readership than in the previous wars. The use of features such as the small index box to direct readers to related news, and larger font for the initial paragraphs of the front page article, also reflects a different conception of the function and context of the news. It was during WWII, in 1944, under the news editorship of Angus McLachlan (later to become the newspaper's chief executive), that the *SMH* changed its layout to place news on the front page instead of advertising (Souter,

1981). Since then the front page has been the prime position in the newspaper, reserved for the day's most important stories. The public 'face' of the newspaper became the news, not the advertising, even though the advertising function of the newspaper was still an essential part of the newspaper business. This suggests an implicit shift in philosophy towards seeing the advertising as a means of paying for the news-providing function, rather than advertising being the primary function to which news was incidental.

As I noted above, this text lacks attribution of information to either agency or journalist and also lacks time-space indexes, demonstrating a change in the reporting protocol. According to Souter, anonymity on reports was generally preferred and, as a matter of *Herald* policy, bylines were not regularly used until 1942, except on special reports (Souter, 1981: 208). Other papers apparently used bylines at this time, as shown by a complaint from the *Herald's* war correspondent, G. E. W. Harriott (later editor of the *Herald*), that he was not being acknowledged by name on his reports while his colleagues writing for other newspapers were (Souter, 1981: 208).

It is also interesting to note how generously the page space was allocated to this text, which, although short, is the only report on the page. This is particularly significant considering the severe newsprint rationing experienced during the war, which resulted in the *Daily Telegraph* (among others) downsizing its pages to become a tabloid publication, while the *Herald* managed to remain a broadsheet (Griffen-Foley, 2002: 94). This suggests a shift in principles regarding the use of page space, even for momentous events: the WWI text reported a momentous event also, but was not shifted to the front page or allocated a whole page to itself.

3.6 Korean War text (28th July, 1953)

Australian troops became involved in action in the Korean War in October 1950 as part of a UN force led by the United States to support South Korea in what was essentially a civil war with North Korea (supported by China) (cf. Andersen, 2006: 37). The way the war began continues to be the subject of controversy (see e.g. Andersen, 2006: 39-40; Knightley, 2004: 365): at the time the USA assumed the communists had attacked first, but this may not have been the case (Knightley, 2004: 365) (see section 3.6.2). This uncertainty carried through to the truce signed on 27th July, 1953, which had been tensely negotiated over a considerably extended period (just over two years) and resulted in a state of "suspended hostilities" (Australian War Memorial, 2001-2008c) rather than victory on any side. The *Herald* report

of the truce signing that forms part of this corpus reflects the persistent distrust between parties (see section 3.6.2).

3.6.1 The presentation of the text

The Korean War text appeared on page one of the *Herald* on Tuesday 28th July, 1953. It dominates the left hand side of the page (see Appendix D.1), indicating that it was prioritised as the most important news article for that day. The text (relatively long, at 926 words) is accompanied by two pictures: a map of North and South Korea featuring the 38th parallel, and a photograph of a UN senior truce negotiator, Lieutenant-General William Harrison, signing the truce, flanked by two other UN officials. Like the WWII text, the article features cascading headlines and larger font for the initial paragraphs. But unlike the WWII text, the news information is attributed at the outset to A.A.P. (Australian Associated Press), originating from the agency's New York office. The Fairfax company had been a member of the A.A.P. since its establishment in 1935, and prior to that had been a member of the Australian Press Association, of which John Fairfax was a joint organiser (Souter, 1981: 157). Thus it is highly unlikely that the previous texts did not use agency copy at all, but perhaps there had been a change in the importance attached to agency sources, or even a change in policy about explicitness of agency attribution.

The text begins with the announcement that the Communists had signed the truce at 10am and then an account of the events following the truce. This includes the ceasefire twelve hours later, the celebratory responses of UN soldiers in the battlefield, a statement from South Korean President Syngman Rhee, and the announcement of a meeting scheduled for the UN General Assembly to settle the issues in Korea arising from the war. Following this, there is a brief recount of the signing ceremony at Panmunjon, the responses of North Korean and Chinese Commanders, the British Commonwealth Commander, other UN Commanders and US President Eisenhower, and a pronouncement from UN Supreme Commander General Mark Clark on the arrangements for exchanging prisoners. The rest of the article is divided from the previous section by a sub-heading: *FIGHTING UNTIL THE LAST HOURS*. The first part of the ensuing section recounts (more or less chronologically) the events of the final hours of fighting. This report of the fighting is presented largely as a technological confrontation, between warships, aircraft, and artillery, e.g.

U.S. warships once again bombarded Wonsan, on the east coast of North Korea, and rear supply lines...

Artillery fire continued, once Communist salvo of 20 rounds being fired at an American mortar company exactly at the hour set for the truce signing.

A few minutes later American sabre jet fighters on patrol over North Korea spotted eight MIGs and tried to engage them. The MIGs fled into Manchuria. During the afternoon Allied artillery and aircraft hit the Reds' supply dumps, but Communist artillery made no attempt to reply.

Extract 3-2 Selection from Korean War text showing recount of technological confrontation

The report then goes on to give a more detailed account of the signing ceremony. This account is structured according to the specified times of particular junctures in the proceedings, e.g.

*At 10 a.m., the chief truce negotiators, Lieutenant-General William Harrison (America), and General Nam Il (North Korea), arrived and immediately began the ceremony.
At 10.19 a.m. General Nam, without a glance at General Harrison, rose and walked from the hall. General Harrison got up immediately and also left...
U.N. and Communist staff officers immediately held a short meeting...
General Clark signed them at 1.05 p.m...*

Extract 3-3 Selection from Korean War text showing temporal structuring of recount of signing ceremony

The text ends with a paragraph reporting President Rhee's statement that *South Korea would not disturb the armistice* during the process of the UN conference attempting to solve *the problem of the liberation and reunification of Korea*. This paragraph reiterates a sentence in the first section carrying a similar sentiment in relation to Rhee.

3.6.2 The culture of war

The text clearly names and states the roles of the most important military officials from both the UN forces and the North Korean and Chinese forces. These include General Mark Clark, the UN Supreme Commander (American) who had taken over from General Matthew Ridgway in 1952; Major-General M. A. R. West, the British Commonwealth Division Commander; and the chief truce negotiators Lieutenant-General William Harrison of America and General Nam Il of North Korea. Australian involvement is explicitly indicated through the mention of *one Australian, Private Max Perkins, of Ferntree Gully, Melbourne* being in the UN guard of honour at the truce signing ceremony, and *Brigadier J. G. Wilton* representing Australia in the party of Allied observers at the ceremony. The text also names the enemy in terms that reflect the anti-communist rhetoric of that period during which Robert Menzies was Prime Minister of Australia (1949-1966) (Clarke, 2003: 260), e.g. *the Communists, the Reds*. This is an important part of the political context of the war in Korea, occurring as it did in a dichotomy of 'communism vs. the free world' (Burton et al., 2001),

and in the broader context of the US political climate of the McCarthy era (see Andersen, 2006: 35-36).

As mentioned above, the text also indicates a degree of uncertainty about the permanence of the ceasefire. More than once it is implied that South Korea's continuing co-operation in the truce was not guaranteed, e.g. *Fears that South Korea might still fight on were stilled by her President, Dr. Syngman Rhee, and Later, Dr. Rhee said that South Korea would not disturb the armistice "while the political conference undertakes within a limited time to solve peacefully the problem of the liberation and unification of Korea"*. The issue for the South Koreans is briefly mentioned: the South Korean delegate, General Choi Duk-Shin, *walked out of the truce talks last month in a protest against a truce that would leave Korea divided*. The long-standing issue of the arbitrary division of Korea continued to be a central issue throughout the negotiations and, for South Korea, into the ceasefire as well. It is also indicated in the text by the inclusion of a map showing the division of Korea and explanatory caption¹⁷. Knightley explains the problematic implications of the territorial division for the peace negotiations:

The U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, announced at the end of June of that year [1951] that a cease-fire based on the thirty-eighth parallel – where the war had started – would be acceptable to the United States and would be considered a victory for the United Nations forces. Since the North Koreans had claimed that they had been invaded by the South, a cease-fire along the thirty-eighth parallel would also be considered a victory for them. (Knightley, 2004: 385).

It seems, then, that the US and the South Koreans were expecting quite different outcomes from the negotiations: it was not victory that the South Koreans wanted, but unification.

The reiteration of the possibility of Korea disturbing the armistice signals something problematic in the relationship between Rhee's South Korea and the Allies, who after all had been fighting in support of South Korea. The text also reveals a preoccupation with recording the times and sequence of events to a degree not seen in the earlier texts. The WWI text demonstrated a similar preoccupation, but rather towards specifying the time of receiving information, through the space-time indexes. This emphasis results in a text that could well be consulted as a historical record of how the peace treaty finally came about, although it gives no indication of what was involved in the process of negotiation leading up

¹⁷ The caption reads: "KOREA: Map shows the furthest penetration south by the Communists when in August, 1950, the Allies held only the south-east corner (bounded by dotted line); the furthest penetration north by the Allies when in November, 1950, the Communists held only a small part of North Korea (bounded by the broken line). The present truce line and buffer zone cuts the country in two close to the 38th Parallel, the original division between North and South Korea."

to it, and very little information about what the truce involved (apart from the exchange of prisoners).

3.6.3 The media culture

As mentioned in section 3.6.1, the text carries a time-space index of *NEW YORK, July 27 (A.A.P)*, indicating that the report originated from the New York office of the A.A.P. It is not attributed to an individual journalist, although a large number of Australian correspondents, including two photographers, were present in Korea during the war period (Knightley, 2004: 380). As in earlier wars, correspondents were reliant on military facilities, transport and lines of communication, and this made secrecy from the military or from other correspondents almost impossible (Knightley, 2004: 367-368). Correspondents from both sides are directly mentioned as part of the text's description and dramatisation of the signing ceremony: *About 35 Communist and 110 Allied correspondents and observers from both sides then filed in*. This suggests that the press was deliberately included in the organisation of the signing ceremony for the purposes of bearing witness to the fact of the signing by all parties, and publicising that historical moment for the wider world. The detailed chronological description of the signing ceremony (see section 3.6.1), and the photograph of Lieutenant-General William Harrison signing the truce included with the report, also contribute to this interpretation of the role of the press in the signing ceremony.

3.7 Vietnam War text (1st May, 1975)

Like the Korean War, the Vietnam War (of Second Indochina War) involved US intervention in what began as a civil, colonial struggle between the French colonial government and Vietnamese revolutionaries (First Indochina War), and later became a "Cold War confrontation" (Lawrence, 2008: 36). Its beginning is difficult to pinpoint because of the complex relations between the French colonial powers and Vietnam since the early twentieth century (see section 3.7.2). Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War did not begin until July, 1962, when 30 Australian military advisers arrived in Saigon to fulfil a non-combat role (Ross, 1983). These were followed over the course of the war by a total of 46,852 Australian troops, including 17,424 national service (NS) conscripts (Frost, 1987: 1; Ross, 1983: 72). Australian troops were gradually withdrawn from service in Vietnam beginning from 1970, following a US Government shift in 1969 to a policy of phased withdrawal of US troops (Ekins, 1997-2008: 26; Frost, 1987; Lawrence, 2008: 140). Australian involvement ended with the return of the last remaining advisers in December 1972, although the war itself did

not end until the fall of Saigon and the surrender by General Duong Van Minh, the leader of the US-supported South Vietnamese forces, to the communist National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) on 30th April, 1975 (Australian War Memorial, 2001-2008d). All US troops, apart from a small number of Marines guarding the US embassy in Saigon, had been withdrawn by March 1973 (Lawrence, 2008). So by the time of the text included in this corpus, which reports Minh's surrender, Allied troops were no longer in active service in Vietnam.

3.7.1 The presentation of the text

News of the surrender of the South Vietnamese government to the Communists dominated page one of the *Herald* on Thursday 1st May, 1975 (see Appendix E.1). The large headline, *VIETCONG TAKE OVER*, spans the page, followed by a smaller headline, *Minh's surrender ends 29 years of bloody war*. The text of the main article (839 words) analysed in this study is accompanied by a large photograph depicting Vietnamese refugees carrying their belongings along a roadway, a reproduction of the telegram that had borne the first news of the surrender the previous day, and two shorter articles entitled *Tanks enter palace* (by Australian journalist Neil Davis, who was at the presidential palace when the Communist tanks moved in) and *Opposition calls for Whitlam's return*. The latter article draws attention to some controversy involving Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam and some charges that he had misled parliament in relation to communications between Australia and North and South Vietnam. Like the WWII and Korean War texts, there is a cascading font size effect in the first few paragraphs of the article. There is also an index box pointing to more war news on pages four, five, and six. As with the Korean War text, a sub-heading divides the article into two sections.

The content of the article is as follows:

- Announcement of the surrender of the South Vietnamese government to their Communist opponents and the subsequent entry of Communist tanks into the centre of Saigon and the presidential palace.
- Reported estimates of the number of troops killed or wounded (from US sources) and the number of Vietnamese people who had become refugees (from South Vietnamese sources).
- Summaries of official statements following the surrender, e.g. a statement from the Revolutionary Committee for Saigon announcing that Saigon was to be renamed Ho Chi Minh city in honour of the late North Vietnamese leader.
- Reports of events that occurred in the 24 hours leading up to the surrender, including evacuation of Saigon by Vietnamese refugees and US military, and the removal of American flags from Saigon.

- Recount of (South Vietnamese) President Minh's announcement of the surrender.
- Reports of the immediate actions of the Communists in Saigon following the surrender, including their occupation of the presidential palace and central streets, and announcements in the streets that they had taken control of Saigon.
- Reports of the positive reactions of civilians in the streets of Saigon.
- Summary of a statement from the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) broadcast over Vietcong Radio.
- Recount of General Minh's appeal to his troops to give up fighting.
- Report of an earlier interview with the PRG's Foreign Minister regarding General Minh's future role.
- Report of a fatal aircraft crash involving a South Vietnamese Government plane that had been one of 70 flying to refuge in Thailand.
- Summaries of Australian Government responses to the surrender, from the Foreign Affairs department and the Leader of the Opposition.

3.7.2 The culture of war

As mentioned in section 3.7 above, the start of the Vietnam War is difficult to pinpoint, with various sources giving starting dates between 1955 and 1962 (e.g. Australian War Memorial, 2001-2008d; Burton et al., 2001; Frost, 1987; King, 1983). Lawrence notes that some commentators on the war identify the 1940s as the beginning, relating it to the Cold War, some locate its origin in the 1960s when the Americans became involved, and yet others argue that it stemmed from "Vietnamese struggles against foreign domination many decades or even centuries before Americans took interest in Southeast Asia" (Lawrence, 2008: 7). The text itself reflects something of the various stages of the war, with *29 years of bloody war* in the sub-headline suggesting the war began around 1946, and *January 1961* given as the time at which *American intervention was beginning in earnest*.

This text displays an ambivalent attitude towards the enemy (the Communists). The report actually indicates that the people in the streets of Saigon applauded the Communists as they drove by in their trucks, while many had evacuated the city presumably *because* of the Communists' imminent arrival. However, this ambivalence is unlikely to be a result of the gentlemanly attitude to the enemy that was suggested in the Boer War text for example, and more likely to be a reflection of the inherent complexity of relations between the belligerents within Vietnam. The war "was simultaneously a civil war among Southerners and a cross-border effort by Hanoi to reunify the country on its own terms" (Lawrence, 2008: 65). Those Vietnamese who remained in Saigon were not necessarily the vanquished foe, but civilians opposed to the Southern regime who had been awaiting the arrival of the National Liberation Front (NLF) forces and the establishment in the South of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). The recurring themes of the war for the Vietnamese – social revolution

and independent nationalism – are also indicated by the report of the PRG's pronouncement over Vietcong Radio: "*The Provisional Revolutionary Government asks the people to raise the revolutionary standards, those of independence and freedom*".

Another significant point drawn from the news report is the way the surrender of South Vietnam is framed, e.g. in the headline *Minh's surrender ends 29 years of bloody war*. The surrender is framed as a decision that was solely the responsibility of South Vietnam, not connected with the Americans or their allies, and as a decision with a positive outcome in that it brought an end to *29 years of a bloody war which has devastated the country*. This is in line with the US and allied position towards Vietnam following the peace accord of 1973, the completion of troop withdrawal in 1974, and President Ford's declaration on 23rd of April, 1975, that the war was over as far as America was concerned (Lawrence, 2008: 167).

This text is unusual in the corpus in that it is one of only two (the other being the Gulf War text) that refers to war casualty figures. It mentions that *from estimates compiled by US sources more than three million civilians and troops on both sides have been killed or wounded since January 1961, when American intervention was beginning in earnest*. Ekins (1997-2008) has more recently reported that around 224,000 South Vietnamese troops, one million North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops (plus 300,000 reported as missing in action), and around four million Vietnamese civilians (10% of the wartime population) died over the course of the war.

3.7.3 The media culture

By the time of the Vietnam War, television had been added to the media industry and had become an established form of public broadcast for both news and entertainment. It is well recognised that the Vietnam War was the first war that the people at home could really 'live' because of television, and television and other media are often attributed with a degree of responsibility for the way the war unfolded (e.g. Cottle, 2006: 75). The Vietnam war has accordingly been called 'the television war', and, because there was never an official American declaration of war that would legitimise official censorship, 'the uncensored war' (Payne, 2007: 5). However, in practice the media were censored through blacklisting, exclusion from access to information or images, or denial or confiscation of official media accreditation (Knightley, 2004: 410-411; Payne, 2007: 4-5).

As with earlier texts, this text is not attributed to any journalist or agency, only *SAIGON, Wednesday*. The *Herald* did not send any correspondents to Vietnam, rather they relied on the

work of Australian journalist Denis Warner (Knightley, 2004: 410; Payne, 2007: 268), who wrote for several papers in America and Australia and had also worked as a war correspondent in World War II and the Korean War (Knightley, 2004: 380, 410). The unwillingness of the *Herald* to send its own journalist to Vietnam, even though they supported Australia's participation in the conflict and maintained "that the 'unwinnable war' was being won" (Souter, 1981: 430), was a source of controversy between the editor, J. D. Pringle, and the *Herald* management (Payne, 2007: 268), and led to Pringle's resignation in 1970 (Souter, 1981: 430).

This text is the only one in the corpus to report the responses of the Australian Government, but notably, there is no response from the Prime Minister recorded, only the Leader of the Opposition and a spokesperson for the Foreign Affairs Department. This raises the issue of balance in reporting within the time constraints of the news production process. It is notable that the message from the Foreign Affairs Department was only that they would not comment on the end of the war until they *knew what kind of administration had been set up in Saigon*. In contrast, the Leader of the Opposition is reported as appealing to the Government *to do all in its power through its embassies in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi to secure mercy for all South Vietnamese with Australian connections*. In conscientiously including statements from both the Government and Opposition, there may be a risk of one side being portrayed more negatively than the other because of what they are prepared to say at that time, which is influenced by the onus of responsibility. That is, the Opposition can 'call on the Government' to act in particular ways but they themselves can not make the final decision, and so they are free to make demands that reflect favourably on them. In contrast, if the Government makes a statement promising some course of action which they end up not being able to deliver on, they will be held accountable by the voters. The statement from the Leader of the Opposition also suggests an understanding of the potential for communist retribution against South Vietnamese who had supported the Saigon administration, a situation that did eventuate following the surrender (Lawrence, 2008: 168).

3.8 Gulf War text (1st March, 1991)

The Gulf War arose out of the United Nations' condemnation of an invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, which breeched international law and United Nations Security Council resolutions (Evans, 1992). Iraq's initial attacks on Kuwait on 2nd August, 1990, were followed by UN trade sanctions against Iraq in an attempt to enforce compliance with the UN resolutions, and then finally an organised military campaign of air strikes from 17th January, 1991, from

a multinational coalition headed by the USA. The war ended with a US victory on 28th February, 1991, following an Iraqi retreat from Kuwait.

3.8.1 The presentation of the text

On Friday 1st March, 1991, the *Herald* produced a 'special lift-off' edition (i.e. there were several pages devoted to the war that were 'wrapped around' the remainder of the newspaper) to mark the significance of the news of the end of the Gulf War. The front page of this lift-off section carried a banner beneath the *SMH* masthead proclaiming *GULF PEACE*, which was replicated on each dedicated page of war news. The Gulf War text begins on page one and continues onto page two. Although not the topmost article on the page, it is the most salient article because of its dominating headline announcing *THE WAR IS OVER* and the large accompanying photograph of two Kuwaiti soldiers embracing (see Appendix F.1). The main article is also accompanied by a cartoon satirising US President George H. W. Bush's insistence that the US's quarrel was not with the Iraqi people but with their leader, Saddam Hussein. There is also a box pointing to more war news and commentary on other pages. The topmost article, entitled 'Something very evil visited Kuwait City', is a piece by celebrated war correspondent Robert Fisk, describing his disgusted reaction to the destruction of Kuwait's capital city. A further article, near the bottom of the page, entitled 'Stormin' Norm: How I won the war', critiques General Norman Schwarzkopf's boasting about the success of the US campaign.

The main article, providing an account of the end of the Gulf War, is the longest text in the corpus (1249 words). The content of the text is summarised as follows:

- Report of President Bush's announcement of the end of war and claims of US victory.
- Summary of response from Saddam Hussein (including mention of what Saddam's statement did *not* say).
- Summary of warning from Allied commanders about the ceasefire being contingent on Iraq's adherence to UN resolutions.
- Indication of the original basis for US military action against Iraq, i.e. Iraq's refusal to adhere to UN resolutions.
- Forecasts of actions due to occur as part of peace settlement process (e.g. consultations between US and gulf countries), and the basis of these actions.
- Summaries of evaluations from allied commander General Norman Schwarzkopf and President Bush of the outcome.
- List of President Bush's demands of Iraq and conditions of peace following surrender.
- Reports and speculations (from Schwarzkopf) on the state of the Iraqi army and the number of Iraqi casualties.
- Reports of celebratory atmosphere in Kuwait following the liberation of Kuwait City.
- Speculative report on activities and numbers of allied troops in southern Iraq.

- Summary of Bush's plans for the future of US involvement in the region.
- Analogy between the way the war began and ended, drawing attention to the fact that both were enacted by words from The White House.
- Report of Bush's previous rejection of ceasefires on Iraq's terms.
- Quotation of section of Bush's speech addressing Iraqis.
- Summaries of evaluations by US politicians of the success of the war, including evaluation of Bush's performance as a leader, expression of "pride" at decimating "a half-million man army", and speculation about the future of Saddam Hussein's leadership.

3.8.2 The culture of war

One of the most striking features about this text is the idea that the beginning and end of a war can legitimately be enacted through the words of one government, in this case the US Government, represented by The White House. This is explicitly pointed out in the report:

[Bush's] unilateral declaration of peace was the final, most convincing proof that from the moment the war began on 17 January it had been controlled by the allies.

The White House announced the start of fighting with the words "the liberation of Kuwait has begun" and ended it by saying "Kuwait is liberated".

Mr Bush, having rejected calls for cease-fires on Iraq's terms for more than a week, was able to declare a cease-fire on his own terms in a gesture which was designed to show that the US did not want to destroy Iraq, even though his forces could.

Extract 3-4 Selection from Gulf War text showing representation of semiotic enactment of the beginning and end of war

This prompts questions about the legal implications of such a 'unilateral' declaration. According to Gareth Evans, who was then Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Deputy Leader of the Government in the Senate, the leaders of the UN member nations had been reluctant to use military force, and instead willing to try any diplomatic means to bring about the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait (Evans, 1992: 14-15). There were other controversies, however, such as the fact that the Australian media and government had virtually ignored the relationship between Iraq and Kuwait until the invasion occurred (Tiffen, 1992: 126), and that Australia's motives for becoming involved seemed largely based on self-interest, e.g. economic interest in protecting Kuwait's and Saudi Arabia's oil reserves, and political interest in avoiding a shift in the balance of power in the Middle East (Evans, 1992: 10).

As mentioned in section 3.7.2, this text and the Vietnam War text are the only two in the corpus that mention war casualty figures in any way. The Gulf War text includes several references to the human cost of the war:

in the last hours of the battle fewer than 20,000 Iraqi troops of the more than 500,000 sent to confront the coalition were still fighting. More than 40 of the 42 divisions sent to defend Kuwait were put out of action, according to a US spokesman.

General Schwarzkopf told reporters last night that "there were a very, very large number of dead ... a very, very large number". He would not give details.

In Kuwait, which was formally liberated yesterday, the euphoria of residents was tempered by the realisation that thousands of Kuwaitis are unaccounted for and many may have been killed by the Iraqis.

A leading Democrat in Congress, Mr Stephen Solarz, who supported the war against the wishes of many in his party, confessed to "an enormous sense of pride" at "one of the most extraordinary victories in the history of warfare. We decimated a half-million man army with less than 100 casualties".

Extract 3-5 Selection from the Gulf War text showing references to the human cost of war

The text also mentions "a four-day blitzkrieg" in which the Iraqi army suffered heavy losses that led to Saddam Hussein's endorsement of the ceasefire. This 'blitzkrieg' was very controversial because it took advantage of the defencelessness of the retreating army (Tiffen, 1992: 134). The war devastated Iraq, with at least 100,000 Iraqi troops killed during the conflict and severe damage done to its infrastructure (Fisk, 2005). However, there were fewer than 200 coalition casualties, none of whom were Australians (Australian War Memorial, 1997-2008b); and almost a quarter of US casualties were killed as a result of 'friendly fire' (Fisk, 2005: 798). The number of civilian casualties is very hard to determine as the figures are likely to have been downplayed (or left unspecified) by coalition military authorities (see e.g. Fisk, 2005: 797, 849-850, 853) and exaggerated by Iraqi officials. However, Human Rights Watch estimated around 2,500-3,000 Iraqi civilians killed as a direct result of allied attacks (Human Rights Watch, 1991), and others put the figure as high as 100,000 or more (Fisk, 2005: 853).

3.8.3 The media culture

The article is attributed in a byline to *TONY WALKER, in Riyadh* and *PETER STEPHENS in Washington*. Tony Walker was the Middle East correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and its Melbourne counterpart, *The Age* (Tiffen, 1992). This text is therefore the first in the corpus to explicitly identify that it was written by a *Herald* journalist who was located close to the action. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, was where daily press briefings were held, and it is referred to as the location of one of the announcements reported in the text: *General Norman Schwarzkopf, told a briefing in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, that Saddam no longer had enough*

military equipment even to threaten his neighbours. The Riyadh briefings were accessible only to accredited journalists included in ‘pools’. These pools of journalists were also “escorted by military officers to cover various stages of the action as chosen by the military” (Knightley, 2004: 490). Those who were not in a pool had to rely on the pooled journalists sharing their reports (Knightley, 2004: 490) or make the most of the material they could obtain from the Joint Information Bureau (JIB) or their own illicit investigations (e.g. Fisk, 2005: 736-739). It is unclear whether Tony Walker was in a pool even though he was in Riyadh, as Tiffen states that no Australian journalists were included in pools (Tiffen, 1992). If he was not, the role of Peter Stephens in Washington may have been to supplement the information Walker could glean with information from Washington press conferences.

As a further testament to this restricted access, the text includes a very high proportion of material attributed to American politicians and military officials (i.e. information from press conferences and press releases), compared to the previous texts. Much of this material is evaluation (e.g. *He said Mr Bush had conducted the war “brilliantly...”*) or speculation (e.g. *Details of allied troops in southern Iraq were sketchy but substantial numbers remain there*) about the war and its conclusion. But not all of the attributed material is clearly attributed to the source, as shown in Extract 3-6, which moves from indirect quotation of Bush, to direct quotation using the pronoun *he*, to something similar to what Leech and Short (1981: 325) call ‘free indirect speech’, which can only be assumed to be based on the words of Bush.

*Mr Bush signalled that the US was shifting its attention from the battlefield to the negotiating table in an effort to play a role in stabilising the region.
 “We must now begin to look beyond victory and war,” he said. “We must meet the challenge of securing the peace.”
 There could be no solely American answer to the challenges of the region, but the US was ready to assist and to be “a catalyst for peace”.*

Extract 3-6 Selection from the Gulf War text showing ambiguous attribution

The inclusion of evaluation and speculation harks back to the inclusion of editorial material in the Boer War text, which was also highly evaluative (see section 3.3 above), and suggests that there are certain sectors of the community whose evaluations of events are considered intrinsically newsworthy by the media. This raises questions about the place of speculation in news reporting, even when it is attributed to official sources, and the importance of clear demarcation of news from opinion and speculation. The New York Times style guide of the 1970s gives an indication of the professional standards in regard to transparency of sourcing, specifically urging writers and editors to avoid ambiguity in

quotations and sources, and to be as clear as possible about where the information came from (Jordan, 1976: 171). These issues of sourcing will be addressed in chapter 5.

The text also directly reminds us that at this time television was a major source of news and information, reporting that *Television film shows the desert littered with the charred remains of Iraqi armoured vehicles*. The technology of television and radio and the speed with which information could be transmitted across the world had greatly improved since the Vietnam War, and so there was greater coverage of this war in terms of airtime, efficiency and detail. Tiffen, for example, describes television coverage of this war as “saturation programming” (Tiffen, 1992: 116), noting also that the range of material (e.g. commentary and analysis as well as ‘hard news’ reporting) and the diversity of perspectives was much greater in this war than in the Vietnam War. However, Tiffen notes that the Australian media were criticised for operating as “an arm of government” to present an officially sanctioned view of the war (Tiffen, 1992: 134). The availability and speed of information did not rule out selective reporting, as Tiffen argues in relation to the coverage of the “four-day blitzkrieg” mentioned in section 3.8.2 (and see Fisk, 2005 for more critique of the conduct of this war),

“there are very real moral questions about the allied bombing and attacks upon those retreating troops. But at the time they were relatively neglected in the Western media, overshadowed by the relief and euphoria of victory and the powerful emotions felt by all who had just witnessed the joy of the liberated Kuwaitis and the terrible devastation the Iraqis had wreaked upon them” (Tiffen, 1992: 134).

3.9 Iraq War text (10th April, 2003)

The Iraq War began with US air strikes on Baghdad on 20th March, 2003. There was no legal ‘declaration’ of war, merely a course of actions following the expiry of a deadline that US President George W. Bush had given for the President of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, to step down from power and leave Iraq. Although the Iraq War has not really ended even now (in 2009), the event reported in this text, the ‘fall of Baghdad’, was construed as the end of something, and thus ensued a debate about what it was that had ended. The following month (2nd May, 2003), in what seems to have been an attempt to define what had ended, President Bush flew to a US aircraft carrier, USS Abraham Lincoln, and made a speech in which he declared ‘mission accomplished’ for the American campaign. However, this event did not rate as highly as the fall of Baghdad in terms of either placement or column space. Appendix G.1.1 shows the front page of Saturday 3rd May, 2003, the day after this particular speech. The news about the speech is flagged on the front page with a photograph of Bush and a

small amount of text, and expanded later in the newspaper (page 15 of the News Review section). This contrast between the treatment of the news on 10th April and 3rd May illustrates the complexities of balancing the various functions of the news media in the actual output of the news. The dominant story at the beginning of May 2003 concerned a major pharmaceutical company scandal and nationwide drug recall. The urgency of this, its potential impact on the local community, its resultant commercial value for selling newspapers, and that fact that the Iraq War had already been given a degree of closure in April, would have contributed to the decision by the *SMH* to prioritise the story over the news about Bush's speech.

3.9.1 The presentation of the text

The 'fall of Baghdad' was construed as an event of high significance in the prosecution of war in Iraq. Appendix G.1 shows the text on page one of the *Herald* from 10th April, 2003. It is clear that this event was considered 'big news' because of the way the headline and photograph dominate the front page, construing salience. As with the WWII and Gulf War texts, the news on the front page is exclusively war news. Like the Gulf War text, the page is marked with a thematic banner (*WAR IN IRAQ*) beneath the *SMH* masthead, and this banner occurs on each dedicated page of war news. The top half of the page is occupied by dominant headlines *Mobs turn on Saddam: "He killed millions of us... Oh people, this is freedom"* and *BAGHDAD FALLS*, and a photograph spanning the width of the page, depicting crowds apparently celebrating in the streets of Baghdad. The report appears beneath the photograph, and also spans the width of the page. A box inset in the text flags more war reports on pages 2-5, and more letters and commentary on pages 14-15. The bottom section of the page is mainly taken up with another article by Paul McGeough, reporting on the poor conditions of a trauma ward in an Iraq hospital.

The text is summarised as follows:

- Announcement of US military declaration of the end of Saddam Hussein's reign over Baghdad.
- Report of events surrounding the arrival of US troops in Baghdad, including the responses of Iraqi civilians.
- Statements from the US military on the current state of affairs in regard to the Iraq government, and the US military's interpretation of the response of the civilians (i.e. that the civilians realised the previous regime was no longer in power).
- Reports of looting in shops and government buildings in Baghdad.
- Recounts of individuals' responses (both words and actions) to the end of Saddam Hussein's regime.

- Reports of the wariness and uncertainty of some Iraqis following the arrival of the Americans.
- Report of impact on Red Cross operations in Baghdad following rescue convoys coming under fire.

3.9.2 The culture of war

The Iraq War text reports the fall of Baghdad to coalition control, which occurred on 10th April, 2003, a few weeks after the initial US attack. A number of sources agree that the war ended some time in the first half of 2003, e.g. Bromley, who argues that

“the ‘war’ was over as far as Australia was concerned when the Prime Minister, John Howard, provided ritual closure to Operation Falconer, attending street parades of returning military personnel in Sydney and Perth on June 18 and 20, and the Chief of the Australian Defence Forces was delivering valedictories to the episode – even though both American and British troops were still dying in Baghdad and Basra” (Bromley, 2004: 225).

Furthermore, as mentioned in section 3.9, President George Bush famously made a ‘Mission Accomplished’ speech on 1st May, 2003, on board the USS Abraham Lincoln, which was a major media spectacle. However, the effects of the war are ongoing, and that includes the continuing presence, even now, of American troops in Iraq, and hundreds of thousands (Iraq Body Count, 2003-2009), if not millions (see e.g. Opinion Research Business, 2007), of civilian casualties caused directly by violence or indirectly by effects of war such as poor sanitation and lack of medical treatment (Burnham, Lafta, Doocy, & Roberts, 2006). Interestingly, President Bush is not mentioned at all in this text, even though as President of the United States he was also Chief Commander of the US Army.

Like the Gulf War text, the end of this phase of the Iraq War is construed as having arisen from a US military declaration *that Saddam Hussein’s rule over Baghdad had ended*, rather than through some legally binding or definitive process. The status of the Iraq War as a “war” is questionable as there was never a formal declaration by either the United States or Iraq, which may be a factor in the way the end of the war was framed. The vagueness surrounding the end of war is evident in the lack of detail regarding when and in what order the reported events occurred, which contrasts starkly with the highly specific details of this kind in the Korean War and WWI texts. This feature of the text in comparison to other texts will be addressed in chapter 4.

3.9.3 The media culture

The Iraq War text is attributed to *Paul McGeough and Sean Maguire in Baghdad*, and an additional byline appears at the end of the text citing Reuters and Press Association. Paul

McGeough was the Middle East correspondent for the *Herald* at the time, and has won several Walkley Awards for journalism. Rice describes his reports as “compelling”, “layered and acutely observed accounts, thumped out from his hotel room overlooking Baghdad” (Rice, 2003: 12). McGeough has also written a personal account of his time reporting on the first thirty days of the Iraq War in Baghdad (McGeough, 2003).

Some information in the text is also linked to *US Central Command at Qatar*. The Centre provided journalists with regular briefings and press conferences given by senior military personnel, and photographic and video resources to be used in the media output (Australian Department of Defence, 2003). The information gathering process was thus streamlined and centralised, to the extent that there was little scope for any media to publish anything but what was provided by the Centre. This raises questions about the content of news in the newspaper, such as: what other meanings might have been presented? How much potential was there for the content of this text to differ from that of other newspapers and other forms of media? Perhaps as a result of this centralised control over the media, Australian mainstream media coverage of the Iraq War has primarily supported the government stance. Bromley states that the *Herald* was one of only three Australian daily newspapers that “countenanced any opposition editorially to the invasion” (Bromley, 2004: 231).

As mentioned in section 3.9.1, the text includes extended sections recording the words and actions of unnamed individuals on the streets of Baghdad (i.e. people without power or celebrity status, and whose words cannot be verified), which highlights the question of what information is considered newsworthy in the reporting of the end of war. It also indicates that there may be more reasons for including quotations than the attribution of information about news events to expert sources. The Reuters handbook and New York Times style guide both insist on the importance of using “named sources wherever possible” (Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2008: 3), both for the sake of credibility and for correct attribution of responsibility for the information. But these Iraqi civilian ‘sources’ are not named, nor do they seem to be quoted for the purposes of adding extra weight to the news information in the report. These issues will be addressed in chapter 5.

The Iraq War text is the only one in the corpus to appear on a colour printed page. Colour printing had been available to varying degrees since the 1980s (Souter, 1991: 110), but by 2003 was used throughout the newspaper for photographs and advertisements. By this time, all typesetting and printing of the *Herald* was done digitally, typing news copy directly into a computer, which could then be quickly and simply formatted (including font size, typeface,

alignment, line spacing) by the computer's software, then electronically transferred to another computer to be arranged into page space. This allowed the appearance and length of reports to be altered much later in the production process than in earlier years, where the page composition was fixed early on because of the laborious, manual production process. The electronic file was then fed into a digital printing machine to be 'printed' as an etched aluminium plate, which would be used in electrically powered rotary presses fed by continuous rolls of paper (Iaccarino, Maley, & Malkin, 2005).

3.10 Conclusion to the chapter

In this chapter I have provided an informal introduction to the context of culture of each the texts according to both socio-political climate and media and institutional concerns as a backdrop to the study, and also as a preliminary demonstration of how the questions of this study align with questions relevant to disciplines of historical study. I introduced the circumstances of outbreak and ceasefire, political motivations for involvement, degree of commitment of Australian personnel, and the human and financial cost of war for Australia, as well as the media environment of reception and production of the texts. It is important to clarify this broader contextual information in preparation for discussions of meaning making in context, which are the primary concern of this thesis. The next chapter, chapter 4, begins the linguistic analysis at the level of lexicogrammar, exploring one of the issues raised in this chapter, namely the representation of time and space in the texts and how it has changed over time.

Chapter 4

The construction of time and space in armistice reporting

“the increasing availability of mediated symbolic forms has gradually altered the ways in which most people acquire a sense of the past and of the world beyond their immediate milieu.”
(Thompson, 1995: 34)

“without the ability to form chronological divisions and sequence events, ‘the past is chaos’”
(Coffin, 2006: 99, citing Wood, 1995: 11)

4.1 Introduction to the chapter

In the foregoing chapters of this thesis, I set the background for the study, including the nature of the research and its location in relation to the linguistics, media studies and media history literature. The texts comprising the data for this study were introduced and their cultural context described in chapter 3, and from these summaries and descriptions, I highlighted the meanings that were likely to be at stake as a result of their context in terms of both the particular situation of war and the news production context. One of the issues that was raised, particularly in relation to the WWI, Korean War, and Iraq War texts, was the differing degrees of importance placed on specifying the time at which events happened and in what sequence events happened. The issue of time and space in news reporting had already been foregrounded in chapter 1, in relation to the changing function and content of the news over time (see section 1.4.1).

This chapter will explore the lexicogrammatical realisation of meanings about time and space in the news reports as encoded in the logical and experiential metafunctions. As I mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.2), the texts are initially considered to be instances of the same register, and part of the task of this thesis is to create a profile of diachronic change in the register. The analysis in this chapter constitutes a move toward establishing a multistratal profile of each text and mapping the nature and extent of the variation between them.

Following a brief overview of resources for representing time and space in English (section 4.2) and a statistical comparison of the texts in the corpus (section 4.3), I will selectively present analyses of semantic and lexicogrammatical resources for representing time in the logical (section 4.4) and experiential (section 4.5) metafunctions. I will then focus on the way

selections of temporal and spatial Circumstances intersect with selections of Theme (section 4.6), before discussing the findings (section 4.7) in relation to implications for register (section 4.7.1) and changes in the social milieu (section 4.7.2), and finally concluding the chapter (section 4.8).

4.2 Representing time and space in English

English has a range of resources distributed across the metafunctions for construing various perspectives on temporal and spatial relations. For example, the construal of experience is concerned with the representation of “quanta of change” in the flow of events through semantic figures (usually clauses) with Process as core (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 213; Matthiessen, 1999: 3), and location in the flow of time is realised through logical relations of tense and temporal conjunction (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 215). Speakers of English can further construe the temporal location of a figure through Circumstances of temporal location (e.g. *at half-past 10 o'clock at night*). Temporal relations are also expressed through some kinds of Mood Adjuncts, including Adjuncts of modality (usuality) and temporality (time and typicality) (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 126-128).

The resources for representing spatial relations are not distributed as widely through the grammatical systems as those for construing time, although the conceptual motif of spatial location is pervasive in the linguistic metalanguage and in the grammatical construal of time (i.e. metaphorically construing time as a location) (Matthiessen, 1999: 17). Halliday and Matthiessen suggest that, while Processes are located in time through tense and circumstantiation, “Participants are located in referential space” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 212) through nominal group deixis. Apart from spatial deixis such as demonstrative reference, the experience of space is clearly represented in the ideational metafunction through Circumstance elements of spatial location (e.g. *at Pretoria*) or extent of distance (e.g. *for 100 kilometres*).

In this chapter, I focus on the construal of temporal and spatial location of the events of armistice, and therefore the focus is on the resources from the ideational metafunction: experientially, through the patterns of Circumstances of temporal and spatial location; and logically, through the patterns of tense selection. The frequency of temporal conjunctions (e.g. *while, then, after*) and temporal Mood Adjuncts (e.g. *usually, never, typically, still*) in the corpus is very low, so they will not be discussed in this chapter. Temporal conjunctions (e.g. *when, after, then*) are not used at all in the WWI and WWII texts, but occur in around 3% of

clauses in the Boer War and Gulf War texts, around 7% in the Korean War and Iraq War texts, and around 14% in the Vietnam War text. The relative lack of temporal conjunctions in the corpus suggests that if there are temporal relations between clauses they must be primarily realised in another way (see section 4.5.2.2.4). Only 11 instances of temporal Mood Adjuncts occur in the corpus, nine of which are those of temporality (time): *still* (6 instances), *yet* (1 instance), *already* (1 instance), *soon* (1 instance). This suggests that there is a low priority on the semantics of temporal generalisation in these instances of the register, and that, where time is modalised, it is typically used for the purposes of construing counter-expectancy in relation to ongoing events or states of affairs.

4.3 Statistical comparisons of the texts

The statistics for each text in terms of words, clauses and clause complexes are shown in Table 4-1, Figure 4-1, and Figure 4-2 for the purpose of establishing both the extent of variation in text length and average clause length between the seven texts. Features such as clause length and lexical density have been found to correlate with features of the context of situation (e.g. Halliday, 1994; Ure, 1971) and therefore similarities of these features between texts can indicate registerial similarity. The set of seven texts has a combined average of 837.57 words in 89.29 clauses per text (total of 5863 words in 626 clauses). The texts range in length from a minimum of 320 words in 33 clauses (WWII text) to a maximum of 1268 words in 109 clauses (Gulf War text). The largest number of clauses is found in the Boer War text, as its many headings and datelines are included in the clause count. These headlines and datelines contain between two and seven words, which contributes to the lower ratio of words to clauses. As shown in Figure 4-2, the ratio of words to clauses is remarkably consistent across the corpus, suggesting similar patterns of selection related to the contextual parameter of mode, at least at a superficial level, i.e. the language is used in a concise way without a high degree of intricacy within the clause (see chapter 7 for further discussion). Proportions of features in the texts will be calculated in relation to the number of clauses, unless otherwise indicated.

Text	Words ¹⁸	Clauses	Clause Complexes	Words/Clause	Clauses/Complex
Boer War Text	1173	149	92	7.87	1.62
World War I Text	543	58	42	9.36	1.38
World War II Text	317	33	23	9.61	1.43
Korean War Text	926	99	52	9.45	1.90
Vietnam War Text	839	92	42	9.12	2.19
Gulf War Text	1249	109	55	11.46	1.98
Iraq War Text	748	86	40	8.70	2.15
Total	5795	626	346		
Average	828	89.29	49.43	9.27	1.81

Table 4-1 Word, clause, and clause complex frequencies across the corpus

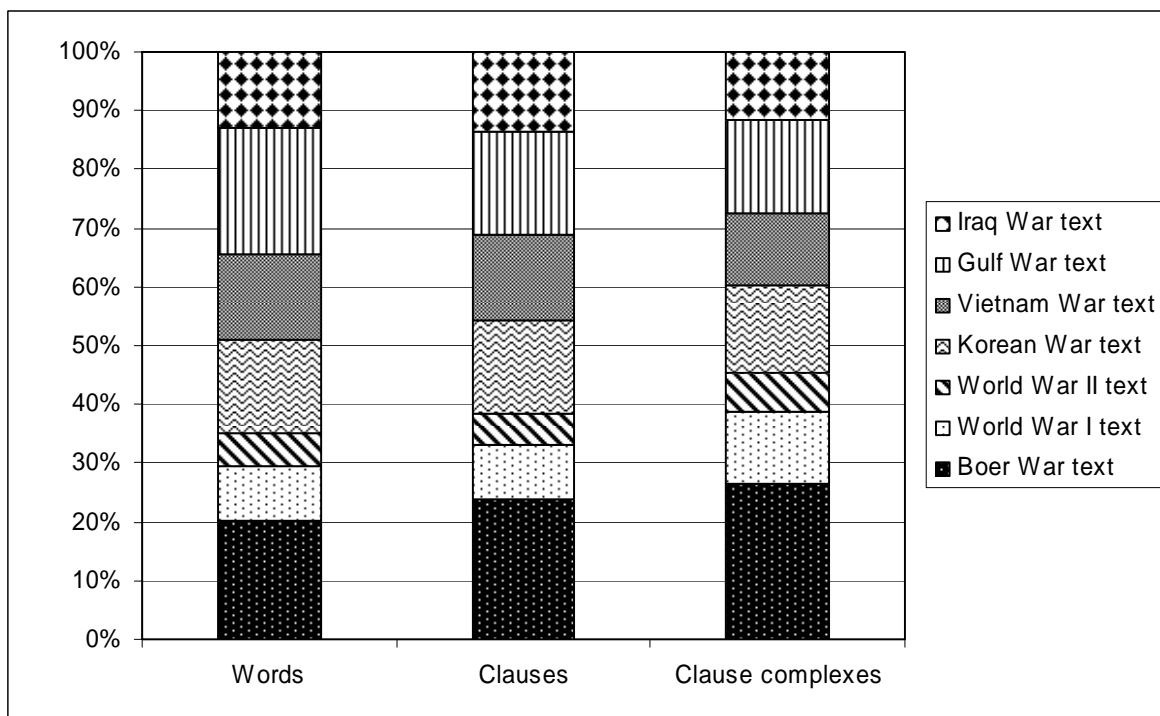


Figure 4-1 Statistics in relation to words, clauses, and clause complexes in each text

¹⁸ The word count for each text is based on the original document and does not include any retrieved ellipsis.

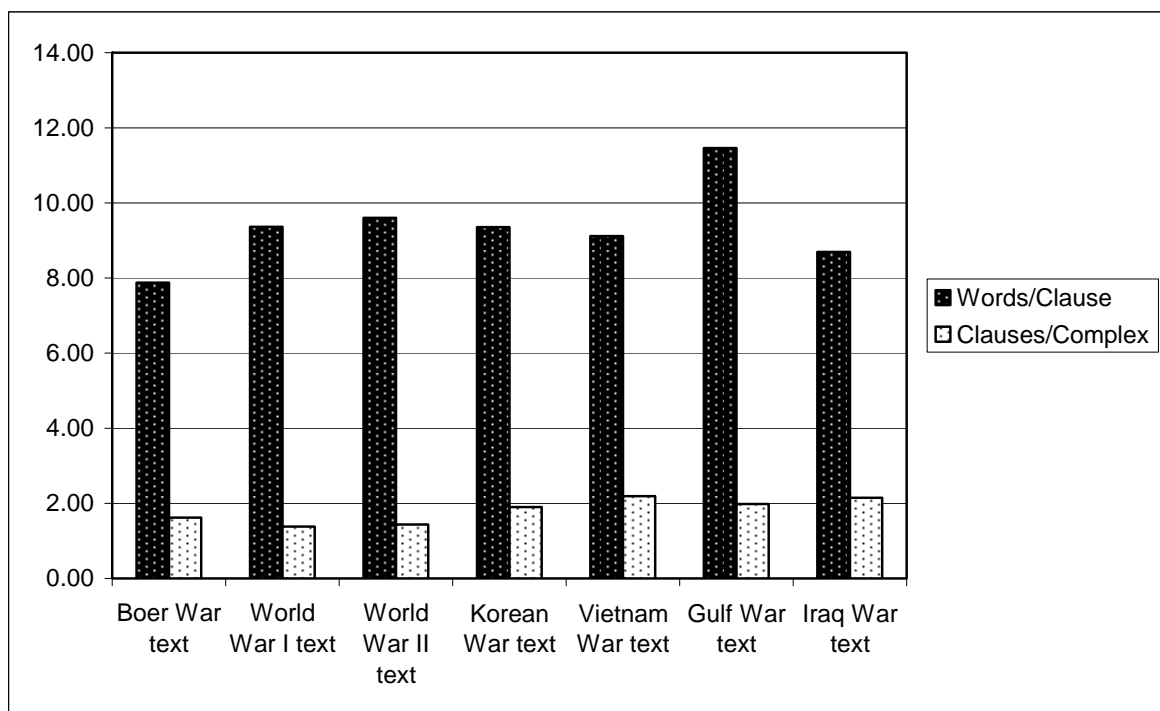


Figure 4-2 Comparison of ratios of words per clause and clauses per clause complex for each text

The distribution of Process types in each text is presented in Figure 4-3. The chart indicates that, although there is slight variation between the texts, there is general consistency in the most frequent transitivity selections: material, verbal and relational Processes are typically the most frequently selected. This suggests that all the texts in the corpus are primarily concerned with construing the experience of the end of war in terms of actions and happenings, semiotic processes, and descriptions of aspects of the events. A more detailed discussion of Processes in terms of the specific instances of material and verbal Processes, and their contribution to cohesive harmony, is given in chapter 6 for the Boer War, Korean War and Iraq War texts. The distribution of Process types is compared in Figure 4-4 and Table 4-2 with the average from Matthiessen's (1999) corpus, which incorporates a number of different registers including poetry, biography, and advertising along with news reports. The generally high frequency of material and relational Processes in relation to other Process types in the seven texts is consistent with the average in Matthiessen's corpus. The one consistent difference between the armistice texts and Matthiessen's corpus is that the armistice texts all have a higher frequency of verbal Processes than in Matthiessen's corpus. This suggests that the texts in this study have a significant focus on the representation of semiotic activity – e.g. saying, reporting, stating,

warning – compared to other kinds of texts. This domain of meaning will be further explored in chapter 5.

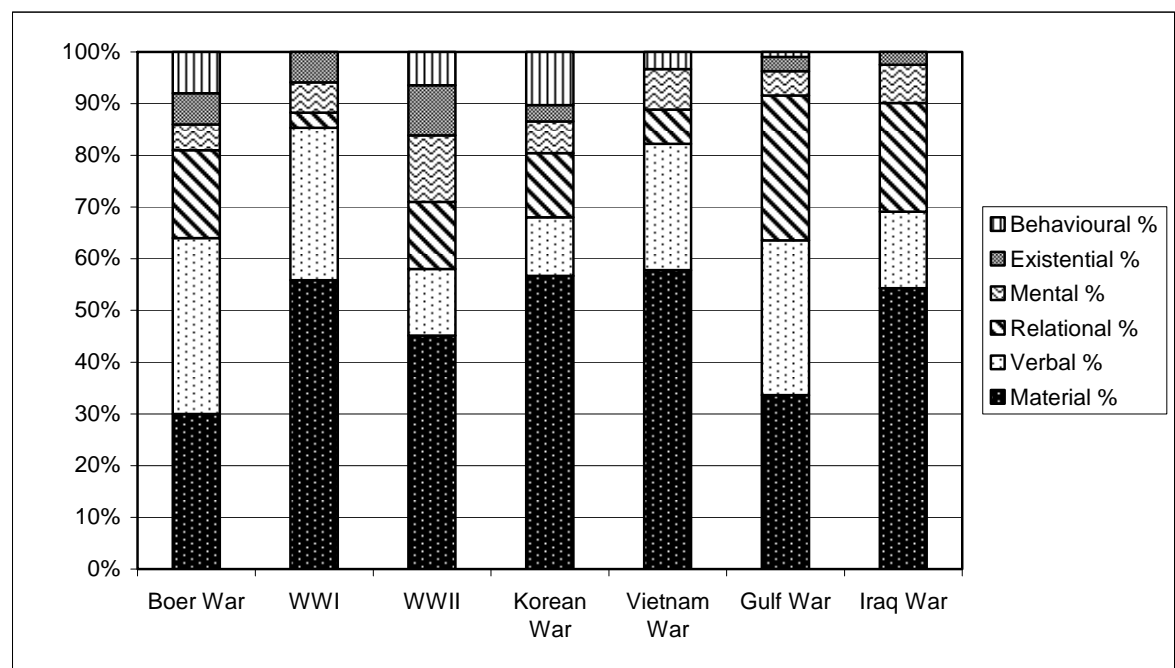


Figure 4-3 Distribution of Process types in each text

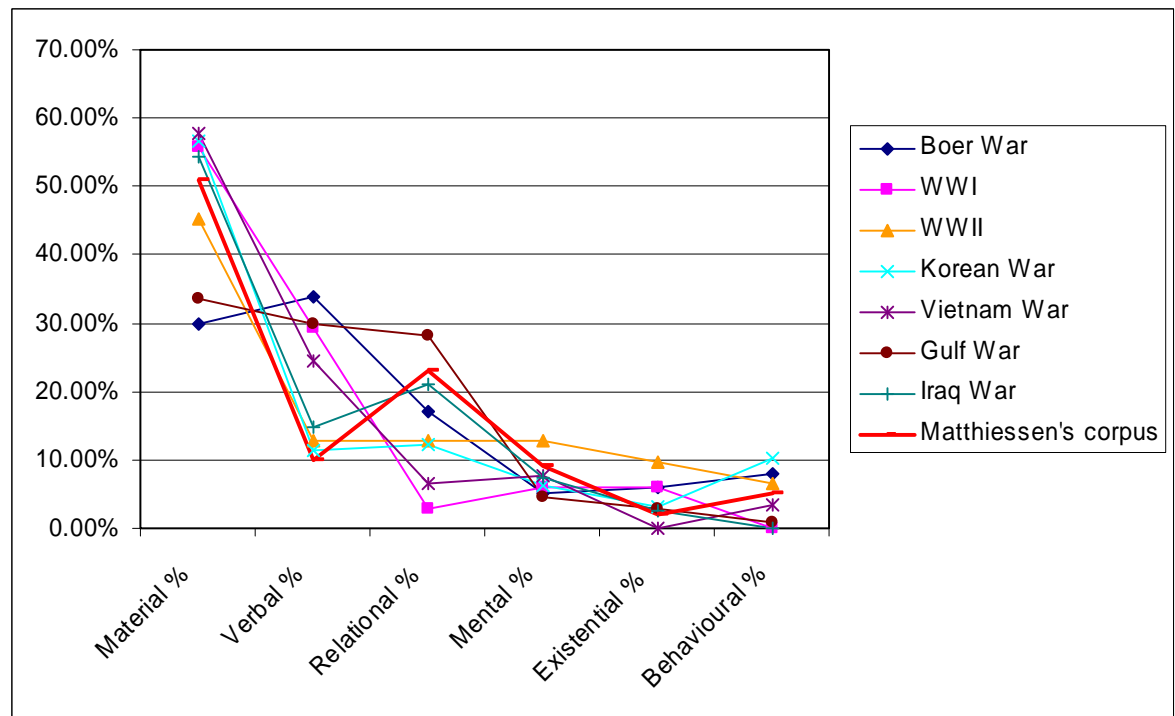


Figure 4-4 Distribution of Process types compared with Matthiessen’s (1999) corpus

Text	Material	Verbal	Relational	Mental	Existential	Behavioural
Boer War	30.00%	34.00%	17.00%	5.00%	6.00%	8.00%
WWI	55.88%	29.41%	2.94%	5.88%	5.88%	0.00%
WWII	45.16%	12.90%	12.90%	12.90%	9.68%	6.45%
Korean War	56.70%	11.34%	12.37%	6.19%	3.09%	10.31%
Vietnam War	57.78%	24.44%	6.67%	7.78%	0.00%	3.33%
Gulf War	33.64%	29.91%	28.04%	4.67%	2.80%	0.93%
Iraq War	54.32%	14.81%	20.99%	7.41%	2.47%	0.00%
Matthiessen's corpus	51.00%	10.00%	23.00%	9.00%	2.00%	5.00%

Table 4-2 Frequencies of Process types across the corpus and in comparison with Matthiessen's corpus

4.4 Construing time logically: tense

This section investigates the representation of time in the logical metafunction, that is, the location of the Process within the flow of time with respect to the here-and-now of the time of writing through selections from the grammatical system of tense. As mentioned in section 4.2, temporal conjunction, which is another resource of the logical function, occurs very infrequently in the texts so will not be addressed further in this study. It is beyond the scope of the thesis to attempt to reconcile and explain the complexities of the English tense system. Matthiessen (1996) provides an extended discussion on English tense from the perspective of systemic functional theory, in which he highlights Halliday's contribution to the workings of tense in English (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 337-348). Halliday locates tense as a resource realised in the logical structure of the verbal group (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 337), which allows the construal of "a temporal series between the interpersonal 'now' of speaking and the time of the occurrence of the process as a temporal event" (Matthiessen, 1996: 437). In this model, tense is seen as a recursive three-way system, which means that serial tense can be constructed through repeated selections of the options of past, present and future (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 337; Matthiessen, 1996: 437). This is in contrast to other models of English tense which provide for only two primary tenses, past and present/non-past (e.g. Huddleston, 1984; Palmer, 1974).

There are many observations that could be made from the results of the analysis of tense selection, but here I will focus on the major patterns that are most strongly suggestive of the context of the texts, and therefore their registerial function, e.g. which tense is most frequently selected and what this suggests about the purpose of the texts, and any shifts in patterning that suggest contextual change over time. The analysis of tense includes construal of time relations with respect to the here-and-now of the speaker in clauses that are

both projected and non-projected, bearing in mind the tense ‘backshift’ or ‘neutralization’ of tense that occurs in clauses of indirect projected speech or thought where the projecting clause is past tense (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 333-334). For example, in Extract 4-1 below, the second clause is projected in the past tense as indirect speech and the verbal group *would not disturb* indicates that although the utterance is past tense, it expresses future tense from the point of view of the speaker, *Dr. Rhee*. In contrast, the present tense form *undertakes* has been retained in the third clause because the utterance is realised as a direct projection.

Later, Dr. Rhee said || that South Korea would not disturb the armistice || “while the political conference undertakes within a limited time to solve peacefully the problem [of the liberation and reunification [of Korea]].”

Extract 4-1 Clause complex from the Korean War text showing tense in direct and indirect projection

Most of the free indicative temporal clauses in the texts select primary tense only, as shown in Figure 4-5. This means that in all texts, tense is usually either simple past (e.g. *all the Boer delegates arrived at Pretoria on Saturday*), present (e.g. *Observers consider General Choi's presence as evidence that South Korea will collaborate in the armistice*) or future (e.g. *An Australian Army unit will enter Japan with General MacArthur's forces*). The most frequent tense selection over all is past tense, as shown in Figure 4-6, which presents the frequencies of different types of primary and secondary tense selections for all texts as a proportion of the free indicative temporal clauses (i.e. not including non-finite clauses, non-indicative clauses, or clauses with a modal finite). The predominance of past tense in all texts indicates that one of their main functions as news reports is to make known events that occurred in the past. A lesser degree of importance is placed on construing current states of affairs (i.e. in present tense), and even less still, on construing predictions for the future.

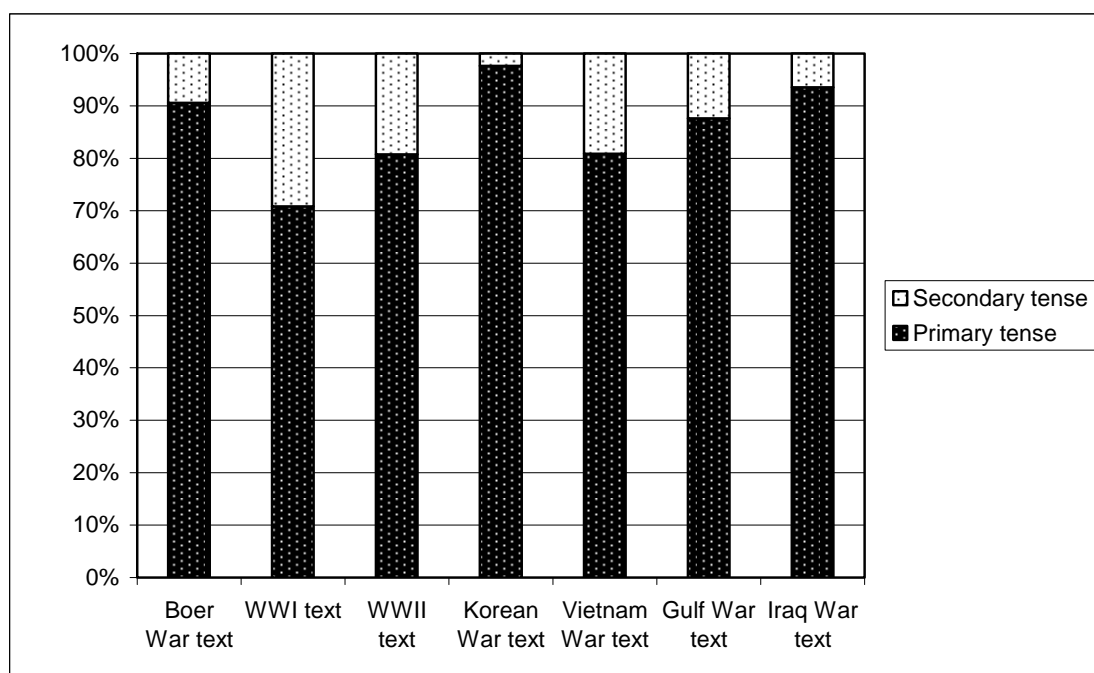


Figure 4-5 Frequencies of primary and secondary tense selections

However, Figure 4-6 below also indicates some changes over time. For example, the Boer War and WWI texts select past tense only around 50% of the time and have relatively high proportions of present and past-in-present tenses, whereas past tense accounts for 60% or more of tense selections in the other texts. The WWII text also has a relatively high proportion of past-in-present tense compared to the later texts. Past-in-present tense is the most frequent selection among the secondary tenses. Semantically, the selection of past-in-present tense indicates that ‘the event happened in the past and is still relevant to the present’, e.g. in *The terms of peace have been signed at Pretoria*, the signing is located in the past but is construed as having continuing relevance to the temporal deixis of the writer. The instances of clauses with this tense selection are presented in Table 4-3, and it appears that past-in-present tense has come to be used differently in the later texts, from the Vietnam War text onwards. In these later texts (Vietnam War, Gulf War, Iraq War), past-in-present tense is only used in projected speech, both direct and indirect, whereas in the earlier texts it is used in non-projected information as well as projected information. The later texts are much more likely to construe past events using simple past, and past-in-past is also used in the Korean War, Vietnam War and Gulf War texts.

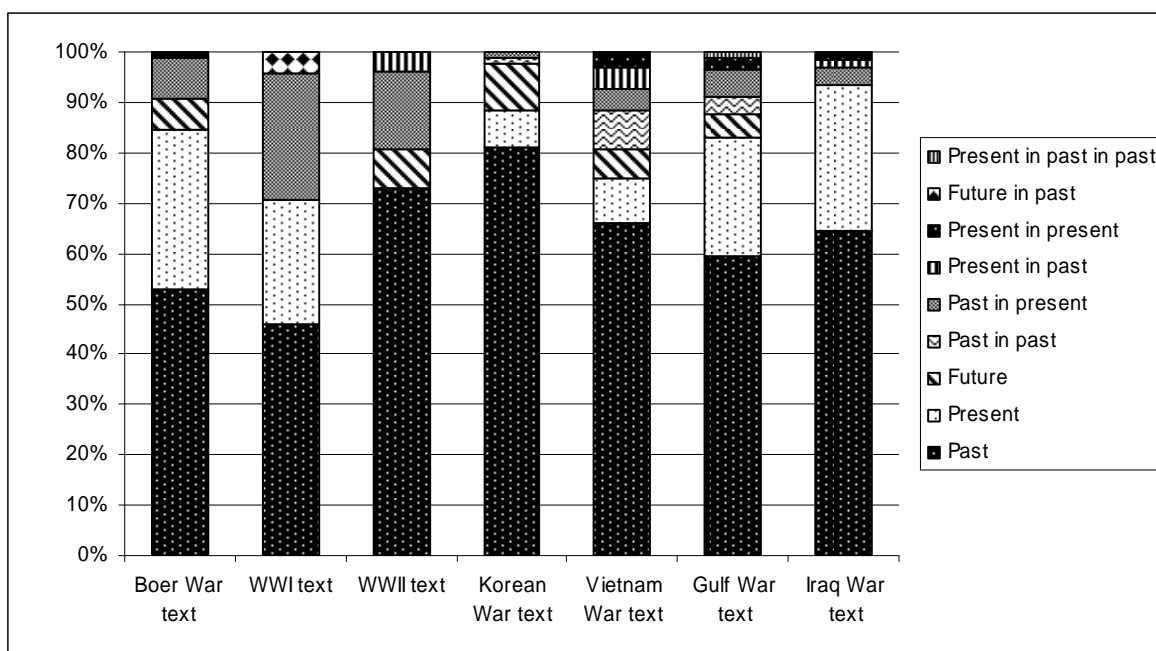


Figure 4-6 Primary and secondary tense selection in free indicative temporal clauses

The difference in the use of past-in-present tense can be related to changes in the technology and orientation to the news information, and indicates shifts in semantic probabilities in these instances of the register. The Boer War and WWI texts are clearly constructed from telegraphic news bulletins sent on different days and not necessarily arranged chronologically. Thus, in the first instance, indication of the temporal deixis of the time of writing is important for interpreting the sequence of events between individual corantos. Therefore the past-in-present selections combine with the dateline to specify from which temporal perspective the event was in the past. For example, in Extract 4-2 below, the meaning is ‘the invaliding to England of Colonel de Lisle was in the past but still relevant to the present from the point of view of the person writing this telegram on the 1st of June’.

Text	Clause ID	Clause
Boer War	13_2_1	?TREATY (^HAS BEEN) SIGNED AT PRETORIA ¹⁹
	13_10_1	The terms of peace <u>have been signed</u> at Pretoria
	13_23_2	(proj) "The King <u>has received</u> the welcome news of the cessation of hostilities with infinite satisfaction"
	13_48_2	(proj) that peace <u>had been proclaimed</u>
	13_74_5	(proj) that peace <u>had been proclaimed</u>
	13_92_1	Colonel de Lisle <u>has been invalided</u> to England
WWI	10_3_2	(proj) the State Department <u>has announced</u>
	10_3_3	(proj) that Germany <u>has signed</u> the armistice
	10_7_1	?Armistice (^ <u>has been</u>) <u>signed</u> at 5 o'clock this morning
	10_12_1	?Armistice (^ <u>has been</u>) <u>signed</u> at 5 o'clock this morning
	10_40_2	(proj) the courier <u>has arrived</u> at German headquarters
	10_42_2	(proj) all the Allied prisoners at Aix-la-Chapelle <u>have been released</u>
WWII	9_7_1	General MacArthur <u>has been appointed</u> Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
	9_7_1	and ^HE <u>has ordered</u> the Japanese
	9_9_1	The Japanese cabinet <u>has resigned</u>
	9_9_2	and the War Minister, General Anami, <u>has committed</u> hara-kiri
Korean War	4_1_1	?KOREAN TRUCE (^ <u>HAS BEEN</u>) <u>SIGNED</u> ²⁰
Vietnam War	12_11_1	?100,000 ^PEOPLE (<u>HAVE BEEN</u>) <u>EVACUATED</u>
	12_13_2	(proj) it <u>had been decided</u> to rename the city after Ho Chi Minh.
	12_29_3	"The forces of the National Liberation Front <u>have become</u> masters of Saigon
Gulf War	11_8_1	"Orders <u>have been issued</u> to our armed forces on the front not to open fire,"
	11_50_1	"We <u>have treated</u> your POWs with kindness"
	11_53_2	(proj) Mr Bush <u>had conducted</u> the war "brilliantly"
	11_53_4	"that the casualties <u>have been</u> so low"
	11_53_5	"and that victory <u>has come</u> so fast"
Iraq War	6_6_2	(proj) that Saddam Hussein's rule over Baghdad <u>had ended</u>
	6_15_3	(proj) the whole of Iraq <u>had</u> now <u>reached</u> a "tipping point" at which ordinary people began to realise that the Saddam administration was over

Table 4-3 Instances of past-in-present tense selection

¹⁹ The retrieval of ellipsis ^HAS BEEN in this instance and in the two queried instances from the WWI texts is based on the assumption that the headlines are reduced versions of the clauses containing the main item of news: *The terms of peace have been signed at Pretoria* (clause 13_10_1) and *Germany has signed the armistice* (clause 10_3_3).

²⁰ The retrieval of ellipsis ^HAS BEEN and ^HAVE BEEN in the instances from the Korean War and Vietnam War texts is based on extension of the reasoning about the instances from the Boer War and WWI texts, although it is acknowledged that there is no evidence from the co-text to directly support this interpretation.

LONDON, *June 1*. Colonel De Lisle, who was for a long period in command of New South Wales troops, has been invalidated to England.

Extract 4-2 Coranto from the Boer War text showing past-in-present tense

Thus the primary temporal perspective remains connected to the writer of the telegraphic bulletin, not the person who selects and arranges the items for publication in the *Herald*. An alternative would be to shift the clause into the simple past, e.g. 'Colonel de Lisle was invalidated to England (last week)', as the later texts tend to, in order to unify the various pieces of information under one temporal perspective. The greater use of simple past tense and less frequent use of past-in-present tense in the later texts therefore reflects the fact that the information about past events from the various news sources is more likely to be integrated into a single, generalised temporal perspective. This also provides linguistic evidence to support Matheson's argument that before the 1930s or so, the role of the newspaper journalist involved bringing together news documents and presenting them as individual pieces of information, not recontextualising and interpreting the information.

4.5 Construing time and space experientially

In chapter 3, I pointed out that some texts, e.g. the WWI and Korean War texts, appeared to place considerable emphasis on when events occurred, especially the signing of the armistice. This was noticeable primarily because it was not the case for all texts. Compare the following extracts from the opening lines of the Boer War and Iraq War texts:

LONDON, *June 1*. The terms of peace have been signed at Pretoria.
June 2. After signifying their acceptance of the British terms all the Boer delegates arrived at Pretoria on Saturday and signed at half-past 10 o'clock at night the document containing the terms of surrender. (Boer War text)

Extract 4-3 First coranto from Boer War text

The United States military declared yesterday that Saddam Hussein's rule over Baghdad had ended as mobs poured into the streets of the capital, chanting slogans against their President, torching buildings and ransacking shops and government offices. (Iraq War text)

Extract 4-4 First paragraph from Iraq War text

From these extracts, it is, on the one hand, very clear where and when the Boer War ended and on what general basis (i.e. a mutually agreed peace treaty formalised in a legal document signed by both parties), and, on the other hand, rather difficult to say where or exactly when or on what grounds the US military made its declaration. The main difference here is in the semantic construal of time and space and its realisation. In Extract 4-3, the time and place of the event of the armistice signing are represented as specific Circumstances of temporal and

spatial location, realised by prepositional phrases (*at Pretoria, on Saturday, and at half-past ten o'clock at night*). In Extract 4-4, the time of what is presented as the most newsworthy event, the 'declaration' by the US military, is construed as a Circumstance of temporal location realised by a deictic adverbial group (*yesterday*), and the event is not located in space. The declaration is construed as happening simultaneously with the influx of 'mobs' into Baghdad, which is located in space through a Circumstance of spatial location realised by a prepositional phrase (*into the streets of the capital*). The 'mobs pouring' is not located in time except by logical relation to the US military declaration, through the temporal conjunction *as*. The Iraq War text therefore begins quite vaguely in terms of the temporal location of the events.

It could be argued that the difference between the opening sections of the Boer War and Iraq War texts is likely to be merely instantial, and unrelated to any broad cultural shifts. But there have been major developments in media and communication between 1902 and 2003, which consequently must have impacted the role of the journalist and the content of the news. And if, as Thompson (1995: 34) argues, it is true that the development of the media has historically affected the way we think about time and space (see section 1.4.1), then this is likely to be reflected in the semantic orientation to time and space in the news. In this section, I therefore compare the selection of Circumstances of temporal and spatial location in each of the seven 'end of war' texts in order to demonstrate changes in this semantic orientation. The analysis contributes to the systemic profile of the texts in the dimension of the semantics of temporal and spatial location, and this dimension contributes to the semantic ensemble of the register.

The selection of Circumstance types across the corpus is presented in Figure 4-7, to show the selection of Circumstances of temporal and spatial location in the environment of other Circumstances in each text (see Appendices A.5-G.5 for Circumstance selections in relation to each Process type). Circumstances are not an obligatory element in a major clause (unlike Processes, for example), and whereas only one Process type can be chosen for each point of entry into the system (each clause), multiple Circumstances of the same or different types may be chosen for a single clause. Since the selection of Circumstances is not restricted to one of each kind per clause, the proportions of Circumstance types are shown as a percentage of the total Circumstances for that text. For example, there are a number of instances where Circumstances of time, place or manner are selected more than once in the one clause.

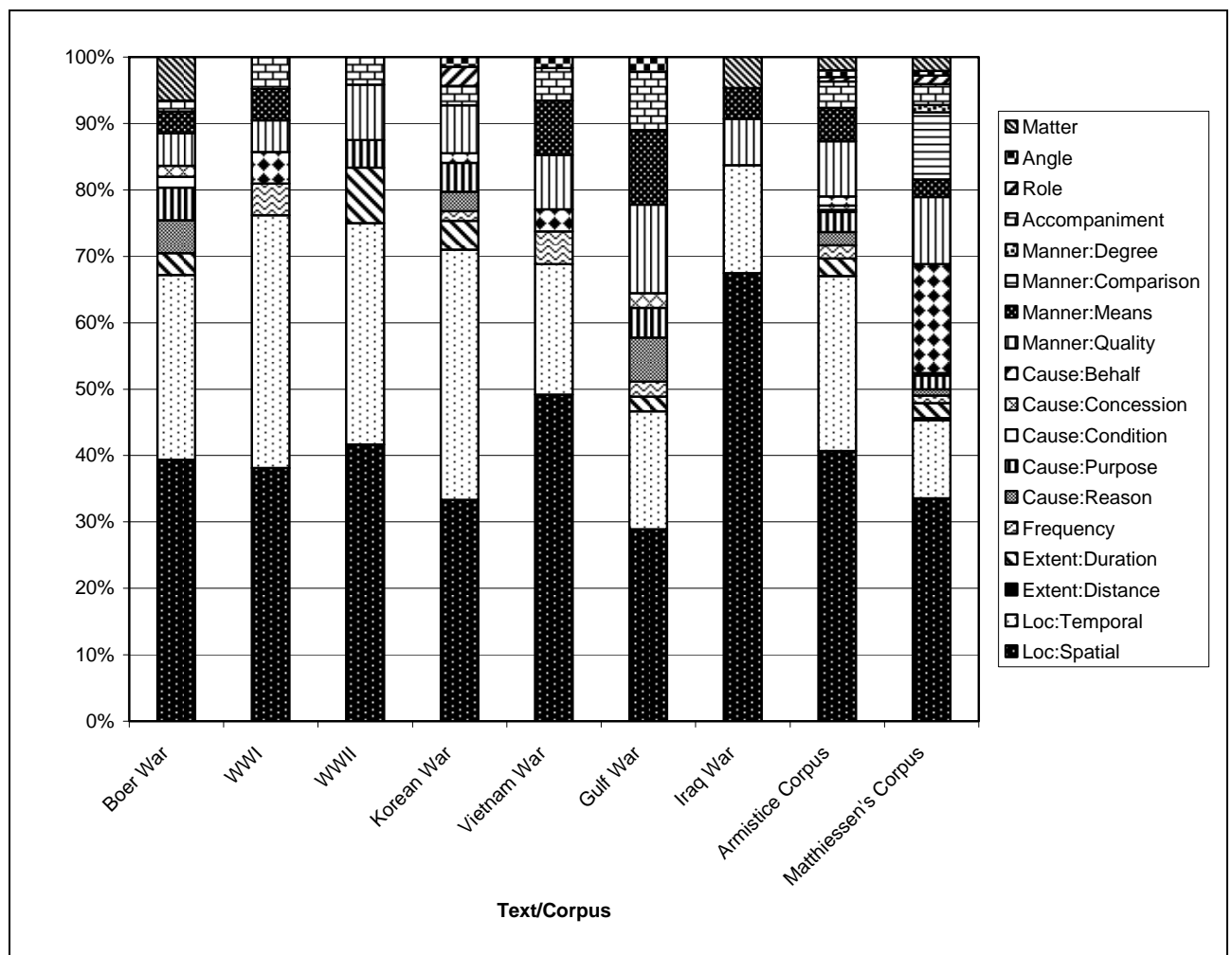


Figure 4-7 Circumstance types by text (delicate)

There is considerable variation in the way the Circumstance options are taken up in each text, with the Gulf War text including 11 out of the 18 Circumstance types, and the Iraq War text containing only five. The types Extent:distance, Manner:comparison and Manner:degree were not selected at all in the armistice corpus. By far the most frequent kinds of Circumstances are the locative ones, both spatial and temporal, and this is in keeping with the findings from Matthiessen's corpus (1999). The frequencies for both corpora are compared in Figure 4-8. In most cases Matthiessen's corpus had higher frequencies than the Armistice corpus, indicating that in my corpus the option of Circumstance was taken up in fewer clauses than in Matthiessen's corpus, and that fewer clauses included multiple Circumstances. The armistice reports have a significantly higher probability of selection of Circumstances of time than the corpus of texts of different kinds of registers. This suggests that the semantics of time is important in these kinds of texts and that it may be a particular

feature of the register, although, as I have already suggested and will demonstrate below, the priority of temporal Circumstances is not shared equally by all seven texts. The following section (section 4.5.1) focuses on Circumstances of temporal and spatial location.

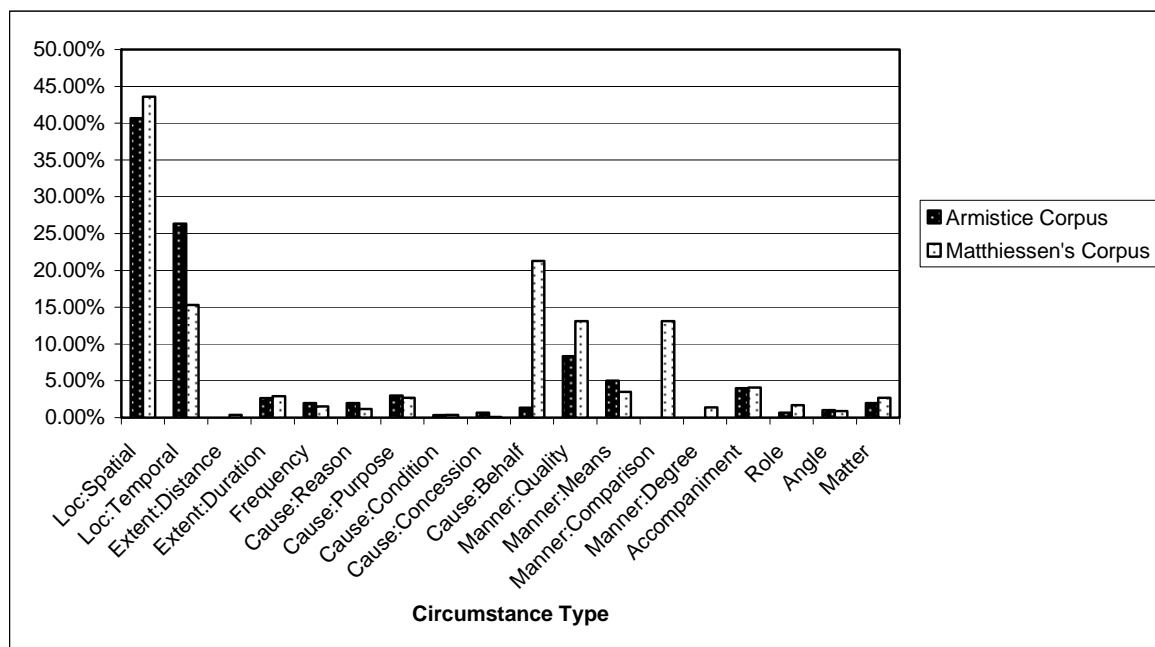


Figure 4-8 Comparison of Circumstances in armistice corpus and Matthiessen's (1999) corpus

4.5.1 Circumstances of time and place

Figure 4-9 shows the frequency per clause of Circumstances of time and place in each of the seven texts (presented in chronological order), as well as the frequency of clauses where both kinds of Circumstance occur. The average frequency of Circumstances of place (23.59%) is higher than for Circumstances of time (14.93%), which is consistent with the findings in Matthiessen's corpus, where Circumstances of time were found in 7% of clauses, while Circumstances of place were found in 20% of clauses. All but two texts (WWI and Korean War texts) had a higher proportion of Circumstances of place than of time, which explains why the initial survey in chapter 3 suggested a particular emphasis on time for those two texts. The following section presents a proposal for a more delicate description of Circumstances of spatial and temporal location based on focused analysis of the selection of different kinds of these Circumstances in the texts.

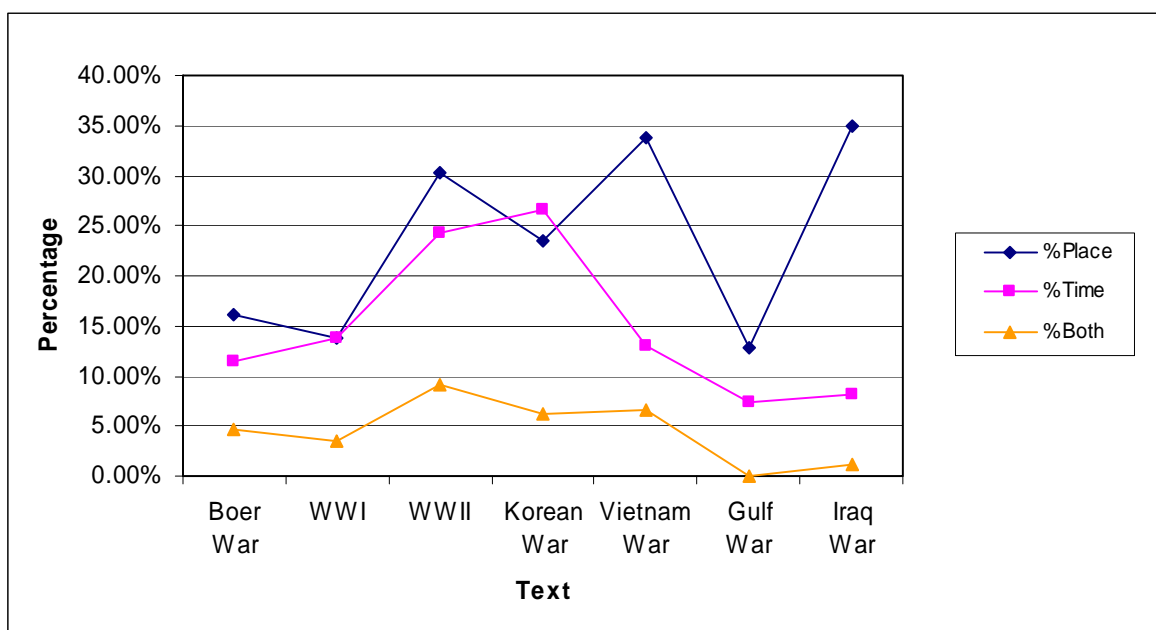


Figure 4-9 Circumstances of time and place calculated in relation to total clauses

4.5.2 Towards a more delicate description of Circumstances of time and place

During the process of analysing the frequencies of Circumstances of time and place, it became obvious that even within Circumstances of time and place there were different options being taken up with regard to the semantic characteristics (especially specificity and concreteness) of the temporal or spatial reference. For example, within Circumstances of time in the Korean War text, *at 10 am. (11 a.m. Sydney time)* and *to-day* differ greatly in terms of specificity. And within Circumstances of place in the Boer War text, *at the Mansion House* and *amidst deafening cheers* differ in degree of congruence, since the first refers to a space circumscribed by concrete boundaries, whereas the second refers to a metaphorical space circumscribed by sound or behaviour. It remains to investigate the use of Circumstances in different degrees of specificity and congruence, and to consider what are the implications and purpose of their use in texts of this kind.

It has been argued that newspaper reporting has a quasi-historical, referential, epistemic function (Matheson, 2000; White, 2003), which would likely motivate the selection of more specific and concrete references to time and place. Also, Hall et al have argued that the contextualisation of news events is one of the processes the media use for making the reported world intelligible for those who read and watch the news (Hall et al., 1978: 54-55). It seems that a fundamental aspect of this 'contextualisation' is indicating how readers should

interpret the news story by semanticising the event in such a way as to make its referential world recognisable. One way of achieving this grammatically is through the construal of temporal and spatial relations in the ‘real world’ that are recognisable for readers. However it will be seen that not all texts use specific Circumstances to the same extent, and thus there is variation in the degree of contextualisation, of temporal and spatial ‘grounding’, across the corpus.

Where Circumstances are realised by a prepositional phrase (as they are in most cases in these texts), the differences between them (e.g. in terms of specificity, congruence, abstraction) seem to be primarily located in the nominal group constituent of the prepositional phrase. The fact that the differences tend to be in the nature of the nominal group suggests that it is primarily a question of Thing Type categorisation. Previous work in this area, including Matthiessen (e.g. 1995: 679) and Halliday & Matthiessen (1999: 190), proposes system networks for Thing Type. However, these networks are neither delicate enough, nor are they oriented in such a way that allows them to account for the variation in temporal and spatial references in my data.

Until very recently, there had been no literature specifically attempting a more delicate classification of Circumstances of time or place, so it is clearly an area that is still in need of further description and modelling. Dreyfus and Jones have recently suggested modelling categories of Circumstances of location on a cline of concreteness (Dreyfus & Jones, 2008). The cline ranges from physical at the concrete end (including geographical, locational, and general) to metaphorical at the abstract end (including lexical, grammatical, and others). Their work has provided a welcome advancement in this area, although further defence and explanation of the proposed categories is still needed and discussions are continuing (Dreyfus & Jones, 2009; Jones, 2009). For example, they place the category Occupational, e.g. *in traditionally male jobs*, further towards the concrete end of the continuum than the category Social, e.g. *from my family* or *in society*. But these categories could perhaps be more usefully considered as part of the same overarching category since in both cases the space they refer to is an abstract, but socially salient, ‘space’. In the analysis below, I propose categories for the delicate description of Circumstances of both time and space in the particular data I am working with. As with Dreyfus & Jones’ categories of Circumstances of spatial location, I propose categories ranging from concrete to abstract for spatial location, but for temporal location, it was more appropriate to differentiate between specific and general or relative. My

sub-categorisations of the Circumstances of time and place in these texts are explained in the following sections.

4.5.2.1 Circumstances of time: sub-categories

Within the Circumstances of time, four sub-categories emerged: chronometric (i.e. clock-based) time, menological (i.e. calendar-based) time, relative date, and event-relative time. These are exemplified in Table 4-4, and instances of the sub-categories from each text are shown in Table 4-5. The categories are located on a cline from the specific (Chronometric time) to the relative (Event-relative time). The differentiating principle is the degree to which the Circumstance offers precision or ‘boundedness’ in time to the Process it circumstantiates. For example, the Process *was ordered* is highly bounded in time in the clause *Cease fire in the Pacific was ordered by the Allies at 9.15 a.m. yesterday* (WWII text), whereas the Process *stopped* is less precisely located in the flow of time in *When fighting stopped soon after dawn* (Gulf War text). In the first example, the Process is limited to a specific, measured time, whereas in the second example a vague period relative to another event is given as the reference point for the temporal location of the Process.

	Sub-category	Exemplification
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="text-align: center; margin-right: 10px;"> ↑ Specific ↓ General/Relative </div> </div>	Chronometric Time	<i>At 9.40 a.m.</i> (Korean War text) <i>shortly before midnight</i> (WWI text)
	Menological Time	<i>on August 17</i> (Korean War text) <i>this morning (Nov. 11)</i> (WWI text)
	Relative Date	<i>on Monday</i> (Iraq War text) <i>Early this morning</i> (WWII text)
	Event-relative Time	<i>at the close of the service</i> (Boer War text) <i>before the surrender</i> (Vietnam War text) <i>immediately</i> (Korean War text)

Table 4-4 Sub-categories of Circumstances of Time

The general tendency for selection of Circumstances of time in this corpus is away from the specific and bounded (i.e. chronometric and menological time) and towards the relative and unbounded (i.e. relative date, event-relative time), as demonstrated in Figure 4-10, which shows the distribution of the sub-categories in each text. This is particularly notable in the Gulf War and Iraq War texts, where the specific Circumstances of chronometric and

menological time are never selected. However, a search of the Factiva database for these periods reveals that the options of menological and chronometric time were taken up in some reports²¹. Chronometric time seemed to be rarely used at those times (1991, 2003) except in separate sections functioning as timelines for events unfolding in a newsworthy way, such as bushfires. For example, on 21st January, 2003, the *SMH* included a report on page 8 entitled *Countering criticism - 'there's nothing anybody could do'* (Mottram, 2003), which featured a section called 'Countdown to a disaster'. The timeline in this section begins with menological location of events, e.g. *Wednesday 8 January - Lightning strikes ignite three fires in Namadgi National Park* and gradually moves to chronometric location, e.g. *Saturday 18 January, NOON - The fires consume grasslands at edge of Namadgi, 7km from south-west suburbs, 1.00pm - Fires enter commercial pine plantations in Uriarra Forest*. Chronometric and menological time selections were therefore still used in news reports at those times, but in a different way and to a different purpose.

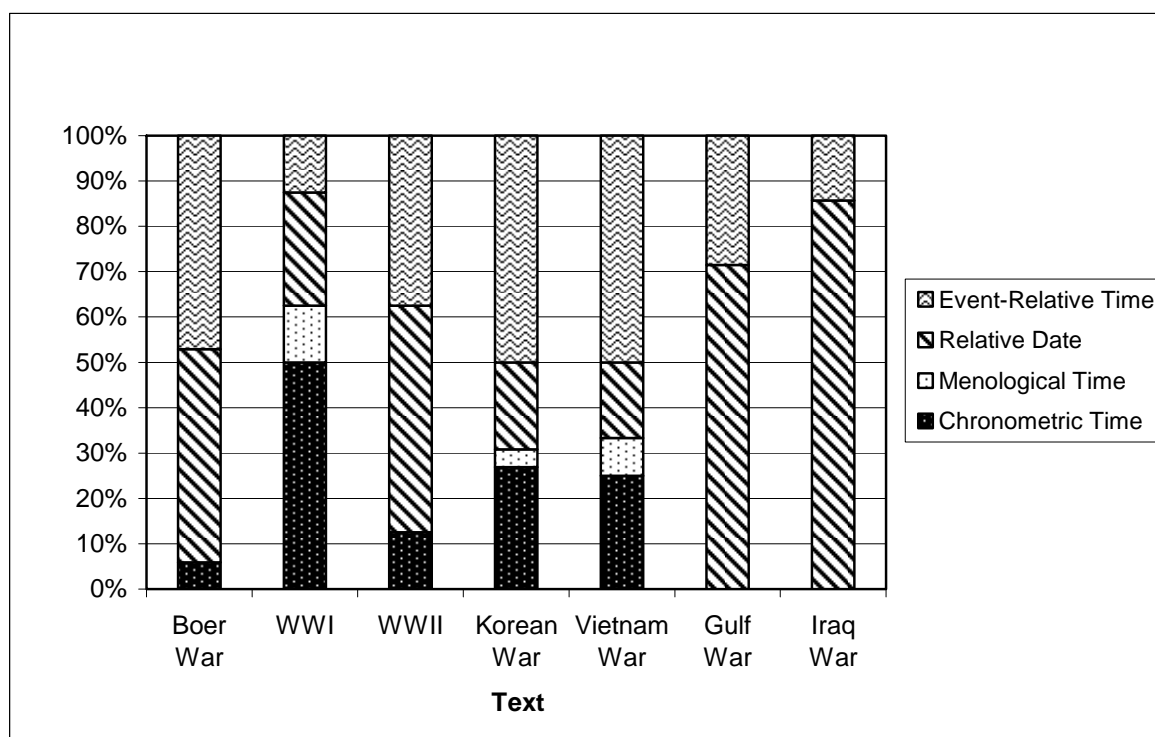


Figure 4-10 Distribution of sub-categories of Circumstances of time

²¹ The Factiva search was conducted for the periods 1st January 1991 to 31st March 1991, and 1st February 2003 to 30th April 2003 using the keywords 'o'clock', 'noon', 'midnight', 'a.m.', and 'p.m.' for chronometric time, and the names of the months for menological time. All searches yielded results that included news reports as well as 'gig guides', television guide information, and other text types necessarily involving specifications of chronometric and menological time.

	Chronometric Time	Menological Time	Relative Date	Event-Relative Time
Boer War	at half-past 10 o'clock at night		on Saturday on Sunday yesterday on Friday on Saturday on Saturday until a late hour to-night from yesterday	at the close of the service In the course of his remarks in this or the coming generation after the rest [[which they have had]] later in his speech early in the week then after midnight
WWI	at 5 o'clock at 5 o'clock at 5 o'clock at 11 a.m.	this morning (Nov. 11),	this morning this morning	shortly before midnight
WWII	at 9.15 a.m.		Last evening last night yesterday Early this morning	on that day during the night At night.
Korean War	at 10 am. (11 a.m. Sydney time) at 10p.m. At 5.40 a.m. At 9.40 a.m. At 10 a.m. At 10.19 a.m. at 1.05 p.m.	on August 17	to-day this morning this morning to-day last month	after a fierce machine-gun and mortar duel exactly at the hour [[set for the truce signing]] A few minutes later During the afternoon UNTIL THE LAST HOURS within a week immediately immediately immediately immediately immediately Twelve hours later Later.
Vietnam War	At 10.20am (12.20pm Sydney time) By 10.50am At seven minutes past eleven	since January, 1961	today yesterday	Just before the surrender before the surrender earlier again At the height [of the US evacuation yesterday] Earlier.
Gulf War			last night on Monday last night yesterday Tonight	soon after dawn Seven weeks after the start [of Operation Desert Storm] and 100 hours after the beginning [of the land war].
Iraq War			yesterday now on Monday now now Late yesterday	In a moment [of high symbolism]

Marked Theme

Table 4-5 Instances of sub-categories of Circumstances of time

4.5.2.2 Realisations of sub-categories of Circumstances of Time

4.5.2.2.1 Chronometric Time

Circumstances in the sub-category of chronometric time construe time relations through a standardised, measurable reference to time, locating events in time with reference to hours and minutes of the clock. These kinds of Circumstances are found in the first five texts only (Boer War, WWI, WWII, Korean War and Vietnam War texts). The lack of Circumstances of chronometric time in the Gulf War and Iraq War texts is notable, and signals a shift away from locating events in relation to specific times. This suggests that the processes involved in the “end” of war have become less clearly defined temporally, either in fact or in media representation. In the case of the Iraq War, it is not just temporally ill-defined but the

ending has remained legally and militarily undefined, since the fighting and US military presence in Iraq continues still in 2009.

There is a particularly strong patterning of Circumstances of chronometric time in the WWI and Korean War texts, as shown in Extract 4–5 below from the Korean War text. As I noted above (section 4.5.1), the WWI and Korean War texts are also the only texts in which the proportion of Circumstances of place does not exceed that of Circumstances of time. Extract 4–5 from the Korean War text is also an example of the strong patterning of Circumstances of chronometric time in relation to the textual metafunction. Chronometric time is often topicalised as marked Theme in the Korean War text in particular; that is, it is made the departure point for whatever is construed as ‘new’ (newsworthy), and so the newsworthy element is prefaced with and related to specific, identifiable moments in time. This patterning, and the thematisation of other Circumstances of time and place, will be examined further in section 4.6.

At 9.40 a.m., U.N. security guards walked to the pagoda built by the Communists and placed on a table copies of the armistice agreement in blue covers of hard cardboard...

At 10 a.m., the chief truce negotiators, Lieutenant-General William Harrison (America), and General Nam Il (North Korea), arrived and immediately began the ceremony...

At 10.19 a.m. General Nam, without a glance at General Harrison, rose and walked from the hall. General Harrison got up immediately and also left.

Extract 4–5 Selections from the Korean War text showing patterning of Circumstances of chronometric time

In terms of register variation, the findings in relation to Circumstances of chronometric time suggest a significant difference between the first five texts and the latest two texts. The probability of selection of Circumstances of chronometric time selection appears to have been greater in the earlier news reports (up until the 1990s). This suggests that there was a higher priority placed on the semantics of specific time in *SMH* war news reports in the earlier periods, and that more recent news reports construe the time of events in a less specific and less bounded way (an interpretation supported by the Factiva search mentioned in section 4.5.2.1).

4.5.2.2.2 Menological time

The sub-category of menological time refers to the references to time by calendar date. There are only three instances of Circumstances of menological time, and only one of the

three refers to the actual armistice event: *this morning (Nov. 11)* (WWI text), an instance that would have been considered a relative date except that the exact date is deliberately specified in parentheses. Contextually, the (usually) short period that elapses (even in the earlier texts) between an event occurring and a news report appearing in a newspaper makes the use of a menological time in news reporting redundant unless it is used to refer to events in the deeper past (as in *since January, 1961* in the Vietnam War text, referring to an earlier stage in the war) or in the future (as in *on August 17* in the Korean War text, referring to the intended date of a *conference to settle the Korean question peacefully*). In the instance of menological time in the WWI text, *this morning (Nov. 11)*, which does refer to the armistice event, the date is given in brackets presumably to clarify what was meant by ‘this morning’, because of the time lag between telegram transmission and subsequent recontextualised uses of the telegram. In some texts (Boer War, World War I, Korean War), the articles also carry datelines, e.g. *LONDON, June 1* (Boer War text), which relate to the process of reporting rather than the events being reported (see chapter 3, sections 3.3 and 3.4) and are therefore not considered Circumstances. Menological time therefore seems to be generally a low priority meaning in war news reports, with a low probability of selection.

4.5.2.2.3 *Relative Date*

The sub-category of relative date appears in all seven texts. All texts refer deictically to the current day, or the day of writing (either of the telegraph or the news article), e.g. *until a late hour to-night* (Boer War text), *this morning* (WWI text, Korean War text), *early this morning* (WWII text), *to-day* (Korean War text, Vietnam War text), *tonight* (Gulf War text), *now* (Iraq War text). Also, all but two texts (WWI and Korean War texts) use *yesterday* as a Circumstance of time. Temporal deixis realising relative dates is frequently used because, combined with the newspaper issue date printed on each page, it is sufficient to locate the event on a particular day. Also, using deixis to locate the events as occurring *yesterday*, *on Monday*, or forecast for *today* creates a context of immediacy and of relevance to the reader.

It should be noted that although relative date and menological time are related in referring to particular days, Circumstances of menological time locate the event with respect to an external referent (i.e. the calendar), while Circumstances of relative date locate events with respect to the temporal deixis – the internal temporal perspective – of the text and its writer. Lyons explains that, with deixis, “the referent [here, a point in time] is in the universe-of-discourse, which is created by the text and has a temporal structure imposed upon it by the text” (1977: 670). Thus when journalists use deictic references to recent time in telling the

story, they are inviting the audience to participate in a shared “universe-of-discourse” by assuming common time reference points. Furthermore, Lyons’ argument about the limited possibility of decontextualising deictic references (1977: 646) reinforces the idea that the journalist and audience share in this specialised, immediate context, as the same story reprinted verbatim on a different day would have to adopt a new “universe-of-discourse” with respect to time and space (see section 4.4 for a discussion of the implications of different temporal deixis on the selection of tense). In this respect, news reports differ from other forms of historical discourse that have a longer time horizon, e.g. historical accounts in text books or academic papers that assume a longer lasting relevance and therefore need to be written in such a way as to remain contextually transparent for as long as possible. This distinction between short and long temporal horizon is captured in the contextual parameter of field, with implications for tenor and mode also, and will be discussed further in chapter 7.

4.5.2.2.4 Event-relative Time

The sub-category I have called ‘event-relative time’ denotes Circumstances in which the time of an event is defined by reference to another specified event. These kinds of Circumstances are typically grammatically realised in the following ways:

- a prepositional phrase combining a preposition such as ‘after’ or ‘before’ with a nominalised Process, e.g. *before the surrender* (Vietnam War text), *soon after dawn* (Gulf War text);
- a prepositional phrase where the nominal constituent denotes a phase of event (cf. Coffin, 2006: 105), e.g. *in the course of his remarks* (Boer War text), *at the height of the US evacuation yesterday* (Vietnam War text); or
- a deictic adverbial group realising a temporal comparison or relation to a temporal location already established in the text, such as *later* or *immediately* (Korean War text).

Circumstances of event-relative time also demonstrate the potential of English to present events as assumed entities, representing them metaphorically as a nominal group in a prepositional phrase and allowing them to become ‘things’ in respect of which events realised by Processes can be located. For example, in the clause *Just before the surrender South Vietnamese officials estimated...* (Vietnam War text), the process of surrendering is turned into an entity and becomes a reference point for the temporal location of the event *estimated*.

Circumstances of event-relative time are found in all texts, and occur in high concentration in the Boer War, Korean War and Vietnam War texts in particular. While these Circumstances provide only relative time references, they help the reader reconstruct part of the sequence of events in the one clause. This is important because, as Bell (1998: 99) points out, the non-chronological structure of modern news texts makes deriving the original sequence of events difficult, and often results in temporal ambiguity (see also Bell, 1995).

4.5.2.3 Circumstances of place: sub-categories

Four sub-categories emerged from the analysis of Circumstances of place, differing in degree of concreteness, as shown in Table 4-6: concrete location of two different kinds (tangible and mappable), aspectual relation, and abstract location. The frequency of selection of each sub-category in each text is presented in Figure 4-11, and instances of the sub-categories in each text are given in Table 4-7. The pattern of distribution of these Circumstances of place is almost the opposite of that for Circumstances of Time in that the choices of Circumstances of place tend towards the specific (i.e. concrete locations) and away from the relative (i.e. abstract and aspectual relations). The texts therefore seem to prioritise 'real' concrete locations as part of the representation of events in the news. Each sub-category will be explained in turn in the following sections.


	Sub-category	Exemplification
Concrete  Abstract	Concrete Location: tangible	<i>In the streets</i> (Boer War text, WWII text) <i>At the door</i> (Korean War text)
	Concrete Location: mappable	<i>In Sydney</i> (World War II text) <i>In the Shiite slum district of Saddam City</i> (Iraq War text)
	Aspectual Relation	<i>back</i> (Korean War text) <i>away</i> (Iraq War text)
	Abstract Location	<i>amidst deafening cheers</i> (Boer War text) <i>in the life-insurance business</i> (Gulf War text)

Table 4-6 Sub-categories of Circumstances of Place

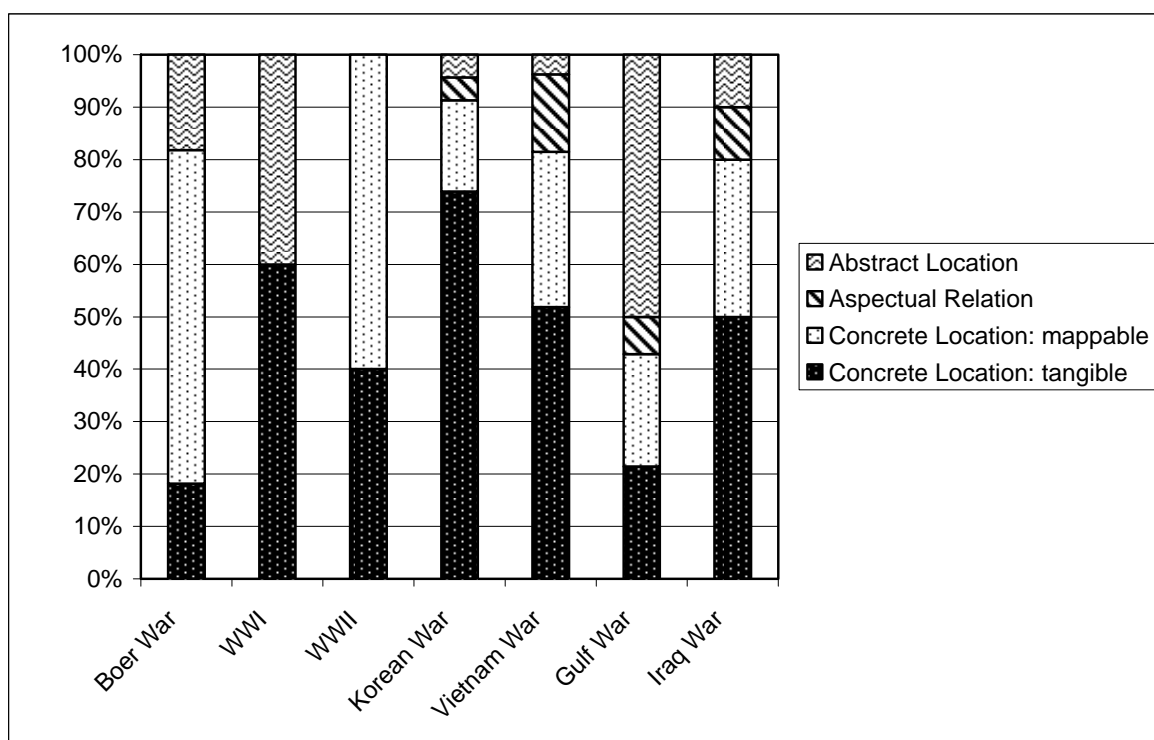


Figure 4-11 Distribution of sub-categories of Circumstances of place

4.5.2.4 Realisations of sub-categories of Circumstances of Place

4.5.2.4.1 Concrete Location: Tangible

The sub-category of tangible concrete location is strongly represented in the corpus, with instances occurring in all texts, and most frequently in the Korean War, Vietnam War and Iraq War texts²². Unlike location in time, which must be realised through spatial metaphor, location in space is congruently framed in relation to concrete space. So Circumstances such as *in the streets* (Boer War text), *at an American mortar company* (Korean War text), and *from a helicopter on to the deck of a communications ship* (Vietnam War text) are the most congruent way of encoding the Circumstances of various events that took place in the ‘real world’. The predominance of these kinds of Circumstances indicates that the news reports are concerned with construing *realis* situations that take place with respect to tangible objects and spaces, rather than imaginary, *irrealis* situations or things.

²² In Figure 4-11, the percentages are given in relation to the number of Circumstances of place for each text. The frequency of Circumstances of concrete location looks very high for the WWI text, but there are only 5 Circumstances of place in the text in total, as shown in Table 4-7.

	Concrete Location: mappable	Concrete Location: tangible	Aspectual Relation	Abstract
Boer War	AT PRETORIA at Pretoria at Pretoria to Pretoria in Canada and in the English provinces in the United States and on the Continent at Greytown at Pretoria from Washington at Kensington at the conference [at Vereeniging] at St Paul's and the Chapel Royal at the Mansion House to England	in most of the churches in the city in the streets at a meeting [[held under the auspices of the United Irish League]]		amidst deafening cheers in his despatch to the Imperial Government in a message to the people in an article [[dealing with the declaration of peace]]
WWI		at German headquarters on all fronts from the Secretary of State for the Colonies		in informed quarters in authoritative quarters
WWII	in Sydney at Manila in country towns throughout Australia at Buckingham Palace at St. Paul's Cathedral at the Cenotaph	in many churches in the streets in other capital cities from platforms [at various points]		
Korean War	in New York in central Korea into Manchuria At Panmunjon	into a wooden building into a galvanised iron theatre to the pagoda [[built by the Communists]] from the hall at tables At the door at tables back to their bases over frontline positions nearby home on a table out of the truce talks at an American mortar company from his pocket on their bunkers in ^TO THE ROOM on the tables	back	in the presence [of a South Korean delegate, General Choi Duk-shin]
Vietnam War	from the Chinese quarter of Cholon in Paris from Saigon in Saigon in Saigon, Ho Chi Minh city in Canberra to refuge [in Thailand] in an interview in Da Nang	from a helicopter on to the deck [of a communications ship], on waiting warships out of a lorry [with the PRG's flag] around the palace through the main gate of the palace on the Defence Ministry building near the palace into the city centre and into the grounds [of the presidential palace] on a road all through the capital in the centre of the capital back to the microphone through ^THE GATE through the street	down down about on	into place
Gulf War	in Riyadh in Kuwait to the north	from the battlefield into any other country on coalition forces	there	out of action to the negotiating table in the life-insurance business in his speech behind us Ahead of us beyond victory and war
Iraq War	in the Shiite slum district of Saddam City around the very centre of Baghdad - Tahrir Square on the east bank of the Tigris River into Baghdad from the north-west from the south-east East of the city centre past the Martyrs' Monument, three kilometres east of the central Jumeirya Bridge [over the Tigris] at US central command in Qatar Amid the jubilation in Baghdad	towards the presidential compound through the United Nations headquarters from shops or government offices alongside an armoured personnel carrier into the streets of the capital into the heart of the city in the capital across roads down narrow side streets to the troops on Saddam at marines through traffic indoors in a variety of places	away out away	a 'tipping point' [[at which ordinary people began to realise that the Saddam administration was over]] at a degree [of a tipping point [[where for the population there is a broader recognition [[that this regime is coming to an end and will not return in a way [[that it has been in the past]]]]]]] under fire

Marked Theme

Table 4-7 Instances of sub-categories of Circumstances of place

4.5.2.4.2 Concrete Location: Mappable

The sub-category of mappable concrete location comprises Circumstances that refer either to a named place, including a country, state, town or landmark, e.g. *in Kuwait* (Gulf War text), *at Pretoria* (Boer War text), *at St. Paul's Cathedral* (WWII text), or to a relative location that could be traced on a map, e.g. *from the north-west* (Iraq War text). Unlike tangible concrete locations, these Circumstances are conventionally fixed and culturally salient as entities that can be pinpointed cartographically. The patterning of these Circumstances contributes to the contextualisation of events for the reader, relating the reported world to known reference points (cf. Hall et al., 1978: 54-55). The sub-category of mappable concrete location is strongly represented in the corpus, with only the WWI text not including any instances at clause rank. However, this text does have a number of instances operating at group rank, e.g. *in Berlin* as an embedded phrase qualifying *arrival* in the clause *The arrival [of the armistice conditions] [in Berlin] may be expected hourly*.

In some texts, mappable concrete location is also represented in the lines attributing the source of the intelligence, e.g. *LONDON, Nov. 10* (WWI text). However, as with datelines, which I mentioned above, these have not been included in the analysis of Circumstances because they are not functioning circumstantially in a clause. They are construed as relevant to the act of reporting itself rather than to the reported events, occurring as minor clauses rather than as part of major clauses. They seem to have been ‘stamped’ onto the report like an address label. In addition, the source of the “intelligence” is frequently not the location of the event being reported, e.g. *NEW YORK, July 27* in the Korean War text, where the reported events took place in Korea. However, this macro-setting in space does form part of the contextualisation of the information, which in turn assists in contextualising the events because it identifies the authority or angle from which the events are related. This function will be explored further in chapter 5, and the role of datelines and bylines will also be discussed in chapter 7, particularly in relation to the contextual parameter of tenor (section 7.3.1).

In most cases the Circumstances of mappable concrete location refer generally to a city or country, as in the examples given above. However, there are also some very detailed and specific mappable locations. This contrast is particularly clear in comparing the texts with the greatest frequency of Circumstances of mappable location: the Boer War and Iraq War texts. Whereas, in the Boer War text, the Circumstances tend to locate events broadly in countries, cities or towns, e.g. *in Pretoria, to England*, in the Iraq War text, events are located in very specific places within Baghdad, e.g. *around the very centre of Baghdad - Tahrir Square on*

the east bank of the Tigris River, past the Martyrs' Monument, three kilometres east of the central Jumhuriya Bridge over the Tigris, and in the Shiite slum district of Saddam City. In these instances, the journalist has ‘zoomed in’ on the area in which the events occurred, creating a story in which the events can be pinpointed to very specific, concrete locations that the reader could look up in a map. It also has the effect of making the city of Baghdad seem familiar to the reader: a city just like any other, with a city centre, landmarks, and racially homogeneous districts. The writer seems to anticipate a readership who would consider a mental map of where their correspondent is reporting from a valued feature of the report in terms of lending credibility to his account of the events in Baghdad. It may also be a way of highlighting the fact that he was “on the spot” – not just in the region but actually in Baghdad, among the action, and able to tell the readers in minute detail about the locations where important events were occurring. The contrast between the tight geographical focus in this text and the more global focus in other texts will also be addressed in chapter 6 as one of the implications of the cohesive harmony analysis, and in chapter 7 as part of the consideration of ‘focus’ in the contextual parameter of field.

4.5.2.4.3 Aspectual Relation

In the sub-category of aspectual relation, the Circumstance of place is realised by a simple adverbial group. These kinds of Circumstances do not convey specific meanings about place, rather they tend to express a transitional relationship between the beginning and ending stages of the Process, e.g. in the clause *two-and-a-half hours after the last American flag was pulled down in Saigon* (Vietnam War text), the Circumstance *down* tells us only that the Process *pull* began at a point higher than where it ended. This kind of Circumstance is grammatically very closely related to the Process, to the point that it is almost the prepositional part of a phrasal verb. Thus, Circumstances of aspectual relation operate only as very general indicators of the spatial scope of events.

4.5.2.4.4 Abstract Location

The final sub-category, abstract location, is represented in all but one text (WWII text). In many cases (especially the Boer War text), the Circumstance locates a verbal Process with reference to a semiotic object or nominalised semiotic activity (i.e. Thing type: non-conscious: complex: projecting; cf. Matthiessen (1995: 672)), e.g. *in his speech* (Gulf War text), *in an article dealing with the declaration of peace* (Boer War text), or metaphorical location, e.g. *in the life-insurance business* (Gulf War text). Many of the Circumstances that construe metaphorical locations in the Gulf War and Iraq War texts occur in projections, e.g.

Reflecting a widespread belief that Saddam may not be secure in his leadership, Mr Solarz said that “if I were in the life-insurance business, I wouldn’t be selling him a policy.” The fact that many abstract or metaphorical Circumstances of place occur in projected clauses suggests that the individuals quoted in these texts tend towards metaphorical and abstract formulations of the events they are called to comment on. It also suggests that one reason for the low frequency of concrete, specific Circumstances in the Gulf War and Iraq War texts may be that the information made available to them by those who control it was predominantly couched in abstract or metaphorical terms. Such an interpretation is supported by Lukin’s (2007) findings from a study of a corpus of CentCom briefings, in which the enactment of violence between humans was consistently construed metaphorically. That is, it was realised by a range of grammatical selections other than the congruent formulation of material Process enacted by human Participants and affecting other human Participants.

A particularly interesting example of metaphorical location in projection occurs in the Iraq War text, and is shown in Extract 4-6 below. This Circumstance is used in a quotation from Brigadier-General Vincent Brooks to describe the state of affairs in Iraq. It is a very complex construction with several levels of embedding (as indicated by the square brackets), but does not contribute much useful information on the state of affairs. Interestingly, it also appears in a paraphrased version elsewhere in the text, so it is presented as a kind of motif representing the state of affairs in Baghdad.

Brigadier-General Brooks said: // “I think we are at a degree [of a tipping point [[where for the population there is a broader recognition [[that this regime is coming to an end // and will not return in a way [[that it has been in the past.]]]]]]].”

Extract 4-6 Circumstance of abstract spatial location from the Iraq War text.

4.6 Thematising time and space

I mentioned in section 4.5.2.2.1 that Circumstances of chronometric time tended to pattern in Theme position in the Korean War text, such that the specific time of the event was presented as the departure point for the message (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 64) and was used as a general organising principle for distinct phases of the text (see Extract 4-5 in section 4.5.2.2.1 above). It has also been argued that one of the features of the opening move (the ‘lead’ element) of news reports is the inclusion of information about the temporal and spatial location of the news event (Bell, 1998; Iedema et al., 1994). Therefore, in this section, I focus on the thematic positioning and patterning of Circumstances of time and space in the texts, in the organisation of both the clause and the text as a whole. The selection of Circumstances of temporal and spatial location as topical Theme will be discussed first

(section 4.6.1), and then a discussion of how these Circumstances operate as part of the opening move of the texts will follow (section 4.6.2).

4.6.1 Time and space as point of departure for the clause

The organisation of information as a message is the concern of the textual metafunction in SFL. The departure point of the message or clause is known as the Theme, and the rest of the clause (the Rheme) is interpreted in light of this point of departure (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 64). The first experiential element in a finite clause, whether Participant, Circumstance or Process, constitutes the *topical* Theme (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 79). The choice of a Circumstance as Theme constitutes a *marked* Theme because it is a departure from the *unmarked* - typical or most probable - choice for the clause structure. For example, in declarative mood (which is the most commonly selected mood in this corpus²³), the interpersonal category of Subject is typically conflated with the textual category of Theme (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 73). When a Circumstance of time or space is selected as Theme, it is being chosen as the departure point of the message, the element "which locates and orients the clause within its context" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 64). The function of locating and orienting a clause as message within its context is an important one in the communicative context of reporting armistice, where events of the end of war are being reported as 'fact' to an audience removed from the 'real time' context of events.

²³ The only exception to the choice of declarative mood is in the Vietnam War text, which includes some instances of imperative mood. They appear in quotations of the announcements of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, e.g. "*The forces of the National Liberation Front have become masters of Saigon. Do not worry, you will be well treated.*"

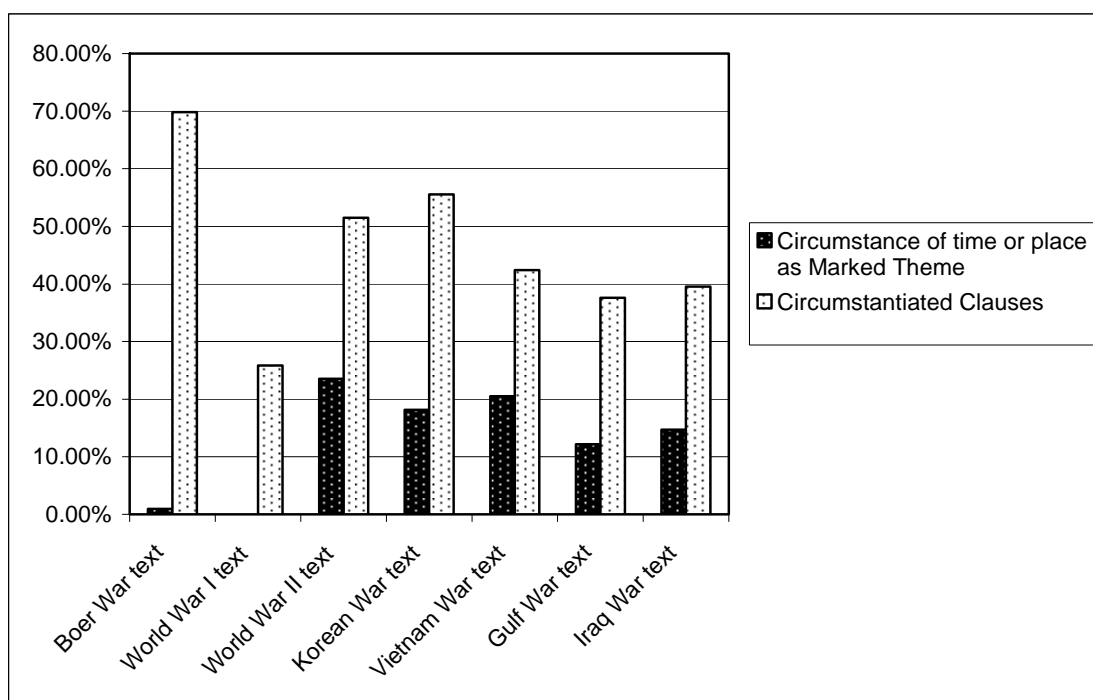


Figure 4-12 Circumstances of time or place as marked Theme in relation to circumstantiated clauses

Over the whole corpus, marked Themes of all kinds (including Circumstances as well as Subject in passive voice clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 73-74)) appear in 16.5% of clauses. Circumstances of temporal or spatial location function as Theme in 5.6% of clauses (10.82% of circumstantiated clauses) over the whole corpus, e.g. *At 10.20am (12.20pm Sydney time) President Minh announced the surrender in a 60-second address to his people* (Vietnam War text), and *In Sydney immense crowds took part in scenes of unprecedented emotion and gaiety* (WWII text). The percentages of Circumstances of time or place appearing as marked Theme are shown in Figure 4-12 in comparison to the proportion of circumstantiated clauses in each text. The instances of temporal and spatial marked Themes are shaded in grey in Table 4-5 and Table 4-7, which were presented in sections 4.5.2.2 and 4.5.2.4 above. Figure 4-12 shows that there is a clear shift in thematisation between the earliest two texts (Boer War and WWI texts) and the remaining texts. The WWI text contains no marked Themes of time or place, and only one circumstantiated clause in the Boer War text (<1%) thematises a Circumstance of time or place: *In the course of his remarks*. In contrast, the later five texts select Circumstances of time or place as Theme in 12-24% of circumstantiated clauses.

This contrast in thematic patterning of Circumstances of time and space seems to indicate that there has been a diachronic shift in the way the texts are organised with respect to the temporal and spatial context of the message. While the Boer War and WWI texts have

Circumstances of time or place in more than 10% of clauses, almost all clauses select a Participant (Subject) as Theme rather than a Circumstance of time or place. This suggests that in these earlier texts, the people (e.g. *The Lord Mayor of London, the Boer delegates*), belligerent nations (e.g. *Germany*) and other entities (e.g. *the terms of peace, the incorporation of the late republics, The Standard*) construed as being involved in the events of the end of war are prioritised as topics to be developed in the clause. There is a high proportion of projected material in these earlier texts (see chapter 5), so many of these Participants as Theme are sources of the news material (i.e. Sayer in verbal Processes). An example from the Boer War text is presented in Extract 4-7 (Themes underlined, marked Theme in bold).

**THE LORD MAYOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT IN LONDON.
DEMONSTRATION AT THE MANSION HOUSE.
LONDON, June 2.**

*The Lord Mayor of London (Sir J. C. Dimsdale) announced, amidst deafening cheers, at the Mansion House that peace had been proclaimed. He remarked that while the nation was thankful and [^]WHILE IT was prepared for the news, it was determined, if necessary, to make greater sacrifices to support the soldiers who were sustaining the honour and integrity of the Empire. **In the course of his remarks** the Lord Mayor emphasised the support given by the colonies to the motherland, and [^]HE prayed for long and happy peace. He asked for three cheers for the King. This appeal was responded to with mighty cheers. Then others were given for the Queen, for the soldiers, and for those who had fallen.*

Extract 4-7 Coranto from the Boer War text showing topical Themes.

The shift also needs to be explained with reference to the changes in the process of news gathering and production, the technology, and the professional treatment of the information contained in the telegrams, i.e. whether it was acceptable to reformulate it or not (see also the discussion of this in section 4.4 above in relation to tense selection, and the discussion of context in chapter 7). In terms of the process of gathering and collating the news, for example, there has been a shift away from using separate section headings and datelines. In the Boer War and WWI texts the section headings are typically realised by nominal groups only (i.e. no Process element in respect of which a Circumstance may function) but often construe spatial or temporal meaning, e.g. *EXPRESSIONS OF GRATIFICATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES* (Boer War text), *NEW YORK, Nov. 11, 3.5 a.m.* (WWI text). The section headings and datelines may therefore have been functioning to contextualise whole sections of the text such that time and space did not need to be thematised in the clause.

It was shown in section 4.5.2 that Circumstances of relative, abstract time tended to be selected more frequently than concrete time (particularly in the Gulf War and Iraq War texts), whereas Circumstances of concrete space tended to be favoured over the

Circumstances of abstract space (although less so in the Gulf War text). Figure 4-13 shows the extent to which Circumstances in each sub-category are thematised in the corpus. These statistics reflect the tendency towards selections of relative time and concrete place, as well as the fact that Circumstances of time occur as Theme twice as frequently (66.67%, n=22) as Circumstances of place (33.33%, n=11), even though there are fewer Circumstances of time over all. The kinds of Circumstances that are most frequently used to orient the message of the clause are event-relative time and mappable concrete location. Marked Themes from the category of event-relative time include examples such as *before the surrender* (Vietnam War text), *in the course of his remarks* (Boer War text), *at the height of the US evacuation yesterday* (Vietnam War text), and *later* (Korean War text), which construe sequential development or phases in time. Thus, where there is a temporal Circumstance as marked Theme, it is highly likely to be setting up the message to be interpreted in relation to sequential unfolding or phasing in time, providing information in an extending relationship to the main event. I mentioned in section 4.2 that there was a low frequency of temporal conjunctions in the corpus, and suggested that if there are temporal relations between clauses they must be primarily realised in another way. The findings in relation to temporal Circumstances as Marked Themes indicate that there are temporal relations created between clauses, but they are frequently created experientially through Circumstantial relations rather than textually through conjunctions. The function of temporal conjunction is taken up by the Circumstance of temporal location in event-relative time, and so the realisation of temporal enhancement of the event is shifted from clause-rank (as conjunction in a clause as figure) to group rank (as preposition in a prepositional phrase as element) (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 218; 2004: 416-419).

Where there is a spatial Circumstance as marked Theme, it is most likely to be orienting the events in relation to a mappable location, anchoring the events with respect to the salient, physical, recognisable places in which they took place, e.g. *In Sydney* (WWII text), *In the Shiite slum district of Saddam City in the capital* (Iraq War text). Only one Circumstance of Concrete location:tangible appears as Theme: *At the door* (Korean War text), so although these occur frequently in the corpus over all, they are almost always part of the topic development (as Rheme).

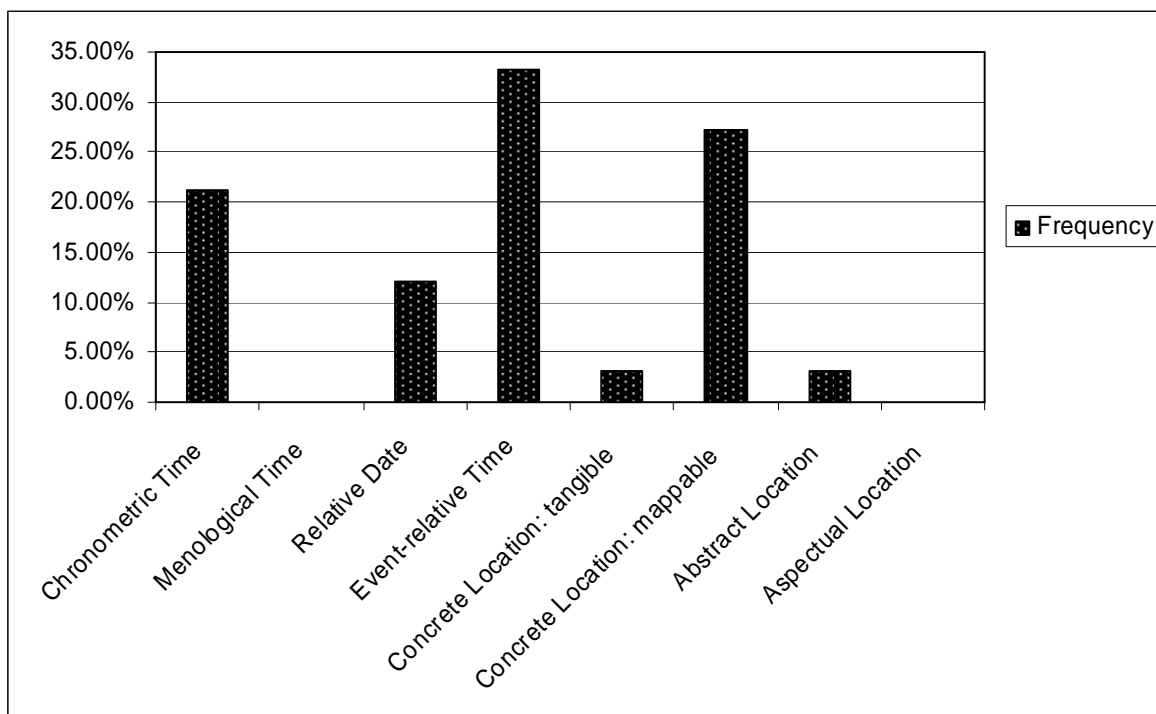


Figure 4-13 Circumstance sub-categories as marked Theme

4.6.2 Time and space in point of departure for the news

As well as the different patterning of thematisation of Circumstances of time and place in the organisation of the clause, this analysis can be used to show differences in the prioritisation of meanings of time and place in the semantic organisation of the text as a whole. As I mentioned in section 4.6, descriptions of discourse structure of news reports have suggested that information about the temporal and spatial location of the news event is a particular feature of the opening move of the text (Bell, 1998; Iedema et al., 1994; van Dijk, 1988a). In this section I focus on the use of Circumstances of time and space in the ‘opening move’ of each text. I use ‘opening move’ to mean the first semantic unit (see Appendices A.4 – G.4 for the ‘opening move’ of each text), taking it as the ‘departure point’ for the article as a superordinate unit of meaning. In other literature the opening move has been called the Orientation stage of the news article (e.g. Bell, 1994: 103), or the ‘Lead’ upon which the rest of the article develops (Iedema et al., 1994).

I define the “opening move” in my texts as the first section of text up to either (a) a new sub-headline or coranto (in the case of the Boer War and WWI texts), (b) a formatting change (in the case of the WWII, Korean War and Vietnam War texts where the font decreases in size after the first paragraph), or (c) a new paragraph (as in the Gulf War and Iraq War texts). In each case, the section of text has been both foregrounded (placed first)

and marked off from succeeding units in a visually salient way. Although this definition is largely orthographic, I argue that the orthographic differentiation of the first section of text cannot be completely unrelated to the function of that section within the text. It is unlikely that an orthographic change would not coincide with a semantic change. The cohesive harmony analysis presented in chapter 6 provides evidence that, in the Boer War, Korean War and Iraq War texts (the other texts are not analysed), the semantic segmentation of the opening move of the text does coincide with the orthographic identification of the units.

Figure 4-14 compares Circumstances of time in the opening move with their frequency over the whole text (in relation to number of clauses). The raw figures are very small, with between two and ten major clauses in the opening move and one or two Circumstances of time. The main point that can be drawn from this is that there is at least one Circumstance of time in the opening move of every text. Conversely, Figure 4-15 shows that only two texts (Boer War and Iraq War texts) have a Circumstance of place in their opening move: *at Pretoria* (three times in the Boer War text opening move) and *into the streets of the capital* (Iraq War text). This suggests that temporal meanings are favoured over spatial meanings in the construction of the departure point for the news report as a whole. The priority of temporal orientation of the message is patterned not only at the level of clause as the basic semantic unit but also in relation to the whole text as the superordinate semantic unit. This finding is particularly interesting when compared with Bell's account of news discourse structure, in which the 'Orientation' stage includes information about 'what, where and when' in relation to the news event (Bell, 1994: 103). The evidence from these texts suggests that 'when' is indeed a central meaning in the opening move of the text, but that 'where' is not obligatory and is more likely to be specified at a later stage in the text.

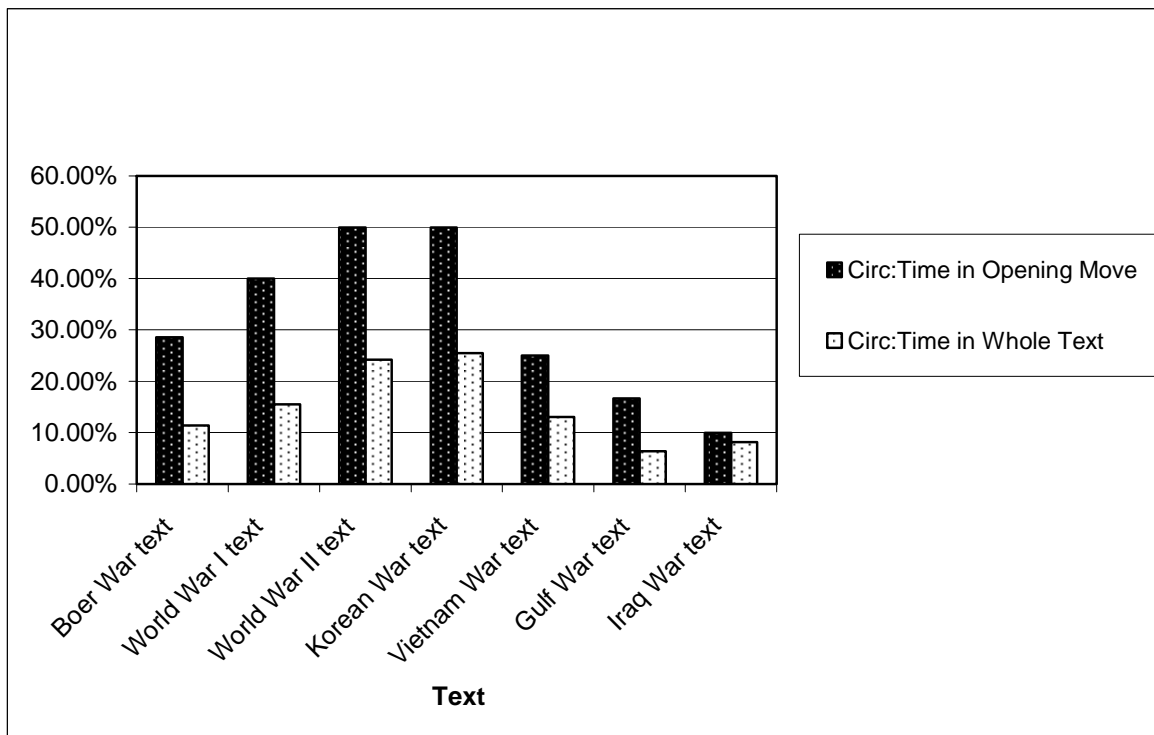


Figure 4-14 Comparison of Circumstances of time in opening move and whole text

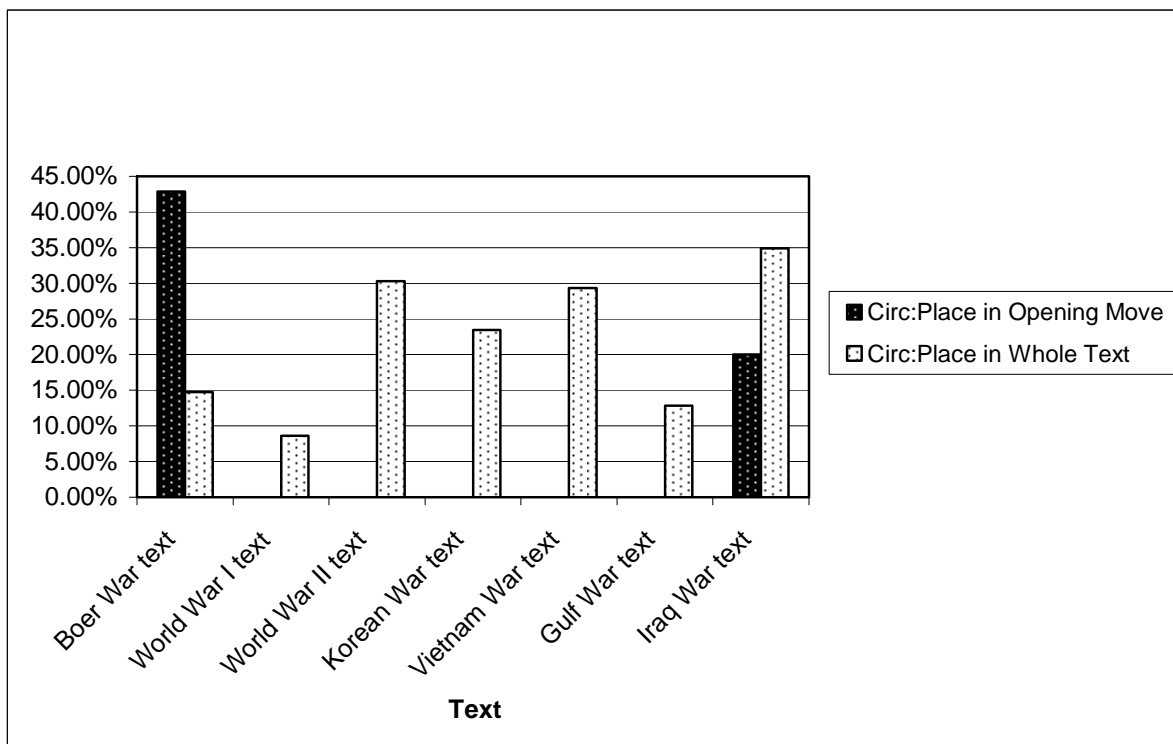


Figure 4-15 Comparison of Circumstances of place in opening move and whole text

4.7 Discussion

The analysis in this chapter has begun to address the broad thesis question of what has changed and what has remained the same in the context, semantics and lexicogrammar of the reporting of armistice in the *Sydney Morning Herald* from 1902 to 2003 (see section 1.5). In the remainder of this section I will discuss what the findings of the analysis presented in this chapter contribute to addressing two of the questions outlined in chapter 1, namely how meanings about the end of war have developed and changed lexicogrammatically and semantically, and what the contextually situated linguistic analysis reveals about social and cultural change in the social milieu of Sydney over this period. I will also discuss the findings in relation to the thesis objective of investigating the linguistic notion of register diachronically.

The analysis of this small set of texts indicates that there has been a shift in the prioritisation of meanings about time and space over the period 1902-2003, in particular between the Boer War and WWI texts, on the one hand, and the later five texts on the other hand. The analysis has focused on two main loci of change in this semantic domain: the first in terms of tense selection, and the second in terms of selection of Circumstances of spatial and temporal location. With respect to the patterns of tense selection, the main difference is in the fragmentation or unification of temporal perspective, from dispersed temporal perspectives in the earlier three texts, to a more unified temporal perspective in the later texts. With respect to the patterns of temporal and spatial circumstantiation, the main area of change is in the specificity and concreteness of temporal and spatial location of news events, moving away from the specific and concrete in the earlier texts, towards the relative and abstract in the later texts. It is also clear from the analysis of these texts that there are some features of news reporting that have remained the same in relation to temporal and spatial meaning, including the predominance of past tense selection and the high probability of selecting temporal Circumstances in the opening move of the report. These will be discussed in the following section as registerial implications of the analysis.

4.7.1 Registerial Implications

As I explained in chapters 1 and 2, the conception of register taken in this study is that register is “a functional variety of language” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 27), a pattern of instantiation of meaning potential in a probabilistic relation with a particular context of situation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 27-28; cf. Plum & Cowling, 1987: 284). I also explained that in the first instance I would assume that all seven texts instantiate the same

register, and that one of the tasks of the analysis in the thesis is to determine whether this assumption can be substantiated by the linguistic evidence. The analysis presented in this chapter, which has been concerned with the representation of temporal and spatial relations as realised by selection of tense, selection and specification of Circumstances of spatial and temporal location, and the thematisation of Circumstances of spatial and temporal location, has demonstrated that there are some features of the orientation to time and space that have remained constant over the set of texts analysed.

The dominant selection of simple past tense is consistent across the set of texts and seems to be a criterial feature of the news report register as it realises the function of giving information about events that took place in the past. The selection and use of past-in-present tense seems to have undergone variation within the register, and the change correlates with technological and chronological advancement in such a way as to suggest that it is more than just instantial aberration. The first three texts use past-in-present tense in both projected and non-projected material, whereas the last three texts use it only in projected material. As I suggested in section 4.4, the shift indicates a change in the treatment of news information, from the early texts where the temporal perspective of individual sources was maintained, to the later texts, where all non-projected news information, regardless of source, was integrated under the one generalised temporal perspective, i.e. that of the *SMH* or agency journalist. This variation is consistent with respect to the principle of specifying tense in relation to the temporal perspective of the writer, but the difference is in the explicitness of claiming ‘ownership’ of the news report. The Korean and Vietnam War texts attribute the whole report to one agency or source location (*NEW YORK, July 27 (A.A.P.)* and *SAIGON, Wednesday*), but it is not until the Gulf War and Iraq War texts that the identity of the journalist(s) is explicitly indicated (*TONY WALKER In Riyadh And PETER STEPHENS In Washington* in the Gulf War text, and *Paul McGeough and Sean Maguire in Baghdad* in the Iraq War text, with *Reuters, Press Association* at the end of the report).

Frequent selection of Circumstances of both spatial and temporal location, in comparison to other kinds of Circumstances, indicates that time and space are important meanings in the construal of experience in this register. This is particularly the case with the semantics of time, since Circumstances of temporal location are significantly more frequent than in Matthiessen’s corpus. Within the temporal semantics, the construal of shared immediacy and a focused temporal horizon seem to be obligatory, since Circumstances of relative date appear in all texts. This feature, in particular, contrasts them with other forms of historical

discourse with more extended temporal horizons (cf. Coffin, 2006; White, 2003), which could be expected to have a higher frequency of Circumstances of menological time.

There is also variation across the texts in the extent of temporal and spatial specification and 'boundedness' of the temporal location of the Processes realising news events. This is seen in the higher probability of selecting chronometric time in the earlier five texts than in the later two. The predominance of Circumstances of tangible and mappable concrete location also shows that news reports are concerned with construing events that happen in tangible, mappable, concrete spaces: *realis*, concrete locations rather than *irrealis* or metaphorical locations.

The registerial probabilities seem to have shifted in terms of the selection of Circumstances of time and place as Marked Theme, corresponding to contextual changes between the earliest two texts and the later five texts (i.e. between 1918 and 1945) in the news gathering process and organisation of news text (see section 4.6.1). In the earlier two texts, separate section headings often flagged temporal and spatial location where relevant, so the thematic position in the clauses of the report could be allocated to other meanings. However, in terms of text organisation, temporal and spatial meanings (particularly temporal) tend to have a higher probability of being selected in the opening move than in the text as a whole. These meanings thus seem to be a semantic feature of the register as part of the point of departure for meanings both at clause rank and in discourse structure.

The temporal location of news events has evidently been an important part of construing the experience of the end of war, but seems to have become somewhat less important in the more recent texts, where the political contexts and pretexts for war have been arguably more contested. This is not to suggest that there was no contestation in relation to the earlier wars: it is clear, for example, that there was public resistance to conscription in WWI (e.g. Clarke, 2003: 189-193). Rather, it seems that the more recent wars, since the Vietnam War, attracted more widespread mainstream criticism and were contingent on legal justification that failed to satisfy in the way the declarations of war had in the two world wars. As I suggested in the discussion of chronometric time in section 4.5.2.2.1, the processes involved in the "end" of war have become less clearly defined temporally, both in fact and in media representation. This is particularly evident in relation to the Iraq War, which has remained legally and militarily undefined and continues to involve US troops even now.

4.7.2 Implications for inferring change in the social milieu

It has been suggested that developments in communication and media technology have led to historical changes in social and cultural perceptions of, and attitudes towards, time and space (Thompson, 1995: 34). There does seem to have been a shift in the conception and importance of time and space over time in these *Sydney Morning Herald* reports that coincides with major technological changes in communication and news production. The findings of the analyses presented in this chapter construe a change in the ‘virtual addressee’ (Hasan, 1999), from one for whom the presentation and dramatisation of news events necessarily involves specific temporal anchors, to one for whom the specific temporal location of events is of only minor importance. The increasing presence of other forms of media (radio, television, and now internet), through which people can be kept updated at shorter intervals than the daily cycle of the newspaper, is likely to be a crucial factor in this change. A comparison of television, radio and internet news reports of the ends of the later wars (particularly the Gulf War and Iraq War) would be very worthwhile in this respect, as it would show whether the update frequency of the medium impacts the orientation to time in the report.

4.8 Conclusion to Chapter 4

This chapter has presented analyses of the seven texts as instances of a register of news reports, according to key logical and experiential realisations of temporal and spatial relation: tense, and Circumstances of time and place. The analysis also highlighted the need for more delicate categorisations of Circumstances of time and place, and suggested sub-categories to manage the variation in specificity, metaphoricity and abstraction of these Circumstances. The findings were discussed in relation to what they contributed to the fulfilment of the objectives of the thesis, in terms of the description of a register of news reports, and the investigation of changes in the social milieu of Sydney over the period 1902-2003. It was argued that there is evidence for registerial consistency among the texts, as well as some variation, where the consistency relates to the function of news reports as a register, and the variation relates to the changes in news gathering and production processes. The following chapter will offer another angle on the thesis questions by investigating the manner in which news information in each text is sourced and attributed to its sources.

Chapter 5

Reporting armistice through external voices

“Like the aluminium chaff spewed out by fighter planes over the desert to confuse enemy missiles, the volume of words and images is dazzling. We may never have been told more, and understood less.” (Australian commercial television producer, Stephen Rice, 2003)

5.1 Introduction to chapter

In the previous chapter I presented an analysis of the way in which time and space have been construed in the reporting of armistice in the *Herald* from 1902 to 2003 (Boer War to Iraq War). The analysis revealed shifts in the prioritisation of the spatial and temporal semantics of news events, realised by changing patterns of tense selection and of circumstantiation, especially in terms of specificity and concreteness. The shift seems to have occurred primarily between the earliest two texts and the later five texts, tending from specific and concrete to relative and abstract Circumstances of temporal and spatial location, and from a dispersed to an integrated temporal perspective on the news events. The shifts were argued to be related to shifts in features of the context of situation, including the role of the news as a social activity, and the conceptual importance of time in the wider social milieu.

This chapter investigates the journalist’s role in bringing news source information to bear on their account of the events. It presents an analysis of the way in which non-authorial material is identified and incorporated into the seven *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) news texts. Here I use the terms *authorial* and *non-authorial* (used by Martin and White (e.g. Martin & White, 2005: 111; White, 2005) to distinguish the source of evaluation in appraisal analysis) to distinguish the textual origin of the reported information: non-authorial refers to information attributed to a source other than the journalist, whereas authorial refers to information not marked in that way. The analysis in this chapter includes consideration of the way non-authorial news information is articulated, circumscribed, interpreted and recontextualised by the journalist, primarily through the resources of direct and indirect speech and thought (see e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 441-444; Leech & Short, 1981: chapter 10).

Scholars such as Matheson (2000), Waugh (1995), and Zelizer (1989), have argued that news production practices over the last century have seen a shift from journalists as “relayers of documents” (Zelizer, 1989: 373) to journalists as independent, warranted interpreters of

events. Preliminary evidence for the claims that there have been changes in the function of the journalist and his/her relationship to the information he/she reports, is provided by the formal, visual differences between the texts, e.g. changes in the use of bylines and sub-headlines (see chapter 3). My hypothesis in this chapter is that, since such a shift in the role of the journalist is a shift in one aspect of the text's context of situation, it would also be indexed grammatically and semantically in the way information about the news events is presented in the text. Specifically, I expect there to be a change in the way the journalist distinguishes the information they take responsibility for (i.e. authorial source) from the information originating from other sources (i.e. non-authorial sources). At the same time, the analysis of the linguistic realisation of articulation and presentation of news information would provide evidence for the conditions of the context of production in relation to the role of the journalist. I will explore the above hypothesis by analysing the linguistic encoding of both authorial and non-authorial information sources and alignment in the news reports, and comparing the patterns across the set of texts. This analysis will enable further exploration of the historical role of the journalist, especially how they have been historically positioned in relation to the information they report and to the readers they are reporting to.

5.1.1 Overview of the chapter

The argument of this chapter begins with the background to the problem of non-authorial sourcing (section 5.2), including claims from the literature about the changing role of the journalist and how this relates to the use of news information, and what resources there are for realising non-authorial sourcing in English news reports. In section 5.3, I give a statistical profile of the proportions in the texts of authorial and non-authorial material. In section 5.4, I then discuss the findings in relation to the role of the journalist (section 5.4.1) and the registerial implications (section 5.4.2). The conclusion to the chapter is then presented in section 5.5.

5.2 Background to the problem

News discourse is dialogic in nature (Martin & Rose, 2007: 49; Zelizer, 1989: 370). As with Bakhtin's observations of the novel, we can observe of the news report that it makes use of the "social heteroglossia" of language (Bakhtin, 1981: 264) by which various social voices and perspectives can be represented. The news is made up of information originating from a variety of sources, as

[j]ournalists construct their texts using their own notes and the eyewitness reports of others, the notes taken during an interview or reconstructed after an interview is over, press releases and press conferences, written documents prepared by various bureaucracies for dissemination to the reporting media, official letters of organizations, written reports of events (e.g., the reports of wire services), articles in foreign and domestic newspapers and many other forms of spoken and written discourse (Waugh, 1995: 133).

In over 500 years of newspaper history, the practice of incorporating a variety of voices into the news has been a consistent feature. The practice was intrinsic to the origins of the newspaper, as postmasters in 16th century Europe wove into brief newsletters the latest news received by courier from their counterparts in other major cities of trade (Smith, 1979; Stephens, 2007). The postmasters who collated the information were not the eyewitnesses, and so their news was entirely reliant on the witness of others. Matheson notes that in early newspapers the authority of source texts was overtly signalled using explanatory headings or projecting phrases (Matheson, 2000: 563). In the 21st century, where press releases, press conferences, digital voice recordings, agency copy, and the internet are all part of the journalist's professional toolbox, the range of voices that might be included is even greater. Some journalists may even be eyewitnesses to the events they report, as is often the case for beat reporters and war correspondents. These changes inevitably lead to differences in the semantic value of non-authorial sourcing.

According to Waugh (1995: 152), the incorporation of non-authorial sources into news texts is one of several features of the language of press news that have undergone major change in the twentieth century. She argues that long tracts of direct speech were once routinely quoted in narrative style, but now there is a greater use of reported speech, which is paraphrased and woven into the journalist's professional interpretation of the news events. My corpus includes examples of both long tracts of direct speech, as shown in Extract 5-1, and passages incorporating reported speech, as shown in Extract 5-2. Extract 5-1 constitutes an entire 'coranto' article in the Boer War text. It is one of a number of examples of direct quotation from a written source. This example is particularly interesting because it is construed in the projecting clause as a message from the King, but the projected material is in third person rather than first person so it is likely to be an official statement communicated to the press from Buckingham Palace. Extract 5-2 combines both direct and indirect quotation, and is one of a number of such examples from the Gulf War text. The provenance of the extracts of information in the Gulf War text, whether from written statements or press briefings, is not always made explicit, although given that Riyadh was

the site of the US Central Command during the Gulf War, the quotation from the 'senior US officer' in Riyadh is most likely to originate from a press conference held there.

KING EDWARD'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE.

AN APPEAL FOR RECONCILIATION.

THE CO-OPERATION OF SOUTH AFRICANS.

LONDON, June 2.

King Edward VII, in a message to the people, says:- "The King has received the welcome news of the cessation of hostilities with infinite satisfaction, and trusts that peace may speedily be followed by the restoration of prosperity in his new dominions, and that the feelings necessarily engendered by the war will give place to the earnest co-operation of his Majesty's South African subjects in promoting the welfare of their common country."

Extract 5-1 Coranto from the Boer War text showing long tract of direct speech

Mr Bush said allied troops would be free to resume military operations if Iraq fired on coalition forces or sent Scud missiles into any other country.

In Riyadh, a senior US officer said the timing of an allied withdrawal would "be determined by the Iraqi leadership accepting the 12 resolutions and the precepts of the President's offer". Failure of Iraq to do so, he said, may oblige the allies to "go on the offensive". (Gulf War text)

Extract 5-2 Paragraph from Gulf War text showing combination of direct and indirect speech

Waugh's observation coincides with what Matheson argues was a significant shift in the professional practices and social function of newspapers (Matheson, 2000). One of the characteristics of 'pre-modern newspapers' (before the 1930s) was that journalists largely operated as "relayers of documents" (Zelizer, 1989: 373), as a legacy of the early European newsheets or corantos (cf. Stephens, 2007: 139). This did not mean that the process of news-making at that time did not involve selection or social construction, but that the information sought out and received by the newspapers was collated as news with minimal 'interference' beyond selecting the information for inclusion and arranging the information as corantos on the page. This claim that journalists may have operated as "relayers of documents" also demands the question of where the original documents came from. The documents that are later relayed must originate from the output of journalists at an earlier stage in the news process, e.g. news agency journalists. In this sense the *Herald* journalists were relaying documents, but they were still exercising a degree of selection in order to confine the newspaper to a manageable (and affordable) size.

The newsroom practice of interpreting and recontextualising news information was apparently not common until after the 1930s, according to Matheson, but from this point, news became "a form of knowledge in itself, not dependent on other discourses to be able to

make statements about the world” (Matheson, 2000: 559). Matheson’s use of the term ‘discourse’ here needs to be clarified, since journalism is always reliant on other discourses if, following Hasan (2004: 16), we take ‘discourse’ to mean “the process of language in some recognizable social context”. Matheson argues that, before the changes between 1880s and 1930s, the news comprised extracts from speeches, court reports, correspondent reports, etc – i.e. different styles and traditions of language use – and therefore news events were variously represented according to the conventions of these forms of discourse. The news read like a ‘patchwork’ of different linguistic styles. Gradually, a characteristic news style developed, including ways of integrating information from these sources (Matheson, 2000; Zelizer, 1989). There was now a way of representing news events that was not identical to that of the speeches and court reports it had previously relied on, although this news ‘style’ inevitably retained traces of those other styles. In the context of this argument, it seems that Matheson uses the term ‘discourse’ to mean something more like ‘register’, a variety of language characterised by semantic choices motivated by a particular context, something for which one can find evidence in the ‘style’ or patterning of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 27). In modern news reports, whatever information is imported from other discourses (i.e. forms of language use) is refracted through the lens of a particular style or register that characterises news discourse.

In contemporary issues of the *Herald*, it could be argued that there are a number of different news registers in use. Various semiotic cues distinguish news reports from correspondent reports and commentary pieces, suggesting that they constitute distinct activities, and that the journalists, commentators and correspondents who produce these different kinds of texts have different roles in the economy of the newspaper. The overt distinctions also suggest that it is important for readers to be able to distinguish between the different kinds of texts. Correspondent reports are typically identified by the name and role of the writer, e.g. *Jason Koutsoukis, Middle East Correspondent in Jerusalem*, and accompanied by a thumbnail portrait image of the correspondent. Commentary articles are also typically accompanied by a thumbnail image and the name of the commentator, as well as the commentator’s specialisation if relevant, e.g. *Peter Hartcher, political editor*.

The functional distinction between news and comment is not new: the distinction between fact and commentary has been apparent since the Victorian period, with the advent of commercial rather than political financing of newspapers and the growth of professional journalism (Matheson, 2000: 561). In the *Herald*, there has been a relatively constant division

of labour and editorial powers for much of the period since the turn of the 20th century, such that news editor and opinion editor have remained distinct roles with different domains of responsibility (Souter, 1981: 170). However, the very clear, item-by-item nominal identification of the writer and the category of article is a relatively new feature. Earlier manifestations of the *Herald* typically maintained the distinction by confining different kinds of writing to particular pages in the newspaper (e.g. Letters and Editorials on page 2 in 1953)²⁴. In the earliest newspapers investigated as part of this study (1902, 1918) the names of writers were included only very rarely, generally only when a special correspondent report was published. The *SMH* did not use bylines regularly until 1942, as a matter of institutional policy (Souter, 1981: 208), and so there has been a significant shift over the century in the institutional attitude towards the public visibility of the journalist as an individual. The attitude of WWII news editor Angus MacLachlan, on the subject of acknowledgement of journalists and correspondents, is demonstrated in the following quote from the 1941 news editor's report:

"Our practice of anonymity... tends to obscure the fact that we have our own staff men stationed abroad. Very many thousands of our readers, I am certain, fail to appreciate the full significance of the difference between an AAP acknowledgement line and an 'Our Own Correspondent' line. I do not suggest for one minute that we should suddenly plaster across our pages the names and portraits (God forbid!) of our correspondents whenever we publish despatches from them; but it does seem to me we should occasionally publish our correspondent's name when we have a long and important despatch from him." (cited in Souter, 1981: 208)

It is likely that one of the reasons for maintaining a clear distinction between different kinds of newspaper texts is that different critical responses are required from the readers. Comment and correspondent pieces tend to be the 'marked case' in the *Herald*, so that readers can be conditioned not to anticipate the kind of 'factual' reporting they would expect in a news report, which is the 'unmarked case'. If opinion is implicitly coded in a news report, through the latent patterning of grammatical resources (see e.g. Coffin & O'Halloran, 2005; Lukin, 2003; Scott, 2008), then it is more likely to be read as 'fact', and to unconsciously colour the reader's evaluation of the events and the social context surrounding them.

5.2.1 The function of reporting speech and ideas in the news

The use of non-authorial sourcing in discourse, particularly news media discourse, has been widely researched (e.g. Baynham & Slembrouck, 1999; Chen, 2005; de Oliveira &

²⁴ In 2009 there is still a regular opinion & editorial section in the *Herald*, but commentary pieces can also be found throughout the newspaper.

Pagano, 2006; Fairclough, 1995b; Hsieh, 2008; Hunston, 1995; Short, Semino, & Wynne, 2002; Sternberg, 1982; Waugh, 1995; Zelizer, 1989). There are many sources that might end up being quoted or paraphrased as part of a news report, and the inclusion of quoted or reported speech may fulfil a number of purposes, e.g. to provide evidence or personalisation from eyewitnesses, to show the professional opinion of experts in relation to events, and to represent a balance of perspectives on the issue. The Reuters Handbook of Journalism explains to journalists that “direct quotes add colour and strength to your story and they prove you have spoken to someone who knows what happened” (Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2008). In journalistic discourse, reported speech must point the reader to a *realis* public speech event or one that is elsewhere recorded and verifiable, not just private or confidential conversation or fictitious discourse (Waugh, 1995: 136). Journalistic style guides (e.g. New York Times, Reuters) emphasise the importance of referring to names sources wherever possible for the sake of transparency (Jordan, 1976; Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2008). Even so, reporting discourse always involves mediation as the extract of discourse is inserted into a new referential frame, with the perspective of one becoming subservient to the goals of another (Sternberg, 1982: 108-109). As a form of mediation, quoting also gives journalists the opportunity to present opinions on the situation without explicitly invoking their own opinion (cf. Coffin & O'Halloran, 2005), and sometimes even to misrepresent those whose opinions or responses are included (see e.g. Moore, 2008b, on The Economist's representation of Cambodian prime minister Hun Sen). As Sternberg argues (and see also Bakhtin, 1981; Waugh, 1995: 155),

[h]owever accurate the wording of the quotation and however pure the quoter's motives, tearing a piece of discourse from its original habitat and recontextualizing it within a new network of relations cannot but interfere with its effect (Sternberg, 1982: 108).

Journalists have privileged professional access to the powerful voices in society for the purposes of selecting and including voices in the reporting of news events. This is not to say that the powerful are the only voices with an opinion, but they are easily accessible and they are newsworthy in themselves because of their positions of power (e.g. Bell, 1991; Hall et al., 1978: 59).

5.2.2 Realising non-authorial sourcing

The system of English includes a range of lexicogrammatical and semantic resources for construing multiple voices in a text (cf. Fairclough, 1995a; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Leech & Short, 1981; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1972). Perhaps the most

probable choice for attributing information or opinion to another source in news texts is the grammatical resource of projection, using verbal or mental Processes (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 252-253), e.g. *Reports reaching Singapore said ships in the South China Sea continued to pick up refugees who had fled in boats down the river* (Vietnam War text), *Police estimate that there were a million people in the streets during the night* (WWII text). Projection can also be realised by Circumstances of Angle to specify ‘according to whom’, or, in the nominal group, by a Thing of the type Complex:projecting, e.g. *declaration, statement*. In the latter case, such a Thing Type often occurs with a verbal or mental Process, e.g. *Reports [[reaching Singapore]] said...* (Vietnam War text), but in the absence of a projecting Process the premodification of the projecting Thing may be sufficient to attribute information to another source, e.g. *His unilateral declaration of peace* (Gulf War text). Direct quotations (cf. ‘direct discourse’ (Fairclough, 1995a), ‘direct speech’ (Leech & Short, 1981)) include only words orthographically presented (i.e. through quotation marks or other punctuation) as the actual words of an external source, e.g. the underlined portion in *he announced that he would observe the truce for “a limited time”* (Korean War text). These resources are used to varying degrees in the corpus, and will be explored in the following analysis in proportion to their occurrence.

5.3 Analysis

In this section I present the findings of analyses of the use of resources for attributing news information (section 5.3.1), the identification of sources to which information is attributed (section 5.3.2), and the extent to which non-authorial information is distinguished from authorial information (section 5.3.3).

5.3.1 Use of bylines in the texts

I noted in section 5.2 that there has been a shift over time in the way bylines have been used. Bylines are a formal, visually salient global marker of attribution of the text as a whole to a journalist or agency, so I will explain how they are used in each text before I investigate the more localised linguistic patterning of attribution of information within the texts.

The Boer War text is, in the first instance, entirely attributed to sources other than *SMH* writers. Following the convention of the time, each coranto article in the Boer War text is headed with a space/time index indicating the time and place of origin of the telegraphic intelligence, e.g. *LONDON, June 1*. As I mentioned in chapter 4, this macro-setting in space contributes to the spatio-temporal contextualisation of the information and events, and

identifies the authority or angle from which the events are related. London was the primary source of non-local news for Australia from the time of European colonization (1788) at least up until WWI, because of Australia's colonial ties with Great Britain (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931), and because London was a strategic location from which European and South African news could be cabled to Sydney. The World War I text signals a shift away from that strong dependence on information from London, beginning with intelligence attributed to New York and Vancouver, then London, and finally Melbourne, which was at that time the capital city of Australia. Neither of these texts contains any identification of individual journalists or press agencies.

The World War II text, which contains minimal projection and non-authorial sourcing (see sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.3), also has no attribution as a text to a journalist or agency. Thus the *SMH* is construed as taking primary responsibility for the information. In contrast, the Korean War and Vietnam War texts both carry bylines showing the geographical origin of the information: New York and Saigon, respectively. The Korean War text also includes *A.A.P.* in the byline, acknowledging the use of agency information. No individual journalists are named.

The Gulf War and Iraq War texts are the only texts that carry bylines identifying the individual journalists: *Tony Walker in Riyadh and Peter Stephens in Washington* (Gulf War text) and *Paul McGeough and Sean Maguire in Baghdad* (Iraq War text). Thus, unless otherwise stated, these correspondents are identified as carrying responsibility for the statements made (Bednarek, 2006: 60). There is also an attribution to *Reuters, Press Association* at the end of the Iraq War text, acknowledging the inclusion of wire news information.

5.3.2 Statistical profile of non-authorial sourcing

Apart from the use of bylines, which provide 'global' attribution of the news information for the whole report, all texts in the corpus involve some degree of 'localised' sourcing of specific pieces of non-authorial information. The first comparison to be made is how much of each text is attributed to non-authorial sources. The seven texts are listed in Table 5-1 against the figures for total words, clauses and attributed words (i.e. non-authorial material), and this information is summarised visually in Figure 5-1. Attributed material is measured here by words rather than clauses because some instances of attribution are not a full clause, e.g. where the projecting element is realised by a Circumstance of Angle or a projecting Thing in the nominal group (see examples below). This also allows for more precise comparison between the material that is presented as direct quotation and the material that

is paraphrased, since in some cases (especially in the Gulf War and Iraq War texts) direct quotation and indirect quotation are combined in the one clause.

	Words	Clauses	Attributed Words	
			Total	% of total words
Boer War Text	1173	149	555	47%
World War I Text	543	58	169	31%
World War II Text	317	33	44	14%
Korean War Text	926	98	136	15%
Vietnam War Text	839	92	263	31%
Gulf War Text	1249	109	684	55%
Iraq War Text	748	86	239	32%
Total	5795	625	2085	36%
Average	828	89.29	297.86	

Table 5-1 Attributed and quoted words in the corpus

Of the 5788 words in the corpus, 36% are ‘attributed words’; that is, the words are presented as originating from a source other than the journalist. Direct quotations account for just under half (42%) of the attributed words in the corpus. Grammatically, attribution in these texts is typically realised either by paratactic or hypotactic projection from a verbal or mental Process, e.g. the underlined portion in *Mr Bush said the outcome was a victory for Kuwait, the coalition partners, the United Nations, all mankind, the rule of law, and for what is right* (Gulf War text), projection embedded in a nominal group with the Thing type complex:non-conscious:projecting, e.g. *Fears [that South Korea might still fight on] were stilled by her President, Dr. Syngman Rhee* (Korean War text), or circumstantial projection through a Circumstance of Angle, e.g. *More than 40 of the 42 divisions sent to defend Kuwait were put out of action, according to a US spokesman* (Gulf War text).

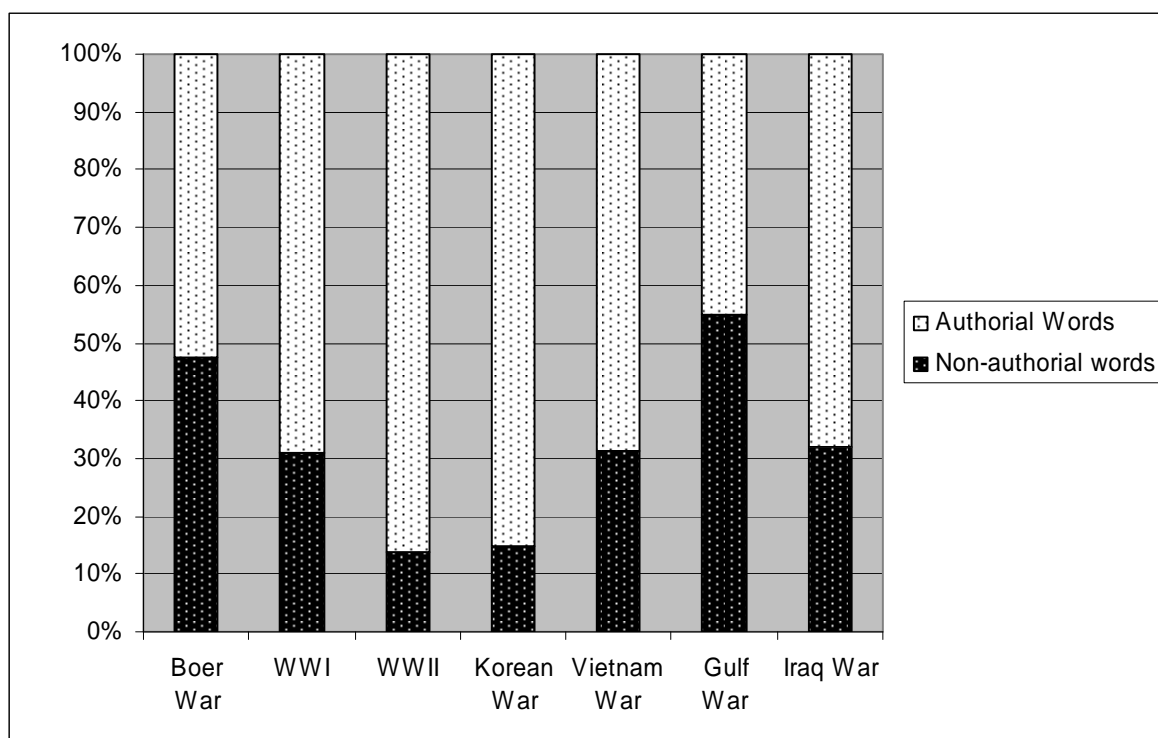


Figure 5-1 Authorial and non-authorial material in the texts (proportion of words)

In all texts, attributed material accounts for 14% or more of the words, confirming that the dialogic nature of news reports is diachronically consistent. The Gulf War text contains the highest proportion (55%) of words attributed to sources other than the author of the article, followed by the Boer War text (47%). However, these two texts use the attributed material quite differently in terms of the kinds of meanings attributed to other voices, and the way these voices and their meanings are circumscribed. These contrasts will be explained in sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4 below.

5.3.3 Projection in non-authorial sourcing

As I mentioned in chapter 4, there is a high frequency of verbal Processes across the seven texts, with verbal Processes constituting the most frequent Process type in the Boer War text, and the second or third most frequent Process type (after Material and Relational) in all other texts (see Figure 4-3 in section 4.3). Of the 625 clauses in the corpus, almost 30% are verbal or mental clauses, which have the potential to project other clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 206, 253). Two thirds of the verbal and mental Processes function as projecting Processes in the texts. Table 5-2 compares verbal and mental Processes across the texts, both those that project in this instance and those that do not, e.g. *Cease fire in the Pacific was ordered by the Allies at 9.15 a.m. yesterday* (WWII text), and *Other U.N. Commanders*

and *President Eisenhower welcomed the armistice* (Korean War text). The Korean War text has the lowest frequency (8%) of projecting clauses, whereas the Gulf War text has the highest frequency, with projecting clauses accounting for over one quarter (26%) of its total clauses. The Korean War text is more concerned with reporting events as actions, whereas the Gulf War text is largely a presentation of various verbal responses and official announcements about the state of affairs. The table also shows that, in these seven texts, the verbal Processes tend to project, whereas the mental Processes tend not to project, e.g. *It will choose the site* (Korean War text); the mental Processes, then, are largely used to construe experience of the inner world without turning the experience into a semiotic activity.

	Clauses	Verbal clauses		Mental clauses		Total projecting clauses (Verbal/Mental)	Projecting clauses as % of total clauses
		Projecting	Non-proj	Projecting	Non- Proj		
Boer War Text	149	22	12	2	3	24	16%
World War I Text	58	10	0	1	1	11	19%
World War II Text	33	3	1	2	2	5	15%
Korean War Text	98	7	4	1	5	8	8%
Vietnam War Text	92	16	6	2	5	18	20%
Gulf War Text	109	28	4	0	5	28	26%
Iraq War Text	86	11	1	1	5	12	14%
Total	625	97	28	9	26	106	
Average	89.29	13.86	12	1.3	3.7	15.14	17%

Table 5-2 Projecting clauses in the corpus

5.3.3.1 Semantic function of projection

There is a further distinction that must be made in the purposes for using projecting verbal and mental Processes in this corpus, since they are not all used for the purpose of identifying the source of information about the unfolding of the news events. The prototypical case of non-authorial sourcing is where a projecting Process is used to attribute

non-authorially sourced information about the unfolding of events, e.g. *A Copenhagen message says all the Allied prisoners at Aix-la-Chapelle have been released* (WWI text). Here the semantic effect of using the projecting clause *A Copenhagen message says* is the identification of the source of the information about the new development in the unfolding of events. The newsworthy information is that Allied prisoners had been released, not that the information came from a Copenhagen message. Therefore, the function of these instances of verbal Processes is to attribute news information. Other instances of verbal and mental Processes clearly construe semiotic actions as being in themselves newsworthy events. This category includes some Processes that project, e.g. *He told his soldiers to stop fighting and ^HE said he was ready to meet Vietcong leaders "to discuss the turnover of the administration, both civilian and military"* (Vietnam War text), and some that do not project, e.g. *Other U.N. Commanders and President Eisenhower welcomed the armistice* (Korean War text). In these examples, the function of the verbal Process clause is to report the fact that high status individuals, e.g. *President Minh, President Eisenhower*, or groups, e.g. *Other U.N. Commanders*, made a public announcement or statement in relation to the events. Therefore, the function of these instances of verbal Processes is to constitute news information in itself.

Grammatically, both categories look similar, except that non-projecting verbal and mental Processes will always be construing newsworthy events rather than construing attribution of information about news events. This is because these verbal or mental Processes are construing verbal or mental activity as an event in itself without invoking the potential grammatical resource of projection. To determine whether a projecting verbal Process was realising news attribution or not, I tested whether a Circumstance of Angle could reasonably be added to the clause complex, since a Circumstance of Angle would always be attributing news information rather than constituting news in itself. If it seems reasonable to add a Circumstance of Angle, e.g. *According to sources in Vietnam, At seven minutes past eleven Vietcong radio announced: "Saigon is experiencing an hour of glory..."* (Vietnam War text), then the function of attributing the information must not have already been fulfilled, so the semantic function of the verbal Process in such a clause complex must be to constitute a news event rather than attribute news information. If it does not make sense to add a Circumstance of Angle, e.g. **Lord Kitchener, in his despatch to the Imperial Government, added that Lord Milner and himself had also signed the document, according to sources in Pretoria* (Boer War text), we can deduce that this function has already been fulfilled by the verbal Process.

In English, speakers may build up long strings of verbal or mental projection, as shown by the following example from the WWI text with the logical structure $[\alpha \text{ "}\beta \text{ "}\gamma]$:

A Washington message says the State Department has announced that Germany has signed the armistice. (WWI Text)

But it is very unlikely that more than one projection will be construed as a newsworthy event (here, the fact that the State Department has announced the signing of the armistice), and it is very likely that at least one of the projections will be attributing the information (in this case, *A Washington message says*). So my assumption here is that, in any clause complex with multiple projecting clauses, at least one projecting clause will function to attribute information to a source. This example also suggests that the use of verbs such as *announce*, which imbue the Process with a certain gravitas, works to construe the Sayer as a newsworthy individual whose verbal activity constitutes news.

There are also some instances of projecting clauses where a Circumstance of time or place is used to indicate the spatio-temporal location of the projecting utterance. This suggests that the verbal action construed in the clause is considered a newsworthy event in itself, rather than merely functioning as a means of attributing the information about a newsworthy event. For example, in Extract 5-3 the precise specification of the time at which President Minh spoke indicates the significance of his speech as an event.

At 10.20am (12.20pm Sydney time) President Minh announced the surrender in a 60-second address to his people. He told his soldiers to stop fighting and ^HE said he was ready to meet Vietcong leaders "to discuss the turnover of the administration, both civilian and military."
(Vietnam War text)

Extract 5-3 Paragraph from the Vietnam War text showing time specification of verbal Process

In many cases, the source of the information itself is sufficient to indicate whether the projection is being construed as news or as a source of news. The credibility of the individual or institution as a source of information about the events may be indicated in a number of ways. These include indicating that the information was given in a context to which the press had exclusive access for the purposes of gathering information, e.g. *Brigadier General Vincent Brooks said at US central command in Qatar...* (Iraq War text), *It was officially announced at Buckingham Palace last night...* (WWII text), *Television film shows...* (Gulf War text), or identifying the individual or institution as a regular source of press information or as part of the public relations arm of an institution, e.g. *said a Reuters correspondent, Hassan*

Hafidh (Iraq War text), *The Press Bureau states* (WWI text), *In Canberra a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department said* (Vietnam War text). These examples are all categorised as attributing news rather than constituting news.

Figure 5-2 compares the proportions of verbal Processes used to attribute news (Attribute News) and to constitute news (Constitute News). Mental Processes are not included in this representation because they occur infrequently in the corpus. Over all, most texts tend to use verbal Processes to report the newsworthy semiotic activity of high-status individuals and groups. Only the WWI text uses them exclusively for the function of news attribution.

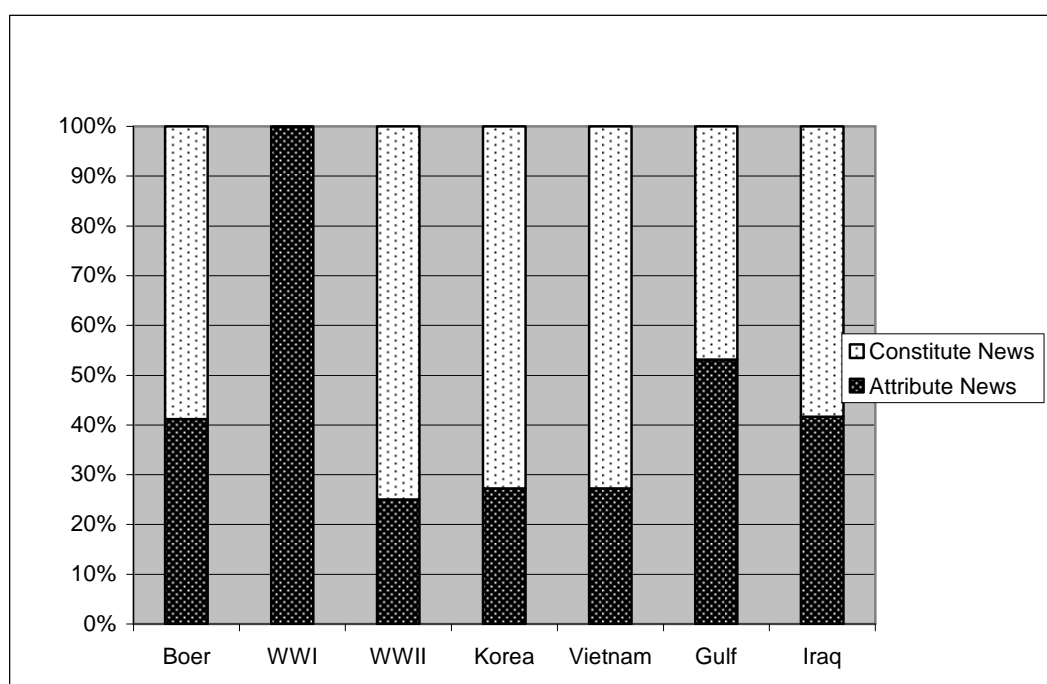


Figure 5-2 Functions of verbal Processes

Both of these uses of reporting Processes are important. The ‘Constitute News’ category reveals which individuals’ and groups’ utterances are considered newsworthy, and therefore which groups and individuals have relevant social salience in the context of news reporting. The ‘Attribute News’ category not only reveals the journalist’s sources for some of the information they use to reconstruct events in their report, but it also points out where they have explicitly distanced themselves from the authorship of the information, removing some of the responsibility from themselves. The range of information sources referred to in the texts will be explored in section 5.3.4, including both those whose utterances constitute news and those to whom news information is attributed.

5.3.3.2 Articulating and circumscribing projected material

In section 5.2 I mentioned that news reporting has always been dialogic in the sense that it has always incorporated more than one voice, drawing information from a number of sources. I also argued that it is crucial for the different voices of news discourse to be easily recognised and distinguished by readers so that they do not mistake opinion for fact and vice versa (cf. Scott, 2008). Therefore, in order for news discourse to be accountable as a source of information about real events with human significance, it has a responsibility to readers to ensure that the various voices in the ‘dialogue’ are easily distinguishable. A crucial issue in relation to who holds responsibility for the views presented is how clearly that responsibility is articulated and circumscribed textually. In this section, I examine the extent to which the texts in the corpus ensure the various voices they include are easily distinguishable, both from the journalist’s voice and from each other.

In both quoting and reporting (also referred to as direct and indirect speech), the journalist maintains the role of mediator between the non-authorial voices and the reader, selecting which voices to include and how to include them. In direct quotations, realised by paratactic projection, the quoted speaker is given some degree of autonomy in the text as the words are construed as their exact utterance. In indirect quotations, realised by hypotactic projection, the speaker’s words are filtered through the voice of the journalist, and may legitimately be condensed or altered from the original (Waugh, 1995). The total potential of these resources therefore represents “a cline from the reporter’s own voice via reported voices to quoted ones” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 462). According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 462) quoted material “is more immediate and lifelike” and is particularly likely to be found in personal and fictional narrative, whereas reported material is more distant from the original utterance. In this corpus, reporting is much more frequent than quoting, at 64% as opposed to 27% of the attributed clauses (see also section 5.3.1 above for a comparison of direct quotation and indirect quotation in words). There are also some instances (9%) where the content of a projected clause is a combination of reporting and quoting, e.g. *Failure of Iraq to do so, he said, may oblige the allies to "go on the offensive"* (Gulf War text).

The modes of circumscribing content through projection are shown in Figure 5-3, with the figures given as a percentage of the total projected clauses in each text. Overall, reported speech and thought, realised by hypotactic projection (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 443), is the most frequent mode of representing material from non-authorial sources, but the proportion of quotation, realised by paratactic projection from verbal or mental Processes

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 443), increases dramatically in the Vietnam War, Gulf War and Iraq War texts. This may be related to technological development, i.e. the extent of access to speech recordings, or to changes in institutional or social attitudes to news information and the ‘virtual addressee’, e.g. what value was placed on direct as opposed to indirect quotation (see section 5.4 and chapter 7 for discussion of this finding in relation to context).

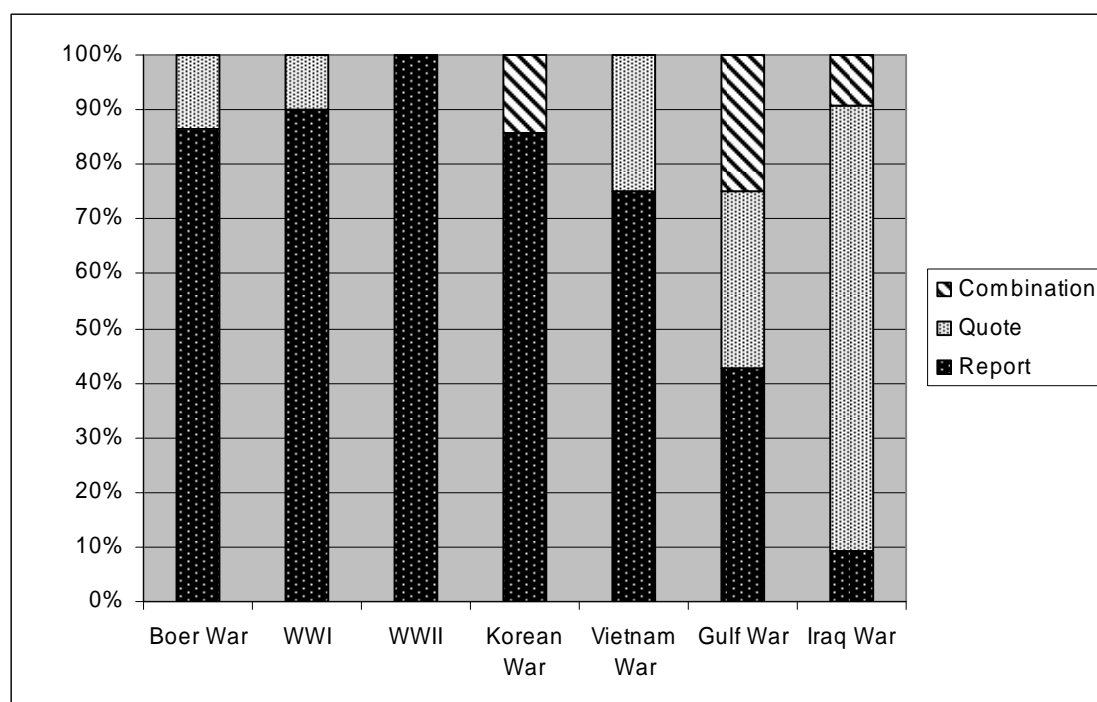


Figure 5-3 Modes of projection

In the first five texts, the projecting clause is always presented as Theme in the clause complex, e.g. *Mr. Bennet Burleigh reports* || *that...* (Boer War text), *A Washington message says* || *the State Department has announced* || *that...* (WWI text), *Police estimate* || *that...* (WWII text), *Dr. Rhee said* || *that...* (Korean War text), *the Foreign Minister of PRG, Mrs Nguyen Thi Binh, had said in an interview in Da Nang* || *that...* (Vietnam War text). But in the two more recent texts (Gulf War and Iraq War texts) the option of placing the projecting clause after the projected clause, or between projected clauses, has become more probable, e.g. “*Orders have been issued to our armed forces on the front not to open fire*”, || *he was quoted as saying* (Gulf War text), “*We were nearly mobbed by people trying to shake our hands,*” || *said Major Andy Milburn of the 7th Marines* (Iraq War text). Thus, the prioritisation of the projected material and the source of the material seems to have changed. On the one hand, the earlier texts thematise the source (projecting clause as meta-Theme) and present the quotation as New

information, and on the other hand, the later two texts tend to thematise the quotation (projected clause as meta-Theme) and present the source as New information.

Meanings originating from other sources are not always clearly circumscribed, as shown in the following three extracts. In Extract 5-4, which appears about half-way through the Gulf War text, the information in the second clause is attributed to an unspecified US spokesman through the Circumstance of Angle at the end of the clause (shown in bold). But it is unclear whether this attribution is also supposed to apply to the information in the first clause complex (underlined). This is similar to what Fairclough (1995a: 58; following Leech & Short, 1981: 325) codes as 'unsignalled' free indirect discourse, where there is a blurring of the boundary between the information for which the journalist takes responsibility and that from which they distance themselves. In this instance, the information in question is factual and is potentially falsifiable by checking with a source of official statistics.

So complete was the victory that in the last hours of the battle fewer than 20,000 Iraqi troops of the more than 500,000 sent to confront the coalition were still fighting. More than 40 of the 42 divisions sent to defend Kuwait were put out of action, **according to a US spokesman.**
(Gulf War text)

Extract 5-4 Paragraph from the Gulf War text showing unclear circumscription of non-authorial voice

The final cost of the war will never be known. But from **estimates compiled by US sources** more than three million civilians and troops on both sides have been killed or wounded since January, 1961, when American intervention was beginning in earnest.
(Vietnam War text)

Extract 5-5 Paragraph from the Vietnam War text showing unclear circumscription of non-authorial voice

*"We must now begin to look beyond victory and war," **he said.** "We must meet the challenge of securing the peace."*

There could be no solely American answer to the challenges of the region, but the US was ready to assist and to be "a catalyst for peace". (Gulf War text)

Extract 5-6 Paragraphs from the Gulf War text showing unclear attribution to non-authorial source

The blurring of authorial and non-authorial sources with 'factual' information also occurs to a lesser extent in the Vietnam War text, as shown in Extract 5-5. In this example, the second sentence is clearly attributed to *US sources* (shown in bold), but the evaluation in the first sentence (underlined) is not. The Gulf War text contains another example of the blurring of authorial responsibility a few paragraphs after the previous example, as shown in

Extract 5-6. The projecting clause *he said* (shown in bold) clearly attributes the two quoted sentences in the first paragraph to President Bush, who was Sayer in the previous projecting clause. But the same cannot necessarily be said of the following sentence (underlined). Certainly the end of the sentence is intended as a quotation as it is in inverted commas. Also, the unusual use of *could* in the earlier part of the clause complex, which is probably a 'backshift' from *can* in an original utterance (cf. Quirk et al., 1972: 786-7), implies that it should be interpreted as related to the previous quoted material attributed to Bush. Fairclough refers to this as 'slipping' (1995a: 55); the responsibility for the opinions expressed in that clause complex is not explicitly claimed by the journalists, nor clearly made the responsibility of someone else. The result is that there is no clear signposting of the various voices to enable a critical and accurate interpretation, and thus the reader is left to guess their way through the tangle of voices. The journalists have presented an evaluation of a state of affairs in a way that fails to effectively distance them from it, resulting in the impression that this reading of the state of affairs forms part of their 'objective' report of the events.

5.3.4 Sources of news information

As mentioned above (section 5.3.3.1), the use of projection and other forms of attribution can reveal which individuals and groups of people are considered credible and authoritative enough to be used as sources of information or important enough to have their utterances construed as newsworthy. The news information (i.e. not the utterances categorised as constituting news in section 5.3.3.1 above) in the seven texts is attributed to a wide variety of sources ranging from individuals (both named and unnamed), to institutions and inanimate semiotic objects. Table 5-3 lists the different types of sources to which news information is attributed, including those grammatically construed as Sayer and those realised by a nominal group in a Circumstance of Angle, and shows which texts include them. Although all texts refer to other media in some way, e.g. other newspapers, press agencies, and television, only the Boer War, WWI, Gulf War and Iraq War texts attribute news information to them. For example, the Boer War text frequently cites other newspapers as sources of information for reconstructing the unfolding of events, e.g. *The "Express" states that the knot of irreconcilables were told at the conference at Vereeniging that they would have to fight alone if they persisted in their attitude, and it was only then that they yielded* (Boer War text). No other text refers to other newspapers, nor do they refer to other media as much as the Boer War text does. As mentioned in chapter 3, many of the attributions to media sources in the Boer War text also

include extracts from the editorials of those newspapers, presenting evaluations of the state of affairs. An example of this is shown in Extract 5-7.

The "Standard," in commenting upon the conclusion of peace, says that as long as the drama unfolded itself the feelings of the spectators underwent change, and that the closing act will add to Great Britain's prestige and weight in the councils of the world.

Extract 5-7 Paragraph from the Boer War text showing extract attributed to an editorial from another newspaper

Thus, in this text, the editorial opinion of other newspapers is presented as news, which suggests an orientation to news different from that of the modern *Herald* (see section 5.2). But because this extract from the *Standard's* editorial is circumscribed as such by the explicit identification of the source and the fact that they were *commenting*, the reader is directed to interpret the evaluation as being not the opinion of the *SMH* (although perhaps endorsed by the *SMH*). In this sense the *SMH* journalist is clearly a “relayer of documents” (Zelizer, 1989: 373), relaying the documents at their disposal with minimal interpretation or recontextualisation. Indeed, Matheson argues that up until at least the turn of the 20th century, recontextualising or editing correspondents’ letters or articles in any way was considered unacceptable in newspapers such as *The Times* (Matheson, 2000: 565), and my findings from the Boer War and WWI texts suggest that this attitude was still current to a large extent at the *Herald* in the early twentieth century as well.

Press agencies are cited as Sayer infrequently, occurring only in the WWI text (*the Press Bureau* as Sayer), and Iraq War text (*a Reuters correspondent*). Radio, having been available from the 1920s, is mentioned as a source of information in the WWII, Vietnam War and Gulf War texts. The Gulf War text also sources television footage in reporting the extent of the damage inflicted on the Iraqi Army by the coalition: *Television film shows the desert littered with the charred remains of Iraqi armoured vehicles* (Gulf War text). Other kinds of sources are used to varying degrees, with military and political leaders featuring as information sources fairly frequently, usually through the recorded words of their public speeches and announcements. Since the military institutions and officials are heavily involved in the war and its conclusion, we would expect this to be the case, but not all texts construe military sources as Sayers.

Type	Boer	WWI	WWII	Korea	Vietnam	Gulf	Iraq
Media Source e.g. <i>The “Times”</i> , <i>television film</i>	•	•				•	•
Political Leader e.g. <i>Mr Bush</i>	•	•				•	
Military Leader e.g. <i>Lord Kitchener</i> , <i>Brigadier-General</i> <i>Vincent Brooks</i>	•			•		•	•
Official Announcement, Report or Despatch e.g. <i>a German official</i> <i>report</i>		•			•	•	
Unspecified e.g. <i>Informed quarters</i> , <i>observers</i>	•	•		•	•		
Civil Authority e.g. <i>Police</i>			•				
Spokesperson e.g. <i>US spokesman</i>			•		•	•	

Table 5-3 Types of sources in attributing news

Figure 5-4 shows the proportions of Thing Types representing Sayer in verbal Processes over the whole set of texts, and Table 5-4 indicates the occurrence of the Thing Types in each text. The proportions are based on total number of Sayers over the whole corpus. Not surprisingly, most of the Sayers in verbal Processes are humans, realised by a nominal group with a head noun of the Thing Type [simple:conscious:person] (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999; Matthiessen, 1995). This Thing Type is the only one that occurs as Sayer in all texts. verbal Processes do not necessarily require a human, conscious entity as Sayer (unlike Senser in mental Processes), as “anything that puts out a signal” can be construed as enacting a Process of semiotic activity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 254). In the context of these armistice reports, verbal or semiotic behaviour is also enacted by institutions, political entities and semiotic objects, e.g. *A German official report says* (WWI text). Of course, the semiotic activity is always initiated by human minds, but the Process can be construed in this way if the human authorship is unknown, unimportant, or preferably distanced from the meanings being signalled or projected.

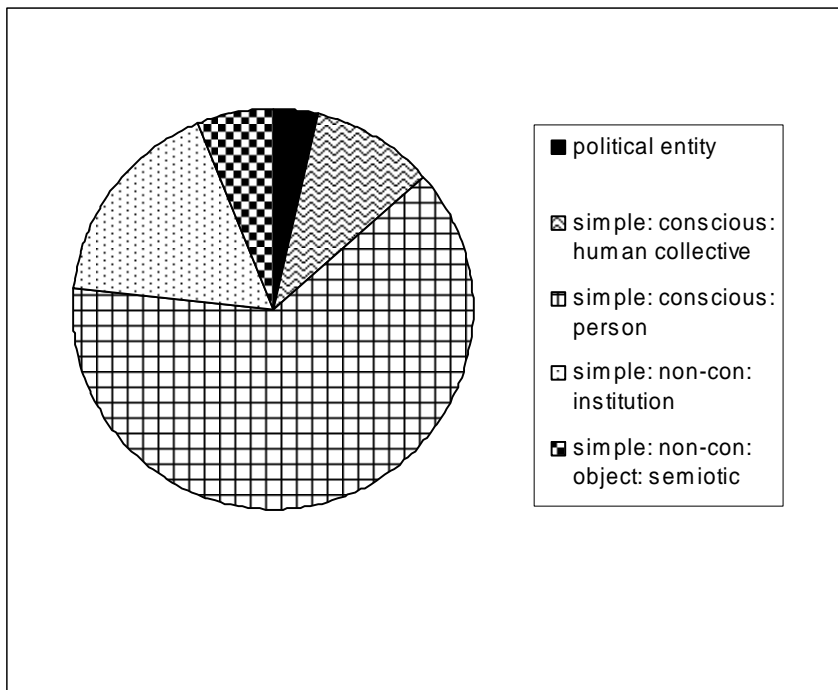


Figure 5-4 Thing Types as Sayer

	Boer	WWI	WWII	Korea	Vietnam	Gulf	Iraq
person	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
human collective	•		•	•	•	•	•
institution	•	•	•		•	•	•
semiotic object	•	•			•	•	
political entity	•			•		•	

Table 5-4 Occurrence in each text of Thing Types in Participant: Sayer

A more delicate analysis was carried out to investigate the role of each Sayer in the context of war, whether ‘coalition’²⁵, ‘enemy’, ‘civilian’, ‘neutral’ or ‘unspecified’. These terms are explained below. Figure 5-5 shows the proportions of different kinds of sources across the corpus, based on the total number of Sayers for each text. Individuals in the most frequent category of Sayers, those realised by the Thing Type simple: conscious: person, are predominantly aligned with the coalition (66%), the side Australia supported in the conflict, e.g. *Lord Kitchener* (Boer War text), *the U.N. Supreme Commander*, *General Mark Clark* (Korean War text), *President Bush* (Gulf War & Iraq War texts). In contrast, the enemy’s voices are rarely heard: Sayers aligned with the enemy occur only around 13% of the time overall. As Table 5-5 shows, most of these instances occur in the Vietnam War text (53% of the total

²⁵ Although the term ‘coalition’ specifically refers to the US-led side in the Gulf and Iraq Wars, this term will be used here to refer to the side with which Australia fought in each of the seven wars.

instances of Enemy as Sayer). The Vietnam War text is also unusual in that it features enemy soldiers as both Actors and Sayers, construing them as having a significant role in the events of the conclusion of war. The proportion of Enemy as Sayer in the WWII texts looks high in Figure 5-5 also, but this is because there are only four verbal clauses in the text and one of these (i.e. 25% of all verbal clauses in the text) has *Tokyo Radio* as Sayer. This is one of the limitations of working with a small set of texts, and it highlights the necessity of keeping in view the actual text instances.

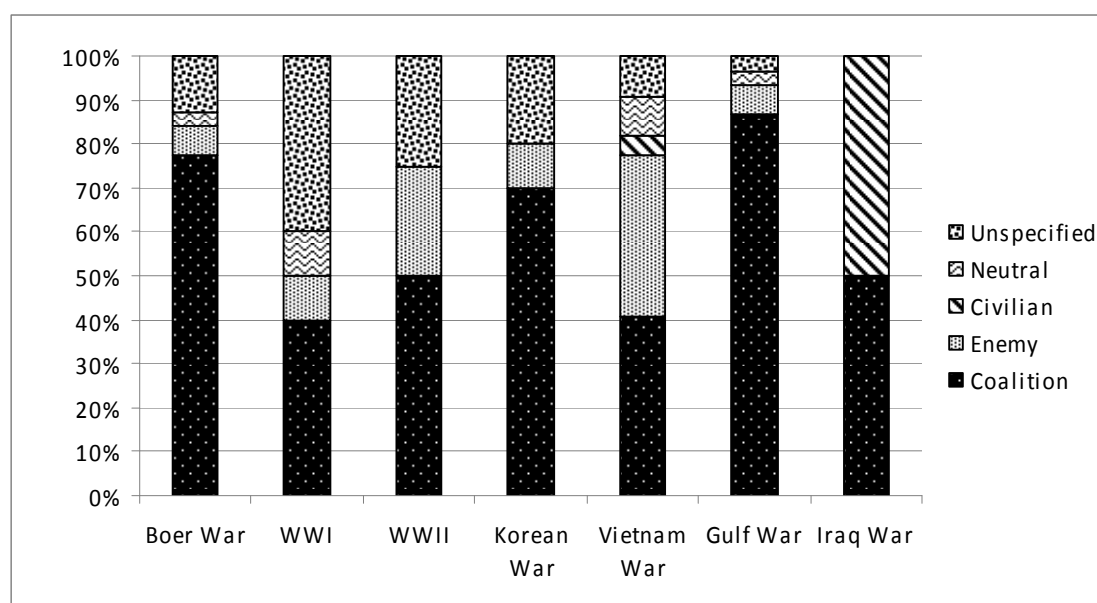


Figure 5-5 Allegiance of Sayers

The category ‘Neutral’ includes mainly semiotic objects not construed as aligned with either belligerent party, e.g. *Television film* (Gulf War text), and *Reports reaching Singapore* (Vietnam War text). The category ‘Civilians’ consists of references to the civilians of the area affected by the war: *the people of Pretoria* (Boer War text), *people* [in the centre of Saigon] (Vietnam War text), *hundreds of people* [in the slum district of Saddam City in Baghdad], *Iraqi mobs*, and *mainly young and middle aged men, one group, an older man* (Iraq War text). Overall, civilians are rarely presented as Sayers, but the Iraq War text is unusual in that half of the total Sayers are Iraqi civilians, as shown in the previous examples. The WWI text is also unusual in that, whereas the Boer War text uses a non-projecting, metaphorical Process (*expressing delight*) and the Vietnam War text uses indirect projection (*People stopped to ask if they could move about freely*), the journalist in the Iraq War text quotes their responses (translated into English) to the fall of Baghdad, such as “*Saddam is the enemy of God*”, “*No more Saddam Hussein*”, and “*he killed millions of us. Oh people, this is freedom*”. This has the effect

of dramatising and personalising the events in Baghdad, and presenting a highly individuated account of the end of war.

Text	Instances of ‘Enemy’ as Sayer
Boer War	After signifying their acceptance of the British terms <u>all the Boer delegates</u> arrived at Pretoria on Saturday and signed at half-past 10 o'clock at night the document containing the terms of surrender.
	The "Express" states that <u>Mr Kruger</u> , upon learning that peace had been proclaimed, exclaimed, "My God, it is impossible."
WWI	<u>A German official report</u> says the courier has arrived at German headquarters.
WWII	Last evening <u>Tokyo Radio</u> told Japanese troops overseas that it was useless to resist any longer.
Korean War	<u>The Communists</u> have told the U.N. that they will release 12, 763 prisoners, including 15 Australians.
Vietnam War	In Paris, <u>the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam</u> said it would issue a statement soon outlining its position following the surrender.
	A communiqué from the Revolutionary Committee for Saigon said it had been decided to rename the city after Ho Chi Minh.
	<u>Laughing, cheering communist troops</u> entered the presidential palace shouting "Hello comrade" to bystanders and newsmen.
	<u>Troops</u> moved through the street with loud-hailers declaring: "The forces of the National Liberation Front have become masters of Saigon. Do not worry, you will be well treated."
	At seven minutes past eleven <u>Vietcong radio</u> announced: "Saigon is experiencing an hour of glory. It is reliving the glorious moments of August, 1945 (the end of Japanese occupation). The Provisional Revolutionary Government asks the people to raise the revolutionary standards, those of independence and freedom."
	Read by a young woman announcer, <u>the statement</u> went on: "Let us arise, let us unite to make revolution in Saigon, Ho Chi Minh city: that is our final battle."
	Earlier, <u>the Foreign Minister of PRG, Mrs Nguyen Thi Binh</u> , had said in an interview in Da Nang that General Minh might still have some role to play in the future of Vietnam.
Gulf War	<u>Baghdad Radio</u> broadcast acceptance of the cease-fire in a terse announcement issued in the name of Saddam.
	"Orders have been issued to our armed forces on the front "not to open fire," <u>he [Saddam]</u> was quoted as saying.

Table 5-5 Instances of enemy as Sayer

As mentioned above, the most frequent type of Sayer is that realised by the Thing Type [simple:conscious:person] and aligned with the coalition. These Sayers can also be considered according to their social roles, which seem to fall into five categories: national leaders (43.5%), military leaders (30.5%), politicians (15%), other civic leaders (e.g. mayor) (9%), and media person (2%), as shown in Figure 5-6. In all but two texts (WWII and Iraq

War texts), national leaders are given major roles as spokesmen for their nations: *King Edward VII* (King of England, Boer War), *Mr. Lloyd George* (British Prime Minister, WWI), *Dr Syngman Rhee* (South Korean President, Korean War), *President Duong Van (Big) Minh* (South Vietnamese President, Vietnam War), and *Mr Bush* (US President, Gulf War). The WWII text does not feature a head of state, either the British monarch or a Prime Minister, as a Sayer. The King and Queen of England are construed indirectly as semiotic Participants in association with Buckingham Palace as the location of an announcement, but otherwise only as Participants responding to the armistice: as a Senser in an embedded clause projected from a Buckingham Palace announcement (*It was officially announced at Buckingham Palace last night that the King desired next Sunday to be observed as a Day of National Thanksgiving*), and as Actor in a future event (*The King and Queen will attend a Thanksgiving service at St. Paul's Cathedral on that day*).

The Iraq War text focuses on the speech of military officials on the one hand, and Iraqi civilians on the other, but no heads of state appear as Sayer. Curiously, President Bush does not appear anywhere in the text. As President of the USA, he was also Commander-in-Chief of the US Armed Forces, and was the instigator of the invasion of Iraq, and yet no pronouncement from him is included in the report. As I mentioned in chapter 3, Bush's most visible statement on the 'end of war' – "Mission Accomplished" – was made several weeks later in a staged event on board a US aircraft carrier, but received minor coverage in the *Herald* in comparison to the coverage of the 'fall of Baghdad'.

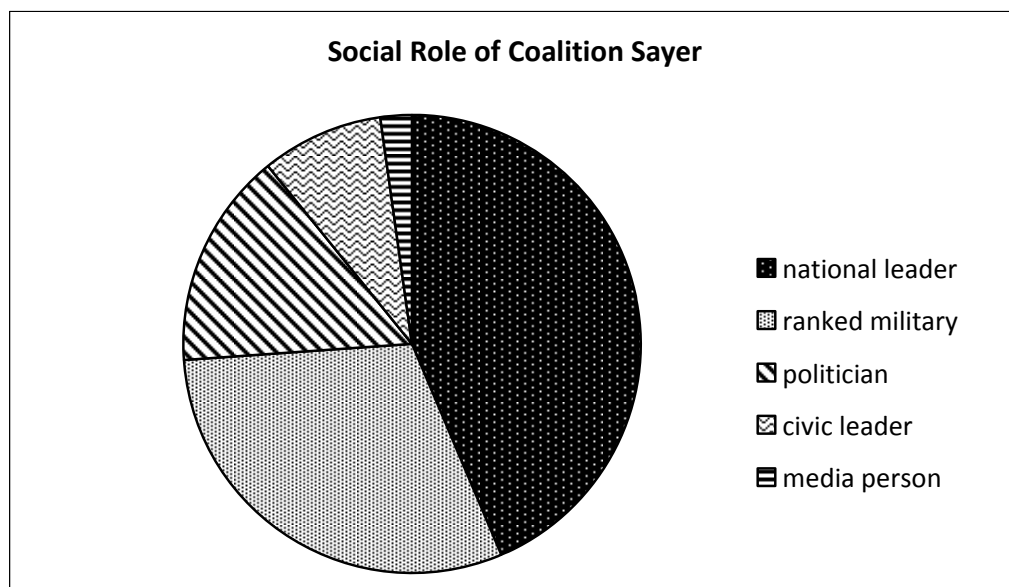


Figure 5-6 Social role of coalition Sayers

Australia's own heads of state are notably absent right across the corpus, despite the Australian context of the *Herald*. The WWI text briefly mentions the Governor-General (not by name) and the Acting Prime Minister (Mr Watt) as intermediaries in the receipt of the message about armistice: *The following message was received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies through the Governor-General by the Acting Prime Minister (Mr. Watt) shortly before midnight* (WWI text). But note that the message itself is thematised, and the individuals are construed not as sources but as conduits for the information, their authority in the local context serving to give credibility to the information. This information is attributed to *MELBOURNE, Monday*, and is one of the very few local sources referred to in the earlier two texts.

In the Boer War text, King Edward VII is construed as Sayer in news coming from London. This is a key point: none of the information in the Boer War text is locally sourced, as demonstrated by the clear London source lines at the beginning of each article, and foreign news sources would have had no particular motivation for talking about Australian heads of state in relation to the war. This is especially so because, at this time, Australia's federation was only eighteen months old and the office of Prime Minister was quite new. Australia's head of state was the King of England, and was salient as an authority and source of newsworthy pronouncements much more so than the Queen is at the present time.

The only time Australians appear as Sayer is in the Vietnam War text, where the Leader of the Opposition and a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department are cited. Both instances occur in the same section of the report, which is divided from the rest of the report by a horizontal dividing line, presumably because it presents the local response to the distant events – the source line at the beginning of this article indicates that the intelligence in the main part of the report comes from a foreign origin (in this case, Saigon). The representation of the Government's official statement at the time, given by the Foreign Affairs Department spokesman, is shown in Extract 5-8. An adjacent news article reports that the Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, was out of the country and was also at the centre of a controversy over communications with North and South Vietnam. These historical factors may help to explain why the Prime Minister was not cited when the Opposition Leader was. This issue will be further discussed in section 5.4.

In Canberra a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department said the Australian Government would wait until it knew what form of administration had been set up in Saigon before making any comment on the end of the war.

Extract 5-8 Paragraph from Vietnam War text showing Australian Government response to the surrender of the Viet Minh

Ordinary coalition civilians are not construed as Sayer in any text, which supports claims that the main reasons journalists draw on the sayings of others is that they provide verification, newsworthiness, and credibility (cf. Waugh, 1995: 144). However, as previously mentioned, the Iraq War text allocates a considerable amount of space to the verbal responses of Iraqi civilians, raising the question of what purpose is fulfilled by quotations of that nature. Waugh (1995: 144) suggests that another reason for reporting speech is to personalise a news event. In the case of the Iraq War text, the purpose of reporting the speech of Iraqi civilians seems to be a combination of humanising the civilian population, dramatising the civilian response to the fall of Baghdad, and indirectly supporting the idea that the invasion of Iraq was justified based on the social and moral deviance of Saddam Hussein. Some examples of quotations attributed to Iraqi civilians are shown in Extract 5-9.

In the Shiite slum district of Saddam City in the capital, hundreds of people chanted: "Saddam is the enemy of God."

Mainly young and middle-aged men, many of them wearing the soccer shirts of leading Western clubs such as Manchester United, they shouted "Hello, hello" as the Americans advanced through traffic. "No more Saddam Hussein," chanted one group, waving to the troops. "We love you, we love you."

"Come see, this is freedom... this is the criminal, this is the infidel," the man said as he gave the poster [of Saddam Hussein] a drubbing. "This is the destiny of every traitor... he killed millions of us. Oh people, this is freedom."

Extract 5-9 Selections from the Iraq War text showing material quoted from Iraqi civilians

The examples in Extract 5-9 also demonstrate how opinion may be legitimately included in news reports, when it is explicitly coded as originating from a source other than the journalist or newspaper. The demonization of Saddam Hussein is, however, construed as a naturalised ideological position in this article (as indeed it has been in the mainstream press and political discourse in Australia in general). There is no space in this article given to the voices of those who express alternative opinions about Saddam Hussein, and the

correspondent, Paul McGeough, seems therefore to endorse (implicitly) the views of these civilians. His quoting of various civilians with similar views about Saddam Hussein reinforces the impression that this was the prevailing view among civilians after the ‘fall of Baghdad’.

Another group that is not represented as Sayer in this corpus is coalition soldiers. While they may be seen in the material action construed in the reports (e.g. the Korean War text), they are not heard. Interestingly, in the Korean War text, where the coalition soldiers are most visible, their response to the ceasefire is represented in terms of Behavioural, not verbal, Processes, e.g. *U.N. troops...breathed sighs of relief and stood on their bunkers cheering and yelling wildly.*

In summary, the news discourse represented in these seven texts primarily involves the *SMH* journalists’ voices and the voices of those in power on the coalition side, whether political or military power. Coalition officials have consistently been construed as the most newsworthy voices and the most credible sources of news information; the main difference has been whether military or government officials are favoured, and which country they represent. In this respect, the earlier texts demonstrate the close relationship between Australia and Britain, whereas from the Korean War text onward there has been a gradual shift towards foregrounding Australia’s allegiance with the United States. The Korean War and Vietnam War texts represent a kind of turning point on this issue: both British and US sources are mentioned, but the strongest identification shown is with the UN.

5.4 Discussion of findings

The analysis in this chapter has continued to address the broad thesis question of what contextual, semantic and lexicogrammatical changes have taken place in the reporting of armistice in the *Sydney Morning Herald* over the century from 1902-2003. In the analysis section of the chapter (section 5.3), I have already presented some discussion of the findings as the need arose. In this section, I will draw together the findings and expand the discussion to address the question of how meaning surrounding the end of war has changed in the *Herald’s* reporting, particularly in relation to the semantic implications of the changing role of the journalist in bringing news information together for public consumption. I will also discuss the registerial implications of the findings.

5.4.1 The role of the journalist

As argued by scholars such as Matheson (2000), Waugh (1995), and Zelizer (1989), news production practices over the last century have seen a shift from journalists as “relayers of

documents” (Zelizer, 1989: 373), on the one hand, to journalists as individuated, warranted interpreters of events, on the other hand. This is reflected, for example, in the contrast between the explicitly circumscribed attribution in the Boer War text and the very loosely circumscribed sourcing of the Gulf War text (see section 5.3.3.2), which is oriented towards the integration and recontextualisation of sources into a unified style of prose (Waugh, 1995), at the expense of clarity and unambiguity about the provenance of information.

The findings indicate that part of the role of the journalist, whether they were relaying documents or interpreting events, has been the selection of voices for inclusion in the news report. As I demonstrated in section 5.3.4, there has been a consistent selection of coalition voices as the most newsworthy and credible sources, but a consistent lack of representation of Australian heads of state as sources of information. Alongside these consistent selections, there has been a shift in the national identity of coalition sources, from primarily British sources to American sources, reflecting not just the change in identity of the belligerents involved in the wars, but also Australia’s changing international allegiances. With the developments in communication technology and increased access to varied sources of information in the more recent years, we might expect that a greater range of voices would be represented. For example, in 2003 Paul McGeough had access to the internet and therefore could have included perspectives from the Arabic media, especially Al Jazeera, but these perspectives are not selected. There seems to have been an increasing reliance on the words of a few authorised individuals, made easily accessible by the structures and routines of the wartime media ‘machine’, e.g. the press briefings at the US Central Command centre (CentCom) in Qatar during the Iraq War.

It is particularly interesting that the range of voices in the Iraq War text, which was produced at a time of unprecedented information access, is narrower than that of the Boer War text, which relied on the telegraph for communication and yet sources information and opinions from significant individuals not just in London (the King, the Lord Mayor of London, Mr. John Redmond of the United Irish League), but also in South Africa (the colonial Governor of Natal, Sir Henry McCullum), and also enemy representatives (Mr Kruger). The fact that the enemy’s voice is rarely heard overall is significant, and provides further support for ‘otherness’ theory, in which the ‘other’ is treated differently in semantic terms (cf. Lazar & Lazar, 2004; Molloy, 2000; Oktar, 2001; Scott, 2003). It suggests that throughout this time (with the possible exception of the Vietnam War text), the *Herald* and

its writers have been complicit in the strategic maintenance of semiotic distance between the ‘coalition’ and the ‘enemy’.

5.4.2 Registerial implications

The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate some of the differences and similarities between the texts as diachronic instances of a register. One similarity is that the legalistic gravity of the context of armistice has exerted semantic pressure that has resulted in a tendency towards favouring the selection of official coalition individuals as the sources of much of the evaluation and evidence in armistice reporting over the century.

Variation between the instances can be seen in the patterning of projection, as the selection of paratactic projection has increased in comparison to hypotactic projection since the Vietnam War text (see section 5.3.3). The thematic status of projecting clauses within the clause complex has also changed, shifting from the beginning of the clause complex (Boer War text to the Vietnam War text) to the middle or end (Gulf War and Iraq War texts) (see section 5.3.3.2). These findings suggest that projected material has been given higher priority in the later texts: direct quotation is preferred, and quoted material tends to be thematically foregrounded. There are a number of possible contextual implications of this shift. Firstly, it could represent an attempt to encode greater accountability as direct quotation removes responsibility from the journalist and shows that they are presenting readers with ‘the real thing’. Secondly, it could be an attempt to lend a greater sense of dramatisation to the news report, as the voices of the various sources are presented with all their natural idiosyncrasies. Thirdly, it may be related to technological development, i.e. the extent of access to speech recordings. Alternatively, it could be the result of increased attempts to include opinion without losing journalistic ‘objectivity’²⁶. However, it must be acknowledged that a similar effect is achieved in the Boer War text through the inclusion of extracts from the editorials of other newspapers.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an analysis of the patterning of resources for attributing news information in the seven texts. The findings and discussion have contributed to the investigation of diachronic changes in meaning and context in reports of the end of war. The analysis has demonstrated points of registerial consistency, including the persistently

²⁶ For a contrasting interpretation of the thematisation of projecting and projected clauses in a different register, see de Oliveira and Pagano (2006).

dialogic nature of news texts through the use of non-authorial sources and the pervasive selection of coalition-aligned sources, and registerial variation, including apparent changes in the priority attached to direct quotation and the rigorousness with which non-authorial material is distinguished from authorial material. The next chapter will continue the exploration of registerial change and topical priority with an analysis of cohesive harmony, presented as a case study of the Boer War, Korean War and Iraq War texts.

Chapter 6

Peace and Cohesive Harmony

“A text is a passage of discourse which is coherent in these two regards: it is coherent with respect to the context of situation, and therefore consistent in register; and it is coherent with respect to itself, and therefore cohesive.” (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 23)

“Like the single note, the single harmonic unit, or chord, exists not only as a combination of pitches simultaneously heard, but also as a unit of sound heard in time... Like the single word, or the single note, it is meaningful only in relation to other sounds. A harmonic sound, existing therefore as sound and as motion, also exists as function the moment it is heard in relation to another harmonic sound. Its function is understood in terms of what precedes and what follows it, and in terms of the absolute and relative times in which such movement or sequence takes place.” (Goldman, 1965: 3)

6.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters I presented analyses of the lexicogrammatical realisation of temporal and spatial meanings in the news reports and the encoding of information sources and alignment, with a focus on the experiential and logical metafunctions. The particular ways of orienting to time and space and news information in the texts were compared across the seven texts and shown to construe changes in contextual calibrations in relation to the content and function of the news, the role of the journalist, and the role of technology. The changing role of the journalist was seen particularly clearly in the changes in degree of integration of information and unification of the temporal perspective on the reported events.

In this chapter I investigate the extent of registerial consistency and variation with respect to texture and structure through the framework of cohesive harmony (following Hasan, 1984; see also Hasan, 1985d; Butt, 1988; Cloran, 1999; Martin, 2003). A subset of three texts has been selected for this detailed analysis: the Boer War, Korean War and Iraq War texts, which represent the earliest, middle and latest texts in the sample and are roughly fifty years apart. This analysis maintains the focus on the experiential and logical metafunctions and begins to explore the texts systematically at the level of semantics, and to compare their structural and textural tendencies. Since cohesive harmony highlights a text's semantic orientation to, and organisation of, the field of discourse (cf. Lukin, 2008, in press; Martin, 2003), the analysis will contribute to the investigation of newspaper report as register functioning in a particular kind of contextual configuration.

The chapter proceeds with an introduction to cohesive harmony analysis (section 6.2), before presenting selected findings from the cohesive harmony analysis of the Boer War text (section 6.3), Korean War text (section 6.4), and Iraq War text (section 6.5). Each section includes an account of text structure based on the results of the cohesive harmony analysis. The analytical sections are followed by a discussion comparing and contrasting the three texts (section 6.6), before the conclusion of the chapter (section 6.7).

6.2 Introduction to Cohesive Harmony

The principle of ‘cohesive harmony’ developed out of Halliday and Hasan’s work on cohesion (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, 1985), originally as an attempt to capture the differences in perceived coherence and ‘textuality’ of texts where analyses of cohesion alone were insufficient to account for those differences (Hasan, 1984). Cohesion, coherence and texture are three separate phenomena. Cohesion refers to the semantic resources for “transcend[ing] the boundaries of the clause” in tracking logogenetic processing of a text (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 532). It is realised lexicogrammatically through conjunction, reference, substitution and ellipsis, and lexical cohesion. It is through cohesion that texture is created, providing a source of textual unity that is “manifested by certain kinds of semantic relations between [a text’s] individual messages” (Hasan, 1985d: 70-71). Texture is an expression of the more delicate selections in the contextual configuration, while the structure of a text (i.e. its generic structure potential) is a feature of the more general organisation of the context (i.e. options at the less delicate end of the system) (Hasan, 2004: 25). Martin further argues that texture has ideological implications, as it “is the process whereby a reading position is naturalized by texts for listeners/readers” (Martin, 2003: 2); that is, texture allows for the seamless presentation and development of a position. Furthermore, texture is a central part of coherence (Martin, 2003), since coherence is a semantic fact that refers to unity or “hanging together” (Hasan, 1984: 181, 183). Coherence stands in relation to context of situation in that part of a text’s coherence lies in its perceived congruence with the expectations of the register (cf. Ciliberti, 1999; Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 23; Hasan, 1984: 181). Context is also implicated in the operation of cohesive devices such as co-reference and collocation, whose cohesive effect derives not so much from the system but from the semantics activated by that particular context.

Cohesive harmony is a framework devised by Hasan (see Hasan, 1984) that incorporates the notions of cohesion, coherence and texture. It combines the analysis of cohesion between clauses and larger semantic sections of a text (through cohesive chains) with the analysis of

syntagmatic relations between elements within the clause (through functional relations realisationally related to experiential meanings) in order to account for the texture and coherence of the text (Hasan, 1984: 211-214). The term ‘cohesive *harmony*’ is presumably intended to be analogous to the principle of harmony in music, defined as both “the sound produced by the coincidence of several musical notes” and “the ordering or syntax of such sounds heard successively” (Goldman, 1965: 1). Goldman, in his book *Harmony in Western Music* actually uses language as an analogy for harmony, noting that both unfold temporally and that “like the single word, or the single note, [the harmonic unit or chord] is meaningful only in relation to other sounds”. It is important to note that the two (or more) notes played together in a chord are different from each other: it is the juxtaposition of difference that gives meaning in language also (cf. de Saussure, 1959), for example through the activation of different functional units in syntagmatic units of meaning. In playing a musical chord or interval, simultaneity is also an essential feature of its being recognised as a chord: if the notes were to be played one after the other it would rather be a melody or phrase. However, in creating a clausal or phrasal syntagm in language, the elements must come one after the other, since as speakers we can neither produce two words simultaneously unless two people talk at once, nor as listeners can we attend to two words or meanings simultaneously.

Thus, although the meaningful units in music and language unfold in slightly different ways, it seems that in the principle of cohesive harmony in language, the clause is roughly compared to a musical chord. Units in cohesive chains related by cohesive relations (co-reference, co-classification, co-extension) may enter into the same syntagmatic relationships with units in another cohesive chain. Each time a unit from a particular chain is activated in the same syntagmatic relation with a unit from another particular chain, it is like the same chord or interval being repeated in a musical composition. This repetition of meaning relations helps to create texture just as the repetition of chords creates musical texture and tonality. In the same way as the principled repetition of harmonic units in music creates musical harmony and texture, so the ‘simultaneous’ activation of cohesive units (tokens) in a syntagmatic relationship must occur more than once in the same text in order to create some degree of cohesive harmony.

Since the texts in this study all share some similarities of context at the broadest conceptualisation of the contextual configuration (printed newspaper reports from the *SMH* announcing the end of war; see preliminary contextual description in chapter 2, and further discussion of context in chapter 7), we can expect that they will display some general

structural similarities (cf. Hasan, 2004). However, since each text results from a different temporal context (1902, 1953, 2003) and responds to a qualitatively different stimulus event (a British colonial war against Boer settlers; a UN-sanctioned and led war against Communist powers; a US-led invasion of Iraq), we can also expect that there will be principled variation in texture (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 582). The cohesive harmony analysis and discussion of these three texts (as well as the discussion of context more particularly in chapter 7) will therefore be useful in considering how we may decide upon criteria for register membership. The analysis will provide evidence for what kinds of meanings and structuring principles tend to be prioritised in such texts, which are considered instances of the same register until the evidence suggests otherwise.

6.2.1 Analysing cohesive harmony

The analysis of cohesive harmony begins, in the same way as cohesion analysis (see Halliday & Hasan, 1976, 1985), with the identification of cohesive chains. A cohesive chain “is formed by a set of items each of which is related to the others by the semantic relation of co-reference, co-classification, and/or co-extension” (Hasan, 1984: 84). Chains of items (tokens) that are related by co-reference are known as *identity chains* (Hasan, 1984: 205), as exemplified in Figure 6-1; chains where tokens are related by co-classification or co-extension are known as *similarity chains* (Hasan, 1984: 206), as shown in Figure 6-2. The tokens that form chains are known as *relevant tokens* because they are selected as part of a consistent semantic thread that is construed as having relevance to a particular area of the subject matter. That is, they are selected as part of the realisation and development of the field of discourse over the unfolding of the text (Lukin, 2008, in press).

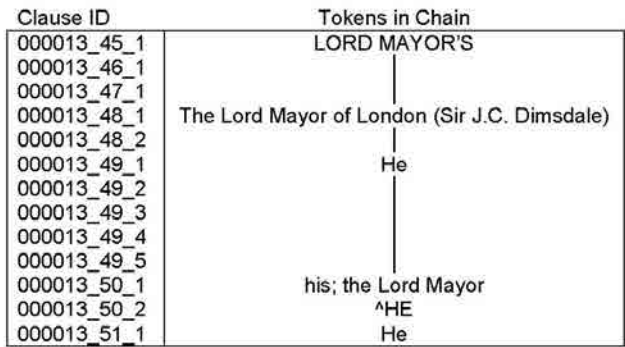


Figure 6-1 Extract of identity chain from Boer War text^{27, 28}

²⁷ The clause numbering shown refers to the clause references assigned by the SysFan program. The first number in the sequence (000013) is the text ID, the second number (e.g. 45) is the clause complex number

Clause ID	Tokens in chain
000004_24_2	attacks
000004_25_1	
000004_26_1	
000004_26_2	a fight; attack
000004_27_1	duel
000004_28_1	ground contact
000004_28_2	a punch
000004_29_1	attack
000004_29_2	
000004_30_1	fire
000004_30_2	salvo

Figure 6-2 Extract of similarity chain from Korean War text

Tokens that do not enter into any chain are called *peripheral tokens*, and, when there is a high proportion of them in a text, they “prevent a consistent reconstitution of the field of the text” (Hasan, 1984: 90). It is unclear, however, what role the peripheral tokens (PTs) *do* play in terms of construing context – they are clearly relevant enough to be mentioned in the text, so they do construe context to some extent, but only in a very marginal way. According to Hasan’s argument (Hasan, 1985d: 90), they do not contribute to the texture of the text, which must be built up through meaning relations within and between clauses, nor do they contribute to the development of field. So their presence in the text is indeed peripheral to the cohesion, and therefore to the textual and experiential meanings of the text that contribute to the construal of context.

Hasan (1984) noted that the identification of chains and relevant tokens was insufficient to account for why some of her sample texts were considered more coherent than others. What was needed, she argued, was to ascertain the degree to which the chains in the text interacted with each other, since cohesion is created not only between paradigmatic options (i.e. co-reference, co-classification, co-extension), but also between syntagmatically related units (i.e. through transitivity relations such as Participant-Process). Thus Hasan investigated the interaction between chains through experiential grammatical relations, and the resulting cohesive harmony analysis revealed significant differences between the texts, which had not been visible from the cohesion analysis alone. An example of chain interaction from my data is shown in Figure 6-3, using the identity chain extract from Figure 6-1. All tokens in that section of the identity chain are involved in chain interactions, and are therefore *central tokens*.

within that text, and the final number (e.g. 1) is the number of the clause within that clause complex. Thus, 13_48_1 and 13_48_2 refer to sequent clauses in one clause complex.

²⁸ Tokens shown in capital letters denote tokens found in headlines or sub-headlines.

The relationship (i) that pertains between chains (a) and (b) is that of Deictic-Thing (in reverse order); the relationship (ii) that pertains between chains (b) and (c) is that of Participant-Process (specifically, Sayer-verbal Process).

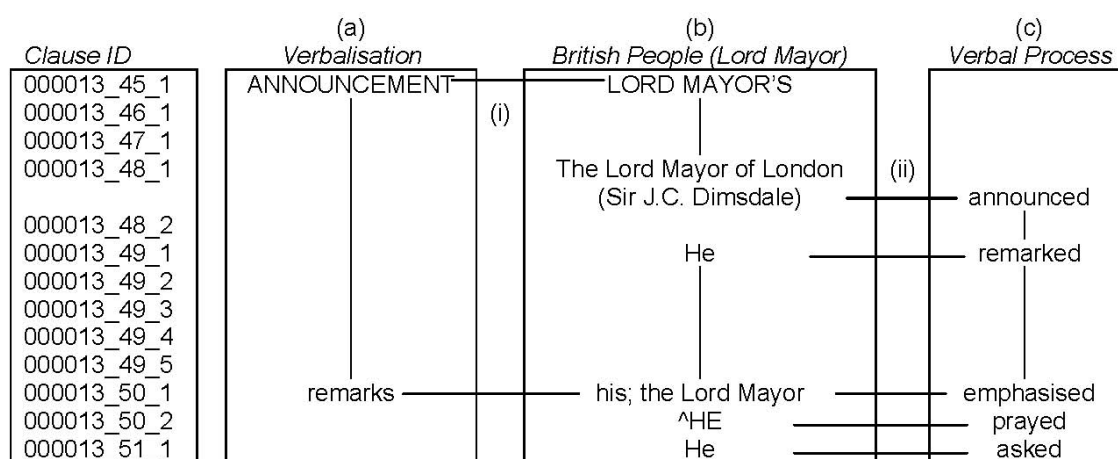


Figure 6-3 Extract of chain interactions from Boer War text

The full chain interaction diagrams are shown in Appendices A.9, D.9, and G.9. For the purposes of explaining and interpreting the analysis of each text, I have given the chains mnemonic names, which are labelled in the diagrams in the Appendices and explained where necessary in the analysis of each text. For example, the extract in Figure 6-2 comes from a chain called 'Fighting-N', which comprises tokens realised by nominal groups in a relationship of co-classification with the meaning 'an act of fighting' (compare 'Fighting-V' chain which comprises verbal group tokens realising fighting as a Process; see section 6.2.2.3 for discussion of decisions about chain membership). As shown in Figure 6-3, the cohesive harmony analysis diagrams are oriented such that the chains run vertically down the page, clause by clause, and each new chain is shown in a new column with the chain name at the top of the chain.

In principle, the clustering of tokens and the interactions between chains should reveal some insights into what has been selected as topical, and where in the unfolding of the text these topical relevancies are foregrounded (Hasan, 1984). For example, a recent study by Lukin (2008, in press), involving cohesive harmony analysis of a television news report text, showed that the text lacked a strong event focus since the chain relating to material Processes was not consistent (i.e. the chain was broken) and it developed by repetition and synonymy rather than by co-extension, which would allow greater development of the

semantic field. As a result, the main kind of event construed in the text was ‘convoys moving’, the repetition of which does not construe a narrative field (Lukin, 2008, in press). This example of the application of cohesive harmony analysis demonstrates the depth of interpretation that can be achieved. The present analysis should therefore result in a profile of the field of discourse in terms of subject matter and how it develops as the text unfolds. Other important outcomes of the analysis will be to see what configuration of field variables is construed as relevant for that news on that day and for that audience, and whether there is anything that stands out from a comparison of the three texts.

I will also use the results of the cohesive harmony analysis as a guide to the discourse structure of the texts (see sections 6.3.3, 6.4.3, and 6.5.3), and compare the segmentation with other accounts of discourse structure in news discourse (e.g. Allan, 2004; Bell, 1998; Iedema et al., 1994; Nanri, 1993; van Dijk, 1988a). The identification of boundaries in text using cohesive harmony analysis has been demonstrated convincingly by Cloran (1999). She examines “the text-making feature – cohesion” to provide “linguistic evidence for the ‘intuitive’ segmentation of the extracts” (p.189), following Hasan’s argument that “the boundaries of a text can normally be determined by reference to the patterns of cohesion” (Hasan, 1978: 242). Since cohesive chains are “threads of semantic continuity” (Hasan, 1994: 138), the presence and absence of chains seen logogenetically can be shown to correlate with boundaries of semantic structural units (Cloran, 1999: 189). The visual representation of the analysis of chain interactions allows us to ‘read off’ the logogenetic patterns and the areas of topical consistency and change in the text. The proposed segmentation of each text based on the cohesive harmony analysis is also shown in the visual representations in the Appendix (Appendices A.9.4, D.9.4, G.9.4).

In the analysis of logogenetic patterning of each text I will include a brief discussion of the logico-semantic relations between segments based on Halliday and Matthiessen’s description of the logico-semantic relations that obtain between clauses in the clause complex: *expansion*, and its subtypes *elaboration*, *extension* and *enhancement* (see e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 376-383, 593-594). The categories of expansion as applied to the clause complex are defined by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 378) as follows:

- Elaboration (represented by ‘=’) is when “one clause expands another by elaborating on it (or some portion of it): restating it in other words, specifying in greater detail, commenting, or exemplifying.”

- Extension (represented by ‘+’) is when “one clause expands another by extending beyond it: adding some new element, giving an exception to it, or offering an alternative.”
- Enhancement (represented by ‘x’) is when “one clause expands another by embellishing around it: qualifying it with some circumstantial feature of time, place, cause or condition.”

I will extend these notions to describe the relations between meaningful units beyond the clause complex, e.g. an elaborating relationship will occur when one segment expands on another by restating, specifying, commenting or exemplifying (see also Ravelli, 2005). The description of relations between segments is merely a proposal at this stage, based on the signalling of relations in the initial clause complex of the segment, or *hyper-Theme* (Martin & Rose, 2007: 194). The relationship between a hyper-Theme and the ‘phase of discourse’ it begins is comparable to the relationship between the Theme and the clause, giving an orientation to the information that is to come (Martin & Rose, 2007: 194). The proposed description of relations between segments is represented in Appendices A.9.3, D.9.3 and G.9.3, and the basis of the interpretation of the relations will be explained in the discussion of each text.

6.2.2 Methodological issues

Hasan’s framework of cohesive harmony has been criticised for addressing only relations in the experiential grammar, and ignoring interpersonal resources or textual resources such as conjunction (e.g. Martin, 2003: 7-8). Hasan herself recognises this metafunctional bias, pointing out that there is no reason cohesive relations within interpersonal and textual grammar could not be included in a cohesive harmony analysis (Hasan, 1984: 212-213). Cohesive harmony was not proposed as an exhaustive account of cohesive resources; it is just one way of combining analyses of structural and non-structural relations in order to account for differences in coherence²⁹, using the readily available descriptive categories that already exist for experientially based cohesive relations (Hasan, 1984: 213). Although my analysis also does not specifically address interpersonal or textual semantic relations, I have, for the few relevant instances, identified chains of tokens that explicitly realise evaluation or appraisal (or Appraisal; see Martin & White, 2005), e.g. Propriety (positive and negative) in the Boer War and Iraq War texts.

²⁹ See Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 579-580) for a discussion of the combination of structural (Theme-Rheme) and cohesive features in creating textual status.

My application of cohesive harmony analysis for the three news texts also raised some methodological questions that would not necessarily have presented themselves in Hasan's (1984) analysis of much simpler texts that contained little embedding, few metaphorical realisations, and a fairly limited range of lexical items. In the following sub-sections I briefly discuss the difficulties that arose in the analysis of these complex texts, and how they were resolved.

6.2.2.1 Clause relations and embedding

The cohesion analysis was done clause by clause, as shown in the examples in Figure 6-1 and Figure 6-2. All three texts also contain embedded (rank-shifted) clauses, which are not discussed in Hasan's analysis of much simpler texts. I analysed each embedded clause as a separate clause, in order to show where tokens and chain interactions were picked up in the embedding (see e.g. Figure 6-4 below). This treatment of embedded clauses allows the explication of echoing of meanings in clauses at group/phrase rank, which would otherwise have been difficult to see. For example, in the Boer War text the phrase *document* *[[containing the terms of surrender]]* is repeated in clauses 13_12_3 and 13_27_4, and without analysing the embedded clause separately the connection would not have been able to be shown clearly. Just because the clause is embedded does not mean that the impact of the repetition of meanings is lessened or that the relation contributes less to the texture of the text.

6.2.2.2 Co-extension and synonymy

Another difficulty that arose in the analysis was how to decide on the extent of co-extension and co-classification between tokens, e.g. how to defensibly group Processes into a cohesive chain. A thesaurus (e.g. Thesaurus.com) was useful here to a certain extent. However, although synonymy is a relation largely determined by semantic relations that are a general fact of English, there are some where the relation is what Hasan calls 'instantial semblance' (Hasan, 1985d: 81), i.e. derived from the usage of meanings in a particular text within a particular context or register (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 577), since the construction of particular taxonomies is part of what distinguishes different fields of discourse (Moore, 2008a: 113). The thesaurus is not designed to account for this systemic dynamism, nor for the patterning of collocation or relationships between words that are more broadly (or contextually) related, e.g. in the Korean War text, the Processes *rose* and *walked*, which are collocated as part of a sequence of events performed by the same person, General Harrison. In the context of that text, there is a logical continuity since General Harrison had to rise from sitting to be able to walk out, and I would argue that the two

Processes are related by co-extension as expressions of ‘movement through space’. Such an interpretation requires a wider view of synonymy than that presented by a thesaurus. There are also a few cases in my texts where the principle of ‘instantial semblance’ must be invoked in order to account for the cohesive effects of particular usages, e.g. in the Iraq War text, *are focusing on targets* as a phrase broadly synonymous with other tokens in the War chain (see section 6.2.2.3).

6.2.2.3 Token status and metaphor

The example referred to in section 6.2.2.2 above, *are focusing on targets*, raises the issue of what constitutes a ‘token’. Sometimes a phrase might be synonymous with a word, and not just in identity chains (e.g. the phrase *U.N. Supreme Commander, General Mark Clark* is co-referential with the pronoun *he*) but in similarity chains also. This is especially the case with metaphorical fixed expressions. Where a phrase can be separated out into its constituents without losing its cohesive effect, I have done so. But in some instances, as in *reached a tipping point* (Iraq War text), it is the phrase as whole, not the individual lexical items in it, that operates cohesively with other tokens in the End chain that relates to the end of a particular state of affairs in Iraq. In such cases I have maintained the integrity of the phrase and treated it as a token.

Another problematic area is how to deal with metaphor in the form of nominalisation, where both the congruent (verbal) and metaphorical (nominalised) forms appear in the text. Examples from the Boer War text include *they would accept the terms* and *their acceptance of the British terms* (the pronouns *they* and *their* both resolve as co-referential with *Boers*). The Process congruently expressed in the first example (Actor-Process-Goal) is metaphorically expressed in a nominalised form in the second example (Deictic-Thing-Qualifier). Semantically, it is still the same people doing the same thing in regard to the terms of peace, but in the first example the meaning has been transformed into a nominal group functioning as Verbiage in a verbal Process: *After signifying their acceptance of the British terms*. But I argue that this still has cohesive value through the principle of agnation, even though the relations between the Boers, Co-operate/Yield and Treaty chains are different in each case. Therefore I count them as instances of the same chain interaction, but code the grammatical relations differently: in the chain interaction diagrams presented below (Figure 6-6, Figure 6-11, and Figure 6-18) this is shown using solid lines for clause relations and dotted lines for nominal group relations.

There are also several occasions where the congruent (verbal) and metaphorical (nominalised) realisations of a Process operate in a syntagmatic relationship with each other in the same clause. Where this has occurred I have placed the nominalised and verbal formulations in separate chains in order to recognise the cohesive effect of the syntagmatic relations. This is the basis for having Verbalisation and Verbal Process chains in the Boer War text, and for having two ‘Fighting’ chains in the Korean War text, e.g. *pressed home attacks, had thrown a final punch, and salvo being fired*. Although there is some inconsistency in treating some nominalisations in the same chain as verbal expressions and some in different chains, I considered that there were sufficient instances of intra-clausal relations between the congruent and metaphorical realisations of some Processes to warrant special treatment in order to pick up their cohesive effect. One important thing to note is that it was frequently Processes relating to the most salient semantic threads in the texts (e.g. verbal Processes, fighting) that were realised both congruently and metaphorically, so it may be that the high frequency of both realisations is an indicator of what areas of the experiential domain are considered most relevant in the text. The treatment of metaphor is an aspect of the analytical framework that clearly needs to be further developed.

There are also some cases where I have recognised a syntagmatic relation between Circumstance of Place/Time and Participant where no common Process exists to otherwise link them. This happens frequently in the Boer War text, particularly in the Jubilation chain, where both nominal and verbal tokens are included, and some nominal groups form part of ‘depictive nominal groups’ (Hasan, 1964) used as headlines, e.g. *JUBILATION IN LONDON*. There appears to be a strong relationship in this text between the Jubilation chain and place chains such as South Africa, Great Britain, and Other Places. In order to draw out this pervasive link, I have treated such Circumstances as relating to the item in the Jubilation chain, whether that item is Process or Participant, since nominalised forms such as *jubilation* are essentially metaphorical Process realisations (see discussion above). In many cases, the tokens in the Jubilation chain operate as Participants in Relational or Existential clauses, so a clear relationship between Participant and Circumstance can be seen.

6.2.2.4 Chain conjunction and disjunction

It was not always possible to categorically assign a token to one particular chain. This occurred for one of two reasons: the token constituted a ‘composite referent’ (Hasan, 1984: 199), or the token was ambiguous in terms of its relation to the established chains. Composite references occur when two identity chains are no longer functionally

differentiated (Hasan, 1984: 199). An example of this is in the Korean War text, which has identity chains relating to *General Harrison* and *General Nam Il* within the similarity chains relating to the Allies/UN and Communists, respectively. Sometimes the pronoun *they* is used as a ‘composite referent’ to refer to both Harrison and Nam Il participating in the same activity. Hasan calls this ‘chain conjunction’ (Hasan, 1984: 196), and where it occurs I have listed the joint token in both chains but only counted it once. The inclusion of identity chains within similarity chains, as in the above example, creates a ‘complex chain’, of which there are several in the three texts analysed here. These will be discussed in relation to each text. There were also some ambiguous tokens that could not be unequivocally placed in only one chain. This happens, for example, in the Boer War text where the token relates to both Great Britain and British People, e.g. *the Empire*, which refers to both place (British dominions, therefore related by co-extension to the Great Britain chain) and populace (British subjects, therefore related by co-extension to the British People chain). I have marked this in the clause-by-clause analysis by placing the token in both chains and marking the chain boundary using a broken line, as demonstrated in Figure 6-4.

Clause ID	Great Britain	British People	Co-operate/Yield	War
000013_29_1.1	[[<i>Empire</i>]]	[[<i>Empire</i>]]	[[<i>passed through</i>]]	[[<i>ordeal</i>]]
000013_29_1.1.1	[[<i>it</i>]]	[[<i>it</i>]]	[[<i>has undergone</i>]]	[[<i>^THAT</i>]] (i.e. <i>ordeal</i>)

Figure 6-4 Example of token ambiguity from the Boer War text

6.2.3 Quantifying cohesive harmony

The degree of cohesive harmony in a text is the function of a combination of (1) the proportion of peripheral tokens (PTs) to relevant tokens (RTs), (2) the proportion of central tokens (CTs) to non-central tokens (i.e. tokens which do not enter into chain interactions), and (3) the occurrence of breaks in the interaction. Texts with a high degree of cohesive harmony would have low readings for (1) and (3) and a high proportion for (2) (Hasan, 1984; Taboada, 2004: 169). My concern in this chapter is to use cohesive harmony to characterise contextual relevance, texture and structure, rather than to measure coherence, so I will only briefly mention the cohesive harmony statistics for these texts for the purposes of an initial comparison. The numbers of relevant, central, peripheral and total tokens, and their proportions in relation to each other, are shown in Table 6-1. According to Hasan, “any text will be seen as coherent, in which the central tokens (CT) form at least 50 per cent of the total tokens (TT)” (Hasan, 1984: 216). By this measure, all the texts are ‘coherent’ and the Korean War text has the highest degree of cohesive harmony, followed by the Iraq War text

and finally the Boer War text. It is not surprising that the Boer War text has the lowest coherence reading, since it was constructed out of a number of different ‘texts’ in the first instance. The fact that it still scores over 50% suggests that it can legitimately be recognised as a ‘text’ despite its apparently fragmentary nature, and that part of the job of the *SMH* journalists was to put the individual corantos together in such a way as to make them into a coherent text, but without greatly altering the original content (cf. Matheson, 2000).

	RTs	CTs	PTs	TTs	CT/PT ratio	CTs as % of RTs	CTs as % of TTs
Boer War text	597	332	49	646	6.8	55%	51.39%
Korean War text	481	353	51	534	6.9	73%	66.10%
Iraq War text	361	243	52	413	4.7	67%	58.84%

Table 6-1 Cohesive harmony statistics for Boer War, Korean War, and Iraq War texts

Hasan also suggests that “the ratio of CT to PT is associated with coherence: the higher the ratio of CT to PT, the more coherent the text will be, all else being assumed equal” (Hasan, 1984: 218). However, the results for this ratio are surprising, as the Boer War text has a ratio close to that of the Korean War text, despite having the lowest proportion of CT to TT. For every PT in the Boer War text there are nearly seven CTs, whereas there are only 4.7 CTs to every PT in the Iraq War text. This is because there are few PTs in comparison to TTs in the Boer War text (7.59% as opposed to 9.92% in the Korean War text and 12.59% in the Iraq War text), and a high proportion of RTs that are not CTs (i.e. they do not enter into chain interactions) so the proportion of CT to TT remains relatively low. The Boer War text has a high proportion of RTs, i.e. tokens that are subsumed in chains through cohesive relations with other tokens. But only 55% of these RTs enter into chain interactions and become CTs, compared with 73% in the Korean War text and 67% in the Iraq War text. The telegraphic quality of the Boer War text and the brevity of many of the corantos mean that the opportunity for chains to interact with other chains in two or more syntagms is reduced, leading to lower cohesive harmony, even though few of the tokens are PTs.

6.3 Boer War text

Having introduced the cohesive harmony framework in the previous section, I will present the analysis of cohesive harmony for each text in chronological order in this section and the following two sections (sections 6.4 and 6.5). The presentation focuses on the cohesive chains

and their length, density, and interactions as indications of texture and development of experiential domain, and the logogenetic patterning of chain interactions as an indication of text structure.

From the very outset, the Boer War text is textually quite different from the other texts in that it is made up of individual ‘corantos’. Furthermore, some corantos are very brief (e.g. 1 sentence), and some of them differ greatly in terms of topic, while still being related to the end of the war (e.g. corantos headed *THE GENERAL REJOICINGS* and *THE TRANSVAAL BONDS*). The brevity of the corantos means that there is often scarcely an opportunity for chain interactions to be formed within or between the coranto segments. The analysis of this text therefore demonstrates some significant and interesting differences in structure in comparison to the later texts, and also highlights the issue of what should be treated as a unit of text (see chapter 3). The cohesive harmony analysis provides evidence for the validity of treating the collection of corantos as a text (as demonstrated in section 6.2.3), but also highlights the differences in composition between this text and the others analysed in this chapter.

A full chart showing the chain interactions in this text is presented in Appendix A.9.1. An overview of the chart is shown in Figure 6-5, in a very much reduced version, for the purposes of viewing the overall patterning and shifting of tokens in chains and interactions between chains. The interacting chains in the text are represented by the vertical columns with the chain name at the top, and the interactions between chains are drawn in as thin black horizontal lines. The bold grey horizontal lines indicate the proposed segment boundaries based on the patterning of chain interactions and shifts within the chains (see section 6.3.3). A selection of the chains is labelled for the purposes of illustrating the fact that, while there are a lot of chains that are very short and contain very few tokens (e.g. Song+Sing and Defeat chains), there are also some focal chains (Hasan, 1985d: 94) that are virtually text-exhaustive and provide crucial links to unify the text (e.g. Great Britain/British People, Boers, Verbal Processes, and Co-operate/Yield chains). These chains create strong semantic threads related to the belligerents, verbal Processes, and a construal of the Processes by which the war is brought to a close, which are not unexpected in a news report about the end of war because of the nature of the activity of news reporting and the subject matter of the reporting. The Great Britain/British People chains are complex chains containing a number of identity chains, such as one relating to the Lord Mayor of London (see Figure 6-1 and Figure 6-3 above). A broken line traces the general shape of the chart,

and indicates that a small set of meanings are introduced at the beginning of the text and continue throughout, and new ideas continue to be introduced throughout the text in interaction with the focal chains. Returning to the musical analogy of harmony, we can see that there is a 'dominant key' creating unity in the text with successive individual motifs being introduced and developed briefly and then abandoned.

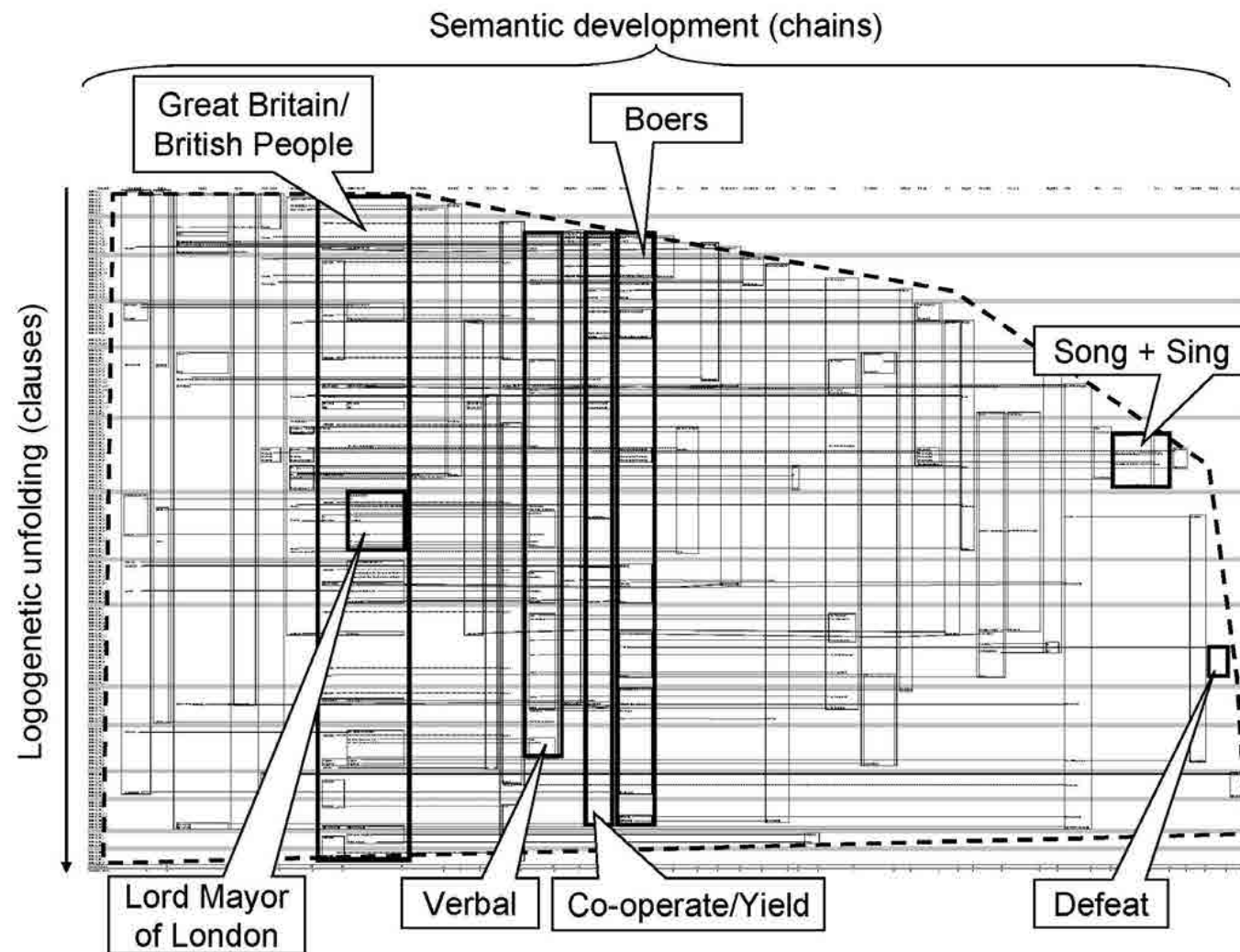


Figure 6-5 Overview of Boer War text chain interactions

6.3.1 Chain interactions

The 42 interacting chains in this text make up 76% of the total of 55 chains. The 13 non-interacting chains are News, Only, Restore, Prosperity, Necessary, Cause/Reason, Same, Independent, Church, Goodwill, Condition, Ireland, and Interest. Most of these contain only 2-4 tokens, so they are essentially minimally formed. Two of the chains, Same and Church, contain 9 tokens each, but none of these enters into a relationship with a token in another chain more than once. In the case of the Church chain, tokens often co-occur in the one clause, e.g. *“Now Thank We All Our God” was sung at the close of the service at St Paul’s and the Chapel Royal*, so the opportunity for chain interaction is minimal. The non-interacting chains will not be discussed further here.

The interacting chains are displayed in Figure 6-6 as a network of interactions, with chains represented as ellipse shapes containing the mnemonic chain name. The chain conjunction between the Great Britain and British People chains (see section 6.2.2.4) is indicated by the larger ellipse encircling the two individual chains. The interactions between chains are coded in two ways. Firstly, they are coded according to the kind of syntagmatic relation(s) that operate between tokens in the two chains, and this is shown by the different line styles (e.g. Participant-Process represented by solid line, Epithet-Thing represented by dotted line). Secondly, they are coded according to interaction strength, i.e. the number of times that interaction is repeated, and this is shown by the different end styles of the joining lines, e.g. round end shows interaction strengths of 14 to 16 interactions. For example, the relationship between tokens in the British People and Verbalisation chains is a nominal group relation, namely Deictic-Thing, and this interaction occurs in the range of 5-8 times in the text. Some chains (Boers, Great Britain/British People and Jubilation chains) also show a number, which indicates how many other chains that chain interacts with: these are the most highly interactive chains. I have also included in this network the datelines attached to each coranto, which set up interactions between date (*June 1* or *June 2* in the Date chain) and place (*LONDON* in the Great Britain chain), in order to further highlight the Anglo-centricity of the information presented in the text.

The diagram shows schematically the way the field of discourse has been divided up in the text by showing which chains interact with which other chains, although it lacks a logogenetic dimension (see section 6.3.3 for a discussion of logogenetic patterning in the text). The diagram also clearly shows the chains that have limited relevance in this text, i.e. those that interact with only one other chain. This is the case for just over half (22) of the chains. Many of these minimally interacting chains are concentrated around two focal chains: the Jubilation chain (Degree, Other Places, Streets, General, Be, Hold, and Time) and the Boers chain (Mental, Delegates, Attitude, and Defeat). In 10 of the chains that only interact with one other chain, the interaction is minimal (i.e. only two tokens in each chain interact with each other), and in many cases the continuity of interaction is closed off within a very short span of the text, e.g. Come (11 clauses apart), Defeat (9 clauses), Conference (8 clauses), Bonds (7 clauses), Be (3 tokens over 7 clauses), Streets (6 clauses), Soldiers (3 clauses). This finding reflects the coranto style composition of the text as the compilation of a number of smaller, essentially self-sufficient ‘texts’ presenting only minimally related information. Although the minimally interacting chains are of limited relevance themselves, they contribute to the field development of other meanings that are presented as salient, e.g. the idea of celebration of the end of war that is captured in the pervasive Jubilation chain. Despite the large number of short, minimally interacting chains there is sufficient continuity of the longer, highly interactive chains (Great Britain/British People, Boers, and Co-operate/Yield) to create cohesion between the semantically disparate coranto units and provide textual unity.

The large number of interacting chains in this text (not to mention non-interacting chains), as well as the large number of chains interacting with only one other chain, indicates that many different areas of the field of discourse are invoked but not necessarily sustained to the extent of allowing the topic to be elaborated in relation to other meanings. The semantics of the text are thus dispersed, with each main idea undergoing limited topical development. For example the Defeat chain participates in only 2 interactions, which is an interesting finding in a text about the end of a war. The Delegates chain, despite having a relatively high degree of concentration (5 CTs out of a total of 10 RTs), remains associated only with the Boers chain in terms of cohesive harmony. There is mention of ‘British and Boer delegates’ but the interaction of the Delegates chain with the Great Britain/British People chain is never echoed. Instead, the British delegates are mentioned by name (i.e. Lord

Kitchener and Lord Milner). The text also refers to a wide range of places, through the sustained chains relating to Great Britain and South Africa, and also through the Other Places chain, which includes places outside of either of the belligerent nations, e.g. *New South Wales*, *Canada*, and *the Continent*. The semantic dispersion of the text is thus extended to geographical reference as well.

The extracted sample of chain interaction shown in Figure 6-3 above is a good example of the kind of texture I have just described, where a small number of chains interact over a short span of clauses to create a tightly cohesive section of text contributing to the development of a particular topic area. The central chain (b) shows the whole of the identity chain relating to the Lord Mayor of London, which is subsumed in a complex similarity chain relating to British people, one of the most highly interactive chains in the text (see Figure 6-6). The fact that all tokens in the British People chain in that section of the text enter into interactions with just two other chains (the Verbalisation and Verbal Processes chains) indicates that the coranto is highly cohesive and consistent with respect to itself in terms of field representation. Although this segment of the text seems self-contained and insular, it is cohesively related to the rest of the text by two devices in particular: (i) co-classification with other tokens in the Verbal Process chain, which is one of the longest and densest chains in the text, interacting with other major chains throughout the text (e.g. Press, Boers, Peace); and (ii) the co-meronymic relation between the tokens in the Lord Mayor of London identity chain and other tokens in the British People complex chain of which it is part. The interaction and configurations of these chains creates a consistent texture based on ‘similar people saying things’, which extends throughout the text.

Another chain that seems to have surprisingly limited field relevance is the Sign chain, which interacts with only three chains: Treaty (Process-Goal), Boers (Actor-Process), and South Africa (Process-Circumstance). There is no chain interaction with Great Britain/British People, which is somewhat surprising given the fact that both warring parties necessarily signed the treaty. This is not to say that there is no mention of the British signing the treaty, as the text states early on: *Lord Kitchener, in his despatch to the Imperial Government, added that Lord Milner and himself had also signed the document*. Rather, it is to point out that there is no echo of this experiential meaning in the way that the Boers+Sign+Treaty syntagm is echoed. The persistent combination of the motif of the Boers signing the treaty and the motif of the Boers co-operating with the treaty and yielding to the

terms suggests that the British did not take the surrender for granted and recognised the potential for the Boers to refuse to accept the terms and withdraw their co-operation.

6.3.2 Chain length and density

The longer a chain is operational in the text, and the more frequently tokens from it are involved, the more work it must be doing in the creation of texture and the construal of the field. The degree to which each chain is involved in the creation of texture can be found by measuring chain length and the density of CTs and RTs in each chain. The length of a chain is ascertained by counting the number of clauses over which the chain spans, from first RT to last RT, and expressing this as a percentage of the total clauses in the text; i.e. over what proportion of the text does the chain extend? For example, the Great Britain chain spans 98% (173) of the 176 clauses in the text. Chain density is measured by comparing the clause span of the chain with the number of RTs in the chain; i.e. how many of the clauses over which the chain spans contain a token from that chain? The Great Britain chain contains 51 RTs, which means it has a density of 29.5% (51 RTs divided by 173 clauses). The ‘centrality’ of the chain in creating texture is expressed through a calculation of the proportion of RTs in the chain that operate as CTs, i.e. what proportion of the tokens in the chain participate in chain interactions? The Great Britain chain contains 33 CTs, which means the measure of centrality of its tokens is 64.7% (33 CTs divided by 51 RTs).

In Figure 6-7 I present the statistics in relation to chain density and centrality for the longest chains in the text (spanning 75% or more of the 176 clauses, including embedded clauses), with the chains presented in increasing order of length (i.e. the Other Places chain is the longest). The chains with the highest density (proportion of RTs to length in clauses) are Great Britain (29%)/British People (35%), Boers (27%), and Verbal Processes (24%). The Great Britain and Other Places chains are the longest chains in the text, spanning 98% of the clauses in the text. However, whereas the Great Britain chain is relatively dense (51 RTs including 33 CTs over 173 clauses), the Other Places chain is quite sparse (11 RTs, 4 CTs over 173 clauses). The Great Britain/British People, Boers, Co-operate/Yield, and Verbal Process chains are like the elements of a ‘key’ in a piece of music: they constitute a stable centre around which other meanings gravitate (cf. Goldman, 1965: 6). Just as “the exhibition and manipulation of [the key’s] primary elements” are central to the establishment of the key or tonality of a piece of music (Goldman, 1965: 6), the focal cohesive chains in this text are central to the creation of texture in the text.

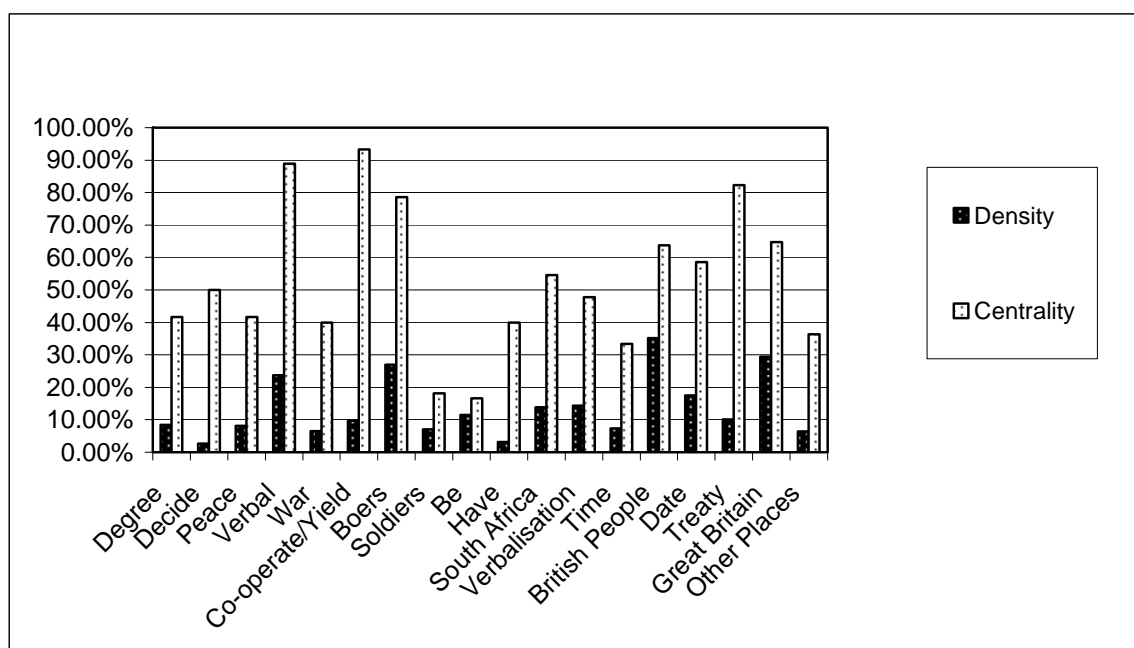


Figure 6-7 Density and centrality of tokens in longest chains in the Boer War text (in increasing order of length)

6.3.3 Logogenetic patterning and structure

The analysis of cohesive chains and their interactions suggests a division of the text into 15 segments. These are marked in the chart in Appendix A.9.1 by the horizontal grey lines, indicated with the text instance in Appendix A.9.3, and displayed as a configuration of chain interactions in Appendix A.9.4. (In the diagrams in Appendix A.9.4, the black ellipses indicate chains operational in that segment, whereas the grey ellipses indicate the chains that were introduced in previous segments but are inactive in that particular segment.) The beginning of a new segment frequently corresponds with the beginning of a new chain or chain interaction, just as new tonal relationships in a piece of music may distinguish between movements. The segmentation suggested by the cohesive harmony analysis corresponds nearly with the coranto boundaries in the original print formatting of the text, as shown in Table 6-2. In the original print formatting, there are 16 visually differentiated sections, including 15 individual corantos and a bank of 7 headlines. In the segments suggested by the cohesive harmony analysis, the two consecutive corantos headed *VIEWS OF THE ENGLISH PRESS* and *VIEWS ON THE CONTINENT* are combined as Segment I, primarily because of the consistent interaction between the Press chain and the Verbal chain as both corantos present views according to various newspapers.

Segment	Corresponding coranto(s)
A	Bank of headlines: DECLARATION OF PEACE TREATY SIGNED AT PRETORIA JUBILATION IN LONDON THE NEWS IN SYDNEY GENERAL REJOICINGS EXPRESSIONS OF GRATIFICATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN
B	THE FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT
C	THE VEREENIGING CONFERENCE
D	KING EDWARD'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE
E	STATEMENT BY THE "LONDON TIMES"
F	THE GENERAL REJOICINGS
G	THE LORD MAYOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT IN LONDON
H	SPEECH BY THE GOVERNOR OF NATAL
I	VIEWS OF THE ENGLISH PRESS VIEWS ON THE CONTINENT
J	THE NEGOTIATIONS
K	THE IRISH NATIONALIST VIEW
L	TRANSVAAL BONDS
M	TIME FOR A DECISION
N	CONDITION OF THE BRITISH TROOPS
O	COLONEL DE LISLE

Table 6-2 Segmentation of the Boer War text in relation to coranto divisions

The chain interactions in Segment I are shown in Figure 6-8 (reproduced from Appendix A.9.4): chains active in Segment I are shown in black, whereas chains introduced in previous segments but not taken up in this segment are shown in grey. All other corantos are maintained as separate structural units in terms of their texture. Despite the visual fragmentation of the text, the cohesive harmony analysis shows that there is a degree of consistency and cohesion in the text. For example, as mentioned in section 6.3.1, the Great Britain/British People chain combination is virtually text-exhaustive and represented in every segment, even if only by *LONDON* in the dateline, and therefore it provides a consistent semantic thread with which other chains interact at different points in the text.

No two consecutive segments have exactly the same configuration of chain interactions, which suggests that the contextual configuration was sufficiently different at each point in the logogenetic unfolding to bring about a change in texture realising a qualitatively different element of the text's structure. An important consideration is what the effect would be on the segmentation suggested here if the corantos had been arranged differently in the

original. For example, if another coranto had been inserted between *VIEWS OF THE ENGLISH PRESS* and *VIEWS ON THE CONTINENT*, the cohesive harmony analysis would have identified them as two separate segments rather than one. Likewise, there are some non-consecutive corantos that display very similar patterns of chain interaction, e.g. *MR KRUGER'S OPINION* and *TIME FOR DECISION* (realising segments J and M), which might have been considered one segment if they had been arranged consecutively in the original.

The issue at stake here is the principle upon which the order of information in the text is decided, as it seems that the units could almost have appeared in any order. However, there does seem to be some priority of order: the coranto headed *THE FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT* comes first after the headlines, presenting the main piece of information (the news of the declaration of peace) in relation to which all others are to be interpreted. In spite of this, the subsequent segments are not dependent on the first segment in terms of topic introduction and development: only a small number of chains are introduced at the beginning of the text (and these are mostly sustained throughout the text) but many new chains are introduced in later segments and these interact with the focal chains. Each coranto, while involving at least one of the focal chains in the text, either is centred on a particular identity chain from within a complex chain, e.g. the coranto about the Lord Mayor of London's speech is focused on the Lord Mayor of London identity chain (see Figure 6-3 above), or invokes a new minimally interacting chain that exists only for the duration of that coranto.

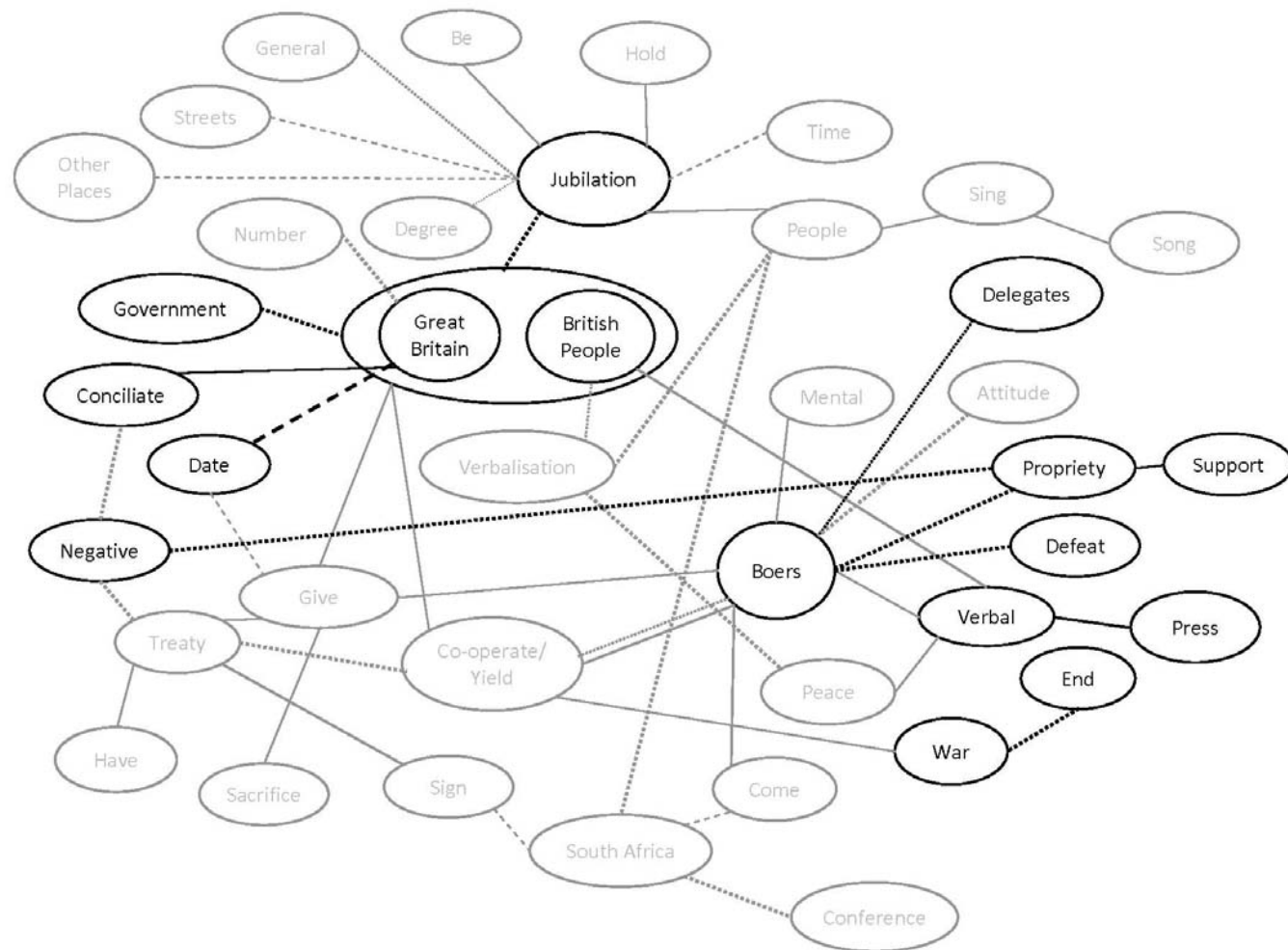


Figure 6-8 Chain interactions in Segment I of the Boer War text

The logico-semantic relations between segments in this text are represented visually in Figure 6-9 (see also [Appendix A.9.3](#)). Most of the segments (segments C, D, E, H, I, J, K, L, M, N and O) are presented as units that operate independently of segment A, in that they do not obviously develop any of the headlines contained in the initial segment (see Table 6-2 above and [Appendix A.9.3](#)). Segments B, F and G elaborate segment A by specifying the details of the events prefaced in the headlines *DECLARATION OF PEACE*, *TREATY SIGNED AT PRETORIA*, and *THE GENERAL REJOICINGS*. None of the segments operates in a relationship of expansion with any segment apart from segment A, although segments C and J could possibly be interpreted as temporal enhancement of segment B, adding information about events leading up to the signing of the treaty (the conference at Vereeniging and the treaty negotiations). The segments identified by the cohesive harmony analysis of this text thus suggest a primarily univariate structure, where most segments are independent and are not explicitly construed as a development of information presented in another segment. The various corantos gathered together in the central section of the page are not strongly integrated with each other, even though they cohere in a general way through their relationship to the focal chains in the text.



Figure 6-9 Logico-semantic relations between segments in the Boer War text

Summary of Boer War text analysis

This section has presented the findings of the cohesive harmony analysis of the Boer War text. The semantics of the text were shown to be quite dispersed, involving a large number of chains, some of which operated very locally within the text, but also maintaining a degree of cohesion and unity through a small number of focal chains. This is an effect of the telegraphic composition of the text. The core chains show that the text is centrally concerned with meanings related to the belligerents, co-operation and surrender to the treaty, jubilation in response to the end of war, and the verbal reporting of information and opinions. These meanings unfold in segments in a primarily univariate structure, with most segments operating independently of the other segments but with some in relationships of elaboration to the initial segment. The implication of the structural relations is that apart from the first coranto (segment B), the segments could have appeared in any order. A comparative analysis of the Korean War text will be presented in the following section.

6.4 Korean War text

In section 6.2.3 I noted that, of the three texts, the Korean War text has the highest cohesive harmony score based on the proportion of CTs to TTs (and also CTs to RTs). Thus we should expect to see a different kind of texture than that of the Boer War text, including denser chains, different patterning of chain interactions, and tighter field development. The full chain interaction chart is presented in Appendix D.9.1, and an overview of the chart is presented in Figure 6-10. The overview diagram shows that, like the Boer War text, this text has a number of strong focal chains that are virtually text-exhaustive: Participant chains relating to the UN/Allies, the Communists, and the Truce, a Process chain of Signing, and a chain relating to Time. The prevalent motif of time in this text has already been demonstrated in chapter 4, so it is not surprising that a cohesive chain relating to time has also emerged in this analysis.

The broken line around the schematic ‘shape’ of the configuration of the chart shows that the manner of logogenetic unfolding of the chain interactions bears some similarity to the Boer War text chart in that the number of operational chains increases as the text unfolds. But the number of chains tapers off towards the end of the text, suggesting a return to previously introduced topics. There is a great deal of chain interaction activity around the central part of the chart, suggesting a tightly cohesive segment or segments, which I will discuss in the following section (6.4.1). Returning to the musical analogy, this text is similar to the Boer War text in that it maintains a clear ‘key’ but brings in a variety of individual motifs. In this text the motifs are taken up and developed for a time, and then many are returned to in a slightly different configuration later in the text.

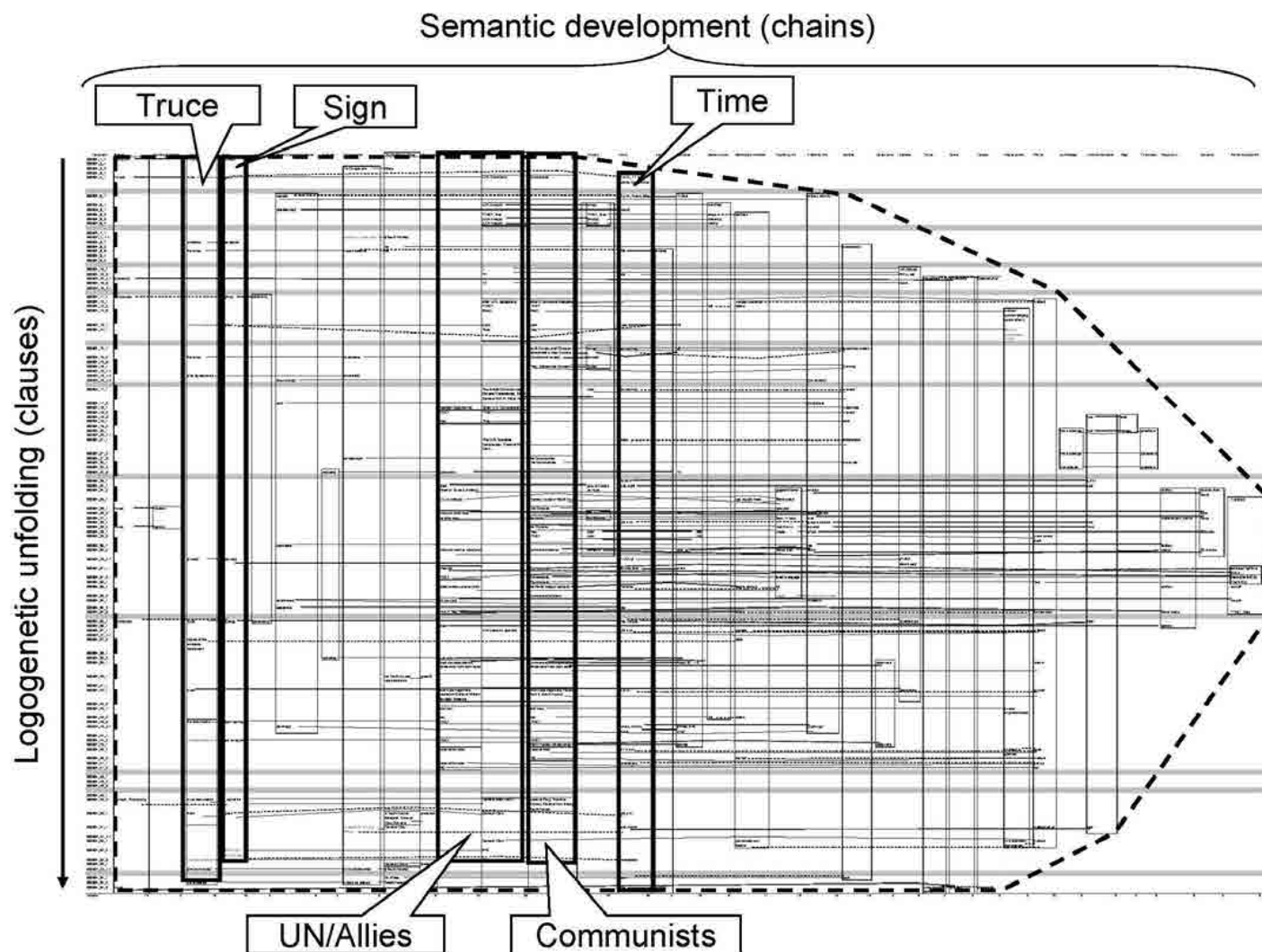


Figure 6-10 Overview of Korean War text chain interactions

6.4.1 Chain interactions

The cohesive harmony analysis of this text yielded 36 interacting chains, which constitutes 82% of the total of 44 cohesive chains. There are only 8 non-interacting chains: Be, Behaviour, Meet, Place (comprising places outside of Korea and general spatial references such as *zone* and *nations*), Word, Prepared, Noise, and Security Guard. As with the non-interacting chains in the Boer War text, most of these are minimally cohesive chains, although the Be and Place chains have 14 and 11 tokens respectively, none of which interacts more than once with tokens from another chain.

The interacting chains are displayed in Figure 6-11 in the environment of their interactions with other chains. The diagram is much more intricate and tightly interwoven than that of the Boer War text, reflecting the greater degree of cohesion achieved in the text. Less than a third (10) of the interacting chains interact with only one other chain, and these minimal interactions are distributed among the various chains of the text, with no real concentration around any one chain (compared to the Jubilation chain in the Boer War text, for example). Cohesive references to place are less diverse than in the Boer War text, with the text centring primarily on Panmunjon (Korea chain), the site of the signing ceremony. It is also worth noting here that two of the minimally interacting chains (Exchange and Prisoners) interact only with each other, constituting an isolated interaction the likes of which occurs nowhere else in any of the texts (see section 6.4.3 for more discussion in relation to this interaction).

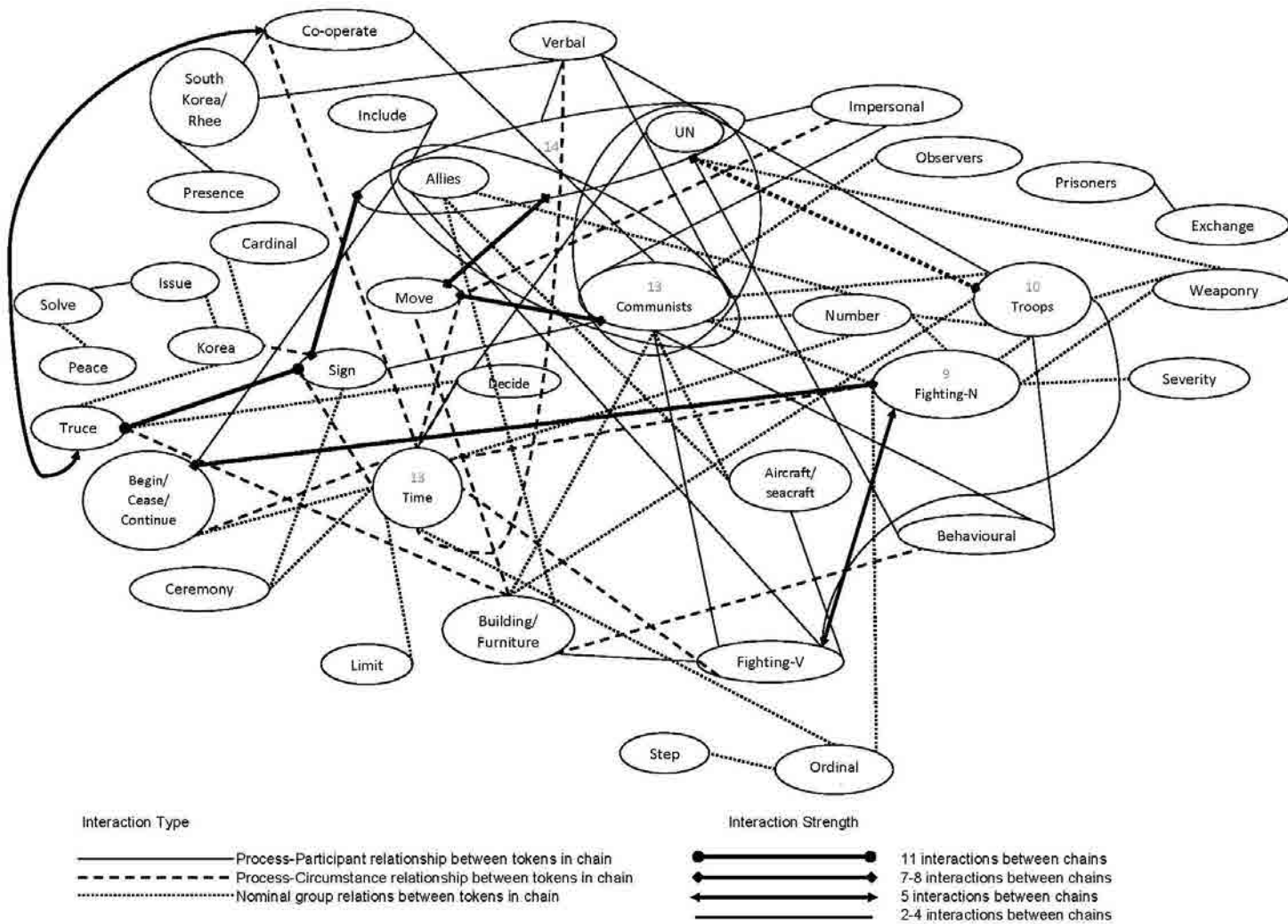


Figure 6-11 Korean War text cohesive chain interactions

As with the Boer War text, there are some significant chain conjunctions: here, three chains (Allies, UN and Communists) variously form chain conjunctions at particular points in the text. They conjoin in all combinations: Allies/UN, Allies/Communists, UN/Communists. The chain interaction diagram (Figure 6-11) shows this three-way chain conjunction in the context of all chain interactions, and Figure 6-12 shows the chain conjunction in isolation for a clearer view. The Allies chain includes tokens representing American, British, or generally Allied parties (e.g. *Allied ground troops*, *Allied correspondents and observers*), whereas the tokens in the UN chain are explicitly identified as representatives of the UN (e.g. *U.N. Command*; *U.N. security guards*; *U.N. Supreme Commander, Mark Clark*). The Communists chain includes tokens explicitly identified with the Communists (e.g. *The Communists*, *Communist artillery*), or aligned with North Korea or China (e.g. *General Nam Il (North Korea)*, *General Peng Teh-huai (China)*, *the Chinese*). The Allied and UN chains join through grammatical conjunction only once: *Other U.N. Commanders* (UN chain) *and President Eisenhower* (Allies chain) *welcomed the armistice*. But the chains are also joined semantically in that the Allies were fighting under the banner of the UN, and many of the tokens are double coded as being both Allies and UN. However, the two chains operate slightly differently overall (as shown in Figure 6-11 and Figure 6-12) so I maintain the distinction between them. The UN and Communist chains conjoin at points in the text where the truce signing ceremony is being recounted, so the two sides are construed as jointly enacting the end of war. An example of this chain conjunction is shown in Extract 6-1 (from segment E; see section 6.4.3).

The chief U.N. and Communist delegates walked into a wooden building and ^THEY sat down at tables without acknowledging each other. Each signed 18 times.

Extract 6-1 Paragraph from Korean War text showing realisation of chain conjunction between the UN and Communist chains

The Allies and Communists chains also conjoin in a later, more detailed recount of the truce signing ceremony (segment I; see section 6.4.3). Despite the fact that the UN/Allied forces were fighting on the side of South Korea, I have kept the South Korea/Rhee chain separate from these chains, as it operates differently from them. I include the identity chain relating to President Syngman Rhee in the South Korea chain because Rhee is the official representative of South Korea and relates to South Korea by meronymy, just as General Mark Clark is part of the UN complex chain. The South Korea/Rhee chain only interacts with three other chains: Verbal, Co-operate, and Presence (e.g. *the presence of...*), the latter

two of which the Allies/UN chains do not interact with at all. Thus the South Koreans are semantically and grammatically separated from the Allies and UN, which suggests a kind of schism between the two even though they were ostensibly working together. Knightley (2004) suggests that such a schism did actually exist between the Allies and the South Koreans, as there was a lack of trust and co-operation. For example, Knightley writes that “South Korean troops [were]... blowing up roads and bridges without warning their American advisers, and often killing their own men by mistake” (Knightley, 2004: 366), and that the South Koreans’ conduct in the war “caused a wave of disillusionment with the South Korean regime and with the war in general” (Knightley, 2004: 376). This aspect of the relationship between the Allies and South Korea is also indicated in the text in relation to suspicion of South Korea’s non-co-operation in the truce, e.g. *Fears that South Korea might still fight on were stilled by her President, Dr. Syngman Rhee.*

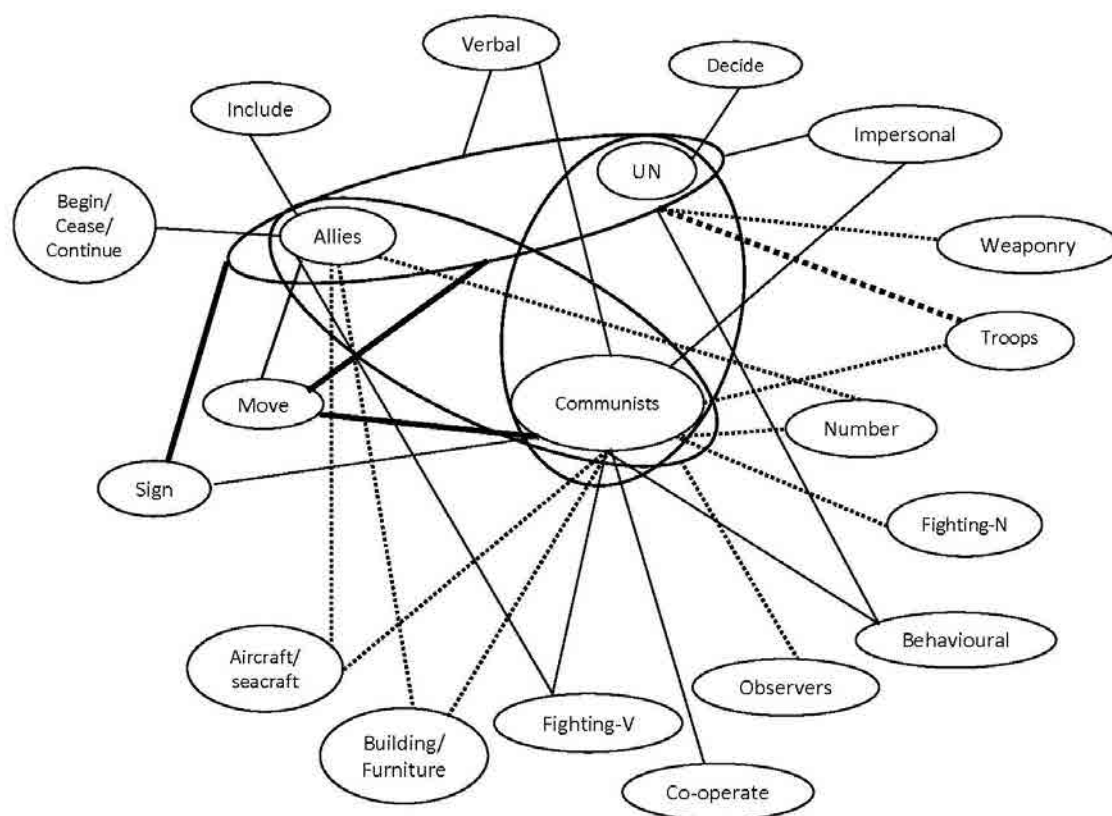


Figure 6-12 Detail of Korean War text chain interaction network showing three-way chain conjunction

As shown in Figure 6-11, the chains with the highest number of interactions with other chains are Allies/UN (14), Time (e.g. *10 a.m., to-day, hours*) (14), Communists (13), Troops (e.g. *troops, forces, Marines*) (10) and Fighting-N (fighting as nominal group, e.g. *attack, duel*)

(9). The tokens (CTs) in these chains are therefore highly involved in this account of the end of the Korean War. The strongest chain interactions, i.e. with the highest number of repeated interactions between the same two chains (see Figure 6-11 for interaction strength coding), are:

Sign + Truce (e.g. *armistice was signed*) (11)

Allies/UN + Sign (e.g. *General Clark signed*) (8)

Allies/UN + Move (e.g. *General Cark walked*) (8)

Communists + Move (e.g. *General Nam rose*) (7)

Allies/UN + Troops (e.g. *UN troops*) (7)

Begin/Cease/Continue + Fighting-N (e.g. *military activity ceased*) (7)

Co-operate + Truce (e.g. *would observe the truce*) (5)

Fighting-V + Fighting-N (e.g. *pressed home attacks*) (5)

In this text, the Allies, UN, Communists, and Time chains interact with a diverse range of other chains, in both clause-level and group-level relations. As mentioned above, many of the interactions of the Allies and UN chains are joint interactions with the Communists chain, as some of the account describes Processes that the chief truce negotiators from both sides did together, e.g. *The Communists and the U.N. Command signed the Korean truce*. In some cases the conjunction is between identity chains subsumed under the broader Allies/UN and Communists similarity chains. For example, Extract 6-2 below shows the conjunction of the identity chains for General Harrison (American truce negotiator) and General Nam Il (North Korean truce negotiator), and the chain interactions of the conjoined chains is illustrated in Figure 6-13.

At 10 a.m., the chief truce negotiators, Lieutenant-General William Harrison (America), and General Nam Il (North Korea), arrived and ^THEY immediately began the ceremony. Both men were expressionless as they sat at tables and ^THEY began signing the documents ending three years, one month, and two days of fighting. They exchanged copies and ^THEY went on signing...

Extract 6-2 Selection from the Korean War text showing chain conjunction of identity chains

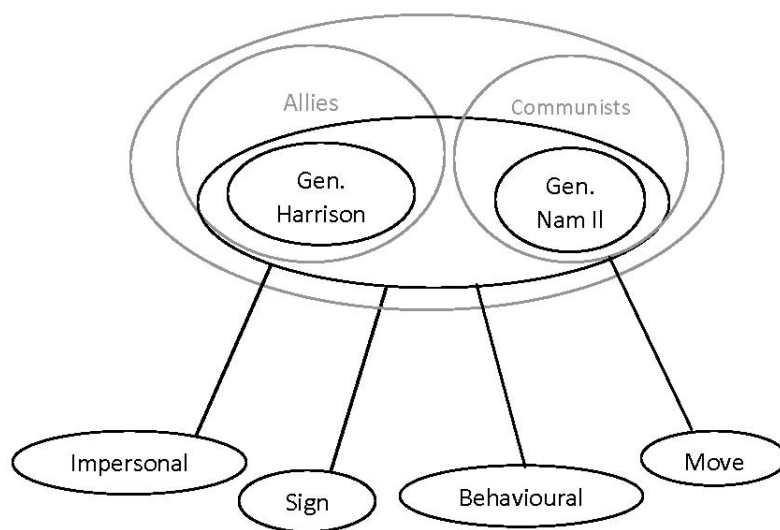


Figure 6-13 Detail of chain conjunction and interactions from extract of the Korean War text

The presence of CTs and the strength and diversity of chain interactions between them facilitates “a consistent reconstitution of the field of the text” (Hasan, 1985d: 90). CTs are both grammatically relevant to the text and semantically relevant to the context across a range of experiential domains. For example, chain interactions in this text represent the Communists as not just signing the truce, but also engaging in a range of Processes including saying, behaving, moving, fighting, and co-operating; and in the grammar of the nominal group they are not just construed as the possessors of weaponry, but are also linked to other material and symbolic aspects of the field, e.g. troops, observers of the signing ceremony, buildings and furniture, aircraft and seacraft, and acts of fighting (see Figure 6-11). These semantic and grammatical relations work together to construe the relevant field of discourse out of the vast array of situational factors.

A closer look at the interactions of the Co-operate chain is also revealing. It interacts with the South Korea/Rhee, Communists, Truce, and Time chains. Of the six tokens in the Co-operate chain with which the South Korea/Rhee chain interacts, four indicate that South Korea will co-operate (e.g. *Rhee To Co-operate*, *South Korea would not disturb the armistice*), and two suggest non-co-operation (e.g. *General Choi walked out of truce talks*, *South Korea might still fight on*). South Korea’s co-operation with the truce is thus called into question through this motif of contingent co-operation. The Communists chain also interacts with the Co-operate chain: *North Korean and Chinese commanders this morning broadcast orders to their troops to observe the truce strictly* and *The U.N. Supreme Commander, General Mark Clark, to-day announced*

that the exchange [of prisoners] would begin within a week if the Communists co-operated. The fact that only these two parties are collocated with the co-operation motif suggests that South Korea's co-operation was to be regarded with the kind of caution with which the enemy's co-operation is regarded. In contrast, the Allies and UN chains never interact with the Co-operate chain, which suggests that their co-operation was taken for granted. There is thus a sense in which the truce is being construed as a matter between the North and South Koreans, facilitated by the UN.

6.4.2 Chain length and density

The chains in the text vary in length from a minimum span of four clauses (Step chain, e.g. *step, moves*) to a maximum of 100% of the clauses in the text (Korea chain, e.g. *Korea, Panmunjon*). However, the length of a chain does not necessarily correspond with its relevance to field development, as some of the longest chains have only a minimum of CTs (e.g. Be chain, which spans almost 87% of the text but only contains two CTs). The comparison of density (RTs as a percentage of length in clauses) and centrality (CTs as a percentage of RTs) for the longest chains in this text (spanning 75% or more of the total clauses) is presented in Figure 6-14. The chains with the highest density are the UN, Communists, and Time chains; these are also among the most highly interactive chains in the text (see section 6.1.1). This is not surprising since the UN and Communists, as opposing sides in the war, were the main protagonists in the events. The Korean War text and the Boer War text are similar in this respect, as both involve high-density, highly interactive chains related to the main belligerents in the war. Also, as chapter 4 showed, the text is marked by a strong preoccupation with time, so the Time chain contributes greatly to the texture and cohesion of the text. It is also heavily involved in the text's structure, which will be discussed in section 6.4.3.

The Sign and Fighting-N chains were found to have a 1:1 ratio of CTs to RTs, indicating that the tokens in these chains are maximally relevant to the development of field where they occur in the text. The text is mainly concerned with the topics of the signing ceremony and its effects, and the last hours of fighting. The structural elements of the text virtually alternate between these two topics. This structural patterning will be further explained in section 6.4.3 below.

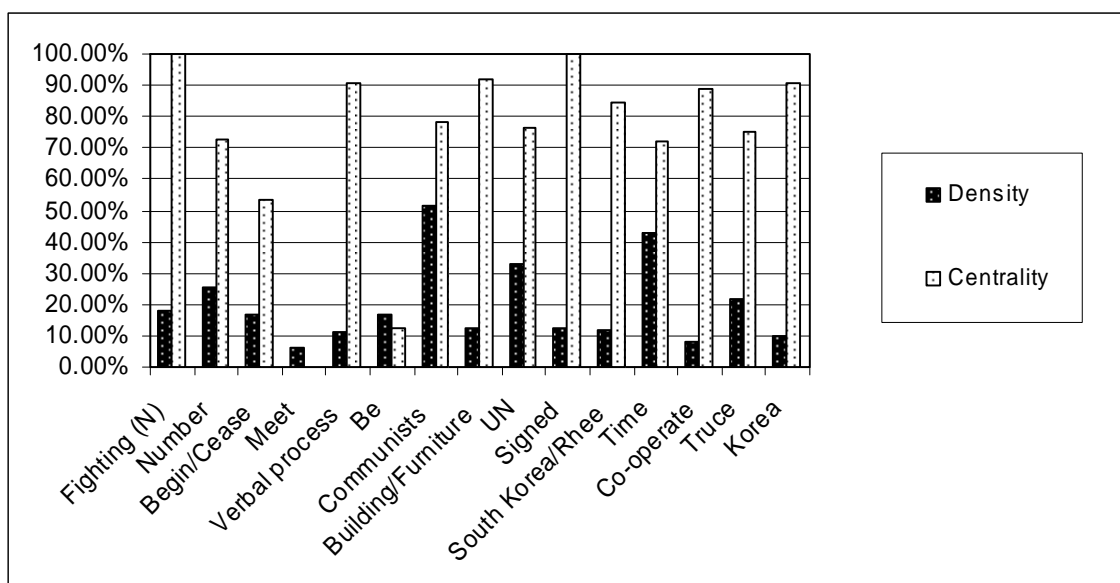


Figure 6-14 Density of RTs and CTs in longest chains in the Korean War text (in increasing order of length)

6.4.3 Logogenetic patterning and structure

The clustering of particular chain interactions in particular sections of the text identified 12 localised semantic segments in the text. The segments are marked by horizontal grey lines in the cohesive analysis chart in Appendix D.9.1; they are also shown as segments of the text in Appendix D.9.3 and presented as individual chain interaction diagrams in Appendix D.9.4. Significantly, all chains in the first segment are taken up again later in the text, suggesting that the rest of the text develops the information given in that initial segment. This offers support for the ‘Lead ^ Lead Development structure’ hypothesis favoured by a number of researchers to explain discourse structure in ‘modern’ newspaper reports (e.g. Iedema et al., 1994), where the opening move encapsulates the main points of the report and the remainder of the text expands (i.e. elaborates, enhances, or extends) (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 117; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) the initial information in cyclical moves (see below for further discussion of logico-semantic relations between segments).

Almost every segment of the text involves interactions of the Time chain in a Process-Circumstance relationship, which again reflects the text’s preoccupation with time (see chapter 4 and sections 6.1.1 and 6.4.2). Segment J is the only segment that does not involve interactions of the Time chain. This segment in fact involves no chain interactions at all. It consists of one sentence that is set out as a separate paragraph in the midst of a recount of the truce signing ceremony, in which there are many detailed references to the time at which

events occurred, as shown in Table 6-3. The function of Segment J therefore seems to be to create a still moment, a point of tension, between the final signatures of the signing ceremony at Panmunjon, and the sending of the documents to Munsan and Pyongyang for further signatures.

Segment	Text
I	<p>At Panmunjon, Allied and Communist junior officers thrashed out last-minute truce details right up to the time of the signing ceremony. A pall of smoke from Allied bombs hung over frontline positions nearby.</p> <p><u>At 9.40 a.m.</u>, U.N. security guards walked to the pagoda built by the Communists and placed on a table copies of the armistice agreement in blue covers of hard cardboard.</p> <p>At the door was a U.N. guard of honour, including one Australian, Private Max Perkins, of Ferntree Gully, Melbourne.</p> <p>About 35 Communist and 110 Allied correspondents and observers from both sides then filed in. There was no South Korean representative present. Brigadier J. G. N. Wilton represented Australia.</p> <p><u>At 10 a.m.</u>, the chief truce negotiators, Lieutenant-General William Harrison (America), and General Nam Il (North Korea), arrived and immediately began the ceremony.</p> <p>Both men were expressionless as they sat at tables and began signing the documents ending three years, one month, and two days of fighting. They exchanged copies and went on signing. The only sound was a ripple of laughter from some North Korean observers.</p> <p><u>At 10.19 a.m.</u> General Nam, without a glance at General Harrison, rose and walked from the hall. General Harrison got up <u>immediately</u> and also left.</p>
J	Lying on the tables, guarded by Communist security police, were the truce documents.
K	<p>U.N. and Communist staff officers <u>immediately</u> held a short meeting, and sent the truce documents for signing to General Clark, at Munsan, and Marshal Kim Il-sung (North Korea), and General Peng Teh-huai (China), at Pyongyang.</p> <p>General Clark signed them <u>at 1.05 p.m.</u> in the presence of a South Korean delegate, General Choi Duk-shin. General Choi walked out of the truce talks last month in a protest against a truce that would leave Korea divided.</p> <p>General Clark walked into a galvanised iron theatre in a business-like manner, pulled a pen from his pocket, and <u>immediately</u> began signing. Observers consider General Choi's presence as evidence that South Korea will collaborate in the armistice.</p>

Table 6-3 Segments I-K from the Korean War text

The segmentation of this text also shows the extent of the conjunction and disjunction between the Allies, UN and Communists chains, and in which environments they tend to coincide or not. For example, the Allies chain does not appear until the second half of the text (segment G), as part of the presentation of announcements from Allied and UN officials.

Also, from segments D to I there is a pattern of conjunction and disjunction between the UN and Communists chains: in segment D it is the UN chain only, in relation to a decision about the issue of Korea; in segment E both chains conjoin in relation to the signing ceremony; in segment F it is the Communists chain only, in relation to ordering troops to co-operate in the truce; in segment G the UN chain reappears, also in relation to communication with troops; in segment H the Communists chain appears in relation to fighting, now in conjunction with the Allies chain; and finally in segment I the UN and Communists chains again conjoin in relation to the signing ceremony.

The pattern of alternation between chain conjunction and disjunction is strong support for differentiated segments, as Hasan suggests that “the boundaries of a text can normally be determined by reference to the patterns of cohesion” (Hasan, 1978: 242), and the occurrence of chain conjunction or disjunction, or the appearance of a new identity chain, is likely to coincide with a crucial “development of the content of the text” (Hasan, 1984: 199). However, the analysis suggests that the relation between segment boundaries and chain appearance, conjunction, and disjunction is not always as clear-cut as Hasan implies. For example, in segment G, there is a shift between UN, UN-Allies conjunction, UN, then Communists, which would suggest four separate units. But these shifts occur simultaneously with chain interactions of Exchange+Prisoner and Ordinal Number+Step that overlap the shifts in referents in the belligerent chains. As I mentioned in section 6.4.1, the Exchange+Prisoners chain interaction is unique in that it is an isolated interaction: neither chain interacts with any other chain. Segment G and its chain interactions are presented in Extract 6-3 and Figure 6-15 below. I suggest that, in addition to shifts in the conjunction and disjunction of the belligerents chains, the patterning of interplay between the main interacting chains must be taken into consideration in order to identify segment boundaries.

The British Commonwealth Division Commander, Major-General M. A. R. West, this morning warned his men that the cease-fire did not necessarily mean a permanent end to hostilities.

Other U.N. Commanders and President Eisenhower welcomed the armistice, but warned that it was only the first step towards peace. They said that the difficult period ahead required the utmost vigilance.

The exchange of prisoners wishing to be repatriated will be one of the first moves under the truce. The U.N. Supreme Commander, General Mark Clark, to-day announced that the exchange would begin within a week if the Communists co-operated.

The Communists have told the U.N. that they will release 12,763 prisoners, including 15 Australians.

Extract 6-3 Segment G from the Korean War text

In section 6.4.2 I mentioned that two main topical foci could be recognised in the text based on the evidence of centrality and length of the Sign and Fighting-N chains. This interpretation is also supported by the segmentation of the text. The beginning and end of the text appear to be broadly concerned with the signing of the truce (especially segments A, C, E and K) and the middle portion of the text is concerned with the fighting leading up to the time of the ceasefire and the signing ceremony. The reporting of the signing ceremony appears twice: first in segment E and later in segment I. Segment I presents elaboration and enhancement of the information reported in segment E by specifying the names and roles of the delegates from both sides who signed the treaty, and specifying the time at which various stages of the signing ceremony occurred (see chapter 4). Certain ideas about the signing ceremony, i.e. the description of it as *cold and impersonal* are carried over from segment E and expanded in segment I through interaction of the UN, Allies and Communists chains with the Impersonal chain, e.g. *They did not exchange a single word* (segment E) and *both men were expressionless* (segment I). The elaboration in segment I of the information presented in segment E also results in a change from the UN chain to the Allies chain as the main protagonists in the truce signing. Whereas segment E says *The Communists and U.N. Command signed the Korean truce*, segment I says *the chief truce negotiators, Lieutenant-General William Harrison (America), and General Nam Il (North Korea)... began signing the documents ending three years, one month and two days of fighting*, so Harrison is not explicitly construed as a UN official but as an American and therefore Allied.

Clause ID	Allies	UN	Communists	Verbal	Ordinal Number	Step	Exchange	Prisoners
000004_17_1		The British Commonwealth Division Commander, Major-General M.A.R. West		warned				
000004_17_2								
000004_18_1	President Eisenhower ^THEY	Other U.N. Commanders ^THEY		welcomed				
000004_18_2				warned				
000004_18_3					first	step		
000004_19_1	They	They		said				
000004_19_2								
000004_20_1					first	moves	the exchange	prisoners
000004_20_1.1								
000004_21_1		The U.N. Supreme Commander, General Mark Clark		announced				
000004_21_2								
000004_21_3							the exchange	(prisoners)
000004_22_1			The Communists	have told				
000004_22_2							will release	prisoners

Figure 6-15 Extract from segment G of the Korean War text

There is a clear segment in the middle of the text concerned with the fighting: segment H involves both Fighting-N and Fighting-V chains as well as the belligerents (Communists and Allies) and the instruments of war (Weaponry and Aircraft/Seacraft). Segments F, G and I also involve the Fighting-N chain but only minimally and in interaction with the Begin/Cease/Continue chain, so the fighting is presented as a peripheral concern in those segments.

The text exemplifies a multivariate structure, with some units extending, some elaborating, and some enhancing the initial segment or a preceding segment. In particular, as mentioned in section 6.4.2, there is sustained and integrated presentation of two main areas (truce signing and fighting), which are presented in cycles of elaboration and extension. Most of the segments in the Korean War text (segments B, C, D, E, F, G and H) expand the initial segment. Segments B, F, G and H temporally enhance segment A by describing events that occurred earlier or later than the target event, and this relationship of enhancement is created by the foregrounding of a temporal Circumstance of relative date or event-relative time in the hyper-Theme of the segment, e.g. *Twelve hours later, at 10 a.m., all military activity along the front ceased* (segment B), *The North Korean Commanders this morning broadcast orders to all their forces* (segment F), *The British Commonwealth Division Commander, Major-General M. A. R. West, this morning warned his men* (segment G), and *Last night, armistice eve, was relatively quiet* (segment H). In the case of segment H, the temporal reference is a Carrier in a relational attributive Process rather than a Circumstance, but because it construes both relative date and event-relative time (*last night* and *armistice eve*, i.e. the night before the armistice), it sets up a clear relationship of temporal dependence between the events of segment A (the signing of the armistice) and the events of segment H (before the signing of the armistice).

Segments C and D are in an extending relationship of addition with segment A, as they both introduce new events that are additional to the events reported in segment A. That is, Syngman Rhee's stilling of *fears that South Korea might still fight on* and the fact that *the UN General Assembly has been summoned* are new elements that had been partially introduced in segment A through references to both Rhee and the UN. Segment E stands in a relationship of elaboration to segment A, providing further details about the signing ceremony at which the truce was signed: *The signing ceremony at Panmunjon was cold and impersonal*. Segment E is further elaborated by segment I, which provides a longer and more detailed account of the signing ceremony: *At Panmunjon, Allied and Communist junior officers thrashed out last-minute*

truce details right up to the time of the signing ceremony... Segment I, in turn, is temporally enhanced by segments J and K. Segment J provides additional circumstantial information about the location of the truce documents at the time when the two chief truce negotiators left the building (see Table 6-3 above). Segment K describes what happened immediately after the events reported in segment I: *U.N. and Communist officials immediately held a short meeting*. Segment L then temporally enhances segment K, reporting on Dr Rhee's comments after the signing: *Later, Dr Rhee said...*

The relationships obtaining between segments are displayed in Figure 6-16. There is a clear contrast between the Korean War text and the Boer War text in that ideas in the initial segment are extended, enhanced and elaborated on in non-contiguous segments, whereas in the Boer War text most segments articulate a new, independent configuration of ideas about the end of war. The greater interdependence of meanings in the Korean War text demonstrates the way news report structure has developed from the semantically independent corantos (exemplified by the Boer War text) to a more integrated discourse structure in which there is a degree of semantic interrelation between segments (cf. Nanri, 1993). The information gathered from various sources is woven into an integrated report that continually expands the information presented in the headlines and opening move (Lead element).

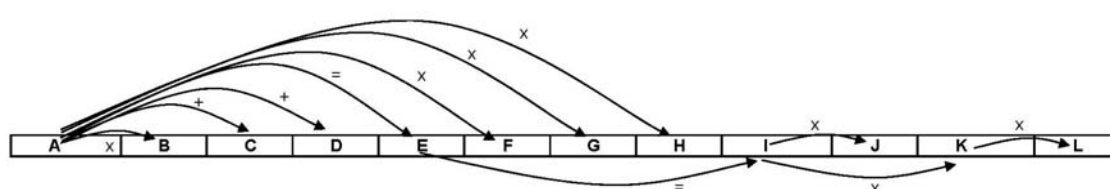


Figure 6-16 Logico-semantic relations between segments in Korean War text

6.4.4 Summary of Korean War text analysis

The analysis of the Korean War text in this section has demonstrated that the text is centrally concerned with interactions between the belligerents in regard to the final stages of fighting and the truce that brought an end to the war, and locating all this in time. Most chains interact with two or more other chains, allowing sustained field development as the text unfolds. The text displays a multivariate structure, with sustained and integrated presentation of two main areas (truce signing in segments A, E, I, J, K and L, and fighting in

segments B and H), which are developed primarily by enhancement and elaboration. A comparative analysis of the Iraq War text will be presented in the following section.

6.5 Iraq War text

The Iraq War text scored lower than the Korean War text, but higher than the Boer War text, in the statistical analysis of cohesive harmony presented in 6.2.3. Therefore it is expected that the patterns of cohesion and chain interaction will differ from the other texts, for example it should display more textual unity than the Boer War text (e.g. fewer short, sparse chains), and less density than the Korean War text (e.g. fewer CTs and less concentrated chains). The chart showing chain interactions in the Iraq War text can be found in Appendix G.9.1, and an overview of the chart is reproduced in Figure 6-17. The shape of the overview diagram is quite different from the Boer War and Korean War texts, and suggests that a broad spectrum of ideas is introduced in the early stages of the text and then sustained by returning to them and recycling them at various points throughout the text. The focal chains in this text are the US Military chain, the Iraqis chain (relating to Iraqi civilians), which also clearly contains a number of identity chains, and the combined Saddam/Iraqi Government/Baghdad chains. There is also a strong Process chain, the Move-through-space chain. In terms of the musical analogy, the cohesive harmony patterns in this text could be compared to a cyclical folk song or pop song that alternates between verses and chorus and ends with a bridge or coda. The analysis will be further explained in the following sections.

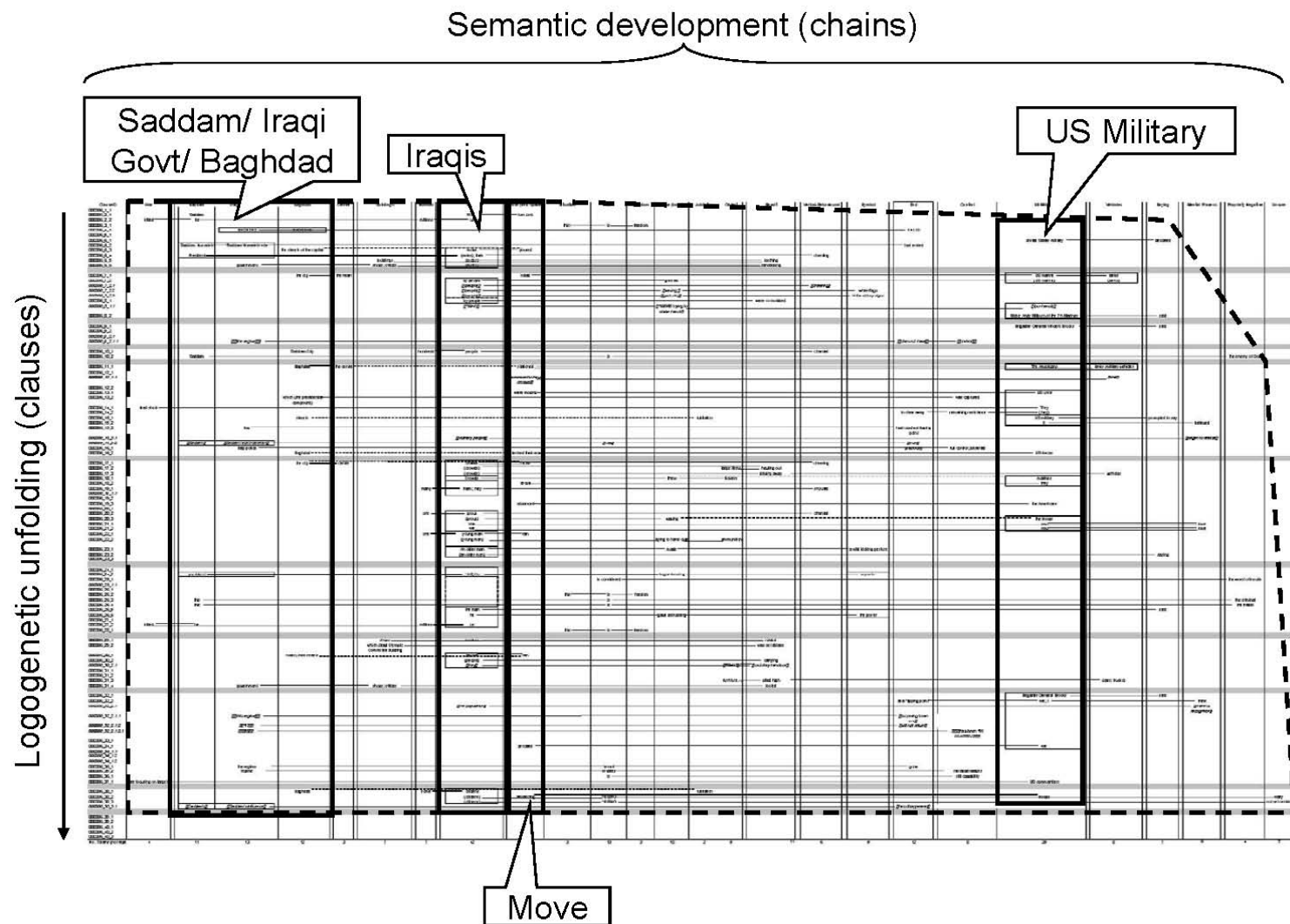


Figure 6-17 Overview of Iraq War text chain interactions

6.5.1 Chain interactions

There are 26 interacting chains in the Iraq War text, making up 79% of the total of 33 cohesive chains. The remaining 7 non-interacting chains are Iraq, Time, Body Part (e.g. *hands*), Tigris River, Cardinal Points (e.g. *northern*), Hassan Hafidh (a Reuters correspondent), and Clothing (e.g. *belt, shoe*). Interestingly, all of these chains contain three or more tokens, showing that they are more than minimally cohesive, and yet they do not enter into any consistent chain interactions. The interacting chains in the Iraq War text are presented in Figure 6-18. The diagram appears very compact and economical compared to the previous two texts because of the relatively small number of chains in this text. It indicates that the text is concerned with a more limited semantic domain, and that there is more sustained presentation and development of these topics in the text, resulting in a more tightly circumscribed field of discourse. The implication of this is that the events reported occupy a narrow experiential domain: there is no wider contextualisation of the events or indication of the wider significance of the event in relation to others events of the war in Iraq.

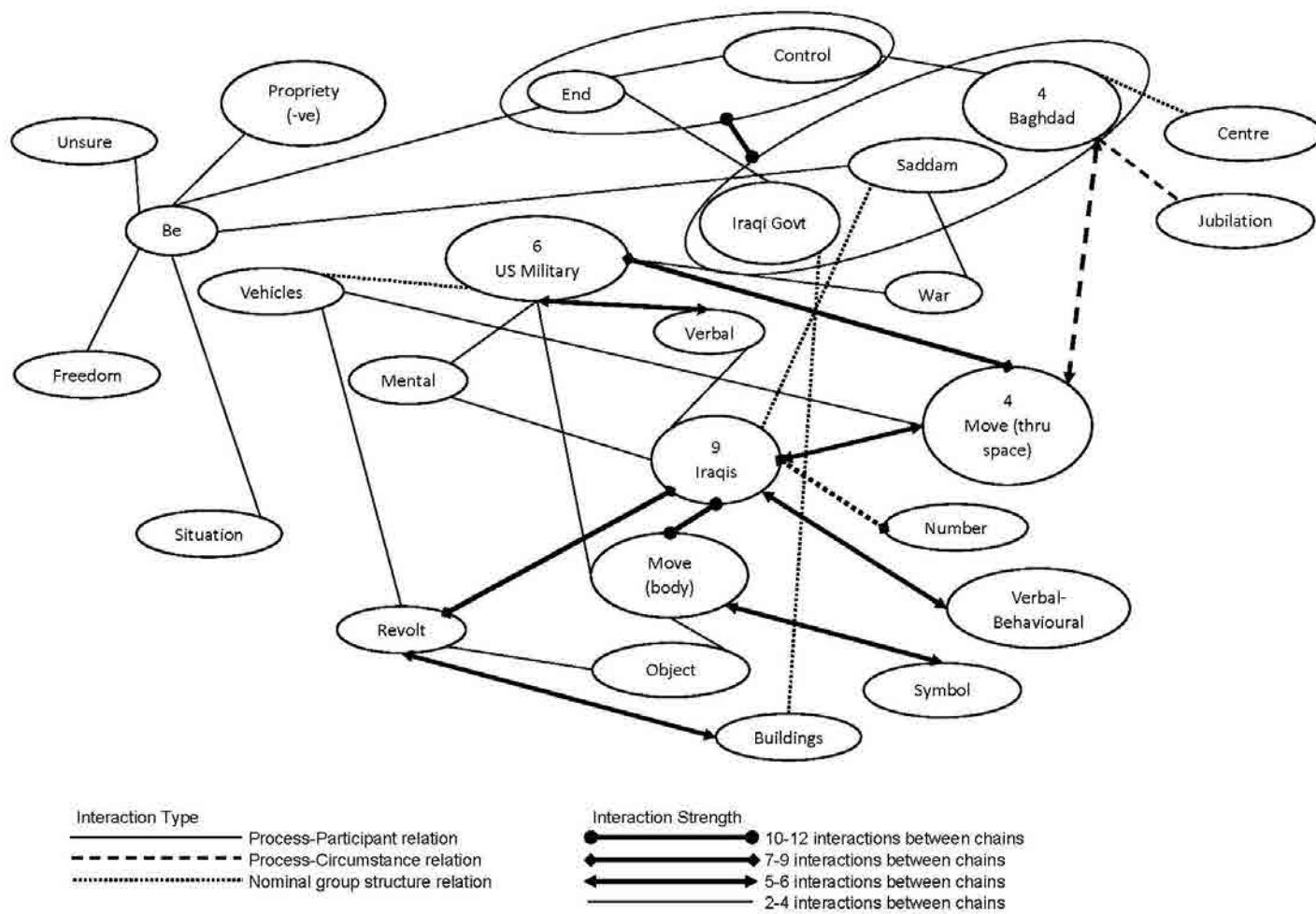


Figure 6-18 Iraq War text cohesive chain interactions

The Iraqis and US Military chains interact with the greatest number of other chains and are the two chains with the greatest number of central tokens. This construes a field concerned primarily with the Iraqi civilians and the US military as social actors. The Iraqis chain most frequently interacts with the Move-body chain (10 interactions), e.g. *(people) waving, he began beating*, the Revolt chain (8 interactions), e.g. *Looters raided*, and the Verbal-Behavioural chain (6 interactions), e.g. *people chanted*. Through these recurrent interactions the Iraqi civilians are strongly construed in terms of their behaviour in response to the US Military's arrival into Baghdad, and in reaction against Saddam Hussein, e.g. *hundreds of people chanted "Saddam is the enemy of God"*. The Iraqis chain is a complex chain comprising various identity chains related by meronymy to the broader similarity chain, e.g.

Mobs-(mobs)³⁰-their-(mobs)-(mobs)

People-(people)-(people)-(people)-people

crowds-(crowds)-(crowds)-Crowds

group-(group)-We-we

young man-(young man)

Another man-^HE-his-the man-he

It is interesting to compare the different terms used to refer to the Iraqis, for example compare *mobs*, *people*, *crowds*, and *citizens*. Each of these identity chains interacts differently. For example, the Mobs identity chain, which occurs early on in the text, interacts with the Revolt and Move-through-space chains. The People identity chain, occurring right after the Mobs chain, interacts with Move-body and Verbal-Behavioural, e.g. *people waving* and *people cheering*. The Crowds identity chain, which occurs later in the text, interacts with the Revolt and Move-through-space chains but also with the Verbal-Behavioural chain. Figure 6-19 shows the interactions of individual identity chains within the Iraqis complex chain.

³⁰ Bracketed tokens indicate that the token has been retrieved as the Participant of a non-finite Process, e.g. *as mobs poured into the streets of the capital, (mobs) chanting slogans against their President, (mobs) torching buildings and (mobs) ransacking shops and government offices*.

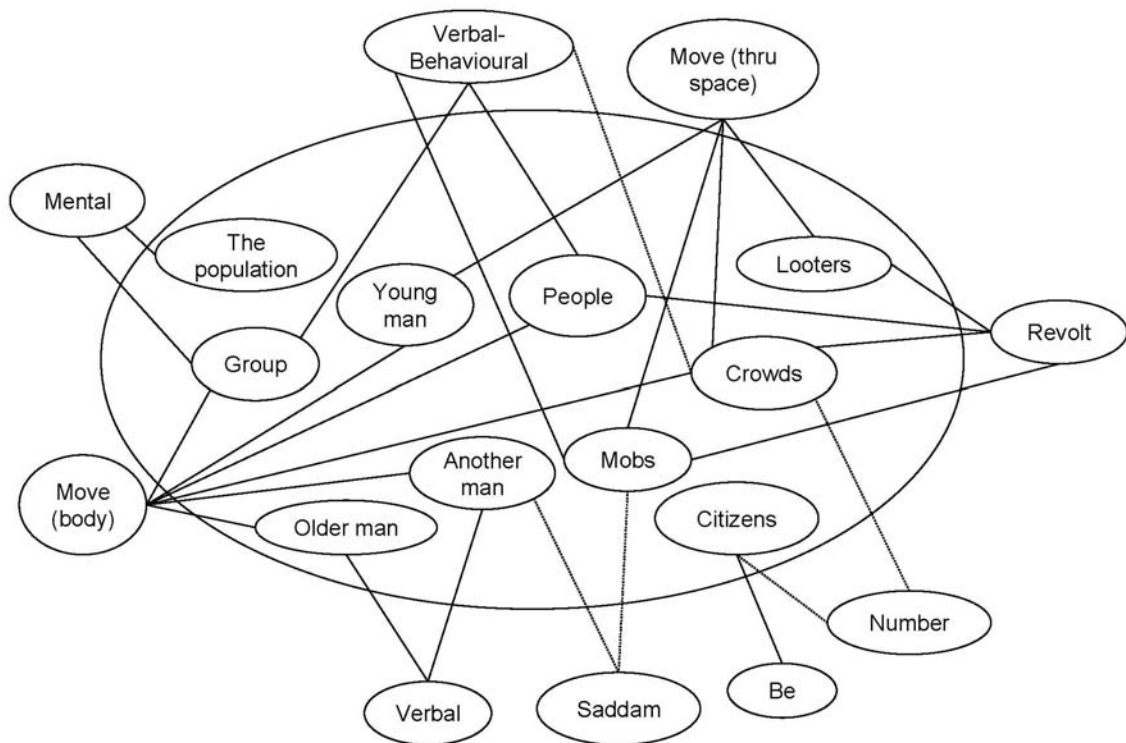


Figure 6-19 Detail of interactions of individual identity chains within the Iraqis chain

The US Military chain is also a complex chain that includes a number of identity chains, e.g. relating to Brigadier General Vincent Brooks. The US Military chain interacts most frequently (7 interactions) with the Moving chain, e.g. *US units were moving, the Americans advanced*. The US Military chain also frequently interacts with the Verbal Process chain (5 interactions), e.g. *Brigadier General Vincent Brooks said* and *The United States military declared*. The interactions of the US Military chain show that most of the Processes in which the US Military are Participants are intransitive, so their actions do not tend to extend to other Participants. This is remarkable given the nature of war, in which opposing parties act against one another. The US Military chain and most other chains in the text have only a small number of interactions with other chains (see Figure 6-18), construing a fairly limited field development. This contrasts particularly with the Korean War text, in which there was a generally high degree of interaction between chains, both in terms of interaction strength and the number of other chains with which each chain interacted. Eight of the interacting chains in the Iraq War text interact with only one other chain, of which half (four) interact with the Be chain: Situation, Freedom, (e.g. *this [situation] is freedom*), Unsure (e.g. *^BEING not yet certain*), and Propriety-Negative (e.g. *is the criminal*).

Another very strong interaction occurs between the chain conjunction of Iraqi Government, Saddam Hussein and Baghdad (representing the various manifestations of the power structures of Iraq) and the conjunction of the End and Control chains. The instances of these interactions are shown in Table 6-4. These instances demonstrate the very pervasive cohesive force of the motif of the end of control, but also reveal how loosely the concept of ‘token’ must sometimes be used in order to pick up the cohesive properties of the text.

Clause ID	Text instance
6_4_1	BAGHDAD FALLS
6_6_2	(that) Saddam Hussein’s rule had ended
6_9_2.1.1	the regime does not have control
6_13_2	which (=the presidential compound) was captured
6_15_3	(that) Iraq had now reached “a tipping point”
6_15_3.2	(that) the Saddam administration was over
6_16_1	Iraqi police and military personnel, previously with full control over the population, deserted their posts
6_32_2.1.1	“(that) this regime is coming to an end”
6_32_2.1.2	“(that) ^IT will not return”
6_32_2.1.2.1	“it has been ^IN CONTROL”
6_35_1	“all of the regime is not gone”
6_35_2	“there’s still regime appendages”
6_38_3.1	(that) Saddam’s influence has disappeared

Table 6-4 Text instances of interactions between Iraqi Government/Saddam Hussein/Baghdad chains and End+Control chains

This text involves only one interacting chain that functions to cohesively identify the location of events: Baghdad. There is also an Iraq chain, but this does not interact. The geographical focus of the text is therefore very narrow and specific, a feature that has already been discussed as part of the investigation of the representation of time and space in the texts (see chapter 4). Perhaps one explanation of this is that the journalist was on location in Baghdad, so he was trying to share the experience of what was occurring there and convey the mood of the Iraqis following the deposition of their leader (see also McGeough, 2003: 224-236).

6.5.2 Chain length and density

Chain length in this text varies from a span of just 3 clauses (Unsure chain) to 100% of the clauses in the text (War chain). However, although the War³¹ chain is the longest, it does not have the highest density or centrality. The comparison of density (RTs as a percentage of

³¹ It should be noted that the word ‘war’ is never used in this text. The War chain includes Processes construing the semantic domain of the physical prosecution of war, e.g. *focusing on targets, killed, fired shots*.

length in clauses) and centrality (CTs as a percentage of RTs) for the longest chains in the Iraq War text (those spanning 75% or more of the total clauses) is presented in Figure 6-20. In this text the US Military and Iraqis chains have the highest number of CTs, with 25 and 42 CTs respectively. The Move (through space) and Iraqi Government chains have the highest proportion of CTs to RTs, at over 90%, but with RTs covering less than 20% of their length they are among the least dense of the longest chains in the text. Therefore, where tokens from the Move (through space) and Iraqi Government chains are brought into the text, they are highly relevant to the cohesion and texture of the text. The Iraqis chain is also quite dense, resulting from its inclusion of a number of identity chains (see section 6.5.1). The focal chains, according to text-exhaustiveness and proportion of CTs to RTs, are the US Military, End, Move (through space), Iraqi Government, Be, Iraqis, and Saddam chains. The focus is therefore more spread out than in the previous two texts, even though the overall range of relevant topics invoked in the text is narrower than in the other texts.

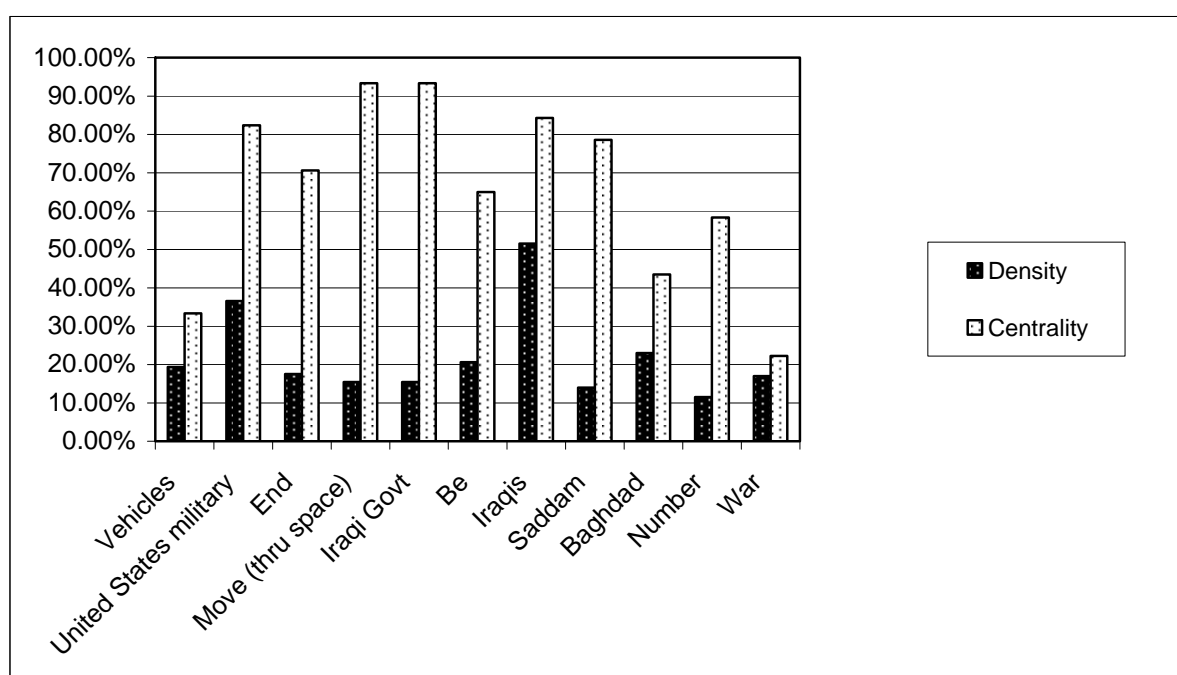


Figure 6-20 Density and centrality of tokens in the longest chains in the Iraq War text (in increasing order of length)

6.5.3 Logogenetic patterning and structure

The analysis suggests 11 semantic segments based on the logogenetic patterning of chain interactions in the text. These segments are marked in the cohesive harmony analysis chart in Appendix G.9.1, the corresponding text extracts are shown in Appendix G.9.3, and the

chain interactions involved in each segment are presented visually in Appendix G.9.4. The first segment, segment A, comprising the headlines and the first paragraph, involves many more chains than the initial segments of either the Boer War or Korean War texts. Whereas the Boer War text began with nine interacting chains, and the Korean War text with eight, the Iraq War text starts with 17 interacting chains – 65% of the interacting chains in the text are introduced in the opening move. This largely reflects the dense packaging of the first sentence (comprising the first paragraph), which presents a number of events as happening simultaneously – the declaration by the US military, the ending of Saddam Hussein’s rule over Baghdad, and the mobs pouring, chanting, torching and ransacking:

The United States military declared yesterday that Saddam Hussein's rule over Baghdad had ended as mobs poured into the streets of the capital, chanting slogans against their President, torching buildings and ransacking shops and government offices.

Later segments return to these tokens and chain interactions in a more focused way. Segment A has a dual focus: a concentration around the Iraqis chain and its interaction with both the Revolt and Move (through space) chains, and a concentration around the Iraqi Government chain and its interaction with the End chain. The segment sets up three main motifs that recur throughout the text, including these two foci (the actions of the Iraqis, the status of the Iraqi Government), and also the ‘sayings’ of the US Military.

As mentioned in section 6.5.1, much of the segmentation of this text is based on the initiation and alternation of identity chains in the Iraqis complex chain. Segment B refers generally to *people*, meaning the Iraqis in Baghdad whom the US Marines saw as they entered Baghdad. It is focused on the interactions between the Iraqi and Move (body) chains, e.g. *people waving white flags* and *people gesturing with V-for-victory signs*. This segment also brings in the US Military chain and its interactions with the Vehicles, Move (through space), and Verbal Process chains. Segment C shifts to a focus on the Iraqi Government, re-introducing a small number of the chains that began in Segment A (US Military, Verbal, Iraqi Government and End), and newly introducing the Control chain.

The rest of the text proceeds in a similar way, with each segment using some configuration of chains introduced in Segment A and occasionally introducing new chains in order to elaborate on the earlier material, so contributing to the limited extent of field development that occurs in the text. For example, towards the end of the text, Segment J (paragraph 17) shifts the focus back to the Iraqis, involving interaction between the Iraqis chain and the Be and Unsure chains. This section briefly entertains an alternative notion to the triumphant

interpretation of and response to the events. The final section, segment K (paragraph 18), focuses on a previously unmentioned incident involving the Red Cross, and contains no CTs or chain interactions (see Appendix G.9.4). It is presented as Extract 6-4 below. Although there are some RTs in this segment that are cohesively related to earlier parts of the text, e.g. *yesterday* (Time chain) and *the city* (Baghdad chain), none of the RTs become CTs in this section, and so they are construed as being only minimally relevant to the field of discourse. Whereas all the other segments involve major interacting chains introduced in segment A (e.g. Saddam, Baghdad, Iraqi Government, Iraqis, US Military, Situation), this one does not, and as such does not contribute to the cohesive harmony of the text.

Late yesterday the International Committee of the Red Cross temporarily suspended its operations in the city after one of its rescue convoys came under fire, leaving at least one person seriously injured.

Extract 6-4 Segment K from the Iraq War text

Most of the segments in the Iraq War text expand segment A, as shown in Figure 6-21. Segment B stands in a relationship of extension (addition) adding a new element to the events reported in segment A (the movement of US tanks into Baghdad). Segments C and D elaborate segment A by giving specific details about the US Military declaration, including who spoke (Brigadier-General Vincent Brooks) and what was said (segment C), and by giving an example of the actions of the Iraqi civilians (specifically those in the Shiite slum district of Saddam City) (segment D). Segment C is further elaborated by segment I, which further specifies what Brooks said about the situation. Segment E extends segment B by adding an additional element to the recount of what the Americans did in Baghdad (*The Americans stationed tanks and other military vehicles around the centre of Baghdad*). Segments F, G and H also elaborate segment A, giving further examples of the behaviour of the Iraqi civilians to expand the summary given in the initial segment, which stated that *mobs poured into the streets of the capital, chanting slogans against their President, torching buildings and ransacking shops and government offices*. Finally, segments J and K provide temporal enhancement of segment A, recounting the response of ‘some citizens’ that occurred at the same time as the ‘jubilation in Baghdad’ (segment J), and recounting another unrelated event that occurred after the US declaration (segment K). The relation between segment A and segment K is shown with a broken line because, as we have seen above, segment K is only minimally related to the rest of the text. The relation of enhancement is suggested here through the temporal deixis *late yesterday* (marked Theme), which is cohesively tied to

yesterday in segment A, and the reference to Baghdad as *the city*, which was introduced by name in segment A.

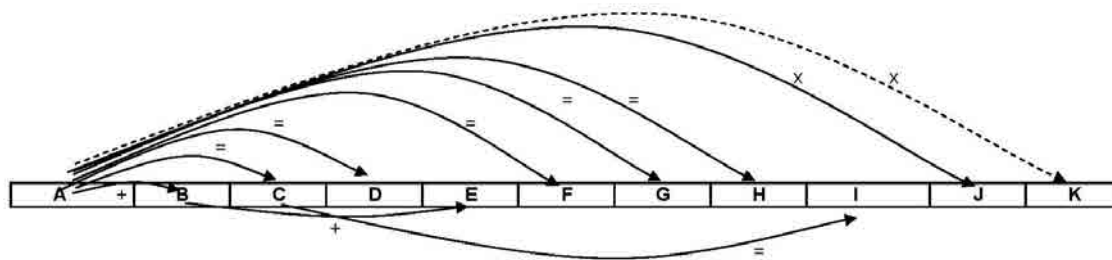


Figure 6-21 Logic-semantic relations between segments in the Iraq War text

If we try to relate the structural model of Lead + Lead Development (e.g. Iedema et al., 1994) to the segmentation of this text, we could think of segment A as what would traditionally be called the ‘Lead’, and segments B-J as Lead Development, since the chains that began in segment A are continued and developed by interactions with additional chains. However, segment K only minimally fulfils the function of Lead Development, since it does not develop any of the chain interactions from segment A (although it contains tokens in non-interacting chains cohesively tied to segment A). It forms almost a stand-alone segment that could serve as a Lead element in its own right, and indeed is similar in ‘separateness’ to the individual corantos of the Boer War text. Returning to the musical harmony analogy, it is like ending a piece of music in a completely different key from the rest of the piece. It is analogous to a musical *coda*, which has been defined as “the final section to an entire piece or movement – a section in which something more than mere cadential extension or elaboration occurs” (Berry, 1966: 97), with no other necessary reason for addition than “that the composer wants to say something more” (Schoenberg, 1967: 185). This is certainly what seems to be happening in the final segment of the Iraq War text: the journalist wanted to add something more, and it is not just an extension or elaboration of what has gone before, although it is related to it in a very general sense. The term ‘Coda’ has been used in relation to news story structure by Bell (1994), although he argues that there is no place for a Coda in print news stories, since its function (in broadcast news) is to ‘return to the present’ or ‘re-open the floor’ for the presentation of the next item of news.

6.5.4 Summary of the Iraq War text analysis

This section has presented the cohesive harmony analysis of the Iraq War text. The semantics of the text seems to be more concentrated than the previous two texts, as a narrower range of topics is introduced (most appearing from the initial segment) and those

topics are more sustained. The core chains are the US military, Iraqis, Iraqi Government, Move and Be chains. This shows that the text is centrally concerned with the movements of the US Military and Iraqi civilians, and with describing other aspects of the situation in relational terms. The process that brought about the end of war is not realised in the same explicit way it was for the other two texts (e.g. surrender and truce ideas), but is realised through the End and Control chains in interaction with the Iraqi Govt chain. The end of war is construed as being about loss of control on the part of the Iraqi Govt. The text displays a multivariate structure, with sustained presentation of topics in alternating cycles of primarily elaboration and enhancement.

6.6 Discussion

The preceding sections of the chapter have already discussed some important points of contrast between the cohesive harmony analyses of the three texts as the opportunity has arisen. The present section will draw together and further develop the discussion of these points of contrast in relation to the development of the field of discourse (section 6.6.1) and the registerial implications of the logogenetic patterning of cohesive harmony in the three texts (section 6.6.2).

6.6.1 Field Development – Construing the ‘end of war’

The broad concern that all three texts have in common is announcing the end of war or a phase of war – that was part of the criteria for selecting the texts. The cohesive harmony analysis gives a clear profile of what ‘the end of war’ means in the context of each text. One factor that is foregrounded is the nature of the ‘target event’ of the news report (i.e. war, or the end of war) and how it is construed as an event, whether something that is temporally protracted or temporally bounded. Ongoing war is progressive, involving a series of causally related events over a period of time. The end of war is by nature more temporally bounded – or punctiliar – because of the legal force required to halt the momentum of protracted hostility. The ends of the Boer War and Korean War texts are legally defined moments in time, processes that can be reported on as punctiliar events. This is seen through the complex interweaving of chains relating to signing, treaty/truce, time/date, and the belligerent parties (British/Boers, UN/Allies/ Communists). In contrast, there has not been such a moment for the Iraq War. There is, however, repeated mention of a ‘tipping point’, which seems to be construed as the critical, ‘punctiliar’ moment of the end of this conflict (at least temporarily). But as the cohesive harmony analysis of the text shows, this ‘tipping point’ involves the coming together of an ensemble of ‘progressive’ events: the Iraqi

government losing control, Americans advancing, and citizens celebrating and revolting. This is presented as an ensemble of vignettes about what the Iraqi civilians and US military were doing and what was happening to the power structures in Iraq. The infrequent use of Circumstances of temporal location and the focus on specific Circumstances of spatial location (see chapter 4) also generates a motif of 'timelessness' and the impression of a number of events occurring at different locations simultaneously.

There are also some striking similarities between the nature of chains and interactions in all three texts. Firstly, in all three texts the main opposing sides feature as highly interactive chains in terms of the number of other chains with which they interact (Great Britain/British People and Boers in the Boer War text; Allies, UN and Communists in the Korean War text; and US Military and combined Iraqi Government/Baghdad/Saddam chains in the Iraq War text). The Iraqis chain is also a highly interactive chain in the Iraq War text, although the Iraqis are construed as the beneficiaries of the war rather than as belligerents. Secondly, in all three texts the chains relating to the opposing sides in the war have one or more other chains with which they have a particularly strong interaction (i.e. a large number of repeated interactions with that chain (Great Britain/British People with Verbal, Date and Verbalisation, Boers with Co-operate/Yield and Delegates in the Boer War text; Allies/UN with Sign, Move and Troops, Communists with Move in the Korean War text; US Military with Move and Say, and Iraq Government/Saddam/ Baghdad with End and Control in the Iraq War text). These two findings show that in all three texts the field is being developed principally around those who are construed as the belligerents in the war. However, this is less clear in the Iraq War text because of the absence of any mention of the Iraqi army and the focus instead on the Iraqi civilians and the Iraqi government.

Each text also has an additional focus of field development aside from the main protagonists of war. In the Boer War text, the field is additionally concerned with the verbal output of the Press on this issue, as the Press chain has 11 interactions with the Verbal chain. This is a feature of newspaper discourse particularly at that point in time, when a large proportion of foreign news, especially in Australia, was gleaned from other newspapers, particularly the British press, and it was considered acceptable to republish extracts of other newspapers' editorial items as news (cf. Matheson, 2000). The Press chain only interacts with the Verbal chain, and is one of around half of the chains in the text that has this kind of limited interaction (see section 6.6.2 below). Thus there is limited field development around the Press chain, apart from by association with the meanings attributed to them as Verbiage,

which do not show up in the cohesive harmony analysis. Cohesive harmony analysis is not able to trace the grammatical relationship of projection except by looking at the logogenetic unfolding and specifically attending to the meanings in the projected clauses.

In the Korean War text, the Truce chain is a nexus of field development, frequently interacting with the Sign and Co-operate chains. In turn, Sign has a relatively high number of interactions with Allies/UN, and Co-operate has a slightly lower number of interactions with South Korea. Thus the field in this text is additionally concerned with the signing of the truce, particularly by the Allies, and South Korea's co-operation in the truce (see section 6.1.1).

In the Iraq War text, the most active chain in terms of strength of interactions is the Iraqis chain. Thus the field in this text is additionally, and even perhaps principally, concerned with the actions of the Iraqi people in the streets of Baghdad. The journalist, Paul McGeough, has written a personal account of his time in Baghdad covering the Iraq War (McGeough, 2003), and he devotes a significant portion of the chapter about Thursday 10th April to construing the experience of the Baghdad Iraqis, and describing the looting and general anarchy that occurred when the US military entered Baghdad and proclaimed Saddam Hussein's regime over. He seems to be aiming to share with readers what it felt like to be there at the time, and what the general mood among Iraqis was towards Saddam Hussein and the American 'liberators'.

6.6.2 Registerial implications of logogenetic patterning

The cohesive harmony analysis reveals both consistency and variation in structure between the three texts. In all three texts, the (non-function) words in the opening segments are almost all subsumed in chains, i.e. they are RTs. Furthermore, the chains involved in the opening segment of all three texts are picked up again in later segments. So there is a high concentration of topical relevance in the opening segment of each text, and a strong sense of setting up the agenda for the rest of the text. This concentration of relevance plays out somewhat differently in the Boer War text because it is in the bank of headlines that it is shown most clearly, rather than in the first coranto segment. The headlines, then play a slightly different role in the Boer War text than in the later texts (cf. Schneider, 2000), serving to both summarise and create unity between the disparate themes of the individual corantos that together make up the text.

Moreover, the segments of all three texts involve localised narratives and reconstructions, and these are arranged in a non-sequential (i.e. achronological) order. This is similar to what Nanri (1993) calls ‘temporal cycles’ of a target event. The cohesive harmony analysis of the Boer War text provides support for Nanri’s classification of texts of that period as “coranto structure with temporal cycles” (Nanri, 1993:114), in that it is segmented by individual time-space indexes³² into small information units (corantos), with focal chains providing textual unity and other chains being introduced as part of temporal cycles elaborating the target event (which is introduced through an initial progression segment³³). The other two texts are examples of what Nanri calls simply “modern discourse semantic structure” (Nanri, 1993: 31). This differs from the coranto structure with temporal cycles mainly by the absence of the time-space index segmentation, and by greater textual integration. The other difference noted by Nanri (1993: 114) is that whereas the coranto structure with temporal cycles begins with the circumstances surrounding the target event, the modern discourse semantic structure for newspaper reports begins with the target event itself. This is not the case for the Boer War text, which begins with the target event: *The terms of peace have been signed at Pretoria*.

The differences in structure are demonstrated most clearly in the chain interaction overviews (compare Figure 6-5, Figure 6-10, and Figure 6-17). The Boer War text is remarkably similar to the Korean War text on this feature, and these texts both differ from the Iraq War text in that they incorporate a greater range of chains and configurations of chain interactions. The Iraq War text seems to have a very tight semantic structure, recycling the same ideas through elaboration, whereas the other two texts maintain a core of consistency but take in a wider range of topics that are construed as relevant. There is thus greater semantic extension of the target event in the two earlier texts than in the Iraq War text. The fact that this reporting of the fall of Baghdad is so semantically narrow is interesting considering that McGeough won a Walkley Award³⁴ in 2003 for his coverage of the Iraq War (and has won other awards since). It indicates that ‘excellent journalism’ in Australia is not necessarily comprehensive in the development of the experiential domain,

³² Time-space index refers to the place and time given at the beginning of some newspaper reports to indicate the source of the information, e.g. London, June 1 (Boer War text).

³³ A ‘progression segment’ is a segment in which the clauses unfold in a manner corresponding to the unfolding of events in time, i.e. chronological order (Nanri, 1993: 31).

³⁴ The website of the Walkley Awards (www.walkleys.com) states that “The annual Walkley Awards recognize excellence in Australian journalism across all mediums including print, television, radio, photographic and online media”. The awards include “more than 30 award categories with an estimated 1000 entries pouring in each year as journalists around the country aspire for the pinnacle of Australian journalistic achievement.”

nor must it have a wide geographical focus or a strong temporal grounding. What seems to be most important is the expression of a sense of the atmosphere at the centre of the action, what it was like to be there ‘on the ground’ at the time of the reported events.

Let us consider the findings in relation to one of the most common proposals about the structure of news reports: the Lead ^ Lead Development proposal, which is used in both professional as well as academic (especially journalism studies) work (e.g. Friedlander & Lee, 2004; Schudson, 1982, 1989; see also Iedema et al., 1994). This model involves a Lead (1-2 sentences, summary of the story in 35 words or less) followed by a number of Lead Developments (paragraphs in order of decreasing importance) in an elaborative relationship. The findings offer some support for this model, since the texts all have a concentration of relevant meanings in the initial segment, and the following segments proceed in extending, elaborating or enhancing relationships to the initial segment. This is particularly the case in the Iraq War text, where virtually the same chains are recycled throughout the text. The main shift is in the nature of the structural relations, whether univariate (all segments are equivalent units in the same kind of relationship to each other, and therefore could appear in any order) or multivariate (segments may be dependent on other segments for their interpretation, and therefore a logical sequence is constructed).

Returning again to the musical analogy, the Iraq War text could be compared to a fugue, which in musical terms features “exposition of a thematic subject at the beginning, recurrence of the theme throughout, episodic development and tonal flux in the middle areas, and tonic return in the final stage” (Berry, 1966: 372), but in this case a coda is added to the end of the fugue. Berry’s description of the ‘subject’ of a fugue as “a microcosmic reflection of the personality of the entire work” (Berry, 1966: 377) bears remarkable similarity to the definition of the Lead element, which is intended to summarise the story’ as an ‘abstract’ to the news report (Bell, 1994: 103). The Korean War text is similarly fugue-like, but with more development of the subject and a greater degree of flux in the middle area where the fighting is described. The Boer War text does not have a strongly cyclical structure; rather it is more like a variation piece that maintains a dominant key or theme but develops by bringing in a variety of related chords and individual motifs that are then discontinued as the next element of the piece begins.

In terms of register membership, the way that chains appear and disappear only to be taken up again later in the same kind of interaction seems characteristic of the register. Topics are elaborated only up to a point; once that point has been reached, reiteration and

repetition seems to be the way the text expands. The opening segment is always integral to the segments that follow in that it initiates the focal chains that are, for the most part, involved in every segment to follow. Subsequent segments may introduce new chains but only in an interactive relationship with one or more of the focal chains. This patterning of information release, where the crucial information is given from the outset rather than held off until a later point in the text, implies an expectation on the part of the writer that readers may not be prepared to read the whole text and will therefore expect the crucial information to be presented up front. It also construes a relatively common social activity that is likely to be approached by the reader in a perfunctory way rather than as something they devote a lot of time and attention to. These features of the context of situation will be further discussed in the following chapter.

6.7 Conclusion to chapter

This chapter has attempted, through cohesive harmony analysis, to investigate and describe the texture and structure of three of the texts in the corpus: the Boer War, Korean War and Iraq War texts. There were found to be some similarities in texture and structure in terms of what domains of the field were most commonly selected as relevant topics and in relation to what other topics. There were also found to be some subtle differences in structure, based on the configurations of cohesive chains and their interactions. These differences are not sufficient to so distance the texts that they ought to be considered instances of completely different registers, since they arise from the more subtle differences in context. The paradigmatic differences in context – in the parameters of field, tenor and mode – are the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter 7

Shifts in Time, Shifts in Context

“The actual potentially pragmatically relevant context of any discourse is in fact the whole universe... Formal transcription systems bind transcribers to rendering only and always certain features, whether they are relevant or not. What is needed is a transcription that can select and move between one context and another.” (Cook, 1990: 18)

“[T]he design of a social process is nothing other than a near ritualisation of ways of doing something with some others by using such semiotic media as are at our disposal: the more culturally significant a social process, the more ritualised it gets.” (Hasan, 1999: 236)

“The first two paragraphs of a news story are crucial. Tell the reader immediately what has happened and why it’s important. If you haven’t told the story in the first two paragraphs it’s too late.” (Handbook of Reuters Journalism, Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2008: 28)

7.1 Introduction

The linguistic analyses presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6 have demonstrated that there is considerable variation between the textual instances under consideration in this study. Despite the variation, the fact that each text was published in the *Herald* indicates that they were all offered as texts fulfilling the function of reporting news, and in the current context of reception in hindsight we can recognise these texts as a set of newspaper articles. The key to explaining how we can recognise consistency in variant texts is, as Hasan has argued, “to identify the motivational relevancies which underlie the presence of the robust consistency and the systematic variation found in most discourse types” (Hasan, 2004: 16). In order to identify these “motivational relevancies”, Hasan models the context of situation as a set of parameters, from which a configuration of options (a contextual configuration) can be identified for any text (cf. Hasan, 1999; 2004; 2009). The parameters of the relevant context ‘activate’ or ‘motivate’ the uptake of particular semantic and grammatical choices, and simultaneously we can take the grammatical selections in the text as evidence of the “motivational relevancies” in the context (Hasan, 1999).

In this chapter I will investigate the diachronic consistency and variation in the context of news reporting, according to the issues identified in chapter 1 as pertinent to news reporting and related to the contextual parameters of field, tenor and mode: respectively, the function and content of news and news organisations, the role of the journalist within the news institution, and the role of technology in news production. I will use as a tool for analysis

Butt's (2004 mimeo.) context networks, which have been developed based on Hasan's network proposal (e.g. Hasan, 1999) for the purposes of elaborating "a wide range of contextual distinctions with semantic consequences" (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 7). The 'parameters of context' (field, tenor and mode) are described paradigmatically through the identification of particular domains of contrast. Each parameter and the relevant selections from it will be explained as necessary using examples from the texts.

The discussion begins with the issue of the function and content (experiential orientation) of news using the parameter of field as an analytical tool (section 7.2), including the domains of SPHERE OF ACTION (section 7.2.1), MATERIAL ACTION (section 7.2.2), ACTION WITH SYMBOLS (section 7.2.3), and GOAL ORIENTATION (section 7.2.4). Then I discuss the role of the journalist, using the parameter of tenor (section 7.3) as a guide to probing the context in terms of SOCIAL HIERARCHY (section 7.3.1), AGENTIVE ROLE (section 7.3.2), SOCIAL DISTANCE (section 7.3.3), and NETWORK MORPHOLOGY (section 7.3.4). The section on SOCIAL DISTANCE includes an extended discussion of CODE SHARING (section 7.3.3.1) as this area of the system highlights some crucial distinctions between the contexts of the texts. Finally, I present a discussion of the role of technology in news production, using the parameter of mode (section 7.4), primarily with reference to CHANNEL (section 7.4.3), including proposals for some modifications and additions to Butt's network (sections 7.4.3.1 and 7.4.3.2), but also with brief explanations of the ROLE OF LANGUAGE (section 7.4.1), and the MEDIUM (section 7.4.2). A general discussion (section 7.5) follows the presentation of the analysis of the parameters of context, and then a conclusion to the chapter is given (section 7.6).

7.1.1 Getting a grip on context

The issue of context has been the major recurring theoretical theme throughout this research project. From the beginning, the question of how to strike a balance between linguistics and history in attending to the notion of 'context', both in its common and theoretical senses, has persisted (see e.g. chapter 3). In commonsense terms, context tends to be understood as the environment in which something occurs, whether that 'something' is language or anything else. This conception of context includes both the concrete, e.g. the physical surroundings, and the abstract, e.g. the social tendencies or political climate. Hasan's distinction between the material situational setting (MSS) (see e.g. Hasan, 1996: 39) of a particular language event and the abstract theoretical concept of context as realised by the text itself (the 'relevant context') is critical here. She argues that "the context relevant to the

production of [a text in graphic mode with virtual addressee] is logically unknowable except on the basis of the language of the text” (1999: 238). Elsewhere she talks about the MSS as a “dormant force” (Hasan, 1996: 39) that can be activated if it becomes relevant to the social process – in which case it becomes part of the relevant context. Cloran puts this slightly differently: “Prior to language there is no context, merely the potential for its development” (Cloran, 1999: 180); that is, the MSS includes a range of factors that are potentially relevant in the production of a text. The ‘relevant context’, therefore, unlike the MSS, is completely bound up in the text to the extent that we cannot talk about a specific context except by reference to some particular text which brings that context into being through linguistic construal.

Hasan also characterises the relationship between text and context as a twofold one “for the acculturated reader: if we have access to the context, we can predict the essentials of the text; if we have access to the text, we can infer the context from it” (Hasan, 1996: 42; see also Hasan, 2009 for a recent critique of this conception of the text-context relationship). Further, in fleshing out the concept of context, she argues that “*the concept of context must include all those features of the interactants’ material and social conditions of existence which are necessary and sufficient for the explication of what is said, whether directly or by implication*” (Hasan, 1999: 239–240, original emphasis). The important question, then, is what is necessary and sufficient for the explication of what is said. The most workable solution is to treat context specifically as that which motivates the text, and is therefore construed by the text; that is, what can be apprehended through the impression it leaves on the textual process. This would mean that even in the present research project involving historically distinct texts, it is not necessary to provide details of the historical, political, technological, or social context for the purpose of describing the context. The texts themselves, according to Hasan, should contain sufficient information from which to infer the relevant context. However, as I pointed out in chapter 3, explaining the text for ‘unacculturated’ readers does require such investigation. That is why I began the investigation of the texts in chapter 3 with an introduction to the cultural context of the texts, in which the cues as to relevance were taken from the texts themselves, e.g. homophoric references or anomalies that needed to be resolved through historical enquiry.

However, as Halliday wrote in his own doctoral thesis on the language of a very old Chinese text, “[t]he context of a written text of the past is more complex, and more difficult to evaluate and make abstraction from, than that of a contemporary spoken language text”

(1959: 13). Hasan's notion of the 'acculturated reader' must imply not only social acculturation but also 'temporal acculturation', recognising that the social context of a particular place is very likely to change over time (at least in terms of decades). If the reader is not contemporary with the text, it can be difficult to infer the context from the textual traces because of the potential difference in the system of relation between text and context that the writer was invoking at the time. Even in written texts, which are more likely to encapsulate their context explicitly because they are less likely to rely on a shared MSS with the reader (cf. Hasan, 1999: 231), some elements of the text may end up being uninterpretable because they make reference to aspects of the social situation that are no longer present or salient for a reader at a different point in time. Cloran gives an example of this kind of interpretation problem from an extract of a spoken dialogic text where, in the absence of preceding sections of the text, the utterance 'all gone' remains uninterpretable by an analyst after the fact because of the invisibility of the MSS (Cloran, 1999: 182). The element of the MSS is still indexed in the text, and in the original language situation is perfectly understandable for the interactants, but the link between the reference and the referent is broken in subsequent readings beyond the original situation. The implication is that texts where this occurs are not designed for temporally 'unacculturated' readers. An important part of the context in such texts is that the reader/listener is a regular participant in the discourse, someone who has been following along with the text and its context as it has progressed, so there is no strong motivation for making the context explicit.

The issue of context and acculturation is well known in translating and interpreting, and has implications for the investigation of historical texts as well. Trying to interpret texts from a different period of time is like trying to interpret a text in a different language or from a different culture. There are some things that are taken for granted by readers of the original time/culture/language that may not be self-evident as contextual factors for readers outside the time/culture/language. The example given in chapter 1, from the Boer War text, illustrates this problem. The headlines *DECLARATION OF PEACE* and *TREATY SIGNED AT PRETORIA* appear at the beginning of the Boer War text: a modern reader coming to this text without prior preparation or historical knowledge would not necessarily be able to make sense of the event being reported, i.e. the end of the Boer War. Contemporary readers would not have had difficulty with this because the fact of war was salient for them and they had been anticipating the end of the war. In this example, certain features of the context were left implicit because it was not considered necessary to explicate

them for readers of the *Herald*. The implicitness of the contextual references is a semantic reflex of the *zeitgeist*, in which certain ideas and attitudes were common and salient as the people together experienced (semiotically) events that were conceived as being important to them as members of the British Commonwealth. It is an indication of the expectations of the *Herald* as to the extent of knowledge shared by the community of readers (see section 7.3.3.1).

In order to make useful comparisons between these rather differently situated texts, therefore, and in order to understand their meaning as linguistic signs in culture, their value, (or *valeur*, following Saussure) needs to be understood and circumscribed. Saussure said “language is a system of interdependent terms in which the value of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of the others” (Saussure 1959: p.114), and so linguistic value is dependent on the relationship of the sign to those around it. I propose to apply the same principle to text and context in general, and argue that the functional value of a text or context in society is determined by what else is present in the paradigm. We observe in the text a choice from the paradigm (a choice *in praesentia*), and the difficulty is that the paradigm also includes all those available choices that are not taken up in the text (choices *in absentia*): this is the nature of paradigm, since making a choice means not taking up the other available options. The issue then is how to work out what is in absentia when one is not ‘acculturated’ into the original contextual paradigm. The following section explains the parametric model of context that will be used as a tool for investigating the contextual configuration of each text and highlighting the diachronic consistency and variation in the register of which these texts are instances. At a general level, aspects of field, tenor and mode were held constant in the selection of the data (see section 7.1.2 below), so the analysis will provide a more delicate description of the contextual values to illuminate the diachronic variations.

7.1.2 Using the parametric model of context as an analytical tool

In chapter 2 I introduced the SFL model of context following Halliday, in which “the notion of ‘context of situation’... can be interpreted by means of a conceptual framework using the terms ‘field’, ‘tenor’ and ‘mode’” (Halliday, 1985c: 29). In many of their publications (e.g. Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Hasan, 1995, 1999), Halliday and Hasan describe context at a primary degree of delicacy according to these parameters. Table 2-1 re-presents the broad contextual description of the set of armistice texts first presented in chapter 2. The description shows that, at this primary degree of delicacy, it is possible to identify a common contextual configuration for the texts. However, we have already seen from the analyses in

the preceding chapters that there are some considerable differences in context, which need to be identified at further degrees of delicacy. So a more delicate description is required to identify the extent of variation in the register over time.

FIELD OF DISCOURSE	<u>Verbal action</u> : Providing selected, structured information and perspectives about recent world events: updating previous instalments: reporting the end of a war...
TENOR OF DISCOURSE	<u>Agentive relation</u> : newspaper/journalist addressing newspaper reader: virtual addressee: adult; educated; interested in current world events...
	<u>Social relation</u> : institutionalised; peer: writer/newspaper dependent on reader's loyalty to maintain readership and maintain advertisers' patronage; reader dependent on writer's service for most recent and comprehensive information about inaccessible events (cf. Stephens, 2007)
	<u>Social distance</u> : maximal...
MODE OF DISCOURSE	<u>Role of language</u> : constitutive...
	<u>Channel</u> : graphic; no visual contact; monologic: no process sharing...
	<u>Medium</u> : written...

Table 7-1 (Reprise of Table 2-1) Description of context according to field, tenor and mode at a primary degree of delicacy (following Hasan, 1999)

The contextual parameters of field, tenor and mode have been further developed into system networks by Hasan (eg. 1995; 1999). More recently, Butt (2004 mimeo.) has proposed further, more delicate distinctions between contexts based on Hasan's networks. His motivation for developing the networks in this way is that "every context needs to be described so that the unique relations pertaining to that context emerge; at the same time as the uniqueness is established, the corollary must also be made available – what the text shares with others in the register" (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 7). The networks collectively constitute a putative "map of the meaning potential" (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 7) at the level of context, and are thus virtually designed for a task such as that undertaken in this chapter: to investigate what kind of context is construed by each text, and consequently to ascertain the extent of variation and consistency between these instances of the register of news reporting³⁵.

In the sections below I present a discussion of the context of situation organised according to the three areas of context identified in chapter 1 as being 'at stake' in the diachronic development of the register: the function and content of the news, the role of the journalist within the news institution and in relation to the reader, and the role of technology. The

³⁵ See also Lukin (2008b) for a constructive application of Hasan's (1999) context framework in a case study of two news reports in Spanish.

discussion is intended to be exploratory rather than definitive, as the contextual framework is still in a very preliminary stage. It is intended only to demonstrate how the context networks can be instrumental as a tool for suggesting relevant points of contrast in the context of situation. The networks are used here as a way of simplifying the vast array of possible features of context to attend to in the analysis of a social process, and as a way of representing the options synoptically.

The networked context analyses for each text are presented in Appendices A.10, B.9, C.9, D.10, E.9, F.9 and G.10. The networks are adapted from Butt (2004 mimeo.). The system names in capitals represent Hasan's original terms, whereas Butt's terms are written in lower case. In the discussions presented below, system names are represented in brackets for ease of identification, while the 'primary domains of contrast' (Butt, 2004 mimeo.), i.e. the systems at the primary degree of delicacy for each parameter, are shown in small capitals. Summaries of the domains of contrast that have undergone the most significant diachronic variation are displayed and discussed as, Figure 7-1, Figure 7-2, and Figure 7-3 in section 7.5.

7.2 The function and content of the news

The foregoing analysis chapters have suggested that the function and experiential orientation of the news have changed in a number of ways over the hundred year period investigated in this study. Firstly, chapter 4 demonstrated that the degree of specificity with which news events are located in time and space has changed. Secondly, chapter 5 demonstrated that the content of news has been mediated by the journalist in different ways in terms of identification of the source of information. Thirdly, chapter 6 demonstrated differences in the width of aperture through which the events are presented, and the development of field through the semantic unfolding of the news reports. In this section I will suggest the areas of contextual change implicated by these semantic changes, using the parameter of FIELD.

The parameter of FIELD is the one that has been most highly developed in the literature, although the account of descriptive categories remains "incomplete and somewhat rudimentary" (Hasan, 1999: 312). Hasan has published her field network with four systems at the primary degree of delicacy: MATERIAL ACTION, VERBAL ACTION, SPHERE OF ACTION, and ITERATION (e.g. Hasan, 1999: 311). Butt (2004 mimeo.) has more recently developed Hasan's network, proposing the systems SPHERE OF ACTION, MATERIAL ACTION, ACTION WITH SYMBOLS, and GOAL ORIENTATION. Butt has placed the option of iteration within the

system of GOAL ORIENTATION rather than as a separate system. I will here use Butt's network as it extends to a greater degree of delicacy than Hasan's earlier network. I will focus particularly on the system of ACTION WITH SYMBOLS, since it is in this area of the network that the variation can be most clearly identified in relation to the semantic concerns outlined above.

7.2.1 Sphere of Action

In the analysis of context, there is always the issue of 'point of view': that is, from whose point of view are the options to be described: the writer's or the reader's (see e.g. Butt, 2004 mimeo.; Wegener, forthcoming [2009]). The two points of view may not always result in different selections, but in the system of SPHERE OF ACTION for these texts, the view is different for writer and reader because of their different agentive roles (see section 7.3.2). The system of SPHERE OF ACTION relates to the nature of the subject matter of the interaction. From the reader's point of view the SPHERE OF ACTION must be [QUOTIDIAN] (from the Latin for 'everyday'), since the news as a social process is an everyday activity that is normally part of adult life in a community. The reader is seeking the 'news of the day', and the information must be accessible to them as a member of the general public. From the journalist's point of view, the SPHERE OF ACTION is [SPECIALISED], according to Butt's classification of "activities which involve commitments to periods of training" (2004 mimeo.: 25) or "accreditation on the basis of more than commonsense knowledge" (ibid.: 26). The activity of reporting news involves a complex division of labour within the news institution (cf. Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 1998a; Souter, 1981). Thus there is a tension for the journalist/newspaper to resolve: how to make a specialised process and relatively specialised information (e.g. on international diplomacy, military operations) seem quotidian and balance their estimation of the cultural capital shared with readers (see section 7.3.3.1 below). In the case of these texts, the specialised may have become quotidian by exposure through reporting over the course of the war. All of the texts signal the specialised nature of the subject matter (the events being reported) by using special titles for the protagonists in the events, e.g. *Marshal Foch* (WWI text), *The British Commonwealth Division Commander, Major-General M. A. R. West* (Korean War text), and *The commander of the Allied forces, General Norman Schwarzkopf* (Gulf War text). In addition, some texts use technical or specialist vocabulary relating to war and armistice. For example, the WWI and Gulf War texts include lists of peace terms set down by the victors, as shown in Extract 7-1 and Extract 7-2.

Internment under Allied supervision in neutral ports of six battle-cruisers, 10 battleships, eight light cruisers, 50 destroyers; all other surface warships to be paid off and disarmed and placed under supervision of the Allies.

Extract 7-1 From WWI text

The President's demands included:... that Iraq comply with all relevant UN resolutions, especially number 662, which declares the annexation of Kuwait null and void, and 674, which provides for reparations to Kuwait for loss, damage and injury.

Extract 7-2 From Gulf War text

7.2.2 Material Action

The system of MATERIAL ACTION captures whether the context involves action other than the verbal text as part of the social process. MATERIAL ACTION is [Absent] in the context of the texts, and is characteristically [Irrelevant] rather than merely [Deferred]. The graphic communication of meaning through symbols (language and, in some cases, pictures) constitutes the whole of the activity (see also section 7.4.1 on ROLE OF LANGUAGE in the parameter of mode). Linguistically, the absence of material action is realised through the use of fully specified nominal groups and low occurrence of unresolved ellipsis, unresolved deixis, and exophoric reference. The temporal deixis that occurs (see chapter 4), e.g. *yesterday*, can be resolved in conjunction with the dateline on the report or the date printed at the top of the newspaper page.

7.2.3 Action with Symbols

The system of ACTION WITH SYMBOLS allows us to characterise the kind of symbolic action that is being performed through a text. In Table 7-1 above, I characterised the activity broadly as “Providing selected, structured information and perspectives about recent world events: updating previous instalments: reporting the end of a war...”, leaving the description open-ended to suggest that further delicacy could be pursued. The texts construe action that is entirely symbolic (i.e. not material action), therefore ACTION WITH SYMBOLS is [Necessary]. They are concerned with communicating ideas rather than with practical guidance, construing [Telling (conceptual)] symbolic action. The nature of the ideas is specified through three parallel systems, which characterise the metafunctional orientation, intertextuality, and structuring of the ideas.

Firstly, the metafunctional alignment of the coded message is more towards the experiential development of the activity than the development of interpersonal relations (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 30), so the context is [REFLECTION-BASED]. This is realised, for

example, by the lack of first and second person pronouns, except where used in quotations, and the orientation of the semantics of time and space to *realis* times and places locating predominantly material Processes. The analysis presented in chapter 6 also shows that the major semantic threads construe a core focus on the major Participants (belligerents) and Processes (especially relating to surrender and co-operation) involved in the events being reported. However, the findings also suggest that in the Iraq War text there is a slight shift towards [RELATION-BASED] verbal action, in that the text is presented as a dramatic, entertaining impression of the events rather than a historically-oriented account. This impression is built up through the lack of temporal grounding (see chapter 4), the lack of experiential development in relation to the political repercussions of the ‘fall of Baghdad’ (see chapter 6), and the recurrent motif of the response of the Iraqi civilians (see chapter 6). The status of this text as a report from the *Herald’s* correspondent in Baghdad is probably significant in this respect and also has implications for the tenor of discourse, which will be discussed in section 7.3.

Secondly, in terms of intertextuality, the distinction is between [Discoursal] (acting on the experience of the interactants) and [Meta-discoursal]. [Discoursal] refers to texts that act “directly on the experience of the participants in the context”, whereas [Meta-discoursal] refers to texts that act on one or more already existing texts (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 31). These features are similar to Hasan’s *first order* and *second order* conceptual verbal action. The process of writing news is a complex one, involving multiple original sources such that “it is not possible to regard any story as the solo, first-hand product of the respective journalist” (Bednarek, 2006: 14). As the analysis in chapter 5 showed, most of the reports reconstruct events from agency reports, written statements, press briefings, etc. They can therefore be characterised as [Meta-discoursal], in that the ideas are to a large extent reliant on other texts: the texts are [Reproduced] from one or more pre-existing texts in a modified form. The Boer War and WWI texts are exclusively reproduced (with seemingly minimal modification) from pre-existing ([Discoursal]) news reports, telegrams and bulletins from London and other places. The analysis of tense selection in chapter 5 showed that the temporal perspective in these texts was dispersed, suggesting that the original form of the corantos, which were written at different times by potentially different writers, had been largely retained. The Korean War, Vietnam War, and Gulf War texts are also marked as having been modified from either multiple telegram announcements or agency copy. The WWII and Iraq War texts are not marked in this way; however, like all the other texts they

contain attributions of information to other sources through hypotactic and/or paratactic projection (see chapter 5). The Iraq War text is unique in being construed largely as an eyewitness report based on the experiences of the journalist, Paul McGeough. McGeough's (2003) book recounting his time in Baghdad confirms this interpretation. However, the references to Reuters and Press Association at the end of the report and the use of quotes from both civilians and military officials mean that the text still engages in the recontextualisation of words that were originally part of a different text and context.

The final distinction for [Telling (conceptual)] texts is between [INFORMING] and [NARRATING]. Butt uses these terms to distinguish between contexts in which the release of information is governed by an organising pattern, or not (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 33), but the definitions are not further developed as yet. The information in the texts is released according to a particular pattern of organisation (see chapter 6), so according to Butt's characterisation they can be generally described as [NARRATING], at least for parts of the text. Hasan's original use of [NARRATING] versus [INFORMING] was designed to "capture respectively the significant division between already experienced time and time that is in some sense present" (Hasan, 1999: 291), where [NARRATING] "activates the construal of goings on supposed to be located *in time that has already been experienced* whether in reality or in imagination" (Hasan, 1999: 291, original emphasis). In terms of orientation to experienced time, all seven texts are [NARRATING], since they construe events located in "time that has already been experienced" (Hasan, 1999: 291). This construal is realised by the predominant selection of past tense in combination with other evidential cues to the passing of time, such as datelines and photographs.

In both Butt's and Hasan's networks, [NARRATING] is the entry point for two further systems. One provides a choice between [Congruent] and [Metaphorical], which in Butt's network are further explained by the addition of the terms *isomorphic* and *designed*, respectively. All texts must be understood to be products of design in the first instance, but this system captures the difference between contexts in which the text unfolds in an isomorphic relationship to the unfolding of the events being narrated (i.e. chronological order), and contexts in which the text unfolds according to some other principle not identical with the unfolding of events. As narrative texts, the seven reports can therefore be characterised as [Metaphorical (designed)]. As shown in chapter 6 for three of the texts, the unfolding proceeds not in chronological order (which would be [Congruent (isomorphic)])

but rather according to principles of cyclical elaboration, extension and enhancement of the ‘target event’.

The achronological structuring of (modern) news reports is related to what is often described as “news values” (see e.g. Bednarek, 2006: 16; Bell, 1991; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Ungerer, 2000), and also seems to be strongly connected to the newspaper’s accommodation of the newspaper reading practices of its various readers (see section 7.3.3.2). Nanri (1993: 158) also argues that this way of structuring news reports has evolved as a result of the dominant ideology of the mass urban readership in modern capitalist society since the early twentieth century. As a supplier of information in a market economy, the news organisation packages the information gathered from a variety of news sources into a text that summarises the most important information early on in the text and then goes on to elaborate it as the text unfolds. This organisation of information ensures that the reader can easily access the most important information in each news report, a strategy motivated by the need for the newspaper to maintain its circulation and readership figures so that income from advertising can be secured on a continuing basis.

Further, [NARRATING] is the entry point for a distinction between [RECOUNTING] and [INVENTING], which relates to the ‘reality’ of the narrated events. The news texts can be described as [RECOUNTING] rather than [INVENTING], since the events they recount are presented as having really happened. Indeed, this is a defining characteristic of news: the events must be actual, not invented. This feature of the context is construed by the combination of past tense, names of real people and places, setting in recent time, and descriptions of events that might conceivably have happened (i.e. are not impossible) and could be confirmed by recourse to independent sources/authorities. The occurrences that are recounted are [COMMUNAL], pertaining to a group or community, rather than relating only to one particular individual (Hasan, 1999: 295), although this is not necessarily the case for all news reports. The Iraq War text, with its focus on McGeough’s experience in Baghdad and the reported experience of unnamed individuals in Baghdad, pushes the limits of this feature. But, in comparison to McGeough’s book (2003), for example, which is recounted in the first person and construed as a personal account (and compare the report printed below the Iraq War text, ‘Descent into a charnel-house hospital hell’, also by McGeough; Appendix G.1), the news report is construed as having wider communal significance.

The selection of [COMMUNAL] leads to two parallel systems which differentiate recounting contexts on the basis of the recency of the recounted events and the width of the focal aperture through which the events are viewed (Hasan, 1999: 295). All the texts here select [IMMEDIATE], in that the recounting relates to events affecting the community within the recent past, e.g. within the last few days. The [IMMEDIATE] aspect of the context is construed largely through temporal deixis such as *yesterday* and *last night* (see the discussion of Circumstances of Relative date in chapter 4). The distinction between [IMMEDIATE] and [DISTANT] could be further specified to apply to spatial proximity as well, since all texts here refer to events that are temporally immediate, but spatially distant. In terms of the focus of the recount, the Korean War and Iraq War texts can be described as [NARROW FOCUS] because they provide a narrow aperture to the recount target. This is realised by the patterning of linguistic resources in relation to one or two main foci not greatly separated from each other in time or space. The cohesion analysis (chapter 6) demonstrates that both these texts prioritise two key domains of the events being reported: in the Korean War text the focus is on the fighting in Korea and the signing ceremony at Panmunjon; in the Iraq War text the focus is on the change of power in Iraq and the response of Iraqis in Baghdad. The other texts (Boer War, WWI, WWII, Vietnam War and Gulf War texts) have a [WIDE FOCUS] in that they take in a range of different recount targets that are themselves separated in time and space, i.e. patterns related to a range of different focal points. The Boer War text, for example, ranges from the speech of King Edward VII, to the perspectives of the enemy leaders, and from a summary of the response of the Lord Mayor of London to a brief mention of the responses of people in Canada and the United States.

One of the implications of the combination of immediacy of the events, narrow focus, and the daily publication schedule of newspapers, is that the future temporal horizon of the significance of the events for most readers is restricted. As Fowler argues,

each issue [of the newspaper] is experienced as a separate, disposable text, fast fading in its impact. The sensation of autonomy is enhanced by the biological and cultural discreteness of a day's life: a day is the clearest, most marked unit of subjective time.... Newspapers conceal history, presenting events as autonomous, instantaneous and rapidly erased. It would be an important critical activity to retrieve change and causation by diachronic study (Fowler, 1991: 225-226).

It is for this reason that, as I have been arguing, the interpretation of the context of past news texts can be more difficult than the interpretation of other kinds of historical text that may be more static and permanent in their temporal horizon (cf. Halliday, 1959).

7.2.4 Goal Orientation

The system of GOAL ORIENTATION captures the notion that different social activities have different purposes – some short-term and some long-term – and different degrees of explicitness about those goals³⁶. The system must allow for multiple goals to be described, since news reporting (and many other contexts, if not all) has two kinds of goals, some [Immediate], and some [Longitudinal]. The short term and long term goals of the news have been characterised by many scholars writing about news and news discourse (e.g. Bell, 1994; Conboy, 2004; Cottle, 2006; Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991; Hall et al., 1978; Harrison, 2006). The foregoing analyses of the texts in the corpus suggest that an [Immediate] goal is to provide current information to the general public of Sydney about recent events in relation to the unfolding of war, as part of a commercial enterprise and the chronicling of a culture. This goal is realised, for example, by the consistent organisation of information in such a way that the information deemed most crucial is concentrated in the opening move of the text for ease of access. In terms of semantic realisation, this goal is [Overt: Defined by activity; From outset], in that the activity of 'news reporting' overtly identifies its own goal from the beginning of the social process. The quotation from the *Handbook of Reuters Journalism* at the beginning of this chapter demonstrates the institutional conception of the goal of agency news reports, although this conception seems to be at odds with what actually happens in news reports, where the story is gradually elaborated as the text unfolds.

There is another immediate goal that is [INTEGRATED] with the one explained above, i.e. it is implicated in the definition of the other immediate goal. This goal is that of contributing to income generation and the business imperatives of the media organisation. A second entry to the system to describe this goal selects [Immediate] and [Overt: Offered in coded forms; From outset], in that the presence of advertising in the vicinity of the text shows the economic purpose of the newspaper. In the earliest two texts this is manifested through the dedication of the entire front page of the newspaper to advertising and commercial activity. None of the other texts carries advertising on the front page (i.e. the same page as the text), although the Vietnam War text has a small icon in the bottom right

³⁶ See Hasan (1999: 234–237) for a critique of the notion of 'goal' as a contextual feature.

hand corner supplying a telephone number for enquiries into and sales of classified advertising in the newspaper. In the later texts the advertising is held off until the second and subsequent pages of the newspaper.

News reporting also has [Longitudinal] goals relating to the creation and maintenance of ideology, which is a complex issue that I will only touch on here. By providing selected information on selected events, and being construed as an integral part of the 'public sphere' (Fowler, 1991: 121), the news in the *Herald* has a normative role in the creation of symbolic control (cf. Bernstein, 1990), circulating "information and ideas deemed essential for sustaining a vibrant civil society and functioning democracy" (Fairclough, 1995b: 11), in accordance with the dominant, powerful ideology (Nanri, 1993), and contributing to the formation of public opinion about the event and events like it. This [Longitudinal] goal is [Unconscious: Inferred: By consistency]. The fact that a consistent 'semantic drift' (Butt, 1988) can be demonstrated in news reports (and journalism practice) on a range of topics over a period of time (e.g. Bromley, 2004; Conboy, 2004; Cottle, 2006; Fairclough, 1998; Fowler, 1991; Hall et al., 1978; Hartley, 1996; Knightley, 2004; Lukin, 2007; Trew, 1979b; van Dijk, 1998; White, 1997) demonstrates that, although the goal may be unconscious, it is present nonetheless.

7.3 The role of the journalist

The foregoing analysis chapters have suggested that the role of the journalist within the news institution and in relation to readers has changed in a number of ways over the period considered in this study. Firstly, it was suggested in chapter 4 that the changes in representation of temporal and spatial location were related to pervasive changes in the social milieu in the conception of time and space. The findings of chapter 4 demonstrate changes in the representation of temporal perspective, as well as the writer's recognition of reader expectations with regard to specificity in the temporal and spatial location of news events. Secondly, the findings in relation to tense selection in chapter 4 suggested a shift in the journalist's role in terms of the mediation, recontextualisation and presentation of information originating from diverse sources. The findings of chapter 5 also suggested changes in journalistic authority, demonstrated by differences in the explicitness of identification of the journalist and recontextualisation of information from other sources. In this section I will show how these semantic changes construe contextual changes in the parameter of TENOR, turning to the TENOR system network as a tool for making explicit the

changes in the role of the journalist as institutional representative and the semantic implications of this change.

The parameter of tenor is concerned with the nature of the social roles being enacted between writer and reader in the interaction. In this parameter, perhaps even more so than the other two, there is an issue of 'point of view' which is yet to be resolved (see e.g. Butt, 2004 mimeo.; Wegener, forthcoming [2009]) (see also section 7.2.1 above). In this study the focus of the analysis has been the lexicogrammar and semantics of the specific texts rather than the whole newspaper. The text is where the evidence for the context of the text, including the tenor, is to be found, since "the context relevant to the production of [a written text] is logically unknowable except on the basis of the language of the text" (Hasan, 1999: 238). Therefore, the following sections describe the relationship between the writer of the specific text as an "institutional voice" (Lerman, 1983) and the reader, based on the evidence in the text for the interactional character of both the writer and the 'target readership' or "virtual addressee" (Hasan, 1999: 238). Almost all of the selections from the tenor network are the same across all texts. The only exceptions are in the SOCIAL HIERARCHY and SOCIAL DISTANCE systems, as I explain below.

7.3.1 Social Hierarchy

The Social Hierarchy system incorporates contrasts concerned with the hierarchical nature of the relationship between participants, the explicitness of that hierarchy, and mutability of hierarchical relations in the context. Thus, it will allow us to consider the role of the journalist in terms of the social hierarchy set up in the text, and whether and how this relationship with the reader has changed over time. I noted in the general context description in Table 7-1 that the social relation in the texts is an institutionalised relationship between peers, in which the writer/newspaper is dependent on reader's loyalty to maintain readership and maintain advertisers' patronage, and the reader is dependent (to a certain extent) on the writer's/newspaper's service for the most recent and comprehensive information about events otherwise inaccessible to them (cf. Lukin, 2008b; Stephens, 2007). The texts therefore demonstrate a [Non-hierarchic] relationship between writer and reader, in that the power and status within the context is construed of being of the same order (Butt, 2004 mimeo.). However, it must be acknowledged that one participant (here, the writer) has more information on the topic at hand than the other (the reader) so there is a sense of hierarchy in terms of knowledge in that particular domain.

I have also characterised all texts as selecting [Immutable] for the construal of social hierarchy over the course of the text; that is, the social hierarchy does not shift according to field probabilities or role changes, but remains constant throughout the text. The one parameter of this system that does seem to differ between the texts is whether or not the social hierarchy is made explicit. I have characterised the Korean War, Gulf War and Iraq War texts as [Declared (explicit)] with respect to the signalling of status relations because in these three texts there is an explicit acknowledgement of the writer of the text, whether by name (Tony Walker and Peter Stephens in the Gulf War text, Paul McGeough and Sean Maguire in the Iraq War text,) or by institution (A.A.P. in the Korean War text). The other texts are [Uncoded (implicit)] in this regard, attributing the text to a location at the most (see chapter 5, section 5.3.1). I would argue that in identifying the writer or institutional source of the text, an explicit signal is being given as to the institutional role or connections of the writer, which signals their status as a ‘knower’ in comparison to the reader, who is construed as not possessing this information (cf. Hall et al., 1978: 57).

The shift from absent to explicit identification of the writer in the *Herald* has been recognised in Souter’s sesquicentennial history of the *Herald*, as I mentioned in chapter 5. Souter (1981: 208) notes that, until the change in *Herald* policy in 1942 allowing the use of bylines, anonymity was generally preferred (except on special reports), although he does not explain why this was the case. However, the policy is described as an “anomaly” in relation to the practices of other newspapers at the time, and was the cause of considerable annoyance to the *Herald*’s war correspondent in the Middle East, G. E. W. Harriott (Souter, 1981: 207-208). The response of the Editor, Angus McLachlan, indicates an institutional mentality in which the individual identity of journalists was not to be prioritised over the appearance of a cohesive institutional identity. The shift towards using bylines and, more recently, identifying correspondents with thumbnail photographs suggests a change in the attitude towards the institutional identity and “brand”. The modern *Herald* is a ‘brand’ that incorporates, and perhaps even relies on, multiple individual ‘brands’ in the form of familiar, ‘household-name’ journalists. The journalist’s individual voice, while still functioning as part of the institutional voice, seems to have become an economically valued commodity in its own right.

7.3.2 Agentive Role

The system of AGENTIVE ROLE brings into focus the potential differences between those acting in the context, differentiating according to how and through what kind of institution

the actant role is established and maintained. AGENTIVE ROLE selections are constant across all texts in the corpus. The role of the journalist is [Acquired] (i.e. through training or the possession of particular capital) rather than [Inherent] (as a function of family, age, race, etc), as it requires training and apprenticeship into the industry before their reporting can be made available to the general public through the newspaper. The journalist's role is a [Civic] rather than [Familial] one, being determined by civic practices and role allocations, rather than family roles and relationships. In this role the journalist is more likely to be considered an 'institutional voice' than an individual voice. However, as I noted in section 7.3.1, the more recent trend of including the reporter's name and photograph increases the likelihood that journalists will be viewed as individuals adding their voice to the overall institutional identity of the newspaper, rather than speaking with that institutional voice (see Lerman, 1983).

One of the characterising features of the communicative context of a news story is that it is impersonal, construing a fragmented, "non-interactive, non-present audience" (Bednarek, 2006: 14), a "virtual addressee" (Hasan, 1999: 238). The role relationship is therefore a [Non-reciprocating] one, as the participants (reader and writer) do not act on each other. However, in a broader sense (i.e. taking into account the relationship between newspaper and readership), there may be a sense of reciprocation of the [Complementary] kind, where readers may act on the *Herald* (and its staff) indirectly, through letters, boycott, etc. This suggests that another parallel system could be added for [Reciprocating]: [Direct] vs. [Indirect]. The increasing individuation within the *Herald* also has implications for this feature of the context: as journalists become household names and develop their own individual 'brand' through their work at the *Herald*, there is a greater likelihood that, were they to leave the *Herald* for another newspaper, readers might follow them to the other newspaper rather than remaining loyal to the *Herald*. The success of the *Herald* as a business therefore becomes contingent not only on the quality of their writers and the ability of those writers to attract a following, but on the newspaper's ability to retain these writers on staff.

7.3.3 Social Distance

The SOCIAL DISTANCE network incorporates systems for characterising the relationship between participants in terms of density (of different kinds of social relations), formality (based on the work required to maintain the relational distance), and codal sharing. The notion of codal sharing points towards Bernstein's notion of 'code' (e.g. Bernstein, 1975, 1990), although it is not envisaged that quotidian differences at the stratum of context can

encompass the subtleties of semantic orientation in Bernstein's theory of code and code orientation (Butt, 2009, p.c.). Rather, the purpose of invoking the notion of codal sharing in Butt's network is to recognise the potential for members of a community to develop similar semantic orientations, first of all, as a result of the day-to-day settings that articulate their engagement in socio-semiotic processes. This feature of the context will be discussed in section 7.3.3.1 below.

In terms of density, the relationship between writer and reader in these texts is construed as [Uniplex]; that is, there is no evidence that the *SMH* journalist and *SMH* readers have any other kind of relationship link beyond the one relevant to this context (although someone who does have a [Multiplex] relationship with the journalist may well read their writing in the newspaper). The link between participants in these texts is based on [Business], which would normally (in combination with selection of [Regular] from a parallel system; see below) result in a fairly formal interaction, as it does here. It is the journalist's business to write newspaper articles, and the reader pays to read them³⁷ (although it is their exposure to advertising that is most important as a source of income for the newspaper), and so there is a wide social distance between writer and reader in this interaction. It is difficult to decide on the origin of the business, whether it is [Initiated] by the participants or [Assigned] to the participants by a third party. This also seems to be a 'point of view' problem. The reader makes a choice to read the article, so from their perspective the business is [Initiated]. However, in many cases the journalist is given a particular event to cover, so from their perspective the business is likely to be [Assigned] by the newspaper or an editor. The semantic evidence does not seem to construe either reader or writer as being under obligation to participate in that particular social relationship. Indeed, the writers generally use clear, accessible language (few technical terms, low-level nominalisation, short clauses and paragraphs; see e.g. chapter 3, section 3.2.2), which suggests that part of their role is to attract and hold the reader's attention and facilitate their reading and understanding of the reported events. I therefore interpret the business upon which the interaction is based as [Initiated] rather than [Assigned] for these texts.

The formality of the relationship is primarily characterised in terms of the regularity of contact required to maintain the social distance. In these texts the contact is [Regular] and [Recurrent], meaning that there is potentially regular, arranged contact between the

³⁷ It should be noted, however, that by the time of the Iraq War text, the *SMH* was available on the internet for free on the day of publication, and only access to editions more than eight days old incurred a fee.

participants through which the newspaper develops a relationship with their readership over time (Lukin, 2008b: 157). The regularity and recurrence of this contact is demonstrated by the writer's assumption of a socially aware target reader with knowledge about the topics that have been mentioned in previous recent instances of contact. However, the assumption of prior knowledge seems to change over the period of investigation in terms of the nature of the knowledge that is assumed. In the Boer War text, for example, certain protagonists in the war are mentioned by name but not with reference to their significance to the topic of war or armistice, e.g. *Lord Kitchener, in his despatch to the Imperial Government, added that Lord Milner and himself had also signed the document*. In contrast, the Gulf War text explicitly names and states the role of protagonists, e.g. *The commander of the allied forces, General Norman Schwarzkopf, told a briefing in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia...* Presumably, in both cases, anyone who had been following the reports of the war would have known who these men were and what their significance was, but the texts construe different degrees of expectation of reader knowledge (see section 7.3.3.1 below).

One possible factor in this shift in expectations of the reader is that Sydney was a smaller and more homogeneous community in 1902 than in 1991, and that in 1991 there was more information available to read so few people could keep up with all the news all the time. All texts in the corpus were significant news items in their own time (as shown by their appearance at highly salient locations in the newspaper), and so it could be expected that a large number of people who had not been following the unfolding of events closely might read them. We might therefore expect that if the newspaper or journalist had a theory of the “virtual addressee” in which the composition of the audience shifted from day to day in terms of frequency of contact, the language would reflect this through greater explication and explanation of the key features of the events that might otherwise be inaccessible to casual readers.

7.3.3.1 Codal Sharing: Local history and Cultural capital

The network relating to Codal Sharing allows us to explore the extent to which the participants could be expected to have similar orientations to everyday events and social situations. Since the relationship between writer and reader in news texts is stereotyped in both directions (i.e. the readers envisage a “stereotyped speaker”, while the journalist writes for stereotyped readers), “a considerable amount of shared knowledge, beliefs, norms, values, etc. must therefore be presupposed” (Bednarek, 2006: 14). However, it does not seem to be the case that all texts demonstrate expectations of local history or cultural capital in common

between the writer and the reader. The implications of codal sharing for a conception of the role of the journalist, then, centre on the way the journalist contributes to the creation and maintenance of the *Herald* community through the invocation of shared knowledge with the target readership.

7.3.3.1.1 Invoking shared local history

[Local history in common] here refers to the sharing of knowledge built up over time in relation to typical social contacts and interactions in the shared environment (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 17). Most of the texts demonstrate some degree of [Local history in common]. The Iraq War text is the only exception, construing a social relationship in which there is [No local history in common], as I will explain below. The other texts all suggest that the interaction relies on [Local history in common], primarily based around a shared community at the level of [Fellow country] (Boer War, WWI, Vietnam War and Gulf War texts). The semantics of the Iraq War text remain far removed from the local context of the Sydney readers, and the only shared knowledge assumed is in regard to the recent events in Iraq and relevant personalities in the Iraq and US military and governments, e.g. to be able to associate *Saddam Hussein* with the role of Iraqi President. Therefore this text assumes recent history in common that is of a 'global', rather than local, nature. It is also one of only two texts (the Gulf War text being the other one) that names the journalist(s). Here the journalists are Paul McGeough, an Australian who was employed by the *Sydney Morning Herald* as their Middle East correspondent at the time (although this information is not revealed in the text), and Sean Maguire, a Reuters correspondent who worked as an embedded journalist during the Iraq War. This fact highlights an interesting tension: although McGeough is perhaps the only Australian journalist represented in the corpus (as far as we can tell), his is the only report that does not construe local history in common with the readers. Despite having spent a lot of time in the Middle East, he can still be said to potentially share local history with the readers because he is Australian and works for a Sydney institution. And yet this aspect of the wider context seems not to form part of the 'relevant context', which can only be made known by the text (Hasan, 1999).

The strongest sense of shared local history evoked in the Boer War text is in relation to a shared Empire, the British Empire. The text refers homophorically to *the Empire, the King*, and other associated personalities and concepts, e.g. *Lord Kitchener, the late Queen, the National Anthem* and *the city* (referring to London). However, there are also some references to Australia, and this is rare among all the texts. The headlines mention the response in

Sydney; this is not followed through in the central block of articles but is described in detail in some of the longer articles around the outside of the page (see Appendix A.1). The final coranto in the text also mentions that Colonel de Lisle, who is reported as having been invalided to England, was *for a long period in command of the New South Wales troops*. The attribution of this article to London, like all the others in that section, suggests that either the *SMH* inserted that piece of information in order to indicate the relevance of the article to Sydney readers, or the writer in London shared enough local history with Sydney readers to understand how to make the news articles relevant to them. Either way, the selection of this item for inclusion demonstrates some local history in common.

The WWI text also construes a common allegiance to the British Empire, although the strength of the common tie seems diminished compared to the Boer War text because no longer is the news from England the only news represented - Melbourne, New York and Vancouver are also given as sources. The sense of common nation in this text results mainly from the inclusion of official messages from Melbourne (i.e. the seat of government in Australia at the time). There is also a strong sense of common recent experience given in the 'Earlier reports' section, which assumes knowledge of people and places relevant to the events reported, e.g. *It was hinted in informed quarters that Marshal Foch might extend the time limit for reply to the armistice because the courier going to Spa was considerably delayed by bad roads*.

The WWII text similarly construes a sense of common empire through homophoric references to *the King and Queen* and *Buckingham Palace*, however the most local shared domain is that of [Neighbourhood]. The writer draws on common knowledge and experience of the city of Sydney in the way it describes the “delirious joy” of the people of Sydney, referring to *the Cenotaph, many churches, the streets of Sydney*, and in the way it refers deictically to local events in the recent twenty-four hour period, e.g. *Early this morning, during the night*. This text is the only one that does not attribute the information to a source or writer outside of Australia, and also one of the few that mentions occurrences in the local area. The result is a strong sense of community and common feeling in response to the end of war, suggesting that ‘we Sydneysiders have endured this war together and now we can celebrate together’.

The most local shared domain in the Korean War text is [Fellow country]. There are sparse references to Australia by state and country that seem to have the purpose of heightening the relevance of the report to the Sydney readers, e.g. *The Communists have told the U.N. that they will release 12, 763 prisoners, including 15 Australians, At the door was a U.N.*

guard of honour, including *one Australian, Private Max Perkins, of Ferntree Gully, Melbourne*, and Brigadier J. G. N. Wilton represented *Australia*. The opening line of the report specifies that the truce was signed *at 10 am. (11 a.m. Sydney time)* to-day, again construing shared location in relation to the events being reported. The presence of these references increases the specificity of the report to this particular context (i.e. the *Sydney Morning Herald*), precluding the publication of exactly the same report in a newspaper anywhere else in the world, and even decreasing the likelihood of it appearing in a newspaper in another Australian state.

The Vietnam War and Gulf War also have [Fellow country] as a domain of shared local history, but they circumscribe the shared locality in different ways and to different degrees. The Vietnam War text construes bilateral political interest in the impact for Australians of the end of war by citing *a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department* and *the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Fraser*. This section of the text also indirectly draws attention to the absence of a response from the Prime Minister (see chapter 5), an anomaly which would likely have been understood by readers with sufficient knowledge of the contemporary political situation in Australia, and the *Herald's* position on it (see e.g. Souter, 1981: 466-470). The adjacent report (see Appendix E.1), headed *Opposition calls for Whitlam's return*, gives some explanation of the situation, beginning thus:

CANBERRA, Wednesday. – The Federal Opposition demanded today the immediate return to Australia of the Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, to defend himself against charges of misleading Parliament and the nation over communications sent to North and South Vietnam.

The report goes on to briefly explain the controversy:

The row centres on the publication of secret messages sent to Australia's Ambassadors in Saigon and Hanoi on April 2. Mr Whitlam had claimed in Parliament that these were "substantially the same".

The cable sent to Hanoi was about twice as long as that to Saigon. Mr Fraser has claimed that the Hanoi cable showed the Government had taken sides with North Vietnam in its aggression against the South.

The previous month (April 1975), the *Herald* had published an editorial declaring that *The Prime Minister has lied to Parliament. He has deceived the Australian people*, and that *only a week earlier he had given to Hanoi and to the Vietcong's self-styled 'Provisional Revolutionary Government' what amounts to the moral support of Australia in the war of communist expansion which they are waging in South Vietnam.*

The Gulf War text draws a wider circle of commonality than the local Australian context, assuming alliance with America through homophoric references to *President Bush*, *the Oval Office*, and *the White House*. Just as the Boer War and WWI texts construed Sydney readers as belonging to (and intimately acquainted with) the British Empire, the Gulf War text seems to construe the Sydney readers as intimately acquainted members of a kind of American ‘empire’. There is also a common identity drawn from Australia’s membership of the ‘coalition’. These selections may be a consequence of the text having been distributed by an agency for use in a wide range of English-language newspapers; that is, the representation would likely not be seen as out of place by newspaper readers in Britain or New Zealand, for example.

All texts with [Local history in common] construe the sharing of the local domain as [Extended (over time)], i.e. the domain is not just shared for a limited time, for the purposes of the text or for the extent of the war. None of the texts construe local history in common through the areas of training, business, or recreation, rather they share this local history through [Informal contact only], i.e. implicitly through the assumptions drawn on to describe and explain the events of the ends of wars based in other countries.

7.3.3.1.2 Invoking shared cultural capital

[Cultural capital in common] refers to the sharing of socially valued orientations to social settings and processes such as education, profession, and recreation (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 17). In terms of the sharing of cultural capital, there seems to be a chronologically related distinction. The earliest four texts (Boer War, WWI, WWII and Korean War texts) construe a relationship where there is [Cultural capital in common], whereas the latest three texts (Vietnam War, Gulf War and Iraq War texts) construe [No cultural capital in common], which means that no commonality of experiential orientation is assumed in the interaction. This suggests that there has been a shift in the social milieu away from homogeneity and towards heterogeneity, such that the writers of more recent news reports in the *Sydney Morning Herald* have had to make their cultural references as explicit as possible and assume as little in common with and between readers as possible.

Butt has developed a further network to draw out the distinctions in the kind of cultural capital that might be shared among interactants. The options pertain to the provenance and means of acquisition of the cultural capital (e.g. training, inheritance), the cultural domain(s) about which knowledge is shared (academic, aesthetic, technological, organizational or sporting, and whether more than one dimension is shared), and the public visibility of the

cultural capital (e.g. celebrated or controversial status). Of the four texts that assume [Cultural capital in common] (Boer War, WWI, WWII and Korean War texts), none construe common cultural capital relying on a [Technique/skill], and none construe the sharing of cultural capital based on [High public visibility]. Whereas the WWI, WWII and Korean War texts do not construe the shared cultural capital as [Inherited], the Boer War text construes [Inherited] cultural capital on the basis of [Birthright] in the form of the churchgoing tradition of those of 'white Australian' heritage. This is demonstrated here through the representation of church attendance as a normal way of marking a significant event such as the end of war. For example, the text includes the reports that:

The congregations in the churches in Durban on Sunday sang the National Anthem

"Now Thank we all our God" was sung at the close of the service at St Paul's and the Chapel Royal

There were thanksgivings in most of the churches yesterday

[the Lord Mayor] prayed for long and happy peace.

Thus there seems to be an un-self-conscious attitude that it is right and natural to offer thanksgiving to God for the successful outcome of the war, and to entrust to God's control the future peace time. This contrasts with the WWII text, which also mentions church attendance in association with the response to the end of war, but does so in a way that allows for other interpretations of how best to express satisfaction at the end of war. This is primarily achieved through limiting the attendance at church to *The King and Queen*, and *crowded congregations in many churches*, and attendance at the Cenotaph to *many people*, rather than 'everyone' or 'the people of Sydney'.

The nature of the shared cultural capital, in the four texts that invoke it, is roughly along the dimensions of [Academic], [Aesthetic] and [Technological] knowledge, with the Boer War and Korean War texts being [Extradimensional] in that they involve assumption of more than one of these dimensions. The Boer War and WWII texts construe shared [Aesthetic] cultural capital in terms of the socially expected and acceptable response to the news of surrender (e.g. patriotism, joy, thanksgiving) and also in terms of religious understanding (see above).

The layout of these texts can be further argued to construe [Academic] cultural capital in common. Highly linear, densely printed page layouts such as those of the Boer War and WWI texts have been considered a manifestation of “the cultural capital (‘high’ cultural forms) controlled by the intellectual and artistic wing of the middle class” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 179). Therefore, presumably those who had not been socialised to cope with such dense texts would be somewhat at a disadvantage in understanding the text. The *SMH* also presented itself at that time (early twentieth century), and indeed since, as a ‘serious’ newspaper, targeting the elite of Sydney (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931: v, 760-761). Recent (2009) figures prepared for Fairfax’s advertising portfolio have shown that the *Herald* has retained a major share of the top socioeconomic bracket of readers (the A-B category), which comprises individuals earning incomes of \$AU100 000+, as well as a large proportion of the most highly educated sector (those with a tertiary degree; see <http://www.adcentre.com.au/the-sydney-morning-herald.aspx?show=audience>) (Fairfax Media, 2008). Even though the education and socio-economic status of the target readership has remained largely the same over the hundred years, there can be no assumption that those in the targeted sectors of society necessarily have the same cultural capital to draw on, since there is now so much diversity in ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds within the same bands of socio-economic status.

The Boer War, WWI and Korean War texts also construe common [Technological] knowledge. In the case of the Boer War and WWI texts, the shared technological knowledge relates to understanding of the technology of telegraphic communication, as the corantos bear the legacy of the telegraphic transmission of news from afar (e.g. the use of the signature –*LONG* in the WWI text, representing the signature of the Secretary of State for the Colonies who had the job of cabling the news of the armistice to the British colonies) and their brevity must be understood in relation to the expense of the telegraphic process. The WWI text also relies on common knowledge about the technologies of transportation and warfare, e.g. the mentions of war technology in the summary of ‘Terms of Armistice’, and the report that the courier taking the terms to Berlin was delayed due to *bad roads*. The Korean War text similarly assumes understanding of terminology in relation to aircraft and war technology, e.g. *MIGs*, *mortar*, *salvo*. This text also includes a map of Korea, which assumes the reader has an [Academic] understanding of the cartographic conventions of differentiating land and sea, and the concept of lines of latitude.

I have been referring here largely to lexical signals of shared cultural capital, which may seem reductive. However, I would argue that, if a larger sample of similar texts were to be analysed in terms of shared cultural capital, such an analysis would produce more patterning as evidence for these categories.

7.3.3.2 Codally Distinct: Classification and Framing

The final selections in the Social Distance network pertain to (but again do not encompass) Bernstein's theory of code distinction in relation to the activity at hand: Classification and Framing (see Bernstein, 1975). As with codal sharing, Butt's purpose for including considerations of codal distinction is to draw out the kinds of habitual patterning of social processes that are invoked in a context (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 18). Classification here refers to the extent to which the activity is insulated from other kinds of activities. Classification is strong if it is clearly set apart from other activities and weak if it is interpenetrated by other activities. All texts in the corpus can be characterised as having [Strong Classification] since there are multiple cues that signal the kind of activity that is being carried out, including the use of headlines and a particular kind of formatting and ordering of messages that has become characteristic of newspaper reports (see chapter 6). There is also no evidence of other social activities interpenetrating this context. The *Herald's* centennial history explicitly mentions the motivation for organising news in the particular way it was done at the time of the *Herald's* centenary (1931):

For the hurried tram, train, and ferry passenger, disinclined to open up a large broadsheet, the first column of the front page gives a complete summary of the day's news. All headings in the paper are required to be as informative and expressive as possible, so that the breakfast-time reader may, by casting his eye over them, acquaint himself with the essence of the day's news. For those who have a little more time, but not sufficient to make a thorough perusal of the paper, the cream of the news is concentrated in the opening sentences of each item, often, in the cable page, lifted into more distinctive type. Those who desire more may read down. (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931: 761)

The newspaper's concerns at this time about the way the content of news was to be arranged for ensuring maximum sales are clearly tied to a choice in the mode of discourse (see section 7.4.3). But it is clear that the selections in mode are also motivated by the newspaper's theory of the variety of readers and their various needs (see section 7.4).

Framing here refers to the extent to which the control of participant roles, obligations, and appropriate topics and styles of speaking are signalled in the text (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 18). All texts in the corpus can be characterised as having [Strong Framing], in that the mode

allows no opportunity for process sharing. The introduction of complementary modes of news delivery, e.g. online delivery of the *Herald*, could be expected to bring about changes in, for example, the opportunities for reader participation in the social process of the news (e.g. ‘citizen journalism’). However, even if the possibility exists for greater reader participation, there is still strong control over the extent of these opportunities.

7.3.4 Network Morphology

The Network Morphology system relates to the way in which participants are linked in a model of the social network (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 23; see also Milroy, 1987). In the [Non-Scale] descriptions, the network is [Dyadic], as the interaction is principally between the two participants (writer and reader), rather than a [Group] interaction. The roles in the dyad are [Complementary], as each participant plays a different role (one writes to give information and is paid for it, the other reads to gain information and pays for the privilege) rather than reciprocating with [Mirroring] roles. Further, the roles in the interaction are [Field-dependent], that is, they are intrinsic to the activity being undertaken. The journalist has the information and the journalistic expertise, so they lead the activity. Within the [Scalar] descriptions there are five parallel systems characterising the gradable aspects of the interactional network: [Density], referring to the number of participants and links between them; [Diversity], specifically the diversity of participants in the network and the links between them; [Centrality], meaning “the degree to which the transaction is towards the core of the network” (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 23); and [Clustering], meaning “the extent to which the network breaks up into clusters” (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 23). These dimensions must be viewed comparatively in relation to the relevant values in other kinds of context. In the interactional networks manifested in these newspaper texts (i.e. between writer and reader), all the dimensions are [Low] in comparison to other registers, e.g. casual conversation (cf. Eggins & Slade, 1997) or internet chat room interaction. In addition, the [Direction] of interaction (i.e. the extent of reciprocity between participants in the network) is [One way].

7.4 The role of technology in news production

The findings of the foregoing analysis chapters have highlighted a number of semantic issues in relation to changes in the role of technology in news production. In chapters 4 and 5, the patterns of tense selection and integration of non-authorial information seemed to reflect changes in the communications technology and the methods of gathering news information, which, as I mentioned in section 7.3 above, necessarily impact the role of the journalist. I also pointed out in chapter 3 the visual differences between the three texts,

which reflect changes in the printing and typesetting technology. In this section I will show how these semantic changes construe contextual changes in the parameter of MODE, using the MODE system network as a tool for investigating the changing role of the technology in news production.

The contextual parameter of mode comprises three contrastive domains: ROLE OF LANGUAGE (the role language plays in carrying out the social process realised by the text), CHANNEL (the means by which the audience comes into contact with the language), and MEDIUM (the organisation of the message, incorporating the potential for process-sharing) (see e.g. Hasan, 1985c: 58; Hasan, 1999: 233). In this section I will focus on CHANNEL, proposing additions to the CHANNEL system that have been devised in consultation with Butt in the course of this research project in order to highlight the semantic implications of the relevant technological changes over the period 1902-2003. The contrastive domains of ROLE OF LANGUAGE and MEDIUM have remained constant over the period, and therefore will be mentioned only briefly before the description of CHANNEL.

7.4.1 Role of language

In the system of ROLE OF LANGUAGE, Butt attempts to “multiply the contrasts that are relevant to the link between the field of activity and the support that the activity demands from language” (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 38). As this explanation suggests, the system operates in tension with the field of discourse, namely the parallel systems of MATERIAL ACTION and ACTION WITH SYMBOLS (see sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.3 above), as the presence or absence of material activity is recognised in both parameters, but in different ways. Hasan (1999: 281) notes that, in SFL, the recognition of the extent to which the social process relies on verbal activity was traditionally assigned to the mode of discourse and discussed in terms of ‘rhetorical mode’. However, she points out that “the parameter of mode is about contact: it is concerned with specifying the way (i.e., the mode) in which speakers and their speaking come in contact with the addressee’s intelligence” (Hasan, 1999: 282). Retaining the ROLE OF LANGUAGE system in the parameter of mode allows the extent of reliance on language in the context to be described with greater delicacy in relation to mode of contact, while the implications of the co-presence (or not) of material and symbolic action in the social activity can be specified simultaneously in terms of the parameter of field.

According to the sample of texts in this study, the ROLE OF LANGUAGE in the context of the *Herald’s* reporting of armistice seems to have remained constant, at least to the degree of delicacy modelled in Butt’s network. All seven texts are [CONSTITUTIVE] of the social

activity construed by the text: the context relies on language in order to carry out the social process. It is part of the value of news that it is an activity in itself. Although there are some features relevant to the social activity that are left implicit, as I have already mentioned above (see chapter 1 and section 7.1.1), e.g. the significance of certain protagonists in the reported events, for the most part the social activity is entirely constituted by the text. The language is an [Actualization], that is, it is oriented to reports of real events; the language and the events represented through it are [Displaced] from each other in that the events are [Past] in relation to the time of text construction.

The fact of the past displacement of the language from the described events has been addressed in terms of field of discourse in section 7.2.3. However, that discussion was specifically concerned with the experiential orientation of the subject matter and the proximity of the social activity to the reported events, rather than the contiguity or displacement of the language contact from the focus of the language. In the news, language is turned to the task of bringing into the present representations of past events for the general public, thus ‘mediating’ the experience for those who may only read about it. The interpretation of [Actualization: Displaced: Past] is supported by the observation of the semantic reflexes of past temporal location (realised lexicogrammatically by the prevalent selection of past tense) and ‘actual’ temporal and spatial location of events (realised lexicogrammatically by the selection of Circumstances of temporal and spatial location that, for the most part, point to times and places that are salient and recognisable for the readers) (see chapter 4).

7.4.2 Medium

Like the ROLE OF LANGUAGE, the selections from the system of MEDIUM are also constant for all seven texts. All texts are [Written-like], as opposed to [Spoken-like], in that they are received as completed artefacts with no evidence of the corrections and revisions that inevitably occur in the construction of a text, and which tend to be much more evident in [Spoken-like] texts. In the next system, all texts are closer to [Choreographic-movement] than [Crystalline-dense]. According to Butt, choreographic language is “predominantly organised around dependent structures and parataxis of the appositional kind... in the lexicogrammatical realization of the texture” (Butt, 2004 mimeo.). The analysis of text structure in the Boer War, Korean War and Iraq War texts (see chapter 6) showed that the semantic segments of each text move around between various points related to the main event being reported. That is, the texts are characterised by expansive, elaborative

movement between unfolding events. The final system in the domain of MEDIUM allows for the representation of constancy and change in the organisational tendencies of the text (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 47). All texts select [Wave], in that they are made up of phases of different kinds of structures, as opposed to a constant texture. The phases are characterised by [Intricacy] rather than [Density], realised by a tendency towards individual event structures with a low lexical count per grammatical unit. The texts in the corpus average between 7.9 and 11.6 words per clause, which seems to be a relatively low ratio³⁸ (cf. Ure, 1971).

7.4.3 Channel

Hasan's original conception of CHANNEL was concerned with the distinction between visual and aural transmission of language, which she has labelled [GRAPHIC] and [PHONIC], respectively (Hasan, 1985c: 58). Butt has added to this primary distinction two further parallel systems: one concerned with simultaneity of production and reception, with the primary options [Real time] and [Mediated]; and one concerned with the division of labour between the two channels in a single text, whether a single channel is used throughout ([Singular]), or there is some co-operative arrangement of both [GRAPHIC] and [PHONIC] channels ([Multiple]) (Butt, 2004 mimeo.: 43). With respect to the first of these systems, all texts are [Mediated], since the language does not reach the reader at the same time as it is produced. This is particularly clear in the earlier texts through the inclusion of time/space indexes showing dates prior to the date of publication, and locations removed from the place of publication. Rather, the textual process is [Intervened] between production and reception for the purpose of being [Edited], which here includes both editing of content and arrangement in a particular page layout in combination with other texts. With respect to the second of these systems, all texts in the corpus use a [Singular] channel, in this case [GRAPHIC], since the text is delivered as a printed artefact and there is no potential for utilisation of a [PHONIC] channel. The following sections describe and extend the [GRAPHIC] system in further delicacy.

7.4.3.1 Graphic system: Modifications and additions to existing systems

Following the selection of the entry condition [Graphic], Butt's network makes an opposition between using one [Mono] or more than one [Mixed] kind of graphic channel for meaning delivery. The choice is between [Orthographic] and [Non-orthographic] (from

³⁸This figure includes headlines counted as clauses, some of which contain as few as two words. As a contrast, the previous paragraph of this thesis has a higher ratio of 14.1 words per clause.

the entry condition [Mono]), which differentiates between context that invoke a recognised writing system and those that do not, and simultaneously between [Scripted] and [Eidetic] (after the entry condition [Mixed]), which distinguish between the use of words and the use of pictures as symbols. The further degrees of delicacy in this part of the network are slightly problematic in that there is a degree of redundancy that is made invisible by the use of different terminology. Synonymous terms are used, e.g. 'Alphabetic' (from entry condition [Orthographic]) and 'By letters' (from entry condition [Scripted]), although they are used in different oppositions and have different values. This area of the network could be more simply rendered by representing the redundancy using the same options of further delicacy from different entry points. This redundancy is not very problematic because if there are two kinds of [GRAPHIC] channel ([Scripted] and [Eidetic]) as well as the choice between [Mono] and [Mixed], then an instance of context must either select one or both of these kinds of channel. Redundancy in the representation here is not indicative of redundancy in the system; rather it is necessary to allow for all possible options without complicating the network with excess terms. Thus in my revision of the network I have conflated the choices from [Scripted] and [Orthographic] into one system, such that the systems for [Scripted] and [Eidetic] can be used to describe both [Mixed] and [Mono] contexts.

In attempting to characterise and differentiate the modes of discourse for the text instances in my corpus, particular areas of the Graphic system have become crucial, especially the oppositions [Scripted/Eidetic] (explained above) and [Printed/Pixeled] (referring to whether the text is received as a printed artefact or displayed electronically on a screen. In addition, I propose a further three parallel systems with the entry condition of [Graphic] in order to characterise the organisation and prioritisation of page space, which no current networks are yet equipped to do. The [Pictured/Iconic] distinction and the more delicate options within this are also due for further elaboration, however this part of the system falls outside the scope of the current thesis. Some work on the use of images as (part of) text, although not specifically in relation to the contextual parameter of mode, can be found in the recent literature on multimodality (e.g. Baldry & Thibault, 2006; Bateman, 2008; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

All texts in the corpus select [Graphic] channel, but following this choice there is considerable divergence among most of the options in the parallel networks of this system. The earliest two texts (Boer War and WWI text) can be described as [Mono] and [Scripted], whereas the other five texts have a [Mixed] visual channel, both [Scripted]:

Alphabetic] and [Eidetic: Pictured], as they each involve both words (in English orthography) and pictures (including photographs and maps). The non-selected option of [Mixed] was available for both Boer War and WWI texts, although not in the same way as the later texts. Other pages of the *Herald* from the same day or issues from the same weeks in June 1902 and November 1918 show that it was possible to include pictures, but the use of pictures (especially photographs) was very limited because of the length of time it took to transport or transmit pictures from the war area to the newspaper office, the labour intensiveness of preparing pictures for publication, and the time restrictions on production. Most pictures used at this time were portraits kept on file, or hand-drawn maps or diagrams. The publication of photographic records of events in the *Herald* was so unusual as to warrant a special page or section of the newspaper to display many photographs at once, e.g. a pictorial section was included in the newspaper to commemorate the Federation celebrations that took place on 1st January, 1901. The *SMH* centenary history publication commented that, although pictures came to be used more regularly around WWI, “there seems generally to have existed till about that time an idea on the part of editors and proprietors of great dailies that it was lowering to the dignity of such journals to publish illustrations as part of the daily news” (John Fairfax & Sons, 1931: 737). This would suggest that the use or omission of pictures was a contextual choice of mode simultaneously harnessed for the service of the kind of tenor relation the *Herald* as an institution was trying to construct. The relevant tenor feature would probably form part of the SOCIAL DISTANCE system, but at this stage in its development the system does not offer a way of capturing it, so there is an opportunity for further development of the system in this respect.

The only common feature of all texts in terms of the Graphic channel is the selection of [Typed] (as opposed to [Handwritten]) and [Printed] (as opposed to [Pixeled]). However, the process by which the newspaper comes to be [Printed] is one area of the context that has certainly changed over one hundred years. The diachronic investigation of the newspapers in this corpus has suggested that the manner of physical production of the newspaper may have semantic consequences. The semantic consequences stem from the degree of fixity in the form and content of the page, and the potential for updating these during the production process. For example, in the days of hand typesetting and hot metal casting, once the type had been set in its place in the page frame, there was very little opportunity for alteration. At the same time, updated information was slower to arrive from the various sources, so the text/page was more likely to be ‘monumentalised’ early on in production. The seemingly

arbitrary ordering of corantos in the earlier two texts (as demonstrated in chapter 6 in relation to the Boer War text) may be explained by this contextual feature. Today, the typesetting and formatting process is electronic, which allows page organisation to be changed with a minimum of difficulty right up until the last moment before going to the presses. Thus, the page arrangement need not be monumentalised until much later in the production.

I therefore propose two options to more delicately describe the printing channel by which the text came to be typed and printed: [Mechanical], involving mechanised selection and placement of type in the page frame, and mechanised hot metal casting; and [Electronic], including electronic selection, placement and formatting of ‘cold type’ (see e.g. Souter, 1991: 109), electronic transfer of file to printing plates, and fully automatic printing process. In the context of the *Herald*, [Mechanical] can be recognised by the black lines separating columns, which are a consequence of printing from moulds taken of page frames containing the column guides into which the type was physically arranged. [Electronic] typesetting and printing is evident from the appearance of white space rather than black dividing lines between columns, as the columns are electronically created by a computer. The semantic consequences of these options are points along a continuum between high fixity and a highly monumentalised style (Mechanical), and low fixity and a lower degree of monumentalised style (Electronic). The earliest four texts demonstrate the option of [Mechanical] from the entry condition [Printed]. The Vietnam War, Gulf War and Iraq War texts demonstrate [Electronic] printing. The Vietnam War text used a photo-typesetting process (Souter, 1981: 559), whereas the other two texts used fully electronic computer typesetting.

7.4.3.2 Graphic system: Addition of three parallel systems

Parallel to the systems of [Mono/Mixed] and [Handwritten/Typed], another set of systems is proposed to account for semantic differences as a result of the contextual features relating to page organisation, orientation and prioritisation. The essential aspect of the systems is the ‘valeur of space’: how the space is allocated, prioritised and used for the various functions. I observed in my survey of the older newspapers that they were oriented in a very linear way, dominated by columnar organisation, which was to some extent a product of the available technology (type was set in columns on a fixed page frame). The resulting layouts, as Kress & van Leeuwen suggest, “are read, at least at a first reading, the way they are designed to be read: from left to right and from top to bottom, line by line” (1998: 205). In the 1902 text, for example (see Appendix A.1), all the headlines are presented

first, followed by articles relating to them in some way, which is analogous to the way many radio news bulletins are still organised³⁹. Kress and van Leeuwen also argue that the linearly oriented, densely printed page is ideologically significant because it is “the realization of the most literary and literate semiotic mode”, the accustomed codes of the educated classes (2006: 179). It assumes a high degree of shared priorities between writer and reader, and among readers, as there is only one logical order in which the individual items of news can be read (see section 7.3.3.1). The linear visual organisation of these early news texts also reflects a linear code, and others have pointed out the extremely linear way in which the content of late-19th to early-20th century news texts was presented. For example, Iedema, Feez & White (1994) note the chronological (or serial) discourse structure of news texts in the late 19th century, in which the ‘event structure’ of the text (how the story orders what happened) was closely matched to the real time unfolding of events being reported. However, there are some variations to the strict columnar organisation even in the earlier newspapers in the corpus, so there is still an element of choice in the context that needs to be accounted for in the mode network.

One distinctive feature of the Graphic context is the orientation of the page, whether [Columnar] or [Horizontalised]. Most newspaper pages incorporate some kind of columnar organisation, and it tends to have a vertical orientation. Indeed, [Columnar] is the case for six out of the seven texts. However, recently there have been some instances in which the vertical columnar dimension is played down and instead the page is more strongly oriented towards the horizontal. [Horizontalised] orientation is demonstrated in the Iraq War text, which has bands of text and image spanning the width of the page (see Appendix G.1). This is a highly marked choice in the realisation of the newspaper page, as the vertical dimension that has been a presence since the earliest newspapers has been played down. There is a sense in which the tradition of columnar organisation is part of the newspaper’s ongoing development of a relationship with the readers. The newspaper maintains the familiar organisation of the page, but with slight variations over time as the technology changes and as they attempt to improve the ‘look’ of the page in line with contemporary visual trends or in an attempt to ‘re-brand’ the newspaper to take advantage of cultural change (see e.g. de Vries, 2008). The horizontalisation of the Iraq War text is a variation on the columnar orientation, and it may be that it was chosen for the purpose of creating ‘markedness’ on the front page to emphasise the development in the unfolding of the war, but also to work in

³⁹ Radio news bulletins continue to be linear in this way because the aural mode requires that texts must unfold one after the other in time; the listener has no choice about which article to attend to first.

conjunction with the dominating photograph. The text has perhaps been made to fit in with the image, since the image is able, in one glance, to give such a strong impression about the story (see 7.5).

When the page has columnar orientation, the columnar structure may be either [Dominant], in which case the columns are the overarching organisation principle and articles tend to be arranged sequentially within the columns, or [Subordinate], in which case something else is the overarching organisation principle and columns fit into that. When [Subordinate], the columns may vary in width, whereas, when [Dominant], the columns tend to be either of equal width or in multiples of a basic, set width that has been specified as part of the 'house style' of the newspaper. The Boer War and WWI texts are [Columnar: Dominant], whereas the WWII, Korean War, Vietnam War and Gulf War texts are [Columnar: Subordinate]. These choices affect the rigidity and regularity of the page: the degree of freedom to reshape and resize page elements can reflect the importance attached to certain elements, not just the technological possibilities.

Another aspect is the relationship between the text and other individual elements on a page, which may be either [Aggregate] or [Tessellated]. In the first option, elements are arranged in a clear sequence from a clear starting point on the page to a clear end point. The option [Aggregate] is selected in the two earliest texts only (Boer War and WWI texts). This visual patterning is also reflected in the semantic structure of the text, as shown in chapter 6, where the cohesive harmony analysis of the Boer War text suggested largely independent units of locally coherent meaning. In the other option, [Tessellated], the elements are analogous to 'tiles', which are fitted together by tessellation, either [Nested] or [Interlocked]. The remaining five texts are [Tessellated: Interlocked]. A further option from [Interlocked] is whether the units are [Symmetrical] or [Asymmetrical]. The WWII, Gulf War, and Iraq War texts are [Symmetrical], whereas the Korean War and Vietnam War texts are [Asymmetrical]. The symmetry distinction therefore seems not to be related to time and technological development as many of the other selections have been.

In the [Aggregate] configuration, the value of each news item seems to depend on where it appears in the placement of items in the syntagm of the page: the first item, which tends to be the one beginning at the top of the left-most column, is attributed the most significance (see e.g. WWI text in Appendix B.1). The importance of this area of the page is supported by Holmqvist and Wartenberg's (2005) findings from eye-tracking studies of modern western newspaper reading behaviour, which strongly suggest that objects in the top left-hand area

of a page are seen earlier than those in the lower right (Holmqvist & Wartenberg, 2005: 7). The [Tessellated] configuration is used in more modern newspapers, for example the Korean War text (see Appendix D.1) and Iraq War text (see Appendix G.1), which tend to present individual news items in their own space, with their own headline and 'frame' (whether this frame consists of a line or just white space) (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998: 203).

The final proposed system for Graphic channel is concerned with the degree to which the reading path is guided or negotiated, including the prioritisation of certain units. The 'reading path' of a text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998: 203) is not necessarily linear, rather it depends on the relationship between each article, and salient features such as colour, size of headline and text, placement on the page (eg. centre vs. margin, top vs. bottom, left vs. right), and the presence of photographs or other images (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1998). In this way different sets of priorities can co-exist: the producer of the news page can emphasise the news items they deem most newsworthy by making them more salient on the page; the arrangement facilitates and even encourages a superficial scanning of the page, where the reader is directed to select what to read based on what is most salient at first glance, and from that, what is of interest to them. In some cases (Boer War, WWI, Iraq War texts) the reading path is [Non-negotiable]: the reader's attention is directed to particular points in a particular order, beginning with the most salient point and then working through to the end, with not much potential for deviation. The work of directing this attentional sequence may be fully carried by the arrangement of text, in which it is [Unitary/uniplex] (e.g. Boer War, WWI texts), or it may be enforced by the [Shared/complex] arrangement of text and image (as in the Iraq War text). The other four texts (WWII, Korean War, Vietnam War and Gulf War text) have a [Negotiated] path, meaning that various cues (e.g. prioritised location, headline size, presence of images) are employed to communicate a suggested reading path, but the reader has the choice to jump across to other units that may be less saliently marked but still clearly demarcated.

7.5 Discussion

The previous sections of this chapter have presented analysis and interpretation of the context of the seven texts according to the parameters of field, tenor and mode, bringing together the semantic and lexicogrammatical changes demonstrated in chapters 4-6 and showing how they operate as an ensemble to construe the context of situation of the social activity of reporting the end of war from 1902 to 2003. The following sections will present a summary discussion of the consistency and variation between the seven texts as instances of

register (section 7.5.1), and the implications of this contextual analysis for the study of historical change (section 7.5.2).

7.5.1 Implications for registerial consistency and change

Visual summaries of the crucial areas of difference in contextual configuration for each parameter of context are presented in Figure 7-1, Figure 7-2, and Figure 7-3. The images are necessarily reduced beyond a point where the system choices can be easily read, but the main intention is to highlight where in the elaboration of the network the variation arises. The FIELD network (Figure 7-1) shows the least variation between texts. At the degree of delicacy analysed here, the only variations in this parameter are in the intertextuality of the context and the spatio-temporal orientation and degree of focus of the narration of events. While all texts construe a field concerned with the events of the end of war (which was one of the criteria for selection of the texts) they are oriented to the field in different ways. The differences relate both to the nature of the war that has ended (i.e. the historical context) and the particular selection of contextual variables in the other two parameters. This is what Hasan means when she says that the parameters are “permeable”, and that “what choices are made in field is relevant to some extent to the choices in tenor and mode” (Hasan, 1999: 244). For example, the degree of intertextuality of the contexts is influenced by the communications technology and the impact of this upon the kind of mediation required (Channel) (compare the Boer War and Iraq War texts). The width of focal aperture is likely to be affected by the tenor of discourse; for example, in the Iraq War text, the correspondent is signalling his proximity to the events by presenting a narrow focus on them. It may also be affected by the extent of coverage of the events in the newspaper; for example, the Iraq War text was one of a large number of reports which together may have been intended to provide a wider focal aperture on the events.

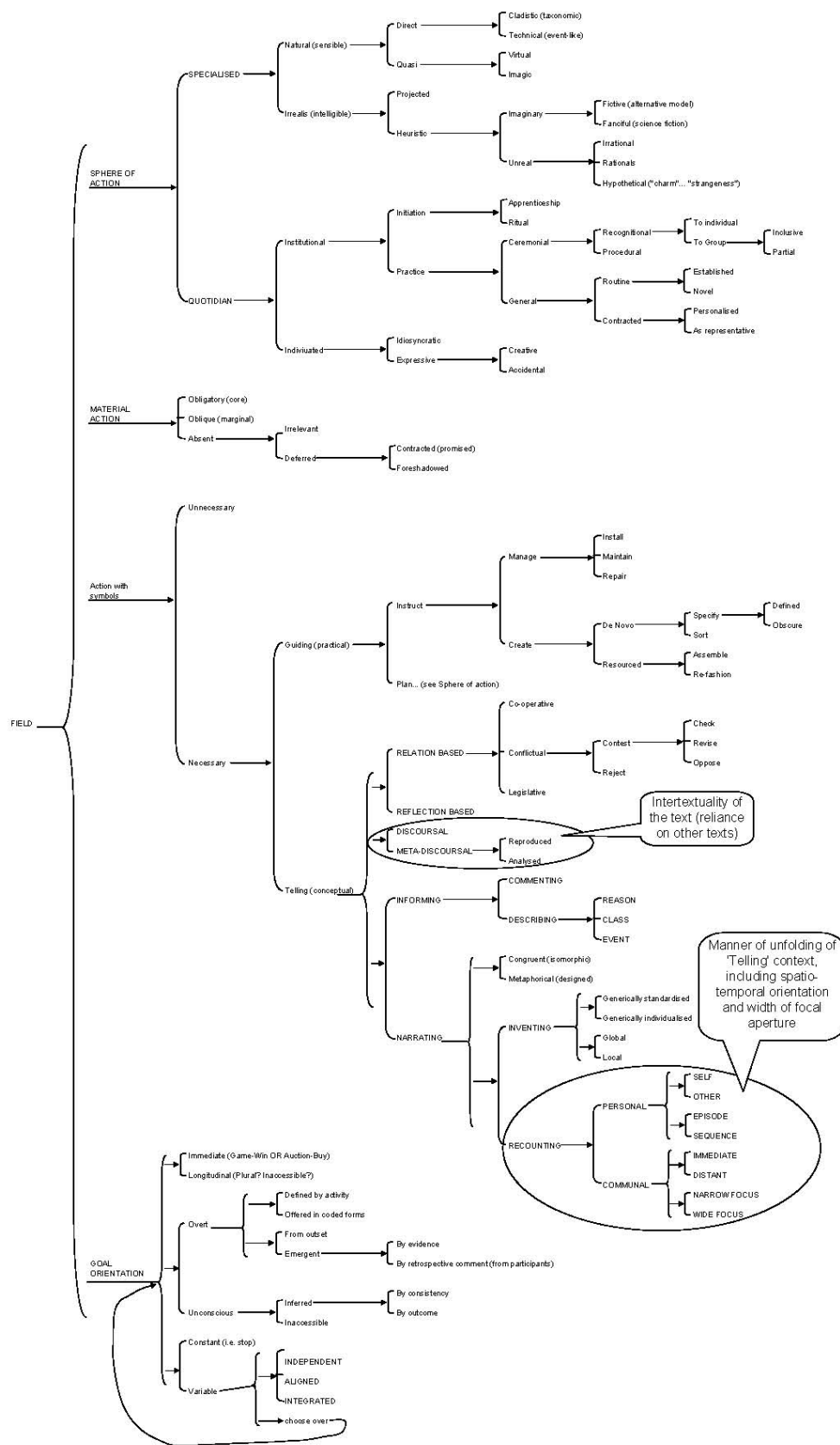


Figure 7-1 Field Network showing areas of variation

The TENOR network is shown in Figure 7-2, and it is this area of the context that seems to have gone through the greatest change. The variation is primarily in terms of codal sharing: the sharing of local history, including the locality of the history shared; and the sharing of cultural capital, including the provenance, nature and multiplicity of dimensions of cultural capital in common. Since the interactional context is the *Herald* or its staff writing for a local Sydney audience, we would expect there to be local history and cultural capital in common. This is not always the case, as we have shown, and it suggests variation in the register coinciding with changes in the historical context in terms of the diversity of the *Herald* reading audience, reflecting broader changes in the demographics of Sydney and surrounding areas.

As I mentioned in sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2, one of the most striking changes across the corpus is in the individuation of the journalist within the news institution. There has been a shift towards the individuation of the journalist, shown through the use of bylines and changes in the mediation of events and the patterning of non-authorial sourcing. It appears that the individuation and identification of journalists have become part of the 'brand' and business model of the modern *Herald*, and that the economic success of the *Herald* has become more strongly tied up in the quality and loyalty of their writers, and the writers' ability to create strong relationships with readers.

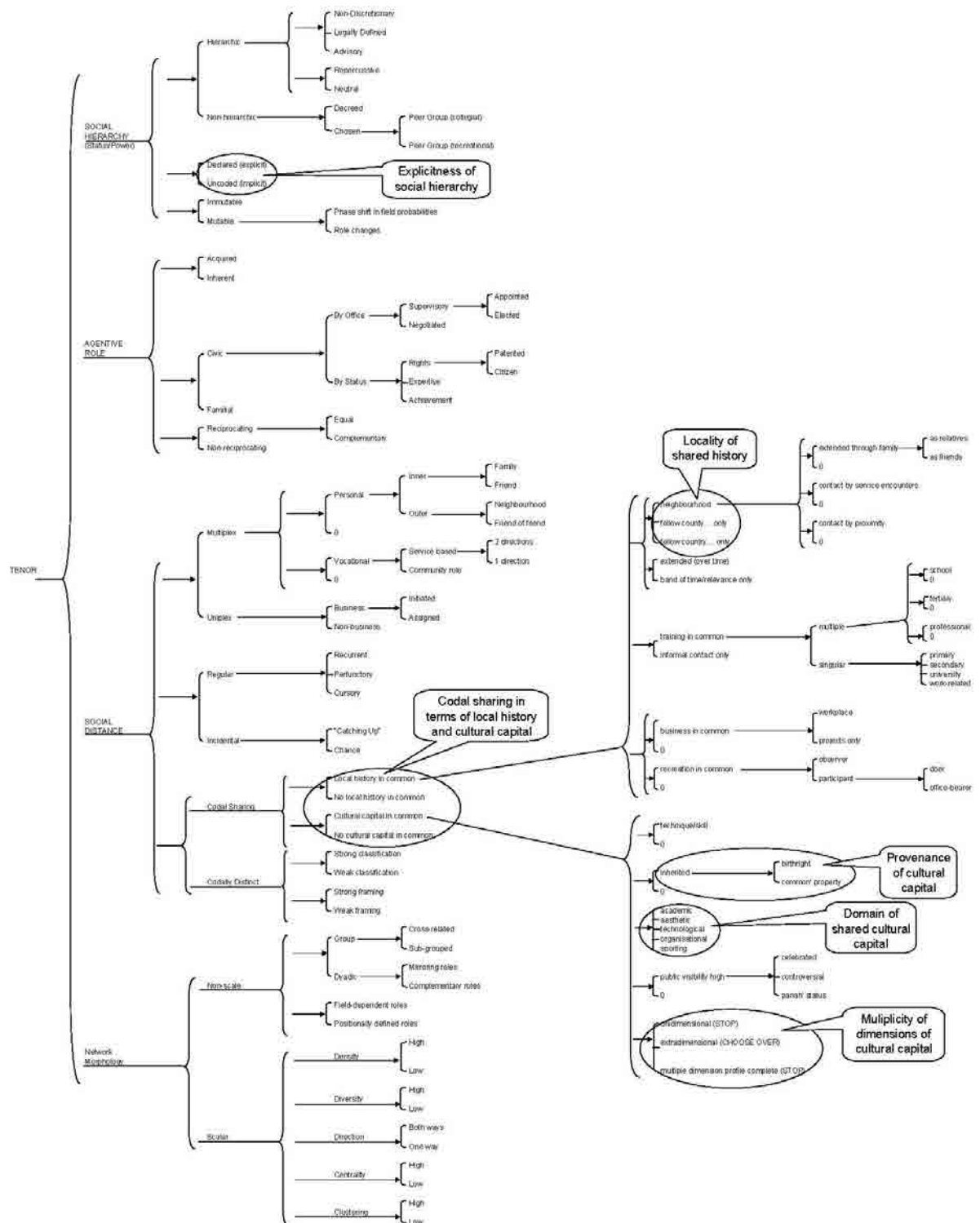


Figure 7-2 Tenor network showing areas of variation

Figure 7-3 shows the network for MODE. Since I added extra systems to account for the variation between the texts in terms of mode (see sections 7.4.3.1 and 7.4.3.2 above), it is not surprising that the variation shows up in these additional systems, which describe the [Graphic] channel in terms of division of labour, printing technology, and organisation, prioritisation and negotiation of page space. The registerial variation in terms of mode can thus be seen to correlate most strongly with historical changes in the technologies of communication, typesetting and printing, as well as the institutional attitudes towards the use of page space. For example, as noted in section 7.3.3.2, the *Herald's* motivation for organising news on the page and in the newspaper in particular ways at particular times was partially based on the institutional expectations of how different readers would want to read the newspaper and what they would be most interested in. Thus the organisation and prioritisation of page space is also influenced to a certain extent by the conception of the function and content of news as a register and the perceived expectations of the virtual addressee.

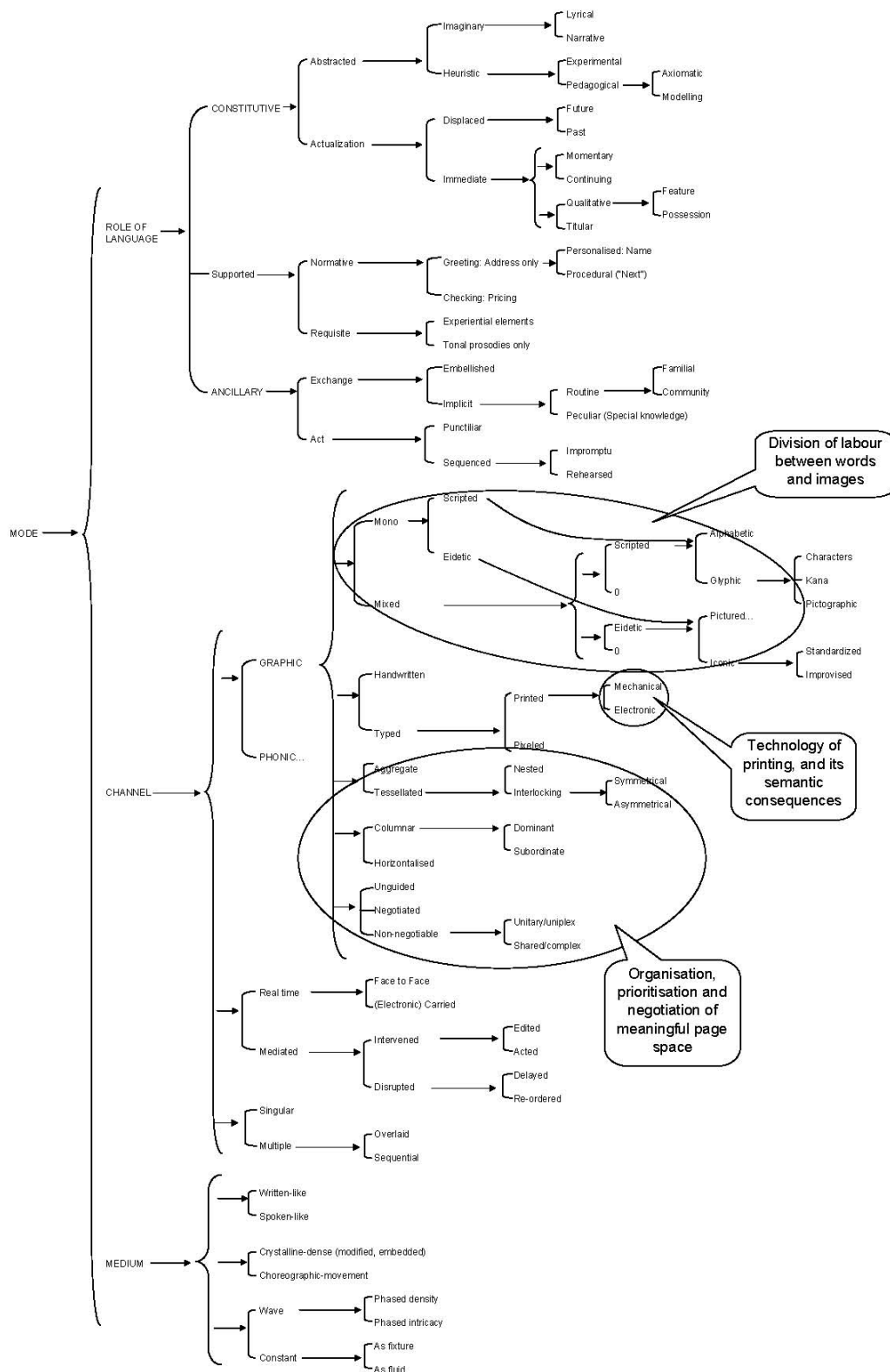


Figure 7-3 Mode Network showing areas of variation

There tends to be overall contextual consistency in selections at the least delicate end of the system networks for all three parameters (see also Table 7-1 in section 7.1.2 above). It is only at the more delicate options for each subsystem (the second or third degree of delicacy) that variation starts to become apparent. According to Hasan, this is how we can account for variation within a register (Hasan, 1985a: 115). The fact that the same selections are made for all texts at the more general end of the system, and at more delicate levels in some areas, means there will be structural consistency, while the slight variations at higher degrees of delicacy in other areas correspond to textural variation, which does not necessarily affect the integrity of the register (Hasan, 1985c: 62).

7.5.2 Implications for the investigation of historical change

The profound changes that are occurring in modern journalism need to be understood with reference to the changes through which journalism has passed over the course of its history. Matheson has argued that “a thorough understanding of what has changed in news writing will be key to understanding the entire field of modern journalism” (Matheson, 2000: 559). This chapter has demonstrated how an analytical tool from linguistics can be turned to the study of media history to suggest useful parameters for investigating historical variation in the newspaper journalism context. The systemic network models of parameters of context, even at their current stage of development, enable systematic study of the ‘motivational relevancies’ of different social processes (Goffman, 1974; Hasan, 1995). They therefore offer a way of organising historical material for comparative purposes and managing its inherent complexity according to particular domains of the social context, including (but not restricted to) the function and content of the news, the journalist's role within the news institution and in relation to the reader, and the role of technology in the production of news. The wider implications of this study for historical investigation will be further discussed in chapter 8.

7.6 Conclusion to the chapter

This chapter has explored the extent of contextual consistency and variation in the texts as instances of register, according to the issues of variation identified in chapter 1: the function and content of the news, the role of the journalist, and the role of technology in news production. The interpretations of context presented here were based on the findings of the analysis in chapters 4-6, and were organised according to the parameters of field, tenor and mode as modelled by Butt (2004 mimeo.). The analysis demonstrated that the function and content of the news, the role of the journalist in relation to the reader, and the role of

technology in news production have all undergone change over the period from 1902 to 2003. However, despite these changes, all the texts display contextual consistency at a primary degree of delicacy, and therefore can be confirmed as instances of the same register. The following chapter will conclude the thesis by presenting a general discussion of the implications of the study as a whole.

Chapter Eight

Reporting Armistice: A discussion

"I suppose, in the end, we journalists try – or should try – to be the first impartial witnesses to history. If we have any reason for our existence, the least must be our ability to report history as it happens so that no one can say: 'We didn't know – no one told us.'" (Fisk, 2005: xxv)

"It is a fundamental institutional fact about newspapers that their characteristic schedule of publication is daily so that for most readers... each issue is experienced as a separate, disposable text, fast fading in its impact. The sensation of autonomy is enhanced by the biological and cultural discreteness of a day's life: a day is the clearest, most marked unit of subjective time.... Newspapers conceal history, presenting events as autonomous, instantaneous and rapidly erased. It would be an important critical activity to retrieve change and causation by diachronic study." (Fowler, 1991: 225-226)

"[in research] a man's mind must be continually expanding and shrinking between the whole human horizon and the horizon of an object-glass." (Dr Lydgate in Middlemarch, Eliot, [1872] 1994: 609)

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has presented a diachronic investigation of the register of news reporting, focusing on reports from the *Sydney Morning Herald* about the conclusion of seven overseas wars in which Australian military personnel have been involved. In this investigation, the SFL concept of register and the crucial dimensions of instantiation, stratification, and metafunction have been invoked as a way of managing diachronic meaning variation according to context. The texts were postulated as instances of the same register; in other words, they are instances of the same sub-potential motivated by the same type of social situation. The analysis of the selected texts followed a multistratal, functional approach to language in context (see chapter 2, Figure 2-3). The objectives of the thesis were to investigate the linguistic notion of register diachronically, and to investigate historical changes in public meaning-making in relation to the end of war and thereby to increase understanding of the changing character of *SMH* journalism as a semiotic activity.

As an interdisciplinary study, the thesis has engaged with scholarly debate on the processes of the media and the historical changes surrounding news production from the fields of media studies and media history. The scholarly domain of the other related disciplines has been approached through the linguistic framework, which provides a systematic and theoretically explicit way of analysing news discourse and its social context. In particular, the linguistic analysis has been focused towards illuminating the semantic

reflexes of changes in the function and content of the news, the role of the journalist, and the role of technology in news production.

The previous four chapters analysed and described the lexicogrammatical, semantic and contextual features of the texts, highlighting variation and consistency in the systemic selections and interpreting the findings in relation to the probabilities of a register of news reporting. This chapter, the final chapter in the thesis, explicates the key findings in relation to the thesis questions (section 8.2) and clarifies the contribution of the thesis for linguists, historians (particularly media historians), and ordinary people (section 8.3), before concluding the chapter and the thesis (section 8.4).

8.2 Answering the thesis questions

As stated in chapter 1, the broad underlying question that the thesis set out to answer was this:

What can be seen of registerial consistency and variation, in terms of context, semantics, and lexicogrammar, through the diachronic investigation of the reporting of armistice in the Sydney Morning Herald from 1902 to 2003?

This question was unpacked into three more specific questions to be answered through the linguistic analysis. These questions will be addressed in summary in the following sections.

8.2.1 In these seven texts, how are the lexicogrammatical and semantic resources of English turned to the task of reporting armistice (including representing time and space, attributing information to non-authorial sources, and creating structure and texture) in relation to their context, and how has the use of the linguistic resources changed?

The lexicogrammatical and semantic resources used in these seven reports of armistice for representing time and space, attributing information to non-authorial sources, and creating structure and texture were analysed in chapters 4, 5, and 6. Chapter 7 then explored the diachronic consistency and variation in the context of situation of the reporting of armistice, drawing on the findings from chapters 4, 5, and 6, and focusing particularly on the function and content of the news, the role of the journalist, and the role of technology in news production. The main findings of the analytical chapters are summarised in Figure 8-1 as diachronic shifts in the particular lexicogrammatical, semantic and contextual dimensions investigated in the thesis.

Lexicogrammatically, the clearest changes identified through the analyses presented in this study are the changes in tense selection, specificity of location in time, and status of

projection. Semantically, these lexicogrammatical changes realise changes in ‘groundedness’ of the temporal location of events of armistice and of the non-authorially sourced information about news events. The earlier texts (Boer War to Korean War texts) tended to select features that construe greater temporal and evidential groundedness of the report, e.g. higher specificity of Circumstances of time, higher priority of temporal references in general, and thematisation of the speaker in non-authorial sourcing. In contrast, the later texts (particular the Gulf War and Iraq War texts, but also the Vietnam War text to a certain extent) tended to select features that construe weaker temporal grounding but higher dramatisation of the events, e.g. more general and relative temporal Circumstances, lower priority on temporal references in general, increasingly paratactic projection and thematisation of the projected clause rather than the projecting clause (i.e. the speaker). In this sense the Gulf War and Iraq War texts are quite ‘impressionistic’ in the way they report the ‘end of war’, rather than fulfilling the chronicling function and ‘historicity’ that is achieved in the earlier texts.

Dimension	Boer War text 1902	WWI text 1918	WWII text 1945	Korean War text 1953	Vietnam War text 1975	Gulf War text 1991	Iraq War text 2003
Lexicogrammar							
Past-in-present tense	in both authorial and non-authorial material				in non-authorial material only		
Time/Space Thematisation	<1% marked Themes of time/space		>10% marked Themes of time or space				
Mode of projection	quote and/or report			quote, report, and/or combination			
Projection type	predominantly hypotactic					increasingly paratactic	
Thematic status of projection	projecting clause as Theme					projected clause as Theme	
Semantics							
Temporal perspective	dispersed			unified			
Specificity of Circumstances of time	specific					general	
Priority of temporal references	higher priority				lower priority		
Priority of projected material	lower priority					higher priority	
Experiential development	dispersed w/ consistent core			dispersed w/ consistent core			tightly circumscribed
Text structure	univariate			multivariate			multivariate
Context							
Field: Intertextuality	Metadiscourse: Reproduced			Metadiscourse: Analysed			
Tenor: Local history in common	Fellow country		Neighbourhood	Fellow country	Fellow country		None
Tenor: Cultural capital in common	Yes				No		
Mode: Printing & typesetting technology	Mechanical				Electronic		
Mode: Division of labour	Mono: Scripted only		Mixed: Scripted and Eidetic				
Mode: Organisation of space	Columnar						Horizontalised
Mode: Relationship between visual elements	Aggregate		Tessellated				
Mode: Reading path	Non-negotiable: Unitary		Negotiated				Non-negotiable: Shared
Media landscape - radio	no radio		radio				
Media landscape – TV	no television				television		
Media landscape - internet	no internet						internet
Visibility of journalist	no bylines used					bylines used	
International relations	Australia-Britain relationship foregrounded			Australia-US relationship foregrounded			
Contestation of war	marginal contestation				mainstream contestation		

Figure 8-1 Diachronic shifts in selected lexicogrammatical, semantic and contextual dimensions

Overall, the semantics and lexicogrammar of reporting armistice in these texts have changed within a limited bandwidth. The changes are motivated by different selections in the more delicate options in the contextual parameters of each text, e.g. in the parameter of field the distinction between [NARROW FOCUS] and [WIDE FOCUS], in terms of the breadth of experience that is made the focus of the interaction (see chapter 7). But the texts also display principled consistency in terms of choices motivated by the selection of contextual features at the primary degrees of delicacy. For example: the field of news reporting has consistently encapsulated a tension between [SPECIALISED] and [QUOTIDIAN] spheres of action; the presence of symbolic action for the accomplishment of the social process has always been [Necessary]; and the social process has always had the same kinds of goal orientation (providing information about current events as part of a

business model). In tenor, the [Non-hierarchic] relationship between writer and reader, the agentive role, the [Uniplex] social connection, and certain contextual implications of a wide social distance have been maintained. And in mode, the [CONSTITUTIVE] role of language, the [GRAPHIC] channel, and the [Written-like] medium have remained constant.

8.2.2 What does the concept of register offer to the diachronic study of text in context? What can a diachronic analysis of language in context contribute to the development of the theory of register?

This study has made use of the concept of register and the crucial SFL dimensions of instantiation, stratification, and metafunction in order to locate the diachronic investigation of text within a powerful analytical framework. On the dimension of instantiation, a small number of instances of language – texts – have been considered in relation to each other as similar instance types, and this approach has enabled me to consider how they each operate as instances of the subsystem or register. The corollary of this is that, despite the small size of the corpus, the implications of each instantiation for the meaning potential as a dynamically changing, evolving set of probabilities can be clearly demonstrated. In other words, the analysis of even a small corpus such as this opens up a view to the development of meaning potential as phylogenesis.

The dimension of stratification has enabled the systematic unpacking of meaning making in the texts into choices at the levels of lexicogrammar, semantics, and context (see section 8.2.1 above). Beginning from the lexicogrammatical stratum in chapters 4 and 5, the thesis has worked towards a description of context as realised by the lexicogrammatical and semantic choices. The dimension of metafunction has allowed the choices to be viewed according to their semantic function, and, in particular, has been the basis for the parametric analysis of context in chapter 7. The context analysis showed how the parameters of field, tenor and mode are indeed permeable and interrelated (cf. Hasan, 1999: 244), and how the realisation of register relies on selections in not just one but all parameters working together in an ensemble effect.

As Butt (2004 mimeo.: 7) has argued, there is a need to be able to describe the similarities between contextual configurations to highlight registerial consistency, but also to be able to characterise the differences between contextual configurations. This study highlights the need for further modelling of context at greater degrees of delicacy in order for the more specific differences between contexts to be made explicit. And not only that, but we also need

ways of integrating descriptions of the context of situation with the investigation of context of culture. These issues are discussed in section 8.3.1 as opportunities for further research.

8.2.3 What evidence can the analysis of register offer to both linguists and historians for the study of social and cultural change in the social milieu of Sydney over the period 1902 to 2003?

While it is not possible to generalise the findings of this study on such a small corpus, it is possible to say what the evidence found in each text suggests about the social milieu of its time of production. It is also possible to observe how the findings in each text are different from the others and suggest how the differences between the discursively revealed social milieux suggest diachronic change in the Sydney social milieu with respect to this particular corpus.

Firstly, the findings of chapter 5 show that there is a degree of diachronic consistency between the texts in terms of the construal of priorities in respect of information about current events. The pervasiveness of non-authorial sourcing throughout the corpus is an indication of the way information is regarded as a commodity that can be selected and gathered together for the purposes of creating a rounded summary of events that is useful and relevant to those who pay to read it. The information is construed as a combination of perspectives and testimonies, to varying degrees of 'balance' and accountability. It is not merely the journalist reporting events as if he saw them firsthand, nor evaluating the outcome of the end of war, nor speculating about what will happen in the future as a result of the most recent phase of events in the war. The contextual implication of this is that the 'typical' *SMH* reader is textured into the text in a way that suggests he or she would not consider the journalist's voice alone sufficient to fulfill the function of 'reporting news'. Therefore intertextuality, or the use of material from other sources, is not merely an added extra to make the news reports more dramatic or credible, it is a necessary part of fulfilling the function of reporting news.

Secondly, the findings suggest a degree of consistency between the texts in terms of how they reveal the social attitudes to Australia and how the nation fits into global society and global affairs. The prevailing lack of Australian-attributed information suggests that at the time of reporting the end of each war, there was little semiotic space allowed for Australia as a source of relevant perspectives. Australia is either overshadowed by a limited range of voices close to the epicentre of the organisation of the campaign (e.g. Boer War and Gulf War texts), or sidelined by the fact that the focus of the information is limited to a narrow

geographical area close to the theatres of war (e.g. WWI, WWII, Korean War text, Iraq War text).

I have also argued that the semantic differences between the texts in terms of the representation of temporal and spatial location of the news events provide evidence for changes in the social conception of time and space. Thompson (1995: 34) has suggested that a change in the social conception of time and space occurred during the early twentieth century as a result of advancements in transportation and communication technologies, especially the telegraph. I would add that the internet has also driven further change in the conception of time and space, contributing to a more globally oriented social sphere and a contracted temporal horizon in terms of the transience of news and information validity. The linguistic analysis presented in chapter 4 of this thesis makes explicit some of the semantic and lexicogrammatical reflexes of such changes.

8.3 Key findings of the thesis

The findings of the thesis have significance not just for linguistics, but also for historians and for the Australian public more generally. The key findings and their significance for each group are presented in the following sections.

8.3.1 For linguistics

In systemic terms, the texts investigated here, as products of the past, reflect system probabilities for the register at each point in time and, as instances of register, have also dynamically contributed to changes in the system probabilities. The findings of the thesis therefore contribute to linguistic knowledge about register and about the linguistic investigation of historical texts. The main implications of the thesis for the development of linguistic knowledge and opportunities for further research are presented in the following sections.

8.3.1.1 Developing theory and analytical tools

In presenting this multistratal analysis of register, the thesis has made some proposals and elucidated a number of problems in relation to the development of linguistic theory and analytical tools. These proposals and problems are explained in relation to context, semantics and lexicogrammar.

At the level of lexicogrammar, I proposed developments in further delicacy for the description of Circumstances of temporal and spatial location (see chapter 4). Work developing this area of the SFL lexicogrammatical description has begun only recently (see

e.g. Dreyfus & Jones, 2008), and discussions are continuing. It is likely that similar developments in delicacy would be productive for other Circumstance types as well.

At the level of semantics, I suggested in chapter 5 that the semantic functions of projection in news reports include both the attribution of news information and the construal of semiotic activity (saying, announcing, etc) as a newsworthy event in itself. It is important to recognise these separate functions and differentiate between them in the analysis of non-authorial sourcing in news discourse, and also to recognise that the same lexicogrammatical feature may have different functions in different registers because of different contextual pressures (see e.g. de Oliveira & Pagano, 2006). I also made suggestions about the analysis of cohesive harmony (chapter 6), including principles for the recognition of tokens, quantification of the degree of involvement of cohesive chains in the texture of a text, and identification of segment boundaries through a combinatorial approach.

At the level of context, I proposed modifications and additions to the Channel section of Butt's context network for the parameter of mode (chapter 7). Specifically, I proposed a reworking of the [Mixed/Mono] systems and added parallel systems at a primary degree of delicacy in the [GRAPHIC] system to differentiate the technological contexts of the texts and their choices in terms of page organisation. I also proposed smaller developments in delicacy to other areas of the context networks. In the field network, the distinction [Immediate/Distant] in the [RECOUNTING] system could be extended to describe both spatial and temporal proximity of the recounted events. This would enable greater delicacy of characterisation of the subject matter of the discourse. In the tenor network, the distinction between [Direct] and [Indirect] reciprocation could be added in the system of Agentive Role, in order to capture the difference between contexts such as newspaper reports where reciprocation of interactive agency can occur indirectly, such as through the Letters page or withdrawal of custom from the newspaper.

8.3.1.2 Problematising and modelling context

The analysis of context in chapter 7 provides further support for the importance of recognising the permeability and interdependence of the parameters of context (field, tenor, mode), and the usefulness of conceptualising the instantial context of a text as a contextual configuration. The problem of point of view in describing context using context networks was also noted, and discussion of this issue and further modelling of context is ongoing (e.g. Butt & Wegener, 2007; Hasan, 2009; Wegener, forthcoming [2009]).

In addition, I have raised the problem of interpretation of context when the explicitness of cultural references is low and the semiotic distance between context of production and context of reception is great. Hasan has pointed out that “cultural distance has a diachronic dimension as well as a synchronic one – the ways of being, saying, feeling, and doing in a community differ over time” (1996: 44). The potential for cultural distance even within the 'same' community requires us to recognise the possibility of disjunction between the context of production and the context of reception (Hasan, 1996: 45). The principle of cultural distance between contexts of production and reception is illustrated in Figure 8-2 and Figure 8-3 below.

Figure 8-2 represents the relationship between the proximity of the contexts of production and reception and ease of contextual interpretation. When the context of production and context of reception occur close together (either temporally or culturally), there is likely to be minimal difficulty of interpreting context of situation (represented iconically by a section of a context system network) because the semiotic distance is small. When the context of production and the context of reception occur far apart (either temporally or culturally) there is a greater possibility of interpretative difficulties. The system of context operating at the time of production may be made unclear for readers in a temporally distant context of reception because of changes in the system in the intervening time.

The problem of semiotic distance is further illustrated in Figure 8-3 in terms of semogenesis, using as an example my contact with the Boer War text in 2009. Since language and contextual systems gradually alter over time through ongoing instantiation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 18), the point the culture is at phylogenetically in 2009 (a secondary context of reception) is inherently different from the culture in 1902 (the context of production). The culture and the language system have continued to develop and change since the time of production, not just because of technological and other ‘physical’ changes, but, more fundamentally, because there have been so many instantiations (texts) in the interim that have each made their impact on the probabilities of the system. Ontogenetically, the reader in 2009 has not shared the context of production of the Boer War text in any way, although there is a limited degree of sharing by analogy with the similar context of production of the modern *Herald*. I do not share any part of the context of production for any text except the last two texts, the only ones produced in my lifetime.

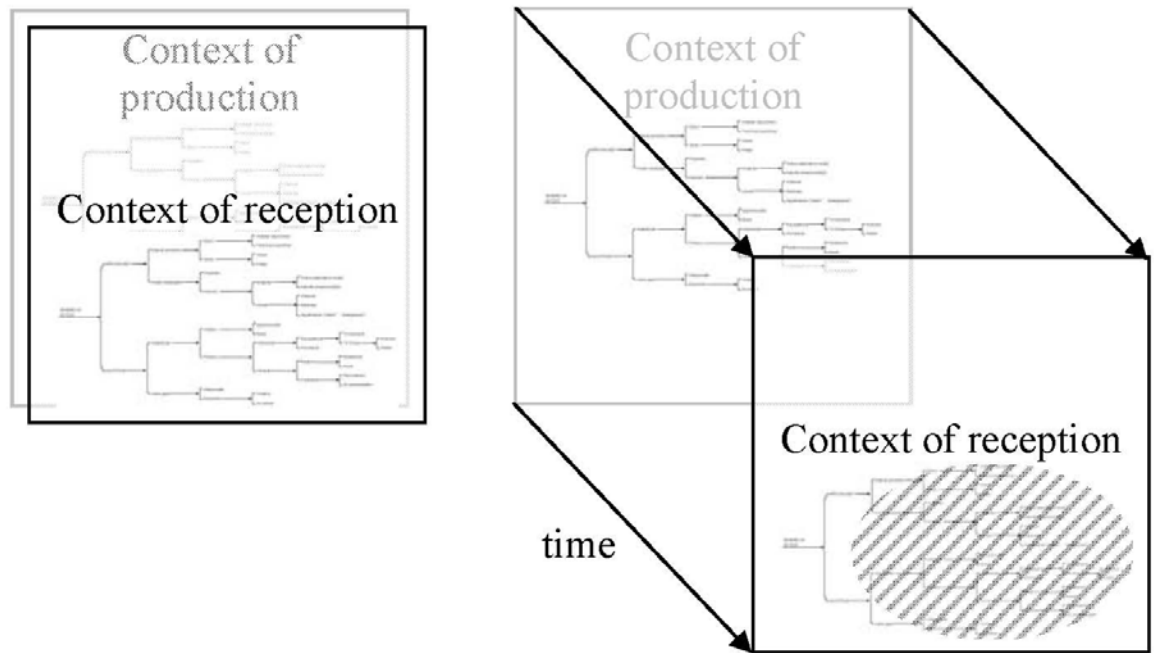


Figure 8-2 Semiotic distance between temporally distant context of production and context of reception

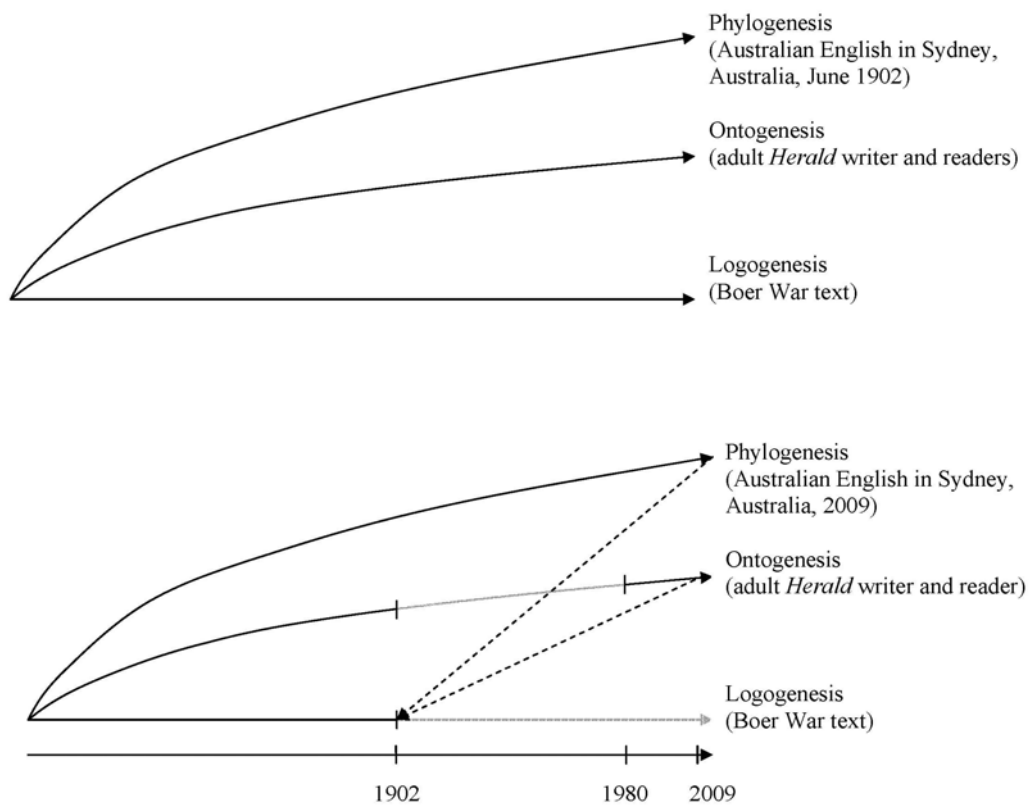


Figure 8-3 A semogenetic view of the difference between contexts of production and reception

8.3.1.3 Extending the scope of the findings

I have acknowledged from the beginning (see chapters 1 and 3) the small corpus size and limited scope of the study. Specifically, the data set is limited to seven texts from one newspaper, including one text from each of seven wars. Thus the findings cannot be generalised to all or even most newspaper reports, or reports of the end of war, or *SMH* reports. The corpus could be extended constructively in a number of possible directions in order to broaden the scope and generalisability of findings from this kind of diachronic register analysis. For example, the seven texts could be combined with parallel texts from other Australian cities and other former British colonies, parallel texts from other major cities in the world (including ‘enemy’ nations at each point in time), or armistice reports from other media (radio, news reels, television, and internet news). Alternatively, a larger corpus could be built up of texts from other stages of the wars, e.g. the outbreak of war and significant events during the war. Having a larger corpus would give greater scope for generalising the findings but would also limit the depth of analysis that could reasonably be carried out. It would be particularly constructive to conduct research on such corpora in collaboration with media historians, media scholars, and perhaps even media practitioners, in order to develop co-operative relationships between the disciplines and offer linguistic tools and analysis as a service to the other disciplines. Having a theory of language in context through which to think about the media would surely be of benefit for those who study media as both a current and historical social practice, since the media is essentially a meaning-making process.

I also acknowledge that the range of analysis in this study is limited, focusing only on a small number of linguistic features from the experiential and logical metafunctions, including Process and Circumstance type, projection through mental and verbal Processes, Thing Type, logico-semantic relations in terms of projection, and cohesion. The depth of the analysis presented, the richness of the findings, and the need for explanation and interpretation of the findings for this small set of linguistic features meant that other dimensions of SFL analysis, e.g. the MOOD, THEME, and INFORMATION systems, were essentially ignored. Thus there are opportunities to return to the data with a view to investigating diachronic change in the systems of language that could not be addressed in this study.

8.3.2 For historians

This thesis has demonstrated how linguistic tools can be used to infer changes between diachronic states of meaning in society, in particular in the meaning-making profession of journalism. The findings in the thesis have provided linguistic evidence for some of the claims made by media historians and cultural theorists about social change and the media. For example, I have argued that the changing role of the journalist, from ‘relayer of documents’ (Zelizer, 1989: 373) to independent, warranted interpreter of events and economic commodity in their own right, can be traced in the patterning of linguistic choices, both those made by the news writer (e.g. tense selection) and those made by the newspaper as institution (e.g. absence or presence of bylines). I have also argued that changes in the semantic priorities in *SMH* journalism reflect wider social changes in Sydney, e.g. the priorities in semantic representation of temporal and spatial location of the news events are an index of the diachronic changes in the social conception of time and space resulting from advancements in transportation and communication technologies (Thompson, 1995: 32). The principle behind these interpretations is that the discourse of the journalist ‘textures in’ an addressee, and if a systematic theory of the relationship between journalist and reader is applied, it can offer extra leverage in approaching the historical issues.

The analysis has shown the semantic impact of the changing technologies of news production, which may not have been explicitly recognised by media practitioners. Certainly, the positive effects of technological advancement have been noted for production speed and efficiency (e.g. John Fairfax & Sons, 1931: 723-724, 730-732), and improved profit margins as a result (see e.g. Souter, 1991: 109), but it may not have been expected that the meaning choices in news reports would be impacted by these changes as well. Such semantic changes would undoubtedly have occurred gradually following the introduction of the new technologies, e.g. electronic typesetting or competition from other media (e.g. news reels, radio, television, and internet).

What can we make of news reports as ‘historical’ texts? For example, Fisk has written that “journalists try – or should try – to be the first impartial witnesses to history” (Fisk, 2005: xxv) and White notes, with some scepticism, that the phrase “first draft of history” has been used rather melodramatically in connection with news reporting in some sections of the mass media (White, 2003: 61). As a ‘first draft’, the news reports examined here are quite rough and require a great deal of retrospective explication due to the short temporal horizon and immediate temporal deixis of the news report register. But it may be the case that, with

major events such as the beginnings and ends of wars, there is a consciousness on the part of the journalist that the news reports they write will be referred to as historical ‘moments’ for future generations. What kind of history they are creating is another issue: the writers of the earlier texts seem to have been focused on the potential legal and political functions of historical accounts, whereas the writers of the later texts, especially the Iraq War text, seem to have a more dramatic, impressionist sense of what counts as history.

The linguistic analysis presented here has also highlighted several issues in relation to Australia’s place in the war and in global society, and how these have changed over time. For example, the choices of information sources in the texts (see chapter 5) have highlighted Australia’s changing international allegiances, from a close relationship with Britain, on the one hand, to a close relationship with the United States, on the other hand. The selection of ‘authoritative’ sources also suggests that the *Herald* has been complicit in the strategic maintenance of semiotic distance between the ‘home side’ and the enemy, and semiotic weight of official sources allied with Australia. The presence of certain semantic motifs has also provided evidence for public preoccupations about some of the circumstances of the end of war, e.g. suspicion towards the South Korean allies in the Korean War, and ambivalence towards the Viet Cong in the Vietnam War. The linguistic analysis also enables us to point out anomalies in the representation and the context that point to the things that have been taken for granted in Sydney society at different points in time. The changing demographics of Sydney were shown to be textured into the text through the changing degrees of explicitness in relation to cultural references.

8.3.3 For the general public

The interest of the general public would lie in what the research tells us about social issues: what it tells us about Australia’s involvement in war and armistice, and what it tells us about the *Herald* as an institution and an important part of Sydney society, both now and in the past. In terms of what we can learn about Australia’s involvement in war and armistice, the thesis has laid out the different characteristics of each war (see chapter 3) in order to explain the semantic choices, which are reflexes of the context of culture and context of situation of each text. It was demonstrated in chapter 4, for example, that the contested status of the more recent wars (Gulf War and Iraq War) is indexed in the vagueness of the temporal grounding as realised by Circumstances of temporal location.

In terms of what we can learn about Sydney society and the role of the *Herald*, the findings show that there has been a degree of consistency over time in the way we think as a society,

what our priorities are in respect of information about current events, and where Australia fits into global society and its affairs (see section 8.3.2 above). The study has shown that the contemporary *Herald* is as much a product of where it has come from as it is of the particularities of its current social context. It is likely that many people would be surprised to learn that the news has not always appeared on the front page of the *Herald*. From today's perspective, it seems extraordinary that an event as momentous as the signing of the armistice with Germany ending WWI could *not* have been held out as the most pressing piece of business for the *Herald* to carry out that day. This remarkable difference in orientation to the business at hand is an important reminder that every permutation of the newspaper is a choice, which by nature excludes other possible options, and that all choices are motivated by some configuration of contextual features. Whatever appears on the front page has been chosen over another piece of news or semiotic activity (e.g. advertising, community announcements, or births, deaths and marriages), and nothing should be taken for granted.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together the findings of the thesis in relation to the thesis questions posed in chapter 1. The discussion in this chapter has highlighted the key findings and indicated the significance of the outcomes of the research for linguists, media scholars and historians, and ordinary people.

The thesis has made inroads into the use of linguistic analysis in the domain of media history, presenting a diachronic study of news reporting about war, specifically the conclusion of war, in the *Sydney Morning Herald* from the Boer War in 1902 to the Iraq War in 2003. It has presented an investigation of language in context over a century, and an account of culture in history as the linguistic analysis shed light on the historical context. Through the linguistic investigation, we have been able to infer the changing culture of interaction between the *Herald* as an institution and the people of Sydney as its readers, and the cultural history of how Sydneysiders have experienced war and armistice through their local broadsheet newspaper.

The linguistic analysis of the texts as instances of register has demonstrated afresh, and from a diachronic perspective, that register must be seen as a configuration of semantic probabilities (cf. Halliday, 1985: 38; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 27-28) such that registerial membership entails both consistency and principled variation. The parametric

contextual analysis demonstrated that the semantic consistency among the instances was motivated by consistent contextual choices at primary degrees of delicacy, while the variation was motivated by the selection of different contextual options at greater degrees of delicacy, most notably in relation to the tenor and mode of discourse.

The thesis objectives were motivated by an interest in the linguistic construal of the social contexts of the past and the implications for understanding contemporary language and our culture, and an interest in exploring the implications of diachronic contextual changes within the register of news reports. The objectives have been met, and the motivating interests satisfied, as the study has illuminated the contexts of the past and shown the usefulness of investigating register diachronically.

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