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The Effect of Functional Role on Language Choice in Newspapers

by

LILY CHEN

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Ph.D Thesis
University of Durham



19 APR 2002

The Effect of Functional Role on Language Choice in Newspapers

by

LILY CHEN

Dissertation submitted for degree of Ph.D. 2000

University of Durham

Department of East Asian Studies

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this dissertation is my own work and has not been previously submitted for any other academic award. Credit has been given to sources of reference that I have used.

LiLy Chen Lily Chen

Date 16th March 2002

Acknowledgement

Many of the sources of inspiration for this work will be obvious from the bibliography. At the same time, I assume total responsibity for what is written here.

Less obvious, but of equal importance, is Dr. Mike Dillon and Dr.William McClure, my supervisors. To them I wish to express my thanks for their guidance and encouragement.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Mr Don Starr and to all the staff of my department, the library and computer rooms for their kindness and help.

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Finally, I would like to extend my thanks to the British newspaper editors who replied to my requests for information about the role of their newspapers and permitted me to quote their replies in this study.

ABSTRACT

Language is a tool: its function is to enable us to communicate with each-other. Yet traditional grammars ignore this functional aspect of language, providing instead a purely formal description of language elements.

The system of functional grammar developed by the linguist MAK Halliday and others attempts to describe language in a different way, by relating language elements to the function a particular segment of language performs and to the context in which the language is produced. Such a system predicts that the structural and linguistic choices made during language choice reflect and are influenced by the context in which language is used and the functional tasks it seeks to fulfil.

In this thesis I attempt to apply elements of the functional grammar developed by Halliday and other linguists working within the functional tradition to a comparative quantitative/ qualitative analysis of newspaper texts to show how the language choices made in newspapers are affected by the functional role those newspapers play in society.

I selected two sets of English-language newspaper texts from societies in which the functional role of the media is different: the UK and China. My principal hypothesis is that because of the different roles played by the media in these two countries there are different cultural, political and ideological constraints acting upon the journalists working there – and that these different constraints are reflected in the language choices they make, in terms of the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features.

Fifty texts were selected for analysis from the UK broadsheet newspaper *The Times* and a further 50 from the English language *China Daily* in China. Analysis of these revealed that functional role does indeed affect language choice in a significant way. It also revealed that an analytic model such as that developed here can detect and quantify the resulting differences in linguistic feature and enable them to be interpreted in the light of the differences in functional role which, at least in part, cause them.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Language as Behaviour

Producing and understanding language is a form of complex behaviour. It is part of a network of behavioural processes through which we perceive and react to the world in which we live.

We perceive the world in which we live through our senses: visual, audial, tactile, the senses of smell and taste. Through all these senses together we build up a picture of the world around us.

But the process of perception is not a simple one. We are not a blank sheet that simply absorbs sensory data about the way the world is. The process of perception involves a process of organisation.

Take the example of a photograph. When we look at a photograph, we see within it a picnic, people laughing, in the distance perhaps some trees. None of these are actually there in the photograph: what we are actually looking at is a flat piece of paper with some colours on it. Nevertheless, we can 'see' these things: and we can 'see' them because the process of 'seeing' involves more than the simple reception of visual stimuli. It also involves the organisation of those stimuli in accordance with relational concepts such as depth, distance, occlusion. It is these concepts that enable us to make sense of the photograph.

The same is true of our perception of the 'real' world. To borrow an example from Albert S. Bregman, suppose we look at three letters, A, B and C (see Diagram 1). A, B and C are quite distinct objects in the real world, but because from our point of view they are lined up with each-other, when the visual stimuli arrive on the observer's retina – the inner wall of the eye which contains visual receptor cells – A occludes B which occludes C. Without our ability to process these stimuli, the sensory input would be a meaningless jumble. Nevertheless we do perceive them as three distinct letters, because we process the sensory input using relational concepts such as depth and occlusion. (Bregman, 1981:104).



Diagram 1: a schematic view of perception (from Bregman, 1981:104)

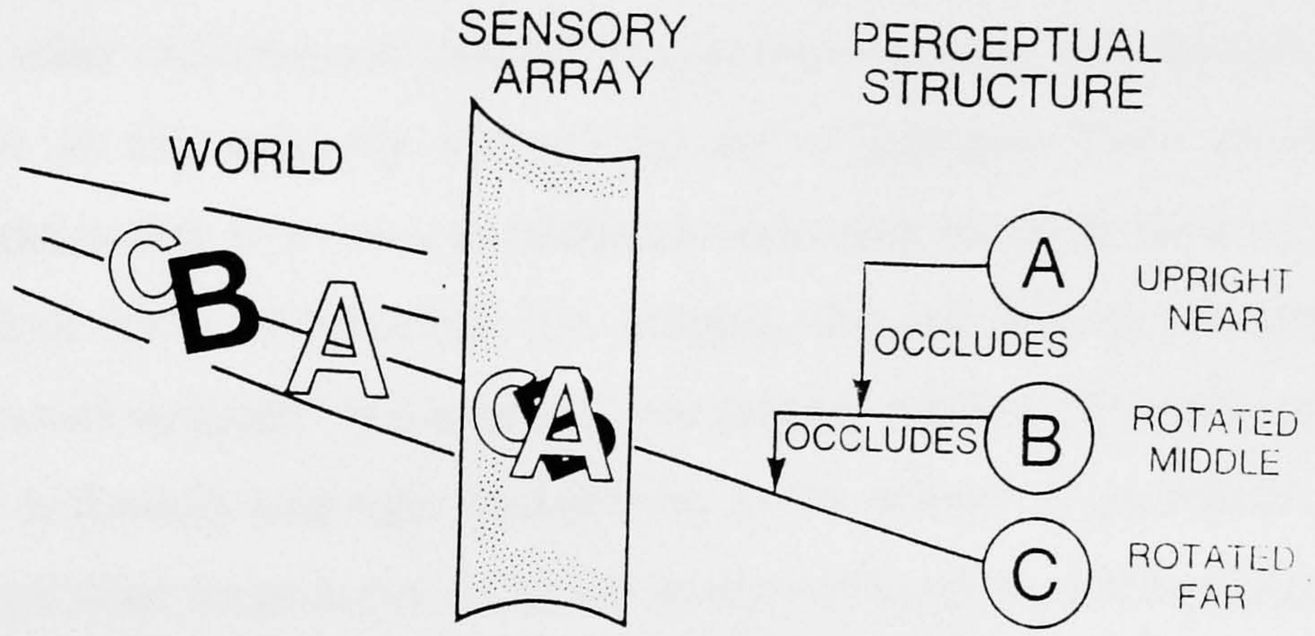


FIG. 4.2. A schematic view of perception. The letters A, B, and C, though distinct in the world, are superimposed and distorted on the observer's retina due to the angle of view. Information on the sensory surface is used by processes of scene analysis to create a structure in which the A, B, and C are seen as whole and normal in shape but as yielding the obtained sensory input due to occlusions and rotations.

Auditory perception is equally complex. "In most natural situations," says Bregman, "there is more than one source of sound, and the influences of all sources are summed in the pressure wave that reaches the ear of the listener. Because we are interested in recognising individual sources, we must recover from the input separate descriptions of the sources that, in combination, have created the input." (Bregman, 1981:104)

Our perception, and hence understanding, of the world, then, involves both reception of sensory stimuli and organisation of those stimuli in order that they make sense.

Gestalt psychologists such as Gaetano Kanizsa (Kanisza, 1979:1-24) suggest the existence of a 'secondary process' phase of perception; a phase in which the mind processes sensory input received during a 'primary process' phase of perception. The mind, he says, by processing data during this 'secondary process' phase to make them more significant for the perceiver, goes beyond the information given. In a sense, by

perceiving the world, human beings impose a structure upon it: a structure that makes it meaningful and relevant to them.

Human beings do not, however, exist in isolation. The process of perception by which we individually understand and rationalise the world is just one half of the equation. We form part of an interacting social network of other human beings (and, to an extent, other creatures and objects). We need to communicate with them.

We do this, primarily, through the use of language. There are other means of communication that help place us within an interacting social network of human beings; non-linguistic forms of behaviour, for example, that can help fix our position within a complex social structure. Nevertheless, our primary method of placing and establishing ourselves is through language. And just as, in the process of perception, we impose a structure on what we perceive, so, in the process of linguistic communication, we impose a structure on what is communicated. Language, of course, is a two-way thing: when using language we shift constantly from the role of language producer to that of language receiver. We could say that as language producer we impose a structure on that which we communicate, and as language receiver we decode that structure. Bregman, though, is quite clear that the problems of auditory or visual perception are quite analogous to the linguistic problems of recovering meaning from language. "This process of undoing combinations (in auditory perception) is analogous to the problem in language of recovering a deep-structural description of a sentence from its surface structure," he says. "To solve the problem in language, knowledge of individual linguistic patterns (such as the verb-adverb pattern) is not sufficient. We must also understand the rules of composition, or how a particular linguistic form combines with others to make a sentence." (Bregman, 1981:103-104)

Bregman, here, is talking about linguistic patterns, together with the rules of composition and linguistic combination. To understand these rules and patterns, and hence to better understand the nature of the communication process and what it can tell us about ourselves, we need an analytic system geared to deal with language.

In English, we have one such analytic system already – traditional grammar. But something more is needed. Traditional grammar is indeed a system of breaking language down into constituent elements and patterns so that the make-up of that language can be studied. However, as will be seen in Chapter 2.2, the patterns recognised by traditional English grammar are formal ones – patterns derived largely from ancient Latin that are internal to language itself and do not take account of how language reaches out to the

world: of how we use language to try to influence the social environment we live in and our position in it. It is up to the task of analysing formal linguistic patterns and rules of composition. But many modern linguists now accept that there is another level of structure that we impose upon language when we communicate: what could be called a social layer of structure.

We are, each of us, individuals: we each exist as part of an interacting network of human beings. The particular social group within which we live influences our understanding of the world around us: and the language we use reflects it. It should be expected, then, that the language we use might be rich with the values and assumptions we hold dear.

Many modern linguists accept that this is the case. As Fowler points out in *Language in Use* (Fowler, 1991) using language is a constructive practice. Events and ideas, he says, are not communicated neutrally, in their natural structure, as it were. They could not be, because they have to be transmitted through some medium (language) with its own structural features. These structural features, he says, are already impregnated with social values that make up a potential perspective on events. The language medium is used by people working under certain economic circumstances, and following certain conventions of production, and habitual use in these circumstances gives rise to conventional significances.

The linguist MAK Halliday, whose work will feature prominently in this thesis, gives in his 1970 paper *Language Structure and Language Function* a thoroughgoing functionalist explanation of linguistic structure in terms of social structure.

"Why is language as it is?" he asks. "The nature of language is closely related to the demands that we make on it, the functions it has to serve. In the most concrete terms, these functions are specific to a culture.... The particular form taken by the grammatical system of language is closely related to the social and personal needs that language is required to serve." (Halliday, 1970:142)

Given this link between the structure of language and the 'social and personal needs that language is required to serve', proper analysis of the language we use should reveal a great deal about who we are and the values and world views to which we subscribe. Traditional grammar, though, is not up to this task. To use an analogy, the traditional grammarian is like a physiologist who studies the human brain by analysing it in terms of its physiological constituents. The physiologist can hope to learn very little

about what drives the human psyche from his physiological analysis of the brain. For that, we need the psychologist.

Similarly, in the study of language, the traditional grammarian can tell us very little about the person communicating through language, or the person he or she is communicating with. It is, as will be seen in Section 2.2, a **prescriptive** rather than **descriptive** system, more concerned with preserving the integrity of language by laying down rules for its proper use than analysing language for evidence of social, cultural and contextual influences. In order to learn more about the users of language and their particular circumstances, we need a new form of grammar; one that analyses language as a form of behaviour; as a human process. We need what Halliday et al call a **functional grammar**; a grammar that can enable us to study language as it is used; that allows us to analyse the social and functional levels of structure that we impose upon language as language producers, and must learn to decode as language receivers.

It is with functional grammar that this thesis is concerned.

1.2 The Function of Language

'Language is as it is because of what it has to do' – M.A.K. Halliday (1985)

What language has to do is enable us to communicate. Language is a series of systematic signs and markings, both written and verbal, which permits us, to a greater or lesser degree, to communicate that which we wish to communicate to others. Consider the following text, taken from Appendix 8.12.

Jiang stresses ties with Japan

THE years heading into the 21st century form a crucial period for furthering Sino-Japanese relations, says Chinese President Jiang.

The period is also an important time for the nations to inherit the past and usher in the future, he added.

Jiang made the remarks while meeting Yashuhiko Inukai, president of Japan's Kyodo News Service, in Beijing yesterday.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Japanese treaty of peace and friendship. Last year, the nations commemorated the 25th anniversary of the normalization of the relations.

At this juncture, Jiang said, China and Japan should value and treasure the existing, good bilateral ties and make a concerted effort to consolidate and advance the

long-term, stable and good-neighbourly relations, by learning from the past and taking advantage of current situations.

Bilateral relations have generally been good since normalization 26 years ago, featured in various fields through exchanges and co-operation, Jiang said.

Though there have been twists and turns, relevant issues have been handled properly in time due to the joint efforts of both governments, he added.

China and Japan are both big Asian countries, he noted. Long-term friendship and co-operation benefits both nations and exerts an important impact on the peace and stability of the world.

Yashuhiko said he was pleased to meet Jiang. The successful convening of the 15th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, and the upcoming first session of the Ninth National People's Congress, will advance China's social and economic development and enable the country to usher in the 21st century, he added.

Guo Chaoren, president of Xinhua News Agency, attended the meeting. The Kyodo News Service delegation is in China as guests of Xinhua.

This text serves to illustrate a basic premise of what is known as **systemic linguistics** (see Chapter 2): that language use is purposeful behaviour. The writer of this excerpt did not just produce it to kill time, or to display his linguistic abilities. He wrote the text because he wanted to use language to achieve a purpose, he had goals that he was using language to achieve. We could summarise the overall purpose of this text as being to "inform the readers". In having a purpose, as Suzanne Eggins points out (Eggins, 1994:4): "People do not 'just talk' or 'just write'. Any use of language is motivated by a purpose, whether that purpose be a clear, pragmatic one, (such as needing to write a letter in order to apply for a job), or a less tangible, but equally important, interpersonal one (such as 'needing' to have a chat with friends after a long day at work)."

That which we wish to communicate to others could be conscious feelings, opinions, beliefs, prejudices or knowledge about the way that the world is: either our own or another's. In the above example, that which is being communicated is, on the face of it, something to do with Jiang's beliefs about the importance of Sino-Japanese relations. That which we wish to communicate is not always so simple, however. We sometimes, as human beings, want to convince others that things are a certain way when in fact they are not. In such cases, that which we wish to communicate may be conscious

untruths, misinformation, or knowledge about the way the world is not, couched as knowledge about the way the world is.

Language, though, is more than simply a tool for communicating that which we consciously wish to communicate. Part of its interest lies in the fact that it is also the 'carrier' of a whole range of non-conscious cues and signals, which convey information that, sometimes, we are not consciously aware of conveying. This information may be revealed in the particular form of words chosen, or carried in intonation, stress, speed of utterance or a whole range of indicators our conscious mind may not be fully aware of at the time of speaking. "How are you this morning?" asks the hated new stepmother brightly, coming downstairs in her dressing gown to find you sitting at the kitchen table eating cornflakes. "Fine" you reply, trying to be polite. In this exchange, the brightness of tone in the stepmothers' words conveys her anxiety to please: the briefness of your response how difficult it will be for her to succeed.

The above example is a good instance of how, as linguists such as Katz and Lakoff phrased it, we can often say one thing while meaning another (Katz and Fodor, 1963:52; Lakoff, 1971:63). What the stepmother says is "How are you this morning" – on the face of it a simple inquiry about the state of your health. The message she means to convey, though, is 'Please like me, please talk to me.'

Another interesting thing about language is that it can also, consciously or unconsciously, act as a barrier to communication. The barrier to communication afforded by the fact that two people speak a different language is not, for the purposes of my paper, of interest. What is of interest to me is the way in which a language can act as a barrier to communication even between two people who are speaking the same language.

It is fair to say that the way in which we each, individually, use language is partly – even, perhaps, greatly – determined by the set of beliefs, opinions and experiences we possess. We frame the language we utter in an attempt to represent a portion of those beliefs, opinions and experiences. Where there are no shared beliefs, opinions or experiences at all, it would seem almost nonsensical to talk of two people even speaking the same language, since the meaning given to elements of that language would presumably have to be different in each case. Aristotle is brought 2400 years into his future to meet Einstein. "Time and space are relative," Einstein informs him in Greek. "Pardon?" says Aristotle.

What is of more interest, and much more common, is where beliefs, opinions and experiences – and the meanings with which they enrich words – overlap but are not

identical. There are many situations in which this may happen. Perhaps one of the principal ones is where people who come from different cultures and who hold somewhat different sets of beliefs, opinions and experiences are attempting to communicate in the same language (it may be the native language of one participant, and a second language of the other). Take as an example an Englishman in China conversing in English with a Chinese person. To a Chinese person the word *tradition* is likely to be associated with something out of date, old, backward, stereotyped, therefore not good. To an English person, it is likely to be associated with something perhaps a little old-fashioned, but nevertheless essentially stable and valuable – the word carries with it rich overtones of cultural heritage. "You have many traditions in China", the Englishman says, meaning it as a complement. His Chinese listener is slightly offended, thinking: "These westerners always look down upon us because we are so backward."

Another example of misunderstanding caused by differences in value systems is the well-known (in China) story of the male English teacher from the USA who, meeting a pretty Chinese woman colleague, tries to start a friendly conversation by saying: "You look nice today!" "No! No!" says the woman, shocked and embarrassed. "I mean it," protests the man, realising something is wrong but not quite knowing what. "No! No!" says the woman again, even more upset, before rushing quickly away – possibly with the resolve never to talk to such a hooligan again. The breakdown in communication here occurs because of the different cultures. The American was simply being polite and friendly: but in China, flattery is considered dishonest, ill-educated and impolite. That is how he was perceived.

Of course, since we are all human beings and we all inhabit the same world, there are a great number of beliefs, opinions and experiences that we all do share in common. There are, however (as in the above examples) many others that we do not. I would maintain that the greater the divergence between the systems of beliefs, opinions and experiences possessed by two people, the greater the likelihood that the meanings ascribed by those two people to elements of a 'common' language will differ. As Professor Xu Guozhang points out (Xu, 1987:127), English, 'in spite of its eminent adaptability as an international language, will necessarily have to leave many problems of cross-cultural discourse to its users from different cultures.'

The problem of association of different meanings with elements of a 'common' language may be particularly acute in the case of the non-conscious elements of linguistic communication already touched upon. Where two people possess beliefs, opinions and

cultural values that are widely divergent it is likely that, however hard they consciously attempt to choose language elements that will be able accurately to communicate that which they wish to communicate, the non-conscious signals they convey by means of the language they utter will also be divergent. Misunderstanding is highly likely to result – as in the case of the American teacher and his Chinese colleague above.

It is in a sense these areas of possible non-conscious linguistic communication that I am interested in investigating in this study. I aim, in the tradition of linguists such as Halliday, to show how a functional systematic analysis of language utterances – both spoken and written –should be able to determine precisely not only what the speaker/ writer intends to convey but also, to the degree possible, what is conveyed unconsciously. I hope to show how such an approach would make possible analysis of an utterance in such a way that the underlying system of beliefs and prejudices held by a speaker/ writer, and the cultural constraints acting upon him or her, could be laid bare. For reasons given below, I have chosen the field of written discourse in which to work. Believing, also in the tradition of linguists such as Halliday, that the context in which language is uttered is vital to any analysis of the meaning conveyed by an utterance, I have chosen to conduct my analysis in relation to a particular context – the context of language used in the written media. For reasons also given below, I have chosen to work through means of a contrastive analysis of the English-language media in Britain and in China – two cultures sufficiently divergent for the full effect of personal and cultural differences on language used in discourse to become apparent.

1.3 Rationale and aims

Linguistics is the scientific study of language. Applied Linguistics is the attempt to apply linguistic theories, methods and findings to the practical use of language.

In recent years Applied Linguistics has been usefully applied in fields as diverse as language education (see e.g. Christie, F: *First- and Second-Order Register in Education,* 1991 and Rothery, J: *Developing Critical Literacy: an Analysis of the Writing Task in a Year 10 Reference Test*, 1991), stylistics (e.g. Thibault, P*: Social Semiotics as Praxis: Text, Social Meaning and Nabokov's "Ada"*, 1991), psychotherapy (e.g. Eggins, S & MacKinnon, L. *Therapeutic Questions* 1992a, and Eggins, S and MacKinnon, L: *Therapy as Conversation* 1992b) and artificial intelligence (e.g. Bateman, JM, *Multilingual Text Generation: an Architecture Based On Functional Typology,* 1991).

One thing applied linguists have attempted to do for many years is to relate the grammatical patterns found in language to the context in which it is used. There has been some success in the field of spoken discourse, see for example Hasan, R & Martin J.R (eds.) *Language Development: Learning Language, Learning Culture (Meaning and Choice in Language: Studies for Michael Halliday)*, 1989. However, very little work has been done in the field of written discourse.

This research, as I have suggested, aims to show how a functional systematic approach to language analysis, when systematically applied to an analysis of written discourse in a particular context, will reveal the underlying, sometimes hidden or even subconscious intentions of the writers, as well as something of the 'constraints' under which he or she is working. I hope to show how such an approach to language analysis could allow a written text to be 'interpreted' by a reader with a lesser degree of misunderstanding by making possible an increased understanding of the writer's personal and cultural **schemata** – that is, their personal and cultural set of beliefs, opinions and experiences.

In order to demonstrate how such an approach could be used, I will conduct a contrastive analysis of the way the English language is used in English-language newspapers in Britain and China. A detailed account of the methodology to be adopted and the particular newspapers chosen for purposes of carrying out the study will be given in Chapter 5. My research will mainly follow Halliday's functional-systematic model of language. In order to broaden the scope of my work I will also, however, draw upon a wide range of other studies and disciplines, including the work of critical linguists associated with the University of East Anglia such as Roger Fowler, the work of William Labov, the work of media critics such as the Glasgow University Media Group and recent advances in the field of written discourse analysis.

What my research is not intended to be is an investigation of 'media bias'. I accept as a starting point that all newspapers and other 'information media' are biased in some way according to national, political and commercial interests. These different biases form part of the diverging schemata that make the field such a rich one for study. I do not, therefore, intend to make any moral judgements about the freedom or lack of freedom of the press, or about editorial decisions over what to report or not report, and how it should be reported. I am, rather, interested in those decisions themselves, and more particularly in the way they are reflected in the language used. I am, in other words, interested in the ways in which events are represented in newspaper discourse, rather

than in ascribing truth and value judgements to the ways in which they are represented. If Halliday is correct in saying 'language is as it is because of what it has to do' then the way language 'is' in newspaper reports is a function of what it has to do in those reports. Given the wide cultural and schematic differences between Chinese and English newspapers, we would expect the job the English language has to do in each to be rather different, and that this would be reflected in the way events, people and situations are represented through the English language. It is these very differences, and the fact that we can predict them, that makes contrasting newspaper texts from the two cultures such a rich context in which to demonstrate the effectiveness of the approach I plan to use.

1.4 Procedure

1.4.1 Setting the theoretical framework

I will begin this thesis with a general review and discussion of the literature on my area of study, to provide the theoretical underpinning required. To begin with, I will give a brief account of the development of traditional grammar: and show how growing dissatisfaction with it as a descriptive tool led to the development of alternative, 'descriptive' grammars – functional grammars among them. I will then set out the background to the development of Hallidayan linguistics, looking at the relationship of Halliday's work to the London, Prague and Birmingham schools of linguistics.

Then, since my work, by its very nature, forms a part of the field of Applied Linguistics, I will give a brief account of general linguistics and applied linguistics, thereby fitting my own research into the wider scheme of research in this area. I will then move to a more thorough discussion of discourse and discourse analysis, particularly written discourse analysis and the (mainly Hallidayan) system of systemic functional analysis. I will also look at the recently developed field of critical discourse study. These systems taken together form the foundations for the development of my own approach to the functional systemic analysis of language.

The next stage of my work will be to introduce and justify the main analytic approaches, drawn from the above systems, which I will adopt when conducting the analysis of newspaper texts that will form the core element of my thesis.

Since one of the hypotheses which underlines my study is that there is a functional difference in the role played by the media in Britain and in China and that this difference directly affects the way the English language is used in newspapers in the two countries - in other words it accounts, at least in part, for the differences in the way the

English language 'is' in the two countries' newspapers - I will also attempt to gather independent evidence for these functional differences. To do this, I will first examine the literature from both societies for evidence of what the functional role of the media in each is generally taken to be. I will also gather evidence directly from working journalists themselves about what they take the function of their newspapers to be. Finally, I will discuss the question of to what extent the differences in the ways in which the English language is used in newspapers in the two countries is the result of the fact the Chinese journalists are writing in a language which is not their own.

1.4.2 Gathering the analytical data

The main body of my research will consist of an analysis of a sample of 50 texts from English-language newspapers in each of Britain and China in an attempt to make clear the correlation between the way the language 'is' in newspapers from the two societies and the particular cultural and other constraints acting upon the journalists who produce the language. Since the particular cultural and other constraints acting upon those journalists are, to a certain extent at least, measurable, and will already have been largely determined through my gathering of the evidence – both personal and through the literature – for the functional role of newspapers in the two societies, it should then be possible to attempt to relate those constraints to the particular linguistic features identified as a result of my functional systematic analysis and thus, in the words of John Sinclair in his introduction to the 1993 Collins Cobuild English Grammar, identify, even if approximately, 'important correspondences between structure and function'.

In order to make these 'correspondences' as rich and meaningful as possible, a number of different analytic approaches will be applied to analysis of the same series of texts. Each approach will have its own chapter devoted to it. All findings will be presented in the form of tables, which are designed to make it as easy as possible to identify any correlations that exist. These will be highlighted and commented on in depth.

A detailed account of the methodology to be used will be given in Chapter 5: but it is worth mentioning here that my overall approach will be what could broadly be described as a quantitative/ qualitative approach to linguistic analysis. For reasons given in Chapter 5, the newspapers chosen for my analysis are the English-language *China Daily* from China and *The Times* from Britain. It is my belief that any reader reading these two newspapers can sense a qualitative difference in the language used. My intention is to devise a system that can pin down these differences, and explain them in terms of the socio-cultural setting in which the newspapers were produced. The

quantitative/ qualitative approach I advocate here, I believe, can do that. The quantitative analysis using functional-systemic models of grammar based on the work of Halliday and others can, I believe, clearly highlight areas of interesting linguistic difference between the two sets of newspapers. A qualitative analysis of these areas of interesting difference can then yield insights into how these differences are related to the differing functional role of the two sets of newspapers and the socio-cultural context in which they are produced.

My work will, I hope, ultimately pave the way for further systematic analysis of newspaper texts from other cultures in order to throw light on the cultural constraints operating upon them.

1.5 Research methodology

The research methodology I adopt will be two-pronged. Evidence for the cultural and other constraints acting upon journalists in the two societies - and therefore for the differences in functional role played by newspapers in their respective societies - will be gathered by examining the literature on the subject from both societies, and also by consulting working journalists in each culture. The latter has been done mainly through exchange of letters.

Analysis of texts will be done in accordance with a number of already tried and tested analytic systems that have been developed by thinkers such as Halliday, and the value of which is already broadly accepted. These analyses will be applied to a large sample of texts taken from English language newspapers in Britain and in China to highlight areas of interesting difference. These areas will then be examined qualitatively.

1.6 Conclusion

I aim, by combining a rigorous analysis of texts in Chinese and British newspapers with evidence of differences in the cultural and other constraints acting upon the journalists who write for them, to develop a quantitative/ qualitative approach to language – particularly discourse – analysis which could ultimately be applied to newspapers from other cultures to throw light upon the constraints acting upon journalists there. The quantitative element of the analysis will be based upon the functional systematic grammar of MAK Halliday and others, and will be used to highlight areas of interesting linguistic difference between the two sets of texts being studied. A

qualitative approach to analysis drawn from existing models will then be used to examine those areas of difference further.

The approach I suggest will inevitably, since the subtleties of linguistic variance are almost infinite, fail to take account of a host of factors about cultures and schemata, and the way they affect language use by the people living within them.

I believe, however, it will be at least a useful starting point for easier interpretation of the world's media and the different cultures within which they operate.

CHAPTER TWO

The Background to Hallidayan Systemic Theory

2.1 Introduction

As explained in the previous chapter, my ultimate aim in this thesis is to show how a functional systemic approach to language analysis – particularly discourse analysis – when applied to analysis of newspapers from different cultures, can be used to throw light upon the social and cultural constraints acting upon journalists there. If systematically applied such an approach, I hope to show, could make easier and more reliable the interpretation of the world's media and the messages, conscious and non-conscious, that they carry. It could also, I believe, shed useful light on the societies and cultures within which those media are produced.

Before developing such an approach, though, it is important to fix the intellectual background against which my own work will be conducted. This I intend to do in the next three chapters. As already explained, one of the principal influences on my work will be the systemic functional approach to language analysis developed by MAK Halliday. In this chapter, I plan to focus on the background to Halliday's linguistics, showing how his broad systemic theory developed out of movements such as the London and Prague schools and the development within those schools of the concepts of the 'metafunctions' (Theme/ Rheme, Mood/Residue and Transitivity – see Chapter 2.4). In Chapter 3 I will move away from the realm of pure linguistics to that of applied linguistics, giving a broad overview of the development of discourse analysis and looking at the contributions of linguists such as Halliday, Hasan and Labov among others to the development of discourse analysis. In Chapter Four I will look in more detail at Halliday's systemic functional approach to text-level linguistic analysis, as well as Labov's work on evaluation – another approach to discourse analysis on which I will draw for my own work.

Before any of this, however, I want first to go right back to the beginning, and look at how the first attempts in the western world to understand what was happening when we used language led to the development of grammar. I also want to look at how, in the last century, a growing recognition that the prescriptive traditional grammars based upon Latin which had held sway for centuries did not tell the full story of what was going on when we used the English language led to the development of new, descriptive grammars – functional grammars such as Halliday's among them.

2.2 Traditional English Grammar and Functional Grammar

2.2.1 Traditional English Grammar

This study is concerned with an approach to analysis of the English language. In what follows, then, I confine my discussion to a history of the development of English grammar.

The development of the English grammar system has a long history, stretching right back to the work of early Greek and Roman philosophers and linguists and the Latin grammars their studies of language ultimately produced. The following account of how traditional English grammar developed from those early beginnings is drawn mainly from Lyda E. LaPalombara's book *An Introduction to Grammar – Traditional, Structural, Transformational* (1976).

As early as the fourth century BC, according to LaPalombara, Greek philosophers were intrigued by the phenomenon of language. Concerned primarily with large questions about the nature of human beings and their universe, and working on the assumption that there must exist certain deep and eternal universal truths, these philosophers turned to the study of language in the hope that there they might discover the answer to some of life's great mysteries. The earliest known motives for language study may, then, have been philosophical rather than practical.

That the earliest Greek philosophers sought the answers to eternal questions in language seems odd today, but may have had something to do with the fact that they appear to have regarded language (meaning, to them, the Greek language) as a divine gift to the human race. Plato, who devised, says LaPalombara, what is possibly the first word classification system in the western world, may have questioned the divine-origin theory of language, but he nevertheless appears to have been influenced by some such notion. It may have been because he believed in the universal (and hence in some sense 'divine') 'rightness' of words, LaPalombara says, that Plato concentrated his philosophical attention on the analysis of words and their meanings. (LaPalombara, 1976:3-5)

Years later, when the centre of Western civilisation had shifted from Greece to Rome, Greek learning came to influence nearly every facet of cultural Roman life, including the study of language. When Roman scholars wrote their first Latin grammars, they patterned them after the earlier Greek models. This was possible because both Greek and Latin were highly inflected languages with many grammatical similarities. The two Latin grammarians whose work has since exerted the most continuing influence were Donatus (about AD 350), who wrote one book on parts of speech and another, *Arts*

Minor, in which he summarised the "basics" of Latin grammar; and Priscian (about AD 500), who wrote an eighteen-volume Latin grammar. In fact, LaPalombara says, Roman grammarians came to regard it as their sacred duty to preserve the purity of Latin from whatever decay the vernacular might impose: to correct the corrupt practices which had already taken place, and to stand guard, in general, against future language deterioration. Thus, by the end of the Roman period, "polishing" language had become a major responsibility of the grammarian. It should come as no surprise, then, that this attitude influenced language study in the centuries that followed. (LaPalombara, 1976:6-7).

The medieval period was traditionally characterised by historians as one in which scholarship suffered a severe decline and during which few new ideas were generated. In the second half of the twentieth century, however, LaPalombara says, linguistic research produced evidence that the situation in medieval times was not nearly so bleak as had been thought. It was during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, for example, that Peter of Spain (later to become Pope John XXI) became interested in philosophical questions such as the grammatical and semantic implications of different meanings attributable to a single word or expression. Peter detected an important difference between what he called the *significatio* and the *suppositio* of a word. In other words, he recognised that a name like "Max" means two quite different things in the two sentences: "Max is the dog's name" and "Max is scratching his fleas."(LaPalombara, 1976:8-10).

The Renaissance scholar Sanctius, a sixteenth century Spanish classical scholar whose book *Minerva* (published around 1587) was for many years considered the standard work on Latin grammar, believed that all languages, despite their superficial differences, were simply varied developments of a single universal set of underlying principles which were common to all human language. Noam Chomsky, according to LaPalombara, suggested in *Language and Mind* (1968) that it was Sanctius' theory of ellipsis which most interested the seventeenth century rationalist grammarians and influenced their thinking. (LaPalombara, 1976:11- 12).

In the seventeenth century, philosophers found themselves divided into two schools, the "rationalists" and the "empiricists," which were to have a profound influence on linguistic thought. The rationalist position was based on the philosophical writings of Renè Descartes, who held that certain human abilities, capacities, and ideas were innate. Although Descartes was willing to grant that everything humans learned came *in part* from their experiences, he argued that the acquisition of knowledge was determined by certain abstract, "built-in" principles present in every normal person from the moment of birth. The empiricists, on the other hand, whose earliest standard bearers were John

Locke and David Hume, insisted that everything humans came to know – including language – was entirely explainable as sense-oriented, "learned" behaviour. The empiricists were adamant in denying the existence of innate ideas or germs of ideas. This controversy became so important that it dominated the thinking of scholars in many disciplines, including linguistics, for several decades. (LaPalombara, 1976:12- 13)

English grammar study began during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One of the earliest of these studies was a work in Latin by John Wallis in 1653. Wallis was a prescriptivist and authoritarian who wrote his grammar rules as though English were Latin. Even though few current histories of the development of English grammars mention Wallis, LaPalombara says, his dictatorial "rules" of English grammar significantly influenced the earliest English vernacular grammars, such as those written by Lowth and Johnson.

By the eighteenth century, even though there was now a rich body of literature in vernacular English and the English language itself had developed into a thriving world language thanks to the efforts of English explorers and colonists, no one had yet bothered to write an English vernacular grammar. Belatedly waking up to the importance of English as a world language, English language scholars began to write a few grammars of the English language at the beginning of the century. It wasn't until the middle of the eighteenth century, though, that the first widely respected English dictionary and the first detailed vernacular English grammar were published: Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), and Bishop Robert Lowth's *A short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762). These men, says LaPalombara, seem to have thought of themselves as missionaries who set out to rescue the English language from the abuses to which it as being subjected: much as Roman grammarians had sought to protect the Latin language 1300 years earlier. It is not surprising, says LaPalombara, that those who wrote these first English grammars should pattern them after the rules of Latin. As members of the privileged, educated class, they had themselves spent years being trained in the prescriptive, formal rules of Latin grammar. The result was a number of serious distortions. But hardly anyone at the time, says LaPalombara – or indeed for a long time to follow – seems to have noticed or to have seriously protested. So dominant did this 'prescriptive' approach to grammar become that the term "traditional grammar" came to refer exclusively to such a brand of schoolroom grammar. Reinforced by figures like the nineteenth century American schoolmaster Goold Brown, this traditional pedagogical grammar held sway over the classrooms of England and America for more than a century

while the prescriptivist approach remained basically unquestioned. (LaPalombara, 1976:20- 21)

In the latter part of the twentieth century, however, thinking about what a grammar should seek to do began to change, according to NF Blake (Blake, 1988:3). Traditional grammar is indeed a method by which it is possible to break down language into small parts so that the make-up of the language can be studied. However, because of its prescriptive nature, traditional grammar sought to do more than make it possible for language to be studied: it sought to set out rules for what was correct or incorrect in the language and lay down rules of usage which speakers of the language must follow. This is the methodology and approach to language whose origins, as we have seen, can be traced back to the classical period and which was almost universally taught in England until well into the twentieth century.

By the end of the twentieth century however, says Blake, there was a growing dissatisfaction with the prescriptive nature of such traditional grammar, and a growing recognition that there was a need for a descriptive as opposed to prescriptive grammar – one which describes the actual usage of a language by analysing what is spoken or written, rather than one which attempts to prescribe rules for usage of language. (Blake, 1988:1-2)

2.2.2 The development of functional grammar

From the latter half of the twentieth century onwards, then, there have been moves to develop a number of systems of descriptive grammar. Functional grammars are just one type of these new 'descriptive' grammars.

Many of the new grammars, while descriptive in the sense that they do attempt to analyse what is actually going on in language that is used rather than laying down rules for how it should be used, are nevertheless still formal in the sense that the patterns of language use they study are seen as internal to that language itself, and not determined by the function the language is being used to fulfil, or the context in which it is being used. There is no attempt to look for patterns in language that relate to the context in which a piece of language is produced, and to how people attempt to make meanings.

A functional grammar is a type of descriptive grammar that does attempt to do this. It is a grammatical model based on the kind of functional view of the nature of language discussed in Chapter 1.2. I do not, at this stage, intend to give a detailed account of functional grammar, but want simply to provide an initial definition of what a

functional grammar is and how the concept of a functional grammar developed, to make clear the way in which it differs from traditional grammar.

A functional grammar seeks to identify patterns in language that describe how we actually use language within particular contexts to make meanings, influence people and affect the world we live in. John Sinclair in his introduction to the 1993 *Collins Cobuild English Grammar* (which describes itself as a functional grammar) puts it well:

> "People who study and use a language are mainly interested in how they can do things with the language – how they can make meanings, draw attention to their problems and interests, influence their friends and colleagues and create a rich social life for themselves. They are only interested in the grammatical structure of the language as a means to getting things done. A grammar which puts together the patterns of the language and the things you can do with them is called a functional grammar." (Collins, 1993:iv)

For too long, Sinclair says in his *Cobuild* introduction, there has been a 'credibility gap between a grammar and the language that it is supposed to describe'. "Many of the rules seem too abstract to apply to actual examples. There is no room to show how the strong structural patterns can be varied and developed to allow users greater freedom of expression'. Functional grammars attempt to do this, and to recognise 'important correspondences between structure and function'.

The first attempt to develop a functional grammar, according to Siewieska, was presented in Simon Dik's 1968 book *Coordination.* (Siewieska, 1991:xiii). A more comprehensive account of the proposed framework appeared ten years later as Dik's *Functional Grammar* (Dik, 1978).

Functional grammar is characterised by Dik, Siewieska says, as a general theory of the grammatical organisation of natural language based on a functional view of the nature of language. It is a sentence grammar envisaged as part of a wider theory of verbal interaction and ultimately as a sub-component of a model of a natural language-using system in which the human linguistic capacity is linked to epistemic, logical, perceptual and social capacities. The functional orientation of a functional grammar is a key feature permeating all facets of the structure and workings of such a grammar – including the choice of language facts to be described, the natures of the descriptive apparatus and most importantly the range and form of explanations proposed for the observed language data and the suggested analyses of these data. Dik places his functional grammar firmly within the functional paradigm of linguistic theory, which he opposes to the formal paradigm as

represented by mainstream American linguistics, in particular the grammatical tradition of Chomsky and his associates. (Dik, 1978:1-2, Siewierska, 1991:1)

One of the most striking aspects of functional grammar for linguists or students schooled in the formal tradition is the radical difference in the nature of linguistic argumentation and particularly in the type of information utilised in the construction of linguistic explanations. In formal approaches linguistic explanations are framed with reference to the hypothesised system of semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological rules – the grammar – which, rather than the language, is considered to be the proper domain of linguistic inquiry. A typical explanation consists of demonstrating that a given phenomenon can be subsumed under or derived from a principle or rule, which has already been established as belonging to the rule system. Functional explanations, on the other hand, refer not to the grammatical system or even to the language that the grammatical structures define, but to the extra-linguistic factors affecting language use.

Dik (1986:9-10) traces the form of functional explanations to the following functional prerequisites:

a) the aims or purposes for which natural language expressions are used;

b) the means by which natural languages are implemented; and

c) the circumstances in which natural languages are used.

Given that the functional paradigm takes communication to be the primary function of language, type a) explanations in the Dik system involve the representational and relational aspects of the utterance bearing on the distinctions between directives, imperatives, interrogatives, declaratives, expressive, etc. Type b) explanations refer to the physiological and psychological constraints imposed on language use, where the physiological constraints concern the limitations of the human vocal and auditory tracts and the psychological determinants may relate to matters of production, perception, comprehension, memorisation and acquisition. Explanations falling within type c) embrace the physical, socio-cultural and linguistic circumstances of use. By physical circumstances is meant primarily the features of the natural environment. Within the socio-cultural circumstances are distinguished factors such as prestige and stigmatisation; politeness and deference; and solidarity. Finally the linguistic circumstances refer to the presence of other languages in a given speech community.

Such a view of language – and the system of grammar based upon it – is clearly far removed from the traditional view of language espoused by the old, prescriptive

traditional grammarians. It is indeed a functional view of the nature of language. And it is within this functional tradition that the work of linguists such as MAK Halliday falls.

2.3 The background to systemic linguistics: Ferdinand Saussure and the London and Prague Schools

2.3.1 Saussure

Any account of the work of a modern functional linguist such as Halliday needs to be set against the background of linguistic thought from which his ideas emerge.

If anyone is to be called the founder of modern linguistics it is the great Swiss scholar, Ferdinand de Saussure, whose lectures (reconstructed from the notes of his students after his death) were published in 1915 as *Cours de Linguistique générale.* Crystal, in the 1991 edition of his Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, says Saussure's conception of language as a system of mutually defining entities was a major influence on several subsequent schools of linguistics, including the Prague School (see Chapter 2.3.4) Most of the theoretical distinctions Saussure introduced, Crystal says, have gone on to become foundations of linguistic study

Margaret Berry (Berry, 1975:23) describes Saussure as 'one of the greatest linguists of all times'.

Chief among the 'theoretical distinctions' Saussure identified in language is the distinction between what he called **langue** and **parole**. Saussure, says Berry, gave a musical analogy to explain the distinction between the two. He likened langue to a piece of music and parole to performances of that piece of music. Performances of a piece of music, he said, can vary markedly, yet underlying them all is something constant – the piece of music itself. The langue of a language, then, is the constant structure of the language underlying the parole, the actual utterances of that language made on particular occasions.

Other notions Saussure introduced which, as we shall see, had a profound influence on those areas of later linguistic thought which led to functional linguistics included the notions of **paradigmatic** and **syntagmatic** modes of organisation, where paradigmatic refers to the notion of choice of linguistic unit within speech or discourse and syntagmatic refers to the sequential characteristics of speech or discourse. Later linguists developed these notions into notions of **paradigmatic** and **syntagmatic axes** of organisation, sometimes known also as the (paradigmatic) **axis of choice** and the (syntagmatic) **axis of chain.** (Berry, 1975:51-52).

2.3.2 The London School

If Saussure can be described as the founding father of modern linguistics, Halliday's work can be seen more directly as perhaps the most important modern development of the ideas within the so-called 'London School' of linguistics. The founding father of this school – and, at one time, Halliday's teacher – was J.R. Firth (1890-1960), one of the formative influences on the development of linguistics in Great Britain. Firth's work was to have an enormous formative influence upon the work of Halliday.

The date of origin of the London School can be given as 1944, the year in which Firth acceded to the Chair of General Linguistics at the University of London. He held this position until his retirement in 1956, and his death in 1960 (in the words of R.H. Robins) marked "the end of an era in the study of linguistics in Great Britain" (Robins, 1961:191). It is, then, to Firth that we must turn for an initial explanation of Halliday's linguistic orientation.

From the time of his appointment to the Chair of General Linguistics until his death, Firth concerned himself mainly with the development of two new ideas, one concerning phonology and the other semantics. These ideas are the notion of prosodic analysis in phonology and of meaning by collocation in semantics. (Langendoen, 1968:49) Both of these ideas have come to be considered the hallmarks of London School linguistics today.

Firth, according to Christopher S Butler (Butler, 1985:5) saw himself as a phonologist standing at the culmination of a long line of British phoneticians and orthoepists, following the tradition of the great English phoneticians Henry Sweet (1845 – 1912) and Daniel Jones (1881 – 1967). Sweet is commonly regarded as the pioneer of modern phonetics, and his *Handbook of Phonetics* (Sweet, 1877) was of great importance in disseminating knowledge of the new science. He was concerned with practical as well as theoretical aspects of phonetics: his attempts to produce a standard system for phonetic transcription were related to issues in spelling reform and the teaching of language. Jones, too, insisted that phonetics should be rooted in the practical observation and transcription of speech sounds: his *Outline of English Phonetics* (Jones, 1918) and *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (Jones, 1917) have been used by countless language teachers the world over. (Butler, 1985:7).

Firth, then inherited from Sweet, Jones and their contemporaries a concern with the description of language for practical purposes, although he was insistent that linguistics should be considered an autonomous discipline, in that it should have its own

terminology and methodology rather than simply borrow these from other fields of academic inquiry.

Firth's own experience of Oriental and African languages, and that of his colleagues at SOAS (London University's School of Oriental and African Studies), was important in shaping his contribution to linguistics, and that of his successors in the London School. The work of the SOAS group, says Butler, was not hidebound by the preconceptions that were so common among linguists working solely on Indo-European languages. Furthermore, the languages with which they were dealing were well-established, thriving languages, with large numbers of speakers, so that any urgency in describing them arose, not from the fear of their extinction, but from the practical concerns of teaching languages such as Japanese, often for restricted purposes, during the Second World War (Butler, 1985:14). In this respect, the London School contrasted sharply with the American descriptivists, whose main concern was to describe the North American Indian languages that were on the verge of extinction. As Monaghan (Monaghan, J, *The Neo-Firthian Tradition and its Contribution to General Linguistics*, 1979:63) and Sampson (Sampson, G, *Schools of Linguistics*, 1980:27) have pointed out, this meant that while the American descriptivists felt a need to develop mechanical discovery procedures for the languages they were describing, Firth and his colleagues could afford to indulge in linguistic theory-building. (Butler, 1985:21).

These differences in background and motivation contributed to the considerable divergence in the views of the London School and of the American descriptivists, among whom Bloomfield was a leading figure. One of the main influences on Firth during the 1930s was his association with Bronislaw Malinowski, who was Professor of Anthropology at the London School of Economics. Indeed, to understand most of the important aspects of Firth's work, it is necessary to be acquainted with Malinowski's linguistic studies. Hasan (Hasan, 1964:7-13) traces the genesis of the Malinowskian element in Firth's thinking, especially the origins of contextual theory, which was the foundation of Firth's functional analysis of meaning as 'serial contextualisation'. Malinowski's work had convinced him that the language of a community could not be fully understood in isolation from its social contexts of use, and that the meaning of an utterance lay essentially in the use to which it was put. This notion of meaning as function in context (including the social context) was to become central to Firth's view of language. It is thus possible to discern an area of mutual interest for Bloomfield and Firth: both viewed meaning in terms of the situations in which language is produced. Where they differed was in the consequences they drew out from this view: for Bloomfield it

meant the rejection of the study of meaning as 'unscientific'; but for Firth it led to a position in which meaning was the cornerstone of linguistic theory. Firth also expressed opposition to the Saussurean brand of structuralism that dominated European linguistics at the time. Basically, Firth regarded Saussure's approach as too monolithic, himself preferring a model in which the concept of one huge, integrated supersystem for a language was replaced by a large number of individual systems set up for different environments. (Butler, 1985:23)

In summary, then, Firth's view of language was one in which meaning, viewed as the function of a linguistic item in its context of use, was paramount, and in which one very important type of context was the social context in which an utterance is produced. Linguistic patterning was described in terms of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, though the detailed approach differs in important ways from that of Saussurean structuralism. (Butler, 1985:26).

It was this view of language that Halliday inherited. Just as Firth's sociological orientation, derived from Malinowski, contrasted with Bloomfield's behaviourist, psychological bias, so Halliday's work can be contrasted with Chomsky's along a similar dimension. Halliday's primary interest is in language as a central attribute of 'social man', and his main aim is to account for the ways in which speakers and writers interact with their hearers and readers in social situations. An essential aspect of language for Halliday, as for Firth, is its meaningfulness, and this, as we shall see, permeates his linguistic models. Halliday also inherited Firth's concern with the practical applications of linguistic theory: indeed, the ways in which linguistics can contribute to such applied fields as stylistics, language in education, and artificial intelligence became one of his main interests (Butler, 1985:27).

2.3.3 Firth's view of language: language as a social phenomenon

"(The) most important influence on my own thinking came from my teacher J.R. Firth." (Halliday, in Benson J.D and Greaves W.S (ed.) 1982:2)

"The single most important notion in Firth's early writings is that of context." (Langendoen, 1968:37)

Since Firth's early phonological ideas will have very little connection with my work, I will here concentrate only on his semantic ideas. The central notion for Firth, as for Malinowski, was that of context of situation. In the same way as Malinowski, Firth defined context of situation as including the entire cultural setting of speech and the

personal history of the participants rather than as simply the context of concurrent human activity:

> "The central concept of the technique here sketched is the context of situation, in which, in a sense, whole stretches of personal biography and cultural history are involved, and in which past, present, and future all meet." (Firth, 1935a:18, in Firth, (ed.)1957c:18)

However, it seems Firth realised the impossibility of using this notion to provide semantic interpretation of sentences, recognising that sentences were "infinitely various" (Firth, 1935a:28). So, in the very same paragraph in which he expressed this recognition, he introduced a new notion, that of "typical" context of situation. By a typical context of situation, Firth meant that aspect of the social situation in which people happen to find themselves at a given moment – which determined the social roles each of them are obliged to play. Such a notion is at least not subject to the objection that nothing systematic can be said about it. Since for any individual the total number of social roles he must play is finite, the number of typical contexts of situation that he will encounter in life will also be finite. Firth then asserted that semantics is the study of speech in typical contexts of situation, and that semantics is the study of those speech styles that are appropriate to specific social roles that individuals play. (Langendoen, 1968:37)

Relatively little of Firth's teaching was published, but many of his ideas have been developed by a neo-Firthian group of scholars, whose main theoretician is Halliday(Crystal,1991:112). Firth believed that meanings were 'intimately interlocked not only with an environment of particular sights and sounds, but deeply embedded in the living process of persons maintaining themselves in society' (Firth in Palmer, 1968:13). He therefore proposed to 'study language as part of the social process' (Firth, 1950 in Firth,1957a:181). In this view, Firth was, as we have seen, strongly influenced by his association with Malinowski. In his own appraisal of Malinowski's work, Firth (1957c in Palmer, 1968:161) recognised that Malinowski was not himself primarily interested in elaborating a linguistic theory, and that his 'technical linguistic contribution consists of sporadic comments, immersed and perhaps lost in what is properly called his ethnographic analysis'. Firth's aim was to build Malinowski's concept of context of situation into a specifically linguistic theory. Thus, whereas Malinowski had viewed context of situation in essentially concrete terms, Firth considered it as an abstract schematic construct, 'a group of related categories at a different level from grammatical categories but rather of the same abstract nature' (Firth, 1950 in Firth, 1957a:182), which

was intended 'for application especially to typical repetitive events in the social process' (Firth, 1957b:176 in Palmer, 198).

Firth's approach to language has been largely ignored, especially in the USA, and those comments which have appeared in the literature have tended to be adversely critical. Criticism centres around Firth's wide-ranging interpretation of 'meaning' in linguistics, and his reliance on contextual determination. As Butler pointed out (Butler, 1985:25) Firth's works "were presented only programmatically, often obscurely, and almost never with the degree of rigour which we have come to expect of modern linguistics." Perhaps because of this it was left to Halliday to take up the task of using Firth's ideas on context of situation, on restricted languages and on system and structure, to build a linguistic theory in which the categories and their relationships would be made explicit. To what extent Halliday has succeeded in this task will, it is hoped, emerge from the following chapters.

2.3.4 The Prague School

Although standing in a clear line of descent from Firth and Malinowski, Halliday has also recognised the influence, on his own work, of other schools of linguistics. Perhaps the most important of these was Prague School linguistics, the subject of this section. But Halliday also claims points of contact with Hjelmslev's glossematics, Whorf's views on linguistic relativity, Lamb's stratificational grammar and Pike's tagmemics. For accounts of these systems, see Crystal, D, 1991 and Butler, 1985.

The beginning of Prague School may perhaps be dated by the first meeting of the Circle Linguistique de Prague, which took place on October 6, 1926. The circle was founded by Vilém Mathesius (1882-1946), a professor of English at Charles University, and included such linguists as Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetskoy (1890-1938). The 'Praguean' influence has been widespread and long-lasting. Its main emphasis lay on the analysis of language as a system of functionally related units, an emphasis which showed Saussurean influence. In particular, it led to the distinction between the phonetic and the phonological analysis of sounds, the analysis of the phoneme into distinctive features, and such associated notions as binarity, marking and morphophonemics. Since the 1950s, Prague School ideas have been received and developed, particularly with reference to the syntax, semantics and stylistics of English and Slavonic languages. Of particular note here is the formulation of a theory of **functional sentence perspective**,

wherein sentence analysis is seen as a complex of functionally contrastive constituents. (Crystal, 1991:147)

Two movements crucial in the shaping of present-day scholarship arose in nearby European cities under similar titles: the Vienna Circle and the Prague Linguistic Circle. Language was the central concern of both, but their approaches to it diverged considerably. The Viennese philosophers, inspired by natural science, emphasised the logical aspect of language and concentrated on syntax. Their aim was to construct a scientific language whose position would eliminate the previous errors of philosophy, which they attributed to the ambiguities of natural language. The Prague linguists' object of study was cultural phenomena, and so they stressed the pragmatic and semantic aspects of language in all of its functional heterogeneity. Language – the most versatile means of human communication – was studied under the mantle of semiotics, the general matrix of all cultural phenomena shared and exchanged by the members of a society. The monofunctional approach of the Vienna Circle dominated theoretical thinking in the first decades after World War II, but recent developments in all branches of scholarship are changing the situation.

Many of the Prague ideas are a unique combination of Eastern European formalism and Western European (particularly Saussurian) sémiologie, both of which served as either a direct or indirect basis of most of twentieth century structuralist-oriented intellectual thought. (Tobin, Yishai, eds.1988:3). Halliday appears to have drawn upon a number of basic concepts developed by the Prague school to develop his systemic theory and later functional grammar. But it is a notion put forward by Vilem Mathesius, one of the founders of the Prague Linguistic Circle in 1926, that appears most directly related to Halliday's later development of the 'metafunctions' of Theme /Rheme and so on (see Chapter 2.5).

Mathesius put forward in the course of his research into the Czech and English languages the notion of a binary division of a sentence with regard to its communicative functions, a division which differs from the traditional syntactic and logical division of the sentence into subject and predicate (Mathesius, 1928, reprinted in Vachek, ed. 1975). The two parts of the sentence he named the basis (*východiště*) and the nucleus (*jádro*). The basis is what the speaker is talking about and the nucleus what he is saying about the basis. The terms 'theme' and 'rheme' are now used instead of 'basis' and 'nucleus', respectively. The principal criterion, according to Mathesius, for determining which part of the sentence is the theme and which is the rheme is that of old and new information, which is of course tied in which the function of the sentence as an act of communication.

In what Mathesius calls objective word order (*porad objektvní*) the theme of the sentence is identical with the subject, and the rheme with the predicate. But in a sentence with a subjective word order (*porad subjektvní*) other elements other than the subject may occur as theme. The terms 'objective' and 'subjective' are perhaps best replaced by another major contribution to linguistic analysis by the Prague linguists – the concept of markedness. Objective word order is unmarked, while subjective word order is marked. The marked order is often used for purposes of expressing emotions, hence Mathesius' term 'subjective'.

Mathesius began to present his ideas even before the Prague Linguistic Circle was established. Articles on the subject were collected in a volume published in 1947 in Czech. In the late 1950's, the Czechoslovak linguist Jan Firbas introduced the set of terms which are universally used today – the theme and the rheme. The whole concept of this particular division of the sentence is known in English as functional sentence perspective.

There are today two general viewpoints concerning the definition of 'theme'. The first is the definition of theme in terms of the relative amount of information conveyed by the elements in the sentence, and the second in terms of position in the sentence. The first point of view is represented by Firbas and other Czechoslovak linguists working within the Prague School tradition, and the second principally by František Trávníček, several non-Czechoslovak linguists, and those, principally American, linguists who speak of topic and comment rather than theme and rheme. (Kurzon, 1984, in Tobin, Yishai (eds.) 1988:144).

Tranvtišek, in an article written in 1961, gives a three-point definition of theme. The theme is the sentence element "that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from the object and introduces the sentence thereby" (cited from by Firbas, 1964:267-279).

The first two points of his definition – that theme is the sentence element that links up directly with the object of thought and proceeds from the object – are not only idiosyncratic but also impractical as far as the present state of linguistics is concerned, and so will be set aside. The third point, however, that the theme is the initial element, is today the position taken by many linguists outside Czechoslovakia. It is the position argued by Halliday in his 1967 article on 'Transitivity and Theme' (Halliday, 1967) As we will see later, the theme for Halliday is the initial element in the clause (he does not extend his analysis to the complex sentence). Moreover, Halliday does not consider old information a necessary concomitant of the theme, as in the case with Mathesius, and more recently with Firbas and his colleagues. He in fact places old and new information

firmly within the field of intonation, which is closely linked to, but not identical with, the Theme-Rheme division. (Kurzon, 1984, in Tobin, Yishai (eds.) 1988:157). This division is central to the textual function of language – the third of Halliday's three functions of language, the other two being the ideational and interpersonal functions, which will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

2.3.5 The Birmingham School

The Birmingham School was established through the work of linguists such as Sinclair and Coulthard (see, for example, Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). It shares a common origin with the systemic functional approach developed by Halliday. Thus, both approaches largely derive from the socio-linguistic theory of JR Firth. However, where the Birmingham School has maintained its focus on discourse structure, Halliday's development of the systemic perspective led to more of a semiotic, meaning-based orientation in his work.

The pioneering contribution of the Birmingham School approach, according to Suzanne Eggins (Eggins, 1997:17) involved recognising discourse as a level of language organisation quite distinct from the levels of grammar and phonology. Distinct discourse units – as opposed to grammatical units – were identified for the analysis of interactive talk. These units were seen to be related in terms of ranks or levels, in which each discourse unit was made up of one or more of the 'units' below it. Thus, in Sinclair and Coulthard's 1975 study of classroom discourse, acts combined to make up moves, which in turn combined to make up exchanges. Above these came transactions, and finally lessons: the largest identifiable discourse unit in the classroom context. Their analysis sought to describe systematically the relationships between these discourse units and grammatical units such as the clause.

One of the major contributions of the Birmingham School was its work on specifying the structure of conversational exchange. Birmingham School analysts attempted to develop a general description, in functional-structural terms, of the exchange as the basic unit of conversational structure. Defining an exchange simply as 'two or more utterances' (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975:21) they suggested the classroom exchange involved three basic moves: initiation, response and feedback. Later refinements of this system to attempt to grapple with non-classroom situations resulted with a formula for analysis of conversation that recognised a minimum of two and up to seven elements of structure in a single exchange: opening, initiation, re-initiation, response, feedback, second feedback and close.

The model has some limitations, and has been the subject of later revision by thinkers such as Margaret Berry: but, as Eggins says, the Birmingham insights about the structure of discourse are valuable ones. I am not concerned in this paper with looking at the structure of discourse itself, in the sense that the Birmingham School is. I am concerned rather with the functional-grammatical features of language as they are displayed in discourse. Nevertheless, the Birmingham insights into rank and level do, as we will see later in Section 2.4, have interesting parallels with Halliday's attempts to develop a systemic grammar: a grammatical 'system of systems' in which it is functional grammar, rather than discourse, which is organised in ranks, units and levels.

As we have seen in this section, the importance of the London and Prague schools of linguistics – and in particular the latter's emphasis on functional sentence perspective – to the development of Halliday's functional systemic grammar was immense. The development of such a systemic grammar will be looked at in some detail in Chapter 2.5. Before that, though, it is important to put the development of systemic grammar within a context: the context of the overarching systemic theory of language, of which systemic grammar came to form a part. That is what I will attempt to do in the next section.

2.4 A Systemic Theory of language

2.4.1 What is systemic theory?

Margaret Berry, in her excellent introduction to Volume 2 of her *Introduction to Systemic Linguistics* (Berry, 1977:1-3), gives an admirably clear account of what systemic linguistics is all about.

She had already, in Volume 1, made the point that systemic linguistics had developed out of the kind of scale and category linguistics practised by Halliday et al in the early 1960s. (Berry, 1975:46-79). In the introduction to Volume 2, she sets out to summarise the main points made in Volume 1:

> "Language can be studied from a number of different points of view. Of all the aspects of language which it is possible to consider, systemic linguistics is most concerned with certain of the sociological aspects of language.
>
> When discussing the sociological interests of systemic linguistics, the key words are perhaps **behaviour**, **function**, **situation**. Systemic linguistics views language as a form of behaviour, as something we do. It views language as a form of behaviour that is functional, as something that we do with a purpose, or more often in fact with more than one purpose. It views language as

a form of functional behaviour which is related to the social situation in which it occurs, as something that we do purposefully in a particular social setting.

Systemic linguistics is interested in relating the internal organisation of language, the various kinds of patterning which language exhibits, to the functions of language and to the social situations of language. It is interested in showing which bits of which patterns are determined by which functions of language. It is interested in showing how the patterning varies in different social settings."(Berry, 1977:1)

Systemic linguistics, then, is a view of language which sees language as something we do, purposefully – and which attempts to relate the patterns found in language to the purposes and functions for which it is being employed and the social situations in which it is being employed.

It is, though, far more than this. In linguistics generally, the term systemic, as defined by David Crystal in his 1980 (revised 1991) *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, refers to 'a network of patterned relationships constituting the organisation of language'. (Crystal, 1980:342). In Hallidayan linguistics, though, Crystal notes, the notion of system has a special status. "'Systems' are finite sets of paradigmatically-related items functioning in classes. In the later development of this approach, systemic grammar, the notion of system is made a central explanatory principle, the whole of language being conceived as a system of systems..... Systemic grammar is concerned to establish a network of systems of relationships.... which will account for all the semantically relevant choices in the language as a whole." (Crystal, 1980:343).

Clearly, what we are dealing with here is something ambitious: an overarching view of language which attempts to subsume within it a number of different organisational systems covering a whole range of different aspects of language: but within an overall framework in which language is viewed as a form of purposeful behaviour where the patterns found in language are related to the reasons for which language is being used and the social context within which it is used.

To cater for the different kinds of patterning and the various aspects of situation which are to be related to each-other, according to Berry, systemic linguistics postulates a number of **levels** and **interlevels** of language, each with a number of subdivisions or **sublevels** (Berry, 1977:2). I will here, again drawing on Berry, give a brief summary of

how these levels and interlevels work, before moving on to consider how Halliday began to develop such a theory of systems from his earlier work on scales and categories.

According to Berry, systemic linguistics recognises three primary levels of language: **substance, form** and **situation** (see Table 1 below).

Substance is the raw material of language. It can be divided into **phonetic substance**, the sounds we use when we speak, and **graphic substance**, the symbols we use when we write (Berry, 1977:2).

Form is the way in which substance is organised into recognisable bits of a given language. For instance the bits of graphic substance, *a,a,i,y,p,l,f,r* can be organised into recognisable bits of English such as *fair play* or *play fair*. Form is subdivided into **lexis** and **grammar**. Lexis caters for the kind of patterning which operates between individual linguistic items such as *play* and *fair*. Grammar caters for the kind of patterning which operates between types of linguistic item such as verb and noun. The lexical patterns of *fair play* and *play fair* are alike in that they are composed of the same individual linguistic items. The grammatical patterns of *fair play* and *play fair* however are composed of different types of linguistic item: in the one case adjective + noun, in the other case verb + adverb. (Berry, 1977:2).

Table 1: The Levels of Language

SUBSTANCE		FORM		SITUATION
phonetic substance graphic substance	phonology graphology	Grammar Lexis	Context	thesis immediate situation wider situation

Cited from Berry, 1977:2

Situation is what it sounds like, the situation in which language is used. There are many aspects of situation. One way of subdividing situation is into **thesis, immediate situation** and **wider situation**. The thesis situation is the situation that the language is about. The immediate situation is the set of circumstances that actually apply when the language is being used. The wider situation is the set of circumstances that make up the background of the participants in the immediate situation. Thus, to give my own example, when Chinese President Jiang Zemin says 'The years heading into the 21st century form a crucial period for furthering Sino-Japanese relations' when meeting Yashuhiko Inukai, president of Japan's Kyodo News Service in Beijing (see Appendix 8.12), the thesis situation has to do with the relations between China and Japan, the immediate situation consists of Jiang's talk in the meeting with Yashuhiko Inukai in Beijing and the wider

situation includes Jiang's background as General Secretary of CCCP and also Yashuhiko Inukai's background and interests.

In addition to the three primary levels with their subdivisions, Berry says, systemic linguistics recognises interlevels that cater for the relationships between the primary levels. **Phonology** relates phonic substance to lexis and grammar. **Graphology** relates graphic substance to lexis and grammar. **Context** relates lexis and grammar to thesis, immediate situation and wider situation (Berry, 1977:3). A further discussion of the levels of language can be found in Chapter 4.

Systemic linguistics, as we saw above, seeks to relate phonological, graphological, lexical and grammatical patterns to function and situation. But there is another aspect of language with which it also concerns itself, Barry points out: that of choice. "At each point in a pattern we make a choice," she writes. "For instance in the graphological pattern *f* + *a* + *i* + *r*, *f* has been chosen rather than *p* or *h*. In the lexical pattern *fair* + *play*, *fair* has been chosen rather than *unfair*. In each case what has been chosen contrasts with what has not been chosen in such a way as to signal a difference in meaning." (Berry, 1977:3)

The notion of contrasting choices, then, is also important in systemic linguistics: this is not surprising given systemic theorists' view of language as a form of behaviour. Once more, Berry sums up neatly. Not only does systemic linguistics want to relate phonological, graphological, lexical and grammatical patterns to function and situation.

> "It also wants to relate contrasting choices at each level to function and situation. It is interested in showing what choices relate to which functions. It is interested in showing which options are available in which social settings, which options are most frequently chosen in which social settings." (Berry, 1977:4).

Summing up: systemic linguistics is a 'system of systems'. It is an overarching view of language – a kind of linguistic grand, unified theory, if you like – which attempts to subsume within it a number of different organisational systems covering a whole range of different aspects of language. It does this by positing the existence of inter-related systems or levels of organisation within language. But the patterns of organisation described by means of these levels or systems are not seen as being purely internal to language: they are irrevocably bound up with the view of language as function, as purposeful behaviour. Thus, in systemic linguistics, the patterns found in language and

the choices made when we use language are related to the reasons for which language is being used and the social context within which it is used.

No such ambitious theory of language can ever be simple. An entire book (or books) could be written about each of the many levels or sub-levels of language identified as part of the overall system. For now, though, it is sufficient to place Halliday's system of functional systemic grammar, which will be the principal source upon which I draw for the language analyses carried out later in this thesis, within the broader framework of systemic theory. Being a grammar, it naturally belongs to the second of the three primary levels of language, that of form. Being a functional grammar subsumed within an overall systemic theory of language, it equally naturally is bound up with the view of language as function, as purposeful behaviour in which the language choices made and the language patterns produced are related to our reasons for producing language and the context in which we do so.

2.4.2 The development and importance of systemic theory

Having set out as clearly as possible what systemic theory is, and how the kind of functional, systemic grammar which will be so important in this thesis fits within the overall systemic framework, it is worth now looking briefly at how such a systemic theory was developed, and why it is such an important approach to the understanding of language.

The influence of the Prague School (see Chapter 2.3.4 above), with its Saussure-influenced emphasis on the analysis of language as a system of functionally-related units, is clear. Halliday himself, though, chooses to acknowledge the debt he owes to London School linguists such as his former teacher JR Firth for the genesis of his 'system of systems'.

In a paper in *Readings in Systemic Linguistics*, 1981, edited by Halliday and JR Martin, he gives an account of where the term 'systemic' as used to denote his theory came from. "The name 'systemic' derives from 'system' in the technical sense in which this term was used by JR Firth," he wrote (Halliday, 1981:13). He then, in the following passage, quotes Firth himself before giving his own interpretation of Firth's words.

"'The first principle of linguistics' Firth wrote, 'is to distinguish between system and structure', - between function in a paradigmatic context and function in a syntagmatic context. System and structure are interpretative concepts for generalising about relations on these two axes respectively. Structures are set up to interpret syntagmatic relations; systems are set up to interpret paradigmatic relations'." (Halliday, in Halliday and Martin

(eds.) 1981:13). The notion of the vertical, paradigmatic layering of systems which became such a feature of systemic theory is clear here.

In a paper delivered at the Ninth International Systemic Workshop held at York University in Toronto, (printed as Halliday, 1982:1 in Benson and Greaves (ed.), 1985:1) Halliday went further in acknowledging his debt to Firth. "It is from Firth that the concept of 'system' is derived from which systemic theory gets its name," he wrote. "And unlike most of the other fundamental concepts, which were common to many groups of post-Saussurean linguists, particularly in Europe, the system in this sense is found only in Firth's theoretical framework." (Halliday, 1982, in Benson and Greaves, (eds.) 1985:2).

He then, in the same paper (Halliday, 1982:7-11 in Benson, 1985:7-11) attempts to summarise his developing systemic theory in seven points. Since these seven points give a valuable insight into his thinking, an edited and simplified version of them is reproduced here.

1) A language, Halliday says, is not a well-defined system, and cannot be equated with 'the set of all grammatical sentences', whether that set is conceived of as finite or infinite. Hence a language cannot be interpreted by rules defining such a set. A language is a semiotic system; not in the sense of a system of signs, but a systematic resource for meaning. Part of the synoptic representation of a semiotic system is an account of its structure, the organic part-whole relationships that are known in linguistics as **constituency**. In systemic theory, Halliday says, constituency is treated as a small, though essential, part of the total picture. What distinguishes systemic theory from philosophical theories of language, which tend to be formal and sentence-oriented, is that its basic form of synoptic representation is not syntagmatic but paradigmatic; the organising concept is not structure, but system (hence the name). Since language is a semiotic potential, the description of a language is a description of choice.

2) Constituent structure at the 'content' level is part of an integrated lexicogrammar (as distinct from syntax) seen as natural, i.e. non-arbitrary. There are two distinct, though related, aspects to this non-arbitrariness, one functional the other metafunctional. Firstly, every structural feature has its own origin in the semantics; that is, it has some function in the expression of meaning. Secondly, the different types of structure tend to express different kinds of meaning. Constituency is simply one type of structure, that which typically represents the experiential metafunction – the reflective component in what Halliday calls our meaning potential.

3) The heart of language is the abstract level of coding that is the lexicogrammar. A lexicogrammar is not a closed, determinate system; a fact which has three consequences for systemic theory and practice, Halliday says. First, grammar cannot be modelled as new sentences made out of old words – a fixed stock of vocabulary in never-to-be repeated combination. Secondly, the lexicogrammatical system of a language is inherently probabilistic. It has been readily accepted that the relative frequency of words is a systematic feature of language, but this principle has not generally been extended to grammatical systems; yet it is a fundamental property of grammar that, at least in some systems, the options are not equi-probable, and this can be built in to the representation of a grammatical network. Thirdly, grammar is indeterminate in the sense that there are often two or more possible grammatical interpretations of an item, each of which relate it to a different set of other items, thus making a particular generalisation of a paradigmatic kind.

4) A fourth assumption of systemic theory is that language is functionally variable; any text belongs to some register or other. The different kinds of situation that collectively constitute a culture engender different kinds of text; but if we understand the semiotic properties of a situation we can make predictions about the meanings that are likely to be exchanged, in the same way that the interactants make predictions, and in so doing facilitate their own participation. Much current (in 1982) work in systemic theory, Halliday wrote, was directed towards the construction of an adequate model of register and genre, taking into account the context of situation, the rhetorical structure of the text and the higher-level semiotic that make up the context of culture.

5) Systemic theory, Halliday wrote, accepts the Saussurean concept of how the system is represented by the observed *actes de parole* – the concrete utterances produced by individual speakers in actual situations. This, though, he said, had to be interpreted in a Hjelmslevian way; first within the framework of system and process, where the process (text) 'instantiates' the system, and secondly, with a distinction between instantiation and realisation, where expression is said to 'realise' content. The latter distinction, Halliday wrote, related to an organisation of the system in terms of levels. "The number of levels that we recognise, and the kind of relationship between levels, will tend to depend on the questions we are asking and the problems we are trying to solve."

6) It is general feature of semiotic systems, Halliday wrote, that they develop and function in a context, and that meaning is a product of the relationship between the system and its environment – where that environment may be another semiotic system. Systemic theory, he wrote, "has always been explicitly contextual, in both these senses, offering

contextual explanations for such problems as how children learn language from what goes on around them and how language provides a grid for the construction of models of experience."

7) Finally, given the tradition to which it belonged, Halliday said, it was to be expected that "those using systemic theory have tended to take a particularist rather than a generalist position with regard to linguistic categories."

(Summarised from Halliday, 1982:7-11 in Benson J, 1985:7-11)

One of the great values of systemic theory, Halliday seems to have believed – and it is a belief with which I concur – was that it was an approach to understanding language with real, practical implications: perhaps precisely because it was a systematic approach to understanding language which recognised language as a form of behaviour. In the same important 1982 paper quoted above, Halliday wrote that systemic theory was 'a way of doing things' with language. "If the English language permitted such extravagances I would name it not with a noun but with an adverb; I would call it 'Systemically'," he wrote. In an attempt to give a flavour of what systemic theory is about, he listed a number of the different things that could be done with language once it was understood 'systemically'. His list included:

- interpreting the nature, the functions and the development of language
- understanding the role of language in expressing, maintaining and transmitting the social system, in home, neighbourhood, school and other domains of the context of culture
- helping people to learn language, whether mother tongue or other languages, whether children or adults; and to use language effectively as a means of learning and in a variety of contexts of situation
- helping people to overcome language disorders, educational or clinical: 'slow learners', 'backward readers', aphasics, the mentally handicapped.
- understanding the nature of discourse, and of functional variation in language ('register'); studying particular types of discourse (classroom, medical &c.) for practical purposes such as the training of teachers and of specialists in the field
- understanding the nature of 'value' in a text, and the concepts of verbal art, rhetoric, and literary genres; gaining access to literature through the careful study of such texts

• using computers to analyse and generate discourse; developing a grammar for decoding and encoding, and a semantic representation to direct and interpret the grammar

• exploring a range of practical activities where language is involved: forensic issues, readability and complexity measures, communication in institutional settings and so on

• relating language to other semiotic systems and to the ideological patterns of the culture. (Halliday, 1982:2 in Benson, Ed, 1985:2)

Systemic theory, then, according to Halliday, is not only a way of thinking about language but also of working on language – and through language, on other things (such as a child's education). Thinking about language, he wrote in 1982, is also thinking about people, since there is no language other than in people's acts of meaning.

Having looked at systemic theory as a whole, it is important now to focus on the development within this framework of what, as we have seen, has come to be known as systemic grammar: an approach to understanding the structure of language which will be so important to my work in this thesis. This will be the subject of chapter section 2.5.

2.5 Towards a systemic grammar and the concepts of the 'metafunctions'

2.5.1 Early moves towards a systemic grammar

Interestingly, it was while working on the Chinese language that Halliday first began to develop the ideas that would ultimately lead to a systemic grammar for English. In his early paper *Grammatical Categories in Modern Chinese* (Halliday, 1956) a framework was provided within which the relationships between linguistic units could be handled in a consistent manner. At this early stage of the development of a systemic grammar, three basic grammatical categories were recognised: **unit**, **element** and **class**.

The **unit**, according to Halliday, was "that (grammatical) category to which corresponds a segment of the linguistic material about which statements are to be made." (Halliday, 1956:180). Halliday recognised five such units for Chinese: sentence, clause, group, word and character. To describe the units, Halliday set up **elements** that occupied places in the structure of particular units. At each place in the structure of a given unit operated a **class** of the unit next below, consisting of an exhaustive list of the forms that could occur at that place. For instance, at each place in clause structure would operate a class of the next lower unit, i.e. the group, and so on.

It should be noted that 'system' at this early stage was not a primary category of the theory. System was, in fact, regarded as secondary to class, in that "the system of terms operating at a particular place in the structure of a given unit is a system of classes of the unit next below." (Halliday, 1956:180, Butler, 1985:14).

The most comprehensive account of early Hallidayan theory is to be found in his paper *Categories of the theory of grammar* (Halliday, 1961). In this article, Halliday set out what he took to be the necessary characteristics of a general linguistic theory and also a theoretical model of grammar in terms of three **Scales** (of rank, exponence and delicacy) and four **Categories** (of unit, class, structure and system). The theory was held to consist of "a scheme of interrelated categories which are set up to account for the data, and a set of scales of abstractions which relate the categories to the data and to each other." (Halliday, 1961:243) It is these scales and categories that eventually, as we have seen, gave rise to systemic theory.

2.5.2 Scales and categories

In the 1961 *Categories of the theory of grammar* Halliday, as we have seen, recognised four categories (unit, structure, class and system) and three scales relating them (rank, exponence and delicacy). The following summary is taken largely from Berry's 1975 *Introduction to Systemic Linguistics Volume*, with further reference to Halliday's *Categories of the theory of grammar and* some help from Crystal's *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 1991 edition.

2.5.2.1 Unit and Rank

Units of grammar, according to Berry, are much like units of measurement. "For linear measurements we work with such things as yards, feet and inches, or metres, centimetres and millimetres. In grammar, we work with such things as sentences and words. In each case, the smaller units combine to form the larger units; or, to look at it another way, the larger units consist of the smaller units." (Berry, 1975:91)

The units of grammar, Berry says, include the sentence, the clause, the group, the word and the morpheme. Each can be identified in two ways; by the way in which it combines with other units to form larger units (thus clauses combine to form sentences) and by the combination of smaller units of which it itself is composed (the clause itself is made up of groups, words and morphemes at different levels of organisation). "In other words," says Berry, "it (the unit) can be identified by the part it plays in the structure of a larger unit and also by its own structure." (Berry, 1975:91)

Unit, under the scale and category system, then, is a category which denotes the size of a linguistic chunk. Since units are of different sizes, they can be arranged on a scale in order of their size. This scale is known as the **rank** scale. The simplest form of rank scale for English grammar is:

sentence

clause

group

word

morpheme.

A more sophisticated rank scale would include complex units such as the clause-complex (which would occupy a point on the rank scale between clause and sentence), the group-complex (between group and clause), the word-complex (between word and group) and the morpheme-complex (between morpheme and word).

A rank scale, then, is a hierarchical list of units arranged in order of size. The relationship between adjacent units is either a 'consists of' relationship if thinking downwards along the scale (clause consists of groups) or a 'constituency' relationship if thinking upwards along the scale (groups are the constituents of clause).

2.5.2.2 Structure and Delicacy

Structure is a category set up to describe patterns of syntagmatic relationship at the grammatical level. Structure is itself an abstraction. In Berry's words, "structures consist of places which are filled by occurrences of elements." (Berry, 1975:65).

Halliday gave the following examples, c.) – e.) below, to illustrate structure (Halliday, 1961):

c.) John	didn't read	the book	carefully.
d.) The woman	spent	fifty pounds	yesterday.
e.) My Father	was	kind	to everybody.

Clearly, there is some pattern that occurs in the first sentence that is observable in the second and third sentences also. The sentences are alike in three main ways. Firstly, each can be divided into four parts: it can be said to have a structure that consists of four **places**. Secondly, the elements which fill these places – *John*, *The woman* and *My father* – are alike in that each is playing the same part in its respective sentence: that of subject. Thirdly, each sentence consists of four **elements.** We could describe these as the four basic elements of clause structure, which Halliday labelled **S(ubject)**, **P(redicator),**

C(omplement) and **A(djunct).** Each sentence contains only one occurrence of each of its elements.

Delicacy in scale and category theory was a scale which referred to the degree of detail in which a structure was specified. Halliday distinguished between 'primary' structures – such as the various combinations of S, P, C and A in the clause – and 'secondary' structures. As an example of variation in structural delicacy, Halliday discussed briefly the structure of the English nominal group. The primary elements of structure here are M(odifier), H(eadword) and Q(ualifier). Examples f) and g) below give instances of each. At primary delicacy, both would have the same structure, namely MMMHQ.

f.) M M M H Q
all the ten houses on the riverside

g.) M M M H Q
the finest old house on the riverside

At secondary delicacy, however, the above structures can be shown to differ. There are, according to the theory, several types of modifier, recognisable by their distributional properties. Halliday distinguished in 1961 three categories of secondary delicacy: D(eictic), O(rdinative), and E(pithet). Instances of all three are given in the two examples f) and g), which at this level of delicacy can be seen to have differing structures. Thus the structure of f.) could be more delicately specified as DDOHQ, that of g.) as DOEHQ. In his later work Halliday added a fourth category, N(noun modifier), to account for modifiers such as 'stone' in 'the stone houses'.

2.5.2.3 Class

Class in Hallidayan linguistics is defined by Crystal in his 1991 edition of the *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* as 'any set of items having the same possibilities of operation in structure, eg the class of 'nominal groups' can operate as subject, object etc in clause structure' (Crystal, 1991:54). Berry gives a clear account of what Halliday intends by Class in *Introduction to Systemic Linguistics 1: Structures and Systems*. The formal language items which occur in sequences can, she says, be divided into classes, since any formal item is more likely to represent certain elements of structure – the four basic elements of clause structure which, as we saw above, Halliday labelled S(ubject), P(redicator), C(omplement) and A(djunct) – than to represent others. To illustrate this, she gives examples taken from a number of simple sentences:

h) Theodore opened the door politely

i) Some people sing operatic arias in the bath

j) The cat scratched Aunt Jemima by accident

k) These mistakes were very common last year

In the above examples, says Berry, the items *opened, sing, scratched, were* usually represent the clause element P (Predicator). They can therefore be grouped together as a class of language items which Berry calls, after Halliday, the 'verbal group'. Items which usually represent clause element A – such as *politely, in the bath, by accident, last year* in the sentences above – by contrast belong to the class of items known as the 'adverbial group'.

Thus the clause element P has a class of items which usually represent it, and so does A. The items in P's class are unlikely to represent any other element of structure: as are the items in A's class. Sometimes, though, Berry points out, there is quite a lot of overlap between the items of one class and the items of another. Most, though not all, of the items in the class which represents the element S are equally likely to represent the element C: and vice versa. Of the following items – *very common, Theodore, the door, some people, operatic arias, the cat, Aunt Jemima, these mistakes* – only *very common* is much more likely to represent C than S. All the others are just as likely to represent S as C and vice-versa. The items which represent these elements are therefore fused into a **cross-class**: the cross-class of items representing S and/ or C being called the 'nominal group'.

The class of an item, then, Berry says, is, like sequence, one of the clues which enable us to recognise the element of structure that the item is representing in a given stretch of language. In both 'John congratulated Theodore" and "Theodore congratulated John" we recognise that *congratulated* represents the clause element P – and we do so partly from the fact that *congratulated* is a verbal group, ie a member of the verbal group class of items. (Berry, 1975:138)

Halliday, however, insisted that the distinction between classes and elements of structure was a crucial one in linguistic description. A structure, he said, was a set of relations, and the elements of structure were the values defined by those relations. The class, on the other hand, was a set of items which took on or 'realised' those values. "Thus the class 'nominal group' 'realises' the element 'Subject'; the class 'verbal group' 'realises' the element 'Predicator'. We shall use the term 'realisation' to designate the relation between a structurally defined value, such as 'Subject', and whatever it is that

assumes that value, in this case a particular class, that of 'nominal group'. (Halliday, in Halliday and Martin (eds.) 1981:29)

2.5.2.4 System

The notion of system used in early Scale and Category grammar is defined by Crystal as 'a finite set of paradigmatically related items functioning in classes'. (Crystal, 1991:343) In the later development of Halliday's systemic grammar, as we have seen, the notion of system was made a central explanatory principal, the whole of language being conceived of as a 'system of systems' At this early stage, though, system was still one of the four central categories recognised by Halliday's Scale and Category theory. The category of system was set up, in Halliday's own words, to account for 'the occurrence of one rather than another from a number of like events' (Halliday, 1961:264).

Again, Berry (1975) gives an admirably clear definition. "Systems are lists of choices which are available in the grammar of a language," she wrote. "A system … is a list of things between which it is possible to choose." (Berry,1975:142-143).

The English language has many systems – many such 'lists of choices'. Berry describes a few of them:

- the system of **number,** where the choice is between singular and plural
- the system of **person,** with the choice between first, second or third person
- the system of **gender,** with the choice between masculine, feminine and neuter
- the system of **polarity,** with the choice between positive and negative
- the system of **tense,** with the choices between past, present and future
- the system of **mood,** with the choice between **declarative** (making a statement), **interrogative**, (asking a question) and **imperative** (giving a command)

The items within a particular system, says Berry, have distinct and distinguishable meanings, but they all have something in common: they belong to the same area of meaning. "Singular and plural are distinct but they both have to do with number. Past, present and future are distinct, but they all have to do with time….Singular and past do not have an area of meaning in common. They belong to different systems." (Berry, 1975:144).

There are three essential characteristics of systems, Berry adds. First, the terms in a system are mutually exclusive, so that the selection of one precludes the selection of

another (if something is singular, it cannot at the same time be plural; if positive, it cannot be negative). Second, a system is finite. It is possible to fix a limit to the size of the list of grammatical choices which makes up a system, such that all the terms which are mutually exclusive with each-other are included while any terms not mutually exclusive with those in the system are excluded. Third, the meaning of each term in the system depends on the meaning of the other terms in the system, and a change in the meaning of one term will change the meanings of the others. As an example, Berry cites the system of number in English. Modern English has two terms in its number system, Berry says, singular and plural. Old English had three, singular, dual and plural. The term plural thus has a different meaning in modern English to that it had in Old English. It now means 'more than one'. In Old English, it meant 'more than two'.

In the later development of Halliday's systemic grammar, as we have seen, the notion of system became a central explanatory principle, with the whole of language being conceived of as a 'system of systems'. Halliday himself identified a number of systems as his work on systemic grammar proceeded, each of which essentially focussed on a different area of linguistic choice. These systems included the systems of Theme and of Transitivity, which will be central to this thesis. (See Chapter 4 for a further discussion of Theme and Transitivity)

2.5.2.5 Exponence

The scale of **exponence** is what brings the various elements of the Scale and Category theory together. It inter-relates the elements of the theory to each other and to the linguistic raw data they are set up to account for. Thus Crystal, 1991, gives the example of the lexical item *boy* which is an instance of (an exponent of) the class of nouns.

2.5.3 Towards a deep systemic grammar

In his Scale and Category theory Halliday had already begun to develop many of the approaches to an understanding of language which foreshadowed the model most naturally referred to as 'Systemic Grammar'. The mid-1960s saw an important shift in the emphasis of his work, which was ultimately to lead to the emergence of such a grammar.

By the mid-1960s, linguists had begun to realise that an examination of surface patterning in language was insufficient and that in order to provide a satisfactory account of many phenomena it was necessary to probe the 'deeper' aspects of linguistic

patterning. Thus Chomsky (Chomsky, 1964, 1965) proposed a 'deep structure' for sentences, which provided information for semantic interpretation, and was related to the 'surface structure' by a series of 'transformations'. Halliday, too, was aware of the need for a more abstract approach to the grammar, although the path he took was very different from Chomsky's, being based on the concept of system as representing deeper paradigmatic relations than had hitherto appeared in his work (Butler, 1985:137). I shall now consider this important development in the concept of system.

System rose from its humble beginnings in the 1956 article on Chinese, to become one of the four principal categories of the Scale and Category model. In the 1961 version of the model, systems appear to be regarded as single sets of choices available at particular places in structure. In the 1960s, however, the concept of system was developed further. The paradigmatic patterning of language begins to be described in terms of sets of system, or of a system 'network', operating with a particular rank of unit, and sometimes a particular class of a given rank, as their 'point of origin'. Certain types of system network are selected from at clause rank, others operate at the nominal class of their unit group, and so on.

The organisation of systems into networks became possible once the concept of delicacy was extended from structural relations (see section 2.5.2) to systemic relations. (Halliday, 1964a in Stuart, 1964:11-24. Reprinted in part in Halliday & Martin, 1981:21-28; Halliday, 1966b:110-118)

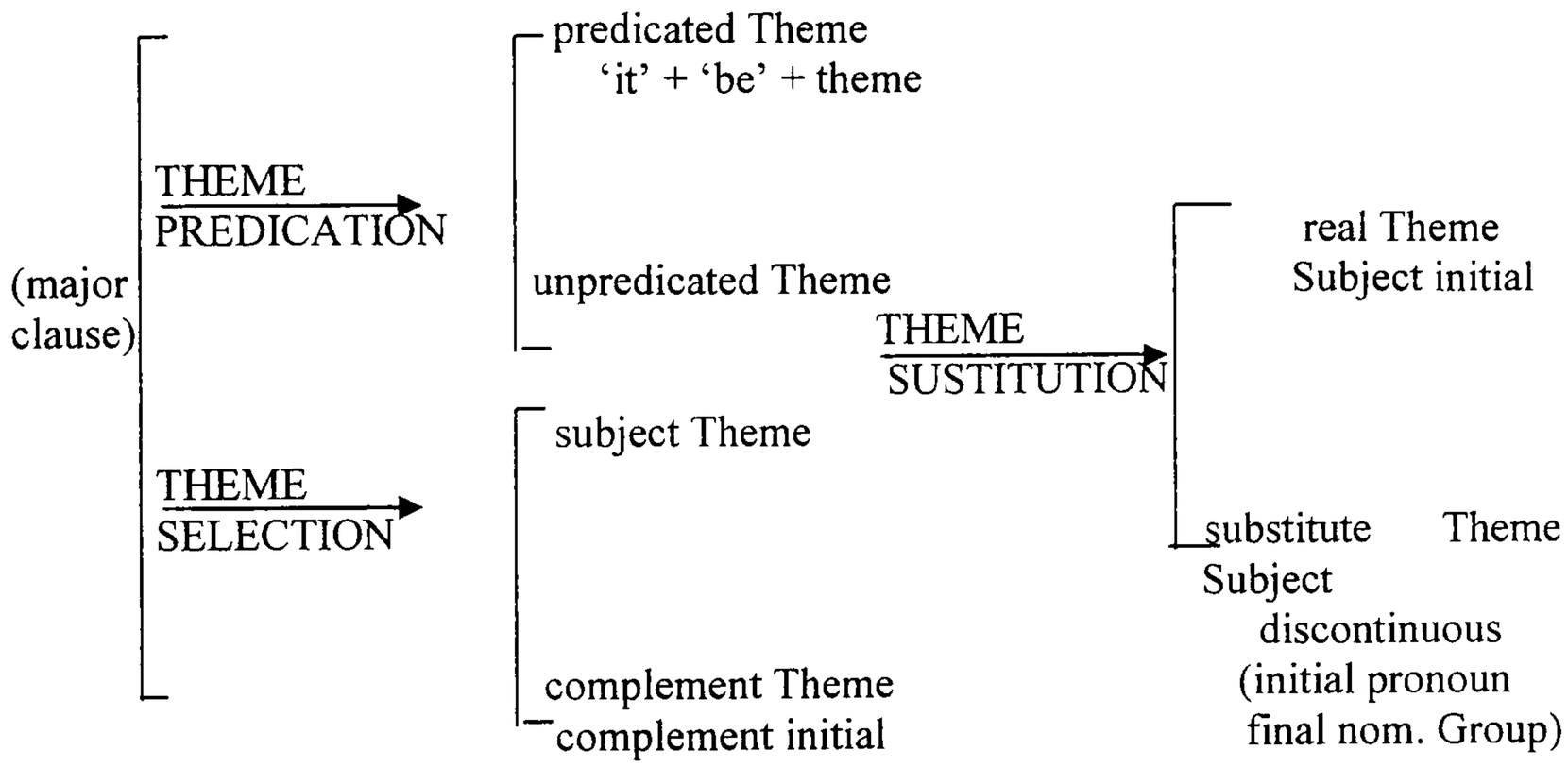
Delicacy ordering of system is of two major kinds: simultaneity and dependence. Two (or more) systems are simultaneous if choices must be made independently from the systems concerned. Thus the systems of Mood and Transitivity (see Chapter Four) can be said to be simultaneous with respect to the item *would say* in 'I would say if I could'. Under the system of Mood, the item *would say* is identified as a modal, but at the same time it can be identified under the system of Transitivity as a verbal process. Dependence, on the other hand, occurs where systems are hierarchically ordered in terms of delicacy, and choice of a particular term within a 'later', more delicate system is only possible if the class of terms to which it belongs was chosen from an 'earlier', less delicate system. Thus in Figure 2, Network of Mood, the 'system of interrogative clauses' is dependent upon the earlier, less delicate 'system of indicative clauses' since an interrogative clause can only be an indicative clause, never an imperative clause.

I shall now briefly look at two examples of system network illustrating the various possibilities for delicacy ordering. The system network in Figure 1 below is based

on Halliday's early account (Halliday, 1964a) of 'theme' in the English clause, concerned with the function of clause-initial elements (see further discussion in Section 8.2-3).

The 'point of origin' for this network is specified as the major clause, that is, a clause containing a predicator. There are two simultaneous systems at the least delicate end of the network: independent choices are made between **predicated** and **unpredicated** Theme, the former being realised by 'highlighting' of the element concerned by means of the 'it' + 'be' + relative clause construction; and they are made between subject or complement as the initial, 'Thematic' element. (Adjunct Theme is also possible, but is not catered for in the network below).

Figure 1: A network for Theme



This gives four initial possibilities, illustrated in Halliday's examples given as sentences 1-4 below.

1. The Smiths are having a party this evening. (subject Theme, unpredicated)
2. It's the Smiths that are having a party this evening. (subject Theme, predicated)
3. A party the Smiths are having this evening. (complement Theme, unpredicated)
4. It's a party the Smiths are having this evening. (complement Theme, predicated)

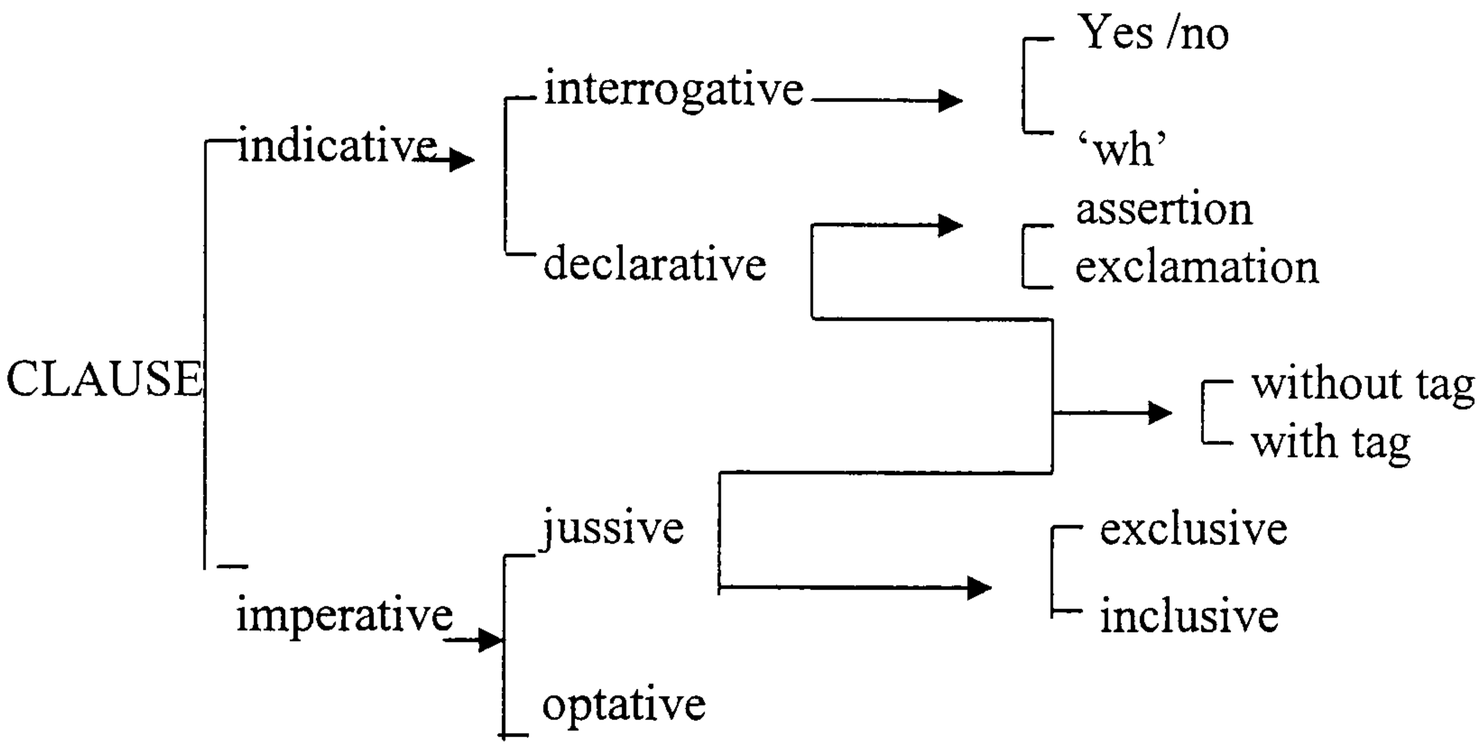
As Halliday points out, sentence 5 below has the same systemic description as 1, up to the point in delicacy given by the two simultaneous systems so far discussed.

5. They're having a party this evening, the Smiths.

We can, however, differentiate between 1 and 5 if we propose a further system of 'Theme substitution', entry to which is dependent on the selection of both 'unpredicated Theme' and 'subject Theme' from the initial, simultaneous system. 1 then has 'real Theme', with the subject initial in the clause, while 5 has 'substitute Theme', the subject being discontinuously realised as a pronoun ("they") in initial position and a nominal group with a noun as head ("the Smiths") in final position.

For an example of disjunctive complex dependence we turn to a network for the 'Mood' options of English, which were inserted in a collection of Halliday's papers. (Kress, (ed.), 1976) Further discussion of the system of Mood can be found in Chapter 4.

Figure 2: Network for Mood



The network in Figure 2 again illustrates the notion of point of origin (here, 'clause'), simultaneity and simple dependence. A clause is either 'indicative' (having an expressed subject) or 'imperative' (having no expressed subject). Clauses which are 'indicative' go on to select either 'interrogative' or 'declarative'. Interrogative clauses are either 'yes / no' (polar interrogatives) or 'wh' (introduced by wh-words such as 'who', 'what', 'where'); declarative clauses select either 'assertion' or 'exclamation'. Clauses with the feature 'imperative' can be either 'jussive' or 'optative', the latter type having non-permissive 'let' and a non-second person nominal. Jussive imperatives are either 'exclusive' or 'inclusive', the latter being realised as 'let' plus a second person pronoun (that is, 'let us' or 'let's'). The disjunctive entry condition to the 'without tag / with tag' system expresses the generalisation that declarative clauses (whether assertions or exclamations) or jussive clauses (whether exclusive or inclusive) can, but need not, have a tag. Examples of the combinations of features permitted by the network (not provided by Halliday) are given below.

6. Did Mike go to Sheffield? (yes /no)
7. Who went to Sheffield? ('wh')
8. Mike went to Sheffield. (assertion, without tag)
9. Mike went to Sheffield, didn't he? (assertion, with tag)
10. What a long time Mike stayed in Sheffield! (exclamation, without tag)
11. What a long time Mike stayed in Sheffield, didn't he? (exclamation, with tag)
12. Come to Sheffield. (exclusive, without tag)
13. Come to Sheffield, will you? (exclusive with tag)
14. Let's go to Sheffield. (inclusive without tag)
15. Let's go to Sheffield, shall we? (inclusive with tag)
16. Let him go to Sheffield. (optative – non-permissive interpretation of 'let')

2.5.4 Function and metafunction

From about 1967 onwards, the concept of deep paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations became linked with what was to become a key feature of Halliday's theory, namely the postulation of 'functional components' of the grammar. Halliday (Halliday, 1968) observed that the multiple functions of language had often been referred to in the literature, for example in the work of Malinowski, in the classification of function by Bühler (1934) into 'representational', 'expressive' and 'conative' types, and in the development of Bühler's classification by the Prague School linguists. What was needed, though, he said, was a functional theory which, rather than being directed towards sociological or psychological investigation, was intended to illuminate the internal structure of language itself, explaining why language is patterned as it is, and not in one of the many other possible ways. It was in this sense, primarily, that Halliday used the term 'functional' in formulating a theory of language.

Halliday's claim was that the grammar of a language was itself organised along functional lines. Specifically, the claim was that "when we examine the meaning potential of the language itself, we find that the vast numbers of options embodied in it combine into a very few relatively independent 'networks'; and these networks of options correspond to certain basic functions of language." (Halliday, 1970b: 142).

In his earliest exposition of the theory (Halliday, 1968:14) Halliday recognised four functional components of grammar, which he called experiential, logical, discoursal and speech-functional or interpersonal. Later there was a certain amount of renaming: the experiential and logical were seen as subsumed under the label '*ideational*' and the discoursal component was renamed as '*textual*'. Only the '*interpersonal*' component

remains. Halliday referred to these different types of meaning – the ideational, textual and interpersonal – as **metafunctions** and argued that they were systematically coded into the content plane from the point of view of both system and structure (Martin, 1992:37). We will further discuss the metafunctional components of grammar in Chapter 4.

No single one of these metafunctions is considered by Halliday as more basic than any other, nor as more abstract. "It is not necessary to argue that one function is more abstract, or 'deeper' than another; all are semantically relevant." (Halliday, 1970b:165) Halliday's emphasis on the equal importance of the non-ideational aspects of language function contrasts with the attitude prevalent among the more traditional approaches, viz. the primacy of 'cognitive' meanings. In Halliday's scheme, the construction of an utterance involves simultaneous selection of options from all the functional components.

At the rank of clause, the relevant options are those in transitivity (ideational), mood and modality (interpersonal), and theme (textual). We shall discuss Halliday's accounts of these in Chapter 4; a very brief summary will therefore suffice at this point. Transitivity is "concerned with the type of processes expressed in the clause, with the participants in this process, animate and inanimate, and with the various attributes and circumstances of the process and the participants' (Halliday, 1967b:38). In the area of mood 'the principal options are declarative, interrogative (yes/no and wh-types), and imperative, etc'. (Halliday, 1970b:160). Modality, closely related to Mood, is concerned with the expression of degrees of probability. The area of Theme, as we saw from the network given in Figure 1, is concerned with the structuring of the clause as a message. It is closely linked to, though distinct from, a second kind of information structuring, into 'given' and 'new' information, as signalled by intonational means in English. (Butler, 1985:100-106).

2.6 Conclusion

I have, in this chapter, attempted to place Halliday's linguistic system against the background in the development of linguistic thought out of which it grew; and have shown how Halliday's system itself was developed.

In Chapter 3 I will look at the field of discourse analysis: an area of applied linguistics in which concepts such as Halliday's metafunctions are applied to analysis of texts at the discourse level.

I will begin with an account of what discourse analysis is, before looking at a number of approaches to discourse analysis, some of which draw upon Halliday's ideas. My discussion of discourse analysis will include mention of the work of the Birmingham

School which, within Britain, has been important in incorporating many of Halliday's ideas into practical analysis of discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

Discourse Analysis

3.1 Introduction

Discourse analysis is the study of the use of language for communication in context. It is a rapidly-expanding field which is characterised by proliferating analytical methods and continuously renewed tools. It is not confined to linguistics alone, but embraces a broad range of disciplines from sociology to anthropology and from education to psychology among others. In all these fields, the analysis of language used for communication in the context in which it is used can throw up valuable insights.

But it is with the discipline of linguistics that I am concerned here. And, as we shall see, discourse analysis has also built a significant foundation for itself in linguistics – theoretical, descriptive and applied. (Georgakopoulou, & Goutsos, 1997).

In this chapter I aim first to discuss developments in the field of written discourse analysis, answering questions such as "what is discourse?", showing how written discourse analysis developed and looking at various approaches to the analysis of discourse. I will show how my own research falls firmly within the field of written discourse analysis, and will identify a number of approaches to the analysis of discourse that will be used in the course of this work, explaining why I have chosen to use some approaches to discourse analysis rather than others. I will then move on in the next chapter to describe in some detail the main discourse analytic approaches I intend to use.

I will begin this chapter by looking at the concept of the sentence boundary, and the importance it has had in the development of modern linguistics.

3.2 Linguistics and the sentence boundary

While all linguists would agree that human communication must be described in terms of at least three levels - **meaning, form and substance,** or **discourse, lexical-grammar** and **phonology** - there are disagreements over the boundaries of linguistics. (Coulthard, 1987:1)

For many decades, linguistics was a purely formal discipline, concerned with the study of syntax and structure, but not with the study of meaning or context.

Among those who challenged this purely formal approach was the great linguist J.R. Firth. As long ago as 1935 he was urging linguists to study conversation. In

conversation, he said, 'we shall find the key to a better understanding of what language is and how it works.' (Firth, 1935, in Firth 1957a:7-33) Inherent in this was the notion that part of the way to achieve a better understanding of what language is and how it works was by studying it in use.

That was well over half a century ago: and yet still the serious study of language at the discourse level – that is, of language used as communication and studied in context – is really only just beginning. In fact much of the latest work on discourse is being undertaken not by linguists but by sociologists, anthropologists and philosophers. (Coulthard, 1987:3). Why?

Some part at least of the answer is that there were for many years limitations built into linguistic theory that made it difficult to work on discourse from inside the discipline. These limitations included the emphasis, mentioned above, on linguistics as a purely formal discipline, concerned with the study of syntax and structure. Part and parcel of this was the early theoretical restriction of linguistics to relationships within the sentence. Aspects of discourse that operated at any level above or beyond the sentence level were not seen as the proper field of study for linguists.

The American linguist Leonard Bloomfield typified the approach that saw linguistics as a purely formal discipline. In the 1930s, Bloomfield led linguistics away from any consideration of meaning to a concentration on form and substance, by observing that linguists 'cannot define meanings, but must appeal for this to students of other sciences or to common knowledge' (Bloomfield, 1933:79). Bloomfield contended it was no concern of linguistics to explain how identical utterances could have different functions in different situations, nor how listeners correctly decoded the intended message. Such matters should be left to others, he said.

The concerns were still pre-eminently with the formal features of language when in the second half of the twentieth century that other great American linguist Noam Chomsky emphasised how the proper field of study of linguistics was the sentence. In 1957, Chomsky wrote: 'The fundamental aim in the linguistic analysis of a language L is to separate the *grammatical* sequences which are sentences of L from the *ungrammatical* sequences which are not sentences of L and to study the structure of the grammatical sequences' (Chomsky, 1957:54). In arguing the independence of grammaticality from meaningfulness Chomsky produced the most famous example of 'nonsense' in linguistics - 'colourless green ideas sleep furiously'.

Chomsky held that the meaning of language was to be found only within language itself – entirely independently of context. Traditional grammar examined how elements of language combined to make a sentence. As far as Chomsky was concerned, therefore, in the study of linguistics no relationships beyond the sentence existed. According to this view, the only way to make a semantic interpretation of a text would be if all the sentences of the text were conjoined into a single supersentence. (Chomsky, 1957:55) There is no room here for discourse analysis at all.

A different reason for urging linguists to hold back from discourse was that the kinds of relationships that are involved once we go beyond the sentence are different from those that operate within sentences. For example, it could be argued that stylistic relationships have little in common with the relationships of ordinary grammar; and that therefore they are perhaps a property of speech that linguists cannot and should not be concerned with.

Of course, restriction of a field is an essential prerequisite for any kind of scientific thinking. Bloomfield, Chomsky and other linguists like them should not therefore be too harshly criticised for making a clear distinction between what they chose to talk about and what they laid aside. Nevertheless there was a school of linguistic thought quite opposed to the formalism of the Bloomfields and Chomskys.

Even as early as the 1930s researchers such as J.R.Firth were calling for a study of language in use. Language, Firth argued, was fundamentally 'a way of behaving and making others behave'. Ultimately, according to this view, the linguist must concern himself with the 'verbal process in the context of situation'. (Firth, 1935, in Firth 1957:7-33). For Firth language was only meaningful in its context of situation; he asserted that the descriptive process must begin with the collection of a set of *contextually defined* homogeneous texts. The aim of description was to explain how the sentences or utterances were meaningful *in their contexts*.

In recent decades, this way of thinking has gradually begun coming into its own. More and more linguists have shifted away from a purely linguistic study of language (i.e. the study of language which is independent from the context in which it is used.) to the study of language used in certain contexts. In particular the media, which provide an important context in which language is used as well as being intrinsically interesting, have drawn more and more attention from researchers of various disciplines.

3.3 Moving beyond the boundaries of sentences: discourse, text and context

Progress in scientific thinking often involves re-defining boundaries. In linguistics, there was a re-definition of the notion of grammar that did away with its traditional limitation to sentences. There was a new trend towards the study of language in use instead of in form: the study of discourse rather than of sentences.

Discourse analysis, as a study of language use beyond the sentence boundaries, began attracting multidisciplinary attention in the early 1970s. Now an established discipline, it has developed into a variety of approaches motivated by a wide range of interests and orientations. In sociology, for example, analysis of language, under the name of ethnography of communication, provides insights into the structuring of communicative behaviour and its role in conduct of social life. Ethnomethodology, as developed by Garfinkel (1967, 1972), is concerned primarily with discovering the underlying processes which speakers of a language utilise in order to produce and interpret communicative experiences, including the unstated assumptions which are shared socio-cultural knowledge and understanding. (Bhatia, 1993:3)

Examples of suprasentential analysis within linguistics also began to appear. Among these was Halliday and Hasan's work on cohesion (see Sections 3.4 and 3.5.4 of this chapter for further discussion) and Jim Martin's work on factual writing in which, in the course of developing an approach to the teaching of writing in the classroom, he looks at discourse as a whole and examines the way in which people put sentences together into texts that are coherent and appropriate to their context (Martin, 1985).

The nature of discourse analysis and the various approaches to discourse analysis will be the subject of this chapter. First, though, it is important to answer a question that is fundamental to any discussion of discourse analysis. The question is: what is discourse?

We have already briefly defined discourse analysis as the study of the use of language for communication in context. But what segment of language constitutes a discourse? What is the relationship between sentence and discourse? And what is the difference, if any, between the concepts of **discourse** and of **text**?

As a widely used concept in many different disciplines, discourse has various definitions. So far the greatest attention to discourse within the field of modern American linguistics has been paid by scholars of the so-called Tagmemic School, which developed in the middle 1950's under the stimulus of Kenneth L.Pike. Pike's most fundamental contribution to discourse studies was his insistence that certain items of human behaviour

can be taken as culturally given. They are recognisable to those who participate in them, and often to bystanders who understand the cultural systems involved, as having a definite beginning and end. Behaviour that is characterised thus by **closure** is Pike's starting point for the analysis of both verbal and non-verbal behaviour. The **behavioreme**, as he calls such a segmentable chunk of behaviour, has an internal structure, so that successive segmentations of the behavioreme lead to the units of a grammar, again either verbal or non-verbal. (Coulthard, 1977:7)

Pike's 1954 characterisation of discourse as a verbal behavioreme is a good starting point for considering what discourse is. Like any other behavioreme, a verbal behavioreme is a culturally recognised entity with a beginning, an ending and an internal structure. Even when it is not immediately obvious to an analyst what the beginning and ending signals are or how the internal structure fits together, it is possible to find speakers from the cultural context within which the behavioreme is used who do, and who can corroborate it as a discrete unit. That evidence can then be used to build general models of discourse.

Therefore, in our everyday life, we engage in discourse in a multiplicity of roles. When we write a letter to a friend or an essay for a course, pick up the telephone, visit our local shop or the doctor or look up a word in a dictionary, we actively engage in discourse as speakers and hearers, or writers and readers. In these activities, we continuously produce and interpret discourse. Every human act that involves language necessarily makes use of texts in context. Using language is thus synonymous with engaging in discourse (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 1997:4).

The ubiquity of discourse in language and human life accounts for the central role of the notion in many disciplines. At the same time, the development of a specialised branch of linguistics to study discourse is, for reasons discussed above, a rather recent phenomenon. At the beginning of the 1980s, van Dijk and Petèfi (Cited from Dijk, & Petöfi,1981 by Greertz, 1983:32) remarked that 'both the humanities and the social sciences are progressively discovering the discourse dimension of language, language use and communication'. Since then, discourse has become a central object of study in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, history, sociology, information science, psychology and psychotherapy, education, neurolinguistics, semiotics and philosophy. The scope of 'discourse' has thus been widened, as can be evidenced, among other things, by the broad use of the basic term associated with it, namely text. As Greertz notes, text has been extended to cover things as distinct as 'Apache jokes, English meals,

African cult sermons, American high schools, Indian caste or Balinese widow burning' (Greertz, 1983:32, Georgakopoulou, & Goutsos, 1997:4).

A different notion of discourse appears in social science. Here the term has been mainly employed in studies of ideology to signify "all the non-verbal as well as the verbal construction of meanings occurring in the wider sphere of 'ideological' practice" (Macdonnel, 1986:4). More a theoretical given than an analytical concept, discourse has been viewed here from a wide range of perspectives.

This social science conception of discourse, if not in disagreement with, takes an explicitly different standpoint from the way the notion is used in discourse analysis, the discipline concerned with the systematic study of discourse. As a sub-discipline of linguistics, discourse analysis primarily regards discourse as consisting of language complexes that are to be studied in their own terms. Thus, it is more concerned with the ways in which socio-cultural and ideological practices take effect in language. At the same time, discourse analysis is a cross-discipline and, as such, finds itself in interaction with approaches from a wide range of other disciplines. Discourse analysis is thus an interdisciplinary study of discourse within linguistics.

The terms *discourse* and *text* have been used in a variety of ways in the literature. In some cases the two terms have been treated as synonyms, while in others the distinction between discourse and text has been taken to apply to units of spoken versus written communication. Consequently, discourse analysis is, in some accounts, regarded as concerned with spoken texts (primarily conversation). Text-linguistics, as a different discipline, has mainly been associated with written texts. But in the view of Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1997:3) "the terms do not refer to different domains (speech and writing) but reflect a difference in focus. Discourse is the umbrella term for either spoken or written communication *beyond the sentence* (my italics)." Text is the basic means of this communication, be it spoken or written, a monologue or an interaction. Discourse is thus a more embracing term that calls attention to the situated uses of text: it comprises both text and context. However, text is not just the product of discourse, as customarily assumed (cf. Brown, & Yule, 1983:7), that is, the actual (written or spoken) language unit produced on the page. Text is the means of discourse, without which discourse would not be a linguistic activity.

But what constitutes a text? And what is the relationship between a text and the way people communicate with each other? If we observe language in use, we will find that linguistic communication is not achieved by individual units of language such as

sounds, words or sentence. People, primarily and essentially, communicate through combinations of these language units, which themselves constitute distinct units of expression. It is these combinations of language units we call texts. We can, therefore, say that people, when using language, communicate through texts.

An objection could be raised here. If texts are the units of linguistic communication, how do the following instances of language (taken from Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 1997:1) which consist of single words, phrases or sentences manage to constitute acts of communication?

(i) Help!

(ii) Meeting in Progress.

(iii) Kilroy was here.

These are certainly examples of an isolated word, a phrase and a sentence that can be (and have been) used in communication through language. However, there is more to them than we can see at first glance, Georgakopoulou and Goutsos say. First of all, if examples (i) to (iii) are real instances of language in use (and not, for example, abstract illustrations of notions discussed by linguists), they appear in a specific material form that may vary:

1. they may be a desperate cry of agony or a mild request;
2. they may be printed in thick letters on a sign or appear in the agenda of a meeting;
3. they may be scribbled on a wall or typed in neat letters in a novel.

We thus have to clarify which particular instantiation we have in mind when we talk of linguistic communication through these pieces of language. Furthermore, these instances could be produced by a different speaker or writer: a student or a business secretary, a pop singer or a housewife. Similarly, they could be received by different audiences: a fellow student or a concert-hall crowd, a passer-by or a class of students. The activity in which the participants are involved as well as the setting of communication would then also vary accordingly. As a consequence, in each case we would have to do not with abstract linguistic units but with wholes of language, intentions and situations. These wholes that can combine speech, writing, gesture, posture and so on and integrate linguistic organisation and action can be defined as texts. (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 1997:1)

A further objection arises here. It is this: is every combination of language units in use a text? The answer is that only meaningful combinations of units constitute texts: which immediately raises the question, what does 'meaningful' here mean? Meaning derives first from the rules of a specific language which suggest that only some combinations of sound (phonemes) and form (morphemes) are possible, namely the syntax and semantics of a language. More, however, is needed. Consider the following combination of well-formed sentences:

(iv) Excuse me, could you please tell me where Fulford Road is?

(v) Thank you so much.

'Thank you so much' is not by any means the answer you would expect from a stranger in the street when asking him for directions. In such a context, the combination of the sentences in this sequence would not be meaningful because it would fail to perform the act of giving directions. This leads us to a fundamental tenet of our linguistic communication, which is that not only do we say things with language; we also do things, we perform actions. The identification of the **speech acts** which we perform is a prerequisite for establishing meaning in communication. The philosopher Austin (1962), who systematically looked at what speakers do with language, started off from clear examples of speech acts:

(vi) I name this ship Aurora.

(vii) I pronounce you husband and wife.

(viii) I find the accused guilty as charged.

Such examples occur in ritual and ceremonial settings and, when uttered by authorised individuals, they are capable of bringing about a new state of affairs, of saying and doing at the same time. (See further discussion in Section 3.5).

Text, then, is the means of discourse, without which discourse would not be a linguistic activity. It is a meaningful whole that can combine speech, writing, gesture, posture and so on and integrate linguistic organisation and action. By taking text as the basic unit of analysis, we assume that it can be considered as an autonomous unit, an entity that has some unity or self-sufficiency, "a single unified construction" (Fowler, 1981:14). This assumption partly stems from the notion of text as a concrete, material record of the process of communication. As a record, every text has discrete limits (beginning and end) and constitutes a self-contained whole. (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 1997:2)

From the text-linguistic perspective, text is both the upper and the lower limit of analysis. This means that discourse analysis is not interested only in the internal construction of sentences, or the combination of morphemes in discourse, but subsumes the analysis of such 'lower units' within the study of texts as a whole; and in longer texts, within the study of those texts at the sentence level and above. Thus, in discourse analysis, the internal structure of a sentence will be seen as a part of the structure of the text as a whole: something related to the internal structure of other sentences within that text and to the relationship between the sentences in that text, and also to the functional organisation of that text as an act of communication.

We have arrived, in the course of this section, at working definitions of discourse and text. In my own work I will use the following, taken from Labov, as a definition of discourse: a discourse is a functional unit which is not the grammatically defined clause or sentence, but which may be realised by a single clause or sentence, or more than one clause or sentence. (Labov 1972:128)

I will now consider the nature of discourse analysis itself: and in particular that branch of discourse analysis with which I will be most concerned in this paper: written discourse analysis.

3.4 Written Discourse Analysis

Having arrived at a working definition of discourse, we now have to ask what is discourse analysis? Discourse analysis is widely recognised as one of the most vast, but also one of the least defined, areas in linguistics (e.g. Stubbs, M, *Discourse Analysis*, 1983; Tannen, D, *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*, 1989a). The best way to answer the question as to what discourse analysis is is to compare it with another area of linguistics: grammar.

Grammar (or syntax, as it is sometimes called) deals with the structure of individual sentences. For instance, the rules of English grammar tell us that if some English words are combined as in example (1) below, they form an acceptable English sentence:

(1) In the first 11 months of last year, procuratorial departments of China dealt with more than 10,000 drug-related cases (see Appendix 8.33 CA No33).

The rules of grammar tell us that if we combine these words differently, as in (2), they do not form an acceptable English sentence:

(2) Dealt with, procuratorial departments of China more than 10,000 drug-related cases, in the first 11 months of last year.

Grammar then is about how words combine to form sentences. We can say that structure here applies to the part-whole relations as they appear in the sentence, and the limited number of possible configurations. Structure thus refers to the forces that keep the sentence together in a certain configuration. Some people think that grammar is about how to write and speak properly, so that 'correct grammar' would enable us to say things like 'I am a student' rather than 'I is a student.' Such a prescriptive grammar may be very useful in the classroom; but in linguistics, where presumably our focus is not on trying to lay down rules about how people *should* speak and write but describe how they actually *do* speak and write, a more prescriptive approach may be more useful.

A discourse is a stretch of language that may be longer than one sentence (see also Raphael Salkie, *Text and Discourse Analysis*, 1997:27-29). Thus discourse analysis is about how sentences combine to form texts – or, in cases where a text consists of a single sentence, how that sentence by itself manages to constitute a text. Since discourse analysis operates at text-level, a sentence grammar will not be of use in the analysis of discourse unless it is part of a discourse grammar, because at the level of text certain factors are needed for the understanding of elements in sentences that are not available within those sentences themselves but only elsewhere in the discourse. (Sanders, 1970:83). For example, we have to look at more than isolated sentences in asking functional questions about language, such as how do people use language and how is language structured for use? If we take single, random sentences from the text cited in Chapter 1, such as:

(3) Last year, the nations commemorated the 25th anniversary of the normalisation of the relations.

(4) Yashuhiko said he was pleased to meet Jiang.

(5) This year marks the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Japanese treaty of peace and friendship.

it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to determine the motivation for writing. Similarly, from the writer's point of view, it would have been almost impossible for him to achieve the desired goals through a single sentence.

Sentences (1) to (5) above show that while there are rules for ordering a sentence, even 'correct' sentences, when viewed from the discourse level, have little meaning in isolation. The interesting question that arises now is: are there 'rules' for combining sentences within discourse that in some way equate to the 'rules' for combining words and sentence elements within a sentence, such that when those rules are not followed the discourse becomes almost meaningless? One way to check this is by rearranging the normal order of sentences in a text.

A.

(6) A girl aged 12 appeared to freeze in panic as her bicycle hurtled towards the edge of a cliff in the French Alps, an inquest was told yesterday.

(7) Other members of a British holiday group screamed at her to brake, but she went straight over the edge.

(8) Charlotte Selby, an only child from Silkstead, near Winchester, was with a friend's family on a mountain-bike expedition near the ski resort of Meribel when she clipped the back wheel of another bicycle and found herself freewheeling for 40 yards past the rest of the group to a curve in the path. (See Appendix 7.13)

B.

(7) Other members of a British holiday group screamed at her to brake, but she went straight over the edge.

(8) Charlotte Selby, an only child from Silkstead, near Winchester, was with a friend's family on a mountain-bike expedition near the ski resort of Meribel when she clipped the back wheel of another bicycle and found herself freewheeling for 40 yards past the rest of the group to a curve in the path.

(6) A girl aged 12 appeared to freeze in panic as her bicycle hurtled towards the edge of a cliff in the French Alps, an inquest was told yesterday.

We can see that the analogy of texts with sentences holds in some ways but falls in others. Whereas some ways of ordering sentences within a discourse seem more probable than others – we certainly find it easier to grasp the meaning of the whole of the above discourse when the constituent sentences are organised as in A rather than as in B – we cannot say that there is an impossible combination. Nevertheless, A is clearly preferable, and is the sentence order with which most people would be likely to feel most comfortable. Why?

In order to find the sentence order with which most people agree we rely on relationships between linguistic elements within the discourse, such as that between *a girl* in (6) and *her* in (7) above. This relationship is such that it suggests sentence (7)

should follow (6), since the pronoun *her* refers to something most would agree must already have been mentioned, namely *a girl*. Similarly, the relationship between the elements *a girl* and *Charlotte Selby* imply that (8) should also follow (6), since it is a generally accepted 'rule' of discourse that we would not use the indefinite article *a* to refer to an object (here the girl, Charlotte Selby) already specifically identified. If a sentence containing the element *Charlotte Selby* had come first, subsequent sentences would have used the definite article *the* to refer to *the girl*.

Clearly, for a text to make sense, sentences that define situation and circumstance must generally come before sentences that simply refer to those situations and circumstances without defining them. The result of this structuring is seen in the **semantic relations** between elements such as *a girl* and *Charlotte Selby*.

These relations, achieved through links between grammatical and lexical items, could be called the forces of unity in text. They are the relations that we rely on when ordering the text so as to 'glue' one sentence to another.

These semantic relations are called **cohesive ties** by Halliday and Hasan in their classic study, *Cohesion in English (*Halliday, & Hasan, 1976). Cohesive ties are the forces that keep the text together in the original order and are also what we manipulate when we try to regain a text's meaning after a reordering of its sentences. Halliday and Hasan distinguished the following types in analysing the general phenomenon of cohesion in English.

- Reference: the use of pronouns (*A girl, she, her* in above text), demonstratives, comparatives and the definite article to indicate the semantic identity of an item with another: *Pencey Prep is this school that's in Agerstown, Pennsylvania. You probably heard of it.*
- Substitution: when an item like *one, same, do, so, not* is used for another, in the case of a different referent: *I've heard some strange stories in my time. But this one was perhaps the strangest of all.*
- Ellipsis: when a zero element appears to link to a previous part of the text: *John bought some carnations, Catherine O some sweet peas* (ellipsis of bought).
- Conduction: the use of connective forms such as *and, because, otherwise, or, though* to indicate semantic relations: *Otherwise I would have taken some action.*

- Collocation: the presence of lexical ties such as repetition, synonymy, antonymy and metonymy (the name of a referent is replaced by the name of an attribute as in the example below) to establish a link: *Can you tell me where to stay in Geneva? I've never been to the place.*

As can be seen from texts A and B above, cohesive ties may operate within the boundaries of the sentence. Cohesive ties also may be **anaphoric** or **cataphoric**, that is, an item may relate to something that has gone before or point forwards to something that follows. For instance, *the rest of the group* in sentence (8) points back to *a British holiday group* in sentence (7) (anaphoric link). There is a rich literature distinguishing other types of cohesive ties (e.g. **endophoric** and **exophoric**) and making fine classifications according to individual cases. We should particularly notice that, in Halliday and Hassan's view, cohesion in text is largely responsible for giving a text its 'texture', that is, its property of being a text.

Cohesive ties are an example of one form of discourse structure operating at a level beyond the sentence boundary. It is with structures such as these that discourse analysis concerns itself. As we saw earlier, discourse analysis is a technique adopted by a wide range of disciplines within the field of social and human sciences. What differentiates the analysis of discourse within linguistics from the same practice in other social and human sciences is, essentially, the access to discourse through texts rather than through other semiotic systems like artefacts, systems of beliefs, or even a social and cultural organisation as a whole. Although the study of texts may be a central concern of other disciplines, it does not constitute what Georgakopoulou and Goutsos call the axis of their founding assumptions, as is the case with discourse analysis.

These assumptions, which specify what we can call the text-linguistic perspective to discourse, include the following (From Georgakopolou & Goutsos, 1997:5):

(i) The basic unit of analysis is text.

(ii) The focus of examination is the language of text.

(iii) Text is structured.

(iv) Texts are meaningful language units, which primarily derive their meaning from their situated use.

(v) There are no privileged texts, but only authentic, attested texts can be the basis of analysis.

To sum up, discourse analysis, according to Brown and Yule, is fundamentally concerned with the 'general principles of interpretation by which people normally make

sense of what they hear and read' (Brown, & Yule, 1983:x). The job of discourse analysis is to portray the structure of suprasentential text or social transaction by imposing some framework upon the data, explicitly or implicitly. It should also offer us a characterisation of how participants in discourse go about the process of interpreting meaning. However interpretation is not simply a matter of individual, mental activity. In trying to derive a text's meaning, language users actually relate the text to the situation, environment or context in which it is found. We can never fully interpret a text, say Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, without taking its context into consideration, even if we consider its coherence to be a function of the intentions of text-producer and text-receiver. (Georgakopoulou, & Goutsos, 1997:15)

Finally, discourse analysis is committed to an investigation of what language is used for, and it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms 'independently of the purposes or functions that those forms are designed to serve in human affairs' (Brown & Yule 1983:1).

3.5 Different Approaches to Discourse Analysis

Discourse has been accepted as a part of linguistics only recently by many linguists, for the reason that it operates at a level above the sentence. Nevertheless, discourse analysis is now an increasingly popular and important area of study – both on its own and for what it can tell us about language, following Malcolm Coulthard, to distinguish two broad approaches to discourse analysis: one concerned mainly with issues of form, and one with issues of function. To quote Coulthard directly:

> "One (is) concerned with sequential relationships, the other with interpretation; the one working for "rules" which will capture generalisations about intersentential structure wherein the "function" or "value" of the utterances is in a sense taken for granted, the other working for "procedures" where "function" or "value" is not based on intuitive understanding of the utterances in question, but a matter of negotiative process among a variety of contextual factors all of which taken together lead to the establishment (or the revelation) of specific social relationships between the interlocutors..... Rather than providing rules to account for relationships between product and form, in this second view procedures are introduced for the tracing of the negotiative process. One approach to discourse analysis is thus emphasising organisation

and mapping, the other emphasising social relationships and interaction." (Coulthard, 1985:viii-ix).

These two approaches identified by Coulthard are neatly exemplified by two early attempts at discourse analysis: one by Harris (Harris, 1952), the other by Mitchell (Mitchell, 1957). I will look briefly at each of these in turn.

To take the first of these two approaches first. There are those linguists who approach discourse analysis in the way they approached formal linguistics - that is to say they study the linguistic *features* within the discourse, such as cohesion, coherence and so on. This approach is what Coulthard described as being concerned with sequential relationships. It aims mainly to identify rules or patterns within discourse.

Harris's attempt at discourse analysis was a good example of this first approach. Harris – the first linguist to refer to 'discourse analysis' – claimed explicitly that discourse was the text level in a hierarchy of morphemes, clauses, and sentences. Remaining firmly within the Bloomfieldian tradition, he set out to produce a formal method 'for the analysis of connected speech or writing' which 'does not depend on the analyst's knowledge of the particular meaning of each morpheme' (Harris, 1952, in *Language*, 28: 1-30). He observed that in grammar it is possible to set up word classes distributionally: and hence, for example, produce a class of adjectives A which generally appear in the structure of sentence before members of a second class, that of nouns, N. This, he said, captured a powerful generalisation, even though it was possible to identify particular members of each class which would never or rarely appear in such a juxtaposition – that the particular member of the class A, 'voluntary', would probably never occur before the particular member of the class N, 'subjugation', did not, he said, invalidate the general rule.

Harris then suggested that such a distributional analysis could be successfully applied to a whole text to discover structuring above the rank of sentence; with the aim of the analysis being to isolate units of text which were distributionally (and hence structurally) equivalent though not necessarily similar in meaning.

Such a methodology could break a text down into relationships (such as equivalence, substitution) among its lower-level constituents. Structure was so central to Harris's view of discourse that he also argued that what distinguishes discourse from a random sequence of sentences is precisely the fact that it has structure: a pattern by which segments of the discourse occur (and recur) relative to each other.

Harris was the first to coin the term discourse analysis, and the first to attempt a suprasentential analysis. His insistence on a formal approach, though, appears to have led him into a dead end. In the period of time since his article was published, Coulthard notes, "no-one has adapted or developed his method for the analysis of discourse..... It may well be, of course, that any purely formal analysis of structure above the sentence is impossible." (Coulthard, 1985:4).

The second broad approach to discourse analysis identified above looks mainly at how the social context within which the discourse occurs determines or influences linguistic features. This approach, according to Coulthard, is more concerned with interpretation. The emphasis has shifted from purely formal internal linguistic analysis of discourse to analysis of the relationship between the inner structure of discourse and the context within which it is used.

In marked contrast to Harris, Mitchell's 1957 *Buying and selling in Cyrenaica* – the second of the early attempts to study suprasentential structure – presents a semantically motivated analysis. Working in the Firthian tradition he specified the relevant participants and elements of situation in detail and divided the buying-selling process in Cyrenaica into *stages* purely on content criteria, admitting that 'stage is an abstract category and the numbering of stages does not necessarily imply sequence in time'. He described three major categories: transaction-market auction; other market transaction; shop transaction.

While his analysis captured the structure of the transaction, Coulthard points out it is arguable that it was not a truly linguistic analysis at all – the stages were defined and recognised by the activity that occurred within them rather than by characteristic linguistic features (Coulthard, 1985:4-5). Nevertheless, both his work and that of Harris represented big steps forward in the direction of true discourse analysis – not least in extending the boundaries of what was a proper field of study for the linguist beyond the level of the sentence.

Today, the semantic approach to discourse analysis of the kind initiated by Mitchell is well established within linguistics. Thinkers such as Michael Halliday, as we have seen, have firmly established the connection between the inner structure of discourse and its context. Naturally there are, within the umbrella of this broad, semantic approach to the analysis of discourse, a number of different ways of approaching discourse analysis, each studying discourse from a slightly different point of departure. I will here give a brief account of a number of these.

3.5.1 Speech Act Theory

Speech Act theory is an approach to the understanding of language which looks at the way meanings and acts are linguistically communicated. It recognises that certain sentences which look like statements are not intended simply to impart information about facts. They are sentences in which the saying of the words in itself constitutes the performing of an action. Thus, by saying 'I pronounce thee man and wife' the registrar is not simply making a noise: he or she is actually performing the act of linking two people in marriage.

Speech Act theory had its origins in advances in the understanding of language made by linguistic philosophers who were, as we saw earlier, beginning to concentrate on the sense, reference and implications of sentences and parts of sentences while linguists were still restricting themselves to a concentration on form.

Two philosophers, John Austin and John Searle, developed what has come to be called speech act theory from the basic insight that language is used not just to describe the world, but to perform a range of other actions that can be indicated in the performance of the utterance itself. A series of lectures by Austin in 1955, compiled in *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), is widely acknowledged as the first presentation of Speech Act theory. Austin observed that while it had long been the assumption of philosophers that the business of a "statement" was only to describe some state of affairs or to "state some fact", which it had to do either truly or falsely, more recently they had come to realise that this was not always the case. There were sentences which looked like statements, or as Austin preferred to call them **constatives,** that were not intended to record or impart information about facts. Austin focused on a group of sentences that he labelled **performatives**, in which **the saying of the words constitutes the performing of an action**. Thus, he pointed out, in saying 'I name this ship the ***Queen Elizabeth***' the speaker is not describing what he/she is doing, nor stating that he/she is doing it, but is actually performing the action of naming the ship; from that moment on the ship is named.

Searle's (1969) *Speech Acts* built upon Austin's work to propose a systematic framework by which to incorporate Speech Acts into linguistic theory. Searle also introduced several ideas for the application of Speech Act theory to discourse. (Searle, 1969). He went so far as to place the Speech Act at the centre of the study of language, meaning, and communication and proposed that the basic unit of human linguistic

communication was the **illocutionary act:** that is, an act performed by the speaker by virtue of an utterance having been made.

Speech Acts, then, are performed through the use of conversational procedures and linguistically realised through illocutionary acts. To summarise in Searle's words: "The semantic structure of a language may be regarded as a conversational realisation of a series of sets of underlying constitutive rules, and … Speech Acts are acts characteristically performed by uttering expressions in accordance with these sets of constitutive rules." (Searle, 1969:37)

3.5.2 Pragmatic Approach

The Pragmatic approach to discourse is based primarily on the philosophical ideas of H.P Grice. It suggests that in many conversations, understanding by one participant of the utterances of another is based upon inference: and that that inference itself is made possible by the assumption that both or all participants in the conversation are playing by the same linguistic rules, and are co-operating in a meaningful and relevant act of discourse. Pragmatics is most concerned with analysing speaker meaning at the level of utterances and this often amounts to a sentence- rather than text-sized unit of language use. But since an utterance is, by definition, situated in a context (including a linguistic context, i.e. a text), pragmatics often ends up including discourse analyses and providing means of analysing discourse along the way.

There are, Grice argued in 1975, general **maxims of co-operation** (see below) that provide an inferential route to a speaker's communicative intention. (Grice in Cole & Morgan, (eds.)1975). The exchange below (developed from Grice, 1975:51) is an example that illustrates the interplay between co-operation and inference so critical to the Gricean approach.

A: Smith doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days.

B: He has been paying a lot of visits to New York.

The issue driving the analysis of this exchange is the lack of obvious connection between A's *Smith doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days* and B's *He has been paying a lot of visits to New York.* Grice points out that the lack of connection does not prevent us from trying to interpret B's utterance as co-operative at a level of understanding not readily available from the meanings of the words themselves. What

hearers do, he suggests, is supplement the literal meaning of utterances with an assumption of human rationality and co-operation: these may allow A to infer that B has hinted that Smith has a girlfriend in New York. He might therefore respond to B with something like the following:

A: Ah. That makes sense.

In other words, despite the apparent lack of connection between A's and B's initial remarks, A infers that B implies Smith has a girlfriend in New York in order to maintain the assumption that he is following the maxim of relation (which, as we shall see below, involves being relevant).

What Gricean pragmatics suggests then is that human beings work with very minimal assumptions about one another and their conduct, and that they use those assumptions as the basis from which to draw highly specific inferences about one another's intended meanings.

In setting out to explore this phenomenon of **conversational implicature,** Grice (1975:45) suggests that conversationalists are oriented to and by an over-arching **co-operative principle.** This principle is as follows:

> "Make your conversational contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged." (Grice, 1975 cited from Schiffrin,1994:367.)

This principle implies decision in four major areas, Grice says: **relation, quality, quantity** and **manner.** Their significance is spelled out by four corresponding **maxims:**

1.Maxim of **relation:**	be relevant
2.Maxim of **quality**	a) do not say what you believe to be false
	b) do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence
3.Maxim of **quantity**	a) make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)
	b) do not make your contribution more informative than is required
4.Maxim of **manner**	a) avoid obscurity of expression

b) avoid ambiguity

c) be brief

d) be orderly

These maxims are not intended to represent a fully descriptive statement of how conversational contributions always actually are. For one thing, there will always be occasions, as Grice puts it, when a speaker decides to 'quietly and unostentatiously violate a maxim' - he may lie, he may not give as much of the relevant information as he could, or he may offer utterances which are only later seen to be ambiguous. There will also be occasions when a speaker is seen to break a maxim – perhaps because he has been faced with a clash between two maxims, making it impossible, for instance, for him to be as specific as he ought to be and still to say nothing for which he lacks adequate evidence. Even in such instances, though, the conversational maxims provide a basis for the listener to **infer** what is being conversationally **implicated**, according to Levinson (Levinson, 1983:20). The apparent irrelevance, inadequacy or inappropriateness of an utterance is recognised, Levinson says, and that recognition then 'triggers' the subsequent inferencing.

Pragmatics, then, focuses on meaning, context, and communication of constructed utterances in contexts. The communicative meaning of a particular utterance is derived through general assumptions about human rationality and conduct. Together with the literal meaning of utterances, these assumptions are the basis from which to draw highly specific inferences about intended meanings. Viewed from the point of view of this approach, sequences in a conversation that refer to each-other are the outcome of pragmatically-based choices concerning the provision of appropriate quantities of information in relevant ways. Gricean pragmatics thus provides a way to analyse the inference of speaker meaning: how hearers infer the intentions underlying a speaker's utterance. While Gricean pragmatics is not in itself intended as an approach to the analysis of discourse (i.e to sequences of utterances) discourse structures could be seen as being created (in part) by the force of the co-operative principle.

3.5.3 Variationist Approach

Unlike the two approaches so far outlined above, the approach to discourse analysis known as the variationist approach has its origins solely within linguistics. The

approach stems from studies of linguistic variation and change – hence the name. Both the initial methodology and the theory underlying such studies are those of William Labov.

The fundamental assumptions of variationist studies are that linguistic variation (i.e. heterogeneity) is patterned both socially and linguistically, and that such patterns can be discovered only through systematic investigation of a speech community. Although traditional variationist studies have been limited to semantically equivalent variants – what Labov calls "alternative ways of saying the same thing" (Labov, 1972a:246) such studies have also been extended to texts. An important part of the variationist approach to discourse is the discovery of formal patterns in texts (often narratives) and the analysis of how such patterns are constrained by the text. The following is an example (from Labov, 1972b:387):

> "One of the most dramatic danger-of-death stories was told by a retired postman on the Lower East Side: his brother had stabbed him in the head with a knife. He concludes:
>
> "'And the doctor just says, "Just about this much more," he says, "and you'd a been dead."'"

Labov uses this extract as part of his discussion of the basic structure of narrative. The utterance being presented is a type of **evaluation**: the means by which narrators highlight different aspects of a reported experience as a way of revealing the point of the story. Although evaluations are sometimes separate sections of stories, they are also distributed throughout narrative and embedded within narrative clauses themselves. (Narrative clauses are typically event clauses that report 'what happened' – see further discussion of evaluation in Chapter 4.6) Embedded evaluations rely upon deviations from the simple syntactic structure typical of a narrative clause. The evaluation in the above extract, for example, illustrates an evaluative device that Labov (1972b:387) calls a **comparator**, a functional classification that includes "negatives, futures, modals, quasimodals, questions, imperatives, *or*-clauses, superlatives and comparatives."

A variationist approach to discourse analysis utilises some of the basic tools of linguistic analysis: it segments texts into sections, labels those sections as part of a structure, and assigns functions to those sections. This approach allows more context

independence (i.e. a greater degree of autonomy for 'text' in relation to context) than would be allowed, for example, in conversation analysis. An indication of this in the extract above is Labov's willingness to discuss the evaluating clause as *separate* from the rest of the story – to treat it as an example of a structural unit and functional type that can be extracted from its story for comparisons with other evaluative devices. The variationist approach also integrates traditional linguistic categories into a framework of textual analysis.

3.5.4 Cohesion and coherence

Cohesive ties, as we saw in section 3.4 above, are the forces that keep a text together in a meaningful order. As developed by Halliday, cohesion is a major concept referring to the surface-structure features of an utterance or text that link different parts of sentences or larger units of discourse. (Crystal, 1991:256) Pronouns, articles and some types of adverb can all have a cohesive effect (see section 3.4).

Clearly, cohesion is an aspect of discourse legitimately open to analysis. There is another aspect of language that also relates to a text's connectedness and wholeness, though: one which is usually distinguished from cohesion – **coherence**. Where cohesion looks at the textual, semantic and syntactic connectedness of an utterance, however, coherence looks at the functional connectedness of the utterance. Thus it involves the study of such factors as the language users' knowledge of the world, the inferences they make and the assumptions they hold. (Crystal, 1991:257)

3.5.5 Register and Genre: contextual approaches to analysis

Register: "A variety of language defined according to its use in social situations." (Crystal, 1991:295)

Genre: "A recognisable communicative event characterised by a set of communicative purposes and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs." (Bhatia, 1993:13)

A true understanding of language, many linguists would now agree, must take into account not only the nature of the text, but also the relationship between the text and the social context within which it is produced and interpreted. Understanding the

relationship between the linguistic and the social is important, say Kress and Hodge, because without "immediate and direct relations to the social context, the forms and functions of language are not fully explicable" (Kress, & Hodge, 1979:13).

Discourse analysis is interested in the analysis of contexts mainly because text and context provide evidence for each other. Halliday and Hassan observe that 'in the normal course of life, all day and every day, when we are interacting with others through language, we are making… inferences from the situation to the text, and from the text to the situation' (Halliday, & Hasan, 1985:36). Look at the text below:

> Sir John Hall, the new chairman of Newcastle United, appealed yesterday for the families at the heart of the football club scandal to be allowed to put recent events behind them.
>
> In Sir John's first public appearance since the dramatic resignation of his predecessor, Freddy Shepherd, and his son, Douglas, from the board, he called on supporters to rally round and help the club and the team to recover.
>
> With his wife, Mae, sitting beside him, Sir John, 65, was close to tears as he spoke to a crowded press conference at St James's Park. "The effect on the Hall and Shepherd families has been awful and on Newcastle United has been sad to watch," he said. (See Appendix 7.26)

Although we can identify the cohesive ties in this text and can produce a partial interpretation of it on the basis of the assumption of coherence, without some knowledge of the context in which the above events happened what really happens eludes us and thus we cannot achieve a full interpretation. What we need to know is who the text producer is, what the intended audience is, what the time and place of text-production and reception are. Furthermore, any understanding of the text would be deficient if we did not know the purpose or the function of the text in the speech community in which it has been created. For the text above, we need to know, for instance, that Sir John Hall's son and Mr Shepherd had made some derogatory remarks about the club's players and supporters and the women of the North East of England – remarks that deeply angered many of the club's supporters. Many of the intended audience of the above piece, of course, would already know this.

Once this information – about both the producer of the text, and the events the text is 'about' – is available, a lot of things fall into place. The people mentioned assume a specific role and the underlying purposes of the text-producer begin to emerge. This reviewed understanding of the text occurs because we know what 'language game' is being played. To complete our interpretation, we further need to know how this text

relates to other, prior or contemporaneous texts and the text constraints (patterns, rules etc.) that account for its production. In other words, the full meaning of a text is a set of relations (of speaker and writer, audience, purpose, previous history etc.) whose sum constitutes the context for a text.

Although context is relatively easy to conceive and describe, it is quite hard to delimit and define in a precise, formal way. The origins of the notion of context are interdisciplinary. Its use in linguistics dates from the mid-1960s, when by the influence of work in sociology and anthropology it was realised that language cannot be analysed as a formal system that can be abstracted from society and culture. The notion has already been used in varying ways by many different traditions and schools of linguistics; unfortunately, however, while this is an indication of the importance of the notion, the broad range of views may confuse our understanding of what is meant by context.

As a rather broad, general definition, taken from Schiffrin, context could be considered 'a world filled with people producing utterances: people who have social, cultural, and personal identities, knowledge, beliefs, goals and wants, and who interact with one another in various socially and culturally defined situations' (Schiffrin, 1994a:364).

We can perceive the world of context, then, as a frame that surrounds the text under analysis and provides resources for its appropriate interpretation. Given the importance of context, an approach to discourse analysis is really needed which takes as its point of departure the relationship between text and the social context in which it is produced and about which it purports to be. One such approach, which looks at the impact of immediate social situation on the way language is used, is **register analysis.** A second approach, developed using a concept already familiar from the world of literature, also takes as its point of departure the relationship between text and social context, but looks at that social context from a much broader, cultural perspective. This second approach has come to be known as **genre analysis**.

There are many definitions of precisely what register and genre are. The two quoted at the head of this section are just two of them, chosen for the purposes of discussion and of attempting to be clear about what we mean when we talk about register and genre. Perhaps the clearest definitions are those given by Suzanne Eggins in her 1994 *'Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics.* "Register theory," says Eggins, "describes the impact of dimensions of the immediate context of situation of a language event on the way language is used.... The concept of genre is used to describe

the impact of the context of culture on language, by exploring the staged, step-by-step structure cultures institutionalise as ways of achieving goals." (Eggins, 1994:9).

Both register and genre, then, describe the impact of context on the way language is used. Register deals with the impact of the immediate context in which a linguistic transaction occurs on language – where an exchange takes place, who the participants of a linguistic exchange are. Genre deals with the broader cultural context – whether the participants are discussing business or the latest developments in polymer science. It is less concerned with who those participants are, and what the relationship between them is. Eggins further identifies a third level of context, that of **ideology**, which deals with the impact the ideological values we hold and the biases and perspectives we adopt have on the language we use. Whatever genre we are involved in, and whatever the register of the situation, our use of language will also, she says, be influenced by our ideological position. (Eggins, 1994:10)

The concept of register, then, under the Eggins model, relates to what could be called **context of situation**, whereas the concept of genre relates to **context of culture**. Register relates to the way language is used in particular social situations. Any language user will use a different register of language depending on the particular situation in which he or she is using it. The way you talk to your boss is different to the way you talk to your lover. The way you speak is different to the way you write. The way you talk about arrangements for a funeral is different to the way you talk with your friends about last night's episode of Eastenders. Register analysis attempts to recognise these differences, and to look closely at the relationship between what is said or written and these very particular social situations in which it is said or written.

The concept of genre appears to have been borrowed from the world of literature and the arts. In linguistics it has a very particular meaning. Genre in the sense in which we are talking about it here – context of culture – often appears to relate to a set of mutually understood rules for the use of language common to a particular professional or academic community of language users. Thus the way in which social workers use language when communicating with each-other is different from the way in which biologists do so. The terms, concepts and frames of reference mutually understood and accepted by the social workers differs from the terms, concepts and frames of reference mutually understood and accepted by the biologists; and this is reflected in the language used by the two groups. Equally, the set of terms and frames of reference mutually

accepted by bookmakers and punters (the community of bet placers and takers) is different from those understood by students of English literature.

The difference between register and genre aspects of language, and the way in which they overlap, can perhaps be made clear if we consider one particular area of language use: business letters. Business letters actually form part of a genre: that of the business community. There is for businessmen – as for social-workers, biologists and bookmakers – a set of shared terms, concepts and frames of reference mutually understood and accepted; and this is reflected in the general form and style of letters exchanged between businessmen. There is, however, a register aspect to business letters also. They are, for a start, letters as opposed to telephone conversations or verbal communications sealed with a handshake: that is one aspect of register. They will also differ depending on whether the writer is the buyer or seller, or a businessman pleading with his banker for an extension of his overdraft. These differences in the relationship between those communicating, which have their on effect on the language used, are another and separate aspect of register. Finally, the language used in such letters will also differ depending on what they are about. The tone of a letter from a businessman thanking a client for prompt payment for goods or services received is likely to be very different from the tone of a letter between the two same people requiring prompt payment of a bill that is some time overdue.

Almost any act of communication, then, has both genre and register aspects. The two approaches are simply different ways of looking at language and the social context in which it is used.

In order to further understand the nature of these two ways of looking at language, I will next give a brief outline of the development of each.

3.5.5.1 The development of register analysis

The term 'register' first came into general currency in the 1960s. According to Halliday, it was first used by Reid in 1956 (Reid, 1956) and later developed by Ure and Ellis (Ure, & Ellis, 1977). Halliday himself, in 1964, was keen to distinguish between the concepts of register and of **dialect**. He described register as "a variety according to use in the sense that each speaker has a range of varieties and chooses between them at different times". Dialect, however, he said, was "a variety according to user, in the sense that each speaker uses one variety and uses it all the time." (Halliday, MacIntosh, & Strevens, 1964:77) Thus where dialect is a variety of language used all the time by a user

from a particular background, register is a variety of language used by a particular user in a particular context and situation. The particular register used by that user will vary, depending on the context and situation in which he/she finds him/ herself.

Clearly, the concept of register here is of a variety of language bound to a particular discursive situation. "When we observe language activity in the various contexts in which it takes place," wrote Halliday and his co-workers, "we find differences in the type of language selected as appropriate to different types of situation." (Halliday et al, 1964:87.)

The approach to register analysis with which we are broadly familiar today was initially developed by Halliday, MacIntosh and Stevens in their 1964 paper. Halliday and his two co-workers proposed three situational and contextual dimensions of discourse – **field, mode** and **style**, which later became **tenor** – to identify various registeral characteristics. These broadly relate to the subject or content matter of discourse, ie what people are talking about (field); whether the discourse is written or spoken (mode): and the relationship between the participants in a discourse (style, later tenor). Thus, to use the examples given above, this approach to discourse analysis was able to recognise that the way you talk to your boss is different to the way you talk to your lover, the way you speak is different to the way you write and the way you talk about arrangements for a funeral is different to the way you talk with your friends about last night's episode of Eastenders.

The definition of register used by Halliday et al in the early stages of development of the approach made clear that what was being talked about was varieties of language that were used in different situations and for different purposes. "Language varies as its function varies," they said. "It differs in different situations. The name given to a variety of a language distinguished according to its use is register." (Halliday et al, 1964:7) In the early days the approach focussed mainly on the identification of statistically significant lexico-grammatical features of a linguistic variety. Halliday and his co-workers claimed that registers could be differentiated as sub-codes of a particular language on the basis of the frequency of lexico-grammatical features of a particular text variety. (Halliday et al, 1964:8)

Although the situational and contextual categories used in register analysis of discourse have been variously refined and redefined over the years (see, eg, Gregory, M: *Aspects of Variety Differentiation*, 1967; Crystal, D & Davy, D, *Investigating English Style*, 1969; Ellis, J. & Ure, J.N: *Language Varieties: Register*, 1969; Hasan, R: *Code,*

Register, and Social Dialect, 1973; Gregory, M & Carroll, S: *Language and Situation: Language Varieties and their Social Contexts*, 1978), registers have continued to be defined essentially in terms of lexico-grammatical and, more recently, in semantic and semiotic terms. (Bhatia, 1993)

Halliday's later definitions of register tend to place a primary emphasis on semantic patterns and context. Register, he wrote in 1978, is "the set of meanings, the configuration of semantic patterns, that are typically drawn upon under the specified conditions, along with the words and structures that are used in the realisation of these meanings" (Haliiday, 1978:23). A theory of register, he wrote, aimed to "uncover the general principles which govern [the variation in situation types], so that we can begin to understand what situational factors determine what linguistic features." (Halliday, 1978:32.) There was also, in Halliday's later work on register, a greater emphasis on the broader social context in which language was being used. "A register can be defined," Halliday wrote, "as the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context." (Halliday, 1978:111)

Much comparatively recent thinking on register was pulled together in the 1988 *Registers of Written English*, edited by Mohsen Ghadessy. Ghadessy begins his introduction to this volume with a quote from Halliday himself that sums up neatly what register is all about.

> "Types of linguistic situation differ from one another, broadly speaking, in three respects. First, as regards to what is actually taking place; secondly, as regards to what part the language is playing; and thirdly, as regards to who is taking part. These three variables, taken together, determine the range within which meanings are selected and the forms which are used for their expression. In other words, they determine the 'register'." (Halliday, 1978:31, quoted in Ghadessy, 1988:1).

The theory of register, Ghadessy says, expanding on Halliday's quote, attempts to uncover the general principles which govern the range of variation implied in the quote. Each of the chapters in *Registers of Written English* covers different aspects of register. The book, Ghadessy writes, "brings to the readers' consciousness many linguistic and discoursal features that have always been taken for granted in studies of functional varieties. The writers have tried

to match the 'situational factors' with the 'linguistic features'. The analyses are based on real data which, in some cases, contain thousands of words." (Ghadessy, 1988: 1-2).

One of the papers in Ghadessy's book, that by Roland Carter, is of particular interest to my study. It looks at the linguistic evidence for degrees of bias or neutrality in newspaper reports – something that is at the heart of my project here. The approach taken by Carter is rather different to that adopted by myself (see Chapter 5 for fuller discussion), but the recognition that the degree of bias or neutrality of a newspaper report is partly a function of the choice of words which reporters make is, as will be seen later, crucial to my own study.

Ghadessy himself, in an interesting paper included as Chapter 2 of his book, conducts an analysis of sports reports in a single British newspaper – *The Times* – in which he seems to suggest that written sports commentary on soccer in itself almost constitutes a register in English. In the course of his paper, he develops an interesting distinction between 'involved' language and 'uninvolved' language, the latter being language which provides a more or less objective account of actual happenings, and the former language in which the writer's views, ideas and opinions are allowed to show through. This concept is in some ways similar to Carter's notion of neutrality and bias in news reports: though perhaps, Ghadessy seems to suggest, 'involved' language is a particularly noted feature of sports commentary.

Insightful as this is, the most interesting aspect of Ghadessy's paper for me is the general approach to analysis adopted. As will be seen in the further discussion in Chapter 5, aspects of his approach are similar to that which will be used in the course of this study. I will be attempting to match 'situational factors' with the 'linguistic features' to be found in particular texts, as Ghadessy and his co-contributors do – in my case, by conducting a comparative analysis of real texts from *The Times* and *China Daily* in an attempt to see how the different situational factors acting upon each of the two sets of texts is reflected in the linguistic features found there.

3.5.5.2 Genre

For some functional theorists, the concept of register – despite Halliday's later attempts to broaden it out to incorporate the wider social context in which language was used – did not go far enough towards explaining the relationship between language and social context. However perceptive the insights furnished by an analysis of register, wrote Vijay Bhatia in 1993, they 'fall some way short of offering an explanation of why a particular variety takes the form that it does.' (Bhatia, 1993:6.) Such theorists, wrote Helen Leckie-Tarry in her 1995 *Language and Context: A Functional Linguistic Theory of Register*, found the category of 'genre' more effective in representing 'that theoretical construct which intervenes between language function and language form.' (Leckie-Tarry,1995:7)

Bhatia considered register analysis – together with other approaches to discourse analysis he describes as grammatical-rhetorical analysis and interactional analysis – to be a 'rather thin description of language in use.' (Bhatia, 1993:10) There was in such approaches, he said, insufficient explanation of socio-cultural, institutional and organisational constraints and expectations that influenced the nature of discourse. Further, such approaches paid little attention, he said, to what he called the 'conventionalised regularities in the organisation of various communicative events.' (Bhatia, 1993:10)

In order to move towards a 'thicker' description, Bhatia claimed, discourse analysis needed a model which was rich in social-cultural, institutional and organisational explanation, which was relevant and useful to language teachers and applied linguists rather than to grammatical theories, and which was discriminating enough to highlight variation rather than uniformity in functional language use. Such a model, he said, should be truly applied in nature requiring minimum support and inference from grammatical theory, and exploiting maximally the conventional aspects of language use. (Bhatia, 1993:11) Such a model was genre analysis.

Genre is a term that has been widely used by literary critics and theorists, but has only recently been adopted by linguists. Bhatia's definition of genre as "a recognisable communicative event characterised by a set of communicative purposes identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs," (Bhatia, 1993:13) has already been given at the beginning of this section.

Clearly, the notion of a particular community or communities of language users is a central one in the concept of genre. Bhatia appears to have followed Swales (Swales, J.M: *Aspects of Article Introductions*, 1981b; *A Genre-based Approach to Language across the Curriculum*, 1985; *Genre Analysis – English in Academic and Research Settings*,1990) in developing his understanding of what genre is. Genre, he says, as well as involving a set of communicative purposes identified and mutually understood by members of a particular community of language users, is most often highly structured and conventionalised, with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value.

The emphasis of contemporary functional genre theorists like, for example, Kress and Threadgold (Kress, & Threadgold, 1988), is firmly on social and cultural factors as the generating factor of linguistic action. Genres, they say, are "primarily defined as the socially ratified text-types in a community" (Kress & Threadgold, 1988:216). For these genre theorists, the value of genre as a functional, social semiotic category is that it offers an "interface between the social-cultural world and textual form. … ways in which texts and the social agents which produce them construct and are constructed by the social and the cultural." (Kress & Threadgold, 1988:216).

The theory of genre is not without its problems. Threadgold, indeed, wrote in 1986 that "the use of the term genre in systemic theory is full of unresolved problems." (Threadgold, 1986:56.) One of those problems, Tony Bex points out in his 1996 *Variety in Written English*, is that the study of non-literary written genres has tended to be associated with the teaching of English to foreign learners, and particularly with English for Specific Purposes. Some of the ideas developed in the course of the development of genre analysis seem therefore to have a rather narrow application, he says. Bhatia himself admits at the very beginning of his 1993 book *Analysing Genre* that one of the main strengths of genre analysis is that 'it is primarily for applied linguistic purposes, which implies that the linguistic theory should be within the grasp of an average practitioner of English for Specific Purposes.' (Bhatia, 1993:1) Nevertheless, he says later, 'Genre analysis as an insightful and thick description of academic and professional texts, has become a powerful and useful tool to arrive at significant form-function correlations *which can be utilised for a number of applied linguistic purposes* (my italics), including the teaching of English for specific purposes. That is one of the main reasons why it is often referred to as applied genre analysis.' (Bhatia, 1993:11)

A further problem with genre, Tony Bex says, is that there are a wide number of different uses of the term, depending on the theoretical stance of the user. (Bex, 1996) The precise meaning of the term is, therefore, 'slippery'. Thus we have theorists like Kress and Threadgold, for example, rejecting a concept of genre confined mainly to discussions of literary texts, where genre is conceived of largely as a scheme for action; as a blueprint for the production of a text. "Genres are not simply schemes or frames for action," they insisted in 1988. "They involve, always, characteristic ways of "text-making" (what in systemic-functional terms we could call mode), and characteristic sets of interpersonal relationships and meanings." (Kress & Threadgold, 1988:216).

Helen Leckie-Tarry, meanwhile, admits that there is still 'some degree of overlap' between the concepts of register and genre. (Leckie-Tarry, 1995:28) Halliday, as we have seen, employed the term 'register' to encapsulate the relationship between texts and social processes. He employed 'genre' in a more limited sense, seeing 'generic structure' not as the embodiment of the text as social process, but as a single characteristic of a text, its organisational structure, 'outside the linguistic system'. In Halliday's view, genre is one of three factors – generic structure, textual structure and cohesion – which distinguish text from non-text, and as such can be brought within the general framework of the concept of register (Halliday, 1978:145). In other words, for Halliday, genre is a lower order concept, register the higher order concept, subsuming genre.

Although some theorists perceive the term register as insufficient to explain the full nature of the relationship between text and context, they nevertheless acknowledge 'the Hallidayan tradition of linguistics' as the basis of their theories (see, for example, Christie, F: *Writing in Schools: Generic Structures as Ways of Meaning*, 1986). The theory, for example, which motivates recent genre-based approaches to writing development, as developed by Hasan (Hasan, 1978), Kress (Kress, 1982) and Martin (Martin, 1983) is, as Martin and others point out, "an extension of earlier work on register by systemic linguists including Halliday, Gregory, Ure and Ellis." (Martin, Christie & Rothery, 1987:119)

One of the claims of recent functionalist/ critical genre theory is that 'genre theory differs from register theory in the amount of emphasis placed on social purpose as a determining variable in language use.... In essence genre theory is a theory of language use' (Martin, Christie, & Rothery, 1987:119). Such theorists see register theory as placing too little weight on social processes and hence upon the socio-functional aspects of texts: a view with which Halliday would certainly disagree.

The debate over the precise nature of register and genre is likely to continue. For now, I will content myself with the definition of register and genre given by Suzanne Eggins, and introduced in the previous section. Register is context of situation: genre context of culture. Register relates to the way language is used in particular social situations, recognising that any language user will use a different register or variety of language depending in the particular situation in which he/ she is using it. Genre relates to a set of mutually understood terms, concepts and rules for the use of language common to a particular community of language users. There is, however, as Helen Leckie-Tarry recognised, 'some degree of overlap' between the two concepts.

3.6 Critical Linguistics

The focus of my study in this research will be language used in the news media: specifically, language used in English-language newspapers in Britain and China.

Much valuable academic work has, of course, already been done in the field of media studies. Much of this has not been in the field of linguistics at all; but in disciplines such as cultural studies and social studies. Stuart Hall, of the Centre for Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, gives in his *Introduction to Media Studies at the Centre*, (in Hall, S, Hobson, Lowe, & Willis, (Eds.) 1980,) an excellent summary of many of the most significant areas of work. Researchers, he says, have looked at issues such as the debasement of cultural standards through trivialisation, the media and the reporting of violence, and the influence of the media on working class culture.

Researchers at Hall's own centre began to move towards a concentration on the linguistic and ideological structuring of media texts. Hall himself, in his seminal *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse* (a stencilled 'occasional paper' produced for the Council of Europe Colloquy on 'Training in the Critical Reading of Televisual Language' in 1973) suggested a model for the interaction between journalists producing a TV broadcast in which the journalists 'encoded' a message – drawing upon factors such as assumptions about the audience and professional ideologies – and the audience 'decoded' it, applying to that decoding process their own structures of understanding. Such a process, Hall admitted, permitted degrees of both understanding of the message and misunderstanding, depending on factors such as identity / non-identity between the codes and the degrees of symmetry / asymmetry between the encoder / producer and the decoder/ receiver. These factors, he said, could interrupt or systematically distort what was being transmitted. (Hall, 1973:19-23) In the same paper, Hall moves on to a

discussion of genre, suggesting that in Western films, for example, 'a set of extremely tightly-coded 'rules' exist whereby stories of a recognisable type, content and structure can be easily encoded within the Western form.' (Hall, 1973:27) He moves quickly on to a discussion of how the 'rules of convention' that exist in such genres could arise.

The basic model of encoder-decoder suggested, and the view it encapsulates of the relationship between producer and audience in media texts, is an extremely insightful and useful one. Hall's work, though, is not a work of linguistics. It is an attempt to grapple with the real-world relationship between journalist/ producer and audience. There is no attempt to show how this relationship specifically influences the language used in media texts. It does, nevertheless, provide an extremely useful account of part of the context in which such texts are produced.

A further area of work mentioned by Hall in his 1980 *Introduction to Media Studies* is that on the media and ideology – and in particular on the role the media play in the circulation and securing of dominant ideological definitions and representations. A concern with the media and ideology was to become a central focus for much work in critical linguistics.

Critical linguistics is a branch of linguistics which aims to reveal hidden power relations and ideological processes at work in spoken or written texts. Unlike researchers in many other fields who have studied the media, critical linguists do seek to interpret texts on the basis of linguistic analysis. This tradition of analytic enquiry can be traced directly to the work carried out during the 1970s by Roger Fowler and his associates at the University of East Anglia. Since the publication towards the end of the 1970s of two volumes outlining the critical linguistic 'manifesto' (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Kress, & Hodge, 1979), there has been a steady output of research within this tradition. Media language has received particular scrutiny, although analyses have been carried out on discourse types as extreme as swimming pool regulations. Despite the heterogeneity of the texts examined, the motivating principle behind these analyses is to explore the value systems and sets of beliefs that reside in texts; to explore, in other words, ideology in language (Simpson, 1993).

From a critical linguistic perspective, the term ideology normally describes the ways in which what we say and think interacts with society. An ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value-systems that are shared collectively by social groups. And when an ideology is the ideology of a particularly powerful social group, it is said to be dominant. Thus, dominant ideologies are mediated

through powerful political and social institutions like the government, the law and the medical profession. Our perception of these institutions, moreover, will be shaped in part by the specific linguistic practices of the social groups who comprise them (Simpson, 1993:5).

A central component of critical discourse analysis is the conviction that language reproduces ideology (Simpson, 1993:5). Hodge and Kress point out that language is an instrument of control as well as of communication (Hodge, & Kress, 1993). In their words, "Linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted" (Hodge, & Kress,1993:5). In this way hearers and readers can be both manipulated and informed; often, indeed, manipulated while they suppose they are being informed. Hodge and Kress then further claim that language is ideological in another, more practical, sense of that word: it involves systematic distortion in the service of class interest. As Simpson said in 1993:

> "It is evident that critical discourse analysts believe that as an integrated form of social behaviour, language will be inevitably and inextricably tied up with the socio-political context in which it functions. Language is not used in a context-less vacuum; rather, it is used in a host of discourse contexts, contexts which are impregnated with the ideology of social systems and institutions. Because language operates within this social dimension it must of necessity reflect, and some would argue construct, ideology." (Simpson, 1993:6.)

A further discussion of the background to studies of language in the news will be given in Chapter 5. In the final section of this chapter, I aim to lay out the approach to analysis of news texts that will be adopted in this study, and explain why I have chosen the approach I have rather than any of the many others available.

3.7 A combined approach to the analysis of news media

There are a number of approaches to the analysis of discourse and to the study of language used in the media. I have touched above on only a few of the main ones. One thing that is clear is that the different approaches, while they may lay emphasis on different aspects of language – and while some may place more emphasis on the structural aspects of language and others on the functional aspects and the context in which language is used – are rarely mutually exclusive. Indeed, each approach throws up insights into language and the environment in which language is used that could be useful even when viewing language from the point of view of one of the other approaches.

Thus Hall's insights into the relationship between producer and receiver of language, and his notion of encoding and decoding, provides a very interesting perspective on the context in which media texts are produced – one in the light of which the results of linguistic analyses of those texts can be usefully interpreted. Ghadessy's recognition of the distinction between 'involved' and 'uninvolved' language is also insightful and useful.

Nevertheless, in any study of language, we have to limit our ambitions and our field of study. I could not conduct an analysis of language used in the English-language newspapers of Britain and China using all of the approaches identified above: nor would I want to.

My aim in this paper is to conduct a practical discourse analysis of media texts, and by doing so to demonstrate that such an analysis can reveal much about the contextual factors acting upon and 'constraining' the writers of those media texts. I hope to show that there is a correlation between changes in those factors, and the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic elements – elements that might be taken to represent for example the attitude of the text writer towards what he or she is writing about, and the relationship of the text-writer to his or her intended audience.

Naturally, there is a broad range of contextual factors acting upon the producer of any text: situational factors (to do with register), cultural factors (to do with genre) and ideological factors of the kind examined by critical discourse analysts. All of these will have influenced the writers of the texts I have chosen for analysis. The approach to analysis I have chosen in a sense draws upon all three, although it strictly-speaking belongs to none of them. It has been dictated by a combination of the medium with which I have chosen to work (newspaper texts) and the aims I have set myself.

I am interested in looking in particular at how what I have called the **functional role** played by the media in different cultures impacts on the way language is used within the media. The part played by the media in different societies is clearly determined by a range of factors: factors such as the ideological and political situation within a country; the legal system and the rights it confers on journalists and the objects of their reports; the shared assumptions and sets of rules followed by journalists within that country; religious and social values and taboos; and the relationship between journalists and government, on the one hand, and journalists and audience on the other. All these factors are clearly inter-related: and all will have an impact on the precise role played by the media within a particular country.

It is my belief that the nature of this functional role of the media does vary from one society to another: and that this variation in role has a measurable, quantifiable impact on the way language is used in the media of different societies. Specifically, as mentioned above, I believe it should be possible to draw a correlation between the particular functional role played by the media in a given society, and the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic items. If such can be shown to be the case, it should in theory be possible to conduct an analysis of media texts and through that analysis learn much about the particular functional role played by the media analysed in their society.

The precise nature of my aims has direct implications both on the nature of the texts with which I will be working, and on the approach to analysis of texts adopted.

I have chosen to work with newspapers partly because, as a former journalist myself, newspapers are a genre with which I am familiar. Furthermore, as seen above, there is already existing a rich tradition of study of language used in the news for me to draw upon. I have chosen to work with two sets of newspapers from two culturally and politically very different countries, because it is to be expected that the functional role played by the media in two such very different countries will be correspondingly different. I have chosen, specifically, China and the UK because these are two cultures with which I am familiar and also because it is possible to glean independent, non-linguistic evidence for the differences in the functional role of the media in the two societies. This independent evidence I present in Chapter 6. Finally, I have chosen two sets of newspapers both written in English because for the comparison to be meaningful, both sets of newspapers must be written in the same language.

My choice of approach to the analysis of discourse adopted in this paper has been similarly dictated by the aims I have set myself. Since I am directly interested in the relationship between social context and choice of language, I must clearly work within the field of functional linguistics. My choice of written as opposed to spoken discourse as the subject for analysis is in a sense an arbitrary one: but it is one informed by very practical considerations. I am, myself, more familiar with the world of print than broadcast journalism: and it proved easier for me to gather printed media texts than to gather broadcast ones.

The approach to analysis itself will be both quantitative and qualitative. A quantitative analysis using an approach derived from the functional systemic grammar of Halliday et al will first be adopted in order to look for differences in the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic elements between the two sets (of British and Chinese)

newspaper texts. Those areas of difference will then be examined qualitatively (using a model similar to that adopted by Eggins and Slade in 1997) in an attempt to draw conclusions about how they are related to the different functional role of the set of the media in Britain and China, to which the two sets of newspapers belong. My hope is that if such an approach can be shown to work it should, in theory, make it possible in future to conduct a similar analysis of other media texts and through that analysis learn much about the particular functional role played by the media analysed in the society in which they operate. Approaches such as that of critical linguistics – which is purely qualitative – will not therefore be directly adopted, though many of the insights gleaned from the work of researchers in those fields – insights into the nature of ideology, and into the relationship between language producer and audience, for example – will help to inform my work.

The approach to discourse analysis I have adopted owes much to both register and genre analysis: though again it can not strictly be said to belong to either. In a sense, it belongs more to what Helen Leckie-Tarrie described as the 'overlap' between the two.

I did not feel that a purely genre-based approach was appropriate, for the reason that both sets of texts with which I am working strictly speaking belong essentially to the same genre – that of print news. I am not, therefore, comparing and contrasting different genres of work. What I am doing is looking at the different functional role played by the media in two quite different countries and looking at how that difference in role is reflected in language use.

It may be argued that since the differences in culture, politics and ideology between the two countries Britain and China is so marked the functional role played by the media in each of the two countries is so different as to constitute almost a difference in genre. In some sense this may be true: but in other senses it is not true. As will be seen in Chapter 6, whatever the other differences between the functional role of the media in the two cultures, one principal function remains to report the news, even though the emphasis on what news to report may be different. It is, not, anyway, the work of this study to look at whether or not the role played by the media in the two countries is so different as to constitute a difference in genre. That may well be a worthwhile field of study in itself: but it is not the one I am engaged in. I want a technique for analysis of discourse that will enable me to look at very concrete, specific and easily-measurable aspects of language, and to interpret the frequency of their occurrence in the light of the socio-cultural context in which the discourse in which they occur was produced.

An approach such as that adopted by Halliday in his later work on the three major systems of English (see Chapter 4) seems to me well suited for the initial, quantitative element of such a technique. I will rely on established qualitative methods for the qualitative element of my approach.

For the bulk of my work in this paper I will therefore turn to Halliday's work on the three systems of English, developed from his earlier work on register. The approach to language analysis developed by Halliday (see discussion in next chapter) grapples with many of the issues I am interested in investigating here: including the relationship between language producer and language receiver, and the attitude of the language producer to the content of what he/ she is writing or saying.

However, while techniques adopted from Halliday will constitute the main approach to quantitative language analysis used in this paper, Halliday's will not be the only approach used. I want to combine a Hallidayan approach with a variationist approach – drawing particularly on the work of William Labov on evaluation. Evaluation (see Chapter 4 for further discussion) grapples with aspects of language beyond the reach of Halliday's approach. Where Halliday enables us to look at the relationship between language producer and language receiver, and the context in which they are operating, evaluation looks at strategies adopted by the language producer to make what they are saying or writing more attractive to, more of interest to, their audience. It is thus of particular interest in the context of study of language as used in the media.

3.8 Conclusion

I have, in the course of this chapter, attempted to sketch a brief history of the development of discourse analysis: and to show where, within the existing body of research, my own work is situated. I have also identified a number of approaches to discourse analysis, and have explained why I have selected certain approaches and not others for my work in analysing language used in the media. In the next chapter I will look in more detail at the approaches to quantitative discourse analysis I will be using in my own work. There will be three of these – two using the systems of Theme and Transitivity drawn from the work of Halliday on the three major systems of English, and one drawn from the work of Labov on evaluation.

CHAPTER FOUR

Language in use:

A three-cornered approach to text-level linguistic analysis

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I identified the broad types of approach to the analysis of discourse I aim to adopt in this paper. I explained that it would not be possible in a work of this scale to apply all the possible discourse analysis approaches, and attempted to justify why I plan to use certain approaches rather than others. In this chapter I aim to be a little more precise about the nature of the three approaches that will be adopted. Each of these focuses on a different aspect of language and discourse, and can I believe be expected to reveal different things about the conscious and unconscious intentions and perceptions of the writer and of his/ her relationship with the reader. Taken together, I believe the results will be far more interesting than would the results of any one analytic approach in isolation.

The main overall approach to the quantitative analysis of discourse adopted here will be that developed by Michael Halliday. Two of the three approaches I plan to use are drawn from what Halliday termed the 'three major systems of English' – **Transitivity**, **Theme** and **Mood** – which were derived from his earlier work on register. I will look at these three systems and explain why, for the purposes of my research, I intend to apply only two of them, namely Theme and Transitivity, to analysis of my chosen Chinese and British newspaper texts. In this chapter I will give only a brief outline of how the systems of Transitivity and Theme work: a more detailed account will be reserved for Chapters 7 and 8. However, I will spend more time looking at the system of Mood, explaining why I do not feel it is relevant to my work and conducting a mini-analysis to demonstrate that the aspects of text with which it is concerned are not those of interest to me here.

I will finish this chapter by looking in a little more detail at Labov's work on evaluation, a variationist approach to the analysis of discourse which will provide the third of the approaches I adopt in my own work.

4.2 Context of Situation / Register - three key dimensions and the Three Major Systems of English

Halliday himself identified three 'dimensions' of situation and register. These were tenor (involving the role relations of power and solidarity), field (the content of the communication) and mode (roughly, the way in which a text is constructed and the medium of communication which is used). As Eggins points out, these three aspects, when used as the focus of analysis, can help to explain our intuitive understanding that people will not talk to their boss in the same way as to their friend (variations of tenor), they will not use the same language to talk about shopping as to talk about poetry (variations of field) and they will not use the language in the same way to write as to speak (variations of mode) (Eggins, 1994:52-80)

For Halliday, the three dimensions of register give rise in turn to three types of meaning: **interpersonal** meaning (related to tenor) about relationships, attitudes and judgements; what he calls **ideational** meaning (related to field) about real world experience, and how we perceive and organise what is going on; and what he refers to as **textual** meaning (related to mode) which acts in discourse as the connective tissue relating interpersonal and ideational meanings to each other. (Eggins, 1994:52-80)

Halliday further postulates the existence of three 'major systems of English' which correspond to these three types of meaning. The **System of Transitivity** derives from ideational meaning and reveals how certain meanings are 'foregrounded' while others are suppressed, while the **System of Theme** derives from textual meaning and allows us to examine the potential a clause offers for its constituent parts to be organised differently to achieve different purposes. A third system, the **System of Mood**, derives from interpersonal meanings. (Eggins, 1994:52-80) In *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* the differences in the type of meaning recognised by each of the three systems is further characterised as follows: Theme deals with **clause as message**; Mood deals with **clause as exchange** and Transitivity deals with **clause as representation**.

Of course, while the three major systems of English express or realise, under the Hallidayan system, three different types of meaning, it should be remembered that every instance of language simultaneously reflects each of these three kinds of meaning (as well as a huge range of other meanings). Thus, while I will look at each of the three systems separately, it should not be forgotten that there is an inter-logical relationship between Theme, Transitivity and Mood.

I will follow Eggins' interpretation of Halliday's system in the following discussion of the three major systems of English. Detailed discussion of Theme and Transitivity will be left for Chapters 7 and 8. However, since I have chosen not to adopt the System of Mood as one of the approaches used to textual analysis in this study, I will look at the system in some detail, and even conduct a mini-analysis of newspaper texts chosen from the 50 Chinese and 50 British texts used for the main analysis conducted later in thus paper. The reason for doing such a mini-analysis here is that by doing so, I hope to demonstrate why an approach to the analysis of discourse based upon the system of Mood is not relevant to my stated purposes in this paper.

Since I will, in a sense, be discussing it only to reject it, I will begin my consideration of each of the three major systems of English here with a consideration of the system of Mood.

4.2.1 Clause as Exchange: The system of Mood which realises interpersonal meanings

4.2.1.1 The system of Mood described

According to Halliday, whenever we use language we are using it to interact and to exchange. This process of interaction and exchange puts us in a certain relationship with the person with whom we are interacting and exchanging. Much about the nature of that relationship is revealed, according to the system of Mood, by the grammatical choices we make.

The process of linguistic interaction and exchange involves making a number of choices. The first choice we have to make is to decide whether we will take on the speech role of **initiator** or **responder**. If we choose to be the initiator, we must then take on either the speech role of **giving** or the role of **demanding**. And finally, in order to interact, we must also have something to **exchange**: either information (intangible, verbal) or goods and services (tangible commodities or activities).

These choices of speech role and commodity type are, according to the Hallidayan system, expressed grammatically through choices in the Mood structure of the clause: i.e. choices about the functional clause constituents such as Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct and about their configuration (for example, Subject before Finite, WH conflation, and so on). Thus for example the distinction between initiating and responding roles is associated with the structural difference between a full clause – e.g. 'Are you going to do some shopping?' – and an elliptical clause – e.g. 'Maybe'. The distinction between giving and demanding can be associated

with the different structures of declaratives – 'I will come at six'– and imperatives – 'Come and have a look'(Eggins 1994:148, Halliday 1994:93).

I will in this section look more closely at how the system of Mood works. I will then conduct a mini-analysis of ten newspaper texts – five British and five Chinese – before explaining why the system of Mood has been rejected as one of the approaches to be adopted in my own work.

4.2.1.2 The grammatical structure of the clause as exchange

I will begin by looking at the functionally labelled constituents we need to identify to describe the Mood structure of the clause. The following account is largely based on Eggins (1994). The term 'Mood' will be written with a capital 'M' throughout, to indicate that it is a specific term derived from Halliday's functional systemic linguistics, and therefore not to be confused with other concepts of mood. (The same principle will apply when referring to Theme and Transitivity elsewhere in this study).

One situation in which we attempt to exchange information (not always successfully) is when we argue. By looking at an argument we can begin to work out the functional constituents we need to recognise in the grammar of the clause as exchange. Consider the following extracts from Eggins (1994:154).

1 A You can't do that these days.

B Can't you?

2 A Ever read a novel called "The Bostonians"?

B No. You know I haven't

3 A He wasn't a physicist, though, this guy

B I think in fact he was

A No

4 A He didn't know anything about physics

B Oh, he knew heaps about physics

C He did not

In each of these excerpts, the first speaker's clause makes a statement, which is then argued with by the second speaker, with the first speaker sometimes coming back

in again. When we ask how these arguments are carried forward, we can see that the clause appears to have two components. There is one component (*you can't/ (you) ever read/ he wasn't/ he didn't know*) that gets bandied about, tossed back and forth, to keep the argument going, while the second part of the clause (*do that these days/ a novel called "The Bostonians"/ a physicist/ anything about physics*) disappears once the argument is underway.

The component that gets bandied back and forth is what we call the **Mood** element of the clause. The other component is called the **Residue**. We can now suggest that a clause can be divided into two functional constituents. For example:

He wasn't	a physicist
Mood	Residue

To discover which part(s) of the clause constitute the Mood element, we ask which part of the clause cannot disappear when the responding speaker takes up his/her position. The essential part of the clause contains the hub of the argument. Thus, we can continue the argument with:

He was (leaving out *a physicist*)

but not:

A physicist (leaving out *he was*).

The grammatical test Halliday uses to discover which part of the clause is the Mood and which part is the Residue is to add a **tag**. A tag is what you can put at the end of any declarative to turn it into a question. We often do this to temper what we are saying. Compare:

It's so nice (untagged) to *It's so nice, isn't it?* (tagged).

When we add a tag to a positive declarative, we usually change the tag to a negative form (using *not* or *n't*). When we tag a negative declarative, we typically make the tag positive:

He wasn't a student, was he?

The elements that get picked up in the tag are the Mood constituents of the clause. So the first thing we can say about the grammar of the clause as exchange is that the clause consists of two functional constituents: a Mood element, which functions to

carry the argument; and a Residue, which can be left out or ellipsed. Halliday describes the Mood element as carrying "the burden of the clause as an interactive event".
The components of the Mood element that enable it to carry the thrust of the argument are revealed by examining responding moves in which the responder ellipses the Residue. For example:

He wasn't a student. – *Yes, he was.*
– *No, he wasn't.*

These responses suggest that there are three main elements to the Mood constituent of the clause:

1. an expression of **polarity**: either Yes (positive polarity) or No (negative polarity);
2. a nominal-type element, called in this system the **Subject**;
3. a verbal-type element, called the **Finite**.

Since the polarity element can also be ellipsed without endangering the argument – in the above example, the responders answer simply either *he was* or *he wasn't* – there appear to be only two components that are essential to the Mood: a Subject and a Finite.

4.2.1.3 Constituents of the Mood

The definition of the **Subject** offered by Halliday (1985a:76) is that it realises the thing by reference to which the statement can be affirmed or denied. The identification of the Subject can be achieved by the **tag test**, in which the element that gets picked up by the pronoun in the tag is the Subject. For example:

Henry	Wrote	the letter	*didn't*	*He*?
Subject				Subject

Halliday (1985a:75) defines the **Finite** in terms of its function in the clause to make the statement definite, to anchor the proposition in a way that we can argue about it. The identification of the Finite again involves the tag test: the verbal part of the tag tells you which element the Finite is. For example:

George	was	reading the book	*wasn't*	*He?*
Subject	Finite		Finite	Subject

Having identified the Finite, we are now in a position to understand the differences between the following clause types:

I'm reading the book.

Reading the book

To read the book

The first clause is a Finite clause: it contains a Finite element "*am*". The second clause is an example of a **non-finite** clause: that there is no Finite element present becomes apparent if we try to tag the clause. The third clause is also a type of non-finite clause, as it has no Finite element.

These two elements of Subject and Finite link together to form the Mood constituent. A full analysis of the mood element includes not just labelling the Subject and Finite, but placing them within the Mood box. For example:

John	*mightn't*	*have read the book*
Subject	Finite:modal:neg	
Mood		Residue

4.2.1.4 Constituents of the Residue

The Residue component of the clause, as we have seen, is that part of the clause which is somehow less essential to the arguability of the clause than is the Mood component. For example, we noted that the Residue could be ellipsed in the responding moves in dialogue. Just as the Mood component contained the two constituents of Subject and Finite, so the Residue component can also contain a number of functional elements: a **Predicator**, one or more **Complements** and any number of different types of **Adjuncts**. I will look at each of these briefly in turn.

Predicator

The Predicator is the lexical or content part of the verbal group. Thus in *'m reading* in *I'm reading*, *'m* functions as the Finite while the lexical element *reading* is the Predicator. We thus get the following.

I	*'m*	*reading*	*The book*
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue	

In analysing clauses in which there is only a single verbal constituent (i.e. the simple present and simple past tense of verbs, as in *He knew nothing about physics*), the element *knew* carries the function of both the Finite and the Predicator. In analysing these clauses, we align the finite with one half of the verb, while the other half of the verb, which is carrying the lexical meaning, is labelled as Predicator. Thus:

He	*knew*		*nothing about physics*
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement (see below)
Mood		Residue	

Complement

The Complement is defined as a non-essential participant in the clause, a participant somehow affected by the main argument of the statement. It is identified as an element within the Residue that has the potential of being Subject but is not. A Complement can get to be Subject through the process of making the clause into a passive clause. For example:

John	*wrote*		*the letter*
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
Mood		Residue	

The letter	*was*	*written*	*by John*
Subject	Finite	Predicator	(Adjunct: see below)
Mood		Residue	

Adjuncts

Adjuncts can be defined as clause elements that contribute some additional (but non-essential) information to the clause. They can be identified as elements that do not have the potential to become Subject – i.e. they are not nominal elements, but are adverbial, or prepositional. The Adjuncts in the following clauses are shown in bold:

I learnt English ***from him.***

*Penguins always walk **like that**.*

***Actually**, I really wanted to have a look.*

Adjuncts can be differentiated into three broad classes, according to whether their contribution to the clause is principally experiential, interpersonal or textual. The different classes of Adjuncts are accorded different position in the Mood/ Residue analysis of the clause.

Circumstantial Adjuncts add experiential content to the clause, by expressing some circumstance relating to the process represented in the clause. Circumstantial meanings may refer to time (when), place (where), cause (why), matter (about what) accompaniment (with whom), beneficiary (to whom) or agent (by whom). For example:

Time: ***these days*** in *'They can't do that these days.'*

Cause: ***for fun*** in *' He reads books for fun.*

Matter: ***about children*** in *'John writes about children.*

Modal Adjuncts add interpersonal meanings to the clause. That is, they add meanings which are somehow connected to the creation and maintenance of the dialogue. There are four main types of Modal Adjuncts:

1.**Mood Adjuncts**: Based on Halliday (1985a:82), the following categories of item can be classified as Mood Adjuncts:

- expressions of probability: e.g. *perhaps, maybe, probably*
- expressions of usuality: *sometimes, usually*
- expressions of intensification or minimisation: *really, absolutely, just, somewhat*
- expressions of presumption: *evidently, presumably, obviously*
- expressions of inclination: *happily, willingly*

2.**Polarity Adjuncts:** *Yes* and *No*

3.**Comment Adjunct**: these function to express an assessment about the clause as a whole. Comment Adjuncts typically occur in clause initial position, or directly after the Subject, and are realised by adverbs. Halliday (1985a:50) identifies the following meanings as expressed by comment Adjuncts:

- admission: *frankly*
- assertion: *honestly, really*
- how desirable: *luckily, hopefully*
- how constant: *tentatively, provisionally*
- how valid: *broadly speaking, generally*

- how sensible: *understandably, wisely*

- how expected: *as expected, amazingly*

Comment Adjuncts are considered interpersonal elements in the clause, since they add an expression of attitude and evaluation. However, Halliday (1985a:83) argues that because the scope of a comment Adjunct is the entire clause (not just the Finite element), they should really be understood as operating outside the Mood/ Residue structure altogether.

4. **Vocative Adjuncts**: these function to control the discourse by designating a likely 'next speaker'. They are identified as names, where the names are not functioning as Subjects or Complements, but are used to directly address the person named. For example: *Did you know that,* ***George***?

Textual Adjuncts add textual meanings. Textual meanings are meanings to do with the organisation of the message itself. There are two types of Textual Adjuncts: Conjunctive Adjuncts, and Continuity Adjuncts. The Conjunctive type, expressed by conjunctions, function to provide linking relations between one clause and another. They typically occur at the beginning of the clause, but they can occur at other points. These Conjunctive Adjuncts belong neither in the Mood box, nor in the Residue box. For example:

So	*you*	*don't*	*know*	*Him*	*either?*
Adjunct: Conjunctive	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct: Conjunctive
	Mood		Residue		

The above is intended as a brief introduction to the system of Mood only. On the face of it, since the systems looks at language as a form of exchange and examines role relations from that perspective, it might be expected to be a useful approach to be adopted in a work of the kind I am engaged upon. However, because of the particular nature of the texts I am dealing with, I believe this not to be the case. The mini-analysis conducted in the next sub-section will, I believe, demonstrate this.

4.2.1.5 A mini-analysis using the system of Mood

I analysed ten texts from the 100 chosen for analysis in my research (see Chapter 5 for criteria for selection of texts), five each from the *China Daily* and *The Times*. The criterion used for selecting these ten texts from the larger group of 100 was simple: I chose the first five *China Daily* and *Times* texts as listed in the appendices. Each of the

ten texts was then analysed in terms of its Mood structure. The results of this analysis are given in Tables 2a and 2b below. I will look at the results of the analysis for each aspect of the system of Mood, interpreting each in the light of the nature of the texts being analysed and discussing it in terms of its relevance for my work in turn

Analysis of the structure of the Mood element of the clause

Under the system of Mood, the choice of speech role and the type of commodity being exchanged are expressed grammatically through choices in the structure of the Mood element of the clause (for example, Subject before Finite; WH conflation; absence of Mood element etc). However, in the ten texts I analysed, there was no variation at all in the structure of this element. All used the structure: Subject + Finite. There were no questions; no imperatives; no interrogatives.

This lack of variation is unsurprising. The system of Mood, as explained, deals with language as a form of exchange: so that choice of speech role is expressed grammatically through choices in the structure of the Mood element. However, newspaper texts – by their very nature – are one-way reports. The only thing being exchanged is information: and the direction of flow of that information is all one way: from text producer to text receiver.

Some British tabloid journalists do indeed use interrogatives or imperatives, presumably to mimic the appearance of a truly interactive exchange in order to make their readers feel involved. That might make a subject for an interesting study in itself: it is not, however, the subject of this work. The texts chosen for this study – taken from *The Times* and the *China Daily* – show little variation in the structure of the Mood element. Again, speculating as to why that might be the case, though an interesting question in itself, is not the subject of this work. Given the lack of variation in the Mood element of the clause of the texts being analysed here, I believe that analysis of the structure of the Mood element of the clause would have little value in the context of this study.

Analysis of Subject

Under a Mood analysis, the only aspect of the Subject that can be studied is its position in the clause. As we have seen, there is in newspaper texts very little choice over subject position: almost invariably it comes before the Finite. Again, this aspect of a Mood analysis I therefore take to be not relevant to my work.

Analysis of Finite

The other component of the Mood structure is the Finite. The Finite, as well as having different potential positions within the mood structure, can also vary as to type. There are, as we saw above, four types of Finite (Finite, Finite negative, Finite modal and Finite modal negative). The results of my analysis of Finite type is given in Tables 2a and 2b below.

Table 2a: Types of Finite found in the five texts from *China Daily*

Text number	Number of the clauses	Finite	%	Finite /neg	%	Finite: Modal	%	Finite: mod/neg	%
1	13	11	84.62%	0	0	2	15.38%	0	0
2	48	25	52.08%	2	4.17%	20	41.67%	1	2.08%
3	14	14	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	16	16	100%	0	0	1	6.25%	0	0
5	30	29	96.67%	0	0	1	3.33%	0	0
Total	**121**	**95**	**78.51%**	**2**	**1.65%**	**24**	**19.83%**	**1**	**0.83%**

Table 2b: Types of Finite found in the five texts from *The Times*

Text number	Number of the clauses	Finite	%	Finite /neg	%	Finite: Modal	%	Finite: mod/neg	%
1	42	40	95.24%	0	0	2	4.76%	0	0
2	36	32	88.89%	1	0.03%	3	8.33%	0	0
3	29	19	65.52%	0	0	10	34.48%	0	0
4	36	31	86.11%	2	5.56%	3	8.33%	0	0
5	38	28	73.68%	5	13.16%	3	7.89%	2	5.26%
Total	**181**	**148**	**81.77%**	**8**	**4.42%**	**21**	**11.60%**	**2**	**1.10%**

As can be seen, in both sets of newspapers there were very few Finite negatives. One text from *The Times* exhibited a comparatively high number of finite negatives – five. This particular text is a report of a highly emotive and sensitive subject: the speculation about the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, and Prime Minister Tony Blair's condemnation of that speculation. The high number of finite negatives here occur mainly in the context of direct or indirect quotations of the words of the major participants in the unfolding events – Tony Blair, Mohammed Al Fayed and Prince Charles. The high incidence could perhaps be interpreted as the result of attempts by Blair and other figures quoted to distance themselves from controversy. ("Blair's staff said his remarks should not be seen as criticism of Fayed"; "'He is not singling out any individual or enterprise'"; "Friends of Prince Charles said he would not comment on

Blair's remarks"). Generally speaking, in both sets of texts, the majority (roughly 80 per cent each time) of Finites were plain Finites: the remainder were Finite modals.

Again, this is what would be expected since the range of roles to be found in a newspaper text is very limited. The text exists to tell a story: nothing more. Even the occurrence of a comparatively large number of finite modals, and the apparently higher frequency of these among *China Daily* texts, is of little use for the purposes of my research. Under the system of Mood there is no way to discriminate between different types of Finite modal: and therefore no way to really understand what is going on, even were the difference in frequency of occurrence of Finite modals in itself to prove significant. There is, however, an approach to discourse analysis that does allow for more detailed analysis of modals: it is the system of evaluation adopted by Labov (see Section 4.3 of this chapter for further discussion). Using an evaluation approach, modals can be broken down into modals of time (future) or modals of attitude: a very rich area for the purposes of my research. I take the Labovian system, therefore, with its finer degree of distinctions, to be more relevant for my purpose in this paper.

Analysis of Residue

The Complement. Under the Mood system there is there is no potential for structural choice of Complement, only lexical choice. This is not of interest to my work

Adjuncts. There is a rich variety of adjunct choices under the system of Mood. However, the most interesting of these – comment adjuncts – actually fall outside the Mood/ Residue structure altogether according to Halliday himself. (Halliday 1985a:50; Eggins, 1994:168/9.) Again, this aspect of language is better covered by Labov's evaluation approach.

4.2.1.6 The system of Mood rejected

There is no doubt that when applied to an analysis of discourse, the system of Mood can yield many valuable insights into the particular roles played by participants in the language game, and in particular the power relationships between them. However, I do not believe it is a particularly valuable tool for the purposes I have set myself. The texts I am examining here are exclusively newspaper texts. In a very real sense, there are only two direct participants to the 'language game' that is the newspaper text: the producer and the reader. The value of a Mood analysis in my work is, then, limited.

It may be suggested here that an analysis of Mood may be likely to reveal differences in the relationship between producer and reader in China and in Britain. In

practice, that is not the case: not, at least, with the texts chosen here. In the texts I have chosen from *The Times* and the *China Daily*, the language producer is not interacting directly with the reader (though in British tabloid newspapers, I suspect, he or she may sometimes give the appearance of doing so). The language producer in these texts is not directly asking the reader to do this, instructing him to do that, or begging him to do the other: and the reader himself does not have a direct voice at all. That is not to say that the way the producer of the text uses language is not influenced by his assumptions about the nature of his intended audience: it is simply to say that that intended audience is an abstract: a mass audience rather than an individual.

There clearly is a relationship, in any text or discourse, between producer and receiver. That is no less the case in media texts than in any other form of discourse interaction – Hall's work on encoding and decoding is enough of a demonstration of that. But the relationship is indirect. As will be seen in Chapters 7-9, by choosing to use certain linguistic structures rather than others, the journalists whose work is analysed here can very effectively influence a reader to do or believe certain things, without directly asking or instructing him or her to do so. I would argue, however, that in the texts studied here at least this is achieved more in the way the journalist structures his or her text (variations of textual meaning), and more in his attitude towards the events he is commenting upon and the way he handles the content of his text (variations of ideational meaning) than in variations of interpersonal meaning. In other words, I would argue that the systems of Theme and Transitivity are likely to yield richer insights into the nature of newspaper texts than is the System of Mood.

In general, although there a number of aspects of the system of Mood that would be of some interest to my own analysis, I believe those aspects are better covered by Labov's evaluative approach to discourse. I have, therefore, rejected Mood in favour of evaluation.

Having rejected the System of Mood as an approach to analysis of discourse relevant to my purposes in this paper, it now remains to look in a little more detail at the three approaches to discourse analysis I do intend to use. As explained already, at this stage only a brief outline of each will be given. For a more extended account of each, see Chapters 7-9.

I will begin with the system of Transitivity.

4.2.2 Clause as Representation: <u>The system of Transitivity</u> which expresses ideational meaning

Transitivity is that one of Halliday's three main systems of English which derives from ideational meaning and reveals how certain meanings in a text can be 'foregrounded' while others are suppressed. According to Simpson (1993:88), transitivity refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause. It shows how speakers and writers encode their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience of the world around them. It is because it is concerned with the transmission of ideas that it is part of the ideational function of language. (Simpson, 1993:88)

The way in which transitivity carries out this ideational function is by expressing **processes**. "What does it mean to say that a clause represents a process?" Halliday asked in 1985. He then went on to give a kind of answer. "Our most powerful conception of reality is that it consists of 'going on': of doing, happening, feeling, being. These 'goings on' are sorted out in the semantic system of the language and expressed through the grammar of the clause." (Halliday, 1985:1.)

The system of Transitivity recognises three grammatical elements within a clause: the **process** (what is happening), the **participants** (who is doing what, and to whom) and the **circumstances** (where and under what circumstances it is all happening.) Thus, in the clause 'Jack climbed the hill', *climbed* is the process, *Jack* is the participant and *the hill* is the circumstance.

By allowing us to analyse the way in which these important elements are represented in a clause, the system of Transitivity can tell us a great deal about the way in which the speaker or writer chooses, by a making certain linguistic choices rather than others, to encode their experience of reality. (Simpson, 1993) Those linguistic choices are made for a reason; and those reasons, as we saw in the previous chapter, are related to the particular social context (the 'reality') in which the producer of a text is situated (and, in the case of newspaper texts, about which he or she is writing.) Since the cultural, sociological and ideological context within which a text was produced is reflected in the form in which it was produced, the system of transitivity can be reasonably expected to tell us a great deal about the cultural, sociological and ideological factors (or 'constraints') acting upon the producer of a text.

I do not at this point intend to give a detailed account of the system of Transitivity.

A fuller account will be given in Chapter 8.

4.2.3 Clause as Message: The system of Theme choice which realises the textual function of language

Theme choice is the second of the three main analytic tools I shall be applying in this paper, and again one of two that is drawn directly from Halliday. It is concerned with the potential the clause offers for its constituent parts to be organised differently to achieve different purposes.

Under the Hallidayan system of Theme choice, each clause has two elements: **Theme** and **rheme**. Theme is defined by Halliday (1985a:59) as 'the element which serves as the starting point for the message: it is what the clause is going to be about'. Identification of the Theme element of a clause is based on order: 'The Theme is the element which comes first in the clause' (Eggins, 1994:275). What is left in the clause is the rheme. The rheme is simply everything in the clause that is not the theme, and serves as that part of the clause in which the theme is developed.

Clearly, by choosing to place certain elements at the beginning of the clause rather than others, we can emphasise the importance of that element. Thematic choices, therefore, enable us to foreground a particular element of a clause to which we wish to draw the reader or listener's attention. An analysis of Theme choice can thus be expected to yield valuable insights into the values and beliefs held by a language user.

There are three systems of Theme choice, for the purposes of analysis. These are choice of **type of Theme**, choice of **marked or unmarked Theme**, and choice **of predicated or unpredicated Theme**. Again, I do not intend at this point to give a detailed account of the system of Theme. A fuller discussion is given in Chapter 7.

4.3 Evaluation

The third analytical tool I intend to use in this research – evaluation – is not part of the Hallidayan system, though it does fall within the field of the broader systemic functional approach to language analysis. Evaluation, as we saw in the last chapter, is derived from the variationist approach to discourse analysis. It was developed mainly by William Labov during his work on the African-American spoken vernacular in Harlem, and has to do with the way in which the speaker or writer embellishes or enriches his/ her narrative to make it more interesting.

Evaluation is an important element in a whole variety of different discourse types and is realised in different contexts. As defined by Labov in 1972, the term 'evaluation' refers to "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the

narrative, its raison d'etre: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at." Elsewhere in the same paper he adds: "Evaluative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon or unusual - that is, worth reporting." (Labov, 1972:189)

A fuller discussion of evaluation is given in Chapter 8. Here, I will content myself with saying a few words about why I chose to adopt this evaluative approach to analysis of discourse to complement the two register-based approaches drawn from Halliday, those of Theme and Transitivity.

There are two main reasons why I made such a choice. Firstly, evaluation is part of an entirely different approach to the analysis of discourse than that to which Transitivity and Theme belong, and is therefore concerned with different aspects of language. My aim in this paper is to show that there is a relationship between the cultural/ ideological context within which a text is produced, and the linguistic choices made in the construction of that text. The more different aspects of language I can show this relationship to hold for, the better. Theme, as we have seen, deals with the clause as message: Transitivity with the clause of representation. Neither of them can grapple with an aspect of language with which evaluation deals very well: the way by which people enrich what they say or write to make it more interesting and more attractive to their audience.

The second reason I have chosen evaluation is because the aspect of discourse it concerns itself with is one that I believe is particularly relevant to my work. First, I am dealing with media texts. Any journalist who writes an article must believe that there is a point to writing that article: that it is something, to use Labov's words, that is worth reporting on. One would expect, therefore, that instances of evaluation would be comparatively high in media texts generally. Second, evaluative choices are, I believe, linguistic choices that will be particularly affected by the differing cultural and ideological contexts in China and Britain. In Britain, as will be seen in the next chapter, newspapers are commercial enterprises that rely for their viability on attracting and holding readers. Since evaluation is a means of enriching a text and making it more attractive and interesting, one would expect instances of evaluation in British media texts to be particularly high. In China, on the other hand, newspapers are not commercial enterprises, and do not rely for their viability on attracting readers. They have a quite different function to play – largely one of disseminating government-approved information. The need, therefore, to attract and hold the attention of readers one would expect to be less strong: and one would expect fewer instances of evaluation.

Such being the case – and the differences between the two countries being so marked – evaluation appears to be a particularly useful approach to adopt to analysis of news texts given the overall aims of my paper.

Evaluation was developed through Labov's work on the spoken English vernacular used by the African-American community of south central Harlem in New York. That the approach was developed through the study of conversational, spoken English does not, in my view, invalidate it for the purposes of analysis of written discourse. The types of evaluation found in spoken and written discourse may differ: but it is a linguistic technique adopted in both registers of discourse. Media texts anyway, being generally of a less formal register than many other forms of written discourse, have some of the characteristics of spoken discourse. The analysis conducted in Chapter 10 will quickly show how frequently evaluation occurs in the newspaper texts selected for analysis in this paper.

Again, a more complete account of evaluation as an approach to the analysis of discourse will be given in Chapter 9, immediately before the analysis itself is carried out.

4.4 Conclusion

I have in this chapter attempted to outline the three approaches to the analysis of discourse I will be using during the course of this paper. Each will be described in further detail in subsequent chapters. I have also attempted to explain why I have chosen to reject one of Halliday's three major systems of English – that of Mood – as an approach to be adopted here: and have explained why I have chosen, in its place, to adopt an approach to the analysis of discourse borrowed from the work of Labov: namely, evaluation.

In order to make it easier to follow the process of analysis itself, a detailed account of each of the three approaches selected, and of how they are applied to an analysis of discourse, will be given at the point at which I actually begin my analysis of texts: that is, in Chapters 7-9.

Before moving on to conduct those analyses, however, I need to do something more. The purpose of my analysis is to show how what I have called the functional role played by the media in society impacts on the way language is used within the media: and how that impact is reflected in the linguistic choices made in producing a text and the resulting linguistic features such a text displays. Once the relationship between functional role and the existence of certain linguistic features has been demonstrated, it

should in theory be possible to apply the approach to linguistic analysis developed here to other media texts, and by a study of certain linguistic features found therein infer something about the functional role the media aims to fulfil in the society from which those texts were taken.

I aim to demonstrate the relationship between functional role and linguistic choice by showing, through quantitative analysis, that the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features varies as functional role varies. By adopting a qualitative approach to look more closely at areas of interesting difference between the two sets of texts analysed here that have been identified by a quantitative analysis, I then hope to show how these differences are related to the differences in functional role of the media in the two countries. In order to be able to do this, it is important first to have reliable, independent evidence for the nature of the functional role played by the media for the texts being analysed. As explained in the previous chapter, I chose to conduct an analysis of newspaper texts from Britain and China because I believe that it is possible to obtain evidence for the functional role played by the media in the two societies independently of any linguistic evidence: and because I believe that the functional role played by the media in the two societies is quite different. It is precisely because of these differences in functional role that I hope to be able to demonstrate that the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features varies as functional role varies.

I will turn to the evidence for this difference in functional role in the two countries media in Chapter 6. But first, in the next chapter, I will attempt to refine and restate my aims in this research to make them as clear and specific as possible. I will then also consider the methodology to be adopted in my work: both in analysing texts, and in looking at the evidence for functional role.

CHAPTER FIVE

Materials and Methods

5.1 Introduction

This study was never primarily intended to be a contribution to the field of media studies. It is essentially an attempt to make a practical application of Hallidayan linguistic theory to an analysis of concrete items of discourse, in the hope that by doing so I can demonstrate the value of a system such as Halliday's as an analytical tool to conduct quantitative linguistic analysis. I hope to show that such an approach is particularly useful when combined with a qualitative approach to interpretation of data thrown up by quantitative analysis, and that the combined technique can reveal much about the social/contextual factors acting upon the producer of a text.

Why have I chosen to work with newspaper texts in an attempt to accomplish this? The reasons for that are connected both with my own background and experience, and also with the particular nature of newspaper texts, which makes them, I believe, especially suited for analysis of the kind I envisage.

In this chapter, I aim first to explain my reasons for choosing to work with newspapers rather than other genres of text. Then, since any research is only as interesting as the questions it seeks to answer and the materials and methods used to carry it out, I will attempt to refine the aims of my research in the light both of what I seek to accomplish and of the nature of the texts being studied. I will also attempt to formulate a clear working hypothesis to underpin my research. Finally I will discuss the methodology to be used in carrying out my research. The approach to language analysis that will be used has already been outlined in the previous chapter and will be discussed in more detail in chapters 7-9. What I will do in this chapter is look at how that approach will be applied and how the results will be interpreted. That will involve a discussion of quantitative and qualitative approaches to textual analysis, and a look at how the two approaches can be successfully applied in harness.

5.2 Why newspaper texts?

The aim I set myself in the course of this research has already been generally, if somewhat loosely, formulated: first in Chapter 1 and later in Chapter 3.7. That aim is to conduct a practical discourse analysis of written texts, and by doing so to demonstrate that such an analysis can reveal much about the contextual factors acting upon and 'constraining' the writers of those texts. I hope further to be able to demonstrate that there is a correlation between changes in those contextual factors, and the frequency of

occurrence of certain linguistic elements in a text – elements that might be taken to represent, say, the attitude of the text writer towards what he or she is writing about, and the relationship of the text writer to his or her intended audience. By doing so I hope to pave the way for an approach to textual analysis that will allow the analyst to clearly identify certain – often hidden or unstated – contextual factors acting upon the writer of a text and so to learn more about the writer of that text and the hidden, unconscious or unstated aims he or she might have in writing that text.

To be able to do this I need first to have a set of texts to analyse. As a former journalist myself, newspapers are a genre with which I am familiar. It was natural therefore for me to turn to the media as the source of texts for analysis. Moreover, the work of linguists such as Mohssen Ghadessy and Ronald Carter has already demonstrated what a rich field of study media texts can be. Carter, in his contribution to Ghadessy's 1988 *Registers of Written English*, is interested in reporter bias. He is, he says, "particularly interested in the language of newspapers and in the degrees of neutrality or bias which are inscribed in the choice of words which reporters make." (Carter, in Ghadessy (Ed) 1988: 8). Carter takes an essentially qualitative approach to the study of language in the media. He takes a single front-page story from *The Daily Mail* and analyses it for evidence of bias. He uses not only the reporter's language (and in particular what he describes as core items of vocabulary) when looking for bias, but also other features of the way the report is carried on the page: headline, photograph, and the 'summary' of the report positioned above the main headline. All of these elements, he finds, contain elements that are 'unembarrassingly one-sided' – in the case of the Daily Mail report, they are biased against Labour's (at the time) new leader, Neil Kinnock. The *Daily Mail* report, he concludes, is 'a good example of the way in which linguistic devices at several levels interpenetrate to produce some especially dense and subtle effects, even though we must recognise that their interpretation depends on the reader." (Carter, 1988:8)

Ghadessy, in one of a number of contributions to a book he edits, chooses to look at the language of written sports commentary: a variety of language, he claims, that constitutes a register of English as well as a discourse genre. Ghadessy adopts a much more quantitative approach to analysis than Carter, analysing 37 sports reports taken from *The Times*, looking at the occurrence of everything from certain items of lexis to grammatical patterns and collocation. One of the many interesting features of his study is the way in which he distinguishes between 'involved' and 'uninvolved' language: the

latter being language which gives a comparatively objective account of events, the former language which a much more personal view or opinion is given.

Ghadessy and Carter's insights into bias and neutrality, involved and uninvolved language, grapple with many of the aspects of language I look at in the course of this study. Moreover, as will be seen from Section 5.4.1 of this chapter, the approach to analysis of texts I adopt here – an essentially quantitative/ qualitative model – draws something from each of them. Most important of all, at this stage, though, is that they demonstrate how linguistically rewarding a rigorous functional-linguistic analysis of newspaper texts can be.

Another reason for choosing newspapers as the source of texts for analysis in this study is that newspaper reports are 'ideologically rich'. According to Simpson (1993:5) the term ideology describes the ways in which what we say, write and think interacts with society. An ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems that are shared collectively by social groups. When an ideology is the ideology of a particularly powerful social group, Simpson adds, it is said to be dominant. Dominant ideologies can be mediated through powerful political and social institutions like the government, the law and, of course, the media.

Media language has received particular scrutiny through the work of many researchers in the field of critical linguistics such as Fowler, Simpson, Hodge and Kress. The role the media has to play in circulating and securing dominant ideologies has, Stuart Hall says in his 1980 *Introduction to Media Studies*, been an important area of focus within the field of media studies.

This 'ideologically rich' nature of the media was an important factor for me in choosing media texts as the subject of analysis, for two reasons. Firstly, as a functional linguist working within a Hallidayan tradition, it is precisely the effect upon the way language is used of ideological factors such as the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems shared collectively by social groups – but then also operating upon individual writers/ speakers – that interests me. The ideologically-rich nature of the media means media texts could be expected to be a rich field for analysis. Indeed, Roger Fowler, in his 1991 *Language in the News*, specifically states that he believes that production of media texts is guided by reference, generally unconscious, to already-held 'ideas and beliefs'. "Analysis of output can reveal abstract propositions which are not necessarily stated, and are usually unquestioned, and which dominate the structure of presentation," he claims. (Fowler, 1991:2) Secondly, it might be expected that the ideologies reflected in the media in two widely differing cultures might differ. If they do

– and at the outset I was as careful as I could be to make no assumptions about this – then those differences might be expected to be reflected in the way language is used in media from different cultures; making the study of the media of two countries that are culturally significantly different potentially a rich field for contrastive analysis.

The media, then, I decided, promised to be a rewarding genre of texts upon which to attempt to demonstrate the practical value of a system such as Halliday's as an analytical tool. Having decided to conduct my analysis on media texts I further decided to look in particular at what I described as the functional role played by the media in different societies. This 'functional role' I take to be determined by a whole range of factors, including commercial considerations, the ideological and political situation within a country and the shared assumptions and values held by journalists within that country: many of them precisely the kind of 'contextual factors' I am interested in.

My aim is to show that the nature of these contextual factors differs from context to context, culture to culture: and that the influence of these differing contextual factors can be analytically identified in written texts. In order to maximise the effect of differing contextual culture on text, I resolved to conduct a contrastive analysis of media texts from two quite different cultures and societies. As a Chinese woman myself, working in Britain in the English language, the choice of China and Britain was natural. Furthermore, while I hope making no premature assumptions about this, my own experience of working as a journalist in China and of living and working in both countries and reading both countries' media had left me with a strong subjective feeling that the functional role played by the media in the two countries was quite different. A contrastive analysis of newspaper texts from the two countries could, I hoped, therefore be expected to yield some useful results.

The criteria used for the selection of particular texts for analysis are set out in section 5.4.2.2.1. But one point is worth discussing here. For a contrastive analysis to be possible, both sets of texts analysed clearly had to be written in the same language. Since my field of study is Hallidayan linguistics, a system developed when working with the English language, that language clearly had to be English. I therefore selected the *China Daily* – the principal English-language newspaper in China – as the newspaper from which Chinese texts are chosen. This was a choice forced on me on purely practical grounds. I do not attempt to argue that the *China Daily* can be taken as representative of the Chinese media generally – especially as it is written in a different language. However, I would maintain that many of the same socio-cultural and

ideological factors that operate on the Chinese media in general also operate on the *China Daily*. The *China Daily* is, indeed, owned by China's principal Chinese-language daily newspaper, the *People's Daily*, and is even produced in the same building in Beijing. My hope, therefore, was that enough of the socio-cultural and ideological factors operating on the Chinese media generally would continue to operate on the *China Daily* to make a contrastive analysis of the language used in that newspaper with the language used in British newspapers valid.

Much work in Media Studies in Britain has focussed on the differences between different newspapers: and how they each seek to target a different sector of the British population. That there are such differences Ghadessy acknowledged in 1988. "There is no doubt that the language of written sports commentary on soccer constitutes ….a register," Ghadessy wrote, in the chapter of his book devoted to sports reporting. "It is this writer's belief that depending on where this language is found, eg in *The Times* or the *Daily Mirror*, we can expect marked differences between the two." However, it was not the purpose of his work, he added, to find those differences, but to analyse the way sporting language was used in one newspaper. "We would like to concentrate on one source in order to establish some common ground. Then it is possible to compare the findings with other studies when and where such studies become available." (Ghadessy, 1988:18).

Like Ghadessy, it is not the variations between British newspapers that I am interested in in this study, however interesting they may be in themselves. Rather, I am interested in the differences between English language newspapers in Britain and those in China. In order to have a common body of British texts to use as the basis for such a comparison I have therefore, like Ghadessy in 1988, decided to select texts from only a single British newspaper. My choice as to what that newspaper should be was based on purely practical grounds. I chose *The Times* because at the period in which I was gathering texts (1997) it appeared to be most readily available on the internet. As a broadsheet newspaper with what I subjectively felt to be a comparatively serious approach to the news, I also felt – again subjectively – that it was an appropriate newspaper with which to contrast the *China Daily*, which also has a serious approach to the news. As with the *China Daily*, however, I would not seek to suggest that *The Times* can be taken as being truly representative of the British media generally. The most that can be said is that the socio-cultural factors that operate on the British media generally operate also upon *The Times*.

5.3 Aims and hypothesis

It is now time to attempt to refine and be more precise and specific about precisely what I hope to achieve in the course of this work. I will first set out the framework of ideas or beliefs about language and the context in which it operates that underpin my approach to analysis. I will then move on to formulate a working hypothesis towards which my research will aim, before finally in this section giving a clear and limited statement of aims I hope to achieve in this work.

It is easy enough for an ordinary reader, reading copies of the *China Daily* and *The Times*, to sense that these are different. But in precisely what linguistic features do the differences lie? Can we measure them? And how, if at all, are these different linguistic features related to the cultural and social environment in which the newspaper texts were written? Those were the questions to which I sought some answers.

In attempting to find answers to these questions, my work was driven by a number of assumptions about language, some of which can be summarised as follows.

Assumptions that underly this work

i – we are importantly influenced by the socio-cultural context within which we work, live and interact with others.

ii – that context influences the way we view the world, and helps to shape our personal beliefs, interests and value systems.

iii – those (sometimes unconscious or unstated) beliefs, interests and value systems that derive from the socio-cultural context within which we live and work influence the linguistic choices we make when communicating in speech or writing.

iv – when we are acting as the representative of a larger group (in the case of, for example, a journalist writing for a newspaper) the linguistic choices we make when communicating are also influenced by the beliefs, interests and value systems of that group.

v – analysis of written texts from different sources can reveal differences in the nature of linguistic choices made – through, for example, differences in the frequency of occurrence of certain identified linguistic features.

vi – in line with i) – iv) above, many of these differences are connected to the socio-cultural context within which we work and live, and more specifically to our personal beliefs, interests and value systems and the beliefs, interests and value systems of any group we represent.

vii – if we know enough about the different socio-cultural contexts within which different narrators live and work, it should be possible to interpret differences in the nature of at least some of the linguistic choices they make in the light of their differing socio-cultural environments.

viii – by inversion, and in the presence of a sufficient quantity of data to which to make reference, it should be possible by analysis of texts in cases where little is known of the socio-cultural context within which a text was produced to learn much about that context and its influences upon the producer of a text.

These assumptions are, admittedly, merely that at the moment: assumptions. Assumptions i) and ii), however, seem to me to be uncontroversial. Assumptions iii) and iv), I would maintain, underly the work of most functional linguists such as Halliday. Assumptions v) – viii) are a formulation of my feeling that an approach to linguistic analysis based upon the functional grammars of thinkers like Halliday can yield useful and meaningful results: and can help us to learn a great deal about the socio-contextual factors acting upon and 'constraining' the author of a text.

The aim of this study is essentially threefold; to attempt to demonstrate the validity of these assumptions; to show how an approach to language analysis based on these underlying assumptions would work; and to demonstrate – within the limitations of scale and scope of this thesis – that it does work.

In order to do this, I need to be much more specific and concrete about what I aim to achieve. I have already narrowed down my field of inquiry to a comparison of English-language media texts from Britain and China. I will now set out a set of working hypotheses upon which to base my research. These hypotheses are derived from the set of assumptions set out above but restricted in scope in line with the practical aims of this thesis.

Hypotheses

i) There is a difference in the functional role played by the media in Britain and China.

ii) The nature of this difference is such that it could be expected to be reflected in the linguistic choices made by journalists.

iii) These differences should be measurable in terms of the different frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features.

iv) *An approach to linguistic analysis can be developed which is able to detect and quantify these differences and to enable them to be interpreted in the light of differences in functional role*

Such are my working hypotheses. The more specific aim of this thesis, then, is to demonstrate the plausibility of these hypotheses. In order to be able to do this, I have in the course of this research to achieve three things. I have to:

i) *Demonstrate that there is a difference in the functional role played by the media in Britain and China*

ii) *Demonstrate through linguistic analysis that there are differences in the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features between the two countries' media*

iii) *Give a plausible account of how these two types of difference (in functional role and linguistic features) may be connected*

The first of these I will attempt to do in the next chapter. The second and third I will attempt to do in Chapters 7-9. Finally, in Chapter 10, I will attempt to suggest a way in which the approach to linguistic analysis used in this research could have validity and usefulness in a context wider than that of simply analysis of media texts from Britain and China.

Before doing any of this, however, it is important for me to be clear about the materials and methodology to be used in the course of this research. That is the subject of the rest of this chapter.

5.4 Methodology

There are essentially three strands to my work: 1, determining the functional role of the media in Britain and in China: 2, independently conducting an analysis of newspaper texts from British and Chinese newspapers (here, *The Times* and *China Daily*) to look for evidence of differences in the linguistic features found; and 3 interpreting those linguistic differences in the light of the already-determined differences in the functional role played by the two countries' media. I will give an account of the methodology used at each stage. But first, I will give a brief discussion of the literature relating to the methodology used in linguistic analysis.

5.4.1 Methodology: The Theory

For any work of research, there are two requirements that are of central importance. If it is to have value, the research must be **reliable** and it must be **valid**. In his 1992 book *Research Methods in Language Learning*, David Nunan sets out what these two concepts involve. Reliability, he says, refers to the consistency and replicability of the results obtained from a piece of research. There are two types of reliability; **internal reliability** and **external reliability**. Internal reliability, Nunan says, refers to the consistency of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. External reliability refers to the extent to which independent researchers can reproduce a study and obtain results similar to those obtained in the original study.

Validity, on the other hand, has to do with the extent to which a piece of research actually investigates what the researcher purports to investigate. Again, there are also two types of validity: **internal validity** and **external validity**. Internal validity refers to the interpretability of research. In experimental research, Nunan says, it is concerned with the question: can any differences which are found actually be ascribed to the treatments under scrutiny? External validity refers to the extent to which the results can be generalised from samples to populations. (Nunan, 1992:14-15)

Researchers, Nunan says, must constantly be alive to the potential and actual threats to the validity and reliability of their work. I will attempt to bear these considerations in mind in my own work.

Traditionally, writers on research methodologies have made a distinction between two different approaches to research: the **qualitative** approach and the **quantitative** approach. Nunan, again, is quite good at delineating the characteristics of these two supposedly quite distinct approaches. Those who draw the distinction, he says, suggest that quantitative research is obtrusive and controlled, objective, generalisable, outcome oriented, and assumes the existence of 'facts' which are somehow external to and independent of the observer or researcher. Qualitative research, on the other hand, assumes that all knowledge is relative, that there is a subjective element to all knowledge and research, and that holistic, ungeneralisable studies are justifiable. In short, the traditional view was that quantitative research was 'hard' while qualitative research was 'soft'. (Nunan, 1992:3-5)

More recently, however, it has been argued that this distinction is simplistic and naïve. Reichardt and Cook (cited in Chaudron 1988:67), for example, argue that in practical terms, qualitative and quantitative research are in many respects indistinguishable, and that "researchers in no way follow the principles of a supposed

paradigm without simultaneously assuming methods and values of the alternative paradigms." (Reichardt, & Cook, 1979:232)

Grotjahn in particular offers an exciting critique of research traditions in applied linguistics, and suggests a more sophisticated synthesis: one that combines elements of quantitative and qualitative methodology. (Grotjahn, 1987) He argues that the qualitative-quantitative distinction is an oversimplification and that, in analysing actual research studies, it is necessary to take into consideration a number of different factors. These include the method of data collection (ie whether the data have been collected experimentally or non-experimentally); the type of data yielded by the investigation (qualitative or quantitative); and the type of analysis conducted on the data (whether statistical or interpretative). Mixing and matching these variables, he suggests, provides us with two 'pure' research paradigms and six 'mixed' paradigms (see Figure 3 below). The two 'pure' paradigms are Paradigm 1, an 'exploratory-interpretative' paradigm which utilises a non-experimental method, yields qualitative data, and provides an interpretative analysis of that data: and Paradigm 2, an 'analytical-nomological' paradigm, in which the data are collected through an experiment, and yield quantitative data which are subjected to statistical analysis. In addition to these 'pure' forms, there are six 'mixed' paradigms which mix and match the three variables in different ways. For example, there is an 'exploratory-quantitative-interpretative' paradigm which does not utilise an experiment but yields quantitative data, which are analysed interpretatively.

Figure 3 Types of research design (from Grotjahn, R, 1987:59-60)

Pure Forms	
Paradigm 1: Exploratory-interpretative	1. non-experimental design 2. qualitative data 3. interpretative analysis
Paradigm 2: Analytical-nomological	1. experimental or quasi-experimental design 2. quantitative data 3. statistical analysis
Mixed Forms	
Paradigm 3: Experimental-qualitative-interpretative	1. experimental or quasi-experimental design 2. qualitative data 3. interpretative analysis
Paradigm 4: Experimental-qualitative-statistical	1. experimental or quasi-experimental design 2. qualitative data 3. statistical analysis
Paradigm 5: Exploratory-qualitative-statistical	1. non-experimental design 2. qualitative data 3. statistical analysis

Paradigm 6: Exploratory-quantitative-statistical	1. non-experimental design 2. quantitative data 3. statistical analysis
Paradigm 7: Exploratory-quantitative-interpretative	1. non-experimental design 2. quantitative data 3. interpretative analysis
Paradigm 8: Experimental-quantitative-interpretative	1. experimental or quasi-experimental design 2. quantitative data 3. interpretative analysis

The approach I will adopt to analysis in my own research is essentially that of Grotjahn's Paradigm 7. My essential method is exploratory rather than experimental: I will be analysing 100 newspaper texts for evidence of differences in certain linguistic characteristics. Because of the analytical approach adopted (see previous chapter and chapters 7-9) the nature of the data yielded will be quantitative. What I hope to identify will be differences in *frequency of occurrence* of certain linguistic features. But my evaluation of those results, which will seek to see them in the light of certain socio-contextual differences between two sets of texts, will be an interpretative one, combining a discussion of the quantitative differences found with a qualitative assessment of texts in which certain linguistic features are particularly apparent. What I hope is that the initial quantitative analysis will highlight potentially interesting areas of difference between the two sets of texts, which can then be examined using a qualitative approach to look at precisely what is going on in individual texts.

I have a precedent for adopting such a methodology. Suzanne Eggins and Diane Slade used a methodology very similar with some success in their 1997 study of casual English conversation (Eggins and Slade 1997). They chose to analyse spontaneous English casual conversations recorded over a period from 1983 to 1999. The conversations occurred in a variety of contexts, including close friends at a dinner party, conversations between family members and conversations at the workplace. For the purposes of analysis these conversations were then transcribed, in a way that retained their spontaneity and informality.

The approach to analysis Eggins and Slade adopted drew upon the work of a number of linguistic and other schools. They acknowledge drawing insights from ethnography, socioloinguistics, functional and social behaviour, speech act theory, pragmatics, the Birmingham School, the functional-semantic theory of systemic linguistics and critical discourse analysis to obtain a range of detailed, systematic analyses of linguistic patterns in casual English speech at a number of different levels. The benefits of drawing upon such a wide range of analytical approaches, they

emphasise, was that it enabled comprehensive rather than fragmentary analysis of casual conversation: much the same reason that, in my own much smaller and narrower way, I chose to adopt a three-cornered approach drawing upon the work of both Halliday and Labov.

In the interpretation of their data, Eggins and Slade considered them in the context of a whole range of sociological (and hence I would say socio-contextual) factors such as status relations, degrees of familiarity and – particularly interesting from my point of view – 'differential affiliations in conversations involving family groups, workplace colleagues and close friends'. (Eggins & Slade, 1997:312-314) Throughout their work, Eggins and Slade say, they seek to demonstrate "how the techniques (of analysis) presented permit both the quantitative analysis of synoptic characteristics of casual talk, and the more dynamic analysis of patterns in the unfolding of the talk move by move." (Eggins & Slade, 1997:312-314)

5.4.2 Methodology: the practice

Having undertaken a very brief review of the literature on research methodologies in applied linguistics, and having cited a precedent for the kind of exploratory-quantitative-interpretative model I will myself adopt, it remains now for me now to detail how I will apply this methodology. I will first look at how I went about determining the nature of the functional role played by the media in Britain and China. I will then consider the analysis itself, looking at the criteria used for selection of individual texts, and how the analyses of those texts were carried out: and finally I will describe the way in which the findings themselves were interpreted.

5.4.2.1 Determining functional role of the media in Britain and China

I adopted a two-pronged approach in my attempt to arrive at a view of what the functional role played by the media in Britain and China is. I wanted to hear what journalists themselves had to say about the work they did, and what they themselves felt the function of the newspapers they were working for was. But I also wanted to get an 'external', possibly more objective view of the actual role the media was playing in each country.

I therefore determined both to write to the editors of leading newspapers in Britain and China soliciting their views, and also to research the literature on the role of the media in the two countries. By combining both perceptions, I hoped to achieve a

reasonably balanced and comprehensive view of the role the media actually played in each society.

A copy of the letters sent to newspapers in each country are attached at Appendix 2 and 3. The letters to Chinese and British editors differ slightly in detail (due to what I felt would be the greater sensitivity of soliciting this kind of information from a senior Chinese professional) but in substance are the same.

As will be seen from Chapter 6, while I had detailed replies from several of the British newspapers, I received not a single reply from the Chinese editors. Possible reasons for this are discussed in Chapter 6. When arriving at a view of what the functional role of the media in China is, therefore, I had to rely on the literature, and on recently-published speeches of leading Party figures such as Chinese president and Party chairman Jiang Zemin.

The information gathered (from the literature, British editors and Chinese political speeches) about the role of the media in each country was assessed and discussed qualitatively and has been summed up in a series of key points in the conclusion to Chapter 6. It was subsequently used as the socio-contextual framework against which to interpret results of the quantitative analysis of texts carried out in Chapters 7-9.

5.4.2.2 The analysis

5.4.2.2.1 Criteria for selection of texts

My reason for choosing to analyse texts from the *China Daily* and *The Times* have been given in section 5.2 above. Other criteria for selection of texts were dictated by practical considerations.

I wanted my research as far as possible to be reliable. Clearly, in the case of a quantitative analysis such as that envisaged, the larger the sample, the more reliable the resulting data. However, I was limited in terms of sample size by my ability to process a large number of texts. Secondly, this work was not intended as an exhaustive and final analysis of a specific group of two sets of texts from two different contexts. It was intended as a demonstration that the approach to linguistic analysis adopted was a valid and useful one. For practical purposes, therefore, I limited myself to analysis of 50 texts each from *China Daily* and *The Times.* This, I felt, was a sufficiently large sample to yield meaningful initial results – and therefore to indicate whether or not the approach adopted was likely to be valid – and yet not so large as to make my task practically impossible.

Having decided on the number of texts to analyse, I then established certain criteria for selection of those texts. For practical reasons, I decided that texts were all to be between 200 and 600 words long (so that, once again, the analysis would not be impossibly time consuming); would be chosen over the Internet; and would all date from the same narrow period of time – January to March 1997. Within the exception of these basic criteria I decided that selection of texts would be at random, to avoid any possibility of deliberate bias on my part.

I quickly ran into two problems, however – problems which required me to subsequently re-define my selection criteria. First, having done the analysis of 50 English texts, chosen from the Internet, I began to try to select Chinese texts. I then found that because *China Daily* had not been available on the Internet during 1997, I had to choose texts from January to March 1998 instead. For the purposes of accurate comparison, therefore, I had to choose a fresh set of *Times* texts from the same period of time as that from which the *China Daily* texts were chosen.

The second problem was one I should have foreseen. Most of the articles about international news carried in the *China Daily* are *written* by 'foreign' - i.e. non-Chinese – news agencies. These are clearly marked 'Agencies via Xinhua', and are stylistically quite different from the articles by the *China Daily's* Chinese staff reporters. It is likely therefore that the linguistic features they display would be different. Including these articles in the analysis could therefore clearly affect the outcome of any analysis.

For this reason, I decided to alter my selection criteria. They are now as follows: articles between 200-600 words in length, about 'home' news, published over the Internet in the period January to March 1998. It is my hope and belief that by selecting only home news from both sets of newspapers, I have avoided the distortion caused by the use of agency copy in the *China Daily*, while at the same time retaining a valid, 'like with like' basis for comparison.

Again, with the exception of these criteria, texts were chosen at random.

A list of the texts chosen is given in Tables 3 and 4 below. The complete texts themselves can be found in Appendices 7 and 8.

Table 3: Texts from China Daily

(All date from between 01/10/98 to 31/03/98)

Text Number	Title	Length (in words)	Date
No 1	Steps taken to combat dumping	236	07/02/98
No.2	'One country,two systems' stressed –: Qian	590	16/02/98
No.3	Chen heads list of 10 best	286	19/03/98
No.4	Progress achieved in bilateral co-operation	260	24/01/98
No.5	Chinese aiming to hit tourist trail abroad	455	08/01/98
No.6	Border mine removal operation completed	419	16/03/98
No.7	Robobank wins licence for Shanghai operations	255	24/02/98
No.8	President meets with US media executives	275	02/01/98
No.9	Plan to restructure welcomed	269	12/03/98
No.10	Shanghai's folks obese, population shrinking	276	19/02/98
No.11	Customs recover US$ 180m for State	262	12/01/98
No.12	Jiang stresses ties with Japan	292	25/02/98
No.13	New fares to encourage residents to take taxis	471	22/03/98
No.14	Securities investment becomes the prime choice	549	20/01/98
No.15	Heavy rains wreak havoc on Fujian	228	23/02/98
No.16	Accusation, prosecution concerning FM official	252	12/02/98
No.17	Qiao urges efforts on HK prosperity	245	11/02/98
No.18	Premier asks customs to step up contributions	324	14/01/98
No.19	Ties among big nations essential	253	22/01/98
No.20	Beijing tightens control over fireworks in city	523	04/02/98
N0.21	Weather afflicts southern crop lands	238	04/02/98
No.22	Over 27 tone of poisoned alcohol seized in Shanxi	262	07/02/98
No.23	Lens focus on conferences	200	20/03/98
No.24	HK stocks plummet, driven by bank rates	457	13/01/98
No.25	Art auctions mushroom	260	30/03/98
No.26	Copies of masterpieces of high-tech to come out	550	30/03/98
No.27	Woosnam to design golf course near Great Wall	260	26/03/98
No.28	Chongqing plans ambitious move	429	16/03/98
No.29	Office tower to be ready	255	30/03/98
No.30	Shanghai brokerage biggest and busiest	254	27/01/98
No.31	Delivery made – on the nose	270	26/01/98
No.32	New seismic design rules to support contractors	416	23/01/98
No.33	Anti-drug campaign handles 29% more cases	373	21/01/98
No.34	Great Wall branches into Shenzhen shares	378	31/03/98
No.35	Share issue set to propel turbine firm	268	31/03/98
No.36	HK charity gives funds to victims of earthquake	240	21/03/98
No.37	Investigation launched against accounting fraud	398	21/03/98
No.38	Premier to go on first foreign trip	337	25/03/98
No.39	Hong Kong's future full of hope	241	24/01/98
No.40	Woman sprinter heads Asian 10 best	442	19/01/98
No.41	Chinese swimming hit by doing doping shame	382	16/01/98
No.42	Mainland to export live chicken to Hong Kong	403	04/02/98
No.43	Sessions coverage encouraged	223	06/02/98
No.44	Markets halt prolonged slide	369	29/03/98
No.45	Survey: Urbanites lose appetite for poetry	318	31/03/98
No.46	Prospective listed firms must be profitable	303	03/03/98
No.47	Beijing's Sun Tendy sues US company	292	18/03/98
No.48	Securities market seen expanding at suitable pace	438	13/03/98
No.49	Special consumer phone line opened	280	13/03/98
No.50	People's rights better protected	342	11/03/98

Table 4: Texts from The Times

(All date from between 01/01/98 to 31/03 98)

Text Number	Title	Length (in words)	Date
No.1	Loyalist gunmen attack New Year revellers	448	01/01/98
No.2	More privatised trains run late as fares increase	570	08/01/98
No.3	Parents urged to give more maths coaching at home	418	19/01/98
No.4	Companies unwilling to back breast cancer test	432	03/02/98
No.5	Blair condemns Diana stories	372	15/02/98
No.6	Lottery cash to help every child play an instrument	396	01/03/98
No.7	Weekend Warriors with a job to do	327	16/03/98
No.8	Revised Lord's Prayer divides the Church	250	12/02/98
No.9	British children the most selfish	268	08/03/98
No.10	NHS pays £19m for system that will save £1.9m	575	12/03/98
No.11	Parties to start work on detail of peace deal	415	14/01/98
No.12	Princess's diver takes Powell on last journey	388	18/02/98
No.13	Bicycle girl,12, freewheeled off cliff in the Alps	526	06/03/98
No.14	Motorists arrested drunken doctor	250	07/01/98
No.15	Blair and Brown tension grows	468	19/01/98
No.16	Portillo legacy is likely target of Labour cuts	358	28/02/98
No.17	Voting reforms could be in place by next election	454	09/03/98
N0.18	Judges move to restore confidence in sentencing	341	22/01/98
No.19	Supermarket and hospital car parking may be taxed	456	11/03/98
No.20	Maze prisoners reject plea to support peace talks	390	07/01/98
No.21	More child-sex offenders to go free	408	13/03/98
No.22	Middle class to foot bill for Budget reforms	564	14/03/98
No.23	Council tax rises face voters' veto	532	02/02/98
No.24	Pensioner task force to improve the lives of the old	437	16/02/98
No.25	Soldier 'killed his stepdaughter and buried her body'	570	17/03/98
No.26	Hall calls on Newcastle fans to rally round	526	25/03/98
No.27	Bar crown court monopoly to end	320	20/01/98
No.28	Navy officer accused of sexually taunting female crew	460	20/01/98
No.29	Town hall loyalty test for Labour	393	07/02/98
No.30	Police chiefs get power to sack corrupt officers	551	21/03/98
No.31	Outside agencies may investigate police complaints	534	24/03/98
No.32	Budget to restore cuts in benefits	210	25/02/98
No.33	Refugees given tickets for Britain	249	26/03/98
No.34	Rush to beat tax deadline	245	31/01/98
No.35	Fewer houses to be built on farmland	566	26/01/98
No.36	Prescott doused with icy water at pop awards	331	01/02/98
No.37	Mandelson announces birth of a Baby Dome	289	23/02/98
No.38	School will not punish Straw's son	510	04/01/98
No.39	British Jews snub Cook	450	27/03/98
No.40	Queen pops into haunted local	535	28/03/98
No.41	Labour's poll lead survives squalls	205	29/01/98
No.42	Media face ban on cash to witnesses	270	23/02/98
No.43	Jobless offered cut-price travel	210	30/03/98
No.44	Blair to apologise for Bloody Sunday	487	11/01/98
No.45	Connery denied knighthood over Scots nationalist links	349	22/02/98
No.46	Irvine calls for curbs that would suppress Cook story	434	05/02/98
No.47	Teachers take second jobs to pay for repairs to their school	498	31/03/98
No.48	Relatives see film of sunken trawler	249	31/03/98
No.49	Foreign cities have shown Britain the way	217	26/03/98
No.50	Tax credit for poorer families will go to women	314	12/02/98

5.4.2.2.2 Analysis of texts: the procedure

I adopted a quantitative approach to the actual analysis of texts, because I wanted the data generated to be as controlled, objective and reliable as possible. I wanted to demonstrate that the data generated would be replicable, and immune to disagreement or argument (other than, for example, about sample size, or about whether I had correctly identified specific linguistic features).

The approaches to textual analysis adopted were, as already explained, the systems of Theme and Transitivity drawn from Halliday, and evaluation drawn from Labov. Each focuses on a different aspect of language, and identifies particular structural features of the clause. Details of the specific linguistic features identified by each of these approaches is given in the relevant chapter (Chapters 7-9).

I applied each system to analysis of the 100 texts in turn. Each text was analysed individually under each of the three systems, with a different coloured pen being used to highlight features identified under each system. The results were then presented in the form of detailed tables (see Appendices **9-23**) showing the complete breakdown into linguistic elements for every clause in each of the 100 texts. Where a sentence included two or more dependent clauses, each clause was counted for the purposes of my analysis as a unit clause. The total number of clauses given for each text was the total number of these unit clauses, not the number of sentences. Therefore there were altogether 1176 clauses in the 50 Chinese newspaper texts and 1645 clauses in the British newspaper texts.

For ease of interpretation, the findings were summarised in simpler tables.

5.4.2.3 Interpretation of data

A combined quantitative and qualitative approach was adopted towards the interpretation of data. I felt it was important to include a qualitative element in the interpretation because – as Ian Dey points out in his 1993 *Qualitative data Analysis: A User-friendly Guide for Social Scientists* – while qualitative assessments are less standardised and precise than quantitative statistical assessments, they are far more illuminating about social aspects of life (Dey,1993:67). What I wanted to do was plausibly interpret my quantitative data in the light of the differing social environments in which the two sets of texts were produced.

I therefore adopted an approach in which I attempted to explain the differences in frequency of occurrence found between the two sets of texts as a result of the quantitative analysis in the light of my independently-arrived-at assessment of the

functional role played by the media in each society, and by reference to the way certain linguistic features were actually used in texts. The way the dual quantitative/ qualitative approach effectively operated was that the quantitative analysis effectively highlighted potentially interesting areas of difference in the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features between the two sets of texts. Using a qualitative approach I was then able, by looking at texts in which the potentially interesting linguistic features occurred, to attempt to relate those occurrences to the socio-cultural conditions in which those texts were produced: and in particular to the differing functional roles of the British and Chinese media.

Clearly, since my interpretation of data is partly a qualitative one, it is open to argument and counter-suggestion. All I can say is that the interpretations I have given seem to me on the evidence available to be the most plausible explanations for the differences found.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have set out as clearly as possible what it is that I am seeking to achieve in the course of this research. I have outlined the kinds of questions to which I am seeking answers, formulated hypotheses, and set out clearly what I believe I need to achieve to demonstrate the plausibility of those hypotheses.

I have also described the methodology I will use: essentially an exploratory-quantitative-interpretative model of research as described by Grotjahn, which employs a dual quantitative/ qualitative approach to interpretation of results. I have also cited a precedent for a similar approach: Eggins and Slade's 1997 work on analysing casual English conversation.

Having set out the background to my work, and discussed the methodologies to be adopted, I will in the next chapter begin my research proper by looking at the evidence for the functional role played by the media in Britain and in China. Then, in Chapters 7-9, I will move on to the analysis of newspaper texts from each country.

CHAPTER SIX

A comparison of the perceived functional role of newspapers in Britain and China

6.1 Introduction

The hypothesis which underlies my analysis of newspaper texts from Britain and China is that the functional role played by the media in Britain and China differs, and that this difference directly affects the way the language is used in the two countries' media.

However, this is so far no more than a hypothesis. Before proceeding further, therefore, I need to look at the evidence for this difference in functional role. That is what I intend to do in this chapter.

My intention was to do this in two ways; firstly, by examining the literature from both societies for evidence of what the functional role of the media in each society was taken to be; and secondly by consulting working journalists themselves in each society about what they perceived the function of the newspapers they worked for to be.

The first approach proved straightforward enough. The second was more difficult. In my attempts to consult journalists, I wrote to the editors of every national newspaper in Britain, and received replies from more than two thirds of those I approached. However, my approaches to newspaper editors in China prompted not a single reply. The implications of this are discussed later. For the purposes of this thesis, meanwhile, I have had to rely on the published literature and on statements of leading Government and party officials in China when arriving at a working view of the function the media has to play within Chinese society.

I will begin with a review of the literature on the role of newspapers and the media generally; firstly in the West, secondly in China.

6.2 The function of newspapers in society - the theory

6.2.1 The West

Journalists in Western societies have traditionally prided themselves on two things perhaps above all: independence and objectivity. Independence, that is, of external influence and control: and objectivity of reporting. Roger Fowler, in his 1991 book *Language in the News*, gives an admirably clear account of this conventional view of the role of the media in western society. "Newspaper coverage of world events," he says, in the preface to his book, "is presented as the unbiased recording of 'hard facts'"

(Fowler, 1991:1). In Chapter 1 of *Language in the News* he develops the theme. The view taken by the journalist of his or her job, Fowler says, is as follows. "He or she collects facts, reports them objectively and the newspaper presents them fairly and without bias, in language which is designed to be unambiguous, undistorting and agreeable to readers. This professional ethos is common to all the news media, Press, radio and television, and it is certainly what the journalist claims in any general statement on the matter." (Fowler, 1991:1)

To substantiate this assertion about the journalist's view of his or her job, Fowler quotes a telling statement from Andrew Neill, then editor of the *Sunday Times*, in an introduction to a book on the 1984-85 miners' strike. In his statement, Neill made it clear that it was the view of the *Sunday Times* – the newspaper he edited – that the miners' strike had to be defeated. "Our views, however, were kept to where they belong in a quality newspaper: the editorial column," Neill wrote. "For us the miners' strike was above all a massive reporting and analysing task to give our readers an impartial and well-informed picture of what was really happening." (Cited in Fowler, 1991:1-2)

Providing an 'impartial and well-informed picture of what is really happening' is an ideal that many journalists may still believe that they are striving towards. A quick look at many of the statements from British newspaper editors discussed in section 5.3 reveals that it is still dear to many editors' hearts (though not all; and certainly the aim of entertaining as well as informing is also becoming increasingly common). The reality, though, may be somewhat different.

In recent years, however, the professional journalist's view of himself as an impartial reporter of hard fact has increasingly been challenged by academics studying the workings of the news media. Their researches have revealed a quite different picture of what appears to be going on in the western news media. Far from being the unbiased reporters of hard fact they claim to be, the various media have been revealed to be driven by their own views of the world, interpreting facts in the light of their particular world view. News today is seen more as a social construct which does as much to shape the world within which it exists as to mirror it.

As early as 1977 Stuart Hall in his classic paper *Culture, the media and the 'ideological effect'* articulated with powerful clarity a view of the media as the constructor of a world view subscribed to by others. As society became increasingly fragmented, he pointed out, the media had established a 'decisive and fundamental leadership' in the cultural sphere of life. Increasingly, it was through the media that particular groups and classes of people constructed an image of the lives, meanings,

practices and values of other groups and classes of people. The first of the 'great cultural functions' of the media, Hall said, was "the provision and the selective construction of social knowledge, of social imagery, through which we perceive the 'worlds', the 'lived realities' of others." (Hall, 1977, in Curran, Gurevitch & Woollacott, eds. 1977:340-341)

Not only was the media instrumental in constructing the image ordinary people had of the 'lives, meanings, practices and values' of other people and groups of people, though: it also had an important role to play in accomplishing what Hall and others referred to as **hegemony.** Raymond Williams argued in 1973 that while in any particular period of time, a particular society exhibited a dominant or central system of practices, meanings and values, this dominant system or culture could not embrace the full scope of value and beliefs of that society. "No mode of production and therefore no dominant society or order … and therefore no dominant culture in reality exhausts human practice, human energy, human intention," he wrote. (Williams, 1973:166) What constituted such a dominant system, Williams argued, were the mechanisms which enabled it to select, incorporate (and also exclude) belief, value and meaning systems within it.

Williams, Hall said, clearly owed much to Gramsci's earlier notion of hegemony in developing his theory of dominant culture. Gramsci argued that hegemony exists when a ruling class (or alliance of classes) is able to coerce a subordinate class to conform to its interests and exert a 'total social authority' over those classes and the social formation as a whole. (Gramsci, 1968) The media, Hall said, was one of the agencies through which a ruling social class or classes was able to establish and maintain hegemony. (Hall, 1977:119)

This view of the media as creator and shaper of the world views of others and as the tool of established authority began to become widespread among certain academic circles in the late 1970s. Many other researchers of the period began to articulate similar views about the role of the western media. Thus Tom Burns in his 1977 paper *The Organisation of Public Opinion* looked at the power of the media in influencing public opinion. Among the greatest of the powers held by the print and broadcast media, he noted, was their ability to select certain issues for discussion and decision and to ignore others. Perhaps the greatest constraint of all, he said, lay in the convention of 'news tasting' – the process by which a chief sub-editor or news editor decided, almost instantly, which messages coming through to the office were to count as news and

which were not. Implicit in this process is the notion of selection: not a concept that sits easily alongside the avowed aim of telling things as they are.

A further constraint identified by Burns was the commercial. Because of commercial considerations, Burns said, newspapers were competing not simply for readers, but for money – and, more particularly (because of advertising) for readers with money to spend. The consequence of this, Burns said, was that the full range of public opinion was not being catered for by the media. "Minorities with high spending power find themselves excellently catered for. Minorities who have less pull on advertisers find themselves neglected. There is no newspaper their money can buy." (Burns, 1977, in Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott, eds. 1977:66-67)

John Westergaard, in his paper *Power, Class and the Media* articulated much the same view. While newspapers in Western society may try to be politically independent from government or political parties, he pointed out, they were inevitably trapped by commercial interests and the need for financial support. Thus, he said, "throughout the Western world, the great majority of newspapers and commercial journals of opinion speak with editorial voices of conservative tone and – despite common disclaimers of party affiliation – lend their normal support to bourgeois parties where these are opposed by parties of labour". (Westergaard, 1977, in Curran, Gurevitch & Woollacott, eds. 1977: 95)

What emerges from this explosion of work on the nature and role of the media in the late 1970s, then, is a view of the print and broadcast media quite different from that held previously. Burns, in his 1977 paper, articulates this change in view quite nicely. "Perhaps the biggest change over the past ten years has been the enormous increase in the criticism of the claim by newspapers and, especially, broadcasting, that it served as a mirror, whose due task was to 'reflect society as it is.' This was certainly the dominant view of television's role in the early sixties. The claim that the media serve as a kind of inertial guidance system for the nation, casting a neutral, impartial, balanced but observant eye on the life of the nation and the world at large and giving an inevitably selected but honest account of what is there, has been challenged by the conception of newspapers and broadcasting as instruments of power." (Westergaard, 1977, in Curran, Gurevitch & Woollacott, eds. 1977: 97)

While in the academic world, the view of the media as a force rooted in vested interests and acting as a powerful instrument for influencing and even creating our view of social reality in a way commensurate with those interests had clearly begun to take hold by the 1970s, it seems likely that journalists themselves were slower to give up the

view of the media as an unbiased mirror on reality. The statement from Andrew Neill printed above, while making it clear that his newspaper has views, also seeks to claim those views are expressed separately from the sections of the newspaper devoted to unbiased reporting of facts. As will be seen from the statements from newspaper editors given in section 5.3, this attempt to separate opinion from the objective, unbiased reporting of facts is still upheld as an ideal by a number of the more 'serious' broadsheet newspapers. Nevertheless, while independence and the separation of opinion from fact continue to be considered important by many editors, there is a growing recognition that factors such as commercial interests and the need to attract and entertain readers of a certain kind are increasingly important (see Section 6.3).

Perhaps the best recent account of the current state of academic thinking on the role of the media is given by Fowler himself in *Language in the News*. His elegant statement of the journalist's conventional view of his/ her job reproduced above was given only to be then subjected to a rigorous critique. Summarising much of the academic work of the previous 20 years – the work, for example, of the Glasgow University Media Group and of Stuart Hall and his colleagues at the University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies – Fowler articulates an 'alternative (to the journalists' own view) picture of news practices; a picture which is current generally among sociologists and other students of the media'. On this model, he says, news is socially constructed. "What events are reported is not a reflection of the intrinsic importance of those events, but reveals the operation of a complex and artificial set of criteria for selection. Then, the news that has been thus selected is subject to processes of transformation as it is encoded for publication..... Both 'selection' and 'transformation' are guided by reference, generally unconscious, to ideas and beliefs." (Fowler, 1991:2). The language used in the media, Fowler says, is in fact not neutral at all, but a highly constructive mediator.

Clearly, on current thinking, what a newspaper is doing is far from providing simply an 'impartial and well-informed picture of what is really happening'. In fact, it is widely accepted in academic circles at least that journalists' unconscious ideas and beliefs (and the ideas and beliefs of media proprietors and of the vested interests they represent) are being brought into play not only in the way journalists present information in written texts, but also in what they choose to report and not to report. There is also widespread acknowledgement of the commercial, big-business and power constraints acting upon the media. Analysis of media reports, Fowler says, can reveal how the structure and presentation of reports is frequently dominated by often unstated

and usually unquestioned 'abstract propositions' – such as the proposition 'wage increases cause inflation' which, says Fowler, the Glasgow Group discovered dominated the television presentation of industrial news in the first half of 1975. "It is .... claimed by students of the media," Fowler says, "that such propositions tend to be consonant with the ideas of the controlling groups in an industrialist-capitalist society, because news is an industry with its own commercial self-interest." So not only are the unconscious beliefs and ideas of journalists, editors, proprietors and the interests they represent being brought to bear on what is reported and how it is reported: but commercial and businesses considerations are too.

On this view of the news, then, news reporting is intrinsically biased. Far from neutrally reflecting social reality and empirical facts, Fowler says, news is a discourse which intervenes in the 'social construction of reality' – a nice restatement of Hall's own view.

News media texts, of course, are not alone in this respect. "What is being claimed about news can equally be claimed about *any* representational discourse," Fowler says. "Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium. If we can acknowledge this as a positive, productive principle, we can go on to show by analysis how it operates in texts."

6.2.2 The role of the media in China

The traditional view of the role of the media in China, especially before the economic reforms of the late 1970s, was of the media as a tool for mass propaganda and persuasion by the ruling Chinese Communist Party. According to this model, says Zhao Yuezhi in his 1998 book *Media, Market and Democracy in China*, the Chinese news media were tightly controlled instruments of political indoctrination and mass mobilisation. "Most notable in this tradition are studies of how the Party used the radio and press to propagate its goals and promote changes in the attitudes and behaviour of the people in the early 1950s and early 1960s," says Zhao. "The Party's own conception of the media – as its mouthpiece – provided further evidence to support this interpretation." (Zhao, 1998:4)

The Party press first developed in China in 1922, the year after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, with the publication of the first Party organ, the *Guide (Xiangdao*向导*)*. The model for the Party press appears to have been the Russian

Pravda, although it also had roots in the radical journals published in the late 1910s during the struggle against imperialism and the Chinese warlords. (Zhao, 1998:6)

The Party media developed during the CCP's long struggle, first with Chiang Kai-shek's nationalists, then with the Japanese, and then with the Nationalists again. By the time the CCP liberated China in 1949 the Party press was already established as an ideological and propaganda tool: a role that it maintained throughout the Mao years.

Things changed, however. Since the late 1970s China has gone through massive economic and industrial change, and has opened up to the influence of western society and culture in a way perhaps never before seen. The question is: has the role of the Chinese media changed? The answer appears to be both yes and no.

Zhao, a former Chinese journalist himself and now assistant professor of communications at the University of California at San Diego, acknowledges that the Party continues to control the Chinese news media. Nevertheless, he insists, the mass propaganda and persuasion model is becoming increasingly inadequate as a description of the role of the Chinese media. "A growing body of literature," he says, "has persuasively documented that the news media are moving away from the Party's prescription of political and ideological indoctrination." (Zhao, 1998:4.)

Lee Chin-Chuan in his 1990 paper *Mass Media: Of China, about China* (in Lee, CC, ed, *Voices of China: The Interplay of Politics and Journalism,* Guildford Press, 1990) says the influence of the state on media output, while still there, is becoming less intrusive. A reduction in the emphasis on ideology has made it possible for various cultural genres, livelier media entertainment and other less ideologically loaded materials to flourish, he says. Certainly since 1993 it is true that more pages in newspapers have been freed up so that they can provide news, articles and features of their own. Lee also notes that Mao's successors have encouraged the media to "focus on promoting economic modernisation instead of class struggle", leaving China "far less totalistic in the ideological arena." (Lee, 1990:46)

None of this, however, means that the role of the media as a tool for dissemination of Party ideology and thinking has come to an end. Far from it. "It is certainly true," says Zhao, "that the rise of mass communication, especially television, has brought profound changes to the ideological landscape. The increasing variety and liveliness of cultural entertainment forms, together with a reduced, explicitly propagandist content, has resulted in a proliferation of new symbolic forms. This does not mean, however, that the media are no longer doing ideological work or politically dominating. Indeed, the media's promotion of consumerism is no less ideological than

their promotion of class struggle during the Mao era. An argument can be made that while Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought have lost their grip on the population, the ideology of national and personal development through the market has replaced them. While this powerful ideology is more implicit, its grip on the people is no less totalistic." (Zhao, 1998:6)

While the message may have changed, seems to be the view, the function of the media in propagating those messages the Party wishes propagated probably has not. Where once the media were used by the Party to push Mao Zedong Thought, now they are used to push the benefits of commercialisation and industry. A limited relaxation of strict controls on the media to allow a greater emphasis on culture and entertainment, moreover, has not changed its central function as mouthpiece of the Party. The Party itself certainly still views the Chinese media in this light. Li Gucheng, in a 1999 article in *Ming Pao Monthly* (my own translation), says that while Post-Mao Party leaders have tried to reduce the CCP's control of the media by stressing the independent, commercial nature of the media as an industry, even today Chinese president and party chairman Jiang Zemin continues to stress that the main function of the media is to act as a *mouthpiece* of both the Party and the people (Li, 1999:39).

Obtaining information about official policy in China for the purposes of research such as this is not easy: a fact confirmed by John Howkins in his 1982 book *Mass Communication in China*. "Information on China is very scarce," he wrote. "The bare necessities of government statistics, handbooks and reference books, natonal trade and professional associations, academic studies, consultants' reports, and market research have been and mostly still are unobtainable." (Howkins, 1982:xiii). Nevertheless, from my own experience as a former journalist and university teacher who worked for many years in China, I can attest to the importance of the Chinese news media as a way of disseminating Party ideology even today. Every Chinese work unit (danwei 单位) from government departments to factories, schools and hospitals regularly receives government 'red-headlined documents' (红头文件) instructing them to subscribe to certain newspapers, such as the *People's Daily* and the newspaper of the local government (for example the *Beijing Daily*). When important speeches are made by Party leaders such as Jiang Zemin or important leader articles are written conveying new policies or ideas of the Party and government, all work units receive notice requiring them to organise sessions of staff study of these speeches/ articles as reproduced in the newspapers. These political study sessions are a part of the regular timetable of all work units, usually falling on Monday evening or Thursday afternoon.

The means used by the Party to control the Chinese media has been experienced by a number of Western journalists who have worked for publications such as the *China Daily* in China.

Jean Conley and Stephen Tripoli worked as 'polishers' (sub-editors) on the *China Daily* from mid 1986 to mid 1987. Although excluded as foreigners from sensitive meetings to discuss editorial line, they were able to piece together from discussions with Chinese colleagues a reasonably accurate picture of how the 'correct' Party line was passed on to the newspaper. In their 1992 paper *Changes of line at China Daily* they give the following account: "The Party's control over the news media is exercised through the Propaganda Department, which answers directly to the Central Committee. Propaganda officials, according to *China Daily* staff members, meet with media leaders regularly (usually every two weeks) to discuss news events and to deliver the Party line on how they should be covered." (Conley & Tripoli, 1992, in Robin Porter, ed. 1992:36)

Conley and Tripoli also give a vivid description of how, when there is no clear Party line or the Party is divided, editors struggling to choose the correct line to take can find themselves on the horns of a dilemma. Conley and Tripoli no longer worked on the *China Daily* at the time of the 1989 Tian'anmen Square incident: but were able to speak to former colleagues who were. According to two *China Daily* staff members, they say, there was a period from the last week of April to May 20 (when martial law was declared) when the 'disarray within the Party was so complete' that Propaganda Department officials did not hold their regular meetings with any top Beijing editors. It was later revealed, Conley and Tripoli say, that the meetings with Propaganda officials stopped during this period because of a rift at the very highest levels of the Party – between China's paramount leader Deng Xiaoping and then Party chairman Zhao Ziyang – over how much to restrain press coverage of the growing protest movement. Whatever its cause, the lack of meetings, Conley and Tripoli say, "left the editors in a very difficult position indeed. Whose line were they to follow? The stakes for them personally, and for the country, could be very high, and they were all aware of it." (Conley & Tripoli, 1992:36)

The result was that *China Daily*'s then top editor Chen Li took a "very cautious path in the absence of outside guidance. Chen's policy was, in a nutshell, to do less than other newspapers and to do it later. If a story about student demonstrations ran in one newspaper, *China Daily* would run a shorter version the next day."

The *China Daily*'s coverage of events fluctuated over the next few weeks as one faction or the other appeared in the ascendant, Conley and Tripoli say: though at all stages it remained rather more cautious than other newspapers. Following the May 20 declaration of martial law, though, say Conley and Tripoli, there was little doubt about the way in which the *China Daily* coverage (and that of other newspapers) would go. The Party line was once more clear and unambiguous.

The fluctuating nature of coverage of the Tian'anmen incident by the Chinese media, as editors tried to second-guess the 'correct' line and just how far they could go in the absence of the customary direct Party input, is as clear evidence as any of the extent of Party control of the Chinese media.

That was in 1989. Over the past decade, according to Zhao Yuezhi, the news media in China has undergone significant changes. The system has been partially commercialised: market forces have penetrated virtually every corner of the media. "Many news organisations," he says, "have achieved financial independence and turned into profitable business enterprises." (Zhao, 1998:151)

Nevertheless, he insists, despite this increased commercialisation, many of the defining characteristics of the Chinese news media system remain unchanged. "The Party still retains overt political control of the news media. Indeed, rapid commercialisation has occurred during a period when the Party's political control has been the tightest." The precondition that the Party's power may not be threatened in the least remains unchanged or even strengthened, he notes. "There is still no editorial independence, and no independent ownership of the news media is allowed. As a result, the news media have not emerged as an independent public sphere outside the Party/ state apparatus proper." (Zhao, 1998:151)

One result of the Party's increasing drive to promote market forces and business is that criticism of business interests by the media has effectively become a no-go area, Zhao says. "The Party still claims that the media are the voice of the Party. One journalism educator claimed that since there are no fundamental conflicts of interest among the people, the dominance of commercialism in the media is not a problem. What is good for business is good for the people.....The media are not only unable to be watchdogs over the Party and the government, but they are also unable to be critical of business interests." (Zhao, 1998:152)

6.3 The function of newspapers in society - the practice

6.3.1 Introduction

In order to solicit from newspaper editors a statement of what they perceive the function their publication plays within society to be, I wrote to the editors of all twelve national daily newspapers in Britain and the editors of sixteen of the most influential national newspapers in China. The newspapers written to are listed in Appendix 1.

I drafted two letters - one to send to the editors of British newspapers, and one to the editors of the Chinese newspapers. The two were essentially the same - although there were some important differences dictated principally by the greater political sensitivity in China. Thus both sets of letters set out to explain who I was and the nature of the research work upon which I was engaged. My letters explained that the areas I was interested in were to do with the way in which the function a newspaper plays in society is reflected in features such as choice of items considered newsworthy, balance of informative, critical and entertainment items, and language style. In order to try and prevent suspicions of political bias, I also took pains to make clear in both sets of letters that what I was interested in was not the effect of censorship on choice of language or material, but the broader constraints journalists and editors face when making choices about what should be reported and how.

Where the two sets of letters differed was in the way they were presented. Thus, in my letter to British editors I summarised my assumptions about the different functional role of newspapers in the two countries. Since this is a highly sensitive issue in China, which has been repeatedly criticised by the Western media for its lack of a free press, I did not include this in my letter to Chinese editors, for fear of giving rise to suspicions about my motives. In the event, however, I did not receive replies to any of my letters to the editors of Chinese newspapers – an event perhaps significant in itself, for reasons discussed later. Copies of the two letters are attached at Appendices 2 and 3.

6.3.2 Findings

I received replies from ten of the twelve British newspaper editors I wrote to, and from none of the sixteen Chinese editors. For the purposes of this chapter, therefore, I have relied for my information on the perceived role and function of the media in China on published statements by the likes of Chinese Communist Party Chairman Jiang Zemin and other senior Chinese leaders, and on editorials published in various national newspapers such as the *People's Daily*. Since, as I have already explained, the Chinese Communist Party plays in a sense the role of proprietor of Chinese newspapers, I feel I have not lost too much for the purposes of this chapter by doing so.

6.3.2.1 British newspapers.

The responses from the British newspapers I wrote to are summarised in Table 5. Copies of the replies themselves are contained at Appendix 4.

From Table 5 it can be seen that of the eleven newspapers still in existence (*Today* newspaper went out of business) nine replied to my letter. Of those, three replied only to say they were unable to give me the information I required - the most usual reason being that they were too busy. The remaining six furnished me either with personal statements from the editors themselves, or else with general statements of aims for the newspaper. *The Guardian* supplied me with copies of written statements from all four of the applicants for the job of editor.

Table 5: The summary of the responses from the British Newspapers

Newspaper	Reply?	Professed aims	Avowed political stance
Mirror	Yes	Inform , entertain, reflect public voice , provide public platform, make profit	Left wing, support Labour but independent of political control
Sun	Yes	Entertain, inform , campaigning, objective, reflect public interest	Independent
Star	Yes	Entertain, inform, geared for young people, make profit	Right wing, independent
Express	No	---	---
Mail	Yes	no information	no information
Record (Scot)	Yes	no information	no information
Independent	Yes	no information	no information
Times	No	---	---
Guardian	Yes	Flexible, 'adapt to changing times', investigative, campaigning, truthful, honest, consistent in opinions, platform for variety of opinion, journalistic licence, within limits independent of proprietor, reader oriented, radical, profit	Left/ left of centre independent
Telegraph	Yes	Inform, comment , entertain	no information
Financial Times	Yes	Independent of proprietor, independent of advertisers, news, accurate, objective, balanced, comment and news separate, point of view consistent	no information
Today		---	---

NOTE - *Today* newspaper ceased to exist before a response could have been expected

A quick glance at the table reveals a number of features in common. All of those newspapers which gave information about their political stance claimed to be independent of political control, even where broadly supportive of one or other political stance. The statement by Colin Myler, Managing Director of both the *Daily* and *Sunday Mirror* (both avowedly left wing), is fairly typical: "Both can be described as independent newspapers of the left which means they generally support the Labour Party. However, they are by no means party newspapers. We reserve our right to disagree with any political party or policy which we believe does not serve the best interests of the readers or the country generally." William Newman, managing editor of *The Sun*, says his newspaper is "a campaigning newspaper produced for ordinary people and not for the politicians and the Fleet Street pundits" - a statement in which I take the idea of political independence to be implicit. Phil Walker, editor of *The Star*, says: "Politically we tend to support Tory values, but this does not stop us from criticising the Government (at that time, Conservative) whenever we see fit." Alan Rusbridger, editor of the *Guardian*, writes: "I cherish the paper's lack of awe for the establishment." *The Guardian*, he says, is a paper that "should be the main forum for the debate that will rage on the left and left-of-centre between now and the next election (in 1997, at which election the Labour Party came to power)." But he makes the newspaper's independence of political control and its stance almost as a self-appointed defender of the people's political rights and their rights to political knowledge clear when he adds: "Since it is by no means certain that the Labour Party will be keen on publicly airing many of its policies in advance of that election, *The Guardian*'s role will be all the more important."

The notion of political independence, then, whatever political stance the newspapers adopt, appears central to British journalists' view of their role. This notion of independence, however, clearly does not equate with lack of political bias, since three of the four newspapers which gave information on their political stance openly admitted to a political bias.

Other common aims which occur again and again are to 'inform and entertain'. This precise form of words is used by all three tabloid newspapers, but much the same thing is implied by the statements from the broadsheet newspapers. Thus, the *Financial Times* admits news 'may be colourful and exciting, but it must above all be accurate, objective and balanced', while the *Telegraph*'s statement of aims says: "The most important content is the hard news of the day which may affect readers, their country,

their work, pockets and homes. Health, industrial, business, political and city reports also form a big part of the day's hard news. Newspapers also publish information about leisure interests such as sports, the arts, motoring, fashion and entertainment."

The emphasis put on the balance between informing and entertaining does differ. Thus the above quote from the *Telegraph*, a broadsheet paper, makes it clear that 'hard news' - ie information - is its priority, while a 'popular' tabloid like *The Star*, which admits to aiming at a young readership, puts the emphasis on entertainment. Editor Phil Walker says: "We place strong emphasis on sport, pop music and other forms of entertainment. We know from experience that this is what our readers want. For the same reason we do not fill the paper with heavy, in-depth features, although we cover all the important news of the day." Despite a difference in emphasis, however, it is clear that in the view of senior working journalists these two features of entertaining and informing readers remain central.

Another common feature is the newspapers' awareness of their audience. Although the socio-economic groups which read the various newspapers differ greatly from each-other, newspapers across the spectrum are alike in claiming to know their own readers and what they want. Thus Alan Rusbridger refers to *The Guardian* as being 'reader oriented' and says: "*Guardian* readers are, by and large, intelligent, perceptive and well-informed. They expect, and deserve, something closer to a dialogue than a monologue." *The Star*, as seen, claims to know precisely what its young readers want, *The Sun* aims to be 'easy to read' and *The Mirror* aims to reflect the interests and values of readers 'as we perceive them'.

Frequently, this awareness of readers goes hand in hand with a stated desire to give them a platform to express their own views - *The Guardian*'s 'they expect, and deserve, something closer to a dialogue than a monologue' equated broadly to *The Mirror*'s aim to 'provide a public platform' through which readers interests and values can be expressed.

The other notion that is of particular interest is that of objectivity. Newspapers in the west have, as we saw in the previous section, conventionally claimed that they strive to be as objective as possible. A consideration of the statements from the six newspapers that gave substantial responses, however, reveals that this notion of journalistic objectivity is one that has become very muddied.

Of the tabloid newspapers, only *The Sun* makes a claim to objectivity. It is, however, a claim that on the face of it appears to be contradicted in the very next sentence. Managing editor William Newman writes: "We aim to inform and entertain

while maintaining an objective stand. We respond to and report on events that we believe to be of public interest." Since it is openly admitted that the choice of what to report and what not to report is based on the newspaper's own beliefs about what is and is not in the public interest, any claim to objectivity in selection of content must be taken with a pinch of salt.

That is not to say that on the basis of the statement from Mr Newman the paper could not at least be objective in the reporting of events it has unobjectively chosen to highlight. An analysis of the newspaper itself would quickly reveal whether or not this was the case. At this point it is sufficient to say that a statement such as '*The Sun* cares', with its emotive overtones, make it seem very unlikely.

The other two tabloid newspapers make no overt claim, here at least, to objectivity. Phil Walker, editor of *The Star*, openly admits his paper is governed by its "own 'feel' for what is responsible and in good taste" when choosing what to report. The paper's stated aim is clearly one of making profit, by increasing circulation among the targeted young readership by giving them what (in the paper's own view) they want. Clearly, a key constraint operating here, and one which will have a great influence not only on what is reported but how, is the need to sell newspapers and thus make a profit.

The Mirror claims to be politically independent, though generally supporting the Labour Party. But again it makes no claims to objectivity. It reserves the right 'to disagree with any political party or policy which *we believe* (my italics) does not serve the best interests of our readers or the country generally.' Its aims are to inform and entertain readers and to 'reflect their interests and values *as we perceive them'* (my italics). Again, the profit motive is acknowledged as a major constraint on choice of what is reported and how - " we have to ensure we are commercially successful by providing a sound business investment for our shareholders" - though the *Mirror* does claim to try to strike a balance between serving its readers and commercial success: "That in essence is the balance we try to achieve. Commercial success by representing the views and values of a particular section of the newspaper reading public in the UK."

In none of the tabloid newspapers is there any reference to attempts to separate news and comment in the interests of greater objectivity. This is something some broadsheet newspapers, with their presumably more 'sophisticated' readership, do attempt to do - most notably the *Financial Times*.

In its statement of editorial values, the paper says: "News and comment are kept apart. News may be colourful and exciting, but it must above all be accurate, objective and balanced. People who figure in a controversial news story should be given a chance

to put their side of the story prior to publication." Interesting, here, is the fact that while the paper makes quite clear what it means by 'balanced', there is no such account of what is meant by 'objective'. The implication, perhaps, is that we should all know what objectivity is. But equally easy to read into this omission is that the newspaper is confusing the notions of balance and objectivity - notions which are quite separate - and treating them as one and the same thing.

The *FT* goes further than any other newspaper in establishing its claims to independence and hence, presumably, objectivity. The paper is independent, it says, in that it is not subject to proprietorial bias. But it is also independent of commercial constraints: "Advertisers have no influence over editorial content. A clear distinction is drawn between editorial and advertising copy. Sponsorship is treated warily, and where it is allowed, it is clearly marked."

This newspaper, clearly, places a high premium on notions of independence, balance and objectivity, with readers being able to know immediately whether what they are reading is news, comment or advertising. Unfortunately, though, no attempt is made to explain just what the objectivity the newspaper is aiming for is, other than being balanced and accurate. Nor is there any reference to what drives choice of content, other than to say it is independent of proprietorial or advertising bias.

The brief statement from *The Telegraph* makes no direct reference to objectivity or the lack of it. There is, however, an implicit recognition of the distinction between news and comment. "Newspapers," it says, "report on nearly every aspect of human endeavour and offer their own comments on some". But there is no indication of any attempt to keep the two separate. And there appears to be a potential conflict of interest between objectivity and commercial demands in the passing reference to the fact that newspapers are used "as shop windows for those who wish to advertise."

The Guardian is another broadsheet newspaper that does not make overt claims towards objectivity. In his public statement made in January 1995 at the time he applied for the job, the newspaper's current editor Alan Rusbridger wrote: "It (*The Guardian*) is not a newspaper that boasts it is inevitably in full possession of the definitive truth. Its news pages do not always claim to present the once and for all gospel; its editorial columns do not faithfully rehearse a received or revealed line." There is, though, Mr Rusbridger says, an honest attempt to make the newspaper as accurate and truthful as is humanly possible. "There is an unspoken contract with the reader: this is our best and candid stab at the truth as far as we could ascertain it at the time we went to press. Our

opinions are, likewise, honestly based. Most of it, we believe, we have got right. If we have got anything wrong we will be back to tell you, equally honestly, tomorrow."

What Mr Rusbridger seems to be saying here is that while it may not be possible to report 'the truth', *The Guardian* honestly strives to approach as near to it as possible. Comment, it is implicitly suggested, is something kept separate from news, but is based upon the information reported therein. Objectivity, on this view, would seem to be an ideal to be striven for though rarely attained.

Again, as with the *FT*, there is insistence on the independence of the newspaper from both proprietorial and political influence - though not, here, from advertising influence. As we have already seen, though, this notion of independence is very far from being the same as lack of bias.

The statement from Mr Rusbridger on 'truth' contrasts interestingly with the covering letter from the newspaper's managing editor Brian Whitaker. "*The Guardian*," Mr Whitaker says, "has always been reluctant to make a definitive statement of its aims, values and role in society because it is felt that this would remove some of the flexibility needed to adapt to changing times." The aims, values and role in society of newspapers such as *The Guardian* would appear, on this reading, to change in accordance with changes in the society in which the newspapers function.

Summing up, then, there are a number of features that appear common to the way British editors perceive their newspapers and their job.

Perhaps most important is the emphasis placed upon independence - from political parties, from proprietorial control, from commercial influence. This independence does not, however, equate to lack of bias - a majority of editors and newspapers openly acknowledged that they had a political bias. Independence from what the readers expect of them, however, is clearly not on the agenda - the majority of newspapers claim they know what their readers want and aim to give it to them.

Awareness of audience, indeed, is high on the agenda. The majority of newspapers that responded are openly aware of the need to maintain or increase circulation in order to remain commercially viable. They claim to know their readership and to be able to give them what they want. Implicit in this is the fact that criteria for selecting what to report and how will be driven at least in part by perceptions of what readers want and expect.

Informing and entertaining readers are given as aims by almost all the newspapers - though the emphasis given to each varies. The *FT* and *The Telegraph* put

a high premium on informative news - while *The Star*, as seen, aims principally to entertain its young readers.

Investigating and holding to account of those in authority (particularly, though not exclusively, political authority) are also seen as important aims – with newspapers professing to act in the interests of their readers and the country, and independence of external control being emphasised. Thus *The Guardian's* Alan Rusbridger wrote of cherishing the paper's 'lack of awe' for the establishment, and emphasised its role in asking tough political questions in advance of the 1997 election.

Finally, some, especially the broadsheet newspapers, are driven by notions of objectivity. Two out of three tabloids make no claims to be objective. One, *The Sun*, claims to be so but immediately casts doubt upon that claim. Both *The Guardian* and the *FT*, however, appear to be concerned to be as accurate, objective and balanced as possible - though for the *FT* objectivity may equate with balance, and for *The Guardian* the aim of being truthful sits uneasily with its admitted political bias and its avowed aim to be able to respond to changing times.

British newspapers, then, are, in their own eyes at least, campaigning and investigating organs independent of external control (though not of their readers), frequently politically biased, and occasionally concerned with notions of objectivity and accuracy. They aim, to differing degrees, to inform and entertain their readers and to protect their interests and rights, and claim to know what they want. And they are driven by a need to be commercially viable.

Clearly, on this reading, there is no simple definition of what the functional role played by newspapers in British society is. It would appear to be something like the following: to selectively inform a selected readership about current events according to criteria established independently of external control but not independently of what readers want or of the need to maintain or increase circulation; to reinforce and reflect the existing views of that selected readership; to seek to influence those views in a way acceptable to that readership; to stand up for the political and other rights of those readers as they are perceived by the newspapers (and by implication the readers) themselves; and to entertain. In all of this strong focus on a particular readership, there appears also to be an element of tribalism - of giving readers a sense of belonging to a particular socio-economic group with its own values and interests, and of reinforcing those values and interests.

6.3.2.2 Chinese Newspapers

There were, as explained earlier in this chapter, no replies received from the editors of newspapers in China. There may be a number of explanations for this, which may or may not relate to the different social context in which the Chinese journalists work. It may for example simply be that newspaper editors in that country take the role and function of newspapers to be so self-evident they felt no reply was necessary. They may have felt it was not their job to reply to queries of this nature, or may have been too busy to do so. It is also possible that newspaper editors did not feel free to state what role and function their newspaper fulfils, because that is something decided not by them but by some higher authority – in the case of China, the Chinese Communist Party. It may also have been the case that Chinese newspaper editors felt the role and function of the newspapers they represented to be a matter too politically sensitive for them to comment upon. A number of writers, both western and foreign, have commented upon the difficulties of obtaining information of a sensitive nature about China. Thus John Howkins, in a note on sources in the preamble to his 1982 book *Mass Communication in China*, wrote "Information in China is very scarce. The bare necessities of government statistics, handbooks and reference books, national trade and professional associations, academic studies, consultants' reports and market research have been and mostly still are unobtainable." (Howkins,1982:3) More recently and pertinently Zhao Yuezhi in the introduction to his 1998 *Media, Market and Democracy in China* wrote that the many top journalism and broadcasting scholars, educators, media administrators, radio and television producers and ordinary journalists that he interviewed when researching his book almost all requested strict confidentiality and anonymity because of the 'politically sensitive nature of the subject' (Zhao, 1998:17).

It is not my intention to speculate here on the reason or reasons for the failure of Chinese editors to respond to my request for information. I can deal only with evidence, not speculation.

Since my request for information failed, I therefore had to turn to a different source in order to get an idea of what the functional role of the media – and, more specifically, of newspapers – is generally perceived to be in China. As we saw in section 6.2, newspapers in China are generally owned, funded and controlled by the Chinese Communist Party. In a sense, the CCP could be said to be the proprietor of Chinese newspapers. Since I was unable to get statements of the role and function of Chinese newspapers from Chinese editors, I therefore turned to the newspaper proprietor instead: the Chinese Communist Party. By referring to published statements

about the role of the media in China by senior party figures, I was in fact able to get a very clear picture of just what the function of the media in China is stated to be. It soon became clear that the functional role played by newspapers in China – as defined by senior Communist Party sources – is notable for its clarity and singleness of purpose, as opposed to the more diffused, shifting role played by the media in Britain.

As writers such as Zhao Yeuzhi and others have recounted, the role of the Party media in 20th century China and the nature of its relationship with the Chinese Communist Party developed in the 1920s and was further defined by Mao Zedong in the 1940s in Yanan – before the 1949 'Liberation' of China in which the Communist Party came to power. That role was, as we have seen, very clearly to act as an instrument of mass communication of Party thought – in other words, to serve as a propaganda tool. Despite some changes in emphasis, that role has, as we saw in the previous section, continued to the present day. Indeed, John Howkins in his 1982 study *Mass Communication in China* pointed out that "the same character (Xuanchuan 宣传) has always been used (in China) to indicate both the mass media and publicity and propaganda." (Howkins, 1982:54) The early propagandist function of the media defined by Mao was based very much on the experience of the Soviet Union, with *The People's Daily* – the masthead for which, significantly, is still printed today in Mao's own handwriting – modelled on *Pravda*.

Propaganda, then, was the role of the Communist Party-controlled media in China both before and immediately after Liberation. As we have seen, the literature suggests that while much in China has changed since then, the essential role of the media remains as Mao defined it. I would maintain that the reality of the relationship between the Party and the media today supports this view.

The materials I have drawn upon to justify this claim are a speech given by Chinese President and party chairman Jiang Zemin during an inspection visit to *The People's Daily* on 26th September 1996; an article by Yu Youxian in the *Journal of News Media* in 1996; an editorial comment taken from the pages of *The People's Daily*; and a speech from a senior government official, the vice minister of the Propaganda department of the Party Central Committee.

I have translated and summarised the following extracts from these speeches and articles myself; the originals of Jiang and You's speeches are attached at Appendices 5-6.

Firstly, according to Jiang, journalism in China is a function of the Party, and is an essential part of Party activity. In his speech to staff at *The People's Daily*, reported

by that newspaper (26th /9/1996, attached as Appendix:5 here), he said: "The Party's journalism is always co-existing with the Party itself, and is a part of its life."

The media, Jiang said, must be controlled by those who are loyal to Marxism, the Party and the People, so that it does not stray from the 'correct political direction.' He said: "The firm and correct political direction must be the most important priority for all work in all units of news and media." He went on: "We should insist that newspapers must be run by politicians. Newspapers must stick to the Party's principles, must be guided by Deng's theory about socialism with Chinese features, and newspapers must keep to the same line as the Party Central Committee in ideology and politics." (Ibid.)

News items, according to Jiang, should be selected so that they focus on the economic construction of China and serve 'the overall interest of the Party and the whole country.' They should also be positive and upbeat, giving 'the best things to the people, to arm the people, guide the people, mould the people and encourage the people.' (Ibid.)

The main task for newspapers in China, Jiang said, is to 'make sure of the correct direction of public and mass opinion.' But it is also to 'lay bare the corruption and all the negative things in society.' (Ibid.)

Jiang, as China's President and Party Chairman, is the highest authority in the land. He is, in a sense, the ultimate proprietor of the nation's newspapers. This recent statement of the principles guiding the media can therefore be taken to be generally and widely applicable, and one towards which all journalists and media will work.

The widely accepted nature of these principles is indicated by the fact that other speakers and writers largely echo Jiang himself.

Thus Yu Youxian, in his 1996 article in the *Journal of News Media,* identifies the 'five senses' that all journalists should have. These are awareness of politics, awareness of the overall interest, awareness of the need to develop a flourishing news media to meet the overall interests of country and people, awareness of the need for censorship, and awareness of the people themselves (Yu, 1996:82-84).

An editorial in *The People's Daily* published at the same time as Jiang's speech on 26th September 1996 urges all journalists to study the speech and put the principles it contains into practice. It adds: "In the whole area of ideology, the news media is one of those which are most closely related to politics. It is due to be constrained and affected by politics, and also has an enormous reacting force on politics."

Finally, at a meeting of the presidents of provincial broadcasting stations, Xu Yaoxian, a senior official who is the vice minister in the propaganda department of the Party Central Committee identified the function of broadcasting as being the 'mouthpiece of the party' and an 'important tool for public opinion.' The news media, he said, should "always bear in mind their responsibility of propagating and ensuring the correct direction of the people." (Xu, 1997:279)

What we have here is clearly a perception of the media superficially at least very different from that of journalists working in Britain.

Newspapers and the media in general in China – today as in Mao's time – are clearly seen, by Party bosses and senior journalists and establishment academics – as principally mouthpieces of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Their prime function is to convey the 'correct political direction' as decided by Party chiefs to the people themselves, and to form and influence public opinion in line with party ideology. Censorship – both self-censorship by journalists working to political and ideological constraints, and external censorship by the Party – is clearly taken for granted.

Other functions of newspapers and the media are to promote a positive attitude to developments in China and to minimise negative attitudes, and also - though within strictly defined limits - to expose corruption and other problems identified by the Party.

Interestingly, Jiang's references to the primacy of economic construction as a criteria for selecting news items, and his reference to Deng Xiaoping thought, imply one further quality of Chinese newspapers which is not immediately apparent - that the precise role they play is adaptable, and changes with changes in Party thought. What we have here is not quite the unchanging monolith it might first appear.

The differences between the media in Britain and China are thus clear. Most fundamental appears to be the contrast between the perceived independence of British newspapers and the politicised and Party-controlled nature of the Chinese media. In addition, the former claim to inform and entertain their readers with information and comment about the world they live in, whereas the function of the latter is clearly to impart a 'correct political line' decided by the Party.

As I have intimated above, however, the extent to which British newspapers are truly independent of a whole range of external influences, from political and commercial to proprietorial, commercial, Establishment and the demands of the readership, is at least open to some doubt. The biggest differences between the two may be that British newspapers have at least a greater degree of control over the content of their publications; and that the range of external influences acting upon British

newspapers is far more diverse than the single, focussed Party dominance of Chinese newspapers, where the demands of readers or the need to sell more papers or appease advertisers in the interests of profit do not feature at all.

6.4 Conclusion

It has become clear, from the evidence gathered in the course of this chapter, that the general functional role played by the media in Britain and in China is different – although there are also some surprising similarities. Admittedly, I have not looked in detail at the differences in role between different sectors of the British print media, which I have no doubt are significant. It seems likely, for instance, that while British newspapers generally share the aim of both informing and entertaining, in more 'downmarket', tabloid newspapers, the emphasis on entertaining as opposed to informing is greater than with more 'upmarket' broadsheet newspapers. Nevertheless, these considerations aside, there do appear to be genuine differences, as well as some similarities, in the overall functional role played by the media in Britain and in China.

My conclusions from the evidence gathered in this Chapter could be summarised as follows:

1 There appears to be no generally applicable, cross cultural definition of the functional role of newspapers in society

2 In Western countries such as Britain, the role played by the mainstream media, including newspapers, is one determined partly by the Establishment, partly by commercial and other vested interests, and partly by individual newspapers themselves. It is a role which is perceived as appropriate on commercial, and to a lesser extent political, Establishment and value-driven grounds. That role is largely to inform (within certain, often unspoken or unrealised) limits; to reflect the values of the vested interests upon which the existence of the newspaper depends; and to entertain. Content is driven by reference to (frequently unconscious or unarticulated) belief and value systems, and by the commercially-motivated need to win and keep readers.

3 In China, the role of newspapers is decided by the Party and the Government. Although there has been some relaxation of Party control to enable publication of a greater variety of material, a key central role remains that of propagating the Party ideology of the day; and to inform the readership of progress made as a result of correct application of Party policy. The nature of the ideology being propagated may change (so that Mao Zedong Thought and the class struggle has been replaced by a focus on promoting economic modernisation) but the essential relationship between media and

Party has not. The media remain the mouthpieces of the Party. Although elements of the Chinese media are increasingly commercialised and revenue-generating, none are privately-owned. The audience of many Chinese media, newspapers especially, is essentially captive, since reading of newspapers remains required at regular study sessions.

4 In both Britain and China, informing the readership remains a central function of the media. In both countries, the nature of the information passed on is selective, influenced in Britain by a number of factors, including Establishment values and belief systems, vested commercial interests, and journalists views of what the readers are interested in. In China, the nature of the information passed on is influenced principally by the Party.

5 In both Britain and China, the function of newspapers changes and adapts along with the changing situations in the countries in which they circulate. Changes in British newspapers would be expected to be responses primarily to the changing values and expectations of readers, advertisers, owners and the dominant Establishment, and would be in line with changes in British society itself; changes in Chinese newspapers would be expected to be responses to the changing face of the Party.

6 In practice, the real function played by the media may be quite different from the functions journalists believe and profess themselves to be performing: in the western media in particular. Thus, as we have seen, a hidden function of the British media might well be to reflect the value systems of a dominant Establishment or, within that, to reinforce tribal differences as a means of cementing reader loyalty (though of course the latter will be a two-way process, with newspapers also moulding themselves to fit reader expectations). The media in western countries does undoubtedly play a 'watchdog' role which appears largely absent in the Chinese media, scrutinising and probing the actions and decisions of those in authority: but this role is carried on within a relatively constrained range – within, one might say, the overall sphere of the dominant social hegemony. There are few mainstream British newspapers, for example, that would question parliamentary democracy and a capitalist-industrialist system as the most appropriate form of social organisation.

This discrepancy between professed and actual function may be expected to be smaller in China, where the range of external influences acting upon newspapers is much narrower (essentially the Party) and also more openly acknowledged.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THEME: TEXTUAL ORGANISATION AND COMMUNICATIVE IMPACT

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, as in the following two, I will do three things. First, I will give a more detailed account of that one of the three systems of English that is the subject of the chapter in question: in this case, the system of Theme. Second, I will conduct a contrastive quantitative analysis of the two sets of texts selected for study using that system, and present the resulting data in the form of tables. Finally, I will qualitatively interpret those data in the light of the differences in the functional role of the media in Britain and China identified in Chapter 6.

7.2 The system of Theme

7.2.1 Subject and Theme

One of the concepts that is basic to the Western tradition of grammatical analysis is that of **Subject.** The notion of Subject is a complex one, containing at least three possible elements. These non-mutually-exclusive elements can be summarised as follows (from Halliday, 1994:30). The Subject is:

(i) that which is the concern of the message
(ii) that of which something is being predicated (i.e. on which rests the truth of the argument)
(iii) the doer of the action

The terms that came to be used for these elements in the second half of the nineteenth century, when there was a renewal of interest in grammatical theory, were "psychological Subject", "grammatical Subject", and "logical Subject". (Halliday, 1994:31)

(i) Psychological Subject meant 'that which is the concern of the message'. It was called 'psychological' because it was what the speaker had in his mind to start with, when embarking on the production of the clause.

(ii) Grammatical Subject meant 'that of which something is predicated'. It was called 'grammatical' because at that time the construction of Subject and Predicate was thought of as a purely formal grammatical relationship; it was seen to determine various

other grammatical features, such as the case of the noun or pronoun that was functioning as Subject, but it was not thought to express any particular meaning.

(iii) Logical Subject meant 'doer of the action'.

These elements are non-mutually-exclusive in that, while any Subject must be grammatical, it can also at the same time be either or both of a psychological subject or a logical subject as well.

Clearly, given the above, there is no such thing as a simple, general concept of Subject. The term embraces a number of quite different concepts. Researchers such as Halliday felt the need to replace the earlier labels by separate ones that related more specifically to the functions with which they were concerned. They came up with the following terminology:

Psychological Subject:	Theme
Grammatical Subject:	Subject
Logical Subject:	Actor

Thus, when we talk about Theme, we talk essentially about what a 19th century grammarian would have referred to as the psychological Subject, though of course the concept has been developed somewhat. The concept of Theme I use as a working concept for this paper is essentially the following: the identification of Theme is based on order. Theme is the element that comes first in the clause. It is followed by the Rheme: which consists, simply, of all other elements contained in the clause. The identification criteria for the Rheme are simple: everything that is not the Theme is Rheme.

It is this concept of Theme with which I will be concerned when conducting a Theme analysis of texts from the *China Daily* and *The Times*.

7.2.2 Theme and textual meaning

As we saw above, the Theme of a clause is 'that which is the concern of the message'. We can also talk about the 'Thematic structure' of a clause as being that which gives the clause its character as a message. The Thematic structure of a clause could be defined as a form of organisation giving the clause the status of a communicative event (Eggins, 1994:271).

There are different ways in which this may be achieved. In speaking or writing English we signal that an item has thematic status by putting it first. The structure is expressed by the order. Consider the following sentences, selected from the texts I have chosen for analysis:

1. In a move to gather as many returns as possible today by the official midnight cut-off point, Revenue staff will open 300 tax offices. (See Appendix 7.34: *Times* Article no.34)

2. Revenue staff will open 300 tax offices in a move to gather as many returns as possible today by the official midnight cut-off point.

3. Today by the official midnight cut-off point, Revenue staff will open 300 tax offices in a move to gather as many returns as possible.

From the point of view of Mood and Transitivity, the grammar of these clauses has not changed: the clauses are still all unmodalised declaratives; still, under the system of Transitivity, action process clauses with three participants and two circumstances. We can see that the only variation that has been made concerns the order of the constituents: elements that occur as the first constituents in the original have been moved to clause-final position.

The effect of this simple re-ordering of the constituents is, nevertheless, marked. What the clause is concerned with has changed. With clause no.1 the writer tells you about a move, about something which is being done; with clause no.2 the writer tells you about a group of people, Revenue staff; and with clause no.3 the writer tells you something about a given period of time, today.

What is altered by this re-ordering of the constituents of the clause is not Mood or Transitivity but a third strand of meaning, *textual* meaning. This is concerned with the potential the clause offers for its constituents to be organised differently so as to achieve different purposes. As we might expect of an aspect of language once labelled the 'psychological Subject', it concerns the narrator's psychological aim – what he or she perceives as being important, and hence worthy of foregrounding.

As the examples discussed here have illustrated, textual meaning in English is expressed largely through the ordering of constituents. It is what gets put first (and last) in an English clause that realises textual choice.

7.2.3 Thematic choice and the effective packaging of a text

The textual metafunction, the third and final strand of linguistic meaning after Mood and Transitivity, is described by Halliday (1974:95, 97) as the "enabling" function. As Eggins says in 1994: "(It) is the level of organisation of the clause which enables the clause to be packaged in ways which make it effective given its purpose and its context." (Eggins, 1994:273)

Theme is a textual system. Halliday defines Theme (1985:39) as the element of a clause which serves as "the starting-point for the message: it is that with which the clause is concerned. It is what the clause going to be about". Put in other words, Theme is the element of a clause which the speaker/ writer selects upon which to 'ground' what he is going on to say.

Thematic choices help us to realise meanings. They do this in a number of ways. The most direct of these is by enabling us to order the construction of a text by relating individual clauses to each-other in such a way that they 'hang together' and the text is both coherent and cohesive. But they enable us to do more than this. Thematic choices also enable us to organise the experiential and interpersonal content of a text, so that we can emphasise or foreground a particular element of a clause to which we wish to draw the reader's attention. This is achieved through choices about what experiential or interpersonal elements are prioritised. Consider the following:

1. Yesterday Jiang also met with John Kluge, chairman of the US Metro-Media International Group. (See Appendix 8.8, *China Daily* text 8)
2. Jiang also met with John Kluge, chairman of the US Metro-Media International Group, yesterday.
3. Also, Jiang met with chairman of the US Metro-Media International Group John Kluge yesterday.

Here, again, the grammar of the clauses has not changed from the point of view of Mood and Transitivity. But in the first clause, 'Yesterday' is a circumstance of time in the experiential system of transitivity. This may have been chosen as the theme for two possible reasons: first, according to the context in which the clause appears, for purposes of coherence; but also to stress 'what else happened yesterday' (the concern of the message), and not primarily 'what Jiang was doing' (in which case, Clause 2 would have been used over Clause 1).

Clearly, then, through choice of what to make the Theme, the writer/ speaker can package his text in a way that gives it greater effectiveness. Theme choice enables him to foreground certain elements of the clause over others, to emphasise the section of message they contain. It also offers us choices that enable us to construct the text so as to be both coherent and cohesive. It enables us, for example, to make choices about what to package as familiar and what as new, to the benefit of cohesion and coherence. (Thus 'Yesterday' in Clause 1 above is familiar, a concept already encountered earlier in the text and hence a coherent point of departure to lead into new information). But Theme choice also enables us to highlight certain messages and meanings, and to indicate to the reader that 'this is the point of the message'.

Working as it does at the level of textual organisation, however, the textual strand of meaning, and therefore the system of Theme, is in a sense parasitic upon both the experiential and the interpersonal strands of meanings. Textual choices alone can not create text: the text would have no content, nor would it be possible to interact with it. Meanings cannot be prioritised until those meanings have themselves been chosen; thus we need first to construct Transitivity structures by making experiential choices. Furthermore, text cannot be reacted to until it is first structured to initiate interaction; thus, we need to construct Mood structure by making interpersonal choices. But while both experiential and interpersonal meanings are essential to the creation of text, they are not in themselves sufficient. Without the textual systems, those experiential and interpersonal meanings could not be expressed in a coherent manner.

Textual choices, and hence Theme choices, then, do not introduce new content or new interpersonal dimensions into text. Nevertheless, they are essential to the text's making sense. The most striking contribution of Thematic choices is to the internal cohesion and coherence of the text: skilful use of Thematic selection results in a text which appears to 'hang together and make sense'. But as we have seen Thematic choice also has a part to play in helping to construct the experiential and interpersonal meaning of a text by providing a tool with which to highlight and prioritise those meanings.

As we saw in Section 7.2, the identification of Theme is based on order. Theme is the element that comes first in the clause. It is followed by the Rheme: which consists of all other elements contained in the clause. Everything that is not the Theme is Rheme.

Since we typically depart from places with which we are familiar, the Theme, as seen above, typically contains familiar, or "given", information, i.e. information which has already been mentioned somewhere in the text, or is familiar from the context.

It might be expected, therefore, that the Rheme might contain new information about the point of departure of the clause. The definition of the Rheme is that it is the part of the clause in which the Theme is developed. Since we typically depart from the familiar to head towards the unfamiliar, the Rheme typically contains unfamiliar or "new", information.

7.2.4 The system of Theme

Theme, as we have seen, is the point of departure for the message being conveyed by a clause. Thematic choice is crucial to the coherence and cohesion of a text, and also enables the speaker/ writer to prioritise the constituent elements of a clause. Before undertaking a Theme analysis of texts for the purpose of this paper, though, we need first to look in more detail at the different types of Theme.

The system of Theme itself involves three major sub-systems: 1) choice of type of Theme, 2) choice of marked or unmarked Theme, and 3) choice of predicated or unpredicated Theme. The type of Theme is realised by the insertion of a particular type of constituent in Thematic position. Theme markedness depends on the conflation (mapping together) of the Theme constituent with different Mood and Transitivity constituents (see Chapter 8 for a more detailed account of the system of Transitivity). Theme predication involves the use of an additional clausal element (Eggins, 1994:274).

The elements of the three systems are set out in Table 6 below.

7.2.4.1 Types of Theme

Under the system of functional grammar designed by Halliday et al, there are three types of Theme: topical Theme, interpersonal Theme and textual Theme. In addition, Themes can be either single or multiple; that is, a clause can contain either a single Theme, or a number of linked Themes.

Topical (Experiential) thematic elements

When an element of the clause to which a Transitivity function can be assigned occurs in Theme position in a clause, we describe it as a **topical Theme.** Every clause contains one and only one topical Theme (Halliday, 1994:53, Eggins, 1994:276). In a single Theme clause the topical Theme is the only Theme. In a multiple Theme clause, interpersonal or textual Themes occur in a position in the clause immediately before the topical Theme.

Consider the following sentence: "As they get older, British youngsters become markedly more materialistic" (Appendix 7.9, *Times* article 9). The sentence consists of

two clauses, 'As they get older' followed by 'British youngsters get markedly more materialistic'. The first clause has a multiple Theme. The topical Theme here, which has a Transitivity function as a participant, is 'they'. However, preceding 'they' in the clause is another Theme, 'As'. As we will see below, 'As' here is a textual Theme. 'As they' is thus a multiple Theme, and is followed in the clause by the Rheme, 'get older'.

The second clause is simpler in structure, with a single topical Theme only, 'British youngsters', which again has a Transitivity function as a participant. The remainder of the second clause, 'get markedly more materialistic', acts as the Rheme. A Theme analysis of the sentence is presented in Fig 4.

Fig 4. Theme analysis of sentence from Appendix 7.9

As	they	get older,	British youngsters	become markedly more materialistic
textual Theme	topical Theme		Topical Theme	
multiple Theme		Rheme	Single Theme	Rheme

Topical Themes, by their nature as experiential elements of language, carry with them a great deal of Thematic choice. Some non-experiential elements, if they are to occur at all in the clause, *must* occur in initial position. For example, when used as a conjunction to link two clauses, **'and'** always of necessity occurs in clause initial place: eg "He won't come today: **and** he won't come tomorrow, either." Similarly, if the clause is to be an interrogative, the Finite element **'do'** must go to the front of the clause to meet the structural demands of Mood, as with **Do** in "***Do** you like it*?". This means that with elements like **and** and the Finite **do** we have no choice about their positioning in a clause: once the particular meaning they need to make has to be expressed, those items simply must be placed in Theme position. With many textual elements, there is relatively little choice as to their position in the clause. With interpersonal elements, there may be slightly more choice, but still their mobility is limited. When we consider topical elements, however, we can see that these are the elements where there is maximum choice as to order, and hence maximum potential for Theme choice to enrich the message of the clause.

Interpersonal thematic elements

When a constituent to which we would assign a Mood label but not a Transitivity label (see Chapter 4.2.1 for a description of the system of Mood) occurs in Theme position in a clause, we call it an interpersonal Theme. The constituents that can function as interpersonal Themes are the unfused Finite **do** (in interrogative structures,

such as '**Do** you give blood?), and all four categories of Modal Adjuncts: Mood, Polarity, Vocative and Comment (See Eggins, 1994:278-280).

Since every clause must contain a topical Theme, interpersonal Themes always exist as part of the multiple Theme along with a topical Theme.

The following are examples of clauses with Interpersonal Themes:

"Eventually, such was the media attention that Oliver was taken to Brighton police station." (Appendix 7.21, *Times* article 21)

"Yes, it was self-inflicted." (Appendix 7.26, *Times* article 26)

" 'Can you support us?' " (Appendix 7.37, *Times* article 37)

Here, in the first clause, 'Eventually' is an interpersonal Theme with a Mood function of comment. More particularly, it is a modal adjunct. The topical Theme here, which completes the multiple Theme, is the marked Theme 'such'.

In the second clause, 'Yes' is an interpersonal Theme with a Mood function of polarity. The topical Theme here is 'it'. In the third clause, the interpersonal Theme is the unfused Finite 'Can', with 'you' as the topical Theme.

A Theme analysis of these three clauses is presented in Fig 5.

Fig 5. Theme analysis of clauses from texts from Appendices 7.21, 7.26 and 7.37

"Eventually,	such	was the media attention that Oliver was taken to Brighton police station."
Interpersonal Theme	topical Theme	
multiple Theme		Rheme

"Yes,	it	was self-inflicted."
interpersonal Theme	topical Theme	
multiple Theme		Rheme

" 'Can	you	support us?' "
Interpersonal Theme	Topical Theme	
multiple Theme		Rheme

There is a certain amount of Thematic choice connected with interpersonal Themes, though this is limited by the nature of the language constituents involved.

Textual thematic elements

The two main types of textual elements that can get to be Theme are Continuity Adjuncts and Conjunctive Adjuncts. These are illustrated in the following:

"'**Well**, it is also the Capital of the Palestinians.' " (Appendix 7.39, *Times* article 39)

"**But** the ten-strong taskforce believes that …." (Appendix 7.3, *Times* article 3)

Here, in the first clause, 'Well' is a continuity adjunct functioning here as a textual Theme, while 'it' is the topical Theme. In the second clause, 'But' is a conjunctive adjunct also functioning as a textual Theme, with the topical Theme 'the ten-strong taskforce'.

A Theme analysis of these two clauses is given in Fig 6.

Fig 6. Theme analysis of texts from Appendices 7.39 and 7.3.

" 'Well,	it	is also the Capital of the Palestinians.' "
textual Theme	topical Theme	
multiple Theme		Rheme

"But	the ten-strong taskforce	believes that …."
textual Theme	topical Theme	
multiple Theme		Rheme

In the case of textual Themes there is little or no Thematic choice since these textual elements, if present, almost always have to come at the beginning of the clause.

7.2.4.2 Marked and unmarked Theme

The term unmarked simply means "most typical/usual" while marked means "atypical, unusual". When a marked choice is made, the speaker/writer is signalling that all things are **not** equal, that something in the context requires an atypical meaning to be made.

When all things are equal, an unmarked choice will be made. Unmarked Theme is when the constituent that is Theme is also playing one of the following roles:

Subject (in a declarative clause)

Finite (in an interrogative clause)

Predicator (in an imperative)

WH-element (in a wh-interrogative)

All the clauses listed in Fig 7 contain examples of unmarked Thematic choice.

Fig 7. Examples of unmarked Theme

Example	Role conflation	Mood class
Premier Li Peng is asking Chinese customs official to contribute more (*China Daily* article18)	Theme/Subject	Declarative
Were they drugs barons? (Times Article 26)	Theme/Finite	Polar interrog
Where have you been?	Theme/Wh-element	Wh-interrog
Show it to us!	Theme/Predicator	Imperative

When the constituent that is Theme is not playing one of these four roles, we have a marked Theme. In a marked Theme, then, the Thematic element conflates with any other constituent from the Mood system. The commonest type of marked Theme is to have Theme conflating with an Adjunct circumstantial. For example:

Before the change,	I	would have earned	45 yuan.
Adj: circ	Subject	Predicator	Complement
Theme (topical)	Rheme		

7.2.4.3 Predicated or unpredicated Theme

Theme predication allows the writer or speaker to shift the status of given and new information to give emphasis to a constituent that would otherwise be unemphasised. In such a shift the constituent is replaced at the beginning of a clause by 'It'. Consider the following clauses:

i) "The most popular destinations are Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Macao." (Appendix 8.5, *China Daily* article 5)

ii) "It is Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Macao that are the most popular destinations."

Here, in the original clause from Appendix 8.5, 'The most popular destinations' acts as the single topical Theme. Following Theme predication, it is replaced as Theme by the predicate 'It' which acts as a predicated topical Theme. The reason for the shift is

to emphasise the importance of the new information being given, namely the location of those holiday destinations that are the most popular.

7.2.4.4 The system of textual meaning: a summary

The system of textual meaning in the clause that we have been discussing is summarised for the purposes of clarity in Table 6 below:

Table 6. The system of Theme

CLAUSE		
Single Theme Topical Theme	**Unmarked** Subject/Theme (declarative) Wh/Theme (wh-interrog) Finite/Theme (interrog.) Process/Theme (imperative)	**predicated** Theme: it + be +… Rheme: that/who…
Multiple Theme 1. topical Theme + interpersonal Theme interpersonal ^ topical 2. topical Theme + textual Theme textual ^ topical 3. topical Theme + textual Theme + interpersonal Theme textual ^ interpersonal ^ topical	**Marked** Other/Theme	**not predicated**

7.3 Analysis

Before beginning the analysis of Theme I will first describe the procedure adopted. The findings will then be presented in the form of tables.

7.3.1 Procedure

I conducted the analysis by applying the system of Theme outlined above in the same way to each of the 100 texts selected. I also adopted the following principles:

- Multiple Themes are not counted as two Themes, but each as a single, multiple Theme
- Marked Themes can be found either as single Themes or as part of a multiple Theme. Since the use of marked Themes is significant, where such Themes occurred as part of a multiple Theme, I recorded both the presence of the marked Theme and of the multiple Theme itself.

When conducting my analysis, I looked at two of the three systems of Theme, namely choice of type of theme and choice of marked or unmarked Theme. I did not look at choice of predicated or unpredicated Theme, because an initial analysis revealed that Theme predication is very rare in newspaper articles. The occasions when it does occur, I felt, would be so rare as not to be significant in a contrastive study of this nature.

The results of the analysis are given in tabular form in Appendices 9 and 10 and summarised in Tables 7 –12 below.

7.3.2 Findings

Findings are summarised in the following tables. The data are interpreted in section 7.4 below.

Table 7:The Findings of a Thematic analysis of texts from *The Times*

Text Number	Number of the sentences	Single Theme	%	Multiple Theme	%	Marked Theme	%
No1	36	27	75%	9	25%	5	3.8%
No.2	35	25	71.4%	10	28.5%	1	3%
No.3	29	21	72.4%	8	27.6%	1	3%
No.4	35	26	74%	9	26%	3	8.5%
No.5	35	26	74%	9	26%	5	14%
No.6	28	21	75%	7	25%	7	25%
No.7	20	18	90%	2	10%	3	15%
No.8	19	14	73.6%	5	26.4%	2	10.5%
No.9	17	15	88%	2	12%	2	12%
No.10	49	35	71.4%	14	28.6%	2	4%
No.11	35	22	62.8%	13	37.2%	5	14.2%
No.12	29	22	75.8%	7	24.2%	1	3.4%
No.13	59	46	77.9%	13	22.1%	6	10.1%
No.14	24	16	66.6%	8	33.4%	0	0
No.15	42	19	**45.2%**	23	**54.8%**	1	2.3%
No.16	18	13	.2%	5	27.8%	1	5.5%
No.17	33	21	63.6%	12	36.4%	9	**27.2%**
No.18	31	21	67.7%	10	32.3%	6	19.3%
No.19	34	20	58.8%	14	41.2%	1	2.9%
No.20	31	23	74.1%	8	25.9%	2	6.4%
No.21	33	22	66.6%	11	33.4%	3	9%
No.22	38	29	76.3%	9	23.7%	3	7.9%
No.23	37	27	72.9%	10	27.1%	4	10.8%
No.24	37	28	75.6%	9	24.4%	2	5.4%
No.25	62	39	62.9%	23	37.1%	2	3.2%
No.26	47	40	85.1%	7	14.9%	8	17.2%
No.27	26	18	69.2%	8	30.8%	2	7.6%
No.28	44	29	65.9%	15	34.1%	2	4.5%
No.29	24	21	87.5%	3	12.5%	5	20.8%
No.30	42	29	69%	13	31%	6	14.3%

No.31	47	37	78.7%	10	21.3%	3	6.4%
No.32	16	15	**93.7%**	1	**6.3%**	0	0%
No.33	21	15	71.4%	6	28.6%	1	4.7%
No.34	17	13	76.4%	4	23.6%	2	11.8%
No.35	46	27	58.7%	19	41.3%	5	10.9%
No.36	25	15	60%	10	40%	0	0%
No.37	25	17	68%	8	32%	2	8%
No.38	56	47	8.9%	9	16.1%	4	7.1%
No.39	43	26	60.4%	17	39.6%	9	20.9%
No.40	56	31	55.3%	25	44.7%	4	7.1%
No.41	12	10	83.3%	2	16.7%	1	8.3%
No.42	17	10	58.8%	7	41.2%	2	11.7%
No.43	10	8	80%	2	20%	2	20%
No.44	42	26	61.9%	16	38.1%	2	4.7%
No.45	28	17	60.7%	11	39.3%	2	7.1%
No.46	38	24	63.1%	14	36.9%	4	10.5%
No.47	49	35	71.4%	14	28.6%	2	4%
No.48	25	18	72%	7	28%	1	4%
No.49	15	10	66.6%	5	33.4%	0	0%
No.50	28	18	64.2%	10	35.8%	1	3.6%
Total	**1645**	**1152**	**70%**	**493**	**30%**	**147**	**8.9%**

Table 8: The Findings of a Thematic analysis of texts from *China Daily*

Text Number	Number of the sentences	Single Theme	%	Multiple Theme	%	Marked Theme	%
No1	12	11	91.6%	1	8.4%	3	25%
No.2	46	37	80%	9	20%	6	13%
No.3	13	13	**100%**	0	**0%**	0	0%
No.4	16	14	87.5%	2	12.5%	1	6.2%
No.5	29	23	79.3%	6	20.7%	4	13.8%
No.6	28	25	89.3%	3	10.7%	3	10.7%
No.7	16	13	81.2%	3	18.8%	2	12.5%
No.8	18	15	83.3%	3	16.7%	2	11%
No.9	15	14	93.3%	1	6.7%	5	55.5%
No.10	26	15	57.7%	11	42.3%	1	3.8%
No.11	16	14	87.5%	2	12.5%	8	50%
No.12	22	21	95.4%	1	4.6%	3	13.6%
No.13	44	33	75%	11	25%	11	25%
No.14	45	30	66.6%	15	33.3%	2	4.4%
No.15	12	11	91.6%	1	8.4%	1	8.4%
No.16	18	16	88.9%	2	11.1%	1	5.5%
No.17	11	11	100%	0	0%	2	18.2%
No.18	20	18	90%	2	10%	1	5%
No.19	19	18	94.7%	1	5.3%	2	10.5%
No.20	47	30	63.8%	17	36.2%	7	14.9%
No.21	15	12	80%	3	20%	1	6.7%
No.22	16	16	100%	0	0%	0	0%
No.23	11	11	100%	0	0%	1	9%
No.24	36	25	69.4%	11	30.6%	4	11.1%
No.25	17	13	76.5%	4	23.5%	5	29.4%
No.26	39	29	74.3%	10	25.7%	6	15.4%
No.27	18	14	77.8%	4	22.2%	0	0%
No.28	35	31	88.6%	4	11.4%	3	8.6%
No.29	20	15	75%	5	25%	3	15%
No.30	13	12	92.3%	1	7.7%	1	7.7%
No.31	13	12	92.3%	1	7.7%	2	15.4%
No.32	25	23	92%	2	8%	3	12%

No.33	23	23	100%	0	0%	5	21.7%
No.34	18	17	94.4%	1	5.6%	2	11.1%
No.35	18	15	83.3%	3	16.7%	1	5.6%
No.36	11	10	90.9%	1	9.1%	0	0%
No.37	25	18	72%	7	28%	5	20%
No.38	24	19	79.2%	5	20.8%	4	16.7%
No.39	13	11	84.6%	2	15.4%	3	23.1%
No.40	23	23	100%	0	0%	5	21.7%
No.41	34	25	73.5%	9	26.5%	2	5.9%
No.42	26	20	76.9%	6	23.1%	9	34.6%
No.43	12	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	0	0%
No.44	28	22	78.6%	6	21.4%	1	3.6%
No.45	20	16	80%	4	20%	2	10%
No.46	46	43	93.5%	3	6.5%	2	4.3%
No.47	21	20	95.2%	1	4.8%	2	9.5%
No.48	36	25	69.4%	9	30.6%	1	2.8%
No.49	17	17	100%	0	0%	4	23.5%
No.50	23	22	95.7%	1	4.3%	2	8.7%
Total	**1149**	**952**	**82.8%**	**197**	**17.2%**	**144**	**12.5%**

Table 9: Types of textual Theme used in *The Times*

Text	Continative	Conjunctive	Conjuncts		Relatives		Total
			Co-ordinator	Subordinator	Definite	Indefinite	
No.1			4	5			9
No.2			2	8			10
No.3			3	5			8
No.4			1	8			9
No.5			4	5			9
No.6			2	4	1		7
No.7				2			2
No.8			2	3			5
No.9				2			2
No.10			2	10	2		14
No.11			3	8	2		13
No.12			1	3	3		7
No.13			6	7			13
No.14		1	1	6			8
No.15			5	20			25
No.16		1	3	2			6
No.17		1	4	9			14
No.18			3	8			11
No.19		2	1	11	1		15
No.20				5	3		8
No.21				10	1		11
No.22		2	3	5			10
No.23		1	1	6	2		10
No.24			1	7	1		9
No.25			5	17			22
No.26		1	2	5			8
No.27			1	7			8
No.28		2	1	12	1		16
No.29				3			3
No.30			3	10			13
No.31		1	8	1			10
No.32				1			1
No.33				6			6
No.34				3	1		4
No.35		1	7	12			20
No.36			1	7	2		10
No.37			1	7			8
No.38			1	7	1		9
No.39	1	1	2	11	1		16
No.40			5	16	2	1	24

No.41				2			2
No.42			2	7			9
No.43			1	1			2
No.44		1	3	11	3		18
No.45		2	2	6	1		11
No.46			3	10			13
No.47		1	3	9			13
No.48			1	6			7
No.49			2	1	1		4
No.50			4	4	2		10
Total	**1 (0.2%)**	**18 (3.6%)**	**110 (21.9%)**	**341 (67.9%)**	**31 (6.1%)**	**1 (0.2%)**	**502**

Table 10: Types of textual Theme used in *China Daily*

Text	Continative	Conjunctive	Conjuncts		Relatives		Total
			Co-ordinator	Subordinator	Definite	Indefinite	
No.1		1					1
No.2		1	2	6			9
No.3							0
No.4				2			2
No.5		1	2	1	1		4
No.6			2	2			4
No.7		1		1			2
No.8			1	3			4
No.9		1					1
No.10		1	3	8			12
No.11				2			2
No.12				1			1
No.13		2	2	7			11
No.14		2	2	9	2		15
No.15				1			1
No.16			2				2
No.17							0
No.18		1					1
No.19			1				1
No.20		1	5	8	2		16
No.21		1	1				2
No.22							0
No.23							0
No.24		3	1	5	1		10
No.25		2	1	1			4
No.26		5		2			7
No.27			3	1			4
No.28		1	3				4
No.29		1	1	3			5
No.30		1					1
No.31			1				1
No.32			1	1			2
No.33							0
No.34			1				1
No.35			1	2			3
No.36			2	2	1		5
No.37							
No.38				4			4
No.39				2			2
No.40							0
No.41		1	3	5			9
No.42			1	5			6
No.43				1			1

No.44		1	2	3			6
No.45		1	1	3			5
No.46		1	1	1			3
No.47				1			1
No.48		2	3	4			9
No.49							0
No.50				1			1
Total	**0 0%)**	**32 (17.2%)**	**49 (26.3%)**	**98 (52.7%)**	**7 (3.8%)**	**0 (0%)**	**186**

Table 11:Types of unmarked topical Theme used in *The Times*

Text	Personal Pronouns	Demonstrative Pronouns	Relative pronoun	Names of persons	There In (There +be)	Lengthy Nominal Groups (four words +)	Other	Total
1	4	1	1	2	5	4	14	31
2	2		4	1	1	12	14	34
3			2	2	2	5	17	28
4	1		4	2		6	19	32
5	9		2	3	1	6	10	31
6	3		4	1		4	9	21
7	3		2		1	5	6	17
8	9		2	1		2	3	17
9	4	1				3	8	16
10	16	1	3	6		2	18	46
11	10	1	1	2	3	1	12	30
12	6		6	7		1	8	28
13	29	1	3	6	2	2	15	58
14	7		1	6		1	10	25
15	9		2	8	2	6	15	42
16	1		1	1	3	6	5	17
17	5	1	3	3		5	7	24
18	4		3	1		2	15	25
19	1		4	2	2	3	21	33
20	7		1	3	1	5	13	30
21	7	1	2	7		4	9	30
22	6		3	2	2	5	13	31
23	9	1	4	2			15	33
24	3	2	5	7		5	13	35
25	20		2	12			24	58
26	10		5	4		6	12	37
27	6		4	1		3	10	24
28	13	2	3	9		2	13	42
29			1	1	1	8	8	19
30	7	1	5	6		4	14	37
31	10		6	4	2	5	17	44
32	1		6			2	7	16
33	4		1	2			13	20
34	1		2			3	9	15
35	15	1	3	1	2	8	11	41
36	5		1	7	1	3	8	25
37	7		3	7			6	23
38	21		4	10	3	4	10	52
39	8	1		6	1	3	15	34
40	20		1	3	3	4	21	52
41			1			1	9	11
42	1			1	1	1	11	15
43			1			5	2	8

44	9		4	4		2	21	40
45	8	1	3	3			11	26
46	12	1	3	4		2	12	34
47	16		3	8		6	13	46
48	2		5	2	1	3	11	24
49			1	1		3	10	15
50	9		4	2		1	11	27
Total	**360 (24%)**	**17 (1.1%)**	**135 (9%)**	**173 (11.5%)**	**40 (2.7%)**	**176 (11.7%)**	**598 (39.9%)**	**1499**

Table 12:Types of unmarked topical Theme used in *China Daily*

Text	Personal Pronouns	Demonstrative Pronouns	Relative pronoun	Names of persons	There In (There +be)	Lengthy Nominal Groups (four words +)	Other	Total
1			1			3	5	9
2	2		1	11		7	17	39
3	1		2	3		4	3	13
4	5	1		3		3	2	14
5			1	2		11	10	24
6	1	1	2	7		3	11	25
7	1			4		3	5	13
8	4			7		3	2	16
9	3			1		3	3	10
10	4		2	1		8	10	25
11	1					2	5	8
12	5	3		2	1	4	4	19
13	9	3	2	1	1	3	14	33
14	5	1	1			17	19	43
15			1			5	6	12
16	1	1	1	8		2	4	17
17	3	1	1	1		2	1	9
18	3		1	3		2	10	19
19				6		8	3	17
20	4		3			3	30	40
21				1		4	9	14
22	2	1	2	1		6	4	16
23	2		3			3	2	10
24	4		1	3		8	16	32
25			3			7	3	13
26	2	1	4			10	14	31
27	5	1	1	4			7	18
28	4		2	3		5	18	32
29	4	1	4			1	7	17
30			1			3	7	11
31	1					5	5	11
32	1		1	6		8	9	23
33		1	4	3		5	7	20
34	1		3	1		5	6	16
35			1			5	11	17
36		2	1			4	4	11
37				2		6	11	19
38	3	1	1	6		1	7	19
39	3		1	2		3	1	10
40	2		3	8		4	1	18
41	10	2		4	1	3	12	32
42			1			8	8	17
43						5	7	12
44	1					2	24	27
45	3	1	1			5	8	18
46	2					3	8	13
47	4		2	2		4	6	18

48	8	1	1	6		8	11	35
49	1		3	3		1	5	13
50	1					5	14	21
Total	**116 (12%)**	**23 (2.4%)**	**64 (6.6%)**	**114 (11.8%)**	**3 ((0.3%)**	**233 (24%)**	**416 (43%)**	**969**

7.4 Interpretation

As explained in Chapter 5, while the method used to generate the data on Theme use was quantitative, the method I shall use to interpret those data shall be both quantitative where that is appropriate but also qualitative. The reason for using a qualitative approach is that it allows me to approach the data, the texts from which they were derived and, ultimately, the socio-cultural context within which they were produced, from a level of richness that would be beyond the scope of a purely statistical interpretation. As Ian Dey says (Dey, 1993:175), while qualitative assessments are less standardised and precise than quantitative ones, they are far more illuminating about social aspects of life. That approach will be valuable here.

7.4.1 Analysis of type of Theme

As seen earlier, there are three main types of Theme: topical Theme, interpersonal Theme and textual Theme. Themes can also be single or multiple (see Table 6). When deciding on Theme type, the writer/ speaker has a number of choices to make. There is not, as we have seen, a choice as to whether to use a topical Theme, since every clause must have a topical Theme. There is, however, a great deal of choice as to what to select as the topical Theme. When deciding on Theme type, writers can also choose to use or not use textual and interpersonal thematic elements. Writers that use these will frequently produce texts with a high concentration of multiple (textual and/or interpersonal and topical) as opposed to single (topical only) Themes.

Previous studies have indicated that the variation in extent of multiple Theme use relates to the Mode values of a text. Specifically, more approachable 'spoken'-style texts (or those written to ape the patterns of spoken texts) tend to have more multiple Themes, whereas less approachable, written-style texts have fewer. (Eggins, 1994:283-284)

If we look closely at the analysis of *Times* and *China Daily* texts summarised in Tables 7 and 8, one difference that emerges is in use of multiple Themes. In the *China Daily* texts, comparatively few clauses – just over 17 per cent – have multiple Themes. Amongst the *Times* texts, by contrast, the use of multiple Themes appears more common: 30 per cent of clauses use multiple Themes. Among the *Times* texts,

moreover, there is not a single article that does not make at least some use of multiple Themes. This contrasts with the situation amongst *China Daily* texts, where eight of the 50 texts have no multiple Themes at all. The *Times* text that uses most multiple Themes is *Times* article 15 (Appendix 7.15) which uses multiple Themes in 54.8 per cent of clauses. The *China Daily* text showing the highest use of multiple Themes, by contrast, is *China Daily* article 20 (Appendix 8.20), in which 36 per cent of clauses use multiple Themes. Again, amongst the *Times* texts, 18 out of 50 texts analysed use multiple Themes in at least one third of clauses. Amongst the *China Daily* texts, only 3 out of 50 texts use multiple Themes in at least one third of clauses.

Clearly, even making allowances for the comparatively small sample sizes, it does appear that there is generally a greater use of multiple themes in the *Times* texts than in the *China Daily* ones. There is a further difference. Even in cases where *China Daily* texts do use multiple Themes, there appears to be much less variety in the selection of multiple Theme type than found in the *Times* texts (compare Appendices 9 and 10). Thus for example in *Times* texts topical Themes are frequently preceded by textual Themes of all three kinds: continuity items such as 'well'; conjunctions linking paratactic clause complexes (and, so, but); and conjunctions linking sentences to other sentences. In *China Daily* texts almost the only textual Themes that occur are conjunctions linking clauses; and even where these occur, they tend to be almost exclusively 'and', 'that' or equivalents.

These quantitative differences are, even to the casual observer, readily apparent. But how are they to be interpreted? Eggins, in Chapter 9 of her 1994 book *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*, appears to me to posit the existence of what I will describe as a **continuum of attitudinality** of texts, from the highly attitudinal (spoken texts) to the minimally attitudinal (texts clearly written to be read). Texts at the 'attitudinal' range of the continuum, she suggests, tend to be more approachable and 'interactive', while those at the non-attitudinal end of the range tend towards 'distance and authority' (See Eggins, 1994:299 on the 'Crying Baby' texts). She suggests that amongst highly attitudinal texts (generally, spoken texts or those which mimic the patterns of speech) there is greater use of multiple Themes. Amongst minimally attitudinal texts (generally, more formal, written texts) there is less use of multiple Themes. Writing of her 'Crying Baby' text 1.2 – the most formal of the three texts she considers – she says: "This non-Thematization of modality, and non-use of Mood classes which invite interaction (such as interrogatives), is one way in which Text 1.2 creates its authority and distance" (Eggins, 1994:299-300).

Eggins does no more than hint at the nature of this relationship between 'attitudinality' and choice of multiple or single Theme. It is not my intention here to go into the nature of such a relationship in more detail: but it does offer one possible explanation for the differences found between the British and Chinese texts. In Chapter 6 we saw clearly that one of the main constraints driving British journalists was the need to attract and hold readers: to increase circulation in order for the newspaper to remain commercially viable. Clearly, one way of doing this is to make texts as approachable as possible, and to build a close, almost intimate relationship with readers.

So is this what is actually happening with the texts analysed here? A consideration of some of the *Times* and *China Daily* texts that display high and low multiple Theme use might reveal the answer.

Multiple Themes are multiple because they consist of a topical Theme plus one or more other Thematic elements. Since every clause must have a topical Theme (either as a single Theme or as part of the multiple Theme) the interesting element of a multiple Theme is that part which is not the topical Theme. A look at Appendices 9 and 10 reveals that the other elements of a multiple Theme are either interpersonal Themes, or textual Themes.

The same appendices reveal, however, that in both the *Times* and *China Daily* texts analysed interpersonal Themes are extremely rare. They occur just 18 times in total in the 50 *Times* texts, and 11 times in total in the 50 *China Daily* texts. Any interesting differences in occurrence of multiple Theme between the two sets of texts, therefore, we might expect to be due to textual Theme elements acting as part of a multiple Theme.

Multiple Theme use is, as we saw, generally more common in *Times* texts. The text in which it is most frequently used, as we saw above, is *Times* article 15, in which 55 per cent of all Themes are multiple. Headlined 'Blair and Brown tension grows', the article is an analysis of the growing tension and mistrust between the Tony Blair and Gordon Brown camps soon after the general election which brought Blair to power as Prime Minister in 1997.

A look at the text (See Appendix 7.15) reveals that there are three main situations where a textual Theme forms part of a multiple Theme. Textual Thematic elements as part of a multiple Theme act to introduce objective clauses; they act to introduce attributive clauses: and they act as conjunctions. A few instances from *Times* article 15 are listed below.

Objective clauses

Donald Dewar, the Scottish Secretary, said/ *that* the relationship between the Prime Minister and the Chancellor….

…… suggesting/ *that* any attempt to undermine it could prove damaging.

Mr Blair indirectly rebuked Mr Brown during last Thursday's Cabinet meeting and said/ *that* there was no split between the two men

Labour insiders were still saying yesterday/ *that* the Prime Minister believed…

…the Prime Minister believed/ *that* the Chancellor had been ill-advised

(Altogether 18 cases)

Attributive clauses

Mr Dewar strongly disputed allegations/ *that* Mr Blair indirectly rebuked Mr Brown…

(One case)

Conjunctions

But Labour insiders were still saying…

… *and* that he had been …. (two textual themes, the second introducing an objective clause)

But they will fail, he said

(Six cases)

From the above analysis, it is clear that the most likely situation in which a textual Thematic element occurs as part of a multiple Theme is when the element *that* is used to introduce an objective clause: in other words, when it is used to introduce something that somebody has said or suggested or asserted. A glance at Appendix 9 reveals that in the *Times* texts in a good half of all examples of a textual Theme element acting as part of a multiple Theme, the textual Theme element is the element *that.* Clearly, therefore, in a text that shows high usage of multiple Themes, there is a strong likelihood that the words or beliefs or opinions of some individual are being reported. In *Times* article 15 above, there is actually a dispute being reported: with allegations and counter allegations being thrown backwards and forwards.

How does such a text contrast with a text that is low in multiple Theme use? The *Times* text analysed that shows least use of multiple Themes is *Times* article 32 at Appendix 7.32. Headlined 'Budget to restore cuts in benefits', this is an entirely different style of text: a dry, brief, factual summary of a element of Chancellor Gordon Brown's 1998 budget. Neither the voice of Brown himself nor anyone else is 'heard'

directly or indirectly in this text: it is a summary, and as such distanced from any protagonists. The single instance of a multiple Theme here is the following: "Some who supported the measure admitted later/ *that* they had done so with a heavy heart." Even in this sentence, the 'voice' that is heard belongs to an anonymous 'some people'.

What about the *China Daily* texts? While they do indeed show on the whole a lesser use of multiple Theme than the *Times* texts, there is of course a range of usage shown. The *China Daily* article with the highest use of multiple Themes is *China Daily* article 20 (Appendix 8.20) in which 36 per cent of Themes are multiple. Headlined 'Beijing tightens control over fireworks in city proper' the article is a report about the dangers of firecrackers at Chinese new year, and attempts to stop them being set off within Beijing's central areas. Again, as in *Times* article 15, there are two main situations where a textual Theme is found as part of a multiple Theme element: where it acts to introduce an objective clause, and where it acts as a conjunction. The following are a few examples.

Objective clauses

…the city's people's congress ruled/ *that* no firecrackers would be allowed

…other people think/ *that* the ban had been lifted

…the city's Fireworks Ban Office indicated/ *that* they confiscated fireworks

…all police on duty patrolled the streets to ensure/ *that* none would violate the fireworks ban

Conjunctions

People are happy to feel the New Year atmosphere/ *but* they are also worrying about it/ *because* the fireworks were lit in the city proper

Again, the most common situation in this text where a textual Thematic element is used as part of a multiple Theme is where it acts to introduce an objective clause. The situation in this text is slightly different from the text in *Times* article 15, in that the objective clauses the element *that* introduces objectify a more varied range of verbs or processes. In the *Times* article the element was preceded by verbal processes such as *said, suggested, were saying, believed, disputed*; all of which represent the action of somebody saying something. In *China Daily* we have congress *ruling* that, people *thinking* that, police *ensuring* that. In *Times* article 15, therefore, the element *that* acting as a textual Thematic element of a multiple Theme is serving to introduce what was said by the protagonists in the story; in the *China Daily* article it is serving to introduce also what was done or thought by the (admittedly rather more shadowy) protagonists.

Accepting that to say something is to do something, though, the key factor is that the element introduces action by protagonists.

The effect becomes immediately clear when we compare *China Daily* article 20 with another article from the *China Daily* – article 3 at Appendix 8.3, which displays no use of multiple Themes at all. Headlined 'Chen heads list of 10 best', this is a summary of the performances of China's ten best athletes for the year 1998. However, it is merely that: a summary. There are no interviews with any of the athletes; no opinion sought, no action described – and hence no multiple Themes used.

The above analysis enables us to flesh out, I hope, Eggins' feeling that texts that use multiple Themes tend to be more attitudinal: that is, more approachable and 'interactive'. On the evidence of the above analysis I would suggest that that approachability and interactiveness derives from the fact that such texts are more active: they contain protagonists, and those protagonists are doing things, saying things, arguing and giving their opinions. It is not for nothing that Halliday called processes processes. The textual Thematic element *that* acting as part of a multiple Theme seems to introduce the content action of a process: and by doing so brings a text to life.

As we have seen, both the *Times* and *China Daily* texts display use of multiple Themes: but it is more general and widespread among the *Times* texts. It would seem fair, therefore, to suggest that on the whole the *Times* texts are richer in reports of protagonists doing and saying things than are the *China Daily* texts, which may be more summaries of events. That would certainly add the element of distance Eggins refers to when talking about non-attitudinal texts.

Given that, as we saw in Chapter 6, perhaps the primary function of the Chinese media is to act as the mouthpiece of the Party, what we may be seeing is the effect of a style of reporting in which the actions and voices of protagonists are muted in the interests of presenting an overarching Party line. The message is all – for example, extolling the achievements of Chinese athletes – rather than allowing that message to become muddied by the conflicting voices and opinions of ordinary, real people.

Care has to be exercised here. Clearly further work needs to be done: the sample size used in the analysis is not sufficiently large to draw any hard and fast conclusions. However, the findings from this section of the analysis simply form a part of the weight of evidence that will be considered in more detail in the final discussion at the end of this paper.

7.4.2 Choice of topical Theme

Since, as we have seen, there will always be a topical Theme present in a clause, it is useful to look at what that topical Theme is.

Marked topical Themes tend to be almost always adverbials of time or place: hence little difference is to be expected in choice of marked topical Theme. However, a look at the analysis of Theme contained in Appendices 9 and 10 presents some interesting evidence of differences in unmarked topical Theme between the two sets of texts (findings summarised in Tables 11 and 12 above). First, amongst the *China Daily* texts, there is a comparatively low number of personal pronouns (he, she, they). Among the *Times* texts, 24 percent of topical Themes are personal pronouns (360 instances in 50 texts), compared to only 12 percent (116 instances in 50 texts) among the *China Daily* texts. Secondly, among the *China Daily* texts there is a comparatively high number of lengthy nominal groups chosen as topical Theme (examples: 'Zhang Wannian, vice-chairman of the Chinese Central Military Commission', *China Daily* article 4; 'Qiu Daxiong, deputy commander of the Guangxi Military Area Command', *China Daily* article 6; 'The Shanghai branch of the People's Bank of China', *China Daily* article 14). In the *China Daily* texts, over 24 per cent of topical Themes chosen are lengthy nominal groups of four or more words, compared to just 11.7 per cent in the *Times* texts.

7.4.2.1 Personal pronouns

Eggins points out that in conversation, we normally find that the overwhelming majority of topical Themes are personal pronouns or names (Eggins, 1994). In both the *China Daily* and *Times* texts analysed, the number of names of persons occupying topical Theme position is comparatively low – 11.8 per cent of topical Themes in the *China Daily* texts, and 11.4 per cent in the *Times* texts. This low figure reflects the fact that we are dealing with written texts rather than spoken discourse. However, as we have seen, the *Times* texts are more likely to use personal pronouns than are the *China Daily* texts. In this sense, then, the *Times* texts could be said to tend more towards a conversational style than do the *China Daily* texts. This would fit in well with the suggested interpretation in the previous section based on differences in occurrence of multiple theme: namely that, in respect to use of multiple themes, the *Times* articles tend to display characteristics associated with more attitudinal – and hence more interactive and approachable – texts than do the *China Daily* articles, which tend to display characteristics associated more with formality and distance.

But is the greater use of personal pronouns by the *Times* texts really a sign that they may be more conversational? Again, a look at the texts themselves may give an answer. The *Times* text displaying the greatest use of personal pronouns in unmarked topical Theme position is *Times* article 13, at Appendix 7.13. Headlined 'Bicycle girl, 12, freewheeled off cliff in the Alps', this is a report of an inquest into the death of a 12-year-old girl in a cycling accident in the Alps. Not, superficially, a topic you would associate with informality. But a look at the text itself makes clear what is happening. The report is essentially a report of the testimony of witnesses to the accident given at the inquest: almost half of it is in the form of direct quotations. The following is just a single example:

> "Charlotte had been in the correct position and was riding very slowly until she hit the back of the other bike. She then put her bottom on the seat and both her feet were off the pedals. She was beginning to freewheel and I called out, 'Charlie, put your brakes on.'"

This single paragraph is rich in use of personal pronouns – she and I – for the simple reasons it consists of one person (the narrator's 'I') giving an account of what happened to another, the 'she' of the text. It vividly illustrates why, as Eggins suggests, in conversation we find that the majority of topical Themes are personal pronouns or names.

It is hardly surprising that *Times* article 13 shares the stylistic characteristic of conversation, since it is essentially a report of spoken eyewitness accounts of an incident – in other words, it is essentially a partial transcription of an oral narrative. Even where the text is not written in direct quotes, it is largely written in the form of indirect reported speech, which shares many of the same characteristics:

> Grahame Short, the mid-Hampshire coroner, said he suspected Charlotte had panicked after she bumped her front wheel and forgot how to control her bike.

A similar situation is found in *Times* article 25 (Appendix 7.25), another *Times* text which shows high use of personal pronouns in topical Theme position. Here, it is a court report headlined 'Soldier 'killed his stepdaughter and buried her body'' – and direct quotes are used even in the headline. It is a feature of court reports, like the reports of inquests, that they are essentially partial transcriptions of what was said in court – either by eyewitnesses to a crime or by a judge or lawyer summing up what has been said by witnesses. Thus they also, like reports of inquests, have a strong narrative

drive, in which a narrator is telling about what happened to someone else. A single quote from the text will suffice to illustrate its character:

> "The Crown says this man, her stepfather Miles Evans, took her out of her home at night. He killed her at night and buried her at night, high on a deserted and overgrown hill."

Times article 38, which is also high in use of personal pronouns in topical Theme position, is slightly different. Headlined 'School will not punish Straw's son', it is a report of a headteacher's unwillingness to punish William Straw, son of the Home Secretary Jack Straw, for allegedly selling cannabis. But while not a report of an inquest or trial, it does share some of the narrative characteristics of the two preceding texts, in that it is essentially a report – a partial transcription, in direct and indirect reported speech – of what two men, William Straw's headteacher and his father Jack Straw, said. As such, it is littered with direct quotes such as: "I will try to talk to him..", "I have sympathy with his family.."; and with indirect quotes such as "He would discuss with William's parents…"; he was implacably opposed…".

Contrasting these texts with a *Times* text low in use of personal pronouns in topical Theme position, the difference is immediately obvious. In *Times* article 3, headlined 'Parents urged to give more maths coaching at home', there are no personal pronouns in topical Theme position at all. The report is a dry account of a think-tank study into the importance of maths teaching at home. But there are no active, live voices heard in the report: everything is at arms' length. Even the two main protagonists named do not speak: their views are summarised, as if from a distance. Thus "David Blunkett, the Education Secretary, will back a return to traditional teaching methods," and "Professor Reynolds has emphasised that there is no magic formula." There are no voices in this text, no use of personal pronoun in topical theme position – and the effect is one of distance.

A similar situation is found in the *China Daily* texts. Again, as with the use of multiple Themes, *China Daily* texts generally show less use of personal pronouns in topical Theme position. The text showing highest use is *China Daily* article 41: though even here, there are only about a third as many instances of personal pronoun as topical Theme as are found in *Times* article 13. The *China Daily* article, headlined 'Chinese swimming hit by doping shame', is an account of a doping scandal among Chinese swimmers who have been banned from international competition. The comparatively high incidence of personal pronouns in topical Theme position – and hence the

'conversational' aspect of the text – derives from the fact that statements by both the International Swimming Federation Fina and the Chinese Swimming Association are reported. Thus we get: "'We cannot, during the championships, take any direct action,'" and "We will actively co-ordinate with Fina …."

China Daily texts which show little or no use of personal pronoun in topical Theme position are common. *China Daily* article 21 is typical. Headlined 'Weather afflicts southern croplands', it is a dry-as-dust meteorological account of how a drop in temperatures affected crop production. There are lots of facts and figures about temperatures, hours of sunshine, and levels of rainfall and snowfall: but not a single interview with a farmer affected by the conditions. As with *Times* article 3, there is no individual voice heard, and little narrative drive.

Once again, then, a look at actual texts has confirmed the correlation pointed out by Eggins: that in conversation, we normally find that the overwhelming majority of topical Themes are personal pronouns or names. As with multiple Themes, some of both the *Times* and *China Daily* texts display a comparatively high use of personal pronouns in topical Theme position, and therefore show characteristics associated with the informality of conversation – due largely, as we have seen, to the fact that they can be viewed as partial, incomplete and sometimes indirect transcriptions of people's spoken words. But the use of personal pronouns in this way is more widespread among the *Times* texts, and *Times* texts generally show a higher usage. This concern to be intimate, to introduce the voices and speech patterns of real people, is what we might expect from a representative of a media concerned with attracting a large readership by bright, narratively strong writing and one that is not afraid to represent a diversity of points of view. Conversely, strong narrative, a bright, approachable, intimate style and a diversity of points of view might not be expected to be high priorities in a media such as China's which is concerned primarily with acting as the mouthpiece of a ruling Establishment and which has, to a certain extent, a 'captive' audience. Distance and authority might be more appropriate.

On the evidence both of multiple Theme use and use of personal pronouns in topical Theme position, then, the *Times* texts generally appear to be more approachable, informal and conversational in style, the *China Daily* texts more distant and less conversational and intimate. These are generalisations, and both sets of texts show variations in both factors.

7.4.2.2 Lengthy nominal groups

The other aspect of choice of topical Theme for which the analysis highlighted interesting differences between the two sets of texts was that of use of lengthy nominal groups. As we saw, on the evidence of this analysis the *China Daily* texts are more than twice as likely to use lengthy nominal groups than are the *Times* texts. These, as seen, are often of the form 'Qiu Daxiong, deputy commander of the Guangxi Military Area Command' (*China Daily* article 6, appendix 8.6). One effect of such a nominal group is to precisely establish Qiu Daxiong's authority and credentials by stating in detail exactly who he is – the 'deputy commander of the Guangxi Military Area Command'. This preoccupation with emphasising a participant's rank and status is seen again and again in the *China Daily* texts – as in, for example, the above-quoted 'Zhang Wannian, vice-chairman of the Chinese Central Military Commission' in *China Daily* article 4 – and it is tempting to suggest it accounts at least in part for the comparatively high usage of lengthy nominal groups in Topical Theme position in the *China Daily* texts.

The *China Daily* text which displays most use of lengthy nominal groups is *China Daily* article 14 (Appendix 8.14). Headlined 'Securities investment becomes the prime choice', it is a technical article about the securities markets in the Chinese cities of Shanghai and Guangzhou (Canton). A look at the kinds of lengthy nominal groups found in topical Theme position here reveals that they fall broadly into two groups: statistical information, and descriptions of people or groups of people. The following are a few examples:

Statistical lengthy nominal groups

"Twenty-nine per cent of…."

"..only 29 per cent…"

".. 18.5 per cent of people …"

"About half of those investing…"

Lengthy nominal groups describing people

"An analyst with the China Securities Company…"

"A survey conducted by the Shanghai branch of the People's Bank of China…"

What these two types of lengthy nominal group have in common, I would suggest – and have in common, too, with 'Qiu Daxiong, deputy commander of the Guangxi Military Area Command', is that they are specific, and carry a high information content. They could almost be seen as an attempt to answer an unspoken question in the mind of the reader: 'what's the evidence?'. The evidence is given: it is

the authority of Qiu Daxiong, the reputation of the Shangai branch of the People's Bank of China or of the China Securities Company; or the statistical evidence of that fact that 29 per cent of people do this or don't do that.

A high incidence of lengthy nominal groups, then, might be partly the result of a pre-occupation with status and rank, as in the case of Qiu Daxiong: but that pre-occupation itself looks like being part of a wider pre-occupation with the need for evidence, and hence with the authoritativeness of a text.

Times texts, too, demonstrate use of lengthy nominal groups in topical Theme position: but it is less widespread and less frequent. The *Times* text showing the highest use of such nominal groups is *Times* article 2, at Appendix 7.2. Headlined 'More privatised trains run late as fares increase', it is an account of the worsening performance of rail companies. Again, there are lots of statistics, and the text appears fairly dry. The types of lengthy nominal group found are very similar to those found in *China Daily* article 14, and indeed, the whole tone of the article is not dissimilar. Thus we get the following:

> "Many other train companies…"
> "Several of the worst performing companies…"
> "One third of the operators…"

Terms such as "many" and "several" here may appear more imprecise than in the *China Daily* article: but elsewhere in the text, it is made perfectly clear just how well or badly individual train operating companies have done. It remains, however, a statistically-driven, information-driven text, rather than a narrative-driven one.

The contrast with a text in which there is little or no use of lengthy nominal groups is marked. There are many *Times* texts – and a few *China Daily* ones – which fall into this category. *Times* article 25 at Appendix 7.25 is one. This is the court report headlined "Soldier 'killed his stepdaughter and buried her body'" that we have already encountered in our discussion of personal pronoun in topical Theme position. It is, as we saw, narratively strong and has many of the stylistic qualities of conversation. Clearly, in this text at least (if not in the court case of which it s a report) the gripping story is the thing, rather than the evidence.

Use of lengthy nominal groups, then – on the evidence of this admittedly brief analysis – seems likely to be associated with texts which are low on narrative drive but high on information content and on authority for information given. As with all the

linguistic features studied so far, it is found in both *China Daily* and *Times* texts: but it is generally more common and more widespread among the *China Daily* texts. It seems plausible to infer from this that generally speaking the *China Daily* texts are more concerned with passing on authoritative, reliable information grounded in recognised sources. Times texts, on the evidence of this analysis, appear to be less information-heavy, and less concerned to provide evidence or authority for what is reported. This is a conclusion which fits quite neatly both with the roles of the British and Chinese media as described in Chapter 6, and with the evidence gathered so far in the course of this chapter: namely that the British media, reliant for their survival on sales and advertising, are concerned with bright, narratively strong, entertaining stories in which the voices of real people are heard, whereas the Chinese media, as the mouthpiece of the Party, are concerned with authoritative, formal articles which put across the point of view of the Party.

A part of the picture, as we saw above, may also be that the *China Daily* texts appear particularly concerned to highlight the status and position of senior figures being quoted. This, too, is only to be expected in a media which seeks to act as mouthpiece of the Party. In support of this interpretation, an interesting (if strictly non-linguistic) analysis carried out by myself on small samples of just ten each of the *Times* and *China Daily* texts revealed that while in the *China Daily* texts, 71 per cent of people quoted are senior party or government officials, in the *Times* texts, just 34 per cent of people quoted are senior British politicians or officials (see Table 17, Chapter 8).

Status appears an important consideration for the Chinese journalists. We have already seen earlier in this chapter that one aspect of choice of topical Theme is that it enables the writer or speaker to 'highlight' or emphasise the importance of certain aspects of a clause. By choosing so often to make the names of authority figures the topical Theme, Chinese writers may again be stressing their importance and authority.

7.4.2.3 'There + be'

One other apparent difference between the two sets of texts highlighted by the quantitative analysis – and again, this needs to be considered in the context of the comparatively small sample size studied and the relatively small number of instances found – is in the use of the 'there + be' construction as topical theme. This element is almost non-existent in topical theme position in the *China Daily* texts (just three instances in 50 texts) but considerably more common in the *Times* texts (40 instances in 50 texts).

The *Times* article showing the highest usage of this element in topical Theme position is *Times* article No 1, at Appendix 7.1. The text, headlined 'Loyalist gunmen attack New Year revellers' is an account of an attack by loyalist paramilitaries on a Catholic bar in Belfast. A look at the text shows that the 'there + be' construction appears to serve two main functions. It serves to drive forward a descriptive narrative of events, often in the form of quotations from observers or participants in the events being reported on (" 'There was a lot of blood coming from the side of his head. There were other people shot....'"); and it serves as a way of introducing the author's voice to introduce matters of otherwise unattributable 'fact' ("There was concern last night that Nationalist paramilitaries would retaliate...", where the state of concern is given as fact but no evidence is given for this state of affairs than the author stating it to be so.)

I will call the first of these two 'types' of 'there + be' in topical Theme position a **narrative there + be**, and the second an **intrusive there + be**. A look at a second *Times* text which is comparatively high in use of this construction reveals a third form. *Times* article 11 at Appendix 7.11 is headlined 'Parties Start to Work on detail of Peace Deal'. It is an account of the Stormont meetings that marked an early stage of the attempts to thrash out a binding peace deal for Northern Ireland. At one point, Sinn Fein chairman Mitchell McLaughlin is quoted as saying: "*There's* no internal solution and *there will be* no return to partitionist rule." We have here two examples of the 'there + be' construction in topical Theme position in a single sentence, and both are examples of what might be termed an **emphatic there + be**, in which a protagonist makes a very emphatic statement of a strongly-held point of view or opinion. *Times* article 16 Appendix 7.16), a political piece about the legacy of Michael Portillo's term as Conservative Defence Secretary, contains further examples of the intrusive 'there + be' in "there are serious doubts about the rest of Portillo's orders proceeding as planned" and "There are also worries at senior military level ...." (again, both unsubstantiated statements of fact).

This use of the 'there + be' structure, as we saw, is comparatively common in *Times* texts, but almost non-existent in the *China Daily* texts. Without making too much of this difference, I feel it is possible to suggest at least a plausible explanation that accords with the evidence of Chapter 6. The British media, as we saw there, places a strong emphasis on informing but also entertaining its audience: and there is a clearly expressed commercial need to attract and keep readers and viewers. The Chinese media is above all the mouthpiece of the Party: and has to a large extent a captive audience. Entertainment is comparatively low on its agenda. Furthermore, the British media, in

it's role as a questioner of those in authority, is not afraid to speculate. The Chinese media, as Party mouthpiece, does not need to speculate about the Party's policies.

This being so, it is unsurprising that a structure ('narrative there + be') which facilitates the vivid description of events should be more common in *Times* texts, with their emphasis on entertaining. And in a Chinese media with, as we have already seen, an interest in emphasising the importance of authority figures and of the messages they seek to convey and a role to perform as Party mouthpiece, it would be surprising if the author were to intrude his or her own voice to state otherwise unattributable 'facts'. Instead of the anonymous "There was concern last night …" of the 'intrusive there + be' we would perhaps expect something more like "Chinese president and Party chairman Jiang Zemin said last night he was concerned ….". In the few cases where 'there + be' structures are found in topical Theme position in the *China Daily* texts (and there are only three instances in 50 texts), they tend to be of the emphatic variety and to be opinions of senior Party or Government figures. Thus, in *China Daily* article 12 (Appendix 8.12) we have "Though *there have been* twists and turns, relevant issues have been handled properly… he (Chinese president Jiang Zemin) said," and in *China Daily* article 41 (Appendix 8.41) Shi Tianshu, head of the Chinese swimming team delegation who is responding to allegations that Chinese swimmers had tested positive for drugs, says "*There are* bad feelings among the team…" No authorial voice intervening here: in both cases the 'there + be' is the result of the expression of opinion by an important person who is being quoted.

As we will see in the next two chapters, the difference in the degree of what I will call **narrator intrusion** (the willingness of the author to intervene his or her voice without the authority of a quote to back it up) between the two sets of texts is actually quite marked.

7.4.3 Markedness of Theme choice

The other significant aspect of Theme choice at which I wish to look is Theme markedness.

As we saw earlier in this chapter, a Theme is marked when it is atypical or unusual. Eggins, (Eggins, 1994:296), says: "All things being equal, an unmarked choice will be made. When a marked choice is made, the speaker/ writer is signalling that all things are not equal, that something in the context requires an atypical meaning to be made." Eggins also suggests that, as with the other systems of Thematic choice, the decision to make a marked element the Theme frequently relates to Mode dimensions:

in other words, it relates to the form and register of the text. According to Eggins, marked Themes are relatively rare in casual conversation, and most frequently found in skilfully-constructed written texts.

Given the atypical nature of marked Themes, one effect is to emphasise the constituent chosen as a marked Theme. It seems likely, then, that part of the reason at least for the producer of a text to choose a marked rather than unmarked Theme is so as to highlight the importance of a certain constituent of the clause, placing it in Theme position when, given the nature of the text, it would not normally be found there. Eggins gives a number of examples, of which one here will do:

Unmarked: "Diana donated blood in the city";
Marked: "It was in the city that Diana donated blood".

Here, "It was in the city…" has been promoted to Theme position as a marked Theme to emphasise that for some reason, it is the location in which blood was given that is most significant, rather than the identity of the person who gave blood.

Another example taken from texts analysed in this paper is:

Unmarked: "Masked loyalists shot dead Seamus Dillon within hours of his (Wright's) death."

Marked: "Within hours of his (Wright's) death, masked loyalists shot dead Seamus Dillon…." (Appendix 7.1, *Times* article 1).

Here, 'within hours' has been promoted to the status of marked Theme to emphasise the speed with which Seamus Dillon was shot dead. This is the message the writer wishes to convey in the clause: not the mere fact that Seamus Dillon *was* shot dead, but that it happened so quickly on the heels of another murder.

Marked Themes, as we have seen according to Eggins, tend to occur more frequently in skilfully-constructed written texts: and less frequently in casual conversation. They are in fact frequently to be found in the form of circumstance elements such as location, time, manner and so-on. In addition to highlighting certain constituents of a clause, one effect of placing such a circumstance element in Theme position can be to add coherence and cohesion: a requirement of any skilfully-constructed text (and often lacking in conversation). For example, the choice of the time

circumstances '*Last month*' in the clause "Last month Rattle condemned the government for downgrading music", '*Now*' in "Now Rattle is to be asked by Minister to help draw up plans..." and *'At Present'* in "At present, schools can apply for lottery grants..." (Appendix 7.6, *Times* article 6) help to increase textual cohesion by cross-referencing along the time continuum.

Choice of marked Theme, then, can add emphasis and coherence/ cohesion: and is more likely to be found in more formal, skilfully-constructed written texts.

A look at the use of marked Themes in the *Times* and *China Daily* texts analysed in this study shows first that, as already indicated, marked Themes are, comparatively-speaking, quite rare. In the *Times* texts, only 8.7 per cent of Themes are marked; in the *China Daily* texts, 12.5 per cent of Themes are marked.

This apparently greater use of marked Themes in the *China Daily* than in the *Times* texts is interesting. Appearances, though, can be deceptive: especially when dealing with comparatively small sample sizes such as those studied here. A closer examination of the texts reveals that the pattern is not as simple as it might at first seem. While there are, overall, a greater percentage of marked Themes being used in the *China Daily* texts, there are also a greater number of *China Daily* texts that display no marked Themes at all: seven out of 50, compared to just four out of 50 amongst the *Times* texts. Furthermore, there are more articles with only a single marked Theme amongst the *China Daily* texts than amongst the *Times* – 12/50, compared to 10/50.

The reason for the apparently greater usage of Theme-markedness amongst *China Daily* texts, in fact, is that there is a comparatively small number of *China Daily* texts showing very high Theme-markedness. Twelve out of the 50 *China Daily* texts have marked Themes in more than 20 per cent of clauses, whilst among the *Times* articles, only five have more than 20 per cent of clauses with marked Themes. The *China Daily* text showing the second highest concentration of marked Themes, *China Daily* article No 11 at Appendix 8.11, has marked Themes in no less than 50 per cent of its clauses.

A look at this particular text ('Customs recover US$ 180m for State' reveals that the majority of these marked Themes are circumstances of Time ('in 1997', 'in the first half of the year', 'in the latter half of the year', 'in 1994' etc). The article describes the recovery by customs officials of smuggled goods over a period of time from the 1980s to 1997. It is studded with statistical information, but clearly a large part of the reason for the high level of Theme-markedness is to identify here the periods of time at which certain recoveries of smuggled goods were made. The article is in a sense a litany of

achievement, and as such is not greatly different in form from the Codas in oral narrative which Eggins identifies as a prime example of the kind of text in which marked Themes are common (Eggins, 1994:298).

Another *China Daily* text showing high Theme-markedness is *China Daily* article 25 (Appendix 8.25), headlined 'Art auctions mushroom'. Again, there are marked Themes here which are circumstances of time or situation ('By the end of last year … there were 26 such companies in Beijing'); but there are also marked Themes which have been clearly chosen to emphasise the importance of a message. The overall thrust of the article is that without proper regulation, the burgeoning art market in China will end up in chaos. The text is in effect a litany of steps (presumably, though this is nowhere openly stated, sanctioned or proposed by the Party) which will lead to a more ordered market. Thus we get; 'In this narrow market, the increase in the number of auction companies… can only lead to disorder'; 'In addition, management of the market should be strengthened….'; 'In these ways, perhaps, the auction market may be put in some kind of order.'

The *Times* text showing the greatest degree of Theme markedness is *Times* article 17, at Appendix 7.17. Headlined 'Voting reforms could be in place by the next election' it is an account of Home Secretary Jack Straw's proposals for electoral reform. Although there are a variety of forms of Theme markedness at work in this text, a number of them clearly emphasise which part of the information carried in a clause is intended to be significant. Thus we have 'After consideration by the Cabinet, a proposal will be put to a referendum in 1999', (which indicates the fact that the Cabinet will consider the matter very carefully first is held to be highly significant, possibly indicating a sense of caution as to whether the proposals will ever go forward); and 'In the last election, just under half of MPs failed to get 50 per cent of the vote', in which 'In the last election' is promoted to Theme position ahead of 'Just under half of MPs', presumably to contrast the situation then with what might pertain at the next election.

What appears to be going on in this text may well have more to do with skilful text construction, with the writer choosing to highlight aspects of a clause he or she considers most significant, than with any attempt to present a litany of achievement, as we saw in *China Daily* article 11. It is, in fact, difficult on the evidence of this analysis to draw any general conclusions about the differences between *China Daily* and *Times* texts, since the ways in which Theme markedness are used can be subtle and varied. Certainly there is a variation in the extent to which marked Themes are used within both the *Times* and *China Daily* groups of texts, such that the comparatively small overall

difference between the two probably is not significant. Since in those texts where Theme markedness does occur, it generally tends to occur quite frequently (a feature of Theme markedness according to Eggins), the existence of just a small number of texts displaying Theme markedness can skew the results fairly significantly.

Nevertheless, it is worth bearing in mind that Theme markedness tends to be a feature of more formal text construction. This would tie in with the purpose of Chinese texts to seem authoritative and more distant. And, as we have seen, the repetition of elements such as circumstances of time in articles such as *China Daily* article No 11 has the effect of emphasising the record of success and achievement. This effect of emphasising and persuading is one aspect of Theme markedness noted by Eggins. Persuasion about the record of achievement of the government is certainly one goal of Chinese newspapers – it serves to help emphasise the 'correctness' of government policy. Unlike Chinese newspapers, as we saw in Chapter 6, British newspapers pride themselves on being independent of government control, and on adopting a critical, questioning stance. It is not part of their agenda to emphasise the government's record of achievement. Where Theme markedness occurs in *Times* texts, therefore, it may be a sign of skilful text construction rather than an overt attempt to persuade.

7.4 Conclusion

The Theme analysis conducted during the course of this chapter has already thrown up a number of interesting differences between the *China Daily* and *Times* texts analysed. First, use of multiple Themes appears more common in *Times* texts. Eggins suggests that there may be a correlation between use of multiple Themes and the approachability and interactivity of a text: and specifically that texts with a lot of multiple Themes tend to be more approachable and interactive. The evidence of the qualitative analysis carried out in this chapter supports this view; with the approachability and interactiveness of texts showing a high incidence of multiple Themes appearing to derive from the way the textual Thematic element *that* acts to introduce the content action of a process. Such texts are peopled with protagonists all doing things, saying things, arguing and giving their opinions: and hence are full of life. Texts without such an element as part of a multiple Theme tend to be dry and lifeless, with few protagonists and few actions or voices.

As we have seen, both the *Times* and *China Daily* texts display use of multiple Themes: but it is more general and widespread among the *Times* texts. It would seem fair, therefore, to suggest that on the whole the *Times* texts are richer in reports of a

range of protagonists doing and saying things than are the *China Daily* texts, which tend to be drier and less varied and active. This fits with the respective roles of the Chinese and British media identified in Chapter 6: the former placing a premium on entertainment, readability and diversity of voice, the latter on authoritativeness and narrow clarity of message unmuddied by diversity of voice or opinion.

Secondly, there are differences in the choice of Topical Themes. *China Daily* texts show a greater incidence of lengthy nominal groups as topical Theme – often, as we saw, as a result of an information overload or as a result of attempts to establish the credentials of a senior government figure. *Times* texts, meanwhile, show a greater usage of personal pronouns as topical Theme: a characteristic once again, Eggins says, of more conversational, and hence less formal, texts. Again, a qualitative analysis supported the view that texts displaying high usage of personal pronouns as topical Theme tend to share many of the stylistic characteristic of conversation: often in the examples analysed because they are reports or even partial transcriptions of vivid oral narratives. That *Times* texts are richer in use of personal pronouns in topical Theme position and hence are more approachable and more narratively vivid fits with the view of the role of the British media described in Chapter 6 as placing an emphasis on entertainment and attracting and holding readers.

The greater use of the 'there + be' element in topical Theme position in *Times* texts may possibly also be explainable, both in terms of a desire to produce a vivid descriptive narrative of events, and in terms of a greater willingness on the part of *Times* texts to intrude the author's own voice, through the use of what I described as intrusive and narrative 'there + be' elements.

Finally, while the difference may or may not be a significant one, *China Daily* texts on the evidence of this analysis at least appear to use more marked Themes than do *Times* texts. One effect of Theme-markedness can be to emphasise a record of achievement; so the apparently higher usage of Theme-markedness in the *China Daily* texts could be interpreted as the result of their attempts, bearing in mind the Chinese media's role as mouthpiece of the government, to enhance the authority of the government its policies and representatives, and so persuade readers more readily of the worth of what they are being told. This effect of emphasising and persuading is, as we saw, one aspect of Theme markedness noted by Eggins.

The difference between in degree of Theme markedness between the two sets of texts, however, is not actually very significant. It may be that Theme markedness is being used in different ways. Where it occurs in *Times* texts it may be predominantly a

sign of skilful text construction – another aspect of Theme markedness noted by Eggins – rather than an indication of a desire to persuade or emphasise. The qualitative analysis carried out in this chapter appears to bear out this interpretation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Transitivity Analysis:
or, a study of the way we shape our reports of the world to fit the way we see it

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, as in the previous one, I will be doing three things. First, I will give a more detailed account of the system of Transitivity. Second, I will conduct an analysis of the same 50 *Times* and *China Daily* texts as were subjected to a Theme analysis in the previous chapter. And finally, I will give an interpretation of the findings of that analysis, in the light of the differences in functional role of the media in Britain and China set out in Chapter 6.

8.2 The system of Transitivity

Transitivity, as we saw in Chapter 4, is – like Theme – one of Halliday's three main systems of English. The system deals with what Halliday calls 'processes' – processes of being, doing and becoming.

When we view the world, we view it as through a filter. Our own experiences, beliefs, background, expectations and prejudices colour what we see. It is natural enough then that when we report on that world, through verbal or written communication, something of that filtering, that colouring of the world should be represented in what we say or write.

The system of Transitivity, according to Simpson (1993:88), is part of the 'ideational' function of language. It enables us to study the way speakers/ writers encode their mental patterns of reality - and how they account for their experience of the world around them.

It enables us to do this precisely because it deals with processes. Halliday (1985:1) says: "Our most powerful conception of reality is that it consists of 'going on: of doing, happening, feeling, being. These 'goings on' are sorted out in the semantic system of the language and expressed through the grammar of the clause."

Transitivity enables us to see how, by making certain grammatical choices rather than others, the producer of a text is able to 'foreground' certain meanings in discourse while others are suppressed. The Transitivity model thus provides one means of investigating how the linguistic structure of a text effectively encodes a particular 'world view' – that of the producer(s) of the text. It also can give us an insight into how

a reader's perception of the meaning of a text can be pushed in a particular direction by the producer of that text through the foregrounding of certain meanings over others.

By using the system of Transitivity to analyse the grammar of the clause, then, we are able to study the 'most powerful conception of reality' that we each of us have and that we each of us encode in the way we report the world. In particular, we are able to study – through the grammatical process-choices made – the conception of reality that the individual producing the spoken or written text has. We can also compare it to that of others, looking for evidence of individual idiosyncrasies, for evidence of shared cultural conceptions – and for differences in conceptions of reality between cultures.

The system is particularly powerful because, as we saw briefly in Chapter 4, it takes into account not only processes themselves as represented in the clause, but also the way the participants involved in the processes and the circumstances associated with the processes are represented in the clause. Since the way all of these elements are represented will be determined largely by the linguistic choices the writer or speaker makes, the system gives us a direct window into the writer or speaker's mind and his/ her world view. Transitivity choices in a sense realise the writer or speaker's encoding of their experiential reality – the world of actions, relations, participants and circumstances that give content to their talk.

It should be emphasised, however, that Transitivity analysis offers a description of only one of the structural strands of the clause. As we have seen, it is simply one of the three systems proposed by Halliday. It is a powerful tool for understanding the writer's view of the world, and how that is encoded: but it touches only indirectly on the relationship between the writer and the reader (the domain of the system of Mood) and the organisational structure of a text (the domain of the system of Theme, the subject of the previous chapter). All three of these elements of meaning are contained simultaneously within a single text, and all three complement each other.

8.2.1 The elements of the System of Transitivity

Carrying out a transitivity analysis involves determining the way three things are represented in the clause: the process type (what is happening); the participants (who is doing what, and to whom); and the circumstances (where and under what circumstances it is all happening). The way all of these elements are represented will, in some sense, be a function of the world view of the person reporting on them. Thus, by examining the Transitivity patterns in a text, we can understand much about how the writer or speaker perceives the world, and also much about how he/ she chooses to represent it to others.

The three components of the clause which form the system of Transitivity can be represented as follows:

- **Process**, which is expressed by the verb phrase of the clause, e.g. 'Yesterday Mary *watered* the flowers in the garden.'

- **Participants** involved in the process, expressed by the nominal groups, e.g. 'Yesterday *Mary* watered *the flowers* in the garden.'

- **Circumstances** associated with the process which are normally expressed by adverbial or prepositional phrases, e.g. *'Yesterday* Mary watered the flowers *in the garden*.'

In analysing Transitivity structure in a clause we are concerned with looking at the choices made by the speaker/ writer in each of these three aspects of the clause. We are therefore looking at:

i) the selection of a process. The process choice will be realised in the verbal group of the clause, eg

1 *There have already been* signs of the three-year-old loyalist ceasefire fraying. (Existential Process) (See Appendix 7.20)

2 A soldier *murdered* his nine-year-old stepdaughter at night, *hid* the body in a badger sett…(Material Process) (see Appendix 7.25)

ii) the selection of participants. Participants will be realised in the nominal groups, eg:

3 *Chinese customs departments* recovered *1.5 billion yuan worth of duties*...(See Appendix 8.11)

iii) the selection of circumstances. Circumstantial meanings are expressed through adverbial groups or prepositional phrases, e.g

4 Masked gunmen burst *into a Catholic pub in Belfast*… (two prepositional phrases, ie *into a Catholic pub* and *in Belfast*, each expressing a circumstance of place) (See Appendix 7.1)

As we have seen, there is an element of choice available to the producer of a text in all three aspects of the Transitivity structure of a clause. However, a look at example sentence 4 above reveals that the nature of this choice is different. By choosing a different process, the feeling of the clause can be altered without any factual changes being made in what is reported. Consider the following example:

5 Masked gunmen *hastened* into a Catholic pub in Belfast.

There is clearly a different feel about this sentence than about example sentence 4, "Masked gunmen *burst* into a Catholic pub in Belfast". Sentence 5 could be said to be less emotionally charged: it somehow carries with it less of the author's own attitude to that upon which he or she is reporting. Neverthless, sentence 5 is factually no different from sentence 4. The events described are essentially the same.

Such is not the case, however, if either the participants or circumstances are changed. Consider sentences 6 and 7:

6 *Laughing children* burst into a Catholic pub in Belfast

7 Masked gunmen burst *into a theatre in Brisbane*

These sentences clearly have different meanings to sentence 4: they are actually about different things.

Thus, while there are elements of choice involved in all three aspects of the Transitivity structure of a clause, it is only with the process aspect that the producer of a text truly has the freedom to choose one process rather than another without materially affecting the meaning of the text. As we have seen from the examples above, by making certain process choices rather than others he or she can alter the feel of a text – and can make clear his or her attitude towards the events reported – without altering the material facts expressed in that text.

Since it is only in the choice of process that the producer of a text has this freedom, the analysis of Transitivity carried out in the chapter will look only at choice of process.

I will now give a more detailed account of this aspect of the Transitivity structure of a clause.

8.2.2 The types of process

Halliday classifies processes into six groups, according to whether they represent actions, behaviour, speech, states of mind or simply states of being. These groups are Material, Mental, Verbal, Behavioural, Existential and Relational. I will look at each of these in turn.

8.2.2.1 **Material processes**, or 'processes of doing'.

The basic grammatical function of a material process is to convey that some entity does something, undertakes some action. The two inherent participant roles associated with material processes are **Actor** (the 'doer' of the process expressed by the

clause) and an optional **Goal** (the person or entity affected by the process). Eggins (1994) further subdivides material processes into middle/ intransitive processes (in which there is only one participant, e.g. 'He is working') and effective/ transitive processes (in which there are two or more participants, e.g. 'He passed me a book.').

Halliday (1985:109-110) also makes an important distinction between the Goal and a related participant fulfilling a similar function within the clause that he terms a **Range**. A Range, when there is one, is either a restatement or continuation of the process itself (e.g. 'They ran the *race*') or else it expresses the extent or 'range' of the process, (e.g. 'They were playing a *game* '.).

One further participant that may be found in a material process is the **Beneficiary** - the person or entity which benefits from the process, (e.g. 'He gave *her* a pen'). Eggins identifies two kinds of Beneficiary, a **Recipient** (the one to whom something is given, as in 'He gave *her* a pen') and a **Client** (the one for whom something is done, (e.g. 'I will cook *you* a meal').

8.2.2.2 Mental processes, or 'processes of sensing'.

These processes are 'internalized' and as such are quite different in quality to the 'externalized' processes of doing and speaking. Mental processes can be subdivided into:

- **Perception processes** ('seeing', 'hearing', etc.)
- **Affection/ Reaction processes** ('liking', 'hating' etc.)
- **Processes of Cognition** ('thinking', 'understanding', etc.)

There are two inherent participant roles associated with mental processes, which are **Senser** (the person that is perceiving, reacting or thinking) and **Phenomenon** (that which is perceived, reacted to or thought about). There are according to Halliday, two types of phenomena: **Acts,** which are found in mental processes of perception such as seeing, hearing and noticing (for example, 'He noticed a *shyness* in her manner') and **Facts**. A Fact is an embedded clause, usually finite and introduced by the structural element 'that', which functions as if it were a simple noun (for example, 'He noticed that *something was wrong').*

8.2.2.3 Behavioural processes, or processes involving human physiological and psychological behaviour, such as "watching", "dreaming", "tasting", "smiling" etc. Halliday describes these processes semantically as a "half-way house" between Mental and Material processes. That is, the meanings they realise are midway between materials on the one hand and mentals on the other. They are in part about action, but it

is action that has to be experienced by a conscious being. Behaviourals are typically processes of physiological and psychological behaviour. The majority of Behaviourals have only one participant, the **Behaver**, typically a conscious being (like the Senser in the mental process clause '*She* laughed').

Behaviourals can contain a second participant that, like a Range, is a restatement of the process. This participant is called **the Behaviour**, e.g. 'He grinned a *broad grin*'. If there is another participant that is not a restatement of the process, it is called **a Phenomenon**, for example, 'Jack sniffed *the soup*'.

8.2.2.4 Verbal processes, or 'processes of saying'.

Participant roles are those of **Sayer** (the individual who is speaking), **Receiver** (the addressee to whom the process is directed), the **Target** (the entity that is targeted by the process of saying, e.g. 'She always praised *him* to her friends', where the Receivers are 'her friends') and **verbiage** (the function that corresponds to what is said. Verbiage can either be the content of what is said, e.g. '*the place*' in 'Can you describe *the place* for me?' or the name of the saying, e.g. '*a question*' in 'Can I ask you *a question*?'

8.2.2.5 Relational processes, or ' processes of being'.

Quite often, this is the signal that a relationship exists between two participants without necessarily suggesting that one participant affects the other in any way. Relational processes may be:

- **Intensive attributive processes**, in which a quality, classification or descriptive epithet (Attribute) is assigned to a participant **Carrier,** e.g. 'He is a doctor' (ie, 'X is a member of the class A') or 'He is very clever' (X carries the attribute A')

- **Intensive identifying processes** which, in contrast with Attributives, do not seek to ascribe or classify, but define. Thus, for example, 'The real victim is John' (of the form 'X serves to define the identity of Y') The two participants involved in this process are the **Token** (that which is being defined , in the above example: *John*) and the **Value** (that which defines, above '*the real victim*')

- **Circumstantial relational processes**, which encode meaning about circumstantial dimensions such as time, place, etc. This can be either through a relational process, for example, 'X is at/on a -' or else circumstantial meaning can be encoded in the process itself, so the verb carries the meaning 'is plus circumstance', e.g. 'The operation lasted one hour.' in which the process lasted encodes within it the circumstantial notion of duration.

- **Possessives**, which encode meanings of ownership and possession between participants (X has a -)

- **Causative relationals,** involving an Agent 'X makes/causes - '.

8.2.2.6 Existential processes, which represent something that exists or happens and is typically realised by 'there' clauses. ('There was a city here thousands of years ago.') '*There*' when used in existential processes has no representational meaning. The only obligatory participant in an existential process is called the **Existent** (that which exists or happens).

The six process types discussed above are summarised in Table 13 below.

Table 13: the system of Transitivity

Clause		
Process Type	Participants	Circumstance
Material	+Actor; (+ Goal) (+Range) (+Beneficiary)	+Circumstance /or not
Mental	+Senser; +Phenomenon	
Verbal	+Sayer; (+Receiver) (+Verbiage)	
Behavioural	+Behaver; (+Behaviour) (Phenomenon)	
Existential	+Existent	
Relational	Identifying ; +Token; +value	
	Attributive ; +Carrier; +Attribute	

8.3 The Analysis

As in the previous chapter, I conducted an analysis of 100 newspaper texts, 50 from the *Times* and 50 from the English-language *China Daily*. Each text was analysed in turn, clause by clause. The results of the analysis are contained in Appendices 15-18, and summarised in Tables 14 and 15 below.

Table 14: summary of Transitivity analysis of *Times* texts

Text	Process Type						Total number
	Material process	Verbal process	Mental process	Behavioural Process	Relational Process	Existential Process	
1	24	5	4	0	6	5	44
2	26	2	2	0	6	1	37
3	13	6	2	1	6	2	30
4	22	2	0	0	13	0	37
5	10	12	5	0	10	1	38
6	13	8	2	0	7	0	30
7	15	1	0	0	5	1	22
8	12	2	1	0	5	0	20
9	4	1	2	0	11	0	18
10	23	10	1	0	19	0	53
11	14	9	3	0	9	3	38
12	21	1	0	0	8	0	30
13	31	7	7	0	16	2	63
14	17	6	0	0	5	0	28

15	12	16	3	0	13	2	46
16	5	1	4	0	5	5	20
17	19	4	1	0	10	1	35
18	17	7	2	0	6	0	32
19	15	4	4	0	10	2	35
20	17	8	5	0	4	1	35
21	23	7	0	2	7	0	39
22	22	5	5	0	5	1	38
23	27	1	4	0	4	0	36
24	21	6	4	1	6	0	38
25	31	18	4	0	15	1	69
26	15	14	3	0	15	0	47
27	15	5	4	0	2	0	26
28	17	14	4	0	14	0	49
29	9	4	2	0	10	1	26
30	20	9	4	0	10	0	43
31	23	11	1	1	10	3	49
32	12	1	0	0	3	0	16
33	13	3	0	0	5	0	21
34	11	0	1	0	4	0	16
35	18	14	6	0	7	2	47
36	19	4	1	0	5	1	30
37	11	9	1	0	7	0	28
38	16	15	6	0	22	3	62
39	23	8	3	0	11	1	46
40	19	8	5	0	22	3	57
41	7	0	2	0	3	0	12
42	4	1	3	0	9	1	18
43	5	2	1	0	3	0	11
44	18	8	5	0	11	0	42
45	12	7	1	0	9	0	29
46	8	11	10	0	10	1	40
47	23	10	3	1	15	0	52
48	15	3	1	0	5	1	25
49	8	0	2	0	6	0	16
50	13	3	5	0	7	0	29
Total	**809 (46%)**	**313 (18%)**	**139 (8%)**	**6 (0.3%)**	**436 (25%)**	**45 (2.6%)**	**1748**

Table 15: summary of transitivity analysis of *China Daily* texts

Text	Process Type						Total number
	Material process	Verbal process	Mental process	Behavioural Process	Relational Process	Existential Process	
1	5	1	0	0	7	0	13
2	21	13	2	0	13	0	49
3	8	1	0	0	4	0	13
4	5	6	0	0	5	0	16
5	17	3	0	0	10	0	30
6	15	6	2	0	7	0	30
7	7	5	2	0	3	0	17
8	8	6	0	0	3	0	17
9	7	4	0	0	4	0	15
10	12	4	0	0	11	0	27
11	10	3	1	0	3	0	17
12	7	8	0	0	7	1	23
13	19	10	1	0	12	2	44
14	21	9	3	0	13	0	46
15	8	2	0	0	2	0	12
16	8	4	1	0	5	0	18
17	5	3	0	0	3	0	11
18	9	8	0	0	4	0	21
19	4	9	1	0	5	0	19
20	26	8	4	0	10	0	48
21	6	4	0	0	6	0	16

22	14	3	1	0	1	0	19
23	8	0	0	0	3	0	11
24	18	11	1	0	12	0	42
25	10	0	0	0	6	1	17
26	19	0	3	1	16	1	40
27	8	3	4	0	5	0	20
28	20	4	3	0	10	0	37
29	7	4	3	0	9	0	23
30	6	2	0	0	6	0	14
31	9	0	0	0	4	0	13
32	14	8	2	0	5	0	29
33	15	3	0	0	7	0	25
34	10	2	1	0	6	0	19
35	9	2	2	0	5	0	18
36	11	1	0	0	1	0	13
37	18	7	0	0	1	0	26
38	8	9	4	0	5	0	26
39	5	5	0	0	5	0	15
40	16	0	0	0	11	0	27
41	16	13	0	0	6	1	36
42	13	7	2	0	5	0	27
43	11	1	0	0	0	0	12
44	23	3	1	0	4	0	31
45	7	6	1	0	7	0	21
46	5	3	0	0	9	0	17
47	10	7	0	0	5	0	22
48	14	12	1	0	9	1	37
49	8	4	1	0	6	0	19
50	7	5	0	0	10	0	22
Total	**567 (47.97%)**	**242 (20.47%)**	**47 (3.98%)**	**1 (0.08%)**	**318 (26.9%)**	**7 (0.59%)**	**1182**

8.4 Interpretation

An initial look at the results of the Transitivity analysis summarised in Tables 14 and 15 above reveals on the surface little difference in the spread of process types found between the *Times* texts and *China Daily* texts. Material processes are the most common, followed by relational processes and verbal processes. In both sets of texts, the proportion of these process types is similar.

However, a more detailed examination of the results reveals that there are in fact some interesting differences between the two sets of texts. I will discuss these by looking at the results for each process type in turn.

8.4.1 Material Processes

Under the Hallidayan system, Material processes are predicates of action, such as *do*, *work*, *give*, *throw* etc. They express the notion that things are happening, being done to or done by somebody or something. They represent physical events in the real world.

There is little difference in the percentage of material processes used between the two sets of texts. In the *Times* articles, 46 per cent, or roughly half, of all processes

used are material. This compares to 47.97 per cent for the *China Daily*. I do not take this minimal difference to be in any way significant.

In both, as we have seen, material processes are by far the most common form of process used. This is not unexpected. Newspaper reports are, after all, generally speaking reports of events.

8.4.2 Verbal Processes

Verbal processes are predicates of communication. They represent the particular actions of talking, saying, communicating. Choice of a particular type of verbal process can reveal much about the speaker/ writer's attitude to the person he is speaking/ writing about.

Again, there is little difference in the frequency of occurrence of verbal processes in the two sets of texts. In the *Times* texts, 18 per cent of processes are verbal. This rises to 20.47 per cent in the *China Daily* texts. I do not take such a difference, particularly given the comparatively small size of the sample, to be significant.

Nevertheless, a closer look at the types of verbal process used (see Appendices 15 and 16) reveals that there are in fact some interesting differences between the *Times* and *China Daily* texts in the use of such processes.

Of particular interest to my research is how the journalists' attitude to those they are reporting is reflected in the type of verbal process they use to report speech. For the purposes of my analysis, I have identified three categories of verbal process: what I have termed **neutral verbal processes**, what I have termed **positive verbal processes** and what I have termed **negative verbal processes.**

Neutral verbal processes are those – such as, most commonly, *said* – which carry what I would describe as no attitudinal weighting. By choosing such a verbal process to report someone else's words, the writer chooses neither to offer endorsement nor disparagement of what the person being reported is saying. It is impossible to tell from the choice of such verbal process whether the writer agrees with what the person whose words he is reporting says, or not.

Positive verbal processes are those such as *pointed out*, *made clear*, *encouraged* and *re-iterated*, all of which occur in the texts analysed. The effect of choosing these verbal processes, I would suggest, is to promote in the reader a feeling that the person whose words are being reported is wise, authoritative, benign or in some other sense positive. Choice of such processes reveals the writer's own attitude, whether conscious

or not, to the person whose words he is reporting. It is generally one of agreement or support.

Negative verbal processes are the opposite. They include processes such as *claimed, denied, insisted.* The effect of these processes on the reader is in some sense to cast doubt upon the veracity of what the person whose words are being reported is saying. They show that the writer, consciously or subconsciously, is sceptical or openly doubtful about what that person is saying.

The results of my analysis of verbal process type are set out in Appendices 15-16 and are summarised in Table 16 below. What is clear is that in both *Times* and *China Daily* texts, neutral verbal processes are the most common type of verbal process (63.9 per cent of verbal processes in the *Times* texts are neutral, compared to 69.4 per cent of the *China Daily* texts). There is, therefore, comparatively little difference between the *China Daily* and *Times* texts when it comes to the proportion of verbal processes which are neutral.

More interesting is the difference in use of positive and negative verbal processes in the two sets of texts.

China Daily journalists when reporting on the speeches of senior politicians frequently resort to positive verbal processes such as *made it clear, pointed out, re-iterated, noted.* As we have seen, the effect of choosing such processes is to portray the person whose words are being reported as wise, authoritative, benign. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this.

China Daily article 4 at Appendix 8.4, headlined 'Progress achieved in bilateral co-operation', is an account of improving bilateral relations between the Chinese and Russian military. The principal person quoted is Zhang Wannian, vice-chairman of the Chinese Central Military Commission. Zhang is clearly pleased by the smooth progress of relations between the two countries' armed forces. The tone of the whole article is rather congratulatory; and that is reflected in the type of verbal processes used.

Thus we get the following:

"The expansion of friendly co-operative ties between the two countries and their armed forces not only complies with the basic interests of the two peoples, but is also beneficial to world peace and stability, he (Zhang) *noted.*"

"A frequent exchange of visits by high-ranking officials of both countries has played an important role in the promotion of bilateral co-operation in all fields over the past few years, Zhang *noted.*"

Much of the tone of these sentences comes from the officious, diplomatic language in which they are couched: but even so, by merely substituting the verbal process *claimed* for *noted*, the entire tone could be altered. Use of the process *noted*, as well as somehow conferring a kind of benign authority on the person whose words are being reported, also implies that the journalist takes what that person says to be true. The effect of using *noted* is to portray Zhang as somehow wise or scholarly: an observant, intelligent, truthful and logical person well able to notice the effect of certain events or states of affairs on other events or states of affairs. At the same time, there is a calm, benign, almost satisfied quality about *noted* as used here, which becomes associated with Zhang – it is hard to imagine a man who *notes* things so calmly and measuredly ever ranting or raging or acting hastily or in bad faith. If, however, Zhang was going around *claiming* things, the reader would be left immediately suspicious of him: the possibility or even likelihood that what he was saying was not true would be immediately in front of us. That is simply not the case with the use of *noted.*

A similar pattern is found in other *China Daily* texts, for example text 38 (Appendix 8.38) headlined 'Premier to go on first foreign trip'. The tone of this article is important, and again that is reflected n the type of verbal process used:

> "The visit will be important for promoting ties between China and the European Union, Foreign Minister Zhu Bangzao *commented* yesterday…"
>
> "He *went on*: 'As Russia's friendly neighbour, we sincerely hope…'"
>
> "Zhu Bangzao *announced* that President Joaquim Alberto Chissano…"

To a western eye, the use of some of these verbal processes seems unusual: and it may possibly be the case that they an indication that English is not, after all, the first language of the writer. Nevertheless, the effect of using *commented* rather than *said* is somehow to heighten the authority, calmness and wisdom of Zhu, while using he *went on* emphasis the fact that he has been providing a great deal of information (probably in a long speech). It also indicates the reporter does not see fit to interrupt what Zhu is saying by interposing the point of view of someone else: Zhu is important enough for his voice to be allowed to continue. Finally, *announced* has all the ring of authority, while being at the same time undeniably upbeat.

This use of positive verbal processes, however, is not exclusive to the *China Daily* texts. There is, in fact, less difference in the rate of occurrence of positive verbal processes between the two sets of texts than might be expected given the clearly

different role the two sets of texts play. In the *China Daily* texts, 30 per cent of all verbal processes are positive. In the *Times* texts, that percentage falls to 22.5 per cent. A difference, certainly: but in the light of the small sample size studied one to which it would be unwise to attach too much weight in itself.

So what do the *Times* texts themselves tell us about the way in which positive verbal processes are being used? A look at the *Times* text showing the highest rate of occurrence of such processes – *Times* article 35 (at Appendix 7.35), headlined 'Fewer houses to be built on farmland' – reveals that it is a rather dry account of a planning strategy to be adopted by Government to regulate building of new homes in the countryside. The instances of positive verbal process encountered are not in the main, in this text at least, used to represent direct acts of speech by named participants: rather, they introduce dry and generalised official statements of policy. Thus we have:

"Councils *will no longer be required* to identify land for new homes…"

"But they *will (also) be required* to conduct a survey of brownfield sites…"

The effect of the complex verbal process *will no longer be required* and *will be required* is indeed to enhance the impression of authority: but it is a nebulous authority which derives from a 'new planning strategy'. The effect is not to shed positive light on an identified individual or individuals, but to enhance the weightiness of the text as a whole. There is an example of the type of positive verbal process seen in the *China Daily* texts examined above further into the *Times* text, however. When readers are informed that "Labour MPs in marginal … seats *have reported* huge disquiet…", the impression given is that the Labour MPs are responsibly doing their job.

Positive verbal processes, then, seem both to subliminally enhance in the mind of the reader the reputation or standing of the person whose words are being reported (a usage common in the *China Daily* texts) and to enhance the weightiness and authority of a text in general. I would suggest that by and large more of the positive verbal processes found in the *China Daily* texts are of the former kind, while by and large more of the positive verbal processes found in the *Times* texts are of the latter kind. A look at Appendices 17 and 18 seems to support this contention. Positive verbal processes found in the *Times* texts tend to be more complex and less likely to be related to an individual than to a (sometimes nebulous) body or report – *will call for, will be urged* (*Times* article 3, Appendix 7.3)*; will be ordered, will be announced* (*Times* article 6, Appendix 7.6*; are to spell out, must explain* (*Times* article 18, Appendix 7.18) – while in general those found in the *China Daily* texts tend to be simpler and more often

used to represent direct acts of speech by identified individuals (*China Daily* article 4 at Appendix 8.4, as we have seen, but also many others). The *Times* texts in which complex positive verbal processes are found generally tend to be rather dry accounts of official policy (thus, 'Parents urged to give more maths coaching at home,' *Times* article 3; 'Lottery cash to help every child lay an instrument,' *Times* article 6; and 'Judges move to restore confidence in sentencing,' *Times* article 18). It seems not unreasonable to suggest, therefore, that a substantial proportion of positive verbal processes found in the *Times* texts are the result of attempts to represent the dry subject matter of official reports, policies and strategies, rather than attempts, conscious or otherwise, to enhance the standing of named individuals in the eyes of the reader. The latter is common in the *China Daily* texts.

The difference in the use of positive verbal processes between the two sets of texts, then, is interesting, if not simple. Even more interesting, and almost certainly significant, is the difference in the use of negative verbal processes such as *claimed, insisted, denied.*

As seen above, the effect of using such processes is immediately to throw doubt upon what is being said. The process *claimed* immediately implies 'this is only what X says, and may or may not be true'. The effect of choosing the process *insisted* is to imply that the speaker being quoted is attempting to overcome some opposition or scepticism, either in the minds of those he is speaking to or, through the filter of the writer, in the minds of those reading the report. It again, therefore, casts doubt upon what is said. In both cases, what the reader reads has been filtered through the scepticism of the writer by the choice of these particular processes.

In the 50 *Times* texts analysed, *claimed, insisted* and other such clearly sceptical verbal processes occurred 43 times (see Table 16 below). These negative verbal processes made up 13.7 per cent of all verbal processes used in the *Times* texts. *China Daily* journalists, by contrast, seldom if ever choose such negative verbal (just two instances out of 242 verbal processes in 50 texts, or 0.8 per cent).

This appears to be a real difference. So what is the reason for this apparently high use of negative verbal processes in the *Times* articles?

A number of the *Times* texts are court reports. Thus for example, *Times* article 25 at Appendix 7.25, headlined 'Soldier 'killed his stepdaughter and buried her body'', is an account of a murder trial. *Times* article 28, headlined 'Navy officer accused of sexually taunting female crew', is an account of a sexual harassment trial. A few

examples from each text will show in what way the negative verbal processes are being used:

> *Times* article 25
>
> "The prosecution *claims* that the T-shirt was dropped by the child's killer…"
>
> "Mr Evans, who *denies* the killing…"
>
> *Times* article 28
>
> "After an 18-year-old rating *complained* that he had touched her…"
>
> "Others *complained* that he had rubbed themselves against them …"
>
> "Commander Bellingham…. *denies* three charges of touching female ratings…"

The use of verbal processes such as *claims* and *denies* in court reports is hardly surprising. A court is a place of confrontation: one in which allegations and counter-allegations are being levelled about in pursuit hopefully of the ultimate end of arriving at the truth. But precisely what the truth is is in doubt. One of the effects of using negative verbal processes, I suggested earlier, is that they in some way cast doubt upon the veracity of what is being said. The prosecution *claims* that the T-shirt was dropped by the child's killer, because at this stage of the trial there is still doubt about this fact. Simply to say the prosecution *says* that the T-shirt was dropped by the child's killer would not convey the fact of this essential doubt in the same way.

The use of c*omplained* in *Times* article 28 is also interesting. Clearly, it is a more emotive word than the neutral *said*, and contains a hint of grievance. It also suggests weakness on the part of the complainant: people in positions of strength do not complain: they shout, or order, or criticise.

Again, in a court – which is, after all, a forum for attempting to right injustices – it is unsurprising that this language of grievance, weakness and emotion should be found. Unsurprising: but it does reinforce the claims made earlier that negative verbal processes are somehow connected with attitudes of doubt, scepticism, disbelief or contempt. All of these attitudes are on display in the theatre of confrontation that is a courtroom.

There is another aspect to this use of negative verbal processes, though. In all of the above cases (with the possible exception of *denies* in *Times* article 28), the reporter could have used the neutral *said* instead of the verbal process he did use. This would, as we have seen, have carried less information – no recognition of doubt as is implicit in

the use of *claims,* no acknowledgement of grievance or weakness as entailed in the use of *complained* – but it would also have carried less emotional impact and hence less narrative force. Another aspect of the way in which the use of negative verbal processes impact on a text may be that they help to crank up the sense of drama and conflict – and so make a story more narratively interesting.

This can be seen in other *Times* articles in which there is use of negative verbal processes – articles that are not court reports. I will look at examples from two texts.

Times article 5, headlined 'Blair condemns Diana stories', is an account of Prime Minister Tony Blair's anger at the growing speculation and rumour about the death of Princess Diana. *Times* article 15, headlined 'Blair and Brown tension grows', looks at growing concern of a division between the Government's two most powerful figures. In both, the presence of conflict and tension is obvious: and it is reflected in the use of negative verbal processes. The following are examples:

Times article 5

"They (Blair's staff) also *denied* that Blair was critical of a book …"

"'He is not singling out any individual or enterprise,' *insisted* one spokesman."

Times article 15

"Publication of the book, which *claims* Mr Blair broke a pact …"

"Mr Blair's official spokesman *insisted* that the Prime Minister still had the highest regard for Mr Brown…"

In all of the above, the impression given by the use of processes such as *insisted* is that Tony Blair or his spokesmen are on the defensive. The mere fact they have to insist that something is not the case implies that there were grounds for thinking it was the case. Again, it was the journalist's choice to use this word. Had he or she chosen to say: "Mr Blair's official spokesman *said* that the Prime Minister still had the highest regard for Mr Brown," while on the surface the meaning would have been identical, subliminally it would have been subtly and yet powerfully different. The spokesman would not be felt by a reader to be on the defensive in the same way. The clause would have been more objective: it would also have been less dramatic and interesting: and less questioning of the methods, motives and true beliefs of those in authority. The same applies to the processes *claims* and *denied.* In each case, the more neutral *says* or '*said* Mr Blair *was not* …' could have been used: but weren't.

So what have we learned from this? Use of negative verbal processes appears to be connected to doubt and scepticism; and also to strong emotion. Negative verbal processes also appear to carry information on subtle shades of feeling and character, such as feelings of grievance and relationships of strength and weakness between protagonists. That makes for a more dramatic, more exciting, richer narrative. Use of negative verbal processes also undoubtedly allows the writer to subtly influence the opinion of the reader towards the people whose words are being quoted – negatively, since the verbal processes being chosen are negative ones.

From the results of the quantitative analysis, we know that the *Times* texts are making significantly greater use of negative verbal processes than the *China Daily* texts, which essentially do not use them at all. Why? There appear to be a number of factors at play. As we have seen, use of negative verbal processes heightens dramatic impact, making for a brighter, more exciting narrative. For this reason alone, we would expect to find greater use of such processes in the *Times* texts, given the importance for the British media of attracting and keeping readers. But use of negative verbal processes also implies doubt, scepticism or other negative attitudes on the part of the person employing such a process to report the words of another person towards the person whose words are so reported. British journalists writing in the *Times* appear to be more sceptical about what they are reporting, and more challenging towards it – and they are clearly prepared to allow this scepticism to show through, whether consciously or sub-consciously. On this latter count, what we seem to have in the case of the *Times* is not so much a case of bias in favour of those whose words are being reported (as arguably seen in the *China Daily* texts), but a bias *against* them – or at least a sceptical, questioning attitude towards them – almost as a matter of principle. This aspect fits in well with the claim of British newspaper editors to be independent from political control.

For reasons we have already seen, it is unsurprising that *China Daily* journalists appear less concerned with dramatic enrichment of events than their British counterparts. And given the role of the Chinese media as being principally the mouthpiece of the ruling Party, it is also unsurprising that *China Daily* journalists appear reluctant, on the evidence of this analysis, to adopt a negative or sceptical tone towards the figures whose words they are reporting – especially if those figures turn out to be primarily senior Party or Government officials.

Table 16 – spread of verbal process

Type of Verbal Processes	*China Daily*		*Times*	
	Number of incidences	% of total verbal processes	Number of incidences	% of total verbal processes
Neutral	168	69.42%	200	63.69%
Positive	72	29.75%	71	22.6%
Negative	2	0.82%	43	13.7%
Total	242		314	

This does indeed turn out to be the case. As we saw in the previous chapter, an – admittedly not strictly linguistic – analysis of just ten each of the *China Daily* and *Times* texts to identify who is acting as Sayer reveals that very often the Sayer in the *China Daily* texts is a senior party or government official.

A detailed breakdown of the types of Sayer found in the first ten *China Daily* and *Times* articles can be seen at Appendix 19. But as can be seen even from the summary in Table 17 below, more than 70 per cent of the people whose words are directly or indirectly reported in a mini-sample of the first ten *China Daily* texts are Government officials of one kind or another (I include military personnel in this). In the first ten *Times* articles, fewer than 35 per cent of people whose words are quoted are officials.

Table 17: Type of Sayer in *China Daily* and *Times* texts nos 1-10

The Sayers in first 10 *China Daily* texts 49(100%)				The Sayers in first 10 *Times* texts 44 (100%)			
Government officials	%	Others	%	Government officials	%	others	%
(35)	71%	(14)	29%	(15)	34%	(29)	66%

Also interesting is what the type of Sayer found in the two sets of texts says about the criteria for selection of what to report and what not to report by journalists and editors in the two countries – and about the sources of information they tap. The *China Daily* journalists, on this evidence, would appear to be reporting largely about issues to do with politics and government: and the sources to which they are going are mainly Government ones. The *Times* journalists, on the other hand, appear to be going to a wider range of sources – and may well, therefore, be getting a broader spectrum of views in their reports. Again, this tallies well with the role of the two countries' media discussed in Chapter 6.

8.4.3 Mental Processes

Mental processes in the Hallidayan system are predicates indicating states of consciousness/ perception. They include processes such as *believe, think, feel, hope* and so-on.

A look at Tables 14 and 15 above shows that mental processes are considerably less common in both the *China Daily* and *Times* texts than are material, verbal or behavioural processes. But it also reveals that they occur considerably more often in the *Times* texts than in the *China Daily* ones. In the 50 *Times* texts, mental processes are used a total of 139 times: they make up eight per cent of all processes. In the 50 *China Daily* texts, by contrast, mental processes occur just 47 times: and they make up only 3.9 per cent of all processes used.

Again, given the comparatively small sample size, I would hesitate to say these differences can be taken in themselves to be statistically significant. But I believe a plausible interpretation of the difference can be given: one that chimes with the findings of Chapter 6, with other findings in this and the previous chapter and with a qualitative analysis of texts in which mental processes are found to occur.

Mental processes are often used in situations where we are not sure about something, but want to make it clear that we believe something to be so, or suspect it to be so. In other words, they are quite often used in situations where we do believe that a certain state of affairs may be the case, but have no hard evidence to substantiate the fact.

In newspaper reports, such mental processes tend to occur either in the words of a person being reported: or in the journalist's own words. In the former case (as in *Times* article 13 at Appendix 7.13 for instance, a report of an inquest) they frequently occur in situations where the participants in the events being reported on are trying to deduce facts about an event to which they were not directly party. Thus in *Times* article 13 the Coroner says he '*suspected* Charlotte had panicked'. Later he says "I *suspect* at that stage she was frozen."

But mental processes in newspaper reports can also be a way of a journalist introducing as a matter of fact a state of affairs for which there is little or no substantiating evidence other than that the journalist says 'such and such is so'. Thus in *Times* text 1 (Appendix 7.1), which is a report of a loyalist attack on a Catholic pub in Belfast, we get: "Two men, *believed* to be loyalist paramilitaries" and: "sprayed the bar in North Belfast in what police *believe* was a revenge attack". In the first instance here, that the two men were loyalist paramilitaries is stated as fact – but the only

substantiation for this is that they are believed to be so. The report does not even make clear who believes this to be the case. In the second instance, we are at least told that it is the police who believe this was a revenge attack: but we are not told who within the ranks of the police believe this to be the case, or why, and so in effect only have the journalist's word for it.

In this second form, where the mental process is in effect the journalist's own voice – cases of which I will call **narrator intrusion** – the process operates much like the intrusive 'there + be' structure in topical Theme position we examined in the previous chapter. In Chapter 7 we saw how, in the *Times* texts, this was quite frequently used to introduce matters of otherwise unattributable 'fact', as in "*There was* concern last night that Nationalist paramilitaries would retaliate…", where the state of concern is given as fact but no evidence is given for this state of affairs than the author stating it to be so.

There are numerous examples of mental processes being used in this way in the *Times* texts – often, though not always, in the passive voice. *Times* article 16, headlined 'Portillo legacy is likely target of Labour cuts', is a largely speculative piece about an expected change in direction on defence spending. The thrust of it is that a proposed £4 billion worth of equipment orders placed by previous Defence Secretary Michael Portillo looks likely to be scrapped by a Labour defence review. However, the sources for the story remain shadowy and ill-defined. Thus we get sentences like the following:

> "Senior military officers at the Defence Ministry *believe* that the Portillo orders and other equipment contracts… may be partially scrapped…"
> "The defence review *is expected to* lead to a cut in the number of submarines…"
> "Submarines *are seen* by the military as a powerful part of Britain's defence…"
> "Cabinet decisions *are not expected* until June."

The use of the mental process *believe* above is arguably necessary. Presumably it is an accurate and truthful representation of the state of mind of the unidentified senior military officers, who believe but do not know that Portillo's military orders are likely to be scrapped. Substituting the verbal process *say* for *believe* here would give a degree of certainty and authority to the story it clearly does not merit. Use of the passive voice mental processes *are seen* and *is expected to* are more interesting. Clearly, here, the processes are being used by the journalist to introduce something as fact (or as probablity) for which he or she is able to give no hard supporting evidence. Quite likely

the un-named senior military officers already mentioned have told the journalist that such-and-such is the case or is likely to become the case: but they have presumably done so off the record, on the understanding they will not be identified. The only way, therefore, the journalist can write the story is to introduce elements of speculative 'fact' under cover of prefacing them with mental processes.

Times article 19 (Appendix 7.19) is very similar. Headlined 'Supermarket and hospital car parking may be taxed', the speculative nature of the article is implicit even in the headline. It is underscored by the use of mental processes to introduce unsubstantiated 'fact'. Thus we get structures such as: "Ministers *are understood* to be considering imposing a £100 charge…"; and "The Chancellor *is expected* to increase the price of petrol…".

Such speculative pieces are common among the *Times* texts, and they are frequently associated with the use of (often but not exclusively passive voice) mental processes – see for example *Times* texts 11, 15, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 35, 42, 44 and 50 among others. But why are mental processes occurring in the *China Daily* texts, even if less frequently? From the evidence of Chapter 6, in which we saw that the primary role of the Chinese media is to act as the mouthpiece of the party, and the evidence of the analysis of lengthy nominal groups in Chapter 7, in which we saw that *China Daily* journalists were keen to establish precisely the authority and standing of those whose words were being quoted, it would be surprising if Chinese journalists were writing speculative, unsourced articles, or were using mental processes to introduce unattributable 'fact' without further substantiating evidence. Instead of 'police believe A' or 'its is believed that A' we would perhaps expect structures such as "Chen Daxiu, police commander of the Bao Gu district, said that A….".

The *China Daily* articles that display most use of mental processes are articles 20 and 38, each with four instances. *China Daily* article 20 (Appendix 8.20), headlined 'Beijing tightens control over fireworks', is an account of growing concerns over use of fireworks in Beijing city centre. The four mental processes used occur as follows:

"Firecracker sounds *were heard*… this lunar New Year…"

"People … *are also worrying* …because the fireworks were lit in the city…"

"In most cases, sounds *were heard*…."

"Doctors *worried* that those injured would not receive timely treatment…"

Here, mental processes are not being used – as so often in the *Times* texts – to speculate or introduce matters of unattributable fact. The process *were heard*, which occurs twice, is necessary. There seems no reason to doubt that people did indeed hear the sound of firecrackers. And while the precise identity of those people is not made clear, that is more likely to be because there were so many of them, rather than because they wish to remain anonymous. 'Firecracker sounds *were heard'* effectively summarises the experience of many people. The same could be said of 'People *are also worrying* ….' and "Doctors *worried'*. Again, there is no reason to doubt that either of these are the case, or to suggest that this is speculation on the part of the journalist. Mental processes here are simply being used to describe the shared experience of many people: and the reason those people are not identified is because there are so many of them.

China Daily article 38 (Appendix 8.38), headlined 'Premier to go on first foreign trip', is an account of new Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji's forthcoming first official overseas visit. Mental processes are used four times in this text also:

> "He (Zhu) went on: 'As Russia's friendly neighbour, we sincerely *hope* that it enjoys economic development …'"
>
> "He (Zhu) said he *believed* the relationship will not be affected…"
>
> "Tang (China's newly-appointed foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan) said that China *felt satisfied* with the smooth development of relations…"
>
> "Kamara (Guinea foreign minister Lamine Kamara)… said that the Guinea people *will never forget* the… support from Chna …"

Here, once again, the mental processes are not being used for the purpose of largely unsubstantiated speculation, or to introduce as matters of 'fact' states of affairs for which there is little supporting evidence. The processes *hope* and *believe* here represent the state of mind of Zhu or of the Government on behalf of which he speaks. Where Tang says China *felt satisfied*, he presumably means the Chinese Government for which he speaks: but again, there is no reason to doubt that the Chinese government actually is satisfied, or at least, for diplomatic purposes, wishes it to be believed that it is. There is certainly no speculation involved: Tang is simply stating a matter of fact. The same applies to Kamara and his *will never forget*.

There are examples among the *China Daily* texts where mental processes are used in a speculative sense. Thus, in *China Daily* article 42, for example, about export

of chickens to Hong Kong, we get "The price for live chickens *is not expected* to increase greatly"; and in *China Daily* article 35, about a Hangzhou company's share issue, we get "The issuance *is expected* to raise 169.48 million yuan..." and "The firm *is expected* to post net profits of 69 million yuan..." These are undoubtedly instances of speculation, though presumably on good authority. But they occur far less frequently among the *China Daily* texts than among the *Times* ones.

On the evidence of the above analysis, it seems fair to conclude that *Times* texts do use mental processes more frequently than *China Daily* texts. When they use them, it appears often to be while introducing matters of 'fact' for which little or no substantiation can be given (perhaps, for example, in cases where an 'off the record' briefing has been given) or when writing speculative pieces the sources of which are not defined. Only occasionally does the mental process represent the actual state of mind of a person being quoted. *China Daily* texts use mental processes less frequently: and when they are used, they often represent the state of mind of a person being quoted. Only very occasionally do they occur in speculative pieces.

This difference in frequency of occurrence and use of mental processes between the *Times* and *China Daily* texts is not surprising, given the different functional roles of the two countries' media. It is unsurprising that the more questioning, probing role of the British media leads them to write speculative pieces, attempting to probe beneath the surface of official policy and official statements, often by using un-named sources. And it is equally unsurprising that the Chinese media, in its role as mouthpiece of the Party, does not see fit to resort to such speculative, unsubstantiated pieces. Probing Government policy is not the role of the Chinese media.

8.4.4 Behavioural Processes

Behavioural processes in the Hallidayan system are predicates of those particular types of action known as 'behaviour'. They include processes such as 'stare', 'smile', 'dream', 'cry', 'listen', 'look at'. Halliday himself admits (Halliday, 1994:139) that Behavioural processes are the least distinct of all six process types, overlapping as they clearly do with material, mental and even verbal processes. He does, however, claim that 'behaviour' is sufficiently clearly recognised by most people as a meaningful category that it is worth identifying these processes as a 'type' in themselves.

Given that these types of process represent above all aspects of character, it would be expected they would feature more prominently in a novel than in a newspaper report.

Where they do appear in newspapers, they would be more likely to be used in a feature article than in a news article. This is born out by the results of this analysis. In the *China Daily* articles only a single case of a behavioural process was found. In the *Times* articles, I identified 6 cases – less than one half of one per cent of all processes.

8.4.5 Existential Processes

Existential processes in Halliday's system establish the fact of existence. For example: 'There is ….', 'There was……'. They are generally prefaced by the subject 'there', though this has no representational function in itself.

Given that existence is so important, it might be expected on a superficial consideration that existential processes would be quite common. Another feature of existence, however – at least from the point of view of human beings – is that it is largely taken for granted. We do not need to tell ourselves that we exist, since the mere fact that we are talking, speaking, reading or doing anything at all is sufficient evidence that we do.

Existential processes, therefore, are not common. There is, however, a difference in their degree of use between the *Times* and *China Daily* articles. In the *China Daily* articles, only 0.59 per cent of processes are existential. In the *Times* articles, this rises to 2.6 per cent. A look at specific examples of existential processes in the *Times* articles quickly clears up the mystery. Typical examples are: "There is no justification for ….', 'There are serious doubts about the rest of the Portillo orders proceeding as planned….' (*Times* article 16 at Appendix 7.16). The existential process here is in fact our old friend 'there + be' and, as we saw in the previous chapter, appears to be being used to state facts for which there is no further substantiation. It is in a sense the journalist intruding his/ her own voice to tell an audience what he/ she thinks to be the case. As we have seen, Chinese reporters do not, as a rule, intrude their own voice on a report.

8.4.6 Relational Processes

Relational processes in Halliday's system are predicates of 'being'. They are different from existential processes, which establish simply that something exists. Relational processes represent something over and above the mere fact of existence: very often, they include the notion of developing, becoming, changing. They include *is* (not *there is)*, *become, grow (into), turn (into)* etc but in practice, this category acts more or less as a 'rubbish bin'. This is the category into which all processes that do not fit into any other categories are assigned.

In the *Times* articles, relational processes make up 25 per cent of all processes: the majority of these are obviously processes of being or becoming – *is, was, became, grew (into), turned (into)*. In the *China Daily* articles, 26.9 per cent of all processes are relational – statistically about the same.

Interestingly, though, of the relational processes used in the *China Daily* articles, 27 out of 318, or 8.5 per cent, are of the form *make something clear, suggested* or *indicated*. They are analogous to positive verbal processes such as *pointed out, made clear, encouraged and re-iterated* which, as we saw in Section 8.4.2 above, help to promote in the reader the feeling that the person whose words are being reported is wise, authoritative or benign. In the *Times* texts there was just a single instance of a relational process analogous to a positive verbal process.

8.5 Conclusion

The Transitivity analysis has revealed a number of differences between the *China Daily* and *Times* articles: and the findings can plausibly be interpreted in line with what would be predicted given the functional and cultural differences in the role of newspapers in Britain and China established in Chapter 6.

Times texts appear to use far more of what I have called negative verbal processes in their articles to report the words of speakers. The use of such processes appears to have two effects: to heighten the dramatic and narrative impact of a text: and in some way to cast doubt upon the veracity or reliability of what a quoted speaker is saying. To find negative verbal processes being used in this way in the *Times* texts fits with the role of the British media to entertain and so attract commercially necessary readers and to be challenging towards and questioning of those in authority. *China Daily* journalists, on the other hand, use very few such negative verbal processes: again, an unsurprising finding.

The type of Sayer reported on also appears to be different: In the *China Daily articles* they are preponderantly Government or other high officials. In the *Times* texts only about one third are high officials. The picture that emerges is of a Chinese press keen to report on the activities and utterances of key Government figures, and reluctant to present what they say and do in a negative light. *Times* journalists appear to report on the sayings and activities of a wider range of people, and are more willing to present what they say and do negatively. This again fits with the findings of Chapter 6.

Further – as we saw also in the previous chapter – *Times* journalists, on the evidence of the analysis of mental processes and existential processes conducted in this

chapter, appear more willing to intrude their own voice into a text: to speculate, and to introduce as 'fact' states of affairs for which little supporting evidence is given. *China Daily* journalists appear less willing to do so.

CHAPTER NINE

Evaluation: or, a study of the way a text sells itself

9.1 Introduction

The third and final approach to quantitative analysis of texts adopted in this study is one developed from Labov's work on evaluation in his studies of the English vernacular used by African-American people in Harlem.

Labov himself was working in the field of spoken discourse, but for reasons which I will go into below, I believe his technique can be applied equally to written discourse: and in particular to a form of written discourse such as newspaper reports, which themselves share some of the qualities of spoken discourse.

I will do three things in this chapter. First, I will give a more detailed account of evaluation; then I will subject my 50 *China Daily* and 50 *Times* texts to an evaluation analysis; and finally, I will interpret the findings of that analysis in the light of the differences in the functional role of the media set out in Chapter 6.

9.2 Evaluation

9.2.1 African-American English vernacular, and the concept of evaluation

Labov, in his 1972 studies of the African-American English vernacular, wanted to look at the speech patterns of ordinary African-Americans in south-central Harlem: and in particular, how they used their verbal skills to evaluate their own experience.

To do this, he first recorded conversations, in the form of interviews, with a range of subjects, including pre-adolescents, adolescents and adults. He was not, however, satisfied with the material he obtained. Conversation is certainly a form of discourse; but, given its nature, it is a form of discourse in which the flow is frequently interrupted and broken. More particularly, Labov was concerned that the examples of conversation he was obtaining were over-monitored by the speakers themselves – because of the formal, face-to-face nature of the interviews – and were thus atypical of un-monitored African-American vernacular.

He therefore developed a number of devices to overcome the constraints of the face-to-face interview and obtain large bodies of tape-recorded casual speech. "The most effective of these techniques," he writes (Labov, 1972:207), "produce *narratives* of personal experience, in which the speaker becomes deeply involved in rehearsing or even reliving events of his past."

He obtained these narratives by suggesting a topic to his subjects – which might involve them, for example, re-living an experience that had been important or significant to them – and then asking them to talk on that topic in an uninterrupted way. Labov found that because the experience and emotions involved formed an important part of the speakers' personal history, they seemed to undergo a partial reliving of the experience, and were no longer consciously able to monitor their speech as carefully as they normally did in face-to-face interviews. In effect, they got carried away by the tale they were telling and forgot the need to monitor the way in which they told it. This provided Labov with a complete, textually-rich discourse rather than the discreet, separated sentences typical of a piece of recorded dialogue.

This is important for the purposes of my paper, because the approach to textual analysis I intend to apply in this chapter is one borrowed from Labov's work on the Harlem vernacular. It may seem a large step from the African-American vernacular used by pre-adolescent teenagers in Harlem in 1972 to the written English used by Chinese journalists writing for the *China Daily*. But because the 'texts' Labov used were uninterrupted narratives produced in the way described – and because, in a sense, news articles in newspapers are a form of narrative themselves – I maintain that many of the insights obtained by Labov can be usefully applied to my own study.

What Labov found when analysing his narratives was a very important aspect of discourse that he termed the **evaluation of the narrative.**

This discovery struck Labov as being highly significant. Firstly, because it was an aspect of narrative which had not been dealt with in earlier studies; secondly, and perhaps more importantly, because he felt evaluation to be the 'raison d'être' of the narrative – its point, the reason why it was told in the first place (Labov, 1972:396). In addition, he argued, evaluation was significant because it was distributed throughout the narrative.

So: what is evaluation? In the next few pages I will attempt to answer that question, before moving on in section 9.3 to an evaluation analysis itself.

9.2.2 Narrative

In order to be able to define evaluation, we first have to be clear what we mean by narrative.

Labov (1972:228) defines narrative as one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred. For example:

1. a. Chinese President Jiang Zemin met in Beijing yesterday with Gerald Levin…

b. They jointly defined the framework and development orientation for Sino-US relations…

c. Levin discussed Time Warner's situation with Jiang.

d. He said a stable and healthy relationship with the common interests of the two countries… (Appendix 8.08, *China Daily* article 8)

2. a. A soldier murdered his nine-year-old stepdaughter at night,

b. hid the body in a badger sett,

c. then joined in the search for her…

d . a court was told yesterday.(Appendix 7.25, *Times* article 25)

In these examples there are eight **narrative clauses.** Narrative clauses are the most basic elements of narratives, since they answer the questions: what happened? And then what happened? And then…? With this conception of narrative, Labov defines a minimal narrative as a sequence of two clauses that are temporally ordered: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation.

However, a fully-formed narrative consists of more than narrative clauses. Indeed the narrative parts of a fully-formed narrative are typically preceded and followed by other parts, or elements, which are characterised as **free clauses.**

The basic narrative consists of **narrative clauses** and **free clauses.** Narrative clauses are temporally ordered independent clauses in the simple past tense, representing 'dynamic' and specific events as opposed to 'states'. Free clauses need not be temporally ordered; are not in the simple past tense, and represent 'state' or general events as opposed to specific events.

Compare examples 1 & 2 above with:

3. a. A naval officer made repeated sexual remarks to female ratings under his command

b. and allowed them to address him as Petty Underpants,

c. a court martial was told yesterday.

d. the junior rating had not known how to react because he was an officer. (Appendix 7.28, *Times* article 28)

In Example 3 there are only three narrative clauses (a, b, and c) and one free clause (d). A free clause is not constrained by the assumed time sequence and may refer to 'states' or general, rather than specific, events.

In narrative syntax, a change in the order of the narrative clauses results in a change in the inferred order of the actual events, while changes in the order of free clauses do not, as in examples 4 & 5 (cited in Labov, 1972:387)

4. a. well this person had a little too much to drink
b. and he attacked me
c. and she stopped him

a' A friend of mine came in just in time to stop this person who had too much to drink from attacking me.

5 d. if you didn't bring her candy to school
she would punch you in the mouth.
e. And you had to kiss her
when she'd tell you.

d' She would punch you in the mouth
if you didn't bring her candy to school.
e' and when she'd tell you
you had to kiss her.

In 4 above, the actual sequence of events is altered when the position of narrative clauses is altered. In the sequence a, b, c, 'he' clearly attacked the narrator before 'she' came to the narrator's rescue. In a', however, 'she' stopped the attacker before he had time to attack the narrator. The meaning of the sentence is thus different.

In 5, however, the two clauses in each of d and e can be swapped round without making any difference to meaning, as can be seen from d' and e', which are semantically equivalent.

The basic structure of the simple narrative thus consists of a pattern of narrative clauses, which develop the complicating action, and free clauses, which flesh out the action by providing some background colour or assessment and which Labov says represent the **evaluation** of that action.

However, the narrative structure of more fully developed narratives may also show elements that precede or follow complicating action and evaluation. The full potential narrative structure proposed by Labov is essentially seen as a series of answers to underlying questions. These include questions such as: what is the narrative about? Where, when, why etc does the action happen? What happens next? To what extent does it matter that this has happened? And what is the outcome?

The structure of a narrative, according to Labov's model, can thus be represented as:

Abstract:	what about?
Orientation:	who, when, where, why, what?
Complicating Action:	then what happened?
Evaluation:	so what?
Resolution:	what was the outcome?
Coda:	signals return to the present

The constituent which Labov deals with in greatest detail in his 1972 paper, and the one with which I am most concerned here, is **evaluation.**

9.2.3 Evaluation

As defined by Labov in 1972, the term 'evaluation' refers to "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'etre: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at." (Labov, 1972:207) He continues: "There are a great many ways in which the point of a narrative can be conveyed – in which the speaker signals to the listener why he is telling it. To identify the evaluative portion of a narrative, it is necessary to know why this narrative – or any narrative – is felt to be tellable; in other words, why the events of the narrative are reportable." Pointless stories, Labov says, are "met (in English) with the withering rejoinder, 'So what?' Every good narrator is continually warding off this question; when his narrative is over, it should be unthinkable for a bystander to say, 'So what?' Instead, the appropriate remark would be, 'He did?' or similar means of registering the reportable character of the events of the narrative."

Evaluation, Labov maintains, is the aspect of narrative structure which aims to ward off the 'so what?' response in the mind of the reader/ listener. In the same paper (Labov, 1972:209) he says: "Evaluative devices say to us: this was terrifying,

dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon or unusual - that is, worth reporting. It was not ordinary, plain, humdrum, everyday, or run-of-the mill."

The precise meaning accorded to the term evaluation is in fact difficult to pin down. However, it would clearly seem to be something to do with enrichment of a discourse: a collection of devices used, consciously or sub-consciously by the narrator, to attract and hold the reader/ listener's attention.

News is, by its very nature, a form of discourse whose job is to tell readers what has happened. News stories are generally narratives: and newspaper articles, on the whole, conform very closely to the structure of a narrative outlined by Labov and identified in Section 9.2.2 above. Since Labov himself in a sense holds evaluation to be the most important aspect of narrative, it would thus seem to be a particularly useful aspect of narrative structure to consider when conducting an analysis of newspaper articles. Since, as we have seen, its prime function appears to be to ward off the 'so what?' response rather than to affect the actual sequence of events described, it is also clearly an area of narrative in which the speaker/ writer can exercise a deal of choice unavailable to him/ her in other aspects of narrative structure. If one of the primary aims of the narrator is to get and keep the attention of his reader or listener, we would expect instances of evaluation to be comparatively high. Where this aim is not of prime importance, we would expect instances of evaluation to be comparatively low.

Thus, occurrence of evaluation would seem to be closely related not only to language choice, but also to the aims of the speaker or writer. It can therefore reasonably be expected that examining the evaluative devices used by reporters working for British and Chinese newspapers may provide some evidence to show the correlation between the choice of language used by those reporters and the functional role of newspapers they work for. That is why I have chosen it as one of the key aspects for study in this paper.

One further point. Evaluative clauses are 'free' clauses, as we have seen, and changing the order of an evaluative clause does not affect the reported sequence of events. Evaluation, however, is not confined to these evaluative clauses. Because it has no direct effect on the temporal structure of a narrative, it can also be distributed throughout the narrative. Labov says: "The evaluation of the narrative forms a secondary structure which is concentrated in the evaluation section but may be found in various forms throughout the narrative". (Labov, 1972:210)

This study, therefore, will analyse not only evaluative clauses themselves: but any instances of evaluation found within the narrative structure.

9.2.4 Types of evaluation

Labov, in his 1972 study, classifies the evaluative elements under four major headings: **intensifiers, comparators, correlatives** and **explicatives**. I will look at each of these briefly in turn. What follows is taken from Labov himself.

9.2.4.1 Intensifiers select one of the events that are organised in a linear series in the discourse and strengthen or intensify it. That is to say, an intensifier has a heightening or lowering effect on the meaning of another element in the clause. There are many ways in which this intensification can be carried out, most of them involving minimal departures from basic narrative syntax. Labov identifies four ways in which intensification can be carried out:

i - gesture

ii - expressive phonology, for example lengthening of vowels as in 'And we were fightin' for a l-o-o-ong t-i-i-me, buddy.'

iii - quantifiers, the most common means of intensifying a clause. The intensifier *all* is often inserted at a critical point in narratives, for example, all, some, a lot, much, many, few, etc. An example of a clause containing a quantifier, taken from *China Daily* article 42 at Appendix 8.42 is "*Many* people believed the virus was carried to Hong Kong through importation of live chickens…"

iv - repetition, effective in two senses, by intensifying a particular action and by suspending the action, e.g. 'Well, Sir, he went over there a third time, and he didn't come back, and he didn't come back'

Clearly, gesture is a form of intensifier that would be confined to spoken discourse only. Expressive phonology and repetition would again be expected to be found mainly in spoken discourse, though both could be expected in forms of written discourse that attempted to mimic spoken discourse, such as dramatic dialogue in a play or novel. Repetition can also be used sometimes, with some effect, in newspaper articles. The following is an example, taken from a feature in the *Yorkshire Evening Press* published on May 28 1999, which looks at the issue of how far newspapers should go in publishing details of celebrities' private lives:

"Amongst all the salacious details, the gossip and the sniggers, there are important issues. Like: just when is it appropriate to publish, and where should we draw the line? Like: is it fair to expect celebrities to act as 'role models' for ordinary people when ordinary people don't act that way themselves? Like: why is it, anyway, that we're all so interested in this stuff?"

The repetition here is in the form of repetition of structure: but clearly it is a deliberate linguistic choice by the journalist concerned, designed to heighten the impact of what he has to say.

So repetition and expressive phonology may have a marginal role to play in written discourse. Clearly, though, the most significant form of intensifier to be expected in written discourse is the quantifier. That it is also the most common form of intensifier is a gratifying bonus.

9.2.4.2 Comparators

As Labov pointed out (Labov, 1972) the simplicity of narrative syntax should not be surprising. Why should narratives require syntactic complexity? If the task of the narrator is to tell what happened, what use has he for questions, or what reason does he have to speak of the future, since he is dealing with past events? And why should the auxiliary contain negatives? What reason would the narrator have for telling us that something did not happen, since he is in the business of telling us what did happen?

What should be surprising, rather, is the fact that very often narrative structure is far more complex than the demands of simply telling what happened would require. We can approach this problem by re-examining the negative. The use of the negative in accounts of past events is not at all obvious, since negation is not something that happens: rather, it expresses the defeat of an expectation that something would happen. Why should a narrator choose to do this?

One explanation , says Labov, is that negative sentences draw upon a cognitive background considerably richer than the set of events that were observed. They provide a way of evaluating events by placing them against the background of other events which might have happened, but which did not.

That is what comparators – of which negatives are an example – do. They compare the events that did occur to those that did not, but could have. They move

away from the actual line of events to consider unrealised possibilities – and in doing so immeasurably enrich the telling of that which did, indeed, happen.

There are eight kinds of comparator:

i - negatives [no, little, not, she didn't come, etc.]

ii -futures [will, would]

iii -modals [may, can, should, would]

iv - questions [Where's the candy?]

v - the imperative [Stand up!]

vi - 'or' clauses

vii - superlatives [most, least, best]

viii - comparatives [more, less, better]

9.2.4.3 Correlatives

While a comparator moves away from the line of narrative events to consider unrealised possibilities and compare them with the events that did occur, correlatives bring together two events that actually occurred so that they are conjoined in a single independent clause. Labov lists four correlatives:

i - progressives, which are usually used to indicate that one event is occurring simultaneously with another, but also may indicate extended or continued action. For example:

1. Shanghai's population *is shrinking*. (Appendix 8.10, *China Daily* article 10)
2. Some gas companies *are behaving* "outrageously" by tricking old people into signing up to their service. (Appendix 7.24, *Times* article 24)

ii - appended participles, where one or more verbs in the '-ing' form are aligned, with tense marker and 'be' deleted. The action described is heard as occurring simultaneously with the action of the main verb of the sentence, which may itself be a progressive. This device is often used to highlight and evaluate the event of a particular narrative clause. Such multiple participles serve to suspend the action in an evaluative section; they bring in a wider range of simultaneous events while the listener waits, in suspense and heightened anticipation, for the main action to be resolved. For example:

1. At one site, the soldiers were seen *putting explosives* on two-metre wooden poles and *setting* them off. (Appendix 8.06, *China Daily* article 6.)
2. Dunstan Bruce wore a T-shirt *bearing* the slogan Sold Out…(Appendix 7.36, *Times* article 36.)

iii - the double appositive, used to heighten or deepen the effect of a particular description, for example: 'and then, they gave him a knife, a long one, a dagger.'

iv - double attributives, e.g. 'a great, big guy'.

9.2.4.4 Explicatives

Explicatives are used to explain why or how an event happens, or why a person was frightened, or how big someone was. They are often carried out using conjunctions such as 'while', 'though', or connectives such as 'since' or 'because'. Thus we have for example:

1.Mr Straw indicated that he could accept the system *because* it retained the link between MPs and their constituencies…(Appendix 7.17, *Times* article 17.)

2. *Although* this may be good news to some citizens, it is bad news for taxi drivers… (Appendix 8.13, *China Daily* article 13.)

On the whole, as we have seen, the effect of evaluative elements is to enrich the narrative. They intensify certain narrative events that are most relevant to the main point; they compare the events that did occur to those that did not but might have; they correlate the linear dimension of the narrative by superimposing one event upon another; and they explicate the main point of the narrative.

By analysing the use of such elements, we can learn much about the cultural context within which a linguistic exchange takes place. They help, in a sense, to fix the immediate linguistic exchange within a much richer, deeper cultural context. They also reveal a good deal about the relationship between speaker or writer and listener or reader and their expectations and perceptions of each-other. Where there is a high incidence of evaluation, it indicates a deliberate (whether conscious or not) attempt by the narrator to attract and hold the attention of the listener/ reader. For Sheherazade in the 1001 Nights the ability to attract and hold the attention of her listener became literally a matter of life and death. For the journalist it may simply mean that you can sell more copies of your newspaper. The principle, though, is the same.

9.3 Findings

Among the number of different types of evaluation identified by Labov, all have the effect of suspending the action. But since Labov's narratives are oral, evaluation, as we have seen, is frequently expressed through gesture and/or expressive phonology.

For the purposes of this analysis, I have looked only at the evaluative devices most commonly used in written news stories, such as **quantifier** intensifiers, **negative, future, modal,** and **comparative** comparators, **progressive, appended participle** and **double attributive** correlatives and **explicatives**.

I first made a simple 'count' of evaluative terms used, expressing this as the number of evaluative terms per 100 sentences of text. I then looked more closely at the **types** of evaluation used to see if there was a significant difference, not only in frequency of evaluation but also in **type** of evaluation, between the *Times* and *China Daily* texts.

Findings are summarised in the following tables. A discussion of the findings is given in section 9.4 below.

Table 18: Findings of Evaluative Analysis of *Times* texts: intensifiers and comparators

Text	Number Of sentences	Intensifiers Quantifiers	Frequency %	Comparators					Frequency %
				Negatives	Futures	Modals	Comparatives / superlatives	total	
No 1	36	1	3%	2	0	3	1	6	17%
No 2	35	3	9%	2	3	0	8	13	37%
No 3	29	2	7%	1	8	2	5	16	55%
No 4	35	1	3%	4	0	4	2	10	29%
No 5	35	1	3%	7	1	5	0	13	37%
No 6	28	1	4%	2	6	8	0	16	57%
No 7	20	0	0%	1	0	1	1	3	15%
No 8	19	1	5%	2	0	2	0	4	21%
No 9	17	0	0%	0	1	0	7	8	47%
No10	49	0	0%	4	1	5	0	10	20%
No11	35	1	3%	4	1	6	1	12	34%
No12	29	0	0%	0	5	3	2	10	34%
No13	59	1	2%	4	0	4	2	10	18%
No14	24	0	0%	2	0	3	0	5	21%
No15	42	2	5%	1	2	2	1	6	14%
No16	18	0	0%	0	1	2	0	3	17%
No17	33	0	0%	1	1	9	1	12	36%
No18	31	0	0%	2	7	6	1	16	52%
No19	34	0	0%	1	1	11	2	15	44%
No20	31	0	0%	1	2	1	0	4	13%
No21	33	0	0%	1	2	1	0	4	12%
No22	38	4	11%	1	24	2	7	34	89%
No23	37	2	5%	0	2	7	1	10	27%
No24	37	3	8%	2	2	4	0	8	22%
No25	62	0	0%	5	0	4	1	10	16%
No26	47	0	0%	1	0	2	1	4	9%
No27	26	1	4%	4	5	2	2	13	50%
No28	44	2	5%	2	0	2	0	4	9%
No29	24	1	4%	0	6	1	0	7	29%
No30	42	3	7%	2	6	11	3	22	52%
No31	47	2	4%	2	4	15	0	21	45%
No32	16	0	0%	0	3	0	2	5	31%
No33	21	0	0%	4	1	0	0	5	24%
No34	17	3	17%	1	6	0	0	7	41%
No35	46	3	7%	4	6	8	3	21	46%
No36	25	0	0%	2	0	1	3	6	24%
No37	25	0	0%	0	3	1	0	4	16%

No38	56	0	0%	9	2	7	3	21	38%
No39	43	0	0%	4	4	7	1	16	37%
No40	56	2	4%	7	1	3	4	15	27%
No41	12	0	0%	0	0	0	1	1	8%
No42	17	1	6%	1	0	5	0	6	35%
No43	10	0	0%	0	7	0	3	10	100%
No44	42	1	2%	2	1	3	1	7	17%
No45	28	1	4%	3	0	2	1	6	21%
No46	38	0	0%	5	2	13	0	20	53%
No47	49	1	2%	3	1	5	0	9	18%
No48	25	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%
No49	15	1	7%	1	2	1	0	4	27%
No50	28	0	0%	1	11	2	1	15	54%
Total	**1645**	**45**	**2.7%**	**108**	**141**	**186**	**72**	**506**	**30.75%**

Table 19: Findings of Evaluative Analysis of *China Daily* texts: intensifiers and comparators

Text	Number of sentences	Intensifiers	Frequency %	Comparators					Frequency %
		Quantifiers		Negatives	Futures	Modals	Comparatives/ superlatives	total	
No 1	12	0	0%	0	1	1	0	2	17%
No 2	46	0	0%	1	11	10	1	23	50%
No 3	13	0	0%	0	0	0	3	3	23%
No 4	16	1	6%	1	1	0	1	3	19%
No 5	29	4	14%	0	1	0	3	4	14%
No 6	28	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%
No 7	16	0	0%	0	4	0	0	4	25%
No 8	18	0	0%	0	2	1	0	3	17%
No 9	15	0	0%	0	3	0	1	4	27%
No10	26	0	0%	0	0	0	2	2	8%
No11	16	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%
No12	22	0	0%	0	1	1	0	2	9%
No13	44	1	2%	2	9	3	2	16	36%
No14	45	2	4%	3	1	2	2	8	18%
No15	12	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%
No16	18	0	0%	1	0	0	0	1	6%
No17	11	0	0%	0	3	0	0	3	27%
No18	20	0	0%	0	0	2	1	3	15%
No19	19	0	0%	1	1	2	0	4	21%
No20	47	0	0%	8	0	3	1	12	26%
No21	15	0	0%	2	0	0	0	2	13%
No22	16	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%
No23	11	0	0%	0	1	0	1	2	18%
No24	36	0	0%	0	6	2	2	10	28%
No25	17	1	6%	0	0	7	0	7	41%
No26	39	0	0%	1	6	5	1	13	33%
No27	18	0	0%	0	5	0	0	5	28%
No28	35	0	0%	0	9	1	4	14	40%
No29	20	1	5%	0	3	2	0	5	25%
No30	13	1	8%	0	0	0	4	4	31%
No31	13	0	0%	0	1	0	1	2	15%
No32	25	0	0%	0	1	0	1	2	8%
No33	23	1	4%	0	3	2	1	6	26%
No34	18	0	0%	1	3	0	0	4	22%
No35	18	0	0%	0	3	0	0	3	17%
No36	11	0	0%	0	1	0	0	1	9%
No37	25	0	0%	1	1	0	0	2	8%
No38	24	0	0%	2	7	0	0	9	38%
No39	13	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%
No40	23	0	0%	0	0	0	1	1	4%
No41	34	0	0%	3	3	4	0	10	29%
No42	26	2	8%	5	7	0	1	13	50%
No43	12	0	0%	0	2	7	0	9	75%

No44	28	0	0%	0	0	2	4	6	21%
No45	20	2	10%	2	0	1	4	7	35%
No46	46	1	2%	3	2	9	5	19	41%
No47	21	1	5%	0	0	2	0	2	10%
No48	36	1	3%	3	2	5	2	12	33%
No49	17	1	6%	0	1	0	3	4	24%
No50	23	0	0%	0	1	0	1	2	9%
Total	**1149**	**20**	**1.74%**	**40**	**106**	**74**	**53**	**273**	**23.75%**

Table 20: Findings of Evaluative Analysis of *Times* texts: correlatives and explicatives

Text	Number of sentences	Correlatives				Frequency %	Explicatives	Frequency %
		Progressives	Appended participles	Double attributives	Total			
No 1	36	2	3	0	5	14%	0	0%
No 2	35	3	7	0	10	29%	2	6%
No 3	29	0	1	0	1	3%	0	0%
No 4	35	0	3	0	3	9%	2	6%
No 5	35	1	4	0	5	14%	0	0%
No 6	28	1	3	0	4	14%	1	4%
No 7	20	0	3	0	3	15%	1	5%
No 8	19	2	3	0	5	26%	0	0%
No 9	17	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No10	49	2	4	0	6	12%	2	4%
No11	35	2	0	1	3	9%	0	0%
No12	29	0	0	1	1	3%	0	0%
No13	59	5	3	0	8	14%	0	0%
No14	24	3	1	0	4	17%	0	0%
No15	42	3	2	0	5	12%	1	2%
No16	18	0	2	1	3	17%	2	11%
No17	33	1	2	1	4	12%	3	9%
No18	31	1	0	0	1	3%	0	0%
No19	34	2	1	0	3	9%	1	3%
No20	31	1	3	0	4	13%	1	3%
No21	33	2	1	1	4	12%	1	3%
No22	38	0	3	0	3	8%	0	0%
No23	37	1	4	3	8	22%	2	5%
No24	37	7	3	0	10	27%	1	3%
No25	62	2	3	1	6	10%	0	0%
No26	47	2	1	0	3	6%	0	0%
No27	26	2	3	0	5	19%	2	8%
No28	44	3	3	0	6	14%	1	2%
No29	24	1	4	0	5	21%	0	0%
No30	42	0	5	0	5	12%	2	5%
No31	47	2	2	0	4	9%	1	2%
No32	16	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No33	21	1	0	0	1	5%	0	0%
No34	17	0	1	1	2	12%	0	0%
No35	46	3	3	1	7	15%	1	2%
No36	25	1	4	0	5	20%	1	4%
No37	25	2	2	0	4	16%	1	4%
No38	56	1	1	0	2	4%	4	7%
No39	43	1	2	0	3	7%	2	5%
No40	56	1	2	1	4	7%	1	2%
No41	12	2	0	0	2	17%	0	0%
No42	17	0	0	1	1	6%	0	0%
No43	10	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No44	42	2	4	0	6	14%	3	7%
No45	28	1	6	0	7	25%	2	7%

No46	38	0	2	0	2	5%	1	3%
No47	49	2	3	0	5	10%	0	0%
No48	25	2	1	0	3	12%	0	0%
No49	15	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No50	28	0	0	1	1	4%	0	0%
Total	**1645**	**70**	**108**	**14**	**192**	**11.67%**	**42**	**2.55%**

Table 21: Findings of the Evaluative Analysis of *China Daily* texts: correlatives and explicatives

Text	Number of sentences	Correlatives				Frequency %	Explicatives	Frequency %
		Progressives	Appended participles	Double attributives	Total			
No 1	12	1	4	0	5	42%	0	0%
No 2	46	1	6	0	7	15%	1	2%
No 3	13	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No 4	16	2	1	0	3	19%	0	0%
No 5	29	3	3	0	6	21%	1	3%
No 6	28	0	7	0	7	25%	2	7%
No 7	16	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No 8	18	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No 9	15	0	2	0	2	13%	0	0%
No10	26	3	0	0	3	12%	1	4%
No11	16	0	3	0	3	19%	1	6%
No12	22	0	2	0	2	10%	2	9%
No13	44	2	3	0	5	11%	4	9%
No14	45	1	1	0	2	4%	3	7%
No15	12	0	1	0	1	10%	0	0%
No16	18	2	2	2	6	33%	0	0%
No17	11	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No18	20	3	3	0	6	30%	0	0%
No19	19	0	1	0	1	5%	1	5%
No20	47	1	0	0	1	2%	1	2%
No21	15	2	3	0	5	33%	0	0%
No22	16	0	1	0	1	6%	0	0%
No23	11	0	1	0	1	10%	0	0%
No24	36	1	4	1	6	17%	0	0%
No25	17	0	2	0	2	12%	0	0%
No26	39	2	0	0	2	5%	1	3%
No27	18	2	1	0	3	17%	0	0%
No28	35	2	1	0	3	9%	0	0%
No29	20	0	2	0	2	10%	2	10%
No30	13	0	3	0	3	23%	0	0%
No31	13	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No32	25	1	3	2	6	24%	0	0%
No33	23	0	2	0	2	9%	1	4%
No34	18	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No35	18	0	1	1	2	11%	0	0%
No36	11	0	2	0	2	18%	0	0%
No37	25	0	4	0	4	16%	2	8%
No38	24	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
No39	13	0	1	0	1	8%	0	0%
No40	23	0	1	0	1	4%	0	0%
No41	34	1	1	0	2	6%	0	0%
No42	26	0	0	0	0	0%	2	8%
No43	12	1	2	0	3	25%	1	8%
No44	28	1	2	0	3	11%	0	0%
No45	20	0	1	0	1	5%	1	5%
No46	46	1	0	0	1	2%	1	2%

No47	21	2	0	0	2	10%	0	0%
No48	36	1	3	0	4	11%	1	3%
No49	17	0	1	0	1	6%	0	0%
No50	23	0	6	0	6	26%	0	0%
Total	**1149**	**36**	**87**	**6**	**129**	**11.22%**	**29**	**2.5%**

9.4 Interpretation

9.4.1 Frequency of evaluation - general

Evaluation, as we saw in section 9.2.3, is one way in which the producer of a text can attempt to ward off the 'so what?' response from his or her audience. It is a way of enriching discourse: a collection of devices used, consciously or sub-consciously by the narrator, to attract and hold the reader/ listener's attention.

This being the case, we would expect to find the use of evaluation greater in texts where one of the principal aims of the writer of that text is to gain and hold the attention of readers.

The following is a summary of the results given in Tables 18-21 above.

Summary of evaluation findings:

China Daily

Number of sentences in 50 texts: 1149

Total instances of evaluation: 451

Frequency = 39.25 per 100 sentences

Times

Number of sentences in 50 texts: 1645

Total instances of evaluation: 785

Frequency = 47.72 per 100 sentences

On the evidence of the evaluation analysis, clearly, British journalists in the *Times* articles do appear to be making a somewhat greater use of evaluation than *China Daily* journalists: though as throughout this thesis, conclusions must be tempered by the comparatively small sample size. As we have seen, evaluation is one of the aspects of narrative over which narrators have the greatest choice (since it does not directly affect the action of the narrative or its temporal sequencing). *Times* journalists do therefore seem to be availing themselves more widely of this linguistic freedom of choice.

This is not an unexpected finding. The principal function of evaluation is, as we have seen, to help make a narrative worth reading or listening to. It is an aspect of language

that dramatically enriches a narrative and that helps to attract and hold the attention of an audience by addressing the 'so what?' response. British newspapers operate in competition with each other. They are commercial publications, existing within the framework of a continuous struggle for survival, and it is unsurprising, therefore, that they seem to place a greater emphasis on the importance of attracting and holding readers. To survive, in fact, they need to attract two groups of people: readers (who buy the newspaper) and advertisers (who pay for adverts). To attract readers, the writing must be as bright and interesting as possible, within the constraints of reader expectation. To attract advertisers, the newspaper must sell as many copies as possible, so that advertisers know their adverts are reaching as large a market as possible.

Chinese newspapers such as the *China Daily*, on the other hand, do not have to fight for readers. Being essentially organs of the Communist Party, they are supported by the Party. People are required to read them as part of their political instruction - in fact many people still have to gather together for weekly sessions in which they discuss and analyse political articles in the newspapers. There is thus to a large extent what could be called a 'captive readership' - and hence no need to adopt techniques designed to attract readers. Journalists who do this, in fact, could find themselves open to criticism for muddying the voice of the Party by imposing too much subjective 'evaluation'.

The finding that *Times* texts appear to make more use of evaluation, then, is entirely what we would expect in view of the different functional role of the media in Britain and China set out in Chapter 6. Furthermore, it is in line with the findings of Chapters 7 and 8. In Chapter 7, we have seen already how *Times* texts tend to display thematic characteristics associated with informality, approachability and narrative richness, including greater use of multiple Themes, greater use of personal pronouns as Topical Theme and greater use of the narratively dramatic 'there+be' structure in Topical Theme position. In Chapter 8, we saw further evidence of the greater dramatic and narrative richness of the *Times* texts, in their greater use of negative verbal processes and greater diversity of type of Sayer. *China Daily* texts, by contrast, as we saw, tend to display characteristics more associated with formality, distance and authority. Thus finding a greater use of evaluative techniques in *Times* articles – presumably as the result of efforts to make them as attractive and interesting as possible – is only what would be expected.

However, the difference in use of evaluation in the two sets of texts, while noticeable, is not extreme. Again, given the sample size, I would hesitate, on the evidence of this quantitative analysis alone, to suggest the difference was significant.

The fact that it is in accord with the evidence of Chapters 6, 7 and 8 clearly helps: but normally at this stage I would look for further supporting evidence, in the form of a qualitative analysis of evaluatively rich texts, in the hope that that would show precisely how the evaluative techniques employed by those texts served to enrich them.

I do not propose to do that yet, however. There is such a wide range of different evaluative techniques in use that as a general category 'evaluation' becomes almost meaningless – for a study of this kind, at least. To try to look at all these different types of evaluation together in a single text without differentiating between them would be of little help. Instead, I will look at each of the different types of evaluation in turn, and see what each type has to tell us about the texts in which it is found.

9.4.2 Frequency of evaluation by type of evaluation

The categories of evaluative terms adopted here are those suggested by Labov in 1972 and summarised earlier in this chapter, namely intensifiers, comparators, correlatives and explicatives. The results of my analysis are set out in Tables 18 to 21 in section 9.3 above, and summarised in Tables 22 to 25 below.

9.4.2.1 Comparators

The analysis shows that, while the overall frequency of evaluation is different, the frequency spread across the four broad categories of evaluation is very similar (see Table 22 below). Thus in both *The Times* and in the *China Daily* the most common category of evaluator is the comparator (60.53 per cent of instances of evaluation in the *China Daily*, 64.46 per cent of instances in the *Times*), followed by correlatives (28.6 per cent and 24.46 per cent respectively). Intensifiers and explicatives follow a long way behind.

Table 22: Spread of Evaluative terms

	Intensifiers	Comparators	Correlatives	Explicators	Total evaluative terms
China Daily	20	273	129	29	451
	4.4%	60.53%	28.6%	6.43%	100%
Times	45	506	192	42	785
	5.73%	64.46%	24.46%	5.35%	100%

On the face of it, there is nothing of much significance here. Breaking down the type of evaluator even further, however, does reveal some interesting differences in the way evaluators are used. Perhaps the most interesting differences occur in the frequency with which different types of comparator are used (Table 23).

Table 23: Spread of comparator types

	CHINA DAILY			*TIMES*		
	Total	**% of total instances of comparators**	**% of sentences containing evaluator**	**Total**	**% of total instances of comparators**	**% of sentences containing evaluator**
Negatives	40	14.65%	3.5%	108	21.34%	6.6 %
Futures	106	38.82%	9.2 %	141	27.87%	8.6%
Modals	74	27.1%	6.4 %	186	36.75%	11.3%
Comparatives/ superlatives	53	19.41%	4.6%	72	14.22%	4.4%
	273			506		

What is clear at first glance from this table is that use of negatives appears considerably higher in *The Times*; futures are used quite frequently in both *The Times* and the *China Daily*, though more often in the *China Daily*; and modals are used much more frequently in *The Times*. There is very little difference in the frequency of use of comparatives and superlatives.

That there is little difference in the use of comparatives and superlatives is unsurprising. According to the evidence provided by Labov's research (Labov, 1972) it is negatives, futures, and modals which tend to be concentrated in the evaluative sections of the narrative, not comparators and superlatives. Thus it is negatives, futures and modals that are likely to carry an evaluative function as comparators, not comparatives and superlatives. Use of the latter is in fact more likely to be syntactic than evaluative. This being the case, we would expect the incidence of superlatives and comparatives to be almost identical: which is precisely what we find. In the *Times* articles, 4.4 per cent of sentences contain a comparative or superlative, compared to 4.6 per cent of sentences in the *China Daily* texts. Because the *Times* texts generally show a higher level of evaluation, comparatives and superlatives make up a smaller percentage of total instances of comparators in the *Times* texts (14.22 per cent) than in the *China Daily* texts (19.41 per cent): but actually they are roughly as common in the *Times* texts as in the *China Daily* ones. Just what would be expected.

There are, however, as we saw, significant differences in the use of negatives, futures and modals, the types of comparator evaluatives that carry the highest evaluative

element. Thus, use of negatives is comparatively low in the *China Daily* articles, while use of futures is comparatively high. In the *Times* articles, there is a greater use of negatives, a lesser use of futures, and a considerably higher use of modals. Why?

It will be instructive to look at these findings in the light of the differences in functional role of the newspapers in each country identified in Chapter 6 – and the corresponding differences in the constraints placed upon the journalists. I will do that for each of the three types of comparator – negative, future and modal – in turn.

9.4.2.1.1 Negative evaluators. Negative evaluators serve to place the narrative action against a background of events that did not, in fact, happen – but which could have happened. The effect is to extend the reader's awareness of the possibilities of what might have been. This can heighten the dramatic impact of the narrative – by making the reader aware, for example, of how lucky or improbable the actual sequence of events was. But it could also, conceivably, divert attention away from the actual sequence of events to a broader consideration of what might have been.

To a great extent the overriding function of newspapers in China is to act as a mouthpiece for the Communist Party. There may be times at which it is perceived to be useful for readers to be instructed about the broader possibilities underlying a certain chain of events: but generally speaking clarity of message is the priority. You would expect, therefore, the incidence of negatives in the *China Daily* to be comparatively low: as is indeed the case.

British newspapers aim to sell copies and make money. An important consideration, therefore, is the need to attract and entertain. Narrow clarity of message is, within this context, less of a priority, and the richness and drama to be gained from contrasting a sequence of events with events that did not happen, but could have, is more useful. Not surprising, then, that use of negatives is more common in the *Times* articles.

But is this what is really happening? A closer look at some of the texts displaying a very high or very low incidence of negative evaluation might help to decide.

The *Times* text showing the greatest degree of negative evaluation (nine instances altogether, excluding the headline) is *Times* article 38 at Appendix 7.38. Headlined 'School will not punish Straw's son', it is an account of how the headmaster of the school at which Home Secretary Jack Straw's son William was a pupil said he would not punish the boy for selling cannabis because he had been punished enough

already by the media publicity. Interestingly, there is even a negative in the headline, which gives some indication of the way in which things are going.

The negative evaluators found in the course of the text are as follows:

"The headmaster at William Straw's school says he *has no plans* to suspend or discipline the teenager…"

"Barnard (the headmaster) said that, although *not condoning* drug taking, he regarded the alleged cannabis selling as *not very serious.*"

"'I really *don't think* it is the end of the world,' he said."

"It was inevitable for a parent to …. wish the incident *had not happened*..."

"(A fellow pupil said): '*There is no* stigma about drugs.'"

"A third said: 'Will *doesn't deal*. He *would never buy* drugs….'"

"Police are understood to have recommended *no action*…"

The first thing that is striking about this article is that the whole narrative is predicated on a negative. The very first paragraph says that the headmaster at William Straw's school has no plans to suspend or discipline the teenager. Selling cannabis is not very serious, it is not the end of the world, and while Jack Straw wishes the incident had not happened, police are not taking any action and anyway, say William's fellow pupils, the boy doesn't deal and would never buy drugs. The entire story is in fact about nothing happening. But if there is nothing happening, where is the story? The story, of course, (as seems to be quite often the case with the British media) is in the negative evaluation. It is a bit like the old saying that there is no smoke without fire. By beginning the article with the statement that the headmaster has no plans to suspend or discipline the teenager, the journalist immediately raises in the reader's mind the possibility that the headmaster was seriously considering doing so, but has decided not to. The story is in what might have happened, but didn't. The reader is left wondering what would have happened if the headmaster had decided otherwise – and is also left with the feeling that because the headteacher had spoken out to say he was not intending disciplinary action, and because a newspaper had thought that decision worthy of reporting, the possibility that the headmaster might have decided otherwise was a very real one.

Much the same is true of the other, subsidiary negatives that support the remainder of the story. When Jack Straw says he wished the incident had not happened, it reminds readers that it did and emphasises the fact that it was a serious matter. When

a pupil insists there is no stigma about buying drugs, it makes readers feel that there is, or why does the pupil even need to bother denying it? When the police are said to have recommended no action, it makes the readers realise that they could easily have done so – and that it would have been a serious matter if they had done so. The story is, in fact, a classic example of the reality of a situation (ie that nothing, in this case, is actually happening) being contrasted with what might have happened, but didn't.

In all of these cases, negative evaluation is being used to contrast what is with what might have been. But this contrast is being achieved in different ways. In some instances it is being used to create a reportable narrative description of a situation in which there is no real narrative action at all. Thus in the clause "The headmaster at William Straw's school says he *has no plans* to suspend or discipline the teenager…", the fact that the headteacher has no plans to discipline the teenager itself becomes a positive, reportable act: and the fact that he is not taking punitive action is contrasted with the possibility that he might have decided otherwise. In other instances negative evaluation is being used to turn a denial (rather than an absence of action) into a reportable act – thereby making it possible to state precisely that which is being denied. Thus a schoolmate of William Straw says "Will *doesn't deal*. He *would never buy* drugs" – and by reporting those words the journalist raises in the mind of the reader the possibility that perhaps he could do after all. In yet other instances negative evaluation is being used for dramatic emphasis. "I really *don't think* it is the end of the world" says the headteacher, and by saying so somehow manages to imply that it almost was. "It was inevitable for a parent to …. wish the incident *had not happened*...", Jack Straw is indirectly reported as saying – and emphasises once more how serious was the fact that it did.

The reason this story is newsworthy, of course, even though it is actually about nothing happening, is because the main protagonist is the son of an important and powerful man. The importance of the protagonist means the journalist considers it worthwhile to use certain linguistic techniques (including negative evaluation) to construct a reportable narrative even when very little is actually happening. The technique employed here of using a negative (or series of negatives) to stand a story up is one commonly used by western journalists. If there is a rumour about a scandal involving a famous person and it can't be proved, get the person in question to deny it, and you've got your story. It may from the journalist's point of view have been a better story in this case if the headmaster had said he was going to throw William Straw out of the school: but the fact he said he wasn't going to was a good second best.

Is the pattern of use of negative evaluation found in *Times* article 38 repeated in other *Times* articles showing comparatively high use of evaluation? Essentially yes. *Times* article 5 at Appendix 7.5, which has seven instances of negative evaluation, is headlined 'Blair condemns Diana stories'. A look at a few instances of negative evaluation in the article reveal that again, it derives much of its drama and richness from the contrast between what is and what might have been. Thus we get the following:

"Blair's staff said his remarks *should not be seen* as criticism of Fayed..." (a denial which itself becomes a reportable act and allows what is being denied to be repeated, prompting speculation instantly that what is being denied might actually be the case)

"(Fayed) told a newspaper he...*did not believe* the crash was an accident..." (thus emphasising that there was more to the crash than meets the eye by contrasting the current belief that it was an accident with the possibility that it was not)

"'He (Blair) *is not singling out* any individual or enterprise,' insisted one spokesman...." (another denial, again leaving the lingering suspicion that actually Blair may be doing precisely what the spokesman says he is not doing: a suspicion reinforced by use of the negative verbal process *insisted*).

"Blair *has not discussed* his views of the speculation surrounding Diana's death with the Prince of Wales..." (a 'positive out of a negative' in the 'William Straw's headmaster is not going to take disciplinary action' mould in which the journalist is able to make something positively reportable out of the fact that Blair has not done something simply by reporting that he hasn't done it).

Much the same kind of pattern is seen in *Times* article 40, headlined 'Queen pops into haunted local', which also contains seven instances of negative evaluation. Here, we are told that "*there was no sign* of Nancy the resident ghost" – a sentence that neatly establishes the apparent fact of the ghost's existence by saying she wasn't there. Later, the pub's landlady is quoted as saying: "I *did not offer* her a drink and she (the Queen) *did not ask for* one" – and by saying so she succeeds in efficiently making a narrative out of a complete absence of event by contrasting what actually happened with what could have happened.

It will be interesting here to contrast these articles rich in negative evaluation with one which displays little or no evaluation at all. One such among the *Times* texts is

Times article 48 (Appendix 7.48) which displays literally no use of comparators at all. The article, headlined 'Relatives see film of sunken trawler', is an account of an inquiry into the sinking of a trawler, the Westhaven. The events being investigated are actually very dramatic – but the report of them is distant and impersonal: a mere recital of facts, rather than a dramatic, colourful narrative. Thus we get: "The boat was dragged to the seabed so quickly that one of the liferafts was caught in the mast and a second failed to inflate. Mr Pattison and his crew, Alan Cunningham, 28, Chris Prouse, 23, and Mark Hannah, 30, died." There is no attempt here to get into the minds of the crew as they died; no 'they *could not get to safety* because the liferafts failed'. The story is allowed to tell itself, and the suffering of the men is left to the imagination. The contrast with the evaluatively-rich articles analysed above – which are actually reports of far less dramatic events – is great.

Negative evaluation, clearly, is a very rich and effective linguistic device for heightening and enriching the drama of a narrative – and at times even making it possible to construct a narrative out of nothing. It does this, as we saw, essentially by contrasting what is with what is not but might have been. There are a number of ways in which this is achieved: by making a positive out of a negative and creating a reportable narrative description of a situation in which there is no real narrative action at all; by turning a denial into a reportable act, thereby making it possible to state precisely that which is being denied; by reminding us of what might have been and so increasing dramatic emphasis; and by heightening dramatic tension by contrasting two different possible realities (as in Fayed's saying he *did not believe* the crash was an accident).

So much for negative evaluation in the *Times* texts. What about in the *China Daily* texts? As we have seen, while negative evaluation is used less in the *China Daily*, it is still used. Is it being used in the same way as in the *Times*?

The *China Daily* text which displays the most use of negative evaluation is *China Daily* article 20, at Appendix 8.20. This one text contains no fewer than eight instances of negative evaluation – almost one fifth of the entire total for all 50 *China Daily* texts studied. So how is negative evaluation being used here?

The article, headlined 'Beijing tightens control over fireworks in city proper', is one we have already encountered during the analysis of Transitivity. The instances of negative evaluation that occur are as follows:

> "The city people's congress ruled that *no firecrackers* would be allowed…"
> "… the displays became *not a pacifier* but a fuse…"

"Police patrolled the streets to ensure that *none* would violate the fireworks ban…"

"Sounds were heard, but *none* were caught on the spot…"

"..children enjoyed themselves with small firecrackers that *were not* easily found…"

"Most … accidents occurred far away from the city proper, where fireworks *are not forbidden*…"

"Doctors worried that those injured *would not receive* timely treatment…"

"*No firework-caused fires* have been reported."

Clearly, there is an element here of 'what is' being contrasted with 'what is not, but might have been': the officially arranged fireworks displays ought to have been a pacifier (what is not) but actually they became a fuse sparking further trouble (what is); no fireworks caused fires have been reported (what is) – but they very well might have been (what is not, but could have been). Equally clearly, though, there are no examples in this text of negative evaluators being used to stand up or brighten up a narrative as is often the case in the *Times* articles – no turning of denials into reportable fact, no making a positive out of a negative to create a narrative where really there is none (unless "the people's congress ruled that no firecrackers would be allowed" is counted). The tone imparted by the negatives here is one of rather superior disapproval – almost as though the authorities, through their mouthpiece the newspaper, are saying: "this is what we warned would happen if you behaved like this". This is entirely in keeping with the functional role of the media in China as established in Chapter 6.

As we saw earlier, there is considerably more use of negative evaluators in the *Times* texts than in the *China Daily* texts (108 instances in the *Times* articles analysed, compared to just 40 in the *China Daily* articles). Given that almost a fifth of all negative evaluators found in the *China Daily* texts occur in this one single text, it follows that if this one text were to be discounted the difference in use of negative evaluators between the two sets of texts would be even more marked. Moreover, in this one *China Daily* text where use of negative evaluators is marked, the evaluators appear to be being used in a rather different way that in the *Times* texts.

Given all the evidence, I feel justified in asserting that there is a real area of difference between the two sets of texts in the way negative evaluation is used: and that this difference can be plausibly interpreted in the light of the differences in functional role of the media in Britain and China established in Chapter 6.

9.4.2.1.2 Future evaluators.

The difference in use of future evaluators between the two sets of texts is also interesting. As we saw earlier, despite the overall greater use of evaluation by the *Times* texts, there are actually more instances of future evaluators in *China Daily* texts (9.2 per cent of all sentences include them) than in *Times* texts (8.6 per cent of all sentences). This means that futures comprise a significantly higher percentage of all instances of comparator in the *China Daily* texts (38.82 per cent) than in the *Times* texts (27.87 per cent). Why?

Future evaluators serve to place the narrative action – the actual sequence of events taking place now or in the recent past, which are the subject of the narrative – in the context of events which have not yet happened, but which could happen in the future. They serve to contrast the now with the may be, or the could be, or the what we want, hope or expect might come to be.

In common with most other comparators, they heighten the interest of a narrative by placing it against a rich background of other events that have not actually happened, but could. Not surprising, therefore, that they should be one of the more commonly used forms of evaluation found in the *Times* texts. But why are they so widely used in the *China Daily* texts?

A plausible explanation for part at least of this relatively high occurrence of future evaluators in the *China Daily* texts might be that the Chinese media, in their role as mouthpieces of the Chinese Communist Party, are seeking to portray the events of today as though they are taking place on the road towards a definite future goal. Communism, in China, in its effort to exhort citizens to greater efforts for their country, constantly seeks to contrast the less-than-perfect reality of today with what might be. One has only to look at those early Russian and Chinese paintings and statues of peasants and workers marching forward together toward a bright future to realise how strong a part in the Communist ideology this sense of forging ahead to a better future plays. With this in mind, it should not be surprising that future evaluators should be so common in Chinese newspaper texts.

But is this how future evaluators are actually being used in the *China Daily* texts? The *China Daily* articles showing the greatest use of future evaluators are *China Daily* article 2 (Appendix 8.2) with 11 instances, and *China Daily* articles 13 and 28 (Appendixes 8.13 and 8.28) with nine instances each.

China Daily article 2, headlined 'One country, two systems', is a clearly political piece stressing the importance of closer ties between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan. It is a comparatively long article, which might in part account for the number of future evaluators – but nevertheless the way in which these evaluators are used is significant. The instances of future evaluation found include:

> "The mainland has made it clear…that non-political, economic and business-like semi-official negotiations *will lead* to more progress…"
> "Ending mainland-Taiwan hostilities …*will satisfy* the will of Taiwan compatriots… Qian (Chinese foreign minister Qian Qichen) said."
> "Qian hopes Taiwan authorities *will abide* by the 'One China' principle…"
> "Tang (a Chinese official) expressed hope Arats and Sef (the Chinese and Taiwanese organisations responsible for fostering better relations between the two countries) *will overcome* difficulties…to begin arrangements for political talks."
> "The mainland *will make* greater effort towards furthering cross-straits ties.."

What is clearly expressed by the use of future evaluators here is a political vision of the future – a vision held by senior Chinese Party officials. If such and such happens, they say, then so and so will also happen, as a consequence of such and such or as part of a plan. The vision of the future held out here is implicitly contrasted with the present: implicit in the whole text is the sense that things are not, at present, the way the Party would like them to be. A better future will be the reward if certain things are done, is the message.

China Daily article 13, headlined 'New fares to encourage residents to take taxis', is about a much less politically sensitive and important issue – the importance of promoting the use of taxis to take some of the strain off Shanghai's public transport system – but still clearly encapsulates a vision of the future. Thus we get:

> "Next month, taxis *will charge* ten yuan…. instead of 14.4 yuan…"
> "Each kilometre after the first three … *will be charged* at two yuan…"
> "People who take a taxi seven kilometres or less *will be paying* slightly less…"
> "… taxi drivers … say the change *will hurt* business…"
> "'The new pricing member *will have* a great impact on us,' said (taxi driver) Xiao Li."

"'I *will earn* just 30 yuan.'"

"Bargaining *will only result* in unfair competition…"

Here, a local government policy is being set out: we are being told simply what will come to pass. Interesting here is the fact that a voice of dissent is allowed to intrude – taxi drivers say the move will hurt their business, and that they will be worse off as a result of it. Such a voice of dissent is, as we have seen, comparatively rare in the Chinese texts. We could speculate that it has perhaps been allowed here because the issue is not seen as an overwhelmingly important or sensitive one.

China Daily article 28, finally, headlined 'Chongqing plans ambitious move', sets out another vision of the future – the city of Chonqing's plans to attempt to compete economically with Shangai. Here we get future evaluators in clauses such as the following:

"Chongqing *will provide* more … favourable conditions for foreign investors…"

"'We *will make* Chongqing one of the best investment choices in China …"

"More workers *will be laid off* from State-owned enterprises…"

"The municipal government seems confident the problems *will be solved...* "

Clearly, then, in the *China Daily* texts the use of future evaluators is the result of articles which are setting out official visions of the future, either hoped for (as in *China Daily* article 2) or intended (as in *China Daily* articles 13 and 28). Areas of doubt are occasionally allowed to creep in (taxi drivers fear they will be worse off; workers will be laid off) but the overall tone of the articles is one of progress: of moving forward towards a planned better future. This is entirely in accord with the established functional role of the Chinese media.

Future evaluators also occur, of course, in the *Times* texts – most notably in *Times* article 22, headlined 'Middle class to foot bill for Budget reforms', in which they occur no fewer than 24 times. This article is a preview of Chancellor Gordon Brown's first full budget – and the repeated use of futures is a result of predicting what the Chancellor will do. That future evaluation occurs in the *Times* texts, though, is not surprising: it is, as we have seen, a way of contrasting what is with what might or could be in future – hence any article about future plans or proposals will be rich in future evaluation. What is interesting is that it occurred so comparatively frequently among the

China Daily texts: and I would maintain that a plausible explanation has been given for this that fits in with the established functional role of the Chinese media.

9.4.2.1.3 Modal evaluators.

The third type of comparator being looked at in detail here is the modal evaluator. Modal evaluators, as we saw earlier, make up 36.75 per cent of all comparators in the *Times* texts: just 27.1 per cent of all comparators in the *China Daily* texts. Over 11 per cent of all sentences in the *Times* texts include a modal, compared to just over six per cent of all sentences in the *China Daily* texts. Why is this?

In traditional grammar, modals in English mainly indicate the attitudes, abilities or opinions of the subjects of a particular clause towards the actions or states described in that clause. These attitudes or abilities may include willingness (I *would* love to go if the weather's OK); ability (he *can* read: I *can*'t); obligation (you *must* go); permission (you *may* go); possibility (you *might* be able to get there that way); and volition (I *will* go!). Modals, to put it another way, express the subject's will or desire to do something; their ability to do something; their granting of or being granted permission to do something; their sense of obligation; their sense of determination; and their judgement of possibility.

Here, though, we are examining the role of modals as comparators: deliberate linguistic choices made by the narrator to enrich the actual sequence of events reported on by setting them against a wider background of things which may, or could, or will, or must or can't happen.

The article showing the greatest use of modal evaluation is *Times* article 31. Headlined 'Outside agencies may investigate police complaints,' this is an account of proposals to take away responsibility for investigating complaints against the police from the police themselves and the appointment instead of independent investigators. Modal evaluation found includes the following:

"Inquiries … *could be taken away* from (police) forces and carried out by independent investigators…"

"Investigators *could be* former military officers …"

"They *would be appointed* by the Police Complaints Authority and *might also include* former detectives…"

"The PCA *could also have* a cadre of independent investigators at its disposal.."

"Mr Straw (Home Secretary Jack Straw) made it clear the Government *would adopt* many of the committee's reforms."

"The committee suggested the Home Office *should look at* … setting up an … independent investigation system…"

Clearly, here, we are once again talking about a possible vision of the future. Implicit in the story is a contrast between the situation now – in which the police themselves handle complaints made against them – and what the situation could be in future, with those complaints handled by external investigators. The difference between the vision of the future expressed here and the visions of the future expressed using future evaluation in the texts analysed earlier is that here we are talking not about definite plans for the future, but about possibilities: something that participants would like to bring about, if it were to prove possible. There is a lesser degree of certainty implied in this possible vision of the future than if future evaluators had been used. If, for example, Jack Straw had said "Inquiries *will be taken away* from police forces, that would have been a definite intention, a planned future move. By saying they *could be* taken away, he is talking about something that may happen, but also may not.

Times article 46 (Appendix 7.46) headlined 'Irvine calls for curbs that would suppress Cook story' shows the second-highest usage of modal evaluators. This is an article looking at the impact of new curbs on press freedom being called for by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Irving. Modal evaluators include the following:

"Robin Cook's affair with his mistress … *would not have been* disclosed under new curbs…"

"People and ask it to stop stories being published …"

"In an interview … Lord Irvine is asked if he *would have expected* the commission to order the News of the World not to print the story."

"'I *would hope* that that *would be* the view that the PCC *would form* in a case like that,' he said."

Here, again, we have a vision of a possible future: one contrasted sharply with the reality of the today of the article. Robin Cook's affair was in fact reported: but it would not have been if the suggested new curbs on press freedom had been in place. Again, though, the use of modal evaluators lessens the sense of certainty or inevitability that this vision of the future will come about. "People *will be able to go* to the

commission…" implies this will be the case. "People *could go* to the commission…" implies it may be the case if something else also comes to be the case – here, clearly, if the Press Complaints Commission issues tough new privacy guidelines. In this article, the lack of certainty appears to derive from the fact that it is not Lord Irvine himself who has the power to issue such guidelines. He can only call upon (ie request) the Press Complaints Commission to do so.

Times texts 19 (Appendix 7.19) and 30 (Appendix 7.30) which are also both comparatively rich in use of modal evaluators also show a similar pattern. Text 19, headlined 'Supermarket and hospital car parking may be taxed' is an account of Government proposals to levy tax on parking spaces – but these are only measures 'being considered'. Thus we get "The money *would probably be* levied voluntarily…" and the proposed charge "*could raise* £650 million." *Times* article 30, headlined 'Police chiefs get power to sack corrupt officers', is a story about definite powers to be granted by Home Secretary Jack Straw. It does therefore include future evaluators ("The Home Secretary *will announce* the biggest shake-up of the handling of police complaints…). Where the modals begin to appear is when the journalist begins to speculate about precisely what the shake-up will mean. "If officers refuse to answer questions this *could be used against* them….Officers who are lazy or incompetent *could also find themselves* facing the sack…")

Clearly, in the *Times* articles, then, modal evaluation is being used primarily to describe a vision of a future: but a possible, or wished-for, or speculative vision of the future rather than a planned, intended one as is the case when future evaluation is used.

Modal evaluation, as we have seen, occurs considerably less frequently in the *China Daily* texts than in the *Times* texts – 74 instances, as compared to 186 instances – but it does nevertheless occur. Is it being used in the same way? The *China Daily* text displaying the greatest use of modal evaluation is our old friend *China Daily* article 2 at Appendix 8.2, the 'One Country, Two Systems' text about the importance of improved business and economic relations with Taiwan. This, as we saw, was the *China Daily* text displaying the greatest use of future evaluation. It clearly sets out a vision of better future. Significantly, the modal evaluators found here tend to be those of obligation, rather than possibility as in the *Times* texts. Thus we get the following: "Taiwanese authorities *should begin* political discussions…"; "…both sides *should begin* political talks…"; "both sides *should make* procedural arrangements"; "…the 'One China' principal *must be upheld*…"; "China's sovereignty and territorial integrity *cannot be* separated".

A look at the types of comparator found (see Appendices 20-21) reveals that this difference between the two sets of texts is general. Of the 74 modal comparators found in the *China Daily* texts, 52 (or 70 per cent) are modals of obligation such as must, can or should. In the *Times* texts, just 30 out of 186 or 16 per cent of modal comparators are modals of obligation. The vast majority of modal comparators in the *Times* texts (145/186, or 78 per cent) are those of possibility or speculation (would, could, may, might). This compares to just 22/74 or 30 per cent of the modal comparators in the *China Daily* texts.

Again, on the basis of all the evidence, I feel confident in asserting this is a genuine difference. Modal evaluation is used more frequently in the *Times* articles than in the *China Daily* ones: and it is also used differently. In the *Times* articles modal evaluation generally involves modals of speculation or possibility and occurs in the context of reports about future plans which are still being considered: or else in the context of journalistic speculation about future plans. In the *China Daily* articles modal evaluation generally involves modals of obligation, and tends to be in the context of articles about future plans or proposals in which people are being exhorted or instructed to behave in a certain way or do certain things.

Again, this finding is entirely in keeping with the different functional roles of the media in Britain and China as established in Chapter 6. Questioning, probing and speculating is very much a part of the role of the British media: but not, generally, part of the role of the Chinese media. Exhorting, by contrast, is very much a part of the role of the Chinese media in their capacity as mouthpiece of the Party: but not generally part of the role of the British media.

9.4.2.2 Correlatives

According to Labov, correlatives are mainly used in the orientation sections of a narrative, to set the scene, to characterise the setting for the narrative as a whole (Labov 1972:279).

News stories, however, are not principally imaginative story-telling narratives. They are principally accounts of events. The description of setting and background would therefore be expected to be less important than in, for example, a novel or short story.

The occurrence of correlatives is almost equal in both the *Times* and *China Daily* texts, occurring in just over 11 per cent of sentences in each (Table 24). This, I would hazard, reflects the function which is common to news stories in both countries,

which is to tell what has happened without resorting to rich descriptive, scene-setting passages. It would be instructive at a later stage to contrast newspaper articles with other forms of narrative such as the short story to see whether, as I would expect, instances of correlatives are higher in the latter.

Table 24: Spread of Correlative types

	CHINA DAILY			BRITISH NEWSPAPER		
	Total	**% of total instances of correlatives**	**% of sentences containing evaluator**	**Total**	**% of total instances of correlatives**	**% of sentences containing evaluator**
Progressive	36	28%	8%	70	36%	9%
Appended Participles	87	67%	19%	108	56%	24%
Double attributives	6	5%	1%	14	7%	2%
Total	129	100%	11.22%	192	100%	11.67%

9.4.2.3 Explicatives

Explicatives, as we saw earlier, are used to explain how or why a certain event happened. They are often carried out using conjunctions such as 'while' or 'though', or connectives such as 'since' and 'because'. However, as with comparative and superlative comparators, they serve as much, if not more, a textual, cohesive function as they do an evaluative one. Conjunctions and connectives are very much the cohesive connective tissue of a narrative, serving to link clauses. In newspaper reports, in which presumably cohesive flow is less important than straightforward presentation of facts, they are again likely to be less significant than in literary texts such as a novel or short story, where presumably style is more important. It is not, therefore, unsurprising, that the occurrence of explicatives is comparatively low in both sets of newspaper texts – occurring in 2.55 per cent of sentences in the *Times* texts and 2.52 per cent of sentences in the *China Daily* texts. (Table 25)

Table 25: Incidence of explicatives

CHINA DAILY		*TIMES*	
Total	**% of sentences containing evaluator**	**Total**	**% of sentences containing evaluator**
29	8%	42	9%

9.5 Conclusion

The analysis of evaluation carried out in this chapter has provided what I believe are some significant and interesting results, all of which can be explained in the context of the different functional role of newspapers in Britain and China and the different constraints acting upon journalists in the two countries.

Not only are instances of evaluation, as expected, higher in the *Times* articles (where, being part of the reader-conscious British tradition, the need to attract and hold readers is a priority), there are also interesting differences in the type of evaluation used; notably in the types of comparator used.

Negative evaluation is considerably more common in the *Times* texts than in the *China Daily* texts (108 instances in the *Times* texts as compared to just 40 in the *China Daily*). In the *Times* texts, as we saw, it is an effective linguistic device for heightening and enriching the drama of a narrative – and sometimes even making it possible to construct a narrative out of nothing. It achieves this heightening effect in a number of ways: by making a positive out of a negative; by turning a denial into a reportable act; by reminding us of what might have been; and by heightening dramatic tension by contrasting two different possible realities. The *China Daily* texts, even when they make use of negative evaluation, do not use it in such a rich and dramatic way. The *China Daily* text with the greatest use of negative evaluation is *China Daily* article 20, which single text contains almost one fifth of all the instances of negative evaluation found in the *China Daily* set of texts. And here, as we saw, the effect, rather than heightening or enriching the narrative, is to impart a tone of rather superior disapproval.

Future evaluation is used fairly frequently in both sets of texts – and if anything, more frequently (and therefore disproportionately frequently) in the *China Daily* texts. The comparatively high occurrence in these texts was interpreted as being the result of the role of the Chinese media, as Party mouthpiece, to look to the future and reflect the aspirations of the Party and government.

Finally, modal evaluators are more common in the *Times* texts: and more significantly, the types of modal evaluators used are quite different. The *Times* articles analysed tend to use modals of possibility and speculation, in the context of speculative, probing articles about future government plans and policies. The *China Daily* texts by contrast tend to use modals of obligation – reflecting the Chinese media's role as Party mouthpiece to instruct and exhort.

CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The aim of this study has been to attempt to demonstrate that an approach to language analysis based upon a number of fundamental assumptions about the functional, social and contextual nature of language can have a practical value as an analytical tool: one which can yield valuable insights into the socio-cultural context the author of a text inhabits.

In Chapter 5, I set out three concrete things I needed to do if I was to succeed in this aim. These were:

i) Demonstrate that there is a difference in the functional role played by the media in Britain and China.

ii) Demonstrate through linguistic analysis that there are differences in the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features between the two countries' media.

iii) Give a plausible account of how these two types of difference (in functional role and linguistic features) may be connected.

The first of these I set out to do in Chapter 6; the second and third I set out to do by means of the quantitative and supporting qualitative analyses conducted in Chapters 7-9. In this final chapter, I aim to try to show how, despite the necessary limitations of scale and scope of this thesis, the approach to language analysis demonstrated (I believe successfully) here can have a wider applicability.

I will begin by summarising the results of the analysis and interpretation of texts carried out in the course of Chapters 7-9. Then, by putting the evidence of those chapters in juxtaposition to each-other and to the evidence of Chapter 6, I will try to obtain a broader overview of the way in which the linguistic structures of those texts – and particularly the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features – may plausibly be shown to be directly related to functional role, and hence to the socio-cultural context within which a text was produced. I will finally turn my attention back to the eighth and last of the assumptions about language set out in Chapter 5: namely the assumption that, in the presence of a sufficient quantity of data to which to make reference, it should be possible, by analysis of a text in a case where little is known of

the socio-cultural context within which that text was produced, to learn much about that context and its influence upon the producer of that text.

To conclude this chapter, and this thesis as a whole, I will discuss the limitations of my work, explain why despite these limitations I nevertheless believe the work has value, and suggest ways in which it could be taken forward.

10.2 Functional role and language choice

In Chapter 6, by consulting both the literature on the media in Britain and China and working journalists themselves – and, in the case of the Chinese media, the speeches of senior Party figures – I arrived at a view of the functional role played by the media in the two countries.

While there were a number of similarities (one prime function of the media anywhere must, almost by definition, be to inform, although who is being informed and what they are being informed about may be very different) there were also a number of clear differences. These could be summarised as follows:

1. In neither country are the media truly independent or objective. The range of influences determining the role played by the media in Britain, however, appears wider and more diverse than in China. In Britain, that role is determined partly by the Establishment (and the values it stands for); partly by commercial and other vested interests (including advertisers); and partly (through the commercially-driven need to win and maintain readers) by the perceived expectations of the readership. In China, the role played by the media is determined principally by the Establishment, in the form of Party and Government.

2. In neither country do the mainstream media seek to challenge in any fundamental way the value systems of the dominant Establishment (although the nature of that Establishment and the value-systems it stands for in each country is quite different). Within the limits of the Establishment value system, however, the British media does adopt a more critical, questioning attitude towards government.

3. In both countries, there is a process of selection of what to report and not to report. In Britain, content is driven by reference to the value-systems of the dominant Establishment; the values of the vested interests upon which the media depend for their survival; and the commercially-motivated need to attract and keep readers. In China, content is driven principally by reference to the aim of propagating Party ideology and

informing the readership of progress made as a result of correct application of Party policy.

4. In Britain, the media are generally (the BBC is a possible exception) commercial operations, relying for their existence on the need to make profits. This commercial nature of the British media has a marked effect on the role they perform in society. Commercial success requires maintenance of a healthy readership. Thus the role of entertaining (to attract and keep readers) becomes important. In China, the media generally are not commercial organisations and they have to a certain extent a guaranteed readership. The role of entertaining is correspondingly reduced.

5. In Britain, the role of the media is to inform (within the limits of the accepted value-systems of the Establishment); to reflect the values of the vested interests upon which the existence of the newspaper depends; and to entertain. In China, the role of the media is principally to act as the mouthpiece of the Party, informing the readership about that which the Party wishes them to be informed about.

In the course of Chapters 7-9, a series of 50 *Times* and 50 *China Daily* texts were analysed for evidence of differences in the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features; and these differences were subsequently qualitatively interpreted in the light of the differences in functional role of the media in Britain and China summarised above.

The differences found can be summarised as follows.

A Differences of Theme

A1 *Times* texts showed a greater use of multiple Theme, often involving textual Thematic element *that* to introduce the content element of a process

A2 *China Daily* texts showed greater use of lengthy nominal groups as Topical Theme

A3 *Times* texts showed greater use of personal pronouns as Topical Theme

A4 *Times* texts showed greater use of 'there + be' in topical Theme position

A5 *China Daily* texts appeared to use more marked Themes

Interpretation of differences of Theme

Eggins, in her 1994 book *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*, appears to posit the existence of what I have termed a **continuum of attitudinality**. Texts, she says, range from the highly attitudinal (spoken texts) to the minimally attitudinal (texts written to be read). Texts at the attitudinal range of the continuum, she

suggests, tend to be more approachable and interactive, while those at the non-attitudinal end of the range tend to be distant and authoritative. She further suggests that amongst highly attitudinal texts there is greater use of multiple Themes (Eggins, 1994:279). One possible interpretation for the greater use of multiple Themes in the *Times* texts, therefore, was that they are more attitudinal than their *China Daily* counterparts: that is, they are more approachable, less distant and authoritative.

Qualitative analysis of *Times* texts which showed high use of multiple Themes revealed high use of the textual Thematic element *that* as part of a multiple Theme to introduce the content action of a process. Texts high in use of this element were peopled with protagonists all doing things, saying things, arguing and giving their opinions. They were rich in diversity, incident and range of opinion – and highly involving and hence approachable. Texts without the *that* element in multiple Theme position tended to be dry and lifeless, with few protagonists, little action and little diversity of point of view. They were narrow, distant, authoritative and monolithic (by which I mean lacking in diversity of opinion and participant), with little of the diversity and richness of texts which employed the multiple Theme *that*.

This, as I pointed out in Chapter 7, ties in very neatly with the differences in functional role of the media in Britain and China: the British media needing to be entertaining and attractive in order to win and keep readers, the Chinese media concerned with promoting the Party message.

The greater usage of personal pronouns as Topical Theme in the *Times* texts, and the greater use of lengthy nominal groups as Topical Theme in the *China Daily* texts, also fits with this view of the *Times* texts as more approachable, informal, diverse and dramatic, and the *China Daily* texts as more monolithic, distant and authoritative. Eggins in 1994 pointed out that in conversation, the majority of topical themes are personal pronouns or names. Neither of these were particularly common in the texts analysed – reflecting their status as written reports rather than conversation – but there was a greater use of personal pronouns in topical Theme position in the *Times* texts than in the *China Daily* ones. A qualitative analysis of (mainly *Times*) texts showing comparatively high use of personal pronoun in topical Theme position revealed that indeed they did tend to share many of the stylistic characteristics of conversation. They were very often, in fact, reports or even partial transcriptions in direct speech of vivid oral narratives.

The use of lengthy nominal groups such as 'Qiu Daxiong, deputy commander of the Guangxi Military Area Command' by the *China Daily* texts, meanwhile, has the

effect of overloading the reader with detailed and specific information, and of emphasising the status and importance of those whose words are being reported, so making the texts more authoritative. Again, this interpretation – backed up by qualitative analyses – fits very neatly with the differences in functional role of the two countries' media established in Chapter 6.

The greater use of 'there + be' in topical Theme position in the *Times* texts I was also able to relate, with the help of qualitative analyses, to the differences in functional role between the two countries' media. Where this construction was found in topical Theme position it tended either to be for the purposes of driving forward a vivid narrative description (what I called a narrative 'there+be' of the form: 'There was a lot of blood coming from the side of his head….'), or it served as a way of introducing the author's voice to introduce otherwise unattributable 'fact' (what I called an intrusive 'there+be' of the form: 'There was concern last night that….'). The first of these has the effect of increasing the entertainment value of a text; the second of decreasing its authoritativeness but increasing its richness, diversity and speculative, probing qualities.

Finally, the apparently higher use of Theme-markedness in some of the *China Daily* texts (Themes such as 'in the first half of the year', 'in the last half of the year') I tentatively suggested could be the result of articles which sought to emphasise a record of achievement. In texts where Theme markedness does occur, Eggins says, it tends to occur quite frequently: a pattern certainly found in the texts analysed here, where, especially among the *China Daily* texts, a comparatively small number of texts showed high Theme-markedness. One aspect of Theme markedness noted by Eggins is indeed to emphasise and persuade. The *China Daily* texts displaying high Theme markedness are effectively litanies of achievment: an interpretation that fits with a view of the functional role of the Chinese media as being principally to act as the mouthpiece of the Party.

In an attempt to describe the way in which some of the Thematic linguistic differences found between the two sets of texts may relate to each-other, I will use the terms **reader-oriented** and **message-oriented**. Reader-oriented and message-oriented texts, I suggest, exist at more or less opposite ends of Eggins' **continuum of attitudinality**. The features of a reader-oriented text include approachability, diversity of voice and participant, narrative and dramatic richness and informality. The features of a message-oriented text, on the other hand, include formality, authority, distance and lack of narrative or dramatic richness and of diversity of voice or opinion. On the evidence of Chapter 7, I would tentatively suggest that reader-oriented texts show a

greater use of multiple Theme (especially the element *that* as part of a multiple Theme), a greater use of personal pronouns as Topical Theme and a greater use of 'there + be' in topical Theme position. Message-oriented texts, by contrast, show a lesser use of all these characteristics, but a greater use of lengthy nominal groups as Topical Theme. Some, but not all, of them may also show a high degree of Theme Markedness.

The *Times* texts studied, I would suggest, are more reader-oriented, while the *China Daily* texts are more message-oriented. The reader-oriented nature of the *Times* texts, I would further suggest, is related to the functional role of the British media; and particularly, the commercial nature of the British media which means that in order to survive, they must attract and keep readers. The message-oriented nature of the *China Daily* texts, I would suggest, is also related to the functional role of the media there, ie to act as the mouthpiece of the Party.

B Differences of Transitivity

B1 *Times* texts use more **negative verbal processes**

B2 *Times* texts demonstrate more **narrator intrusion**

B3 There is greater diversity in type of **Sayer** in *Times* texts. In *China Daily* texts, the majority of Sayers tend to be high Government officials

Interpretation of differences of Transitivity

Neutral verbal processes, as I defined them in Chapter 8, are those such as *said* which carry no attitudinal weighting on the part of the writer. **Positive verbal processes** include those such as *made clear, pointed out* which in some way tend to promote in the reader the feeling that the person whose words are being reported is wise, authoritative, benign or in some other sense positive. **Negative verbal processes** are those such as *claimed, denied, insisted,* the effect of which is to cast doubt in the mind of the reader on the veracity of what the person whose words are being reported is saying.

Times texts, as we saw in Chapter 8, appear to use far more negative verbal processes to report the words of speakers. The use of such processes, a qualitative analysis revealed, appears to have two effects: it can heighten the dramatic and narrative impact of a text: and in some way it can cast doubt upon the veracity or reliability of what a quoted speaker is saying. Both of these fit with the complex role of the British media; specifically with their need to entertain and so attract commercially necessary readers, and with their traditional role of adopting a challenging and questioning stance towards those in authority. *China Daily* journalists, on the other hand, use very few such

negative verbal processes: an unsurprising finding in view of the functional role of the Chinese media.

There also appear to be differences in the two sets of texts in the range and type of Sayer. In the *China Daily* texts, the Sayers are preponderantly government or other high officials. In the *Times* texts there is more diversity, with only about a third being high officials. The picture that emerges is of *China Daily* journalists keen to report on the activities and utterances of key Government figures, and reluctant to present what they say and do in a negative light. *Times* journalists appear to report on the sayings and activities of a wider range of people, and are more willing to present what they say and do negatively. This again fits with the findings of Chapter 6.

Finally, *Times* journalists, on the evidence of the analysis of mental processes and existential processes conducted Chapter 8, appear more willing to intrude their own voice into a text: to speculate, and to introduce as 'fact' states of affairs for which little supporting evidence is given. *China Daily* journalists appear less willing to do so.

This again, I suggested, could be interpreted in the light of the different role of the media in the two countries: and particularly, in the light of the narrowly-defined role of the Chinese media to act as mouthpiece of the Party. Little room, there, for intrusion of the journalist's own voice. The lack of narrator intrusion reinforces the notion of the Chinese media as message-oriented. The greater degree of Transitivity narrator intrusion found in the *Times* texts reinforces the impression, already gained from the comparatively high use of the intrusive 'there + be' structure in topical Theme position, that *Times* journalists are more willing to allow their own voice to be heard. Again, this fits with the role of the British media as less concerned with emphasising authority and more critical and sceptical towards Government.

To sum up, then, on the evidence of Chapter 8, *Times* texts tend to be more **narrator negative** (that is, they use more negative verbal processes), show a greater degree of **narrator intrusion** than their *China Daily* counterparts and display a greater diversity of type of Sayer. The greater narrator negativity and narrator intrusiveness of the *Times* texts, I would suggest, is related to the more critical, questioning attitude towards Government that is part of the role of the British media. The lack of narrator negativity and narrator intrusion in the *China Daily* texts is also related, I would suggest, to the functional role of the Chinese media as mouthpiece of the Party. Meanwhile the greater diversity of type of Sayer found in the *Times* texts, I suggest, could be related to the greater range of interests that go to determine the role of the

British media, while the lack of diversity of type of Sayer found in the *China Daily* texts could be a function of its role as Party mouthpiece.

C Differences of evaluation

C1 *Times* texts show higher overall use of evaluation

C2 *Times* texts show greater use of negative and modal evaluation

C3 *China Daily* texts show a somewhat greater use of future evaluation: a use disproportionately high compared to overall use of evaluation in these texts

Interpretation of differences of evaluation

Evaluation has to do with the way in which a speaker/ writer embellishes or enriches his/ her narrative. It is the aspect of narrative structure which aims to ward off the 'so what?' response in the mind of the reader/ listener. Evaluative devices, said Labov, "say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally that it was strange, common or unusual – that is, worth reporting."

Given the commercial nature of the news media in Britain, the constant need to attract and hold readers and hence to ward off the 'so what?' response, it is entirely unsurprising that the *Times* texts should be richer in evaluation than their *China Daily* counterparts. It is perhaps more surprising that the difference should be so comparatively small.

There are, however, some interesting differences in the type of evaluation used in the two sets of texts; notably in the types of comparator used.

Comparators serve to enrich a narrative by placing the sequence of events that have actually happened against a background of events that didn't or haven't happened, but could have or could do. What the analysis carried out in Chapter 9 revealed was that while the *Times* texts show a greater use of negative and modal evaluation, the *China Daily* texts show a rather greater use of future evaluation.

Negative evaluators place narrative action against a background of events that didn't actually happen, but could have done. The effect of using negative evaluators is to put what actually happened into a context; to extend the reader's awareness of the possibilities of what might have been; and to enrich and dramatise a narrative. In the same way, modal evaluators serve to place actual events against a wider background of things that may, or will, or must, or can't happen.

Negative evaluation is considerably more common in the *Times* texts than in the *China Daily* texts (108 instances in the *Times* texts as compared to just 40 in the *China*

Daily). In the *Times* texts negative evaluation is used very effectively to heighten and enrich the drama of a narrative – and sometimes even to make it possible to construct a narrative out of nothing. *Times* texts use negative evaluation to achieve this heightening effect in a number of ways: by making a positive out of a negative; by turning a denial into a reportable act; by reminding us of what might have been; and by heightening dramatic tension by contrasting two different possible realities.

Modal evaluation, too, is more common in the *Times* texts: and more significantly, the types of modal evaluators used are quite different. Qualitative analysis of *Times* texts showing a high use of modal evaluation revealed they tend to use modals of possibility and speculation, in the context of speculative, probing articles about future government plans and policies. The *China Daily* texts that show comparatively high use of modal evaluation, by contrast, tend to use modals of obligation – reflecting the Chinese media's role as Party mouthpiece to instruct and exhort.

Future evaluators place what is in the context of what may come to be. Future evaluation is used fairly frequently in both sets of texts – and if anything, more frequently (and therefore disproportionately frequently) in the *China Daily* texts. The comparatively high occurrence in these texts, I suggested, could be interpreted as being the result of attempts by the Chinese media, in their role as Party mouthpieces, to look to the future and reflect the aspirations of the Party and government.

One effect of the use of comparators is to enrich, heighten and broaden narrative. Negative evaluation can even, as we saw with the *Times* texts, be a way of creating a reportable narrative when there is nothing actually happening to report, while modal evaluation can be a powerful tool for speculating (as in the *Times* texts) or exhorting (as in the *China Daily* texts) about the future. Generally speaking, the differing ways in which comparator evaluation is used in both sets of texts is consistent with the differences in functional role of the media in Britain and China, and the evidence of the evaluation analysis is consistent with the results of the Theme and Transitivity analyses carried out in Chapters 7 and 8. The *Times* texts on the evidence of this research tend to be more reader-oriented, and concerned to be informal, approachable, sceptical, probing, dramatically and narratively rich and hence entertaining and comparatively rich in background and diversity of opinion; while the *China Daily* texts tend to be more message-oriented, and concerned with authority, exactness of information and narrow clarity of message at the expense of diversity of opinion.

While the size of the samples studied is limited, and therefore the purely quantitative reliability of the findings is open to question, I would suggest that the qualitative evidence obtained – in the form of a detailed examination of various texts displaying extremes of use of certain linguistic features – supports the view that the differences in linguistic features observed between the two sets of texts can plausibly be held to be related to the differences in functional role of the two countries' media.

Why this is important I will attempt to show in the next section.

10.3 Towards a wider application of the approach

In line with the aims I set for myself in Chapter 5 I have, I believe, demonstrated that there is a difference in the functional role played by the media in China. I have also demonstrated that when applied to two sets of newspaper texts from widely different socio-cultural contexts, the approach to language analysis I am advocating can detect interesting differences in the frequency of certain linguistic features found. Finally, I believe I have demonstrated that differences in the occurrence of certain at least of the linguistic features can plausibly be shown to be related to the differences in functional role of the media in the two countries from which the two sets of texts analysed come.

The differences in functional role of the two countries' media are set out in the following table. I take the roles of informing, entertaining and reflecting the values of the Establishment to be common to both: it is the differences in emphasis that are interesting.

Table 26: Differences in functional role of the media in Britain and China

Common roles	British media	Chinese media
Inform	Broader informative role, determined by wider range of vested interests Wider range of opinion sought More critical, questioning attitude to authority	Narrower informative role, determined by Party and Government Range of opinion sought confined largely to Party figures Non-critical attitude to authority because of role as mouthpiece of authority (Party)
Entertain	Entertainment role determined by need to attract and hold readers	Little need to attract and hold readers, hence entertainment role minimal
Reflect values of Establishment	Values reflected determined by wider range of vested interests Wider range of opinion sought and hence wider range of values reflected More critical, questioning attitude to authority reflects fact that range of interests determining newspaper role is wider than government or 'authority'	Values reflected are those of the Party Range of opinion sought confined largely to Party figures Non-critical attitude to authority

The role of the Chinese media, if I am correct, is much more monolithic than that of the British media, which have to satisfy a much wider range of vested interests. How, though, are these differences in functional role related to the differences in type and frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features that were found between the two sets of texts (*Times* and *China Daily*)? Table 27 below attempts to show the connections.

Table 27: Differences in functional role against differences in linguistic feature

Type of text	Aspect of functional role	Associated linguistic feature
Times	Role determined by wider range of vested interests	Greater diversity of Sayer Greater use of negative and modal comparator evaluation Greater use of multiple Themes, particularly *that* element as part of multiple Theme
	More critical, questioning attitude to authority	Greater diversity of Sayer More negative verbal processes More narrator intrusion Modal comparators of speculation and possibility More negative evaluation Greater use of intrusive 'there+be' as topical Theme
	Wider range of opinion sought	Greater diversity of Sayer
	Broader range of background information supplied	Greater use of negative and modal evaluators Greater diversity of Sayer
	Need to attract and hold readers	Greater use of evaluation, especially negative comparators and modal comparators of speculation and possibility Greater use of multiple Themes, particularly *that* element as part of multiple Theme Greater use of personal pronoun as Topical Theme Greater use of narrative 'there+be' as Topical Theme Greater use of negative verbal processes

China Daily	Role determined by narrow range of vested interests	Less diversity of type of Sayer Little use of negative evaluation. Modal comparators, where present, tend to be those of obligation
	Mouthpiece of authority (Party)	Few negative verbal processes Little narrator intrusion Greater use of lengthy nominal groups Little diversity in type of Sayer. Sayers mainly Government officials Modal comparators of obligation and exhortation Use of future evaluators Use of marked Themes?
	Narrower range of opinion sought	Little diversity in type of Sayer
	Narrower range of background information supplied	Little use of negative and modal evaluators Little diversity in type of Sayer
	Little need to attract and hold readers	Less use of evaluation Less use of multiple Themes Less use of personal pronoun as Topical Theme Less use of narrative 'there+be' in Topical Theme position Less use of negative verbal processes

One thing that is immediately apparent upon looking at the above table is that the *China Daily* texts display a lesser use of many of the linguistic features identified. This, I would suggest, is consistent with the more narrowly-defined role of the Chinese media. This is part of what I mean by saying the *China Daily* texts are monolithic: they are determined by the fact they represent the interests of essentially a single authority, the Party. All else flows from this. The message is clear, the background information and range of opinion and linguistic style narrow. The *Times* texts, on the other hand, show evidence of a more complex role determined by a wider range of factors, and the range of linguistic styles and techniques is correspondingly broader. We could say the role of Chinese journalists, as represented by the evidence of the *China Daily* texts examined here, is less active: it is simply to echo the words of someone else. The role of the British journalist, on this evidence, is far more active: to mirror a range of opinion and interests and satisfy the requirements of an independent readership.

What I hope the tables above also provide is a plausible and clear summary of the ways in which – for the texts analysed, at least – the type and frequency of occurrence of certain of the particular linguistic features found in a text can be related to the particular socio-cultural context within which that text was produced, and to aspects of the relationship between writer, subject matter and reader. Thus, for example, in the texts analysed the use of negative verbal processes by the *Times* texts can plausibly be

said to be a function of the *Times'* role to probe and question: as can the greater diversity of Sayer, the use of narrator intrusion and intrusive 'there+be' and the use of modal comparators of speculation and possibility as opposed to those of obligation. In the *China Daily* texts, meanwhile, the type and lack of diversity of Sayer, the use of lengthy nominal groups, the comparatively high use of future evaluation and the use of modal comparators of obligation can plausibly be held to be an indication of the texts' narrowly-defined role as the mouthpiece of authority.

The next step is to suggest that if such relationships between type and frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features and functional role or socio-cultural context can be shown to exist in the texts analysed, why should similar relationships not exist for texts that have not been analysed? It seems logical to assume that they do. And if such relationships do exist, why should we not be able to make use of them by applying a quantitative/ qualitative analysis of the type used here to fresh texts to learn more about the socio-cultural context in which they were produced?

What I would like to suggest here is a way of doing precisely that. I would like to suggest the possibility of developing a model by means of which it would be possible to analyse texts using an approach to analysis similar to that demonstrated in this study; and by means of which it would be possible to draw certain conclusions about the functional and socio-cultural factors acting upon the producers of those texts.

Table 27 above supplies a useful starting point for indicating how such a system might work. Suppose we conducted a Transitivity analysis of a 'context unseen' newspaper text – a print-out from the internet, say, supplied to us without any background or context. Suppose a Transitivity analysis revealed a high rate of negative verbal processes. Suppose too that there were a number of Sayers quoted, but the principal Sayer – and the one mainly connected with negative verbal processes – was a senior Government politician. We might, on the evidence of this thesis, be justified in tentatively concluding that the attitude of the newspaper towards government was a questioning or critical, if not hostile, one. Suppose an evaluation analysis further revealed a high use of negative evaluation. Qualitative analysis revealed this to be largely in the form of denials. Our tentative supposition that the attitude of the newspaper text towards government is critical is enhanced.

Suppose there is another text, rich in use of narrative 'there+be', personal pronouns in topical Theme position, negative evaluation and the *that* element as part of a multiple Theme. We would have reason to conclude that it was a dramatic, diverse

text and that the newspaper in which it was printed places a premium on dramatic, entertaining stories.

Of course, we could see and feel this for ourselves in both the above cases, simply by reading the texts. What the analytic model suggested allows us to do, though, is to see in functional linguistic terms in the case of the second example precisely how the text achieves its dramatic richness. It also enables us in the case of the first example to uncover what may otherwise be a fairly subliminal level of hostility towards a certain speaker or political party.

In general, the system of relationships between linguistic structure and functional role/ socio-cultural context set out in Table 27 would provide an analyst with a range of tools with which to make an assessment of the nature of the text he was dealing with. By looking at the diversity of Sayer, he/she could learn much about the range and diversity of opinion being sought: and by looking at the type of Sayer much about the particular field with which the text was concerned.

By looking at degree and type of evaluation, use of *that* element as multiple Theme, use of narrative 'there+be' and use of personal pronoun as topical Theme, he could perhaps learn something about how important the 'entertainment' role was for the newspaper from which the text came, or how urgent the need to attract readers: and by looking for examples of negative verbal processes, negative evaluation and intrusive 'there+be' could perhaps assess the attitude of the writer of the text towards that which was being reported.

The most valuable insights, however, would come from looking at the results of certain analyses in conjunction. By looking at use of negative verbal processes in conjunction with type of Sayer, the analyst could learn about the attitude of the text-writer (and, perhaps, of the newspaper for which he/she was writing) towards a certain sector of society. By looking for examples of narrator intrusion and the intrusive 'there + be' structure in topical Theme position, he could assess how much the writer of the text was concerned with grounding his article in evidence or authority. By looking at use of multiple Themes and the personal pronoun and both narrative and intrusive 'there + be' in topical Theme position, he could learn much about the relationship the writer of the text was trying to achieve with the readership – distant, formal and authoritative or chatty, conversational and intimate. By looking at use of a range of evaluative comparators in conjunction with the diversity and type of Sayer, the analyst could learn much about the breadth of information the text was trying to convey, the diversity of opinion canvassed, the attitude of the writer towards those being reported on, and

whether the text was seeking to make a narrower point or give a broader perspective. By looking at both type and diversity of Sayer in conjunction, the analyst may even be able to draw some tentative conclusions about the range of vested interests operating on the newspaper.

Of course, to carry out such an analysis on a single 'context unseen' text, while perhaps theoretically interesting, would in itself be meaningless. So in what circumstances might such an approach to language analysis be useful? And how reliable would such an approach to analysis be?

To deal with the latter point – the question of reliability – first. There are, I suggest, two separate concerns about reliability. Firstly, the initial data summarised in Table 27 were derived from a comparatively small sample of just two different kinds of texts. Even if the results obtained are taken to be valid and important – and hence the connections between linguistic structure and socio-cultural context suggested are significant – how is it possible to know they would be applicable to a broader range of texts? And secondly, even if they were, what worthwhile conclusions could be drawn from application of such an approach to a small sample of texts in isolation from any other factors?

To take the first issue first. For the connections tentatively established between linguistic structure and socio-cultural context in the course of this work to have relevance beyond this work itself, it would have to be demonstrated that they – or connections similar to them – could be replicated again and again in future analyses. As Ian Dey says in his 1993 *Qualitative Data Analysis*, the value of quantitative units of measurement is that they can be agreed upon as a common standard which is replicable: they can be applied again and again with the same results. There are two problems with my work on this score alone. Firstly, in this study the size of the sample analysed, and hence the quantity of data obtained, is simply too small to for me to be confident that the results obtained would be replicable. Secondly, because the differences in linguistic structure found were sometimes quite small, a form of qualitative analysis was also called into play to demonstrate that while small, they could nevertheless plausibly be regarded as significant, and plausibly be interpreted in the light of known differences in functional role. The latter, while allowing me to bring a greater richness to the interpretation of results, certainly to some extent weakened the objective replicability of those results.

I would answer these first objections as follows. The sample size is, admittedly, small: but that is inevitable in a study of this scope. All I have set out to do here is

demonstrate that such an approach could work – and to indicate how it may be possible to make a wider application of such an approach. To build up a bank of data – a bank of evidence – which could be held to be a reliable indication of the existence of the type of connections between linguistic structure and socio-cultural context I have sketched would require analysis of a much larger sample of texts. The results of such a larger analysis could then be used as a frame of reference – hopefully one that was widely agreed upon if the data were convincing – against which the results of future analyses could be compared and measured. The use of a qualitative approach to the analysis of data, I accept, does reduce the objective replicability of results: but I would suggest it does not invalidate them, but simply makes them open to a wider range of interpretation. The approach is not intended to make possible a precise, clinical dissection of a text such that occurrence of linguistic feature A means the writer holds attitude or value B. It is intended to provide a broadly reliable insight into the kind of vested interests and values that may underly a text: no more.

Assuming, then, that the approach is valid and replicable, how should it be applied in order that worthwhile conclusions could be drawn from its application to other texts?

The particular value of the approach advocated is that in a sense the quantitative analysis serves to focus the attention of the researcher on areas of potential linguistic interest: which can then be studied in more depth using a qualitative approach. So in what situations might the approach outlined be useful? I do not, at this stage, intend to make any great claims for the approach to linguistic analysis I have advocated: merely indicate some of the ways in which I believe it could be used.

To apply the approach to a single 'context unseen' text in the absence of any supporting contextual information would be meaningless. The approach would need to be applied to texts about which we knew something; and the results of analysis interpreted in the light of what hard socio-contextual information was available. Such an approach would enable us to make sense of aspects of a text of which prior to the analysis we may have been only subliminally aware. As I pointed out earlier in this study, anyone reading the *China Daily* and a British newspaper such as the *Times* is aware that they are different. The interesting question is, in what way are they different, how is that difference manifested in the linguistic structures used, and what does it tell us about the socio-cultural values influencing the writing of that text? The approach I am advocating would enable the analyst to give answers to some of these questions.

The true value of the approach, I would suggest, lies in being able to make comparisons between texts. While the approach might be able to reveal something of the biases, values and influences underlying an individual text, it would be more likely to be revealing if systematically applied to a range of texts. Firstly, an individual text studied in isolation may demonstrate individual quirks which would outweigh any other aspects of linguistic structure such as those identified here. Secondly, any individual text is likely to be of only limited interest anyway – and what it reveals about, for example, the values driving a newspaper in which it appeared would be extremely unreliable. Thirdly, if taken in isolation, it would be almost meaningless to talk about a single text showing a 'high' or 'low' incidence of narrator intrusion or narrator negativity – because who is to say what is high or low?

Most obviously, I believe, the approach might be of interest to academics engaged in the field of media studies. It might perhaps be of most use in making comparisons. It could enable academics, for example, to compare the various modern-day newspapers in Britain in terms of such factors as political bias, the importance of the entertainment role, approachability or otherwise of texts, the range and depth of information supplied, the importance of the newspaper's role in probing and criticising authority; the nature and range of the vested interests influencing the newspaper and a host of other factors.

Academics specialising in media studies already have a range of tools for studying such differences, of course – qualitative analyses of content, studies of what different newspapers consider newsworthy or otherwise; use of layout and photographs; balance of sport, celebrity news, entertainment and 'hard' news; reading age of vocabulary – even use of graphological features such as boldening, italicising and underlining (common in many tabloid leader articles, for example, presumably in an attempt to capture some of the expressive force of speech). However, an approach to language analysis such as the one outlined above would furnish an additional tool: one that I believe could be usefully used in conjunction with some of the above techniques.

Thus, for example, it might be used as a way of assessing the influence of advertising not only on content but also on attitude of a newspaper or magazine. If a newspaper were to rely heavily on advertising from property developers, for example, it could well be instructive to analyse articles carried in those newspapers on issues such as planning, new development and building standards. Established techniques would in themselves provide much useful information – how often a newspaper chose to report on such issues, for example, what prominence such articles were given, whether they

were placed on the same page as adverts by property developers. But even in cases where a newspaper appeared to be adopting a questioning stance toward the need for new housing development, or questioning the quality and standard of new housing, an analysis in terms of range and type of Sayer, use of negative verbal process and narrator intrusion could reveal much about the newspaper's underlying attitudes towards the issues, and the vested interests which were influencing the way it covered them.

Such an approach could be similarly instructive in a range of other circumstances. It could allow, for example, an assessment not only of immediate political bias, but of a newspaper's underlying attitude towards authority in general. And in situations where a newspaper clearly showed a bias, it could allow investigation of the extent to which a range of opinions were canvassed, the attitude (hostile or supportive) of the newspaper towards the givers of those opinions, the extent to which issues were set against a wider background, and the extent to which statements or claims made by the newspaper were authoritatively backed up or not.

Contrasting modern-day newspapers is only one way in which the technique might be useful to academics, however. It could also be used to monitor changes and trends in the media over a period of years or decades. Comparison of British newspapers from 80, 50 and 30 years ago with those of today, for example, might show evidence of interesting differences in, among other factors, degree of approachability of texts, levels of evaluation used, greater or lesser willingness to make unsubstantiated statements of fact of the intrusive 'there + be' kind, type and diversity of Sayer and attitude towards political authority and the Establishment. Again, techniques exist to study these factors: but the approach to linguistic analysis I suggest would furnish a useful additional tool. The approach might, for example, be useful in considering the question of whether the media are 'dumbing down'. Comparison of modern newspaper texts with their equivalents from 10, 20 or 30 years ago in terms of the range and type of Sayer used and in the light of information about the depth and broadness of the context against which issues are discussed gleaned from an analysis of evaluative comparators, might well yield interesting results. Again, these could be considered in conjunction with the results of studies using other techniques.

The technique could also be used – with others – in helping academics arrive at a view of the functional role of English-language newspapers in other societies: Australia, the USA, Canada; perhaps more interestingly India, Hong Kong, South Africa, Zimbabwe and others.

The technique, however, may not be solely of use to academics. It is at least feasible, for example, that it could be of use to politicians: especially, perhaps, in uncovering evidence of what I might call 'subliminal' bias: that is, bias that is not overt or blatant. One example could be the recent presidential elections in the United States. Suppose Al Gore felt that he had been getting an unfair press. Suppose newspaper editors insisted that no, their coverage had been balanced and fair. Further suppose that on traditional measures of balance – number of column inches devoted to each candidate, for example, the prominence of stories and photographs, or the opinions expressed in leaders – the coverage was balanced and fair. And finally suppose that Gore was then able to commission a linguistic study which showed that, for a particular newspaper, while the same number of column inches were devoted to each candidate and the words of each were reported accurately, the association of negative verbal processes with reports of his own speeches was far higher than that with reports of the speeches of his Republican rival George W. Bush. I would suggest that that would be reasonable – and reasonably objective, if the analysis was conducted on a sufficiently large sample size – grounds for supporting his contention that coverage was not balanced and fair. There would be a subliminal bias against him.

In principle, the general approach to linguistic analysis need not even be confined to the genre of the news media. It is possible to conceive that an approach to linguistic analysis of the kind advocated could be used to identify particular aspects of linguistic structure that were peculiar to particular genres of work. Popular literature, for example, may well prove to be rich in use of evaluation and narrative 'there + be', while academic texts, I would hazard, may well demonstrate considerable use of lengthy nominal groups and little use of multiple Themes.

It is not the purpose of this work, however, to speculate about such matters. I hope I have demonstrated that it is at least plausible that the approach could have some valuable applications. To put the approach into practice in a wider range of contexts will be the job of future research.

10.4 Limitations of this thesis: and some suggestions for further research

It was not until I had embarked upon this programme of research that I fully realised how ambitious it was: and how many pitfalls were awaiting me along the way. These, I believe, were not insurmountable, and do not invalidate my work as a whole.

Nevertheless, because of the sheer scale of the undertaking I embarked upon, a study of the scope and nature of this one must necessarily suffer from a number of limitations.

I have discussed in the previous section the main limitation of this work: namely sample size, and the resultant reliability and replicability of the data generated. Clearly, if the approach to linguistic analysis advocated is to be shown to be valid, the results generated would have to be replicated on a much larger scale. I believe that they can be: and that the general approach adopted is a valid one.

I also touched in the previous section on a second limitation: the fact that the difference in frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic features was comparatively small. Given the small sample size analysed, it would be difficult for me to claim that all of the differences in frequency of occurrence of certain types of linguistic feature observed were statistically valid. Partly in an attempt to overcome this difficulty I have, as explained in Chapter 5, adopted a partly qualitative approach to the analysis of data: looking at actual examples of certain linguistic features in the text and showing how they tend to support the conclusions drawn from the purely quantitative differences in linguistic frequency about the relationship between occurrence of certain linguistic elements and certain socio-cultural factors. By adopting this quantitative/ qualitative approach to analysis and interpretation of data, I have, I believe, overcome some of the difficulties that may have been insurmountable given a quantitative approach alone.

One purely practical difficulty with the approach advocated is the difficulty in correctly identifying linguistic features. For example, Transitivity processes in general can occasionally be difficult to correctly identify. In particular, it is not always entirely clear whether a particular process is a mental process or a behavioural one. Clearly, if the data generated are to be valid, it is essential that the correct identifications are made. Fortunately, in this research – which took as its field of study news reports – neither mental nor behavioural processes are particularly common, and any mistakes that may have been made are unlikely to have affected the outcome. This is a consideration that would need to be born in mind, however, if an analysis of texts in which such processes were likely to be more common were to be considered.

The limitations outlined above clearly point the way to further research that is required. The first step would be to extend the present study to a much larger sample of Chinese and British texts, to generate a quantity of data that would be statistically more reliable. It could then be claimed with greater certainty that the type of connections suggested in Table 27 between the frequency of occurrences of particular linguistic

features and the aspect of a text's functional role associated with them are reliable – and that further analysis would be likely to replicate the results.

Once the approach was established on a firmer footing, it would be interesting to apply it to precisely the kind of comparisons suggested in the previous section: perhaps to monitor trends in the development of the written British news media over time, or to look at the influence of advertising – or of ownership by a particular proprietor – on the reporting of events.

It would also be interesting, as hinted in the previous section, to analyse the American news media for evidence of their (perhaps subliminal, where it is not blatant) hostility or support for Al Gore or George W. Bush in the recent presidential election. Such an analysis could perhaps prepare the ground for a monitoring of the British news media in the event of a forthcoming British general election.

10.5 Conclusion

I have, in the course of this thesis, advocated an approach to linguistic analysis derived from the systemic functional grammar of MAK Halliday and William Labov. I have demonstrated that within the tightly delimited scope of this study, such an analytical approach can throw up what appear to be reliable, plausible results. I have further shown that the results of such analysis can be plausibly interpreted – through a combined quantitative and qualitative analytic/ interpretive approach – in such a way as to indicate a relationship between the frequency of certain linguistic features occurring in texts, and the socio-cultural factors at work upon the producers of those texts.

Finally, I have shown how the approach to linguistic analysis advocated may be more widely applicable beyond the scope of this particular research, and have suggested some avenues for future research.

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Appendix 1

The List of the newspapers contacted in the course of this study

Mr Paul Dacre, Editor, The Daily Mail, 2 Derry Street, Kensingdon, London	Mr Richard Lambert, Editor, The Financial Times, 1 Southwark Bridge, London
Sir Nicholas Lloyd, Editor, The Daily Express, 245 Blackfriars Road, London	Mr Alan Rusbridge, Editor, The Guardian, 119 Farrington Road, London
Mr Colin Myler, Editor, The Daily Mirror, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London	Mr Ian Hargreaves, Editor, The Independent, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf, London
Mr Terry Quinn, Editoe, The Daily Record, Anderson Quay, Glasgow, Strathclyde	Mr Stuart Higgins, Editor, The Sun, 1 Virginia Street, Wapping, London
Mr Phil Walker, Editor, The Daily Star, 245 Blackfriars Road, London	Mr Peter Stothard, Editor, The Times, 1 Pennington Street, Wapping, London
Mr Max Hastings, Editor, The Daily Telegraph, 1 Canada Square, Canary Wharf	

Editor, The China Daily, 15 East Huixin Street, Chaoyang District, Beijing 100029 1-3	Editor, The Xinhua News Agency Daily, 57 West Xuanwumen Street, Beijing 100803
Editor, The Tianjin Daily, 873 South Dagu Road, Hexi District, Tianjin 300211	Editor, The Legalization, Chaoyang District, Beijing 100015
Editor, The People's Daily, 2 West Jintai Road, Chaoyang District, Beijing 100733	Editor, The Economic Reference, 15 West Xuanwumen Street, Bejing 100803
Editor, The Guangming Daily, 106 Yong'an Road, Beijing 100050	Editor, The Yangcheng Evening Chronical, 733 East Dongfeng Road, Guangzhou 510085
Editor, The China Youth, 2 Haiyun Cang, Beijing 100702	Editor, The Peasants daily, Chaowai Shilipu Beili, Beijing 100746
Editor, The Beijing Daily, 34 Xibiaobei Lane, Dongdan, Beijing 100734	Editor, The Economics, 277 Wangfujing Street, Beijing 100746
Editor, The Wenhui Daily, 50 Huqiu Road, Shanghai 200002	Editor, The Shenzhen Daily, 4 Middle Shennan Road, Shenzhen City, Guangdong 512009
Editor, The Workers Daily, Liupikang, Andingmen Wai, Beijing 100710	Editor, The China Tourism, 9 Jianguomen Street, Beijing 100740

Appendix 2

Letter to the editors of British newspapers

Department of East Asian Studies,
University of Durham,
Elvet Hill,
Durham DH1 3TH

3 March 1996

Mr Richard Stott,
Editor,
The Today,
1 Virginia Street,
Wapping,
London

Dear Sir,

I am a former Chinese television journalist currently working at Durham University on a Ph.D research project to contrast the role played by national newspapers in Britain with that played by national newspapers in china.

In China, as I am sure you are aware, national newspapers are very much controlled and run by the state. Their role and function as mouthpieces of the Government is therefore very different from that of the independent press in Britain. I am interested in looking at the way in which this different function is reflected in such features as choice of items considered newsworthy, balance of informative, investigative, critical and entertainment items, and language style.

What I am studying is not much, or not merely, the effects of censorship on choice as the broader constraints journalists and editors face when making choices about what should be reported and how. While constraints on journalists in China may include the political, in Britain they may include the need to attract and hold readers, the need to earn advertising revenue and so on. All these constraints, of course, influence the choices journalists make in style and content.

Part of my research work consists of a detailed linguistic analysis of a range of newspapers both in Britain and China, to see exactly what is considered newsworthy, what kind of balance of articles thee is, and what range of styles is used.

Since I wish to relate this study to differences in the role played by newspapers in Britain and China, however, I also need to be clear about just what role editors of the top national newspapers in each country perceive their newspapers to be fulfilling.

I Appreciate that you are very busy, but I would be grateful if you could perhaps arrange to let me have a statement of your own newspaper's values, aims and objectives, together perhaps with a brief statement of what you perceive to be the role played by your newspaper within British society. This might include such things as to maintain an objective and critical political stance, to educate, to inform, or to entertain. It may, of course, include none of these.

I would hope to quote your views, and any statement of your newspaper's values, aims and objectives, in my final research paper, which I hope to have published in both Britain and China. I would, of course, give full acknowledgement.

Thank you very much for your time. I look forward to hearing from you Yours sincerely,

Lily Chen (Chen Lili)

Appendix 3

Letter to the editors of Chinese newspapers

Department of East Asian Studies,
University of Durham,
Elvet Hill,
Durham DH1 3TH

24 May 1996

Editor,
The China Daily,
15 East Huixin Street,
Chaoyang District,
Beijing 1000029 1-3

Dear Sir,

I am a former Chinese television journalist and language teacher now working at Durham University Dulan Daxue) in Britain on 2 three-year PhD research project to contrast the function and style of British newspapers with that of newspapers in China.

My idea is that the function of newspapers in Chinese society is very different from that of newspapers in British society. I am interested in the way in which this difference is reflected in such features as language style, choice of items considered newsworthy, balance of informative, investigative, critical and entertainment items.

Journalists in any countries work within a series of constraints which affect what they choose to report and how to report it. What I am particularly interested in is the way in which these constraints differ between Britain and China: and the effect this difference has on the reporting of news in the two countries. In Britain for example, newspapers claim to be politically independent, but are constrained by a whole range of other factors, including the need to attract and hold readers, the need to earn advertising revenue and so on. In China, on the other hand, there are probably fewer commercial constraints. Chinese journalists may be constrained instead by the need to communicate a clear political message. What is clear, however, is that wherever they come from, these constraints must influence the choices journalists make in style and content.

Part of my research work consists of a detailed linguistic analysis of a range of newspapers both in Britain and China, to see exactly what is considered newsworthy, what kind of balance of articles thee is, and what range of styles is used.

Since I wish to relate this study to differences in the role played by newspapers in Britain and China, however, I also need to be clear about just what role editors of the top national newspapers in each country perceive their newspapers to be fulfilling.

I Appreciate that you are very busy, but I would be grateful if you could perhaps arrange to let me have a statement of your own newspaper's values, aims and objectives, together perhaps with a brief statement of what you perceive to be the role played by your newspaper within Chinese society. This might include such things as to maintain an objective and critical political stance, to educate, to inform, or to entertain. It may, of course, include none of these.

I would hope to quote your views, and any statement of your newspaper's values, aims and objectives, in my final research paper, which I hope to have published in both Britain and China. I would, of course, give full acknowledgement.

Thank you very much for your time. I look forward to hearing from you Yours sincerely,

Lily Chen (Chen Lili)

P.S I enclose a copy of typical reply from a British newspaper. I thought you might find in interesting.

Appendix 4

Replies from British newspapers

Ms Lily Chen
Department of East Asian Studies
University of Durham
Elvet Hill
Durham
DH1 3TH

28th March 1996

Dear Ms Chen

First of all I would point out that I am no longer Editor of the Daily Mirror but am now Managing Director of both that title and its sister newspaper the Sunday Mirror.

I was Editor of the Sunday Mirror before moving to the daily.

The values, aims and objectives of both titles are very similar.

In political terms both can be described as independent newspapers of the left which means they generally support the Labour Party. However they are by no means party newspapers.

We reserve our right to disagree with any political party or policy which we believe does not serve the best interests of our readers or the country generally.

Our aims are to inform and entertain our readers, to reflect their interests and values as we perceive them, and to provide a public platform through which they can be expressed.

In order to be able to do so we have to ensure we are commercially successful by providing a sound business investment for our shareholders - many of whom are also readers.

That in essence is the balance we try to achieve. Commercial success by representing the views and values of a particular section of the newspaper reading public in the UK.

"Mirror Group"

One Canada Square Canary Wharf London E14 5AP
Direct Line: 0171-293 2583 Switchboard: 0171-293 3000 / 0171-510 3000 Fax: 0171-293 2632
MGN Limited Registered Office: One Canada Square Canary Wharf London E14 5AP Company Registered in England No. 2571173
Daily Mirror · Sunday Mirror · The People · The Sporting Life · Weekender · Daily Record · Sunday Mail

In the case of the Mirror that means about 8 million people a day.

These aims and objectives are probably no different to those of any other large newspaper group. It is merely that other titles seek to do the same by catering for other sections of the market.

I Hope you find these comments useful and wish you every success with your project.

Yours sincerely

Colin Myler
Managing Director
Daily and Sunday Mirror

FINANCIAL TIMES
LONDON · PARIS · FRANKFURT · NEW YORK · TOKYO

DIRECT LINE:
DIRECT FAX:

RL/RJ

Ms. Lily Chen,
Department of East Asian Studies,
University of Durham,
Elvet Hill,
Durham DH1 3TH.

12 March 1996

Dear Ms. Chen,

Thank you for your letter of March 9. I enclose a copy of 'FT Editorial Values' which I circulated to my colleagues last year.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Lambert

THE EDITOR
NUMBER ONE SOUTHWARK BRIDGE LONDON SE1 9HL TELEPHONE: 071-873 3000 TELEGRAM: FINANTIMO LONDON
TELEX: 922186 (EDITORIAL) 885033 (ADVERTISING) FAX: 071-407 5700 (EDITORIAL) 071-873 3079 (ADVERTISING)
THE FINANCIAL TIMES LIMITED REGISTERED OFFICE: AS ABOVE REGISTERED IN ENGLAND NUMBER 227590
A PEARSON COMPANY

FT Editorial Values

The integrity of FT editorial depends among other things on the following principles:

o The paper is independent, in that it is not subject to proprietorial bias.

o advertisers have no influence over editorial content.

o a clear distinction is drawn between editorial and advertising copy. All advertising is marked as such. Sponsorship is treated warily, and where it is allowed, it is clearly marked, together with the name of the sponsor. The principle is that readers must know what they are getting.

o journalists follow the PCC code of conduct, in the spirit as well as the letter. They are also subject to internal rules on share dealing. Their contract states that they will be subject to instant dismissal if they do anything to threaten the good name of the paper. The guideline is that journalists should do nothing in their professional lives that they would not be happy to see published.

o news and comment are kept apart. News may be colourful and exciting, but it must above all be accurate, objective and balanced. People who figure in a controversial news story should be given a chance to put their side of the story prior to publication.

o comment in the editorial columns needs to be consistent: an editorial position should not be changed without some explanation. Other forms of comment (usually signed columns) can argue from any standpoint, providing the argument is robust.

o errors should be corrected, as soon as possible. The correction should be clearly marked and appear on the same page on which the error occured. (The precise position depends on the seriousness of the error, and the lawyers.) People who have reasonable objections to something which has been written about them or their company/institution should normally be allowed space in the letters column.

The **Guardian**

119 Farringdon Road
London EC1R 3ER
Telephone 0171-278 2332
Fax: 0171-239 9997

18 March, 1996

Dear Lily Chen,

Thank you for your letter. The Guardian has always been reluctant to make a definitive statement of its aims, values and role in society because it is felt that this would remove some of the flexibility needed to adapt to changing times.

However, I enclose a booklet about the Scott Trust (the owner of The Guardian) which should help to explain the paper's general ethos. The only instruction given by the trust to new editors is to carry on the paper in the spirit "as heretofore"; the interpretation of that is left to the editor.

I also enclose a copy of public statements made by the four applicants for the editorship when it fell vacant last year. This will give you a good idea of how some of our most senior journalists regard the paper, and the range of opinions they hold. Alan Rusbridger was the successful candidate.

Yours sincerely

Brian Whitaker
Managing Editor

Lily Chen
Dept of East Asian Studies
University of Durham
Elvet Hill
Durham DH1 3TH

Guardian Newspapers Limited
A member of The Guardian and
Manchester Evening News Group

Registered Office
164 Deansgate, Manchester M60 2RR
Telephone 0161-832 7200

Registered in England No. 908396

MARTIN WALKER

Carrying on The GUARDIAN as heretofore

The core values of The Guardian, after 23 years on its staff, have sunk deep into my bones. We are an independent and radical daily newspaper. We believe in a free press in Britain and throughout the world, in free speech, honest debate and open government, and in free institutions. Most newspapers might profess the same, but we try to live it, in our openness to ideas, our scepticism of conventional wisdom, our readiness to challenge authority and to explore the new.

We have always been and must remain a writers' paper, not a designer product. We are not a tabloid. We a· · a serious paper, which understands that politics and jobs and public affairs are serious business, and should never let our genius for fizz become frivolity.

The Guardian is defined by a series of moral contracts we have built over the decades.

We have a moral contract with our readers. We believe that the civil society which they embody is just as important and worthy of our reporting as the great issues of public and political life. We believe in their intelligence, and we have a duty to give them not simply the news, but the news in an intelligent context. Adolph Sulzberger, founder of the modern New York Times, once said 'No reader of my newspaper should ever be surprised". We cannot predict, but we can and must prepare our readers for the deeper trends that make the news important. We have to be useful. Part of my claim to the editorship is that more than most other newspapers, The Guardian prepared its readers for the revolution of Perestroika under Mikhail Gorbachev, for the toppling of the George Bush Presidency by Bill Clinton, and for the energies and implications of the new Republican challenge. And in Britain, my reporting helped to make us the first newspaper to take The National Front seriously, and later, to examine the intellectual roots of Thatcherite conservatism.

We have a moral contract to the news itself, which means to the people and institutions in public life on whom we report. We take them seriously, challenge and criticise them honestly, and give them fair hearing when they complain.

We have a moral contract to one another on The Guardian. We have been, and must remain, a collegial institution, in which we listen to one another, we differ with dignity, and we behave honourably. We have never sunk to the management tactics of the Murdoch group in the way we treat our staff, nor should we. And we accept that the editor has the weight of decision, the final word, and is the custodian of our most profound voice, the leaders.

We have a moral contract to our own traditions, to our support of the Great Reform Bill of 1832, to the decision to oppose the Boer War, to condemn the Suez invasion, and to condemn the wretched diplomacy that brought us the Falklands war and the deliberately divisive politics that brought us the Miners' strike. We have the courage of our convictions at The Guardian, stiffened by our history.

Our tradition includes a healthy suspicion for the British metropolis. We were born as a regional newspaper, and one of the challenges I would relish as editor is to revive our role as the voice of the regions. It is my firm conviction that our Home news reporters should not be based just in Farringdon Road, but in Birmingham and Bristol, Manchester and Southampton, Leicester and Leeds. This is more than just having a reporter in Wales and in Scotland, it is deeper than that, a matter of our state of mind. We must be where our readers are, fashioning a dialogue in which the rest of the country speaks to London, and makes it listen.

We have a moral contract to the world. It sounds pompous, but The Guardian has built this tradition, in its support for de-colonisation, for the developing world, and in its foreign coverage of more than a century. As a foreign correspondent, I am constantly reminded that The Guardian has a global reputation as the voice of liberalism, and this represents an opportunity. The Economist has been allowed to colonise a global readership which the Manchester Guardian Weekly pioneered. We must promote the Weekly, widen the distribution of International Guardian, and intensify the marketing of our syndication service. Through TV, radio, books and the new E-mail and Internet, we have an inimitable product and a proud brand name to market.

We have a moral contract with the future. The Guardian's first duty is to continue publishing, which requires that we be commercially successful in our core market of Britain. To edit the Guardian 'as heretofore' is to be aware of our precarious financial state, to control our costs and make a profit. That future also requires us to take a more strategic look at our recruitment and our training and the way careers evolve. I think we need a

training scheme to breed our own stable of young journalists, a commitment to and a budget for life-time training, and ways to allow specialists and veterans to shift jobs without loss of status.

We have a moral contract with the implications of our editorial positions. We are the paper which more than any other, has battled racism in all its forms and espoused the cause of women. I am proud of that, and we can only benefit if we live up to it, in our recruitment, in our promotions, in our flexibility as an employer. We ought to have a wider choice than four white males for the editorship of this paper, and one of more profound challenges for the next editor is to ensure that wider choice next time.

The genius of The Guardian in the years I have written for it has been marked by its ability to keep one foot planted squarely in the mainstream of political life, while the other is set free to roam and to explore. Marxism and monetarism, religion and rock 'n roll, feminism and fundamentalism, Trotsky and Tao and Tarot cards, we are dedicated to the richness of the mix. We can be solemn about silly matters, funny about the sombre ones. We must keep that balance, a paper that people feel they ought to read as much as we are the paper they want to buy.

I believe we have in The Guardian something unique, which is why it is the only paper I wish to work for, and why I submit this application to become its next editor.

How I seek to edit the Guardian

We know, broadly, what is coming. The traditional staples of serious British newspaper reporting, the cold war, the strikes and unions and class antagonisms of the industrial system and the primacy of the national politics and the national economy, are going or gone.

We are shifting from a world of geo-strategics to one of geo-economics, in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer yields to the Bundesbank and the currency exchanges. We already report this well. We need to do better, and a new foreign bureau for Asia and the Pacific Rim is an imperative.

We are in Europe, and I believe we should welcome and support that process in principle, while we report its practice like relentless hawks. We must continue to prise open the Commission bureaucracy. and campaign for a stronger European parliament. We should also campaign for a national goal to make our schoolchildren as multi-lingual as those of Holland or Denmark, with the same prospects of spending a term abroad that French and German schoolchildren now share. I want the Guardian to have the best and fullest European coverage in Britain.

It is no secret that I am an Americophile. I suspect that most of us are, more or less grudgingly, and the awesome soft power of American culture will deepen the process, even as the Special Relationship withers and the US strategic dominance of Europe diminishes. But I am also a Russophile, and it is the intensifications of the global economy and the global culture which make this the time for The Guardian to have one of its veteran foreign correspondents as editor.

More than most papers, we have challenged the introspections of modern Britain, but the future growth of the paper depends strongly on our ability to represent the escape from insularity. The future is not post-modern so much as post-Britain, and the readers of the future will want something that is more than just a national newspaper.

As a society, we are fast growing out of the old politics. Traditional models of left and right have to be modified to embrace a Labour party which boasts of being tough on crime and keen to devolve power away from Westminster, and a Tory party which has proved to be centralising and statist. In America, this has already produced a politics in which a Democratic President splits his party to impose a free trade strategy that includes virtually no protection for traditional Democratic voters whose jobs and wages are threatened, and Republican revolutionaries who have made populism into an art form.

In that context, the Trust should know that my heart and most of my sympathies are instinctively left of centre; on some issues, like the way an economy runs and a business thrives and schools teach and poor countries become prosperous, I am not a predictable man of the left. I think Adam Smith is right about markets, Keynes is right about deficits, and Marx is right about the need to consider the social and political implications of economic choices. This is not just pragmatism, it is an honest confession of doubt and curiosity in a volatile time. But it is not our job as a newspaper to have all the answers, more to frame the right questions in creative ways.

We are an information system, asserting our right to shape a national and international agenda by our

qualities and our skills and our convictions. We are also an information-sharing platform, which must be at least as open in its inputs as we are in expression. And we have an attitude, a commitment to lively and relentless open-mindedness that we uniquely bring to the looming future.

The relatively stable British class and social systems of the welfare state years threaten to give way to a pattern already emerging in the USA. It is a neo-Victorian social system topped by a large, affluent and adaptable class with good credit, E-Mail addresses, and two homes. At the bottom is a swelling and demoralised underclass. And in the middle is a large layer of insecure people, ranging through the working poor, the intermittently working skilled, the underpaid public employees, and the socially mobile who are heading up.

Our reporting has to embrace all these groups, and we must never make the mistake of thinking that our readers come from only one, or even just two of them. The trends may be against us, but the Guardian has to be edited with a conviction that we remain One Nation, that we depend on one another, and that our politicians do not have the right to act otherwise.

That is why the most urgent change I would seek to introduce is to get our Home Reporters out of London and into the regions. And much as I relish the tradition of Michael Parkin and Martin Wainwright, I want a regular diet of serious stories, with datelines that tell us where our reports are filed.

I have been ten years a foreign correspondent, and every time I come home, I am more struck by the differences between London and the rest of Britain. In a way, we have to try to report Britain as if it were a foreign country, with its different rhythms and odd local ways.

In doing this, we will be preparing for one of the main new political developments I believe is coming, a return to local and regional government. This is not just a story of devolution, but of the re-emergence of a local political class which has been diluted and squashed by centralisation. It will be exciting, and it cannot be covered from London.

I am asked to give my assessment of "the changes in politics, morals, zeitgeist", and I question whether the morals really change. The farcical fate of 'Back To Basics' is a lesson. Perhaps there is a conservative trend coming from America, but knowing the divorce rates in the ranks of Newt Gingrich's Own panzer corps for family values, I am unsure of its rigour. But we should recognise that some of the insurrections of the last decade or two, notably feminism and Greens and Gays, have now won sufficient space that they have hard-won terrain to defend. They are starting to become sub-establishments, and thus command our critical attention.

I assume, without absolute conviction, that a Labour government is coming. We are best placed to explain it with knowledge, to interpret it with sympathy, and to report its travails. We may well want to endorse it on election day, but we are an independent paper. Nobody should take us for granted. If it is elected, I recall Tom Driberg's campaign pledge in the wartime by-election to be "a candid friend for Mr Churchill". This is not a manifesto for a drastic new editorial broom. After Peter Preston, the oustanding editor of his generation, I don't think we need one. As a newspaper, The Guardian does nothing badly, and most things well. The Sports pages are a treasure, and deserve more space. The Foreign pages are serious, broad in coverage, and very fast to react. The new double-page spread of Guardian Europe and Guardian America is absolutely right. Our City pages do very well, our Pictures get better and better, and our political coverage is alert and stylish and usually ahead of the game. I expect all that. Our layout and design are just starting to show their age. Our grid system and our reliance on 13x6 ads relegates too many down page stories to clutter and invisibility. Now that colour is here, we need to look at the two US papers that use it best, USA Today and The Washington Times.

The Tabloid is a brilliant success, brash and full of impact, and as we saw with The New Republic, a tremendous vehicle for a sustained campaign. Weekend is terrific, and The Guide an asset we have yet fully to exploit. We have to guard against sensation, against too many serial killers, against being driven down-market by the brashness of our own design. And our Arts and TV and entertainment coverage has to prepare for a fragmenting audience of cable and satellite, when our readers won't all be talking over coffee or in the pub about the same programme they all watched.

But there are too many days when The Guardian feels a bit like a Chinese meal, leaving me hungry for some more bulk. I don't want to re-invent the pompous old Agenda page, nor take the Diary from Facing Page and have an Op-Ed page of unrelieved American solemnity. But I want to know more

about what is being thought and said in the universities and think-tanks and in the learned journals. I want to know which lecturers are attracting students, which sermons haul in the faithful, and to read them in our pages. We do popular culture very well, but I want more high culture. I want to read about this German debate on the 'Sonderweg' and the Zittelmann-Weissman argument on 'Westenbindung', loosening Germany's ties to the West. I want to know more about George Ayitteh and the African Reform intellectuals. I want a bit less 'Vanity Fair' and a bit more 'National Interest' and 'American Prospect' and 'Daedalus'. I want to know what books people are reading in Paris and Tokyo and why.

We must not fear earnestness. It is one of the central reasons for The Guardian's existence. Many of our readers expect it and like it, and it is our job to bring the others along. I feel not the slightest shame at the sneers of the conservative press at our women's page, at our concern for social workers, at our appeal to the lumpenpolytariat. They are our loyalists, and they are devoted to us because they believe we in turn cleave to some important principles and serious intentions.

It may be said that I have no production experience, and have never run a department, but I serve on the editorial boards of learned journals in Russia and the US. The success of the Moscow bureau I opened, in grim circumstances, proves that I am a self-starter and a fast learner, and the style and breadth of my reporting around the world speaks for itself. I write for every part of the paper, including The Guide, and know and respect the staff of the various departments. They know their work better than I do, and like any other editor, I will rely utterly on their experience and professionalism. I shall seek to edit with a light and usually indulgent hand.

And it is because I write for G2 as well as Facing Page, jolly basements as well as solemn political reports, Eye Witness as well as policy analyses, that I claim to bridge the old Guardian and the new, and to relish them both.

That bridge is now important. Just as Peter Preston brought his own new and sprightly fizz to the sober intent of Hetherington, we are now at a cusp of change.

We have the dashing irreverence and demotic design of a new Guardian, and the decent, irreplaceable virtues of the old. We cannot afford to lose either. We must maintain that bridge, with the international perspective and the cultural seriousness that I hope to bring.

I believe in this international idea of the Guardian because I work and write within it. I am an editor of Demokratizatsiya in Russia, and write a weekly column for the Moscow Times. I write Op-Eds for the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times, review books for the New York Times and publish essays in Foreign Policy. My work appears in Die Zeit and in Asahi Shimbun, and I am a regular commentator for CNN-TV. I am a senior fellow of the World Policy Institute at the New School in New York, and to take this post means giving up a fellowship later this year at the Kennedy School at Harvard. My books on the Cold War, on Perestroika and on the international press have been translated into a total of eleven languages, but my first book, The National Front, was about Britain.

I am, man and boy, a Guardian journalist, the last one on the paper to have started his career in the old Manchester office, and the depth of my attachment to it is evident. I am a writer, and this is a writers' paper. The paper, its people and its traditions will be safe in my hands.

Martin Walker, Washington DC.

ALAN RUSBRIDGER

This is in three sections: a bit about my own background for those who know only of my recent history with the paper; a bit about where I think the paper should be going; and a bit about what I think is unique and valuable about the Guardian. This last bit falls under the heading of "as heretofore" – the undertaking given by all new editors of the paper "to carry on in the spirit as heretofore." I should only add that I am more than happy to talk to anyone who wants to pop into my office. I shall be around on Friday, part of Sunday and early next week.

1) My background I started in journalism in 1976 on a local paper: the Cambridge Evening News, where I won two British Press Awards commendations for news reporting. I first joined the Guardian in 1979 as a reporter and did pretty much the usual news beat: mostly home, some foreign. From 1983 to 1986 I wrote the Diary column before doing a spell as a feature writer. In 1986 I moved to the Observer to be their television critic and to write both news and features. In 1987 I was appointed Washington Correspondent of the London Daily

News, an odd job which involved living in a different time zone serving Britain's first 24-hour newspaper. I returned to the Guardian as a writer – both news and features, home and foreign – when the ship went down. In 1988 I was the launch editor of the Weekend Guardian, moving to be Features Editor the following year. In this role I edited the Facing Page for three years. I was the launch editor of G2 in 1992 and became Deputy Editor in June 1993, in which capacity I have done my share of both day and night editing. My career has thus been fairly evenly balanced between news and features, and between writing and editing.

2) The paper: The Guardian is in good health. It has lived through more than a year of the fiercest possible commercial and editorial competition and emerged in remarkably good shape. The last six months have seen the paper selling more copies than during the comparative period of 1993. For much of that time it cost between 15 pence and 25 pence more than its closest rivals. This is, to put it bluntly, a fantastic achievement. Nor has it been won at the cost of the paper's financial position, which is rather stronger than many people dared hope six months ago. This gives us an important editorial advantage at a time when other papers are heavily cutting back on journalistic resources in order to finance their price cuts. The Guardian is a paper respected by its peers, and even by some of its enemies. It has been very fortunate in having Peter as its editor over the last 19 years. It is emphatically not a paper in need of a revolution. But a change of editor is a good time to take stock and to make some changes. And I think there should be some changes. It seems to be that there are some dangers in being a successful paper in a uncertain market. The lure of jobs on other papers is considerably reduced when much of the opposition is financially insecure, editorially unstable or situated half way up a tower block in Docklands. One of the more obvious dangers is that of stagnation. If no-one leaves and no-one joins and no-one moves jobs internally then we face the prospect of growing serenely old together. We won the Young Reporter of the Year three years running in the late eighties/early nineties. This year we were hard pushed to find anyone on the staff who was eligible. I don't suffer any illusions about young journalists being better than old journalists. But there are obvious dangers here, and we should think hard about ways of creating more internal flexibility. Two other things: we should think about establishing a proper journalistic training scheme and we must address the shortage of women in the more senior positions on the paper.

News: We have developed a strong reputation for investigative reporting, which we should nourish. Our work on parliamentary sleaze was an outstanding example of the Guardian's strengths in this area. To have forced the creation of the Nolan Inquiry was a great achievement. I am keen to expand the areas we regard as being part of the conventional news agenda to reflect changing patterns of work and leisure. This may involve some changing emphases in specialisms.

Features: By and large I think G2 goes from strength to strength – imitated widely elsewhere, but never very convincingly. We need to think about how the Guardian should cover books, and to what extent that operation should be integrated with arts. I think we also need to look again at Fridays and reach a verdict on how well the current approach is working.

Comment: The Guardian's editorial and comment pages should be the main forum for the debate that will rage on the left and centre-left between now and the next election. Since it is by no means certain that the Labour Party will be keen on publicly airing many of its policies in advance of that election the Guardian's role will be all the more important. As the campaign nears there would be a powerful case for re-instituting some form of Agenda page where arguments can be given a bit more space. We already have a range of useful regular commentators who have become identified with the Guardian. We should continue to look for other voices with fresh things to say. We should also make sure the Comment pages reflect important and interesting debates and developments in other areas of life: architecture, technology, art, business, crime, consumerism, parenting, science, sport, etc.

Technology: There is, I think, a danger of critical decisions relating to technology being taken without sufficient input from the journalists who have to operate it. It is crucial that we continue to have a powerful voice in the operation and maintenance of the systems we use; and that there is an effective forum for dealing with difficulties promptly.

An electronic Guardian: the old ink-and-paper one isn't about to disappear. But we should – in cooperation with the rest of the Group – give serious attention to the need to develop electronically-distributed versions of the paper. The Guardian has already been left behind in this area by the Times

and Telegraph. We should be attempting to recover lost ground.

The NUJ: The chapel has sought reassurances that the new editor should be committed to full trade union participation and the continued existence of a negotiated house agreement. I have been a member of the NUJ since 1976, and am very happy to give that assurance.

3) "As heretofore..." In trying best to define the spirit in which the Guardian has been edited during the time I have known it, I have tried to reflect on the things which, on a daily basis over 15-odd years, have made me most proud to be associated with it.

I cherish the paper's lack of awe for the establishment. I like its lack of pomposity, its periodic acts of defiance; but also its delicacy of tone and its deftness of touch. I like it when it is in full-throated pursuit of those it genuinely believes to be in the wrong. I like it when it is quietly, stubbornly and naggingly persistent. I am proud of the Guardian's honesty. It is not a paper that boasts that it is inevitably in full possession of the definitive truth. Its news pages do not always claim to present the once and for all gospel: its editorial columns to not faithfully rehearse a received or revealed line. There is an unspoken contract with the reader: this is our best and candid stab at the truth as far as we could ascertain it at the time we went to press. Our opinions are, likewise, honestly based. Most of it, we believe, we have got right. If we have got anything wrong we will be back to tell you, equally honestly, tomorrow.

I admire the Guardian's diversity. I like its willingness to publish opinions with which it disagrees. I think it healthy that its columnists argue with its editorial writers, and its columnists with each other. This does not cause the Kremlinological frissons that it does on more tightly-regulated newspapers. People accept it with the Guardian; expect it. It is sometimes messy and sometimes irritating, but it is part of what the Guardian stands for.

I treasure the freedom the Guardian reporters, feature writers and editors enjoy. It is a mark of trust and maturity. The paper's journalists know that they are free, within understood limits, to write how and what they please. That is a very great privilege, and brings with it great responsibilities. It is the duty of any editor of the Guardian to preserve the former and patrol the latter.

I am glad that the paper's main relationship is with its readers rather than with its proprietor. Guardian readers are, by and large, intelligent, perceptive and well-informed. They are exacting in the standards they demand of the paper. They expect, and deserve, something closer to a dialogue than a monologue. In return they will be extraordinarily loyal.

The paper's independence from proprietorial influence should be mirrored in its independence from any political party. The paper should, in other words, think things out for itself. Sometimes those views will coincide with the parties of left, or centre left. They may sometimes coincide with the views of other parties, or of none. Frequently the paper will express views which are not easily advanced within the confined framework and vocabulary of Westminster politics. It is the job of a radical newspaper to anticipate issues. The Guardian is in the mainstream of British public life, yet has the confidence to explore the tributaries and bywaters. That is another part of its job.

I am glad that, within an increasingly bland media industry dominated by corporate imperatives, the Guardian remains a paper of strong, individual voices and characters. It is not an accident that such voices emerge with each new generation of Guardian writers. There is something unique about the culture of the paper that allows them to take root and grow. Finally, I am proud that the Guardian is still the best-written paper in Britain. Fine journalists, treated maturely and with respect, will respond with fine work. That has been true of the paper heretofore. It should remain so hence.

Alan Rusbridger
January 19, 1995.

ALEX BRUMMER

1. Introduction

The change in the editorship of the Guardian comes at a time of remarkable instability in the UK quality newspaper market, at a political watershed and against the background of the information revolution. It also coincides with with the spread of democracy in the third world, which has now taken on the mantle of emerging markets.

As a result of careful husbandry, a shrewd marketing strategy and an incredibly loyal readership – together with financial and managerial weaknesses at a key competitor – the Guardian was able to

DAILY STAR

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Ms Lily Chen,
Department of East Asian Studies
University of Durham
Elvet Hill
Durham DH1 3TH

13 March 1996

Dear Lily Chen,

Thank you for your letter. I am afraid I do not have the time to give you a detailed response, but I hope I can be of some use.

In broad terms the Daily Star aims to inform and entertain its 1.5 million readers. We have a young readership profile and gear the paper's contents accordingly. Therefore we place strong emphasis on sport, pop music and other forms of entertainment. We know from experience that this is what our readers want. For the same reason we do not fill the paper with heavy, in-depth features, although we cover all the important news of the day.

Politically we tend to support Tory values, but this does not stop us from criticising the Government whenever we see fit.

We abide by the Press Complaints Commission code of conduct and, of course, we are subject to the laws of libel. This apart, I am under no constraints as to what I publish. We are governed by our own "feel" for what is responsible and in good taste. Our objective is to increase the paper's circulation by providing a lively product which is seen to be good value for money.

I hope this information is helpful.

Yours sincerely,

Phil Walker

PHIL WALKER
EDITOR

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PP10

THE Sun

P.O. Box 481, Virginia Street, London E1 9BD. Telephone: 071-782 4000. Telex: 262135

29 March 1996

FROM THE MANAGING EDITOR

Miss Lily Chen
Department of East Asian Studies
University of Durham
Elvet Hill
DURHAM
DH1 3TH

Dear Lily Chen

The Editor has passed me your letter of 9 March and asked me to reply. Please accept my apologies for this late response.

You are right, newspapers are extremely busy places, thus our ability to respond to the many hundreds of letters and requests for information from students of media is regrettably limited.

To address your question in general terms however, I should like to you to note The Sun's pledge in its first edition and which still stands, soon after it's take-over by Rupert Murdoch in 1969, to become an easy-to-read tabloid, to be fresh, lively and a campaigning newspaper produced for ordinary people and not for the politicians and the Fleet Street pundits. "The Sun cares. About the quality of life. About the kind of world we live in. And about people."

We aim to inform and entertain while maintaining an objective stand. We respond to and report on events that we believe to be of public interest.

I enclose some photocopied notes from a News International information pack, which provide a resume of The Sun and some added facts and figures.

I do hope that will help you in your research project.

Yours sincerely

William Newman

Registered Office: News Group Newspapers Ltd., P.O. Box 495, Virginia Street, London E1 9XY.
Registered No. 679215 England

Daily Record

CD/MC

3rd April, 1996

Ms. Lily Chen,
Department of East Asian Studies,
University of Durham,
Elvet Hill,
DURHAM.
DH1 3TH.

Dear Ms. Chen,

I'm sorry to have to disappoint you, but to respond to your request, in the detail outlined by your letter to Mr. Quinn, would take considerable time and effort.

Scotland's biggest and busiest daily newspaper is tightly staffed and I'm afraid it would be impossible for any of our senior executives to take that much time off from a demanding workload.

I realise this is most unhelpful and I do apologise. May I, however, wish you every success with your project.

Yours sincerely

CHARLES DUNCAN
Assistant Editor

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13th March 1996

Ms Lily Chen
Department of East Asian Studies
University of Durham
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Dear Ms Chen,

Thank you for your letter dated 9th March, requesting information for your Ph.D project. Unfortunately is not possible for us to become involved. Although the Daily Mail would very much like to help you we are inundated, as you can well imagine, with letters requesting assistance in one form or another. Consequently, we have to be even-handed with our response to these pleas for help, all of which are of equal importance, and therefore we find ourselves unable to give you a positive response to your request.

However, I wish you well with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Garth Burden
Deputy Managing Editor

NEWS AND NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers gather, assess and summarise news of events and current affairs at home and abroad.

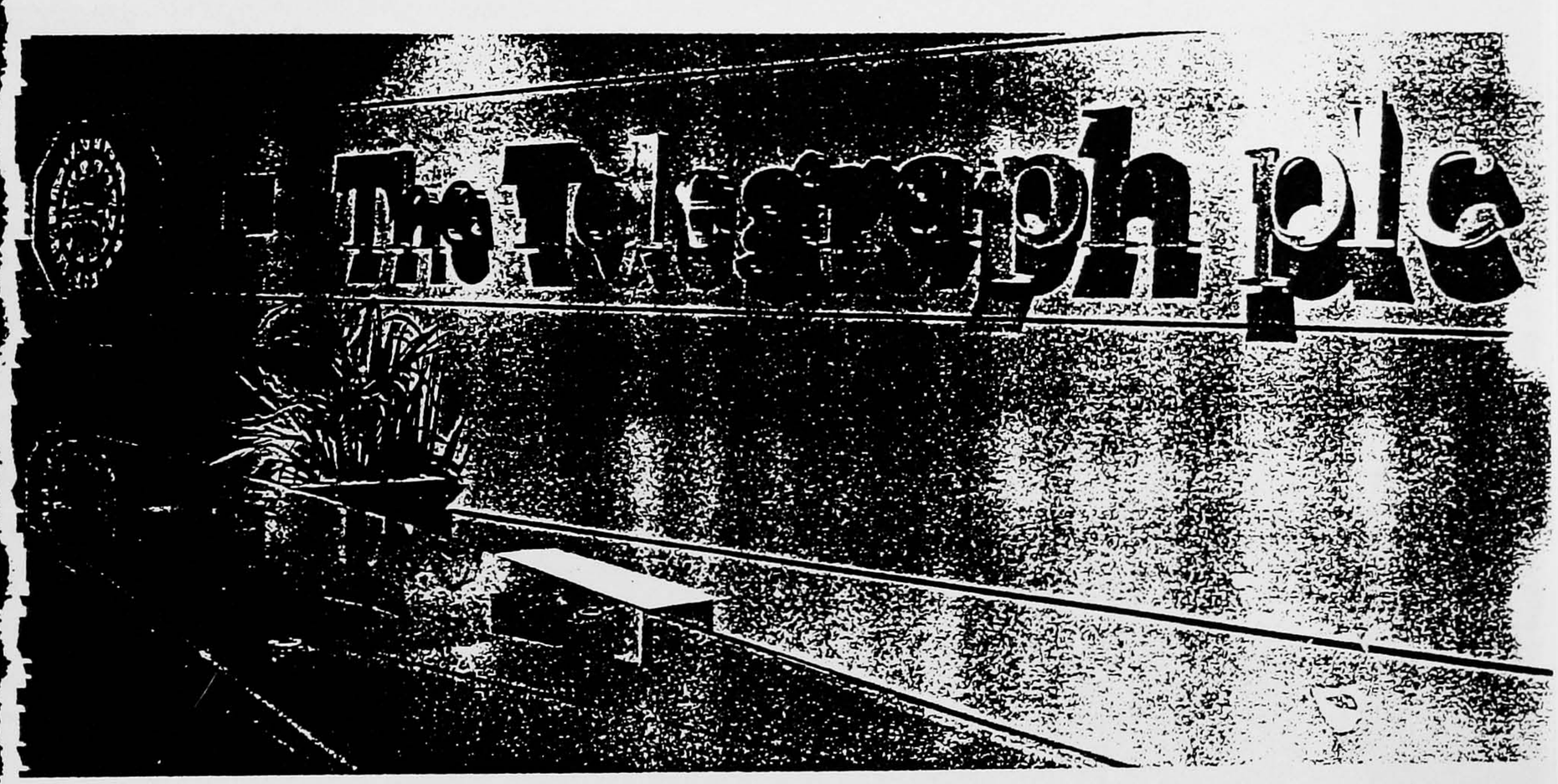
Their most important content is the "hard" news of the day which may affect readers, their country, their work, pockets and homes. Health, industrial, business, political and City reports also form a big part of the day's "hard" news.

Newspapers also publish information and news about leisure interests such as sports, the arts, motoring, fashion and entertainment and provide detailed reference guides to these and many other activities. They are used, too, as "shop windows" for those who wish to advertise or make public announcements.

Overall, newspapers report on nearly every aspect of human endeavour and offer their own comments on some, yet each edition of every newspaper has to be written, printed and distributed within the twenty-four hours it covers.

Producing a newspaper is unlike any other business: being a round-the-clock job it is much more difficult to manage and control. A Test Match in Australia stops for lunch when it is 3:30 am in England. The President of the United States holds a press conference when most people in Europe are in bed. But since newspapers have to cover the whole world within their own timescales many highly skilled people have to work to precise schedules to produce each day's papers.

This booklet offers a brief outline of many processes involved in producing one newspaper - *The Daily Telegraph*, and its associated publications *Telegraph Magazine* and *The Sunday Telegraph*. It explains some of the complexities of newspaper production and shows why a newspaper is an extremely expensive product to produce but still one of the cheapest things to buy.



The Telegraph plc, incorporated in England, is the publisher of *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph* and has four principal UK subsidiary or associated companies:

■ Telegraph Publishing Limited, which provides certain management services for The Telegraph plc and employs most of the personnel engaged in publishing the group's titles;

■ The Spectator (1828) Limited, which publishes *The Spectator*;

■ West Ferry Printers Limited, a company owned jointly by the The Telegraph plc and Express Newspapers plc which, at its plant on London's Isle of Dogs, prints the southern editions of *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *Daily Express*, *Star* and *Sunday Express*, as well as a number of other newspapers.

■ Trafford Park Printers Limited, a company owned jointly by The Telegraph plc and Guardian Media Group plc which, at its plant in Manchester, prints the northern editions of *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, and *The Mail on Sunday*. It also prints *The Manchester Evening News*.

The chairman of the company is Mr Conrad Black. There are five other executive directors and 17 non-executive directors.

The group's editors are Max Hastings, who succeeded W F Deedes (now Lord Deedes) as editor of *The Daily Telegraph* and is the group's editor-in-chief; Charles Moore, editor of *The Sunday Telegraph*; Emma Soames, editor of *Telegraph Magazine* (published with Saturday's issue of *The Daily Telegraph*) and Dominic Lawson, editor of *The Spectator*.

The Daily Telegraph & Courier, as it was then called, was first published on Friday, June 29, 1855, price two pence.


Daily
Telegraph & Courier.
No. 1.] LONDON, FRIDAY, JUNE 29, 1855. [TWOPENCE

The front page carried six columns of closely printed small advertisements rather like the present style of classified notices. The paper was founded by Lt Colonel Arthur Sleigh, a regular Army officer. It was a four page broadsheet in which he published his own views on various matters, partly in pursuance of a quarrel he had with the Duke of Cambridge, who later became Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The cause of the quarrel is not known.

There were already ten papers being published at this time in London, a highly competitive market. Lt Colonel Sleigh's venture was unable to generate enough revenue to meet his printing bills and repay a loan from the printer, Mr J M Levy of Peterborough Court, located off Shoe Lane, Fleet Street.

So, in return for a half interest in *The Daily Telegraph*, Mr Levy wrote off Lt Colonel Sleigh's printing bill and loan debt on the condition that his son, Edward Levy, should edit and publish the paper. On that basis, Mr Levy raised about £4,000 in working capital from family and friends. Edward was a shareholder and rapidly proved himself to be a brilliant journalist and astute businessman. After 68 issues of the revitalised *Daily Telegraph* he halved the cover price (the cost of buying the newspaper) to one penny and in six months had achieved a circulation of 27,000 - a sufficient share of the market upon which to build.

As the first penny newspaper in the country the Telegraph promised to be the "largest, best and cheapest newspaper in the world". Certainly its declared objective of a newspaper "compiled with care" aimed at a readership to include all from "artisan to peer" in "hamlet and palace" proved to be sound.

Within two years, J M Levy bought out Lt Colonel Sleigh's half interest and success followed success. The paper was doubled in size to eight pages and by 1877 was able to claim the world's largest circulation - a quarter of a million - huge for those days. But those days were different in other respects for newspaper publishers: a web press, printing on a continuous web or reel of paper, cost about £600. *The Daily Telegraph*'s new presses, which started printing in 1987, cost £4.5 million each.

In the late nineteenth century new and larger offices were opened in Fleet Street and the family name of Levy was changed to Lawson. Edward was created a baronet in 1892 and the first Lord Burnham in 1903. In 1916 his son Harry succeeded to the title and took control of the paper. Meanwhile, competition had reduced *The Daily Telegraph's* circulation lead and it was clear that extensive and costly modernisation would be needed if the long established paper was to reassert itself in the face of challenge.

With sales down to 100,000 in 1927 the Lawson family was unable to put up the capital funding needed for new plant and machinery. So in 1928 the paper, the building and about 1½ acres of land at Peterborough Court were bought by Sir William Berry (later the first Viscount Camrose), his brother Mr Gomer Berry and Sir Edward Iliffe, in the proportion 40-30-30. Lord Camrose relaunched *The Daily Telegraph* at one penny in 1930 and within a week, sales had doubled. Under his direction the paper grew steadily and in 1937 took over the *Morning Post* which was in financial distress. By 1953 *The Daily Telegraph* sales topped a million a day, eventually to peak at 1,400,000. In the 1980's the figure began to slide and the paper once again had to battle with the combined hazards of increasing competition, new titles and the problems of being the first paper to change from hot-metal printing to complete-setting in a plant which had become known as "the industrial museum that works".

When Lord Camrose died in 1954, his eldest son, Seymour, became second Viscount. His younger son, Michael, became Editor in Chief and Chairman and, in 1961, launched *The Sunday Telegraph*. He was made a peer in 1968. As Lord Hartwell he initiated the twin projects of building entirely new printing plants in London's Docklands and Manchester's Trafford Park. In 1986, for the third time in its history, *The Daily Telegraph* experienced a change of ownership and a necessary infusion of new capital with its acquisition by Hollinger Inc. controlled by Conrad Black.

With the latest computerised production systems for the journalists in new offices, the printing plants in London and Manchester and the re-designed editorial lay-out, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sunday Telegraph* are in the ascendant again.

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国内统号1—96 国外代号D797 人民日报社出版 北京、香港、东京、旧金山、纽约、巴黎、多伦多印刷发行 今日12版

12亿多人民的生活水平有了显著提高。承诺。他指出,中国是一个很好的投资[illegible]

江泽民总书记视察人民日报社

丁关根和中央有关部门负责人参加了视察

江泽民指出，党的新闻事业与党休戚与共，是党的生命的一部分。舆论导向正确，是党和人民之福；舆论导向错误，是党和人民之祸。要把新闻舆论的领导权牢牢掌握在忠于马克思主义、忠于党、忠于人民的人手里；新闻舆论单位一定要把坚定正确的政治方向放在一切工作的首位，坚持正确的舆论导向；新闻舆论工作要紧紧围绕经济建设这个中心，服从、服务于全党全国工作的大局；宣传思想工作要把最好的东西奉献给人民，用最好的东西去武装人、引导人、塑造人、鼓舞人。

江泽民强调，报社的同志要有大局意识，全局观念，坚持政治家办报。要旗帜鲜明地坚持党性原则，坚持以邓小平建设有中国特色社会主义理论和党的基本路线为指导，在思想上政治上同党中央保持高度一致。要弘扬主旋律，热情歌颂人民群众在改革和建设中的奋斗业绩，鼓舞人民群众为振兴中华而艰苦奋斗。同时，对消极腐败现象也要进行批评和揭露，发挥舆论监督作用。要讲求宣传艺术，提高引导水平，努力使自己的宣传报道更加贴近生活、贴近读者，使广大读者喜闻乐见。



江泽民总书记在人民日报印刷厂视察。 本报记者 孟仁泉摄



江泽民总书记发表重要讲话。 本报记者 王忠家摄



江泽民总书记会见报社的编辑、记者和职工代表。 本报记者 孟仁泉摄

本报北京9月26日讯 新华社记者张宿堂、本报记者何加正报道：中共中央总书记、国家主席江泽民今天在视察人民日报社时强调，历史经验反复证明，舆论导向正确与否，对于我们党的成长、壮大，对于人民政权的建立、巩固，对于人民的团结和国家的繁荣富强，具有重要的作用。舆论导向正确，是党和人民之福；舆论导向错误，是党和人民之祸。

江泽民指出，党的新闻事业与党休戚与共，是党的生命的一部分。可以说，舆论工作说到底是思想政治工作，是党和国家的前途和命运所系的工作。因此，我们党一贯强调，要把新闻舆论的领导权牢牢掌握在忠于马克思主义、忠于党、忠于人民的人手里；新闻舆论单位一定要把坚定正确的政治方向放在一切工作的首位，坚持正确的舆论导向。新闻舆论工作要紧紧围绕经济建设这个中心，服从、服务于全党全国工作的大局。这一点，任何时候都不能模糊，不能动摇。

[illegible]时30分，江泽民等领导同志来到人民日报社。在人民日报社首长都早经[illegible]的喝点，在党中央的领导下，坚持正确的办报思想和办报方针，在革命、建设和改革中，作出了重要的贡献。报社的许多老同志为办好人民日报献出了自己的宝贵年华和毕生精力。他们的功绩和精神值得我们永远学习。近几年来，人民日报坚持为人民服务、为社会主义服务的方向，全面准确地宣传贯彻党的基本理论、基本路线和基本方针以及各项决策，反映人民群众的伟大业绩和精神风貌，为改革开放和社会主义现代化建设发挥了重要的舆论引导作用。在全国报纸中确立起到了排头兵作用。中央对人民日报的工作是满意的。人民日报在人民群众中赢得了信任和威望。希望大家珍惜这种信任和威望，不断改进工作，把报纸办得更好。

江泽民在讲话中着重阐述了舆论导向问题。他说，在全国宣传思想工作会议上，我曾经讲过四句话：以科学的理论武装人，以正确的舆论引导人，以高尚的精神塑造人，以优秀的作品鼓舞人。宣传思想工作部门和单位，要把最好的东西奉献给人民，用最好的东西去“武装人”、“引导人”、“塑造人”、“鼓舞人”。新[illegible]的历史条件下，邓小平同志也指出：“要使我们党的报刊成为全国安定团结的思想上的中心。”我们要深刻领会这些指示的精神，用以指导我们的新闻工作。

江泽民指出，全国各族人民正在为实现“九五”计划和2010年远景目标而努力确定的宏伟蓝图而奋斗，形势是好的，但不是一帆风顺，在前进的道路上，还有许多困难和问题有待克服和解决。我们要有清醒的头脑，抓住机遇，深化改革，扩大开放，促进经济发展和社会全面进步，坚决维护安定团结的政治局面。

他强调，人民日报为指导如何，对全国的报纸和整个新闻界有重大的示范作用、导向作用。希望人民日报旗帜鲜明地坚持党性原则，坚持以邓小平建设有中国特色社会主义理论和党的基本路线为指导，在[illegible]在思想上、政治上、[illegible]情况下，都要在思想上政治上同党中央保持高度一致，弘扬爱国主义、集体主义、社会主义的主旋律，热情歌颂人民群众在改革和建设中的奋斗业绩，鼓舞人民群众为振兴中华而艰苦奋斗。同时，对消极腐败现象也要进行批评和揭露，发挥舆论监督作用。报社的同志要有[illegible]

Speech by Jiang Zemin during his inspection visit to the People's Daily

Appendix 6

Speech by Xu Guangchun
To a provincial radio and TV bosses

徐光春在省级广播电台台长会议上要求
把握导向提高广播宣传质量

由广播电影电视部召开的第三届全国省级广播电台台长会议，5月15日至18日在山东烟台举行。这次会议的主要议题是：贯彻落实全国宣传部长会议和全国广播电视厅(局)长会议精神，研究和探讨如何进一步发挥广播系统优势，把握导向，办好节目，多出精品，提高广播宣传质量，并且交流广电部、各省市区广播电视厅(局)以及各地支持广播发展的情况和经验。

中宣部副部长徐光春出席会议并讲话。他指出，广播电台是党和人民的重要喉舌，是党和国家的重要舆论工具，在我们党的新闻宣传中起着非常重要的作用。提高广播宣传质量，扩大广播影响，重要的是要明确广播的宣传使命，强化广播宣传功能，确保广播宣传的正确导向。

徐光春围绕今年的广播宣传工作谈了六个方面的意见：一、认真掌握中央精神，切实抓好重点工作；二、牢牢把握舆论导向，努力做到守土有责；三、提高广播宣传质量，扩大广播宣传影响；四、明确广播宣传使命，强化广播宣传功能；五、积极搞好广播宣传，有序发展电台经营；六、努力打实工作基础，迎接辉煌的新世纪。

徐光春指出，目前广播的发展面临一个非常好的形势，经过近几年的艰苦努力，广播已经走出低谷，呈上升趋势。作为省级广播电台的台长，一定要抓住机遇，发展自己，打实基础，跨越世纪。他说，当前要着重注意打好政治基础、理论基础、思想基础、人才基础、物质基础和经济基础。他强调，广播电视行政管理部门要有全局观念和"全系统一盘棋"的思想，制订具体的经济政策，采取必要的宏观调控手段，使广播事业的发展有较为充裕的财力保证。

徐光春说，广播与其他新闻媒介相比，具有信息传播迅速及时、收听方便灵活、覆盖面广、感染力强、群众性广泛等独特优势，在发挥主功能方面有其他媒介很难替代的作用。广播要发挥优势，办出特色，就必须把主功能的宣传搞好、搞活，把办好新闻台作为首要任务来抓，加强和改进广播电台的新闻评论性专题节目，发挥广播在信息传播方面的优势，及时播出各类经济信息，服务听众。

会议期间，广电部部长孙家正到会讲话。他在强调广播电视并重的同时，希望广播工作者要振奋精神，开创广播工作新局面。来自全国各省、区、市和6个计划单列市的广播电视厅(局)长、广播电台台长80多人出席会议。

(据5月22日《人民日报》)

Appendix 7

50 Texts from The Times

7.1 TA No.1

Loyalist gunmen attack New Year revellers

SIX people were injured, two seriously, after masked gunmen burst into a Catholic pub in Belfast and opened fire with a machinegun last night.

Two men, believed to be loyalist paramilitaries, sprayed the bar in North Belfast in what police believe was a revenge attack for the killing by republican gunmen of Billy Wright in the Maze prison.

The attack on 40 partygoers cast doubts on the peace process as any upsurge in sectarian attacks is bound to place further strain on the negotiations and could bring a violent end to the ceasefire.

Police said that just after 9pm the men pulled up outside the Clifton Tavern on Cliftonville Road and told a man changing a tyre to get out of the way. They went into an off-licence first and then to the pub next door and opened fire. One of the injured people was hit in the head and another in "the upper body". The other four, one of them in a wheelchair, suffered less serious wounds and their condition was described by a Belfast City Hospital as comfortable.

Declan Stewart, 16, was washing glasses when the gunmen came in. "The first thing I heard was some shots then somebody shouted 'get down' and I dived behind the bar.

"Two guys came in and opened fire. One person was lying on the floor. There was a lot of blood coming from the side of his head. There were other people shot, one I think was shot in the arm."

The shooting is the second since Wright's murder. Within hours of his death masked Loyalists shot dead Seamus Dillon, a former IRA prisoner working as a doorman outside a Dungannon hotel. Political leaders had feared further reprisals after Loyalists at Wright's funeral vowed to continue their fight. There was concern last night that Nationalist paramilitaries would retaliate. Police and troops were immediately put on full alert.

George Livingstone, deputy assistant chief constable from Belfast said early today: "This is utter madness. If we cannot find an alternative to attempting to solve every problem with guns or bombs then nothing but grief beckons as we herald in the new year.

" There is no justification for such violence. There is no hope for us or our children in further violence. Let this be the end of it for all our sakes."

The Catholic Cliftonville area is surrounded by poor Protestant areas, and is particularly vulnerable to sectarian attack. Since the mid-1970s Loyalists dubbed the "Shankill butchers" have regularly carried out attacks.About a sixth of 3,200 victims of the Northern Ireland conflict since 1969 have died in North Belfast

January 1 1998

7.2 TA No.2

More privatised trains run late as fares increase

AN INCREASING number of rail services are running late, it was disclosed yesterday. Figures comparing the performance of the private rail services have shown a sharp drop in punctuality despite huge fare increases on some lines. Thousands of commuters travelling into London on one line found more than one in three peak-time trains running late, the worst set of figures declared since British Rail was sold off.

Many other train companies have seen a slump in performance since making initial improvements in 1995 but the fall was dismissed as "growing pains" by one senior industry figure yesterday.

Several of the worst performing companies, including South East groups Connex South Eastern, Connex South Central and Great Eastern, increased fares above the inflation rate this week, prompting passenger complaints that their services did not merit such high rises.

Figures to be published by John O'Brien, the rail franchising director, indicate that 18 of the 25 train operators have reported substantial increases in delays in the final quarter of last year.

The figures will show that only five companies have managed to improve punctuality year-on-year and suggest average delays of 18 per cent.

One third of the operators admit that they are running at least one in six trains late, defined as five minutes overdue on commuter and short-distance routes and ten minutes on longer journeys. The Times has collated the performance figures for every rail network in the country - data which will be available later this month.

The figures detail a severe fall in performance year-on-year, with many train operators hitting lows not seen since the worst days of British Rail. There are also signs that the service has worsened since the previous quarter, when Mr O'Brien voiced disappointment at poor punctuality.

Great Eastern, which runs commuter services from Essex and Suffolk into London's Liverpool Street station, produced the worst monthly performance since privatisation, when 37 per cent of its trains from November to December ran late. The company this week increased fares by 4.3 per cent, above the inflation rate, because of good performance early last year. The worst performers were Connex South Central, on which 16 per cent of trains ran late, Connex SE (21), Virgin Cross Country (18), Great Eastern (22), Great Western (17), South West Trains (17) and Virgin West Coast (21). Improvements were shown by Silverlink, which runs services in North London and to Northampton, ScotRail in Scotland and Anglia Trains in East Anglia.

While many in the industry blame the 7 per cent growth in passenger numbers and a 5 per cent increase in services for most of the delays, track and signalling improvements, which will bring better services, have forced some delays. Other confidential statistics, compiled independently by Railtrack and obtained by The Times, indicate a 17 per cent increase in delays caused by train operators, compared with the same period the previous year.

A slight improvement in the number of delays caused by Railtrack signalling and track problems helped to reduce the number of hold-ups, but the total percentage of trains running late remains the biggest since privatisation began in February 1995. The disclosures come at a critical time for the rail industry, which is awaiting a decision by John Prescott, the Deputy Prime Minister, on how to tighten regulation to get more people on trains and out of cars.

January 8 1998

7.3 TA No.3

Parents urged to give more maths coaching at home

PARENTS will be given a key role in an official blueprint to be published this week on improving numeracy. A government task force will call for a new partnership between home and school to meet ambitious targets.

A six-month inquiry commissioned by David Blunkett, the Education and Employment Secretary, will back a return to traditional teaching methods, with more teaching of the whole class, an emphasis on multiplication tables and less use of calculators. Schools will be urged to spend an hour a day on numeracy, echoing the requirements for a sharper focus on literacy.

But the ten-strong task force believes that more involvement will be needed from parents if three quarters of all 11-year-olds are to meet their standard by 2002, as the Government has demanded. The millennium will herald a Numeracy Year, partly designed to raise adults' confidence with mathematics.

Only 55 per cent of 11-year-olds reached level 4 of the national curriculum in last summer's tests, compared with more than 60 per cent for English.

The task force, chaired by David Reynolds of Newcastle University, believes that parents are more likely to help their children with reading than with basic arithmetic.

Guidelines will set out what children should learn at each age, giving parents and teachers a clearer idea of expected progression. The Government's response, expected in the spring, is likely to provide some money for family learning programmes, as well as extra materials for schools.

Professor Reynolds has emphasised that there is no magic formula for raising standards of mathematics, and recognises that English children tend to be weak at basic numeracy. England was in the bottom third of 40 countries in tests of nine-year-olds published last year.

Ministers' strategy will rest heavily on the National Numeracy Project in more than 200 primary schools. In little more than a year, 40 per cent of schools have seen an improvement of at least 15 per cent in test results at 11.

Schools are told in detail what each year-group should be taught. Children spend at least 45 minutes a day on mathematics, with an emphasis on basic numeracy and especially on mental arithmetic. The use of calculators is limited to the final stage of primary education, most lesson time is spent with the class taught together and there is more homework.

Anita Straker, the project's director, said the results had been "absolutely staggering" in many schools and almost all had shown improvement.

January 19 1998

7.4 TA No.4

Companies unwilling to back breast cancer test

A NEW technique that could save thousands of women from unnecessarily extensive breast surgery is unlikely to be available for at least a decade because no company is prepared to obtain a licence to market it.

The technique, the first to enable a doctor to tell whether breast cancer has spread into the lymph nodes under the arm, has been developed at the breast unit in St Bartholomew's Hospital in London. Clinical tests have found it to be more than 90 per cent accurate in detecting even the smallest cancers, which currently can be found only during a mastectomy.

About 30 per cent of women in whom a breast cancer has been diagnosed also have cancer of the lymph glands, which are too small to be felt and do not show up in X-rays or scans. If the cancer has spread to these glands, the patient could die if they are not removed. Because the only way until now of finding out if the lymph glands are cancerous has been to remove them, surgeons tend to take them out as a precaution. Thousands of the 34,500 women in whom breast cancer is diagnosed each year have a mastectomy, including removal of the lymph glands. Many of the glands are removed needlessly. The operation often has side-effects, causing swelling of the arm.

The new technique involves injecting a patient with a special antibody designed to stick to cancer cells. These antibodies have been primed with a tiny amount of radioactivity. Pictures are taken with a gamma camera after 24 hours. A computer then compares the two images. If cancer is present, the radioactivity in the antibody shows up in the second picture.

Keith Britton, head of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund nuclear medicine unit at the hospital, said: "The market for the antibody is only tiny and no company has come forward yet. The commercial market for our advance is very small as each patient needs only a very tiny amount once in a lifetime.

"One has to take this technique, licence it, carry out a commercial study and pass all kinds of regulatory hurdles."

Rob Carpenter, the surgeon who founded the hospital's breast unit, [Correction: Mr O.J.A. Gilmore, and not Mr Robert Carpenter, founded the breast unit in 1981.]said: "Not knowing before an operation whether the cancer has spread can be very disturbing for a patient, and something like this that removes that uncertainty is beneficial."

February 3 1998

7.5 TA No.5

Blair condemns Diana stories

TONY BLAIR has condemned as "tacky andinappropriate" the mushrooming speculation about the death of Diana, Princess of Wales and appealed for her sons to be spared further books or films about the Paris car crash in which she and Dodi Fayed died.

His intervention follows publication of a book about Diana's death, and comes as Mirror Television continues making a film about Diana's relationship with the son of Mohamed al-Fayed, the owner of Harrods. "The fact that there seems to be an industry growing up, with books and films, the prime minister regards as rather tacky and inappropriate," said a Blair aide at Downing Street. "At the time of the death, everybody was very clear about the need to protect the grieving children."

Blair's remarks were endorsed by John Major, the former prime minister, who was made a guardian of Princes William and Harry last November to look after their legal interests: "I am sure the Princess of Wales's dearest wish would have been to protect her sons. Much of the publicity now emerging is shoddy and can only add to their distress. The public's affection for the Princess of Wales is evident, and I hope they will ignore tasteless material."

Blair's staff said his remarks should not be seen as criticism of Fayed, who told a tabloid newspaper last week that he did not believe the crash was an accident. They also denied that Blair was critical of a book by two journalists from Time, the American magazine.

"He is not singling out any individual or enterprise," insisted one spokesman. "He is simply saying that great store has been set on protecting the children, and he hopes this industry does not get in the way. His message is that people should leave the princes alone, allow them to grieve in peace."

Blair has not discussed his views of the speculation surrounding Diana's death with the Prince of Wales, and neither Downing Street nor Buckingham Palace ever comments on the subjects covered at the prime minister's weekly audience with the Queen.

Friends of Prince Charles said he would not comment on Blair's remarks, but one pointed out: "The welfare of his children is of paramount importance to him."

February 15 1998

7.6 TA No.6

Lottery cash to help every child play an instrument

EVERY child will be guaranteed the chance to learn how to play a musical instrument under government plans to channel lottery funds into Britain's schools.

Although most parents will continue to have to pay for music tuition, children from poor families who would otherwise miss out could qualify for free or cheap lessons.

Ministers admit the provision of music tuition is "very patchy" and have been stung by criticism from Sir Simon Rattle, music director of the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra.

Last month Rattle condemned the government for downgrading music in a shake-up of the national curriculum and warned that musical culture would "slowly and surely decline" if children had little chance of learning an instrument.

Now Rattle is to be asked by ministers to help draw up plans to use lottery proceeds for a wide expansion of music teaching, both in the classroom and after-school
clubs.

At present, schools can apply for lottery grants to buy instruments. In future, the money may provide peripatetic music teachers, who have fallen victim to spending cuts in many areas.

The arts councils for England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, with budgets of about £250m a year each, will be ordered to co-ordinate music provision as part of a new policy in which they will not merely consider grant applications, but will channel money into priority areas.

The expansion of music tuition in primary and secondary schools will be announced later this month by Chris Smith, the culture, media and sport secretary.

A government source said last week: "Provision is very patchy, but we hope that every child who wants to learn an instrument should eventually have the opportunity. It shouldn't depend on where you live, or be restricted to those who can pay to play."

One option is to set up a lottery-funded "music in schools trust" to pay the tuition fees of pupils from low-income families. Under a bill now going through parliament, education, health and the environment are being added to the five existing good causes funded by the lottery.

But Francis Maude, Tory spokesman on culture, accused ministers of turning the lottery into the "government's lottery" and using it as a "bran tub into which it can dip to fund any of its pet projects".

March 1 1998

7.7 TA No.7

Weekend Warriors with a job to do

SINCE the Territorial Army was created in 1908, millions of Britons known as "Weekend Warriors" have served in its ranks. They have played an important role in hotspots around the world, including the Gulf, Bosnia, the Falklands and Northern Ireland. They support regular soldiers and are rarely in the thick of things, but in recent times about 1,400 of the part-time soldiers, mainly specialists, were sent to Bosnia on peace-keeping operations. Ten per cent of British troops deployed in the former Yugoslavia were territorials.

Unlike regular army personnel, territorials go on operations as individuals, sent in support of regular units. Eighty per cent of army doctors are from the TA and postwar formations such as Nato's Rapid Reaction Corps have benefitted from TA support.

The TA had its origins in a formation that was set up in 1908 by Richard Haldane, the Liberal Secretary of State for War. He proposed a new Territorial Force which would support and expand the regular Army by being ready for overseas' service after six months' training. Fear of parliamentary opposition forced him to switch the emphasis to home defence only. The Territorial and Reserve Forces Act came on to the statute books in August 1907, with a starting date of April 1, 1908. The TF was reorganised into the Territorial Army - the "Terriers" - in 1921. At its inception the TA consisted of 14 cavalry and 14 infantry brigades. In preparation for the Second World War it was doubled in size but, when conscription stopped in 1957, numbers declined from 300,000 to 123,000.

Successive defence secretaries in the previous Conservative governments never came to grips with providing a proper role for the TA, although there were promises of more operational service with the regular Army.

March 16 1998

7.8 TA No.8

Revised Lord's Prayer divides the Church

TRADITIONALISTS in the Church of England reacted with horror to yesterday's decision by the General Synod to include a modern-language version of the Lord's Prayer alongside the best-known version in its new service book.

In the new version the phrase "And lead us not into temptation", in use since decreed by Henry VIII in 1541, has been substituted by "Save us from the time of trial" and "trespass" has become "sin".

Anthony Kilmister, the chairman of the Prayer Book Society, accused the Church of bowing to political correctness in "mutilating" the nation's liturgical inheritance.

"The modern-language version is entirely unmemorable," he said. "It does not have the same resonance as the traditional Lord's Prayer, which people have known for 450 years. They have it engraved in their minds and in their hearts. They are used to it.

"If I was doing a parachute jump and one of the straps snapped as I was coming down, I would not have time to reach for a book. I would offer a prayer that was engraved in my brain before I hit the deck."

The synod, meeting at Church House, Westminster, yesterday approved the modern-language version for use in the Church of England's prayer book for the new millennium.

Congregations are to be offered two versions, a "modified traditional" version and a "modern" text, drawn up in 1975 by an international commission and which is already used widely in English-speaking Free and Protestant churches.

February 12 1998

7.9 TA No.9

British children the most selfish

BRITISH schoolchildren are more materialistic, selfish and hedonistic than their European counterparts, a £2m study has revealed.

They are also more interested in getting a good job than having a happy family life, according to the survey of more than 10,000 youngsters aged 6-16 in 10 European countries.

Only 26% of 15-and 16-year-olds in Britain believe a happy family life will be the most important thing in their adult lives. This compares with 51% of Italians, 43% of Swedes and 37% of French youngsters of the same age.

British youngsters are obsessed by their careers. Getting rich rates as the most important issue for 34% of Britons in this age group, compared with 31% for the French, 25% for Germans, 15% for Italians and 11% for Swedes.

The study of children's lifestyles and media consumption is to be presented to the World Summit on Television for Children in London this week. It is likely to have a significant effect on future policy.

As they get older, British youngsters become markedly more materialistic. At the age of nine or 10, 47% see being helpful or kind as the best way to make friends. Within six years, by the age of 15 or 16, wearing the right clothes scored 49%.

The research, led by Dr Sonia Livingstone, senior lecturer in social psychology at the London School of Economics, was sponsored by the BBC, BT, Broadcasting Standards Commission and other leading media groups. "The report proves that Britain has evolved a more individualistic culture than the rest of Europe," she said.

March 8 1998

7.10 TA No.10

NHS pays £19m for system that will save £1.9m

THE NHS has spent £19 million setting up a computer coding system that will save only £1.9 million over a decade if it can be made to work, according to a report today by the National Audit Office.

The system, devised by James Read, a GP in Loughborough, is for recording and analysing symptoms, diagnoses and treatments for use in computerised clinical information systems.

It is currently on trial in 12 hospitals, 11 having dropped out of the pilot project. The codes are not in widespread use in the NHS, even though the audit office report says they were supposed to be "vitally important" for the service.

Sir John Bourn, the Comptroller and Auditor General, says: "Our report has revealed serious problems. following the purchase of the copyright to the Read Codes by the NHS, and substantial weaknesses in the management."

Dr Read was paid £1.25 million for the copyright of the codes in 1990 and was then kept on as the director of the NHS centre set up to develop them for the NHS computer system. His company, Computer Aided Medical Systems (CAMS), has exclusive rights of distribution to the NHS and provides support for the codes developed by the centre.

"This meant that Dr Read was employed by the NHS to develop a system in which he had a financial interest," the report says. "The position of Dr Read as director of the centre and chairman and owner of CAMS created a potential conflict of interest for him in areas where CAMS did not have exclusive rights." Dr Read was replaced as director of the centre in 1996, after the audit office began its investigation.

The report says that between 1992 and 1995, CAMS made a profit of £1,208,000. Dr Read was paid £60,000 a year as a consultant at the centre. He was provided with a car by CAMS as part of his remuneration as chairman, and the mileage rates included an allowance towards depreciation, servicing and insurance. These costs were also recoverable from the NHS through fees for the use of his codes. "We were concerned that in effect double payments were being made from NHS funds in respect of the car," the report states. It adds: "Money received in this way has been repaid to CAMS."

The audit office also found that although the centre's staff were meant to travel to work and pay their own costs, 12 were classified as home based, which meant they could charge travel expenses to visit the centre.

The report calls for an urgent independent evaluation of the codes and asks the NHS Executive to carry out a rigorous cost benefit analysis before approving them.

Rhodri Morgan, MP for Cardiff West and chairman of the Public Administration Select Committee, said last night that he would be tabling questions in the Commons calling for an objective evaluation to ensure that "we don't go on throwing good money after bad".

He said he had visited Withey Bush Hospital in Haverfordwest, where one of the pilot schemes was going on. He had been impressed not by the code but by the skill of the computer operators. "This system is meant to be easily accessible or it would be useless, and yet it seems to function only if you can find incredibly dedicated and skilled people who know how to make it work," he said.

March 12 1998

7.11 TA No.11

Parties to start work on detail of peace deal

NORTHERN Ireland's rival political parties agreed last night to start thrashing out the details of a settlement from next Monday despite Sinn Fein's deep unhappiness with the British and Irish Governments' new blueprint.

After a meeting of the eight parties at Stormont, George Mitchell, the talks chairman, announced that the participants had all undertaken to "proceed promptly to negotiations on real issues" for the first time since the talks began more than 18 months ago.

He said that there were very serious differences between the parties, but he believed a settlement could be achieved by May's deadline. Only Sinn Fein was openly unhappy with the blueprint, unveiled on Monday. Its chairman, Mitchel McLaughlin, suggested that it was a retreat from the Governments' original proposals in the 1995 Framework Documents and a "sop" to intransigent Unionists and "loyalist death squads".

He said Sinn Fein would remain at the talks and test the Governments' position, but insisted it would never accept a partitionist settlement. "We are saying that there's no internal solution and there will be no return to partitionist rule," he declared.

The key for Sinn Fein is a powerful new body to develop cross-border co-operation, but Unionists fear that this would be an embryonic all-Ireland government. The Framework Documents said it would have executive powers and a capacity for growth. The new blueprint is more ambiguous.

In a bid to boost republican confidence in the peace process, seven more IRA prisoners are to be transferred from English to Irish jails as early as this week.

In another important gesture to republicans, Tony Blair is reportedly preparing to apologise next week for the events of Bloody Sunday in 1972 when British paratroopers killed 14 Roman Catholic demonstrators.

It emerged yesterday that the two Governments' blueprint was the result of an extraordinary burst of diplomatic activity that began at an English Premiership football match.

On December 16 the parties had abandoned their attempt to agree an agenda. On December 21 Mr Blair met Bertie Ahern, the Irish Prime Minister, at the Newcastle United v Manchester United game where they agreed the two Governments had to produce their own blueprint.

* Ronnie Flanagan, the RUC Chief Constable, tells Channel 4's Dispatches today that he would prefer RUC members not to be in the Orange Order or Apprentice Boys.

* Mary McAleese, the Irish President, arrives in England tonight on her first visit since taking office in November.

7.12 TA No.12

Princess's driver takes Powell on last journey

ENOCH POWELL's funeral hearse will be driven today from Westminster to his last resting place in Warwickshire by the chauffeur who drove Diana, Princess of Wales, on her final journey to Althorp.

Sidney Clarke, 60, will lead the funeral cortège on its two-hour 90-mile journey from St Margaret's Church, Westminster, to St Mary's Collegiate Church in Warwick.

Mr Powell's cortège will travel at normal traffic speed out of Westminster through Hyde Park, around Marble Arch, on to the A40 before joining the M40 for the last leg of the journey to Warwick where Mr Powell will be buried at a private family ceremony this afternoon.

Mr Clarke, a long-serving employee of the undertakers, Levertons, was honoured by the Queen in the New Year Honours with a Royal Victorian Medal for his work that day when he had to use windscreen wipers to clear the flowers thrown by mourners.

Keith Leverton, a director, said: "Sidney is one of our most senior drivers. It seemed right that he should drive the hearse for Mr Powell's funeral." Mr Powell, the poet, soldier, biblical scholar and one of the most charismatic politicians of his generation, had supervised the funeral arrangements. He first began correspondence over the details in 1983 when he was 70 and met the undertakers before he died.

Last night, shortly before Big Ben struck 6 pm, his body arrived in a hearse driven by Mr Clarke at Westminster Abbey. Today's first service will be held at the adjoining church of St Margaret's.

The coffin, which was draped in the Union Flag and which bore a single wreath of white lilies, was carried into the Abbey by six pallbearers. The body rested overnight on a catafalque in the small 13th-century St Faith's Chapel, at the end of the south transept, after the Abbey was closed to the public. His widow, Pamela, and close members of the family were in the Abbey, which offered prayers for the former Conservative and Ulster Unionist MP who died on February 8 aged 85.

A Communion service was due to be held at the Abbey early this morning which would be the only time the coffin would be on view to the public. Mr and Mrs Powell regularly attended Communion at the Abbey.

February 18 1998

7.13 TA No.13

Bicycle girl, 12, freewheeled off cliff in the Alps

A GIRL aged 12 appeared to freeze in panic as her bicycle hurtled towards the edge of a cliff in the French Alps, an inquest was told yesterday. Other members of a British holiday group screamed at her to brake, but she went straight over the edge.

Charlotte Selby, an only child from Silkstead, near Winchester, was with a friend's family on a mountain-bike expedition near the ski resort of Meribel when she clipped the back wheel of another bicycle and found herself freewheeling for 40 yards past the rest of the group to a curve in the path.

She was found unconscious with head injuries about 22ft below. Her helmet had come off. A helicopter took an hour to reach the scene after going to the wrong location. The schoolgirl died of multiple organ failure in hospital ten days later.

Recording a verdict of accidental death at Winchester yesterday, Grahame Short, the Mid-Hampshire Coroner, said that he suspected Charlotte had panicked after she bumped her front wheel and forgot how to control her bike. Only two fingers on each hand were needed to operate the braking system on the bikes, he said: "It does seem to me possible that they would not have been familiar to Charlotte. This could have been a factor in what happened."

Charlotte's mother, Sylvia, and her father, Colin, a sales manager, attended the inquest. Afterwards, Mr Selby said: "She was a very special girl and is greatly missed by everyone who knew her."

The holiday last August had been organised by Peter Scott, a company director, of Steventon, near Basingstoke. Charlotte was a friend of his daughter Jena, 12. The seven-strong group was led by a professional guide, who told them all how to ride the bicycles.

Mr Scott said: "Charlotte had been in the correct position and was riding very slowly until she hit the back of the other bike. She then put her bottom on the seat and both her feet were off the pedals. She was beginning to freewheel and I called out, 'Charlie, put your brakes on.'

"There was no response, and the bike went more quickly. As she began to gather speed, I called out more firmly. I was screaming at her. She flew past our guide at the bend. I suspect at that stage she was frozen. She and the bike left the track. There was a microsecond of disbelief from everyone."

The guide radioed for help, but a helicopter went to the wrong place, despite the emergency services being given Charlotte's precise position.

The guide, Stephan Robichon, said he had taken the group on the easiest route: "It was not steep at all, it goes down very gently.

"I was at the front of the group going forward very slowly. I heard people screaming and turned my face and just saw Charlotte pass me very quickly. I threw my bike down but I couldn't do anything.

"She was sitting down on the saddle and I could see that she wasn't braking. She was not holding the brakes at all."

March 6 1998

7.14 TA No.14

Motorists arrested drunken doctor

A HOSPITAL consultant who was so drunk that motorists surrounded her car and confiscated the keys before making a citizen's arrest was facing a jail sentence last night.

Sarah Scott-Barrett was found to be nearly four times over the legal limit after other drivers forced her to stop at traffic lights and hemmed in her car to prevent her escape.

The consultant radiologist at Norfolk and Norwich Hospital was driving her Volkswagen Golf so erratically that motorists forced her to stop on a busy road outside Norwich five days before Christmas. Scott-Barrett, 37, a divorcée, admitted drink-driving yesterday and magistrates at Norwich gave her an interim driving ban and told her she could be sent to jail when she is sentenced on February 4.

Hospital authorities said they would not make a decision on her future until then. In the meantime she would continue to work normally. They emphasised that Scott-Barrett had not been working on the day she was arrested. A spokesman said: "We have an extremely rigorous no-drinking policy in the hospital at all times."

Scott-Barrett, a member of both the Royal College of Physicians and the Royal College of Radiologists, was driving near her home at Loddon in Norfolk on December 20.

Nich Stohlner, for the prosecution, said a breath test showed that Scott-Barrett had 133 milligrams of alcohol in 100 millilitres of breath. The legal limit for driving is 35 milligrams. The high amount makes her liable for a prison term.

January 7 1998

7.15 TA No.15

Blair and Brown tension grows

THERE was growing alarm in the Government last night over attempts by allies of both men to drive a wedge between Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. Donald Dewar, the Scottish Secretary, said that the relationship between the Prime Minister and the Chancellor was "the rock on which this Government stands", suggesting that any attempt to undermine it could prove highly damaging.

Mr Dewar strongly disputed allegations that Mr Blair indirectly rebuked Mr Brown during last Thursday's Cabinet meeting and said that there was no split between the two men. But Labour insiders were still saying yesterday that the Prime Minister believed that the Chancellor had been ill-advised to co-operate with the biography of him by Paul Routledge and that he had been damaged by it.

One source said that Mr Brown had "psychological flaws" while others said it was time for the Chancellor to stop "kidding himself" about the leadership election more than three years ago. A Blair ally suggested that Mr Brown's advisers had "allowed their egos to run away with them". They also argued that Mr Brown's decision to allow Nick Brown, the Chief Whip, to give two interviews to M Routledge since the general election had been a misjudgment.

They believe that the publication of the book, which claims that Mr Blair broke a pact not to stand against Mr Brown in the Labour leadership contest in 1994, has allowed the Chancellor's enemies to attack him over other issues, such as single-parent benefits and welfare reform.

It was clear yesterday that relations between Mr Blair and Mr Brown have become increasingly strained by the attacks. William Hague, the Tory leader, seized on the tensions to suggest that Mr Blair was "at war" with the Chancellor. Mr Blair's official spokesman insisted that the Prime Minister still had the highest regard for Mr Brown and that his role in Government was very important. "People will try to drive a wedge between Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, but they will fail," he said.

Confidants of Mr Blair, however, said that it was time for Mr Brown to "grow up" and concentrate on his role. They said that he had been damaged by the episode and they have accused him of relying too much on personal advisers who spend too much time promoting him as a political personality.

One senior supporter of Mr Blair said that Charlie Whelan, Mr Brown's press secretary, and Ed Balls, his economic adviser, had allowed "their egos to run away
with them".

The ferocity of the private briefing from the Blair camp suggests that the Prime Minister may be losing patience over recent events. Mr Blair's decision to take charge of the welfare review is also being seen as a snub to Mr Brown.

January 19 1998

7.16 TA No.16

Portillo legacy is likely target of Labour cuts

THE final legacy of Michael Portillo's term as Conservative Defence Secretary seems doomed to be torn up under the Government's strategic defence review.

Mr Portillo announced nearly £4 billion of equipment orders for the Armed Forces against bitter opposition from the Treasury in July 1996. But senior military officers at the Defence Ministry believe that the Portillo orders and other equipment contracts awarded by the Tory Government may be partially

scrapped in the strategic defence review next month. The Government will suffer financial penalties if it breaks contracts.

The Portillo orders, secured after a battle with Kenneth Clarke, then the Chancellor, consisted of £2 billion for 21 updated Nimrod maritime patrol aircraft, an air-launched missile called Storm Shadow, worth £800 million, and an anti-tank missile called Brimstone, also for the RAF, costing £700 million. The Storm Shadow missile seems likely to go ahead because of the experience of the Gulf War, when low-level bombing over targets by Tornado GR1s proved dangerous. But there are serious doubts about the rest of the Portillo orders proceeding as planned, particularly the anti-armour missile.

There are also worries at senior military level about the future of the Royal Navy's 12 nuclear-powered attack submarines. The defence review is expected to lead to a cut in the number of submarines because of the reduced threat from the Russian Navy. However, submarines are seen by the military as a powerful part of Britain's overall deterrent and there are fears that too deep a cut in the fleet could be damaging.

The Government's foreign-policy-led review has been welcomed by the military, who were shaken by the "Treasury raids" on the defence budget under the Conservatives' Options for Change and Frontline First cuts, but there remain anxieties about possible new cuts in equipment.

The number of tanks is to fall from 400 to 380 with the loss of two tank regiments. After the review there are expected to be six tank regiments, each with only 30 Challenger 2 tanks, now being built by Vickers. Cabinet decisions on the defence review are not expected until June.

February 28 1998

7.17 TA No.17

Voting reforms could be in place by next election

BRITAIN could have a new electoral system in time for the next general election after an important shift in attitudes in the Labour leadership.

Jack Straw, the Home Secretary, has become the latest and most significant senior figure to indicate that he would be prepared to accept a change from the first past the post formula on which Westminster elections have always been based.
Mr Straw said in an interview with The Times that he was "perfectly relaxed" about the alternative vote system for which there is growing support in the Labour Party.

Mr Straw indicated that he could accept the system because it retained the link between MPs and their constituencies, which he said was the foundation of British democracy. Mr Straw's approach is regarded as highly significant because at the end of last year he set up a commission, headed by Lord Jenkins of Hillhead, which later this year is due to recommend a new voting system for British elections.

After consideration by the Cabinet a proposal will be put to a referendum in 1999 and, provided that boundary changes are not required, could be in place for the next election in 2001 or 2002. Mr Straw's readiness to go along with the alternative vote system was described as a breakthrough by Labour's pro-reformers yesterday.

Under the formula voters rank their preferences in the order of one, two and three. Anyone reaching 50 per cent is elected but if none reaches that the third preference votes are redistributed between the two leading candidates.

In the last election just under half of MPs, 313, failed to get 50 per cent of the vote and so would have been affected under AV (Helen Rumbelow writes).

This number is probably lower than in recent elections because the large anti-Conservative swing gave Labour winners a remarkably high proportion of the vote.

Conservatives in previously safe seats would have been the most affected, with major players such as Teresa Gorman in Billericay winning with just 39.8 per cent.

This was just points ahead of her Labour opponent's 37.3 per cent. In this case the preferences of the 15.8 per cent voting Liberal Democrat could have gone to Labour.

Likewise Michael Howard in Folkestone and Hythe got 39 per cent of the vote, and William Hague had only 48.9 per cent in Richmond.

But election night could have lost one of its most dramatic moments in the case of Michael Portillo, who narrowly lost his Enfield Southgate seat with 41.1 per cent to Stephen Twigg's 44.2 per cent. Under AV he could have had the opportunity to claw his way back into the Commons.

March 9 1998

7.18 TA No.18

Judges move to restore confidence in sentencing

JUDGES are to spell out for the first time how long criminals must serve in jail under an initiative today to restore confidence in the criminal justice system. The Lord Chief Justice will tell judges in a statement delivered in court and on the Internet, that from now on they must explain what their jail sentences mean in practice.

Lord Bingham of Cornhill will say that judges must state "in open court as clearly and accurately as possible" how long an offender must spend in custody; how long after release a prisoner will be subject to supervision and how long after release a former inmate will be liable to recall to prison.

At present, judges simply state the jail term without explaining that the defendant will usually be released well before the end of the sentence. As a consequence, judges often come under fire for being "soft" on sentencing when offenders are released.

From now on, judges will make clear that an offender sentenced to four years, for example, serves two years in custody. The rest is suspended and the offender conditionally released. But if he or she reoffends, he can be recalled to serve the rest of the sentence plus any new penalty.

With more serious offences (four years or more) or discretionary life sentences, an offender is not considered by the Parole Board until half the time has been served in custody; and not usually released until two thirds of the sentence is served. The rest of the sentence is suspended, but the offender may be recalled if he reoffends.

The move, which has the backing of the Government, is aimed at ending public confusion over sentencing. Judges and ministers also hope that it will boost support for the justice system after Home Office research found widespread misconceptions about sentences that were undermining public confidence. Jack Straw, the Home Secretary, welcomed Lord Bingham's announcement which, he said, was in line with government policy to make sentences easier to understand.

January 22 1998

7.19 TA No.19

Supermarket and hospital car parking may be taxed

SUPERMARKET and hospital car parks have become the latest target in the Government's campaign to curb car use and raise money for public transport.

Ministers are understood to be considering imposing a £100 charge on all free parking spaces - not only those provided for employees as had already been suggested.

The idea of taxing parking spaces is contained in a working document that is part of the preparations for the transport White Paper expected in May. It was leaked yesterday as motorists faced the prospect of a string of new taxes and charges: the Chancellor is expected to increase the price of petrol by at least 20p a gallon and to penalise company car drivers in the Budget next week.

Ministers are also drawing up long-term plans to allow local councils to charge drivers in congested areas.

There are estimated to be three million free workplace parking spaces and three and a half million more "visitor" spaces at shops, hospitals and other sites throughout Britain, so that the proposed charge could raise £650 million.

The money would probably be levied voluntarily by local councils - which would be allowed to keep most of it to improve public transport - with possible exemptions for rural businesses or those with small car parks.

Retailers and businesses gave a warning last night, however, that the extra cost would almost certainly mean higher prices. And Sir Norman Fowler, the Conservative transport spokesman, said that there was a real danger that the taxes would be imposed before public transport was improved.

Ann Robinson, director-general of the British Retail Consortium, accused ministers of planning "outrageous backdoor taxes that will push up the price of shopping for millions". The consortium estimates that the charge would add £11.44 a year to the average shopping bill.

A report by the Confederation of British Industry this week also said that increased charges on business would have to be passed on.

However, a survey conducted to see how London-based companies would react to a tax on workplace parking suggests that up to 80 per cent would regard a £1,000 per space charge as acceptable. Half of those would be willing to absorb the charge, while the others would pass it on to their staff.

Local councils are, in fact, already collecting hundreds of millions of pounds in taxes on parking spaces through the uniform business rate - although most businesses are unaware that the charge relates to parking. The CBI, which has cut its rates bill by £10,000 by getting rid of half of the 66 spaces at its London headquarters, has called for the car park charge to be specified on all rates bills.

March 11 1998

7.20 TA No.20

Maze prisoners reject plea to support peace talks

THE Northern Ireland peace process faced a deepening crisis last night after loyalist political leaders failed to persuade their paramilitary associates in the Maze prison to support the Stormont talks.

Senior Ulster Democratic Party officials said that the prisoners' hostility to a process they consider heavily skewed towards republicans threatened both the loyalist ceasefire and the party's continued participation in the talks.

The UDP will now appeal for support from leaders of the Ulster Freedom Fighters - a cover name for the Ulster Defence Association - and will meetMo Mowlam, the Northern Ireland Secretary, today.

Gary McMichael, the UDP leader, said the process was "crumbling under our feet" because of the Government's bias towards republicans.

Yesterday's UDP delegation to the Maze spent nearly three hours inside the top-security prison trying to persuade the 130 UDA and UFF inmates to drop their opposition to the talks, but emerged speaking of their "complete disillusionment".

Prisoners are a key constituency for both loyalist and republican leaders. Having surrendered their freedom for their respective causes, they are considered the consciences of their movements.

There have already been signs of the three-year-old loyalist ceasefire fraying. Security sources believe UDA elements helped the Loyalist Volunteer Force, which virulently opposes the talks, to carry out last week's machinegun attack on a North Belfast pub. Senior UDA members openly joined the mourning for Billy Wright, the LVF leader murdered by republicans 11 days ago.

David Trimble, the Ulster Unionist Party leader, and three of his MPs also spent three hours talking to loyalist Maze prisoners yesterday. His delegation urged the prisoners to
stick with the talks until they see how they develop.

Earlier Mr Trimble met Dr Mowlam at Stormont and blamed government "appeasement" of Sinn Fein for the crisis. He said she had agreed that no more confidence-building measures would be anounced before they had been discussed with the talks participants.

Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, also met Dr Mowlam yesterday. He urged the Irish Secretary to resist Unionist pressure.

A man was wounded in the chest last night when gunmen opened fire in a crowded bar in south Belfast. The man was taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital where his condition was described last night as "ill but stable".

Police believe that the shooting was drugs-related.

January 7 1998

7.21 TA No.21

More child-sex offenders to go free

SIX dangerous paedophiles, similar to the child-killer Robert Oliver, are to be released from jail without supervision during the next two years, the Home Office has warned police.

A national strategy is needed to cope with the men, who are still a high risk to children but cannot be detained because they have committed no new crimes, a conference on sex offenders was told yesterday.

The conference in London was told that when Oliver was released from prison in September for the manslaughter of the teenager Jason Swift, killed by a gang of paedophiles after they captured and abused him, detectives watched helplessly as he visited a children's library and amusement arcades on Brighton's pier. Detective Chief Inspector George Smith told the conference at the Law Society that a detective approached Oliver and told him he was being watched.

Eventually, such was the media attention that Oliver was taken to Brighton police station, and moved out of the town. During the next four months the Probation Service went to extraordinary lengths to find some place to give him both immediate sanctuary and a long-term home.

Last month Oliver, 43, was moved to a private clinic in Milton Keynes, where it is costing £320 a day for him to be held as a voluntary patient and under 24-hour police guard. The cost of monitoring and housing Oliver since he left jail in September is more than £100,000.

Penny Buller, chief probation officer of East Sussex, said six "predatory violent paedophiles" similar to Oliver would be released soon from jails in England and Wales, as well as 144 inmates convicted of sex offences who are not so dangerous.

Child abusers sentenced before 1992 can be freed without being monitored by the Probation Service but have to notify police of their addresses and go on the sex offenders' register. The law was then changed to allow for supervision.

Sidney Cook, convicted with Oliver for killing Jason, is due to leave jail unsupervised next month. "Cook and Oliver, at one stage, had the idea of living together when they were released. That may now change," Miss Buller said.

The dilemma facing local authorites in dealing with sex offenders will be the focus of a meeting at the Home Office next week. A delegation from Sussex will demand that the sex offenders' register is extended to include child abusers identified in civil court proceedings.

March 13 1998

7.22 TA No.22

Middle class to foot bill for Budget reforms

GORDON BROWN will disappoint the middle classes in his Budget on Tuesday as he unveils the biggest shake-up of the tax and benefits system for many years.

The Chancellor will make the poor his priority with a battery of measures intended to make work pay. Welfare-to-work plans will form the centrepiece of the Budget. "There will be little in this for the middle classes but they will be relieved to see us tackling welfare dependency," a Treasury insider said. The

country will face sharply higher duties on petrol and cigarettes, abolition or a further 5 per cent reduction of mortgage interest tax relief - costing homeowners up to £20 a month - bigger taxes on company cars and a crackdown on tax avoidance.

Even many of the gains from a likely 10p tax rate on the first £1,000-£2,000 of taxable income will probably be clawed back from the better-off in the 40 per cent tax bracket on more than £26,100 a year. Introduction of the 10p rate could be delayed to give the Inland Revenue more time to make it work.

Instead, Mr Brown will declare war on poverty, with measures designed to make it worthwhile for the unemployed to take a job and for the low paid to move up the ladder. Women and children will be among the chief beneficiaries of his proposals.

One ray of light for the better-off will be the expected climbdown over Mr Brown's plan to impose a £50,000 tax-free limit on individual savings accounts (Isas), which could hit existing Tessa and Pep holders. The 300,000 or so people who have already built up savings over that limit will be told that they are not to be taxed retrospectively. There will be a ceiling on the new accounts - either a figure close to the £50,000 figure or a ten-year limit favoured by the savings industry.

In an attempt to boost jobs, National Insurance contributions for firms employing low-paid workers will be cut, working mothers on low wages will be given extra help with childcare and hard-up breadwinners will benefit from a new working families tax credit. The credit will top up the incomes of people on low wages. Run by the Inland Revenue, it will be more generous than the scheme it replaces - family credit - which is paid to families and lone parents earning less than £77 a week. Benefits will be withdrawn more slowly as people move up the wages ladder.

Mr Brown's proposals will come into full effect from April with the nationwide introduction of the £3.5 billion programme subsidising work for the long-term jobless. They will be underpinned by the introduction of a national minimum wage around £3.50 an hour from next year.

To help to pay for the reforms a gallon of petrol will rise by 27p - 6 per cent above inflation - and the price of 20 cigarettes will increase by more than 20p a packet.

Sources admitted that after the giveaways of the Thatcher years, the middle classes would find little comfort in the Budget. But the Chancellor believes the middle classes will receive an indirect dividend in the proposals for the unemployed. "For years they have resented these people as scroungers. At last they will see a government getting them into a job," an aide said.

March 14 1998

7.23 TA No.23

Council tax rises face voters' veto

VOTERS are to be given the chance to reject excessive council tax increases in referendums under plans for a shake-up in local government finance to be unveiled by John Prescott within weeks.

The idea has won support from ministers as they wrestle with ways of meeting their manifesto promise to end the "crude and universal capping" of council budgets.

At the same time the Deputy Prime Minister has dropped plans for a new top band of council tax for large houses. He also appears to have won his battle to prevent proportional representation being introduced for local government elections before the next election.

He is, however, seeking early legislation to require all councils to face annual elections with a third of the members coming up for election each year on a rotational basis.

Mr Prescott's review will disappoint local authority associations because it has already effectively ruled out the blanket ending of capping in the short term. But he is determined to end the present capping regime as soon as he can. The delay has been forced by the Government's commitment to remain within Conservative spending levels for two years and the absence of other democratic checks on spendthrift councils.

Ministers first want to put in new electoral restraints on councils. Under one option to be floated in a consultation paper soon, councils which fail to meet performance targets agreed with the Audit Commission will still face capping. Those that met the targets would be rewarded with having their cap removed.

The referendum idea has gained support among key ministers. Proposals similar to it were put forward in the early years of the Thatcher Government when Michael Heseltine was Environment Secretary as ministers then grappled with ways of reforming the rates.

It would be seen as part of the drive to increase public participation in decision-making. Under the plan councils seeking to increase their council tax above limits set annually by the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to stage a referendum. They would have to embark on a campaign to show their local voters why increased spending was necessary either on the key public services or on a particular local project. If voters disapproved of plans to go above government guidelines the council would have to tear them up.

Hilary Armstrong, the Housing and Local Government Minister, backs the idea as a way of reviving voters' interests in local affairs and improving the democratic accountability of councillors.

Ministers accept that referendums would have to be used sparingly because of the cost and the risk of alienating voters, who do not like going to the polls too often.

Changes to the capping regime could precede the wider legislation, government sources revealed yesterday. However, any loosening in Whitehall control can happen only if councils - particularly those that are Labour-run - show responsibility in the way they run their affairs, ministers say.

Mr Prescott's review will shelve plans for a new top rate of council tax for houses worth more than £450,000 and a new bottom rate for low-value homes. At present all homes worth more than £320,000 fall into the top band H.

February 2 1998

7.24 TA No.24

Pensioner task force to improve the lives of the old

SIX Government ministers have been appointed to a "pensioners task force" to find ways of improving life for Britain's 10 million pensioners.

John Denham, the Pensions Minister, set up the group in response to criticism that Labour's welfare reforms will come too late for many old people. The Government's pensions reform will not become law until after 2000.

The three key aims are to reduce the cost of travel, lower the cost of fuel bills and subsidise television licences.

One member of the new group, the Trade Minister Nigel Griffiths, has already implemented a five-point plan to help the elderly. This includes action against cowboy builders who target the elderly and a crackdown on rogue salesmen.

Mr Griffiths said some gas companies are behaving "outrageously" by tricking old people into signing up to their service. The companies circumvent regulations which give consumers the right to cancel an signed agreement if a salesman arrives unannounced. The salesmen ask elderly people whether they would like a second visit, which is then regarded as an invitation.

Glenda Jackson, the Transport Minister, who at 61 is herself a pensioner, is examining cutting the costs of travel. Pensioners, who receive free travel in London, the West Midlands and Merseyside, are campaigning for this to be extended nationwide regardless of income.

Mark Fisher, the Culture Minister, is examining how television licences can be reduced. Pensioners groups complain that pensioners living on their own have to pay the full £91.50 fee, while people in sheltered accommodation pay a nominal £5. Under one option hotels would be charged for every television set, raising enough to halve pensioners' licences.

Paul Boateng, the Health Minister, is looking at ways of rehabilitating elderly people out of hospital. Labour has already fulfilled a manifesto commitment to set up a Royal Commission into long-term care.

Alan Howarth, the Employment Minister with responsibility for the disabled, is monitoring equal opportunities and age discrimination. The group also wants Mr Howarth's Education and Employment Department to improve opportunities for the elderly. The ministers have been meeting with little fanfare because of fears that the Tories will accuse Labour of planning dramatic increases in spending on the elderly. But Mr Denham yesterday hailed the new group for giving pensioners "a voice at the heart of Government".

He said: "This is a valuable opportunity for ministers to meet and understand what each other hopes to achieve for retired people and to look at ways we can all ensure that the Government is able to respond to the interests of pensioners."

February 16 1998

7.25 TA No.25

Soldier 'killed his stepdaughter and buried her body'

A SOLDIER murdered his nine-year-old stepdaughter at night, hid the body in a badger sett, then joined in the search for her, a court was told yesterday.

Zoe Evans's remains were not found until six weeks after her disappearance in January last year, despite Britain's biggest search for a missing child. But a T-shirt found the day after she vanished led police to her alleged killer.

The T-shirt belonged to her stepfather Miles Evans, an army driver, and was found in a copse a few hundred yards from the family home in Warminster, Wiltshire, Bristol Crown Court was told. It carried Zoe's bloodstains and evidence of the last time Mr Evans had made love to her mother, Paula. The prosecution claims that the T-shirt was dropped by the child's killer, along with a pair of her underpants, as he carried her body up Battlebury Hill.

Nigel Pascoe, QC, for the prosecution, said that the T-shirt not only identified her killer but the time of her death. Rain had fallen for the first time that month in the early hours of the morning, but the ground beneath the garment remained dry.

The shirt, bearing the words No Fear, was one of six similar ones owned by the 24-year-old private in the Royal Army Logistical Corps. Written on the back were the words: "It's not the pace of life that concerns me, it's the sudden stop at the end."

Mr Pascoe told the jury that Mr Evans regularly tickled and fought with the girl. "Miles Evans thought Zoe was, and I quote, 'a very pretty little girl', and he obviously engaged in physical contact with her. You are entitled to ask the question of whether behind this terrible murder there was abuse or attempted abuse. The jury may consider the horseplay hid a darker attraction for his stepdaughter than would be right."

The girl was last seen by her mother when she went to bed late on a Friday night. Mr Evans went to work early the next day. Mr Pascoe said that, after Mr Evans took a telephone call from a superior, he told an NCO that the caller was his wife and said: "Zoe is still in bed."

In reality, Mr Pascoe said, Mr Evans was preparing the ground for the lies that he would tell when his wife found that her daughter was missing. She did not realise the child was not at home until mid-morning but did not worry unduly at first. After she called her husband he returned home within minutes, despite there being no immediate cause for concern. He had even asked his unit to help to search for her.

Mr Pascoe said that Mr Evans, who denies the killing already begun to "act out the role of anxious parent" but would eventually be caught out by his own lies. He told the jury: "The Crown says this man, her stepfather Miles Evans, took her out of her home at night. He killed her at night and buried her at night, high on a deserted and overgrown hill.

"Then, when the child's mother eventually raised the alarm, Miles Evans sought to pretend that he was an anxious parent. We say he was nothing of the sort. At all times, we say he was a killer seeking only to cover his tracks."

The trial continues.

March 17 1998

7.26 TA No.26

Hall calls on Newcastle fans to rally round

SIR JOHN HALL, the new chairman of Newcastle United, appealed yesterday for the families at the heart of the football club scandal to be allowed to put recent events behind them.

In Sir John's first public appearance since the dramatic resignation of his predecessor, Freddy Shepherd, and his son, Douglas, from the board, he called on supporters to rally round and help the club and the team to recover.

With his wife, Mae, sitting beside him, Sir John, 65, was close to tears as he spoke to a crowded press conference at St James's Park. "The effect on the Hall and Shepherd families has been awful and on Newcastle United has been sad to watch," he said.

His son and Mr Shepherd were "full of remorse" for their remarks about the club's players and supporters and the women of the North East. "They cannot apologise enough for the pain it has caused," he said. "These events are totally out of character as anyone who knows them knows. They are devoted to this club. They have worked tirelessly over the years to bring jobs and prosperity to this region.

"At a time when this club was on the brink of dropping into the Third Division they turned it into a Premiership force. They are responsible for bringing me into this club, for bringing in Kevin Keegan, for this stadium here and all the new development. Let nobody forget what they have done for this region."

Sir John questioned why his son and Mr Shepherd had been targeted by the News Of the World. "The vilification Douglas and Freddy have been put though has been terrible to watch. Yes, it was self-inflicted, but were they MPs? Were they drugs barons? Were they arms dealers? Was anything that was said in the public interest? No. One has to ask who set up this elaborate and expensive scam."

In a statement in response to Sir John's allegation of a "scam" against his son and Mr Shepherd, Stuart Kuttner, Managing Editor of the News of the World, said: "As a result of an entirely legitimate newspaper investigation the News of the World revealed matters of serious public
interest at the heart of Newcastle United.

"The facts we uncovered were grave enough to result in the resignation of the club's two most senior executives. That alone justifies what the newspaper published.

As Sir John was speaking, jubilant fans were claiming victory over the Newcastle United board. Motorists tooted their car horns in approval and several raised a clenched fist in victory.

However, the resignation of the two directors after a 16-hour boardroom battle owed as much to pressure from the City as to the power of the fans. Victory in the end went to Sir Terence Harrison, the non-executive chairman of the plc, who had openly declared that unless Messrs Shepherd and Hall went, he and the other two independent directors would.

Sir John's appointment only four months after retiring, together with good interim trading results announced yesterday, pushed the club's share price up 5p by the end of the day.

March 25 1998

7.27 TA No.27

Bar crown court monopoly to end

THE Lord Chancellor will next month announce sweeping new laws to end the monopoly held by private barristers to prosecute in jury trials in the crown courts.

A wider range of lawyers, including Crown Prosecution Service employees, will be allowed to appear in the crown court for the first time.

Lord Irvine of Lairg will also unveil a radical package of measures to modernise the bureaucratic system which lawyers have to go through before they have full rights of audience in court.

The move will open the gates for hundreds more solicitors and other lawyers to start prosecuting jury trials and will effectively end the barristers' closed shop. It will also clear the way for lawyers - both solicitors and barristers - who work in commerce, industry and local government, to take cases for their employers.

The measures have been resisted by the Bar Council, which is worried by proposals to remove most civil legal aid and bring in "no win, no fee" work. Self-employed barristers risk losing a substantial amount of work.

Last night a spokesman for the Bar Council said: "We have grave concern about any erosion of the principle of independent representation which we believe plays a vital role in ensuring integrity in the present justice system."

But Lord Irvine and Geoff Hoon, his deputy, are determined to press ahead with proposals to streamline the judicial system and ensure that the Bar loses one of its last preserves in the crown court. The moves were welcomed by the Law Society, which has been campaigning for greater rights for its members. A spokesman claimed last night that the Government was failing to make savings on prosecution costs because it could not use CPS lawyers as flexibly as it wished.

Ministers admitted that all the new proposals would require legislation although no White Paper is planned at the moment.

January 20 1998

7.28 TA No.28

Navy officer accused of sexually taunting female crew

A NAVAL officer made repeated sexual remarks to female ratings under his command and allowed them to address him as Petty Officer Underpants, a court martial was told yesterday.

Lieutenant Commander Bruce Bellingham, 30, a warfare officer on the destroyer HMS Coventry, was reprimanded after making suggestive remarks to one 21-year-old rating over the ship's intercom during an anti-submarine exercise. Later, after an 18-year-old rating complained that he had touched her, others came forward to accuse Commander Bellingham of inappropriate behaviour. The court martial was told that Commander Bellingham had summoned one 18-year-old rating to his cabin and asked her to put on a sex show.

Others complained that he had rubbed himself against them and made provocative comments about tattoos and body piercing. Commander Bellingham, who is now attached to HMS Drake in Plymouth, where the court martial is being held, denies three charges of touching female ratings and five of conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline in making sexual remarks to them. Two of the four complainants involved have since left the service.

Lieutenant Commander Neil Brown, for the prosecution, said that all the offences involved women who were at sea for the first time in autumn 1996 on board HMS Coventry. The ship was undergoing trials after a refit at Rosyth in Fife.

Commander Brown said: "This is the conduct of an experienced naval officer towards inexperienced female ratings. It is especially important that the charges arise from a seaborne environment. The gulf in age, rank and experience between Wrens starting their sea training and a ship's warfare officer is huge.

"Officers on the bridge and the quarterdeck noticed Bellingham seemed to be paying an unusual amount of attention to some of the female ratings."

Among them was Nicola Rushton, who joined the ship in September 1996. Commander Bellingham allegedly questioned her about her underwear and made other sexual comments. Commander Brown said that the junior rating had not known how to react because he was an officer.

He said: "Shortly afterwards she was standing with a number of other sailors when Bellingham passed her from behind. She moved forward to allow him to pass but he did so with the whole of his front touching her back in a way that she did not think was accidental.

"In January 1997 he called her to his cabin on a divisional matter and interviewed her, appearing to record her answers on a computer. When she asked at the end if that would be all, he replied he would like her to take her clothes off and perform a sex act on herself." She left the cabin distressed.

The case continues.

January 20 1998

7.29 TA No.29

Town hall loyalty test for Labour

A PURGE of left-wing and corrupt Labour councillors was launched last night by John Prescott in an attempt to stop town hall extremism and sleaze undermining confidence in the Government.

Candidates for the 1999 local elections will be required to pass a "loyalty test" as party officials try to weed out potential critics of Tony Blair. For the first time candidates will also be required to disclose personal information, such as criminal convictions, as the party attempts to eliminate scandals.

Speaking to the Labour local government conference in Scarborough, the Deputy Prime Minister admitted that his party's monopoly of power in dozens of local authorities had led to corruption and misconduct.

"There are problems in local government," Mr Prescott said. "In some cases we are the victims of our own successes. A huge one-party majority can lead to internal strife, complacency and, in a few cases, a failure in public standards."

Councillors were given details of a new system of vetting candidates for the 1999 council elections - the crucial mid-term test of popularity in which 90 per cent of the electorate will have a vote.

Every local Labour party will have to set up panels of respected members to vet candidates, including sitting councillors, and draw up shortlists. Final selection will be on a one-member, one-vote basis and party chiefs are going to great lengths to break the traditional power of small cliques.

Full-time Labour officials are to train the selection panels in how to spot likely troublemakers.

The clean-up, which affects all of Labour's record 10,800 councillors as well as would-be newcomers, follows years in which the party leadership has been regularly embarrassed by sleaze and extremism at town hall level. Inquiries into alleged malpractice are under way in Glasgow, Paisley, South Tyneside, Hull, Doncaster, Birmingham, Coventry and Hackney. Some councils, such as Hackney, have been crippled by factional infighting. Others, such as Glasgow and Doncaster, have been mired in allegations of junketing, expenses fiddles and corrupt deals with developers.

* Ways of reviving local democracy and increasing councillors' accountability will be set out in a green paper on Monday. Proposals include annual elections for one third or one quarter of all councillors, changing the time and place of polling and sharpening the distinction between the executive and representative functions of councillors.

February 7 1998

7.30 TA No.30

Police chiefs get power to sack corrupt officers

JACK STRAW is to give chief constables the power to sack corrupt or lazy police officers without delay.

The Home Secretary will announce the biggest shake-up of the handling of police complaints and discipline in decades in the Commons next week. The main reform will be a reduction in the burden of proof used against officers facing discipline hearings.

Under his plan, disciplinary hearings will judge evidence on the civil court test of "on the balance of probabilities" rather than the more stringent test of "beyond reasonable doubt" used in criminal cases.

Mr Straw will also ban officers from taking early retirement on health grounds to escape disciplinary charges and possible punishment. At the moment investigations are delayed if an officer goes sick. To stop this happening, the Home Secretary will introduce regulations allowing forces to hear the case in his or her absence.

Officers caught committing crimes will be sacked within days. At the moment a chief constable has to suspend them on full pay until the end of criminal proceedings. If officers under investigation refuse to answer questions, this could be used against them at a disciplinary hearing.

Officers who are lazy or incompetent could also find themselves facing the sack unless they can improve their performance within six months.

The measures come after pressure from chief constables and a report from the Commons Select Committee on Home Affairs urging Mr Straw to streamline and modernise an unwieldy system which has been abused by corrupt officers. The changes would also bring the police closer to civilian employment practice.

Mr Straw has also considered setting up an independent complaints unit to investigate the police rather than continuing to let forces carry out inquiries themselves. But he decided that the costs would be too high and the practical arrangements too complex, and has deferred action.

During talks with police groups, Mr Straw has agreed that any officer facing a hearing which could result in dismissal, demotion or forced resignation should have legal representation. He has also decided that reports by investigators for forces and the Police Complaints Authority should not be passed over to complainants.

Yesterday Fred Broughton, chairman of the Police Federation, representing 126,000 junior officers, said that many of the changes would be welcomed by his members and the federation had itself advocated a number of them. But he said the federation was unhappy that the lower standard of proof would apply to officers who could be facing the sack.

He accused senior officers of bouncing Mr Straw into action by grabbing headlines, although their own performance left much to be desired. Mr Broughton said it was ironic that Peter Bensley, the Chief Constable of Lincolnshire and a national spokesman on discipline and complaints, "has had to fall on his sword over his force's three-year victimisation of woman inspector Cydena Fleming".

The inspector, who had been suspended for discipline offences, was ordered to be reinstated and cleared of all charges after taking her case to an industrial tribunal. She had been suspended on full pay for two years while bringing a claim for sex discrimination.

Mr Broughton said : "Proposals for instant dismissal advocated by her own chief constable may never have allowed her to clear her name."

March 21 1998

7.31 TA No.31

Outside agencies may investigate police complaints

INQUIRIES into serious allegations against police officers could be taken away from forces and carried out by independent investigators, Jack Straw, the Home Secretary, said yesterday.

Investigators could be former military officers, Customs officials, lawyers, accountants or specialist investigation units in government departments such as the Post Office. They would be appointed by the Police Complaints Authority and might also include retired detectives. The PCA could also have a "cadre of independent investigators" at its disposal for exceptional cases.

The proposal will be seen as the first move towards a completely independent system, rather than allowing police forces to investigate complaints themselves. Mr Straw pointed out that the new Criminal Cases Review Commission already used independent investigators. The changes will, however, require new legislation and funding, which would take some time to arrange.

Mr Straw is also planning new powers that will allow him to direct the PCA to carry out an investigation in exceptional cases where there is no copmplaint. In the Hillsborough disaster, for example, there were immediate doubts about the policing of the football match.

The Home Secretary announced the possible use of independent investigators while unveiling reforms that would allow chief constables to cut out the "corrosive minority" of crooked officers in the police service.

The package follows a highly critical report by the Commons Select Committee on Home Affairs into police complaints and discipline systems. Yesterday Mr Straw made it clear that the Government would adopt many of the committee's reforms.

The committee suggested that the Home Office should look at the feasibility of setting up a completely independent investigation system if public confidence in the current system did not improve. Yesterday Mr Straw said that he would order officials to begin a study of such a system, as well as the use of a police ombudsman - already employed in Holland and some Scandinavian countries.

He made it clear that he would favour an independent system for all serious complaints. He had tried to bring in a Bill supporting the idea as a backbencher in 1980.

He said bad officers must be dealt with robustly. Other measures in the package include a fast-track system to get rid of officers caught red-handed committing offences, an end to the right of silence during internal investigations, and a reduction in the burden of proof. Even when officers were acquitted in court, they would face discipline hearings for the offences.

Officers who tried to claim they were sick to avoid investigation could be dealt with in their absence. Mr Straw said he was also insisting that he would take firm action against officers convicted of criminal offences who later claimed pensions. All police authorities will have to pass requests for pensions to the Home Office, and former officers could lose up to 75 per cent of their pensions.

The package of reforms was immediately welcomed by police and MPs. The Association of Chief Police Officers said there was public concern about the "procedurally tortuous system" of dealing with disciplinary matters that protected some bad officers.

The Superintendents' Association said the proposals were balanced and the Home Secretary had resisted calls for draconian measures.

March 24 1998

7.32 TA No.32

Budget to restore cuts in benefits

BENEFIT cuts to lone parents will be restored in the Budget in a move by Gordon Brown to avert further Labour backbench revolts.

The Chancellor has devised a more generous formula in the benefits system to try to defuse growing internal party criticism over last year's reduction of up to £17 a week for lone parents. The Working Families Tax Credit, which will be the centrepiece of Mr Brown's Budget for "women and children" next month will be paid at a higher rate than had been thought. The Chancellor is also to increase the premium on income support which is paid for each child in families who rely on benefit.

The increases are designed to compensate for the reductions in lone-parent benefit which were triggered by last year's Social Security Bill which had been initiated by the Conservative Government to achieve savings of £300 million over three years.

The Labour leadership was taken aback by the scale of the Commons revolt in December against the move; 47 Labour MPs defied a three-line whip. Some who supported the measure admitted later that they had done so with a heavy heart.

The Treasury declined last night to comment on Mr Brown's Budget plans.

February 25 1998

7.33 TA No.33

Refugees given free tickets for Britain

HUMAN rights groups last night accused Brussels of "shuttlecocking" asylum-seekers across Europe as The Times found refugees whose accounts support claims that Belgian officials dump unwanted immigrants on Eurostar trains bound for London.

Three Kenyans' claims that they were given free tickets and orders to quit continental Europe fuelled growing Home Office concern that Britain is being treated as a "soft touch" by its EU partners.

The Home Secretary is to write to his Belgian counterpart demanding explanations for the sudden influx of asylum-seekers from Brussels.

Mike O'Brien, the Immigration Minister, said officials had written to the Belgian Interior Ministry about the increase last month but "received no response".

The issue, which threatens to cause tensions between the two states, will be raised at a higher level today during a meeting of senior EU immigration officials in Brussels.

Jack Straw is to demand that the Belgian Interior Minister take action to stop such "dumping" of people given seven-day notices to quit Europe's "open-borders" Schengen area.

It comes after the introduction of stringent checks on travel documents at the Gare du Nord in Paris last year after a sudden influx of Somalis at Waterloo.

Eurostar is not covered by the Carriers' Liability Act, under which airlines and ferry companies face a £2,000 a head fine if they bring in bogus refugees whose papers are not in order.

The Belgian Interior Ministry said last night: "We are not aware of any problem."

March 26 1998

7.34 TA No.34

Rush to beat tax deadline

TAXPAYERS swamped Inland Revenue offices with up to a million last-minute self-assessment returns yesterday as the deadline for submitting tax forms approached.

Queues formed outside many centres as the Revenue prepared for a final tax harvest that has led to widespread criticism and not a little panic over the threat of fines.

In a move to gather as many returns as possible today by the official midnight cut-off point, Revenue staff will open 300 tax offices. The staff, attracted by special overtime rates, have volunteered to work at the centres from 10am until 4pm.

The undisclosed extra pay will be met from regional overtime budgets already allocated. It is the first time that tax officials have been available on a Saturday since the early 1960s.

The Revenue's self-assessment helpline (0645 000444) - which has been inundated and occasionally overwhelmed by 10,000 desperate calls a day - will remain open today as a back-up advice service.

Despite the eleventh-hour flurry, however, tax experts estimate that at least a million of the nine million forms sent out since April will still be outstanding, earning the Treasury at least £100 million from the

automatic fines of £100 per taxpayer. The money will have to be paid within 30 days of the issue of penalty notices.

That figure could rise significantly by April, when the 1997-1998 returns are issued, through the addition of a 5 per cent surcharge on unpaid tax.

January 31 1998

7.35 TA No.35

Fewer houses to be built on farmland

FEWER houses may be built on farmland under a new planning strategy to be adopted by the Government in the face of growing public fears for the countryside.

Councils will no longer be required to identify land for new homes decades before they are needed and they will get more say in how many houses they have to accommodate. But they will also be required to conduct a survey of all "brownfield" sites that have been previously developed and to make greater use of derelict land.

Writing in The Times today, John Prescott says that the present "predict and provide policy" should be abandoned. Instead, he is to repeat the approach to roads adopted last summer and build only to reflect immediate demand. "We don't believe that patterns of the past should automatically set future housing provision," he writes.

He also says that more than half of all new housing should be on "brownfield" sites - an ambition rejected as "unrealistic" by his deputy, Richard Caborn, last November.

The change of strategy, to be announced in a Commons statement within the next few weeks, comes in the face of the public outcry over plans to build 4.4 million homes in the next 25 years, which the Council for the Protection of Rural England says will mean concreting over 650 square miles of English countryside. Labour MPs in marginal rural and market town seats have reported "huge disquiet" among their constituents and some 200 MPs have formed an all-party group pledged to fight the forecasts.

The Conservatives, who recommended last year that at least 60 per cent of development should be on brownfield sites, accuse the Government of "threatening the English countryside as never before" and plan a full Commons debate on the issue tomorrow.

Twenty of the 35 county councils in England and Wales have expressed concern about their housing targets. West Sussex is taking the Government to court to challenge its quota, while Hertfordshire and Newcastle-upon-Tyne say they are being forced to build on green belt land to meet their allocations. In each case Mr Prescott has insisted that the developments should go ahead and in his article today he defends the decision to build 10,000 homes in the green belt near Stevenage.

He is, however, thought likely to give local councils more control over the number of homes to be built in their areas in future and to free them from having to meet a set share of the housebuilding figure forecast by his Department of Transport, Environment and the Regions. In his article, Mr Prescott does not challenge the prediction that there will be 4.4 million new households by 2016, but he suggests that they may not all need to be accommodated in new houses. "I want to see a renaissance of our cities. That will mean redevelopment. Releasing empty properties. Using existing empty houses, offices and warehouses for new affordable flats - not just for City yuppies," he writes.

Ministers believe that there are many more urban sites available than are admitted and that some councils are concealing possible areas for development because they do not want sprawling estates. Mr Prescott aims to tackle that by demanding a national audit of brownfield sites and he may also back the imposition of a greenfield levy to make derelict sites more attractive to developers.

January 26 1998

7.36 TA No.36

Prescott doused with icy water at pop awards

JOHN PRESCOTT was drenched last night when a member of the pop group Chumbawumba emptied an icebucket over his suit at the Brit Awards.

Danbert Nobacon, who had been sitting at a table near the Deputy Prime Minister, struck from behind while Fleetwood Mac were playing at the end of the show at the London Arena.

As Mr Prescott wiped himself down, Nobacon was led away by security guards. But his fellow band member, "Boff", said the minister had asked that no charges be brought against him. "Boff" said that Nobacon and Mr Prescott had had a long-running "thing" but failed to explain further.

A spokeswoman at Mr Prescott's Department of the Environment said that he had not been "unduly upset" by the attack and had enjoyed the rest of the show.

The show's compère, Ben Elton, had earlier speculated that Chumbawumba might produce this year's "Jarvis Cocker moment" - a reference to the Pulp singer's protest during Michael Jackson's appearance at a previous ceremony. The band duly courted controversy by opening proceedings with a version of their hit single Tubthumping criticising the Government. The lead singer, Dunstan Bruce, wore a T-shirt bearing the slogan Sold Out and changed the lyrics of the song to "New Labour sold out the dockers just like they sold out the rest of us."

The band has been involved in high-profile stunts before, including a fly-posting campaign featuring the Ecstasy victim Leah Betts and the slogan "Distorted", a wordplay on the official government drug information campaign "Sorted". It also produced an anti-BandAid album called Pictures of Starving Children Sell Records.

There was an earlier security scare last night when a protester vaulted over a barrier and put his arm around Cherie Blair as she arrived for the awards. She exchanged brief words with the man before police apprehended him. He had been among about a hundred demonstrators protesting against the PolyGram company.

February 10 1998

7.37 TA No.37

Mandelson announces birth of a Baby Dome

A "BABY DOME" seating 6,000 people and designed for live performances is to be erected next to the Millennium Dome at Greenwich.

Peter Mandelson, the Minister without Portfolio, who is in charge of the dome project, announced the plan in a television interview yesterday. Speaking within sight of the 100-metre yellow masts which tower over the dome's construction site, Mr Mandelson told BBC1's Breakfast with Frost that visitors to the Millennium Experience at Greenwich will be able to watch live performances in the "Baby Dome" of school choirs and steel bands, related to the main exhibition. In the evenings, it will be used for concerts.

Tony Blair, who visited the New Millennium Experience Company last week, will unveil the dome's contents tomorrow. But the political row over the dome continued yesterday as Conservatives stepped up their attacks on Mr Mandelson's management of the project after it emerged that he held a meeting last Thursday with Francis Maude, the Shadow Heritage Secretary.

Mr Mandelson said that he called the meeting to issue an appeal to Mr Maude and his colleagues in the Shadow Heritage team to "stop treating this as a political football". He said that he had obviously failed because Mr Maude had rejected his overtures.

Mr Maude reacted angrily to this interpretation of the meeting and claimed that Mr Mandelson had asked to see him to tell him the project was facing a crisis. Mr Maude told ITV's Crosstalk yesterday: "He came to us to say: 'Can you support us, this thing is in deep crisis, the sponsorship is on a knife edge, we are finding it very difficult to get sponsors above a certain level'."

February 23 1998

7.38 TA No.38

School will not punish Straw's son

THE HEADMASTER at William Straw's school says he has no plans to suspend or discipline the teenager because he has been punished enough by media attention.

Philip Barnard, head of Pimlico school, said the 17-year-old had been under pressure from friends to take drugs to fit in and had probably made a simple mistake.

The news will be greeted with relief by Jack Straw, the home secretary, who spoke yesterday of his anguish and his concern that his son may acquire a criminal record.

Barnard said that although not condoning drug-taking, he regarded the alleged cannabis selling as not very serious. "I really don't think it is the end of the world," he said. "It isn't fair to penalise him. I have sympathy with his family and with him. There may be people who disagree, and I may be being a bit liberal. The difficulty for me is that Jack Straw represents: one, a father; two, the chairman of governors; and, three, the home secretary. I will try to talk to him as much as possible as a father."

Barnard said further action against William could disrupt his mock A-levels, which begin this week. He would discuss with William's parents whether to take the teenager out of school during his exams to avoid further pressure.

Jack Straw repeated yesterday that he was implacably opposed to the decriminalisation of cannabis, and said his son would have to face the legal consequences of his actions.

It was inevitable for a parent in his situation to try to "rewind the clock" and wish the incident had not happened.

Straw admitted that "quite a lot" of pupils used cannabis at the school, where he was re-elected chairman of governors last month.

William has been one of the brightest stars at the 1,300-pupil London comprehensive. He took his mathematics A-level a year early and is to take physics, politics and religious studies this summer. Fellow pupils say he used to be regarded as a "swot" but changed after entering the sixth form. One said he had recently abandoned his academic image. "He used to be pompous and nerdish," said another. "In the upper sixth he has become much more trendy and goes to parties. There is no stigma about drugs."

A third said: "Will doesn't deal. He would never buy drugs to sell them on. In this case he was just doing some girls a favour. He fancies himself as a bit of a ladies' man."

Barnard said William had been subjected to extraordinary peer pressure to be "hip and part of the group". He endured extra pressure because of his father's job. "It is why William has got dragged into this. It goes from skateboards to clothes to drugs, across class barriers. There was a particular pressure on him because his father is home secretary."

The Crown Prosecution Service decision on whether to charge William is expected next week. Police are understood to have recommended no action or a caution.

January 4 1998

7.39 TA No.39

British Jews snub Cook

BRITAIN'S Jewish community has "postponed" a dinner at which Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary was to be the guest of honour in the wake of his disastrous visit to Israel.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews withdrew its invitation amid concerns that the event could turn into a confrontation.

The board and the Foreign Office both denied last night that the postponement was a snub and said the dinner date had been changed because it clashed with the G8 summit in May. However no new date has been set.

The board had invited Mr Cook to address its annual president's dinner. But, according to today's Jewish Chronicle, the president of the board, Eldred Tabachnik, put off the invitation amid concern that the fund-raising dinner could be boycotted if Mr Cook were to give an address.

Mr Tabachnik is quoted: "Considering the strength of feeling in the community, we did not think we should have him at our dinner. Hopefully, we will be able to ask him when things have cooled."

At the board's dinner last year King Hussein of Jordan and John Major shared the platform.

The postponement comes a week after the Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netenyahu cancelled a dinner for Mr Cook in protest over his meeting with Palestinian officials.

On being greeted with the words: "Welcome to Jerusalem, the capital of Israel," Mr Cook is reported to have said: "Well, it is also the capital of the Palestinians."

Jon Sacker, spokesman for the Board of Deputies, said last night: "Along with a number of diplomats, we had invited Robin Cook to a dinner we were hoping to put on in May. Because of its proximity to the G8 summit we have had to postpone the dinner. With feelings as they currently stand in the Jewish community, a later date would be more effective."

Mr Sacker added: "It would be fair to say that there is a degree of upset about how Robin Cook went to the Middle East. To help move the Middle East process forward, anyone wanting to be involved has not only to be neutral but must be seen to be neutral."

A delegation from the board will meet Mr Cook at the Foreign Office next week, when the Israel visit is certain to be on the agenda.

Mr Cook will be invited to the dinner when it is rescheduled, possibly in October or November, but no indication has yet been given on whether he will be asked to speak.

The Foreign Office said the dinner with Mr Cook had been postponed for "organisational reasons". He added: "The suggestion that this might be a snub is untrue."

March 27 1998

7.40 TA No.40

Queen pops into haunted local

REGULARS at the 11th-century Bridge Inn were on their best behaviour yesterday when the Queen made her first official visit to a public house. But there was no sign of Nancy, the resident ghost.

The landlady Caroline Cheffers-Heard greeted the Queen at the door of the picturesque pink-washed pub on the banks of the River Clyst at Topsham, Devon.

There was no time for even a quick one as the monarch was shown into the oak-panelled snug, through the tap
room and out through the back door followed by a retainer carrying a case of beer.

"I did not offer her a drink and she did not ask for one," said Mrs Cheffers-Heard, 45. "She was running bit behind time. It would have been very nice to have served her."

It is easy to believe the pub has changed little if at all since Mrs Cheffers-Heard's great-grandfather took it over in 1897. The low ceilings, wooden settles and grandfather clock, which has stood in the same corner since it was new in 1726, clearly fascinated the monarch.

The Bridge Inn is a lot quieter than in the days that Topsham was a small but bustling port.When the landlady's family moved in there were 41 pubs in Topsham and 26 brothels. The ghost, possibly a relic of those riotous days, goes by the name of Naughty Nancy.

Mrs Cheffers-Heard said: "She seems very happy and I don't want to delve into it. We blame her whenever things are mislaid. The only spirit the Queen saw was in a bottle."

It would be more surprising if somewhere as old as the Bridge Inn did not have a spectral tenant. The earliest part of the building dates from 1083 when it was built to house masons working on Exeter Cathedral and it became a pub in 1512.

One other ghost threatened to intrude. When advisers chose the pub as a suitable venue for a royal visit after reading about it on the Internet, they were unaware that it had been James Hewitt's local for 17 years.

Hanging above the fire in the public bar beside the swords and a brace of rusty flintlocks hangs an Iraqi helmet that the Princess of Wales's former lover brought home from the Gulf War.

Although Buckingham Palace said that yesterday's outing was the Queen's first official visit to a pub it was not her first time on licensed premises. In 1981 she spent the night at the Cross Hands Hotel in Old Sodbury, Gloucestershire, after her car was stranded in a snowdrift.

And in 1959 she paid a visit to the former England and Middlesbrough footballer Wilf Mannion at a pub he ran in Stevenage called the Pied Piper. It was not recorded whether she stopped for a drink there either.

Mrs Cheffers-Heard and her father Norman Cheffers, 75, the joint licensees, gave the Queen a case of beer specially brewed to commemorate the family's 101 years running the inn. After the Queen inquired whether it would fit in the boot of her Rolls-Royce, Mrs Cheffers-Heard suggested that Prince Philip might appreciate it. The Queen replied: "I am sure he will enjoy it."

March 28 1998

7.41 TA No.41

Labour's poll lead survives squalls

THE public ratings of Tony Blair and Labour have hardly been damaged by the squalls that have hit the Government, according to the latest MORI poll for The Times.

The poll, undertaken last weekend, shows that Labour's rating is declining only very slowly from its post-election peak. The public still backs Labour over the Tories by a near two-to-one margin, virtually a record for this stage of a parliament.

Labour is now on 54 per cent, down one point from mid-December, while the Tories have gained two points to 28 per cent. Liberal Democrats are down one at 14 per cent.

The public is still giving the Government the benefit of the doubt despite embarrassing stories about Mr Blair's relations with Gordon Brown, alleged extravagance by ministers and the break-up of Robin Cook's marriage.

The public is satisfied rather than dissatisfied with Mr Blair as Prime Minister by a two-to-one margin (60 to 29 per cent), only a slightly smaller gap than last month.

By a two-to-one margin (45 to 22 per cent), people are dissatisfied rather than satisfied with William Hague as Tory leader. Paddy Ashdown's figures are 56 per cent satisfied to 15 per cent dissatisfied.

January 29 1998

7.42 TA No.42

Media face ban on cash to witnesses

THE Government is to introduce legislation to end "chequebook journalism" such as the payments made to witnesses in the trial of Rosemary West, the Cromwell Street murderer.

Lord Irvine of Lairg, the Lord Chancellor, is believed to have adopted the view that self-regulation by the Press Complaints Commission is not adequate control and that a draft Bill should be introduced, probably in the next session.

In what could bring a fresh clash with the newspaper industry, the Government is likely to propose legislation to make it illegal for the media to pay witnesses in advance of, during or immediately after a trial. Legislation could take the form of a new criminal offence to ban payments or alternatively making such payments an offence under the Contempt of Court Act 1981.

The law is likely to cover payments in kind as well as in cash and could also include the foreign media if they make an offer within this jurisdiction.

A defence would be if a newspaper had good reason not to know that an individual would be a witness.

MPs have been concerned about buying-up of witnesses since the trial of Rosemary West in 1995. In that case, up to 19 witnesses were believed to enter into media agreements and some received money.

The problem also arose in the Moors murders case in the 1960s and the trials of Jeremy Thorpe, the former Liberal leader, and Peter Sutcliffe, the Yorkshire Ripper.

Newspapers argue that there have been few instances of buying-up of witnesses over the years and that legislation is unnecessary.

February 23 1998

7.43 TA No.43

Jobless offered cut-price travel

MORE than 100,000 jobless young people will be offered cut-price travel as part of the Government's drive to get the long-term unemployed back to work.

Details of the multimillion-pound concession will be announced today by Geoffrey Robinson, the Paymaster General, who has brokered the discount scheme with the private sector.

At a press conference in Manchester with the bosses of the five biggest bus and coach firms, Mr Robinson will announce that people on the £3.5 billion New Deal scheme will be able to travel half-price to interviews or new jobs. Similar deals with Tube and rail operators are expected and will be confirmed shortly.

Despite reservations among the smaller rail operators, half-price train fares will be introduced nationally for New Deal participants. But the concession on London Underground and buses is likely to be only one third.

The New Deal, to be launched nationally next week, will offer employers a £60-a-week subsidy to take on 18 to 24 year olds out of work for at least six months.

The half-fare discount is the first stage in an attempt by John Prescott, the Deputy Prime Minister, to encourage train operators to give passengers more generous discounts.

March 30 1998

7.44 TA No.44

Blair to apologise for Bloody Sunday

TONY BLAIR is to apologise for Bloody Sunday, when the Parachute Regiment shot dead 14 civil rights marchers in Londonderry. Government sources say the prime minister is also likely to appoint a senior judge or lawyer to conduct an independent review of the evidence on the January 1972 killings.

The government has stopped well short of establishing a new inquiry, sought by nationalist parties and the Irish government, which presented a dossier of new evidence to Blair in support of its demand.

Blair is anxious to clear up the matter before the 26th anniversary of the killings on January 30, and a statement may be made this week. "An announcement is expected shortly," a Northern Ireland Office spokesman said last night.

The government's conciliatory gesture on Bloody Sunday is one of a number of measures being prepared by Blair to move the Northern Ireland peace process forward and build confidence that political change is possible in the province.

The killings have been a continuing cause of tension in Anglo-Irish relations. The British embassy in Dublin was burnt by a mob immediately afterwards. Jack Lynch, the taoiseach of the day, reflected the consensus in Ireland when he described the incident as "an unwarranted attack on unarmed civilians".

Although a tribunal was set up under the late Lord Justice Widgery immediately after the killings, his report was greeted with anger and derision in Ireland. He held that the soldiers were fired on first and that they were telling the truth when they said they shot people in self-defence.

In January 1993, John Major wrote to John Hume, the SDLP leader, saying the dead should be regarded as "innocent of any allegation that they were shot while handling firearms or explosives".

Blair is expected to go much further and to accept that Widgery's tribunal did not consider all the relevant evidence necessary to establish what happened. The prime minister is convinced that some shots were fired at the army on the day of the march, however, although no soldiers were hit and the people who were killed were not responsible.

Over the past few months the government has sounded out a number of senior legal figures on whether they would take on a review of Widgery's papers and other evidence that has become available.

Blair's officials are also working on a document which he hopes to present at the Northern Ireland talks in the near future. It will give parties an outline of likely elements of a settlement, leaving them to negotiate the details.

The key elements in the paper are a Northern Ireland assembly, where power is shared by all parties; a North-South body drawing its membership from the assembly and the Irish parliament; and a "council of the isles", drawing its membership from the London and Dublin parliaments as well as the regional assemblies in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

January 11 1998

7.45 TA No.45

Connery denied knighthood over Scots nationalist links

A KNIGHTHOOD was denied to Sean Connery in last month's new year's honours list after Donald Dewar, secretary of state for Scotland, intervened.

The move was reportedly prompted by Connery's support for Scottish nationalism, and because he lived overseas and might therefore be seen as a tax exile.

Dewar is said to have written to Chris Smith, the culture secretary, opposing plans to include Connery's name. The 67-year-old actor, who starred in seven James Bond films and won an Oscar for his role in the 1987 film The Untouchables, has been a long-term exile, living with his wife mainly in a villa on the Spanish coast near Marbella.

However, in recent years he backed the Scottish National party campaign for independence, contributing substantial sums to it, and taking a high-profile role in party publicity. The party's popularity jumped seven points in opinion polls when he declared his support on television in 1991.

Connery is reported to have said he "was deeply disappointed but strangely not angry or greatly surprised" about the knighthood. Downing Street said last night: "It is not our practice to confirm or deny stories that are to do with the awarding of knighthoods."

However, a Labour source said: "Ultimately it is not for ministers to decide who should get a knighthood, but it would be very odd if Labour were recommending that tax exiles should be honoured in that way. It would be a very poor signal to send out."

Dewar's intervention is believed to have come in the early months of the Labour government. This was despite Connery visiting Scotland to campaign for the government's devolution proposals in the referendum campaign last summer, when he posed for photographs with Gordon Brown, the chancellor.

Apart from being the most significant Scottish presence in Hollywood, Connery has been involved with Scottish charities, having funded a trust to support young people.

The fact that Connery lived abroad would not in itself preclude him from being knighted, since many other Britons living abroad have received such honours.

February 22 1998

7.46 TA No.46

Irvine calls for curbs that would suppress Cook story

ROBIN COOK's affair with his mistress Gaynor Regan would not have been disclosed under new curbs on the press called for by the Lord Chancellor today.

Lord Irvine of Lairg says in an interview that he expects the Press Complaints Commission to issue tough privacy guidelines and to be able to order newspapers who ignore them to pay compensation of up to £10,000.

He also wants a mechanism for "prior restraint", so that people could go to the commission and ask it to stop stories being published that are in apparent breach of their privacy.

In an interview in the New Statesman Lord Irvine is asked if he would have expected the commission to order the News of the World not to print the story of the Foreign Secretary and his mistress.

"I would hope that that would be the view that the PCC would form in a case like that, yes," the Lord Chancellor replies, adding: "What public interest is there in disclosing that?" Robin Cook is a public figure, Lord Irvine says, but he is "not aware that he has ever lectured anyone about moral values" .

The Lord Chancellor says he intends to keep up pressure on the Press Complaints Commission to bring in its new sanctions to accompany the Human Rights Bill, which will allow judges to invoke a right to privacy in making decisions in the courts.

He expects most disputes over privacy to be dealt with by the commission rather than by the courts, although others have said people would prefer to use the courts.

The courts, Lord Irvine says, might not take the same line as the commission. He expresses doubts over whether they would have granted Robin Cook an injunction under the new Human Rights Act.

"I think the courts' predisposition would be against granting an injunction in favour of any public figure, but the press would have to be able to invoke some kind of public interest served by the story."

He insisted that judges would be safe guardians of the principle of press freedom.

But he warns: "Where the press have to consider carefully their positions is where they interfere in the privacy of individuals and are incapable of invoking a legitimate public interest defence. In these cases the public would not be supportive of the ideas of a free press."

The Lord Chancellor also says that the preferred shape of a reformed House of Lords will emerge by the end of the summer in time for the Queen's Speech.

February 5 1998

7.47 TA No.47

Teachers take second jobs to pay for repairs to their school

A HEAD teacher and two of his staff took second jobs to raise more than £40,000 for their crumbling Victorian school. Roger Brown earned £32,000 in 12 months and his colleagues £10,000 - enough to save the jobs of two teachers after paying for essential maintenance.

An application for £1 million for a new building has been made to the Government's New Deal for Schools programme, but in the meantime the 407-pupil Wrenthorpe Primary School in Wakefield, West Yorkshire, is plagued with damp, leaking roofs and crumbling plaster. Mr Brown said: "It's depressing when you find children's work curled up because of damp." One grandmother who visited said that conditions were as bad as 70 years ago.

Mr Brown fights a constant battle to keep the school open. Its heating system is so antiquated that it cannot be turned off, and radiators leak so much that holes have been drilled in floors to drain off the water.

Last year the school needed £42,000 for essential work. Mr Brown said: "When we examined the deficit, we were looking at making two staff redundant. It seemed to us that, rather than push class sizes up and lower staff morale, we would raise the money."

He, Doreen Redmond, the deputy head, and Maggie Hirst, the year-three teacher, agreed to take on additional duties. Mr Brown is an Ofsted inspector and spent 60 days heading a team that checked eight schools across northern England. While he was away Mrs Redmond acted as head and staff shared her teaching duties. Mrs Redmond and Mrs Hirst also helped to train teachers at Leeds University and Breton Hall College, near Wakefield, and put the money from their extra duties into school funds.

"It has been a team effort, with all the staff involved," Mr Brown said. "I am not going to do it next year. I can't keep up the pace. Fortunately, my wife, who is a teacher at another school, has been very supportive. We haven't had a holiday."

This year the school faces a £17,000 deficit, but parents hope to raise the money. An Easter fair last weekend raised £600. The head said: "I feel a sense of injustice. Why should schools in other parts of the country get more than we do? We got slightly more from the Government this year than last. Hopefully they are going to assess the situation properly."

A spokesman for Wakefield education authority said that it had been seeking capital funding for the school without success. Replacing the building under the Government's Private Finance Initiative had not been ruled out.

More than two million schooldays were missed by children expelled or suspended last year, the Children's Society said. The society called for a guarantee of full-time education for excluded children, to prevent them falling behind, and said that schools should be fined for barring pupils to discourage head teachers from taking the step.

March 31 1998

7.48 TA No.48

Relatives see film of sunken trawler

THE families of four fishermen who died when their trawler sank a year ago watched in silence yesterday as an underwater video of the wreck was shown in court.

Relatives saw the body of George Pattison, the skipper, floating in the wheelhouse of the Westhaven, which sank in calm waters 120 miles off Aberdeen. The video, played on the first day of a fatal accident inquiry, also showed ropes snagged around the Arbroath trawler's propeller, and fishing gear that appeared to be tangled in an oil pipeline.

The Westhaven was fishing close to the Claymore oilfield when it sank. Mr Pattison, 38, was on the telephone to his brother Gordon, who was fishing near by, when the nets became snagged. The boat was dragged to the seabed so quickly that one of the liferafts was caught in the mast and a second failed to inflate. Mr Pattison and his crew, Alan Cunningham, 28, Chris Prouse, 23, and Mark Hannah, 30, died.

Yesterday Gordon Miller, the captain of the ship that sent down remote-controlled cameras the day after the trawler sank, said there were four oil pipelines in the area.

A draft report by the Marine Accident Investigations Branch criticised Mr Pattison, the Aberdeen coastguard and the Marine Safety Agency for confusion over the Westhaven's distress signal and

subsequent delay in an attempted rescue. It was eight hours before satellite distress signals were answered.

The inquiry, at Aberdeen Sheriff Court, continues.

March 31 1998

7.49 TA No.49

Foreign cities have shown Britain the way

THE plans for a directly elected mayor and assembly for London have been heavily influenced by successful city governments elsewhere (Mark Henderson writes).

New York, Barcelona and Cologne were visited by civil servants investigating possible models for the London authority, and each has influenced the shape of the system announced in yesterday's White Paper.

The London authority, though, will have only strategic responsibilities, with day-to-day services delivered by the London boroughs.

Local government in New York, where the mayor is directly elected and has wide-ranging powers, was one of the principal inspirations behind the London authority, and ministers would like to see a figure of the stature of Rudolf Giuliani, the current incumbent, elected in London.

Mr Giuliani, a Republican, is credited with bringing down the city's crime rate through "zero tolerance" policing.

Barcelona was also an important influence. Barcelona's mayor is not elected directly, but heads a party list. Nevertheless, his election is seen as a contest between individuals as well as parties. German cities such as Cologne have also been important models, as many have switched to electing mayors directly in recent years. Similar voting systems to those that will be used for the assembly and the mayor are in place in Germany.

March 26 1998

7.50 TA No.50

Tax credit for poorer families will go to women

A NEW tax credit to top up the income of lower-paid families will now go automatically to women after a change of heart by the Treasury.

Under the original proposals for the working families tax credit the worker in the family, typically the man, would have received the benefit in the form of a lower tax bill.

But the Treasury has agreed to changes in the scheme, which will be the centrepiece of next month's Budget.

Couples will fill out a joint form which will include a box which women can tick if they wish to receive payment directly through the Post Office. The credit would be deducted from the husband's salary.

Dawn Primarolo, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, will announce the change today in a speech to the Fawcett Society, a women's pressure group.

The new credit will also include a special payment for childcare to give families financial assistance if they want to work.

It will be more generous than the family credit, the state benefit which it is intended to replace and which is paid mainly to women.

The tax credit, unlike family credit, will remove people from welfare. When the scheme was floated in the November pre-Budget statement by Gordon Brown, the Chancellor, it immediately ran into criticism over the threat to the independent taxation of women.

But Mr Brown has now approved the changes for the Budget on March 17 and a Treasury source said last night: "It is a simple administrative mechanism. We will determine at the outset that the money goes directly to the woman. It will not affect independent taxation in any way. It will be simple to administrate. Independent taxation has been preserved."

The changes are expected to come into effect in 1999, when the national minimum wage is introduced.

February 12 1998

Appendix 8

50 Texts from China Daily

8.1 CA No.1

Steps taken to combat dumping

CHINA has taken another step towards perfecting its anti-dumping campaign --establishing an anti-dumping and anti-subsidy office under the State Economic and Trade Commission (SETC).

The office, in conjunction with related ministries, is responsible for investigating damages incurred by alleged dumping. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation (Moftec) and the General Administration of Customs (GAC) are trying to determine the extent of alleged dumping activities.

Moftec and SETC, based on the investigations' results, will make primary and final recommendations in accordance with related regulations.

Establishment of the office is in response to China's increasing need to fight foreign dumping, which has become inevitable with the country's opening up to the outside world.

Often a target of foreign anti-dumping measures, China took the inevitable step to safeguard the rightful interests of its domestic industries, by enacting its first anti-dumping and anti-subsidies regulations.

On October 16, 1997, nine Chinese newsprint producers submitted complaints to Moftec about newsprint exporters from the United States, Canada and the Republic of South Korea.

China's first anti-dumping cases, involving newsprint, were officially initiated on December 10.

SETC began its initiative on January 15, issuing anti-dumping investigation questionnaires to Chinese newsprint producers, indicates an SETC news release.

Any party related with the anti-dumping case -- including producers of similar products and domestic newsprint importers -- can contact the newly established office for information, the release said.

8.2 CA N0.2

'One country, two systems' stressed - Political talks desired: Qian

TAIWAN authorities should begin political discussions with the mainland as soon as possible, says Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

Promoting political talks is the key to enhancing overall cross-Straits relations at the current stage, Qian said, adding under the "one China" policy, any issue or topic can be discussed.

Qian made the remarks yesterday in Beijing, during a forum at the Great Hall of the People.

The forum, attended by Vice-Premier Li Lanqing, also a standing committee member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), marked the third anniversary of the landmark eight-point proposal on the Taiwan issue, made by Chinese President and Party General Secretary Jiang Zemin.

In his 1995 speech, Jiang asked Taiwan leaders to open political talks with the mainland, to end hostilities, at an early date.

The mainland has made it clear both sides should begin political talks as early as possible, stressing that non-political, economic and business-like semi-official negotiations will lead to more progress, or a breakthrough, in cross-Straits relations.

However, Taiwan leaders have not, so far, offered a serious, positive or clear-cut response to the mainland-proposed cross-Straits political talks.

Ending mainland-Taiwan hostilities under the "one China" principle is a must-step in furthering cross-Straits relations, and will satisfy the will of Taiwan compatriots seeking stability and peace, Qian said.

For the first step, Qian said, both sides should make procedural arrangements for cross-Straits political talks.

Through such procedural arrangements, he added, they can reach agreements on the topics they feel should be discussed, and on the name and means representatives will participate in the talks.

During his speech, Qian stressed the "one China" principle must be upheld while handling the mainland-Taiwan relations.

The "one China" principle, Qian added, means adhering to the concept of only one China in the world, Taiwan is part of China and China's sovereignty and territorial integrity cannot be separated.

Qian hopes Taiwan authorities will abide by the "one China" principle, and make an effort with the mainland to promote peaceful reunification of the motherland.

The mainland suspended semi-official negotiations between the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (Arats) and its Taiwan counterpart, Straits Exchange Foundation (Sef), since Taiwan "president" Lee Teng-hui visited the United States in mid-1995.

It's still unclear when the semi-official talks will resume.

Chen Yunlin, director of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, said, during the forum, his office will authorize Arats to begin procedural negotiations for political talks with Sef, provided Taiwan authorities make clear their sincerity.

Tang Shubei, Arats vice-chairman, told a press conference following the forum that cross-Straits relations in 1997 were stable, and economic, personnel and other exchanges and co-operations between the sides continued to develop, reaching a new level.

Tang expressed hope Arats and Sef will overcome difficulties, set up by separatist forces, to begin procedural arrangements for political talks.

Tang urged expansion of exchanges between the two semi-official organizations during 1998.

The mainland side will make greater effort towards furthering cross-Straits ties this year.

The mainland side is proposing the "one country, two systems" formula for a peaceful solution to the Taiwan issue. Under the formula, proven successful in Hong Kong, Taiwan can maintain its capitalist system, and its economic and social organizations will remain unchanged.

The mainland side has never ruled out the use of force to settle the Taiwan issue, out of concern that Taiwan may declare independence or the possibility foreign forces will interfere in Taiwan.

8.3 CA No.3

Chen heads list of 10 best

WOMAN swimmer Chen Yan heads the annual Kangwei Cup Selection for the 10 Best Chinese Athletes '98, which was announced last night in Beijing.

Chen won four gold medals at the China National Games last October, and further consolidated her status as a top world swimmer by winning two gold medals at the Perth World Swimming Championships earlier this year.

Second was woman table tennis player Deng Yaping. The world No 1 maintained her supremacy at the World Championships by winning the singles and team titles for China.

Woman sprinter Li Xuemei was third. Li's awesome 10.79 seconds in the 100-metres at last October's National Games raised eyebrows. She is set to compete against the world's fastest women runners, reportedly to include Americans Marion Jones and Gail Devers and Jamaican Merlene Ottey, later this year in Chengdu, Sichuan Province.

Third to 10th place finishers were world champion man gymnast Zhang Jingjin; world champion woman badminton player Ge Fei; world women's 10,000-metre record breaker Jiang Bo, a new protege of controversial coach Ma Junren; Hong Kong cyclist Wong Kam-Po, who won the region's first gold medal at HKSAR's debut at the National Games; world man weightlifting champion Cui Wenhua; woman soccer player Liu Ailing; and man volleyball player Zhang Xiang, whose killing spikes helped China win back the Asian title after 18 years.

The coaches of the chosen athletes were also awarded: Han Bingyan (swimming), Lu Yuansheng (table tennis), Zhang Rongwei (athletics), Bai Yuanshao (gymnastics), Tian Bingyi (badminton), Ma Junren (athletics), Shen Jinkang (cycling), Li Shunzhu (weight-lifting), Ma Yuan'an (women's soccer) and Wang Jiawei (men's volleyball).

The selection was organized by 20 of the capital's news organizations. (CD News)

Date: 03/19/98

8.4 CA No.4

Progress achieved in bilateral co-operation

BILATERAL relations between China and Russia and their armed forces are progressing more smoothly than ever, thanks to joint efforts by the two countries.

The relationship is heading towards the formation of a strategic co-operation partnership oriented to the 21st century.

Zhang Wannian, vice-chairman of the Chinese Central Military Commission (CMC) made these remarks in a meeting in Beijing yesterday with Andrei Kokoshin, inspector of the State Military Inspectorate and Russia's defence secretary.

The expansion of friendly co-operative ties between the two countries and their armed forces not only complies with the basic interests of the two peoples, but is also beneficial to world peace and stability, he noted.

A frequent exchange of visits by high-ranking officials of both countries has played an important role in the promotion of bilateral co-operation in all fields over the past few years, Zhang noted, adding that solid advances have also been made in multi-level and multi-area co-operation between the two armed forces.

Zhang thanked Kokoshin for the contributions he had made to the expansion of friendly co-operative military relations between the two countries.

This is the Kokoshin's fourth visit to China.

He said during his visit he has held talks with leaders of the Chinese army and heads of relevant government departments aimed at expanding friendly co-operation between the armed forces and other departments of the two countries. He expressed satisfaction at the outcome of his visit.

He went on to say that he will continue working to strengthen friendly, co-operative military relations between China and Russia. (Xinhua)

8.5 CA No.5

Chinese aiming to hit tourist trail abroad

LARGE numbers of Chinese have made plans to travel abroad or domestically during the Spring Festival period.

Shanghai China International Travel Service Co Ltd alone is arranging for more than 800 people to visit Southeast Asia during the festival, 200 more than the number going last year, said Zhang Huizhu, director of the company's Overseas Travel Department.

The most popular destinations are Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Macao.

The financial upheaval in Southeast Asia since the middle of last year has led to travel to these areas costing less than at last year's Spring Festival.

An eight-day Thailand tour costs around 4,850 yuan (US$584) per person during the Spring Festival period. The price last year was 5,650 yuan (US$680), Zhang said.

However, more than 300 people were turned away given the company's limited capacity in receiving guests at the destinations.

This year's Spring Festival, China's most important traditional festival, begins tomorrow and many people have been given one week's holiday.

Travel abroad has also become the "in" thing in Kunming, capital of Southwest China's Yunnan Province.

So far, more than 5,000 people have obtained tour passports and plan to spend the festival abroad.

Since 1995, the number of Chinese people going abroad for tourism has increased by 20 per cent to 30 per cent annually. About 80 per cent of them select Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore as well as Hong Kong.

Although some go overseas, many others prefer to visit famous scenic spots in southern China, where the winter is comparatively warm.

China Travel Service's head office is making arrangements for more than 1,000 Beijingers to travel to Hainan Province, Kunming, and Guilin in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Most people are travelling with their families by air, said Wang Li, a head office official. Many of them are youngsters who have chosen to travel to relax or broaden their minds with the money they have earned in the past year.

Yu Junyi, an official with the Shanghai China International Travel Service Co Ltd, said his company had tried hard to meet the increasing demand of local people to travel to some popular scenic spots.

Tickets to Hainan, Kunming and Guilin sold out quickly and the company had to apply for two extra flights to Hainan.

Other Shanghai people will go to Harbin, capital of Northeast China's Heilongjiang Province, to take advantage of its ice and snow scenes.

In addition to long-distance travel, the company has also arranged short-haul tours to nearby cities such as Wuxi, Nanjing and Zhenjiang in Jiangsu Province and Hangzhou, capital of Zhejiang Province.

In 1996, Shanghai families spent an average of 527 yuan (US$63) on travel and entertainment, 2.6 times the 1992 figure.

8.6 CA No.6

Border mine removal operation completed

NANNING (Xinhua) -- Bao Weihua crawled on his hands and knees across a hillside covered with wild grass to defuse the last mine in a minefield on Faca Mountain on the Sino-Vietnamese border.

Bao and the other soldiers in his minesweeping team stationed in nearby Pingxiang completed their final mission before the Spring Festival and were able to return to battalion headquarters.

Qiu Daxiong, deputy commander of the Guangxi Military Area Command, announced that, as of January 25, troops in China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region had cleared the mines from 1.1 million square metres of ground. This meant removing tens of thousands of mines of 18 different types in China's second minesweeping operation that began on November 28, 1997.

Qiu, deputy head of the Guangxi Minesweeping Lead Group, said nearly 10 million square metres of mined areas have been cleared along the Guangxi section of the 637-kilometre border with Viet Nam.

Millions of mines were planted 20 years ago during the Sino-Vietnamese border war and Guangxi has 386 minefields covering 30 million square metres of terrain.

Qiu said the plan is to clear more than 120 areas covering 20 million square metres of land in the three-year minesweeping operation.

Zhang Shangzhong, head of one team in Ningming, said ordinary people can hardly imagine the danger and difficulties of minesweeping work. In these areas, mines are usually sited on hillsides with a slope of more than 50 degrees. These slopes are covered with thorny undergrowth and grass as tall as a man. Each soldier had to carry 20 kilograms of explosives and tools and walk five hours before reaching the site in Tongjin.

The soldiers' clothes were soaked with sweat, even in winter. And even though strict precautions had been taken, one soldier lost his right foot while trying to rescue another soldier who had slipped into a minefield on a 70-degree slope.

The usual method, Zhang said, is to explode the mines under a shallow cover of earth. At one site, the soldiers were seen putting explosives on 2-metre wooden poles and setting them off.

After that, engineers in special protective gear follow the path of the explosions inch by inch looking for mines with mine detectors. They remove the fuse and tie the mines together to explode them.

Qiu said Sino-Vietnamese relations have been improving over the past few years with visits between top leaders and border negotiations. The aim of the minesweeping operation is to promote Sino-Vietnamese relations and the border economy.

8.7 CA No.7

Rabobank wins licence for Shanghai operations

DUTCH-BASED Rabobank has received a banking licence for its operations in Shanghai, bank officials announced yesterday at a news conference in Beijing.

The establishment of the Shanghai branch will be a strategic step for Rabobank in expanding its world-wide network. Bank Executive Board Member Rik van Slingelandt said Rabobank will focus primarily on food and agribusiness as well as enterprises and institutions in the health care sector and international corporations.

The branch is expected to open officially between August and September, 1998.

Rabobank has been active in China for some years with offices in Shanghai and Beijing; its Hong Kong branch was set up in the mid 1980s.

So far, it has injected accumulated loans of 600 million Dutch guilders (US$290 million) to food and health care projects in China.

For example, Rabobank provided financing for the construction of China's first private hospital in Beijing last year.

"The new Shanghai licence offers the bank opportunities for significant expansion of existing activities in China," said Slingelandt.

He mentioned that the Shanghai branch will have its own food and agribusiness research unit and a team of experts in food and agribusiness project financing.

Based on its experience and network, the bank will also provide trade financing for China's agricultural imports and exports along with corporate finance, and mergers and acquisitions support.

Slingelandt said Rabobank intends to play a role as adviser and provider of financial support in restructuring the food and agricultural sector in China. (CD News)

Date: 02/24/98

8.8 CA No.8

President meets with US media executives

CHINESE President Jiang Zemin met in Beijing yesterday with Gerald Levin, chairman of US media giant Time Warner Inc.

Jiang said that during his successful visit to the United States last fall, he and President Bill Clinton exchanged views on a series of important issues such as international affairs and bilateral relations.

They jointly defined the framework and development orientation for Sino-US relations geared to the 21st century, he said.

The direct contact between leaders of the two countries and their people will help deepen mutual understanding and expand consensus, he said.

Jiang said the news media play an important role in people's understanding of the world as well as their understanding about one another.

Mutual understanding between China and the United States, far apart geographically, mainly depends on the news media, Jiang said, expressing the hope that the news media of both countries would serve as a bridge between people of the two countries and present China to the world objectively and truthfully.

Levin discussed Time Warner's situation with Jiang. He said a stable and healthy relationship between China and the United States is in accordance with the common interest of the two countries, and that his company will devote itself to deepening US understanding of China.

Levin is here at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Friendship with Foreign Countries.

Yesterday Jiang also met with John Kluge, chairman of the US Metro-Media International Group.

Kluge is in Beijing to receive the Marco Polo Award for his outstanding contribution to the promotion of communication and co-operation between China and the United States.

Date: 01/20/98

8.9 CA No.9

Plan to restructure welcomed

CHINA's massive government restructuring scheme approved by the top legislature on Tuesday received a warm response from multinational companies with the expectation it will improve the investment environment and reinforce confidence.

"It's really good news for multinational companies," said Chen Jiande, an executive of Boeing Corp China Operation. "It is a clear indication of the Chinese Government's firm determination to establish a market economy."

The restructuring package, designed to axe the number of cabinet ministries from 40 to 29, will help simplify the procedures foreign businessmen have to undergo when making investments or launching co-operative undertakings in China.

Other foreign businessmen and China observers also described the restructuring package as a major step towards the goal of establishing a standard market economy.

Laurence Braham, an adviser on China business for several international financial consortiums, said the move has given people outside China a clearer idea of the endeavours the government has been making to build up a standard mechanism for a market economy.

The reform aims to scale back the size of existing government establishments, those administering industrial sectors in particular, and to make them function through a single co-ordinating body.

For example, a new ministry of information technology industry will be set up to replace the former Ministry of Electronics Industry and the Ministry of Posts & Telecommunications and take over networking management functions from the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television.

"By doing so, China is on the right path to embrace the future challenge of the information age," said Juergen Lagleder, vice-president of Siemens Ltd China.

(CD-Xinhua)

Date: 03/12/98

8.10 CA No.10

Shanghai's folks obese, population shrinking

SHANGHAI (Xinhua) -- The "Health News" reported last week that more of the citizens of Shanghai are becoming obese and that preventive measures are desperately needed because of the health risks obesity imposes.

The news came from Professor Jiao Donghai of Shanghai's Xiangshan College of Traditional Chinese Medicine, who drew this conclusion from a study of obesity done among 4,895 adults and 9,093 teenagers in the city.

The study revealed that 12.69 per cent of the adults and 11.35 per cent of the teenagers surveyed were overweight. Also, 15 per cent of the males were overweight. The figure is 10 per cent for the females.

The study found that people generally become fat between the ages of 7 and 12, and from 60 to 70.

It also found that illiterate people or those with only a primary school education get fat more easily, and the higher the education the better shape they are in.

Professor Jiao, who is one of the survey supervisors, said obesity can become a psychological burden. The condition affects the quality of life by causing chronic illness and it can shorten a person's life span.

He pointed out that fairly good dietary habits and a good lifestyle are important in preventing obesity.

While the average person's weight is increasing, Shanghai's population is shrinking. It had a population of 14.57 million at the end of 1997, down 0.13 per cent from the previous year.

The city's Statistics Bureau reported that the work force in State-owned enterprises and institutions fell by 168,000 to stand at 2.96 million. The private sector witnessed a slight increase of 17,900 workers.

Date: 02/19/98

8.11 CA No.11

Customs recover US$180m for State

CHINESE customs departments recovered 1.5 billion yuan (US$180 million) worth of duties which smugglers and exporters evaded during 1997, according to the General Administration of Customs.

In 1997, the administration launched a nationwide drive to check the smuggling of rolled steel, steel plates, copper and edible oil products.

In the first half of last year alone, local customs offices looked into 22 cases involving copper smuggling and recovered duties in the neighbourhood of 200 million yuan (US$24.1 million). In the latter half of the year, the same offices handled 12 cases involving over 60,000 tons of smuggled edible oil valued at 100 million yuan (US$12 million).

Customs offices across the country examined and investigated about 14,200 companies during 1997.

They discovered 1,446 incidents of smuggling and recovered 1.5 billion yuan (US$180 million). Companies and individuals involved in evading the payment of duties paid fines totalling 51 million yuan (US$6.1 million).

In 1994, the administration implemented a supervision system to check on the imports and exports of local enterprises.

In another development, China News Service reported that Gongbei Customs Office in South China's Guangdong Province detected 1,100 smuggling cases involving 318 million yuan (US$38.3 million) last year.

Gongbei Customs Office is close to Macao and is one of China's important customs offices, the news service said. In last year's cases, computer components and pirated VCDs accounted for one third of the total amount of money involved while in the 1980s smuggled products were mainly household electrical appliances, cigarettes and autos, the news service said.

Date: 01/12/98

8.12 CA No.12

Jiang stresses ties with Japan

THE years heading into the 21st century form a crucial period for furthering Sino-Japanese relations, says Chinese President Jiang Zemin.

The period is also an important time for the nations to inherit the past and usher in the future, he added.

Jiang made the remarks while meeting Yashuhiko Inukai, president of Japan's Kyodo News Service, in Beijing yesterday.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Japanese treaty of peace and friendship. Last year, the nations commemorated the 25th anniversary of the normalization of the relations.

At this juncture, Jiang said, China and Japan should value and treasure the existing, good bilateral ties and make a concerted effort to consolidate and advance the long-term, stable and good-neighbourly relations, by learning from the past and taking advantage of current situations.

Bilateral relations have generally been good since normalization 26 years ago, featured in various fields through exchanges and co-operation, Jiang said.

Though there have been twists and turns, relevant issues have been handled properly in time due to the joint efforts of both governments, he added.

China and Japan are both big Asian countries, he noted. Long-term friendship and co-operation benefits both nations and exerts an important impact on the peace and stability of the world.

Yashuhiko said he was pleased to meet Jiang. The successful convening of the 15th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, and the upcoming first session of the Ninth National People's Congress, will advance China's social and economic development and enable the country to usher in the 21st century, he added.

Guo Chaoren, president of Xinhua News Agency, attended the meeting. The Kyodo News Service delegation is in China as guests of Xinhua. (Xinhua)

Date: 02/25/98

8.13 CA No.13

New fares to encourage residents to take taxis

Taxi fares are set to change in Shanghai under a local government initiative to persuade more people to use cabs.

Beginning next month, taxis will charge 10 yuan (US$1.20) for the first three kilometres instead of the current 14.4 yuan (US$1.70) for five kilometres.

Each kilometre after the first three kilometres will be charged at 2 yuan instead of 1.8 yuan.

This means that people who take a taxi seven kilometres or less will be paying slightly less than in the past. However, those travelling eight kilometres or more will be paying slightly more than under the current policy.

Although this may be good news to some citizens, it is bad news for taxi drivers, who say the change will hurt business.

"The new pricing measure will have a great impact on us," said Xiao Li, a driver for Nonggongshang, the city's third-largest taxi company.

While driving in traffic downtown earlier this week, Xiao explained how the changes will affect him.

"If I get three customers an hour, all of which stay within the 3-kilometre limit, I will earn just 30 yuan (US$3.60)

"Before the change, I would have earned about 45 yuan (US$5.4)."

"There's too much competition in the taxi industry. And I don't think the lower (starting) fees will persuade more residents to take taxis," he explained.

Shanghai has more than 200 taxi firms with 100,000 drivers and more than 40,000 taxis.

"The business is not good," said Zhu Hui, a driver from Qiangsheng, the largest taxi fleet in the city. "Besides the tough competition among the taxi firms, we have to face challenges from other public transportation such as the city's bus companies."

Shanghai Bashi, a listed company under the city's public transportation corporation, has also diversified its business into taxi operations.

"Early this year, they put more than 2,000 taxis on the streets," Zhu said.

Despite several years of growth, Shanghai's mass transit industry is still losing money, forcing enterprises to lay off drivers.

They can get about 500 yuan (US$60) from the company as unemployment pay just for staying at home, the driver said.

"So some bus drivers are not inclined to drive taxis because they are unfamiliar with the routes and the competition."

As a result, he said, "the company has to employ even more drivers to run its taxis."

According to the local Wenhui Daily, some irregularities exist in the city's taxi business that sharpen competition.

For example, some local residents bargain with the drivers, especially after 10 pm. "Bargaining is not good for the growth of the taxi industry, as it will only result in unfair competition," the newspaper said.

While drivers grumble about the new price structure, some local residents are welcoming the changes.

Date: 03/22/98

8.14 CA No.14

Securities investment becomes the prime choice

SECURITIES investment has become the prime investment choice for people in Shanghai and Guangzhou, regions which are in the forefront of China's of economic reform and opening up drive.

Recent surveys show that more Shanghai and Guangzhou residents are investing or planning to invest their savings in the securities market following bank interest rate cuts in October last year.

A survey conducted by the Shanghai branch of the People's Bank of China showed 42 per cent of Shanghai residents preferred to buy stocks and bonds rather than put their money in savings deposits, a rise from the 31 per cent found in a survey three months ago.

It was the first time in many years that Shanghai's savers had turned away from banks as their saving preference.

Twenty-nine per cent of the respondents said they would withdraw savings to purchase consumer goods and only 29 per cent said they would keep their bank savings account, down significantly from the 43 per cent of the previous survey.

The survey found that local residents save money to meet unexpected expenses, pay for their children's education and marriages and purchase expensive commodities.

A survey conducted last month in Guangzhou shows that 18.5 per cent of people in this South China coastal city said buying stocks was the best investment after the interest rate cut, as compared with other investments such as doing business, property and bank savings.

"China's policy-makers will be pleased with the results of these surveys," said a securities analyst.

An analyst with the China Securities Co said one of the goals of the interest rate cut was to encourage capital flow to the stock market because the central government has decided to make the joint-stock system an important tool in the reform of State-owned enterprises.

This compares with the previous two interest rate cuts in 1996 when withdrawal of bank deposits was a worry of the central government.

However, the survey indicates that many people still do not know how to make investments other than bank savings.

In Guangzhou, 38 per cent of the people surveyed said they do not know which kind of investment is suitable for them.

Current investment items, such as stocks, foreign currency trading and stamps, need both time and special knowledge.

Meanwhile a recent survey indicates that investing in the stock market is not always a road to riches.

About half of those investing in the turbulent Shanghai stock market last year made a profit, while the other half lost money.

This proportion is almost identical to that a year ago, but much better than 1995, when less than a quarter of investors showed a profit.

The survey was conducted by Shanghai Securities News in seven local securities offices during the last few days of 1997. Two hundred local investors were covered by the survey.

Ninety-three people reported gains, 92 reported losses and 15 said they had broken even after a year's trading.

About 40 per cent of investors showing a profit saw their investment grow by 10 per cent to 20 per cent.

The newspaper also found that 24 per cent of those surveyed entered securities trading in 1997. Those surveyed invested between 20,000 yuan and 50,000 yuan (US$2,400 and US$6,000) on average. (CD News)

Date: 01/20/98

8.15 CA No.15

Heavy rains wreak havoc on Fujian

FUZHOU -- Heavy rain in the northern and western parts of coastal Fujian Province in the past several days has seriously affected the lives of about 45,000 local people, with one killed and others injured.

The China News Service reported over the weekend that local meteorological departments have demanded a state of alert to caution against any further disaster as heavy rain may persist in the area for the weekend.

The rain, which started last Monday, has raised the water level to 13.1 metres in the Min River -- a main river in the province. That level is about 2.1 metres above the warning water level in the Zhuqi area, statistics from the provincial Hydrological Survey Bureau indicate.

The river's flood peak discharge overruns 12,600 cubic metres per second -- a rare magnitude in the same period, according to statistics. A flood following the rain has hit Nanping, Sanming and Longyan in the province's northern and western parts.

More than 14,000 people were affected as the flood swept over 16 townships in Nanping, destroying 24 houses and damaging 16,000 others. The loss is up to 7 million yuan (US$845,000).

A total of 35 dams, three bridges, and 200 roads were damaged. The flood has also affected 9,800 mu (653 hectares) of cultivated land and the growth the crops. (CD News)

Date: 02/23/98

8.16 CA No.16

Accusation, prosecution concerning FM official

THE detention and prosecution of a Chinese-American scientist by US Justice officials is tantamount to persecution, indicates a Xinhua News Agency article.

And a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman is concerned over the matter.

Dr Peter H. Lee is accused of providing China with "some detailed data related to use of lasers to simulate nuclear detonations," in 1985. Lee is also accused of presenting a lecture, related to his company's work, to Chinese scientists in 1997.

Lee, a Taiwan-born scientist who worked at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico, and then at TRW in California, is accused of the crimes by the FBI and is being held by the US Justice Department.

Lee has been invited to lecture at Chinese universities, colleges and research institutes since the 1980s, Zhu Bangzao said during a briefing on Tuesday.

Lee also attended some international academic conferences in China, the spokesman added.

"These were normal, international academic exchange activities, and (these activities) concern basic studies," Zhu said.

"It's groundless, and of ulterior motives, to interpret these normal, academic exchanges as having other explanations."

Sino-US relations are improving, and China does not expect people to use the issue to cause trouble, damage relations between Chinese and American scientists or disturb the improvement and development of Sino-US ties, Zhu said.

Seven prominent academicians, from the Chinese Academy of Sciences, released an open letter on Tuesday, calling on American scientists to uphold justice and help end the persecution against Lee.
(CD News)
Date: 02/12/98

8.17CA No.17

Qiao urges efforts on HK prosperity

HONG KONG -- Chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee Qiao Shi flew into Hong Kong yesterday for a five-day visit.

This is the first time the head of China's top legislative body has set foot on Hong Kong soil. Qiao's main purpose is to meet SAR deputies to the outgoing Eighth National People's Congress (NPC) and new deputies to the Ninth NPC, which will begin its first session on March 5.

He will also hold separate meetings with SAR VIPs and visit major buildings in Hong Kong.

Qiao was met at Kai Tak Airport by Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, Xinhua News Agency Hong Kong Branch Director Jiang Enzhu, Foreign Ministry Commissioner Ma Yuzhen and Commander of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Hong Kong Garrison Liu Zhenwu.

Qiao's first official activity was to attend a lunch with nearly 30 officials and representatives of the Xinhua News Agency Hong Kong Branch, the Commissioner's Office of the Foreign Ministry, the PLA garrison, and leading mainland-funded enterprises.

In a short speech, Qiao praised these organizations for their hard work in maintaining Hong Kong's prosperity and stability.

He encouraged the organizations to study the "one country, two systems" theory, strictly adhere to the Basic Law, respect the autonomy of the SAR government and support its work.

He also asked the organizations to help SAR's NPC deputies fulfil their duties.

Today, Qiao will meet with principal SAR officials and NPC deputies.
Date: 02/11/98

8.18 CA No.18

Premier asks customs to step up contributions

PREMIER Li Peng is asking Chinese customs officials to contribute more to the nation's finances and economic construction.

Customs offices must not be weakened, rather strengthened, by advances made in building a socialist market economic structure and in opening wider to the world, he told a meeting of customs directors yesterday.

Customs offices played a significant role in cracking down on smuggling and tax cheats, more than meeting its tax plan in 1997, lending powerful support to the country's finances and economic construction, Li said.

He urged the officers to do a better job this year, as both domestic and international economies are undergoing changes.

An effort should be made to integrate Chinese customs with advanced countries, to meet the development needs of a socialist market economy, Li said.

He asked customs officers to improve their political and professional qualifications and ethical standards.

Meanwhile, China News Service reported customs' efforts in the fight against smuggling are paying big dividends.

Chinese customs officials, breaking 7,265 smuggling operations, seized about 6.73 billion yuan (US$810.8 million) last year.

In all, 1,059 cases have been turned over to China's courts.

About 3.28 billion yuan (US$395.1 million) of smuggled items collected and confiscated by customs departments last year were turned over to the State.

Customs departments concentrated efforts on fighting the smuggling of processed oil products last year.

Customs authorities seized 150,000 tons of processed oil products, 35,000 tons of chemical fibre, 2,348 automobiles and auto parts and 95,000 cartons of cigarettes, the news service reported.

Customs also seized 7,265 cases, used for smuggling, last year, which contained 6.73 billion yuan (US$810 million) worth of contraband. Of these, contraband in 1,128 cases were valued at more than 300,000 yuan (US$36,000).

Enterprises and institutions were caught smuggling -- with contraband worth 5.17 billion yuan (US$622 million) -- in 742 cases. (Xinhua --CD)

Date: 01/14/98

8.19 CA No.19

Ties among big nations essential

ESTABLISHMENT of stable relations among China, the United States and Japan is important for maintaining peace and prosperity in Asia, the Pacific and the world, says a senior Chinese official.

Relations among large countries within the Asia-Pacific region have undergone numerous changes since the middle of last year, Wang Daohan, chairman of the Association for Relations Across Taiwan Straits (Arats), said in Tokyo on Tuesday.

Relations between China and the United States, China and Japan, China and Russia and Japan and Russia have improved, People's Daily's overseas edition reported yesterday.

Rapid development of multipolarization in the Asia-Pacific region led to this development.

Wang outlined these developments while addressing a meeting commemorating the 25th anniversary of the normalization of relations between China and Japan, and the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Japanese peace and friendship treaty.

Conditions for establishing new Sino-Japanese relations, geared towards the 21st century, are ripe, Wang suggested. President Jiang Zemin will visit Japan this year.

Taiwan, Wang said, is an inseparable part of China, and the Chinese Government and people cannot accept the direct or indirect inclusion of Taiwan Straits issues in the Japanese-US security co-operation scope, Xinhua news agency reported.

People from both nations should remember the historical lesson, and educate the young, resulting from Japan's invasion of China, Wang said.

"(We should) let them know history, and learn from history and ensure the historical tragedy does not happen again," Wang said. (CD News)

Date: 01/22/98

8.20 CA No.20

Beijing tightens control over fireworks in city proper

FIRECRACKER sounds were heard here and there this traditional Lunar New Year in Beijing.

People are happy to feel the New Year atmosphere, but they are also worrying about it, because the fireworks were lit in the city proper and neighbourhood. It may cause fires and other damage to property, and injuries to people.

Since 1994 a regulation, ratified by the city's people's congress, ruled that no firecrackers would be allowed to be lit in the city proper during the Lunar New Year period when people traditionally used the explosives to celebrate.

This year, to add some colour to the new year as people wish, the capital started a 15-minute fireworks display at 8 pm on January 27, the eve of the New Year, at six launch sites in suburban counties circling the city proper.

The public transport department had laid on special buses to shuttle people to watch it.

However, the displays became not a pacifier but a fuse, maybe. Some people began to light up fireworks in neighbourhoods in the city proper.

In turn, this made other people think that the ban had been lifted. According to Beijing Youth Daily, statistics from the city's Fireworks Ban Office indicated that they confiscated fireworks and fined and arrested more than 300 people who violated the ban from January 27 to February 1. Officials also gave warnings to a lot of people, especially children.

The office set up hot lines in the eight city districts for people to report violations.

And on Sunday, all police on duty patrolled the streets to ensure that none would violate the fireworks ban.

In most cases, sounds were heard but none were caught on the spot, the report said.

Adults lit up firecrackers furtively and children enjoyed themselves with small firecrackers that were not easily found.

Most fireworks were purchased from suburban counties or other provinces.

The article also reported that six people injured by fireworks had undergone eyeball-excision operations in Tongren Hospital from January 27 to February 1.

Most fireworks accidents occurred far away from the city proper, where fireworks are not forbidden. Doctors worried that those injured would not receive timely treatment.

Doctors said the number of accidents was up over the same periods in past years.

At least 84 people were hurt in the eyes, faces and bodies from 6 pm on the Eve of the New Year to 6 am on the first day of the New Year (January 27-28), according to statistics from the municipal hygiene bureau.

Another 112 people have joined the list since 6 am on January 28 up till 6 pm on February 1.

Some people complained that fireworks nowadays are like weapons. Other people said it is safest not to light up a firecracker as the regulation requires.

No fireworks-caused fires have been reported in the city proper.

According to China News Service it was a different story in Guangzhou, capital of Guangdong Province. Some 57 fires have been reported and three people died in fires caused by fireworks in the city, which has also banned fireworks.

(CD News)

Date: 02/04/98

8.21 CA No.21

Weather afflicts southern crop lands

CROPS in parts of southern China are suffering from the damaging frozen, snowy weather, China News Service reported.

According to the China Meteorological Sciences Research Institute, snow and a drop in temperatures in the past 20 days have damaged the growth of rape, wheat and other crops in areas south of the Yangtze River.

The average temperature of these areas is two to three Celsius degrees down from the same period in past years, and in some areas down four to five degrees.

Moreover, the total sunshine time was not more than 20 hours in 20 days in some regions of Southwestern China.

The frozen weather made it difficult for snow to melt, which reached a depth of 3 to 10 centimetres in the southern lower reaches of the Yangtze River and eastern Guizhou Province. Snow in some areas was as thick as 10 to 25 centimetres in the past 10 days.

The soil is overly wet, and rape and wheat were hurt to different degrees, the report said.

Luckily, sunshine is gradually increasing in Jiangsu, Anhui, Zhejiang, Hubei and other areas.

Farmers were advised to strengthen their field management according to the local climate and to take such steps as dredging ditches, replenishing fertilizers and protecting crops from cold.

The farmers face a heavy task as most winter crops are not in a favourable condition, the report said. (CD News)

Date: 02/04/98

8.22 CA No.22

Over 27 tons of poisoned alcohol seized in Shanxi

OFFICIALS have seized more than 27 tons of toxic methyl alcohol of a sort which has killed 27 people in Shanxi Province since January 26.

More than 700 people in Shuozhou and Datong cities in the province have been poisoned by it since late last month.

Local authorities in Heilong-jiang, Jilin and Inner Mongolia traced the alcohol.

Quality control officials said they have sealed off 18 tons of the alcohol in Harbin, Heilongjiang, nine tons in Changchun, Jilin, and 250 kilograms in Inner Mongolia, according to yesterday's edition of China Quality News.

The Beijing-based newspaper, funded by the State Technical Supervision Bureau, said the alcohol seized, of the type which killed the 27 people in Shanxi Province, was wholesaled to dealers outside Shanxi Province.

Wang Qinghua, Wang Xiao-dong, Yang Wencai, Zhu Youfu and other suspects believed to make and sell lethal methyl alcohol have been arrested in Wenshui County and Shuozhou city of Shanxi Province.

The newspaper said this is the ninth major case involving toxic alcohol since 1992. Each of the previous cases claimed lives and caused casualties.

They happened in provinces of Yunnan, Guizhou, Heilong- jiang, Sichuan, Hubei and Henan, and in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. A total of 75 drinkers died and 700 were poisoned.

Death sentences were passed on 15 people found guilty of making and marketing the alcohol.

Seven central government ministries and institutions issued a circular in September 1996 aimed at strengthening management and control over methyl and other undrinkable alcoholic products.

(CD News)

8.23 CA No.23

Lens focus on conferences

THE eyes of the world have been focused on the First Session of China's new legislature, the Ninth National People's Congress (NPC), over the last two weeks.

It was here that the deputies put in place the new leadership that will guide the world's most populous country towards the 21st century.

More than 2,000 journalists from around the world covered the session, which ended yesterday.

The 2,950-plus deputies greenlighted a radical reform scheme to trim bloated government bureaucracies, and approved the government's work report that mapped out the country's development plan for the next fiscal year.

The sessions of the NPC and the Ninth Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference -- China's top advisory body -- provided ample opportunities for China Daily photographers Wu Zhiyi, Xu Jingxing and Li Taihang to zoom in on the new leaders and depict major proceedings.

Busy as they were, they still found time to turn their cameras away from the presidium and steal a few shots of the rank and file -- grassroots deputies, journalists, and passers-by eagerly awaiting the results of the sessions.

The photos on this page are the results of their inquiring lenses.

(CD News)

Date: 03/20/98

8.24 CA No.24

HK stocks plummet, driven by bank rates

HONG KONG -- Hong Kong stocks dipped by 773.58 points yesterday. Analysts said it was mainly driven by the rise in local interest rates, news on troubled Peregrine Investments Holdings and worries about regional financial instability.

The plunge of the Hang Seng Index was 8.70 per cent, closing at 8,121.06 points. At one point, it dropped to 7,909.13 points, the lowest level since March 1995.

The decline was the sixth largest in terms of points since 1970. Hong Kong stocks have more than halved since the Hang Seng Index reached its peak of 16,820.31 points last August 7.

H shares and red chips were affected most, with the China-Affiliated Corporation Index decreasing by 21.92 per cent to 964.5 points and H shares declining by 16.18 per cent to 445.08 points.

Major Hong Kong banks declared last Friday they would raise their prime lending rates by three-fourths of a percentage point to 10.25 in response to higher interbank rates. Some analysts said further increases were possible.

In other news, Zurich Centre Investments said it will cancel its plan to inject US$200 million into Peregrine, a crucial securities firm likely to collapse soon.

Also, regional financial turmoil continues, with share prices in Singapore slumping nearly 9 per cent and the baht, Thailand's currency, hitting record lows.

An analyst from Seapower Financial Services Group pointed out that the market downturn may continue, as signs show that big European and US corporate investors are drawing back their investment in Hong Kong stocks given the uncertainty in the region.

"Confidence is weak," the analyst said. "I think Hang Seng Index will linger at somewhere above 7,000 points this week."

However, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Financial Secretary Donald Tsang pointed out yesterday the stock transactions were carried through with no sign of panic. And Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa reiterated that the government will maintain the dollar link system and noted that the fundamentals of the Hong Kong economy are sound.

Chen Yuqiang of New China Hong Kong Securities said considering basic elements of the Hong Kong stock market, the Hang Seng Index is already very low and many stocks are worth buying.

"However, the stock performance will largely depend on when the regional crisis will conclude, which is hard to predict," he said.

Chen said it is possible that the Hang Seng Index will rebound to around 10,000 points after some time, presuming that the regional financial situation stabilizes and Hong Kong's financial systems remain steady and sound.

The particularly severe slump of red chips and H shares were mainly attributed by analysts to the flat business performance and lack of operation transparency of many China-affiliated firms.

Date: 01/13/98

8.25 CA No.25

Art auctions mushroom

ART auction companies have mushroomed across the country in recent years in pursuit of the same kind of generous profits that were made by a few pioneers in this field.

By the end of last year, for example, there were 26 such companies in Beijing, a dozen in Guangzhou and nearly 50 in Shanghai.

The total trade volume of art works through auctions reached 1 billion yuan (US$120.8 million) last year. At a profit of 10 per cent, that would equal only 100 million yuan (US$12 million) to be shared by the excessively large number of auction companies. The take of the auction market remains much the same size, but the number of those who are eager to share in the "auction prosperity" has increased tremendously.

In this narrow market, the increase in the number of auction companies and auction sessions can only lead to disorder, with forgery running wild and irregularities being practiced.

A unified auction market is required so that the numerous auction activities across the country can be co-ordinated and conducted in an orderly way.

In addition, management of the market should be strengthened. The qualifications of the auction companies should be strictly examined. Training of and checking on agents, art dealers, connoisseurs and auctioneers should be conducted.

At the same time, potential investors and buyers should keep their peace of mind and refrain from rushing out to buy whatever comes up for sale.

In these ways, perhaps, the auction market may be put in some kind of order. (CD News)

Date: 03/30/98

8.26 CA No.26

Copies of masterpieces of high-tech to come out

A MARKET for high-fidelity copies of oil paintings by world masters will open in China.

Ordinary Chinese will soon be able to afford to hang such masterpieces in their homes, something they could only dream about in the past.

The works, by such masters as Van Gogh, Monet and others are printed in limited numbers on high-tech equipment. Each piece will sell for about 500 yuan (US$60). For example, Van Gogh's "Iris Flowers,"

50.5 centimetres in width and 64 centimetres in height, sells for 430 yuan (US$52). A Manet landscape of about the same size will sell for 440 yuan (US$53), well within the means of the average Chinese.

A question arises. How to distinguish between the high-fidelity copiesy and fakes? First, the copy must be marked as a "copy." At the same time, its size must be different, however slightly, from the original. Even a difference of one centimetre can show the sincerity and honesty of the copy maker.

Second, it should be sold at a price 10 times or even 10,000 times lower than that of the original.

Third, the purpose of the copy maker is different from that of the forger. The former is trying to make classical art popular while the latter is out only for the buck.

Making copies of masterpieces is not as foreign to the Chinese as people think. As a matter of fact, the Chinese have been making copies of classic pieces for hundreds of years. For example, reproductions of famous original paintings from past dynasties, stone rubbings of ancient calligraphy inscribed on tablets and prints of woodcut pictures of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties are all examples of copying.

In contemporary times, the Rongbaozhai Gallery's water marks that are based on the original paintings by Qi Baishi, Xu Beihong and other renowned painters are the most recent examples of traditional Chinese copying activities.

Of course, high-tech copying did not get started in China until the mid-1990s. In the '95 Beijing Art Exposition, the Continent Gallery introduced the first group of high-fidelity copies of masterpieces, which were printed in limited numbers.

The Yuanmeng Art Co followed suit. In the past few years, it has imported advanced equipment from overseas and started its own high-fidelity copying business. It has so far produced 600,000 high-fidelity copies of 500 different works. The company has set up 38 sales outlets in 18 provinces in the country. The volume of its yearly sales has reached 2 million yuan (US$241,546). It is estimated that there are now a dozen Beijing companies engaged in this business.

This is only a beginning for the country which has a population of 1.2 billion.

The vast majority of the population still cling to low-grade printed commercial paintings and decorative pieces. Most of the originals for high-fidelity copying are Western masterpieces and the buyers of the copies are mainly organizations and people who have become better off.

It is expected that in the coming dozen years or so the number of buyers of such copies will increase greatly with the development of the economy and the elevation of people's aesthetic values. It is also expected that the originals for copying will also include the works of Chinese painters. (CD News)

Date: 03/30/98

8.27 CA No.27

Woosnam to design golf course near Great Wall

IAN Woosnam announced recently that he will design a world-class 18-hole golf course near the Great Wall of China.

Yin Jian, chairman of the Long De Hang Co Ltd, said: "We have been purchasing this land near the Great Wall since 1995, and we believe we have superb terrain that will allow Ian Woosnam to design a truly unique course."

Woosnam confirmed by saying: "This is going to be a phenomenal project. My team has walked the site and we are absolutely thrilled by the land and its proximity to one of the world's great landmarks. I will use every effort to create a spectacular golf course."

The course is expected to be completed by 1999.

The club is to the northeast of Beijing, located 40 minutes from the Beijing International Airport and one hour from the city centre. The course will provide a relaxing atmosphere in the foothills of the northern mountains, in close proximity to and with excellent views of the Great Wall.

The site combines existing hills, rolling farmland and thousands of trees with species such as apple, pear, cedar and pine.

Woosnam believes in the "least disturbance" concept when designing golf course and this wonderful site will allow him to fully utilize this concept.

The project follows the successful opening of Dale Hill Golf club in Sussex, England (a Woosnam-designed course) and two other recently launched projects by Ian Woosnam Design -- one in La Union, the Philippines and the other in Shenzhen, China.

(CD News)

Date: 03/26/98

8.28 CA No.28

Chongqing plans ambitious move

OFFICIALS from China's youngest municipality are ambitious. They are planning to compete with Shanghai's Pudong, known as the "head" of the Yangtze economic dragon.

Planning is under way in Chongqing despite the heavy burden caused by its resettlement project.

"Chongqing will provide more flexible and favourable conditions for foreign investors," Pu Haiqing, mayor of Chongqing Municipality, said during a news conference in Beijing on Saturday.

"Otherwise, investors will not come here. They would rather choose Pudong."

Chongqing set its GDP rate at 10 per cent in 1998, two points higher than the nation's average. But the GDP's steady increase also requires foreign capital to complement central government funding.

Chongqing offered preferential treatment to foreign investors in 1997. Chongqing's officials will make the policy more flexible this year, a move to boost foreign investment.

A dozen of the top 500 trans-national corporations have established facilities in the area. Six foreign banks have been authorized to open offices and branches in the municipality.
"We will make Chongqing one of the best investment choices in China," Pu said.

Hong Kong, Taiwan and the United States are the region's top three investors.

But officials want to attract funding and technology from Europe -- especially mechanical processing, telecommunications, small- and middle-scale electricity generating equipment and road-construction technology.

Chongqing's officials face major challenges as the municipality undergoes fast economic development.

More workers will be laid off from State-owned enterprises in Chongqing, which is one of the nation's six old, heavy industrial centres.

More than 400,000 workers were laid off from their original jobs in Chongqing last year. Despite efforts to re-employ them, 190,000 remain unemployed.

An additional 180,000 workers will be laid off this year, municipal government estimates indicate.

Ninety per cent of the anticipated laid-off workers live in the city's main districts, making the resettlement project
more urgent to ensure stability, said Zhang Delin, Party secretary of the municipality.

Additional difficulties have been caused by the surplus labourers in rural areas, which is the result of resettlement during the Three Gorges Dam Project.

But the municipal government seems confident the problems will be solved.

The laid-off workers are considered "valuable human resources," Pu suggested. They will become an important force within the area's tertiary industries once trained.

In addition to usual re-employment measures practised in other regions, each municipal official signed an agreement to help with re-employment.

Local private entrepreneurs are taking part, and will recruit certain laid-offs within a given period of time.

Labour migration is also recommended to solve the surplus labour problem in rural areas.

Date: 03/16/98

8.29 CA No.29

Office tower to be ready

CHENGDU -- Jinli Zongfu Mansion, a grade-A office tower which is expected to invite Holiday Inn as its management company, will be ready for occupancy at the end of this year.

Neighbouring the Sichuan Hotel and Holiday Inn at Chengdu's Zongfu Road, a major commercial area of the capital of Sichuan Province, the 28-storey development has a total floor space of 50,000 square metres.

"Chengdu has few office towers which can meet the needs of overseas-funded firms," said Wu Xing, marketing manager of Chengdu Jinli Group Co. "That's why my company decided to develop the project which costs 420 million yuan (US$50.6 million)."

Statistics indicate that Chengdu approved more than 2,000 overseas-funded firms to date.

The city's increasingly important role as the distribution centre for both goods and passengers in Southwest China will attract more and more overseas business people to invest in the city, he said.

"But we should not be overoptimistic about the city's office market because the city has already suffered an oversupply of 200,000 to 300,000 square metres," Wu said.

Meanwhile, additional office developments with a combined floor area of more than 170,000 square metres will be completed at the end of this year.

According to Wu, his company has sold more than one-fifth of the office space since it began to seek tenants last November.

Major buyers are internationally known firms and domestic import and export firms, he said, adding the price is about 11,000 yuan (US$1,325) per square metre. (CD News)

Date: 03/30/98

8.30 CA No.30

Shanghai brokerage biggest and busiest

SHENYIN and Wanguo Securities, China's biggest brokerage, became the most active trader on the Shanghai Stock Exchange last year with total transaction value amounting to 435.6 billion yuan (US$52.5 billion), according to Shanghai Securities News.

The turnover was 7.82 per cent of the exchange's total last year.

The company, which was also 1996's biggest brokerage, dominated trade in the exchange's five major securities -- domestic A shares, foreign currency B shares, funds, State debt spot contracts and repurchase agreements, the newspaper said.

China Securities Co was Shanghai's second biggest securities house, with a combined turnover of 257.8 billion yuan (US$31 billion).

However, the market share of these two companies shrank last year due to fierce market competition, especially in the A-share market.

Rounding out the 1997 Top Ten were Haitong Securities, J&A Securities, Southern Securities, Shanghai Finance, Jiangsu Securities, China Guotai, Fujian Industrial and Guangfa Securities.

Combined turnover of all 10 firms, at 1,736.563 billion yuan (US$209.2 billion), accounted for 29.1 per cent of the market's 1997 total, but represented a fall of 5.73 percentage points in their market share compared with 1996, the newspaper said.

However, trading on B shares, State debt spot contracts and repurchase agreements were still dominated by the Top Ten.

The Investment and Trust Co of China Construction Bank and the Pudong Development Bank were kicked out of the Top Ten as banks were required last year to delink their securities business. Their positions were seized by Guangfa Securities and China Guotai.

Date: 01/27/98

8.31 CA No.31

Delivery made -- on the nose

CHENGDU Aircraft Industry Corp (CAIC) over the weekend made the official delivery of its 100th MD airplane nose produced under subcontract arrangement with the former McDonnell Douglas Corp, now the Douglas Products Division of Boeing Commercial Airplane Group.

The Boeing MD-90 airplane nose -- 4.8 metres in length, 1,100 kilograms in weight, and 3.6 metres in diametre -- was CAIC's 25th nose of the kind. Together with 75 MD-80 noses, the company has earned a revenue of more than 400 million yuan (US$48.2 million).

In 1988, Douglas awarded CAIC a contract to produce 100 MD-80 airplane noses taking it as a "long-term, stable and reliable partner."

Another contract was signed between the two sides in 1994 for producing 100 MD-90 airplane noses and delivery started in June 1996.

CAIC's reliable manufacturing technology and product quality have strengthened China's co-operation with the US aerospace industry. Plane noses are one of the biggest-sized airplane part made under subcontract arrangement for international commercial airplanes by China's aerospace industry.

A good reputation built on the MD nose production has brought more orders for CAIC. A contract was signed for producing 173 Boeing 757 tail sections in December 1995.

The work is well under way and the delivery of the vertical tail and horizontal tail will begin respectively in July and October this year as scheduled.

The Chengdu aircraft manufacturer also has orders to produce 13 MD-95 noses for South Korea and to produce MD-11 central wing bulkhead for Singapore. It has undertaken the task to produce 20 MD-90-30 noses for China's trunkliner programme. (CD News)

Date: 01/26/98

8.32 CA No.32

New seismic design rules to support contractors

HIGH-RISE builders who cannot find the matching seismic design specifications within the State's anti-quake technical standards may turn to China's top earthquake experts for scrutiny and suggestions.

The Ministry of Construction issued regulations yesterday to strengthen anti-quake management over buildings whose seismic design requirements do not appear in China's existing seismic resistance technical codes.

"Considering such high-rises have been mushrooming in recent years in China's urban areas, and the country is in an active earthquake period during the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1996-2000), the ministry will tighten seismic resistance and prevention control through enhancing seismic design examination and referring to the experience and expertise at home and abroad," Vice-Minister Ye Rutang told a news conference.

The number of high-rises in the category, outlined in the regulations, exceeds 300, with more than 100 to be constructed each year, ministry statistics indicate.

But most of the 170 tall buildings in provinces and cities -- including Fujian, Yunnan, Gansu, Anhui, Jiangxi and Shanghai -- had seismic design problems, the ministry determined during inspections between 1992-97.
"Luckily, we fixed the blunders before the designs materialized," Ye said.

High-rises with deficiencies in seismic resistance design pose a serious threat to people and property, the official said.

The regulations stipulate construction companies should apply for approval from local construction authorities to start a high-rise construction project, and ask the ministry-approved committee of seismic experts to examine the designs and evaluate the overall anti-quake capabilities.

"The design and construction of such projects should be undertaken by experienced and certified companies," Ye said.

Companies failing to apply for approval of such buildings, or unable to meet anti-quake design requirements checked by the experts committee, will have to rectify their errors and face a fine of at least 10,000 yuan (US$1,200), according to the regulations.

China is revising the National Code for the Seismic Design of Buildings (GBJ11-89), to help disseminate technological advances and experiences in resistance to earthquakes accumulated during the past decade.

The new code is expected to include anti-quake design specifications for the high buildings, Lin Xuancai, vice-director of the ministry's anti-earthquake office, said.

China has made strenuous efforts in earthquake resistance, particularly enabling public and residential buildings to withstand earthquakes of six degrees of seismic intensity, Lin said.

By the end of last year, China completed seismic retrofitting or structural reinforcement of 250 million square metres of construction projects, and at least 200 large reservoirs and more than 500 bridges, Lin said.

Date: 01/23/98

8.33 CANo.33

Anti-drug campaign handles 29% more cases

CHINESE anti-drug departments dealt with a record 106,000 cases of drug-related crime from January through November last year, a 29 per cent increase from the same period of 1996.

The news was announced yesterday in Beijing by the National Narcotics Control Commission. Tao Siju, minister of public security, was present, as were the members of the commission, who came from related ministries and departments.

According to Bai Jingfu, deputy minister of public security, a record 5.1 tons of heroin was captured during the first 11 months of last year. That was a 25 per cent increase from the same period of 1996.

The departments also seized 1.9 tons of opium, 2.3 tons of marijuana and more than 350 tons of various chemicals that can be easily turned into drugs.

China now has more than 530,000 recorded drug addicts.

Border areas in South China, such as Yunnan Province and the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region have become major drug-dealing sites in recent years because of their closeness to the "Golden Triangle," a region comprising Thailand and Myanmar infamous for its drug traffic.

Besides police's effort, about 369 kilograms of numerous types of drugs were confiscated by Chinese Customs last year, a 130 per cent increase from 1996.
In the first 11 months of last year, procuratorial departments of China dealt with more than 10,000 drug-related cases. More than 16,000 criminals were sent to prison, including at least 8,000 who received sentences ranging from five-year imprisonment to capital punishment.

China has more than 690 drug treatment centres. These centres cured more than 180,000 drug addicts last year, 50,000 more than in 1996.

The Chinese Government's measures to curb the spread of drugs have found much public support.

The committee's focus of the new year will still be to inform the people of drugs' harmful effects and to persuade them to stay away from drugs.

Young people will receive special attention, Bai said.

An exhibition with the theme "Cherish Your Life and Reject Drugs" is planned for May or June this year, and will be shown throughout the nation.

Bai also stressed a stricter handling of narcotics, nerve medicines and chemicals that can be turned into drugs.

Date: 01/21/98

8.34 CA No.34

Great Wall branches into Shenzhen shares

CHINESE computer giant Great Wall Group launched the Great Wall Technology Co Ltd last week in Shenzhen.

The newly-formed company will issue H shares and seek listing on the Stock Exchange of Hong Kong.

The company is one of the candidates selected by the China Securities Regulatory Commission to list shares overseas.

The business of Great Wall Technology Co Ltd, which has a total registered capital of 743.87 million yuan (US$89.62 million), will comprise computer hardware, software and components, and network equipment and communication systems, according to the group's statement issued last week.

The company was launched after assets restructuring among three powerful high-tech companies in Shenzhen the Shenzhen Development Magnet Recording Co Ltd, the A-share listed Shenzhen Development Technology Co Ltd and the China Great Wall Computer Shenzhen Co Ltd.

The statement said the Great Wall Group, which has its headquarters in Beijing, took over the corporate shares of Shenzhen Development Technology from the China Electronic Information Industrial Group Co, the State-owned Jiannan Machinery Factory and a Hong Kong company.

The purchased shares, along with the 6.17 per cent of Shenzhen Development Technology shares originally owned by the Great Wall Group, were taken as the initial investment of the Great Wall Group into the new company.

The Great Wall Group also invested its stake in Shenzhen Development Magnet Recording Co Ltd in the new company.

After its establishment, the Great Wall Technology Co Ltd now owns 59.41 per cent of the stake of Shenzhen Development Technology, 64.05 per cent of the Great Wall Computer Co Ltd and 51 per cent of the Shenzhen Development Magnet Recording Co Ltd.

Wang Zi, chairman of the Great Wall Group, said he believed that the assets restructuring of the three companies represented a win-win co-operative effort which will benefit not only the development of the Great Wall Group but also the two A-share listed companies.

Shenzhen Development Technology, a market leader on the Shenzhen Stock Exchange, posted 1.77 billion yuan (US$213.2 million) of revenue and 318.9 million yuan (US$38.4 million) in net profits last year.

Established in 1986, the Great Wall Group is one of China's leading computer producers. It has a registered capital of 110 million yuan (US$13.25 million).
(CD News)

Date: 03/31/98

8.35 CA No.35

Share issue set to propel turbine firm

HANGZHOU Steam Turbine Co Ltd will begin issuing 80 million hard currency B shares today.

The shares, priced at HK$2.14 each, will be listed on the Shenzhen Stock Exchange on April 23 after the issuance is completed next Monday.

The lead domestic underwriter was China Southern Securities, and the global co-ordinator for the issue was Seapower Securities Ltd, the company's prospectus stated.

The offer has a price-to-earnings ratio of 7.3, based on fully diluted net profits of 0.3136 yuan (US$0.038) per share, according to a 1997 estimate.

The issuance is expected to raise 169.48 million yuan (US$20.42 million) for the company, based in Hangzhou, capital of East China's Zhejiang Province.

If the offer is oversubscribed, the company will issue 12 million additional B shares. Proceeds from the issuance will be invested in core production and technological upgrades, the prospectus said.

Hangzhou Turbine, with a total of 140 million State shares, mainly produces steam turbines for use in fertilizer and power plants.

The firm is expected to post net profits of 69 million yuan ($8.3 million) for last year, compared with 43 million yuan in 1996 based on international accounting standards, the prospectus said.

As a result of a 10-year co-operation agreement signed last June, the company has formed close co-operation with Siemens of Germany in production and technology transfer.

Hangzhou Steam Turbine Group is the sole Chinese sponsor of the joint-stock company with an investment of 449.44 million yuan (US$54.15 million).

The group's predecessor is the Hangzhou Steam Turbine Factory, which was established in 1958. (CD News)

Date: 03/31/98

8.36 CA No.36

HK charity gives funds to victims of earthquake

TUNG Wah Group of Hospitals (TWGH), a leading charity organization in Hong Kong, has raised HK$26.5 million (US$3.44 million) from local citizens as donations for earthquake-stricken Zhangbei, in Hebei Province.

This was announced yesterday at a donation presentation ceremony attended by representatives from TWGH, the China Charity Federation (CCF), officials from the Ministry of Civil Affairs (MCA) and other ministries of the Chinese central government.

This is one of the largest donations that has poured into the disaster areas from Hong Kong following the devastating earthquake. The tremor, measuring 6.2 on the Richter scale, killed 49 people on January 10, injured more than 11,000 others and left tens of thousands of people homeless in Zhangbei, Shangyi and Wanquan counties, about 220 kilometres northwest of Beijing.

Part of TWGH's contributions will be used for construction of welfare housing for childless old people living in the quake-stricken areas. The housing will be built with the help of CCF, the main charity organization on the mainland.

Some HK$10 million (US$1.29 million) of TWGH's donations were transferred to the MCA soon after the disaster via the Hong Kong Branch of Xinhua News Agency. The remainder was donated to the disaster areas with the help of a variety of Hong Kong-based charity organizations.

More than 136,000 houses collapsed and another 264,000 were destroyed, according to latest statistics released by the MCA.

Date: 03/21/98

8.37 CA No.37

Investigation launched against accounting fraud

EAST China's Anhui Province has launched a campaign against accounting fraud, the Shanghai-based Liberation Daily reported on Thursday.

A recent investigation laun-ched by the provincial government uncovered a shocking 16 per cent of 6,000 grassroots institutions, namely 961 of them, Which had deliberately misstated their statistical figures, said the newspaper.

These enterprises and units falsified their figures in a bid to deceive and delude their superiors and subordinates by hiding or inflating losses and profits.

So far 164 institutions or their leaders have been dealt with according to the Statistical Law, said the report, giving no details but quoting provincial officials as saying that those people involved will be severely punished. China passed the Statistical Law in 1996 to legalize and standardize the accounting system, following repeated reports about inflated statistics found in the country.

To help implement the law, State and local governments have conducted investigations, but violations are still discovered at various levels of government and in some economic sectors.

Such conduct harms the interest of the State and the people, the paper said.

Statistical falsification was sharply denounced by Anhui Governor Hui Liangyu last year when the provincial government first uncovered the cases.

To combat the fraud-accounting problem, the province set up a leading group for Statistical Law enforcement and organized 400 investigating teams to check the accounting of grassroots institutions.

The paper said the investigation found the No 2 Textile Mill of Shuzhou in northern Anhui which had not operated throughout 1996 because of enormous money losses, had reported to its superior a business income of 49.15 million yuan (US$5.92 million) for the year.

And a township in Wuhu County had posted turnover of local township firms based on a nonexistent monthly increase of 15 per cent, regardless of whether the firms were money-losing or had stopped operation, the paper said.

The authorities in charge of township enterprises in the town of Huayang in Wangjiang County changed their actual industrial output value from 74.96 million yuan (US$9 million) to 116 million yuan (US$13.9 million) so as to meet the target for the first half of 1997.

And a district's township enterprises bureau in the city of Huaibei even randomly deflated its enterprises' total output value by 200 million yuan (US$24 million) while inflating its net profit by 100 million yuan (US$12 million). (CD News)

Date: 03/21/98

8.38 CA No.38

Premier to go on first foreign trip

CHINA'S new premier, Zhu Rongji, is to attend the Second Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and visit Britain and France between March 31 and April 7 in his first foreign trip since taking office.

The visit will be important for promoting ties between China and the European Union, Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao commented yesterday in Beijing at a regular news briefing.

During the second ASEM, on April 3-4, leaders will exchange views on economic co-operation, the Southeast Asian financial crisis, the progress of Asia-Europe co-operation and international and regional issues of common concern.

The meeting will have an important bearing on the establishment of Asia-Europe partnership towards the 21st century, Zhu Bangzao said.

The premier will visit Britain and France on March 31-April 2 and on April 5-7 respectively.

Asked to comment on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's dismissal of his cabinet, Zhu Bangzao said "This is Russia's internal affair."

He went on: "As Russia's friendly neighbour, we sincerely hope that it enjoys economic development and social stability."

The Sino-Russian strategic co-operative partnership has a solid foundation and is a mature state-to-state relationship.

He said he believed the relationship will not be affected by changes in the membership of the Russian Government.

Zhu Bangzao announced that President Joaquim Alberto Chissano of the Republic of Mozambique will visit China from March 28 to April 3.

In another development, China's newly-appointed Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan met his first foreign counterpart yesterday in Beijing.

In talks with visiting Guinea Foreign Minister Lamine Kamara, Tang said that China felt satisfied with the smooth development of relations with Guinea and the fruitful results achieved since diplomatic ties were forged 39 years ago.

He thanked the Guinea Government for its valued support for China's reunification and on issues such as human rights.

Kamara, who arrived in Beijing yesterday for a five-day visit, said that the Guinea people will never forget the huge and valuable support from China in their fight against colonialism and for national independence.

Date: 03/25/98

8.39 CA No.39

Hong Kong's future full of hope

HONG KONG (Xinhua) -- Jiang Enzhu, director of the Xinhua News Agency Hong Kong Branch, has said he is fully confident in Hong Kong's future.

In an interview with the Bauhinia Monthly, to be published in February, Jiang extended his festival greetings to Hong Kong residents as the traditional Chinese Lunar New Year, which falls on January 28, approaches.

He expressed the belief that Hong Kong's 6 million residents, under the leadership of the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) headed by Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa and with the support of the motherland, are bound to overcome any difficulties and score new and brilliant achievements.

Reviewing the progress that the Hong Kong SAR has made over the past half year since its founding, Jiang said the operation of the SAR has won full recognition from the central government and wide praise from local people and the international community as well.

A half year's experience in the SAR shows that the State's basic policy of "one country, two systems," "the Hong Kong people governing Hong Kong" and a high degree of autonomy is incomparably correct.

Jiang said the new year is filled with new challenges and opportunities as well.

Noting that the people throughout the world have started their countdown to greeting the coming new century, he said: "We have reasons to be confident in Hong Kong's future."

Date: 01/24/98

8.40 CA No.40

Woman sprinter heads Asian 10 best

SRI Lankan woman sprinter Susanthinka Jayasinge heads the annual Jinpeng Cup 10 best Asian athletes announced in Beijing over the weekend.

Jayasinge became the first Asian sprinter, male or female to win a silver medal at the World Athletics Championships in Athens, and broke the Asian record in the event two times en route to the winners' podium.

China's Chen Yan, world record holder in the women's 400-metre individual medley, was second. The 16-year-old Liaoning swimmer broke the world's 400m and 200m IM world records at China's Eighth National Games in Shanghai last October and won a total of six gold medals. At the World Swimming Championships that ended in Perth, Australia, yesterday, Chen won the women's 400m IM and 400m freestyle and was second behind compatriot Wu Yanyan in the 200m IM.

Iranian World Cup qualifying competition hero Aziz finished third. Voted the Asian Footballer of the Year last year, Aziz scored the equalizer and winning goal in the crucial playoff against Australia that made Iran the last France World Cup qualifier.

Fourth is Lee Chang-hao, South Korean go chess phenomenon, who won the inaugural LG World Go Chess Masters Tournament and has entered the final of the Second Samsung World Go Chess Open.

World and Olympic champion and World No 1 woman table tennis player Deng Yaping of China was chosen, as expected, but in the much lower than expected lowly fifth slot. Deng anchored the Chinese women's team to the World Championships title and also won the singles and doubles titles in Manchester last year. She also won the singles and doubles titles at the Shanghai National Games last year.

Hong Kong's best cyclist, Wong Kam-Po, was sixth. At the Shanghai National Games, Wong won the first gold medal of the games for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. He also won the road race title at the Asian Cycling Championships.

China's Olympic men's weightlifting champion, Zhan Xugang, was seventh. Zhan broke the world record in the clean-and-jerk and total categories in the 70kg class with 200 kilos and 360 kilos respectively at the National Games.

Fifteen-year-old Japanese woman swimmer Ayari Aoyama finished eighth. Aoyama clocked 58.24 seconds to better the world women's short-course 100m butterfly record in Tokyo last March and swam the year's best in the event's long course in 59.03 seconds last year.

At ninth place was also a Japanese, Hiromi Suzuki, who won the Athens' World Athletics Championships women's marathon in 2 hours 29 minutes and 48 seconds.

Wrapping up the list was Indonesia badminton player Susi Susanti, the World Cup women's singles champion.

Date: 01/19/98

8.41 CA No.41

Chinese swimming hit by doping shame

PERTH (Xinhua -- Agencies) -- Four Chinese swimmers have tested positive for banned drugs in out-of-competition doping tests, world swimming ruling body the International Swimming Federation (Fina) announced here on Wednesday.

Fina said in a press release that Chinese women swimmers Wang Luna, Cai Huijue and Zhang Yi and men swimmer Wang Wei tested positive for the banned substance Triamterene (diuretic).

The samples were collected on January 8, 1998, and the analyses were made at the IOC accredited laboratory "Australian Government Analytical Laboratories," the Fina press release said.

The Fina Executive in their meeting held on Wednesday, has decided according to Fina Rule DC 8.3 to provisionally suspend the four Chinese swimmers, without hearing, until a hearing can be made following the test of the B sample, the press release said.

The Chinese Swimming Association said in a statement issued in Beijing that it was deeply shocked and supports the decision made by Fina.

"We will actively co-ordinate with Fina to investigate the case and impose serious punishment to those involved," said the statement.

"The Chinese Swimming Association has adhered to the principles of the Chinese Olympic Committee on its anti-doping campaign. That is 'clear stipulation, tight checks and harsh penalty.' We will continuously coordinate closely with Fina and bring to an end the arduous and sophisticated struggle against doping," it said.

Fina powerless

Meanwhile, Fina said on Wednesday it was powerless to expel the Chinese team from the world championships in Perth even though four swimmers failed pre-competition doping tests.

Fina Secretary Gunnar Werner said under the sport's rules, a country could only be expelled if they produced four positive tests for steroids within a 12-month period.

"We cannot, during the championships, take any action," Werner said.

"Fina is strictly following the rules approved by their members. If we don't have any proof of any other thing then we can't do anything about it."

The head of the Chinese team's delegation, Shi Tianshu, said yesterday the four swimmers will be severely punished.

Shi said the news on the doping tests had damaged spirit within the Chinese team.

"There are bad feelings among the team and this has spoilt the entire spirit of the team," he told reporters outside the team's hotel here.

Date: 01/16/98

8.42 CA No.42

Mainland to export live chickens to Hong Kong

HONG KONG consumers will have their first chance to buy live chickens since an epidemic of bird flu swept the area late last year.

A total of 38,000 live chickens will have been transported to Hong Kong from the Chinese mainland by this coming Saturday.

People in Hong Kong will be able to buy live chickens on Sunday from all the markets, China News Service reported.

According to officials with Guangnanhang Co, Guangdong Province's poultry export agency, 14,000 of the chickens will come from Shenzhen and the others from other chicken farms in the province.

Because of the bird flu quarantine, the chickens will not reach markets until Sunday.

The source said that the number of chickens exported to Hong Kong in the future will depend on the sales of the first batch.

The price for live chickens is not expected to increase greatly.

Prior to the breakout of bird flu in Hong Kong, Guangnanhang Co shipped about 100,000 live chickens to Hong Kong every day, 80 per cent of them cultivated in Guangdong Province.

On January 23, World Health Organization officials announced that the bird flu, which caused a panic in Hong Kong and left sales of chicken plummeting, was unlikely to have come from the mainland.

No case had been detected either in humans or among poultry in Guangdong Province.

The organization made the announcement after summing up its week-long inspection of influenza surveillance in southern China.

Until the day before the announcement, many people believed the virus was carried to Hong Kong through importation of live chickens from Guangdong Province.

The mainland stopped exporting chickens to Hong Kong on December 24.

And from December 29 to 31, Hong Kong killed 1.5 million live poultry to prevent the spread of the bird flu.

Ever since the slaughter, no case of humans infected by the bird flu has been reported.

Although no cases of A H5N1 bird flu in human beings and chickens have been reported in the South China province, Guangdong will further tighten its testing for the bird flu virus over the next six months, said Xu Dezhi, director of the Guangdong Commission of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation.

According to the Chinese news service, Xinhua, local chicken dealers report that the sales of chicken have come near to normal levels over the past week in Macao.

(CD News)

Date: 02/04/98

8.43 CA No.43

Sessions' coverage encouraged

DOMESTIC and foreign journalists are being invited to attend two major political events next month.

The general offices of the National People's Congress (NPC) Standing Committee and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) National Committee announced journalists were welcome to cover the forthcoming NPC and CPPCC sessions.

The First Session of the Ninth CPPCC National Committee will open on March 3 in Beijing, followed by the First Session of the Ninth NPC on March 5.

The press centre in the guesthouse at the Great Hall of the People will issue press credentials.

Journalists from the national media can submit applications to the press centre. Local reporters accompanying NPC or CPPCC delegations can submit applications through their respective delegations.

Journalists from the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region can apply through the Hong Kong Branch of the Xinhua News Agency.

Foreign reporters working in Beijing can apply directly to the press centre.

Journalists from Taiwan can apply through the State Council's Taiwan Affairs Office, while those from Macao can apply through the Macao Branch of the Xinhua News Agency.

Foreign correspondents can apply through Chinese embassies and consulates in their respective countries, the commissioner's office of the Chinese Foreign Ministry in Hong Kong, the Macao Branch of the Xinhua News Agency and the visa office in Macao. (Xinhua)

Date: 02/06/98

8.44 CA No.44

Markets halt prolonged slide

Both Shanghai and Shenzhen last week enjoyed rebounds after experiencing continuous falls recently.

The Shanghai index closed at 1,223.56, 36 points higher than the previous week. The Shenzhen index rose 49.19 points to end at 4,009.29.

However, B-share trading in the two exchanges suffered marginal declines as investors remained sidelined.

Shanghai

The market kicked off last week in dull mood as the index dropped 7.64 points on Monday.

A moderate rebound followed on Tuesday on the back of buying of selected stocks.

But the market fell again in the following two days despite news that the central bank had cut both bank reserve requirements and interest rates.

The lost ground was more than made up by a 34.7-point rebound on Friday.

Transaction value amounted to 23.8 billion yuan (US$2.86 billion), 5.87 billion yuan (US$707 million) more than the previous week.

The B-share market extended the previous week's decline into Monday before enjoying a revival over the following two days.

The market dipped again on Thursday and Friday, closing last week at 54.01, 1.71 points lower than the previous week.

The market is waiting for the release of annual results by key firms, analysts said, predicting consolidation would be the main trend in the short term.

Shenzhen

The market dropped 33.36 points on Monday but staged a 78-point rebound on Tuesday.

After fluctuating narrowly in dull trading on Wednesday, the index plunged 50 points on Thursday on concerns about market expansion due to two new A-share listings and two new A-share offers scheduled for Friday.

But the lost ground was regained on Friday as the index rose 59.48 points.

Transaction value rose 3.46 billion yuan (US$416.8 million) to 20.2 billion yuan (US$2.43 billion).

The Shenzhen B-share market followed a similar pattern to Shanghai. It dropped 11.9 points on Monday, then gained some ground on Tuesday and Wednesday before dipping on Thursday and Friday.

The B-share index closed at 741.93, 5.94 points lower than the previous week.

Analysts said confidence in B shares had been damaged by their prolonged bearishness and a lack of foreign interest.

Investor caution would confine B shares to a narrow range over the short term, analysts said.

(BW News)

Date: 03/29/98

8.45 CA No.45

Survey: Urbanites lose appetite for poetry

HOW does poetry figure into the lives of Chinese urbanites?

In a sample survey of 1,500 in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chongqing and Xiamen, only 56 people, or 3.7 per cent of the interviewees, all above the ages of 18, said they like poetry most among all literary forms.

In contrast, 30.6 per cent of the interviewees chose news report sas "the most enjoyable 'literary form'." News ranked highest in the survey, followed by novels and novelettes (22.7 per cent), short stories (12.9 per cent), reportage -- lengthy literary stories based on true events and lives of true personages (7.7 per cent), essays (7.2 per cent), dramas (5.9 per cent) and poetry (3.7 per cent).

Another 39.8 per cent said reading poetry is no longer a form of entertainment to most people today and 23.6 said that poetry no longer suits the rhythm of contemporary life.

When asked who is the most favoured poet in modern China, 61.2 per cent of the interviewees said that it was a difficult question to answer, according to the survey published in the latest issue of Music Life, a weekly newspaper in Beijing.

Some 9.2 per cent of the interviewees listed some 35 modern and contemporary poets. These include not only such revolutionaries as Mao Zedong, Guo Moruo, Ai Qing, Guo Xiaochuan, Zang Kejia and He Jingzhi, but also lyrical poets Xu Zhimo, Wang Guozhen and Shu Ting, as well as modernist poets Gu Cheng and Hai Zi.

About 34.4 per cent of those surveyed said poetry should reform and adapt itself to modern life.

They argue, however, that modern life does need poetry.

Works of the revolutionary poets reflect only the sentiment and grandeur of the past.

The lyrical poems today are too simplistic and banal, while the modernists like Gu Cheng and Hai Zi selected death as an end to their creations.

Date: 03/31/98

8.46 CA No.46

Prospective listed firms must be profitable

JOINT-STOCK companies in Beijing with net profits per share lower than 0.40 yuan (US$0.05) will not be allowed to issue shares to the public, according to the Beijing Securities Regulatory Commission.

The commission, in a bid to ensure the quality of companies, has detailed its qualification requirements on would-be listed companies, according to the Beijing Economic News.

Other requirements include:

Net assets invested by the sponsoring company to the joint-stock firm should not be lower than 300 million yuan (US$36.1 million);

The net profits assets ratio should be higher than 10 per cent, net profits should be higher than 60 million yuan (US$7.23 million);

The assets liability ratio at the end of the previous year of stock issuance can not be higher than 70 per cent; and

The candidates must be in the industries supported by the municipal government such as agriculture, energy, transportation, communication, important raw materials, high- and new-technologies industries or must be industrial leaders with bright development prospects.

Because many companies are competing for the limited quota of A shares, the commission said it will also recommend enterprises to issue B shares or issue shares overseas.

For B-share candidates, the interval between A-share issuance and B-share flotation can be shorter than 12 months.

But they must be in line with State regulations on the use of foreign funds.

In the meantime, they should also submit analysis reports on stock issuance flotation.

None of the B-share candidates announced by the China Securities Regulatory Commission earlier this month is based in Beijing.

Except for the flotation of B shares, another way for mainland enterprises to raise funds from the equity market is to list in overseas markets including Hong Kong, Singapore, New York, London, Tokyo and Sydney.

(CD News)

Date: 03/03/98

8.47 CA No.47

Beijing's SunTendy sues US company

THE manufacturer of Chinese Star, the country's first software able to process Chinese characters in a Microsoft Windows environment, has sued a US company for infringing its copyright in a State Court in New York. The Chinese company is demanding US$5 million in compensation.

According to a chief manager of Beijing Founder SunTendy Software Technology Ltd, the New York court has agreed to consider the lawsuit against New York City-based Alestron Inc for the alleged infringement upon the Beijing company's rights.

SunTendy's market manager, Zhou Mi, said his company and Alestron failed to agree during recent talks initiated by the US firm to allow Alestron to act as a sales agent for Chinese Star in the United States.

Zhou said that Alestron registered itself on the World Wide Web under a Web site name "extremely similar to that owned by the Chinese Star."

"What's more," he said, "under the name of Chinese Star, Alestron is promoting those products which are competing with Chinese Star's products."

Last September, SunTendy hired a US lawyer and formally filed a lawsuit against Alestron in New York.

Before and after taking this action, SunTendy tried to contact Alestron, but received no "substantial response," Zhou said. "Their only visible reaction was to erase all of the contents on their Web home page."

The SunTendy manager said his company "is sure to win. It is just a matter of how much compensation we shall get." He said the compensation should cover damages to Chinese Star's product image as well as subsequent losses in market shares in the North American market.

SunTendy is the first Chinese information technology company to go to an overseas court to defend its intellectual property rights.

(CD News)

Date: 03/18/98

8.48 CA No.48

Securities market seen expanding at suitable pace

CHINA is giving top priority to establishing a unified and efficient securities supervision system in its efforts to develop a more stable securities market, a senior securities official said.

Zhou Zhengqing, chief of the State Council Securities Commission, said the China Securities Regulatory Commission, the securities watchdog, will take over supervision of securities brokerages from the People's Bank of China, People's Daily reported yesterday.

All local securities supervisory bodies would also be administered mainly by the central government instead of local governments, which is the current situation, Zhou said.

He said the move to streamline securities supervision is part of the government's multi-pronged efforts to avoid market risks.

Other measures include tightening market supervision and re-establishing market order, improving the quality of listed companies, speeding up legislation and encouraging more residents to invest in securities.

Zhou said "the prospects for the Securities Law are better than ever, and it could be passed this year."

China began drafting the Securities Law in 1992, but the outcome became stalled because of disputes over a range of issues, such as the status of different classes of shares and overlapping regulatory authorities.
In light of the increasing worry among investors about a fast expansion, Zhou ruled out immediate large-scale share issues and listings on the country's two stock exchanges, in Shanghai and Shenzhen.

"China's stock markets are still at an initial stage, and conditions for a quick market expansion certainly do not exist," he said.

However, this does not mean that China should stop expanding the stock market. The market value of China's shares are worth US$200 billion, accounting for 24 per cent of the nation's gross domestic product, compared with about 80 per cent for developed nations.

Zhou said China would continue to issue shares and list firms at an appropriate pace.

"When we arrange the listings of large and medium-sized State firms, we will fully take into consideration the market capacity," he said.

Zhou pledged that large State listings would not affect current market stability.

He also said the development of China's stock market remains stable thanks to the country's sound economic growth, the deepening reform of State enterprises, residents' increasing enthusiasm in making securities investment and efforts to rectify the market in the past year.

In addition, he noted that China would continue to select high-quality firms to list B shares and H shares and would strive to improve the disclosure of information by these companies.

Policies on the listing of red-chip companies, those incorporated in Hong Kong but with mainland background, have not changed, Zhou said. (CD News)

Date: 03/13/98

8.49 CANo.49

Special consumer phone line opened

BEIJING callers opened the consumer complaint telephone line yesterday with 150 calls in the first three hours.

The line was launched by the Beijing Administration for Industry and Commerce.

"To date, more than 30 cities in 14 provinces and regions have opened similar special lines to hear consumer complaints," Gan Guoping, deputy director of the State Administration for Industry and Commerce told a news conference yesterday.

"Being a step of the State and local governments to do more practical things for the public, these special services will let consumers voice their grievances and have their problems settled effectively and in a short time."

All the special telephone numbers have the 315 figure after the characteristic first 6 -- an act done deliberately to observe World Consumer Rights Day, which falls on March 15.

"To create a broader channel for hearing and handling consumer disputes, we have mobilized 36,000 local offices for industry and commerce around the country to find solutions to consumer complaints and crack down on those illegal business activities that hurt consumer rights and interests," Gan said.

Last year, the State administration and its local branches heard about 47,000 consumer rights infringement cases, which was about double the record number in 1996.

The administration investigated and handled more than 18,820 serious cases, recovering 296 million yuan (US$35.66 million) as compensation for consumers. Solutions to most other cases were also reached.

"Most consumer disputes concerned such problems as counterfeit commodities, substandard quality, false advertisements and unreasonable delays or refusals in consumers' requirements for repairs," Gan explained.

He said the State administration will further promote the implementation of the law on the protection of consumers' rights and interests.

Date: 03/13/98

8.50 CA No.50

People's rights better protected

CHINA'S accomplishments in realizing and safeguarding people's economic, social and cultural rights are remarkable, suggests the Information Office of the State Council.

The Chinese Government has focused on economic development and promoted social productivity growth since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and especially since implementation of reforms and the opening-up drive.

China has, by itself, practically solved the problem of providing sufficient food and clothing for its 1.2 billion people, the office said.

It is a "historic achievement in safeguarding people's rights to subsistence and development."

Living standards of the Chinese people, and the quality of their lives, have improved with the country's economic development, the office noted.

The number of people living below the official poverty line in China's rural areas dropped to about 50 million in 1997, from 250 million in 1978, statistics indicate.

Less than one-twentieth of the world's poor population lives in China at present, compared to one-fourth 20 years ago, the office noted.

The Chinese Government made every effort to protect workers' rights, the office said.

Comprehensive rules regarding workers' rights to equal employment, freedom to choose jobs, and their rights to professional training, holidays and vacations, pay, labour safety, health, social insurance and welfare benefits are contained in the Labour Law promulgated in 1994.

A series of laws and regulations have been promulgated -- including the Law on Compulsory Education, Teachers Law and Law on Vocational Education -- to guarantee citizens' rights to education.

The Chinese people also have the right to conduct scientific research and enjoy literature, the arts and other cultural pursuits.

China still faces a number of problems regarding the promotion of people's economic, social and cultural rights because it is a developing country limited by historical and natural conditions, the office said.

Boosting economic development, improving the legal system and promoting ethical and cultural progress remain major tasks for the Chinese Government and people.

Only then will the Chinese people's economic, social and cultural rights be further improved, the office said. (CD News)

Date: 03/11/98

Appendix 9

Thematic Analysis of the texts from The Times

TEXT	Single Theme Topical (Experiential)Theme		Multiple Themes			
	Unmarked	Marked	Topical Theme		Inter personal Theme	Textual Theme
			Unmarked	Marked		
No.1 (36) 9/36 multi. 5/36 marked	1. Six people 2. Two men 3.what 4. The attack 5. Police 7. They 8. One of the injured people 9. The other four 11. Declan Steward 16. Two guys 17. One person 18. There 19. There 21. The shooting 23. Political leader 24. There 26. Police and troops 27. Geoge Livingstone 28. This 31. There 32. There 33. Let 34. The Catholic Cliftonville 36. About a six of 3,200 victims	13. The first thing 20.one 22. Within hours of his death	10.their condition 12.the gunmen 14.somebody 15.I 25.National paramilitaries 29.we 30.we	6.just after 9pm 35 the mid-1970s		6.that 10.and 12.when 14.then 15.and 25.that 29. If 30.and 35. Since
No.2 (35) 10/35 multi. 1/35 marked	1. an increasing number 2.it 3. Figures 4. Thousands of commuters 5. Many other train companies 7. Several of the worst performing companies 9. Figures 11. The figures 13. One 15. The times 16.which 17. The figures 18. There third of the operators 21. Great Eastern 22.which 24. The company 25. The worst performers 27. Improvements 28.which 30.which 31. Other confidential statistics 32. A slight improvement 34. The disclosures 35.which	26.on which	6.the fall 8. Their services 10. 18 of the 25 train operators 12.only five companies 14.they 19.the service20. Mr O'Brien 23.37 per cent 29.many 33.the total percentage			6.but 8.that 10.that 12.that 14.that 19.that 20.when 23.when 29.While 33.but
No.3 (29) 8/23 multi. 1/23 marked	1.Parents 2. A government task force 3. A six-month inquiry 4. Schools 8. The millennium 9. Only 55 per cent 10. The task force 12. Guidelines 13.what 14. The Government's response 15. Professor Reynolds 18. England 19. Ministers' strategy 21. Schools 22.what 23. Children 24. The use of calculators 25.most lesson time	20. in little more than a year	5.the ten-strong task force 6.more involvement 7.the Government 11.parents 16.there 17. English children 26.there 27. Anita Straker 28.the results 29.almost all			5. But 6.that 7.as 11.that 16.that 17.that 26.and 29.and
No.4 (35) 9/35 multi. 3/35 marked	1. a new technique 2.that 4. The technique 6. Clinical tests 7.which 8. About 30 per cent of women 10.which 12.the patient 16. Thousands of the 34,500 women 18. Many of the glands 19. The operation 20. The new technique 21. These antibodies 22. Pictures 23. A computer 25.the radioactivity 26. Keith Britton 27. The market 28. The commercial market 29. One 30. Rob Carpenter 31.who 32. Not knowing 35.that	9.in whom 17.in whom	3.no company 5.breast cancer 11.the cancer 13.they 15.the lymph glands 24.cancer 33.the cancer something	14.the only way		3. because 5. whether 11. If 13.if 14. Because 15.if 24.If 33.whether 34.and
No.5 (35) 9/35 multi. 5/35 marked	1.Tony Blair 3. His intervention 8. Blair's remarks 8.who 9. I 10.the Princess of Wales's dearest wish 11. Much of the publicity 12. The public's affection 14.they 15. Blair's staff 16.his remark 17.who 19.the crash 20. They 22. He 24. He 27.this industry 28. His message 30. Blair 32. Friends of Prince Charles 33.he 35. The welfare of his children	2.in which 4. The fact 6.said 7. At the time of the death 23.insisted	5.there 13. I 18.he 21. Blair 25.great store 26.he 29.people 31.neither Downing Street nor Buckingham Palace 34.one			5.that 13.and 18.that 21.that 25.that 26.and 29.that 31.and 34.but
No.6 (28) 7/28 multi. 7/28 marked	1. Every child 3.children 4.who 5. Ministers 6.the provision 13.who 14. The arts councils 16. The expansion of music tuition 17. A government 18. Provision 21.who 22. It 24.who 25. One option	7. Last month 10. Now 11. At present 12. In future 15.in which 26. Under a bill 28.into which	2.most parents 8.musical culture 9.children 19.we 20.every child 23.you 27. Francis Maude			2. Althogh 8.that 9.if 19.but 20.that 23.where 27. but
No.7 (20) 2/20 multi.	2.millions of Britons 3. They 4. They 5. Ten per cent 7. Eight per cent 8. The TA 9.that 19. He 11.which 12. Fear of parliamentary opposition 13. The Territorial 14. The TF 18.number 19. Successive defence secretaries	6. Unlike regular army 15. At its inception 17. In preparation for the..	1.the Territorial Army 20.there			1. Since 20. although

3/20 marked						
No.8 (19) 5/19 multi. 2/19 marked	1.Traditionalists 3. Anthony Kilmister 4. The modern-language 5.he 6. It 8. They 9. They 13. I 14. I 15.that 17. The synod 18. Congregation	2. in the new version 7.which	10. I 11.one of the straps 12. I 16. I 19.which			10. if 11.and 12.as 16.before 19.and
No.9 (17) 2/17 multi. 2/17 marked	1. British schoolchidren 2.a £2m study 3. They 4. Only 26% of ... 5.a happy family 6. British youngsters 7. Getting rich 8. The study 9. It 11. British youngsters 14. The research 15. The report 17.she	12. at the age of nine, 13.Within six years,	10.they 16.Britain			10.As 16.that
No.10 (49) 14/49 multi 2/49 marked	1. The NHS 2.that 4. The system 5. It 6. The codes 8.they 9. Sir John Bourn 10. Our report 11. Dr Read 12. His company 13. This 16.the report 17. The position of Dr Read 19. Dr Read 20. The report 22. Dr Read 23. He 25. These 26. We 28.the report 29. It 30. Money 31. The audit office 33. 12 34.which 35.they 36. The report 37. Rhodri Morgan 40. He 41.he 43. He 44. This system 48.who 49.he	15.in which	3.it 7.the audit office report 14.Dr Read 18. CAMS 21.between 1992 and 1995 24.the mileage 32.the centre's staff 38.he 39.we 42.one of the pilot 45.it 46.it 47.you	27.in effect		3.if 7.even though 14.that 18.where 21.that 24.and 27.that 32.that although 38.that 39.that 42.where 45.Or 46.and yet 47.only if
No.11 (35) 13/35 multi. 5/35 marked	1. Northern Ireland's rival ...5. He 8. Only Sinn Fein 9. Its chairman 11. He 12. Sinn Fein 13.it 14. We 17.he 18. The key 21. The Framework Documents 22.it 23. The new blueprint 29.that 33. Ronnie Flanagan 35. Mary McAleese	2. After a meeting of the eight parties 24. In a bid 25. In another important gesture 30. On December 16 31. On December 21	3.the participants 4.the talks 6.there 7.a settlement 10.it 15.there 16.there 19.Unionists 20.this 26. British paratroopers 27. It 28.the two 32.they 34.he		7.he believed	3.that 4.since 6.that 7.but 10.that 15.that 16.and 19.but 20.that 26.when 28.that 32.where 34.that
No.12 (29) 7/29 multi. 1/29 marked	1. Enoch Powell's funeral hearse 2.who 3. Sidney Clarke 4. Mr Powell's 6. Mr Clarke 8. Keith Leverton 9. Sidney 10. It 12. Mr Powell 13. He 17. Today's first service 18. The coffin 19.which 21. The body 23. His widow 24.which 25.who 26. A communion service 27.which 28.the coffin 29.mr and Mrs Powell	16. Last night,	5. Mr Powell 7.he 11.he 14.he 15.he 20.which 22.the Abbey			5.where 7.when 11.that 14.when 15.before 20.and 22.after
No.13 (59) 13/59 multi. 6/59 marked	1. a girl 2.an inquest 3. Other members 5. Charlotte Shelby 7. She 8. Her helmet 9. A helicopter 10. The schoolgirl 14. Only two fingers 15.he 16. It 18. This 19.what 20. Charlotte's mother 22. She 23.who 24. The holiday 25. Charlotte 26. The seven-strong group 27.who 28. Mr Scott 29. Charlotte 31. She 33. She 35. There 38. I 39. I 40. She 41. I 47. The guide 48.he 49. It 50.it 51. I 52. I 53. Charlotte 54. I 55. I 56. She 59. She	11. Recording a verdict of accidental death 21. Afterwards 42.at that stage 43. She 44. There 45. The guide	4.she 6.she 12. Charlotte 13.she 17.they 30.she 32.both her feet 34. I 36.the bike 37.she 46.a helicopter 57. I 58.she		12.he suspected	4.but 6.when 12.that 13.after 17.that 30.until 32.and 34.and 36.and 37.as 46.but 57.and 58.that
No.14 (24) 8/24 multi. 0/24 marked	1. A hospital consultant 2.who 4. Sarah Scott-Barrett 6. The consultant radiologist 8. Scott-Barrett 10.she 12. Hospital authorities 13.they 15. They 17. A spokesman 18. We 19. Scott-Barrett 20. Nich Stohlner 21.a breath 23. The legal limit 24. The high amount		3.motorists 5.other drivers 7.motorists 9.magistrates 11.she 14.she 16. Scott-Barrett 22. Scott-Barrett			3.that 5.after 7.that 9.and 11.when 14.In the meantime 16.that 22.that
No.15 (42) 23/42	1. There 2. Donald Dewar 6. Mr Dewar 12. One source 15.it 16. A Blair ally 18. They 21.which 23. It 25. William Hague 27. Mr Blair's official spokesman 30. People 32.he 33.confidents of Mr Blair 35. They 38.who	4.on which	3.the relationship 5.any attempt 7. Mr Blair 8.there 9.Labour insiders 10.the Prime		20. They believe	3.that 5.that 7.that 8.that 9.But 10.that 11.and that 13.that

multi. 1/42 marked	39. One senior supporter 41. The ferocity 42. Mr Blair's decision		Minister 11.he 13. Mr Brown 14.others 17. Mr Brown's advisers 19.mr Brown's decision 20.the publication 22. Mr Blair 24.relations 26.Mr Blair 28.the Prime Minister 29.his role 31.they 34.it 36.he 37.they 40.Charlie 42.the Prime Minister			14.while 17.that 19.that 20.that 22.that 24.that 26.that 28.that 29.and that 31.but 34.that 36.that 37.and 40.that 42.that
No.16 (18) 5/18 multi. 1/18 marked	1. the final legacy 2. Mr Portillo 5. The Government 7. The Portillo orders 8. The Storm Shadow missile 10. There 11. The defence review 13. The Government 14.who 16. The number of tanks 18. Cabinet decisions	17. After the review	3.senior military officers 4.the Portillo orders 6.it 9.there 12.submarines 15.there			3. But 4.that 6.if 9. But 12. However 15.but
No.17 (33) 12/33 multi. 9/33 marked	1. britain 2. Jack Straw 5. Mr Straw 8. Mr Straw 11.which 12.he 13. Mr Straw' approach 15.which 18. Mr Straw's readiness 20. Anyone 25. This number 27. Conservatives 28. This 32.who	4.on which 7.for which 16. After consideration 19. Under the formular 23. In the last election 29. In this case 33. Under AV	3.he 6. He 9.he 10.it 17.boundary charges 21.none 22.the third preference 26. The large anti- …30. Michael Howard 31.election	14.at the end of last year 24.so		3.that 6.that 9.that 10. Because 14. Because 17.and provided that 21.but 22if.that 24.and 26.because 30. Likewise 31. But
No.18 (31) 10/31 multi. 6/31 marked	1. Judges 2.how long 3. The lord Chief Justice 6. Lord Bingham 8.how long 9.how long 17. The rest 19.he 21. The rest of the sentence 23. The move 24.which 25. Judges and ministers 28.that 29. Jack Straw 30.which 31.he	5.what 11. At present 13. As a consequence 15. From now on, 20. With more serious offences	7.judges 10.how long 12.the defendant 14.offenders 16.an offender 18.he 22.the offender 26.it 27. Home office research	4.from now on		4.that 7.that 10.and 12.that 14.when 16.that 18.But if 22.but 26.that 27.after
No.19 (34) 14/34 multi. 1/34 marked	1. Supermarket 2. Minister 4. The idea of taxing 5.that 6. It 7. The Chancellor 8. Ministers 9. There 11. The money 12.which 13. Retailers and businesses 19. Ann Robinson 20.that 21. The consortium 23. A report 28. Half of those 30. Local councils 33. CBI 34.which	3.as	10.the proposed charge 14.the extra cost 15. Sir Norman Fowler 16.there 17.the taxes 18.public transport 22.the charge 24.increased charges 25.a survey 26.London-based companies 27.up to 80 per cent 29.the others 31.most businesses 32.the charge			10.so that 14.however, that 15. And 16.that 17.that 18.before 22.that 24.that 25. However 26.how 27.that 29.while 31.although 32.that
No.20 (31) 8/31 multi. 2/31 marked	1. the Northern Ireland peace process 3. Senior Ulster 5.they 6. The UDP 7. Gary McMichael 8.the process 9. Yesterday's UDP delegation 10. Prisoners 12. There 13. Security sources 14. UDA 15.which 16. Senior UDA members 17. David Trimble 18. His delegation 22. He 23.she 26. Gerry Adams 27. He 28. A man 30. The man	11. Having surrendered their freedom 21. Earlier	2.loyalist political leaders 4.the prisoners' hostility 19.they 20.they 24.no more confidence-building measures 25.they 29.gunmen 31.his condition			2.after 4.that 19.until 20.how 24.that 25.before 29.when 31.where
No.21 (33) 11/33 multi.	1. Six dangerous paedophiles 2.the Home Office 3. A national strategy 4.who 6. The conference 9.detectives 11. Detective Chief Inspector 13.he 19. The cost 21. Penny Buller 22.six predatory violent paedophiles 23.who 24. Child abusers 25. The law 26.	16. During the next four months 17. Last month	5.they 7. Oliver 8.they 10.he 12.a detective 15. Oliver 18.it 20.he 28.they 33.the sex offenders' register	14.such	14. Eventually	5.because 7.that when 8.after 10.as 12.that 15.that 18.where

3/33 marked	Sidney Cook 27. Cook and Oliver 29. That 30. Miss Buller 31. The dlemma 32. A delegation					20.since 28.when 33.that
No.22 (38) 9/38 multi.	1. Gordon Brown 3.The Chancellor 4. Welfare-to-work plans 5. There 7.a Treasury insider 8. The country 9. Even many of the gains 10. Introduction of the 10p rate 12. Women and children 13. One ray of light 14.which 15. The 300,000 or so people 16.who 18. There 21. The credit 23.it 24.which 25. Benefits 27. Mr Brown's proposals 28. They 29. To help to pay 30.the price 31. Sources 33.the middle classes 35.the middle classes 38.an aide	19. In3/38 marked an attempt to boost jobs 22. Run by the Inland Revenue 36. For years	2.he 6.they 11. Mr Brown 17.they 20.hard-up breadwinners 26.people 32.the giveaways 34.the Chancellor37.they			2.as 6.but 11.Instead 17.that 20.and 26.as 32.that after 34. But 37. At last
No.23 (37) 10/37 multi. 4/37 marked	1. Voters 2. The idea 5. He 6. He 7. Mr Prescott's review 11. The delay 12. Ministers 14.which 15. Those 16.that 17.the referendum 18. Proposals 20. It 22. They 25.the council 26. Hilary Armstrong27. Ministers 29.who 30. Changes 33.that 34.they 35.ministers 36. Mr Prescott's review	4.At the same time 13. Under one option 21. Under the plan 37. At present	3.they 8.it9.he 10.he 19.Michael 23.increased spending 24.voters 28.referendums 31.any loosening 32.councils			3.as 8.because 9.But 10.as soon as 19.when 23.why 24.If 28.that 31.However 32.only if
No.24 (37) 9/37 multi. 2/37 marked	1. Six Government ministers 2. John Denham 4. The Government's oensions reform 5. The three key aims 6. One member of the new group 7. This 8.who 9. Mr Griffiths 10. The companies 11.which 15.which 16. Glenda Kackson 17.who 18. Pensioners 19.who 20. Mark Fisher 22. Pensioners groups 26. Paul Boateng 27. Labour 28. Alan Howarth 29. The group 30. The ministers 33. He 34. This 36.we	25. under one option 35.what	3.Labour's welfare reforms 12.a salesman 14.they 21.television licences 23.pensioners 24.people 31.the Tories 32. Mr Denham 37.the Government			3.that 12.if 14.wheather 21.how 23.that 24.while 31.that 32.But 37.that
No.25 (62) 23/62 multi. 2/62 marked	1.A soldier 2.a court 3. Zoë Evans's remains 6. The T-shirt 7. Bristol Crown Court 8. It 9. The prosecution 12.Nigel Pascoe 14. Rain 16. The shirt 18. It 19.that 20.it 21. Mr Pascoe 26. You 28. The jury 29.the horseplay 30. The girl 32. Mr Evans 33. Mr Pascoe 35.he 37. Zoe 42. She 43.the child 45.he 47. He 48. Mr Pascoe 50.who 51. He 52. The crown 53.this man 54. He 56. Miles Evans 58. We 59.he 61.he 62. The trial	17. Written on the back 60. At all times	4.a T-shirt 5.she 10.the T-shirt 11.he 13.the T-shirt 15.the ground 22.Mr Evans 23. Zoë 24. I 25.he 31.she 34. Mr Evans 36.the caller 38. Mr Pascoe 39.he 40.his wifw 41.her daughter 44.she 46.there 49.Mr Evans 55.the child's mother 57.he	27. behind this terrible murder	23. Miles Evans thought 38. In reality	4.But 5.after 10.that 11.as 13.that 15.but 22.that 24.and 25.and 27.whether 31.when 34.that,after36.that 39.that 40.when 41.that 44.After 46.despite 49.that 55.Then, when 57.that
No.26 (47) 7/47 multi. 8/47 marked	1. Sir John Hall 5. The effect 6.he 7. His son 8. They 9.it 10.he 11 these 13.who 14. They 15. They 17.they 18. They 19. Let 21. Sir John 22.why 26. Were 27.Were 28. Was 29.that 31. One 32.who 36. That 39.jubilant fans 40. Motorists 43. Victory 44.who 46.he and the other two 47. Sir John's appointment	2. In Sir John's first public appearance 3. With his wife 16. At a time 20.what 23.The vilification 33. In a statement 34. As a result of.. 35.the facts 37.what	4.he 12.anyone 24.it 25.were 38. Sir John 41.several 42.the resignation 45.Messrs Shepherd and Hall		24.yes 30. No	4.as 12.as 25.but 38.As 41.and 42. However 45.that unless
No.27 (26) 8/26 multi. 2/26 marked	1. The Lord Chancellor 2. A wide range 3. Lord Irvine 6. The move 7. It 8.who 9. The measure 10.which 11. Self-employed barristers 13. We 14.which 15.we 19.which 20. A spokesman 24. Ministers	4.which 12. Last night	5.they 16. Lord Irvine 17.the Bar 21.the Government 22.it 23.it 25.all the new proposals 26.no White Paper			5.before 16. But 17.that 21.that 22.because 23.as 25.that 26.although
No.28 (44)	1.A naval officer 2.a court martial 3. Lieutenant 6.others 7. The court martial 9. Others 11. Commander 12.who 14. Two of the four complainants 15. Lieutenant 17.who	26. Among them 38. In January 1997	4.an 18-year-old rating 5.he 8.Commander 10.he 13.the court			4. later,after 5.that 8.that 10.that 13.where

15/44 multi. 2/44 marked	18. The ship 19. Commander 20. This 21. It 23. The gulf 24. Officers 25. Bellingham 27.who 28. Commander 29. Commander 32. He 35. She 41.he 42.he 43. She 44. The case		martrial 16.all the offences 22.the charges 30.the junior rating 31.he 33.she 34.Bellingham 36.he 37.she 39.she 40.that			16.that 22.that 30.that 31.because 33.Shortly afterwards 34.when 36.but 37.that 39.When 40.if
No.29 (24) 3/24 multi. 5/24 marked	1. a purge 2. Candidates 8. There 9. Mr Prescott 11. A huge one-party majority 12. Councillors 14. Every local Labour party 15. First selection 16. Full-time Labour officials 17. The clean-up 18.which 20 inquiries 21. Some councils 22. Others 23. Ways of reviving local ...24. Proposals	4. For the first time 6. Speaking to the Labour local... 10. In some cases 13.in which 19.in which	3.party officials 5.the party 7.his party's monopoly			3.as 5.as 7.that
No.30 (42) 13/42 multi. 6/42 marked	1.Jack Straw 2. The home Secretary 3. The main reform 5. Mr Straw 9. Officers 12.this 13. Officers 14.who 16. The measures 17.which 18. The chances 19. Mr Straw 24.which 25. He 33.who 34. He 36. Mr Broughton 37.it 39. The inspector 40. She 41. Mr Broughton 42. Proposals	4. Under his plan 6. At the moment 8. To stop this happening 10.At the moment 22. During talks with police groups 27. Yesterday	7.an officer 11.officers 15.they 20.he 21.the costs 23.any officer 26.reports 28.many of the changes 29.the federation 30.he 31.the lower standard 35.their own performance 38.PETER Bensley			7.if 11. If 15.unless 20. But 21.that 23.that 26.that 28.that 29.and 30. But 31.that 35.although 38.that
No.31 (47) 10/47 multi. 3/47 marked	1. Inquiries 2.Jack Straw 3. Investigators 4. They 5. The PCA 6. The proposals 7. Mr Straw 9. The changes 10.which 11. Mr Straw 12.that 15. The Home Secretary 16.that 17.the package 25. He 27. He 28. He 29.bad officers 30. Other measures 32.they 33. Officers 34.who 35.they 36. Mr Straw 37.he 39.who 40. All police authorities 41. The package of reforms 42. The Association 43.there 44.that 45. The Superintendents 46.the proposals	14. in the Hillsborough disaster 18.Yesterday 23.Yesterday	8.the new Criminal Cases... 13.there 19.the Government 20. The committee 21.the Home Office 22.public confidence 24.he 26.he 31.officers 38.he 47.the Home Secretary			8.that 13.where 19.that 21.that 22.if 24.that 26.that 31.Even when 38.that 47.and
No.32 (16) 1/16 multi. 0/16 marked	1. Benefit cuts 2. The Chancellor 3. The Working Families Tax Credit 4.which 5. The Chancellor 6.which 7.who 8. The increases 9.which 10.which 11. The Labour leadership 12. 47 Labour MPs 13.some 14.who 16. The Treasury		15.they			15.that
No.33 (21) 6/21 multi. 1/21 marked	1. Human rights 3.whose accounts 5. Three Kenyans' claims 8. The Home Secretary 9. Mike O'Brien 10.officials 11. The issue 12.which 13. Jack Straw 15. It 16. Eurostar 19.whose papers 20. The Belgian Interior 21. We	17.under which	2.The Times 4.Belgian officials 6.they 7. Britain 14.the Belgian Interior Minister 18.they			2.as 4.that 6.that 7.that 14.that 18.if
No.34 (17) 4/17 multi. 2/17 marked	1.Taxpayers 3. Queues 4.that 6. Revenue staff 7. The staff 8. The undisclosed 9. It 11. The Revenue's self-assessment 12.which 15. The money 16. That figure	5. In a move 13. Despite the eleventh-hour flurry	2.the deadline 10.tax officials 14.a million of the..17.the 1997-1998 returns		14.at least	2.as 10.that 14.that 17.when
No.35 (46) 19/46	1. Fewer houses 2. Councils 7.that 11. We 13.he 14. He 16. The change of strategy 17.which 18.the Council 19. Labour MPs 21. The Conservatives 22.who 24. Twenty of the 35 county councils 25. West Sussex 27.they	5.in how many houses 8.Writing in The Times today 28. In	3.they 4.they 6.they 9.the present "predict and provide policy 10.he 12.patterns	30.in his article today	23.at least	3.Decades before 4.and 6.But 9.that 10. Instead 12.that

multi. 5/46 marked	31. He 36. I 37. That 38. Releasing 39. Using 40.he 41. Ministers 45. Mr Prescott	each case 32. In his article	15.more than half of.. 20.some 200 MPs 23.60 per cent of development 26. Hertfordshire 29.the development 33.there34.he 35.they 42.there 43.some councils 44.they 46.he			15.that 20.and 23.that 26.while 29.that 30.and 33.that 34.but 35.that 42.that 43.and that 44.because 46.and
No.36 (25) 10/25 multi. 0/25 marked	1. John Prescott 3. Danbert Nobacon 4.who 7. Nobacon 9.the minister 11. Boff 13. A spokesman 15. The show's compere 17. The band 18. The lead singer 19. The band 20. It 21. There 24. She 25. He		2.a member 5. Fleetwood Mac 6.mr Prescott 8.his fellow band member 10.no charges 12.Nobacon 14.he 16.Chumbawumba 22.a protester 23.she			2.when 5.while 6.As 8. But 10.that 12.that 14.that 16.that 22.when 23.as
No.37 (25) 8/25 multi. 2/25 marked	1. A "Baby Dome" 2. Peter Mandelson 3.who 5.which 8. Tony Blair 9.who 13. Mr Mandelson 15. He 18. Mr Maude 20. Mr Maude 21. He 23.this 24.the sponsorship 25.we	4. Speaking within sight of .. 7. In the evening	6.visitors 10.the political row 11.it 12.he 14.he 16.he 17. Mr Maude 19. Mr Mandelson 22.you		22. can	6.that 10. But 11.after 12.that 14.that 16.that 17.because 19.that
No.38 (56) 9/56 multi. 4/56 marked	1. The headmaster 2.he 4. Philip Barnard 5.the 17-year-old 6. The news 7.who 9. Barnard 11. I 12.it 13.he 14. I 15. There 16.who 18. The difficulty for me 20. I 21. Barnard 22.further action 23.which 24. He 25. Jack Straw 27.his son 28. It 29. Straw 32. William 33. He 34. Fellow pupils 35.he 36. One 37.he 38. He 41. There 42. A third 43. Will 44. He 46. He 47. Barnard 48. William 49. He 50. It 51.why 52. It 53 there 55. The crown Prosecution 56. Police	39.said 40. In the upper sixth 45. In this case	3.he 8.his son 17. I 19.Jack Straw 26.he 30."quite a lot" of pupils 31.he 54.his father	10.not condoning drug-taking		3.because 8.that 10.that although 17.and 19.that 26.that 30.that 31.where 54.because
No.39 (43) 17/43 multi. 9/43 marked	1. Britain's Jewish 3. The Board 5. The Board 7.the dinner date 10. The Board 14. Mr Tabachnik 19. The postponement 22. Jon Sacker 24.we 27.a later date 28. Mr Sacker 29. It 33. A delegation 35. Mr Cook 39. The Foreign Officer 40.the dinner 41. He 42. The suggestion	2.at which 15. Considering the strength 18. At the board's dinner 20. On being greeted with.. 23. Along with a number of.. 25. Because of its..26. With feelings.. 32. To help move the..	4.the event 6.the postponement 8.iy 9.no new date 12.the fund-raising dinner 13. Mr Cook 16.we 17.things 30.there 31.Robin Cook 34.the Israel visit 36it 37.no indication 38.he 43.this	11.according to today's...	16. Hopefully 21. well	4.that 6.that 8.because 9. However 11.But 12.that 13.if 17.when 30.that 31.how 34.when 36.when 37.but 38.whether 43.that
No.40 (56) 25/56 multi. 4/56 marked	1. Regulars 4. The landlady 5.There 7. I 10. She 11. It 12. It 13.the pub 15. The low ceilings 16.which 18. The Bridge Inn 21.there 22. The ghost 23. Mrs Cheffers-heard 24. She 26. We 28. The only spirit 29.the Queen 30. It 32. The earliest part 35. One other ghost 37.they 43.it 47.he 48. It 50. Mrs Cheffers-Heard 53. Mrs Cheffers-Heard	9.said 39. Hanging above the fire 44. In 1981	2.the Queen 3.there 6.the monarch 8.she 14.Mrs Cheffers-Heard's great-granddaughter 17.it 19. Topsham 20.the landlady's family 25. I 27.things 31.somewhere 33.it 34.it 36.advisers 38.it 40.the Princess 41. Buckingham Palace 42.yesterday's outing 45.her car 49.she 51.the Queen 52.it 54.	46.in 1959	56. I am sure	2when 3. But 6.as 8.and 14.since 17.since 19.that 20.when 25.and 27.whenever 31.if 33.when 34.and 36. When 38.that 40.that 41.Although 42.that 45.after 46. And 49.whether 51. After 52.whether 54.that

			Prince Philip 55. The Queen 56.he			
No.41 (12) 2/12 Multi 1/12 marked	1. The public rating 2.that 3. The poll 5. The public 6. Labour 8. Liberal Democrats 9. The public 10. The public 12. Paddy Ashdown's figures	11. by a two-to-one margin	4. Labour's rating 7.the Tories			4.that 7.while
No.42 (17) 7/17 multi. 2/17 marked	1. The Government 2. Labour Irvine 6. Legislation 7. The laws 9. A defence 12.MPs 14. The problem 15. Newspapers	5. In what 13. In that case	3.self-regulation 4.a draft Bill 8.they 10.a newspaper 11.an individual 16.there 17.legislation			3.that 4.and that 8.if 10.if 11.that 16.that 17.and that
No.43 (10) 2/10 multi. 2/10 marked	1. More than 100,000 jobless young people 2. Details of the multimillion-pound 3.who 6. Similar deals 9. The New Deal 10. The half-fare discount	4. At a press conference 7. Despite reservations	5.people 8.the concession			5.that 8. But
No.44 (42) 16/42 multi. 2/42 marked	1. Tony Blair 3. Government sources 4.the Prime Minister 5. The Government 6.which 7. Blair 9. An announcement 10.a Northern Ireland Office spokesman 11. The government conciliatory gesture 13. The killings 14. The British embassy 15. Jack Lynch 18.his report 19. He 23.they 25.the dead 27. Blair 29.what 30. The Prime minister 34.who 37.that 38. Blair's officials 40. It 41. The key element	24. In January 1993 35. Over the past few months	2.the Parachute Regiment 8.a statement 12.political change 16.he 17.a tribunal 20.the soldiers 21.they 22.they 26.they 28. Widgery's tribunal 31.some shots 32.no soldiers 33.the people 36.they 39.he 42.power			2.when 8.and 12.that 16.when 17. Although 20.that21.and that 22.when 26.that 28.that 31.that 32.however although 33.and 36.whether 39.which 42.where
No.45 (28) 11/28 multi. 2/28 marked	1. A Knighthood 2. The move 4. Dewar 5. The 67-year-old actor 6.who 8. The party's popularity 10. Connery 11.he 12. Downing Street 13. It 14.that 17.who 21. It 22. Dewar's intervention 23. This 26. The fact	25. Apart from being the most...	3.he 9.he 15.a Labour source 16.it18.it 19 labour 20.tax exiles 24.he 27.Connery 28.many other Britons	7.in recent years	16. Ultimate ly	3.and because 7. However 9.when 15. However 18.but 19.if 20.that 24.when 27.that 28.since
No.46 (38) 14/38 multi. 4/38 marked	1.Robin Cook's affair 2. Lord Irvine 4.who 5. He 7.that 10. I 13.the Lord Chancellor 14. What public interest 15. Robin Cook 16. Lord Irvine 19. The Lord Chancellor 20.he 21.which 22. He 24.people 25. The court 26. Lord Irvine 27. He 31. He 37. The Lord Chancellor	8.In an interview 34. Where 35.where 36. In theses cases	3.he 6. People 9.he 11.that 12.the PCC 17.he 18.he 23.others 28.they 29.the court's predisposition 30.the press 32.judges 33.he 38.the preferred shape		29. I think	3.that 6.so that 9.if 11.that 12.that 17.but 18.that 23.although 28.whether 30.but 32.that 33. But 38.that
No.47 (49) 14/49 multi. 2/49 marked	1. A head teacher 2. Roger Brown 3. An application 5. Mr brown 6. It 8. One grandmother 9.who 11. Mr Brown 12. Its heating system 17. Mr Brown 19.we 20. It 22.hje 23. Mr Brown 24.that 26. Mrs Redmond 27. Mrs Redmond 28. It 29. Mr Brown 30. I 31. I 33.who 34. We 37. An Easter fair 38. The head 39. I 40. Why 41. We 43. A spokesman 45. Replacing the building 46. More than two million schooldays 47.the Children's Society 48. The Society	16. Last year 35. This year	4.the 407-pupil school 7.you 10.condition 13.it 14.radiators 15.holes 18.we 25.he 32.my wife 36.parents 42.they 44.it 49.schools	21.rather than push...	32. Fortunately 42. Hopefully	4.but in the meantime 7.when 10.that 13.that 14.and 15.that 18. When 21.that 25. While 36.but 44.that 49.that
No.48 (25)	1. The families 2.who 5. Relatives 6.which 7. The video 8.ropes 9.that 10. The Westhaven 12. Mr Pattison 13.who 15. The	19. Yesterday	3.their trawler 4.an underwater video 11.it 14.the			3.when 4.as 11.when 14.when

7/25 multi. 1/25 marked	boad 18. Mr Pattison and his crew 20.that 21.there 22. A draft report 23. It 25. The inquiry		nets 16.one of the lifecrafts 17.a second 24.satellite distress signals			16.that 17.and 24.before
No.49 (15) 5/15 multi. 0/15 marked	1. The plans 2. New York 4. The London authority 5. Local government 8. Mr Giuliani 9. Barcelona 10. Barcelona's mayor 12. German cities 14. Similar voting systems 15.that		3.each 6.the mayor 7.ministers 11.his election 13.many		11.Neverth eless	3.and 6.where 7.and 13.as
No.50 (28) 10/28 multi. 1/28 marked	1. A new tax credit 4.which 5. Couples 6.which 7.which 9. The credit 10. Dawn Primarolo 11. The new credit 13. It 16. The tax credit 18.it 21. It 22. We 24. It 25. It 26. Independent taxation 27. The charges	2.Under the original proposals	3.the Treasury 8.they 12.they 14.it 15.which 17.the scheme 19. Mr Brown 20.a Treasury source 23.the money 28.the national minimum wage			3.But 8.if 12.if 14.which 15.and 17. When 19. But 20.and 23.that 28.when

***The number of the clauses in each text includes the clauses in complexes (sentences)**

Appendix 10

Thematic Analysis of the texts from China Daily

TEXT	Single Theme Topical (Experiential)Theme		Multiple Themes			
	Unmarked	Marked	Topical Theme		Inter personal Theme	Textual Theme
			Unmarked	Marked		
No.1 (12) 1/12 multi. 3/12 marked	1. China 2. The office 4. Moftec and SETC 5. Establishment of the office 6.which 9. China' first anti-dumping cases 10.SETC 11. Any party related with the anti-dumping case 12.the release	7.Often target of foreign anti-dumping measures, 8. On October 16,1997	3.the Moftec			3. Meanwhile
No.2 (46) 9/46 multi. 6/ 46 marked	1. Taiwan authorities 2.Promoting political talks 3. Qian 5. Qian 6. The forum 8. The mainland 9.both sides 12. Ending mainland-taiwan hostilities 13. Qian 15. Qian 17.he 18.(that) 21.the "one China" policy 22. The "one China" principle 23. Qian 24. Taiwan 26. Qian 27. Taiwan authorities 28. The mainland 30. It 32. Chen Yunlin 33.his office 35. Tang Shubei 37. Tang 38. Arats and Sef 39. Tang 40. The mainland side 41. The mainland side 44. The mainland side46. Foreign forces	4.under the "one China" policy, 7. In his 1995 speech, 14. For the first step 16. Through such procedural arrangements, 20.During his speech, 42. Under the formula,	10.non-political, economic and business-like semi-official negotiations 11. Taiwan leaders 25. China's sovereignty and territorial integrity 29. Taiwan "President" Lee Teng-hui 31. The semi-official talks 34. Taiwan authorities 36.cross-Straits relations in 1997 43.its economic and social organisations 44. Taiwan			10.that 11. However 25.and 29.since 31.when 34.provided 36.that 43.and 45.that
No.3 (13) 0/13 multi. 0/13 marked	1.Woman swimmer 2.which 3. Chen 4. Second 5. The world No 1 6. Woman sprinter 7. Li's awesome 10.79 seconds 8. She 9. Third to 10th place 10.who 11.whose killing spikes 12. The coaches 13. The selection					
No.4 (16) 2/16 multi. 1/16 marked	1. Bilateral relations 2. The relationship 3. Zhang Wannian 4. The expansion of friendly co-operative ties 5.he 6. A frequent exchange of visits 7. Zhang 9. Zhang 10. (that) 11. This 12. He 14. He 15. He	13.during his visit	8.solid advances 16.he			8.that 16.that
No.5 (29) 6/29 multi. 4/ 29 marked	1. Large numbers of Chinese 2. Shanghai China International Travel Service 3. The most popular destination 4. The fanatical upheaval 5. An eight-day Thailand tour 6. The price 7. Zhang 9. This year's Spring Festival 11. Travel abroad 14. About 80 per cent of them 16. Many others 18. China Travel Service's head office 19. Most people 20. Many ofthem 21.who 23. Yu Junyi 24.his company 25. Tickets to Hainan 27. Other Shanghai people	13. Since 1995 22. (that) 28. In addition to long-distance travel 29. In 1996	8.more than 300 people 10.many people 12. More than 5,000 people 15.some 17.the winter 26. The company			8. however 10.and 12. So far 15. Although 17. Where 26.and
No.6	1.Bao Weihua 2. Bao and the other	15. in these areas,	10. Guangxi	4.as of		4.that

(28) 3/28 multi. 3/28 marked	soldiers 3. Qui Daxiong 5. This 6.that 7. Qiu 8.nearly 10 million square metres of mined area 9. Millions of mines 11. Qiu 12.the plan 13. Zhang Shangzhong 14.ordinary people 16. These slopes 17. Each soldier 18. The soldiers' clothes 20.one soldier 21.who 22.the usual method 25. They 26. Qiu 27. Sino-Vietnamese relations 28. The aim of the minesweeping operation	23. At one side 24. After that	19.strict precautions	January 25		10.and 19. And even though
No.7 (16) 3/16 multi. 2/16 marked	1. Dutch-based Rabobank 2.bank officials 3. The establishment of the Shanghai branch 4. Bank Executive Board Member 5. The branch 6. Rabobank 7.its Hong Kong branch 10. The new Shanghai licence 12. He 15. Slingelandt 16. Rabobank	11.said 14. Based on its experience and network	8.it 9. Rabobank 13.the Shanghai branch			8. So far 9. For example 13.that
No.8 (18) 3/18 multi. 2/18 marked	1. Chinese President Jiang Zemin 2. Jiang 4. They 5.he 6. The direct cotact between leaders of the two countries7.he 8. Jiang 9.the news media10. Mutual understanding 11. Jiang 13. Levin 14. He 16. Levin 18. Kluge	17. yesterday	12.the news media 15.his company	3.during his successful visit		3.that 12.that 15.and that
No.9 (15) 1/15 multi. 5/15 marked	1.China's massive government restructuring scheme 2.it 3. It 5. It 6. The restructuring package 8. Other foreign businessmen and China observers 9. Laurence Braham 10.the move 12. The reform	4.said 7.(procedure) 11. (the endeavours) 14. By doing s 15.said	13.a new ministry			13. for example,
No.10 (26) 11/26 multi. 1/26 marked	1. The "Health News" 4. The news 5.who 6. The study 9. The figure 19 the study 12. It 15. Professor Jiao 166.who 17. The condition 19. He 22. Shanghai's population 23. It 24. The city's Statistics Bureau 26. The private sector		2.more of the citizens of Shanghai 3. Preventive measures 7.12.69 per cent of adults 8. 15 per cent of the males 11.people 13.illiterate people 18.it 20.fairly good diedary habits 21. The average person's weight 25.the work force	14.the higher the education		2.that 3.and that 7.that 8. Also 11.that 13.that 14.and 18.and 20.that 21. While 25.that
No.11 (16) 2/16 multi. 8/16 marked	Chinese customs departments 6. Customs offices 7. They 8. Companies and individuals 12. Gongbei Customs Office 13. The news service 16. The news service	2.which 3. In 1997, 4. In the first half of last year 5. In the latter half of the year, 9. In 1994, 10 in another development, 14. In the last year's cases,	11.Gongbei Customs Office	15.in the 1980s		11.that 15.while
No.12 (22) 1/22 multi. 3/22 marked	1. the year 3. The period 4.he 5. Jiang 6. This year 9. Jiang 10.Bilateral relations 11. Jiang 13.he 14. China and Japan 15.he 16. Long- term friendship 17. Yashuhiko 18.he 19. The successful conventing 20.he 21. Guo Chaoren 22. The Kyodo News Service delegation	2.says 7. Last year 8. At this juncture	12.there			12. though
No.13 (44)	1.taxi fares 3. Each kilometre 4. This 6.who 9.it 10.who 11.the change.12. the new pricing measure	2. Beginning next month, 13.said 15.how 19. Before	5.people 7.those 8.this 16. I 21.I	14. driving in traffic downtown		5.that 7. However.8. Although

11/44 multi 11/44 marked	17.all of which 18. I 20. There 22.the lower fees 23.he 24. Shanghai 25. The business 28. Shanghai Bushi 30. Zhu 32. They 33.the driver 37.he 40. Bargaining 42.the newspaper 44.some local residents	the change 26.said 27. Besides the tough competition 29. Early this year 31. Despite several years of growth 36. As a result, 38. According to the local Wenhui Daily,	34.some bus drivers 35.they39.so me local residents 41.it 43.drivers			14. while 16. If 21.and 34. So 35. Because 39.For example 41.as 43. While
No.14 (45) 15/45 multi. 2/45 marked	1. Securities investment 2.which 3. Recent survey 5. A survey 6. It 8. Twenty-nine per cent 9.they 11.they 12. The survey 14. A survey 16.buying stocks 17. China's policy-makers 19. An analyst 20.one of the goals 22. This 27.they 28.which kind of investment 29. Current investment items 32. About half of those investing 34. This propotion 36. The survey 37. Two hundred local investors 38. Ninety-three people 39. 92 41.they 42. About 40 per cent 43. The newspaper 45. those	18.said 26. In Guangzhou	4.more Shanghai and Guangzhou residents 7. Shanghai's savers 10.only 29 per cent 13.local residents 15. 18.5 per cent 21.the central government 23.withdrawa l of bank deposits 24.the survey 25.many people 30.a recent survey 31.investing in the stock 33.the other half 35.less than a quarter of investors 40.15 44.24 per cent			4.that 7.that 10.and 13.that 15.that 21.because 23.when 24. However, 25.that 30. Meanwhile 31.that 33.while 35.when 40.and 44.that
No.15 (12) 1/12 multi. 1/12 marked	1. Heavy rain 2. The China News Service 4. The rain 5.which 6. That level 7. The river's flood peak 8. A flood 9. More than 14,000 people 10 the loss 11. A total of 35 dams 12. The flood		3.local meteorologica l department			3.that
No.16 (18) 2/18 multi. 1/18 marked	1. the detention and prosecution 4. Dr Peter H.Lee 5. Lee 6. Lee 7.who 8. Lee 9. Zhu Bangzao 10. Lee 11.the spokesman 12.these 13. Zhu 14. It 15. Sino-US relations 17. Zhu 18. Seven prominent academicians	2.indicates	3.a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman 16. China			3. And 16.and
No.17 (11) 0/17 multi. 2/17 marked	1. Chairman of the National People's Congress 2. This 3. Qiao's main purpose 4.which 5. He 6. Qiao 7. Qiao's first official activity 9. He 10. He	8. In a short speech, 11. Today				
No.18 (20) 2/20 multi. 1/20 marked	1. Premier Li Peng 2. Customs offices 3.he 4. Customs offices 5. Li 6. He 7. An effort 8. Li 9. He 11. Chinese customs officials 13. About 3,28 billion yuan 14. Customs departments 15. Customs authorities 16.the news service 17. Customs 18.which 20. Enterprises and institutions	19. of these	10. china News Service 12.1059 cases		12. In all	10. Meanwhile
No.19 (19) 1/19	1. Establishment of stable relations 3. Relations 4. Wang Daohan 5. Relations 6. People's Dialy overseas edition 7. Repid development 8. Wang 9. Conditions for	2.says	14.the Chinese Government and people			14.and

multi 2/19 marked	establishing new Sino-Japanese relations 10. Wang 11. President Jiang Zemin 12. Taiwan 13. Wang 16. People from both nations 17. Wang 18. Let 19. Wang		15. Xinhua news agency			
No.20 (47) 17/47 multi. 7/47 marked	1. Firecracker sounds 2. People 5. It 10. The public transport department 12. Some people 17.who 18. Officials 19. The office 24.the reports 25. Adults 27.that 28. Most fireworks 29. T article he 31. Most fireworks accidents 33. Doctors 35. Doctors 36.the number of accidents 38. Another 112 people 39. Some people 40. Other people 42.it 43.no fireworks-caused fires 45. Some 57 fires 47.which	6. Since 1994 9.This year 13.In turn 15.According to Beijing Youth Daily 22. In most cases 44 According to China News Service	3.they 4.the fireworks 7. No firecrackers 8.people 11.the displays 14.the ban 16.they 21.none 23.none 26.children 30.six people 32.fireworks 33.those injured 37.84 people 40.fireworks 46.three people	20. on Sunday	37. At least	3.but 4.because 7.that 8.when 11.Howeve r, 14.that 16.that 20And 21.that 23.but 26.and 30.that 32.where 33.that 40.that 46.and
No.21 (15) 3/15 multi. 1/15 marked	1. crops in parts of Southern China 2. China News Service 4. The average temperature 6. The frozen weather 7.which 8. Snow 9. The soil 11.the reports 13. Farmers14. The farmers 15.the report	3. According to the China…	5.the total sunshine time 10.rape and wheat 12. sunshine		12. Luckily	5. moreover 10.and
No.22 (16) 0/16 multi. 0/16 marked	1.Officials 2.which 3. More than 700 people 4. Local authorities 5. Quality control officials 6.they 7. The Beijing-based newspaper 8.which 9. Wang Qinghua 10. The newspaper 11.this 12 each of the previous cases 13. They 14. A total of 75 drinkers 15. Death sentences 16. Seven central government ministries					
No.23 (11) 0/11 multi 1/11 marked	1. The eyes of the world 2. It 3.that 4. More than 2,000 journalists 5.which 6. The 2,950-plus deputies 7.that 8 the sessions 10.they 11. The photos	9.Busy				
No.24 (36) 11/36 multi 4/36 marked	1. Hong Kong stocks 2. Analysts 3.it 4. The plunge of the Hang Seng Index 6. The decline 7. Hong Kong stocks 8. H shares and red chips 9. Major Hong Kong banks 10.they 14.it 16. An analysts 20. Confidence 21.the analyst 24.the stock transactions 28. Chen Yuqiang 32.which 33.he 34., Chen 36. The particularly severe slump	5. At one point, 11. In other news, 29.considering basic elements 35.it	15.regional financial turmoil 17.the market downturn 18.signs 19.big European and US investors Hang Seng Index 23. Hong Kong special…25. Chief Executive 26.the government 27.the fundamentals 30.the stock performance 31.the regional crisis		22. I think	15. Also 17.that 18.as 19.that 23. However 25. And 26.that 27.that 30. However 31.when
No.25 (17)	1. Art auction companies 2.that 4. The total trade volume 6. The take of the auction 8.who 10. A unified auction	3. By the end of last year, 5. At a profit of 10 per	7.the number 11. The numerous			7.but 11.so that 12. In addition 15.

4/17 multi. 5/17 marked	market 13. The qualifications of the auction 14. Trading of and checking on agents 16.whatever	cent 9. In this narrow market 17.In these ways,	auction 12.management of the market 15.potential investors			At the same time
No.26 (39) 10/39 multi. 6/39 marked	A market 2. Ordinary Chinese 4. The works 5. Each piece 7. A Magnet landscapes 8. A question 9. How 12. Even a difference of one centimetre 15. The former 17. Making copies 22.that 25.which 26. The Yuanmeng Art Co 28. It 29. The company 30. The volume 32. This 33.which 34. The vast majority 35. Most of the originals 36.who 37. It 38.that	3.something 21. In contemporary times 24. In the '95 Beijing Art Exposition 27. In the past few years 31. It 39. It	6.Van Gogh's...10.the copy 11.its size 13.it 14.the purpose of the copy 16.the latter 18.people 19.the Chinese 20.reproduction 23.high-tech coping		10. first 23.of course,	6. For example, 11.At the same time 13.Second 14.Third 16.while 18.as 19.As a matter of fact 20 For example
No.27 (18) 4/18 multi. 0/18 marked	1. Ian Woosnam 3. Yin Jian 4. We 6.that 7. Woosnam 8. This 9. My team 11. I 12. The course 13. The club 14. The course 15. The site 16. Woosnam 18. The project		2.he 5.we 10.we 17.this wonderful site		5.we believe	2.that 5.and 10.and 17.and
No.28 (35) 4/35 multi 3/35 marked	1. Officials 2. They 3. Planning 4. Chongqing 5. Pu Haiqing 7. They 8. Chongqing 10. Chongqing 11. Chongqing's officials 12. A dozen of the top 13. Six foreign banks 14. We 15. Pu 16. Hong Kong 18. Chongqing's officials 19. More workers 20.which 21. More than 400,000 workers 23. An additional 180,000 workers 24. Ninety per cent of the ...26. Additional difficulties 27.which 29.the problem 30 .the laid-off workers 31. Pu 32. They 34. Local private entrepreneurs 35. Labour migration	22. Despite efforts to re-employ them, 25.said 33. In addition to usual re-employment measures	6.investors 9.the GDP's steady increase 17.officials 28.the municipal government			6. Otherwise 9. But 17.But 28.But
No.29 (20) 5/20 multi. 3/20 marked	1. Jinli Zongfu Mansion 2. Which 4. Chengdu 5.which 7. That 8.why 9.which 10. Statistics 12. The city's increasingly important role 13.he 19. Major buyers 20.he	3.Neighbouring thr Sichuan Hotel.6.said 17. According to Wu	11. Chengdu 14.we 15.the city 16.additional office development 18.it			11.that 14.But 15.because 16. Meanwhile 18.since
No.30 (13) 1/13 multi. 1/13 marked	1. Shenyin and Wanguo 2. The turnover 3. The company 4.which 5.the newspaper 6. Chinese Securities Co 9. Combined turnover 10.the newspaper 12. The Investment 13. Their positions	8. rounding out the 1997	11.trading			11. However
No.31 (13) 1/13 multi. 2/13 marked	1. Chengdu 2. The Boeing MD-90 airplane nose 5. Another contract 6. CAIC's reliable manufacturing technology 7. Plane noses 8. A good reputation 9. A contract 10. The work 12. The Chengdu aircraft manufacture 13. It	3. Together with 75 MD-80 noses 4. In 1988	11.the delivery			11.and
No.32 (25) 2/25 multi. 3/25 marked	1.High-rise builders 2.who 3. The Ministry of Construction 4.whose seismic designs requirements 6.the ministry 7. Vice-Minister 8. The number of high-rises 9.ministry statistics 11.the ministry 14. Ye 15. High-rises with deficiencies 16.the official 17. The regulations 18. The design 19. Ye 20. Companies 21. China 22. The new code 23. Lin Xuancai	5. Considering such high-rise 26. By the end of last year 27. lin	10.most of the 170 tall buildings 13.the designs		12. Luckily	10. But 13.before

	24. China 25. Lin					
No.33 (23) 0/23 multi. 5/23 marked	1. Chinese anti-drug department 2. The news 3. Tao Siju 5.who 7. That 8. The department 9.that 10. China 11. Border area in South China 14. More than 16,000 criminals 15.who 16. China 17. These centres 18. The Chinese Government's measures to curb the spread 19. The committee 20.young people 21. An exhibition 22. Bai 23.that	4.as 6. According to Bai Jingfu 12. Besides police's effort 13. In the first 11 months of last year				
No.34 (18) 1/18 multi. 2/18 marked	1. Chinese computer giant 2. The newly-formed company 3. The company 4. The business of Great Wall 5.which 6. The company 7. The statement 8. The Great Wall 9.which 10. The purchased shares 11. The Great Wall Group 13.Wang Zi 15.which16. Shenzhen Development Technology 18. It	12.After its establishment 17. Established in 1996	14.the assets restructuring		14.he believed	14.that
No.35 (18) 3/18 multi. 1/18 marked	1. Hangzhou Steam Turbine 2. The shares 4. The lead domestic underwriter 6. The offer 7. The issuance 9.the company 10. Proceeds from the issuance 11.the prospectus 12. Hangzhou Turbine 13. The firm 14.the prospectus 16. Hangzhou Steam Turbine Group 17. The group's predecessor 18.which	15.As a result of a 10-year co-operation	3.the issuance 5.the global co-ordinator 8.the offer			3.after 5.and 8. If
No.36 (11) 1/11 multi. 0/11 marked	1. Tung Wah Group 2. This 3. This 4.that 5. The tremor 6. Part of TWGH's contribution 7. The housing 8. Some HK$10 million 9. The remainder 10. More than 136,000 houses		11.another 264,000			11.and
No.37 (25) 7/25 multi. 5/25 marked	1. East China's Anhui Province 2.the Shanghai-based Liberation Daily 3. A recent investigation 4. Which 6. These enterprises 11. China 14. Such conduct 15. Statistical falsification 18. The paper 19.the investigation 20.which 23.the paper 24. The authorities	5.said 8.said 9.giving no details 12. To help implement the law 17. To combat the fraud-accounting	7.164 institutions 10.those people 13.violations 16.the provincial government 21.a township in Wuhu County 22.the firms 25.a district's township enterprises			7. So far 10.that 13.but 16.when 21.and 22. Regardless of whether 25. And
No.38 (24) 5/24 multi. 4/24 marked	1. China's new premier 2. The visit 3. Foreign Ministry spokesman 5. The meeting 6. Zhu Bangzao 7. The premier 9. This 10. He 12. The Sino-Russian strategic co-operative partnership 13. He 15. Zhu Baongzao 21. He 22. Karama 23.who	4.During the second SAEM, 8. Asked to make comment on... 11. As Russia's friendly neighbour 17. In another development 18. In talks with...	14.the relationship 16.President Joaquim 19.china 20.diplomatic ties 24.the Guinea people		14.he believed	16.that 19.that 20.since 24.that
No.39 (13) 2/13 multi. 3/13 marked	1. Jiang Enzhu 2.he 4.which 5. He 8. A half year's experience in the SAR 10. Jiang 11.the new year 13.he	3.In an interview 7. Reviewing the progress 12. Noting that the people throughout the world	6. Hong Kong's 6 million residents 9.the State's basic policy			6.that 9.that
No.40 (23) 0/23 multi. 5/23	1. Srilankan woman sprinter 2. Jayasinge 3. China's Chen Yan 4. The 16-year-old liaoning swimmer 6. Iranian World Cup qualifying competition 8.that 9. Fourth 10.who 11. World and Olympic champion 12. Deng 13. She 14. Hong Kong's best cyclist 16. He 17. China's Olympic men's weightlifting champion	5.At the World Swimming Championships 7. Voted the Asian Footballer of the year 15. At the Shanghai National Games 21. At				

marked	18. Zhan 19. Fifteen-year-old Japanese 20. Aoyama 22.who	ninth place 23. Wrapping up the list				
No.41 (34) 9/34 multi. 2/34 marked	1.Four Chinese swimmers 2. Fina 4. The samples 6.the Fina press 7. The Fina Executive 9.the press release 10. The Chinese Swimming Association 12. We 14. The Chinese Swimming Association 15. That 16. We 17.it 19.it 20. Finas Secretary 23. We 24. Werner 25. Fina 28. The head 29.the four swimmers 30. Shi 31.the news 32. There 34.he	13.said 21.under the sport's rules	3.Chinese women 5.the analyses 8.a hearing 11.it 18.Fina 22.they 26.we 27.we 33.this			3.that 5.and 8.until 11.that 18. Meanwhile 22.If 26. If 27.then 33.and
No.42 (26) 6/26 multi. 9/26 marked	1.Hong Kong consumers 3. A total of 38,000 live chickens 4. People in Hong Kong 5. China News Service 8. The source 10. The price for live chickens 12. 80 per cent of them 15.which 16. No case 17. The organization 19. The mainland	6.According to officials 7. Because of the bird flu 11. Prior to the breakout of bird flu 13. On January 23 18. Until the day 21. Ever since the slaughter 24.said 25. According to the Chinese news service	2.an epidemic of bird flu 9.the number of chickens 14.the bird flu 22.no cases of A H5N1 bird flu 23. Guangdong 26.the sales of	20.from December 29 to 31		2.since 9.that 14.that 20. And 22. Although 26.that
No.43 (12) 1/12 multi. 0/12 marked	.1. Domestic and foreign journalists 2. The general offices 3.journalists 4. The First Session of the 5. The press center 6/ journalists from the ... 7. Local reporters 8. Journalists from the ...9. Foreign reporters 10. Journalists from Taiwan 12. Foreign correspondents		11.those			11.while
No.44 (28) 6/28 multi. 1/28 marked	1.Both Shanghai and Shenzhen 2. The Shanghai index 3. The Shenzhen index 6. The market 8. A moderate rebound 11. The lost ground 12. The transaction value 13. The b-share market 14. The market 15. The market 16.analysts 17.consolidation 18. The market 21. Transaction value 22. The Shenzhen B-share 23. It 24. The B-share 25. Analysts 26.confidence 27. Investor caution 28.analysts	19. after fluctuating narrowly	4.B-share trading 5.investors 7.the index 9.the market 10.the central bank 20.the lost ground			4.However 5.as 7.as 9. But 10.that 20. But
No.45 (20) 4/20 multi. 2/20 marked	1.How 3.they 5. News 6. Another 39.8 per cent 7.reading poetry 11.who 13. Some 9.2 per cent 14. These 15. About 34.4 per cent 16.poetry 17. They 19. Works of the revolutionary 20. The lyrical poems	2. In a sample survey 10. When asked	4.30.6 per cent 8.23.6 9.poetry 12.it 18.modern life		4.In contrast,	8.and 29.that 12.that 18.however that
No.46 (46) 3/46 multi. 2/46 marked	1.Joint-stock companies 2. The commission 3. Other requirements 4. Net assets 5. The net profits assets 6.net profits 7. The assets 8. The candidates 10.the commission 14. None of the B-share candidates	11.For B-share candidates 15. Except for the flotation of B shares	9.many companies 12.they 13.they			9. Because 12. But 13. In the meantime
No.47 (21) 1/21 multi. 4/21 marked	1.The manufacturer of Chinese Star 2. The Chinese company 4. Sun Tendy's market manager 5.his company 6. Zhou 11.which 14. Zhou 15. Their only visible reaction 16. The SunTendy manager 17.his company 18.we 19. He 20.the compensation 21. SunTendy	3. According to a chief manager 10.under the name of Chinese Star 12. Last September 13. Before and after taking this action	7.Alestron 8. What 9.he			7.that
No.48 (36) 9/36	1. China 2.a senior securities official 3. Zhou Zhengqing 4.the China Securities Regulatory Commission 5. pEople'' Daily 6. All local securities supervisory 7.which 8. Zhou 9. He 10.the move to...	17. in light of the increasing worry	14.it 16.the outcome 19.conditions for a quick market			14.and 16.but 19.and 21. However 22.that 26.

multi. 1/36 marked	11. Other measures 12. Zhou 13.the prospects 15. China 18. China's stock market 20.he 23. The market value 24. Zhou 25. China 31. He 32.the development 35. Policies 36. Zhou		expansion 21.this 22. China 26.we 27.we 28.he 29. Zhou 30.large State listings 33.he 34. china			When 30.that 33. In addition 34.that
No.49 (17) 0/17 multi. 4/17 marked	1.Beijing callers 2. The line 4. Gan Guoping 6. All the special telephone numbers 7.which 9.that 10. Gan 12.which 13. The administration 14. Most consumer disputes 15. Gan 16. He 17.the State administration	3.To date 5. Being a step of the State and local Governments 8. To create a broader channel 11. Last year				
No.50 (23) 1/23 multi. 2/23 marked	1.China's accomplishments 3. The Chinese Government 4. China 5.the office 6. It 7. Living standards of the Chinese people 8.the office 9. The number of people 10.statistics 11. Less than one-twentieth of the world's poor population 12.the office 13. The Chinese Government 14.the office 15. Comprehensive rules 16. A series of laws 17. The Chinese people 18. China 20.the office 21. Boosting economic development 23.the office	2.suggests 22. Only then	19.it			19.because

***The number of the clauses in each text includes the clauses in complexes (sentences)**

Appendix 11

Types of textual Theme used in The Times

Text	Continuative	Conjunctive	Conjuncts		Relatives		Total
			Co-ordinator	Subordinator	Definite	Indefinite	
No.1			10.and 14.then 15.and 30.and (4)	6.that 12.when 25.that 29.if 35.since (5)			9
No.2			6.but 33.but (2)	8.that 10.that 12.that 14.that 19.that 20.when 23.when 29.while (8)			10
No.3			5.but 26.and 29.and (3)	6.that 7.as 11.that 16.that 17.that (5)			8
No.4			34.and (1)	3.because 5.whether 11.if 13.if 14.because 15.if 24.if 33.whether (8)			9
No.5			13.and 26.and 31.and 34.but (4)	5.that 18.that 21.that 25.that 29.that (5)			9
No.6			19.but 27.but (2)	6.although 8.that 9.if 20.that (4)	23.where (1)		7
No.7				7.since 20.although (2)			2
No.8			11.and 19.and (2)	10.if 12.as 16.before (3)			5
No.9				10.as 16.that (2)			2
No.10			24.and 45.or (2)	3.if 7.even though 14.that 21.that 27.that 32.that although 38.that 39.that 47.only if (10)	18.where 42.where (2)		14
No.11			7.but 16.and 19.but (3)	3.that 4.since 6.that 10.that 15.that 20.that 28.that 34.that (8)	26.when 32.where (2)		13
No.12			20.and (1)	11.that 15.before 22.after (3)	5.where 7.when 14.when (3)		7
No.13			4.but 32.and 34.and 36.and 46.but 57.and (6)	6.when 12.that 13.after 17.that 30.until 37.as 58.that (7)			13
No.14		14.in the meantime (1)	9.and (1)	3.that 5.after 7.that 11.when 16.that 22.that (6)			8
No.15			9.but 11.and 29.and 31.but 37.and (5)	3.that 5.that 7.that 8.that 10.that 11.that 13.that14.while 17.that 19.that 20.that22.that 24.that 26.that 28.that 29.that 34.that 36.that 40.that 42.that (20)			25
No.16		12. however (1)	3.but 9.but 15.but (3)	4.that 6.if (2)			6
No.17		30.likewise (1)	17.and 21.but 24.and 31.but (4)	3.that 6.that 9.that 10.because 14.because 17.provided that 22.if that 26.because (9)			14
No.18			10.and 18.but 22.but (3)	4.that 7.that 12.that 14.when 16.that 18.if 26.that 27.after (8)			11
No.19		14.however 25.however (2)	15.and (1)	10.so that 14.that 16.that 17.that 18.before 22.that 24.that 27.that 29.while 31.although 32.that (11)	26.how (1)		15
No.20				2.after 4.that 19.until 24.that 25.before (5)	20.how 29.when 31.where (3)		8
No.21				5.because 7.that when 8.after 10.as 12.that 15.that 20.since 28.when 33.that (10)	18.ehere (1)		11
No.22		11.instead 37.at last (2)	6.but 20.and 34.but (3)	2.as 17.that 26.as 32.that after (5)			10
No.23		31.however (1)	9.but (1)	3.as 8.because 10.as soon as 24.if 28.that 32.only if (6)	19.when 23.why (2)		10
No.24			32.but (1)	3.that 12.if 14.whether 23.that 24.while 31.that 37.that (7)	21.how (1)		9
No.25			4.but 15.but 24.and 25.and 55.then (5)	5.after 10.that 11.as 13.that 22.that 27.whether 31.when 34.that after 36.that 39.that 40.when 41.that 44.after 49.that 55.when 57.that (17)			22
No.26		42.however (1)	25.but 41.and (2)	4.as 12.as 38.as 45.that unless (5)			8
No.27			16.but (1)	5.before 17.that 21.that 22.because 23.as 25.that 26.although (7)			8

No.28		4.later 33.shortly afterwards (2)	36.but (1)	4.after 5.that 8.that 10.that 16.that 22.that 30.that 31.because 34.when 37.that 39.when 40.if (12)	13.where (1)		16
No.29				3.as 5.as 7.that (3)			3
No.30			20.but 29.and 30.but (3)	7.if 11.if 15.unless 21.that 23.that 26.that 28.that 31.that 35.although 38.that (10)			13
No.31			47.and (1)	8.that 19.that 21.that 22.if 24.that 26.that 31.even when 38.that (8)	13.where (1)		10
No.32				32.that (1)			1
No.33				2.as 4.that 6.that 78.that 14.that 18.if (6)			6
No.34				2.as 10.that 14.that (3)	17.when (1)		4
No.35		10.instead (1)	4.and 6.but 20.and 30.and 34.but 43.and 46.and (7)	3.decades before 9.that 12.that 15.that 23.that 26.while 29.that 33.that 35.that 42.that 43.that 44.because (12)			20
No.36			8.but (1)	5.while 6.as 10.that 12.that 14.that 16.that 23.as (7)	2.when 22.when (2)		10
No.37			10.but (1)	6.that 11.after 12.that 14.that 16.that 17.because 19.that (7)			8
No.38			17.and (1)	3.because 8.that 10.that although 19.that 26.that 54.because (7)	31.where (1)		9
No.39	21.well (1)	9.however (1)	11.but 37.but (2)	4.that 6.that 8.because 12.that 13.if 17.when 30.that 34.when 36.when 38.whether 43.that (11)	31.how (1)		16
No.40			3.but 8.and 25.and 34.and 46.and (5)	6.as 14.since 17.since 19.that 20.when 31.if 36.when 38.that 40.that 41.although 42.that 45.after 49.whether 51.after 52.whether 54.that (16)	2.when 33.when (2)	27. whenever (1)	24
No.41				4.that 7.while (2)			2
No.42			4.and 17.and (2)	3.that 4.that 8.if 10.if 11.that 16.that 17.that (7)			9
No.43			8.but (1)	5.that (1)			2
No.44		32.however (1)	8.and 21.and 33.and (3)	12.that 16.when 17.although 20.that 21.that 22.when 26.that 28.that 31.that 32.although 36.whether (11)	2.when 39.which 42.where (3)		18
No.45		7.however 15.however (2)	3.and 18.but (2)	3.because 9.when 19.if 20.that 27.that 28.since (6)	24.when (1)		11
No.46			17.but 30.but 33.but (3)	3.that 6.so that 9.if 11.that 12.that 18.that 23.although 28.whether 32.that 38.that (10)			13
No.47		4.in the meantime (1)	4.but 14.and 36.but (3)	7.when 10.that 13.that 15.that 18.when 21.that 25.while 44.that 49.that (9)			13
No.48			17.and (1)	3.when 4.as 11.when 14.when 16.that 24.before (6)			7
No.49			3.and 7.and (2)	13.as (1)	6.where (1)		4
No.50			3.but 15.and 19.but 20.and (4)	8.if 12.if 17.when 23.that (4)	14.which 28.when (2)		10
Total	**1**	**18**	**110**	**340**	**31**	**1**	**502**

Appendix 12

Types of textual Theme used in China Daily

Text	Continative	Conjunctive	Conjuncts		Relatives		Total
			Co-ordinator	Subordinator	Definite	Indefinite	
No.1		3.meanwhile (1)					1
No.2		11.however (1)	25.and 43.and (2)	10.that 29.since 31.when 34.provided 36.that 45.that (6)			9
No.3							0
No.4				8.that 16.that (2)			2
No.5		8.however (1)	10.and 26.and (2)	15.although (1)	17.where (1)		4
No.6			10.and 19.and (2)	4.that 19.even though (2)			4
No.7		9.for example (1)		13.that (1)			2
No.8			15.and (1)	3.that 12.that 15.that (3)			4
No.9		13. for example (1)					1
No.10		8.also (I)	3.and 14.and 18.and (3)	2.that 3.that 7.that 11.that 13.that 20.that 21.while 25.that (8)			12
No.11				11.that 15.while (2)			2
No.12				12.though (1)			1
No.13		7.however 39.for example (2)	21.and 34.so (2)	5.that 8.although 14.while 16.if 35.because 41.as 43.while (7)			11
No.14		24.however 30. meanwhile (2)	10.and 40.and (2)	4.that 7.that 13.that 15.that 21.because 25.that 31.that 33.while 44.that (9)	23.when 35.when (2)		15
No.15				3.that (1)			1
No.16			3.and 16.and (2)				2
No.17							0
No.18		10. meanwhile (1)					1
No.19			14.and (1)				1
No.20		11. however (1)	3.but 20.and 23.but 26.and 46.and (5)	4.because 7.that 14.that 16.that 21.that 30.that 33.that 40.that (8)	8.when 32.whee (2)		16
No.21		5.moreover (1)	10.and (1)				2
No.22							0
No.23							0
No.24		15.also 23.however 30.however (3)	25.and (1)	17.that 18.as 19.that 26.that 27.that (5)	31.when (1)		10
No.25		12. in addition 15.at the same time (2)	7.but (1)	11.so that (1)			4
No.26		6.for example 11.at the same time 13.second 14.third 19.as a matter of factor 20.for example (5)		16.while 18.as (2)			7
No.27			5.and 10.and 17.and (3)	2.that (1)			4
No.28		6.otherwise (1)	9.but 17.but 28.but (3)				4
No.29		16.meanwhile (1)	14.but (1)	11.that 15.because 18.since (3)			5
No.30		11.however (1)					1
No.31			11.and (1)				1
No.32			10.but (1)	13.before (1)			2
No.33							0
No.34				34.that (1)			1
No.35			5.and (1)	3.after 8.if (2)			3
No.36			11.and (1)				1
No.37			13.but 21.and	10.that 22.regardless of	16.when		5

			25.and (2)	whether (2)	(1)		
No.38				16.that 19.that 20.since 24.that (4)			4
No.39				6.that 9.that (2)			2
No.40							0
No.41		18.meanwhile (1)	5.and 27.then 33.and (3)	3.that 8.until 11.that 22.if 26.if (5)			9
No.42			20.and (1)	2.since 9.that 14.that 22.although 26.that(5)			6
No.43				11.while (1)			1
No.44		4.however (1)	9.but 20.but (2)	5.as 7.as 10.that (3)			6
No.45		18.however (1)	8.and (1)	12.that 18.that 29.that (3)			5
No.46		13.in the meantime (1)	12.but (1)	9.because (1)			3
No.47				7.that (1)			1
No.48		21.however 33.in addition (2)	14.and 16.but 19.and (3)	22.that 26.when 30.that 34.that (4)			9
No.49							0
No.50				19.because (1)			1
Total	**0**	**32**	**49**	**98**	**7**	**0**	**186**

Appendix 13

Types of unmarked Topical Theme used in The Times

Text	Personal Pronouns	Demon-strative Pronouns	Relative Pronouns	Names Of persons	There In (There+be)	Lengthy Nominal Groups (four words +)	Other	Total
1	7.they 15.I 29.we 30.we (4)	28.this (1)	3.what (1)	11.Declan Stewart 27.George Livingtone (2)	18.There 19.there 24.there 31.there 32.there (5)	4.the attack on 40 partygoers 8.one of the injured people 34.the Catholic Cliftonville area 36.about a sixth of 3200 victims…(4)	1.six people 2.two men 5.police 9.the other four 10.their condition 12.the gunmen 14.somebody 16.two guys 17.one people 21.the shooting 23.political leaders 25.nationalist paramilitaries 26.police and troops 33.let (14)	31
2	2.it 14.they (2)		16.which 28.which 30.which 31.which (4)	20.Mr O'Brien (1)	18.there (1)	1.an increasing number of rail service 3.figures comparing the… 4.thousands of commuters travelling … 5.many other train companies 7.several of the worst… 9.figures to be published.. 10.18 of the 25 train… 13.one third of the operators 23.37 per cent of its trains… 29.many in the industry 32.a slight improvement in… 33.the total percentage of… (12)	6.the fall 8.their services 11.the figures 12.only five companies 15.the times 17.the figure 19.the service 21.Great Eastern 22.which 24.th company 25.the worst performers 27.improvementys 31.other confidential statistics 34.the disclosures (14)	34
3			13.what 22.what (2)	15. Professor Reynolds 27.Anita Straker (2)	16.there 26.there (2)	2.a government task force 3. A six-month inquiry… 5.the ten-strong task force 9.only 55 per cent… 24.the use of calculators (5)	1.parents 4.schools 6.more involvement 7.the government 8.the millennium 10.the task foce 11.parents 12.guidelines 14.the Government's response 17.English children 18.England 19.ministers' strategy 21.schools 23.children 25.most lesson time 28.the results 29.almost all (17)	28
4	13.they (1)		2.that 10.which 31.who 35.that (4)	26. Keith Britton 30.Rob Carpenter (2)		8.about 30 per cent of women 16.thousands of the 34,500 women 18.many of the glands 25.the radioactivity in the antibody 27.the market for the antibody (6)	1.a new technique 3.nocompany 4.the technique 5.breast cancer 6.clinical tests 11.the cancer 12.the patient 15.the lymph glands 19.the operation 20.the new technique 21.these antibodies 22.pictures 23.a computer 24.cancer 28.the commercial market 29.one 32.not knowing 33.the cancer 34.something like this (19)	32
5	10.I 14.I 15.they 19.he 21.they 23.he 25.he 27.he 34.he (9)		9.who 18.who (2)	1.Tony Blair 22.Blair 31.Blair (3)	5.there (1)	11.the Princess of Wales's dearest wish 12.much of the publicity now emerging 13.the public's affection for the… .32.neither Downing street nor… 33.friends of prince Charles 36.the welfare of his children (6)	3.his intervention 8.Blair's remarks 16.Blair's staff 17.his remarks 20.the crash 26.great store 28.this industry 29.his message 30.people 35.one (10)	31
6	19.we 22.it 23.you (3)		4.who 13.who 21.who 24.who (4)	27.Francis Maude (1)		3.childen from poor families 6.the provision of music tuition 14.the arts	1.every child 2.most parents 5.ministers 8.musical culture 9.children 17.a government	21

						councils for England… 16.the expansion of music… (4)	source 18.provision 20.every child 25.one option (9)	
7	3.they 4.they 10.he (3)		9.that 11.which (2)		20.there (1)	5.ten per cent of British troops..7.eighty per cent of army… 12.fear of parliamentary… 13.the territorial and… 19.successive defence secretaries…(5)	1.the territorial army 2.millions of Britons 8.the TA 14.the TF 17.conscripton 18.numbers (6)	17
8	5.he 6.it 8.they 9.they 10.I 12.I 13.I 14.I 16.I (9)		15.that 19.which (2)	3.Anthony Kilmister (1)		1.traditionalists in the church… 11.one of the straps (2)	4.the modern-language version 17.the synod 18.congregations (3)	17
9	3.they 10.it 11.they 18.she (4)	6.this (1)				4.only 26% of…5.a happy family life 9.the study of children's … (3)	1.british schoolchildren 2.a £2m study 7.british youngsters 8.getting rich 12.british youngsters 15.the research 16.the report 17.Britain (8)	16
10	3.it 5. It 8.they 23.he 26.we 29. It 35.they 38.he 39.we 40.he 41.he 43.he 45.it 46.it 47.you 49.he (16)	13.this (1)	2.that 34.which 48.who (3)	9.Sir John Bourn 11.Dr Read 14.Dr Read 19.Dr Read 22.Dr Read 37.Rhodri Morgan (6)		17.the position of Dr Read 42.one of the pilot schemes (2)	1.the NHS 4.the system 6.the codes 7.the audit office report 10.our report 12.his company 16.the report 18.CAMS 20.the report 24.the mileage rates 25.these costs 28.the report 30.money 31.the audit office 32.the centre's staff 33.12 36.the report 44.this system (18)	46
11	5.he 10.it 11.he 13.it 14.we 17.he 22.it 27.it 32.they 34.he (10)	20.this (1)	29.that (1)	32.Ronnie Flanagan 35.Mary McAleese (2)	6.there 15.there 16.there (3)	1.Northern Ireland's rival political parties (1)	3.the participants 4.the talks 7.a settlement 8.Sinn Fein 9.its chairman 12.SinnFein 18.the key 19.Unionists 21.the Framework Documents 23.the new blueprint 26.British paratroopers 28.the two (12)	30
12	7.he 10. It 11.he 13.he 14.he 15.he (6)		2.who 19.which 20.which 24.which 25.who 27.which (6)	3.Sidney Clarke 5.Mr Powell 6.Mr Clarke 8.Keith Leverton 9.Sidney 12.Mr Powell 29.Mr and Mrs Powell (7)		1.Enoch Powell's funeral hearse (1)	4.Mr Powell's cortege 17.today's first service 18.the coffin 21.the body 22.the abbey 23.his widow 26.a Communion service 28.the coffin (8)	28
13	5.she 7.she 8.she 14.she 16.he 17.it 18.they 23.she 31.she 32.she 34.she 35.I 39.she 40.I 41.I 42.she 43.I 45.she 50.he 51. It 52.it 53.I 54.I 56.I 57.I 58.she 59.I 60.she	19.this (1)	20.what 24.who 28.who (3)	6.Charlotte Selby 13. Charlotte 26. Charlotte 29.Mr Scott 30. Charlotte 55. Charlotte (6)	37.there 46.there (2)	4.other members of a British… 21. Charlotte's mother,Sylvia, and her… (2)	1.a girl 2.her bicycle 3.aninquest 9.her helmet 10.a helicopter 11.the scholl girl 15.only two fingers 25.the holiday 27.the seven-strong group 33.both her feet 36.put 38.the bike 47.the guide 48.a helicopter 49.the guide (15)	58

	61.she (29)							
14	10.she 11.she 13.they 14.she 15.they 17.she 19.we (7)		2.who (1)	4.Sarah Scott-Barrett 8.Scott-Barrett 16.Scott-Barrett 20.Scott-Barrett 21.Nich Stohlner 23.Scott-Barret (6)		6.the consultant radiologist… (1)	1.a hospital consultant 3.motorists 5.other drivers 7.motorists 9.magistrates at Norwich 12.hospital authorities 18.a spokesman 22.a breath test 24.the legal limit 25.the high amount (10)	25
15	12.he 16.it 24.it 32.they 33.he 35.it 36.they 37.he 38.they (9)		22.which 39.who (2)	2.Donald Dewar 6.Mr Dewar 7.MrBlair 14.Mr Brown 23.Mr Blair 26.William Hague 27.Mr Blair 41.Charlie Whelan (8)	1.there 8.there (2)	20 Mr Brown's decision to allow… 25.relations between Mr Blair and… 28.Mr Blair's official spokesman 40.one senior supporter of…42.the ferocity of the… 44.Mr Blair's decision to take…(6)	3.the relationship 5.any attempt 9.labour insiders 10.the prime minister 11.the chancellor 13.other source 15.others 17.a Blair ally 18.Mr Brown's advisers 21.the publication of the book 29.the prime minister 30.his role 31.people 33.confidents of Mr Blair 43.the prime minister (15)	42
16	6.it (1)		14.who (1)	2.Mr Portillo (1)	9.there 10.there 15.there (3)	1.the final legacy of… 3.senior military officers at the… 4.the Portillo orders and other… 8.the storm Shadow missile 13.the Government's foreign-policy-… 18.cabinet decisions on the … (6)	5.the government 7.the Portillo orders 11.the defence review 12.submarines 16.the number of tanks (5)	17
17	3.he 6.he 9.he 10.it 12.he (5)	28.this (1)	11.which 15.which 32.who (3)	2.Jack Straw 5.Mr Straw 8.Mr Straw (3)		18.Mr straw's readiness to go along… 20.anyone reaching 50 per cent…26.the large anti-Conservative swing… 27.conservatives in previously safe… 30.Michael Howard in … (5)	1.Britain 13.Mr Straw's approach 17.boundary changes 21.none 22.the third preference votes 25.the number 31.election night (7)	24
18	18.he 19.he 26.it 31.he (4)		24.which 28.that 30.which (3)	29.Jack Straw (1)		6.Lord Bingham of Cornhill 21.the rest of the sentence (2)	1.judges 2.how long 3.the lord chief justice 7.judges 8.how long 9.how long 10.how long 12.the defendant 14.offenders 16.an offender 17.the rest 22.the offender 23.the move 25.judges and ministers 27.home office research (15)	25
19	6.it (1)		5.that 12.which 20.that 34.which (4)	15.Sir Norman Fowler 19.Ann Robinson (2)	9.there 16.there (2)	1.supermarket and hospital car… 4.the idea of taxing… 27.up to 80 per cent (3)	2.ministers 7.the chancellor 8.ministers 10.the property charge 11.the money 13.retailers and businesses 14.the extra cost 17.the taxes 18.public transport 21.the consortium 22.the charge 23.a report 24.the increased charges 25.a survey 26.London-based companies 28.half of those 29.the others 30.Local councils 31.most businesses 32.the charge 33.the CBI (21)	33
20	5.they 19.they 20.they		15.which (1)	7.Gary McMichael	12.there (1)	1.the Northern Ireland peace process 3.senior Ulster Democratic…	2.loyalist political leaders 6.the UDP 8.the process 10.prisoners 13.security	30

	22.he 23.she 25.they 27.he (7)			17.David Trimble 26.Gerry Adams (3)		4.the prisoners' hostility to…9.yesterday's UDP delegation to… 24.no more confidence-building measures (5)	sources 14.UDA elements 16.senior UDA members 18.his delegation 28.a man 29.hunmen 30.the man 31.his condition 32.the shooting (13)	
21	5.they 8.they 10.he 13.he 18.it 20.he 28.they (7)	29.that (1)	4.who 23.who (2)	7.Oliver 11. Detective chief inspector George Smith 15.Oliver 21.Penny Buller 26.Sidney Cook 27.Cook and Oliver 30.Miss Buller (7)		6.the conference in London 22.six "predatory violent…31.the dilemma facing local authorities… 32.a delegation from Sussex (4)	1.six dangerous paedophiles 2.the home office 3.a national strategy 9.detectives 12.a detective 19.the cost 24.children abusers 25.the law 33.the sex offenders' register (9)	30
22	2.he 6.they 17.they 23.it 28.they 35.they (6)		14.which 16.who 24.which (3)	1.Gordon Brown 11.Mr Brown (2)	5.there 18.there (2)	9.even many of the gains… 10.introduction of the 10p rate… 13.one ray of light… 15.the 300,000 or so people 30.the price of 20 cigarettes (5)	3.the chancellor 4.welfare-to-work plans 7.a Treasury insider 8.the country 12.Women and children 20.hard-up breadwinners 21.the credit 25.benefits 26.people 27.Mr Brown's proposals 31.sources 33.the middle classes 36.an aide (13)	31
23	3.they5.he 6.he 8.it 9.he 10.he 20.it 22.they 34.they (9)	15.those (1)	14.which 16.that 29.who 33.that (4)	19.Michael Heseltine 26.Hilary Armstrong (2)		30.changes to the capping…31.any loosening in… (2)	1.voters 2.the idea 7.Mr Prescot's review 11.the delay 12.ministers 17.the referendum idea 18.proposals 23.increased spending 24.voters 25.the council 27.ministers 28.referendum 32.councils 35.ministers 36.Mr Presto's review (15)	33
24	14.they 33.he 36.we (3)	7.this 34.this (2)	8.who 11.which 15.which 17.who 19.who (5)	2.John Denham 9.Mr Griffith 16.Glenda Jackson 20.Mark Fisher 26.Paul Boateng 28.Alan Howarth 32.Mr Denham (7)		4.the government's pensions reform 5.the three key aims 6.one member of the new group 23.pensioners living on their own…24.people in sheltered accommodation (5)	1.six government ministers 3.labour's welfare reforms 10.the companies 12.a salesman 13.the salesman 18.pensioners 21.television licences 22.pensioners groups 27.labour 29.the group 30.the ministers 31.the Tories 37.the government (13)	35
25	8.it 11.he 18.it 20.it 24.I 25.he 26.you 31.she 35.he 39.he 42.she 44.she 45.he 46.he 50.he 53.he 56.he 57.we 58.he 60.he (20)		19.that 49.who (2)	12.Nigel Pascoe 21.Mr Pascoe 22 Mr Evans 23.Zoe 32.Mr Evans 33.Mr Pascoe 34.Mr Evans 37.Zoe 38.Mr Pascoe 47.Mr Pascoe 48.Mr			1.a soldier 2.a court 3.Zoe Evans's remains 4.a T-shirt 6.the T-shirt 7.Bristol Crown Court 9.the prosecution 10.the T-shirt 13.the T-shirt 14.rain 15.the ground16.the shirt 28.the jury 29.the horseplay 30.the girl 36.the caller 40.his wife 41.her daughter 43.the child 51.the crown 52.this man 54.the child's mother 61.the trial (24)	58

				Evans 55.Miles Evans (12)				
26	4.he 6.he 8.they 9.it 10.he 14.they 15.they 17.they 18.they 24.it (10)		13.who 22.why 29.that 32.who 44.who (5)	1.Sir John Hall 21.Sir John 38.Sir John 45.Messr s Shepherd (4)		5.the effect on the hall… 7.his son and.. 42.the resignation of the two… 43.victory in the end 46.he and the other two… 47.Sir John's appointment… (6)	11.these events 12.anyone 19.let 25.were 26.were 27.were 28.was 31.one 36.that alone 39.jubilant fans 40.motorists 41.several (12)	37
27	5.they 7.it 13.we 15.we 22.it 23.it (6)		8.who 10.which 14.which 19.which (4)	16.Lor Irvine (1)		2.a wide range of lawyers 3.Lord Irvine of Lairg 25.all the new proposals (3)	1.the lord chancellor 6.the move 9.the measures 11.self-employed barristers 17.the bar 18.the moves 20.a spokesman 21.the government 24.ministers 26.no white paper (10)	24
28	5.he 10.he 21.it 31.he 32.he 33.she 35.she 36.he 37.she 39.she 41.he 42.he 43.she (13)	20.this 40.that (2)	12.who 17.who 27.who (3)	3. Lieutenant Command -er… 8.commander Bellingham 11.commander Bellingham 15. Lieutenant Command -er Brown 19. Command -er Brown 25. Bellingham 28.commander Bellingham 29.commander brown 34. Bellingham (9)		14.two of the four complainants 24.officers on the bridge … (2)	1.a naval officer 2.a court martial 4.an 18-year-old rating 6.others 7.the court martial 9.others 13.the court martial 16.all the offences 18.the ship 22.the charges 23.the gulf 30.the junior rating 44.the case (13)	42
29			18.which (1)	9.Mr Prescott (1)	8.there (1)	1.a purge of left-wing… 2.caandidates for the… 7.his party's monopoly… 11.a huge one-party majority 14.every local labour party 16.full-time labour officials 20.inquiries into… 23.way of reviving local… (8)	3.party officials 5.the party 12.councillors 15.final selection 17.the clean-up 21.some councils 22.others 24.proposals (8)	19
30	15.they 20.he 25.he 30.he 34.he 37.it 41.she (7)	12.this (1)	14.who 17.which 24.which 33.who 40.who (5)	1.Jack Straw 5.Mr Straw 19.Mr Straw 36.Mr Broughton 38.Peter		23.any officer facing hearing 26.reports by investigators for forces…28.many of the changes 32.the lower standard of proof (4)	2.the home secretary 3.the main reform 7.an officer 9.officers 11.officers 13.officers 16.the measures 18.the changes 21.the costs 29.the federation 31.the federation 35.their own performance 39.the inspector 43.proposals (14)	37

				Bensley 42.Mr Broughton (6)				
31	4.they 24.he 25.he 26.he 27.he 28.he 32.they 35.they 37.he 38.he (10)		10.which 12.that 16.that 34.who 39.who 44.that (6)	2.Jack Straw 7.Mr Straw 11.Mr Straw 36.Mr Straw (4)	13.there 43.there (2)	1.inquiries into serious... 8.the new Criminal Cases... 22.public confidence in the... 30.other measures in the...42.the Association Chief Police Officers (5)	3.investigators 5.the PCA 6.the proposal 9.the changes 15.the Home Secretary 17.the package 19.the government20.the committee 21.the Home Office 29.bad officers 31.officers 33.officers 40.all police authorities 41.the package of reforms 45.the Superintendents' Association 46.the proposals 47.the Home secretary (17)	44
32	15.they (1)		4.which 6.which 7.who 9.which 10.which 14.who (6)			1.benefit cuts to loan...3.the Working Families Tax Credit (2)	2.the Chancellor 5.the chancellor 8.the increases 11.the Labour leadership 12.47 Labour MPs 13.some 16.the treasury (7)	16
33	6.they 15.it 18.they 21.we (4)		12.which (1)	9.Mike O'Brien 13.Jack Straw (2)			1.human rights groups 2.the Times 3.whose accounts 4.Belgian officials 5.three Kenyans' claims 7.Britain 8.the Home Secretary 10.officials 11.the issue 14.the Belgian Interior Minister 16.eurostar 19.whose papers 20.the Belgian Interior Minister (13)	20
34	9.it (1)		4.that 12.which (2)			8.the undisclosed extra pay 11.the revenue's self-assessment helpline 14.a million of the nine million forms... (3)	1.taxpayers 2.the deadlines 3.queues 6.revenue staff 7.the staff 10.tax officials 15.the money 16.that figure 17.the 1997-1998 returns (9)	15
35	3.they 4.they 6.they 10.he 11.we 13.he 14.he 27.they 31.he 34.he 35.they 36.I 40.he 44.they 46.he (15)	37.that (1)	7.that 17.which 22.who (3)	45.Mr Prescott (1)	33.there 42.there (2)	9.the present "predict and provide policy 12.patterns of the past 15.more than half of all new... 18.the council for the ... 19.Labour MPs in ... 23.60 per cent of development 24.twenty of the 35 county... 39.using existing empty houses...(8)	1.fewer houses 2.councils 16.the change of strategy 20.some 200 MPs 21.the conservatives 25.West Sussex 26.Hertfordshire 29.the developments 38.releasing empty properties 41.ministers 43.some councils (11)	41
36	14.he 20.it 23.she 24.she 25.he (5)		4.who (1)	1.John Prescott 3.Danbert Nobacon 5.Fleetwood Mac 6.Mr Prescott 7.Nobacon 11.Boff 12.Nabacon (7)	21.there (1)	2.a member of the pop group... 8.his fellow band member 13.a spokeswoman at... (3)	9.the minister 10.no charges 15.the show's compere 16.Chumbawumba 17.the band 19.the lead singer 19.the band 22.a protester (8)	25
37	11.it 12.he 14.he 15.he 16.he 21.he 25.we (7)		3.who 5.which 9.who (3)	2.Peter Mandelson 8.Tony Blair 13.Mr Mandelson 17.Mr Maude 18.Mr			1.a baby dome 6.visiters 10.the political row 22.can 23.this thing 24.the sponsorship (6)	23

				Maude 19.Mr Mandelson 20.Mr Maude (7)				
38	2.he 3.he 11.I 12.it 13.he 14.I 17.I 20.I 24.he 26.he 28.it 31.he 33.he 35.he 37.he 38.he 44.he 46.he 49.he 50.it 52.it (21)		7.who 16.who 23.which 51.why (4)	4.Philip Barnard 9.Barnard 19.Jack Straw 21.Barnard 25.Jack Straw 29.Straw 32.William 43.Will 47.Barnard 48.William (10)	15.there 41.there 53.there (3)	18.the difficulty for me 22.further action against William 30.quite a lot of pupils 55.the Crown Prosecution Service... (4)	1.the headmaster 5.the 17-year-old 6.the news 8.his son 27.his son 34.fellow pupils 36.one 42.a third 54.his father 56.police (10)	52
39	8.it 16.we 21.it 24.we 29.it 36.it 38.he 41.he (8)	43.this (1)		13.Mr Cook 14.Mr Tabachnik 22.Jon Sacker 28.Mr Sacker 31.Robin Cook 35.Mr Cook (6)	30.there (1)	3.the board of Deputies... 5.the board and... 33.a delegation from... (3)	1.Britain's Jewish community 4.the event 6.the postponement 7.the dinner date 9.no new date 10.the board 12.the fund-raising dinner 17.things 19.the postponement 27.a later date 34.the Israel visit 37.no indication 39.the foreign officer 40.the dinner 42.the suggestion (15)	34
40	7.I 8.she 10.she 11.it 12.it 17.it 24.she 25.I 26.we 30.it 33.it 34.it 37.they 38.it 43.it 47.he 48.she 49.she 52.it 56.he (20)		16.which (1)	23.Mrs Cheffers-Heard 50.Mrs Cheffers-Heard 53.Mrs Cheffers-Heard (3)	3.there 5.there 21.there (3)	14.Mrs Cheffers-Heard's great-grandfather 15.the low ceilings, wooden settles...32.the earliest part of... 40.the Princess of wale's former... (4)	1regulars 2.the Queen 4.the landlady 6.the monarch 13.the pub 18.the bridge inn 19.Topsham 20.the landlady's family 22.the ghost 27.things 28.the only spirit 29.the queen 31.somewhere 35.one other ghost 36.advisers 41.Buckingham palace 42.yesterday's outing 45.her car 51.the queen 54. Prince Philip 55.the Queen (21)	52
41			2.that (1)			1.the public rating of ... (1)	3.the poll 4. Labour's rating 5.the public 6.labour 7.the Tories 8.Liberal Democrats 9.the public 10.the public 12.Paddy Ashdown's figures (9)	11
42	8.they (1)			2.Lord Irvine of Lairg (1)	16.there (1)	3.self regulation by... (1)	1.the government 4.a draft Bill 6.legislation 7.the law 9.a defence 10.a newspaper 11.an individual 12.MPs 14.the problem 15.newspapers 17.legislation (11)	15
43			3.who (1)			1.more than 100,000 jobless...2.details of the... 5.people on the... 6.similar deals with... 8.the concession on London... (5)	9.the new deal 10.the half-discount (2)	8
44	16.he 19.he 21.they 22.they 23.they 26.they 36.they 39.he 40.it (9)		6.which 29.what 34.who 37.that (4)	1.Tony Blair 7.Blair 15.Jack Lynch 27.Blair (4)		10.a Northern Ireland Office 11.the government's conciliatory gesture... (2)	2.the Parachute Regiment 3.government sources 4.the prime minister 5.the government 8.a statement 9.an announcement 12.political change 13.the killings 14.the British embassy 17.a tribunal 18.his report 20.the	40

							soldiers 25.the dead 28.Widgery's tribunal 30.the prime minister 31.some shots 32.no soldiers 33.the people 38.Blair's officials 42.the key element 42.power (21)	
45	3.he 9.he 11.he 13.it 16.it 18.it 21.it 24.he (8)	23.this (1)	6.who 14.that 17.who (3)	4.Dewar 10 Connery 27.Conne ry (3)			1.a knighthood 2.the move 5.the 67-year-old actor 8.the party's popularity 12.Downing street 15.a labour source 19.labour 20.tax exiles 22.Dewar's intervention 26.the fact 28.many other Britains (11)	26
46	3.he 5.he 9.he 10.I 17.he 18.he 20.he 22.he 27.he 28.they 31.he 33.he (12)	11.that (1)	4.who 7.that 21.which (3)	2.Lord Irvine 15.Robin Cook 16.Lord Irvine 26.Lord Irvine (4)		1.Robin Cook's affair with… 38.the preferred shape of a… (2)	6.people 12.PCC 13.the lord chancellor 14.what public interest 19.the Lord Chancellor 23.others 24.people 25.the courts 29.the courts' predisposition 30.the press 32.judges 37.the lord chancellor (12)	34
47	6.it 7.you 13.it 18.we 19.we 20.it 22.he 25.he 28.it 30.I 31.I 34.we 39.I 41.we 42.they 44.it (16)		9.who 24.that 33.who (3)	2.Roger Brown 5.Mr Brown 11.Mr Brown 17.Mr Brown 23.Mr Brown 26.Mrs Redmond 27.Mrs Redmond 29.Mr Brown (8)		1.a head teacher and…3.an application for… 4.the 407-pupil… 43.a spokesman for… 45.replacing the building… 46.more than two million… (6)	8.one grandmother 10.conditions 12.its heating system 14.radiators 15.holes 32.my wife 36.parents 37.an Easter fair 38.the head 40.why 47.the children's society 48.the society 49.schools (13)	46
48	11.it 23.it (2)		2.who 6.which 9.that 13.who 20.that (5)	12.Mr Pattison 18.Mr Pattinson (2)	21.there (1)	1.the families of … 4.an underwater video of… 22.a draft report by… (3)	3.their trawler 5.relatives 7.the video 8.ropes 10.the Westhaven 14.the nets 15.the boat 16.one of the liferafts 17.a second 24satellite distress signals 25.the inquiry (11)	24
49			15.that (1)	8.Mr Giuliani (1)		1.the plans for directly… 2.New York Barcelona… 5.local government in New York (3)	3.each 4.the London authority 6.the mayor 7.ministers 9.Barcelona 10.Barcelona's mayor 11.his election 12.German cities 13.many14.similar voting systems (10)	15
50	8.they 12.they 13.it 14.it 18.it 21.it 22.we 24.it 25.it (9)		4.which 6.which 7.which 15.which (4)	10.Dawn Primarol o 19.Mr Brown (2)		1.a new tax credit to… (1)	3.the treasury 5.couples 9.the credit 11.the new credit 16.the tax credit 17.the scheme 20.a treasury source 23.the money 26.independent taxation 27.the changes 28.the national minmumwage (11)	27
Tota l	**360** (24%)	**17** (1%)	**135** (9%)	**173** (11.5%)	**40** (2.7%)	**176** (11.7%)	**598** (39.9%)	**1499**

Appendix 14

Types of unmarked Topical Theme used in China Daily

Text	Personal Pronouns	Demonstrative Pronouns	Relative Pronouns	Names of persons	There In (There+be)	Lengthy Nominal Groups (four words +)	Other	Total
1			6.which (1)			5.establishment of the office 9.China's first anti-dumping cases 11.any party related… (3)	1.China 2.the office 4.moftec and STEC 10.SETC 12.the release (5)	9
2	17.he 30.it (2)		18.(that) (1)	3.Qian 5.Qian 13.Qian 15.Qian 23.Qian 26.Qian 29.Taiwan president Lee Teng-hui 32.Chen Yunlin 35.Tang Shu-bei 37.Tang 39.Tang (11)		10.non-political, economical and… 12.ending mainland-Taiwan hostilities… 21.the "one China" policy 22.the "one China" policy 25.China's sovereignty and territorial integrity 36.cross-straits relations in 1997 43.its economic and social organizations (7)	1.Taiwan authorities 2.promoting political talks 6.the forum 8.the mainland 9.both sides 11.Taiwan leaders 24.Taiwan 27.Taiwan authorities 28.the mainland 31.the semi-official talks 33.his office 34.Taiwan authorities 38.Arats and Sef 40.the mainland side 41.the mainland side 44.the mainland side 45.Taiwan (17)	39 *
3	8.she (1)		2.which 10.who (2)	1.woman swimmer Chen Yan 3.Chen 6.woman sprinter Li Xuemei (3)		5.the world No 1 7.Li's awesome 10.79 seconds 9.third to 10th place finishers 12.the coaches of the chosen… (4)	4.second 11.whose killing spikes 13.the selection (3)	13
4	5.he 12.he 14.he 15.he 16.he (5)	11.this (1)		3.Zhang Wannian 7.Zhang 9.Zhang (3)		1.bilateral relations between China… 4.the expansion of friendly… 6.a frequent exchange of visits… (3)	2.the relationship 8.solid advances (2)	14
5			21.who (1)	7.Zhang 23.Yu Junyi (2)		1.large numbers of Chinese 2.Shanghai China International…. 3.the most popular… 4.the financial upheaval in… 5.an eight-day Thailand tour 6.the price last year 8.more than 300 people 9.this year's Spring…. 14.about 80 per cent of them 18.China Travel Service's head… 25.tickets to Hainan, Kunming… (11)	10.many people 11.travel abroad 15.some 16.many others 17.the winter 19.most people 20.many of them 24.his company 26.the company 27.other Shanghai people (10)	24
6	26.they (1)	5.this (1)	6.that 21.who (2)	1.Bao Weihua 3. Qiu Daxiong 7.Qiu 11.Qiu 13.Zhang Shangahong 23.Zhang 27.Qiu (7)		2.Bao and the other soldiers… 8.nearly 10 million square…. 29.the aim of the minesweeping operation (3)	9.millions of mines 10.Guangxi 12.the plan 14.ordinary people 16.these slopes 17.each soldier 18.the soldiers' clothes 19.strict precautions 20.other soldier 22.the usual method 28.Sino-Vietnamese relations (11)	25
7	12.he (1)			4.Bank Executive.. Ric van Slingelandt 6.Rabobank 9.Rabobank		3.the establishment of the… 7.its Hong Kong branch 10.the new Shanghai licence (3)	1.Dutch-based Rabobank 2.bank officials 5.the branch 13.the Shanghai branch 16.Rabobank (5)	13

				15.Slingelandt (4)				
8	4.they 5.he 7.he 14.he (4)			1.Chinese President Jiang Zemin 2.Jiang 8.Jiang 11.Jiang 13.Levin 16.Levin 18.Kluge (7)		6.the direct contact between leaders... 10.mutual understanding between... 12.the news media of both (3)	9.the news media 15.his company (2)	16
9	2.it 3.it 5.it (3)			9.Laurence Braham (1)		1.China's massive government... 8.other foreign businessmen 13.a new ministry of information... (3)	6.the restructuring package 10.the move 12.the reform (3)	10
10	12.it 18.it 19.he 23.it (4)		5.who 16.who (2)	15.Professor Jiao (1)		2.more of the citizens of... 7.12.69 per cent of the adults 8.15 per cent of the males 13.illiterate people or those...20.fairly good dietary habits... 21.the average person's weight 24.the city's Statistics Bureau 25.the work force in (8)	1.the "Health News" 3.preventive measures 4.the news 6.the study 9.the figure 10.the study 11.people 17.the condition 22.Shanghai's population 26.the private sector (10)	25
11	7.they (1)					8.companies and individuals 11.Gongbei Customs Office in... (2)	1.Chinese customs department 6.customs offices 12.Gongbei Customs Office 13.the news service 16.the news service (5)	8
12	4.he 13.he 15.he 18.he 20.he (5)	5.Jiang 9.Jiang 11.Jiang (3)		17.Yashuhiko 21.Guo Chaoren (2)	12.there (1)	1.the years heading into 16.long-term friendship and ... 19.the successful convening of the 22.the Kyodo News Service... (4)	3.the period 6.this year 10.bilateral relations 14.China and Japan (4)	19
13	9.it 16.I 18.I 21.I 23.he 32.they 35.they 37.he 41.it (9)	4.this 7.those 8.this (3)	6.who 10.who (2)	30.Zhu (1)	20.there (1)	3.each kilometre after the first... 12.the new pricing measure 39.some local residents... (3)	1.taxi fares 5.people 11.the change 17.all of which 22.the lower fees 24.Shanghai 25.the business 28.Shanghai Bashi 33.the driver 34.some bus drivers 40.bargaining 42.the newspaper 43.drivers 44.some local residents (14)	33
14	6.it 9.they 11.they 27.they 41.they (5)	22.this (1)	2.which (1)			4.more Shanghai and Guangzhou...5.a survey conducted by the... 8.twenty-nine per cent of... 10.only 29 per cent 15.18.5 per cent of people... 19.an analyst with the... 20.one of the goals of 23.withdrawal of bank deposits 28.which kind of investment 31.investing in the stock market 32.about half of those 35.less than a quarter of... 37.two hundred local investors 38.ninety-three people 42.about 40 per cent of... 44.24 per cent of the (17)	1.securities investment 3.recently surveys 7.Shanghai's savers 12.the survey 13.local residents 14.a survey 16.buying stocks 17.China's policy-makers 21.the central government 24.the survey 25.many people 29.current investment items 30.a recent survey 33.the other half 34.this proportion 36.the survey 39.92 40.15 43.the newspaper 45.those surveyed (19)	43
15			5.which (1)			1.heavy rain in the ... 2.the China News	3.local meteorological departments 4.the rain	12

						Service 7.the river's flood peak 9.more than 14,000 people 11.a total of 35 dams... (5)	6.that level 8.a flood 10.the loss 12.the flood (6)	
16	14.it (1)	12.these (1)	7.who (1)	4.Dr. Peter H.Lee 5.Lee 6.Lee 8.Lee 9.Zhu 10.Lee 13.Zhu 17.Zhu (8)		1.the detention and prosecution of...3.a Chinese Foreign ministry... (2)	11.the spokesman 15.Sino-US relations 16.China 18.seven prominent academicians (4)	17
17	5.he 9.he 10.he (3)	2.this (1)	4.which (1)	6.Qiao (1)		1.chairman of the National ... 7.Qiao's first official activity (2)	3.Qiao's main purpose (1)	9
18	3.he 6.he 9.he (3)		18.which (1)	1.Premier Li Peng 5.Li 8.Li (3)		13.about 3.28 billion yuan... (2)	2.customs offices 4.customs offices 7.an effort 10.China News Service 11.Chinese customs officials 14.customs department 15.customs authorities 16.the news service 17.customs 20.enterprices and institutions (10)	19
19				4.Wang Daohan 8.Wang 10.Wang President Jiang Zemin 13.Wang 17.Wang 19.wang (6)		1.establishment of stable relations 3.relations among large... 5.relations between China and... 6.people's Daily's overseas edition 7.rapid development of... 9.conditions for establishing new... 14.the Chinese Government 16.people from both nations (8)	12.Taiwan 115.xinhua news agency 18.let (3)	17
20	3.they 5.it 16.they 42.it (4)		17.who 27.that 47.which (3)			10.the public transport department 36.the number of accidents 43.no firework-caused fires (3)	1.firecracker sounds 2.people 4.the firework 7.no firecrackers 8.people 11.the displays 12.some people 14.the ban 18.officials 19.the office 21.none 23.none 24.the report 25.adults 26.children 28.most fireworks 29.the article 30.sixpeople 31.most firework accidents 32.frieworks 33.doctors 34.those injured 35.doctors 37.84 people 38.another 112 people 39.some people 40.fireworks 41.other people 45.some 57 fires 46.three people (30)	40
21			7.which (1)			1.crops in parts of ...4.the average temperature of these... 5.the total sunshine time 8.snow in some areas (4)	2.China News Service 6.the frozen weather 9.the soil 10.rape and wheat 11.the report 12.sunshine 13.farmers 14.the farmers 15.the report (9)	14
22	6.they 13.they (2)	11.this (1)	2.which 8.which (2)	9.Wang Qinghua (1)		3.more than 700 people... 4.local authorities in... 7.the Beijing-based newspaper 12.each of the previous cases 14.a total of 75 drinkers	1.officials 5.quality control officials 10.the newspaper 15.death sentences (4)	16

						16.seven central government ministries… (6)		
23	2.it 10.they (2)		3.that 5.which 7.that (3)			1.the eyes of the… 4.more than 2,000 journalists… 8.the sessions of the NPC… (3)	6.the 2,9500-plus deputies 11.the photos (2)	10
24	3.it 10.they 14.it 33.he (4)		32.which (1)	25.Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa 28.Chen Yuqiang 34.Chen (3)		4.the plunge of the… 8.H shares and red chip… 9.major Hong Kong banks 16.an analyst from… 19.big European and US… 23.Hong Kong special… 27.the fundamentals of the… 36.the particularly severe slump… (8)	1.Hong Kong stocks 2.analysts 6.the decline 7.Hong Kong stocks 11.some analysts 12.further increases 15.regional financial turmoil 17.the market downturn 18.signs 20.confidence 21.the analyst 22.Hong Kong index 24.the stock transactions 26.the government 30.the stock performance 31.the regional crisis (16)	32
25			2.that 8.who 16. Whatever (3)			4.the total trade volume… 6.the take of the… 10.a united auction market 11 the numerous auction activities… 13.the qualifications of the auction 14.trading of and checking… 15.potential investors and buyers (7)	1.art auction companies 7.the number of those 13.management of the market (3)	13
26	13.it 28.it (2)	32.this (1)	22.that 25.which 33.which 36.who (4)			6.Van Gogh's "Iris Flowers"… 7.a Manet landscape of… 12. even a difference of… 14.the purpose of the copy 17.making copies of masterpieces 20. reproductions of famous original… 26. the Yuanmeng Art Co 30.the volume of its… 34.the vast majority of the… 35.most of the originals… (10)	1.a market 2.odinary Chinese 4.the works 5.each piece 8.a question 9.how 10.the copy 11.its size 15.the former 16.the latter 18.people 19.the Chinese 23.high-tech copying 29.the company (14)	31
27	2.he 4.we 5.we 10.we 11.I (5)	8.this (1)	6.that (1)	1.Ian Woosnam 3. Yin Jian 7.Woosnam 16.Woosna m (4)			9.my team 12.the course 13.the club 14.the course 15.the site 17.this wonderful site 18.the project (7)	18
28	2.they 7.they 14.we 32.they (4)		20.which 27.which (2)	5.Pu Haiqing 15.Pu 31.Pu (3)		9.the GDP's steady increase 12.a dozene of the… 21.more than 400,000 workers 23.an additional 180,000 workers 24.ninety per cent of the… (5)	1.officials 3.planning 4.Chongqing 6.investors 8.Chongqing 10. Chongqing 11. Chongqing's officials 13.six foreign banks 16. Hong Kong 17.officials 18.Chongqing's officials 19.more workers 26.additional difficulties 28.the municipal government 29.the problems 30.the laid-off workers 34.local private entrepreneurs 35.labour migration (18)	32
29	13.he 14.we 18.it	7.that (1)	2.which 5.which			12.the city's increasingly important	1.Jinli Zongfu Mansion 4.Chengdu	17

	20.he (4)		8.why 9.which (4)			role (1)	10.statistics 11.Chengdu 15.the city 16.additional office developments 19.major buyers (7)	
30			4.which (1)			7.the market share of these… 9.combined turnovers of all… 12.the Investment and trust Co… (3)	1.Shenyin and Wanguo Securities 2.the turnover 3.the company 5.the newspaper 6.China Securities Co 10.the newspaper 13.their positions (7)	
31	13.it (1)					1.Chengdu Aircraft Industry Corp… 2.the Boeing MD-90 airplane… 6.CAIC's reliable manufacturing technology… 11.the delivery of the… 12.the Chengdu aircraft manufacturer (5)	5.another contract 7.plane noses 8.a good reputation 9. A contract 10.the work (5)	11
32	12.we (1)		2.who (1)	7.Vice-Minister Ye Rutang 14.Ye 19.Ye 23.Lin Xuancai 25.Lin 27.Lin (6)		3.the ministry of Construction 4.whose seismic design requirements 8.the number of high-rises… 10.most of the 170 tall buildings… 15.high-rises with deficiencies… 17.the regulations stipulate construction… 18.the design and construction…20.companies failing to… (8)	1.high-rise builders 6.the ministry 9.ministry statistics 11.the ministry 13.the designs 16.the official 21.China 22.the new code 24.China (9)	23
33		7.that (1)	5.who 9.that 15.who 24.that (4)	3.Tao Siju 21.Bai 23.Bai (3)		11.border areas in South China 14.more than 16,000 criminals 18.the Chinese Government's measures… 19.the committee's focus of the… 22.an exhibition with the theme… (5)	1.Chinese anti-drug departments 2.the news 8.the department 10.China 16.China 17.these centres 20.young people (7)	20
34	18.it (1)		5.which 9.which 15.which (3)	13.Wang Zi (1)		1.Chinese computer giant… 4.the business of Great Wall… 8.the Great Wall Group 11.the Great Wall Group 14.the assets restructuring of… (5)	2.the newly-formed company 3.the company 6.the company 7.the statement 10.the purchased shares 16. Shenzhen Development Technology (6)	16
35			18.which (1)			1.Hangzhou Steam Turbine… 4.the lead domestic underwriter 5.the global co - ordinator for the… 10.proceeds from the issuance 16.Hangzhou Steam Turbine Group… (5)	2.the shares 3.the issuance 6.the offer 7.the issuance 8.the offer 9.the company 11.the prospectus 12.Hangzhou Turbine 13.the firm 14.the prospectus 17.the group's predecessor (11)	17
36		2.this 3.this (2)	4.that (1)			1.Tung Wah Group of… 6.part of TWGH's contributions 8.some HK $10.million… 10.more than 136,000 houses… (4)	5.the tremor 7.the housing 9.the remainder 11.another 264,000 (4)	11
37				4.which 20.which (2)		1.East China's Anhuii… 2.the Shanghai-based Liberation… 6.these enterprises and… 21.a township in Wuhu…	3.a recent investigation 10.those people 11.China 13.violations 14.such conduct 15.statistical falsification 16.the	19

						24.the authorities in charge of… 25.a distrit's township enterprises… (6)	provincial government 18.the paper 19.the investigation 22.the firms 23.the paper (11)	
38	10.he 13.he 21.he (3)	9.this (1)	23.who (1)	1.China's.. Zhu Rongji 3.foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao 6.Zhu Bangzao 15.Zhu Bangzao 16.president Joaquim… 22.Kamara (6)		12.the Sino-Russian strategic…. (1)	2.the visit 5.the meeting 7.the premier 14.the relationship 19.China 20.diplomatic ties 24.the Guinea people (7)	19
39	2.he 5.he 13.we (3)		4.which (1)	1.Jiang Enzhu 10.Jiang (2)		6.Hong Kong's 6 million… 8.a half year's experience… 9.the State's basic policy… (3)	11.the new year (1)	10
40	13.she 16.he (2)		8.that 10.who 22.who (3)	1.Srilankan woman sprinter Susanthinka 2.Jayasinge 3.China's Chen Yan 6.Iranian… Aziz 12.Deng 18.Zhan 19.fifteen-year-old…Ayari 20.Aoyama (8)		4.the 16-year-old Liaoning swimmer… 11.World and Olympic… 14.Hong Kong's best cyclist 17.China's Olympic men's… (4)	9.fourth (1)	18
41	11.it 12.we 16.we 17.it 19.it 22.they 23.we 26.we 27.we 34.he (10)	15.that 33.this (2)		3.Chinese women swimmers Wang Luna… 20.Fina Secretary Gunna Werner 24.Werner 30.Shi (4)	32.there (1)	10.the Chinese Swimming Association 14.the Chinese Swimming… 28.the head of the… (3)	1four Chinese swimmers 2.Fina 4.the samples 5.the analyses 6.the Fina release 7.the Fina executive 8.a hearing 9.the press release 18.Fina 25.Fina 29.the four swimmers 31.the news (12)	32
42			15.which (1)			2.an epidemic of bird flu 3.a total of 38,000 live… 4.people in Hong Kong 9.the number of chickens 10.the price for live… 12.80 per cent of… 22.no cases of A… 26.the sales of chicken (8)	1.Hong Kong consumers 5.China News Service 8.the source 14.the bird flu 16.no case 17.the organisation 19.the mainland 23.Guangdong (8)	17
43						1.domestic and foreign journalists 2.the general offices of the… 4.the first session of the… 6.journalists from the… 8.journalists from Hong Kong… (5)	3.journalists 5.the press centre 7.local reporters 9.foreign reporters 10.journalists from Taiwan 11.those from Macao 12.foreign correspondents (7)	12
44	23.it (1)					1.both Shanghai and Shenzhen 22.the Shenzhen B-share market (2)	2.the Shanghai index 3.the Shenzhe index 4.B-share trading 5.investors 6.the market 7.the index 8.a moderate rebound	27

							9.the market 10.the central bank 11.the lost ground 12.transaction value 13.the B-share market 14.the market 15.the market 16. analysts 17.consideration 18.the market 20.the lost ground 21.transaction value 24.the B-share index 25.analysts 26. confidence 27.investor caution 28.analysts (24)	
45	3.they 12.it 17.they (3)	14.these (1)	11.who (1)			4.30.6 per cent of the…6.another 39.8 per cent… 13.some 9.2 per cent… 15.about 34.4 per cent… 19.works of the revolutionary… (5)	1.how 5.news 7.reading poetry 8.23.6 9.poetry 16.poetry 18.modern life 20.the lyrical poems (8)	18
46	12.they 13.they (2)					5.the net profits assets 7.the assets liability ratio 14.none of the B-share…(3)	1.Joint-stock companies 2.the companies 3.othe requirements 4.net assets 6.net profits 8.the candidates 9.many companies 10.the commission (8)	13
47	9.he 18.it 19.we 20.he (4)		8.what 11.which (2)	6.Zhou 14.Zhou (2)		1.the manufacture of Chinese star 4.Sun Tendy's market manager 15.their only visible reaction 16.the Sun Tendy manager (4)	2.the Chinese company 5.his company 7.Alestron 17.his company 21.the compensation 22.Sun Tendy (6)	18
48	9.he 14.it 20.he 26.we 27.we 28.he 31.he 33.he (8)	21.this (1)	7.which (1)	3.Zhou Zhengqing 8.Zhou 12.Zhou 24.Zhou 29.Zhou 36.Zhou (6)		2.a senior securities official 4.the Chinese Securities regulatory 6.all local securities supervisory…… 10.the move to streamline… 13.the prospects for the… 19. conditions for a quick … 23.the market value of… 32.the development of China's … (8)	1.China 5.people's Daily 11.other measures 15.China 16.the outcome 18.China's stock market 22.China 25.China 30.large listings 34.China 35.policies (11)	35
49	16.he (1)		7.which 9.that 12.which (3)	4.Gan Guoping 10.Gan 15.Gan (3)		6.all the special telephone… (1)	1.Beijing callers 2.the line 13.the administration 14.most consumer disputes 17.the state administration (5)	13
50	6.it 19.it (2)					1.China's accomplishments in …7.living standards of the… 9.the number of the people 11.less than one-twentieth of… 16.a series of laws… (5)	3.the Chinese Government 4.China 5.the office 8.the office 10.statistics 12.the office 13.the Chinese Government 14.the office 15.complrehensive rules 17.the Chinese people 18.China 20.the office 21.boosting economic development 23.thje office (14)	21
Total	**116**	**23**	**64**	**114**	**3**	**233**	**416**	**969**

Appendix 15

Transitivity Analysis of the texts from The Times

Text	Process Type						Total number
	Material process	Verbal process	Mental process	Behavioural Process	Relational Process	Existential Process	
1	1.were injured, burst into 2.sprayed 4.cast 6.pulled up 7.went into, opened 8.was hit 9.suffered 11.was washing 12.came in 15.dived 16. came in, opened 17.was lying 20.shot 22.shot 25.would retaliate 26.put on 29.find 30.heral;d 34.is surrounded 35.carried out 36.have died (24)	5.said 6.told 10.was described 14.shoute d27.said (5)	3.believe 13.heard 20.think 23.had feared (4)		3.was 4. is 13.was21.is 28.is 34.is (6)	18.there was 19.there were 24.there was 31.there is 32.there is (5)	44
2	1.are running 2.was disclosed 3.have shown 4.sold off 6.was dismissed 7.increased 8.didinot merit 11.show 12.have managed 14.are running 15.has collated 17.detail 20.voiced21.runs 22.produced 23.ran 24.increased 26.ran27.were shown 28.runs 29.blame 30.will bring, have forced 32.helped 34.come 35.is awaiting (26)	10.report ed 13.admit (2)	4.found 5.have seen (2)		9.indicate 16.will be 19.has worsened 25.were 31.indicate 33.remains (6)	18.there are (1)	37
3	1.will be given 3.will back 6.will be needed 8.will herald 9.reached 12.will set out 13.should learn 19.will rest 22.should be taught 23.spent 24.is limited 25.is spent 29.had shown (13)	2.will call for 4.will be urged 7.has demande d 15.has emphasis ed 21.are told 27.said (6)	5. believes 10.believ es (2)	20.have seen (1)	6.are 11.are 14.is 17.tend to be 18.was 28.had been (6)	16.there is 26.there is (2)	30
4	2.save 3 is prepared 4.has been developed 5.has spread 6.have found 7.can be found 9.has been diagnosed 10.do not show up 11.has spread 12.could die 13.are not removed 17.is diagnosed 18.are removed 21.have been primed 22.are taken 23.compares 25.shows up 27.has come 29.has to take 31.founded 33.has spread 35.removes (22)	26.said 30.said (2)			1.is 8.have 10.are 14.has been 15.are , tend to 16.have 19.has 20.involves 24.is 27.is 28.is 32.can be 34.is (13)		37
5	2.died 3.follows, comes 8.were endorsed 15.ignore 23.is not singling out 26.has been set 27.does not get 30.should leave 31.has not discussed (10)	1.condem ned, appealed for 6.said 16.said 18.told 21.denied 24.insiste d 25.is saying 32.comm ents 33.said 34.would not comment 35.pointe d out (12)	4.regards 14.hope 17.should not be seen 19.did not believe 27.hopes (5)		7.was 9.was made 10.am 11.would have been 12.is, add to 13.is 20.was 22.was 30.is 36.is (10)	5.there seems (1)	38
6	1.will be guaranteed 3.qualify 4.would miss out 6.have been stung 8.decline 11.apply for 12.may provide 15.will channel 23.live 24.can pay 25.is to set up 26.are being added to 28.can dip (13)	5.admit 7.condem ned, warned 10.is to be asked 14.will be ordered	19.hope 21.wants (2)		2.will continue to 6.is 9.had 13.have fallen 18.is 21.should have 22.shouldn't depend on (7)		30

		16.will be announced 17.said 27.accused (8)					
7	1.was created 2.have served 3.have played 4.support, were sent 6.go 7.have benefited 9.was set up 11.would support 12.forced 13.came 14.was reorganized 17.was doubled 18.declined 19.came (15)	10.proposd (1)			4.are 5.were 7.are 8.had 14. consisted (5)	20.there were (1)	22
8	1.reacted 2.has been substituted 8.have it engraved 10.was doing 11.snapped 12.was coming down 14.would offer 15.was engraved 16.hit 17.approved 18.are to be offered 19.is used (12)	3.accused 5.said (2)	7.have known (1)		3.has become 4.is 6.does not have 9.are used to 13.have (5)		20
9	2.has revealed 9.is to presented 15.was sponsored 16.proves (4)	18.said (1)	4.believe 13.see (2)		1.are 3.are interested 5.will be 6.compares with 7.are obsessed 8.rates 10.is 11.get 12.become 14.scored 17.has evolved (11)		18
10	1.has spent 2.will save 10.has revealed 11.was paid, was kept 12.provides 14.was employed 17.created 19.was replaced, began 21.made 22.was paid 23.was provided 27.were being made 30.has been repaid 31.found 35.could charge 36.calls for 38.would be tabling 41.had visited 42.was going on 43.had been impressed 47.can find (23)	7.says 9.says 16.says 20.says 28.states 29.adds 36.asks 37.said 40.said 49.said (10)	48.know (1)		3.can be made 4.is 5.is 6.are 8.were supposed to be 12.has 13.meant 15.had 18.didi not have 24.included 25.were 26.were concerned 32.were meant 33.was classified 34.meant 39.go on 44.is meant 45.would be 46.seems (19)		53
11	1.agreed 3.had all undertaken 4.began 7.could be achieved 12.would test 24.are to be transferred 25.is preparing 26.killed 29.began 30.had abandoned 31.met 32.agreed, had to produce 35.arrives (14)	2.announced 5.said 9.suggested 11.said 13.insisted 14.are saying 17.declared 21.said 33.tells (9)	7.believed 19.fear 34.would prefer (3)		8.was 10.was 12.would remain 18.is 20.would be 22.would have 23.is 27.emerged 28.was (9)	6.there were 15.there is 16.there will be (3)	38
12	1.wil be driven 2 drove 3.will lead 4.will travel 5.will be buried 6.was honoured 7.had to use 11.should drive 12.had supervised 13.began 14.met 15.died 16.arrived 18.was carried 19.was draped 20.bore 21.rested 22.was closed 24.offered 25.died 29.attended (21)	8.said (1)			9.is 10.seemed 14.was 17.will be held 23.were 26.was due to be held 27.would be 28.would be (8)		30
13	2.hurtled 4.screamed5.went 7.clipped 8.was found 9.had come off 11.died 14.bumped 21.attended 25.had been organized 27.was led 30.was riding 31.hit 32.put 34.was beginning 35.called out 38.went 39.began 40.called out 41.was screaming 42.flew 44.was frozen 45.left 47.radioed 48.went 54.turned 56.threw 57.couldn't do 58.was sitting	3.was told 12. said 16.said 22.said 28. told 29.said 49.said (7)	7.found 13. suspected 14.forgot 24.knew 43.suspect 54.heard, saw 59.could		1.appeared 6.was 10. took 17. does seem 18.would have been 19.could have been 20. happened 23.was, is 26.was 30.had been 33.were	37.there was 46.there was (2)	63

	60.wasn't braking 61.was not holding (31)		see (7)		50.had taken 51.was 52 goes 53. was (16)		
14	1.surrounded 3.confiscated , was facing 4.was found 5.forced, hemmed 6.was driving 7.forced 9.gave 10.could be sent 11.is sentenced 13.would not make 14.would continue to work 16.had not been working 17.was arrested 20.was driving 22.showed (17)	8.admitted 9.told 12.said 15. Emphasised 18.said 21.said (6)			2.was 19.have 23.had 24.is 25.makes (5)		28
15	4.stands 11.had been ill-advised 12.had been damaged 18.had allowed 23.broke , has allowed 26.seized 31.will try 32.fail 37.had been damaged, had allowed 43.may be loosing (12)	2.said 6.disputed 7.rebuked, said 9.were saying 13.said 15.said 17. suggested 19. argued 22. claims 28. insisted 33. said 34.said 36.said 38. have accused 40.said (16)	10.believed 21.believe 44.is being seen (3)		3.was 5.could prove 14. had 16.was 20.had been 24.was 25. have become 27.was 29. had 30.was 35.was 39. spend 42. suggested (13)	1.there was 8.there was (2)	46
16	5.will suffer 6.breaks 13.has been welcomed 14.were shaken 16.is to fall (5)	2.announced (1)	3.believe 11.is expected 12.are seen 18.are not expected (4)		1.seems 4.may be 7.consisted 8.seems, proved (5)	9.there are 10.there are 12.there are 15.there remain 17.there are (5)	20
17	3.would be prepared 4.have been based 9.could accept 14.set up 15.is due to recommend 16.will be put 17.are not required 19.rank 20.is elected 21.reaches 22.are redistributed 23.failed 24.affected 26.gave 27.would have been affected 29.could have gone 30.got 31.could have lost 32.lost (19)	5.said 8 indicated 12.said 18.was described (4)	13.is regarded (1)		1.could have 2.has become 6.was 10.retained 11.was 16.could be 25.is 28.was 30.had 33.could have had (10)	7.there is (1)	35
18	2.must serve 8.must spend 12.will be released 13.come 14.are released 16.serves 17.is suspended 18.reoffends 19.can be recalled 20.has been served 21.is suspended 22.may be recalled 23.is aimed 26.will boost 27.found 28.were undermining 29.welcomed (17)	1.are to spell out 3.will tell 4.must explain 6.will say 7.must state 11.state 31.said (7)	20.is not considered 25.hope (2)		5.mean 9.will be 10.will be 15.will make 24.has 30.was (6)		32
19	4.is contained 6.was leaked, faced 8.are drawing 10.could raise 11.would be levied 12.would be allowed 13.gave a warning 17.would be imposed 18.was improved 20.will push 24.would have to be passed on 26.would react 29.would pass 30.are collecting (15)	15.said 19.accused 21.eastimates 23.said (4)	2.are understood 7.is expected 27.would regard 28.would be willing (4)		1.have become 3.had been suggested 5.is 14.would mean 22.would add to 25.suggests 31.are 32.relates 33.has called for 34.has cut (10)	9.there are 16.there was (2)	35
20	1.faced 2.failed 4.skewed 6.appeal for, will meet 8.was crumbling 14.helped 15.oppses 16.joined 20.develop	3.said 7.said 18.urged	5.consider 11.are considere		9.spent 10.are 17.spent 32.was (4)	12.there have been (1)	35

	21.met 25.had been discussed 26.met 28. was wounded 29.opened fire 30.was taken (17)	22. said 23. agreed 24 .would be announce d 27.urged 31.was described (8)	d 13.believ e 19.see 32.believ e (5)				
21	1.are to be released 2.had warned 3.is needed to cope 4.cannot be detained 5.have committed 7.was released 8.captured, abused 10.visited 12.approached 15.was taken 16.went 17.was moved 20.left 22.would be released 24.can be freed, have to notify, go on 25.was changed 26.is due to leave 28.were released 29.may change 33.is extended (23)	5.was told 6.was told 11.told 12.told 21.said 30.said 32.will demand (7)		9.watched 13.was being watched (2)	4.are 14.was 18.is costing 19.is 23.are 27.had 31.will be (7)		39
22	1.will disappoint 2.unveils 4.will form 8.will face 9.will be clawed 10.could be delayed 14.could hit 15.have built up 17.are not be taxed 19.will be cut, will be given 20.will benefit 21.will top up 23.replaces 24.is paid 25.will be withdrawn 26.move up 27.will come into 28.will be underpinned 29.will rise30.will increase 33.will receive (22)	7.said 11.will declare 16.will be told 31.admitt ed 36.said (5)	6.will be relieved 32.would find 33.believ es 34.have resented 35.will see (5)		3.will make 12.will be 13.will be 18.will be 22.will be (5)	5.there will be (1)	38
23	1.are to be given 2.has won 3.wrestle 4.has dropped 6. is seeking 7.will disappoint 8.has ruled out 11.has been forced 13.fail 14.agreed 15.will face 16. Met 17.has gained 18.were put forward 21.would have to stage 22.would have to embark 24.disapproved 25.would have to tear 2.backs 27. accept 28.would have to be used 30.could precede 31. Can happen 33.show 34.run 36.will shelve 37.fall into (27)	35.say (1)	9.is determin ed 12.want 20.would be seen 29.do not like (4)		5.appear 19.was 23.was 32.are (4)		36
24	1.have been appointed 2.set up 3.will come 6.has implement 8.target 9.are behaving 10.circumvent 11.give 12.arrives 16.is examining 18.are campaigning 19.recive 20.is examining 21.canbe reduced 23.have to pay 24.pay 25.would be charged 27.has fulfilled 28.is monitoring 30.have been meeting 36.can ensure (21)	9.said 13.ask 22.compl ain 31.will accuse 32.hailed 33.said (6)	14.would like 15.is regarded 29.wants 35.hopes (4)	26.is looking at (1)	4.will not become 5.are 7.includes 17.is 34.is 37.is (6)		38
25	1.murdered ,hid, joined 3.were not found 4.led 5.vanished 6.was found 8.carried, had made love 10.was dropped 11.carried 13.identified 14.had fallen 22.tickled, fought 25.engaged 26.are entitled 31.went 32.went 40.found 41.was missing 44.called 45.returned 49.begun, would be caught 52.took out 53.killed, buried 54.raised 55.sought to pretend 61.continues (31)	2.was told 7.was told 9.claims 12. said 21.told 24.quote 33. said 35.told 36.said 38. said 39.would tell 46.had asked 47.said 48.denied 50. told 51.says 57.say 59.say (18)	23.thoug ht 28.may consider 30.was seen 42.did not realize (4)		6.belonged to 15. remained 16.was 17. were 18.is 19.concerns 20.is 23. was 34.took a call 36. was 37.is 43.was 56. was 58.was 60.was (15)	27.there was (1)	69
26	14.are devoted 15.have worked 17.turned 20.have done 22.had been	1.appeale d 2.called	12.knows 13.knows		3.was 5.has been 7.were		47

	targeted 23.have been put 32.set up 34.revealed 35.uncovered 36.justifies 37.published 40.tooted 41.raised 43.went 45.went (15)	on 4.spoke 6.said 8.can not apologise 10. said 21. questioned 29.was said 31.has to ask 33.said 38. was speaking 39.were claiming 44. had declared 47.announced (14)	19.forget (3)		9.has caused 11.are 16.was 18.are 19.let 23.has been 24.was 25.were 26.were 27.were 28.was 42.owed (15)		
27	2.will be allowed 3.will unveil 4.have to go 6.will open 7.will clear 8.work 9.have been resisted 11.risk 15.plays 17.loses 18.were welcomed 19.has been campaigning 21.was failing 22.could not use 26.is planned (15)	1.will announce 12.said 20.claimed 24.admitted 25.would require (5)	10.is worried 14.believe 16.are determined 23.wished (4)		5.have 13.have (2)		26
28	1.allowed 3.reprimanded 5.had touched 6.came 8.had summoned 10.had rubbed 14.have left 16.involved 18.was undergoing 22.arise 27.joined 33.was standing34.passed 35.moved 36.did 43.left 44.continues (17)	2.was told 4.complained 7.was told 8.asked 9.complained 13.denies 15.said 19.said 28.questioned 29.said 32.said 38.called 39.asked 41.replied (14)	24.noticed 30.had not known 37.did not think 42.would like (4)		1.made remarks 10.made comments 12.is being held 13.is attached to 17.were 20. is 21.is 23. is 25. seemed to be 26.was 28.made comments 31.was 38. was 40. would be (14)		49
29	1.was launched 3.try 12.were given 14.will have to set 15.are going to break 17.follows 21.have been crippled 22.have been mired 23.will be set out (9)	2.will be required 4. will be required 26. admitted 9. said (4)	5.attempts 19.has been embarrassed (2)		7.had led 10.are 11. can lead 13.will have 15. will be 16. are 18. affects 19. has been 20.are 24.include (10)	8.there are (1)	26
30	4.will judge 5.will ban 6. are delayed 8.will introduce 9.will be sacked 10.has to suspend 12.could be used 15.can improve 16.come 17.has been abused 18.would bring 21.has deferred 26.should not be passed 28.would be welcomed 32.would apply to 33.could be facing 38.has had to fall on 40. had been suspended 41.had been suspended 43.may never have allowed (20)	2.will announce 22.has agreed 27.said 29.had advocated 30.said 34.accused 36.said 39.was ordered 42.said (9)	13.could find 19.has considered 20.decided 25.decided (4)		1.is 3.will be 7. goes(sick) 14.are 21.would be 23.could result in 24.should have 31.was 35.left 37.was (10)		43
31	1.could be taken 4.would be appointed 8.used 9.will require 11.is planning 12. will allow 16.will allow 17. follows 19.would adopt 22. did not improve 26.would favour 27.had tried	2.said 7.pointed out 15.announced	6.will be seen (1)	21.look at (1)	3.could be 4.might include 5. could have 10.would take 18. made it	13.there is 14.there were 43.there was (3)	49

	29. must be dealt 31.were acquitted 32.would face 33.could be dealt 34.tried 40.will have to pass, could lose 41.was welcomed 43. protected 46.were balanced 47.had resisted (23)	23.said 24.would order 28.said 36.said 37.was insisting 39.claime d 42.said 45.said (11)			clear 20. suggested 25.made it clear 30. include 35. were 38. would take (10)		
32	1.will be restored 2.has devised 3.will be paid 6.is paid 7.rely 8.are designed 9.were trigged 10.had been initiated 12.defied 14.supported 15.had done 16.declined (12)	13.admitt ed (1)			4.will be 5.is 11.was taken (3)		16
33	2.found 3.support 4.dump 5.fuelled 6.were given 7.is being treated 10.had written 11.will be raised 12.threatens 15.comes 16.is not covered 17.face 18.bring in (13)	1.accused 9.said 20.said (3)			8.is 13.is 14.take 19.are 21.are (5)		21
34	1.swamped 2.approached 3.prepared 6.will open 7.have volunteered 8.will be met 12.has been inundated 14.will be outstanding 15.will have to be paid 16.could rise 17.are issued (11)		13.estima te (1)		4.has led to 9.is 10.have been 11.will remain (4)		16
35	1.may be built 3.are needed 5.have to accommodate 9.should be abandoned 12.set 13.writes 16.comes 20.have formed 25.is taking 27.are being forced 29.should go 32.does not challenge 35.may not need 38.releasing 39.using 40.writes 43.are concealing 46.may back (18)	2.will no longer be required 6. will be required 8. says 14.says 17.says 19. have reported 22.recom mended 23.accuse 24.have expressed 26.say 28.has insisted 30. defends 34. suggests 42. are admitted (14)	11.don't believe 31.is thought 36.want 41.believ e 44.do not want 45.aims (6)		4.will get 7.have been 10.is 15.should be 18.will mean 21.should be 37.will mean (7)	33.there will be 42.there are (2)	47
36	1.was drenched 2.emptied 3.struck 4.had been sitting 5.were playing 6.wiped 7.was led 10.be brought 12.failed 16.might produce 17.courted 18.sold out, sold out 20.produced 22.vaulted over, put 23.arrived 24.exchanged words, apprehended (19)	8.said 9.had asked 11.said 13.said (4)	15.had speculate d (1)		12.hadhad 14.had not been 18.wore 19.has been involved 25.had been (5)	21.there was (1)	30
37	1.is to be erected 5.tower 7.will be used 8.will unveil 9.visited 10.stepped up 16.had failed 18.reacted 19.was facing 21.came 22.can support (11)	2.announ ced 4.told 13.said 14.called 15. said 17.had rejected 18. claimed 19. had asked 20. told (9)	25.are finding (1)		3.is 6.will be 10. continued 11.emerged 12.held 23.is 24.is (7)		28
38	3.has been punished 6.will be greeted 8.may acquire 20.will try 22.could disrupt 23.begin 24.would discuss 27.would have to face 30.used 31.was re-elected 37.had abandoned 40.goes 43.doesn't deal 44.would never buy 45was doing 51.has got dragged (16)	1.says 4.said 7.spoke 9.said 13.said 16.disagr ee	10.regard ed 11.don't think 35.used to be regarded		2.has 5.had been, had made 12.is 13.isn't 14. have 17. may be 18. is 19. represents 26.was 28. was,	15.there may be 41.there is 53.there was (3)	62

		21.said 25.repeated 26.said 29.admitted 34.say 36.said 39.said 42.said 47.said (15)	46.fancies 55.is expected 56.are understood (6)		had not happened 32.has been 33.took, is to take 38. used to be 40.has become 48. had been subjected 49.endured 50.is 52. goes 54.is (22)		
39	1.has postponed 3.withdrew 7.had been changed 8.clashed 9.has been set 10.had invited 11. put off 12.could be boycotted 13.were to give 14.is quoted 17.have cooled 18.shared 19. comes, cancelled 23.had invited 25.have had to postpone 26.stand 31.went 33.will meet 35.will be invited 36.is rescheduled 37.has been given 40.had been postponed (23)	5.denied 7.said 20.is reported 22.said 28.added 38.will be asked 39.said 41.added (8)	15.did not think 24.were hoping 32.must be seen (3)		2.was to be 4.could turn into 6.was 16.will be 21.is 27.would be 29.would be 32.has not to be 34.is 42.might be 43.is (11)	30.there is (1)	46
40	4.greeted 6.was shown 7.did not offer 10.was running 13.has changed 15.fascinated 16.has stood 20.moved in 22.goes 27.are mislaid 33.was built 35.threatened 39.hangs 40.brought 45.was stranded 47.ran 48.was not recorded 49.stopped 50.gave (19)	8.did not ask for 9.said 23.said 26.blame 41.said 51.inquired 53.suggested 55.replied (8)	25.don't want 28.saw 36.chose 54.might appreciate 56.will enjoy (5)		1.were 2. made 11.would have been 12.is 14. took 17. was18.is 19.was 24. seems 29. was 30. would be 31.didi not have 32 .dates 34. became 37. were 38. had been 42.was 43 .was 44. spent 46. paid (a visit) 52. would fit in 56.am (22)	3.there was 5.there was 21.there were (3)	57
41	1.have been damaged 2.have hit 3.shows 4.is declining 5.backs 7.have gained 9.is giving (7)		10.iis satisfied 11.are dissatisfied (2)		6.is 8.are 12.are (3)		12
42	1.is to introduce 4.should be introduced 5.could bring 14.arose (4)	15.argue (1)	2.is believed 12.have been concerned 13.were believed (3)		3.is not 5.is 6.could take 7.is 8.make 9.would be 10.had 11.would be 17.is (9)	16.there have been (1)	18
43	1.will be offered 3.has brokered 6.will be confirmed 7.will be introduced 9.will offer (5)	2.will be announced 4.will announce (2)	6.are expected (1)		5.will be 8.is 10.is (3)		11
44	2.shot 5.has stopped 6.presented 14.was burnt 17.was set up 18.was greeted 20.were fired 23.shot 24.wrote 26.were shot 29.happened 30.is convinced 31.were fired 32.were hit 34.were killed 38.are working 40.will give 42.is shared (18)	1.is to apologise 3.say 10.said 15.reflected 16.described 21.were telling 22.said 35.has sounded (8)	9.is expected 25.should be regarded 27.is expected 28.did not consider 39.hopes (5)		4.is 7.is 8.may be made 11. is12.is 13. have been 19.held 33. were 36. would take 37.has become 41. are (11)		42
45	2.was prompted 3.lived 5.won 6.starred 7.backed 8.jumped 17.should get 20.hould be honoured 24.posed 26.lived 27.would not preclude 28.received (12)	1.was denied 4.is said 9.declared 10.is reported 12.said 15.said	22.is believed (1)		6.has been 11.was 13. is 14.are 16.is not 18.would be 21. would be 23.was 25. has been involved (9)		29

		19.were recommend-ing (7)					
46	1.would not have been disclosed 6.could go 12.would form 18.has lectured 21.will allow 26.might not take 28.would have granted 35.interfere (8)	2.says 8.is asked 13.replied 16.says 19.says 23.have said 25.says 27.expresses 31.insisted 33.warns 37.says (11)	3.expects 4. ignore 5. wants 9. would have expected 10.would hope 20. intends 22. expects 24. would prefer 29. think 34. have to consider (10)		7.are 11. would be 15.is 17.is 29.would be 30. would have to be 32.would be 35.are 36.would not be 38.will emerge (10)	14.is there (1)	40
47	2.earned 4.is plagued 9.visited 11.fights 13.cannot be turned off 14.leak 15.have been drilled 18.examined 21.would raise 24.checked 26.acted, shared 27.helped, put 30.am not going to do 37.raised 40.should get 41.got 42.are going to assess 44.had been seeking 45.had not been ruled out 46.were missed 49.should be fined (23)	5.said 8.said 17.said 22.agreed 29.said 38.said 43.said 47.said 48.called for, said (10)	6.is depressing 36.hope 39.feel (3)	19.were looking at (1)	1.took 3. has been made 7.find 10.were 12.is 16. needed 20. seemed 23. is 25.was 28.has been 31.can't keep up 32.has been 33.is 34. haven't had 35.faces (15)		52
48	1.watched 2.died 3.sank 4.was shown 6.sank 7.showed 8.snagged 10.was fishing 11.sank 13.was fishing 15.was dragged 16.was caught 17.failed 18.died 20.sent down (15)	19.said 22.criticised 24.were answered (3)	5.saw (1)		9.appeared to be 12.was 14.became 23.was 25. Continues (5)	21.there were (1)	25
49	1.have been influenced 2.were visited 3.has influenced 6.is elected 8.is credited 10.is not elected 13.have switched 15.will be used (8)		7.would like 11.is seen (2)		4.will have 5.was 6.has 9.was 12.have been 14.are (6)		16
50	1.will go 2.credit 3.would have received 5.will fill out 7.can tick 9.would be deducted 15.is paid 16.will remove 17.was floated 18.ran into 19.has approved 23.goes 26.has been preserved 28.is introduced (14)	3.has agreed 10.will announce 20.said (3)	8.wish 12.want 14.is intended 22.will determine 27.are expected (5)		4.will be 6.will include 11.will include 13.will be 21.is 24.will not affect 25.will be (7)		29
Total	**809 (46%)**	**313 (18%)**	**139 (8%)**	**6 (0.3%)**	**436 (25%)**	**45 (2.6%)**	**1748**

Appendix 16

Transitivity Analysis of the texts from China Daily

Text	Process Type						Total number
	Material process	Verbal process	Mental process	Behavioural Process	Relational Process	Existential Process	
1	3.are trying 8.submitted 9.were initiated 10.began 11.can contact (5)	12.said (1)			1.has taken 2.is 4.will make 5.is 6.has become 7.took 10.indicates (7)		13
2	1.should begin 4.can be discussed 6.marked 9.should begin 10.will lead 11.have not offered 12.will satisfy 16.can reach 18.should be discussed 19.will participate 21.must be upheld 25.cannot be separated 27.will abide 28.suspended 29.visited 31.will resume 33.will authorize 38.will over come 41.is proposing 44.has never ruled out 46.will interfere (21)	1.says 3.said 7.asked 13.said 15.said 17.added 20.streesed 23.added 32.said 35.told 37.expressed 39.urged 45.may declare (13)	18.feel 26.hopes (2)		2.is 5.made 8.has made 12.is 14.should make 22.means 24.is 30.is 34.make 36.were 40.will make 42.can maintain 43.will remain (13)		49
3	1.heads 3.won 7.raised 8.is set 10.won 11.helped 12.were awarded 13.was organized (8)	2.was announced (1)			4.was 5.maintained 6.was 9.were (4)		13
4	1.are progressing 2.is heading 4.complies with 6.has played 16.will continue working (5)	5.noted 7.noted 9.thanked 12.said 14.expressed 15.went on to say (6)			3.made remarks 8. have been made 10.has made 11.is 13.has held talks (5)		16
5	2.is arranging for 8.were turned away 9.begins 10.have been given 12.have obtained 13.has increased 14.select 15.go 19.are travelling 21.have chosen 22.have earned 24.had tried 25.sold out 26.had to apply 27.will go 28.has arranged 29.spent (17)	7.said 19.said 23.said (3)			1.have made plans 3.are 4.has led 5.costs 6.was 11.has become 16. prefer to 17.is 18.is making arrangement 20.are (10)		30
6	1.crawled 2.completed 4.had cleared 6.began 8.have been cleared 9.were planted 15.are sited 16.are covered 17.had to carry 18.were soaked 20.lost 21.had slipped 25.follow 26.remove 28.have been improving (15)	3.announced 7.said 11.said 13.said 23.said 27.said (6)	14.can imagine 24.were seen (2)		2.were 5.meant 10.has 12.is 19.had been taken 22.is 29.is (7)		30
7	1.has received 4.will focus 7.set up 8.has injected 9.provided 10.offers 14.will provide (7)	2.announced 4.said 11.said 12.mentioned 15.said (5)	5.is expected 16. intends to (2)		3.will be 6.has been 13.will have (3)		17
8	1.met 3.exchanged 4. defined 6.will help 12. would serve 13.discussed 15.will devote 17.met (8)	2.said 5.said 7.said 8.said 11.said 14.said (6)			9.play 10.depends on 14.is 16.is 18.is (5)		19
9	1.aproved 2.will improve 6.will help 7.have to undergo 10.has given 12.aims 13.will be set up (7)	4.said 8.described 9.said 15.said (4)			3.is 5.is 11.has been making 14.is (4)		15
10	3.imposes 4.came 5.drew 6.revealed 10.found 12.found 17.affects 18.can shorten 21.is increasing 22.is shrinking 25.fell 26.witnessed (12)	1.reported 15.said 19.pointed out 24.reported (4)			2.are becoming 3. are needed 7.were 8.were 9.is 11. become 13. get 14.are 16. is, can become 20. are 23.had (11)		27
11	1.recovered 2.evaded 3.launched 4.recovered 5.handled 6.examinied 7.discovered 8.paid 9.implemented 11.detected	10reported 13.said 16.said (3)	4.looked into (1)		12.is , is 14.accounted for 15.were (3)		17

	(10)						
12	1.form 7.commemorated 8.should value and treasure 12.have been handled 16.benefits 19.will advance 21.attended (7)	2.says 4.added 9.said 11.said 13.added 15.noted 17.said 20.added (8)			3.is 5.made the remarks 6.marks 10.have been 14.are 18.was 22.is (7)	12.there have been (1)	23
13	1.are set 2.will charge 3.will be charged 5.will be paying 7.will be paying 11.will hurt 15.will affect 16.get 18.will earn 19.would have earned 22.will persuade 27.have to face 28.has diversified 29.put 31.is loosing 32.can get 36.has to employ 39.bargain with 44.are welcoming (19)	10.say 13.said 14.explained 23.explained 26.said 30.said 33.said 37.said 42.said 43.grumble (10)	21.don't think (1)		4.means 6.take a taxi 8.may be 9.is 12.will have 17.stay 24.has 25.is 34.are 35.are 40.is 41.will result in (12)	20.there's 38.exist (2)	44
14	3.show 4.are investing 5.showed 7.had turned away 9.would withdraw 11.would keep 12.found 13.save 14.shows 17.will be pleased 20.was to 21.has decided encourage 29.need 33.lost 35.showed 36.was conducted 37.were covered 41.had broken 43.found 44.entered 45.invested (21)	8.said 10.said 15.said 18.said 19.said 26.said 38.reported 39.reported 40.said (9)	25.do not know 27.do not know 42.saw (3)		1.has become 2.are 5.preferred 6.was 16.was 22.compares with 23.was 24.indicates 28.is 30.indicates 31.is 32.made 34.is (13)		46
15	1.has affected 4.has raised 5. Started 7.discharge 8.has hit 9.were affected 11.were damaged 12.has affected (8)	2.reported 3.have demanded (2)			6.is 10.is (2)		12
16	4.is accused 5.is accused 6.isaccused 7.worked 8.has been invited 10.aatended 15.are improving 18.released (8)	9.said 11.added 13.said 17.said (4)	16.does not expect (1)		1.is 2. indicates 3.is concerned 12.were 14.is (5)		18
17	1.flew 4.will begin 5.will hold meetings 6.was met 11.will meet (5)	8.praised 9.encouraged 10.asked (3)			2.is 3.is 7.was (3)		11
18	2.must not been weakened 11.seized 12.have been turned 13.were turned 14.concentrated 15.seized 17.seized 19.were valued 20.were caught (9)	1.is asking 3.told 5.said 6.urged 8.sais 9.asked 10.reported 16.reported (8)			4.played 7.should be made 10.are paying 18.contained (4)		21
19	3.have under gone 5.have improved 11.willvisit 14.cannot accept (4)	2.says 4.said 6. reported 8. outlined 10. suggested 13. said 15.reported 17.said 19.said (9)	16.should remem- ber (1)		1.is 7.led 9.are 12.is 18.let (5)		19
20	4.were lit 6.ruled 7.would be allowed 8.used 9.started 10.had laid on 12.bagan 14.had been lifted 16.confiscated 17.violated 18.gave warnings 19.set up 20.parolled 21.would violate 23.were caught 25.lit up 26.enjoyed 27.were not found 28.were purchased 30.has undergone 31.occurred 32.are not forbidden 34.would not receive 38.have joined 46.died 47.has banned (26)	24.said 29.reported 35.said 39.complained 41.said 42.requires 43.have been reported 45.have been reported (8)	1.were heard 3.are worrying 22.were heard 33. worried (4)		2.are 5.may cause 11.bacame 13.made 15.indicated 36.was 37.were 40.are 42.is 44.was (10)		48
21	1.are suffering 3.have damaged 7.reached 10. were hurt 12.is increasing 14.face (6)	2.reported 11. said 13.were advised 15.said (4)			4.is 5.was 6.made 8.was 9.is 14.are (6)		16
22	1.have seized 2.has killed 3.have been poisoned 4.traced 6.have sealed 8.killed, was wholesaled 9.have been arrested 12.claimed 13.happened 14.died 15.were poisoned 15.were passed 16.issued (14)	5.said 7.said 10.said (3)	9. believed (1)		11.is (1)		19
23	1.have been focused 3.will guide 4.covered 5.ended				2.was 9.were 11.are (3)		11

	6.greenlighted 7.mapped out 8.provided 10.found, steal (8)						
24	1.dipped 3.was driven 5. dropped 7.reached 8.were affected 10.would raise 14. will cancel 15.continues 17.may continue 18.show 19.are drawing back 22. will linger 24.were carried 30.willdepend 31.will conclude 35.will rebound, stabilizes36.were attributed (18)	2.said 9. declared 11.said 13.said 16. pointed out 21. said 23.pointed out 25.reiterated 28.said 33.said 34.said (11)	22.think (1)		4.was 6.was 7.have 12. were 20.is 26. will maintain 27.are 29. is,are 32.is 35.is, remain (12)		42
25	1.have mushroomed 4.reached 8.has increased 10.is required 11.can be co-ordinated 12.should be strengthened 13.should be examined 14.should be conducted 16.come up 17.may be put (10)				2.were made 5. would 7.are equal 6. remains 9.can lead to 15. should keep (6)	3.there were (1)	17
26	1.will open 4.are printed 8.arise 10.must be marked 12.can show 13.should be sold 15.is trying 19.have been making 21.are based 23.did not get started 24.introduced 25.were printed 26.followed 27.has imported 29.has set up 30.has reached 31.is estimated 34.cling to 37.will increase (19)		18.think 37.is expected 38.is expected (3)	3.dream (1)	2.will be 5. will sell 6. sells 7.will sell 11.must be 14.is 16.is 17.is 20.are 22.are 28.has 32.is 33.has 35.are 36. have become 38.will include (16)	31.there are (1)	40
27	2.will design 4.have been purchasing 6.will show 9.has walked 11.will use 14.will provide 17.will allow 18.follows (8)	1.announced 3.said 7.confirmed (3)	5.believe 12.is expected 16. believes (4)		5.have 8.is going to be 10.are 13.is 15.combines (5)		20
28	2.are planning 4.will provide 6.will not come 7.would choose 8.set 9.requires 10.offered 11.make 12.have established 13.have been authorized 19.will be laid 21.were laid off 23.will be laid off 24.live 26.have been caused 29.will be solved 33.signed 34.are taking, will recruit 35.is recommended (20)	5.said 15.said 25.said 31.suggested (4)	17.want 30.are considered (3)		1.are 3.is 14.will make 16.are 18.face 20.is 22.remain 27.is28.seems 32.will become (10)		37
29	5.can meet 11.approved 12.will attract 15.has suffered 16.will be completed 17.has sold 18.began (7)	6.said 13.said 15.said 20.said (4)	2.is expected 8.decided 19.are known (3)		1.will be 3. has 4.has 7.is 9.costs 10. indicate 14. should not be 19.are 20.is (9)		23
30	3.dominated 7.shrank 11.were dominated 12. were kicked, were required 13.were seized (6)	5.said 10.said (2)			1.became 2.was 4.was 6.was 8.were 9.accounted (6)		14
31	1.made 3.has earned 4.awarded 5.was signed 6.have strengthened 8.has bought 9.was signed 11.will begin 13.has undertaken (9)				2.was 7.are 10.is 12.has (4)		13
32	1.cannot find 2.may turn to 3.issued 4.do not appear 5.have been mushrooming 6.will tighten 12.fixed 13.materialized 15.pose 17.should apply 18.should be undertaken 20.will have to rectify 21.is revising 26.completed (14)	7.told 14.said 16.said 17.ask 19.said 23.said 25.said 27.said (8)	11.determin ed 22.is expected (2)		5.is 8.exceeds 9.indicate 10.had 24.has made (5)		29
33	1.dealt with 5.came 6.was captured 8.seized 9.can be turned 12.were confiscated 13.dealt with 14.were sent 15.received 17.cured 18.have found 20.will receive 22.is planned, will be shown 24.can be turned (15)	2.was announced 21.said 23.stressed (3)			3.was 4.were 7.was 10.has 11.have become 16.has 19.will be (7)		25
34	1.launched 2.will issue 4.will comprise 6.was launched 8.took over 10.were taken	7.said 13.said (2)	14. believed (1)		3.is 5.has 9.has 12.owns 17.is 18.has (6)		19

	11.invested 14.represented 15.will benefit 16.posted (10)						
35	1.will begin 2.will be listed 3.is completed 8.is oversubscribed 9.will issue 10.will be invested 12.produces 15.has formed 18.was established (9)	11.said 14.said (2)	7.is expected 13.is expected (2)		4.was 5.was 6.has 16.is 17.is (5)		18
36	1.has raised 4.has poured 5.killed, injured, left 6.will be used 7.will be built 8.were transferred 9.was donated 10.collapsed 11.were destroyed (11)	2.was announced (1)			3.is (1)		13
37	1.has launched 3. uncovered 6.falsified 7. have been dealt 9.involved 10.will be punished 11. passed 12.have conducted 13.are discovered 14.harms 15.was denounced 16. uncovered 17.set up 19. found 20.had not operated 21.had posted 24.changed 25.deflated (18)	2.reported 4.had misstated 5.said 8.said 18.said 20.had reported 23.said (7)			22.were (1)		26
38	4.will exchange 7.will visit 11.enjoys 14.will not affected 16.will visit 17.met 20.were forged 22.arrived (8)	3.commented 6.said 8.said 10.went on 13. said 15. announced 18. said 21.thanked 23.said (9)	11.hope 14. believed 19.felt 24.will never forget (4)		1.is 2.will be 5.will have 9.is 12.has (5)		26
39	3.extended 7.has won 8.shows 11.is filled 12.have started (5)	1.has said 5.expressed 7.said 10.said 12.said (5)			2.is 4.falls 6.are bound to 9.is 13.have (5)		15
40	1.heads 4.broke, won 5.won 6.finished 10. won, has entered 11.was chosen 12.anchored, won 13.won 15.won 16.won 18.broke 19.finished 22.won (16)				2.became 3.was 5.was 7.scored 8.made 9.is 14.was 17. was 20. clocked 21 .was 23.was (11)		27
41	1.have tested 3.tested 4.were collected 7.has decided 11.was shocked, support 12.will co-ordinate 14.has adhered 16.will co-ordinate 21.could be expelled 22.produced 25.is following 27.can't do 29.will be punished 31.had damaged 33.has spoilt (16)	1.announced 2.said 6.said 9.said 10.said 13.said 17.said 18.said 20.said 24.said 28.said 30.said 34.told (13)			5.were made 8.can be made 15.is 19.was 23. cannot take 26.don't have (6)	32.there are (1)	36
42	2.swept 3.will have been transported 6.export, will come 7.will not reach 11. shipped 12.cultivated 15. left 16.had been detected 19.stopped 20.killed 23. will tighten 26.have come (13)	5.reported 8.said 13. announced 21. has reported 22. have been reported 24.said 25.report (7)	10.is not expected 18. believed (2)		1.will have 4.will be 9.will depend 14.caused 17.made the announcement (5)		27
43	1.are being invited 3.were welcome 4.will open 5.will issue 6.can submit 7.can submit 8.can apply 9.can apply 10.can apply 11.can apply 12.can apply (11)	2.announced (1)					12
44	1.falls 2.closed 3.rose 4.suffered 6.kicked off 7.dropped 8.followed 9.fell 10.had cut 13.extended 14.dipped 15.is waiting 18.dropped, staged 19.plunged 20.was regained 21.rose 22.followed 23.dropped, gained 24.closed 26.had been damaged 27.would confine (23)	16.said 25.said 28.said (3)	1.enjoyed (1)		5.remained 11.was 12.amounted 17.would be (4)		31
45	1.figure into 4.chose 13.listed 16.should reform 18.does need 19.reflect 20.selected (7)	2.said 6.said 8.said 10.said 15.said 17.argue (6)	3.like (1)		5.ranked 7.is 9.suits 11.is 12.was 14.include 20.are (7)		21
46	1.will not be allowed 2.has detailed 9.are competing	10.said, will recommend			3.include 4. should not be		17

	13.should submit 14.is based (5)	14.announced (3)			5.should be 6. should be 7. can not be 8. must be 11. can be 12. must be 15.is (9)		
47	1.has sued 3.has agreed 5.failed 7.registered 10.is promoting 11.are competing 12.hired 13.tried 19.shall get 21.should cover (10)	2.is demanding 4.said 6.said 9.said 14.said 16.said 20.said (7)			8.is 15.was 17.is 18.is 22.is (5)		22
48	1.is giving 4.will take over 6.would be administered 14.could be passed 15. began 17.ruled out 22. should stop 25.would continue 26.arrange 29. pledged 30.would not affect 34.would not continue, would strive 35. have not changed (14)	2.said 3.said 5.reported 8.said 9.said 12.said 20.said 24.said 28.said 31.said 33.noted 36.said (12)	27.will take into considerati on (1)		7.is 10.is 11. include 13.are 16. became 18.are 21.does not mean 23.are 32.remains (9)	19.exist (1)	37
49	1.opened 2.was launched 3.have opened 8.have mobilized 9.hurt 13.investigated 14.were not reached 17.will promote (8)	4.told 10.said 15.explained 16.said (4)	11.heard (1)		5.will let, have 6.have 7.falls 12.was 14.concerned (6)		19
50	3.has focused 4.has solved 7.have improved 9.dropped 11.lives 16.have been promulgated 18.faces (7)	5.said 12.noted 14.said 20.said 23.said (5)			1.are 2 .suggests 6.is 10.indicate 13.made 15. are contained 17.have 19.is 21.remain 22. will be (10)		22
Total	**567 (47.97%)**	**242 (20.47%)**	**47 (3.98%)**	**1 (0.08%)**	**318 (26.9%)**	**7 (0.59%)**	**1182**

Appendix 17

Analysis of types of verbal processes in The Times

Text	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Total
No1	5.said 6.told 10.was described 27.said (4)		14.shouted (1)	5
No2		10.reported (1)	13.admit (1)	2
No3	21.are told 27.said (2)	2.will call for 4.will be urged 7.has demanded 15.has emphasised (4)		6
No4	26.said 30.said (2)			2
No5	6.said 16.said 18.told 25.is saying 32.comments 33.said (7)	1.condemned, appealed for 24.insisted 35.pointed out (4)	21.denied 34.would not comment (2)	12
No6	10.is to be asked. 17said (2)	7.condemned, warned 14.will be ordered 16.will be announced 27.accused (5)	5.admit (1)	8
No7		10.proposed (1)		1
No8	5.said (1)	3.accused (1)		2
No9	18.said (1)			1
No10	7.says 9.says 16.says 20.says 28.states 29.adds 36.asks 37.said 40.said 49.said (10)			10
No11	5.said 11.said 14.are saying 21.said 33.tells (5)	2.announced 9.suggested 17.declared (3)	13.insisted (1)	9
No12	8.said (1)			1
No13	3.was told 12.said 16.said 22.said 28.told 29.said 49.said (7)			7
No14	9.told 12.said 18.said 21.said (4)	15.emphasised (1)	8.admitted (1)	6
No15	2.said 6.disputed 7.said 9.were saying 13.said 15.said 19.argued 33.said 34.said 36.said 40.said (11)	7.rebuked 17.suggested 38.have accused (3)	22.claims 28.insisted (2)	16
No16		2.announced (1)		1
No17	5.said 12.said 18.was described (3)	8.indicated (1)		4
No18	3.will tell 6.will say 7.must state 11.state 31.said (5)	1.are to spell out 4.must explain (2)		7
No19	15.said 21.estimates 23.said (3)	18.accused (1)		4
No20	3.said 7.said 22.said 23.agreed 31.was described (5)	18.urged 24.would be announced 27.urged (3)		8
No21	5.was told 6.was told 11.told 12.told 21.said 30.said (6)	32.will demand (1)		7
No22	7.said 16.will be told 36.said (3)	11.will declare (1)	31.admitted (1)	5
No23	35.say (1)			1
No24	9.said 13.ask 33.said (3)	31.will accuse 32.hailed (2)	22.complain (1)	6
No25	2.was told 7.was told 12.said 21.told 24.quote 33.said 35.told 36.said 38.said 39.would tell 46.had asked 47.said 50.told 51.says 57.say 59.say (16)		9.claims 48.denied (2)	18
No26	4.spoke 6.said 10.said 29.was said 31.has to ask 33.said 38.was speaking (7)	1.appealed 2.called on 21.questioned 44.had declared 47.announced (5)	8.can not apologise 39.were claiming (2)	14
No27	12.said (1)	1.will announce 25.would require (2)	20.claimed 24.admitted (2)	5
No28	2.was told 7.was told 8.asked 15.said 19.said 29.said 32.said 38.called 39.asked 41.replied (10)	28.questioned (1)	4.complained 9.complained 13.denied (3)	14
No29	9.said (1)	2.will be required 4.will be required (2)	26.admitted (1)	4
No30	22.has agreed 27.said 30.said 36.said 42.said (5)	2.will announce 29.advocated 34.accused 39.was ordered (4)		9
No31	2.said 23.said 28.said 36.said 42.said 45.said (6)	7.pointed out 15.announced 24.would order (3)	37.was insisting 39.claimed (2)	11
No32			13.admitted (1)	1
No33	9.said 20.said (2)	1.accused (1)		3
No34				0
No35	8.says 14.says 17.says 26.say (4)	2.will no longer be required 6.will be required 19.have reported 22.recommended 23.accuse 24.have expressed 30.defends 34.suggests (8)	28.has insisted 42.are admitted (2)	14
No36	8.said 9.had asked 11.said 13.said (4)			4
No37	4.told 13.said 14.called 15.said 18.had asked 20.told (6)	2.announced 17.had rejected (2)	18.claimed (1)	9
No38	1.says 4.said 7.spoke 9.said 13.said 16.disagree 21.said 25.repeated 26.said 34.say 36.said 39.said 42.said 47.said (14)		29.admitted (1)	15
No39	7.said 22.said 38.will be asked 39.said (4)	20.is reported 28.added 41.added (3)	5.denied (1)	8
No40	8.did not ask for 9.said 23.said 41.said	51.inquired 53.suggested (2)	26.blame (1)	8

	55.replied (5)			
No41				0
No42		15.argue (1)		1
No43		2.will be announced 4.will announce (2)		2
No44	3.say 10.said 16.described 21.were telling 22.said (5)	15.reflected (1)	1.is to apologise 35. has sounded (2)	8
No45	4.is said 12.said 15.said (3)	9.declared 10.is reported 19.were recommending (3)	1.was denied (1)	7
No46	2.says 8.is asked 13.replied 16.says 19.says 23.have said 25.says 37.says (8)	27.expressed 33.warns (2)	31.insisted (1)	11
No47	5.said 8.said 17.said 22.agreed 29.said 38.said 43.said 47.said 48.said (9)	48.called for (1)		10
No48	19.said 24.were answered (2)	22.criticised (1)		3
No49				0
No50	3.has agreed 20.said (2)	10.will announce (1)		3
Total				**313**

Appendix 18

Analysis of types of verbal processes in China Daily

Text	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Total
No1	12.said (1)			1
No2	1.says 3.said 7.asked 13.said 15.said 17.added 23.added 32.said 35.told (9)	20.stresses 37.expressed 39.urged 45.may declare (4)		13
No3		2.was announced (1)		1
No4	12.said (1)	5.noted 7.noted 9.thanked 14.expressed 15.went on to say (5)		6
No5	7.said 19.said 23.said (3)			3
No6	7.said 11.said 13.said 23.said 27.said (5)	3.announced (1)		6
No7	4.said 11.said 15.said (3)	2.announced 12.mentioned (2)		5
No8	2.said 5.said 7.said 8.said 11.said 14.said (6)			6
No9	4.said 8.described 9.said 15.said (4)			4
No10	15.said (1)	1.reported 19.pointed out 24.reported (3)		
No11	13.said 16.said (2)	10.reported (1)		3
No12	2.says 4.added 9.said 11.said 13.added 17.said 20.added (7)	15.noted (1)		8
No13	10.say 13.said 26.said 30.said 33.said 37.said 42.said (7)	14.explained 23.explained (2)	43.grumble (1)	10
No14	8.said 10.said 15.said 18.said 19.said 26.said 40.said (7)	38.reported 39.reported (2)		9
No15		2.reported 3.have demanded (2)		2
No16	9.said 11.added 13.said 17.said (4)			4
No17	10.asked (1)	8.praised 9.encouraged (2)		3
No18	1.is asking 3.told 5.said 8.said 9.asked (5)	6.urged 10.reported 16.reported (3)		8
No19	2.says 4.said 13.said 17.said 19.said (5)	6.reported 8.outlined 10.suggested 15.reported (4)		9
No20	24.said 35.said 39.complained 41.said (4)	29.reported 42.requires 43.have been reported 45.have been reported (4)		8
No21	11.said 15.said (2)	2.reported 13.were advised (2)		4
No22	5.said 7.said 10.said (3)			3
No23				0
No24	2.said 11.said 13.said 21.said 28.said 33.said 34.said (7)	9.declared 16.pointed out 23.pointed out 25.reiterated (4)		11
No25				0
No26				0
No27	3.said (1)	1.announced 7.confirmed (2)		3
No28	5.said 15.said 25.said (3)	31.suggested (1)		4
No29	6.said 13.said 15.said 20.said (4)			4
No30	5.said 10.said (2)			2
No31				0
No32	7.told 14.said 16.said 17.ask 19.said 23.said 25.said 27.said (8)			8
No33	21.said (1)	2.was announced 23.stressed (2)		3
No34	7.said 13.said (2)			2
No35	11.said 14.said (2)			2
No36		2.was announced (1)		1
No37	5.said 8.said 18.said (3)	2.reported 20.had reported 23.said (3)	4.had misstated (1)	7
No38	6.said 8.said 13.said 18.said 23.said (5)	3.commented 10.went on 15.announced 21.thanked (4)		9
No39	1.has said 7.said 10.said 12.said (4)	5.expressed (1)		5
No40				0
No41	2.said 6.said 9.said 10.said	1.announced (1)		13

	13.said 17.said 18.said 20.said 24.said 28.said 30.said 34.told (12)			
No42	8.said 24.said (2)	5.reported 13.announced 21.has reported 22.have been reported 25.report (5)		7
No43		2.announced (1)		1
No44	16.said 25.said 28.said (3)			3
No45	2.said 6.said 8.said 10.said 15.said (5)	17.argue (1)		6
No46	10.said (1)	10.will recommend 14.announced (2)		3
No47	4.said 6.said 9.said 14.said 16.said 20.said (6)	2.is demanding (1)		7
No48	2.said 3.said 8.said 9.said 12.said 20.said 24.said 28.said 31.said 36.said (10)	5.reported 33.noted (2)		12
No49	4.told 10.said 16.said (3)	15.explained (1)		4
No50	5.said 14.said 20.said 23.said (4)	12.noted (1)		5
Total	**168**	**72**	**2**	**242**

Appendix 19

Type of sayer in China Daily and Times texts Nos 1-10

The Sayers in first10 Chinese Newspapers 49(100%)				The Sayers in first 10 British newspapers 44 (100%)			
Government officials	%	Others	%	Government officials	%	others	%
2.Vice-Premier Minister, Qian, Jiang, Qian,Qian he, Qian, Qian Chen Yunlin, director of the Taiwan Affairs Office , Tang Shubei, Arats vice-chairman, Tang 4.Zhang Wannian, vice-chairman, Zhang, Zhang, he, he, he, 5.Zhang Huizhu, director of the company" Overseas Travel Department, Zhang, Wang Li, a head office official, Yu Junyi, an official, 6. Qiu Daxiong deputy commander, Qiu, Qiu, Zhang Shasndong, head of the team , Zhang, Qiu 7.bank officals 8.Jiang, he , he, Jiang Jiang, 9.Chen Jiande an executive of Boeing Corp, (35)	71%	1.The release, Taiwan 3.which 7.Ric Van Slingeland, Slingeland, he , Slingeland 8.Levin, 9.observers, Laurence Braham , 10 the health news , Professor Jiao, he, the city's Statistics Bureau (14)	29%	1.George Livingstone, deputy assistant chief, 3.a government task force, the government, Anita Straker, the project's director, 5.Tony Blair, Buckingham Palace, 6.ministers, ministers, Chris Smith, the minister, a government source, 7. He, 10.Sir John Bourn , Rhodri Morgan, MP,he he (15)	34%	1.police, the man, their condition, somebody, 2.operators, operators, 3.schools, professor Reynolds, schools, 4.Keith Britton , Mr Robert Carpender, 5.a Blair aide, Blair's staff, who, they, one spokesman, friend of.. ,one, , Rattle, Francis Maude, 7.Antony Kilmister, 9.she 10.office report, the report, the report, it, the report, the report, (29)	66%

Appendix 20

The Evaluative Analysis of the Texts from The Times

Intensifiers and Comparators

Text	Intensifiers	Total	Comperators				Total
	Quantifiers		Negatives	Futures	Modals	Comparatives /Superlatives	
No 1	33.all our sakes	1	31.no justification 32.no hope (2)		4.could bring 25.would retaliate 29.cannot find (3)	9.less serious (1)	6
No 2	5.many other 17.many train operators 29.many in the industry	3	8.did not merit 17.not seen (2)	11.will show 16.will be 30.will bring (3)		4.more than one 7.worst performing 17.the worst days 22.the worst monthly performance 25. the worst performance 30. better services 33. the biggest 35. more people (8)	13
No 3	20.little more 29.almost all	2	16.no magic formula (1)	1.will be given 2.will call for 3.will back 4.will be urged 6.will be needed 8.will herald 12.will set out 19.will rest (8)	13.should learn 22.should be taught (2)	3.more teaching, less use of calculators 6.more involvement 11.more likely 22.more homework (5)	16
No 4	18.many of the glands	1	3.no company 10.do not show 13.are not removed 32.not knowing (4)		2.could save 7.can be found 12.could die 33 can be (4)	6.more than 90 per cent accurate, the smallest cancers (2)	10
No 5	12.much of the publicity	1	17.should not be seen 19.did not believe 23.is not singling out 28.does not get in 31.has not discussed 32.neither Downing Street nor… 34.would not comment on (7)	15.will ignore (1)	11.would have been 12.can only add to 17.should not be seen 30.should leave 34.would not comment on (5)		13
No 6	2.most parents	1	15.will not merely consider 22.should't depend on (2)	1.will be guaranteed 2.will continue 14.will be ordered 15.will not consider, will channel 16.will be announced (6)	4.would otherwise miss out, could qualify 7.would decline 12.may provide 21.should have 22.shouldn't depend on 24.can pay 28.can dip (8)		16
No 7		0	19.never came to (1)		11.would support (1)	20.more operational(1)	3
No 8	19.used widely	1	6.does not have 13.would not have (2)		13.would not have14.would offer (2)		4
No 9		0		5.will be (1)		1.more materialistic 3.more interested 5.the most important 8.the most important 11.older 12.more materialistic 17.more individualistic (7)	8
No10		0	6.are not 18.did not have 39.don't go on 43.not by (4)	2.will save (1)	3.can be made 35.could charge 38.would be tabling 45.would be 47.can find (5)		10
No11	2.had all	1	13.would never	16.there will be no	7.could be achieved	23.more ambiguous	12

	undertaken		accept 15.there's no solution 16.there will be no 34.not to be (4)	(1)	12. would remain 13.wouild never accept 20.would be 22.would have 34.would prefer (6)	(1)	
No12		0		1.will be driven 3.will lead 4.will travel 5.will be buried 17.will be held (5)	11.should drive 27.would be 28.would be (3)	9.most senior 12.the most charismatic (2)	10
No13	28.all	1	18.would not have been 57.couldn't do 60.wasn't braking 61.was not holding (4)		18.would not have been 19.could have seen 57.couldn't do 59.could see (4)	38.more quickly 40.more firmly (2)	10
No14		0	13.would not make 16.had not been working (2)		10.could be sent 13.would not make 14.would continue (3)		5
No15	38.too much 39.too much	2	22.not to stand (1)	31.will try 32.will fail (2)	5.could prove 43.may be losing (2)	29.the highest (1)	6
No16		0		5.will suffer (1)	4.may be 12.could be damaging (2)		3
No17		0	17.are not required (1)	16.will be put (1)	1.could have 3.would be prepared 9.could accept 17.could be 23.would have been 27.would have been 29. could have gone 31.could have lost 33.could have had (9)	2.most significant (1)	12
No18		0	20.is not considered, not released (2)	3.will tell 6.will say 9.will be 10.will be 12.will usually be 15.will make 26.will boost (7)	2.must serve 4. must explain 7. must state 8.must spend 19.can be recalled 22.may be recalled (6)	20.more serious offences (1)	16
No19		0	2.not only those (1)	20.will push up (1)	10.could raise 11. would be levied 12.would be allowed 14.would mean 17.would be imposed 22.would add 24.would have to be 26. would react 27. would regard 28. would be willing 29.would pass (11)	1.the latest 14.higher (2)	15
No20		0	24.no more (1)	6.will now appeal, will meet (2)	24.would be announced (1)		4
No21		0	4.cannot be 5.no new crimes 23.are not (3)	31.will be 32.will demand (2)	4.cannot be detained 22.would be released (2)		7
No22	2.many years 5.little 9.many of the gains 32.little comfort	4	17.are not to be (1)	1.will disappoint 3. will make 4.will form 5.will be 6.will be relieved 8.will face 9.will probably be 11. will declare 12.will be 13. will be 16.will be told 18.there will be 19.will be cut, will be given 20.will benefit 21.will top up 22.will be 25.will be 27.will come 28.will be underpinned 29.will rise 30.	10.could be delayed 31.would find (2)	2.the biggest shake-up 8.higher duties, further 5 per cent, bigger taxes 22.more generous 23.less 25.more slowly (7)	34

				will increase 33. will receive 35. will see (24)			
No23	6.all councils 37.all homes	2		7.will disappoint 14.will still face (2)	16.would be rewarded 21.would have to 22.would have to embark 25.would have to tear 28.would have to be used 30.could precede 31.can (7)	30.the wider legislation happen (1)	10
No24	3.many old people 30. little fanfare 36.all ensure	3	4.will not become 31.will accuse (2)	3.will come 4.will not become (2)	14.would like 21.can be reduced 25.would be charged 36.can all ensure (4)		8
No25		0	3.were not found 18.is not 42.did not realise 43. was not , did not worry (5)		28.may consider 29.would be right 39.would tell 49.would eventually be caught (4)	3.biggest search (1)	10
No26		0	8.cannot apologise (1)		8.cannot apologise enough 46.would (go) (2)	35.most senior (1)	4
No27	25.all the new proposals	1	10.no win, no fee 22.could not use 25.no White Paper (4)	1.will announce 3.will also unveil 6.will open, will effectively end 7.will also clear (5)	22.could not use 25.would require (2)	10.most civil 19.greater rights (2)	13
No28	16.all the offences 40.would be all	2	30.had not known 37.did not think (2)		40.would be all 41.would like her (2)		4
No29	18.all of	1		2.will be required 4.will also be required 13.will have a 14.will have to 15.will be 23. will be set out (6)	11.can lead to (1)		7
No30	28.many of the changes 35.left much 40.of all charges	3	26.should not be passed 43.may never have (2)	2.will announce 3.will be 4.will judge 5.will also ban 8.will introduce 9.will be sacked (6)	12.could be used 14.could also find 15.can improve 18.would also bring 21.would be 24.could result in 26.should not be passed 28.would be welcomed 32. would apply 33.could be facing 43.may never have (11)	2.the biggest shake-up 4.more stringent 32.the lower standard (3)	22
No31	19.many of the committee's 26.for all serious	2	13.there is no complaint 22.did not improve (2)	6.will be seen 9.will require 12.will allow 40.will have to pass (4)	1.could be taken away 3.could be 4.would be appointed, might also include 5.could also have 10.would take 16.would allow 19.would adopt 20.should look at 24.would order 29.must be dealt 32.would face 35.could be dealt 38.would take 40.could lose up (15)		21
No32		0		1.will be restored 4.will be, will be paid (3)		2.more generous 4.a higher rate (2)	5
No33		0	10.received no response 16.is not covered 19.are not 21.are not aware (4)	12.will be raised (1)			5

No34	3.many centres 4.not a little panic 5.many returns	3	4.not a little panic (1)	6.will open 8.will be met 12.will remain 14.will still be outstanding 15.will have to 16.could rise (6)			7
No35	1.fewer houses 6.all "brownfiels sites 34.not all need	3	2.willno longer be required 11.don't believe 32.does not challenge 44.do not want (4)	2.will no longer be required 4.will get 6.will also be required 18.will mean 33.there will be 37.will mean (6)	1.may be built 9.should be abandoned 12.should set 15.should be 23.should be 29.should go 34.may not all need 46.may also back (8)	4.more say 7.greater use 31.more control (3)	21
No36		0	10.no charges 14.had not been (2)		16.might produce (1)	11.further 15.earlier 21.earlier security (3)	6
No37		0		6.will be able to 7.will be used 9.will veil (3)	22.can support (1)		4
No38		0	2.has no plans 10.not condoning, not very serious 11.don't think 28.had not happened 41.there is no 43.doesn't deal 44.would never buy 56. no action (9)	6.will be greeted 20.will try (2)	8.may acquire 15.there may be 17.may be 22.could disrupt 24.would discuss 27.would have to 44.would never buy (7)	22.further action 24.further pressure 40.much more trendy (3)	21
No39		0	9.no new date 15.did not think 32.has not 37.no indication (4)	16.will be able 33.will meet 35.will be invited 38.will be asked (4)	4.could turn into 12.could be boycotted 15.should have 27.would be 29.would be fair 32.must be seen 43.might be (7)	27.more effective (1)	16
No40	13.little 18.a lot	2	3.there was no sign 5.there was no time 7.did not offer 8.didi not ask for 31.did not have 43.was not 48.was not recorded (7)	55.will enjoy (1)	11.would have been 30.would be 52.would fit (3)	1.best behaviour 18.a lot quieter 30.more surprising 32.the earliest part (4)	15
No41		0				10.smaller gap (1)	1
No42	16.few	1	3.is not (1)		4.should be introduced 5. could bring 6. could take 7.could also include 10.would be (5)		6
No43		0		1.will be 2.will be announced 4.will announce 5.will be able 6.will be confirmed 7.will be introduced 9.will offer (7)		4.the biggest bus 7.smaller rail 10.more generous (3)	10
No44	28.all the relevant evidence	1	30.no soldiers 34.were not (2)	40.will give parties(1)	7.may be made 25.should be regarded 35. would take on (3)	27.much further (1)	7
No45	28.many other	1	11.no angry 13.is not 27.wouldnot (3)		21.would be 27.would not (2)	25.the most significant (1)	6
No46		0	1.would not have been 9.not to print 17.is not aware 26.might not take 36.would not be (5)	21.will allow 38.will emerge (2)	1.would not have been 6.could go 9.would have expected 10. would hope 11. would be 12. would form 24. would prefer 26. might not take		20

					28.would have granted 29.would be 30.would have to 32.would be 36.would not be (13)		
No47	14.so much	1	30.am not going to do 34.haven't had 45.had not been ruled out (3)	42.are going to assess (1)	13.cannot be turned off 21. would raise 31.can't keep up 40.should get 49.should be fined (5)		9
No48		0					0
No49	13.many	1	10.is not elected (1)	4.will have 15.will be used (2)	7.would like to (1)		4
No50		0	14.will not affect (1)	1.will now go 3.will be 5.will fill out 6.will include 10.will announce 11. will also include 13.will be 16. will remove 22. will determine 24.will not affect 25.will be simple (11)	2.would have received 7.would be (2)	13.more generous (1)	15
Total		**45**	**108**	**141**	**186**	**72**	**507**

Appendix 21

The Evaluative Analysis of the Texts from China Daily

Intensifiers and Comparators

Text	Intensifiers	Total	Comperators				Total
	Quantifiers		Negatives	Futures	Modals	Comparatives /Superlatives	
No 1		0		4.will make (1)	11.can contact(1)		2
No 2		0	44.has never ruled out (1)	10.will lead 12.will satisfy 18.will participate in 27.will abide 31.will resume 33. will authorise 38. will overcome 40. will make 43. will remain 46.will interfere (11)	1.should begin 4.can be discussed 9.should begin 15.should make 17.can reach 18.should be discussed 21.must be upheld 25.cannot be separated 42.can maintain 45.may declare (10)	40.greater effort (1)	23
No 3		0				1.best 3.earlier 8.fastest (3)	3
No 4	6.in all fields	1	4.not only complies (1)	16.will continue (1)		1.more smoothly (1)	3
No 5	10.many people 16. many others 19.most people 20.many of them	4		27.will go (1)		3.the most popular 4.less 9.most important (3)	4
No 6		0					0
No 7		0		3.will be 4.will focus 13.will have 14.will also provide (4)			4
No 8		0		6.will help 15. will devote (2)	12.would serve (1)		3
No 9		0		2.will improve 6.will help 13.will be set up (3)		10.a clearer idea (1)	4
No10		0				13.more easily 14.the higher the better (2)	2
No11		0					0
No12		0		19.will advance (1)	9.should value (1)		2
No13	20.there's too much competition	1	21.don't think 25.is not (2)	2.will charge 3.will be charged 6.will be paying 9.will hurt 12.will have 14.will affect 18.will earn 22.will persuade 41.will only result (9)	8.may be 19.would have earned 32.can get (3)	5.less, more (2)	16
No14	6.many years 25.many people	2	25.do not know 27.do not know 31.is not (3)	17.will be pleased (1)	9.would withdraw 11.would keep (2)	16.the best investment 34.much better (2)	8
No15		0					0
No16		0	16.does not expect (1)				1
No17		0		4.will begin 5.will also hold 11.woll meet (3)			3
No18		0			2.must not be weakened 7.should be made (2)	6.a better job (1)	3
No19		0	18.does not (1)	11.will visit (1)	14.cannot accept 16.should remember (2)		4
No20		0	7.no firecrackers 11.not a		5.may cause 7.would be allowed 21.would violate (3)	42.safest(1)	12

			pacifier 21. none 23. none 27.were not 32.are not forbidden 34.would not receive 43.no fireworks-caused fires (8)				
No21		0	5.was not 14.are not (2)				2
No22		0					0
No23		0		3.will guide (1)		3.the most populous (1)	2
No24		0		14.will cancel 22.will linger 26.will maintain 30.will largely depend on 31.will conclude 35.will rebound (6)	10.would raise 17.may continue (2)	8.most 12.further increases (2)	10
No25	6.much	1			5.would equal 9.can only lead 12.should be strengthened 13.should be strictly examined 14.should be conducted 15.should keep 17.may be put in (7)		7
No26		0	23.did not (1)	1.will open 2.will soon be 5.will sell 7.will sell 37.will increase 38.will also include (6)	3.could only dream 10.must be marked 11.must be 12.can show 13.should be sold (5)	22.the most recent (1)	13
No27		0		2.will design 6.will show 11. will use 14.will provide 17.will allow (5)			5
No28		0		4.will provide 6.will not come here 11.will make 14.will make 19.will be laid 23.will be laid 29.will be solved 32.will become 34.will recruit (9)	7.would rather choose (1)	1.youngest 4.more flexible 8.higher 24.more urgent (4)	14
No29	4.few	1		2.will be 12.will attract 16.will be completed (3)	5.can meet 14.should not be (2)		5
No30	9.all 10 firms	1				1.biggest brokerage, the most active 4.biggest 6.biggest (4)	4
No31		0		11.will begin (1)		6.biggest sized (1)	2
No32		0	2.cannot find 4.do not appear (2)	6.will tighten 20.will have to (2)	2.cannot find, may turn to 17.should apply 18.should be undertaken (4)		8
No33	18.much	1		19.will still be 20.will receive 22.will be shown (3)	9.can be turned 24.can be turned (2)	23.a stricter handling (1)	6
No34		0	15.not only (1)	2.will issue 5.will comprise 15.will benefit (3)			4
No35		0		1.will begin 9.will issue 10.will be invested (3)			3
No36		0		6.will be used (1)			1
No37		0	20.had not operated (1)	10.will be punished (1)			2
No38		0	14.will not be affected 24.will never	2.will be 4.will exchange 5.will have 7.will visit			9

			forget (2)	14.will not be affected 16.will visit 24.will never forget (7)			
No39		0					0
No40		0				11.much lower (1)	1
No41		0	23.cannot take any action 26.don't do 27.can't do (3)	12.will actively co-ordinate 16.will continuously co-ordinate 29.will be severely punished (3)	8.can be made 21.could only be expelled 23.cannot take 27.can't do (4)		10
No42	4.all the markets 18.many people	2	7.will not reach 10.is not 16.no case 21.no case 22.no case (5)	1.will have 3.will have been transported 4.will be able to 6.will come 7.will not reach 9.will depend 23.will further tighten (7)		23.further (1)	13
No43		0		4.will open on 5.will issue (2)	6.can submit 7.can submit 8.can apply 9.can apply 10.can apply 11.can apply 12.can apply (7)		9
No44		0			17.would be 27.would confine (2)	2.higher 11.more 12.more 14.lower (4)	6
No45	2.all 3.all	2	9.no longer suits 14.include not only (2)		15.should reform (1)	3.most 4.the most enjoyable 7.most people 11.the most favoured (4)	7
No46	9.many	1	1.will not be 4.should not be 7.can not be (3)	1.will not be allowed 10.will also recommend (2)	4.should not be 5.should be 6.should be 7.can not be 8.must be, must be 11.can be 12.must be 13.should also submit (9)	4.lower 5.higher 6.higher 7.higher 11.shorter (5)	19
No47	15.all of the contents	1			19.shall get 21.should cover (2)		2
No48	6.all local securities	1	19.do not exist 30.would not affect 35.have not changed (3)	4.will take over 27.will fully take into (2)	6.would also be administered 14.could be passed 25.would continue 30.would not affect 34.would continue (5)	1.a more stable 13.better (2)	12
No49	6.all the special	1		17.will further promote (1)		5.more practical 14.most 17.further (3)	4
No50		1		22.will be (1)		22.further (1)	2
Total		**20**	**40**	**106**	**74**	**53**	**273**

Appendix 22

The Evaluative Analysis of the Texts from The Times

Correlatives and Explicatives

Text	Correlatives			Total	Explicatives	Total
	Progressives	Appended participles	Double attributives			
No 1	11.was washing glasses 17.was lying (2)	6.changing a tyre 17.coming from 22.working as (3)		5		0
No 2	1.are running 14.are running 35.is awaiting (3)	3.comparing the performance 4.travelling into, running late 5.making initial improvements 7.including South East.., prompting passenger 17.hitting lows 33.runnung late (7)		10	24.because of good performance 29.while many	2
No 3		4.echoing the requirements (1)		1		0
No 4		17.including removal 19.causing swelling 32.not knowing (3)		3	3.because no company 4.because the only way	2
No 5	25.is simply saying (1)	3.making a film 5.growing up 12.emerging 31.surrouding Diana's death (4)		5		0
No 6	26.are being added to (1)	26.going through 27.turning the lottery into, using it (3)		4	2.although most patents	1
No 7		3.including the Gulf 11.being ready 19.providing a proper role (3)		3	26.although there were	1
No 8	10.was doing 12.was coming (2)	3.bowing to, mutilating the nation's 17.meeting (3)		5		
No 9				0		0
No10	27.were being made 42.was going on (2)	1.setting up 5.having dropped 10.following the purchase 38.calling for (4)		6	7.even though 32.although the centre's staff	2
No11	14.are saying 25.is preparing (2)		1.rival political parties (1)	3		0
No12			4.normal traffic speed	1		0
No13	34.was beginning 41.was screaming 58.was sitting 60.wasn't braking 61.was not holding (5)	12.recording a verdict 48.being given 54.screaming (3)		8		0
No14	3.was facing 6.was driving 20.was driving (3)	3.making a citizen's arrest (1)		4		0
No15	1.was growing 9.were still saying 43.is being seen (3)	4.suggesting 39.promoting (2)		5	15.while others	1
No16		8.proceeding 17.being built (2)	3.senior military officers (1)	3	8.because of 11.because of	2
No17	7.there is growing (1)	20.reaching 27.winning (2)	2.most significant senior figure (1)	4	10.because 14.because 26.because	3
No18	28.were undermining (1)			1		0
No19	8.are also drawing up 30.are collecting (2)	2.imposing (1)		3	31.although	1
No20	8.was crumbling (1)	9.trying to 11.having surrendered 17.talking to (3)		4	8.because of	1
No21	13.was being watched 17.is costing (2)	31.facing local (1)	22.predatory violent paedophiles (1)	4	5.because	1
No22		6.tackling welfare 8.costing homeowners 35.getting them (3)		3		0
No23	6.is seeking (1)	5.being introduced 6.coming up 16.having their cap removed 21.seeking to (4)	12.new electoral restraints	8	8.because 28.because of	2

			23.key public services, particular local project (3)			
No24	9.are behaving 17.is examining 19.are campaigning 20.is examining 26.is looking 28.is monitoring 30.have been meeting (7)	9.tricking old people 23.living on 25.raising enough (3)		10	30.because of	1
No25	38.was preparing 41.was missing (2)	16.bearing the words 45.there being 60.seeking only to cover (3)	24.pretty little girl (1)	6		0
No26	38.was speaking 39.were claiming (2)	3.sitting beside (1)		3		0
No27	19.has been campaigning 21.was failing (2)	1.sweeping 2.including Crown 11.losing a substantial (3)		5	22.because 25.although	2
No28	13.is being 18.was undergoing 33.was standing (3)	3.making suggestive remarks 23.starting 38.appearing to record (3)		6	31.because	1
No29	15.are going to (1)	6.speaking to the Labour 14.including sitting 24.changing the time, sharpening the distinction (4)		5		0
No30		3.facing discipline 14.facing the sack 19.setting up 23.facing a hearing 41.bringing (5)		5	35.although 41.while	2
No31	11.is also planning 37.was also insisting (2)	6.allowing police force 15.unveiling (2)		4	15.while	1
No32				0		0
No33	7.is being treated (1)			1		0
No34		14.earning the (1)	8.regional overtime budgets (1)	2		0
No35	25.is taking 27.are being forced 43.are concealing (3)	8.writing in the 38.releasing empty properties 39.using exiting empty houses (3)	27.green belt land (1)	7	44.because	1
No36	5.were playing (1)	18.bearing the slogan 19.including a fly-posting, featuring the Ecstasy 25.protesting against (4)		5	5.while	1
No37	19.was facing 25.are finding (2)	1.seating 4.speaking (2)		4	17.because	1
No38	14.was just doing (1)	17.being a bit liberal (1)		2	3.because 10.although 49.because of 54.because	4
No39	24.were hoping (1)	15.considering the strength 32.wanting to be involved (2)		3	8.because 25.because of	2
No40	10.was running (1)	6.carrying a case 39.hanging above (2)	4.the picturesque pink-washed pub (1)	4	41.although	1
No41	4.is declining 9.is still giving (2)			2		0
No42			6.a new criminal offence (1)	1		0
No43				0		0
No44	21.were telling 38.are also working (2)	24.saying 26.handling 40.leaving them 42.drawing its membership (4)		6	17.although 26.while 32.although	3
No45	19.were recommending (1)	4.opposing plans 6.living with 7.taking a 23.visiting 25.having funded 28.living (6)		7	3.because 28.since	2
No46		6.being published 13.adding (2)		2	23.although	1
No47	6.is depressing 19.were looking at (2)	23.heading 45.replacing the building 48.falling behind (3)		5		0
No48	10.was fishing 13.was fishing (2)	5.floating (1)		3		0
No49				0		0
No50			21.a simple administrative mechanism (1)	1		0
Total	**70**	**108**	**14**	**192**		**42**

Appendix 23

The Evaluative Analysis of the Texts from China Daily

Correlatives and Explicatives

Text	Correlatives			Total	Explicatives	Total
	Progressives	Appended participles	Double attributives			
No 1	3.are trying (1)	1.establishing 9.involving newsprint 10.issuing 11.including (4)		5		0
No 2	41.is proposing (1)	3.adding 13.seeking 21.handling 23.adhering to 35.following the forum 36.reaching (6)		7	21.while	1
No 3				0		0
No 4	1.are progressing 2.is heading (2)	7.adding (1)		3		0
No 5	2.is arranging 18.is making 19.are travelling (3)	2.going 4.costing less 13.going abroad (3)		6	15.although	1
No 6		5.removing tens of 10.covering 30million 12.covering 20 million 20.trying 24.putting explosives, setting them off 25.looking for mines (7)		7	19.even though 20.while	2
No 7				0		0
No 8				0		0
No 9		6.making investments, launching co-operative.. (2)		2		0
No10	2.are becoming 21.is increasing 22.is shrinking (3)			3	3.because of	1
No11		4.involving copper 5.involving over 60,000 tons 11.involving 318 million yuan (3)		3	15.while in the 1980s	1
No12		1.heading into 5.meeting (2)		2	5.while 12.though	2
No13	31.is still losing 44.are welcoming (2)	2.beginning next month 14.driving in 31.focing (3)		5	8.although 14.while driving 35.because 43.while	4
No14	3.are investing or planning (1)	3.following (1)		2	21.because 30.meanwhile 33.while	3
No15		8.following the rain (1)		1		0
No16	7.is being held 15.are improving (2)	14.having other explanations 18.calling on (2)	12.normal, international academic exchange 14.normal, academic exchange (2)	6		0
No17				0		0
No18	1.is asking 6.are undergoing changes 10.are paying (3)	4.lending powerful support 11.breaking 20.smuggling (3)		6		0
No19		8.addressing (1)		1	8.while	1
No20	3.are also worrying (1)			1	4.because	1
No21	1.are suffering 12.is gradually increasing (2)	13.dredging, replenishing, protecting crops (3)		5		0
No22		11.involving toxic (1)		1		0
No23		10.awaiting the results (1)		1		0
No24	17.are drawing back (1)	4.closing 8.decreasing 15.hitting record 29.considering basic elements (4)	15.regional financial turmoil (1)	6		0
No25		9.running, being practised		2		0

		(2)				
No26	15.is trying 19.have been making (2)			2	16.while	1
No27	4.have been purchasing 8.is going (2)	16.designing (1)		3		0
No28	2.are planning 34.are taking part (2)	24.making the resettlement (1)		3		0
No29		3.neighbouring 20.adding (2)		2	15.because 16.meanwhile	2
No30		1.amounting to 8.rounding out 11.trading on (3)		3		0
No31				0		0
No32	21.is revising (1)	5.considering 20.failing to apply 24.enabling public (3)	2.anti-quake technical standards 21.disseminate technological advances (2)	6		0
No33		11.comprising Thailand 14.including, ranging from (2)		2	11.because of	1
No34				0		0
No35		1.issuing (1)	4.the lead domestic underwriter (1)	2		0
No36		5.measuring 6.living in (2)		2		0
No37		7.giving no details, quoting, saying 26.inflating (4)		4	20.because of 26.while	2
No38				0		0
No39		9.governing (1)		1		0
No40		23.wrapping up the list(1)		1		0
No41	25.is strictly following (1)	8.following the test (1)		2		0
No42				0	7.because of 22.although	2
No43	1.are being invited (1)	7.accompanying 9.working (2)		3	11.while	1
No44	15.is waiting (1)	14.closing 16.predicting (2)		3		0
No45		7.reading poetry (1)		1	20.while	1
No46	9.are competing (1)			1	9.because	1
No47	2.is demanding 10.is promoting (2)			2		0
No48	1.is giving (1)	11.improving, speeding up 23.accounting (3)		4	16.because of	1
No49		5.being a step (1)		1		0
No50		9.living below the 15.regarding workers' 16.including the law 18.regarding the promotion 21.boosting economic development, improving (6)		6		0
Total	**36**	**87**	**6**	**129**		**29**