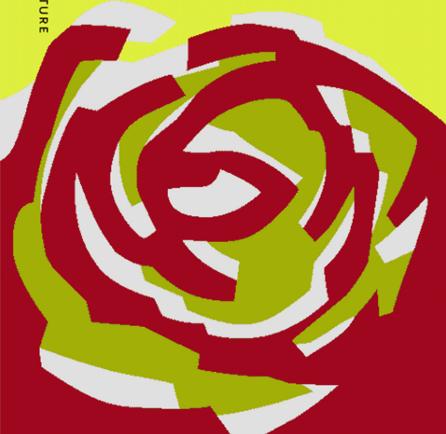# Re/reading the past

*Critical and functional
perspectives on time and value*

EDITED BY J.R. MARTIN AND RUTH WODAK

Re/reading the past

Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture

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Volume 8

Re/reading the past: Critical and functional perspectives on time and value
Edited by J.R. Martin and Ruth Wodak

Re/reading the past

Critical and functional perspectives on
time and value

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Table of contents

IV. Yesteryear: Instilling memories

Introduction

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Aims and scope

This volume is concerned with the discourse of history, from the complementary perspectives of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) – covering a range of discourses about the past, including discourses of the academic discipline of history. The volume is a timely one in a number of respects. For one thing, it deals with the construction of time and value in a post-colonial (and post-WWII) world where discourses of or about history and the past are central to on-going processes of reconciliation, debates on war crimes and restitution. For another, it brings to this analysis two leading analytical paradigms (CDA/SFL) as far as critical linguistic interpretation is concerned. Finally, the book fills an important gap in register analysis; compared with the analysis of science discourse for example, work on history discourse is relatively diffuse – with nothing comparable to the range and intensity of deconstruction offered for science in Lemke's (1990) *Talking Science*, Halliday and Martin's (1993) *Writing Science*, Martin and Veel's (1998) *Reading Science*, Swales' (1993) *Genre Analysis*, Myers' (1990) *Writing Biology*, Bazerman's (1988) *Shaping Written Knowledge* and Atkinson's (1999) *Scientific Discourse in Sociocultural Context*. Moreover, although CDA has analysed historical debates quite extensively (for a review see Reisigl & Wodak 2000; Wodak & Meyer 2001; Wodak et al. 1994; Pollak 2001; Heer et al. in press; Ensink & Sauer in press), detailed linguistic-grammatical analysis is often neglected. For the most part, macro-textual strategies or argumentative patterns are focused upon. The discourse-historical approach, which was developed while discussing post-War

anti-Semitism in Austria in 1986 (Mitten 1992; Wodak et al. 1990) has been elaborated since that time. Other relevant research on historical topics has been conducted, mainly about questions of identity and political discourses in various countries (see Chilton & Schaeffner 1997, 2002; Billig 1995; Wodak et al. 1999; Wodak & Van Dijk 2000). However, detailed grammatical research on "how images and narratives about the past" are constructed is a relatively neglected area of inquiry in this tradition.

The chapters in this volume deal with the construction and evaluation of the past at various sites around the world – Australia, Austria, the Congo, Great Britain, China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Africa, and the Middle East (Chapters 2–9). In addition we have included a chapter dealing specifically with functional linguistics tools for analysing history discourse (Chapter 1).

In designing Parts II, III and IV of the book, our basic strategy has been to treat discourse on the past as involving a serial recontextualisation of events. We begin in Part II with a chapter dealing with the recent past and the stories told as records – in the context of the print media. We then move on in Part III with four chapters dealing with more complex events in the more distant past – focusing on the politics of Nazi expansionism, apartheid in South Africa, post-colonial identity in the Congo and the British legacy in Hong Kong. Then in Part IV we culminate this progression with two chapters focusing on the recon-textualisation of history as pedagogic discourse in secondary school, looking in particular at the European settlement of Australia and Japanese aggression during WWII. By working through these successive drafts of history, we aim to deconstruct the re/packaging and re/evaluation of events from both functional linguistic and critical perspectives.

This book draws on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and systemic func-tional linguistics (SFL) as complementary perspectives on discourse. It focuses on strategies for re/constructing and evaluating the past, taking into account a range of texts (political speech and interview, TV talk show, newspaper, his-tory textbook, bureaucratic planning process). CDA and SFL have had a close working relationship over the years, stemming initially from the pioneering research by critical linguists at East Anglia. Co-operation flows from CDA's concern with discourse in the service of power and strategies for adressing in-equality and Halliday's conception of linguistics as an ideologically committed form of social action (e.g. Halliday 1985). Martin (2000a) surveys various pos-sibilities for dialogue from the perspective of SFL (drawing on Halliday 1994; Martin 1992); Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) include a useful discussion looking back at SFL from the perspective of CDA (see also Fairclough 1992, 1995; Fairclough & Wodak 1997; Wodak 1996).

SFL perspectives

SFL has its genesis in the work conducted in the 1950s by the Linguistics Group of the British Communist Party – a group concerned with developing a Marxist linguistics (Halliday 2001). They wanted a linguistics that would be socially accountable, in two senses: "that it put **language** in its social context, and at the same time it put **linguistics** in its social context, as a mode of intervention in critical social practices" (Halliday 1993:73). As such SFL has evolved under the pressure of work to be done, concerned with a range of short-term to long-term political goals. Halliday's critical contribution has been to develop theory for building grammars of meaning which can then be used to track the materialisation of social activity in discourse, and to outline grammars of this kind for English (Halliday 1994) and Chinese (Caffarel et al. in press).

Early versions of these descriptions were used throughout the critical linguistics work developing at East Anglia through the 1970s (Fowler et al. 1979; Kress & Hodge 1979). Interpersonal resources (such as modality) were mobilised to explore power in social interaction, and ideational work (on transitivity) was deployed to explore what Kress and Hodge (1979:6) refer to as the systematic distortion of language in the service of class interest. Trew (1979) stands out as the canonical study of ideology in relation to textual and ideational recontextualisation, exploring as he does the re/writing of news concerning post-colonial struggles in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia). Halliday (1994) consolidates the lingua franca underpinning this style of deconstructive work; interpersonal analyses are further developed by Eggins and Slade (1997) and Martin (2000c), ideational extensions in Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) and discourse analysis beyond the clause in Martin and Rose (2003).

From the 1960s, Bernstein's sociology of education (1971, 1973, 1975, 1990, 1996) provided engaging contexts for dialogue, especially in relation to his concern with language, social class and educational failure (for retrospective commentary see Halliday 1995 and Hasan 1995). Hasan in particular developed Bernstein's notion of coding orientation in relation to semantic variation, focusing with her colleagues on pre-school interaction between mothers and children (Cloran 2000; Hasan 1990, 1996, 2001; Williams 1999, 2001). Their work documented in fine detail the influence of gender and class on semantic style, and the linguistic continuities and discontinuities between home and school which impact on educational success.

This work in turn provided a context for Martin and his colleagues in their attempts to intervene in Australian literacy programs, with a view to redistributing access to literacy in primary and secondary school (Martin 2000b).

These interventions drew heavily on Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse, both to interpret debates and design teaching practices; Christie (1999) draws together a set of papers interfacing Bernstein's thinking with educational linguistics based on SFL. As part of this action research Martin developed SFL work on cohesion in the direction of discourse semantics (Martin 1992), and SFL work on register in the direction of genre and ideology (Martin 1985, 1986). One of the distinctive characteristics of this strand of Australian work has been the balance of deconstructive and reconstructive work, featuring a productive dialectic between theory and practice. Martin (in press) coins the term 'Positive Discourse Analysis' (PDA) to characterise ideologically oriented research and intervention that examines positive developments which make the world a 'better' place, and draws on these to intervene in related sites – as a mode of inquiry complementing CDA's focus on language in the service of abusive power.

Summing up this work we can interpret SFL as operating on different wavelengths as far as language and ideology is concerned – as a community of linguists which at times focuses on theory and at times on intervening in practice, striving as it does so to design socially responsible theory that can be put into practice, and to learn from its interventions about the kind of theory and description it needs to re/design. Underpinning this theory/practice dialectic is an ongoing concern with the social distribution of meaning, and the implications of this distribution with respect to two key issues: (i) how do we give value to the language of the 'other'? and (ii) how do we provide access for the 'other' to the language 'we' are using to value them?

CDA perspectives

The terms *Critical Linguistics* (CL) and *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) are often used interchangeably. In fact, recently it seems that the term CDA has come to be preferred and is used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL. One reason for this has been the development of tools for the systematic examination of a range of modalities alongside language (a critical semiotics rather than critical linguistics); another is a more balanced concern with language and society (a social linguistics/semiotics rather than linguistics/semiotics per se). The roots of CDA lie in classical Rhetoric, Textlinguistics and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics. The notions of ideology, power, hierarchy and gender, and sociological variables were all seen as relevant to an interpretation or explanation of text. The topics under investiga-

tion differ among the various departments and scholars who apply CDA. Gender issues, issues of racism, media discourses, political discourses, organizational discourses or dimensions of identity research have become very prominent. The methodologies differ widely in these studies, due to the aims of the research and also to the analytical techniques applied: small qualitative case studies can be found as well as research involving large corpora, drawn from fieldwork and ethnographic research.

At this point we would like to stress that CDA has never been and has never attempted to be one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA. Quite the contrary, the studies in CDA are multifold, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards very different data and methodologies. Researchers in CDA also rely on various grammatical approaches. The definitions of the terms "discourse", "critical", "ideology", "power" etc. are also manifold (see Wodak 1996, 2001). In this regard, criticism of CDA needs to specify the research project or researcher that is being addressed, because CDA as such cannot be viewed as a holistic or closed paradigm. It is better to think of CDA as a "school", or a program, which many researchers find useful and to which they can relate in terms of their research goals. This program or set of principles has evolved over the years (see Fairclough & Wodak 1997).

> CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice' (Fairclough & Wodak 1997; Wodak 2000; Benke 2000). Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.
>
> (Fairclough & Wodak1997:258)

Of course, the term "discourse" is used very differently by different researchers and also in different academic cultures. In the German and Central European context a distinction is drawn between "text" and "discourse", relating to the

tradition in text linguistics as well as to rhetoric (see Brünner & Gräfen 1995; Vass 1994; Wodak 1996 for summaries). In the English speaking world, "discourse" is often used both for written and oral texts (see Schiffrin 1992). Other researchers distinguish between different levels of abstractness: Lemke (1995) defines "text" as the concrete realization of abstract forms of knowledge ("discourse"), thus adhering to a more Foucauldian approach (see also Jäger et al. 2001).

Recently, some scholars in CDA have drawn on the principles of the Frankfurt School, others on a notion of literary criticism, and a few on Marx's ideas (see Reisigl & Wodak 2000 for a review). Basically, "critical" could be understood as having distance from the data, embedding the data in the social, making a political stance explicit, and having a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research. For all concerned in CDA, application of the results is important, be it in practical seminars for teachers, doctors and bureaucrats or in writing expert opinions or devising schoolbooks.

An important perspective in CDA related to the notion of "power" is that it is very rare that a text is the work of any one person. In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. Therefore texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance.

Thus, CDA might be defined as fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized etc. by language use (or in discourse). Most critical discourse analysts would thus endorse Habermas's claim that "language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimations of power relations, ..., are not articulated, ..., language is also ideological" (Habermas 1967: 259).

These claims imply that the concrete analysis should take account of historical developments of discursive practices (change), intertextuality and interdiscursivity. This might explain why it is so difficult to provide "short, telling" examples in a single paper: an example needs the deconstruction of the entire social-political and historical context in which the discursive practices are embedded. This approach also explains why interdisciplinarity is a necessity when undertaking CDA.

In the Vienna School of CDA a historical focus was explicitly introduced ("the Discourse-historical Approach"). The study for which the discourse-

historical approach was actually developed first tried to trace in detail the constitution of an anti-Semitic stereotyped image, or "Feindbild", as it emerged in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim (Wodak et al. 1990; Mitten 1992; Gruber 1991). In order to be able to study the discourse about the "Waldheim Affair", "context" was unpacked into various dimensions. The research team, consisting of six researchers from three different fields (linguistics, psychology and history), decided in favour of a triangulatory approach, which made it possible to focus on the many different genres that were situated in the different political fields of action (recontextualization). Obviously, these different fields had an impact on the analytical methods used and the interpretation of the data. Ultimately, the team developed its own categories that led to the "discourse-historical" approach (see Wodak et al. 1990).

The discourse-historical approach has been further elaborated in a number of more recent studies, for example in a study on racist discrimination against immigrants from Romania and in a study on the discourse about nation and national identity in Austria (Matouschek et al. 1995; Wodak et al. 1999).

Discourses on/about history

In this book we further explore the complementarity of CDA and SFL approaches to social discourse analysis by focusing on discourse dealing with the past. This is a fertile area on which to focus since such discourse is concerned with re/constructing and evaluating events from one or another reading position – and each reading of the past naturalises itself as a plausible account of what happened, in the specific interests of whoever is fashioning the "history" in question. Clearly one of the key issues in this arena is recontextualisation, which has been explored in recent special issues of the journals *Text* (Sarangi & Linell 1998) and *Discourse and Society* (Wodak & Iedema 1999). For this project, recontextualisation has to do with reformulating and reconstructing the past in different genres and discourses, over time. This is an area where SFL and CDA have already worked productively together (e.g. the recent work by van Leeuwen and Wodak in *Discourse Studies* 1.1 1999).

We deal with texts across a range of media (unpublished, hand-written autobiography and history (Blommaert), political speech and interview (Flowerdew, Benke and Wodak), TV talk show (Menz), newspaper (Anthonissen, White), and history textbook (Coffin, Barnard)), and with texts that deal with different spans of time – from the day-to-day reconstruction of news in the

print media on to generation-to-generation reconstrual of invasion, colonisation and liberation. The texts considered deal with a range of historical contexts, including the Congo (pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times), the British "handover" in Hong Kong, the "Anschluss" of Austria by Nazi Germany, Japanese imperialism in Asia, the Gulf War in Kuwait and Iraq, media censorship in South Africa and Aboriginal resistance to colonisation in Australia.

Discourse in the service of power is ever relevant when dealing with "history" across this range of media, time frames and institutional contexts. The history of nations, of people, of groups is not a given fact but is constantly discursively constructed anew, in schoolbooks, in the media, by politicians in their commemorative speeches at important events, by administrators, and by laypeople relating their own life-stories. Power comes visibly into play as soon the various narratives of the past are confronted with each other and elites select one of the competing narratives and naturalise it as the 'past' (what 'really' happened).

One of the strengths of SFL in the context of CDA work is its ability to ground concerns with power and ideology in the detailed analysis of texts as they unfold, clause by clause, in real contexts of language use. SFL provides critical discourse analysts with a technical language for talking about language – a language which makes it possible to look very closely at meaning, to be explicit and precise in terms that can be shared by others, and to engage in quantitative analysis (counting and statistics) where this is appropriate (Nesbitt & Plum 1988; Plum & Cowling 1987; cf. Biber 1988). As noted by Fairclough (1995), CDA finds the broad spectrum of meaning canvassed in SFL attractive, including ideational, interpersonal and textual dimensions of discourse. In this volume Barnard focuses on ideational meaning in the ways in which processes and participants are used to naturalise one reading of Japan's role in WWII. The papers by White and Coffin complement this with a focus on interpersonal meaning: the ways in which evaluation in news stories and history textbooks gives value to events as they are recontextualised in first and later drafts of history. Martin's survey of key linguistic resources in history discourse deals with some of the ways in which textual meaning is used to phase ideational and interpersonal meaning on to one another is a range of history genres. Ultimately, of course, history discourse involves an interplay of all three kinds of meaning, working together to construct, enact, naturalise and dissemble power.

History as discourse

The CDA/SFL complementarities outlined above factor discourse into social and semiotic perspectives while at the same time stressing the interrelatedness of these analytical strategies. It is probably fair to say that CDA tends to work from the social to the semiotic – from power to language in the case of verbal texts, just as SFL tends to work the other way round – from meaning to context. For history discourse this means that SFL attends in the first instance to a close reading of the texts selected for analysis, drawing on descriptive resources inspired by Martin (1992) and Halliday (1994). As soon as practical, these readings are related to SFL models of social context – to field, tenor and mode (after Halliday 1968), and to genre (after Martin 1985/1992). In Martin's terms, history is a field of discourse involving a configuration of genres, which mobilise aspects of field in relation to a range of tenors and modes. In SFL the way in which meanings constitute a field such as history is the concern of register analysis, as surveyed by Ghadessy (1993, 1999).

In the SFL tradition, the variables that lie closest to the heart of history discourse probably have to do with the semantics of time. It shares this orientation to chronology with other story-telling fields, such as literature or the media of course. But unlike these fields it deals with a full range of depths of time – with human history from as far back as records can be found (to the borders of anthropological pre-history one might say); and it insists on records as a basis for the "truthfulness" of its claims. Alongside the stories of individuals, SFL has been concerned with the ways historians generalise these into "grand narratives" and re-interpret time as cause (thereby inviting Lyotard's well-known critique and the deconstructive stance of post-colonial historians influenced by Foucault). For historians it is not enough to record what happened; it is important to explain what happened, too, and propose some explanations. To do this it is usually necessary to shift from a more objective to a more subjective stance (as demonstrated in the chapters by White and Coffin infra). Interpreting what happened involves social values, and this makes what happened contestable – something that can be read from different points of view. And this imbues history in relations of power, as also argued by Blommaert (in this volume).

As mentioned above, CDA approaches the issues of "history" and "narratives on the past" from an inter (trans) disciplinary perspective. The "context" has to be investigated; the dialectics between "text and context", between certain historical events, certain historical images and narratives as well as certain institutional conditions all are involved in forming certain histories. Menz, Flowerdew, Blommaert and Benke and Wodak illustrate this "making

of history" as a struggle between different groups for the more relevant and convincing interpretation of events.

Specifically, if competing narratives exist, such a detailed analysis would illustrate the functions of such debates and the possible arguments pro and con of some narratives and their interpretations of historical events. The genesis of such conflicts could be traced.

Preview

Summarizing, the aims of this book are, first, to make the construction of historical narratives transparent. Secondly, such an analysis facilitates a more detailed and reflected perspective on the past. Thirdly, the detailed analysis of different genres makes this book useful for students in the social sciences, dealing with a variety of different genres.

History always relates to the present and the future. We cannot understand the present and the future without making references to certain pasts. These tend to turn up now and then in various ways. The papers in this book illustrate this interplay and provide extensive material and data, as well as methodologies to permit an understanding of these central social practices in all our societies and cultures.

Part I – "Time", "space" and "value": these are necessary elements for reconstructing the past. As history consists of discourses which are officially presented and debated in various genres (like recounts, accounts, explanations, expositions, discussions etc.), linguistics offers a range of tools to analyse precisely how time and value are constructed. Systemic Functional Linguistics affords analyses of a wide range of meanings constituting these discourses, which change over time and have been rapidly recontextualised recently, due to globalisation, modern technologies and major socio-political changes in the whole world.

As the following chapters in this book illustrate, there are other approaches in linguistics alongside SFL, which offer multiple understandings of "time" and "value". Text linguistics, Rhetoric, Pragmatics and Argumentation Theory provide us with additional tools to analyse the debate on historical narratives as well as the construction of such discourses. Basically, in the genres analysed in this book, we are dealing with intentionally planned historical discourses, for which numerous constructive strategies are involved – strategies which are naturalised for dominant sectors of certain societies, or at least for some elites.

Part II of our book deals with the media and news stories. Media, of course, also construct histories, but – in contrast to other genres – news stories may change from day to day, and are usually not dependent on completely reliable sources. They might even contradict each other from day to day. Thus, news stories do not last long; every day we are able to read hundreds of new stories, due to the agenda setting in the media. News stories, because of their very short life, must involve a range of specific strategies designed to get the attention of readers and listeners (and viewers). People after all are encouraged to buy newspapers and watch TV.

On the other hand, media produce and reproduce ideologies, beliefs and also histories. Elites depend on the media, and the media are used for the construction of histories and the pasts. Politicians depend on the media. Basically, one could suggest that the media in our world have become a very powerful domain that influences the world in all its dimensions.

This implies that freedom of opinion is one of the major values in our democratic societies. If freedom of opinion and freedom of the press are inhibited, then the media serve certain political interests exclusively and the plurality of opinions is endangered. Only specific narratives and specific pasts are possible, depending on the elites in power. This is why censorship and strategies of resistance have also been studied in our book (see Anthonissen, this volume).

Part III – the reconstruction of the pasts happens continuously, through individual memories. Individual memories again are not independent of collective memories and collective narratives. Every country has "skeletons" in its cupboard, and every society which has to deal with traumatic events, creates myths and taboos around these events. Pasts are rearranged, transformed, recontextualized, substituted, mystified or totally changed. Such strategies also relate to the construction of national and also individual identities. Identities need founding myths and certain pasts, which they can integrate easily and positively.

This is why memories of each individual are different in reference to the same event, because everybody focuses on certain specific, relevant aspects. Memories are highly subjective. The papers in this section provide numerous examples of the attempt to construct positively evaluated pasts after traumatic experiences, in different cultural parts of the world. The individual (re) and co-construction of the pasts are examples of what also happens in other genres and what happens in institutionalised and official debates (see Benke and Wodak, Blommaert).

Part IV – finally, in analysing textbooks and schoolbooks, we focus on the official documentation of the acceptable narratives of the pasts. Schools so-

cialise the population into these acceptable pasts, and thus serve a very relevant function in cementing certain narratives. Schoolbooks illustrate very well how changes in the perception and in debates take years to find their place in educational institutions. Schoolbooks also illustrate very well how children and young people are educated into certain beliefs and opinions, into certain values and histories.

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Constructing time and value

Semiotic resources

Making history

Grammar for interpretation

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Past in present

In this chapter I review some of the key linguistic resources used to record and interpret the past. My general orientation is that of the so-called 'Sydney School' of functional linguistics, the theoretical orientation and research methodology of which is introduced in Unsworth (1999). In particular, I draw on work on the discourse semantics of secondary school history, as reported in Eggins et al. (1993), Martin (1993a, b), Coffin (1996, 1997) and Veel and Coffin (1996). Although my focus is on English discourse, a wide range of resources are considered – including both more and less abstract ways of talking about the past. As indicated by the papers in this volume, these resources have relevance to languages other than English – but both the range of resources involved and the ways in which they are implemented by historians is something that obviously requires further investigation across languages and the cultures they inscribe.

Whose history?

In a post-colonial world the key issue, of course, is "whose history?" Who speaks about the past and in what terms? Paul Kelly, for example, writes the dedication for his Indigenous Australian land rights anthem 'From Little Things Big Thing Grow' as follows:

(1)   "From Little Things Big Things Grow" is dedicated to Vincent Lingiarri, the Gurindji stockmen and their families who walked off Lord Vestey's cattle station in 1966 thus initiating a land claim that lasted eight years. The Whitlam government handed back much of the Gurindji country in 1974, Gough Whitlam himself pouring dirt into Vincent Lingiarri's cupped hands in a ceremony symbolizing the legal restoration of their lands. From this simple action of walking off in 1966 many consequences flowed.   (Kelly 1991)

Kelly is a prominent musician and song writer in Australia, who has worked closely over the years with Indigenous musicians and involved himself in issues of reconciliation. The song he dedicates to Lingiari was written with Kev Carmody, an Indigenous musician, and tells the story of the landmark Gurindji walk-off:

(2)   …They picked up their swags and started off walking
       At Wattie Creek they sat themselves down
       Now it don't sound like much but it sure got tongues talking
       Back at the homestead and then in the town.

       Vestey man said I'll double your wages
       Seven quid a week you'll have in your hand
       Vincent said uhuh we're not talking about wages
       We're sitting right here till we get our land
       Vestey man roared and Vestey man thundered
       You don't stand a chance of a cinder in snow
       Vincent said if we fall others are rising
       (From little things big things grow …)

       Then Vincent Lingiarri boarded an aeroplane
       Landed in Sydney, big city of lights
       And daily he went round softly speaking his story
       To all kinds of men from all walks of life

       And Vincent sat down with big politicians
       This affair they told him is a matter of state
       Let us sort it out, your people are hungry
       Vincent said no thanks, we know how to wait

       The Vincent Lingiarri returned in an aeroplane
       Back to his country once more to sit down
       And he told his people let the stars keep on turning
       We have friends in the south, in the cities and towns

Eight years went by, eight long years of waiting
Till one day a tall stranger appeared in the land
And he came with lawyers and he came with great ceremony
And through Vincent's fingers poured a handful of sand. . . .

(Kelly 1999: 107–8)

Thus Kelly and Carmody render history as a story, crafted round a much-loved Australian theme ("Aussie battler winning through against the odds"), and design some compelling musical accompaniment to carry their message home – for a mass following in Australian popular culture, most of whom probably first learned about Vincent Lingiari through the song. Vincent's own recount, in Aboriginal English (as scribed by Frank Hardy in 1968), would be much less well known:

(3)   I am Vincent Lingiari from Wave Hill. That's my proper aboriginal name. Tom Pisher and that Bestey mob called me Tommy Vincent. My people are Gurindji. Who live in Wave Hill area. That Me country . . .

The manager of Wave Hill was Tom Pisher. Bestey man, Tom Pisher. Always when big plant start to go out from station when mustering start, they go out two, maybe three month. Aboriginal men out in bush all time. White ringers come back to station ebry Friday night. That not right. I think to mesel' about that longa time. And think them Bestey mob don't treat Aboriginal native people right way. Some them white fellas play bloody hell with black gin women, leave Aborigine natives out in bush for that . . .

. . . and there was no proper money for Aborigine people. Maybe six dollar a week, but not ebry week. Two months, maybe three months got 'em money. All gone in store. Maybe a few quid for races or walkabout time and no chilendowmen money.

We get sick and tired of Tom Pisher. So we walk out when Dexter come. We very happy for Dexter to come. He did right for we . . .

(Hardy 1968: 71–72)

And alongside this oral history we have the written recounts of numerous journalists, historians and public figures, like that of Robert Tickner, the Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Affairs in Paul Keating's Labor government:

(4)   In another part of Australia, Aboriginal people were themselves acting to assert their rights. On 23 August 1966 Vincent Lingiari, a Gurindji elder, led his people off the cattle station operated by the giant Vesteys

pastoral organisation in protest against their wages and conditions. Their calls for Commonwealth involvement also strongly argued the case for land to establish their own cattle station. They subsequently sent a petition to the Governor-General, with no immediate result. Their stand against injustice, however, attracted national publicity for Aboriginal land rights grievances. The strike developed into a seven-year campaign by the Gurindji for the return of their traditional lands and became a *cause célèbre* across Australia. The campaign was strongly supported by the trade union movement and sparked a campaign for human rights, including land rights, by many Aboriginal people. It was a cry for Commonwealth leadership that would not be acted upon until the election of the Whitlam government.   (Tickner 2001:8)

Obviously things happen – events unfold materially in the world. But it is language that makes history, as these texts reveal. Sure the Gurindji walked off, but how do we construe this? In Aboriginal English or colloquial Australian English? In spoken or written English? If spoken, how transcribed? In first person or third? In language, or in a multimodal text combining linguistic resources with music and song? Each choice of course affects our reading of what went on:

– **Aboriginal English, spoken, transcribed, first person ...**

> We get sick and tired of Tom Pisher. So we walk out when Dexter come. We very happy for Dexter to come. He did right for we ...

– **colloquial Australian English, words & music, third person ...**

> They picked up their swags and started off walking
> At Wattie Creek they sat themselves down
> Now it don't sound like much but it sure got tongues talking
> Back at the homestead and then in the town.

Beyond these choices there is the crucial issue of interpretation. How do we explain what happened? How do we value it? And what kind of abstractions do we use to do so? For Tickner, Lingiari is an agent, leading his people off (*Lingiari ... led his people*); for Lingiari and Kelly/Carmody, Lingiari is just part of the mob who walk out together (*we walk out, they ... started off walking*). Lingiari talks about emotions, how the mob felt (*sick and tired, very happy*); Kelly/Carmody and Tickner take a moral stand (*sure got tongues talking, stand against injustice*). Unlike Lingiari and Kelly/Carmody, who have people doing things, sometimes to other people and things (*we walk out, they picked*

up their swags), Tickner uses abstract language, full of nominalisations (*their stand* against *injustice* ... *attracted national publicity for Aboriginal land rights grievances*):

– **formal Australian English, written, agentive, nominalised ...**

> On 23 August 1966 Vincent Lingiari, a Gurindji elder, led his people off the cattle station operated by the giant Vesteys pastoral organisation in protest against their wages and conditions. ... Their stand against injustice, however, attracted national publicity for Aboriginal land rights grievances.

Linguistic choices, in other words, construct different histories. And we need a framework for mapping choices and interpreting the syndromes which enact the different readings of the past. Including readings which are themselves designed to be deconstructive of modernist syndromes, especially the interested grand narratives of western history. I return to the issue of post-colonial discourse in Section 8 below.

Marking time

To begin, I look briefly at resources for dealing with time. For relatively short time scales, what matters is how events unfold in relation to one another – one after the other or at the same time. Connections of this kind are typically managed by conjunctions (*and, then, so, but*), especially in oral history. The following personal recount from the *Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Children from Their Families* exemplifies this strategy (*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 2).

(5)   So the next thing I remember was that they took us from there; and we went to the hospital. I kept asking where we were going – because the children were screaming and the little brothers and sisters were just babies of course, and I couldn't move as they were all around me, around my neck and legs, yelling and screaming. I was all upset and I didn't know what to do and I didn't know where we were going. I just thought: "Well, they're police, they must know what they're doing." I thought I had got to go with them, because they were taking me to see Mum. You know that is what I honestly thought. They kept us in hospital for three days and I kept asking, 'When are we going to see Mum?' And no-one told us at this time. And I think on the third or fourth day they piled us in the car and I said,

'Where are we going?' And they said, 'We are going to see your mother.'
But then we turned left to go to the airport and I got a bit panicky about
where we were going. They got hold of me and they put us on the plane.
And they still told us we were going to see Mum. So I thought she must
be wherever they're taking us. (Confidential submission 318, Tasmania;
removal from Cape Barren Island, Tasmania, of 8 siblings in the 1960s.
The children were fostered separately.)

In personal recounts of this kind (Martin 1997a), temporal relations are often
left implicit since they are inferable from the chaining of events. Explicit con-
junctive links in Text 5 are highlighted below, with temporal connections filled
in (italicised) where they would be inferred:

– **sequence in time** (personal recount)

So the next thing I remember was that they took us from there;
and [*then*] we went to the hospital.
[*while*] I kept asking where we were going –
because the children were screaming
and the little brothers and sisters were just babies of course,
and I couldn't move
as they were all around me, around my neck and legs,
[*while*] yelling and screaming.
I was all upset
and I didn't know what to do
and I didn't know where we were going.
I just thought: "Well, they're police, they must know what they're doing."
I thought I had got to go with them,
because they were taking me to see Mum.
You know that is what I honestly thought.
[*then*] They kept us in hospital for three days
and [*meanwhile*] I kept asking, 'When are we going to see Mum?'
And [*then*] no-one told us at this time.
And I think on the third or fourth day they piled us in the car
and [*then*] I said, 'Where are we going?'
And [*then*] they said, 'We are going to see your mother.'
But *then* we turned left to go to the airport
and [*then*] I got a bit panicky about where we were going.
[*then*] They got hold of me
and [*then*] they put us on the plane.

     <u>And</u> [*then*] they still told us we were going to see Mum.
     <u>So</u> I thought she must be wherever they're taking us.

The events recounted in Text 5 unfolded over three or four days. For longer periods of time a complementary strategy is used to phase events. This involves prepositional phrases rather than conjunctions, typically in clause initial position (as marked Themes, after Halliday 1994). The effect is to move us from one setting in time to another; we hop through the past instead of walking through each event one after another. Text 6 unfolds through circumstances of location in time in this way over a period of six years, 1964–1970 (as highlighted with underlining below). This was in fact the strategy used to move us from the hospital to the airport in Text 5 above (*on the third or fourth day*).

–   **setting in time** (autobiographical recount)

(6)   … I was born in May 1964. My Mother and I lived together within an inner suburb of Melbourne. <u>At the age of five and a half months</u>, both my Mother and I became ill. My Mother took me to the Royal Children's Hospital, where I was admitted.

     <u>Upon my recovery</u>, the Social Welfare Department of the Royal Children's Hospital persuaded my Mother to board me into St. Gabriel's Babies' Home in Balwyn … just until Mum regained her health. If only Mum could've known the secret, deceitful agenda of the State welfare system that was about to be put into motion – eighteen years of forced separation between a loving mother and her son.

     <u>Early in 1965</u>, I was made a ward of the State. The reason given by the State was that, 'Mother is unable to provide adequate care for her son.'

     <u>In February 1967</u>, the County Court of Victoria dispensed with my Mother's consent to adoption. This decision, made under section 67(d) of the *Child Welfare Act 1958*, was purportedly based on an 'inability to locate mother'. Only paltry attempts had been made to locate her. For example, no attempt was made to find her address through the Aboriginal Welfare Board.

     I was immediately transferred to Blackburn South Cottages to be assessed for 'suitable adoptive placement'. <u>When my Mother came for one of her visits</u>, she found an empty cot. With the stroke of a pen, my Mother's Heart and Spirit has been shattered. <u>Later</u>, she was to describe this to me as one of the 'darkest days of her life'.

     Repeated requests about my whereabouts were rejected. All her cries for help fell on deaf ears by a Government who had stolen her son, and who had decided 'they' knew what was best for this so-called part-

Aboriginal boy.

In October 1967 I was placed with a family for adoption. This place-ment was a dismal failure, lasting only seven months. This family rejected me, and requested my removal, claiming in their words I was unrespon-sive, dull, and that my so-called deficiencies were unacceptable. In the Medical Officer's report on my file there is a comment that Ms. A 'com-pared him unfavourably with her friends' children and finds his deficien-cies an embarrassment, eg, at coffee parties'.

Upon removal, I was placed at the Gables Orphanage in Kew, where I was institutionalised for a further two years. Within this two years, I can clearly remember being withdrawn and frightened, and remember not talking to anyone for days on end. ...   (Bird 1998: 19–21)

As illustrated in Text 7 below, resetting in time is equally important for phas-ing events in historical recounts, which are written in the third person, focus on agents, agencies and institutions, and move beyond individuals to make gener-alisations about groups of people and things (e.g. *indigenous people, employers, compound families, curable diseases, cattle stations*):

–   **setting in time** (historical recount)

(7)   The *Aborigines Ordinance 1918* extended the Chief Protector's control over indigenous people even further. ...

During the 1920s the pace of forcible removals increased, leading to severe overcrowding in Kahlin Compound and The Bungalow. The Methodist Missionary Society indicated it was prepared to take the mixed descent children from the Kahlin Compound, where they still had some contact with their family, to its mission on Goulburn Island.

This proposal threatened the availability of cheap domestic labour from the Compound and was opposed by Darwin residents. To accom-modate employers a government house just outside the Compound was taken over in 1924 for the girls and the younger boys and became known as the Half-Caste Home. Compound families were thereby separated.

By 1928 overcrowding at the Half-Caste Home had reached a critical level with 76 inmates living in 'house large enough for only one family' (Cummings 1990: 20). In 1931 the boys were moved to Pine Creek to re-lieve the pressure on the Home.

At the Bungalow in the 1920s about 50 children and 10 adults lived in the three exposed sheds, crowding together on the floor to sleep at night, eating the meagre meals provided on the ground. ...

Yet for some mothers with their children, confinement in The Bun-

galow at least offered the chance of survival. <u>From 1924 to 1929</u> central Australia suffered one of the worst droughts on record. Aboriginal people in search of food who came to close to land controlled by non-Indigenous people were liable to be shot. Curable diseases caused blindness, misery and death.

The Commonwealth Government cast about for measures to relieve the overcrowding in the institutions and to remove mixed descent children more completely from Indigenous influence. . . .

The conditions at the Bungalow reached crisis point in 1928. It was decided to move the 45 children (37 of whom were under the age of 12) to a temporary 'home' at Jay Creek, 45 kilometres west of Alice Springs. Another 90 living with their families and on cattle stations were targeted for removal to a new home if they had not been 'too long with nomadic blacks to be desirable inmates' (quoted by Australian Labor Party submission 840 on page 16).

At Jay Creek the superintendent and the matron lived in two tents while the children were housed in a corrugated iron shed where they suffered from a severe shortage of water, extreme cold in winter and lack of protection from the rain when it came. <u>In 1932</u> The Bungalow children at Jay Creek were moved yet again, on foot, to the cheaply refurbished former telegraph station at Tempe Bar, 11 kilometres from Alice Springs. <u>In 1933</u> they were joined in Central Australia by most of the boys from Pine Creek in the Top End. <u>By 1935</u> 132 children lived at The Bungalow.

(*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 133–135)

Historians often package several phases of this kind into periods of time. Text 7 for example is titled '1918 Ordinance' in *Bringing Them Home*, and as such forms 1 of 7 periods which are in turn packaged together under the heading 'Protection and segregation – 1890–1937':

– **packaging time** (Chapter 9 of *Bringing Them Home*)

Occupation of the Territory
Protection and segregation – 1890–1937
    Legislation 1910, 1911
    Spencer Report
    Kahlin Compound and The Bungalow
    ➢ 1918 Ordinance
    Bleakley report
    Chief Protector Cook 1927–1939
    Missions

Assimilation – 1937–1973
McEwen's new Deal
WWII and its aftermath
Retta Dixon Home
'The welfare'
Self-management
Evie

'Protection and segregation – 1890–1937' is in turn 1 of 5 sections constituting 'Chapter 9 Northern Territory' of 'Part 2 Tracing the History' of the report. Clearly this process of packaging phases into periods is an unbounded one, responsive simply to the depth of the part/whole structure a historian is mapping onto time. In Chapter 9, government institutions, agents and agencies, and policies figure as headings for groups of phases; the next layer of organisation depends on nominalisations (*Occupation, Protection, Segregation, Assimilation, Self-management*). Establishing periods of course involves interpretation – the historian selects aspects of governmentality she thinks mattered, and places boundaries where she thinks shifts in governance reflected a change in attitude towards Indigenous peoples on the part of non-indigenous Australians (1863–1890, 1890–1937, 1937–1973, 1973–1997).

Overall what we are looking at here is a move from personal oral history to institutional written history which involves a shift from sequencing events in time through setting them in phases to naming them as periods. In the process, the dynamism of unfolding events is crystallised as a superstructure of parts in wholes ... time after time becomes time within time. Flow changes into parts.

Abstraction

To fully appreciate the compartmentalisation of time factor just introduced, we need to look more closely at the language responsible for turning activity into things (Halliday 1998). As named above, *protection* and *segregation* are nominal groups as far as grammar is concerned; this period of Australian history is construed as things. But semantically we know, as mature readers, that 'Protection and segregation' refers to activities, involving many thousands of Indigenous and non-indigenous Australians over 47 years. The grammar of *protection and segregation* is in a sense out of step with its meaning. Why does the institutional historian prefer two levels of meaning, in tension with one another, where one meaning might do?

We can explore this further by comparing Kelly/Carmody's song with Tickner's history (Texts 2 and 4 above). In Kelly/Carmody's recount, participants are realised as nouns, qualities as adjectives, processes as verbs and logical relations as conjunctions. This means we can read the meaning quite directly off the wording – the discourse is very concrete.

> **participant as Thing (noun)**
>> they, their swags, Wattie Creek, the homestead, the town, Vestey man, I . . .
>
> **quality as Epithet (adjective)**
>> big, hungry, tall, great
>
> **process as Process (verb)**
>> picked up, started off walking, sat, don't sound, got talking, said . . .
>
> **logical relation as Textual Theme (conjunction)**
>> and, now, but, till, then . . .

For Tickner on the other hand, the relationship between meaning and wording is more often than not indirect. Processes are regularly nominalised:

> **process as a Thing (noun)**
>> in protest against their wages   cf. they protested against their wages
>>
>> their calls for . . .   cf. they called for . . .
>>
>> a cry for . . .   cf. they cried for . . .

And one effect of this is that participants appear as modifiers of these nominalisations instead of acting as heads of nominal groups in their own right:

> **participant as Modifier**
>> Commonwealth involvement   cf. the Commonwealth involved itself
>>
>> Aboriginal land rights grievances cf. Aborigines complained about . . .

We also find examples of qualities, logical relations and modal assessments realised as nouns, as part of a general drift towards the reification of activity as thing:

> **quality as a Thing (noun)**
>> injustice   cf. unjust
>
> **logical relation as Thing (noun)**
>> no immediate result   cf. but didn't immediately

assessment as a Thing (noun)

their rights   cf. what they should have

Realising more than one event inside the clause means that agency (Halliday 1994) can be used to explore cause and effect. When Ticker reasons that the Gurindji walk-off drew national attention to lands rights issues, he uses a clause to do so – one in which one nominalisation acts on another ('their stand …' acting on 'national publicity … '):

Agent   Their stand against injustice, however,
Process   attracted
Medium   national publicity for Aboriginal land rights grievances.

Similarly, instead of people demanding land, we have 'calls … arguing the case'; and instead of people asking leaders to act, we have 'a cry … that would not be acted on':

Their calls for Commonwealth involvement also strongly argued the case for land to establish their own cattle station.

a cry for Commonwealth leadership that would not be acted upon

Halliday (1994) refers to the indirect coding of meaning in grammar as grammatical metaphor, since there are two meanings instead of one (the grammatical one and the semantic one) and the grammatical meaning in some sense symbolises the semantic one (grammatical 'figure' to semantic 'ground'). A crude map of this inter-stratal tension is presented in Figure 1, which alongside the drift towards nominalisation allows for verbal realisations of logical connections such as those just introduced.

Halliday (1998) summarises the pay-off of this skewed coding for the evolution of scientific discourse. The pay-off for historians is that alongside resources for packaging time as periods they can draw on clause based resources for construing causality. Kelly illustrates both aspects of this in the dedication of his song (Text 1). The Gurindji strike is packaged as a thing (*this simple action of walking off*) which had a number of effects (*many consequences flowed*). Whereas Kelly sings a story, he writes history – a complementarity of spoken and written modes of texture which brings us to the central issue of how historians explain.

Figure 1. Tension across meaning and wording in abstract discourse

Cause

For some readings of the past, recording when things happened is not enough. It's more a matter of why things happened as they did. For a text which foregrounds causal as opposed to temporal connections, consider 8 below, which exemplifies historical account as opposed to historical recount genre (not simply one event after another but one event giving rise to another).

(8)   This revolutionary consciousness was the product of centuries of local revolts which finally evolved into a national movement – the Philippine Revolution of 1896. The material factors that generated the people's developing struggles and the evolution of a national consciousness also induced the economic growth of a native elite which in the late nineteenth century emerged as the political and cultural product of Spanish colonialism and of Philippine participation in world capitalist trade.

This local elite contributed to the growing intellectual ferment and for a time gave direction to the movement for nationhood. But because of their predisposition to compromise and their capitulationist tendencies dictated by their material aspirations, they ultimately became an impediment to the national struggle. The Philippine Revolution was the result of

> the conjuncture of the unarticulated strivings of the people and the articu-
> lations of the ideologues of the emerging elite. The Revolution represented
> a temporary amalgam of the particular interests of the elite and the gen-
> eral demands of the masses which eventually broke down into its respec-
> tive components during and after the attainment of a national state and
> the subsequent incorporation of this new state into the American colonial
> empire.   (Constantino & Constantino 1978: 1–2)

It is important to note that causality is typically realised within rather than
between clauses in abstract history of this kind. The only causal conjunction
deployed in Text 8 is *but,* which counters expectations about the effect of the
contributions of the indigenous elite. Complementing this, within the clause,
we find cause realised through a preposition:

> But <u>because of</u> their predisposition to compromise and their capitula-
> tionist tendencies dictated by their material aspirations, they ultimately
> became an impediment to the national struggle.

And through a nominal group:

> The Philippine Revolution was the <u>result</u> of the conjuncture of the unar-
> ticulated strivings of the people and the articulations of the ideologues of
> the emerging elite.

To these explicit lexicalisations of cause, we need to add *product*, which is used
twice:

> This revolutionary consciousness was the <u>product</u> of centuries of local
> revolts which finally evolved into a national movement – the Philippine
> Revolution of 1896.

> the economic growth of a native elite which in the late nineteenth century
> emerged as the political and cultural <u>product</u> of Spanish colonialism and
> of Philippine participation in world capitalist trade.

And probably *impediment*, which can be read as negative causality – the local
elite is characterised as counter-productive:

> they ultimately became an <u>impediment</u> to the national struggle.

Beyond this, agency is regularly deployed (as outlined for Text 4 above) to man-
age cause and effect – with human agents affecting nominalised abstractions:

> This local elite <u>contributed</u> to the growing intellectual ferment

> and for a time <u>gave direction</u> to the movement for nationhood.

And abstractions affecting abstractions:

> The material factors that <u>generated</u> the people's developing struggles and the evolution of a national consciousness …

> The material factors that … also <u>induced</u> the economic growth of a native elite …

> … and their capitulationist tendencies <u>dictated</u> by their material aspirations,

Clause structures of this kind make available a very large range of processes for developing a fine grained explanation of why things happened as they did. Alongside the very limited range of causal meanings afforded by conjunctions (Martin 1992; Halliday 1994), we now have available the open system lexis of material (e.g. *contribute, generate, attract*) and verbal (e.g. *dictate, argue*) processes – which gives historians the resources they need to delicately explain how one thing (and I mean 'thing') led to another.

Alongside historical accounts, we need to consider genres which are both permeated with these abstract causal motifs and are in addition globally structured around phases of cause and effect – consequential and factorial explanations. These are the genres required when the reductive linearity of the grand narrative (Lyotard 1984) construed by historical recounts and accounts is arrested in order to focus on simultaneous causes or effects. Complex causes and effects are always around of course, if we choose to look at them; but in grand narratives they are elided and submerged, to give a naturalised trajectory of inevitability to readings of the past.

Consequential explanations consider the multiple effects of some event; factorial explanations consider the multiple factors leading to some event. These are two of the genres favoured by secondary school examiners in Australia where students regularly encounter questions like *What were the effects of the Treaty of Versailles?* or *What were the causes of WWI?* How many of us have escaped old chestnuts such as these?

Text 9, a consequential explanation, exemplifies a concern with simultaneous effects as Pearson outlines the negative consequences of equal wages for Indigenous stock workers:

(9)   In retrospect, the removal of Aboriginal people from the pastoral industry was a monumental policy failure. The dilemma facing policy makers at the time the equal wage case was being debated was this: on the one hand, Aboriginal stock workers were being discriminated against in relation to their wages and conditions and this could not continue, but on the other

hand, it was clear to everyone that the institutions of equal wages would result in the whole-scale removal of Aboriginal people from cattle station work to social security on the settlements – and the latter path was chosen.

Of course, with hindsight this choice has had tragic consequences.

First, the cultural impact of the removal of families from their traditional lands in pastoral properties was obviously massive and today inestimable.

Second, there are the social results of the removal of Aboriginal families from work on stations to no work on settlements.

Third, we would not have had the difficulties in relation to the Wik case and the issue of coexistence of native title on pastoral leases had Aboriginal groups remained on those properties.   (Pearson 2000: 167)

Text 10, the complementary factorial explanation genre, focuses on the reasons for the success of Mao's Long March.

(10)   Why Did the Long March Succeed?

This question has often been raised by historians, and a number of factors have been suggested to explain the success of the Long March.

1. One of these is the leadership of Mao Zedong. The success of his guerrilla tactics after Zunyi revived the confidence of a demoralized army at a crucial stage.

2. He also had the benefit of the brilliant army commanders such as Zhu De and Peng Duhai, who were able to implement his guerrilla strategies.

3. The courage and toughness of the young members of the Red Army, many of whom were teenagers, also contributed to its success.

4. The discipline of the Red Army, which won the confidence and support of the peasant population, contrasted with the disunity of the enemy. For example the warload of Yunnan province, Long Yun, was more concerned about Chiang Kai-shek taking over his province than he was about smashing the Communists.   (Buggy 1988: 257)

Both texts have the potential for development into longer essays by elaborating the consequences and factors into paragraphs developing each cause and effect (as Text 10 begins to illustrate through exemplification for factor 4). The global reasoning in texts of this kind is internal rather than external (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Martin 1992) – more rhetorical than factual, in other words. The causes and effects listed are the reasons why Pearson is saying equal pay had tragic consequences and by means of which Buggy is explaining the success of the Long March. As with historical accounts, external cause is generally handled

within the clause – taking advantage of the fine tuned causality the 'borrowed' processes afford when pressed into service to connect abstractions:

Agent	The success of his guerrilla tactics after Zunyi
Process	revived
Medium	the confidence of a demoralized army at a crucial stage.
Agent	the benefit of the brilliant army commanders . . . , who
Process	were able to implement
Medium	his guerrilla strategies.
Agent	The courage and toughness of the young members of the Red Army . . .
Process	also contributed to
Medium	its success.
Agent	The discipline of the Red Army, which
Process	won
Medium	the confidence and support of the peasant population

Value

Beyond chronicling, then, there is explaining; and beyond explaining there is interpretation – because saying why things happened as they did necessarily involves a stance – an evaluative orientation to what is going on (Martin 2000). This raises the issue of subjectivity and objectivity in history, and how texts present themselves along this cline. Coffin (1997) suggests a three term stance system, involving recorder, interpreter and adjudicator positions (cf. Iedema et al. 1994; White 1997 on media discourse). In recorder stance, texts present themselves as factual chronicles and avoid inscribing attitude. Text 11 exemplifies this voice, which maintains its 'objectivity' in the face of heart-wrenching experiences – there is no explicitly attitudinal lexis.

(11)   "The Journey of Healing" Yesterday I went into the library and we talked about Aboriginal people. When they were little someone took them to another place. When they grew up they couldn't find their families.

(Year 1, Vietnamese student)

For interpreter stance, texts focus explicitly on judgements of behaviour; for historians, the whimsy of fortune, along with the abilities and courage of pro-

tagonists are favourite themes. Adjudicator stance is rarer, and involves historians making moral judgements about truthfulness and ethics.

recorder voice   no judgement (more 'objective')

↕

interpreter voice   judgements of luck, ability, courage

↕

adjudicator voice   moral judgements (more 'subjective')

Part of the rhetoric of history is shifting from one stance to another as the past unfolds. *Bringing Them Home*, for example, deploys a full range of stances, leading off with interpreter voice in a Frontispiece which explicitly pays tribute to the strength of Indigenous people:

(12)   This report is a tribute to the strength and struggles of many thousands of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people affected by forcible removal. We acknowledge the hardships they endured and the sacrifices they made. We remember and lament all the children who will never come home.

We dedicate this report with thanks and admiration to those who found the strength to tell their stories to the Inquiry and to the generations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people separated from their families and communities.   (*Bringing Them Home* 1997: Frontispiece)

This stance is sustained in the opening paragraphs of the report, which explicitly acknowledge tenacity and courage:

Grief and loss are the predominant themes of this report. Tenacity and survival are also acknowledged. It is no ordinary report. Much of its subject matter is so personal and intimate that ordinarily it would not be discussed. These matters have only been discussed with the Inquiry with great difficulty and much personal distress. The suffering and the courage of those who have told their stories inspire sensitivity and respect.
(*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 1)

Then, before the factually 'objective' recorder stance takes over, the report quotes from William Deane, then Governor-General of Australia. Deane comments explicitly on the impropriety of Australia's treatment of its Indigenous people and the need for national shame to exist alongside national pride in relation to past acts and omissions – a clear adjudicating stance:

(13)   It should, I think, be apparent to all well-meaning people that true reconciliation between the Australian nation and its indigenous people is not

achievable in the absence of acknowledgment of the wrongfulness of the past dispossession, oppression and degradation of the Aboriginal peoples. That is not to say that individual Australians who had no part in what was done in the past should feel or acknowledge personal guilt. It is simply to assert our identity as a nation and the basic fact that national shame, as well as national pride, can and should exist in relation to past acts and omissions, at least when done or made in the name of the community or with the authority of government . . .   (*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 1)

The report then continues with the more predictable recorder voice, which deals with the facts of the matter, moving on from the explicit judgements just reviewed:

(14)   'Compulsion' means force or coercion (Garner 1995: 183). It encompasses both the officially authorised use of force or coercion and illegally exercised force or coercion. It clearly extends to the removal of a child by a government delegate such as a protector or police officer pursuant to legislative powers. These officers exerted 'compulsion' by virtue of their office and the power of the legislation under which they acted. The term clearly extends to the removal of a child on a court order. Indeed a court is the ultimate power which can 'compel' the removal of children from their families.

A common practice was simply to remove the child forcibly, often in the absence of the parent but sometimes even by taking the child from the mother's arms. The law firm Phillips Fox advised the Inquiry that 'one of our clients had instructed us that he was taken from his parents while his mother was in hospital having her fourth child. Another client was one of six children taken from their home by the police while the mother was in hospital having her seventh child' (Phillips Fox Melbourne submission 20 page 5, both clients named).   (*Bringing Them Home* 1997: 5)

To this rhetoric we must add the voice of the stolen generations which is quoted throughout the report, often by way of exemplification for recorder voice – and at the beginning and end of parts, chapters and sections of the report, by way of framing the discussion with personal experience. As illustrated in Text 5 above, these recounts are typically strongly affectual, and ground the historical voices illustrated above in the material reality of Indigenous people's lives.

In academic history, personal recounts of this kind may be completely elided – effaced as primary sources rather than presented as part of secondary interpretation. Adjudicator stance is also rare – it is perhaps felt to be 'unscholarly'. Beyond this, taking up a moral position will tend to narrow one's read-

ership down to those who share your point of view. Solidarity is very much at risk. Interpreter stance is not as volatile, and a great deal of history discourse seems to be concerned with deploying recorder stance to convince readers of the plausibility of interpretations. In Text 10 above, for example, Buggy foregrounds the capacity and tenacity of the Red Army – an interpreter stance he has already backed up with numerous historical recounts featuring recorder voice and considerable primary source material:

> the <u>leadership</u> of Mao Zedong, revived the <u>confidence</u> of a <u>demoralized</u> army, the <u>brilliant</u> army commanders, the <u>courage</u> and <u>toughness</u> of the young members of the Red Army, the <u>discipline</u> of the Red Army, which won the <u>confidence</u> and support of the peasant population, contrasted with the <u>disunity</u> of the enemy …

Text 10 then continues, somewhat unusually, with a drift towards adjudication, beginning with an appreciation of the significance of the Long March, and continuing with a fairly explicit judgement of the impropriety of the treatment of Red Army heroes during the Cultural Revolution:

(10)   [continued] Beside the Long March other great military exploits, such as Hannibal's crossing of the Alps or Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, pale into insignificance. Innumerable stories of heroism and military brilliance boosted Communist morale and steeled the movement to endure the Japanese invasion and the continuing civil war. Like the ANZACS of Australia and New Zealand, the grizzled survivors of the Long March have become national heroes, embodying all that is strong and noble in the nation's history.

It is one of the sad ironies of history that during the Cultural Revolution (1966 to 1976), the Communist Party turned on its heroes. The army commander Peng Duhai was tortured and eventually killed by his Red Guard captors. He Long, a diabetic, was killed by an injection of glucose. Even the great commander, Zhe De, was attacked. His house was ransacked and his wife, who also endured the Long March, was humiliated as the consort of a 'black general'. Deng Xiaoping, whose role in the Long March was more humble, spent three years doing menial work in a school in Nanchang. In 1976 he re-emerged to wreak vengeance on his attackers.   (Buggy 1988: 257)

Rhetorically, concurrent shifts in evaluation and abstraction often function to ground historical interpretation. One recurrent pattern involves interpreter stance and more abstraction, followed by recorder stance with less abstrac-

tion. The more concrete and objective discourse exemplifies and at the same time justifies the interpretation. In Text 15 for example, Nelson Mandela writes about the difficulties he and his fellow prisoners had in finding out about current affairs. He begins with a general statement about this problem, then introduces the June 1976 uprising as an example, and follows this with a relatively concrete account of what happened. As the text becomes more concrete, so it becomes less explicitly evaluative – 'sketchy', 'vague', 'fanciful and improbable' reports unfold into what 'truly happened'; and 'vague reports of a great uprising' unfold into 'fifteen thousand school children gathered to protest … police opened fire, killing thirteen-year-old Hector Pieterson and many others'. From a historian's perspective, we might gloss this drift as a move from secondary interpretation and explanation towards their basis in primary sources. The drift is represented by indentations below (note the use of marked Themes to scaffold the shifts in abstracton/evaluation):

(15) Diligent as we were in gathering news and information, our knowledge of current events was always sketchy. Happenings in the outside world were muffled by the fact that we heard of them first through rumour; only later might they be confirmed by a newspaper account or an outside visitor.

> In June 1976 we began to hear vague reports of a great uprising in the country. The whispers were fanciful and improbable: the youth of Soweto had overthrown the military and the soldiers had dropped their guns and fled. It was only when the first young prisoners who had been involved in the 16 June uprising began to arrive on Robben island in August that we learned what had truly happened.
>
> > On 16 June 1976 fifteen thousand school children gathered in Soweto to protest at the government's ruling that half of all classes in secondary schools must be taught in Afrikaans. Students did not want to learn and teachers did not want to teach in the language of the oppressor. Pleadings and petitions by parents and teachers had fallen on deaf ears. A detachment of police confronted this army of earnest schoolchildren and without warning opened fire, killing thirteen-year-old hector Pieterson and many others. The children fought with sticks and stones, and mass chaos ensued, with hundreds of children wounded and killed and two white men stoned to death.   (Mandela 1995: 575–576)

Arguing

This brings us to persuasive discourse, where the rhetoric of demonstration exemplified in Text 15 above is not enough – because the judgement to hand is simply too contentious (a volatile adjudication perhaps) not to be argued for. So once again we have to move beyond recounts and accounts to texts which are globally structured – but this time as arguments rather than explanations. Note that the motivation for moving to global reasoning this time round is more interpersonal than ideational; it has to do with forming community around shared values. With factorial and consequential explanations on the other hand the motivation for global structure was more ideational; there it had to do with acknowledging the complexity of the causal relations (i.e. multiple causes and effects).

Genres of argument – exposition, challenge and discussion – can focus either on a macro-proposition (why readers should believe something) or on a macro-proposal (why readers should do something). We focus on macro-propositions here; for discussion of hortatory arguments see Martin (1985/1989, 1995a, 2001).

Text 16 below sits fairly snugly on the border between explanation and exposition, concerned as it is to explore whether rising levels of prosperity and education in China will lead to pressure for wider political and cultural freedom. Three factors mitigating this pressure are then explored.

(16)   The experience of other developing countries, not least the countries which underwent the profoundest changes in the nineteenth century, suggests very strongly that rising levels of prosperity and education lead to pressure for wider political and cultural freedom. There is plenty of evidence, not least the democracy movements of 1986 and 1989, that this is also true in Chine. In China, however, there are <u>factors</u> which could both modify the degree of pressure and increase resistance to it. <u>One such factor</u> is that the state has been an ideological state throughout China's history as a unified country. The state has been the custodian and propagator of a complete ideology and of an associated morality and not just an apparatus for control by an individual, a class or an interest. This tradition is still strong. <u>Another factor</u> is that Chinese society's experience of open competition for political power has been wholly unfavourable, from the days of corrupt parliamentary democracy in the early years of the Republic to the Cultural Revolution. It is not difficult for those who are dedicated to party leadership to obtain an echo when they argue that renewed competition would lead to social and political chaos.

A third factor which could retard the development of political freedom is that the degree of economic and cultural freedom enjoyed by most Chinese had increased greatly during the past twenty years, and is still increasing. The law is still harsh – and arbitrary; political dissent outside very narrow limits is still not tolerated; and large numbers of political and other prisoners still live and work in worse than spartan conditions. But for all the Chinese who keep out of political and other trouble, life is no longer rigidly controlled, or even narrowly circumscribed. This is clear from the behaviour of Chinese to one another – in markets, on trains and buses, and in parks and other public places – and also from their reaction to foreigners. They no longer try to avoid public contact with foreigners and are often ready to be seen answering foreigners' questions. It is also clear from the nightlife of the cities, the way in which the urban young dress, and the extent to which they know about developments in the youth culture of the rest of the world.

It may therefore be quite a long time before political freedom breaks out in China. Meanwhile, the world will continue to wonder that a country boy with a sketchy education could have left his stamp so strongly, and on the whole to their taste, on the people of the world's most populous country.   (Evans 1997: 331–2)

In a sense 16 could be taken as a prognostic factorial explanation, listing factors that could affect the degree of pressure and increase resistance to it. The uncertainty of the 'thesis' (*could*) and the way in which it is graded (*modify the degree, increase*), however, distinguish this text from canonical explanation genres which focus on *fait accompli*.

In China, however, there are factors which could both modify the degree of pressure and increase resistance to it.

And the way in which the text concludes leaves me with the sense that I've been positioned to believe something contentious about the prospects for political freedom in China:

It may therefore be quite a long time before political freedom breaks out in China.

Text 17 is a rather more canonical instance of the exposition genre. It has a clear, controversial thesis dealing with the propriety of giving amnesty through the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Tutu then presents three arguments in favour of the thesis (paragraphs 2, 3/4, and 5), in order to persuade us that justice has indeed been done.

(17)   So is amnesty being given at the cost of justice being done? This is not
a frivolous question, but a very serious issue, one which challenges the in-
tegrity of the entire Truth and Reconciliation process.

The Act required that where the offence is a gross violation of human
rights – defined as an abduction, killing torture or severe ill-treatment –
the application should be dealt with in a public hearing unless such a hear-
ing was likely to lead to a miscarriage of justice (for instance, where wit-
nesses were too intimidated to testify in open session). In fact, virtually
all the important applications to the Commission have been considered
in public in the full glare of television lights. Thus there is the penalty of
public exposure and humiliation for the perpetrator. Many of those in the
security forces who have come forward had previously been regarded as
respectable members of their communities. It was often the very first time
that their communities and even sometimes their families heard that these
people were, for instance, actually members of death squads of regular tor-
turers of detainees in their custody. For some it has been so traumatic that
marriages have broken up. That is quite a price to pay. . . .

It is also not true that the granting of amnesty encourages impunity
in the sense that perpetrators can escape completely the consequences of
their actions, because amnesty is only given to those who plead guilty, who
accept responsibility for what they have done. Amnesty is not given to in-
nocent people or to those who claim to be innocent. It was on precisely
this point that amnesty was refused to the police officers who applied for
it for their part in the death of Steve Biko. They denied that they had com-
mitted a crime, claiming that they had assaulted him only in retaliation
for his inexplicable conduct in attacking them.

Thus the process in fact encourages accountability rather than the
opposite. It supports the new culture of respect for human rights and
acknowledgement of responsibility and accountability by which the new
democracy wishes to be characterised. It is important to note too that the
amnesty provision is an ad hoc arrangement meant for this specific pur-
pose. This is not how justice is to be administered in South Africa for ever.
It is for a limited and definite period and purpose.

Further, retributive justice – in which an impersonal state hands down
punishment with little consideration for victims and hardly any for the
perpetrator – is not the only form of justice. I contend that there is another
kind of justice, restorative justice, which is characteristic of traditional
African jurisprudence. Here the central concern is not retribution or pun-
ishment but, in the spirit of *ubuntu*, the healing of breaches, the redressing
of imbalances, the restoration of broken relationships. This kind of justice

seeks to rehabilitate both the victim and the perpetrator, who should be
given the opportunity to be reintegrated into the community he or she has
injured by his or her offence. This is a far more personal approach, which
sees the offence as something that has happened to people and whose con-
sequence is a rupture in relationships. <u>Thus</u> we would claim that justice,
restorative justice, is being served when efforts are being made to work for
healing, for forgiveness and for reconciliation.   (Tutu 1999:48–52)

Whereas Tutu is promoting his own thesis in 17, in 18 he switches to rebuttal
mode in order to challenge a recurring criticism of the Truth and Reconcili-
ation Commission process. Tutu presents the criticism that morally speaking
it is up to victims, not a government commission, to deliberate on amnesty,
punishment and reparation. He counters this by arguing that many of the del-
egates involved in the transition to the new republic were in fact themselves
victims of apartheid, and that opinion polls and voting patterns indicate strong
endorsement of the reconciliation process.

(18)   In January 1999 I described the Truth and Reconciliation Commis-
sion process to a large gathering in a synagogue in Jerusalem. There, as
in most other such meetings, I was accosted by someone who spoke very
passionately about the moral requirement of justice which our process had
seemed to undermine. He was strongly of the opinion (shared, I suspect,
by many there and elsewhere) that morally speaking such an arrangement
could really only be entered into by the victims themselves and not by oth-
ers, however lofty their motives.

I was, I hope, able to satisfy him on that point by my response. And it
is this: those who negotiated our reasonably peaceful transition included
in their delegations on the liberation movement's side those who were
themselves victims of the viciousness of apartheid. Many had been de-
tained, harassed, imprisoned, tortured and exiled, and before all this had
happened to them had been victims in various ways of the injustice and
oppression of apartheid. They could all speak of it from personal expe-
rience. Almost all of them, for instance, were disenfranchised until that
memorable day in April 1994: they had never voted in the land of their
birth until that day. They had suffered the humiliations of the iniquitous
pass laws and had seen people uprooted and dumped as if they were rub-
bish in the massive forced populations removal schemes that had trauma-
tised so many from tat community. I was thus able to reassure my Jewish
questioner that the negotiators had not acted presumptuously, for they
were speaking about what they and their loved ones had lived through.

When the election results came in, far from these negotiators being

repudiated for not reflecting the views and the attitudes of their constituencies, they were massively endorsed in a landslide election victory that brought the ANC to the helm of a government of National Unity. It was these selfsame, now elected, representatives who gave us our new constitution and who, in accordance with its provisions, passed the Act that brought the Truth and Reconciliation Commission into being. It was not the work of some idealistic upstarts but the product of hard-nosed politicians, who usually have an eye on the next election and would not normally be caught doing anything that was likely to alienate the voters who put them into office. These politicians have operated under the leadership of Nelson Mandela and his successor, Thabo Mbeki. Had what they did in the Act been at variance with the feelings of their constituency, that would have been reflected in their ratings in opinion polls. After three years of the Truth and Reconciliation process, and many controversial amnesty decisions, Nelson Mandela scored nearly eight out of ten, and Mr. Mbeki nearly seven, in the popularity stakes as leaders. (Their closest rival trailed at a disturbing three.) This seemed to indicate that, despite the electorate's natural disillusionment with the first post-oppression government, and its unfulfilled promises and deficits in fulfilling expectations, the ANC was still being endorsed. More recently, the political parties which supported the establishment of the Commission received the support of about 90 per cent of voters in the 1999 election. In a memorable turn of phrase used by one of my teachers at King's College, London, 'it would not be unreasonable to assert' that those who had negotiated and who produced the Truth and Reconciliation Commission did in fact have the credentials to speak on behalf of the victims, and have been heartily endorsed in so doing.

(Tutu 1999: 53–4)

In Bakhtin's terms, Texts 16, 17 and 18 are all transparently dialogic. Arguments are mounted in the face of alternative points of view, which are more or less explicitly acknowledged (least so in 16, moreso in 17 and 18, and especially so in 18, the challenge). But none of these texts give an 'equal' voice to the opposition, and they are certainly not globally structured around alternative perspectives as they would be in discussion genre (for examples of texts which are globally organised around different positions see Knapp & Callaghan 1989; Feez & Joyce 1998; Martin 2002b).

Mapping histories

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to develop an overview of the discourses of modernity we have been reviewing to portray history as we've known it. A summary outline is presented as Table 1, organised by genre along its central row. Along this row an attempt has been made to grade genres along a cline from oral history to institutional history (for related work see Coffin 1997; Martin 2001, 2001c).

Major shifts in the configuration of linguistic resources involved are represented by solid lines around closely related genres, which representation reinforces the categorical nature of genre classification. Note however that individual texts may straddle boundaries, as we have seen for the explanation/exposition distinction discussed in relation to Text 16 above. For further discussion of typological and topological perspectives on genre agnation see (Martin 2001, 2002a).

Above and below these genres, six key factors are outlined, differentiating them from one another. Using Halliday's (e.g. 1994) notion of interpersonal, ideational and textual meaning, the genre relations can be unpacked, factor by factor, as follows ('…' represents a boundary from the table):

i.   **interpersonal meaning:** ongoing reaction to what went on (prosodic appraisal) … clusters of evaluation of what went on (periodic appraisal) … formulate thesis around appraisal of what went on

Table 1. A topological perspective on history genres

History topology

#					
1	prosodic appraisal		periodic appraisal		thesis appraisal
2	proposition				proposition/ proposal
3	tell	record	explain		
			reveal	probe	argue
	auto/ biographical recount [later]	historical recount [in/during]	historical account [external cause, incongruent]	factorial & consequential explanation [internal cause]	exposition/ challenge
					discussion
4	individual focus	group (+ hero) focus			
5	text time = field time			text time ≠ field time	
6	episodic unfolding in time		causal unfolding	internal unfolding	

ii. **interpersonal meaning;** give information (proposition) ... justify an inter-
     pretation about what happened or what should be (proposition/proposal)
iii. **ideational meaning;** tell what happened to an individual (tell) ... record
     what happened to groups (record) ... explain what led on to what (reveal)
     ... probe a set of factors leading to or from some event (probe) ... present
     arguments around an interpretation of what happened (argue)
iv. **textual meaning;** largely specific reference (individual focus) ... largely
     generic reference, except for great 'men' (group + 'hero' focus)
v.   **textual meaning;** relatively congruent (text time follows field time) ...
     relatively grammatically metaphorical (text time differs from field time)
vi. **textual meaning;** external temporal (episodic unfolding in time) ... exter-
     nal metaphorical consequential (causal unfolding) ... internal[1] conjunc-
     tive organisation (rhetorical unfolding)

Deconstructing history

As an overview, Table 1 gives us some sense of how grand narratives are formed,
and naturalised as interested readings of the past. A history for modernity,
some might say. But what about post-modernity – the post-colonial world we
inhabit now? How does it make history, in ways that deconstruct the naturali-
sations we've just explored?

To explore this let's consider another example from the Philippines, this
time by the post-colonial historian Rafael (as opposed the Marxist account by
Constantino and Constantino we touched on in Text 8 above). Rafael is explor-
ing the role of discourse in the religious conversion of the Tagalogs to Catholi-
cism and their concurrent colonisation during the early period of Spanish rule
(1580–1705). In this passage he is focussing in particular on confession, in the
third part of his Chapter 3:

> 3. Conversion and the Demands of Confession
>   The "inadequacies" of Tagalog Conversion
>   Reducing Native Bodies
>   Confession and the Logic of Conversion

(19)   ... This internalisation of an exterior hierarchy consists of two inter-
          related procedures: the accounting of past events and the reproduction of
          the discourse of interrogation contained in the confession manuals.
              First, the process of accounting. All confession manuals contain the
          unconditional demand that all sins be revealed...

The Spanish demand is that nothing be held back in confession. One is to expend all that memory can hold in a discourse that will bring together both the self that recalls and that which is recalled. The present self that confronts the priest in confession is thus expected to have managed to control his or her past – to reduce it, as it were, to discursive submission. Whereas the examination of conscience requires the division of the self into one that knows the Law and seeks out the other self that deviates from it, a "good confession" insists on the presentation of a self in total control of its past. It is in this sense that confessional discourse imposes on the individual penitent what Roland Barthes called a "totalitarian economy" involving the complete recuperation and submission of the past to the present, and by extension of the penitent to the priest (Barthes 1976: 39–75).

Yet insofar as the ideal of a perfect accounting of sins also necessitated their recounting in a narrative, it was condemned to become a potentially infinite task. Given the limitations of memory, accounting "engenders its own errors." And the errors created by faulty accounting become further sins that have to be added to the original list. The very possibility of a correct accounting engenders an erroneous accounting, just as remembering one's sins would make no sense unless there existed the possibility of forgetting them. It is thus the guarantee of a faulty accounting of sins that makes conceivable the imperative for total recall. Barthes puts it more succinctly: "Accountancy has a mechanical advantage: for being the language of a language, it is able to support an infinite circularity of errors and of their accounting" (Barthes 1976: 70).

There is a sense, then, in which the demand for a total recollection of sins results in the unlimited extensions of discourse purporting to extract and convey one's successes and failures in accounting for past acts and desires. Accounting thus allows confession to become a self-sustaining machine for the reproduction not only of God's gifts of mercy but of "sin" as well. For God's continued patronage – the signs of His mercy – requires a narrative of sins to act upon. The confessor who sits in lieu of an absent Father needs the penitent's stories, without which there can be no possibility of asserting and reasserting the economy of divine mercy. Without the lure of sin, the structure of authority implicit in this economy would never emerge. Confession was crucial because it produced a divided subject who was then made to internalise the Law's language. The penitent became "the speaking subject who is also the subject of the statement" (Foucault 1980: 1–61). But confession was also important because it made for

the ceaseless multiplication of narratives of sin through their ever-faulty accounting. In introducing the category of "sin", confession converted the past into a discourse that was bound to the Law and its agents. In this way the accounting and recounting of the past generated the complicitous movement between sin and grace.

These considerations bring us to the second moment in the interiorisation of hierarchy prescribed by confession: the reproduction of the discourse of interrogation .... (Rafael 1988: 101–103)

In some respects this is not altogether unfamiliar ground. For starters, Rafael deploys a well-scaffolded hierarchy of periodicity, with higher level discourse Themes anticipating lower level ones (Martin 1992, 1993a):

… This internalisation of an exterior hierarchy consists of <u>two interrelated procedures</u>: the accounting of past events and the reproduction of the discourse of interrogation contained in the confession manuals.

<u>First</u>, the process of accounting …

These considerations bring us to the <u>second</u> moment in the interiorisation of hierarchy prescribed by confession: the reproduction of the discourse of interrogation …

And there is a good deal of abstraction (highlighted below) alongside the occasional concrete participant (i.e. *manuals, the priest, the penitent*):

… This <u>internalisation</u> of an exterior hierarchy consists of two <u>interrelated procedures</u>: the <u>accounting</u> of past events and the <u>reproduction</u> of the discourse of <u>interrogation</u> contained in the <u>confession</u> manuals.

First, the <u>process</u> of <u>accounting</u>. All <u>confession</u> manuals contain the <u>unconditional</u> <u>demand</u> that all sins be revealed …

Since we're talking about Catholicism, there's a representation of religious lexis, including the focus of discussion, *confession*:

[confession] & sins, priest, penitent, penitent, priest, sins, sins, sins, sins, sins, God's gifts of mercy, "sin", God's, His mercy, sins, Father, penitent's, divine mercy, lure of sin, penitent, sin, "sin", sin, grace

And since the church as a colonising institution is at issue here, administrative lexis as well:

> exterior hierarchy, two interrelated procedures, unconditional, manuals, process, manuals, submission, the Law's, Law, individual, "totalitarian economy", submission, guarantee, original list, patronage, structure of authority, Law, agents, hierarchy, prescribed

But intriguingly, there's a sizeable list of terms we might refer to as psychoanalytic – after Lacan:

> internalisation, memory, the self, the present self, recalls, recalled, conscience, the division of the self, the other self, a self in total control, the limitations of memory, remembering, forgetting, conceivable, total recall, total recollection, desires, a divided subject, internalise, "the subject who is also the subject of the …", interiorisation

And a much longer list of terms having to do with discourse – after Foucault (and we might well have included *confession* in this list).

> accounting, discourse, interrogation, accounting, demand, revealed, demand, discourse, discursive, discourse, accounting, recounting, narrative, accounting, accounting, accounting, accounting, accounting, imperative, accountancy, language, language, accounting, demand, discourse, accounting, accounting, signs, narrative, stories, asserting, reasserting, language, speaking, statement, narratives, accounting, introducing, discourse, accounting, recounting, considerations, discourse, interrogation, & [confession]

Clearly the 'discursive turn' of post-modern humanities and social science is reflected in Text 19, which seems to take the abstractions of modernity (religious, administrative and psychoanalytic) as a starting point and move on to discourse on this discourse in post-modern terms.

As part of this, grammatical metaphor is taken over, since it is the resource modernity has used to construct its abstractions and organise its texts (Martin 1993a, b). The last sentence of 19 illustrates the deployment of grammatical metaphor for both ideational purposes and textual ends:

> These considerations bring us to the second moment in the interiorisation of hierarchy prescribed by confession …

Psychoanalysis, administration and religion are each represented (*interiorisation, hierarchy prescribed* and *confession* respectively). *These considerations* names and points back to the first internalisation procedure, as *the second moment* names and points forward to the next – explicitly fulfilling the text's higher level Theme (… *two interrelated procedures* …). Note that this scaffold-

Table 2

Pre-modification	Head	Post-modification
the	demand	for a total recollection of sins
	discourse	purporting to extract and convey one's successes and failures in accounting for past acts and desires
a perfect	accounting	of sins

ing is highly metaphorical – with thoughts bringing readers to another time, meaning 'now that we have considered the first procedure, we can move on to the second'. Modernist readers are accustomed to grammatical metaphors which name discourse in order to organise it in just such ways.

But this is post-modernity, and so it is not just discourse that is treated in this way. In addition, the 'material' abstractions of modernity, out of which it has constructed its institutions and disciplines, are themselves reconstrued as discourse – so that not only do we have discourse managing discourse, we have discourse affecting discourse as the heart of the explanation and interpretation of the past. Take the following examples:

Agent   the demand for a total recollection of sins
Process   results in
Medium   the unlimited extensions of discourse purporting to extract and convey one's successes and failures in accounting for past acts and desires.

Agent   the ideal of a perfect accounting of sins
Process   necessitated
Medium   their recounting in a narrative,

In the first a demand leads to more discourse; in the second accounting leads to narrative. So where modernity had abstractions acting on abstractions, in post-modernity we find discourse acting on discourse. In Text 19 the key participants are discursive Agents and Mediums, with the abstractions of modernity sidelined as modifiers in nominal groups (Table 2).

Thus discourse produces divided subjects:

it [= confession]
   produced
      a divided subject who was then made to internalise the Law's language.

Discourse produces errors:

>accounting
>>"engenders
>>>its own errors."
>the errors
>>created by
>>>faulty accounting
>The very possibility of a correct accounting
>>engenders
>>>an erroneous accounting,
>it [= accountancy]
>>is able to support
>>>an infinite circularity of errors and of their accounting"

Discourse produces abstractions elaborating modernity:

>the accounting and recounting of the past
>>generated
>>>the complicitous movement between sin and grace.

Discourse produces more discourse:

>it [= confession]
>>made for
>>>the ceaseless multiplication of narratives of sin through their ever-faulty accounting.
>… the guarantee of a faulty accounting of sins …
>>makes conceivable
>>>the imperative for total recall.

And discourse transforms discourse into abstractions:

>Accounting
>>allows … to become
>>>confession
>>>>a self-sustaining machine for the reproduction not only of God's gifts of mercy but of "sin" as well.
>it [= the ideal of a perfect accounting of sins]
>>was condemned to become
>>>a potentially infinite task.

And changes abstractions into discourse:

> confession
>> converted
>>> the past
>>>> into a discourse that was bound to the Law and its agents.

The effects of this on the explanation and interpretation are of course multiple. To take just one example from 19, as part of reconstruing religion as discourse, we reconstrue sin as error – and this reworks confession as interrogation – a test of correct and incorrect accounting. Instead of a priest acting on a (penitent's) soul, we have the Law surveilling text – a new reading of one aspect of Christian conversion in the Philippines – the Tagalogs, contracting colonialism, as interpellated (split) subjects of Catholic discourse.

This brief excursion into post-colonial history unveils a new kind of meta-discourse, which both subsumes and extends the history discourse of modernity – much as modernist history subsumes and extends the personal recounting of everyday life. An outline of these orders of contemporary discourse, configured as complementary meaning potentials, is presented as Figure 2. Note that reading and valuing this as evolution is a modernist conceit.

Seen in these terms, post-colonial discourse can be read as a new platform from which to launch critique, and as playing a key role in deconstructing the processes whereby modernity has naturalised its social order. One of the key points I would like to reinforce here is that critique of this kind is itself a discourse – it does not, and in its own terms could not, stand outside of discourse. There can be no moral high ground which is not itself subsumed. And if such critique is what we want when we are urging critical literacy for history students, then we have our work cut out for us. We have to teach the discourses of

POST-MODERNITY
reconstrued through semiotic abstraction
as discursive technologies

MODERNITY
reconstrued by grammatical metaphor
into disciplines & institutions
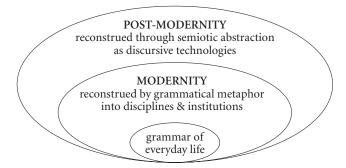
grammar of
everyday life

Figure 2. Orders of discourse for construal of the past

modernity and as well the post-colonial discursive turn subsuming modernist history and expanding it. How do we set about this challenging task? For useful suggestions at the secondary level see (Coffin 1996; Morgan 1997). Walton (1996) and Malcolm (1999) are of special relevance to indigenous education in post-colonial Australia.

More to history

There's more to history than has met our eye. More genres – for example report and description (as discussed in Martin 1993a). More discourse – the whole issue of primary and secondary sources has scarcely been touched upon (Buggy 1988; Brook et al. 1996). Which in turn raises the issue of more modalities – since primary sources typically include images that have to be viewed (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1992; Lemke 1998). And more text – since the genres reviewed here are typically configured into macro-genres as textbooks and student projects (Martin 1995b, 2002a). Chapter 9 of (Buggy 1988), from which we took Text 10 above, for example, is a macro-recount of the Long March which unfolds as follows:

> [Outline]
> Introduction
> The Breakout: 16 October to 25 November
> Battle of Xiang River: 25 November to 3 December
> The Capture of Zunyi: January 1935
> Zunyi Conference: 15–18 January 1935
> The Golden Sands River Crossing: 29 April to 8 May
> The Luding Bridge Crossing: 29 May 1935
> The Great Snowy Mountains: July 1935
> The High Grasslands: August 1935
> Lazikou Pass: 16 September
> How did the Long March Contribute to the Eventual Communist Victory?
> [(The Long March Legend and Reality = 16 pp scaffolded primary sources)]
> Why did the Long March Succeed?
> [Structured Question, Problems and Issues, Role Play, Empathy Exercises]
> [Bibliography]

Alongside an Outline, Bibliography and interactive sections (Structured Question etc.), and 16 pages of primary sources, it consists of 10 historical recounts unfolding through time, a consequential explanation (Text 10 above) and one

factorial explanation. In Buggy's chapter these genres are clearly separated into discrete sections. In other textbooks boundaries may not be so clearly marked, nor even so clear. Readers have to learn to navigate the change of gears, including cases where transitions involve one genre phasing gradually out of another. To this we have to add a concern with so-called 'mixed genres', a misnomer if ever there was one – since to mix genres we have to have genres to mix, and this implies recognisable typologies. Perhaps more appropriate here is the notion of mixed texts, drawing on more than one genre, in various ways. Martin (2002a) considers renovation, hybridisation, multimodality and macro-generic assemblages in secondary school geography – all very different ways of 'combining' genres. Other possibilities include embedding, where one genre functions as a stage in another (Martin 1995b), and contextual metaphor, where one genre stands in for another (e.g. children's stories as scientific explanations; Martin 1990, 1997b). The range of variation[2] reflects the diversity of social factors at play; to study change we need a rich model of multifunctional texts, not a reductive one.

These elaborations of the work presented here aside, it is important to re-emphasise here the uncommon-sense construals of time enacted by historians – the ways in which abstraction is used to package time, to explain causal connections, to value events and to argue for interpretations; and beyond this the ways in which these resources are recontextualised by metadiscourse in post-structuralist writing. This array of grammatical technology enables the meanings through which we make sense of our past. We make different histories – true. But we use comparable resources to naturalise a point of view, and to resist and subvert alternative readings. The technology of history engenders this power; and we need to remember that its status comes from its power, not the other way round.

Notes

1. For internal vs. external conjunction see Martin (1992, 1993a).

2. The range of variation will come as no surprise to functional grammarians, who deal regularly with renovation (*Don't disappear that overhead!*), blends (*It is stocky, muscled body, short legs and massive chest make the jaguar a powerful and efficient hunter.*), multimodality (*3 of them went POW!*), clause complexing (*Yes, but Anna will probably always be a bit shorter than you, 'cos Anna's Mummy and Daddy are much shorter than Mummy and Daddy, so Anna will probably never be as tall as you even when she's grown up.*), embedding (*Factors [[favourable to the development of the true tropical rainforest]] are annual rainfall amounts in excess of 1500mm.*) and grammatical metaphor (*The effects of industrialisation and the*

need of more land due to the growth of population seriously affected wildlife and still is today)
(Halliday 1994; Matthiesen 1995; Martin et al. 1997).

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Recent past
Telling stories

News as history

Your daily gossip

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Introduction

Mass media news reports provide readings of the immanent, immediate past. They offer accounts of recent events which frequently assume a historical, or at least proto-historical status – hence the claim by at least some sections of the mass media to provide the 'first drafts of history'.[1] Of course, many of the events and issues taken up on the news pages may seem to have minimal long-term historical significance. Nevertheless, they operate 'historically' in the sense that they develop and disseminate accounts of the unfolding life of a community which may act to influence notions about the nature of that community, the values and conventions under which it operates, its origins, how it has changed, and where it is headed in the future. The media, of course, make strong epistemological claims of their accounts, asserting that they offer direct, value-free, objective transcriptions of some absolute external reality. As Schiller observes, the media frequently operate with the assumption that so-called 'news stories' offer a "map, a veridical representation, a report on reality, and hence not really a story at all, but merely the facts" (1981:2). But as the media studies and critical linguistics literature has repeatedly and compellingly demonstrated, news reporting is, in fact, necessarily subjective. (See, for example, Trew 1979; Fowler 1991 or Fairclough 1995.) The way the media represent this immediate past of newsworthy events and issues is conditioned by a complex set of ideologically-determined assumptions, beliefs and expectations about the nature of the social world. Accordingly, news reportage is like other modes of historical discourse in this respect – it constructs selective, interested and ideologically-conditioned versions of the past.

This chapter is, in part, concerned with exploring this issue of the subjectivity of news reporting texts, at least to the extent that it is interested in the way in which news texts provide value-laden representations and evaluations of the events and issues they purport to cover. It is not primarily concerned, however, with instances of interpretation and evaluation in particular news items – analyses of such are widely available in the literature. Rather, it is more generally concerned with news reports as text or genre types and with the particular modes of evaluative and interpretative positioning associated with these particular genres. That is to say, the chapter is interested in the text organisational features which are shared by news texts and, more particularly, in the rhetorical effects (or at least potentials) which arise from these generalised patterns or principles of text organisation.[2] The chapter, then, is concerned with the rhetorical potential of the genre types which can be identified in modern hardnews reporting, where the term 'genre' is used in the sense developed within the so-called Sydney school of genre analysis. (See, for example, Martin 1992; Martin & Plum 1997; Plum 1999 or Rothery 1990.[3]) From the perspective of 'reading the past', the chapter provides an account of how news reports, as examples of particular genre types, are set up to construct particular value-laden versions of the past.

The focus of the discussion is on the genre type constituted by the pattern of textual organisation most frequently encountered in contemporary hardnews, print media news reporting – a text type which, following the original work of Iedema, Feez and White (1994), is described as 'headline/lead dominated and as 'orbitally organised'. This is the text type which has been most widely explored in the literature, which is typically treated as the standard or default in the journalism training literature[4] (see, for example MacDougall 1982) and which was analysed in detail in Van Dijk's influential account in *News as Discourse* (1988). By reference to the framework first set out in Iedema, Feez and White, and developed in (Iedema 1997) and (White 1998), I seek to describe in detail and explain the rhetorical functionality of this type of news reporting text. I propose that many of these standard, orbitally-organised news reports can be grouped together as constituting a genre type which has at least as much in common with a sub-type of casual-conversational 'gossip' identified by Eggins and Slade (1997) as it does with more traditional modes of story telling. I argue that while traditional story-telling texts foreground the experiential or material-world issues of cause-and-effect and the unfolding of activity sequences through time, many of these modern orbitally-arranged news items are more overtly oriented towards the interpersonal. They are centrally concerned with evaluations of human behaviour and/or natural events as aber-

rant, disruptive or transgressive and it is in this focus upon evaluation that they are substantially similar to the modes of gossip identified by Eggins and Slade. The degree of this similarity in terms of generic structure and ultimate communicative effects constitutes one of the primary concerns of the paper.

The issues reports, genre structure and patterns of evaluation

I begin by considering a sub-type of contemporary news item which displays the most obvious and the most consistent similarity with the modes of 'gossip' identified by Eggins and Slade. The text I use to exemplify this sub-type is concerned with the findings of an inquiry into one of the worst British rail accidents in recent times – the crash in 1999 at Paddington which resulted in 31 deaths. The report focuses largely on the role of Railtrack, the company which assumed responsibility for rail infrastructure maintenance after the privatisation of the British rail system carried out by Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government. In Eggins and Slade's analysis of gossip, to which I shall return below, gossip texts are seen as being typically constituted of some selection from the following generic stages:

- Third Person Focus (the opening stage) – where the human target of the 'gossip' is identified and the general terms of their 'deviance' or 'misdemeanour' are identified;
- Substantiating Behaviour – where the 'factual' evidence or information is provided upon which the initial charge of 'deviance' is based and upon which subsequent negative evaluations rely. This 'substantiation' often suggests negative evaluation by implication;
- Pejorative Evaluation – explicit negative evaluation, typically based upon proceeding 'substantiation' where the negative view of the 'third person' is most strongly asserted;
- Defence – where some defence of the pejoratively evaluated 'third party' is offered;
- Response to Defence;
- Wrap-up – where a thematic summation of the events or issues previously described is provided;
- Probe – where one speaker, through questioning, invites another to offer further substantiation or evaluation.

While I am not suggesting that this type of news report is identical generically and communicatively with the type of 'gossip' texts Eggins and Slade identify, I

am suggesting that they are significant similarities. To illustrate this I set out a genre analysis of the following text which makes reference, where appropriate, to Eggins and Slade's genre model for gossip. Since explicit evaluation is of central importance for this analysis, I use underlining and bold font formatting to identify evaluative elements in this and subsequent textual analyses.

Opening: Identifies Third Party Focus – indicates the general terms of the third party's 'deviance', though in greater detail than Eggins & Slade's data indicates is typical of the opening stage of gossip texts.	<u>**Incompetent**</u> and <u>**complacent**</u> – <u>**what a way to run a railway**</u> * **Railtrack <u>accused</u> of ' <u>lamentable failure</u>' over Paddington crash** * **Thames Trains <u>accused</u> of '<u>significant failure</u>'** * **Signalling '<u>slack and complacent</u>'** <u>Corporate manslaughter charges</u> are being considered against Railtrack and Thames Trains following the Paddington rail crash, in the light of a <u>scathing report</u> yesterday by Lord Cullen which <u>condemned</u> the <u>entire</u> industry for "<u>institutional paralysis</u>". The crown prosecution service confirmed that it was re-examining the issue of <u>manslaughter charges</u>, after receiving further reports from the transport police. Such charges would be <u>unprecedented</u>. The <u>anger</u> of relatives and survivors from the accident, . . .
Substantiation – elaboration of the factual details of the misdemeanour	which killed 31 people and injured more than 400,
Pejorative Evaluation	was graphically illustrated when one of the survivors, Tony Knox, from Reading, called for <u>the prosecution of Gerald Corbett</u>, Railtrack's chief executive at the time of the crash in October 1999. Mr. Knox produced a <u>Wanted poster</u> of Mr. Corbett and said that he had "<u>blood on his hands</u>".
Defence – accused third party demonstrates their ethical credentials by a display of sympathy and concern	Mr. Corbett said later: "My thoughts today are with the bereaved, the survivors and their families. The Paddington crash was an <u>immense tragedy</u>. I <u>pray</u> that the industry moves forward on the recommendations made by Lord Cullen."
Pejorative Evaluation	Lord Cullen was <u>particularly critical</u> of Railtrack. He <u>accused</u> it of having "<u>lamentably failed</u>" to act after previous cases of signals passed at red in the Paddington area before the accident. There was also "<u>a serious and lamentable failure</u>" by Railtrack to organise meetings to look at how well signals could be seen.

Substantiation – further 'factual' information providing a basis for negative evaluations	Signal 109 through which driver Michael Hodder passed at red in his Thames Turbo train before colliding with a Great Western express is still out of commission.
Pejorative Evaluation	Lord Cullen was also <u>extremely critical</u> of Thames Trains, who employed the inexperienced Mr. Hodder. Its safety culture was "<u>slack and less than adequate</u>" and there were "<u>significant failures of communication</u> within the organisation". The company was <u>attacked</u> for <u>shortcomings</u> in Mr. Hodder's training.
Substantiation	For example, he had not been given information that signal 109 had been passed at danger eight times before.
Pejorative Evaluation	Lord Cullen went on to <u>question</u> the reaction of the duty signallers at the Slough control box at the time of the accident. He was <u>not impressed</u> with the <u>inconsistencies</u> in their evidence
Substantiation	and said that they might have been able to react earlier by sending messages to the two drivers.
Pejorative Evaluation	The report talked about a "<u>slack and complacent regime</u>" at Slough. Lord Cullen was concerned about <u>the lack of training</u> at the centre and the <u>lack of independent evidence</u> to corroborate the signallers' story.
Non-gossip stage – recommendations	The report set out 88 recommendations, which Lord Cullen has called on the health and safety executive to implement in several stages over the next two years. Among the action list are improvements in safety information for passengers, emergency lighting, the training of on-board staff and better escape facilities through windows. Lord Cullen also called for a revision of the siting of signals at Paddington, a national system of radio communication between trains and signallers, and improvements in crashworthiness to high speed and turbo trains. If fully implemented the industry will have to pay a heavy price.
Defence	Steve Bence, director of the Association of Train Operating Companies, said the industry would consider the recommendations in detail and how they could be taken forward. He said the industry had already started work on a number of fronts following the crash. Action included beginning to fit improved safety systems on trains at a cost of £500m. Fitting would be completed by the end of 2002.

	Chris Leah, Railtrack's safety director, said that Lord Cullen's report marked a further step towards <u>delivering a safer railway network</u>. "<u>It has led all of us to take a hard look at rail safety</u>."
Unsuccessful Probe – Government invited to evaluate but declines	The government's reaction was muted. Stephen Byers, the transport secretary, said that safety was paramount and "at the heart of our policies towards revitalising our railways". He said that he would await Lord Cullen's final report on the future of railway safety, which will be delivered before the end of the year. This will also cover the Hatfield crash and will give the government the opportunity to carry out its first significant review of the industry since privatisation.
Pejorative Evaluation	Lord Cullen hinted that he may have something to say about the industry's current <u>fragmented structure</u>, and the impact it has had on <u>putting profits before safety</u>. He refused to say whether he thought the industry should be renationalised because that was not part of his brief.
Pejorative Evaluation – also Rejection of earlier Defence from rail industry representatives	John Monks, the TUC general secretary, said: "The travelling public <u>can't trust Railtrack to run the railway safely</u>." The unions <u>needed a greater say over safety</u>, he added, and the <u>workforce needed greater training</u>. The health and safety executive needed more money from the government <u>to ensure that it could oversee Railtrack more effectively</u>.
Pejorative Evaluation – Wrap-up	Robin Kellow, an industrial chemist whose daughter died in the crash, said he was <u>astonished</u> that Railtrack was <u>not subjected to more criticism</u> by Lord Cullen. He added that the layout of signalling at Paddington was "<u>tantamount to lunacy</u>".

[Keith Harper and Sarah Hall – *The Guardian*, Wednesday June 20, 2001]

We see, therefore, that such texts are organised around a repeated, cyclic alternation between Pejorative Evaluation and Factual Substantiation, though in this case the factual details of the incident under consideration are by now so well known to the newspaper reading public that these are kept to the bare minimum. This alternation is occasionally complicated by the insertion of a Defence of the third party. This is precisely the pattern of textual development which Eggins and Slade identified in the types of gossip texts they examined. I provide one of their gossip analyses below for comparison (Eggins & Slade 1997: 287–289 – once again explicit evaluations have been underlined).

Opening: Identifies Third Party Focus – indicates the general terms of the third party's 'deviance'	Jo: We had … there was an <u>affair</u>. A <u>classic</u>. A <u>classic</u> was here. There was <u>an affair</u> going on between the cook and this other girl, you know.
Substantiating Behaviour	I mean she'd come over, any excuse, she'd be over Sue: Oh yeah
Pejorative Evaluation	Jo: I mean, it was <u>the laughing stock</u> of the <u>whole</u> hospital
Substantiating Behaviour	and we got to the stage where we'd really play on it because if we needed anything from the other side we'd sort of ring up and say "Oh Anna, if you're not doing anything." and she'd run, you know – Whatever you wanted
Probe [eliciting more Evaluation]	Sue: Did she know that you knew? Donna: I don't think so. Jo: No, I don't think she as that <u>cluey</u>. Donna: No, I don't think she was aware of the fact that so many people knew. Jo: Yeah.
Substantiating Behaviour	Donna: She'd come in and … [laughs] I reckon she got pissed around left right and centre just to keep her out of the kitchen because every time she time you turned around … and she'd wear, she'd … Sue: yeah. Jo: I know. Then all of a sudden she started wearing makeup
Wrap-up [provides a thematic summation of the event or behaviour described – further Pejorative Evaluation]	It was a <u>real classic</u> [laughs] Donna: A girl who never really wore make-up
Probe	Sue: And what happened in the end? Are they still together?
Substantiating Behaviour	Donna: Oh, she left her husband and she's um … Sue: They're still together. Donna: Yeah Sue: She left her husband? Donna: Yeah Sue: Gosh
Pejorative Evaluation	Donna: Oh it's <u>pretty sad</u>
Substantiating Behaviour	but it happened while I've been away. Jo: She'd be ringing up on the weekend as if, you know, and we could hear her voice on the phone all through the week

	and then on the weekend she'd pretend (she didn't, you know) she was someone different. Sue: Oh really?
Probe	What'd she do? Jo: She'd sort of make … she works in the assembly room. Sue: Right Jo: They used to work over here. That's how they met [laughs] Sue: And he is still here? Donna: Yeah Jo: He's on holidays at the moment Sue: mmm Donna: Is she on holidays? I haven't seen her since I've been back Jo: No, no she's no
Pejorative Evaluation	Donna: Actually, <u>it's really ridiculous</u>, I mean, I think <u>she's made an absolute fool of herself</u>
Substantiating Behaviour	because there is a girl who rings every afternoon from Canberra. He originally comes from Canberra this guy and I quite often used to pick up the phone now it's not her
Probe	Sue: So you don't know what's going on?
Pejorative Evaluation	Donna: I think she's <u>atrocious</u>
Probe (continues previous probe)	Jo: Oh they haven't had those phone calls for ages, though. Donna: Been careful, have they?
Substantiating Behaviour	Jo: Yeah. But she left her husband … She left her husband for him Donna: Yeah
Wrap-up (thematic summation)	Six years to get a leg in, this girl had nothing to lose

There are inevitably, of course, significant differences between the two texts, given that one is a spontaneously and jointly constructed, spoken exchange between work colleagues and the other is a written, carefully-edited text intended for a mass audience. There is, as well, at least one difference which does not follow necessarily from the different social contexts and different modes of production of the two texts – the heaping up of evaluation in the opening of the news report which I indicated in the analysis. Yet despite these differences, the two texts are strikingly similar in the way that they are organised around nodes of evaluation which recur repeatedly and regularly as the text alternates between this explicit passing of judgement and the detailing of the

events upon which this judgement is based. We notice as well that, in both, this 'substantiating' factual information is such that it is directed towards providing implicit support for the evaluations which are explicitly expressed in the Pejorative Evaluation stages.

It is possible that the way the news report concentrates upon and foregrounds this relatively small set of evaluations may seem entirely natural and even unavoidable. I would suggest, however, that any such sense of naturalness and inevitability derives from the fact that we are constantly exposed to news reports which adopt this particular text-formational schema. We have only to compare this news item with the enquiry report upon which it is based to be convinced that there is any number of different ways in which these matters might have been presented to the public. In the enquiry report (available via the *Guardian* website at www.guardian.co.uk/traincrash), such criticisms of the rail industry are not in any sense highlighted or foregrounded, occurring at length only in Chapters 7 and 8 and only very briefly in Sections 1.12 through 1.15 of the Executive Summary. While the news report focuses almost entirely on this repeated attributing of blame, the enquiry report is very largely concerned with the sequence of events leading up to the crash, its causes, what happened in its immediate aftermath and what should be done to prevent similar accidents in the future.

We note another feature of the newspaper text which is interesting in the current context. Eggins and Slade identify what they term a 'Wrap-up' stage which they suggest acts to indicate the completion of a cycle of Substantiation and Pejorative Evaluation by providing some kind of thematic summation. While the final Pejorative Evaluation of the newspaper text is not strictly speaking a thematic summation, it does nevertheless have certain special features which set it apart from the other evaluative nodes and which enable it to provide some sense of closure or completion. We note tellingly that in this node the source of evaluation is not the 'official' voice of a spokesperson for some public institution but, rather, the 'ordinary' voice of a relative of one of the victims. There is, thus, a rhetorically significant shift from the public to the private sphere as well as a shift from 'official' criticisms to personalised emotional response as the father of one of the dead expresses his 'astonishment'. It is also significant that this source ups the evaluative ante, so to speak, by his claim that the criticisms so far reported are, from his point of view, not nearly harsh enough. And he does provide some sort of textual completion by means of his over-arching characterisation of the traffic-signalling arrangements which lead to the accident as 'tantamount to lunacy'. Textual closure – a Wrap-up – is

achieved, therefore, by recontextualising the issues under consideration in the everyday world of families and their personal grief.

I have shown, therefore, some significant text organisational and rhetorical similarities between this news report and the type of gossip texts analysed by Eggins and Slade. This text, of course, is an example of just one of the many sub-types of news reports. It is a typical example of what I have elsewhere (White 1997) termed an 'Issues Report', a report type which focuses primarily on verbal happenings, on contentious claims, arguments and findings. It contrasts with what I have termed the 'Event Story', where the primary focus is upon material action, upon some newsworthy sequence of events.[5] It may well be, therefore, that this similarity between news and gossip holds only for Issues Reports, or perhaps only for Issues Reports of this particular type. I hope to show, however, that the similarity can be observed in media texts rather more widely than this. Or at least I hope to show that it is possible to demonstrate this similarity more widely when we formulate the underlying text forming principles in more general terms. I propose that the feature which can be seen to connect gossip and many news reports is one by which the text is organised so that some type of evaluation is strongly foregrounded and by which the text is organised around a patterned alternation between this evaluation and supposedly 'factual' information which elaborates or supports that evaluation. Such a generalised formulation will mean that the similarity between gossip and news may be more or less strongly felt, with the degree of similarity dependent, for example, on whether the evaluation is positive or negative, whether it is of the normative or ethical type typically found in gossip, whether an evaluative purpose dominates the text as is the case with gossip or whether the text simultaneously performs some other communicative function, and so on.

Event stories and patterns of evaluation

In order to explore these proposals, in the following sections I offer an analysis of a range of different news report types. I look first at two texts which are similar to the text analysed above to the degree that they are concerned with transport accidents but which are very different in that they are essentially, or at least substantially, concerned with reporting either the actual details of some accident or the immediate reactions to such. I look first at a report which still reveals some obvious similarities with gossip and then turn to a text where the connection is perhaps not so immediately obvious.

The first text reports on the reactions to an incident in which a low-flying US military plane severed the cable supporting a ski lift in the Italian Alps, sending the passengers of a ski car to their death. In the following I supply an analysis intended to identify areas of similarity with the types of gossip texts currently under consideration. I use the label 'Substantiation' for subsections which essentially provide 'factual' information about the activity sequence under consideration and the label 'Evaluation' with those sections where positive or negative assessments are made about the human participants. I will use the sub-label 'Blame' to indicate where the evaluation is negative, that is to say, of the 'pejorative' type identified in the Eggins and Slade gossip analyses. I use the label 'Emotional-Aftermath' to indicate any sections which are substantially concerned with the emotional consequences of the event. I continue to underline and bold individual evaluative elements.

Third Party identification – initial Evalution-Blame	Italian PM: plane was **far too low**
Substantiation	The U.S. Marine jet that severed a ski lift cable, plunging 20 people to their deaths,
Evaluation-Blame + Emotional-Aftermath ('angry')	**violated** Italian air safety regulations with its "earth-shaving flight" across a snowy hillside, the prime minister of this **angry** nation said Wednesday. The defense minister said the American pilot **should be prosecuted**, several influential lawmakers said U.S. bases in Italy should be closed, and Italian and American investigators started looking into the accident near Trento, about 90 miles east of Milan. "This is not about a low-level flight, but **a terrible act**, a nearly earth-shaving flight, **beyond any limit allowed by the rules and laws**," Premier Romano Prodi told reporters.
Substantiation	Witnesses said the Marine EA-6B Prowler swooped through the valley just above the treetops on Tuesday. Its tail severed two, fist-sized, steel cables, sending a gondola full of European skiers and the operator to their deaths.
Substantiation	Startled by an unusually loud boom, 66-year-old Carla Naia looked up and saw the jet "coming at me at an incredible speed."
Evaluation-Blame + Emotional-Aftermath ('fed up')	"I've seen lots of planes and I've **often cursed** them," the Cavalese resident said. "But this one seemed **completely out of control, far lower and faster than the others**."

	Residents of this valley have long **complained** about low- flying jets out of Aviano Air Base at the foot of the Italian Alps. "We are **fed up**," said Mauro Gilmozi, the mayor of this picturesque town of 3,600. "**This 'Top Gun' stuff has got to stop**."
[Background – non-gossip, but perhaps also interpretable as a partial Defence]	An EA-6B pilot who flew missions in the area last year said it is standard procedure for pilots based at Aviano to fly low-level training routes in the Dolomite Mountains, but for safety reasons they are not supposed to be at altitudes below 1,000 feet.
Emotional-Aftermath (implied Evaluation-Blame)	**Anger** continued to build in Italy, an important U.S. ally and home to seven major U.S. military installations.
Evaluation-Blame (partially unsuccessful Probe – Government declines to be maximally critical)	Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini **deplored** the accident but said that it would not "distort our alliances and our collective security structures."
Evaluation-Blame	Defense Minister Beniamino Andreatta took **a harsher line**, demanding that **the pilot be prosecuted**. "We are not asking for revenge, but that **the law on criminal responsibility be applied** to the commander of the airplane," he was quoted as saying by the ANSA news agency.
Substantiation	The cable car was on its way down Cermis mountain when it plunged to the valley floor, crushing everyone inside. It was just minutes away from reaching the base lodge when it fell.
Emotional-Aftermath (image of horror)	All that remains is a mangled heap of yellow metal on the **bloodstained** snow.
Emotional-Aftermath (Wrap-up)	President Clinton issued a statement Tuesday saying he was "**deeply saddened**" by the accident. Pope John Paul II also extended his **condolences** to the families of the victims, expressing his "**pain and preoccupation**," the Vatican said.

[Associated Press news wire – by Vania Grandi 4/2/98, Cavalese, Italy]

To the extent that the text begins with the identification of some third-party transgression and is organised around an alternation between Substantiation and explicit Evaluation, this news report once again displays some quite strong similarities with Eggins and Slade's gossip texts. We notice also, tellingly, that the text includes a Wrap-up, at least to the extent that the final offerings from President Clinton and the Pope are of a rather different order from the preceding evaluations – emotion rather than ethical judgement – and do round off the report by placing the events at issue within the broader context of internation-

ally recognised leaders and their expressions of sympathy for the victims. Of course, this way of signalling textual closure – shifting from pejorative assessment to emotional response – would set any texts which employed it apart from Eggins and Slade's gossip texts. As we saw, the Wrap-up stage of gossip texts signals textual closure, or at least the completion of a Substantiation/Evaluation cycle, but it does this without any shift in evaluative orientation – in the gossip Wrap-up the focus remains very much upon the line of pejorative assessment which motivated the preceding Evaluation/ Substantiation cycle.

Up to this point I have confined myself to news reports which could be classed as 'blame stories' – texts for which the primary focus is upon negative assessments of human behaviour by reference to some system of social norms or ethics. Even the briefest investigation of the mass-media's news story selection processes will reveal that such attribution of blame is one of contemporary journalism's primary concerns – 'blame stories' occur with great frequency in both the print and broadcast media. An informal analysis of some 30 such 'blame stories' which I have collected for further study reveals that most conform to the pattern of cyclic alternation between Substantiation and Evaluation outlined above – that is to say, the majority are rather gossip-like. We can conclude, therefore, that a gossip-like pattern of textual organisation will be found in a significant number of news texts. However, there are of course numerous news texts which are not so oriented to this type of negative evaluation and, as is perhaps predictable, they are not so obviously similar in textual organisation to Eggins and Slade's gossip texts. Nevertheless, I believe that it is possible in many of these texts to discover a significant connection with gossip once we operate with a more generalised notion of the text forming principles which are in operation. Below I offer an analysis of typical misadventure or catastrophe report, in this instance the breaking-news coverage of the Paddington rail disaster which was the subject of the Issue Report analysed above. The following analysis is directed towards identifying patterns of evaluation by which some degree of similarity with Eggins and Slade's gossip texts might be established. The analysis attends to the following issues:

–   (**Impact**) Where in the text is the primary substance of the catastrophic event addressed – where does the text describe the point of impact in which the usual sequence of events is violently interrupted? In this instance, this 'point of impact' involves the collision of the two trains at high speed. I use the label 'Impact' to identify sections which are primarily concerned with this material. I add the label 'Intensified' where intensifying language is used in the description of the point of impact.

- (**Emotional-Aftermath**) Where in the text is the catastrophic event evaluated through reference to its emotional effects or aftermath? Here we are concerned either with descriptions of the emotional responses of those involved (for example, the victims themselves, their families, rescue workers etc) or with descriptions which are designed to trigger emotional responses in us, the reader.
- (**Praise**) Where in the text are there positive evaluations of those involved? This may take the form of explicit evaluations of some behaviour as, for example, 'heroic' or the form of descriptions which more indirectly imply, for example, courage, doggedness or self-sacrifice on the part of some participant. I use the label 'Praise' in connection with sections where such positive evaluation comes into play.
- (**Blame**) Where in the text are there negative evaluations of those involved? (Here, of course, we are in the territory of 'Pejorative Evaluation'.) Here I use the label 'Blame' (Once again underlining is used to identify explicitly evaluative elements and I include wordings which intensify within this general category of evaluation.)

Impact	Rush-Hour Rail Crash in West London Kills at Least 26
Impact-Intensified: the violent misadventure (Emotional-Aftermath – hints at possible Blame)	Two commuter trains __slammed__ into each other and __burst__ into flames during the morning rush hour today, killing at least 26 people and __severely__ injuring scores more on the same section of track in West London where an __alarmingly__ similar crash occurred two years ago.
Emotional-Aftermath (horror)	The __grisly__ floodlit search for victims was suspended tonight to await the arrival, in the morning, of heavy equipment to lift a blackened and __mangled__ front car that it was __feared__ would reveal a number of others __crushed to death__.
Background	Superintendent Tony Thompson of the British Transport Police said, "The seating capacity of a carriage like that would probably be around 60 people, but it's difficult to say how many people may have been in the carriage."
Praise (heroism): the rescue attempt	Overcoats, attaché cases, overnight bags and plastic coffee cups littered the tracks where rescue workers __struggled__ through the day in the __twisted__ and smoking metal to free trapped riders.
Emotional-Aftermath (horror) here indicated implicitly through the image of the unanswered phone.	The ringing of mobile phones could be heard inside the smoldering wreckage.

Impact-Intensified	The impact **catapulted** the locomotive of the high-speed Great Western train 50 yards up the track's embankment, **buckled** the front cars and left others upended and **leaning precariously** against one another.
Impact	The accident happened at 8:11 A.M., when the 6:03 A.M. Great Western intercity express from Chelterham to Paddington station collided with the Thames Trains' 8:06 A.M. local leaving Paddington for Bedwyn, Wiltshire, at Ladbroke Grove, the West London neighborhood famous for its Portobello Road shopping area.
background	Paddington station is London's gateway to Western England and Wales, and the terminus for the high-speed rail to Heathrow airport.
Emotional-Aftermath	An amateur cameraman captured the scene in the immediate aftermath as a plume of gray smoke billowed into the sky. **Dazed** survivors were seen **crawling** out of broken windows and making their way along the sides of the overturned railway cars.
Praise (heroism)	A group of men who had escaped **braved** flames to help others still inside.
Emotional Aftermath (horror)	**Terrified cries** and **shouts** of "**help**" and "**help me**" could be heard on the soundtrack.
Praise (heroism)	Staff members from a nearby Sainsbury's supermarket put ladders down to the open tracks and **rushed to wrest** people from the burning wreckage.
The aftermath	In all, 154 people were treated at hospitals, with 14 still in intensive-care units tonight and another 54 in general wards.
Emotional-Aftermath	Dr. Robin Touquet at St. Mary's Hospital said that a number of victims had "**horrific** burns, **the kind you associate more with World War II** than a train crash." Others were suffering from burned lungs from inhaling smoke.
background – a prior, similar incident	The earlier crash, several miles west on the same section of track, killed 7 people, injured 150 and led to Great Western being fined $2.5 million for safety breaches. It was the subject of a much delayed public inquiry that last week took testimony from the driver of the train that caused the accident by passing two amber and one red signal lights.

Blame	Louise Christian, a lawyer representing five of the bereaved families from that accident, said it was "**very, very sad and worrying**" that another crash should have happened that was **so terribly reminiscent** of the one in September 1997.
Wrap-Up: the Lucky Escape ('life goes on')	David Taylor, 34, a business consultant, said he had given up riding in the front first-class cars after the first accident, deciding it was safer to sit in the middle of the train. He said he was convinced that the decision saved his life today.

[*The New York Times*, 6 October 1999 – by Warren Hodge]

The features which set the report apart in evaluative terms from both the 'blame stories' analysed previously and Eggins and Slade's gossip texts are relatively obvious. While this text does contain one Pejorative Evaluation (Blame) this is clearly not as central to the text as it is in the blame stories and gossip texts. Interestingly, however, the pejorative evaluation is hinted at in the very beginning and then taken up in the closing stages.[6] So even here there is at least something of a parallel with gossip text structure in the sense that the opening can been seen as indicating some third-party misdemeanour, the body as providing the material which gives rise to that criticism or blame (the Substantiation) and the conclusion makes this pejorative evaluation explicit. It must, however, be admitted that the parallel does not immediately present itself, backgrounded or obscured as is by the more obvious evaluative concerns of the text.[7] These concerns are threefold: (1) to dramatise and emphasise the violence of the catastrophic event through intensification, (2) to evoke feelings of horror and distress in the reader in the aftermath of the event, and (3) to provide a positive counterpoint to the horror and distress by construing the actions of the rescuers as heroic. I provide an abbreviated version of the analysis below, the better to reveal the patterning of these three aspects.

Impact	Rush-Hour Rail Crash in West London Kills at Least 26
Impact-Intensified	Two commuter trains **slammed** into each other and **burst** into flames …
Emotional-Aftermath (horror) …	The **grisly** floodlit search for victims … **crushed to death**.
Praise (heroism)	rescue workers **struggled** through the day in the **twisted** and smoking metal …
Emotional-Aftermath	The ringing of mobile phones could be heard inside the smoldering wreckage.

Impact-Intensified	The impact <u>**catapulted**</u> the locomotive …
Impact	The accident happened at 8:11 A.M …
…	
Emotional-Aftermath	<u>**Dazed**</u> survivors were seen <u>**crawling**</u>
<u>Praise</u>	A group of men who had escaped <u>**braved**</u> flames to help others still inside
Emotional-Aftermath	<u>**Terrified**</u> <u>**cries**</u> and <u>**shouts**</u> of "<u>**help**</u>" and "<u>**help me**</u>" …
<u>Praise</u>	Staff members from a nearby Sainsbury's supermarket put ladders down to the open tracks and <u>**rushed to wrest**</u> people from the burning wreckage.
…	
Emotional-Aftermath	a number of victims had "<u>**horrific**</u> burns, <u>**the kind you associate more with World War II**</u> than a train crash."
…	
Blame	it was "<u>**very, very sad and worrying**</u>" that another crash should have happened that was <u>**so terribly reminiscent**</u> of the one in September 1997.
…	

We note, therefore, the following sequence:

> Impact ∧ **Impact-Intensified** ∧ *Emotional Aftermath* ∧ <u>Praise</u> ∧ *Emotional Aftermath* ∧ **Impact-Intensified** ∧ Impact ∧ *Emotional Aftermath* ∧ <u>Praise</u> ∧ *Emotional Aftermath* ∧ <u>Praise</u> ∧ *Emotional Aftermath*

In this, therefore, it is possible to discover some parallelism with the structural organisation observed in the gossip texts. Here we observe once again a repeated cycle of evaluation in which an informational element (here represented by the Impact stages, in the gossip texts by the Substantiation stages) alternates with an evaluative stage consisting of alternating Emotional Aftermath and Praise elements. This pattern of repeated cycles of evaluation is such that that evaluation remains in the foreground. The report is structured so that a particular evaluative framework is pressed upon the reader – one in which they are alternatively invited to be struck by the severity of the impact, appalled at the death and destruction and uplifted by examples of human goodness.

As a final observation on this news item, I note with interest what might be considered the strangely inconsequential material of the report's final section – the anecdote about the passenger whose 'superstitious' insistence upon

sitting in the middle carriage seems to have saved his life. Once again we see how some new element or angle is introduced at the end to provide a sense of at least some sort of closure. Here, of course, the shift is from a focus on the dead and injured to a focus on those who survived and a stroke of good luck. In purely informational terms such would not seem to be of sufficient consequence to warrant inclusion in such a report, and especially not in this very prominent final position. But here once again we see the importance of evaluation and the weight given to interpersonal positioning in such reports. This element functions to provide an emotional lift, a more positive outlook by way of conclusion to a report otherwise devoted to injury, death and destruction.

The rhetorical functionality of the standard news report

To this point, I have analysed the textual organisation of the modern print news item primarily so as to explore points of similarity with gossip. In the next section I focus more narrowly on the news item in its own right and seek to identify the key mechanisms of its rhetorical functionality. I will, however, still observe points of similarity with gossip where appropriate.

One of the most distinctive and often noted properties of the conventionally constructed modern print news report is the manner in which the text begins. This opening (typically comprised of headline plus first sentence or 'lead'[8]) is frequently seen as singling out what is most 'important' in the event or issue under consideration and as simultaneously providing a summary or abstract of this event or issue.[9] It is important, however, always to bear in mind that processes of summation and of deciding what is most 'important' will always be subjective and value-laden. Accordingly it is necessary to understand the news story opening as a fundamentally interpretative device by which particular evaluative frameworks and particular terms of representation are established for the event or issue under consideration.[10] I illustrate this point by reference to the *Sun* newspaper's coverage of actions taken to prevent another British newspaper (*The Mail on Sunday*) publishing extracts of the memoirs of a Miss Ros Mark, the former nanny to the then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and his wife Cherie.

> CHERIE IN TEARS AT BETRAYAL BY NANNY
> PM vows to shield family
> PREGNANT Cherie Blair was last night braced for a costly legal battle over

a former nanny's memoirs which reduced her to tears.

<div align="right">(The Sun, March 6, 2000, p. 2)</div>

This is a typical news report opening in that it begins with no preamble or background orientation to the events and issues at hand, going directly to points of high evaluative impact – the extreme emotional reaction of the Prime Minister's pregnant wife, the stalwart determination of the Prime Minister and a strong claim of moral transgression against the former nanny. It does this without providing any account of the events which gave rise to these reactions or which might provide a basis for the accusation. In singling out this particular set of issues, the opening invokes certain well-established cultural motifs and thereby establishes particular representational and evaluative terms for the story as a whole. Thus by its reference to the tearful Cherie Blair and the Prime Minister's 'vow' of protection, this opening invokes a schema drawn from popular discourses of traditional gender roles and family life. The opening establishes the events at issue as being a matter of a disloyal and cruel attack upon a vulnerable and emotional mother-to-be and the robust and determined action of the husband and father to defend the security of the family against such a threat. Such text compositional choices have clear evaluative consequences. The reader is thereby positioned to view the Blair's sympathetically both as individuals who have been wronged and as model parents, as laudable custodians and defenders of certain 'family values'. The story is thus set up to be as much about 'the family' and conventional models of domestic roles and relationships as it is about politics or mass-media publishing. An analysis of how other newspapers covered the incident reveals that this was but one of any number of frameworks of evaluative interpretation which might have been applied.

Although such an opening is unlike the introductory Third-Person-Focus stage of Eggins and Slade's gossip texts in both the amount of detail and the range of evaluations provided, it does nevertheless serve a similar function in establishing a particular evaluative orientation by which certain human individuals are to be judged. There is, surely, not a world of difference between an opening along the lines of 'mother-to-be in tears over betrayal by nanny' and 'cook and girl in classic affair'. In the news report, of course, in addition to a target for criticism (the treacherous nanny), we have a target for sympathy and support (the injured mother), and a target for moral approbation (the stalwart father defending his family).

The opening of this report supplies a set of evaluative concerns which, interestingly, suggests at least a partial parallel with the *New York Times*' Paddington rail disaster report. We have an Emotional-Aftermath element (Cherie

Blair's distress), a Praise element (the Prime Minister's determination) and a Blame element (the nanny's treachery). I provide an analysis below which focuses on these, as well as some additional elements. I use bold underlining to indicate words and phrase which provide explicit evaluation (e.g. **betrayal** by nanny) and plain underlining to indicate those which more indirectly evoke it via connotative association (e.g. vowed to protect).

	[headline/lead]
Emotional-Aftermath (mother's distress)	(i.) CHERIE **IN TEARS**
Blame (**nanny's guilt**)	(ii.) AT **BETRAYAL** BY NANNY
Praise (father's resolve)	(iii.) PM vows to shield family
(details of legal action)	(iv.) PREGNANT Cherie Blair was last night braced for a costly legal battle over a former nanny's memoirs
Emotional-Aftermath	(v.) which **reduced her to tears**.
Praise (father's resolve)	1. Mrs. Blair, 45, was backed by the Prime Minister who said he would "whatever it takes" to protect the privacy of his family.
(details of legal action)	2. The PM's Warning follows a judge's 2am ruling which stopped the Mail on Sunday newspaper carrying extracts of Ros Mark's story yesterday.
Blame (**nanny's guilt**)	3. The blonde ex nanny, 30, allegedly **broke a legally binding confidentiality clause** in her contract not to talk about her four years looking after the PM's three children, Kathrun 12, Nicky 14 and Euan 16.
Blame (**the newspaper**)	4. Mrs. Blair, a QC and Crown Court judge, claims **the paper broke the same clause** by running the story.
Emotional-Aftermath	5. A spokesman said yesterday: "She was **deeply hurt** and is **very upset**."
(details of the legal action)	6. Last night, the newspaper warned it would fight the ban – and any claim for damages.
Praise (father's resolve)	7. In an **emotional** statement, Mr. Blair said, "As Prime Minister I obviously accept there's a great deal of media interest in me and my family. But I'm not just the Prime Minister, but also a father and husband and Cherie and I am absolutely determined, no matter how unusual our own lives because of the nature of my, job, that our children have as normal an upbringing as possible". "In this, we are asking for no more than any family is entitled to."

	"We cannot allow a situation where the children are **fearful** that any and every aspect of their lives, past, present or future is liable to become public. We do not seek injunctions lightly and we will do whatever it takes to protect the legitimate privacy of our family life and to protect our children from unwarranted intrusion."
Defence of nanny (see below for further discussion)	8. Mr. Blair said that Miss Mark "remains **a good friend** of the family who is **deeply upset** herself". He added, "I know she's **a good person** who will not have intended any harm I'm only **sorry** that **her good nature** has
Blame (newspaper)	been **exploited** by others."
Defence of nanny	A **distraught** Miss Mark claimed she had not given her book to the newspaper – or asked for money.
Blame (**nanny's guilt**)	9. But the *Mail on Sunday* insisted "Miss Mark has **misrepresented** her position. She has written a 451 page book about life with the Blairs, which was offered to a number of publishers." "She talked to us openly and insisted confidentiality would not he a problem. She was fully aware we were writing a story, posed for pictures and gave us two photographs of her with the Blairs".

[*The Sun*, March 6, 2000, p. 2]

We notice how, once again, the text is organised around cycles of evaluation as the text returns periodically to the three evaluative angles established by the opening. We note the following sequence:

> i. *Emotional-Aftermath* ^ ii. **Blame** ^ iii. Praise ^ v. *Emotional-Aftermath* ^ 1. Praise ^ 3. **Blame** ^ 5. *Emotional-Aftermath* ^ 7. Praise ^ 9. **Blame**.

There are, as indicated in the analysis above, some additional matters addressed in the body, namely the details of the court case, the accusations against the newspaper which sought to publish the memoirs and the interesting Defence of the nanny (which will be discussed below). But we note that, tellingly, relatively little space and prominence is given to these additional aspects of the issue. Perhaps most remarkable is the relatively little attention given to the role of the newspaper which could easily have been represented as the primary instigator, rather than the nanny, of the crisis for the Blair family, an interpretative option which was, in fact, taken up by other newspapers. (See, for example, the coverage in the *Daily Telegraph*.) The point, of course, is that the body text is organised so that the three evaluative issues singled out as maximally significant in the headline/lead remain foregrounded or central as the text unfolds.

It remains to account for the material in Section 8 which, as indicated, provides for a defence of the nanny against the earlier pejorative evaluation. This is of interest because it is unanticipated in light of the earlier unchallenged characterisation of the nanny as a betrayer who has reduced Mrs. Blair to tears. We are told that Mr. Blair feels no animosity towards the young woman. He insists, in fact, that she remains 'a good friend of the family' and that 'she is a good person'. We are also told mysteriously (and with the most minimal amount of explanation for this apparently clear contradiction of early depictions) that 'her good nature has been exploited by others' and that the nanny has not, in fact, provided her memoirs to the newspaper for publication nor asked for money.

Such material is clearly anomalous with respect to the overall perspective and evaluative framework adopted by the report. It certainly does not fit neatly into the domestic-drama schema of betrayal from within, maternal distress and paternal resilience. To take this aspect more seriously would be, of course, to rob the tale of its most compelling villain. It would rob the account of its neat balance between the good (the ideal parents) and the bad (the once trusted, now treacherous and greed-motivated servant.) Accordingly, and unsurprisingly, this 'anomaly' is barely integrated into the account. It is excluded from textually prominent opening, is introduced very late in non-prominent second-to-last position, and is afforded only a minimal, 14 word treatment.

It is possible, therefore, once we analyse the text from this evaluation-oriented perspective, to observe some clear text formational similarity with Eggins and Slade's gossip texts, at least to the extent that the primary motivating principle of textual development is, once again, one of cyclic return to repeated nodes of Evaluation. Of course, just as was the case with the last Paddington rail disaster report, there are substantial points of difference. Thus, evaluation is not so narrowly focussed on the pejorative assessment of one participant. As well, explicitly expressed evaluation is typically attributed to outside sources so that there is some uncertainty as to whether the texts itself endorses these judgements or is simply recounting them.[11] Perhaps one of the clearest differences arises from the reliance by the journalistic text at various points upon evaluation by implication or by connotative association. Thus nowhere in the text is the Prime Minister explicitly characterised as a good father or overtly praised for his actions in keeping his family affairs private. Rather, the text relies on the positive associations which, depending on the reader's interpretative position, may attach to terms such as 'vow to shield' and 'do whatever it takes to protect'. But my point, as already indicated, is not that news texts and gossip are identical or similar enough to be classed as members of the same genre. My point, instead, is that the similarities are sufficient, at a relatively abstract level

of analysis, to justify us discovering some degree of family resemblance, so to speak, in the way the two text types are both driven by evaluative concerns and structured by a pattern of cyclic return to nodes of evaluative positioning.

The analysis above has also revealed a more general principle of news-report textual organisation which was first outlined in Iedema, Feez and White (1994). We note in the analysis above that the body of the report can be broken down into unconnected chunks each of which acts to specify some aspect of the headline/lead by, for example, repeating it, elaborating it, contextualising it or offering a challenge to it. Thus, all the chunks which make up the body reach back or reference the headline/lead in some way, elaborating on Mrs. Blair's distress, on Mr. Blair's determination to protect his family and on the nanny's alleged treachery, or providing further information about the legal action initiated by the Blairs or the role of the newspaper. Tellingly, these various elaborations and specifications are provided in a discontinuous or interrupted fashion with Mrs. Blair's distress being introduced in the opening but not being taken up again until Section 5, Mr. Blair's determination being introduced in the opening and then being taken up immediately in Section 1 but then not again until Section 7, and the alleged guilt of the nanny being introduced in the opening and then variously developed in Sections 3, 8 and 9. This type of arrangement is found very widely in news reports and, as a consequence, it is generally possible to quite freely rearrange the order of the elements making up the body of the text since there is no necessary linear sequence – chunks typically don't rely on what comes immediately before nor do they prepare the way for what is to follow. Rather, the important text forming relationship is not one which holds between adjacent chunks but the one which operates, often at a distance, between each chunk and the headline/lead upon which it depends and which it elaborates.[12] Accordingly, following Iedema, Feez and White, I see these chunks or sub-components as acting as 'satellites' to the central nucleus of the headline/lead and hold that the typical hard-news report is organised according to an 'orbital principle' of textual organisation by which the headline/lead nucleus provides a dominating textual centre of gravity about which the sub-components of the body circulate. Thus we say such texts are 'headline/lead-dominated' and 'orbitally-organised'.

One quite widely observed consequence of this orbital pattern of unconnected satellites and discontinuous elaboration is that news reports of this type do not provide chronologically ordered, linear accounts of the sequence of events which constitute the incident they purport to describe. (See, for example, Van Dijk 1988; Bell 1991; Iedema et al. 1994; Iedema 1997 and Delin 2000.) We can say that this type of news report does not display text to time-

line iconicity. This lack of chronological sequence is often prominent among the reasons why this type of text is held to be non-narrative.[13] I demonstrate this point below by reference to the nanny-betrayal report.

The sequence of events upon which the report is based might be summarised by means of the following chronologically organised sequence:

1. Nanny enters Blair's employ, Nanny leaves Blair's employ.
2. Nanny writes memoirs and approaches paper (or some other agent) with a view to publication (action will be construed as 'betrayal).
3. Paper publishes extracts in early edition.
4. PM's staff read newspaper, contact Mrs. Blair.
5. Mrs. Blair upset, moved to tears.
6. Mrs. Blair and staff initiate legal action.
7. Publication halted.
8. Mr. Blair explains the legal action by reference to determination to protect his family. / Newspaper defends its actions. / Nanny defends her actions.

This 'narrative' sequence is clearly not mapped onto the textual organisation of the *Sun* report, a point which is demonstrated in the following diagram (Figure 1, below). Here chronological sequence in actual time is represented by left-to-right position (horizontal) across the page, while textual sequence is represented by top-to-bottom (vertical) position. (The numbers refer to the ordering of events in the original chronological sequence.)

Here we see how the text zigzags back and forwards with respect to chronological sequence and, once again, that the text is organised around the three primary evaluative angles – it is organised to return, periodically and almost rhythmically, to the nanny's betrayal, Mrs.' Blair distress and Mr. Blair's determination to protect his family. (For an extended discussion of the historical emergence of this pattern of non-chronological informational organisation in news reporting, see Iedema 1997.)

Conclusion: News as narrative or gossip

If news is, as they say, the 'first draft of history', then just what sort of drafting does it provide? Well, the discussion has demonstrated, perhaps surprisingly, that journalistic discourse does not directly rely upon the traditional story or narrative to supply its framework for recording and interpreting the immediate past. The chronological orientation, the fundamental text to time-line iconicity of all traditional narrative sub-types is indicative of a concern with, or focus

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nanny's former employ	writes memoirs, seeks publication	extracts published	PM's staff alerted, Mrs. Blair informed	Mrs. Blair weeps	legal action initiated	publication halted	various responses including PM's explanation

X Cheri in tears

X Nanny betrays

X PM vows

X braced for legal action

X nanny's memoirs

X Cherie reduced to tears

X PM to do 'whatever it takes'

X Judge's ruling

X Mail stopped

X nanny broke contract

X Mail breached confidentiality

X Cherie deeply hurt

X Mail to fight ban

X PM's emotional statement

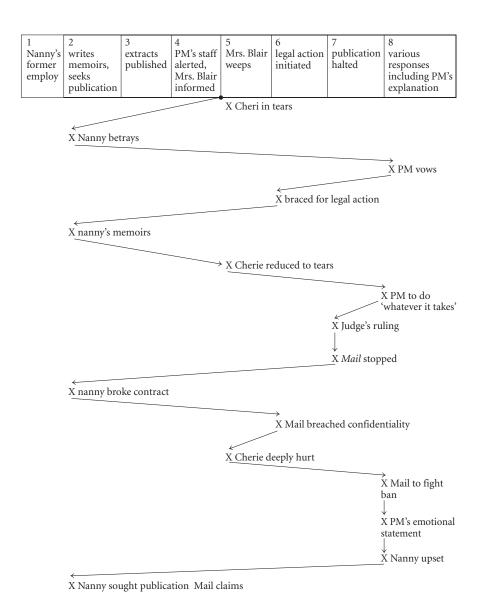X Nanny upset

X Nanny sought publication Mail claims

Figure 1. Disrupted time-line typically associated with orbital structure

upon, how processes unfold in real or fictional worlds and hence with the relationship of cause and effect. There is a clear focus, then, within narrative upon what Halliday terms the 'ideational', upon the representation of external-world entities and events and the logical relationships which hold between them.[14] (See for example, Halliday 1994.) We might, perhaps, have expected that news as history might be similarly ideationally oriented since history is seen, at least conventionally, as concerned with cause-and-effect and sequences of events in the 'real world'. Intriguingly, we find that news texts of the type analysed above, whether Issue Report, Event Story or some combination of the two, are much more interpersonally oriented, organised as they are, to foreground emotional responses and subjective assessments. As a consequence, when viewed from an ideational perspective, these types of news report can appear chaotic, jumbled, unmotivated or at least very loosely organised, and it is only when they are viewed from the interpersonal perspective that a clear structure and text developmental logic emerges.

So what then, in conclusion, is the communicative functionality or rhetorical potential of such an interpersonally oriented mode of first drafting the past? The connection I have demonstrated with gossip provides some suggestions. As Eggins and Slade indicate, gossiping is primarily concerned with sharing opinions and judgements and in so doing asserting appropriate behaviour and social norms (1997:276). To the extent that many news items are similarly dominated by evaluative concerns, journalistic discourse can be seen as similarly normative, it can be seen as more concerned with how we ought to behave than with what happened and why. Thus the ski-lift disaster report provides only the vaguest account of the tragic sequence of events while providing a very precise and extended account of the community's anger and condemnation of the US military pilots. Thus the *New York Times* Paddington rail disaster report attempts no account of causes and effects, concentrating instead on dramatising the violent impact, provoking a reaction horror and applauding the rescue efforts. Thus the Blair-nanny report is constructed so that an incident in the political domain is made to provide material for reinforcing a particular set of moral values relating to the conduct of family life. And if this is too extreme a position, since it is probably going too far to suggest these news reports have nothing of the narrative about them, then journalistic discourses of this type can be seen as at least as concerned with how we should behave as with what happened. News as history is thus revealed to be as much moral instruction as it is a recording of events.

Notes

1. For example, a mediasearch Web site column criticising *Time* magazine for alleged bias is titled, 'Time's slanted first draft of history' (www.mediaresearch.org/columns/news/col19971230.html). When interviewed by students of the UC Berkeley graduate school of journalism about the current state of journalism, noted British journalist (and former editor of the *Sunday Times*) Harold Evans declared, "When you report you are providing not only the first draft of history but the raw material" (www. journalism.berkeley.edu/events/evans.html). A collection of the work of the noted US journalist, Ted Poston, is entitled, 'A First Draft of History'.

2. I use the term 'rhetorical' in the broadest sense to include the *potential* of texts such as news items to influence, challenge or confirm readers' assumptions, beliefs, values, and views about the order of things.

3. Martin, for example, defines a genre as 'a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture' (Martin 1984:25).

4. It is typically described as having an 'inverted pyramid' structure – MacDougal (1982:98).

5. 'Issues Report' and 'Event Story' are formulated as fuzzy categories – while some reports may focus entirely on an event sequence and others may focus entirely on claims, arguments or findings, it is, of course, possible for an individual report to have features of both categories, to greater or lesser degrees. It is, in fact, quite rare for news reports to cover newsworthy activity sequence without including some commentary, explanation or evaluation of that event.

6. The large amount of media criticism of the safety record of the rail industry in the period leading up to the accident meant that inferences of further wrongdoing on the industry's part were highly likely to be drawn from the suggestion that the accident was 'alarmingly similar' to prior incidents.

7. Here we perhaps see subsequent blame stories in embryo. The concern with identifying any guilty parties finds some expression even at this early stage in the process of reporting the accident.

8. In print journalism at least, it is typical for the headline to be added at a later stage of composition by a sub-editor working with copy submitted by a different journalist (or journalists). Thus reports are typically first written without headlines. In the vast majority of cases, the headline contains essentially the same content as the first one or two sentences of the report. For a more detailed account of the relationship between headline and lead see Iedema et al. (1994) or White (1997).

9. For this view from the perspective of the journalistic training literature, see MacDougall (1982:98) and from the perspective of the academic literature see Van Dijk (1988:43) or Bell (1991:Ch. 8).

10. For one of the first detailed accounts of how different linguistic choice in different headline/leads can reflect different world-views and value positions, see Trew (1979).

11. Journalists' claims of objectivity rely in this respect upon what might be termed the 'presumption of evaluative innocence'. The journalistic claim is that the journalistic voice is itself in no way responsible or implicated in the evaluations it introduces into the text by way of quoted or otherwise attributed material.

12. For a more extended discussion of the principle of 'radical editability' see White (1997) and White (1998).

13. Thus Lloyd states, 'As we have seen, chronology is fundamental to narrative writing. It is not fundamental to news writing and particularly not to the hard news intro and news lead' (Lloyd 1994: 57).

14. This is not to suggest that narratives do not have clear interpersonal and evaluative concerns. (See, for example, Rothery & Stenglin 2000.) It is just that they give a special, foregrounded place to the ideational matter of activity sequence.

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Challenging media censoring

Writing between the lines in the face of stringent restrictions

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Introduction

There is a fairly persistent popular view that news reporting is in fact a form of historiography. Alternatively, news reports are often regarded as important sources of contemporary history. Our interest here is in a very specific kind of news report, namely the kind published in circumstances of strict media regulations and which intends to defy the censorship imposed by such regulations. Reading and re-reading the past in such news reports, we are obliged to moderate the popular views of news as history or as a source of history. The following two quotations will assist in this and will also assist in relating this topic to the wider theme of this collection.

> History is always an invention, a fairy tale built upon certain clues. The clues are not the problem (*such clues being what people remember, or written records such as a school register, a police report, files of a child welfare committee, or even a news report in any one of the various forms of contemporary mass media – CA*). These clues are pretty well established; most of them can literally be laid on the desktop for anyone to handle. But these, unfortunately, do not constitute history. History consists of the links between them and it is this that presents the problem: the only thing that any of us can use to fill the gaps between history's clues is themselves.
>
> (Høeg: *The History of Danish Dreams*, 1996: 144)

> The only way of gaining access to the truth is through representations of it, and all representations involve particular points of view, values and goals. …This does not entail a relativism which sees all representations as equal.

> ...representations can be compared in terms of their partiality, completeness and interestedness.   (Fairclough: *Media Discourse*, 1995: 46, 47)

When there is official control of the representations (or "clues") of current events, as is the case when strict censorship prevails, the ability of news reports to record history completely and accurately is even more limited. Censorship effectively taboos certain topics and restricts development through public debate of a variety of ideas and perspectives. News reports that challenge such official control, that defy regulatory measures, constitute an order of discourse which carries at least two kinds of information: first, such reports record forbidden material and, second, they record a process of propaganda and counter-propaganda. Either in various distinct reports or simultaneously in one report, the audience is confronted with classified information as well as with arguments against the practice of classifying information. A primary aim of those who publish in defiance of censure is to campaign for maintaining or restoring freedom of expression, and to secure the right of the public to be informed on more than just those matters and perspectives which are in the interest of the power holders.

There are of course a variety of linguistic, social and psychological mechanisms operative in the production and comprehension of such "resistance in the news". Our focus here is limited to the general functions of news reports and the way in which form is determined by function. A number of theoretical concepts which appear to be useful in explaining the relation between form, function and meaning are introduced. We would eventually like to indicate why it is that manifestly defiant reporting cannot be found subversive in a relatively objective judicial process.[1] This analysis is done within a critical linguistic framework, which it is standard practice to describe as interdisciplinary in that it draws on a variety of study areas that contribute insights into various aspects of public, institutional discourses.

Language as a medium in reporting news

There are two general features of language-in-use which I would like to refer to as a starting point for reflecting on what makes it possible for speakers/writers to defy censorship without their being formally found in breach of censorship regulations. These are:

–   Speakers often "mean more than they say", i.e. what is communicated is more than, and even something different to, the literal meaning of the

utterance, as is illustrated in 1 and 2 below. Inference, ambiguity and metaphor (for example) allow more meanings than one to be captured in a single utterance. Which of the meanings is intended is not necessarily indicated by the author, at least not in the linguistic signs that are given.

1. Our lawyers tell us we can say almost nothing critical about the emergency, but we'll try: (As an act of criticising emergency regulations that forbid exactly such criticism)
2. I didn't want anybody to know <u>or to have any light that Mr Makgale was here</u>. (As metaphoric alternative for ... <u>or to find any reason to suspect that Mr Makgale had been here.)</u>

– The structure of language is such that it allows for a variety of ways in which the same content can be communicated, as is illustrated in 3 to 5 below. Passive voice, fronting, topicalisation and nominalisation for example, allow for the same referential meaning to be communicated in various grammatical structures.

3. A talked to B or discussed with B about the possibility of success to recruit C as an informant.
4. The likelihood of C agreeing to become an informant was discussed between the two of them.
5. The possibility of success in recruiting C as an informant came up as a point of discussion.

Such general features of language in communication need to be kept in mind when considering texts which were used to challenge severe official censorship. This will be illustrated shortly in the discussion of news reports which were published in 1986 shortly after the State of Emergency and a number of additional media restrictions had been announced in SA.

Contextual information

The following is a very brief sketch of the social and historical context in which the texts under scrutiny were published during the late 1980s. These were the final years of the "struggle" for an inclusive democracy in the country. The NP government at the time came under increasing pressure to abandon not only the policy of Apartheid but also a variety of questionable practices developed to sustain the power and privileges of the minority regime. Such practices included various more and less aggressive forms of harassment of large sections

of the population, ranging from nuisance phone calls to physical torture, which in extreme cases had fatal consequences. Most of the people targeted for such harassment were citizens who were excluded from normal participation in political processes and who often found the police force and courts of law biased against them. The proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission since 1996 have disclosed the extent of these practices. By 1985 resistance to the government was so extensive that they found it necessary to declare a State of Emergency. Emergency regulations in general carry fairly severe media restrictions as part of the measures deemed necessary to stabilise the situation and to maintain the *status quo*. Nevertheless, on top of the measures already in place, additional proclamations were issued to limit the circulation of information about the nature and extent of popular opposition to the government, as well as information about severe measures taken by government to control and "crush" such opposition.

Interestingly, increased media restrictions did not silence public opposition to the government, nor did they succeed in completely stopping the flow of information. This does not mean that the measures were ineffective – in fact, some newspapers suffered confiscation of whole editions as they were brought into circulation; some were heavily fined and even threatened with forced closure; journalists were targeted and victimized . . . and, of course, an enormous amount of information (evidence of criminal acts in many cases) was kept from public scrutiny; of this information there is no record, or merely a sketchy one. So it was not easy to challenge the restrictions. And yet, the Emergency years saw a proliferation of publications circulating information on precisely those topics that had been proscribed. I would like to consider how reporters, often intuitively rather than deliberately, relied on various natural features of language and communication to publish prohibited matter.

Assuming a close link between language form and function, the next section considers a number of identified functions of news reports and determines how these relate to the functions of reports covering censored material. I shall then consider critical theoretical suggestions which may help to explain the communicative strategies and formal features of texts published to challenge and defeat censorship.

The functions of news reports

Particular functions of the news have been discussed in a comprehensive body of scholarly work. Of interest here are:

–   the functions of news reports generally;
–   the functions of censorship;
–   the functions of news reports published in defiance of censorship.

Halliday's (1978, 1985) model of communication is often invoked in critical linguistics to distinguish three meta-functions which discourses perform, often simultaneously. These are identified as (i) an *ideational* function (representing content/ideas), (ii) an *interpersonal* function (setting up a relationship between speaker and hearer), and (iii) a *textual* function (creating a text which is instrumental in achieving (i) and (ii) in a given context). Halliday eventually developed an elaborate and relatively sophisticated theory that provides tools for making explicit the ways in which systemic features of language are related to contextual features. Although Critical Discourse Analysis rarely uses all of the particular analytic devices developed within Systemics, the principles that Halliday introduced are recognised and put to good use. Such principles refer to the view that language use is a social action of which the object is to create meanings, and that specific forms developed the way they have in order to express meanings appropriately. In this paper I remain within the conventions of Critical Discourse Analysis, relating to the meta-functions that have been identified, but without going into finer theoretical details of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), such as elements of field, tenor and mode that define register, a particular notion of genre and generic features, etc.

The texts in question here are unique in that they were intended to represent forbidden content. Relating to the *ideational*, the regulations disallowed verbal and visual representation of certain "*ideas*". The Emergency Regulations dictated that no photograph or other visual representation of a detained person was to be published, and that a variety of contentious issues, such as defence force actions in African townships, were taboo topics. This meant that such content either had to be represented indirectly, as is illustrated by the report in Figure 3 (details below), or had to be expressed by alternative (often visual) communicative devices, as was done when blank spaces were framed to signify censorship of the picture, as is illustrated in Figure 4 (details below). Relating to the *interpersonal*, it is noteworthy that two different kinds of role relationships are constructed between speaker (writer) and hearers (readers) of such texts, in that two kinds of "hearers" are assumed, namely the censoring authority with whom there is a confrontational exchange, and the general readership with whom the exchange is co-optional. The text has to be sufficiently ambiguous to address the different audiences, to maintain different kinds of relationships, to challenge censorship and at the same time to communicate tabooed

material clearly, yet in such a way that it is cancellable. If accused of having published censored information, the newspaper needs to be able to deny that they said what they did! This puts significant constraints on the selection of *textual* features. For example, the text in Figure 3 mentions forbidden topics, but does not itself discuss them. It merely leaves the suggestion that the responsible cabinet ministers should be called upon to answer serious public questions related to these topics. And the text in Figure 4 has no picture of Mr. Sisulu, but it verbally introduces him more lucidly than a photograph could do.

The functions of news reports generally

Specific functions of the news that have, from various theoretical perspectives, been highlighted are those of informing the public and persuading the public, i.e. shaping public opinion. One perspective holds that news communicates ideas, values and beliefs rather than facts. News functions centrally in processes of social and cultural change. It is a kind of discourse that not only represents social issues but also constructs relations and identities. Another perspective focuses on the role of the news as interaction between various categories of participants, as "mediatized political discourse" (See Lutz & Wodak 1987; Van Leeuwen 1987; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995.) Media discourse that defies censorship aims specifically at informing the audience on officially prohibited data, at protesting against such institutional prohibition and at increasing the force of their protest by persuading the readers of the indecency and injustice of governmental intervention of this kind (cf. discussion of Figures 2–4 below). I shall consider which of these functions are active in texts that aim to avoid being censored.

Beyond scholarly views, community values and official perspectives of the functions of the media can be gauged. Here laws that make provision for public broadcasters can give insight into a popular understanding of the functions of the news. For example, the legislator may elaborate on the function of informing the public by specifying which matters it considers to be of public interest[2] and which are barred from public scrutiny. Legislation of such a kind is overruled by Emergency Law that may (and in this case actually did) remove otherwise acceptable reporting practices from the public domain. The State of Emergency thus compromised otherwise widely accepted functions of the media.

The functions of censorship

In discussing recent censorship in Poland, Jaworsky and Galasinski (1997: 342) describe censorship as a form of media manipulation which has the function "to regulate the flow of information to the satisfaction of the socially and politically dominant group with the aim of maintaining the *status quo*". They refer specifically to intervention that functions to silence, i.e. to cover up, information that will in some way embarrass the dominant group, or raise public awareness of alternatives to the structures imposed by such a group. Where intervention through censorship is not able to silence, it can be used to manipulate representation in a way that will mystify embarrassing material and unambiguously explicate the content or views that the authorities prefer.

The group instituting media regulations would justify their intervention by specifying the function of censorship as being purely in the interest of state security, and thus in effect also to the benefit of each individual in the community. Censorship allegedly protects society from "untruthful", potentially harmful representations of circumstances and events; it also protects from inciting representations which could cause undue panic. So the censorship authority takes on the role of "big brother" who pretends to know best what serves the common good. Such a function of censorship perceives society largely as a collection of immature people incapable of forming valid opinions on their own. Censorship precludes the possibility of emancipation. Critical involvement of the community in public affairs is actively opposed and any opposition is deprived of a public voice.

Where censors attempt to present themselves as being part of a rational and accountable institution, they may offer justifications for their imposition of regulatory measures. However, such public justification may merely be a disguise for less noble motives. Censors are often protected by a ruling that removes any obligation to provide reasons for their decision to silence or to distort particular bits of information. So, for example, in SA in 1985 a Bureau of Information was instituted to screen all "unrest-related" material. Newspapers supportive of the government at the time acknowledged and even publicly regretted that they could not publish as freely as they might have wanted to. Yet they agreed that the "onslaught" on the country was so severe that the authorities simply had to be trusted: the prevailing view was that "They will have their reasons". In fact, *Die Kerkbode*, official publication of the Dutch Reformed Church, commented on the media restrictions under the headline "Verantwoordelike kerkpers nie geraak deur media-beheer" (*Responsible church press not affected by media control*).[3]

Reports 1986 censored

The Star has been refused permission to publish reports relating to the situation in the country. The reports were:

● Cape Town

● Elsie's River

● Kempton Park

The reports were received by *The Star* in the usual manner.

Despite requests, none of these reports were released for publication at this morning's briefing by the Bureau for Information although they relate to weekend events.

The Star feels obliged to indicate that the reports are not of such a nature as to cause public alarm. They are however of genuine public interest.

Because of today's even more rigorous clampdown on news reporting, readers should be aware that this issue of *The Star* has in effect been censored and does not reflect adequately the situation in South Africa.

Figure 1. *The Star*, 16 June 1986, p. 1

When censorship is imposed, a set of punitive measures in case of violation of the regulations is normally introduced as well. Therefore, any act of defiance of formal media regulations invites retribution of some kind. Legal action, or other forms of harassment that will obstruct access to information or the free circulation of such information, could follow (and in the 1980s in SA often did). Challenges to media regulations then function as an indication of publishers' strong opposition to state control. The challenge arises from a conviction that what is officially intended or allowed is less than and different to what the publishers would select and the audience has a right to know. It is this conviction that prompts news reporters to explore forms of communication that will defy censorship and yet avoid retribution.

Censorship thus appears to have different functions, depending on whether one takes the perspective of the censor or the censored. From the perspective of the censor it has the function of regulating the media for the good of society; from the perspective of the censored it has the function of regulating or perhaps manipulating in order to subvert, to disguise or to conceal.

Figure 1 shows a report that illustrates the various positions. *The Star*, a daily newspaper with significant circulation, chose this route to signal that it neither accepted nor would condone the regulatory measures. The report gives vague clues as to what specific information was available but withheld. This in a sense already gives some of the restricted information to the general readership. Simultaneously, the report addresses specifically the censoring institution, and protests the official process which controls the free flow of information. This testifies to the fact that censored texts are structured in a way that will maintain two distinct interpersonal relationships. An attitude of col-

laboration with readers is presupposed in signifying that censored information is being withheld, and an attitude of confrontation is presupposed in signifying that the reporters are irked by the control over what they may publish.

The functions of news reports which defy censorship

News reports published in defiance of censorship are of course still news reports. Therefore the general functions of informing and persuading the public, of addressing public figures and institutions, and so on, would remain. The kind and amount of information contained in censored reports would, however, be determined not by the regular criteria of newsworthiness (cf. Galtung & Ruge 1973 in Fowler 1991:13ff.), but by criteria devised and dictated by the censors.

Besides attempting to circulate more information than is legally permitted, news reports which challenge censorship also function to inform the public on the *kind* of information that is "classified" and on the regulations and processes that deny them access to such information (cf. Figure 3). Informing the public that media restrictions are in force, and on how these restrictions affect the representation of a particular situation, contributes towards defeating the aims of censorship (cf. Figure 2). Informing readers that censorhip is in fact operative and reporting on how it functions is to be distinguished from publishing sensitive, classified information. Ideationally, these are two distinct fields. Reporting on the stipulations and effects of censorship constitutes an act of protest. It is a form of defiance which may be seen as mischievous, but not necessarily in breach of the law.

Reports defying restrictions are discourses that operate on two levels: on the one hand, there is a discourse in which the participants are the publication (e.g. the newspaper or periodical) and the general readership that, relatively naively, requires to be duly informed; on the other hand, there is a discourse, simultaneously enacted, in which the participants are the publication and the censoring authority that assumes a gatekeeper role. Two discourses are cast in the same mould: one form with a variety of functions.

News reports published in defiance of censorship have a specific function that goes beyond informing their audience on limited public issues; they also provide information on how censorship infringes on the right to free expression, the right to unthreatened exchange of views, and the right to be sufficiently informed. Additionally, such reports function as public protest against the violation of acknowledged human rights, and as an encouragement to in-

tensify protest against the invasive system. Here recent work in SFG that high-lights generic features of recount, report and abridgement (inter alia),[4] could be helpful. A counter-discourse contesting censorship cannot publish a full recount due to the censuring regulations. Then reports with visual traces of removed verbiage and pictures (cf. Figures 2 and 4) serve as abridged versions of the original. Such multi-modal representations have the function of foregrounding the mystifying effect of censorship as well as the writer's protest.

The form of news reports which defy censorship

Reference has been made above to general linguistic and textual features on which reporters will rely in challenging censorship. This section will take a closer look at particular texts published in defiance of media regulations in order to illustrate and elaborate more specific formal and contextual features that characterize them as counter-discourses in circumstances where censorship is imposed. Our interest is in how the functions of news reports are fulfilled when censorship disallows the forms conventionally associated with this particular genre.

Linguistic theory in analysis of news reports

There are a number of interesting pragmatic theories which assist in explaining how an utterance can be used to mean more than is literally or explicitly stated, such as Austin and Searle's speech act theory and Grice's notion of conversational implicature. These theories can help to explain how the texts given in numbers 6 and 7 below (see also Figures 2 and 3) can be used to mean 8 and 9 respectively.

6. Our lawyers tell us we can say almost nothing critical about the Emergency
    But we'll try:
7. Should you intend discussing any of the following topics:
    * Security force action
    * Boycotts … etc.
    Simply phone these numbers to ask for permission:
8. It is illegal to criticize the State of Emergency and yet we have criticism that we shall express.
9. It is absurd that recent legislation makes informed discussion of security force action (among other things) an offence.

Conversation analysis, discourse analysis and text analysis offer other approaches that have contributed to our understanding of what happens in the production and interpretation of discourses that rely heavily on implicatures. A particular achievement of these approaches has been their recognition of the ways in which coherence is established in communicative units larger than sentences or utterances (cf. Schenkein 1978; Cook 1992 etc.). Theoretical tools and concepts provided by these approaches are accepted for analysis within a critical linguistic framework. The analysis given below does not elaborate these.

To compensate for the limitations of pragmatic theories in explaining historical and contextual aspects of texts such as those at issue here, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has developed various methodological tools (cf., among others, Fowler 1992; Fairclough 1995; Wodak 1996) that assist in considering what exactly happens when censored material is reported in such a way as to avoid legal accountability.

There is yet another critical theory which I shall discuss here in slightly more detail because it is not commonly invoked in CDA. It presents a perspective on the location of meaning that I believe may be useful in explaining the ability of counter-discourses to defy censorship. The theory, originally developed as a critical *literary* theory by German scholars such as Jauss and Iser, has been termed *Reception Theory*.[5] The leading exponent of similar reader-response criticism in America is Stanley Fish. These scholars argue that meaning is located not primarily in the formal features of a text, nor in the intentions of the author, but rather in the reader's response. Fish (1980:525ff.) finds that both authorial intention and formal features are determined by the interpretive assumptions and procedures the reader brings to the text. He maintains that much of the disagreement on the actual meaning of a given piece is based in an agreement that a number of readings are possible. Then readers are actually invited to recognise more than one meaning, and they have the responsibility of deciding on one particular meaning or of accepting that numerous, even contradictory, meanings can be present simultaneously. The meaning that is communicated in such circumstances rests not with the author, nor in the text itself, but with the reader. Traditional procedures of textual analysis, he finds, ignore or underestimate the reader's activities in the process of creating meaning.

Reader activities are identified as interpretive actions described in various terms, such as "making and revising of assumptions", "rendering and regretting of judgements", "coming to and abandoning of conclusions", "giving and withdrawing of approval, specifying of causes, asking of questions, supplying of answers, solving of puzzles".[6] Such interpretive actions are regarded as constitutive of meaning rather than simply "waiting for meaning". Iser specifically

typifies reading as a creative process that is more than mere perception of what is written. In this process "we look forward, we look back, we decide, we change our decisions, we form expectations, we are shocked by their non-fulfilment, we question, we muse, we accept, we reject" (1974: 288). This is a dynamic process in which anticipation and retrospection are interwoven, so that the meaning of a given discourse can never be completely stable. Different readers at different times and in different circumstances will assign different meanings and different functions to a given text.

Iser (1974: 275, 276; 1978: 168) puts forward the idea that every text has a written and an unwritten component. The unwritten part contains "elements of indeterminacy", i.e. gaps which give readers the opportunity to use their imagination. Meaning, then, arises from the meeting between the written text and the individual mind of the reader with his or her own particular history of experience, consciousness and outlook.

These perceptions on how meaning is allotted to texts can assist in explaining how "resistance in the news" can succeed, or how meaning is assigned to censorship-defying texts. If the final responsibility for fixing an interpretation shifts from the author and the text itself to the reader, then the author cannot be held accountable for all possible interpretations. In the case of censored material, where at least some of the meaning is presented not in the formal part of the text but, as it were, between the lines, the author does not merely *assume* reader strategies that will assist in interpretation; s/he actually *relies* on the ability of the reader to fill in the gaps, to create or re-create meaning which has its source outside of formal language. Consideration of reader strategies will determine the form in which the author moulds a news report that is to function in a more informative way than is officially permitted and in active protest against censorship.

The following section will disclose particular textual features and refer to meaning-producing and interpretative strategies that account for the ability of news reports to carry restricted information without fear of litigation. The value of the abovementioned theoretical constructs will become clear in analyses of cogent features of sample texts of this kind of indirect communication.

Relating form to function in specific censorship-defying texts

Visibly crossing out potentially offensive words and phrases (see Figure 2)

This text was published on the front page of the *Weekly Mail* (WM) in a position where the main news item of the week is customarily given. Although it displays some generic features of news reports (e.g. relaying a statement that

FRONT PAGE COMMENT

Our lawyers tell us we can say almost nothing critical about the Emergency

But we'll try:

PIK BOTHA, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, told US television audiences this week that the South African press remained free.

We hope that ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, was listening.

They considered our publication subversive.
● If it is subversive to speak out against ▮▮▮▮▮, we plead guilty.
● If it is subversive to express concern about ▮▮▮▮▮▮, we plead guilty.
● If it is subversive to believe that there are better routes to peace than the ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, we plead guilty.

● To PAGE 2

RESTRICTED Reports on these pages have been censored to comply with Emergency regulations

Figure 2. *Weekly Mail*, 20–26 June 1986, p. 1

a prominent person (the Minister of Foreign Affairs) made to a foreign audience), it is overtly marked not as news, but as comment. The editors here drew on readers' knowledge of the specific context in which this text was published. The relevant contextual information at the time was that in the preceding week editions of WM had, in terms of Emergency Regulations, been officially confiscated at the point of its release for sale, so that effectively the newspaper was denied circulation. To avoid a repetition of such severe censorship, the newspaper could either comply by falling into submissive silence, or find more innovative ways to dodge the regulations than direct, open defiance. They chose to take the latter route.

This particular text communicates minimal new information on the political events of the week, but draws readers' attention to:

– Emergency legislation newly installed, that not only outlawed certain topics, but also forbade critical reference to a variety of state actions,
– WM's criticism of particular governmental decisions and actions,
– Government's response to WM's criticism,
– The representation of the position of the media by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to a foreign audience.

More space is taken up by the headline than the rest of the written text on this page. It is more elaborate, more informative and also more conversational than is generally found with headlines of front-page news reports. In addressing two distinct audiences, namely the wider readership as well as the censoring authority, the following is communicated:

– WM consulted its lawyers in the process of challenging the Emergency Regulations, and thus what was to follow had been screened by informed, reliable and authoritative others;
– WM did not find the State of Emergency acceptable and could, by making its own position clear, illustrate absence of consensus that the Emergency measures were necessary or justified;
– WM would pursue fulfilling the function of informing and commenting on particulars of the State of Emergency, even if this entailed a certain degree of risk.

The emergency regulations forbade criticism of state measures to control escalating public displays of discontent. By selecting an indirect form of expressing such criticism and discontent, WM ensured that there would be insufficient direct, concrete evidence to justify prosecution. This amounts to mock-

ing the censors and to co-optively entertaining other readers, even at the risk of annoying some.

In keeping with a widely followed generic practice of news reports, the introduction cites a prominent role player, namely the Minister of Foreign Affairs. His position on press freedom in SA is given. That this is intended ironically becomes manifest in the very next section, which has deleted references to matters outlawed by the media regulations. Names and ranks of officials, and designations of government actions that may have been suspect are struck out visibly rather than presenting an innocuous-looking text with no indication of the effects of censorship. The chosen form visibly signals how access to information is limited. The Foreign Minister was addressing not a South African, but an American audience, when he said that the SA press "remained free". This may be read as an implication that official messages to the outside world differed from those circulated internally, and thus that they do not reflect the true state of affairs. A direct statement to the effect that the Minister was lying or, at best, was conveying ambiguous messages, could have been construed as 'criticism', which in terms of the Emergency Regulations was disallowed. But in fact, there is no such statement. There is merely a stark visual indication of existing infringements in the form of deleted text.

Selection of the verb "*remained*" is significant. This implies that previously the press had been free, but that some new circumstance now created the impression that this is no longer the case. The Minister found himself in a position of having to deny that anything had changed. The reliability of the Minister's statement is called into doubt by WM's expression of hope that the official in charge of implementing the media regulations had heard what his superiors had said. Such an official's decision to withdraw a complete edition of WM the previous week was an extreme form of intervention and an indisputable infringement on the freedom of the press. The writer here draws on the conventional use of "*Did you hear*?" to mean "*Do as you are told!*"

The grounds for the confiscation of an entire edition appeared to be that the published material was 'subversive'. The legislation was not clear in its definition of what could be subversive. This gave WM the opportunity to defend its position: they were prepared to plead guilty to "speaking out", "expressing concern" and seeking more acceptable "routes to peace" than those suggested by government. If such actions were defined as subversive behaviour, then they conceded that the confiscation of the newspaper had been justified. Such a representation of the censorship of the newspaper is aimed at persuading the audience of the unfairness of the particular occasion of silencing it, as well as at protesting against the regulatory measures on the whole.

Direct reference to the restrictions; indirect reference to restricted material (see Figure 3)

Similarly to the text in Figure 2, this is a front-page article that does not meet the expectations of a full news report in a conventional style that is true to the genre. The headline carries the main message rather than merely indicating what it will be. It hypothesises that readers may have some interest in a discus-
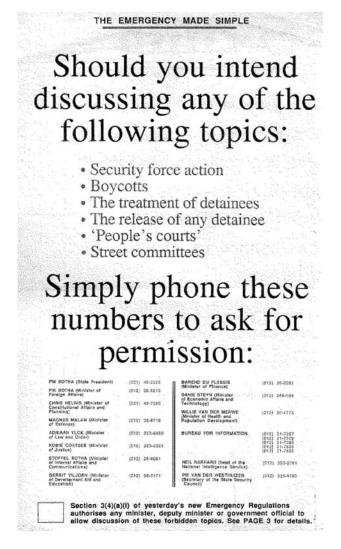

THE EMERGENCY MADE SIMPLE

Should you intend discussing any of the following topics:

- Security force action
- Boycotts
- The treatment of detainees
- The release of any detainee
- 'People's courts'
- Street committees

Simply phone these numbers to ask for permission:

PW BOTHA (State President)	(021) 45-2225	BAREND DU PLESSIS (Minister of Finance)	(012) 26-0261
PIK BOTHA (Minister of Foreign Affairs)	(012) 36-5812	DANIE STEYN (Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology)	(012) 266-688
CHRIS HEUNIS (Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Planning)	(021) 45-7295	WILLIE VAN DER MERWE (Minister of Health and Population Development)	(012) 26-4773
MAGNUS MALAN (Minister of Defence)	(012) 26-8718		
ADRIAAN VLOK (Minister of Law and Order)	(012) 323-6860	BUREAU FOR INFORMATION	(012) 21-7387
			(012) 21-7529
KOBIE COETSEE (Minister of Justice)	(012) 323-8551		(012) 21-7395
			(012) 21-7526
STOFFEL BOTHA (Minister of Internal Affairs and Communications)	(012) 26-8081	NEIL BARNARD (head of the National Intelligence Service)	(012) 323-0751
GERRIT VILJOEN (Minister of Development Aid and Education)	(012) 26-5171	PW VAN DER WESTHUIZEN (Secretary of the State Security Council)	(012) 325-4780

Section 3(4)(a)(i) of yesterday's new Emergency Regulations authorises any minister, deputy minister or government official to allow discussion of these forbidden topics. See PAGE 3 for details.

Figure 3. *Weekly Mail*, 12–18 December 1986, p. 1

sion of particular censored topics, and advises them on how to go about this in a manner that the emergency legislation allows.

New information contained within this "skeleton" text relates to the following:

– forbidden topics that are listed in the new legislation,
– the names and direct telephone numbers of senior cabinet ministers and of other prominent officials with special powers in terms of the Emergency Regulations,
– reference to the particular section of the latest Emergency Regulations that authorises the listed individuals and the government's Bureau of Information to allow discussion of the officially tabooed topics.

Section 3(4)(a)(i) of a new set of Emergency Regulations is cited to justify WM's action of encouraging readers to actively appeal for permission to discuss matters of public interest. In making provision for controlled discussion of forbidden topics, government acknowledges that those topics do have public significance. WM deliberately avoids any distinction between private and public discussion of matters. There is a tacit invitation to readers to make use of the opportunity offered in the provision of this section. In doing this the newspaper intended to make it easy for its readers to "flood" the offices of these officials with calls. Some of the existing barriers to people actually questioning regulations, such as the protocol that telephone numbers of senior government officials are not listed, and the nuisance of having to scrutinize the numbers of listed government departments, are removed.

Although information on the content of Emergency Regulations is presented in the form of friendly advice (note the use of the modal "should you intend...", and the insertion of "simply" in explaining what to do), the report indirectly does more than just give advice. It simultaneously comments on the absurdity of the regulations, protests against the regulations and encourages the public to join the protest.

If we accept the theses of Reception Theory that for every text there is a variety of readings, and that attempts to determine which of a number of readings is "correct" may fail because evidence in the text itself is inconclusive, it will be difficult to maintain that the potentially offensive reading is the only or the intended one. For a text which is determinedly evasive in what is directly given, it is impossible to extract a single final meaning. A text such as this one leaves readers to choose and manage the variety of readings by themselves. A speech act giving advice on how to obtain permission to discuss censored topics, can indirectly voice protest and encourage readers to protest as well.

Implied indirect meanings are re-constructed in the activity of reading; which of the meanings is the intended or the primary one, can be contested. Thus the discourse is able to be at once defiant and innocent without a formal indication that the author meant anything other than the innocent reading.

Verbal as opposed to visual images (see Figure 4)

The text shown in Figure 4 is an introduction to a comprehensive report published in the *Weekly Mail* shortly after the detention of Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of the *New Nation*. *New Nation* is a weekly newspaper with a predominantly black readership. Of interest here is this text's illustration of a particular form of protest, namely the practice of leaving blank spaces where censored material should have been. Media regulations forbade the publication of photographs of people in detention. A full-page report that explained who Sisulu is, where he was educated, what his contribution had been to protest, opposition, rais-

Figure 4. *Weekly Mail*, 4–10 July 1986, p. 14

ing awareness and bringing about change was published. This apparently fell within what the regulations did allow. Such a description could be taken as a *verbal image* with infinitely more information than the photo could give. In publishing these two texts that would otherwise have had the same content (*field*) but in different modes – one verbal and one visual – alongside each other, the rules of censorship are ridiculed. The strategy of inserting a blank space where the picture should have been, as part of and complementary to such a report, communicates the following:

– there are media restrictions and they do affect what readers have access to,
– the effects of the regulations are not as comprehensive as they intended to be,
– the regulations do not have the newspaper's support,
– readers are assumed to be and are in fact encouraged to be supportive of the protest.

In summary, a close reading of various news reports that were part of the discourses between media and censoring authorities and between media and their general readership, provides an insight into the variety of devices available in undermining censorship. The particular illustrations selected for this paper have revealed the following measures used for challenging restrictive measures:

– list the topics that may not be discussed;
– list references to specific stories for which permission to publish was refused;
– publish the potentially offensive story that carries the outline, but "black out" words, phrases or utterances that give more specific details, such as names of officials;
– rephrase statements into suggestions that carry potentially offensive propositions which, although given, remain cancellable;
– leave blank spaces that are clearly marked as areas that had been reserved for interesting but restricted material;
– give details of restrictive regulations and comment on the practical implications of such regulations;
– report on contradictions between government regulations and government's own representations;
– record opposition to regulatory measures, even if indirectly and in jest;
– assume that readers have an interest in, even a commitment to a free press;
– refer to readers' ability to arrive at mature judgements without government intervention;

  – encourage readers to go beyond passive protest by indicating ways in which
    protest can be voiced with minimum threat to the protester.

Finally, if one considers the texts we have been dealing with, there is one more
factor which I think is sufficiently cogent to warrant further reflection. Bakhtin
(1989: 301ff.) refers to "laughter" as an organising principle in texts. It is used
to overcome fear, oppression and guilt related to consecrated and forbidden
matters and it can "boldly unveil the truth". It seems that language provides
us with a variety of methods for ridiculing things. Such "laughter" can be pro-
ductive as a corrective and in criticism – its irreverence parodies and so disarms
and discredits. Parody presented in the garb of serious talk is ambiguous and
thus too slippery for a single intended meaning to be fixed to it.

   As soon as we laugh at the suggestion that an ordinary reader should phone
the Minister for permission to discuss, say, a trade union strike on the bus on
his way home – whether such a meaning is intended or not – the censors are to
some extent disarmed. It is difficult to claim malicious or harmful intent when
the reader-response testifies to playfulness. A truth spoken in jest is uttered
between the lines, and what is said between the lines (or beneath the black
lines, if you like) belongs to the unwritten part of the text. It is a very real part
of any discourse, but it is a part that censors cannot easily lay their hands on.

   In conclusion, it seems that stringent media regulations may excite the cre-
ative properties of language. By drawing on readers' ability to "read between the
lines" subversive texts can represent more than the regulations allow, can com-
ment on classified information, can protest against offensive control of pub-
lic discourse, can enlighten readers on the violation of their rights, and in so
doing emancipate and encourage them to resist. In attempting to control the
way history will be recorded, censors would do well to bear these properties of
language and of discourse in mind.

Notes

1. I am assuming that where restrictive measures exist there is also a reasonable expectation
of due process of law. With no recourse to some form of public legal process, the risks of chal-
lenging censorship are, of course, far greater – and the possibility of successfully challenging
such censorship would be much more limited.

2. Lutz and Wodak (1987) cite Austrian legislation that obliges national broadcasters to pro-
vide extensive information on all important political, economic, cultural and sport matters
by (i) objective selection and presentation of news items, (ii) representation of a variety of

opinions in the form of comment, views or critical perspectives with public significance, and (iii) giving their own comment and analyses on condition of objectivity.

3. *Die Kerkbode*, 17 December 1986, p. 1. See Anthonissen (2001) for a more detailed discussion of this publication's response to the State of Emergency.

4. Martin and Rose (2003) give a detailed explanation of ways of representing experience, illustrating linguistic and textual structures typically associated with various genres. Their approach introduces a rigid and systematic analysis of the way structures encode meanings, foregrounding certain matters and concealing others, co-opting readers, and so on. The texts this paper refers to have not been analysed with the tools SFG has developed; nevertheless, the theoretical notions introduced by SFG should be noted.

5. Reception Theory is associated with the work of scholars in literature theory at the University of Constance, Germany, notably Hans Robert Jauss and Wolfgang Iser. For a discussion of this and of related theories, see Holub (1984, 1993).

6. For a more detailed exposition of Reception Theory's understanding of "the constitution of meaning", see Iser (1974: 274–294 and 1978:152–159).

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Distant past
Making history

The discursive construction of individual memories

How Austrian "Wehrmacht" soldiers remember WWII*

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Introduction

In 1995 (5.3–14.4), the Hamburger Institute for Social Sciences opened the exhibition "*Vernichtungskrieg – Verbrechen der Wehrmacht*" ("War of Annihilation – Crimes of the German Wehrmacht") in Hamburg, Germany (Manoschek (Ed.) 1996; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung 1996; Heer & Naumann (Eds.) 1997). During the fall of the very same year, the exhibition was seen for the first time in Austria, first in Vienna, later in Innsbruck and other Austrian cities. It was meant to contribute to the "history of violence in the 20th century, situating the past within the realm of the multiple histories of German families" (ibid.: 13). Naturally, this history concerns not only German family histories but Austrian family histories as well (Naumann 1998; Rosenthal 1999; Benke & Wodak 2003).

Not too long before the exhibition was meant to open in New York in December 1999, a major dispute developed about a number of "wrong pictures", that is a small number of pictures (nine photos out of about 1400) that were shown with incorrect labels. This labelling error discredited the whole exhibition in the opinion of the public, and the Hamburg Institute decided to close the show, to have it evaluated by an expert committee, rework it, and then re-open it.[1]

Instigated by the effect which these nine pictures had on trivialising the whole impact of the exhibition, a major debate began about Nazi war crimes and the extermination of Jews, Gypsies etc. This made it possible to document

"the construction of history" and the conflicts about differing interpretations and narratives of the past (see Mitten 1992). The first narrative, "the systematic involvement of the Wehrmacht in war crimes", was confronted with another narrative: "only a few were guilty, most soldiers were innocent, had never seen anything, did not know anything and were forced to do their duty. They were no better and no worse than any other army". This conflict symbolises in a very accurate way the deep trauma of many Germans Austrians, even 55 years after the end of WWII: how was one to deal with the Holocaust, with the active role of many Germans in the extermination of Jews, and with guilt/shame? This issue is visible at many levels of society: in scholarly debate, as well as in family histories. The deep division between perpetrators, victims and all other possible intermediate categories is still very acute, almost as acute as described by T. W. Adorno in his famous study on focus groups in Germany after WWII (Adorno 1975).

Below, we analyse video interviews with former Austrian soldiers who were questioned while visiting the exhibition. The pictures and the whole setting stimulated certain memories; the questions by the interviewer, however, also led to legitimation and justification strategies which seem to be very typical for coping with the Nazi Past in Germany and Austria (see Wodak et al. 1990, 1994). Specifically, we focus on the discursive construction of such memories – the specific narratives presented and the whole semantic domain of "knowing" or "not knowing" what the crimes had been and who had committed them. In this attempt, we combine the discourse historical approach (see Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Wodak 2000a; Benke 2000) with Systemic Functional Linguistics to analyse the narratives in detail (see also Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999).

The construction of history

Even before the exhibition was discredited it was widely disputed, stimulating an intense emotional response. Obviously it touched a raw nerve in Austria and Germany, calling into question the myth of the "*saubere Wehrmacht*", that is, the myth that the Wehrmacht was not involved in war crimes. Instead it demonstrated that the German Wehrmacht worked in close co-operation with the SS and SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*), providing infrastructure, including support in terms of transportation, food and so on, for the work of the death squads, actively assisting in round-ups, and sometimes even participating in the killing of (Soviet) prisoners of war, Jews and other civilians. All this was sanctioned by legislation within the army, which was in flat contradiction to the Geneva War conventions (see Manoschek 1996).

In face of the overwhelming support of documents, pictures and so on, many visitors were forced to acknowledge the reality of the crimes of the Wehrmacht. Others resisted the impact of what they saw, and felt very threatened and accused. "You make us believe that we are all murderers" was a statement which was heard repeatedly.

While the exhibition was on show in Austria, an Austrian film maker, Ruth Beckerman, interviewed over a hundred visitors – many of them former soldiers. (She subsequently made the film "East of War" recontextualising these interviews through their collocation in the film: Beckerman 1998.) We had access to all of the interviews, although only a few were used in the film. The variety of memories and stories contradicts any attempt at dichotomisation into "Good" and "Bad" soldiers. In addition, Beckerman also interviewed victims as well as young visitors.

Before coming to the analysis itself, it is important to address several theoretical questions: How do war stories of former members of the Wehrmacht relate to Austrian collective memories, and to the Austrian national identity? What do they mean for the Austrian case, which is in crucial respects very different from the German situation?

For the German case, Zimmermann (1992) – *inter alia* – has diagnosed the following difficulties in integrating the NS past into a German collective memory. Collective memory usually serves as a means to create a self-identity, and even more than that, a positive self-identity. Yet the Holocaust defies the creation of a positive self-image. The strategies to circumvent this problem have been multiple, depending on the prevalent "*Zeitgeist*" (see Stern 1991; Heer 1999; Bergmann & Erb 1991; Botz & Sprengnagel (Eds.) 1994).

For Austria, the situation was different (see Mitten 2000). For most of the Second Republic – that is, until the end of the 1980s – official Austria conceived of itself as the first victim of Nazi Germany, thereby successfully avoiding dealing with the troublesome past altogether. At the same time, Austria developed a distinctive national identity (for the first time in its history) (see also Wodak et al. 1999).

An important part in the creation of this new identity in the political sphere was Austria's new status as a neutral state (see Kovács & Wodak 2003; Bischof, Pelinka & Wodak (Eds.) 2001). This did not happen immediately, but gradually during the 1970s. The enactment of neutrality in the form of active neutrality led to a positive self-identification and self-image as an independent, peaceful, non-aggressive state. And neutrality did even more. In focus group interviews conducted in 1997 about the meaning of neutrality, people remarked that neutrality also created a separation from the past – the new Austria was very differ-

ent, a neutral state, a morally superior state, unquestionably so. Being neutral, they could do away with the past; now they were "good", "blameless". "This would never happen again" is a general *topos* in such conversations.[2]

In brief, whereas we find many different phases of dealing with the Nazi past in Germany and of trying to come to terms with this time, for most of the Second Republic, Austria has hidden itself behind its image as the "first victim". In particular, by using the political concept of neutrality in the construction of its national identity, Austria conceived of itself as a peaceful, non-aggressive state. This neutral state, with a very small defence budget, thus managed to avoid dealing with the involvement of its citizens in the crimes of the German Wehrmacht, more or less until the present. Whereas the myth of being the first victim was officially denounced in speeches by the then Chancellor Franz Vranitzky before the Austrian Parliament and the Knesset in Israel in 1991 and 1992, the self-image of a small peaceful state still lives on; and probably runs counter to an image of Austrians involved in the aggressive and partly criminal German army. Moreover, since the Wehrmacht is the German army, it is all too easy to renounce any responsibility, and set oneself apart from the crimes committed under its supremacy, even more so as the newly formed government in 1945 actively sought to distance itself from Germany and the crimes of the NS regimes in its striving for a state treaty which would restore Austria's independence (see Knight 1988; Mitten 1999).

At the same time, the Austrian veterans' association maintains a very active memory of this past. This veterans' association was constituted before WWI and even today still recruits young men after their military service; this means that in fact 2/3 of its members are from generations who did not themselves experience WWII as soldiers. Their collective memory naturally portrays the war as a war of "honourable soldiers". The Freedom Party and its leader Jörg Haider have stated on many occasions that Wehrmacht soldiers and even SS members were honourable men ("*anständig*", see Wodak 2000b). And the Waldheim affair involved to a considerable extent the topos of "doing one's duty" (see Manoschek 1986).

Taken against this background, the interviews conducted at the exhibition articulate another voice, that of the individual memories, but situated in the historical context described above, which proscribes particular perspectives in order to maintain specific images of "the Austrians" in the collective memory. However, in these interviews we found not only the memories of those involved in the war, since younger people attending the exhibition were also interviewed. We also found the shocked later generations who, in part, do not want to believe what they see documented.

In analysing the interviews we are particularly indebted to Hannes Heer, one of the co-organisers of the exhibition, who also conducted interviews and analysed letters sent to the exhibitors in his recent book *Dead Zones* (Heer 1999). There he provides a first typology of responses to the exhibition, specifically to the claim that the Wehrmacht was systematically involved in war crimes. In our paper we are building on his typology, elaborating it and combining it with the strategies of justificatory discourses explicated in previous studies on anti-Semitic discourses in Austria (see Wodak et al. 1990; Mitten 1992). Since we used his system as a point of departure, we would like to point out one major difference between our respective contexts: his letters were in some sense voluntary and uninterrupted monologues, whereas our interviews comprise dialogues with a sometimes rather aggressively interviewing film maker. A good number of interviewees felt themselves accused when confronted with direct questions about the disappearance of Jews, for example. We may therefore expect a different predominance of various moves (i.e. more emphasis on justificatory and legitimising discourse, a stronger inclination to present oneself in a favourable light and to talk about oneself, rather than "what happened").

The setting also differs from the studies of anti-Semitic discourse in contemporary Austria mentioned above (for instance the study of the anti-Semitic public discourse during the Waldheim affair in 1986), in which people justify and legitimise themselves in public discourse without there being any overt accusation. In those cases, we find similar discursive strategies, yet the accusation is a projection or an internalised response to the whole topic of Austria's Nazi past.

Another feature in which the interviews were different from the letters analysed by Heer was the fact that the interviews were conducted in the exhibition itself. Thus, the exhibition serves as a constant reference point (a very prominent situative context), and interviewees are actually referring to it non-verbally, with all the encompassing hand gestures.

Before we turn to the presentation of the strategies used, we will situate the strategies in a larger discursive framework and present our methodology.

Methodology

Our study uses the discourse historical approach, which has been developed in numerous interdisciplinary studies on political and racist discourse and well as institutional discourse (see Wodak 2000a; Reisigl & Wodak 2001 for details).

In accordance with other approaches in Critical Discourse Analysis, the discourse-historical approach perceives both written and spoken language as a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak 1997). We understand "discourse" as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as "texts", that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres (see Girnth 1996).

The notion of "context" has been elaborated more recently (Wodak 2000a). Instead of viewing context as something static, descriptive and factual, we claim that "context" needs to be conceptualised theoretically.

The discourse-historical approach works in an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary manner. This means *in concreto* that neighbouring fields and their theories, methodologies and insights have to be considered to be able to analyse specific texts, such as the interviews with viewers of the exhibition. In our case, we relate to theories about World War II, the institution of the German *Wehrmacht*, and theories about Austria's dealing with the Nazi Past after 1945. Moreover, we have to include results from studies on family memories and the transformation of memories through the generations (both in victim and perpetrator families). The dealing with questions of guilt is a further important theoretical psychological aspect which comes into play in our analysis. Thus, we do not view "context" in the traditional way as was often the case in Linguistics (but see Duranti & Goodwin 1992; Cicourel 1992; Wodak 1996 for new
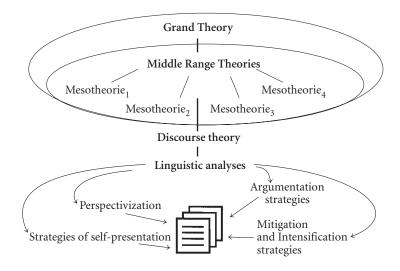

Figure 1. Levels of context

concepts of "context"), but as an integral part of our theory and analysis. It is clearly the case that the texts with which we are dealing cannot be adequately interpreted, understood or even explained if one does not approach this topic in such a complex, multidisciplinary way.

In the analysis presented below, the most important linguistic notion used is the notion of "linguistic strategy". In our analytic framework we see social ends, which are pursued consciously, unconsciously or embedded in a habitualised (linguistic) social practice, realised by these so-called (linguistic) *strategies*[3] (which may in turn also be consciously applied or not, see Bourdieu 1993). For example, we see a justification of one's activities during war (e.g. "doing ones duty") as a linguistic strategy that serves the purpose of upholding one's self-image and presenting oneself favourably to an audience. Strategies are in turn realised by particular *linguistic means*, for instance, by giving one's own group a particular name (and another to the "other" group"), using comparative adjectives, and so on. A very important means are "topoi", that is recurrent argumentation schemes, which are intended to make the audience draw a particular inference (often by using a logically faulty inferential process, see Reisigl & Wodak 2001).

In line with previous work on racism, anti-Semitism and the discursive construction of national identity (see Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999; Wodak & Matouschek 1993; Wodak et al. 1999; Wodak et al. 1990), we group the (linguistic) strategies in four clusters according to their dominant social function,[4] and distinguish four macro-strategies of discursive activity:

1. Constructive strategies
2. Strategies of perpetuation
3. Strategies of transformation
4. Destructive strategies

Constructive strategies are strategies that – as the name implies – are constructing something, e.g. discursively establishing groups ("us" and "them"), or an image of oneself, or an identity, and so on.

Strategies of perpetuation try to maintain and reproduce already established groups, images, or other discursive artefacts. Supporting that move, justifications are frequently used when the status quo is under dispute, and needs to be justified in order to be preserved.

Strategies of transformation, on the other hand, try to transform a status quo (or an aspect thereof) into something different. Finally, destructive strategies are used to demolish an established situation or image. They are often to

be found in the voice of the adversaries of, for example, a political position (i.e. in the discourse of the political opposition).

Depending on the attitude and affect of the interviewees at the exhibition, we can expect all four macro-strategies to appear in the whole corpus of interviews. People try to create a particular image of themselves and the past (constructive strategies), defend their image of the Wehrmacht and themselves before the interviewer (perpetuation), or create a new image of the past (either through a transformation or a complete abolition of the old image).

However, taking into consideration Austria's discursive history together with its history, we may expect[5] a predominance of strategies that serve the meta-function of perpetuation. In our subsequent analysis we thus concentrate predominantly on this strategy. The questions are: how do these strategies work? What are their linguistic features? And how do they accomplish the "absolution" of their speaker?

The strategies surveyed

According to models presented above, we would now like to review the most important strategies. Figure 1 depicts the array of discursive strategies gained from Heer, previous studies on anti-Semitic discourse in Austria (see Wodak et al. 1990; Reisigl & Wodak 2001), and our analysis of a subset of the interviews.

The main distinction we want to draw here is whether people orient themselves to the context, whether they acknowledge that they are in an exhibition of crimes of the German army and take a stance towards that (left side of Figure 2) – or not (right side of Figure 2).

A. The first three strategies negate the very context, at least at the explicit level; people do not position themselves with respect to their belief in the existence of war crimes.

Thus, we find...

(1) *refusals to deal with the issue at all* – although one wonders why people arguing for putting an end to the discussion about "the past" are visiting the exhibition. Not surprisingly, the interviewees were completely unaware of this paradox.

(2) *claiming ignorance* – refusal to take a stance. People using this strategy claim that they don't/didn't know anything about "what happened" – whatever that is (vagueness and anonymisation are very frequently to be

observed), and they can provide elaborate stories and arguments as to why people in their position were unable to know what was going on politically. Some are quite explicit that this does not imply that what is on show is not what was indeed going on. They simply cannot know, because they don't have first hand experience.

(3) *claiming victim-hood for oneself.* People following this strategy may offer elaborate stories of what terrible things happened to them during and after the war (as prisoners), thereby avoiding having to confront the issue of war crimes of the Wehrmacht.

B. The next strategy lifts the discussion to a more general level, where war crimes do not appear either. However, at an implicit level, it is presupposed that there is/was something which leads to a negative evaluation of National Socialism. *Using the strategy of scientific rationalisation*, some people launch extensive analyses of the NS state, which are meant to explain how National Socialism came to be in Austria, why people were in favour of the Nazis and so on.

C. In the strategy of "*positive-self presentation*", the interviewee tells stories which portray him as having done "good and valuable things". War crimes are acknowledged, yet the actor himself claims to have had no part in them (or does not mention his relation to war crimes at all), but to have acted responsibly and to be morally faultless.

  The following strategies acknowledge at some levels the claims of the exhibition, either by acceptance or refutation:

D. *Trying to understand.* Heer (1999) elaborates in a very detailed way how people who emotionally accept the war crimes as part of the Wehrmacht, respond to the exhibition with highly emotional and empathetic stories, in which they try to understand.

E. For the most part, however, people are trying not to confront the past, and use several *strategies to justify or deny the war crimes* (see also strategies in Heer 1999).

(1) *Relativising.* People using this strategy will start to enumerate crimes of other nations, or use clichés that relativise the past, as in a generalisation like "every war is horrible".

(2) Two strategies seek to provide a (pseudo-) rational causal explanation for the war crimes. The first one simply provides an *undisguised continuing use*
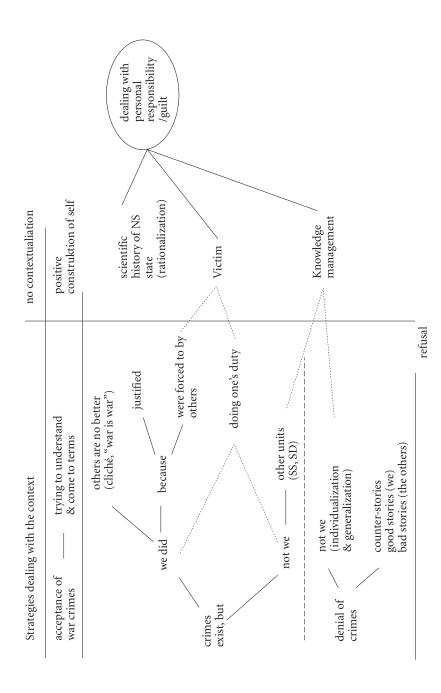
Figure 2. Strategies of remembering

of NS ideology, or NS propaganda, which was introduced at the time to ar-
gue in favour of the war. "If we hadn't fought them, the Russians would be
at the Atlantic today". Similarly, the second one already stems from the NS
period, but it at least implicitly acknowledges that the moral status is ques-
tionable: *"Others forced us."* ("If there hadn't been partisans, we wouldn't
have fought a partisan war". "*Wenn es keine Partisanen gegeben hätte, hätt's
auch keinen Partisanenkrieg gegeben.*")

(3) The next strategy acknowledges that crimes indeed happened, and that
the army may be held responsible, yet it attributes *the responsibility for
the action to someone else*, possibly within the army: "I only did my duty."
We locate this strategy between "we did" and "not we", as the intervie-
wee does not take a stance on whether "the army" was involved in crimes,
or whether other groups are to be held responsible. As with positive self-
construction, (some) victim stories and knowledge management, the in-
terviewee foregrounds himself as individual and backgrounds his associa-
tion with the army.

(4) *Not "we" but "them"*. This strategy acknowledges the crimes, but attributes
them to other units: the SS, the SD. The Wehrmacht itself was not involved,
or only one misguided unit or another.

(5) The last strategy is a *denial that war crimes happened*. In doing so, people
often refocus on their particular unit in which something like that (i.e.
what is shown in the exhibition) was unthinkable. Another way of denying
what happened often consisted of using exemplary stories of good things
one's own unit did (e.g. to Russians), or bad things the other group did
(and which would be misattributed to the Wehrmacht).

These discursive strategies are strategies of responding to the situation. People
might employ a number of strategies throughout an interview, but their dis-
course can usually be divided into parts, each of which serves primarily one
of these functions. Some strategies did not appear together in the analysed in-
terview in the discourse of one person, e.g. people completely denying the war
crimes would not try to relativise war crimes. This seems to be a logical neces-
sity, but as Billig et al. (1988) have pointed out, logic or logical consistency is
not necessarily prevalent in discourse.

In terms of the macro-strategies, most strategies are used as strategies of
perpetuation; that is, they are used to defend and uphold a particular discourse
about the past. Nevertheless, interviewees differ in what past it is they are striv-
ing to uphold. There is a whole continuum between the protection of a collec-
tive (generational) past – with the image of the "clean army" or even the use

of NS propaganda – and the protection of the individual past, which should only construct the interviewee himself as an unblemished person, but which allows for various degrees of dismantling of the German army. This might in turn allow for the gradual change of the collective image about the army.

Some of the strategies used also belong to the macro-strategy of construction [in particular: self-presentation – C], although in the context of its use it seems clear that this strategy is mostly used in order to avoid addressing the problematic aspects of the past. With Rosenthal (1999, see Ch. 5), we believe that a typical move of those people who believe themselves guilty or ashamed of something, is to provide long stories about specific events in order to avoid addressing some other issue, to shout down the silence about one's guilt. Thus, at a more abstract level, the macro-strategy of construction (by constructing something as "irrelevant") again serves the strategy of perpetuation.

Looking at the list of strategies from a linguist's point of view, one finds an interesting oscillation between the different uses of "we" (or we-groups) as demonstrated through the different oppositions, as well as a shift in agency.

    a. We (the Germans, active) – and them: the other nations viz. their armies (active)
    b. We (the Germans/the army, passive) – forced by the others – partisans (active)
    c. We, the army (active) – as opposed to the SS and SD (active)
    d. We, the particular unit (active)
    e. We/I, the simple soldiers (passive), doing our duty according to our orders from "them above" (active)
    f. I (passive), the victim
    g. I (passive), the ignorant
    h. I (active), the good person
    i. One should stop, i.e. 'I (passive) am forced to stop the discussion'

We wish to point out that this list is *not* the result of textual analysis, but of our theoretical reflection on the theoretical position and agency of the speaker as implied by the various strategies. Thus, this list immediately raises the question of whether the actual linguistic realisation conforms to this implicated position or whether there is a gap between the implied position and the self-positioning through discourse.

For further analysis, we selected five of the longer interviews with former soldiers which provided a range of strategies, divided the transcribed text into segments, each fulfilling one or more functions, and then looked at the construction of agents, as well as the associated processes in the texts. The process

analysis was performed according to the classification provided by systemic-functional linguistics, as described, for example, by Thompson (1996) and Van Leeuwen (1993). We hope that this will enhance our pre-analytic hermeneutic interpretation of the functional import of the segments with a partial grammatical description. The latter is meant to describe what linguistic means were used in the analysed interviews to realize the particular function. We hypothesise that the point of view which is taken is reflected in the use of the agency of self and of a limited set of other actors (who belong to the field of "war" and "army").

In this paper we limit ourselves to focusing on the macro-level strategies of victim-hood, claiming of ignorance and positive self-presentation. In referring to these strategies as macro-level strategies, we want to highlight the fact that these strategies are usually quite pervasive. They often appear at various places throughout one interview, constituting – in a visual metaphor – either a part of the background against which the content of the stories is drawn out (knowledge) or the integrating *gestalt*, which suffuses meaning into the stories ("being a victim", "being ignorant").

This property of these strategies also explains why they were quite frequent in the interviews we analysed (which was another reason for describing only these strategies). In contrast, the strategies that acknowledge the existence of crimes but refute the agency of the self or the army (that is the strategies in E) resemble more a family of micro-strategies, which often appear in conjunction with each other. In addition, these particular strategies have already been described in detail in other studies on Austrians' discourse about the past (see Wodak et al. 1990 etc.).

In the following, we will briefly present each interview according to the strategies used, before turning to the detailed linguistic description of the three strategies. The first interview we looked at oscillates between stories and arguments of victim-hood and stories and arguments of ignorance. Our second interviewee, who is interviewed twice, provides a number of positive self-constructions. The third interviewee displays three kinds of strategies: ignorance, then a story that we locate somewhere between acceptance and a rationalisation,[6] and thirdly, attributing crimes (killing of Jews) primarily to the SS and SD. The fourth interview partner also claims ignorance (he was only stationed in Russia so briefly that it was "virtually" impossible to experience/see anything of the war crimes), although his claims are filled with restricting particles ('*eigentlich*'), casting doubt on these claims. Finally, the fifth interviewee displays many of the refuting strategies: claiming victim-hood for soldiers in general, comparisons with other armies, telling the 'real history', denial, using

an exemplary story of how his unit had treated Jewish Serbs without doing them any harm.

The strategy of "claiming victim-hood"

The stories and arguments claiming victim-hood in our interviews are quite heterogeneous from a linguistic point of view. In the following, we will present three different types of victim stories that we found in the analysed interviews. The first victim-story claims victim-status for a group of prisoners (that is the group of the speaker), and clearly names the perpetrators.

Example
5: Ja, ich war vom 25. August '39 bis Sommer '46 Soldat. Zuerst Soldat. Bin am 9. März '45 in Gefangenschaft gegangen, am Niederrhein, und bin dann ein Monat bei den Kanadiern gewesen. Da wurden wir als Menschen behandelt, obwohl es lauter Juden waren. Und dann sind wir an die Franzosen verkauft worden, da wurden wir in Straflager oder Fremdenlegion getrieben. Wenn einer seinen Ehering nicht runterbekommen hat, wurde der Finger abgeschnitten, mit der Schere. Und die jungen Burschen, ja, die wurden gebückt und wurden von den Marokkanern sexuell vergewaltigt, das hat man erlebt.
M: Yes, I have been a soldier from the 25th of August 39 until the summer of 46. Initially a soldier. On the 9th of March '45 [I] was taken prisoner, near the Niederrhein, and then [I] spent a month with the Canadians. There we were treated as humans, although they were all Jews. And then we were sold to the French, and we were put in a punishment camp or the foreign legion. If one could not take off his wedding ring, his finger was cut off with scissors. And the young men, they were made to bend over, and they were sexually abused by the Moroccans, one has seen that.

In this testimony there are several passive processes in which the soldier and his fellow prisoners are affected by others (*was taken, were treated, were sold, were put, was cut, were made to bend over, were abused*). Here the agents (Jews, Canadian, Frenchmen, Moroccans) are recoverable from the discourse, although except for the Moroccans they are not foregrounded as explicit Agents in the passive processes just noted.

This pattern is different form the one in the second victim-story, in which the narrator displays himself as the victim in the form of an "I" narrative – although the story makes clear that he is also a member of a whole group of prisoners. In this story (see the following example), in which the victim suffers malnutrition, the individuals directly responsible for his condition are not

named (although he does state generally that it was the French who impris-
oned him). One gets the impression that the narrator is foregrounding the fact
that he was a victim, and that the actual perpetrators are of no consequence for
his story.

Example 1. Claiming victim-hood

Interviewee: Ich bin in ....xxx war es, ja..........Gefangenschaft war ich bei den
Franzosen.........Ich habe das Schweizer Rote Kreuz und hat gesagt
den Leuten: "wie geht's Ihnen?" — "Danke, gut." "Danke gut." — Da
habe ich aufgezeigt, sage ich: "Bitte schreiben Sie die Adresse meiner
Mutter und meiner Frau auf." Sagt er: "Warum?" Sage ich: "Wenn
Sie hinausgehen, und ich werde erschlagen, daß man weiß, wo ich
erschlagen wurde." Das hat er getan. Dann sage ich: "Bitte stellen Sie
die Leute auf eine Waage, da werden Sie mehr wissen, es traut sich
ja keiner was sagen." Ist er weg gewesen und nach einer Stunde oder
nach zwei ist er mit so einer Dezimalwaage wie beim Kohlehändler
gekommen. Er hat mich als einzigen auf die Waage gestellt: Ich habe
40 kg gehabt.

M: I was in . . . .xxx it was, yeah, imprisoned I was by the French. I have
xxxx the Swiss Red Cross, and xxx said to the people there: "How are
you?" "Thank you, very well", "Thank you, very well" – then I raised
my hand and I said: "Please make a note of the address of my mother
and my wife." He says: "Why?" I say: " So that when you leave, and
I am slain someone knows where I was slain." He did so. Then I say:
"Please put everyone here on a scale, then you will know more; in
here no one dares to say anything." He went away and after an hour
or two he came with a scale like the ones used by coal-sellers. I was
the only one he put on the scale: I was 40 kg.

Overall, we may note that this victim story is at the same time a story of the
"self", in which the narrator presents himself as (uniquely) courageous and
smart in a difficult situation. We may hypothesise that this is not an inciden-
tal occurrence: Rosenthal and others discuss the fact that Holocaust survivors
sometimes use the strategy of focusing on stories of courageous resistance to-
wards their oppressors when narrating their deeply humiliating experiences in
ghettos or concentration camps. We believe that it is generally too threatening
to an individual to recount a deeply humiliating experience to others, to admit
helplessness and the loss of agency. All this might be perceived as endangering
the image the audience may hold of oneself as a capable adult person.

Thus, we hypothesise that "I narratives" presenting the "I" as a victim, will generally also show the victim as a person who still retained some control over the situation. In contrast, stories in which the "I" disappears in a "we" do not need such additional face-preserving strategies.

The third victim-account, finally, is an argument at a fairly abstract level, that none of the soldiers who were "out there" started the war, but they were "forced to be there" "by historical events", i.e. through the course of history.

Example 2. Claiming victim-hood

Interviewee: Da haben wir keine Zeit gehabt dazu. Sie, ich war bei Kampfeinheiten und da haben wir keine Zeit gehabt dazu. Aber bitte: Wenn ein Zivilist auf uns geschossen hat, dann ist er umgelegt worden. Das ist selbstverständlich. Das ist ein Akt der Notwehr, die man hat. Und jetzt rede ich. Der Krieg ist doch eine Angelegenheit des Überlebens von jeder der beteiligten Einheiten. Keiner dieser Soldaten, der da draußen steht, hat den Krieg begonnen. Niemand. Aber sie wurden durch die geschichtlichen Ereignisse dazu gezwungen, daß sie sich dort hinstellen.

Interviewee: We did not have any time for that. Look, I was in a fighting unit and there we did not have any time for that. But well, if a civilian was shooting us, then we killed him. Of course. That is an issue of self-defence. And now I will tell you. In the end, war is a struggle for survival for each of the units involved. None of these soldiers who are fighting there started the war. No one. But they were forced by the historical events to be there.

In this presentation we find generalised quantifiers referring to the soldiers (none of these soldiers, no one, "they"), and soldiers being subject to an abstract entity (history).

The strategy of "knowledge maintenance"

The second strategy we want to discuss is "*knowledge maintenance*". Both interviewees who "saw" something, and interviewees who claim not to have seen something, or anything at all, extensively use mental processes of cognition (viz., knowing, doubting and so on) and perception (seeing, hearing), with "I" as the sensor to support their perspective. "We" (did not know, could not know) seldom appears, other agents do not appear (Due to space restrictions, we can not present all the original data in German).

Example 3.

Interviewer: As you can see here [in the exhibition] there are a lot of other things the Wehrmacht unfortunately had to do as well, otherwise the whole war of annihilation would not have been possible.

Interviewee: Well, I'm very doubtful, you know.

Interviewer: 17,000 Jewish Serbs, Jews were shot in Serbia alone, killed in different ways.

Interviewee: I don't know about that. In Serbia, for instance I didn't see any. Moreover, one can these people/ you should not forget, that we were young men of 18, 19 or 20 years. Do you think that we saw a difference between a descendent of Turks, a Jew, or a Dalmatian? I think, in that melting pot you can't discriminate between people.

Interviewer: But in Pinsk that was obvious?

Interviewee: Yes, that was. First thing that was known, we realised that these were actually people we could talk to. Especially one thing was telling: they all spoke German. And of course they were more intelligent than most of the others, who we found in other villages.

It seems to be a quite common sequence that the interviewee claims not to know (or to know) something and continues with a sensing process that supports this claim. (I know, because I saw; I don't know /I don't believe, I didn't see). Especially the second move, " I don't know because I didn't see (myself)", of course locates the whole process of knowing in the past – one can only know what one saw; the interviewee rejects the whole exhibition as an unacceptable authority, as it is not providing first-hand experience.

In the context of the interview this is, of course, also a powerful move directed against the interviewer, who is a woman of the next generation, and who would not be able to draw on any first-hand experience herself.

Linguistically claiming ignorance is also realised through processes describing where the narrator was at particular points in time, thus indirectly arguing that he was not in a particular place where crimes "happened", i.e. he could not see anything. While it is true that they could not see anything if they happened to be somewhere else, it is noticeable that the times when the interviewees were "somewhere else" (regions where the Germans did not conduct a war of annihilation) tended to be foregrounded even if the former soldier was in Russia, for example, at other times (see the following example).

Example 4.

Interviewer: Und haben Sie da Dinge gesehen, die man auf diesen Fotos hier…

Interviewee: Nein, eigentlich nicht. Wo ich eingesetzt war mit meiner Kompanie, kann ich eigentlich sowas nicht feststellen. Aber wie gesagt, ich bin dann ja rasch wieder von Rußland Gott sei Dank weggekommen und nach Afrika.

Interviewer: And did you see anything there, which was similar to what is shown on the photos here?

Interviewee: No, not really. Where I was stationed with my company, I cannot really identify anything like that. But as I said before, thank God I was quickly taken from Russia to go to Africa.

The strategy of positive self-construction

The third and final important strategy found in the analysed interviews is *positive self-construction*.

Example 5.

"I also had a second experience in this troop. At that point I was [military rank], and that very day I was on patrol duty and the officer gave me an order. The following thing happened: they had taken an escaped Russian POW, a young man of around 20, prisoner in the forest, he was still in uniform, and he gave me the order, I should go into the forest and finish the thing and return without the man. I then said to the officer: I am on patrol duty. According to the book I am not allowed to leave my position. He looked angry and said: This is finished. I don't know whether he gave an order to someone else, and what happened to the Russian POW, I don't know. Nothing happened to me at all."

In this account, the narrator sets himself off from "this troop" (as opposed to "my troop", "we", something used at some point by most interviewees), "the officer", "they" (the "troop") constructing himself as a singular hero, "I", who is the recipient of orders and negative emotions. The "I" counters, using clever processes expressing attributive relational processes (I am on patrol duty) and appealing to rules (I am not allowed to leave), effectively avoiding having to "do" anything.

The verbal exchange between the officer and the narrator leaves the story line of what happened to him open. The narrator realises that a closure is asked for, and admits that he does not know "the end". Yet ultimately he reveals that not only does he "not know", but even more, he is and was not really interested. The real point – and end of the story – is what happened to him.

The same interviewee also provides extensive narratives of his period as an officer dealing with Jews of the Vilna Ghetto, yet at no point does he show any compassion. His stories represent him as an honourable man who actively resisted being drawn into morally damnable actions. Yet the moment he is queried about the fate of the victim – what happened to the POW he refused to shoot, how the Jews who brought goods from the ghetto were living – he claims ignorance, he didn't know, didn't ask.

It is this element of his story that characterises it as strategic positive self-constructions. The stories end with events that are tied to himself. Other dramatic narrative elements that are tied to other persons (in particular victims of racial persecution) are left unresolved without any awareness of the lack of closure.

Strategic agency

At the end of this paper we would like to return to the list of actors ("I" and "we") and their agency presented above. Starting from this list, we had first expected to find a frequent use of "we" in the interviews, with "we" referring to a number of different referents. However, looking through the interviews, the use of "we" – although it does occur – is much less prevalent than expected. Although people differ in their use of "we", for four of the five interviews the use of "I" is at least as frequent as the use of "we". Only the last interviewee, who was a higher officer, uses "we" more frequently. "I" mostly turns up with mental processes, as well as locative relational processes; in other words, within the discourse of what one could know and see, but not in a discourse of what one "does". In contrast, "we" appears with behavioural processes ("slept" etc.), attributive relational processes ("we were an Austrian troop", "nothing happened to us"), as recipient of material processes and in locative relational processes (where "we" were). When "we" refers to smaller units (friends and so on), or Austrians before the Nazis, mental processes appear as well, but not when "we" refers to the army. Material processes are lacking here. In other words, neither "I" nor "we" are engaged in any activities with somebody or something. Actors in material processes – if they appear at all – are multiple and usually quite particular to a particular story, like the officer mentioned above. That is, there is not one consistent image of a perpetrator to be found in these interviews. We find a small number of perpetrators mentioned, but one has to actively search for each instance. The following example describing transports (foot-marches) of Russian POWs illustrates the lack of agency:

> The Russians naturally had injured soldiers with them, carrying them along, and some of them were in a terrible condition. If a Russian POW broke down, there was an execution squad in the back, which was made up of SS soldiers and also soldiers of the Wehrmacht, which had the order to shoot these POWs immediately.

In this story we are only informed of the spatial location of the execution squad; that they were actually killing the POWs is stated indirectly through mentioning an order and by the very name of the squad. The agency of the squad and the action of murder are not realised on the textual surface.

We believe that this distribution and the use of "I" and "we" (and their collocations) can be explained by the properties of the strategies being employed:

It seems that strategies with "I" as the narrator or dominant subject are, on average, more "macro-structural". Victim-stories/narratives are told about "me" (rather than "us"), "the good" "I did" is told, rather than "the good" "we did". Stories, "I"-narratives naturally extend over several T-units (Hunt 1965). In contrast, "we"-propositions – strategies that talk of "us" and "we" – are more likely to be micro-structural, explicating a topos in two or three T-units.

As sociolinguists, we do not believe that this distribution is a linguistic "accident". Instead we hypothesise that it is a reflection of the collective discourse on the past: over the past 50 years, successful (i.e. socially accepted) argumentation schemes or topoi were established to talk about Austrians' involvement in WWII (as soldiers and as civilians). Thus, "stories" of "we" could be distilled into short key phrases and arguments. In contrast, "I" narratives lack this automatic socio-cultural linguistic backing. Although they can also be typed (see, for example, Wodak et al. 1990 for recurrent stories), they need to be adaptable to fit the character of the narrator. There is more work to be done, to persuade the audience of the goodness of "oneself" rather than "us" (which the audience might be quite happy to believe in).

In conclusion, we see that the (analysed) interviews partly continue the previous discourses about the past, predominantly drawing on a general vocabulary of dealing with or rejecting personal guilt and responsibility. However, they do so by changing the emphasis on different elements of this discourse. The main topos of the "Waldheim discourse" – "I only did my duty", with its specific reference to the military service – is only marginal in our corpus: "I didn't see anything" is much more prominent.

This statement is also much more adaptable and transformable: "I didn't see anything – and thus I don't believe, but it might have happened, I know it happened nevertheless"... are all possible continuations. This kind of dis-

course happens at a higher, epistemological level, which also manages to avoid pinning down perpetrators and their victims. At the same time, it avoids any explicit statement of the moral "rightfulness" of the service. Dealing with the past becomes distanced, yet is remains terribly close.

Notes

*   This paper was produced within the interdisciplinary project "The discursive construction of history" (Principal Investigators Ruth Wodak, Walter Manoschek, Theo van Leeuwen) which was situated at the Research Centre "Discourse, Politics, Identity" at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. See www.oeaw.ac.at/wittgenstein for details of the project and the research team. This paper itself is based on a presentation by the first author at the Eighth Interdisciplinary German Studies Conference "The German Soldier", March 11/12 2000, at UC Berkeley. The research centre is now situated at the University of Vienna.

1. The specific debate about the exhibition allows the observation and study of the construction of conflicting images of the past (the overall theme of the project), specifically in this case of the role of the German Wehrmacht and the Nazi past in Germany and Austria. The heat of the debates in the fall 1999 in the German media and academia as well as the general public demonstrates that this is still a very sensitive issue and that questions of responsibility and guilt have not yet been resolved.

2. In the very same focus groups, it was also apparent that neutrality was seen as antagonistic to the concept of war: a neutral state could not be involved in any war. In this argumentation, we observe a latent awareness of the active role of Austria or Austrians in WWII, for at least some of our participants. The meaning of neutrality for some participants was clearly that Austria itself would not be willing to participate in aggressive military action – and we may add: as it had done. (This addition is supported by many latent references to Austria's and Austrians' participation in WWII.)

3. The definitions of strategies, topoi and argumentation patterns is elaborated in Reisigl and Wodak (2001) and Wodak (2000a). In our definitions, we build on Kintsch and Van Dijk (1983) as well as on Bourdieu (1993). Due to space restrictions we cannot provide our entire model of discourse, genre, text, strategy and context in this paper and have to refer readers to the publications mentioned above.

4. Depending on the context, individual strategies might be used to realise different macro-strategies at different times. For instance, the construction of a we-them group is an important device for the "constructive strategies". However, once a "we" and "them" is established, this differentiation can be exploited in a discourse of perpetuation, in which the status quo of discrimination is upheld by reference to group differences.

5. This expectation is further supported by our reading of the hundreds of pages of transcribed interviews. Although we have neither analysed all the interviews systemically nor counted the various occurrences, we found comparatively few examples of people who had been soldiers and were not defending or justifying themselves or perpetuating the traditional image of the Wehrmacht.

6. In this story, he narrates how he experienced the voluntary performance of an execution by a fellow soldier, and tells how much he was troubled by the thought that he might be ordered to participate in one someday, asking himself how he would react. While this interviewee is very clear in his moral stance, he is nevertheless inconsistent in his account of what he saw the Wehrmacht do, and his later attribution of crimes to the SD and SS. In addition, he uses modifying particles when taking about whether he saw particular crimes ("not really").

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The languages of the past

On the re-construction of a collective history through individual stories

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Introduction

Dealing with the national-socialist past is still one of the main issues in the European public and, as a matter of fact, among the pre-eminent motives for the foundation of the European Union was the goal to prevent similar atrocities in the future. Germany and Austria play a special role and are observed with special attention by the former victims of the national-socialist aggression. This explains why the fact that a rightist and populist party like the FPÖ (Freedom Party), whose attitude towards the Nazi-era continues to be unclear (Czernin (Ed.) 2000), became part of an Austrian government – to put it mildly – prompted consternation and, in the aftermath, a stern reaction on part of the European Union. In the history of Austria itself, the Nazi-era from 1938–1945 and the way it has been dealt with in public and semi-public contexts in the time after 1945 continues to be a problematic issue. This might partly explain why the European feelings of apprehension were met with a lack of understanding by a large part of the Austrian population.

Ever since the so-called Waldheim affair (Wodak et al. 1990; Menz 1991; Mitten 1992) and especially in connection with the so-called "*Gedenkjahr*" 1988 (Year of commemoration), which was the 50th anniversary of the "*Anschluss*" of Austria to Nazi-Germany, it has been noticeable that the traditional taboos, denials and rejections are being replaced by an intensified dialogue with the past, at least on special public occasions. But up to the present contradicting historical views have been characterising the public discussion in Austria, including a newly arisen debate on commemoration vs. oblivion/amnesia which

has been re-initiated by Burger (2001)[1] and which triggered numerous reactions and statements in both public newspapers and scientific journals. The relevance of the controversy about Austria's recent (national-socialist) past becomes visible in this debates. They are carried on from two radically different positions towards the history of the country. These two "narratives" can be summarised as follows:

– On the one side there are those who, continuing the traditions of the Second Austrian Republic, see Austria entirely as the victim of Nazi expansionist policy, regarding the matter as completed and in no need of further discussion. This traditional view (cf. Wodak et al. 1994:Ch. 6) is characterised by the following attitudes: the authoritarian regime of Schuschnigg and Dollfuß is a direct ancestor of the present democratic state; the corporative state is the first resistance fighter against the Nazis (cf. the section on the notion of Austro-fascism below); the role and function of the *Wehrmacht* is strictly separated from the crimes of Hitler's regime, thereby placing the focus on Hitler as an individual; Austria as a nation did not exist after the annexation (falsely implying that Austrians could not have been involved in war crimes); Austria was the first victim of Hitler's aggressive expansion politics; soldiers in the German *Wehrmacht* have only "done their duties" (see Benke & Wodak in this volume) or have been exhorted to participate. This view is also characterised by a lack of reflection and sensibility *vis à vis* a particularly sensitive chapter in the history of Austria (and Germany) leading to a type of discourse which attempts to reckon Hitler's crimes against those of Stalin.[2] Sometimes this position is referred to as conservative (Pelinka 1985).

– The other side has called this attitude the "life-lie of the Second Republic", pointing out that there was a disproportionate share of Austrians among leading Nazi figures (although, of course, Austria as a state did not exist) and pointing out further that there had not been sufficient public reflection on the facts of bandwaggon-jumping and denial: Austria was not only Hitler's first victim, but many Austrians were faithful followers of his ideology and members of NS organisations. Furthermore, the issue of restitution of former Jewish property, the issues of forced labour etc. would still be open questions which would have to be publicly discussed and investigated.

Although somewhat simplifying[3] for ease of presentation I refer to these views here as "historical view I" and "historical view II" respectively. Both historical views are present in public discourse but it cannot be said that there is a consensus in Austrian society about the necessity of further debate in the interest

of clarifying the different positions. Using the example of a TV discussion I show in this article the mechanisms which undercut differentiation, create imbalance and continue the attempt to weld different (hi)stories into a unified *history* of the country.

Theoretical framework

The starting point of this article is the hypothesis formulated in Mitten (1987) and Wodak et al. (1994), that there is not *one* past but many different pasts which are re-constructed by experts and non-specialists according to their interests and values. These various interpretations are expressed in the discourses about the past by way of different argumentations and discursive strategies thus retrospectively bestowing meaning on individual stories (Weick 1995). The more powerful and influential these individuals are, the greater the chance that their personal discourse will become the *relevant* discourse about the past. In the context of public discourse, TV discussions like the one examined here have to be considered as semi-public in nature (and Wodak et al. 1994), and therefore somewhat restricted in their impact. However, the programme (*Club 2*) examined in this article has a high symbolic value which justifies its analysis: it was broadcast on the eve of the anniversary of the Nazi invasion in March 1938 by the ORF, Austria's national broadcasting corporation, and included participants with a high public profile. Given the legal obligation to be objective and in no way biased, one of the interesting questions is which position the ORF (in the person of the moderator of the TV discussion) would take regarding the two controversial historical views concerning Austria's past in the Nazi era. As a powerful media organisation it can be assumed that its standpoint would add to the construction of the "relevant" view on Austria's history.

Regarding the notion of discourse I quote the definition given by Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258)

> CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of "social practice". Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social event(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions, and social structures, but it also shapes them. To put the same point in a different way, discourse is socially *constitutive* as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that

> it helps to sustain and to reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that
> it contributes to transforming it. (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258)

Power and ideological influence play a decisive role in this (Wodak (Ed.) 1989; Menz 1989, 2000; Fairclough 1992). It has been indicated above that for the successful positioning of discourses as relevant two factors are decisive: the position of power the discourse is being conducted from and the way in which the available influence is ideologically operationalised in order to depict one's own interests as legitimate, reified and universal (Giddens 1979). In this connection Giddens makes a convincing distinction between authoritative and allocative power resources. The latter are gaining in importance in post-modern societies (Menz 2000) but in relatively formal settings like the one analysed here, authoritative power (that is, power based on positional and institutional factors) is clearly more important. The analysis of discussion extracts shows that the moderator of the programme uses his positional power in order to support specific historical views. The analysis therefore revolves around the question of who can transport what kind of discourse and by what means.

Since historical contexts are of particular importance in this CDA case study, it is advisable to focus on the discourse-historical approach developed in Vienna (Wodak et al. 1990; Nowak et al. 1990; Wodak et al. 1994; Matouschek et al. 1995; Wodak & Reisigl 1999) in order to properly account for the historical-political level. The approach is characterised by a systematic inclusion into the analysis of all relevant (and available) background information in order to produce a comprehensive picture of complex data against their historical context. The method was developed in order to uncover anti-semitic stereotypes in connection with the so-called Waldheim affair (1986) but can be applied to other historical contexts such as the commemorative events in connection with the 50th anniversary of the *Anschluss*. It consists in particular of

– confronting the reports with historical sources and/or the opinion of experts;
– establishing a detailed picture of context and setting;
– conducting a detailed analysis of the texts on all linguistic levels.

Wodak et al. (1998) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001) define four clusters of macro-strategies with different social functions:
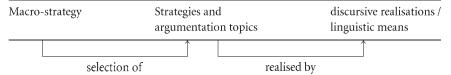
– constructive macro strategies: the function of this group of strategies is the discursive establishing of specific topics, identities, groups (in-groups vs. out-groups) etc.;

- destructive strategies can be defined as discursive attempts to destroy existing images, views etc.;
- strategies of perpetuation are those which sustain already established views, images, narratives in a broad sense etc. Among them a relatively well described group of justification strategies (cf. Reisigl & Wodak 2001; Wodak et al. 1990; Menz et al. 1989) may be subsumed (Wodak et al. 1998:76). They serve as a means for the integration of past problematic actions into the actual position;
- strategies of transformation: their aim is to change an established view or situation into something else.

These macro-functions cannot always be separated exactly and show more or less overlapping features. Especially destructive and transformation strategies are sometimes hard to distinguish.

The meta-functions of the macro-strategies are accomplished by the selection of specific strategies and argumentation topics which in turn are realised by specific linguistic means as can be graphically depicted as follows:

Table 1. The relationship between macro-strategies, argumentation topic and linguistic realisation

Macro-strategy	Strategies and argumentation topics	discursive realisations / linguistic means

selection of   realised by

Given the interests of this paper I shall concentrate my analysis on the macro-strategies that are used by the participants of the TV discussion, putting them in relation to the historical views shared and construed by the interactants.

In the following section I present a brief survey of the relevant stages of Austrian history between 1918 and 1945[4] ("Austro-Fascism", annexation by Nazi Germany), which is necessary for an understanding of both the development of the two different and differing historical views that are the topic of the following analysis and the topics discussed by the participants of the TV talk show. After that a description of the context and setting of the television broadcast being analysed follows. The summary of part of Austria's more recent past has to be somewhat extended in order to give the necessary background according to the discourse-historical approach: It is clear that this survey can by no means be objective and comprehensive in a strict sense, but it is based on historical sources and the solid analysis of expert historians. The aspects presented may serve as a background for the analysis of the TV discussion and

give the opportunity to contrastively demonstrate which themes and topics are raised by whom and which themes are denied or faded out.

Historical survey

After the collapse of the Hapsburg Empire the new Austrian government was confronted with severe problems. One of the first acts of the first post-war (WWI) government was to give the new state the name "*Deutsch-Österreich*" and to declare its intention to join the German Republic, which had been proclaimed almost simultaneously. These plans, however, were vetoed by the Entente during the peace negotiations at St. Germain. This first debate about a union of Austria and Germany was founded on the obvious cultural affinity perceived by all three political camps (Socialists, Christian Socialists and Nationalist Liberals) but was equally prompted by much more profane questions of sheer survival. As the remainder of a collapsed multinational empire, Austria was cut off from all former supplies of food and raw materials. In combination with the trade barriers erected by the successor states, this meant that the country was unable to survive economically.

In spite of the veto, the idea of the *Anschluss* with its positive and negative aspects was never totally discarded by the Austrians and in view of the hardships of the 1920s and 1930s a union with the economically viable Germany continued to be all the more attractive (Low 1985).

Within Austria the feelings of unity *vis à vis* a common enemy, in this case the victorious powers of the Entente, were crumbling rapidly. Despite a fairly stable distribution of the electorate across the three major parties before 1934, the first Republic experienced a shift of political representation within the Christian Social and the German Nationalist camps as well as a growing polarisation between the block of the conservative parties and the left. During the 1930s the Christian Social party came under increasing pressure from the extra-parliamentary "*Heimwehr*"[5] and the former National camp underwent a radicalisation which ended in the dominance of the National Socialists (Gulick 1948). Furthermore, the socialists were excluded from national power from 1920 onwards even though they regularly attracted a third of the votes. Political life in the First Republic underwent a continuous process of radicalisation and increasing violence. Both the left and the right had the support of paramilitary organisations and the resulting atmosphere of distance created an ideal breeding ground for mistrust and political hostility.

In 1932 Engelbert Dollfuß became chancellor. He was as open about his admiration of fascist Italy as about his hostility towards the political left. Under Mussolini's continuous pressure to carry out fascist reforms in order to outmaneuvre the Nazis, Dollfuß can be seen as the gravedigger of the republic as well as the personal victim of a Nazi coup.

In the wake of chaotic parliamentary proceedings in March 1933 Dollfuß seized the opportunity to dissolve parliament. Further parliamentary meetings were prevented by force, creating a hotbed for the civil war which was going to break out a year later. When in February 1934 members of the *Schutzbund*, the paramilitary organisation of the socialists, attempted to resist a police raid in Linz, this prompted a massive nation-wide backlash on the part of the police, army and troops of the *Heimwehr* on an opponent who was unprepared and badly co-ordinated. The socialists were driven underground, their leaders exiled, killed or arrested. For many socialists in the First Republic the civil war was the darkest event of the 1930s, worse even than the Anschluss four years later. From that time an unbridgeable gulf separated the two large political camps in Austria (see below).

The Austrian dictator Dollfuß ordained an authoritarian constitution and founded the *Vaterländische Front* (national front) as an Austrian answer to the Italian fascist party. Having crushed the political left, Dollfuß was now free to deal with the danger from the right which was gaining a larger following since Hitler's rise to power in January 1933. On 1 June 1934 all Nazi organisations were prohibited in Austria. However, they managed to continue their operations, directed from neighbouring Bavaria. On 25 July 1934 the Austrian Nazis attempted to seize power. The coup failed but Dollfuß was murdered in the process. The leaders of the coup were hanged and for a short while Austria enjoyed the protection of Mussolini as the Italian dictator had sent troops to the Brenner pass in order to prevent Germany from helping the Austrian Nazis.

Dollfuß' successor as chancellor, Kurt Schuschnigg, continued the policies of his predecessor and was soon confronted with increasing pressure from Germany while Italy began to disengage itself. Schuschnigg continued to rely on Italian support, ignoring the fact that Mussolini and Hitler had commenced their rapprochement, especially after 1937. Within Austria Schuschnigg's room for manoeuvre was restricted by the illegal Socialists on the one hand and the illegal Nazis on the other, which left only limited support for his government. In this situation he increasingly relied on *Heimwehr*, army, and police for support. Even though neither Schuschnigg nor Dollfuß had any particular sympathies for the Nazis, neither of them opposed the idea of a "greater Germany" (*Großdeutschland*) comprising all German-speaking territories. Schuschnigg

was convinced of the manifold intellectual and cultural communalities within the German language community and hoped for an acceptable relationship with Nazi-Germany. No such signals, however, were extended to the political left. The *Vaterländische Front* turned out to be a failure so that the Austrian government was isolated both domestically and externally. At the time of the actual *Anschluss* in March 1938 Schuschnigg decided against armed resistance, refusing "to shed German blood".[6] This date was the immediate cause of the TV discussion analysed below.

In Austria, Hitler was greeted with enthusiasm by many and with resignation by most others (Schausberger 1978; Botz 1988). Schuschnigg's ambivalent attitude indicates that the idea of unification with Germany as such was welcomed by many Austrians, though not under the Nazis. Once the *Anschluss* had been completed political opposition to the new regime frequently turned into either support or silent acceptance (Johnson 1988).

During World War II the Austrian state ceased to exist. Many Austrians "did their duty", like Kurt Waldheim, in the armed forces, SS or Gestapo. This sense of duty towards the *Führer*, however, precluded any commitment to an independent Austria, since the idea of the German Reich included Austria as its '*Ostmark*'. Others, whose sense of duty prompted them in the opposite direction, fought actively in the resistance against the Nazi regime and were killed or imprisoned in concentration camps (see above for the characterisation of the two different historical positions).

In October 1943 the foreign ministers of the allied forces issued the Moscow Declaration, a document which was to gain quasi-iconic status for the Second Republic. In this declaration the allies called Austria the first victim of Nazi aggression, but reminded the Austrians of their responsibility for having fought alongside Germany in the war (Keyserlingk 1988: 123–155; Fellner 1972: 53–90). This second part of the declaration caused some difficulties in the formulation of Austria's status and identity after the end of the war. Eventually, however, all ambiguities, or rather contradictions were resolved – at least by the Western allies – in favour of the 'victim' version; an interpretation which was embraced enthusiastically by Austria's political leaders after the war.

The preferred values of Austria's new political culture were now those which underlined the differences from Germany; a strategy which also served the wish to distance oneself from Nazi atrocities. When the former allies moved into the Cold War, de-Nazification in Austria, which had been limited in scale from the start, was quickly and quietly abandoned with the consent of the West. These are only some of the circumstances which restricted Austria's dealings

with its own past compared to what the citizens of Germany were subjec-
ted to.[7]

The post-war political consensus, however, extended way beyond a unified
position *vis à vis* the occupying forces. For the former enemies from the so-
cialist and Christian Social camps the so-called '*Lagerstraße*' (in allusion to the
central 'road' through the concentration camps for political prisoners) symbol-
ised their common suffering, teaching them the virtues of co-operation. This
was a lesson which turned out to be a great asset to the political class after 1945.
Yet for many Austrians it was not quite clear whether the happenings of May
1945 heralded liberation or defeat. It was difficult for the Austrians to operate
with the term of 'national liberation'; what was possible was to insist upon their
Austrian idiosyncracy. Insofar as this was reinforced or at least not called into
question, this attitude enabled the formation of a kind of national identity in
the aftermath of the war (Bluhm 1973: 52ff.).

Setting and content of the TV discussion

The ORF, Austria's national broadcasting corporation, is by far the most influ-
ential and powerful media corporation in Austria as it has an overwhelming
range and is still in a monopoly position because of the lack of competitors in
the area of TV production. Furthermore, due to this singular position, the ORF
is one of the most influential identity building organisations and its impact on
the construction of a nation-wide Austrian identity after 1945 can hardly be
overestimated (Wodak et al. 1998; Schuh 2002). Therefore, the analysis of a TV
discussion broadcast by the ORF may contribute to an understanding of the
still complicated and by no means clarified evaluation of Austria's recent past
by the public.

The title of the TV discussion analysed here was "'God bless Austria'[8] –
'Anschluss' or first victim?" and the main topic was how different persons had
experienced the events on 11 March 1938, the day of the invasion of Nazi
troops, and which conclusions they had drawn from them. With this theme
the National Broadcasting System referred to the two main historical views on
Austria's recent past and opened a wide field of potential discussion and re-
flection. We shall see, however, that different and differing views were "ho-
mogenised" towards one single narrative. According to our hypotheses this
happened on the basis of individual historical and value judgements. In line
with our theoretical framework, the accounts of the events are analysed against
the background of the historical survey given above.

Club 2 was a regular and – despite its late time-slot – a rather popular feature on channel 2 of Austria's National Broadcasting system (ORF) from the mid-seventies up to the early nineties. Twice a week, in open discussion, a controversial topic of either political, social or scientific interest was presented for discussion. An average of six discussants were seated around a moderator. Most, although not all participants are prominent persons and represent either the function of experts, persons involved in the subject under discussion, but the "man or woman in the street" was also represented. The chairperson's influence on the discussion, which was broadcast live and was open-ended, was considerable. The participants sat on comfortable upholstered easy chairs grouped around a low table and had soft drinks and snacks at their disposal (Lalouschek 1985; Wodak 1989).

The broadcast under analysis lasted 2hrs 40mins and was thus among the longer ones of its kind. They were seated in the following way:

```
        MAS   SCH   BRO
  MAY                MAL
        LOV   BIR   SPI
```

After chancellor Schuschnigg's famous farewell speech of 11 March 1938 had been shown, the moderator said a few introductory words and introduced the participants. They were further characterised by a subtitle as follows:

MAY: Horst Friedrich Mayer, moderator
MAS: Albert Massiczek, former Nazi
SCH: Irma Schwager, chair of the Bund Demokratischer Frauen (Federation of Democratic Women)
BRO: Gerhard Bronner, writer and cabaret artist
MAL: Alfred Maleta, former president of the Austrian parliament
SPI: Reinhard Spitzy, former diplomat
BIR: Friedrich Birsak, brigadier (retired)
LOV: August Lovrek, monarchist youth leader

These inserts allowed the Austrian audience to attribute most of the participants roughly to one of the two major historical views described above. Whereas Schwager and Massiczek are characterised as (former) members of political parties (Communist party vs. NSDAP), Spitzy and Lovrek may easily be identified by their profession. Maleta was one of the elder statesmen of the conservative Austrian People's Party, ÖVP and already a prominent politician during the Schuschnigg regime; Birsak, on the other hand, characterised himself as a member of the German "Wehrmacht", while Bronner declared himself

a member of the Austrian Socialist Party. Summarising, Schwager and Bronner could be expected to support a "historical view II" (stressing the continuities between Austria's Nazi past and its present) whereas the others could be expected to have a conservative historical view in the sense described above.

After the introduction, starting to the left of Mayer, the moderator, and moving in a clockwise direction, each of the participants was given the floor in order to recount how they had experienced the events around the 10th, 11th and 12th March 1938. This was done in considerable detail, in the end taking up one third of the total broadcast. It was noticeable that most participants took the opportunity to portray themselves in the right light, trying to justify their past. The stories they told were carefully formulated and well structured, as if they had been prepared and/or told many times before.

After each participant had told his/her story, the moderator opened the discussion by asking about the thoughts and emotions of the participants 50 years ago. The discussion quickly moved away from the events of March 1938 to more general questions connected with the inter-war period (Austrofascism), Austria's Nazi-past, the role of the German armed forces (*Deutsche Wehrmacht*), conscription and conscientious objection in general.

Even though the moderator repeatedly tried to move the discussion back to the topic of "March 1938" he also broke with his rules by suddenly starting a discussion of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. He directly addressed Schwager in this matter, thereby attacking her as a communist. This evolved into a conflict chiefly between Bronner and Schwager which took up much of the remainder of the programme.

Following this the discussion finally returned to the "Anschluss" topic, especially to the question whether or not it could have been prevented. In this round most of the participants restated their own position without engendering a real debate. Only when Schwager repeatedly called the Second World War a criminal war did protests enliven the discussion. Mayer's protection of Schwager is reluctant and somewhat ambivalent, in a long turn revolving around the Commemorative celebrations in Vienna's city square he moves on to the final round. One after the other the participants summarise the lessons to be learned from the past. After a brief interlude about alternative commemorative events, the moderator reads out a poem by Julius Raab; with a "Good night" directed at the viewers he concludes a programme which has been fairly long, especially considering the advanced age of the discussants.

Strategies in the presentation of different historical views

In their extensive corpora Wodak et al. (1998: 79ff.) and Wodak and Reisigl (2001: 47ff.) have found numerous types of strategies and argumentation topics which, due to a lack of space, cannot be reproduced here completely. Thus I shall concentrate on those aspects which allow me to describe the different historical views by the use of different macro-strategies. Over the last decades, historical view I has clearly been the dominant one while the other emerged as a reaction to it (Pelinka 1985; Wodak et al. 1990, 1994). Therefore it can be expected that the supporters of view I primarily use strategies of perpetuation as their point of view has been existing for a long time. On the other hand, the other "party" is predicted to involve strategies of transformation (and destruction), as the meta-function of their discourse must be seen as an attempt to change some of the elements of the conservative world view under the light of new scientific findings during the commemorative year of 1988. The most important strategies for the realisation for the macro-functions found by Wodak et al. (1998) are listed in the table below:

Table 2. [9] Realising macro-strategies

Macro-strategy	Strategies and argumentation topics
macro-strategy of perpetuation	– discontinuation – negation – de-contextualisation – downplaying – relativising – positive self-presentation
macro-strategy of transformation	– continuation/re-contextualisation

"Discontinuation" implies the stressing of a difference between past and present, "negation" – as the term implies – the denial of continuities from the past (especially the Nazi era in the context analysed here). De-contextualisation, downplaying and relativising are typical justification strategies, whereas positive self-presentation in the context of perpetuational functions means to stress the positive traditions and topics from then and now.

Within the meta-function of transformation the strategy of continuation might be a seeming contradiction. But with regard to what has been described

in the introduction above, it is applied to the intention to uncover the continuities and shared features of the authoritarian dictatorship (1934–38), the Nazi occupation period (1938–45) and the Second Republic (since 1945). Recontextualisation denotes the shift of meanings from one context into an other (Bernstein 1990; Wodak 2000).

As it is impossible to give a detailed analysis of the entire broadcast I shall single out two topics which are treated and evaluated very differently by the discussants and which are of particular interest in connection with the question at hand. The first is the question repeatedly addressed during the programme: whether there was such a thing as Austro-fascism and how the role of Dollfuß, Schuschnigg and the Christian-Socialist party should be evaluated. The second is the role of the German armed forces in the Nazi era. The judgement and assessment of these topics is prototypical of the differentiation of the historical views (cf. Historical survey above, Wodak et al. 1994; Weinzierl & Skalnik (Eds.) 1972; Pelinka 1985).

The term Austro-Fascism as a membership categorisation device

In Austria a key question for the uncovering of different historical views is definitely the question of what the period from 1934 (dissolution of parliament and civil war) until 1938 (*Anschluss*) should be called and how it should be evaluated (cf. Section 3). In many cases these evaluations can be linked directly to party-politics (cf. Pelinka 1985). In the discussion analysed here the participants Schwager (member of the Communist Party) and Bronner (supporter of the Social Democrats) call the relevant period Austro-Fascism. They argue that since there was no functioning parliament and opposition parties were prohibited, we are dealing with a dictatorship here.

Extract 1:

141   SCH: well before . four years ealier, er 34 there was . from 34 there was the Austro-fascist dictatorship; there were no parties . well in these four years it was difficult to join a political movement.

141   SCH: *also vor .vier Jahre vorher ah 34 war ja . ab 34 war ja die austrofaschistische Diktatur, und da gabs ka keine Parteien . also in diesen vier Jahren hat ma ja schwer Anschluß gefunden zu einer politischen Bewegung.*

Extract 2:

205 BRO: Schuschnigg. It was a short period . I'd say two or three weeks, when
             you could walk around unhindered with three arrows on your lapel .
             you greeted each other 'friendship' and there was this feeling of a new
             departure, you hoped that the period of Austro-fascism was nearing
             its end . that something was coming which was going to be more like
210   democracy earlier … it was (laughs) to put it in medical terms, a
             classic case of euphoria . At that time almost every night somewhere
             in town or in the working-class district where I lived there were
             demonstrations for Schuschnigg.

*205 BRO: Schuschnigg. Es war damals eine kurze Zeit . ich würde sagen zwei drei
             Wochen, wo man ungehindert und ungestraft mit . drei Pfeilen am Re-
             vers herumgehen konnte . man hat sich gegenseitig gegrüßt Freundschaft
             und man hat das Gefühl gehabt, daß es zu einem Aufbruch … man hat
             gehofft, daß die Zeit des Austrofaschismus jetzt zu Ende geht . dass
210   irgend etwas passieren könnte was so ähnlich wird, wie seinerzeit eine
             Demokratie gewesen ist .. es war (Lachen) ums medizinisch auszu-
             drücken, ein klassischer Fall von Euphorie . Zur gleichen Zeit fanden fast
             jeden Abend irgendwo in der Innenstadt oder in dem Arbeiterbezirk, wo
             ich damals gewohnt hab Demonstrationen für
215   Schuschnigg statt*

Contrary to Schwager, Bronner already was 'politicised' at the time; he sympa-
thised with the social democrats (three arrows were the emblem of the socialist
party) and felt a certain suspicion at this coalition of all pro-Austrian groups.
It is evident that for him 1934 had been the end of democracy for whose resti-
tution he was hoping in those days leading up to March 10, 1938. By using a
special *lexicon*, which in Austria has *membership categorisation function*, they
attribute themselves to a special historical view, namely view II.

   Lovrek, former monarchist, takes up the discourse on Austro-fascism
from the opposite point of view and supports the position of chancellors
Schuschnigg and especially Dollfuß, who had paralysed parliament.

Extract 3:

739 LOV: in those days democracy wasn't really functioning any more except in
             a few Western states.
     BRO: =true, but you've just attacked them=
     LOV: =yes, yes, well true, but you mustn't believe that the Western powers
             were at all interested in whether we had democracy . and also, I would
             like to state that there was no Austro-fascism . Hitler did .. er,

745		Schuschnigg and Dollfuß continuously opposed Starhemberg in his attempts to introduce fascism here, like Starhemberg was trying to do on Mussolini's orders.
	BRO:	[well, retrospectively I'm missing the opposition parties
	LOV:	[wait
739	*LOV*:	*zu der Zeit war ja überhaupt die Demokratie nur noch bei den paar Westmächten wirklich in Funktion=*
	BRO:	*=richtig, aber die ham Sie ja angegriffen=*
	LOV:	*=ja, ja gut schön, aber sie dürfen doch ja nicht glauben, daß damals für die Westmächte interessant war, ob wir jetzt Demokratie . und außerdem hats keinen Austrofaschismus gegeben, das möcht ich auch amal*
745		*feststellen . der Hitler hat . ah der Schuschnigg und der Dollfuß ham sich prinzipiell dem Starhemberg gegenüber unausgesetzt geweigert . nicht wahr ah hier Faschismus einzuführen so wie der Starhemberg das im Auftrag von Mussolini ah tun hätte sollen*
	BRO:	*[Bitte, ich vermisse retrospektive gesehen die Oppositionsparteien.*
750	LOV:	*[Moment*

Lovrek designates as the defining form of fascism Italian fascism under Mussolini and argues that Dollfuß and Schuschnigg resisted the introduction of such a regime. He also alludes to the confrontation between the *Heimwehr* leader Starhemberg and the leaders of the corporative state (lines[10] 745–747). However, this clear demarcation into black and white characters can hardly be gleaned from the specialist literature (cf. e.g. Carsten 1977: 156–174, 195–229 and Historical survey above).

In formal terms Lovrek's remark about Austro-fascism (lines *743–44*) has the characteristics of a side sequence ("*und außerdem*"); its falling tone and the formulation ("I would like to state", lines 743–44) contribute to its concluding character, making clear that it is not meant as a contribution to a debate (i.e. an invitation to exchange arguments). In content terms, he uses a *strategy of downplaying* by introducing a difference between fascism and the Austrian dictatorial regime. As a meta-function this strategy can be attributed to the *macro-strategies of perpetuation* as he tries both to maintain a positive image of the historical period between 1934 and 1938 and to prevent a discussion (transformation) about it.

Despite Lovrek's intention Bronner does present counter-arguments (*destructive macro-strategies*) in the shape of other definitional criteria of fascism (exclusion of opposition parties) and additionally introduces a second reflective level: even though Lovrek's argumentation can be understood if not interpreted from the point of view of the times (1938), from the perspective of 1988

("retrospectively") it is clear that another understanding of democracy should be shared. By *re-contextualising* he re-evaluates the period under discussion and argues against Lovrek's assessment.

Two things are at issue here: arguments and value judgements, in the sense that a pro-democratic attitude is among the shared values of modern western societies (Miranda in the sense of Strauß 1986). Lovrek takes up the argumentative level but refuses the re-contextualising level of reflection: (lines 751–53):

Extract 4:

750   BRO: [I miss the opposition parties in parliament
      LOV: [yes, well alright but look, the opposition parties
      LOV: the opposition parties were present then in so far .. if you of course/
             there wasn't a parliament of course
      BRO: there
755   LOV: sure, but don't let us compare a system, a system then with the system
             of today, the issue was, wasn't it, to keep Austria independent ((Turns
             towards moderator)) and anyway I'm not finished with telling my
             personal experiences

751   BRO: *[Ich vermisse die Oppositionsparteien im Parlament*
      LOV: *[ja gut schön, aber schaun Sie, die Oppositionsparteien*
      LOV: *die Oppositionsparteien waren insoferne doch damals schon da, wenn*
             sie allerdings natürlich/ Parlament hats ja nicht gegeben
755   BRO: *Eben*
      LOV: *sicher, aber tun ma doch nicht ein System, ein System von damals nicht*
             wahr vergleichen mit dem heutigen System, damals is es darum gegan-
             gen, Österreich selbständig zu erhalten, nicht wahr, ((dreht sich zum
             Moderator))ich bin ja im übrigen noch gar nicht fertig mit meinen
760   *Erlebnissen*

His concession ("yes, well alright") is followed by a contradiction ("but") and the attempt to reinterpret the verb *to be* in the sense that the opposition parties did exist in the underground ("the opposition parties were present then in so far .. if you of course"). He himself interrupts this line of argumentation in the interest of demonstrating Bronner's conclusion as illogical and to prove a pragmatic fallacy against him: how could there have been parties in parliament if there was no parliament. This would be a violation of one of the central rules of reasonable argumentation, i.e. the rule of correct references to implicit premises (Kienpointner 1996; Reisigl & Wodak 2001:71). The adversative-causative particle ("*ja*"; line *754*) gives an indication of this rhetorical interest. Bronner, however, undercuts this intention by making it the

central point of his argument ("*eben*", line *755*). Lovrek implicitly alludes to his refusal of taking up the reflective level (the second level of Bronner's utterance) by insisting on the historical view and interpretation of the situation in 1938: in order to support his historical view he uses a *strategy of discontinuation* by contrasting the temporal opposition 1938–1988. Implicitly he also suggests that the dictatorial regime had been a defender against an impending invasion by Nazi Germany ("keep Austria independent"), a form of *positive self-presentation*. However, this is not the point in Bronner's formulation in line 748 (Extract 3): there he holds that "retrospectively", that is explicitly from a non-1938 perspective, a label like fascism (as a synonym for dictatorship) is very well suited to a political system without a parliament. This can be seen as a *macro-strategy of transformation by re-contextualising* a past period in the light of 50 years of distance.

By refusing to share this judgement of the 1934–1938 period, however, Lovrek rejects Bronner's attempt to transform his position towards that historical period. The turn towards the moderator can be seen as a *strategy of denial of interaction* or as a violation of the argumentation *rule of obligation* to give reasons for a standpoint if asked for. This can well be seen as an attempt to decide which topics and themes it is allowed to discuss and which are not. Lovrek turns to the moderator in his function as turn allocator and initiator of new topics in order to acquire support from his positional power. As the reaction of the moderator is of particular interest, we will examine it more closely.

Extract 5:

755	LOV:	sure, but don't let us compare a system, a system then with the system of today, the issue was, wasn't it, to keep Austria independent ((Turns towards moderator)) and anyway I'm not finished with telling my personal experiences=
	MAY:	[=yes, you should tell us, how you experienced the tenth, the tenth
760	LOV:	[yeah, yeah, well,
	MAY:	[of March and the eleventh
	BRO:	[Sorry.
758	*LOV*:	*nicht wahr, ((dreht sich zum Moderator))ich bin ja im übrigen noch gar nicht fertig mit meinen*
760		*Erlebnissen=*
	MAY:	*[=Ja eben Sie sollten auch sagen, wie sie den zehnten . den zehnten*
	LOV:	*[eben, eben, also,*
	MAY:	*[März abends und den elften erlebt haben*
	BRO:	*[Entschuldigung*

Mayer gives Lovrek his full support through agreement ("yes") followed by a reinforcement ("*eben*") containing an element of reproof. He then repeats his own formulation, asking Lovrek explicitly to return to his experiences on 10 March 1938. Lovrek's reinforcing signals (line 760) intensify his coalition with the moderator. Bronner's contribution thus acquires the status of a digression or interruption and Bronner complies with the situation created by the moderator by uttering an apology (line 762). This sequence underlines the importance of the moderator's positional power in this formal setting, in spite of the considerable rhetorical faculties (allocative resources in the terminology of Giddens) of Bronner who manages to cut into Lovrek's monologue (line 749–751) presenting his argument briefly and succinctly and managing to present his own historical views with minimal resources ("retrospectively" line 748, "*eben*", line *755*). With the help of the moderator Lovrek is able to set topics, or more precisely, prevents topics from being at issue when argumentative power is lacking.

On the content level the moderator's attitude towards Austro-fascism becomes visible in an other extract, when he refers to Schwager's account (cf. Extract 1):

Extract 6:
153	MAY:	[=Did you – if I may interrupt you briefly, so that the
	SCH:	[yes
155	MAY:	round can be completed /you felt then, that also [/ er you referred to the leftist groups / err that also these groups
	SCH:	[yes
	MAY:	in view of the external pressure, were ready to support what you just called the Austro-fascist course
160	SCH:	yes, yes, I also heard from the conference, which

153	*MAY:*	*[=Ham sie, wenn ich sie schnell unterbrechen kann, damit die äh*
	SCH:	*[bitte*
155	*MAY:*	*Runde dann noch durchkommt/ Sie ham damals gespürt, daß auch / ah Sie [ham die linken Gruppen angesprochen / äh ah . daß auch diese Gruppen*
	SCH:	*[ja*
	MAY:	*angesichts des Drucks von außen bereit sind, das was sie grad als austrofaschistischen Kurs bezeichnet ham zu unterstützen*
160	*SCH:*	*Ja ja, ich hab auch gehört von der Konferenz, die da*

The question is whether leftist groups (especially the communists, the party which Schwager is a member of) were prepared to support Schuschnigg in

view of the Nazi threat. Schwager confirms that this possibility was indeed considered (line 160). Mayer's formulation, however ("what you just called the Austro-fascist course", line 159), is made distant by marking the differentiation "you – I (we)" and implies that he himself does not use this terminology. In doing this and taking into consideration the membership categorisation aspect of the term "Austro-fascism" he supports the conservative historical view that the period of 1934–1938 was not a fascist dictatorship but the necessary and/or only possible defence against annexation by Nazi Germany.

In combination with the taboo created by the breaking off of the discussion in Extract 5, the moderator uses his formal and topical weight in order to support a certain (conservative) view of Austrian recent history. Later on we shall deal with the social implications of this language behaviour.

In the discussion analysed so far the notion of "Austro-fascism" clearly has membership categorisation functions with regard to the two main historical views of Austria's recent past. Whereas the supporters of historical view I (Lovrek, Mayer) use macro-strategies maintaining a positive image of that period (strategies of perpetuation), the supporters of view II rather use strategies of transformation, mainly as a reaction to the presentation of the former. The supportive intervention of the moderator in line 761 prevents the discussants from finding a binding answer to the question about the labelling of the historical period 1934–38. Before drawing some generalisations let us first turn to an other topic.

The German Wehrmacht

The second topic, the role of the armed forces (*Wehrmacht*) in National Socialism shows a similar pattern to the one about "Austro-fascism": presentation of an unreflected, conservative world view which exonerates the *Wehrmacht*, Bronner's attempt at an alternative discourse and early closure of the discussion by the moderator.

After the introductory round the communist and Jew Schwager initiates the topic of the *Wehrmacht* under Nazi rule by referring to a leaflet distributed to all households in connection with the 50th anniversary advertising commemorative medals "for all soldiers who died fighting for their country". Similar to Bronner in connection with Austro-fascism, she holds that concepts like fatherland, duty etc. are not applicable in connection with a criminal regime.

Extract 7:

850   SCH: Those medals were made and are offered for sale. These 27 medals were made representative of all "heroic Austrian soldiers who fought for their country between 1939 and 1945". I only ask myself which home country they / it was that was being fought for. Not for the women and children in the hinterland. It was for the Nazis. And for the / for

855   Auschwitz and for, for those aims. For one country after another to be . ah .ah. / <u>now</u> we should know it. I readily admit that then many people didn't see it like that. But <u>now</u> one should know, shouldn't one? Now one should know how terrible, what a misfortune.

850   SCH: *Da wurden Medaillen geprägt. Und das wird angeboten. Stellvertretend für alle "heldenhaften österreichischen Soldaten, welche zwischen 1939 und 1945 für ihr Heimatland kämpften", wurden diese 27 Medaillen da geprägt. Und ich frage mich nur, für welches Heimatland haben/ ist denn da gekämpft worden. Nicht für die Frauen und Kinder im*

855   *Hinterland. Das war für die <u>Nazi</u>. Und für die/ für Auschwitz und für, für diese Ziele. Dafür daß man ein Land nach dem anderen . ah . ah ./ <u>jetzt</u> müßte mans wissen. Ich gebe absolut zu, daß damals das viele Menschen nicht so gesehen haben. Aber <u>jetzt</u> müßte man das doch wissen, nicht? jetzt müßte man wissen, wie schrecklich, was für ein Unglück.*

Schwager quotes the leaflet and *recontextualises* it: even if it wasn't clear back then,[11] it should at least be acknowledged 50 years later that fighting for the Nazis in the Second World War was fighting for a criminal regime and not for "one's country or fatherland" as symbolised by "women and children in the hinterland" (line 853f.) and that consequently the participants cannot be heroes, and hero worship is unwarranted. In the context of the year 1988 the distributors of the medals are to be seen as representatives of those groups of the extreme right who avoid direct support for the Third Reich but achieve the same end (including the denial of its crimes) via worshipping the *Wehrmacht*. Schwager's objection, presented with great emotionality marked by false starts and repetitions, is directed against this denial. In terms of macro-strategies this recontextualisation can be attributed to *transformation strategies* (supplying a different view to specific historical facts, namely the partial identity of the *Wehrmacht* and the national socialist regime instead of the traditional view that entirely separates them).

The first of the discussants to answer this is Spitzy (a member of von Ribbentrop's staff and thus a former Nazi, then diplomat in the service of the Second Republic):

Extract 8:

860	SPI:	[who wrote that? There are always idiots about, aren't there?
	SCH:	[pardon? pardon?
	SPI:	There are always idiots about.
860	*SPI*:	*[Wer hat denn das geschrieben? Narren gibts ja immer, nicht.*
	SCH:	*[Bitte? Bitte?*
	SPI:	*Narren gibts ja immer.*

Spitzy's answer (line 860) with its repetition in line 862 is interesting: his utterance contains a devaluation of the distributors of the medals and thus a distancing from their world-view, at the same time, however, it also contains a devaluation of Schwager's emotional involvement. The expression "idiots" implies that these people need not be taken seriously, their actions lacking a rational argumentative basis making it unnecessary to discuss them. "Idiots" can say (and do?) anything but they are not generally taken heed of. However, a third decisive element is present in the situation. Especially in the context of a TV programme dedicated not only to the 50th anniversary of Austria's annexation by Germany but also to the country's attitude towards its Nazi past, Spitzy's answer is remarkable. Not only does he minimise the importance of activities such as sending pro-war leaflets to numerous households by calling them the action of mentally unaccountable people, he also gives a moral value judgement (cf. intonation). By denying Schwager's contribution an argumentative answer he tries to eliminate her point from the discussion and plays down such wide-ranging activities by treating them as bagatelles (*strategy of downplaying*). The meta-function of this strategy can be seen as *perpetuation* (of the own conservative view) by minimizing the irritation that Schwager's utterance (trial of transformation) may have caused.

When Schwager starts to contradict this by referring to the number of people who support such a view, she is interrupted by the moderator who addresses the former political concentration camp prisoner Maleta, asking him about his experiences with the *Wehrmacht*. Maleta's experiences are documented in biographies and an autobiography known to the moderator (as can be gleaned from a different sequence) so that he must have known roughly how Maleta would answer.

Extract 9:

862	SPI:	There are always idiots about.
	SCH:	How many people still talk of the /
	MAY:	I'd like to, I'd like to

865		actually ah ah . ask president Maleta. One couldn't even as a former political prisoner, I think you were a political prisoner until 1942, avoid being conscripted. How does someone like you, a convinced Austrian, someone who has been in prison and concentration camp for his activities, how does someone like that react when you get the
870		conscription order in 1942.
862	*SPI*:	*Narren gibts ja immer.*
	SCH:	*Wie viele Leute sprechen denn heute noch von der/*
	MAY:	*Ich möchte, ich möchte*
865		*eigentlich ah ah. den Präsidenten Maleta fragen. Man konnte sich auch als . . politisch in Haft gewesener/ ich glaube, Sie waren bis 1942 in politischer Haft/ dem Wehrdienst natürlich nicht entziehen. Was tut denn jemand in Ihrer Position als überzeugter Österreicher, jemand der für seinen Einsatz für Österreich in politischer Haft und im KZ*
870		*gewesen ist, wenn ihm ein Einberufungsbefehl im Jahr 42 ins Haus flattert.*

With the interruption Mayer uses his positional power to cut off or deflect the obviously explosive *Wehrmacht* topic (there are several former *Wehrmacht* officers among the discussants, some of them with military decorations):

Extract 10:

882	MAL:	This is a very interesting question . Because it gives me the possibility to point out something which has been completely forgotten. Er . the German . the leaders of the German Wehrmacht.
885		were basically anti-Nazi. They were the old barons. From Upper Silesia and the/ the old German-nationalists. They only talked about "Hitler the prole". And that is why Hitler exchanged the entire leadership of the *Wehrmacht*, putting his own vassals in their place. Well the . my commander. My commander . my major . . . was a German baron, a north
890		German lord. A Freiherr von , I can't remember the name now. I can remember many conversations. He knew I had been to the concentration camp, I told him. And er . we went on about Hitler together and said how it will all come to a terrible end. That means, there were many things in common.
895	MAY:	Now it's your turn brigadier. Then I'd ask you ((. . .))
882	*MAL*:	*Das ist eine sehr interessante Frage . weil sie mir die Möglichkeit gibt, auf etwas hinzuweisen, was in vollkommene Vergessenheit geraten ist. Ah . die deutsche . die Führung der*

885   *deutschen Wehrmacht . war ja im Grunde antinazistisch. Das waren*
               doch die alten Barone. Aus Oberschlesien und die/ die alten deutschna-
               tionalen. Die haben doch nur vom Proleten Hitler geredet. Und da-
               her hat ja dann Hitler diese ganze Wehrmachtsführung abgesetzt und
               ausgewechselt und seine Trabanten eingesetzt. Also die . mein
890   *Kommandant. Mein Kommandant . mein Major . . war ein deutscher*
               Baron, ein norddeutscher Adeliger. Ein Freiherr von, ich weiß den
               Namen jetzt nicht mehr. Und ich kann mich an viele gemeinsame
               Gespräche erinnern. Er hat gewußt, ich bin KZler, ich habe ihm das
               erzählt. Und ah . wir haben dann gemeinsam übern Hitler geschimpft
               und haben gsagt, das muß
895   *ein böses Ende nehmen. Das heißt, da waren ja viele Gemeinsamkeiten*
               vorhanden.
    MAY: *So jetzt haben sich gemeldet Herr Brigadier. Dann hätte ich eine Bitte*
               ((...))

As former president of the Austrian parliament Maleta is a well known and respected personality and he takes things a step further than Spitzy before him. Schwager's attempt to refer to a reflective level ("now one should know" line 857, *858*) is undercut by him in that he presents her premises as wrong: the German *Wehrmacht* was anti-Nazi and honourable, which amounts to a denial of the criminal character of World War II (*strategy of downplaying*).[12]

Legitimised by his status as former concentration camp prisoner and opponent of the Nazi regime, he sympathises with the leaders of the *Wehrmacht* ("we went on about Hitler" "there were many things in common") and includes them into a we-group with the positive characteristics of resistance fighters (member categorisation). The generic generalisation achieved by the definite article ("the leadership", line 887) levels out differences and prevents a differentiated view. As evidence Maleta adduces his personal story (a single case *per definitionem*). This strategy is frequently used in *justifications* in that – by virtue of generalisation – a single case (authentic or not) is ascribed the power of logical justification (cf. Wodak et al. 1990:254ff. and Benke and Wodak in this volume). In this, Maleta's utterance is a fallacy of hasty generalisation (Reisigl & Wodak 2001:73) and violates not only the rules of logic but also some central rules for rational disputes (Kienpointner 1996; Reisigl & Wodak 2001:70f.)

The former monarchist youth leader Lovrek adds to Maleta's account:

Extract 11:

910   LOV: I'd like to add the following to what you've said (addressing Maleta; intimate/familiar address pronoun). I'm sitting here thanks to the *Wehrmacht*. When I was released from the concentration camp – and got my ASSENTIERUNG in August 1941, the chairman, a colonel, looked at my musterroll. Told me to come with him just as I was, stark naked.

915   Opened this door in the wall behind him, that was in the Max-Zweig-Kaserne (barracks) in Munich. Told me, you are .. you've been to Dachau. You are a monarchist. Remember the clerk out there, he is a capuchin monk. If you get the feeling that the Gestapo .. is observing you or if you have the feeling that, well, they might be going to

920   arrest you again, then come immediately here to the Max-Zweig-Kaserne to this clerk. We'll draft you. Then you are off their hook.

910:   *LOV*:   *Ich möchte nur noch zu Deiner Sache ((adressiert Maleta)) folgendes sagen. Ich sitze sitze hier, dank der damaligen Wehrmacht. Als ich aus dem KZ herausgekommen bin – und im August 41 meine Assentierung gehabt hab, hat der Vorsitzende, das war ein Oberst, meine Stammrolle angschaut. Hat mir so, wie ich da im Adamskostüm gestanden bin,*

915   *gesagt, kommen Sie mit. Hat hinter sich eine . eine Tapetentür aufgemacht, das war in der Max-Zweig-Kaserne in München. Hat mir gsagt, Sie sind . Sie kommen aus Dachau. Sie sind Monarchist. Merken Sie sich den Schreiber da draußen, das ist ein Kapuzinerfrater, nicht wahr. Wenn Sie das Gefühl haben, daß die GESTAPO. Sie beschattet oder*

920   *überhaupt das Gefühl haben, nicht wahr, daß wiederum der Zugriff kommt, dann kommen Sie sofort, nicht wahr, hier in die Max-Zweig-Kaserne zu dem Schreiber. Wir ziehen Sie ein. Da sind Sie aus den Fängen der GESTAPO.*

Lovrek uses the same strategy as Maleta (justification by generalising an exemplary story), taking the discussion about the *Wehrmacht* another step further: the leadership didn't only "go on about Hitler" (line 892, *894*), but actively opposed the Gestapo. With his story he opens the differentiation of the *Wehrmacht* against the Gestapo with regard to the feature of criminality, that is he distinguishes between the criminal and/or hostile Gestapo and the positively valued *Wehrmacht*. The *Wehrmacht* itself is depicted as unified and devoid of inner contradictions, chronological developments are not topicalised. The positive evaluation is thus extended to all parts of the *Wehrmacht* via generalisation (metonymy of institution for those responsible). Again, we have to deal with a fallacy against hasty generalisation.

Immediately after this Brigadier Birsak is given the floor (he had been addressed by the moderator earlier). He was the commander of the batallion of the guard which protected the Austrian president Miklas against SS troops under Skorzeny and successfully managed without bloodshed during the first turbulent hours after the "*Einmarsch*" (invasion). Birsak depicts himself as a good and enthusiastic soldier who wanted to go and fight at the front (*positive self-presentation*). He continues his account as follows:

Extract 12:

950   BIR: And er . the simple fact which which none
            of my relatives understood. You were in the batallion of the guard,
            you've thrown out Skorzeny and they still kept you in the army.
            And nothing happened to you? They couldn't believe that. And I
            know about officers who er .during . the Schuschnigg era . because
            of their pro-Nazi
955   activism . were put into the waiting loop, the German *Wehrmacht*
            didn't like those. They were put on hold somewhere. Because the
            German *Wehrmacht* was highly honourable then.
950   BIR: *Und ah . schon die Tatsache, was was alle*
            meine Verwandten nicht verstanden haben. Du warst beim Garde-
            bataillon, hast den Skorzeny hinausgeworfen und trotzdem haben sie
            dich beim Militär behalten. Und dir ist nichts geschehen? Das haben sie
            nicht geglaubt. Und ich weiß von Offizieren, die ah . unter
955   *. der Schuschniggzeit . wegen nationalsozialistischer Umtriebe . ah*
            auf Wartegebühr gestellt wurden, die hat die deutsche Wehr-
            macht nicht gern genommen. Die sind irgendwo auf ein Abstellgeleise
            hingestellt worden. Denn die deutsche Wehrmacht war damals noch
            hoch anständig.

Birsak also interprets his military career as former Austrian officer in the *Wehrmacht* as evidence for the *Wehrmacht*'s anti-Nazi attitude. He implies that this was the reason why pro-Austrian officers were gladly accepted in contradistinction to the so-called "illegal Nazis", that is officers who had been members of the NSDAP after it had been outlawed in 1934 ("officers who er . under . the Schuschnigg era . because of their pro-Nazi activism . were put into the waiting loop", lines 953ff.). The turn ends in the assertion, albeit with a temporal restriction ("*damals noch*", line *958*), that the *Wehrmacht* was "highly honourable" (line 957). Birsak, too, uses a personal story as seeming proof against Schwager's hypothesis that the *Wehrmacht* had been involved in a criminal war and had pursued non-legitimate aims (fallacy of hasty generalisation).

On the content level we thus have two opposing views: Schwager's request to discuss the function of the *Wehrmacht* from today's point of view on the one hand (re-contextualisation), and the assertion of three former soldiers, who use the strategy of story-telling for their argumentation, that the *Wehrmacht* was anti-Nazi, honourable and respectable. Schwager's attempt to use the historical distance of several decades in order to develop a new and shared evaluation is undercut by strategic *playing down*, *relativising* and the linguistic *strategy of telling exemplary stories*, which has the function of denying what actually happened (as well). Within the discussion as a whole the succession of the three stories assembles the rhetoric figure of a triad (*tricolon*), with a clearly perceptible intensification, a frequent figure in persuasive (manipulative) discourse. All these strategies can be classified as *justifications* and have therefore perpetuating functions.

In view of the fact that, only weeks before, the Waldheim affair had led to unprecedented public discussions about the war crimes of the *Wehrmacht* in the Balkans (Kurz et al. 1988; Menz 1991) it is astonishing that these interpretations are never problematised by the moderator. On the contrary, the moderator supports the dominance of this view of history by interrupting Schwager and employing his inherent knowledge of Maleta's experiences with the *Wehrmacht,* at least partly an *argumentum ad verecundiam,* a misplaced appeal to deep respect and reverence for authorities:

> This fallacy consists of backing one's own standpoint by means of reference to authorities considered to be or passed off as being competent, superior, sacrosanct, unimpeachable and so on. The appeal to an authority is always fallacious if the respective authority is (. . .) prejudiced (. . .).
>
> (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 72)

The attempt to establish an alternative discourse is thus left to another discussant. As he had already done with regard to the topic of Austro-fascism before, Bronner, writer and cabaret-artist, attempts to give a more differentiated view of the *Wehrmacht* and to expose the general view as a myth.

Extract 13:
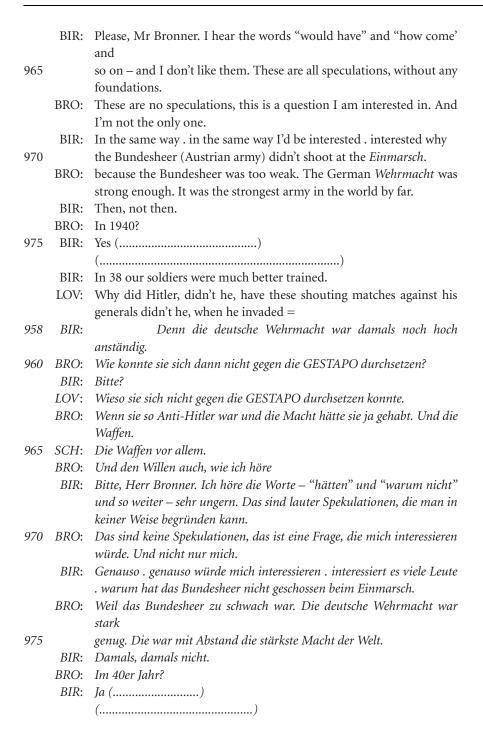
956	BIR:	Because the *Wehrmacht* was highly honourable then.
	BRO:	How come it couldn't assert itself against the Gestapo?
	BIR:	Pardon?
	LOV:	Why it couldn't assert itself against the Gestapo.
960	BRO:	If it was so anti-Hitler; and it would have had the power. And the weapons.
	SCH:	Especially the weapons.
	BRO:	And the will too, I hear.

	BIR:	Please, Mr Bronner. I hear the words "would have" and "how come' and
965		so on – and I don't like them. These are all speculations, without any foundations.
	BRO:	These are no speculations, this is a question I am interested in. And I'm not the only one.
	BIR:	In the same way . in the same way I'd be interested . interested why
970		the Bundesheer (Austrian army) didn't shoot at the *Einmarsch*.
	BRO:	because the Bundesheer was too weak. The German *Wehrmacht* was strong enough. It was the strongest army in the world by far.
	BIR:	Then, not then.
	BRO:	In 1940?
975	BIR:	Yes (..)
		(..)
	BIR:	In 38 our soldiers were much better trained.
	LOV:	Why did Hitler, didn't he, have these shouting matches against his generals didn't he, when he invaded =
958	BIR:	Denn die deutsche Wehrmacht war damals noch hoch anständig.
960	BRO:	Wie konnte sie sich dann nicht gegen die GESTAPO durchsetzen?
	BIR:	Bitte?
	LOV:	Wieso sie sich nicht gegen die GESTAPO durchsetzen konnte.
	BRO:	Wenn sie so Anti-Hitler war und die Macht hätte sie ja gehabt. Und die Waffen.
965	SCH:	Die Waffen vor allem.
	BRO:	Und den Willen auch, wie ich höre
	BIR:	Bitte, Herr Bronner. Ich höre die Worte – "hätten" und "warum nicht" und so weiter – sehr ungern. Das sind lauter Spekulationen, die man in keiner Weise begründen kann.
970	BRO:	Das sind keine Spekulationen, das ist eine Frage, die mich interessieren würde. Und nicht nur mich.
	BIR:	Genauso . genauso würde mich interessieren . interessiert es viele Leute . warum hat das Bundesheer nicht geschossen beim Einmarsch.
	BRO:	Weil das Bundesheer zu schwach war. Die deutsche Wehrmacht war stark
975		genug. Die war mit Abstand die stärkste Macht der Welt.
	BIR:	Damals, damals nicht.
	BRO:	Im 40er Jahr?
	BIR:	Ja (...........................)
		(..)

980   BIR: *Im Jahr 38, da waren unsere Soldaten wesentlich besser ausgebildet.*
          LOV: *Weshalb hat denn der Hitler, nicht wahr, die . seine Schreikrämpfe*
                  gekriegt gegen seine Generale, nicht wahr, wie er einmarschiert ist=

Bronner reacts with a question to Birsak's praise of the *Wehrmacht* (line 957), a question which can be understood in two ways: as a rhetorical question or as asking for information. The reason for this being that in spite of its supposed anti-Nazi attitude the *Wehrmacht* did not oppose Hitler's or the Gestapo's activities even though it would have had the means and – as Bronner remarks somewhat sarcastically (line 960) – apparently also the will if the others' accounts are to be believed. In this manner Bronner topicalises one of the contradictions in the argumentation of the other discussants and implicitly requires an explanation: either there must be a good explanation for the passivity of the *Wehrmacht vis à vis* the Gestapo, or the picture drawn by the others cannot be upheld. With this he puts his finger on the logical generalisation fallacy inherent in the three stories told earlier. Schwager supports him in this (line 962). In contradistinction to the other discussants, Bronner does not use a personal story to support his views but tries to conduct a rational dispute based on specific basic rules uncovering their violation (e.g. the rule of using plausible arguments and schemes of argumentation and/or the rule of correct reference to implicit premises). He uses speech acts such as questions in order to interact directly with the other discussants.

Birsak realises the face-threatening impact of his question; he reacts with special politeness and then switches to the meta-level, explicitly referring to the kind of utterance Bronner made. He reformulates Bronner's question as speculation, thereby calling into doubt the appropriacy of the speech-act as a whole (line 964). Bronner uncovers this *fallacy of ignoring the counter-argument* (*ignoratio elenchi*, cf. Reisigl & Wodak 2001:73) by defining what he said as an explicit question. Birsak's answer to this is another question followed by a change of topic (Austrian *Bundesheer* (federal army) vs. German *Wehrmacht* instead of German *Wehrmacht* vs. Gestapo), again an *ignoratio elenchi*. It can be valued as a downplaying strategy, as the argument relativises the power of the German *Wehrmacht*. Bronner parries succinctly by pointing out that the relative strength of the two armies represents the vital difference, detecting once again the manipulative attempt of Birsak's utterance.

Other discussants challenge this view (lines 973ff.) but the matter will not be pursued further in this context.

Summarising, we can say that the supporters of world view I according to our hypothesis use primarily strategies of justification and positive self-presentation with the macro-function of perpetuation. This is not surprising, because their conception of Austria's past has been the dominant one and the discussants' aim was to defend it. Especially the strategies of downplaying, relativising and de-

contextualisation are frequently used by the participants. The supporters of the historical view II, who form a minority not only in the discussion round, on the other hand use strategies of re-contextualisation, which primarily have a transformative function in that part of the world view of the opponents should be problematised and changed as a consequence. Graphically the use of the strategies can be ascribed as follows:

Table 3. Actually used strategies

"Historical view I"	
Macro-strategy	**Strategies and argumentation topics**
macro-strategy of perpetuation	– de-contextualisation
	– downplaying
	– relativising
	– positive self-presentation
	– negation
"Historical view II"	
macro-strategy of transformation	– re-contextualisation

But another difference is conspicuous. Whereas the former members of the *Wehrmacht* use a number of argumentative (pragmatic) fallacies to raise their points of view, Bronner as a representative of another conception of Austria's past, uncovers exactly these inconsistencies and insists on logical and correct argumentative premises and rules. Although he is not able (or not allowed) to establish topics of his own, with this "critical" attitude he repeatedly drives his opponents into a corner. Here the specific role of the moderator comes into play.

Turning stories into history: The role of the moderator

As already mentioned, the ORF has a crucial (and at that time had an even greater) role in the construction of an Austrian identity. Its position as a monopolist of the broadcasting media and its transmission range make the company the most powerful media corporation in Austria. As a consequence, the views and opinions uttered by its proponents have to be seen as influential on the collective memory (Halbwachs 1985) and the national identity of the Austrians (Wodak et al. 1998). The analysis of their language behaviour may therefore be illuminating.

In 1988 the person chairing the discussion, H. F. Mayer, was an important executive of the ORF and thus a figure of considerable authority. By interrupting Schwager and addressing another discussant, he had once before tried to cut off

the discourse about revisionist views of history (Extract 9). His new intervention continues this strategy:

Extract 14:

979 LOV: … invaded=

980 MAY: =Here we are fortunately back to our original topic – if only via a detour – back at the question I would have posed earlier: What happened in 1938, was it a military success of the neighbouring country which forced something upon us? Could we have resisted it – Bronner's question – there were plans.

985 BRO: Sorry, but that was not my question. Why the Austrian *Bundesheer* didn't fight against the *Wehrmacht*. No! My question was why the *Wehrmacht* didn't fight the Gestapo and the SS.

    BIR: That was the question.

    MAY: Well.

983 *LOV*: *… einmarschiert ist=*

    MAY: *=Da sind wir Gott sei Dank von selber beim Thema – wenn auch durch*

985   *einen Umweg – bei der Frage die ich vorher gestellt hätte: War das, was 1938 passiert ist, ein militärischer Erfolg des Nachbarlandes, das uns was aufgezwungen hat. Hätten wir die Möglichkeit gehabt, Frage Bronner, uns zu wehren, Planungen hats gegeben.*

    BRO: *Entschuldigung, das war nicht meine Frage. Warum das Bundesheer sich*

990   *nicht gegen die Wehrmacht zur Wehr gesetzt hat. Nein! Meine Frage, warum die Wehrmacht sich nicht gegen die GESTAPO und die SS zur Wehr gesetzt hat.*

    BIR: *Das war die Frage.*

    MAY: *Bitte.*

After Birsak had tried (with Lovrek's support) to counter Bronner's objections (Extract 13) the moderator continues with no audible gap between one utterance and the next in order to introduce a new topic. In a programme like *Club 2* it is one of the tasks of a moderator to manage the discussion in such a way that there are smooth transitions between topics. The impression that a list of predefined topics is ticked off in a type of group-interview needs to be avoided. The whole set-up of the *Club 2*, its open-endedness, is meant to simulate a natural (seemingly unobserved) discussion and to reduce the pressure to "work through" a list of topics. Mayer uses the formulation "Here we are fortunately back to our original topic" for this purpose. His use of the *Konjunktiv* 2 (subjunctive) "the question I would have posed earlier" points to the list of topics which he as a moderator wants discussed in the course of the programme. He further tries to add to the coherence of

the discourse by appropriating Bronner's formulation of the alternative discourse, thereby suppressing the emerging conflict between two views of history which are in part diametrically opposed (cf. above). As the moderator, Mayer has the positional power to do so. As Birsak before him (cf. Extract 13), Mayer reinterprets Bronner's question into one about the Austrian *Bundesheer* and the *Wehrmacht* in connection with the invasion in 1938. This can be interpreted as a straw man fallacy that

> amounts 'to twisting somebody's words', that is to say, to presenting a distorted picture of the antagonist's standpoint in order to be able to refute the standpoint or argument more easily and to make it less tenable.
>
> (Reisigl & Wodak 2001:73)

Mayer does not exactly refute Bronner's argument, but turns its sense into a way that it fits his intentions of changing topic. He does this even though Bronner had rejected this misinterpretation already once before. Again, Bronner repeats his original question by explicitly referring to the misunderstanding and restating his point. His rhetorical resources help Bronner in this so that Mayer has to concede Birsak time for a response. After a short statement by Birsak, Mayer continues:

Extract 15:

	BIR:	((...))
997	MAY:	I have you know, I actually have a a . strange feeling all this time. We are here discussing something which comes and came after our topic. About the role of the *Wehrmacht*. About the relationship between
1000		*Wehrmacht* and Gestapo. I'd like to return to what happened 50 years ago.
	BRO:	Yes, I found it irritating that in the course of this discussion, the German *Wehrmacht*, the officers of the German *Wehrmacht*, are almost being sanctified retrospectively.
1002	BIR:	
	MAY:	*Ich hab, wissen Sie eigentlich ein ein . seltsames Gefühl schon die ganze Zeit. Wir diskutieren über etwas, das eigentlich im Gefolge*
1005		*unseres Themas kommt und gekommen ist. Über die Rolle der Wehrmacht. Über das Verhältnis Wehrmacht GESTAPO. Ich möchte zurück zu dem, was vor 50 Jahren passiert ist.*
	BRO:	*Ja, mich hat irritiert, dass im Zuge dieser Diskussion, die deutsche Wehrmacht, das Offizierskorps der deutschen Wehrmacht nahezu heilig*
1010		*gesprochen wird retrospektiv.*

Mayer explicitly states his intention to conclude the topic even against the will of the discussants. Bronner, on the other hand, summarises why his objections were important to him: he sees precisely the same lack of reflection and re-evaluation 50 years on which Schwager had pointed out when the topic was initiated. Even though Spitzy had tried to depict this historical view as the negligible views of a handful of "irredeemables" the discussion shows that it obviously has a great number of followers: it is supported by the majority of the discussants and the moderator does not even try to relativise it. The task of problematizing this view is left to Bronner, and is eventually aborted by the moderator.

Extract 16:

1016	BIR:	[(...)
	MAL:	[(..)
	MAY:	[Brigadier Birsak, Dr Maleta. I don't want to lead a discussion about the *Wehrmacht* now. We'll probably have it later this year, because now
1020		we re on on on the eve of this anniversary.
	SCH:	[I'd like to say something in response to your question.
	MAY:	[And I heard – in my car stereo – I heard this very – moving and impressive speech of er . Dr Frankl on the Town Hall Square. I think . in this Club 2 on "God save Austria – Anschluss or
1025		Hitler's first victim?" we ought to finally get discussing or it will be 12 o'clock and we still haven't touched the topic.
	BRO:	Sorry, I'm withdrawing my question.
1016	*BIR*:	*[(...)*
	MAL:	*[(..)*
	MAY:	*[Herr Brigadier Birsak, Herr Dr. Maleta. Ich möchte jetzt wirklich keine*
		Wehrmachtsdiskussion führen. Die werden ma eh noch wahrscheinlich im
1020		*Laufe des Jahres führen, denn wir stehen wir stehen wirklich am am am Vorabend dieses Jahrestages.*
	SCH:	*[Ich möchte gerne zu Ihrer Frage was sagen.*
	MAY:	*[Und ich hab selber im Autoradio diese sehr – bewegende und sehr eindrucksvolle Ansprache des eh . Dr. Frankl am*
1025		*Rathausplatz gehört. Ich glaub . wir müßten wirklich uns in diesem Club über das "Gott schütze Österreich – Anschluß oder Hitlers erstes Opfer?". eh endlich zum Diskutieren zusammensetzen, sonst ist es 12 und wir sind noch immer nicht beim Thema.*
	BRO:	*Entschuldigung, ich ziehe meine Frage zurück.*

Mayer summarises and evaluates the discussion on the *Wehrmacht*, a discussion which, because of the Waldheim affair, had a central role in Austria at the time so that the extended discourse on it was no coincidence and has to be seen in this wider context. Mayer explicitly concludes the *Wehrmacht* topic against the resistance of other discussants whom he addresses directly (Birsak, Maleta); citing an authority (Frankl) and implicitly reproaching the discussants ("we ought to finally get discussing") he introduces "his" topic. In order to achieve this he uses the means available to him in his role as the moderator: finalising of current topic, initiating and asserting a new topic against the resistance of other discussants, interrupting (line 1021, Schwager), reprimanding and admonishing the others to stay with the topic defined by him. With this he finally places a taboo on the topic of the *Wehrmacht*. As all but one of the men present had served in that same *Wehrmacht* a clarifying, differentiated discussion would certainly have been conflictive and is avoided. Bronner accepts the authority of the moderator. By explicitly formulating the withdrawal of his question, however, he directs the focus one last time on the non-treatment of this topic.

Conclusion

The discussion, extracts of which have been analysed in this article, was broadcast live on a symbolically highly significant historical date: the 50th anniversary of the invasion of the German *Wehrmacht* in Austria on 11 March 1938. The date has to be seen in the context of the "commemorative year 1988" declared by the Austrian government when for the first time a concerted effort was undertaken to topicalise Austria's share in the crimes of the Nazis. It needs to be said, though, that these activities would hardly have taken this form and extent had there not been the Waldheim affair (1986) and the decision of the US government to enter the Austrian president's name on its watchlist. The ORF, finally, Austria's official and at the time only broadcasting network, was the country's single most important mass medium. It is in this threefold context, therefore, that the analysis presented in this article should be seen.

Because of the inserts, their political affiliation, and their self-presentation in the discussion, the historical views of the discussants can be categorised fairly unambiguously into the conceptions presented in the Introduction. Whereas the majority of the discussants support view I, the alternative view is represented by Bronner and Schwager.

The analysis has shown a number of asymmetries: First of all, the number of participants representing the different positions is unequal (four vs. two). This alone has the consequence that at least with respect to the presentation, histori-

cal view I has a decided advantage over the other, but inherently as well through admitting more differentiation and unfolding of arguments. Second, the election of topics and length of contributions allowed by the moderator was unequal. The supporters of the conservative historical view had the chance to refer to their experience and especially their evaluation and assessment in great detail, whereas the other discussants were not given an opportunity to present a coherent statement. Their view of Austria's past was present only in the form of intermittent alternative discourses, as reactions and attempted corrections and transformations. In the extracts analysed this becomes evident by the different presentation strategies: while the former use primarily storytelling as a linguistic device (with its inherent argumentative fallacies), the others (especially Bronner) adhere to an ideal argumentative style by repeatedly uncovering fallacies committed by the others. Third, the behaviour of the moderator himself is one-sided in that through his interventions he supports the conservative view of history with all the discursive means available to him in this role: interrupting, initiating topics, concluding topics, changing topics, *Vereinnahmung* for his own interests.

These asymmetries lead to an unbalanced weighting of the different discourses and historical views; their consequence is the prevention of differentiation and discussion as alternative voices are silenced (Schwager is systematically interrupted) or urged to either apologise or withdraw (Bronner in Extracts 5 and 16, respectively). As a result, different views (or in a metaphorical sense: stories) are subordinated to a single, rather coherent, dominant view by subtle strategies and interventions. The largest and at that time the only electronic broadcasting medium contributes to form *the* (official, dominant) history out of many stories. Of the deep ambivalence in Austria's history as represented by the Moscow Declaration only one side, that of Austria as the victim, remains.

The analysis also shows something else: similar patterns are recognisable in the situation of Austria in the year 2000: the Austrian government once more sees itself exclusively in the role of the victim, this time of a conspiracy on part of the other EU member-states. There is talk of the need for "national unity" which means that necessary differentiations are rejected as "unpatriotic". The attempts and the temptation to discursively construct a unified "history" thus persists well beyond the occasion of anniversary speeches.

Notes

1. Cf. also Liessmann (2001) and the debate on the internet edition of the Austrian newspaper "Der Standard" (http://derstandard.at/politik or http://derstandard.at/standard. asp?channel=politik&ressort=kda).

2. Sequences in the *Club 2* discussion to that effect could not be treated in this paper for reasons of space (cf. Menz 1992 in Wodak & Menz (Eds.), 108–128).

3. Cf. the Historical survey section for a more detailed and accurate description.

4. In this I follow Wodak et al. (1994: 17–27) and Mitten (1992), especially Ch. 2.

5. The "*Heimwehr*" consisted of paramilitary troops which had been formed towards the end of World War I in order to protect various border regions but had never been disbanded. Despite several attempts at unification the *Heimwehr* remained organised on a regional basis some parts showing sympathies with Italian fascism others with the Nazis (Carsten 1977; Edmondson 1978).

6. A detailed account of the events leading up to the *Anschluss* can be found in Gulick (1948), Brook-Sheperd (1972) and Stern (1991).

7. The success of de-Nazification in Germany should not be overestimated, however. Cf. Stern (1991).

8. Chancellor Schuschnigg's last words of his farewell speech.

9. Adapting the classification by Wodak et al. (1998: 79–93).

10. Line references to the original German excerpts are typed in italics, the ones to the English translation in roman type.

11. Schwager emigrated in 1938 in order to avoid arrest by the Nazis, evidently well aware of the dangers even then.

12. For the criminal aspects of the German Wehrmacht cf. e.g. Benke and Wodak in this volume and the literature cited there.

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Orthopraxy, writing and identity*
Shaping lives through borrowed genres in Congo

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Introduction

History is a discourse in which accounts of events are set and interpreted in relation to time frames. Discourse analysis can elucidate the ways in which history-as-discourse relates to time, and one of the inroads into such a venture is investigations of 'stance', ways in which people position themselves and their accounts *vis à vis* particular time frames often combined with spatial frames and involving moral and political frames in which accounts of events can be couched. Genre work – deploying communicative means sensed to belong to and index a particular and culturally recognizable 'way of speaking' (Hymes 1975) – is a clue to this. Genres offer pre-patterned expressions and articulations of stance, and performing 'historical' genres may offer opportunities for constructing 'history' in the culturally and socially recognized (or recognizable) sense (Collins 1998; Feld 1996). Thus, the production of historical text involves entextualization work, setting/desetting/resetting evens in particular (morally and politically loaded) time frames, and this in turn involves the usual power differences of entextualization: access to contextual spaces, the importance of 'the record', orientations towards authoritative voices, shifts in referential and indexical frames and so on (Bauman & Briggs 1990).

I want to explore these generic dimension of the production of historical text from a particular, problematic, angle: that of orthopraxy applied to subjectivity – a concept which is hard to detach from historicity. In his brilliant discussion of hegemony and resistance, James C. Scott (1990:117) opposes orthopraxy to orthodoxy, saying that hegemony often occurs in the shape of hegemonic practices rather than hegemonic beliefs. People's behavior can emanate

received normative rules and models, while their worldview remains largely untouched and can be a tool of resistance against the deeper meanings contained in that behavior. Consequently, practices and conventional meanings are dissociated and the assumption of a conventional ideological 'load' to certain practices is analytically unwarranted. Thus, in the pre-civil war Southern US, slaves would uphold a 'show' of docile and acquiescent slave-identity to their masters as a means of self-protection, in order to avoid being qualified as a 'smart nigger'; in the absence of their masters, however, radical anti-white and subversive discourses and imagery would flourish: 'hidden transcripts' of the overt relationships, in Scott's terminology. These hidden transcripts could emerge at the surface of social life in case of crises – rebellions, uprisings or violent conflicts. The absence of *overt* resistance, therefore, did not preclude the existence of resistance per se. What was visible in social life was orthopraxy, hegemony-oriented *practices*, not hegemony-oriented faith or belief.

Scott made these remarks in a discussion of ideology; I feel they can be productively applied to the ways in which symbolic behavior works in general. More specifically, they may offer an interesting spectre through which to look at the mobility of signs and sign-systems across referential and indexical spaces (Silverstein & Urban 1996). In particular, taking stock of Scott's suggestions about the connections between orthopraxy, resistance and identity-formation, we may address in a more refined fashion the ways in which acts of identity are lodged in the use of generically regimented models of text and textuality, forms of use that can be identified ethnographically.

The suggestion I want to make in this paper runs along the following lines. Generically regimented models of text and textuality offer spaces for identity-construction, and performing them can amount to a (local) construction of Self. But in order to understand such moves into identity-constructing spaces, we need to take account of different economies of meanings and signs. The shift from one frame into another involves relocations of referential and indexical meanings attached to signs – a process of re-entextualization in Silverstein and Urban's (1996) terms, in which text-material belonging to one referential and indexical system ('context' in the sense of Gumperz 1992) is lifted out of that system and placed into another one. This form of relocation is not a strictly 'local' operation: it is also a non-local phenomenon that needs to be addressed sociolinguistically.

One is reminded at this point of Hymes' 'second type of linguistic relativity' (Hymes 1966). Whereas the first, Whorfian, type of relativity pertained to different structures having similar functions (organizing world views), Hymes suggested "that the role of language may differ from community to commu-

nity; that in general the functions of language in society are a problem for investigation, not postulation" (1966:116). Similar structures, in other words, can prove to have very different functions depending on the particular "cultural reality" (ibid.) in which they are used. This cultural reality, I take it, includes patterns of speech, repertoires and ways of organizing them, linguistic hierarchies and ideologies, and the particular function of speech forms will depend on how these speech forms relate to the larger whole: "Placement among some other aspects of culture implies some degree of fit for the linguistic traits" (1966:119).

My target is grassroots writing from Congo, a type of writing which is performed in highly problematic economies of signs and resources, but with lots of opportunities, consequently, to relocate the meaning of signs. I discuss two attempts at constructing 'history' in handwritten documents, and each time issues of subjectivity and the construction of 'lives' are central. The data are highly exceptional: they are texts that were only written once, not as part of an established tradition but one-time, other-directed, written acts of language. Their exceptional character is precisely the feature that may point us towards the 'degree of fit' of such texts in larger patterns of culture and society.

Orthopraxy and having a life

Subjectivity is often associated with the practices by means of which individuals construct an autobiography, i.e. the way in which individuals set and situate themselves *vis à vis* larger temporal, spatial and social patterns. To quote Giddens (1991:53, cited in Castells 1997:10), "self-identity is not a distinctive trait possessed by the individual. It is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her/his biography". Important here (though by now truistic) is to realize that 'a life' is not a static property, not something one 'has', but something that requires active semiotic, representational and discursive construction. Equally important (though slightly less truistic) is to realize that this kind of construction develops not in a vacuum but in spaces filled with codes, conventions, expectations and so on. Creativity is undoubtedly the norm, for life is seldom dull, though creativity may be controlled or determined in various, often invisible ways. Raymond Williams (1977:212) summarizes the issue as follows:

> Creative practice is thus of many kinds. It is already, and actively, our practical consciousness. When it becomes struggle – the active struggle for new

consciousness through new relationships that is the ineradicable emphasis of the Marxist sense of self-creation – it can take many forms. It can be the long and difficult remaking of an inherited (determined) practical consciousness: a process often described as development but in practice a struggle at the roots of the mind – not casting off an ideology but confronting a hegemony in the fibres of the self and in the hard practical susbtance of effective and continuing relationships. It can be more evident practice: the reproduction and illustration of hitherto excluded and subordinated models; the embodiment and performance of known but excluded and subordinated experiences and relationships; the articulation and formation of latent, momentary, and newly possible consciousness.

In other words, there is always a complex interplay between what is there and what can be constructed, a trade-off between available, accessible and exploitable resources. Consequently, as noted by Williams, a lot of the construction work is a matter of what is already around: the question 'what did this author do to this form can be "reversed, becoming 'what did this form do to this author'?" (Williams 1977: 192). This more nuanced notion of determination is central to my argument here: given the availability, accesibility and exploitability of certain sets of resources, people construct historical discourses and representations in ways that seem to map resources on newly reordered functions, thus arriving at orthopractically shaped 'lives'.

   This is a bit disconcerting, for the acquisition of a 'life' – the acquisition of subjectivity, in other words – depends on the capacity to reorder generically regimented discursive resources and functions, referential and indexical frames which give (local) 'meaning' to the resources. This means that the capacity to arrive at subjectivity would be subject to distribution patterns of (hence, differential access to) particular codes for constructing them. I cannot substantiate this claim in general here, but I intend to make it in a particular intercultural context: subjectivity is not immediately transculturally readable or recognizable, for the reorderings of resources and functions create all sorts of difficulties in interpretation. Texts have undergone complicated entextualization processes, and a close ethnographic scrutiny of the relations between resources and functions is required. With this in mind, I can now turn to the data.

Two histories

I discuss two textual complexes and, as said above, they are highly exceptional types of data. The first is a collection of three versions of an autobiography,

handwritten by a former houseboy from Shaba (Congo) for his former employer, a Belgian woman. The author, Julien (a pseudonym), had worked with the woman and her husband while the latter were expatriates in Lubumbashi during the late 1960s. After their return to Belgium in 1969, the woman had supported Julien by sending him clothes and money. When the issue of repayment arose, the woman asked Julien to write 'the story of his life' for her, with the intention of incorporating it into an autobiographical novel she was writing at the time. The effect of this request was that over a period of seven years, Julien produced three versions of the story, each time written in ballpoint on white paper. The first version was probably written around 1991–1992, the second in 1994 and the third in 1997 (see Blommaert 1999, 2001a). The three versions together total 46 pages, and they are 9, 17 and 20 pages long respectively. I acquired copies of the texts from the Belgian woman, who had asked me to translate the texts into Dutch for her.

The second document is a handwritten 'history of Zaire' produced in 1980 by the notorious Congolese popular painter Tshibumba Kanda Matulu, also from Shaba (Congo), the man who had painted a sequence of 101 paintings on Congolese history for the anthropologist Johannes Fabian (Fabian 1996 presents and discusses the paintings). The text is 73 pages long and fills the best part of a cheap copybook, given by Tshibumba to the Africanist historian Bogumil Jewsiwiecki (through relatives of Jewsiwiecki's who lived in Lubumbashi), who provided me with a copy. There are clear connections between the text and the paintings, though both events – the production of the paintings and the production of the written text – are separated by quite a few years (Fabian reports having received the paintings in 1973–1974). Fabian does not mention the existence of a written text in his 1996 book, and it is unclear whether he had used it in his discussion of Tshibumba's historical gaze in the book. Jewsiwiecki, in correspondence about this topic, claims that Tshibumba

> wrote the text for me (Jewsiwiecki), as some kind of companion/explanation to the paintings he had sold me. After I left in 1976, he (Tshibumba) brought the paintings to my parents-in-law who bought them for me. He knew that it was for me and not for them. There thus was some kind of relationship of historian-to-historian, because we knew each other well between 1971 and 1976. He often came to me to sell his paintings, knowing that I was a historian. He had towards Fabian, me and Eduard Vinck a kind of rapport among professionals of knowledge. In that respect he was different from other popular painters.

Important for the rest of the argument is the fact that both documents are instances of intercultural written communication. Julien sent his autobiographies off to the Belgian woman; Tshibumba transmitted his to relatives of a Canadian historian. Given what we know of Julien's texts, it is clear that the texts were intended *as* intercultural communication: they were written specifically for the Belgian lady. In the case of Tshibumba, given the background of interactions on history with Fabian, it is equally likely that the text served as a 'reminder' for Fabian or others interested in his historiography (Blommaert 2001b). I will come back to this later. At this point it is important to keep in mind that the writing is done from a distance, with no direct 'quality assessor' in the neighborhood. The audience is virtual, and its expectations are a matter of imagination. So quite a lot of what the texts represent hinges on the way in which they have been assembled out of locally available resources.

Both texts are written by people from Shaba, the southernmost province of the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire). Congo is, like all African countries, an extremely multilingual country in which apart from the 'official' language French and four semi-official 'national languages' Swahili, Lingala, Kikongo and Cilubà, a great number of local languages are used. Multilingualism is the rule and frequent code-mixing and shifting (in often intricate ways, see Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998) occurs in all urban centers. Colonial as well as postcolonial troubles have made Congo a region of intense migration both internally as well as externally, and languages with a regional distribution such as the four 'national' ones thus often function as the lingua francae of diasporic communities.

Both Julien and Tshibumba are most likely to be native speakers of a Luba language, as both were born in the north of the Shaba province and had migrated into the large urban center of Lubumbashi. There, they must have acquired the local variety of Swahili which serves as the lingua franca. Both also had some competence in French, the postcolonial 'official' language and the language of instruction in schools in the former Belgian Congo. Julien's texts are written in Swahili, with a shift into French in the final parts of the second and third versions. Tshibumba's text is in French. In all cases, the writing is in a monoglot code, i.e. a code as close to 'monolingual' Swahili or French as possible. There are only distant traces of codeswitching in Julien's texts, while they are absent from Tshibumba's text. This is in itself meaningful, for we know that the colloquial use of these languages in urban Shaba is marked by dense codeswitching between Swahili and French (de Rooij 1996). Monolingual styles are therefore 'special', and they fit into local symbolic hierarchies of linguistic varieties in which monolingual French, monolingual Swahili, and urban mixed va-

rieties all assume situationally dependent ranks and allow for locally evaluated identity work (an excellent discussion of this is Fabian 1982; see also Meeuwis 1997 for more general sociolinguistic observations).

Julien and Tshibumba live in an environment in which literacy is a rare commodity. Their handling of orthographic conventions and narrative style betrays an incomplete insertion into economies of literacy: both have difficulties in systematically organizing graphic symbols on paper, the texts are littered with 'errors' (seen from a normative viewpoint), the overall coherence of the story is sometimes questionable, and to the extent that 'documentation' would be an instrument required for constructing historical narratives (e.g. for Julien, in constructing his three versions) there seems to be a near-absence of directly usable sources of information. Neither Julien nor Tshibumba seem to have worked on the basis of an 'archive', and neither seem to have kept copies of their writings. The texts themselves are the archives of remembering. This is important to keep in mind: the deep differences between economies of literacies allow for shifts in functionality and relative positioning of written texts *vis à vis* other genres and forms of communication – Hymes' 'degree of fit' mentioned above. Some excellent research in literacy-poor environments has shown how intricate such function allocations can be (Besnier 1995; Street 2001; see also Collins 1995 and Kress 1996). Consequently, little in the way of current associations between literate forms of communication and functions can be taken for granted.

These comments provide the general sociolinguistic layer upon which the documents are built. It is important to remember that both monolingual styles as well as literacy are precious commodities in this economy, that Julien as well as Tshibumba have limited access to these commodities, and that they live in an environment where hierarchically regimented multilingualism is widespread. What does all of this mean for the specific texts? Let us take a closer look at how Julien and Tshibumba construct their stories.

Borrowed genres

I have mentioned above that some of the features of the texts mark them as 'special'. Both the monoglot code as well as the written format indicate intentions to write a *particular type of text*, not just any text. A considerable amount of detailed discussion, way beyond the scope of this paper, would be required to make this clear. A point-by-point summary may however be useful; the reader may be referred to Blommaert (1999, 2001a, 2001b) for details.

Figure 1. Fragment from p. 56 of Tshibumba's text

1. Both Julien and Tshibumba make great efforts to use particular text-structural conventions in their writings. They divide their text into chapters, use chapter titles in a more or less conventional way, and some degree of aesthetic elaboration is used: Tshibumba provides sketches of national and regional flags and symbols used by the various governments he discusses in his narrative (see Figure 1); Julien uses particular forms of underlining in chapter titles as embellishment. The texts are partly *visual* objects, and efforts have been made to give particular 'shapes' to the texts.

2. In both cases, the texts appear to be the product of time- and energy-consuming elaboration. Labor and creativity have been generously invested in both texts. To give an idea of the amount of time and energy required to write a text: Julien narrates how he travels whenever he intends to write to his Belgian addressee. He travels enormous distances – several hundreds of miles – from his home town in Northern Shaba to Lubumbashi or Mbuji-Mayi, and he does this by means of very basic traveling means: on foot, on a bicycle or hitch-hiking. Writing trips, consequently, take many months to accomplish. The material, temporal and social investment spent on writing a text is enormous, for while he is away, his family needs to be supported and he himself needs to find jobs on the road.

3. More in particular, throughout the three versions of Julien's text we see an increase in structural tightness, expressed in a more consistent use of chapter divisions and titles and a significant increase in the amount of chronological detail. In the first version, only 15 dates are mentioned; the second already

L'Histoire n'a pas de fin
ainsi écrit, dit déjà un grand
travail.

        ECRIT au SHABA par l'Artiste
Peintre Historien.

        TSHIBUMBA · KANDA · MATULU .

Fait à Lubumbashi, le 1. Septembre. 1980.

Figure 2. Page 69 of Tshibumba's text

contains 31 tokens and the third one (roughly equivalent in length to the second) contains 48 tokens. Over a period of seven years we see a gradual move into the direction of a tightly structured genre: monolingual, thematically organized into chapters, chronologically linear and coherent, detailed. In the case of Tshibumba, this tight generic structure is there right from the start. Even more, Tshibumba explicitly qualifies his story as a 'history of Zaire', thus calling on all kinds of generic expectations and conventions (see Figure 2). Both Julien and Tshibumba, in sum, display an awareness of a generic model to which they orient their texts, and their texts display clear and many features of generic regimentation.

4. But in both cases, the model seems to be unclear – it appears to be a distant image of what such a text should be. Moreover, the way in which it is realized is not always consistent. Julien shifts from Swahili into French towards the end of version 2 and 3; this code-shift marks a genre shift, from autobiographical narrative into 'letter'; yet the chapter titles that marked the genre of autobiography spill over into the letter-part of the texts and parts of the letter are headed by chapter titles (Appendix 1 provides a transcript of this fragment). In the case of Tshibumba, the difficulties in realizing the (image of a) genre are most clearly located at the level of sources and available information. He intends to write a national history, but he has no access to particular types of 'national' information that would warrant his claim to a 'history of Zaire'. His writing is strongly locked into his geographical position: he writes from Shaba, and has a keen eye for developments in that region. Zaire is only visible as soon as Mobutu enters the picture, and Tshibumba's text appears to

be influenced by propaganda from Mobutu's party. So there is a tension between a universalist, historiographic ambition and a localist perspective. At the same time, Tshibumba, like Julien, spends attention and efforts on providing accurate chronology, names and event descriptions.

5. It is also unlikely that Julien and Tshibumba had clear examples of such a genre within their reach. Both had some exposure to literacy products, and both had some schooling under Belgian colonial rule. But it is highly probable that textual genres such as autobiography and historiography were largely alien to them. That does not mean that they have no ideas about this: Tshibumba surely has a very well developed idea of what historiography is and should be (see the discussion in Fabian 1996). But it means that they had little acces to concrete textual examples of the genre they were intending to construct. The textual organization of the distant image of the genre needed to be done on the basis of borrowed, approximative models such as the cathechism and the schoolbook. The tone and style required for constructing the genre needed to be 'assembled' on the basis of what both authors had in their own 'baggage' as semi-schooled individuals living in a literacy-poor environment. While Tshibumba has some ease in writing – his handwriting reveals the steady hand of a painter – Julien still struggles with very basic writing skills (see Figure 3, compare with Figures 1 and 2). Similar difficulties of 'getting things right' occur at all levels of textual structuring.

Summarizing, the texts display a wealth of features that suggest the existence of distant generic models associatively projected onto autobiography and historiography. At the same time, they display lots of features indicating that the 'full' model is beyond their reach since they lack access to essential resources required to provide a 'complete' instantiation of the genre. The genre is something they *want* to write, but for which they lack the means and resources. They borrow the genre, but are unable to put it to full use.

The relocation of resources and functions

The effect of this tension is a complex pattern of relocations of resources and functions. To summarize it in simple terms: sub-elite resources are given elite functions, thus allowing a self-identification that does not necessarily come across to the addressees.

Again we need to look at the local economies of signs and resources in order to make this clear. I have mentioned repeatedly that Julien and Tshibumba

Figure 3. Page 5 from Julien's second version

chose a monolingual code for their writing, Swahili and French, each time a code marked by an absence of codeswitching. But saying that the code is monolingual does not mean that Julien and Tshibumba use standard varieties of these languages. As already mentioned, the texts are replete with orthographic inconsistencies, corrections displaying uncertainty with regard to e.g. inflection

or lexis, and (certainly in Julien's case, but also noticeable in Tshibumba's) clear traces of oral vernacular varieties transferred into writing. This is most noticeable in the French texts. When reading these texts, the errors are overwhelmingly visible, but when the texts are read aloud, they sound acceptable. A couple of examples may clarify this:

Julien:

> Cette lumière ça n'a pas illuminé que moi qui a
> été votre boy, la production aidera les vieux
> et les jeunes gens, surtout les jours de Fetes des
> Mariages et des deuils. Déjà une bonne somme d'
> argent qui étaient destine à moi, c'étaient tombé
> dans les mains d'autres pauvres et la Malle des
> Habits aux missionnaires, cela ne vous a pas choquer
> mais vous me parliez que Heureusement c'étaient
> tombé dans ^{les} mains d'autres pauvres.
> Vous m'avez sauvé et empecher à être Voleur

Tshibumba:

> Afin l'histoire du ZAÏRE est mal
> écrite dans beaucoup des livres, des journaux
> et dans l'enseignement, puisque nos ancêtres
> aux années les plus reculées, savaient bien
> ses gouverner (diriger) mais ne savaient
> pas lire ni ecrire, <u>voyons</u>: o**n** pay**ait** des
> impôts et choi**ssait** leurs chefs, on avaient
> des Empereurs, des Rois des notables pour-
> quoi pas des Etats **et** des Regions (provinces).

Note the frequency of errors in writing based on homophony in spoken (vernacular) French: "étaient – était", "avaient – avait", "choissait – choissisait", and so on. Note also the difficulties in using punctuation and sentence formulation. What we witness here is how Julien and Tshibumba both use the spoken, local, variety of French as the 'standard' for writing, while writing itself is a highly cumbersome enterprise.

Yet the texts are the product of enormous amounts of work, care and attention. The texts are littered with corrections and additions, revealing an awareness of 'correctness' and a desire to write 'correctly'. This suggests – a disturb-

ing idea – that to Julien and Tshibumba, the variety they produce would be the 'correct', '(qualitatively) good' variety, not improbable given the extreme limitations in access to prestige codes prevalent in their environment and noticeable in many features of the texts. I could conclude at this point that Julien and Tshibumba use sub-elite, non-prestigious varieties to fulfill elite, prestige functions: writing a 'serious', important and generically exceptional text for the benefit of someone overseas, whom they value and respect.

The argument can be broadenend by looking at Julien's and Tshibumba's attempts to construct a structured written text. I have mentioned the attempts of both writers to arrive at a tightly organized text, structured into thematically or episodically defined chapters and with a degree of aesthetic elaboration. I have also mentioned the fact that in both cases, this attempt was plagued by lots of deficiencies in realization. Julien's chapter titles – a structuring feature of the autobiographical narrative – spill over into the second genre of his texts, the letter to his Belgian patron (see Appendix 1). In the case of Tshibumba a similar feature occurs. The first part of his history is a survey of the precolonial kingdoms of the Congo. He manages to write full 'chapters' on the kingdoms of Shaba and neighbouring Kasaï, and of the Kongo kingdom of the Kinshasa region. But two other kingdoms are mentioned in chapter titles with no text underneath: the kingdom of the Mongo and that of the Bampende, both kingdoms from remote regions seen from Tshibumba's Shaba location (Appendix 2 provides a transcript of this fragment). We have chapter titles but empty chapters: there is an awareness of categorization, division and comprehensiveness as features of a 'history of Zaire', but there is no information to complete this format.

We are here facing the same phenomenon as above. Julien and Tshibumba adopt a prestige format – the tightly structured model of the 'serious' genre they try to accomplish – but realize it with means that betray their sub-elite place in the economy of communicative resources in which they live. But these sub-elite resources are given the function of realizing the elite, prestige-bearing genre.

This is the play of relocating resources and functions that is central to the construction of identities and lives here. In order to construct an autobiography – a structured, narrativized version of one's life – or an identity as 'historian' (something Tshibumba repeatedly emphasizes in his text), Julien and Tshibumba adopt elite, prestige genre-models. They have some ideas of what these genres involve in terms of linguistic and textual regimentation: monolingual, written, structured. But in order to realize this prestige model, they take what is available in their own environment: resources belonging to a sub-elite

stratum of society, which get reallocated – they receive functions and proper-
ties – so as to fit the prestige genre. Thus, even an incompletely realized genre
can provide the elite or status identities attached to the genre, seen from within
local communities and local economies of signs and symbolic resources. In lap-
idary terms: even 'bad' French can bear prestige in environments where 'good'
French is as good as inaccessible to most people. Even by means of very defi-
cient resources, Julien and Tshibumba are capable of inserting themselves in an
elite discursive space and assume prestige identities – one vested in a life im-
portant enough to be narrated in a generically structured way in Julien's case,
that of a serious historian in Tshibumba's case.

Determination and globalization go hand in hand here. Values and func-
tions of resources are attributed locally, and people construct meanings on
the basis of the codes, conventions, hierarchies and scales available to them –
the deterministic side of the argument. But the values and functions thus at-
tributed to resources such as French or Swahili are not necessarily transferable
to other environments. What can pass as 'good' Swahili in Lubumbashi does
not necessarily qualify as such in Dar es Salaam or Mombasa, and what Julien
and Tshibumba adopt as 'good' French would not necessarily be perceived as
such in Paris or Brussels. The relocation of resources and functions offers op-
portunities to move into locally defined prestige spheres, but simultaneously it
'localizes' those who grasp these opportunities.

To refer back to Raymond Williams: the creative process of forming new
consciousness by exploring "hitherto excluded and subordinated models" is
the force that allows the insertion of Julien and Tshibumba into prestige places,
but these places are fixed and this prevents this move from being recognized
translocally and transculturally. What the author does to the form is the cre-
ation of new consciousness; what the form does to the author is to keep this
consciousness in place, so to speak.

Conclusion: Orthopraxy, genre and subjectivity

We have seen how Julien and Tshibumba adopt models of written genres in
order to accomplish an act of self-creation. The genre – however incomplete
in actual performance – offers spaces for such self-creation, because it allows
its authors to move out of one place in society and into another. But we have
also seen how such attempts can be confined to local spaces, with restricted
'translatability' in others, because of differences in economies of signs and sym-
bols. The attempts are orthopractic in the sense that they adopt a form but add

other meanings to it: the genres are not adopted orthodoxically – the doxa of the genre is not adopted – but orthopractically – the practice of the genre is adopted. Such orthopraxy, however, is rarely a matter of choice: it is an effect of determination in Williams' sense, a form of determination that grows more pressing as a feature of sociolinguistic explanation the more we view language in global terms. The orthopraxy observed here is thus not necessarily an expression of resistance, but one of inequality: people behave *as if* they have control over elite resources, but not because they reject these elite resources. They do so because they *have no access to* elite resources. Consequently, we get new "limits of metapragmatic awareness" (Silverstein 2001 (1981)): limits that are induced by the widening difference between value and function attributions to linguistic resources on a worldwide scale. The 'doing as if' has to be seen now in terms of global economies of signs and symbolic resources.

The effect this may have on our understanding of transcultural subjectivities is yet unclear, but I can venture some suggestions. This would mean that the discursive articulations that lead to the construction and perception of subjectivity need to be looked at afresh, taking into account the potentials for local constructions of subjectivity that may not match criteria valid elsewhere. This would also mean that quite a bit of what we take for granted with reference to subjectivity needs to be called into question or qualified. For one thing, Giddens' view of subjectivity, quoted above, proves to raise an enormous number of complex and delicate empirical issues. Biography, and the way in which it can be used by individuals to construct subjectivity, is not simple.

The same goes for history. Julien and Tshibumba set themselves and their stories against time frames, and one of the striking features of the texts is the way in which such settings involve formal generic work. Not just chronologies, but *generically regimented* chronologies expressed, for instance, in a higher frequency of dates mentioned in the narrative, appear to offer the opportunities for constructing 'history' both as identity and as act of text-construction. In sum, they not only set themselves against 'objective' chronologies but also against *textual* models of chronology. Thus there is a poetics to historical narrative – the deployment of particular formal, generic features, the desire to give text a particular 'shape' – which seems both liberating and oppressive. It is liberating because it offers space to construct history, but it is oppressive because it makes such histories almost unreadable because of the historical tiedness of textual resources and genres to particular modes of practice and groups of practicioners. To the extent that this still requires reiteration, this goes to show that ethnographic approaches to text must be sensitive to the historicity of the materials that enter into the text.

Note

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Appendix 1

Transcript of page 14 from Julien's second version. The transcript provided here has retained as many features of orthography intact as possible: super- or subscript insertions, corrections, line breaks and so on.

[page margin]

<div align="center">

<u>14</u>

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FEZA ile nilifika nayo Malemba-NKulu
mwezi wa Mei, kufika mwezi wa Ogistino
ikatemuka nguvu (devaluation) kazi
ya mashamba shikwiitumika apana vile
viilivyo waza kwiitumika (programme)
Niliombaka Madame Helena na Bwana
yake De grave wanisaidie miaka tano,
njoo sababu nilifika Hapa LubuMBASHI
kwa Kupokea msaada na masaidio yao
ni pate namna ya kuishi na juu ya
maendeo ya kazi ya FERMO.
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<div align="center">

<u>Il N y a pas de SOT metier, il y a que le
SOT gens</u>

</div>

```
Les noirs riches et intellectuels preferent avoir des
domestiques, mais ils les considereNT comme des gens
inferieurs, qu'ils ne peuvent pas parler longuement avec
eux, ni s'assoire ensemble autour d'une table, ni
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boire dans UN Bar ou restaurant, même pour les pay
ement de salaire il y en a qui disent à leurs à leur
BOYS, tu mange ici et tu n'a pas de respect pour
reclamer ton salaire. Les BOYS repliquent parfois que
NOS[xxx] FAMilles ne viennent pas manger ici, ça aboutir souvent
au dispute ou les BOYS quittent les services.
Depuis la colonization et aujoud'Hui, pendant les
crises politique et ecoNOMique les boys gagnent
toujours bien leur vie par rapport, aux Directeur
comis, professeur, Mecaniciens, Menuisier, à moins
que ces derniers trouvez à leurs services les
```

[page margin]

Appendix 2

Transcript of pages 16 and 17 of Tshibumba's text. Note the 'empty chapters' on p.17.

[page margin]

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d=autre explorateurs comme Diego-Cao
venait a leur tour éxplorer le fleuve
KASAÏ, d=où ils ont x xx été bien acceuile[?]
Par le Chef Ngole, après avoir éxplore
la région les explorateurs ont regagné
leur pays
                          Le Royaume de BAKUBA
                           Le Roi de BAKUBA
          Puissant Roi de Bakuba,
Le Roi LUKENGU, dans son reigne, le
Chef des Bakuba, dans son village
ont travailler de la sculpture, des MASQUES
et d=autre Oeuvres-Artistiques.
          Il a ouvert sa porte aux
occidenteaux dans des commerces: tel que
des Oeuvres Artistiques et d=autre.
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[page margin]
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                         Royaume de Mongo
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                       Royaume des BAMPENDE
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History as discourse; discourse as history

"The rise of modern China" – A history exhibition in post-colonial Hong Kong*

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Background

A former British colony, Hong Kong was reunited with the People's Republic of China in 1997 in accordance with a unique formula of "one country, two systems", as promoted by Deng Xiaoping, the former Chinese leader. According to this formula, Hong Kong was to retain a high degree of autonomy, China being responsible only for defense and foreign affairs. Hong Kong would retain its basic capitalist system, rule of law, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, ownership of property and other personal freedoms. According to the Basic Law, the mini constitution drawn up by China which set out this policy, Hong Kong was even provided with a system of gradually developing representative democracy, something which the British had never introduced during their century and a half of colonial rule. All this was made possible by the "open door" policy introduced by Deng Xiaoping in the 1970s and China's pragmatic opening up to the West and introduction of free market reforms in accordance with the slogan of "socialism with Chinese characteristics". Britain and China came to agreement over the retrocession in 1984, as recorded in the Sino-British Joint Declaration, which can be seen as a precursor of the Basic Law. The relative calm and cordial relations between the two parties involved in the Joint Declaration following the signing of that document was shattered in June 1989, with the brutal crushing of the Tiananmen demonstrators by the People's Liberation Army. This created great nervousness in Hong Kong about how serious China was in the promises made in the Joint Declaration and Basic Law.

Because of the distrust created by the events of Tiananmen and the unique concept of a capitalist enclave imbued with democratic institutions (although not an elected government), existing within the context of a country governed by an authoritarian communist party, political commentators and the public at large have watched with great care every move in the Hong Kong-Mainland relationship which might indicate any suggestion that the People's Republic might be reneging on its promises and interfering in Hong Kong's internal affairs.

For the most part the general feeling is that China has been scrupulous in adopting a hands off policy and has complied with everything that was promised. If there have been any misgivings, these have been directed towards the Hong Kong government under the leadership of Tung Chee-hwa and a feeling that he has been too eager to make decisions which he feels will satisfy the ultimate rulers in Beijing rather than stand up for Hong Kong's own interests. In other words Tung has put more emphasis on one country, rather than two systems. The single decision which has contributed most to this feeling was the referral of a decision by Hong Kong's Court of Final Appeal on the status of the right of abode in Hong Kong of the offspring of Hong Kong residents born in the Mainland. The court found in favour of the immigrants, a decision which would have led to what the government considered an intolerable number of new residents entering the territory. In order to overturn the decision of the Court of Final Appeal, the Hong Kong government had the case referred to a Mainland constitutional body, the National People's Congress, which reversed the court's decision. According to many, this was an interference in Hong Kong's internal affairs and an infringement of the autonomy promised to Hong Kong, albeit that it was instituted by the Hong Kong government. It was certainly a humiliation for one of the cornerstones of the one country two systems policy, Hong Kong's independent judicial system.

Given this sensitivity, commentators are permanently on the look-out for further cracks in the "one country, two systems" policy. In late 1999 a history exhibition was held in Hong Kong entitled *The Rise of Modern China: A Century of Self Determination*. A review of this exhibition appeared in Hong Kong's leading English Language newspaper, *The South China Morning Post*. The review is quoted in full as follows:

History Compromised

It claims to include the main events in China this century. But the newest show at the new Museum of History does not mention the one-child policy, reduces the occupation of Tibet to an inkpot and empty promises and gives a famine which

killed six million people just two lines – a sad post-script – on a history panel.

The Rise of Modern China has been curated by the Hong Kong Museum of History and the Museum of Chinese History in Beijing.

In order to obtain the Beijing museum's objects – some of which are fascinating, including an old Boxer pennant, man-sized, proclaiming "Support the Qing, Eliminate the Foreigners", or the microscope used by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, or fascinating 1920s film footage of the Northern Expedition – compromises have been made.

No doubt many of the items visitors will take for granted – like the panel admitting that the Cultural Revolution caused tremendous suffering – involved numerous faxes and considerable bravery.

But a show which can exhibit the public notice issued in Tibet in the 1950s by the People's Liberation Army – guaranteeing freedom of religion and respect for the people's customs – without a hint of irony, or indeed any comment at all about how those promises have since been broken, is a show which has severe credibility problems.

I recommend readers visit the Tsim Sha Tsui exhibition. Not so much to learn about the history of modern China – although there are panels and artefacts aplenty and many of them are informative – but to learn more about the future of modern Hong Kong.

What this article demonstrates, among other things, is the author's sensitivity to aspects of the exhibition which might be seen as justification for policies of the People's Republic of China i.e. a possible attempt at establishing ideological hegemony over Hong Kong and therefore an erosion of Hong Kong's autonomy. This comes out most strikingly in the final sentence, in which the writer suggests that the exhibition is a pointer to the future of Hong Kong.

My reading of this review prompted me to visit the exhibition itself and indeed to delve further and try to decide for myself to what extent the reviewer's claims were valid. My first visit to the exhibition revealed that the reviewer's reading of the exhibition, from my perspective, was unbalanced. As well as the negative factors pointed out by the reviewer suggesting a possible erosion of Hong Kong's autonomy, there were also other things which surprised me in asserting an individual Hong Kong perspective. For example, there was a display board devoted to Taiwan, reporting on its democratic development in a rather positive way. The exhibition, for me, represented a complex semiotic combination of signs, a combination which itself reflected the hybrid nature of Hong Kong's cultural identity. In order to investigate this cultural artefact further I employed a methodology which included the following: several visits to the exhibition myself and a close reading of the artefacts and accompanying texts, which were all photographed; an interview with the museum's curator; inter-

views conducted by a research assistant with people visiting the exhibition; and telephone interviews with a number of local historians.[1]

History and national identity

Ma and Fung (1999: 498) have the following to say about cultural identity:

> ...the elaboration of cultural identity is a gradual process in which histories, traditions and social memories are invented, revised and reproduced. Secondly, the concept of "other" as opposed to "us" has been widely accepted to delineate identity boundary. Thirdly, the construction of identity often involves agencies' domination and resistance which are multifaceted, combining discursive, cognitive and emotive dimensions. Fourthly, multiple and hybridized identities are simultaneously present in a shifting metamorphosis.

Ma and Fung (p. 499) then go on to describe what cultural identity might mean in the context of Hong Kong:

> The term "Hong Kong people" signifies the distinctive identity of the community which resides in the southern apex of China and has been under British colonial rule. It is this collective identity which the community is proud of and at the same time is so difficult to be envisioned, accepted and acknowledged by the Chinese authorities, who tend to perceive the Hong Kong identity but as a token of colonial power and as a historical insult. Like other communities, whether perceived to be of concrete existence or of an imagined kind (Anderson 1983), the conception of Hong Kong identity is historically and culturally real and relevant at least to the indigenous populace. It constitutes a cognitive boundary which has been continually crafted and moulded by historical, political, social and cultural contingencies. The development of the Hong Kong identity has taken an erratic path and, while colonial rule subtly created a space in which the Hong Kong identity could exist (which was distanced from the Chinese at large), the sovereignty transfer of Hong Kong back to China has, however, attempted to eclipse it.

Fung and Ma trace the development of a distinctive Hong Kong identity to the late 1960s and early 1970s, following a series of influxes of immigrants fleeing the various upheavals which periodically affected the Mainland. This identity was primarily constructed, they claim, by emphasising the differences between Hong Kong people and those from the PRC. In accordance with, or as part of, this process, people from the Mainland were discursively constructed in the media in a negative light, conceived of as "uncivilized" outsiders, in contrast to the relatively modern, cosmopolitan Hong Kongers.

This development from a Chinese to a specifically Hong Kong identity is referred to by Ma and Fung as "de-sinicisation", which they describe as:

> ...an ambivalent and, sometimes, contradictory Sino-Hong Kong identity: Hong Kong people identify with traditional Chinese culture in an abstract and detached sense, but, on the other hand, they discriminate against the particular cultural practices which are affiliated with the Communist regime in the Mainland. Hong Kong's identity has therefore mainly emerged as a distinctive identity vis a vis Mainland citizens.

Hong Kong is unusual in coming so late to decolonization, but also because decolonization has not meant independence, but reintegration as a part of Mainland China. Given its high degree of autonomy, as set out in the Joint Declaration of 1984 and the Basic Law, some might go so far as to say that Hong Kong has passed from one colonial master, Great Britain, to another, the People's Republic of China (PRC). With ideological control now ultimately in the hands of the PRC one might expect what Ma and Fung refer to as "resinicization", that is to say "the recollection, reinvention and rediscovery of historical and cultural ties between Hong Kong and China" (pp. 500–501). An exhibition representing the last hundred years of Chinese history might be expected to be a critical site for the process of resinicization, as outlined by Ma and Fung.

Indeed, at the opening of the exhibition, such an aim was indicated by the chairman of the Provisional Urban Council. "This exhibition has been timed to tie in with the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China", he stated. "Past events are our teachers in the future. Given the close kinship that binds Hong Kong to the Mainland, an understading of China's history will serve as a guide in the search for our future direction", he continued. Referring to a number of events in China over the last 100 years in which Hong Kong played a part, "these demonstrate that Hong Kong is an inalianable part of China's historical development," he further added (*Hong Kong Standard*, 15 September 1999).

At the same time, given the sensitivity of the population at large to their specific Hong Kong identity as separate from Mainland identity, one might expect such an exhibition to display a certain amount of subtlety in its format. This issue will become apparent when we consider the conditions of production of the exhibition.

Preferred readings

According to Hall (1980), the different areas of social life are mapped out into discursive domains which are hierarchically organized into "preferred meanings", that is to say domains (or here, texts and artefacts) which "have the institutional/political-ideological order imprinted in them and have themselves become institutionalized" (p. 134). Consumers of texts have been socialised into accepting certain manifestations of the linguistic (and other semiotic) codes as given, or "naturalized" (p. 134). However, this does not mean that there is a necessary correspondence between the encoding and decoding of texts, merely that this appears to be the case as a result of constant uncontested exposure. As a result, because there is no necessary correspondence between encoding and decoding, text producers can only *attempt* to "pre-fer", "but cannot prescribe or guarantee" that their preferred readings will be taken up by readers (p. 135). This notion of preferred readings will be important in the analysis which follows.

Analysis

In order to come up with what Hall calls a "preferred reading", it is necessary to examine three factors: the conditions of production of the exhibition, the actual texts (including the artefacts) in the exhibition, and the various readings of the target audience.

Conditions of production

My insights into how the exhibition was put together were elicited through an interview with the Director of the museum, Dr. Ting. According to Dr. Ting, the exhibition was jointly presented by the Hong Kong History Museum and the National Museum of Modern Chinese History (formerly The National Museum of Revolutionary History) in Beijing. Initially a request came from the head of the Hong Kong Urban Services Department for an exhibition to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Because this period is controversial, a decision was made to expand the period to cover a hundred years, not just fifty. I quote Dr. Ting:

> Because this year is the 50th anniversary of the founding of the PRC, that's why we're asked to do this exhibition – to sort of celebrate the 50th anniver-

sary. After we had discussions with our counterparts in China, we decided to expand it to a hundred years instead of just covering the past 50 years because it's very, very difficult. Even in China, even the Museum of Revolutionary History, they've never managed to put up an exhibition on the last 50 years. If you go to Beijing, you can only see exhibitions which start from 1841 up to 1949. It stops there, because even they consider the last 50 years is – I mean they have their own difficulties. So, we decided to extend it to a hundred years. So, we are very concerned about – if this exhibition is to be held in Hong Kong, it has to be accepted by the local public, and in doing so, we need to do this. We need to be careful and tactful.

Later in the interview Dr. Ting further elaborated on the reasons for extending the period covered from fifty to a hundred years:

> Originally it was 50 years. Because in the last fifty years we have at least 20 years where China was in chaos – we have the Cultural Revolution, and all kinds of political movements, so this is a very difficult part. So, we decided to expand it to a hundred years because 1999 – we're in the last year of this century, so it's timely to look back . . . rather than just fifty years because if you are doing the last 50 years, it'll just be on the PRC and nothing more.

So by extending the period covered it seems that the museum avoids an exhibition that might be considered as communist propaganda by the majority popular opinion and anti-China politicians in Hong Kong, if presented from a pro-communist perspective, and "un-patriotic" by the pro-PRC faction and political figures, if presented more critically.

Dr. Ting:

> . . . on the last hundred years, we can talk more about the historical background of the 19th century and then we can go to the 20th century – why we are striving for self-stengthening – it's because of the Opium War, the western aggression in the 19th century, so we can talk something about that as the historical background. Then, we go to talk about the revolution, the reforms and things like that.

Researcher:

> So you try to balance the negative with the positive.

Dr. Ting:

> Yes.

According to Dr. Ting, although the exhibition was jointly presented by the two museums, the Hong Kong museum exerted much more influence on its format. Dr. Ting again:

> We gave them the framework and they provided the artefacts in accordance with the framework that we have laid out, and we also have prepared all the texts.[2]

For Dr. Ting the role of the texts was crucial. He explained how for the museum's permanent exhibition, which was at that time being revised and expanded, he had been requested to put more emphasis on the Opium War, the handover and Dr. Sun Yat Sen. He explained that the people making the request, whom he declined to name, wanted to be "more or less more patriotic". He then stated that:

> Fortunately they only asked for expansion of a certain area, they did not ask to see the texts. That's the crucial part ... We are very, very careful about the texts.

Although the written texts were crucial for Dr. Ting, he also attached importance to the interplay between the text, the pictures and the artefacts. For example, when I suggested that the section on the Cultural Revolution was quite critical of what happened, but did not actually attribute this tragedy to Mao Zedong, Dr. Ting's response was as follows: "But if you combine the texts, the photographs, the artefacts, then you'll have a different view."

In addition to the artefacts obtained from Beijing, other artefacts, photographs, audio recordings and films came from the Hong Kong museum's own collection or were borrowed locally or from overseas. In this way, the museum was further able to adjust the ideological balance of the exhibition, it seems. An appropriate ideological balance was crucial for Dr. Ting. As he put it, the exhibition had to be "accepted by the public" and "by the left and by the right". While he stated that there had been criticism from both the left and the right, this had been less than he had expected. In general he thought the exhibition's reception had been "satisfactory" because "we had expected much more adverse comments".

When asked if his aim as an historian was objectivity, Dr. Ting replied that he "would try his best to make the thing as objectives as possible", but that he did not think that "there's anything like absolute objectivity'.

Textual analysis

Textual analysis in the context of an exhibition must include consideration of the artefacts and their disposition, as well as the texts describing them. The leitmotiv running through the design of the exhibition is a bright red background – red is the national colour of China, including its flag. Overlayed on this red background is a copy of a frieze from a statue from Tiananmen Square

in Beijing which is a heroic depiction of members of the proletariat: soldiers, workers and students. There is no doubt about the nationalistic nature of this format which runs right through the exhibition.

In addition to the visual, there is also the dimension of sound. Throughout the exhibition heroic Chinese martial music is played.

The exhibition is divided into nine sections entitled as follows:

1. A nation on the verge of subjugation
2. The revolution of 1911: creation of a republic
3. The May 4th movement: the Chinese awake
4. Co-operation between Nationalists and Communists: the beginning of the Northern Expedition
5. Internal strife and external humiliation: the Nanjing regime
6. The eight year war of resistance: the nation unified against Japan
7. Inauguration of the People's Republic of China: a historical epoch begins
8. The tortuous road: going astray
9. Reform programme and open policy: socialism with Chinese characteristics

Selection of texts

Using a focus group methodology, in their study of the discursive construction of national identity, De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak (1999:159) provide a list of main topics which relate to the construction of a *collective political history*, one of the important components, their focus group research showed, of national identity. The list includes the following elements: myths of genesis and origin, mythical figures, political triumphs, times of flourishing and prosperity, decline, defeat and crisis. All of these elements can be found in the Hong Kong exhibition.

In the early parts of the exhibition the emphasis is on decline, defeat and crisis; the late 19th century is characterised as one of imperial aggression against China, the Opium wars, and the corruption of the late Qing dynasty.

Two major myths of genesis and origin stand out from others. First, the events leading up to the revolution of 1911 and the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. And second, the establishment of the Chinese communist party and its struggle, which ultimately resulted in its winning control of the country.

Mythical figures would include Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and Deng Xiaoping. Interestingly, regarding this category of mythical figure, at the end of the exhibition, from a set of 20 famous figures, visitors were invited

to vote for the person they believed to have been most influential in Chinese history.[3]

Political triumphs would include the overthrow of the Qing dynasty, the rise to power of Mao Zedong, the creation of the policy of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" of Deng Xiaoping, and the negotiations leading to the retrocession of Hong Kong to China in accordance with the slogan of "one country, two systems".

Times of flourishing and prosperity are limited to the present era, starting with the opening of China to the outside world in the early seventies and the economic reforms instituted by Deng Xiaoping.

Given the above analysis the exhibition can clearly be interpreted in terms of national identity.

A transformational model of text selection

In analysing a set of texts (by texts here I include the actual written texts, but also the pictures and artefacts which made up the exhibition; by set of texts I am referring to the complete exhibition) it is possible to apply a transformational model. Various combinations, real or possible, can affect the ideological impact of the way the texts are presented and interpreted. (This model is developed by Van Dijk (1997:35), although I am using it in a rather different way.)

First there may be *additions*, which represent more information than might be expected according to an "objective" reading and therefore elaborate on preferred meanings. On the other hand, there may be *deletions*, where information might be expected in a given context but is absent, again to maintain preferred readings. Then, there may be *substitutions*, the presentation of a given text or topic in an unexpected place or manner. There may also be *repetitions*, "to draw attention to preferred meanings and to enhance construction of such meanings in mental models and their memorization in ongoing persuasion attempts or later recall" (Van Dijk 1997:35). Finally, there may be what I refer to as *double voicing* (not in Van Dijk), where different readings may be juxtaposed or embedded one within the other (what Fairclough (1992) refers to as *interdiscursivity* and *intertextuality* respectively), making the preferred reading ambiguous.

The decision to expand the exhibition from fifty to a hundred years is clearly an example of addition. As indicated by the curator, Dr. Ting, the extension of the period covered was intentionally ideological. Fifty years would have been seen as a celebration of the Chinese Communist Party, while a hun-

dred years can incorporate the last fifty into an on-going process. The overall effect of this was to totally transform the preferred meaning of the exhibition. In actual fact the period of the exhibition is a lot longer than a hundred years. Quite extensive space is devoted to the mid to late 19th century, a period of humiliation and decline.

Deletions would include those elements identified by the newspaper reviewer cited at the beginning of this chapter, i.e. the one-child policy, a serious treatment of the Tibet question, and the famine created by the so-called "Great Leap Forward", among many others. Clearly if these issues had been included, then the ideological thrust of the exhibition would have been affected. Another significant deletion would be a thorough treatment of the so-called Tiananmen incident (referred to as a massacre by some). The only references to this event (which is highly emotive and commemorated in Hong Kong every year by thousands of people) are a single photograph with the caption: "The curfew team clearing Tiananman Square in the small hours of 5 June following the Tiananmen incident which took place in Beijing on 4 June 1989" and a reference at the end of a text about Deng Xiaoping which stated that "After the Tiananmen Incident of 4 June 1989 there were changes in the leadership structure." Knowledge of "the Tiananmen incident" is presupposed in order for both this statement and the photograph to be comprehended.

A significant substitution would be the inclusion of a positive panel devoted to the development of Taiwan, something one would not have expected if the exhibition had been organized by the Mainland. In addition, there is space devoted to Chiang Kai Chek as a revolutionary (although he was also to become the leader of the break-away Taiwan), again something one would not expect in a Mainland exhibition.

As regards repetitions, one might include here the material devoted to the Cultural Revolution. Not only were several panels devoted to this issue, but there was also a film of some 20–30 minutes devoted to this episode. It is notable here that Dr. Ting, the curator, had the following to say in his interview with me on the Cultural Revolution:

> When I talked to them in Beijing, I emphasised that there should be – I consider the Cultural Revolution as a very important part because that has a strong impact not only on Chinese history but – I mean that kind of thing never happened in other parts of the world. But I think we need to sort of highlight that so that the Chinese people can learn from it.

Visitors who not only viewed the exhibition, but also watched the film were likely to come away with a different reading, or mental model, than those who just viewed the exhibition.

The language of the texts[4]

What can the language of the actual texts tell us about the ideological positioning of the exhibition? I will begin with the preface and the epilogue.

<div align="center">Preface</div>

1   Welcome to the new Hong Kong Museum of History. . . . The major exhibition of the
2   year "Rise of Modern China: A Century of Self-determination" jointly presented with the
3   National Museum of Modern Chinese History of Beijing, is now being held at the
4   Special Exhibition Gallery. It is in fact most appropriate to review China's pursuit for self
5   determination in the past 100 years at the turn of the century and the 50th anniversary
6   of the founding of the People's Republic of China. . . .
7   Actually, the substantial and amazing changes that China has gone through in the
8   past 100 years cannot be fully explained by a single exhibition. Owing to differences
9   in our upbringing, background, experience and political standpoint, we will have
10 different views and interpretations on the history of China in these 100 years. Therefore,
11 you are cordially invited to provide your comment on the exhibition in the questionnaire
12 which can be found at the entrance of the exhibition gallery. . . .
13 Visitors may be aware that we have brought from the mainland 2 large-scale
14 exhibitions on the history and culture of China since our occupation of the new
15 museum premises. Some may doubt whether the Hong Kong Museum of History places
16 no weight on the history of Hong Kong and whether the museum will only present
17 exhibitions promoting Chinese history and culture. Our reply is definitely in the negative.
18 Ever since the 19th century, Hong Kong has been playing the role of a window on the
19 western world. As Hong Kong is one of the largest cities of the world, apart from knowing
20 Hong Kong and the Chinese history and cultural heritage, we should also have a good
21 understanding of the history and culture of other parts of the world. In fact, we are
22 presenting the exhibition "Johann Strauss: Thunder and Lighting": jointly with the
23 Museum of History of the Museum of Vienna in mid December. . . .

The preface was signed by Dr. Ting himself. If we examine this text we can see that in l. 4–6, there is a justification for holding the exhibition now: "It is in fact most appropriate to review China's pursuit for self determination in the past 100 years at the turn of the century and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China." The function of this statement, however, seems to be to mask the 50th anniversary of Communist rule. The focus of the exhibition is the 100 year period; the 50th anniversary is only a secondary reason for making it a convenient time to do this, the main one being the turn of the

century. In actual fact the exhibition goes back to the 1840s, so the 100 years is not totally accurate (although one might justify the inclusion of this earlier material as important background). Given Dr. Ting's interview comments about the sensitivity of the 50th anniversary, this interpretation seems highly feasible.

Moving down now to l. 8–10 it seems that we have the voice of the historian speaking, explaining that one single historical interpretation is not possible and that everyone will have their own view. "Owing to differences in our upbringing, background, experience and political standpoint, we will have different views and interpretations on the history of China in these 100 years." To forestall any dissent, patrons are invited to express their views on the questionnaires provided. The writer of this text, it seems, is going out of their way to avert any undesirable ideologically based criticism.

The defensive tone continues in the second paragraph, where the writer feels the need to justify holding another exhibition from the Mainland. "Visitors may be aware that we have brought from the Mainland 2 large-scale exhibitions on the history and culture of China since our occupation of the new museum premises." The implicature here is perhaps to forestall any criticism of cultural imperialism from the Mainland, which might undermine Hong Kong's autonomy under "one country, two systems". This is reinforced in the next sentence, where the writer this time refutes any possible neglect of Hong Kong: "Some may doubt whether the Hong Kong Museum of History places no weight on the history of Hong Kong and whether the museum will only present exhibitions promoting Chinese history and culture. Our reply is definitely in the negative". In setting up the opposition Hong Kong–China here there is an implicit assertion of Hong Kong's individual identity.

As justification for this claim an argument is presented that, as "[since the 19th century] a window on the world" and "one of the largest cities in the world" Hong Kong should know about history and culture from other parts of the world. Note again in these statements the assertion of Hong Kong's individual identity. A forthcoming exhibition devoted to Johann Strauss is provided as an example of this international outlook. However, no example is given for an exhibition devoted to Hong Kong.

In this prologue, then, there is a definite attempt to forestall any criticism of the exhibition on ideological grounds. There are three main elements to this line of argument. First, the link with the 50th anniversary of the PRC is played down. Second, the claim is made that there is no one reading of history (and so any opposing views are valid). And third, the museum will present exhibitions devoted to other topics besides China. Overall, the tone is cautious and defensive. The "preferred reading" of this text, therefore, seems to be aim-

ing to pre-empt any criticism that the exhibition might be undermining the "one-country, two systems" policy and Hong Kong's individual identity.

When we turn to the epilogue, however, we find a very different kind of text. Whereas the preface was defensive and sensitive to Hong Kong's individual identity, the epilogue is just the opposite. Although I was unable to find out whether the epilogue had been written by Hong Kong or Beijing, its tone is very much that of Beijing. It is hortatory, subsumes Hong Kong and its people as part of China, and makes direct appeals to patriotism and national identity.

Epilogue

1　China experienced earth shattering changes in the last hundred years. At the beginning
2　of the century the country was weak and demoralised, and the Chinese, ashamed of being
3　called "the sick men of East Asia" and "the enslaved people of a conquered country",
4　strove to find a way to save China from subjugation. Amidst the celebrations of the
5　50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China at a time when the
6　country is beginning to grow strong and prosperous, we should not forget the period in the
7　past when we suffered humiliation and untold hardship. Nor should we forget all those
8　who gave up their lives to the cause of China's revitalisation. The ability to develop our
9　inner strength in adverse circumstances is a characteristic of the Chinese people, their
10　will to survive as a people seemingly to intensify in times of great hardship. As the new
11　century will surely bring even greater challenges to the Chinese people, we should keep alive
12　the spirit of self-strengthening that sustained us in the last hundred years in our
13　effort to make China flourish and soar in the years to come.

The hortatory tone of the text is expressed most overtly in the strong modality to be found in l. 6, "we should not forget", in l. 7, "nor should we forget", and in l. 11, "we should keep alive". This is hardly the stuff of "objective" history.

National identity is evoked through allusions to past humiliations, with the heavy use of negative epithets (l. 2 "weak", "demoralized", "ashamed"; l. 3 "sick", "enslaved", "conquered"; l. 7 "untold" (hardship); l. 9 "adverse"; l. 10 "great" (hardship)), and nouns (l. 7 "humiliation", "hardship"; l. 10 "hardship"). These are contrasted with positive images of the present and future. Note the positive epithets (l. 6 "strong", "prosperous"; l. 11 "greater" (challenges)), nouns (l. 8 "revitalization"; l. 9 (inner) "strength"; l. 10 "will"; l. 11 "challenges"; l. 12 "self-strengthening"; l. 13 "effort"), and verbs (l. 10 "survive", "intensify"; l. 12 "sustained"; l. 13 "flourish", "soar"). Note also the metaphors of creation and growth (l. 5 "founding"; l. 6 "beginning to grow"; l. 12 "self-strengthening", "sustained"; l. 13 "flourish") relating to the concept of national regeneration.

Note too how the negative past and the positive present come together in l. 7–8 ("Nor should we forget all those who gave up their lives to the cause

of China's revitalisation.") and l. 10–13 ("As the new century will surely bring even greater challenges to the Chinese people, we should keep alive the spirit of self-strengthening that sustained us in the last hundred years in our effort to make China flourish and soar in the years to come."). The antithesis contained in this statement, like much of the language of this text, is closer to the rhetoric of political speech making than that of "objective", "factual" history.

National identity is referred to directly (and positively) in l. 8–10 "The ability to develop our inner strength in adverse circumstances is a characteristic of the Chinese people, their will to survive as a people seemingly to intensify in times of great hardship".

Another feature of this text is the presupposition which makes Hong Kong an integral part of China during the era when it was a colony of Britain. This is conveyed in the use of the indexicals "we" and "our" (we, l. 6; l. 7 (twice); l. 8, our; l. 11 we; l. 12 our).[5] Certainly during the vicissitudes of the communist era to which many of these indexicals refer, Hong Kong people were sheltered by colonial Britain. Indeed, the majority of Hong Kong's population, their parents, or grandparents came to live in Hong Kong because of these difficulties on the Mainland.

A further important feature of this text is its level of abstraction. Qualities, events and things are referred to in very general terms. This is done by the use of what Halliday (1994) refers to as grammatical metaphor, by using nouns instead of verbs. Thus we have "earth shattering changes" in l. 1, but these changes are not specified; we have "subjugation" in l. 4, but by whom and in what way we are not told; we also have "celebrations" in l. 4, but again we are not told what they consist of (indeed, in the context of Hong Kong, for most of the population, the 50th anniversary of the PRC was not a cause for celebration); in l. 7 we have "humiliation" and "hardship", again without explanation. Other grammatical metaphors in the text are "revitalization", "ability" (l. 8) and "circumstances", "characteristic" (l. 9), and "will", "hardship" (l. 10), "challenges" (l. 11), "self strengthening" (l. 12), and "effort" (l. 13).

This text, then, in contrast to the prologue, is overtly patriotic, with a strong appeal to national identity. It assumes shared values, even though most Hong Kong people would not identify with the Communist Government.

The preface and the epilogue can be seen as special types of texts, or metatexts, in so far as they do not form part of the actual exhibition itself, but provide an overall commentary. I will now look at two texts which form part of the main exhibition. Two other texts have already been referred to above, which refer to the "June 4 incident" and it has been noted how these can be seen as representative of deletions within the exhibition as a whole because they can-

not be understood without prior knowledge of what this major incident was. The two further texts which I now present refer to the period under Mao Zedong. The point I want to make in examining these texts is the ambiguous role attached to Mao. This is what I referred to above as double voicing, where different readings may be juxtaposed or, as is the case here, embedded one within the other.

Rectification and anti-rightist campaigns

1   In March 1957 Mao Zedong coined the slogan "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a
2   hundred schools of thought contend" to encourage the people to criticize
3   "bureaucracy, sectarianism, and subjectivism". The motive was to use criticism from outside
4   to rectify undesirable styles in the Party. Intellectuals responded enthusiastically to
5   the call, some going so far as to propose ending the one-party rule. Taken aback by the
6   response and worried that public sentiments could not be contained, Mao launched
7   a large-scale antirightist campaign. Targets of the anti-rightist campaign included democrats,
8   capitalists, intellectuals, even some Communist cadres – a group which numbered more
9   than 550,000.

In the first of these texts Mao is referred to as the agent in both l. 1 and l. 6. He is clearly identified as the agent responsible for both the "hundred flowers" campaign and the anti-rightist campaign. However, when mention is made of the form the anti-rightist campaign took, Mao is no longer identified as the agent. The reader is told of "[T]argets of the anti-rightist campaign" (l. 7), but Mao is not mentioned as the agent of these "targets". Moreover, the use of the word "targets" enables the writer to avoid mentioning in what way these people were "targeted". What actually happened to them? Were they sent a letter? Were they criticised publicly? In actual fact, a much more serious fate awaited many of them, including death, but this is not mentioned in the text and Mao is thereby absolved of responsibility. Applying the transformational model introduced earlier, what we have here is a case of deletion. The preferred reading seeks to avoid overt criticism of an inhumane act. This process of deletion is brought about by the use of double voicing, of making Mao the agent, on the one hand, in immediately neutral contexts, and excluding agency, on the other, when the context is more negative.

Three Red Banners

1   The three Red Banners referred to were the General Direction of Building Socialism,
2   the Great Leap Forward, and People's Communes. In all three, the thrust and pace were
3   to be "more, faster, better, cheaper" according to directives issued in May 1958. The Great
4   Leap Forward and the merging of cooperatives into people's communes were
5   characterized by such rash methods as unrealistically high targets, arbitrary orders and

6   exaggerated claims. In industry, the boosting of steel production was identified as
7   the key to development, and the whole nation was plunged into a feverish mania for making
8   steel. The aim of this misguided movements was to "overtake Britain and be level with the
9   United States in 15 years". In agriculture, the collective ownership in communes
10 extended to plots of land which had previously been in private hands for raising
11 animals. These measures, far from boosting agricultural production, drastically reduced it,
12 and the famine that resulted caused widespread starvation and untold suffering.

In the three banners text we find the opposite approach to Mao ccontained in the "hundred flowers" text. In the former, Mao is mentioned as the agent, but the result of the policy is inexplicit. Here, the negative impact of the policy is much more explicit (we are referred to "widespread starvation and untold suffering" (l. 12)), but the agent of this policy, Mao, is not mentioned at all. The agent is either an impersonal grammatical metaphor – "directives" (l. 3), "movements" (l. 8), "measures" (l. 11) – or is excluded through the use of the passive voice or an ergative verb – the boosting of steel production "was identified" (l. 6), but by whom we are not told; the nation "was plunged into a feverish mania for making steel" (l. 7–8), but again we are not told by whom; "the collective ownership in communes extended to plots of land which had previously been in private hands for raising animals" (l. 9–11), but again, the agent of this policy is not mentioned. Perhaps because no personal responsibility for these policies is attributed the critical tone can be heightened. This is done primarily through the use of negative epithets and adjuncts – "rash" [methods] (l. 5), "unrealistically high" [targets] (l. 5), "arbitrary" [orders] (l. 5), "exaggerated" [claims] (l. 6), "feverish" [mania] (l. 7), "misguided" [movement] (l. 8), "drastically reduced" [agricultural production] (l. 11), "widespread" [starvation] (l. 12), and "untold" [suffering] (l. 12). The main point I want to make, though, is that we have another example of double voicing. However, whereas in the previous text Mao was made the agent in immediately neutral contexts, and excluded when the immediate context is more negative, in this case we have the opposite; the negative impact of the policy is much more explicit, on the one hand, but Mao is not made the agent, on the other.

Conditions of reception

In this section I consider briefly how the exhibition was received by members of the general public. My interest is the extent to which the public perception accorded with the preferred reading of Dr. Ting, as set out in his interview and

which can be summed up as an objective as possible account which is acceptable to both the "left" and the "right". According to my own admittedly brief analysis of certain text segments, there is a tension between neutrality and overt patriotism in the preface and prologue and also a tension between criticism and approbation within the two texts devoted to aspects of the period under Mao Zedong. To what extent was the preferred reading of Dr. Ting, on the one hand, and my own textual analysis, on the other, shared by members of the public?

In order to consider this question, 20 individuals or groups were interviewed by a research assistant as they were leaving the exhibition. The interviews were reflexive (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983), that is to say the interviewer started with a framework of questions eliciting people's views on the exhibition, but encouraged subjects to focus on those aspects of the exhibition which they themselves felt to be important. In the brief space of a section of a book chapter I can only provide very limited information on these interviews. However, a number of salient views are particularly worthy of comment. First, a majority of subjects (11 out of 12 referring to this issue) felt that Hong Kong people did not know enough about history. As the following quotation suggests, this can be attributed to their colonial past:

> I.5:   *"I don't think we have enough knowledge of modern Chinese History. It's only after the handover that people have more interest and more in-depth understanding modern Chinese history."*

The colonial government emphasised material advancement and discouraged interest in cultural heritage and identity, as this next quotation demonstrates:

> I.10:   *"Hong Kong people have never paid much attention to history. To the Hong Kong people, history is a very insignificant part of life – making money is more important to them."*

A second point is that there was a general feeling that things had been left out of the exhibition. In particular, many interviewees (16 out of 19 referring to this issue) felt that there was not enough on the Cultural Revolution and the June 4th "incident". The following quotations are indicative of this feeling:

> I.18:   *"The exhibits only outline the stages of the revolution. They have something on the sufferings of the people and they did say that the Chinese Cultural Revolution brought about serious consequences. But they did not explain in detail what kind of consequences, such as the young people's loss of 10 years of schooling, which can never be replaced. Twenty years of progress*

had been lost because of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and those 20 years of possible progress is crucial."

I.2: "Something has been left out – for example, the Tienanmen Square Incident has been left out in this exhibition. It is a very significant historical event which is being avoided in the exhibition."

I.5: "It only gave a very brief account on the Chinese Cultural Revolution with no critique. The relationship between Mao Zedong and the Chinese Cultural Revolution is not clearly explained."

"I believe the organizers of the exhibition are trying to avoid giving any detail about this [June 4th] incident because of their concern of the Beijing government. There's pitifully little information on this incident."

In addition, a majority of subjects (12 out of 17 referring to this issue) felt the exhibition to be biased.

I.4: "There is not enough information on the Chinese Cultural Revolution. They want to protect the Chinese government's image."

I.9: "We think that it's quite pro-communist. We feel that it's trying to protect the image of the Communist Party."

I.7: "The information on the Chinese Cultural Revolution does not seem to be comprehensive enough, probably because it could affect negatively the image of the Chinese government."

I.16: "They did kill many people in those years [during the Mao Zedong era] and they didn't disclose it. So, I think the exhibition has not really maintained a neutral position – it's hiding something. It should let the public know what really happened."

When asked if the exhibition reflected "one country" more than "two systems" the majority (11 out of 14 referring to this issue) felt it was the former.

In spite of these views, many interviewees seemed quite accepting that the exhibition should be pro-China. When asked about the lack of information on the June 4th incident, one response was as follows:

I.9: "Well, it's best to stay out of trouble. The June 4th incident will make the Chinese government look bad."

While another took a similar line:

I.18: "It is understandable that little information is given on these two topics (the Cultural Revolution and the June 4th incident) because of political concern.

> *Nobody dares to write about the Tienanmen Square incident. If he or she does, they will be in trouble. There is some political consideration."*

A third quotation on the June 4th issue provides a somewhat more detailed reason for its omission:

> I.19:   *"Hong Kong is supposed to be a neutral zone, and therefore talking about this incident in this exhibition should not be a problem. But the reality is that they have avoided saying too much about it because Beijing government's position on this incident is a concern for them. It's expected that they have some political consideration."*

Conclusion

Dr. Ting clearly wanted to create a preferred reading which would create as little controversy as possible. To some extent he was successful. He managed to mask the 50th anniversary issue, as none of the visitors interviewed raised it as an issue. In terms of Goffman's (1981) theory of "footing" and "participant framework" the exhibition was a hybrid text. The "animator" – the sounding box or entity articulating the text – was clearly the Hong Kong museum. This is where the exhibition took place. The "author" – the entity which selected the words (and, in this case, the artefacts) and sentiments that are expressed – also for the most part was Hong Kong. The artefacts were requested by Hong Kong and most of the texts were written by Hong Kong. However, some of the texts accompanying the artefacts from Beijing and some of the actual artefacts were authored by Beijing. So the author, while mainly Hong Kong, was nevertheless partly Beijing. When it comes to the "principal", however – the person or entity whose position is estabished by the words that are spoken and whose beliefs are expressed – this dimension of the participant framework is most problematic. Officially the principal was the two museums – one in Hong Kong and one in Beijing. On the other hand, the initiator of the exhibition was the head of the Hong Kong Urban Council whose initial idea was to celebrate 50 years of the PRC. However, this purpose was considerably undermined by Dr. Ting, in extending the exhibition to take in over 100 years in order to forestall any controversy.

Dr. Ting's warning at the beginning of the exhibition concerning the different backgrounds people bring to their reading of history justified to an extent any perceived biases. Nevertheless, based on the analysis of the exhibition and

the interviews with the visitors, there was a majority preferred reading which saw the exhibition as biased in favour of Beijing. In particular, many visitors felt there not to be enough on the Cultural Revolution (in spite of Dr. Ting's claim that he had insisted that it had to be included) and the role of Mao Zedong.

In terms of national identity theory, the exhibition, in spite of its attempt to apply the tenets of one country two systems, nevertheless, on balance, can be seen as an attempt to impose cultural hegemony on Hong Kong. As such it is representative of the tension regarding cultural identity, as Hong Kong reverts to being part of China, albeit with a guarantee of a high degree of autonomy.

Notes

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1. The data from the interviews with the historians was not used directly in this study.

2. Later in the interview Dr. Ting clarified that where an artefact or photograph came with a text from Beijing, then this was retained. It was only the material provided by Hong Kong and those artefacts from Beijing that did not have a text that was accompanied by texts written in Hong Kong.

3. Sun Yat-sen received the most votes by far.

4. The exhibition was bilingual, in Chinese and English. I have used the English text for analysis because (a) this is the language I am best qualified in and (b) the majority of my readership will not know Chinese. It should be pointed out, however, that the majority of the visitors, especially the local ones, would have read the Chinese versions.

5. There is one anomalous use of "their" (l. 9) when referring to the Chinese people, the function of which is perhaps to objectify the Chinese race and provide the perspective of the outsider.

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Yesteryear

Instilling memories

Reconstruals of the past – settlement or invasion?
The role of JUDGEMENT analysis

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Introduction. Approaches to history as a discursive practice: The role of evaluation

For many, history is a record of the past and the purpose of historians is to investigate past events, lives, institutions and beliefs in order to find out 'how things really were' and 'to tell it how it actually happened'. In 'truth-centred' cultures this conception of history, in which the past is 'there' to be discovered, is relatively unproblematic. As we enter post modern 'perspectival' cultures, however, history as factual record becomes increasingly problematised (cf. Mitten 1992:249). In this milieu, the past becomes a multiplicity of heterogeneous and conflicting histories (Lyotard 1987) and the purpose of historians is to display the constructed and contextually contingent nature of the historical 'record' (Burke 1991).

At the beginning of the twenty first century, therefore, as the past ceases to be a place in which past truths can simply be 'discovered' it is the present which becomes foregrounded. In this semantic space the reality of the past is no longer to be found but 'created'. Constructing histories becomes a socially reflexive practice of heteroglossia in which the past is continuously deconstructed and reconstructed from multiple points of view. And since it is both deconstructed and reconstructed through mediating texts and discursive strategies this gives language a central role in the formation of historical knowledge (e.g. Callinicos 1995; Foucault 1972; Goldstein 1994).

An important question to ask, then, is what are the discursive practices currently available to historians (and student historians) for generating these

multiple versions of the past? To what extent are these changing? In particular, what are the linguistic tools for evaluating and re-evaluating events in order to give new and different meanings to the past? And what makes these 'reversionings' plausible so that one particular author or party's entextualisation of events is viewed as the one authoritative account?

To date these questions have been neither systematically nor exhaustively explored. A range of discipline areas have, however, provided insight into the nature of historical knowledge and historical practices, including their evaluative dimension. The areas include philosophy of history (e.g. Lacapra 1983; Ricoeur 1981; Skinner 1988, 1996; White 1978, 1987), rhetoric (e.g. Crosswhite 1996), applied linguistics (e.g. Barnard 2000; Struever 1985) and education (e.g. Edwards 1978; Blanco & Rosa 1997). Whilst much of this research and theorising has focused on the wider discipline area of history, the recontextualisation of history for school purposes has also been considered, largely by applied linguists and educators.

Of particular significance and relevance to the issues and questions outlined above is the exploration of the nature of historical objectivity and subjectivity and, related to this issue, the role of the historian in interpreting and evaluating past events. In philosophy of history, for example, the interpretative role and 'moral' position of the historian has been an ongoing focus of study. Some contemporary theorists question the claim that historians "simply try to understand and describe the people whose actions they study" and challenge their assertion that no longer are they "defenders of public morality". They argue that "it is difficult to avoid moral judgements altogether as so many of the words we use have moral overtones, suggesting at least approval or disapproval" (McCullagh 1984: 225).

Surprisingly, there has been little systematic investigation of the kinds of moral judgements that *are* made or of the linguistic means for making these judgements. Philosophers of history, for example, have tended to focus on the way in which different forms and styles of historical writing objectify and naturalise particular readings of the past (e.g. Atkinson 1978; Callinicos 1995) and, although they have given some consideration to the construction of the "objective", "value free" "Voice of history" (Burke 1991: 6), they have given relatively little attention to the linguistic strategies and resources which constitute it.

Within the discipline of rhetoric, discourse as "situated practice" has been emphasised – the notion that discourse and therefore reasoning and what counts as evidence is "very different in different communities and different situations" (Crosswhite 1996: 37). This notion suggests that as the situation and role of a (discourse) community changes (for example the community of his-

torians) so do their discursive practices. Crosswhite (1996:202), for example, proposes that new forms of argument may "include 'twofold' or 'threefold' arguments without deciding among them", thus emphasising the potential for contemporary history to be self-consciously multiperspectival and subjective. This concurs with Burke's (1991:239) proposal:

> More and more historians are coming to realize that their work does not reproduce 'what actually happened' so much as to represent it from a particular point of view. To communicate this awareness to readers of history, traditional forms of narrative are inadequate. Historical narrators need to find a way of making themselves visible in their narrative, not out of self indulgence but as a warning to their reader that they are not omniscient or impartial and that other interpretations besides theirs are possible.

Analyses of historical writing have not, however, been carried out to see if there is evidence of such changes taking place. Within history education, few academics make the language of history an object of their research or study and many maintain that far from possessing a specialised language, "history is a subject closely related to human experience … the least 'mysterious' of school disciplines" (ILEA History and Social Sciences Inspectorate 1994:187). This is despite general concern with how best to help students achieve the objectives of the school curriculum which include making "balanced judgements about the value of differing interpretations of historical events and developments in relation to their historical context" (Department of Education 1995:17) and understanding "the role language plays in historical interpretation and representation such as bias and propaganda" (New South Wales Board of Studies 1992:15).

Some educators do recognise the role of language in the apprenticeship process. They argue that a subject register provides the specialist with "a set of coloured spectacles" through which he or she sees "a world of objects that are technically tinted and patternised" (Edwards 1978:63). And Blanco and Rosa argue the importance of students recognising the discursive dimension of historical knowledge so that they can "defend themselves from ready made stories" (1997:189) and "the impressive array of discursive products geared to … persuade him or her of the truth of whatever message is transmitted, to affect his or her activities or to constitute his or her identity" (1997:197). Nevertheless, despite their recognition of the discursive nature of history, these researchers do not provide details on how historical knowledge is linguistically "tinted and patternised". Nor do they give insight into how teachers and students can "unpick" the rhetorical strategies that constitute historical discourses

as they "compete for attention and credibility in the symbolic market" (Blanco & Rosa 1997: 197).

In the domain of linguistics, on the other hand, particularly within the discourse analysis and functional linguistic traditions, there has been greater and more detailed attention given to discourse dealing with the past. Struever, for example, has focused on the use of discourse analysis as a way of describing "the use of acquired knowledge in the confection of the historical account" (Struever 1985: 261). More recently, critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been employed to study the ideological effects of discursive practices that use the past in order to reproduce and maintain power relations (e.g. Flowerdew 1998; Menz 1998; Mitten & Wodak 1997). History recontextualised for pedagogic purposes has also been the object of systemic functional linguistic (SFL) analysis (e.g. Coffin 1996, 1997; Eggins, Martin, & Wignell 1993; Veel & Coffin 1996; Wignell 1994). The focus of some of these studies has been the wide range of tools available for creating perspective and for persuading audiences of the validity of a particular reading of the past. However, until recently, linguistic researchers have lacked a useful and coherent theoretical framework for specifically identifying the evaluative patterns in historical texts.

Such a framework is now available. Referred to as APPRAISAL, it has been developed by a group of systemic functional linguists researching the area of interpersonal and evaluative meaning in a range of social contexts (see Martin 1997, 2000; Rothery & Stenglin 1999; White 1998). Much of the initial research was carried out as part of an educationally oriented research project known as the 'Write it Right' (WIR) literacy project (conducted under the auspices of the Disadvantaged Schools Programme of the New South Wales Department of School Education, Australia). Underpinning the work was previous systemic functional theorising about tenor (the relationship between language users) (see Fuller 1998; Poynton 1985) and earlier work by systemicists in Birmingham and Nottingham. In the research reported here I draw on the APPRAISAL framework in order to contribute to the relatively under researched area of evaluative meaning in historical discourse.

APPRAISAL includes resources for construing emotion (AFFECT), resources for judging behaviour in 'ethical' terms (JUDGEMENT) and resources for valuing products and processes by reference to aesthetic principles and other systems of social value (APPRECIATION). In this chapter I draw on the JUDGEMENT subsystem of APPRAISAL to illustrate my main arguments. This system is fully elaborated below. I use the analytical tool of JUDGEMENT as a way of 'unpicking' the value judgements of two historical narratives, one written by a secondary school student and the other by a secondary school history teacher. Both these

narrative texts are drawn from data collected as part of the WIR project mentioned above, a major focus of the research being the investigation of the discursive practices of school history. The WIR data comprised approximately 1,000 history texts representing the literacy practices of junior secondary school history students (years 7–10, approximate ages 11–15).

This chapter is concerned with several questions pertaining to the WIR data (as exemplified in the two selected texts):

- What happens when students want to rewrite the past? To what extent do they give new/alternative values and meaning to past events?
- What discursive resources are used to interpret and evaluate events in the past?
- Does the use of these evaluative resources reflect in any way the changing nature of history as a discipline?

An underlying assumption guiding my exploration of these questions is that the analytical tools of APPRAISAL make it possible to reveal some of the key rhetorical strategies for construing value judgements. Indeed, I argue that APPRAISAL analysis is able to show how evaluative meanings "tint and pattern" in different ways the different stages of a narrative text. In other words, the analysis is able to reveal how an evaluative strategy unfolds across a text and how the accumulative power of the strategy makes it a powerful positioning device. As a consequence I argue that linguistic analyses can be drawn on as compelling empirical evidence of the evaluative nature of historical texts, thus challenging the notion of contemporary history as a value-free enterprise.

In discussing these issues, I would like to pose an equally important question – what are the implications for history pedagogy of a linguistic description of current discursive practices?

Whilst arguing for the usefulness of the JUDGEMENT subsystem of interpersonal meaning, as developed within the SFL framework, it is important to point out that a focus on JUDGEMENT provides only a partial picture of the complex interweaving of interpersonal resources within any one text. My aim here, however, is to highlight the value of just one of the key APPRAISAL systems.

In order to develop my argument I shall cover the following areas in turn:

- a brief outline of the framework of APPRAISAL in which the subsystem of JUDGEMENT is located;
- an analysis of the deployment of JUDGEMENT across two sample historical narratives, both of which are representative of narrative texts written at junior high school level;

- an examination of the rhetorical effect of patterns of JUDGEMENT in history texts with special reference to commonsense notions of 'objectivity';
- a critical look at the evaluative tools currently available for revaluing the past in history classrooms.

Systems for giving value to the past: A systemic linguistic perspective

The APPRAISAL framework outlined here is essentially shaped by the SFL model of language (for details of this model see Halliday 1985/1994; Halliday & Hasan 1976; Halliday & Matthiessen 1999; Martin 1992; Matthiessen 1995). This model is centrally concerned with showing how the organisation of language is related to its social use and implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the context in which it occurs. Discourse, in other words, is shaped by social situations, but it also shapes them. SFL is therefore oriented to the socially constructive power of discourse and the APPRAISAL framework (see Figure 1) enables analysts to see how evaluative systems operate in different social contexts and for different social purposes.

APPRAISAL, as outlined in Figure 1, consists of a set of systems which give language users choice in terms of how they grade and give value to social experience. Thus, within the subsystem of ATTITUDE, AFFECT comprises a set of language resources for appraising experience in affectual terms, for indicating the emotional effect of an event. For example:

(1)   These people looked like gods with white skin and clothes in different colours. They came on land. **I was scared very scared.** (negative AFFECT)

The subsystem of JUDGEMENT encompasses meanings which serve to appraise human behaviour but unlike AFFECT does this by reference to a set of institutionalised norms about how people should and should not behave. According to Martin (1997: 23), JUDGEMENT can be thought of as 'the institutionalisation of feeling' in contexts oriented to shaping and managing the social behaviour of groups and populations. For example:

(2)   They **were treated inhumanly** by the white settlers. (negative JUDGEMENT)

APPRECIATION can also be thought of as the institutionalisation of feeling but with reference to norms about how processes and products (rather than behaviour) are valued within a particular culture, social grouping or institution. APPRECIATION, perhaps moreso than JUDGEMENT and AFFECT, is related to field, since the criteria for valuing a process are for the most part institutionally

Figure 1. An outline of APPRAISAL resources in English

specific. For example, within the context of school history, SOCIAL VALUATION, a sub category of APPRECIATION, is used to attribute different weighting or social significance to causal and temporal processes. For example:

(3)   Another **major** outcome of Rock and Roll was a change in youth attitudes. (SOCIAL EVALUATION: effect/outcome assessed as 'major')

Two other systems included within the framework of APPRAISAL are GRADU-ATION and ENGAGEMENT. GRADUATION is a system for grading evaluations – 'turning the volume up or down'. For example:

(4)   In this way the **many** losses that Aboriginal people have undergone,

   (**turning the volume up**)

   as a result of European colonisation …

(5)   In this way the **enormous** losses that Aboriginal people have

> **(further increasing the volume)**
> undergone, as a result of European colonisation …

ENGAGEMENT is a set of resources for negotiating the play of voices and perspectives around an issue, for example the use of modality in allowing other possible viewpoints and the use of projection to source alternative positions:

(6)   **Some argue** that this is an indication that their struggle will continue and more gains will be made.

ENGAGEMENT also includes the resource of 'counter expectation' which references the use of concessive resources such as *although, even if, but, however, just, only, even*. Although traditionally these resources have been treated in SFL as logical resources, their role in negotiating the heteroglossia and contradictory meanings of alternative positions and realities is clearly of interpersonal significance. Hence their inclusion in the APPRAISAL framework.

In this section I have given a brief outline of APPRAISAL. This provides the context for a more detailed examination of the subsystem of JUDGEMENT, the system of APPRAISAL focused on in this chapter.

Judging the past

The JUDGEMENT framework was initially developed during WIR research into the language of the media in order to account for the various categories through which journalists, correspondents and editors pass judgement on newsworthy events and people (see Iedema et al. 1994). Subsequently, these categories have been applied to a range of fields and their validity as a general framework tested. In school history, the system was found to provide a valid and useful framework for analysing the way in which text book writers and school students judge past behaviour and people (Coffin 2000).

It should be pointed out that the JUDGEMENT framework is highly determined by cultural and ideological values and different behaviours may be classified differently according to the set of social values to which the evaluator subscribes. It is, of course, the case that such classifications are particularly influenced by the temporal location of the evaluator. People, including historians, speak from different points in time whereby shifting moral and political codes mean that personal qualities (such as being *pragmatic, fearsome* or *risk tak*ing) are charged with varying degrees of positive or negative meaning.

In the expanded framework below (Table 1) the sample classifications largely derive from contemporary Western, English speaking, mainstream,

Table 1. JUDGEMENT categories with examples taken from historical discourse

Social Esteem	positive [admire]	negative [criticise]
normality (custom) 'is the person's behaviour and/or way of life unusual or special?'	lucky, fortunate, charismatic, magical	unlucky, unfortunate ...; tragic, odd, **strange**, maverick
capacity 'is the person competent, capable?'	able, successful, (politically) skilled, astute, effective, powerful, strong, enterprising, tactical, shrewd, **pragmatic**, intelligent	incompetent, failure, flawed, weak, short sighted, lacking judgement,
tenacity (resolve) 'is the person dependable, well disposed, committed?'	brave, heroic, courageous, hard working, willing, well disciplined, **daring**, **fearsome**, **risk taking**, vigorous, **formidable**, committed, dedicated, tenacious, determined, passionate, self reliant, genial	cowardly, badly organised, stubborn, arrogant, rigid, enclosed, inflexible, despondent, low morale

Social Sanction	positive [praise]	negative [condemn]
veracity (truth) 'is the person honest?'	genuine, honest, truthful, credible	hypocritical, complicit, deceptive, deceitful, dishonest
propriety (ethics) 'is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	respectable, responsible, **self sacrificing**, fair, just	ruthless, abusive, brutal, unjust, unfair, immoral, corrupt, oppressive, cruel, wrong

middle class positioning. Within school history, analysis shows that this positioning reflects a high degree of consensus among history teachers and students. There are, however, cases where the context of a JUDGEMENT value will alter the category it belongs to. Equally, a reader positioning may be more or less divergent from community consensus or a particular value more or less stable in terms of how it is typically classified. Thus, whereas few would disagree that 'brave' represents positive resolve or tenacity and 'cowardly' negative tenacity, 'risk taking' may be placed, depending on context or reader positioning, in either the negative or positive camp. In Table 1, judgement values that are less stable in terms of how they relate to behavioural norms

functioning within a particular institutional context and social grouping are marked in bold.

As can be seen in Table 1, two broad categories of JUDGEMENT are proposed – SOCIAL ESTEEM and SOCIAL SANCTION and each of these has a positive and negative dimension. JUDGEMENTS of ESTEEM have to do with NORMALITY (how unusual someone is), CAPACITY (how capable they are) and TENACITY (how resolute they are). JUDGEMENTS of ESTEEM, therefore, involve admiration and criticism but have no legal implications. With JUDGEMENTS of SOCIAL SANCTION, on the other hand, behaviour is more prone to moral or legal endorsement through public condemnation or approval and through rules or regulations which are sometimes explicitly coded in the culture. To breach SOCIAL SANCTION, therefore, may be to risk legal punishment or, from a Western, Christian religious tradition, to risk committing a 'mortal' sin. SOCIAL SANCTION is divided into two sub-types: VERACITY, which turns on questions of truth (how honest someone is), and PROPRIETY, which turns on questions of ethics (how moral someone is). In the following examples, taken from the WIR corpus of school history texts, a range of types of judgements are illustrated. Note that the system of notation used to code the analysis uses the shorthand –ve to stand for negative and +ve to stand for positive. JUDGEMENT is marked as bold and underlined:

(7)   Extract from a biography of Ben Hall, Australian bushranger:
As a result many people thought of him as a **brave** (+ve tenacity) and **daring** (+ve tenacity) person. The way that he died added to his image as a **hero** (+ve tenacity) as well as a victim of the Police and he was included in many Australian ballads. Other people, however, think that what Ben Hall did was **cruel** (–ve propriety) and **wrong**. (–ve propriety)

(8)   Extract from a biography of Pemulway, leader of the Aboriginal resistance to British colonisation:
Pemulwuy is an important historical figure because he encouraged his people to defend their land and free themselves from the white invaders. Apart from being a **fearsome** (+ve tenacity) warrior he was also an **astute** (+ve capacity) army general who was able to make use of extremely **effective** (+ve capacity) hit-and-run guerrilla tactics and other military strategies.

(9)   Extract from a narrative of early Aboriginal and British contact:
It also demonstrated how **unjustly** (–ve propriety) the Aboriginal people were treated by the White invaders.

In the examples above, JUDGEMENT is directly inscribed through the writer's use of evaluative lexis. ATTITUDE values may, however, be indirectly realised through a word or set of words triggering or 'evoking' a particular judgement on the part of the reader. In other words, the referential (in SFL terms 'experiential') meaning is exploited for its interpersonal effect. When interpersonal meanings are triggered through the selection and construction of experiential meanings they are referred to as Tokens of ATTITUDE. The following sentence, for example, would prompt many readers to condem the behaviour of the English as immoral:

(10)   … from 1788 onwards, the English began to occupy sacred land and use Aboriginal hunting and fishing grounds.

The sentence would be analysed as a Token of negative JUDGEMENT: propriety. The notation for coding this analysis uses T to stand for Token and the experiential meaning which activates the reader's judgement is underlined and italicised:

> … from 1788 onwards, *the English began to occupy sacred land and use Aboriginal hunting and fishing grounds*. (T, –ve propriety)

The following extracts show further examples of experiential meaning that invite evaluation:

(11)   Extract from biography of Pemulway (see Extract 8 above):
However it was in this year that the Aboriginal leader was finally cornered, shot in the head and body and taken away in chains. Despite this *he managed to escape with the iron ring still clamped around his leg*. (T, +ve capacity)
When Governor King, the colony's third governor, arrived in Australia in 1801 he found many settlers living in fear of Pemulwuy whose **ability** (+ve capacity) to escape capture and survive had led them to believe that he was **magic** (+ve normality) and *that he could not die*. (T, +ve normality). King therefore decided to offer to both aboriginals and settlers a reward for Pemulwuy's head.
One year later *he was shot by a British patrol and his head was cut off and sent in a jar to England*. (T, –ve propriety)

(12)   Extracts from biography of Ben Hall (see Extract 7 above):
However, when Ben Hall returned *home he found that his farm had been destroyed and his wife and son had left*. (T, –ve normality i.e. Hall is construed as unfortunate due to an unexpected turn of events)
… In 1863, *when Hall was only twenty five they even held up the town of*

Canowindra. (T, +ve capacity)

… On 5th May 1865, before he could even be made an outlaw, *Ben Hall was shot dead* (T, –ve normality i.e. Hall is construed as unfortunate due to an unexpected turn of events). *He was awoken from sleep by the Police who shot him thirty times*. (T, –ve propriety i.e. here the focus is the brutal action of the police rather than Ben Hall's misfortune)

… Ben Hall's career as a Bushranger was shortlived but in that time *he managed to lead many raids on towns and homesteads as well as hold up coaches*. (T, +ve capacity)

The inclusion of Tokens of ATTITUDE in APPRAISAL analysis has been an important step in the development of APPRAISAL theory in that it fills the gap that exists in various traditions of interpersonal theorising – that of the implicit or indirect realisation of evaluative meaning. In some ways, however, it is a problematic notion. First there is the issue of distinguishing Tokens from non Tokens in that, potentially, as pointed out by Hunston (1993: 58), evaluation permeates every part of a text. This issue has partly been resolved in recent research where it has emerged that the co- text of the ATTITUDE value is influential in the recognition and interpretation of Tokens (see Coffin 2000: 286). For example, stretches of text are more likely to be read as Tokens when accompanied by other APPRAISAL realisations in the form of GRADUATION or ENGAGEMENT resources. Furthermore, explicit or inscribed ATTITUDE at an earlier or later stage in a text can act as a cueing device by predisposing a reader towards a particular judgement or reaction, which the Token can then more easily trigger. In other words, certain utterances have greater interpersonal 'charge' or salience than utterances where there is an absence of GRADUATION, ENGAGEMENT or contextual triggers, and which therefore appear as interpersonally 'flat'. The former are more likely to be read as Tokens. The following elaboration of earlier extracts exemplifies this:

(13)   **However**, (ENGAGEMENT: counter expect, countering expectation of normal course of events) when Ben Hall returned home *he found that his farm had been **destroyed*** (graduation: intensifying meaning of attacked) *and his wife and son had left*. (T, –ve normality i.e. Hall is construed as unfortunate due to an unexpected turn of events)

… In 1863, *when Hall was **only** twenty five* (ENGAGEMENT: counterexpect, rejecting the alternative expectation that, typically, 25 year olds would be too young to engage in this type of activity) *they **even*** (ENGAGEMENT: counterexpect) *held up the town of Canowindra*. (T, +ve capacity – holding up the town is construed as an extraordinary feat, particularly given Hall's

young age)

… On 5th May 1865, before he could **even** (ENGAGEMENT: counterexpect) be made an outlaw, _Ben Hall was shot dead_ (T, –ve normality – Hall's misfortune is underlined in that he was punished – shot dead – (even) before being made an outlaw). _He was awoken from sleep by the Police who shot him **thirty times**_ (GRADUATION) (T, –ve propriety i.e. here the focus is the brutal action of the police rather than Ben Hall's misfortune and the judgement of their brutality is reinforced by the use of GRADUATION)

… Ben Hall's career as a Bushranger was **shortlived** (GRADUATION) **but** (ENGAGEMENT: counterexpect) in that time _he managed to lead many raids on towns and homesteads as well as hold up coaches_. (T, +ve capacity)

A second issue concerning the construct of Tokens is that they rely upon conventionalised connections between behaviours or actions and evaluations. In other words, a writer's use of Tokens assumes shared social norms. Thus, whether the trigger is successful in evoking the intended attitude depends upon the audience's (and analyst's) social, cultural and ideological reader position. According to how far their own value system converges/diverges with that of the writer or how persuasive the writer is in naturalising a reader position, the reader's (and analyst's) interpretation may or may not be aligned with that of the writer's. The interpretation and analysis of Tokens is therefore recognised by APPRAISAL theory as an inherently subjective process and one that requires the analyst to declare their reading position.

Reconstruals of the past – settlement or invasion?
(A JUDGEMENT analysis)

In this section I use a JUDGEMENT analysis (as outlined above) to show how evaluative meaning works across a historical narrative. I demonstrate how the use of JUDGEMENT "tints and patterns" (see Introduction) the narrative so that a particular perspective on past events is constructed. By using two narratives to exemplify reconstruals of invasion, colonisation and liberation in the context of initial British contact with Australian Aborigines (and, in Text 1, the behaviour of subsequent Australian governments), I demonstrate how evaluative resources in school history serve to discursively construct the identities of the two groups and the power relations that obtain between them.

As mentioned earlier, the two sample narratives are taken from the corpus of school history texts collected during the WIR literacy project. As part of the

WIR project, ethnographic research was conducted alongside linguistic analysis. This included interviews with history teachers, academics (in both history and history education faculties) and members of the History Syllabus Committee. Syllabus and curriculum documents were also investigated as were school programs, text books and assessment practices. This ethnographic orientation proved valuable as a means of identifying texts and linguistic patterns representing more and less 'institutionally' successful examples of school history writing. An 'insider' expert view of the two texts focused on in this chapter, for example, would characterise them as apprenticing texts, typically written by students in the beginning years of secondary schooling. Both would be regarded as competent narratives. The analysis that follows, therefore, although qualitative in nature, is conducted against a background of quantitative analysis which supports the general patterns of evaluative meaning identified in these specific texts.

First, the concept of genre (Martin 1992) is used to analyse how the two narratives or 'historical recounts' are structured as a means of achieving their social purpose of recording past events (see Coffin 1994 for a full description of the text types or genres found in school history). Text 1 below exemplifies how an historical recount moves through two main stages – Background and Record of Events (as labelled in the left hand margin). The function of the initiating Background stage is to summarise key historical processes which make more meaningful the events recorded in the body of the text. The Record of Events stage records and elaborates a temporal sequence of historical events. In many historical recounts, including Text 2 (though not Text 1), there is also a Deduction stage. This optional stage functions to draw out the historical significance of events.

Text 1

Background	Since the time of white settlement in Australia, the Aboriginal people have been isolated from Australian society.
Record of Events	When the Europeans first arrived here the Aboriginals were slaughtered in their thousands, so much so that two hundred years later their numbers are substantially lower than when European settlement began.
	Aboriginal children were taken from their families and put in orphanages where they were brought up by a white culture. Their ties with their heritage were cut.
	Since then the break up of the Aboriginal community has left very few full-blooded Australian natives. Still they are isolated from the now multicultural Australia by the stigma that is attached to them.

Because Aboriginals have been set up in townships in the country, and have formed their own separate areas in the city, it highlights the barrier. In these areas unemployment is high, alcoholism is playing a devastating part, criminal activity is high and black deaths in custody is at an alarming number.

Many government bodies have been set up to help solve the problem such as the Inquiry into Black Deaths in Custody and The National Aboriginal Reconciliation Council. Funding for such groups has increased as well as the introduction of ABSTUDY, which is designed to keep young Aboriginals at school to gain better employment opportunities.

Within the Aboriginal community some groups are claiming land rights. They want back the land that was taken from them two hundred years ago. In this goal they have been so far unsuccessful only gaining a little of what they want.

Having examined the overall generic structure of the historical recount, Text 1 will now be analysed from the perspective of a JUDGEMENT analysis. I should point out that this analysis is a product of a compliant reading position (i.e. one that is not critical of the idealised or naturalised reading position construed by the text). A brief commentary is provided (in parentheses) where the JUDGEMENT category selected warrants elaboration and explanation.

Text 1

Background   Since the time of white settlement in Australia, *the Aboriginal people have been isolated from Australian society*. (T –ve normality, i.e. the aboriginal population is not following mainstream social patterns)

Record of Events   When the Europeans first arrived here *the Aboriginals were slaughtered in their thousands* (T –ve normality, i.e. because agency is not attributed to the white settlers as perpetrators of the slaughter, a compliant reader is likely to focus on the tragedy befalling 'the ill fated' Aboriginals, rather than on the negative ethics of those responsible for the tragedy), so much so that two hundred years later their numbers are substantially lower than when European settlement began.

Aboriginal children were taken from their families and put in orphanages where they were brought up by a white culture. (T –ve normality, i.e Aboriginal children grew up in an unusual way) *Their ties with their heritage were cut*. (T –ve normality i.e. aboriginal children did not enjoy normal cultural links and roots)

Since then *the break up of the Aboriginal community has left very few full-blooded Australian natives*. (T –ve normality, i.e. cultural behaviour not following the normal patterns) *Still they are isolated from the now multicultural Australia by the stigma that is attached to them*. (T –ve normality)

Because Aboriginals have been set up in townships in the country, and *have formed their own separate areas in the city, it highlights the barrier*. (T –ve normality) In these areas *unemployment is high*, (T –ve tenacity, i.e. the writer seems to imply that Aboriginals are unemployed as a result of forming their own separate areas in the city and therefore showing a lack of determination or commitment) *alcoholism is playing a devastating part*, (T –ve tenacity, i.e. Aboriginals lack self discipline and control) *criminal activity is high* (T –ve propriety. The cumulative effect of judgements in this paragraph, together with the thematisation of Aborigines forming their own separate areas seems to naturalise a reading position whereby a reader would negatively interpret the Aborigines situation, rather than cast a judgement on the white government's role. Alternatively, a different reader positioning may interpret these Tokens as additional Tokens of negative normality) *and black deaths in custody is at an alarming number*. (T –ve normality)

Many government bodies have been set up to help solve the problem such as the Inquiry into Black Deaths in Custody and The National Aboriginal Reconciliation Council. (T +ve propriety) *Funding for such groups has increased as well as the introduction of ABSTUDY, which is designed to keep young Aboriginals at school to gain better employment opportunities*. (T +ve propriety)

Within the Aboriginal community some groups are claiming land rights. They want back the land that was taken from them two hundred years ago. In this goal **they have been so far unsuccessful only gaining a little of what they want**. (–ve capacity. This final judgement of negative capacity, intensified by the use of the graduation resources 'only' and 'a little', confirms a reader positioning which generally interprets Aboriginal lives in negative terms)

From the analysis displayed above, a clear picture emerges of how the identity of the two groups focused on (the Aborigines and British/White Australians) has been constructed very differently (see Table 2 below for a summary of the analysis). This is despite the fact that the writer has not intruded into the text to make explicit judgements. That is, there is no subjective voice or modalised

constructions such as – "*it seems to me that* the Aborigines were an unlucky people" – or – "*in my opinion* Aborigines lack tenacity" – which draws attention to the writer's evaluative role. Nevertheless, Aborigines are judged throughout the text as being a fated or unlucky people (negative normality) in terms of their isolation from mainstream Australian society ("still they are isolated from the now multi cultural Australia"), their alienation from their blood ties and cultural roots ("they were brought up by a white culture") and the high rate of deaths in custody ("black deaths in custody is at an alarming rate").

Aboriginal people are also judged in Text 1 as prone to alcoholism ("alcoholism is playing a devastating part") and unemployment ("unemployment is high") and are therefore (indirectly) judged as lacking resolve (–ve tenacity). Their lack of ethics is also suggested (–ve propriety) through reference to high levels of criminal activity ("criminal activity is high"). In this way the text suggests that Aborigines are partly responsible for their own fate.

The colonial British and contemporary white Australian government, on the other hand, escape negative JUDGEMENT. That is, the Europeans are not made responsible or judged negatively for the slaughter of the Aboriginals by stating "When the Europeans first arrived here, they carried out a brutal and unjust slaughter of thousands of Aboriginals". In fact it is striking that, whereas Aborigines are held up for APPRAISAL throughout the text (12 counts altogether), only two JUDGEMENTS are made of the behaviour of the British/White Australians. And this behaviour – their attempts to resolve a problematic situation through the establishment of special government bodies and funding systems – are implicitly ascribed as having positive ethics (+ve propriety) ("many government bodies have been set up to help solve the problem" … "Funding for such groups has increased as well as the introduction of Abstudy…").

In fact, rather than attribute agency to the white settlers/invaders as perpetrators of unethical acts the writer consistently uses passive voice constructions and nominalisation to focus on *the results* of white behaviour. For example:

(14)   Aboriginal children **were … put**   in orphanages where they were
                                 (passive voice)
       brought up by a white culture

(15)   … **the breakup**   of the Aboriginal community has left very few full-
         (nominalisation)
       blooded Australian natives.

The following examples and alternative realisations make clear how such grammatical constructions harmonise with Tokens of APPRAISAL to position readers

to focus on the tragedy befalling "the ill fated" Aborigines, rather than on the negative ethics of those responsible for the tragedy:

> *Aboriginal children were taken from their families ...*
> (Aborignal children are placed in first position in the clause – in 'Theme' position in SFL terms – and grammatically they are the 'Goal' of the material Process 'taken')

as opposed to

> *The White Australian government agents took Aboriginal children from their families*
> (In this alternative realisation, the White Australian government is explicitly inscribed as the Actor or Agent responsible for taking Aboriginal children from their families)
>
> *Their ties with their heritage were cut*

as opposed to

> *The government cut their links with their cultural heritage*
>
> *Still they are isolated from the now multicultural Australia by the stigma that is attached to them*

as opposed to

> *Multicultural Australian society stigmatises Aborigines and isolates them from mainstream society.*
>
> *the breakup of the Aboriginal community has left very few fullblooded Australian natives*

as opposed to

> *Because government agencies broke up the Aboriginal community there are very few full blooded Australian natives*

In clauses such as those above, the Aborigines are the 'done to' grammatically (through passive voice). They are also the main focus for the writer/reader's judgement (albeit indirectly evoked through Tokens). Thus, whilst the Aborigines' fate as an unlucky people is foregrounded (they are often placed in first position in a clause), the unethical, colonising strategies of the British are backgrounded.

Table 2. Judgement Patterns in Text 1

Aborigines	British/White Australians
8 x negative normality	2 x positive propriety
2 x negative tenacity	
1 x negative propriety	
1 x negative capacity (inscribed)	

Ironically, the attention given in Text 1 to Aboriginal history and events pertinent to the lives of Aborigines would be applauded by many, given that traditional Australian school histories have tended to elide their presence altogether. However, as this analysis shows, the potential for reductionist and patronising interpretations is actually rendered more likely by the focus on Aborigines as an 'unlucky', 'fated' people as opposed to a focus on the unethical actions of the White population. Indeed, I would argue that the text creates a particular reading position whereby Aborigines are a people to empathise with and the British/White Australians are a people who cannot be judged. From an Aboriginal perspective this is not empowering. It does not mean, of course, that a critical reader would not take the second step and ask questions about the agents of the tragedy but it does mean that non critical readings are likely to contribute to the perpetuation of the stereotype of Aboriginal passivity suffering the inevitable consequences of invasion.

In the second sample text, set out below, the Judgement analysis reveals a somewhat different perspective on the history of Aboriginal and non Aboriginal contact. In this text the patterns of Judgement and how these map on to the generic stages of the recount are particularly significant. Commentary on Judgement selections and patterns is provided throughout the analysis followed by a brief discussion that draws out the meaning and significance of these patterns.

Text 2

Background Eora Resistance to Europeans 1790–1816

The Eora people had lived in the Sydney area for at least 40,000 years before the Europeans arrived. They had lived by hunting, fishing and gathering and believed that *they were the guardians of the land*. (T, +ve propriety, i.e. acted in a responsible and caring way) This lifestyle did not last.

(It is significant that the main events of the narrative that are recorded in the following Record of Events stage are set against a

	background of the Aborigines following a harmonious and responsible way of life. In other words this stage functions to establish a reader position oriented towards a positive interpretation of Aboriginal behaviour).
Record of Events	When the Europeans arrived in 1788 *they occupied sacred land and destroyed Eora hunting and fishing grounds*. (T, –ve propriety) In 1790 the Eora people began a guerrilla war against the Europeans.

In 1794 the Eora, whose leader was Pemulwuy, attacked the European settlement of Brickfield. Thirty six British and fourteen Eora were killed during this attack. In the same year the Eora killed a British settler. Then the British ordered that six of the tribe be killed. (These clauses have not been interpreted as Tokens, in that events are recorded factually rather than in a manner that might invite condemnation or praise)

The Aborigines continued to resist the European invaders (T, +ve tenacity, i.e. the Aborigines were resolute in sustaining their attack on the Europeans) by burning their crops and houses, taking food, destroying cattle and killing some settlers. In 1797 they attacked Toongabbie and within a week the farmers had to retreat and the farms were burned. (These clauses have not been interpreted as Tokens of negative propriety because of the way in which the Aborigines' positive tenacity is foregrounded in the opening clause of the paragraph, the hyper-Theme. Rather the recording of these events serves as evidence of, and support for, this judgement.) In that year their leader, Pemulwuy, was captured by the British but later escaped. By 1801 many settlers lived in fear of the Eora and the British started a campaign to destroy Aboriginal resistance. Troopers were sent to kill Aboriginal fighters and capture Pemulwuy. One year later settlers killed the leader in an ambush.

Other great Aboriginal leaders continued fighting against the white settlers. (T, +ve tenacity) However, *the guns of the British were more powerful than the Aboriginal spears*. (T, +ve capacity) *The British shot many of the Aboriginals* (T, –ve propriety. Here the combination of GRADUATION in 'many' and the unambiguous realisation of agency in 'The British shot' triggers a negative judgement) and *many others died of the diseases that the British brought*. (T, –ve propriety. Similarly, in this clause, the intensification through 'many' and the way in which the British are directly implicated as the cause of disease in the embedded clause 'that the British brought' invites moral condemnation)

Deduction   This period *of black resistance* (T, +ve tenacity) in Sydney finally ended in 1816. It is a significant period in Australian history as it showed **the determination** (+ve tenacity) of the Aboriginal people to resist the invasion . It also demonstrated how **unjustly** (–ve propriety) the Aboriginal people were treated by the White **invaders** (–ve propriety). (These final, concluding, inscribed judgements emerge logically from the preceding text, where evidence of the Aborigines' resolve and British lack of ethics has been provided in the form of Tokens of JUDGEMENT)

In Text 2 the JUDGEMENT analysis shows very clearly how the identities of the British and Aborigines are constructed in rather different ways to those in Text 1 (see Table 3 for a summary of JUDGEMENT). In Text 2, JUDGEMENT is more evenly distributed across the two groups and the Aborigines are judged as being an ethical people (positive propriety) with high resolve (i.e. a total of four judgements of positive tenacity). Their only weakness seems to be a lack of gun power. The British, on the other hand, are consistently judged as lacking ethics (five JUDGEMENTS of negative propriety), despite being militarily capable.

In terms of the intersection of JUDGEMENT analysis with generic staging, Text 2 shows a very clear pattern. That is, in the Record of Events stage there are no direct codings of JUDGEMENT but the events selected act as experientialised Tokens of JUDGEMENT influencing the reader to interpret the behaviour of the Europeans and Aborigines in a particular light. Thus the Eora are constructed as having positive tenacity but negative capacity (in terms of military technology) whilst the Europeans are constructed as having positive capacity but negative propriety. These judgements accumulate across the Record of Events stage so that their explicit rendering in the Deduction stage is then read as a logical, inevitable outcome of, or conclusion to, the previous narrative. It is in this way that the text persuasively overturns traditional notions of European 'discovery' and passive native submission and replaces them with an interpretation of European colonisation as brutal invasion versus determined resistance.

Table 3.   JUDGEMENT Patterns in Text 2

Aborigines	British/White Australians
4 x positive tenacity (1 inscribed)	1 x positive capacity
1x positive propriety	5 x negative propriety (2 inscribed)

Patterns of JUDGEMENT in school history narratives: 'Objectivity' as a rhetorical effect

The construction of explicit JUDGEMENT in the Deduction stage, which is linked to tokens of JUDGEMENT within the body of the text, is a typical rhetorical pattern in recount genres. It is this delicate interplay of interpersonal and experiential meaning at the level of discourse semantics which serves to construct a record of the past which appears objective, factual and logical but which, in fact, constructs a particular and therefore subjective perspective or interpretation. The writer appears to be letting events 'speak for themselves' but at the same time colours them with a significance that is ideological.

I would argue that the way in which JUDGEMENT is realised and deployed across a historical narrative (as in our sample Text 2) is a powerful device for constructing an objective voice. White's research into authorial stance and the construction of media objectivity, albeit in a different register, corroborates this strategic use of JUDGEMENT:

> Journalism as an institution is notorious … for the philosophically contentious and self-interested claim that its primary text type, the news story is 'objective', 'factual' and 'impartial' … rather, the semantics of reporter stance, the configuration of interpersonal values most often associated with the news item (in the case of JUDGEMENT, largely tokens – my words), enables these reports to naturalise the various cultural and ideological values by which they are invariably informed. (White 1997: 2)

The analysis of the two narratives (Texts 1 and 2) shows how JUDGEMENT analysis can reveal patterns in text, not simply isolated appraisals. It shows how indirect realisations of value judgements typically combine with more direct realisations and that their relative positions within the unfolding of the text is significant. Clearly this is an important rhetorical strategy within the discipline of history which, traditionally, has placed great emphasis on 'objectivity'.

JUDGEMENT analysis also enables the analyst to reason about overall tendencies in the construction of nations, people and groups. The ability to generalise about particular historical texts facilitates comparison of the endless de- and recontextualisation of events along axes of time and ideological location.

The contemporary history classroom – tools for revaluing the past

Questions raised earlier in the chapter included – Does the use of evaluative resources in school history reflect in any way the changing nature of history as a discipline? Are students conscious of how the past can be refashioned to suit different agendas and different value systems and positionings?

In relation to the construction of narrative genres, the evidence of Texts 1 and 2 (which, as emphasised earlier, are typical representations of school recounts in terms of their staging and evaluative patterning) suggest a negative response to the first question. First it shows that versions of the past continue to be construed as unproblematic, objective 'truths'. This is supported in the educational and narratology literature (see, for example, McDiarmid 1994; Tanaka 1994; Wills 1994). Second, it reveals that rhetorical, evaluative strategies are 'invisibly' deployed to achieve the traditionally valued, monoglossic Voice of history.

There may, of course, be pedagogic and linguistic arguments for this. Pedagogically, some teachers will argue that stable, unified pictures of the past need to be presented before students can learn to deconstruct, destabilise and revalue previous interpretations. Linguistically, too, it can be argued that written arguments that draw attention to the subjective, interpretative, hypothetical and contingent nature of historical construction require an ability to handle language that is relatively complex and abstract.

On this basis it can be argued that literacy development is facilitated if more categorical accounts of the past such as historical recounts, accounts and explanations are first mastered (see Coffin 1997 for more detail). This does not preclude, however, that such accounts be written from perspectives other than those of 'great men', 'master thinkers' or colonising powers – the traditional 'grand narratives' of history.

Nevertheless, if students are to develop reflexive approaches to the construction of history which take account of its discursive, perspectival dimension, I would argue that students need linguistic tools to do this. They need to be able to detect and unpick their own evaluative role in order to self consciously recolour and revalue their texts. This requires the ability to read realisations of judgement which are evoked as well as inscribed. It is suggested here that a set of tools, such as those of APPRAISAL, will help in training students to approach text in a critical fashion and inject their narratives with self consciously chosen patterns of JUDGEMENT. At the same time, APPRAISAL analysis will also demonstrate to students how the past can be rendered objectively and perspective presented as 'truth'.

If students are not introduced at some point to the means for managing evaluative discourse, can we claim, as some teachers do, that students are really 'rewriting the past'? Or is it simply that they are learning the currently fashionable or sanctioned reconstruals of the past? And will they learn reconstruals that are more or less confronting for traditional mainstream histories? Texts 1 and 2 suggest that this will depend on the institutional and political context in which they are written rather than the individual student's personal judgement (as liberal humanists might want to believe). Text 2, for example, was written by a teacher who, institutionally, always has greater choice than the school student over which version of the past to present. And in this case the teacher who worked in an inner city urban school with a high Aboriginal population happened to be politically active and 'left leaning' in his beliefs.

In sum, as borne out in the linguistic analysis carried out within the WIR project (see also Coffin 2000) and as exemplified in this chapter in the detailed examination of judgement patterns in two narratives, there is a strong case for pedagogical interventions that directly address this issue. One form of intervention, which has already been trialled in Australian schools as a consequence of the WIR findings, is for students to be made consciously aware of the linguistic dimension of construals of the past through a curriculum cycle referred to as the DSP teaching learning model (see Coffin 1996; Coffin et al. 1996 for details of history materials developed around this model). Following this curriculum cycle, students move through three major phases which aim to develop historical knowledge alongside an understanding of the role played by language in interpreting and construing the past.

In the first phase of the cycle, referred to as 'Deconstruction', a target historical genre is modelled, analysed and critically reflected on. For example, a narrative genre covering the key events of a historical period that students are studying may be discussed in terms of content. This focus on historical knowledge is then typically followed by students engaging in activities designed to raise their awareness of particular linguistic strategies (for example, the use of agency, realisations of temporal meaning or patterns of JUDGEMENT).

In the second, 'Joint Construction' phase, a text exemplifying the target genre, is jointly negotiated and publicly written up (using a blackboard, overhead projector or computer screen), with the teacher guiding and scaffolding the students' contributions and further raising their awareness of the linguistic dimension of historical meaning making. In the final, 'Independent Construction' phase, groups of students or individuals independently construct the target text. Simultaneously, at all points of the cycle, historical knowledge is developed and assessment of student progress conducted.

Conclusion: The value of 'value' tools

In this chapter I have explored some of the discursive resources that apprentice historians typically use as a means of evaluating past events. I have concluded that the way these resources are deployed contribute to the traditional view of history as an objective, value free enterprise. I have also argued that APPRAISAL analysis, exemplified in this paper through the subsystem of JUDGEMENT, can enable us to see how an evaluative strategy unfolds across a text. The analyses of Texts 1 and 2 are evidence of the insights derived from such an analysis. In these historical narratives, the analyses show how indirect realisations or 'Tokens' of JUDGEMENT strategically combine with more direct realisations to create a persuasive and plausible, but inevitably ideologically skewed, account of the past. Thus in Text 1 we have an interpretation of Aboriginal and non Aboriginal contact in which Aborigines are constructed as an ill fated and despondent people and the British/White Australians as a people with ethics. In Text 2, on the other hand, we have a different perspective on the same groups of people. In this account of Aboriginal and non Aboriginal contact, the Aborigines are construed as resolute and ethical and the British are portrayed as morally wanting. In both texts these differential distributions of JUDGEMENT are compelling empirical evidence of the evaluative nature of historical texts.

Developing the APPRAISAL framework as a means of establishing this kind of evidence makes a valuable contribution to history, education and applied linguistics. Those working with the APPRAISAL system are aware, however, that for some linguists, the attribution of different JUDGEMENT categories to the same phenomena, depending on the social positioning of reader or analyst, weakens the validity of the system. In response, it can be argued that the analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that taking account of such positioning is, in fact, an integral component of a theory that aims to model the nature of interpersonal valuing strategies. In particular, if we wish to develop a model that can be applied to educational contexts, it is critical that such a theory allows us to recognise, and have greater understanding of, the range of voices within any one culture and the different kinds of reading and writing positions that are – consciously or unconsciously – taken up. By "thinking harder about APPRAISAL in our pedagogy and working out strategies for making what we teach usable" (Martin 1995) we give students greater control over an extremely powerful rhetorical device. In the curriculum subject of history this requires training students to understand how the past can be interpreted and appraised in different ways and how these appraisals are both inscribed in, and evoked by, discourse.

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Pearl Harbor in Japanese high school history textbooks

The grammar and semantics of responsibility*

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Introduction

The study reported in this chapter is an application of systemic functional grammar to critical discourse analysis (J. R. Martin 2000), specifically focusing on the content of the school curriculum. In recent years there have been an increasing number of such studies regarding different areas of the curriculum (e.g. J. R. Martin 1993a, 1993b; Veel 1997; Wignell, J. R. Martin, & Eggins 1993). Some researchers have turned their attention to the language of school history (e.g. Barnard 1998, 2000a, 2000b; Coffin 1997; Eggins, Wignell, & J. R. Martin 1987/1993).

Concern with the form and content of the curriculum is not limited to those working in the field of critical linguistics. For example, arguing from a sociology of education perspective, Whitty (1985: 19, 20) writes that an examination of the curriculum will reveal how knowledge is selected and presented in a way which supports the status quo. Whitty's claim (p. 19) that "pupils were likely to accept as an immutable 'fact' what was but one ideological version of the world" is a point frequently made by linguists working in the critical discourse tradition (e.g. Fairclough's 'naturalised discourse' (1992: 2)). Likewise, Apple (1982: 19), focusing on the curriculum, suggests that we should investigate "Why and how … particular aspects of a collective culture [are] represented in schools as objective factual knowledge".

History textbooks, therefore, are not likely to straightforwardly, unproblematically relate the 'facts' of history, just as they are.

Background to the history controversy in Japan

In Japan, there is an ongoing "history controversy", regarding which there are two considerations which are relevant to this chapter.

First, within Japan itself, no general consensus has been reached on what type of war it was that Japan fought between 1931 and 1945 (from the Japanese military expansion in Manchuria to the Japanese surrender; see Kimijima 2000). Some people argue that it was a war of aggression. Others argue that Japan fought for its own survival and in order to free Asia from European and American colonialism. Such views are held by at least a vocal minority in the highest levels of government in Japan (e.g. see the comments made by government ministers collected in *Kakuryoo gonin* 1995; also McCormack 1996: 225–277), and such views themselves go back to prewar and wartime discourses. In fact, Emperor Hirohito, in his broadcast of 15th August 1945 (quoted in full in Weintraub 1996: 594, 595) informing the Japanese people of the surrender to the Allies, explicitly stated the self-preservation and the non-aggression viewpoints:

> Indeed, We declared war on America and Britain out of Our sincere desire to ensure Japan's self-preservation and the stabilization of East Asia, it being far from Our thought either to infringe upon the sovereignty of other nations or to embark upon territorial aggrandizement.

Controversies concerning the nature of Japan's war are never far below the surface in Japan, and in fact, in 1995 – the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the war – many of these controversies were brought out in the open. The fact that they had not been resolved in the fifty years since the end of the war became very clear.

On 9th June 1995, the House of Representatives of the Japanese National Diet (i.e. the lower house of parliament) passed the "Resolution to Renew the Determination for Peace on the Basis of Lessons Learned from History". This resolution was in part an attempt by the Japanese government to bring a halt to criticisms that it had not truly reflected on the sufferings it had brought to the peoples of many countries during the war and had never wholeheartedly apologised for the aggression of the Japanese state.

To pass the resolution was a tortuous and time-consuming process, with many protests against its wording throughout the country and within the political world. The resolution got bogged down in a fight as to whether, and to what extent, it should be an apology or not. The final outcome was that it was carefully worded to be as near as possible to being an apology, without being

one (see, for example, Field 1996: xiv; McCormack 1996: 275, 276). Anyway, the resolution, naturally enough, fully satisfied no one, and, predictably, given the long history of Japanese apologies, most of which have been less than full and frank (Buruma 1994; Hein & Selden 2000: 10) raised strong protests from abroad, especially from Asian countries.

The second important controversy is related to the fact that all textbooks used in Japanese schools must pass the screening and authorisation procedures of the Japanese Ministry of Education. There have been challenges to this system, with many people insisting that it is nothing more than a form of censorship (e.g. Buruma 1994; Horio 1988; Nozaki & Inokuchi 2000).

There are those who claim that the history textbooks produced by the authorisation process are left-wing propaganda, which belittle the achievements of Japan and Japanese people and overemphasise, and are too critical of, the period of Japanese imperial and military expansion (e.g. Kobayashi 1998; Nakamura 1990; see also McCormack 2000: 37). In the other camp, there are those who claim more or less the opposite – namely that textbooks try to downplay or ignore the extent of Japanese aggression, and instead present an ultranationalistic history (see Seddon 1987; Yamazumi 1989).

If textbooks are artifacts produced by a society, it would be natural for them to reflect (or conversely, deliberately ignore) certain controversies in that society. This raises the interesting question of whether a critical discourse analysis can clarify how Japanese textbooks deal with past Japanese military aggression. Do we see evidence of these controversies reflected in the language of the textbooks? If Japan has been somewhat reticent about its responsibility for waging aggressive war and been less than frank in its apologies, might we not see the aggressive nature of this war itself played down in the textbooks? These are the questions that are addressed in this chapter.

Data and methodology

The data for this study are drawn from the 88 high school history textbooks officially approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education for use in schools for the year 1995. Fifty of these textbooks continued in use until the end of the 1998 academic year. These 88 history textbooks are made up of 41 dealing with Japanese History and 47 dealing with World History (but naturally giving prominence to Japan, especially when Japan played an important role in international events). In this paper, all the textbooks are treated as one corpus.

The approach is first to discuss the language of the textbooks from the point of view of the meaning-making potential of language, using a number of illustrative examples. I will show how there can be forms of 'slippage' between the events as they occurred in the real world and the language that is used to describe the events.

The thrust of the argument is to demonstrate that there are significant differences between the language used to refer to the German attack on Poland and the Japanese attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor. It will be argued that what we see in the textbooks is a use of language that works towards lessening the responsibility of the Japanese state for the Japanese attack, compared with the responsibility of the German state.

Since the aim is to show consistent patterns of language use throughout the corpus and tie these to what it is claimed are ideological encodings of diminished responsibility, selected examples are only useful in so far as they demonstrate particular instances and are illustrative of the method of analysis. It will therefore be necessary to consider the whole corpus in order to draw general conclusions. I have thus conducted a statistical analysis of parts of the language of the corpus. The statistical procedures used are chi-square tests of significance and principal components analysis.

Analysis

Both in order to give a general idea of the nature of the language of the textbooks, and also to recapitulate the historical events themselves, two very typical examples selected from the corpus are presented below (example (1) and example (2)). These are from the same textbook, the first one referring to Germany, the second to Japan.[1]

(1)   (Seisen Nihonshi B: 187)
      Germany
      Tokoro ga Doitsu wa, 1939-nen 8-gatsu ni Nichidokui sangokubookyoo-kyootei de kasoo-tekikoku to shite ita Soren to totsujo to shite Dokuso-fukashinjooyaku o teiketsu-shi, 9-gatsu ni Poorando e no shinkoo o kaishi-shita. Soren mo mata Poorando e shinkoo-shita. Sono tame Igirisu/Furansu wa tadachi ni Doitsu ni taishite sensen o fukoku-shi, koko ni Dainiji-sekaitaisen ga hajimatta.
      However, in August 1939 Germany suddenly concluding the German-Soviet non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union, which had been the

presumed enemy in the Japanese-German-Italian tripartite mutual defence agreement, in September started the invasion of Poland. In addition, the Soviet Union also invaded Poland. Because of this, Britain and France immediately issued a declaration of war against Germany, and World War II thus started.

(2) (Seisen Nihonshi B: 189)
Japan
1941- (Shoowa 16-) nen 12-gatsu yooka, Nihon-gun wa Hawai no Shinjuwan o kishuukoogeki-shi, mata Maree-hantoo ni kishuujooriku o okonai, sono chokugo ni Nihon wa Amerika/ Igirisu ni sensen o fukoku-shita. Koko ni Taiheiyoo-sensoo ga hajimatta.
On 8th December, 1941 (Shoowa 16) the Japanese armed forces surprise-attacked Pearl Harbor in Hawaii and also carried out surprise landings on the Malay peninsula, and immediately after this Japan issued a declaration of war on America and Britain. Thus the Pacific War started.

Participants and processes

This section examines the happenings and goings-on which constitute the historical narratives. As a first step, the parties which carried out the attack (i.e. Germany and Japan) and were attacked (i.e. Poland and Pearl Harbor) and the acts of attacking will be given semantic labels as follows:

1. The party that carried out the attack is given the semantic label 'Attacker'.
2. The party that was attacked is given the semantic label 'Attackee'.
3. The act of attacking is given the semantic label 'Attack'.

Grammatical metaphor

Furthermore, I will discuss how these semantic labels are expressed in the grammar of the texts. This brings us to the area of the grammar known as grammatical metaphor (Halliday 1994: 342–367; Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 227–296), which needs some explaining.

Sometimes the relationship between the state of affairs in the real world, and the way a text expresses this state of affairs is close, such, as for example, when nouns encode things and verbs encode happenings (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 238). In such cases we can speak of a congruent realisation in that the semantic categories are mapped onto natural grammatical categories, as in example (2) above, of which the relevant portion is repeated in example (3) below:

(3) *Nihon-gun wa*   *Hawai no*   *Shinjuwan o*   *kishuukoogeki-shi,*
     Japanese armed   Hawaii:GEN   Pearl Harbor:OBJ   surprise-attacking
     forces:TOP
     Attacker   ----------Attackee----------   Attack
     Actor   -----------Goal------------   Process
     the Japanese armed forces surprise-attacking Pearl Harbor,

In this example, nouns encode things and a verb encodes a happening. More specifically, Attacker/Actor encodes the doer of the action of attacking, Attackee/Goal encodes the party to whom the attacking extends, and Attack/process encodes the actual attacking. Example (3) above is thus fully congruent.

However, there are also cases in which the semantic and grammatical categories are not congruent, as in example (4) below, in which what would be Attacker/Actor, Attackee/Goal, and Attack/Process in a congruent realisation are all encapsulated within the nominal group *Nihon no Shinjuwan-koogeki* ("Japan's Pearl Harbor attack"), which is part of a postpositional phrase containing a mini-process (Teruya 1999), which all functions as a circumstance of means (Teruya, forthcoming):

(4) *Nihon no*   *Shinjuwan-*   *koogeki*   *ni yotte*
     Japan:GEN   Pearl Harbor   attack   by means of
     Attacker   Attackee   Attack
     ----------nominal group----------   mini-process
     --------------postpositional phrase---------------

     Taiheiyoo-sensoo ga   *hajimatta.*
     Pacific War:SUBJ   started.
     Actor   Process
     By means of Japan's Pearl Harbor attack the Pacific War started.

One result of the nominal group (functioning as a means) "swallowing up" the process and participants of the congruent realisation is that another Actor (namely "the Pacific War") and another Process (namely "started") are free to occupy the Actor and process slots of the sentence. So, in some sense, we can say the story is primarily about "the Pacific War starting", rather than about "Japan attacking Pearl Harbor", as it would be if the grammar congruently realised the semantics. To find out what is going on with reference to Attacker, Attackee, and Attack we have to unpack the nominalisation, which precisely by virtue of being nominalised does not tell the full story of who did what to whom.

The point being made here is in conformity with Halliday and Matthiessen's position (1999) in assigning some semantic naturalness or primacy to congru-

ent realisations at the clause rank over non-congruent realisations at the rank of the nominal group. They argue this (p. 231) from the point of view of the general principle that "where the members of a pair of agnate wordings differ in *rank,* the wording that is *lower* in rank will contain less information" (emphasis in original). And also from the point of view that the congruent mode has semogenetic priority since it evolved earlier in the history of the language, it is learnt earlier by children, and it typically comes earlier in the text (p. 235). Such a position leads one to reject the view that congruent and non-congruent modes are simply free variants (p. 238) – nothing more than saying the same thing in different words.

Looking at this from a slightly different perspective, *koogeki* ("attack") is the head of this nominal group, and what would be the Goal and Process in the congruent realisation are only present in so far as they are grammatically and semantically optional attributes of this head.

The semantic label 'Attacker'

As shown above, when the Attacker is grammatically the party which carries out the attack (that is to say, it is congruently realised), it is an Actor. An examination of all the textbooks shows that there are congruent and non-congruent modes co-occurring with two different kinds of Actor or non-Actor. These are as follows:

1. The Attacker is an Actor, and is a country (as in example (1) above: "…Germany…started the invasion of Poland.")
2. The Attacker is an Actor, and is the armed forces of that country (as in example (2) above: "…the Japanese armed forces surprised-attacked Pearl Harbor…")
3. The Attacker is not an Actor, and is a country (as in example (4) above: "By means of Japan's Pearl Harbor attack the Pacific War started.")
4. The Attacker is not an Actor, and is the armed forces, as in examples of the type (no actual example quoted here): "By means of the Japanese navy's Pearl Harbor attack, the Pacific War started."

The semantic label 'Attackee'

The semantic label Attackee identifies the party against whom the attack was directed. This is congruently realised (as in example (2): "…the Japanese armed forces surprise-attacked Pearl Harbor…") or incongruently realised (as in example (4): "By means of Japan's Pearl Harbor attack the Pacific War started."). However, Attackee in the non-congruent mode always co-occurs

with Attack also in the non-congruent mode (e.g. in example (4) above: "By means of Japan's Pearl Harbor attack the Pacific War started."). Thus to count (non-)congruent Attack is the same as counting (non-)congruent Attacker, and therefore in the statistical analysis of the data which follows Attackee is not set up as an independent category.

There is, however, one important point related to the item given the semantic label Attackee, which will be developed here. This is that in all the 88 history textbooks there is not a single example of Japan (whether country or armed forces) attacking another *country* in 1941. Instead, expressions such as "against the British forces in Malaya and the American base at Pearl Harbor" are used. It could be argued that Malaya was a British colony and Hawaii was not at that time a state of the United States, and therefore the Japanese attack against them was different in nature from the German attack and invasion of Poland, and this is an important distinction that the textbooks accurately characterize. But even if this is the case, one would at least expect at least some small number of mentions in the textbooks that Japan attacked another country.

The attack on Thailand (which preceded the attacks in Malaya and at Pearl Harbor) is mentioned in only one textbook. But even in this case, Thailand itself is not attacked, as shown in example (5):

(5)   (Nihonshi B: 327)
1941- (Shoowa 16-) nen 12-gatsu yooka, Nihon-kaigun no kidoobutai wa Hawai-shotoo ni kishuukoogeki o kuwae, Shinjuwan no Amerika taiheiyoo-kantai ni daisongai o ataeta. Mata Nihon-rikugun wa, Igirisu-ryoo to Tai-ryoo no Maree-hantoo ni kishuujooriku-shita.
On December 8, 1941 (Shoowa 16), a task force of the Japanese navy making a surprise-attack on the Hawaiian Islands inflicted great damage on the American Pacific fleet in Pearl Harbor. Also, the Japanese army made surprise landings on the British territory and Thai territory of the Malay peninsula.

Clearly, the word *ryoo* ('territory') does not mean the same in the case of British colonies on the Malay peninsula and the national territory of Thailand which extends into the northern part of the Malay peninsula.

In this example, the textbook obfuscates the distinction between the two meanings of *ryoo*, which are closely paralleled by the English translation equivalents. Compare: "London is British territory" (= "is part of Britain") with "Gibraltar is British territory" (= "belongs to Britain"); the first is so obvious that it sounds silly, but the second is open to challenge – by, for example, the Spanish government. Thus, in example (5), we are here dealing with two dif-

ferent meanings of the words *ryoo*/territory: in the British case the meaning is "belonged (but does not now) to Britain"; in the Thai case, the meaning is "was (and still is) part of Thailand".

This use of the word *ryoo* allows the attack on Thailand to be presented, or interpreted, as an attack (or rather landings) on a peninsula (in the Japanese original the landings are on the peninsula, which is modified by "British territory and Thai territory"), and furthermore potentially creates the impression that Thailand's presence on the Malay peninsula is in some way questionable or illegitimate for the same reasons that Britain's colonial presence on the same peninsula may reasonably be regarded as being illegitimate or even immoral.

Thus, even when it seems that a textbook, which has taken the decision to include the attack on Thailand (which is not included in any other textbook), would not be able to avoid saying that Japan attacked that *country*, we find that the issue is clouded by the political ambiguity created by lumping Thailand together with imperialist Britain and by the lexical ambiguity of the word *ryoo*.

It is difficult not to believe that this textbook is reluctant to write frankly about Japanese aggression against another Asian country. If one wanted to write about the events in question from the point of view that the war Japan fought was a war of colonial liberation, and not a war of aggression (including aggression against Asian countries), example (5) above is one way that one would do this.

The semantic label 'Attack'

The semantic label Attack includes a number of Japanese words covering the following: "invade", "attack", "make a military entry", "militarily advance", and "aggressively invade" (in the case of the German attack on Poland), and "attack", "surprise-attack", and "air-attack" (in the case of the Japanese attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor).

When we look at the textbooks, we find the following:

1. Attack is expressed in terms of a Material process (Teruya, forthcoming) (as in example (2) above: "...the Japanese armed forces surprise-attacked Pearl Harbor...")

This is an example of a congruent realisation. Thus in example (2), the participant analysis is Actor ("the Japanese armed forces"), Goal ("Pearl Harbor"), Material process ("attacked"). However, in example (6) below, although the participant analysis is different: Actor (*Doitsu*: "Germany"); circumstance of place (*Poorando*: "Poland"): Material process (*shinnyuu-shita*: "invaded"), the realisation is still judged to be congruent:

(6)   (Kookoo Nihonshi: 240)

1938-nen, Doitsu wa Oosutoria o heigoo-shi, 1939-nen ni wa Dokuso-fukashinjooyaku o musunda nochi, 9-gatsu Poorando ni shinnyuu-shita.

Germany, having annexed Austria in 1938, and afterwards, in 1939, concluding a non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union, invaded Poland in September.

This is because whereas *kishuu-suru* ("surprise-attack") occurs with a Goal, *shinnyuu-suru* ("invade") occurs with a circumstance of place (literally "invaded towards/into Poland"), and in this respect is similar to verbs signifying movement into a location, such as, for example, *hairu* ("enter"). Thus a circumstance of place in this example is obligatory (Teruya, forthcoming).

Cases like example (1) above ("…Germany…*started* the invasion of Poland.") are also judged to be congruent in that the text is encoding an unfolding of events in the flow of time, which seems rather crucial to an understanding of the historical event. This is an important aspect of the German invasion of Poland, which took several weeks. In other words, the attack on Poland was an extended military operation, and the text has to inform readers of this by using an equivalent to the expression "started".

2.   Then we have non-congruent realisations of Attack, in this case a nominalisation, as in example (4) above ("By means of Japan's Pearl Harbor attack the Pacific War started.")

Another example of the non-congruent relationship regarding Attack is the following (example (7)), in which "invasion of Poland" (*Poorando shinryaku o kikkake to shite*) is, I would suggest, a circumstance of reason:

(7)   (Shin Nihonshi B: 284)

1939-nen ni wa, Nachisu-Doitsu no Poorando shinryaku o kikkake to shite, Igirisu/Furansu nado no Rengookoku to Doitsu to no aida ni Dainiji-sekaitaisen ga hajimatta.

In 1939, occasioned by Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland, World War II started between Britain, France and other Allied countries, and Germany.

In example (4) and example (7) there has been significant slippage away from congruency. In neither of these cases is the Attacker an Actor.

Primacy of meaning

In this section I will shift the discussion away from actual participants and processes, and discuss the ways clauses can be put together to create different meanings. It will be argued that in Japanese the verb in the alpha clause (i.e. the main clause) within a clause complex (i.e. a sentence made up of two or more clauses) tends to be the main or prime carrier of ideational meaning. I then look at what kinds of happenings and goings-on are encoded in the verb of this main clause.

The verb in the alpha clause has a primacy over other verbs in the sentence. This primacy exists in terms of both interpersonal and ideational meaning. For example, negotiation, politeness, honorification, and tense are expressed in the verb in the alpha clause (Teruya, forthcoming). Some of these may be expressed elsewhere. For example, honorification can be optionally expressed in any verb in the sentence (see S. Martin 1975: 1026, 1027, 1028) and tense will (in paratactic (coordinate) constructions) be expressed in any verb preceding particles such as *ga* ('but') or *keredomo* ('however').

Generally speaking, an important characteristic of Japanese is its heavily hypotactic nature (that is, one or several hypotactic (subordinate) clauses, referred to as beta, gamma, etc. clauses, precede the alpha clause). The verbs in these beta, etc. clauses are in the *te*-form or in the *shi*-form (in the case of the prototypical verb *suru* ("do")), or in S. Martin's terminology (1975: 577) the 'gerund' or the 'infinitive'),[2] neither of which forms can be marked for mood or tense. In Japanese, the alpha clause in a clause complex is most usually the sentence-final clause (and always the sentence-final clause in the textbooks).

First, let us consider example (8) and example (9), which have been translated rather literally:

(8) (Sekai no Rekishi: 304)
Sekiyu no ketsuboo o osoreta Nihon wa kaisen o isogi,
Japan, which feared a shortage of oil, hurrying to the opening of hostilities,
beta clause

doonen 12-gatsu Hawai no Shinjuwan o kishuukoogeki-shi,
surprise-attacking Pearl Harbor in Hawaii,
gamma clause

Bei/Ei ni sensen-shita.
declared war on America and Britain.
alpha clause

(9)   (Meikai Sekaishi A: 125)

   Kono chokugo no 9-gatsu tsuitachi, Doitsu-gun wa Poorando ni shinkoo-shi,
   Immediately after this [the signing of the Soviet-Russian non-aggression
   agreement, CB] on 1st September, Germany invading Poland,
   beta clause

   sono futsuka-go, Eifutsu-ryookoku wa Doitsu ni sensen o fukoku-shita.
   two days later, both Britain and France issued a declaration of war.
   alpha clause

It is possible for the Attack verb to be in the alpha clause, and thus, according
to the argument here, to be the main carrier of ideational information. Or the
Attack verb can, as in the two preceding examples, be in the beta (or gamma,
etc.) clause, and thus not be the main carrier of ideational information; and
therefore, according to my argument, it is both grammatically and semantically
downgraded. In a sense, when this happens the Attack is not as important and
not as serious. Consequently, in example (8) above, the focus of the historical
narrative is on Japan declaring war on America and Britain; in example (9) the
focus is on Britain and France issuing a declaration of war.

   Also, from the logical-semantic point of view, beta, etc. clauses can be used
for various meanings of expansion (see S. Martin 1975:479–491), and are thus
not necessarily obligatory elements of the clause complex. This is certainly the
case in example (9) above (but less so, for contextual reasons, in example (8)),
in which the alpha clause can stand by itself and be grammatical, and make
perfect sense as narrative.

   The above examples contrast with, say, example (6) above, in which Attack
is encoded in a verb in the alpha clause, and the annexation of Austria and
the conclusion of a non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union are encoded
in deletable clauses (a beta clause and an embedded clause, respectively). Thus
the main story is about Germany invading Poland, in contrast to example (8)
and example (9), in both of which the focus is on declaring war.

Recapitulation

In the discussion in the preceding section, some of the resources of language
that can be selected to create meaning have been pointed out, and it is the ar-
gument in this paper that these can lessen responsibility for aggressive actions.

   To recapitulate, we can see this lessening of responsibility in the way non-
congruent realisations permit 'slippage' between the grammar and the seman-
tics, and also in the way different pieces of information can be distributed in

clause complexes so that there is a downgrading of information, which has been discussed under the heading of primacy of meaning.

Of course, reasonable explanations could be proposed for the types of language use that have been shown to exist. They could be explained in terms of editorial decisions or production constraints involved with saving space. Or it could be claimed that the patterns of language are within the natural range of language that is suitable of textbooks. Or perhaps there could be pedagogic reasons given for these patterns of language use. In other words, am I simply picking out some particular and perfectly reasonable variants in language and making a mountain out of them?

Fortunately, the nature of the historical events themselves, and consequently of the data, allow us to carry out a comparative survey. We can ask the question: Is the language used to describe German actions in starting the European phase of World War II and the Japanese actions in starting the Pacific phase of this war significantly different in respect to the patterns of language use that have so far been discussed? More precisely, can we claim that the textbooks that form the subject of this study minimise Japanese responsibility for the attack that started the Pacific War, in comparison with German responsibility for invading Poland? To take one concrete example, does the fact that the Japanese attack is attributed to the Japanese *state* in 51% of the textbooks, but the German attack is attributed to the German *state* in 73% of the textbooks, suggest that the textbooks examined are reluctant to assign responsibility to the Japanese state for past Japanese aggression, and therefore assign this responsibility to lower level units of the Japanese state, namely its armed forces (which in fact no longer exist)?

Statistical analysis

In order to ascertain whether the textbooks are saying significantly different things about the German and Japanese attacks, frequency counts of alternative linguistic forms derived from the corpus underwent statistical analyses. Strictly speaking, it is not necessary to use statistical procedures to analyse the data since the corpus represents the whole population of approved history textbooks (i.e. there is no sampling error). However, the use of these statistical procedures helps in teasing out the important relationships in the data and also in allowing the generalisation of findings to a hypothetical, larger set of possible textbooks that would have the approval of the Japanese Ministry of Education.

Attacker and Attack

Based on the discussion so far, it is reasonable to assume the following:

1. When Attacker is a country this places responsibility on the country for the attack.
2. Conversely, when Attacker is not a country (but armed forces) this lightens the responsibility of the country for the attack.
3. When Attacker is an Actor this increases the responsibility of the Attacker for the attack.
4. Conversely, when Attacker is not an Actor this lightens the responsibility of the Attacker for the attack.

We can sum this up in a two-way feature matrix, using the features +responsibility and –responsibility:

Table 1. Feature matrix showing responsibility for the attack

	Attacker is Actor	Attacker is not Actor
Attacker is country	+ +	+ −
Attacker is armed forces	− +	− −

In other words, when Attacker is a country and Attacker is an Actor, this is the 'worst case scenario' (namely, "Japan attacked and the Pacific War started"), since it suggests that the country acted very aggressively; but when Attacker is the armed forces and the Attacker is not and Actor, this is the 'best case scenario' (namely, "By means of an invasion by the German army, World War II started"), since it is the one which to some extent absolves the country from acting aggressively. The remaining two cases, as can be seen from the matrix, are intermediate with respect to these 'worst case' and 'best case' scenarios'.

We can summarise these data for all 88 textbooks as shown in Table 2.

As the result of the chi-square test shows (Table 2), there is a statistically significant difference between the frequencies of occurrences of the relevant language forms.

Table 2 represents a three-way matrix: the country (Germany or Japan), the Attacker (country or armed forces) and whether the Attacker is Actor or not. This matrix was analysed using nonlinear principal components analysis (also known as homogeneity analysis). By means of this procedure, an original set

Table 2. Language forms in the German attack on Poland and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor

Language Form	Germany	Japan	Totals
1 Attacker is Actor and is country (+ +) ("Germany/Japan attacked")	59	38	97
2 Attacker is Actor and is armed forces (+ −) ("German army/Japanese armed forces attacked")	17	35	52
3 Attacker is not Actor and is country (− +) ("By means of Germany's/Japan's attack…")	5	7	12
4 Attacker is not Actor and is armed forces (− −) ("By means of German army's/ Japanese armed forces attack…etc.")	0	8	8
Totals	81	88	169

Note: $p < 0.0003$ (Chi-square = 18.8529; df = 3)

of variables is reduced into a smaller set of uncorrelated components that represent most of the information found in the original variables. This technique is useful when a large number of variables makes the interpretation of relationships between objects difficult. By reducing the dimensionality, it becomes possible to interpret a few components rather than a large number of variables. Thus, the procedure, by finding a low-dimensional graphical representation of the association between rows and columns, facilitates finding patterns in the data (see SAS Institute Inc. 1990: 616).

The principal components analysis result shows the relationship very clearly (Figure 1).

First, the interactions (strengths of the relationships) become clear when we consider the angles at the intersections of lines projected through each pair of category members (i.e. through Germany and Japan, through +Nation and –Nation and through +Actor and –Actor). Small angles represent strong interactions and large angles weak or non-existent ones. The strongest interaction in the data is between country (Germany and Japan), on the one hand, and nation (+Nation or –Nation), on the other hand; the next strongest interaction is between country (Germany and Japan), on the one hand, and Actor (+Actor or –Actor), on the other hand. The interaction between nation and Actor is very weak, with the projecting lines intersecting almost at right angles.

So far, the statistical procedures and associated interpretation of Figure 1 indicate:

1. There is a strong interaction between country (Germany and Japan) and nation (+Nation or –Nation).
2. There is a weaker interaction between country (Germany and Japan) and Actor (+Actor or –Actor).

What these interactions indicate is that there are systematic differences in the way the attacks by the two countries are dealt with in the textbooks. The principal components plot (Figure 1) and the raw frequencies (Table 2) help us to see what these systematic differences are.

The principal components analysis yields further information. In Figure 1 there is also a line projecting through Germany and Japan, with lines from the other data points projected at right angles on to it. The strengths of the relative tendencies to use different language forms with respect to Germany and

Notes:
'+Nation' refers to Attacker encoded as 'Germany' or 'Japan'
'–Nation' refers to Attacker encoded as 'armed forces', 'army', 'navy', etc. of Germany or Japan
'+Actor' refers to Attacker as Actor
'–Actor' refers to Attacker as non-Actor

Figure 1. Principal components analysis of Table 2

Japan can be gauged from the proximity and relative positions of these intersections from the data points representing these two countries. For example, the line from –Nation intersects the Germany-Japan line at a point very near the Japan data point, whereas the line from +Nation intersects the Germany-Japan line near the Germany data point, but at some distance in the direction of the Japan data point. This indicates that there is a very strong relative tendency for Japan to be represented by its armed forces (–Nation) in the textbooks (43, 48.86%, occurrences for Japan against 17, 20.99% for Germany), and that Germany tends to be strongly, but somewhat less so, associated with references to it as a nation (+Nation) (64, 79.01%, occurrences for Germany against 45, 51.14%, for Japan). In a similar manner, projecting lines from the +Actor and –Actor data points on to the same Germany-Japan line, it is possible to see that +Actor shows a slight tendency towards Germany, but is rather near the middle of the line (76, 93.83%, occurrences for Germany against 73, 82.95%, for Japan). However, there is a strong relative tendency for –Actor to be associated with Japan (15, 17.05%, occurrences for Japan against 8, 6.17%, for Germany). Note, however, that the distant position of the –Actor data point reflects the rather sparse nature of the data with respect to –Actor, and is a warning to interpret this part of the principal components plot with caution.

In summary, the treatment of Germany's invasion of Poland and Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in the textbooks are systematically different in two ways that tend to make Japan's responsibility less than Germany's:

1. There is a strong tendency for Japan to be represented in the textbooks by its armed forces (–Nation) and the converse tendency for Germany to be referred to as an actual country (+Nation).
2. There is a strong tendency for Japan, as compared with German, to be referred to as not an Actor (–Actor), and the slight converse tendency for Germany to be referred to as an Actor (+Actor).

Primacy of meaning

This section is a statistical follow-up on the discussion on primacy of meaning developed above. The data for the frequencies of occurrences of alpha clauses, beta, etc. clauses, and nominalisations are given in Table 3.

Again, the result of the chi-square test shows (Table 3) that there is a statistically significant difference between the two distributions.

The principal components analysis for this matrix is shown in Figure 2.

Table 3. Clause types and nominal groups

Clause type/Nominal group	Germany	Japan	Totals
alpha: "…X attacked."	30	8	38
beta, etc: "…X attacking…"	33	65	98
nominal: "due to X's attack"	4	14	18
Totals	67	87	154

Notes: $p < 0.0000$ (Chi-square = 26.5925; df = 2)
'X' refers to attack by either the country or its armed forces

Notes:
'alpha' refers to Attack encoded in an alpha clause
'beta, etc.' refers to Attack encoded in a beta, gamma, etc. clause
'nominal' refers to Attack encoded in a nominal group

Figure 2. Principal components analysis of Table 3

For the sake of clarity, the lines projected through the category members have been omitted from this plot. However, it is clear from the plot that there is a very strong interaction between alpha and beta, etc., on the one hand, and Germany and Japan, on the other hand.

Using the same interpretative procedures as before, we can see the following:

1. There is a very strong tendency for Germany's attack to be in an alpha clause as compared with Japan's attack (30, 34.09%, occurrences for Germany, against 8, 9.09%, occurrences for Japan).
2. There is a strong tendency for Japan's attack to be in a beta clause as compared with Germany's attack (65, 73.86%, occurrences for Japan, against 33, 37.50%, occurrences for Germany).
3. There is a very strong tendency to nominalise Japan's attack as compared with Germany's attack (14, 15.91% occurrences for Japan, against 4, 4.55%, occurrences for Germany). Again, data are rather sparse here, so this requires a cautious interpretation.

In summary, as far as primacy of meaning is concerned, Japan's responsibility for its actions is lessened, compared with Germany's responsibility.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to show how different parts of the grammar (participants, processes, clause types, and nominalisations) constitute a set of copatterning resources which push the meaning into particular directions such that the language choices that the writers of the textbooks make unfold to create a coarticulated ideology of diminished responsibility in the case of Japanese actions. To express this differently, the texts, considered as a whole, produce what may be called a semantic drift that lessens the responsibility of the Japanese state for aggressive actions.

I believe that the historical events chosen for analysis and discussion in this paper exhibit evidence of a low level of responsibility being assigned to the Japanese state for certain actions precisely because of the debates within Japanese society concerning the nature of the war, the question of war responsibility, and the culpability, or, alternatively, justification, for aggressive actions undertaken by Japan.

Furthermore, the issue of aggression and responsibility brings up the role of Emperor Hirohito. In fact, the question of war responsibility cannot be discussed without examining the role of Hirohito (Bergamini 1971; Bix 2000; Dower 1999), in whose name the war was started and fought. Certainly, while Hirohito was alive this subject was taboo (McCormack 1996: 235, 176); but even after more than a decade since his death, this taboo remains strong.

Bix (2000: 17) links the question of Hirohito's evasion of responsibility with the general lack of a critical examination of the war within modern Japan:

> Eventually Hirohito became the prime symbol of his people's repression of their wartime past. For as long as they did not pursue his central role in the war, they did not have to question their own.

This 'imperial taboo' is but one part of a wider taboo concerning free discussion and examination of war responsibility in Japan. For example, in modern Japan, citizens' groups are frequently prevented from holding conferences and seminars in facilities generally available to the public and paid for by taxpayers if these events deal with such matters as war responsibility, military comfort women; or restrictions are placed on the titles and accompanying publicity materials of such conferences (see, for example, *Juugun Ianfu* 2000), impressment of Chinese and Korean labourers, and other related issues. Within Japan, it is true to say that, in many public forums, the Japanese people themselves cannot talk freely about the war.

On 15th May 2000, then prime minister Mori Yoshiroo, reputed to be a specialist in education, said in a speech "I would like all Japanese to fully understand the fact that the country of Japan is certainly a divine country centring on the Emperor" ("*Nihon no kuni wa masa ni tennoo o chuushin to suru kami no kuni de aru koto o kokumin ni shikkari to shoochi-shite itadaku*") (*Shushoo* 2000). This was a statement that was widely interpreted as being not only contrary to the present Japanese constitution, in which sovereignty is vested in the people and the emperor is a symbol of the people (without any mention of his being head of state), but also a repetition of wartime rhetoric harking back to the pre-1946 constitution, in which the Japanese people were subjects in an imperial state, as well as being redolent of the assiduously promoted foundation myths of the imperial line, and an officially fostered emperor cult (Bix 2000: 30–32, 283; Brownlee 1997; McCormack 1996: 176).

After his 'divine country' statement, the prime minister then (3rd June 2000, *Kyoosan-seiken*) made a statement implying that the Communist Party of Japan, if it became part of an Opposition-based coalition government, would be unable to defend Japan's security and protect its *kokutai* (translated as "national polity", and sometimes "national essence" – a complex word, which generally includes the notions of divine descent of the imperial family, the rule of Japan by an unbroken line of emperors since time immemorial, and the view that the Japanese people are a large, homogeneous and harmonious family, with the emperor as the head of the family) – a word which was frequently used during the period of Japanese military expansion and warmaking (Bix 2000; McCormack 1996: 171, 172; Miller 1982), but the use of which in the present day and age is as highly anachronistic as the divine country statement.

These two statements by a Japanese prime minister show that the view that Japan is a divine country centring on the emperor and possessor of a special national polity, as well as a country which fought for its self-preservation and in order to liberate Asia from European colonialism (as discussed at the beginning of this chapter), is not outside the mainstream of conservative thought in Japan. The purity of Japanese motives for its past behaviour is a frequently mentioned theme (e.g. see McCormack 1996: 171). To question this purity is to challenge much that lies at the heart of Japanese identity as seen by traditionalists and conservatives within Japan.

A point frequently taken up by writers about Japan (e.g. Buruma 1994: 61–62; McCormack 1996: 189; McCormack 2000: 63; Van Wolferen 1989: 259, 268) is the continuity between the wartime and postwar Japanese state, with one natural result of this being that Japan has never morally come to grips with its responsibility for its past. McCormack (1996: 231) writes that:

> ... from war to postwar, the Japanese state maintained an essential continuity of sovereign (sic), bureaucracy, and (with few exceptions) political leadership; its courts have never recognized any criminality of state or of individual war actions.

So, to sum up, I would say that the main reasons the textbooks, considered as a whole, minimize the responsibility of the Japanese state for the aggressive actions which started the Pacific War are:

1. the view, which can be traced from Hirohito's broadcast of 15th August (and even much earlier) up to today, that the war which Japan fought was a non-aggressive war of self-protection;
2. the still prevalent belief in conservative circles that Japan is a sacred, and thus morally pure, land;
3. the high level of continuity between the wartime and the modern Japanese state;
4. the lack of postwar examination of responsibility;
5. a system in which textbooks are carefully controlled by the government and bureaucracy, and authors and publishers undoubtedly know what the unwritten rules of textbook language are.

It is therefore not surprising that what we see in the language of the textbooks is these governmentally and bureaucratically controlled textbooks having to tell the story, but shying away from telling the frank and full story, just as the many Japanese attempts at apology, including the Diet resolution mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, have been less than frank and wholehearted.

Notes

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1. The romanisation used in this paper differs only slightly from Hepburn romanisation. A slash between words in the romanisation represents the punctuation mark of *nakaguro* in the original Japanese. In the glossing I have used the following abbreviations: GEN: genitive particle; TOP: topic particle; OBJ: object particle.

2. Differences between these two forms need not concern us here. S. Martin (1975:577) writes that "In written Japanese, especially in formal or literary texts, you will see the infinitive used instead of the gerund". In the present corpus, which falls into the category of "formal text", the infinitive occurs with greater frequency.

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